THE SECOND HISTORICAL PART

Antoninus of Florence

Summary of the Second Volume of the Historical Part of the Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence

Title IX: Concerning Constantine the Great, Emperor

The second volume of this historical part, which is called a recollectory or ant, contains the deeds of nine hundred years, namely, from Constantine the Great, emperor, and Pope Sylvester, who were in the year of the Lord 320, as far as Frederick II, emperor, and Pope Innocent III, together with the moral sayings of the better-known doctors who flourished in those times.

The ninth title concerns Constantine the Great. He began to rule alone as emperor in the year of the Lord 309, but from the beginning of the world in the year 4,272 according to the Hebrews, and in the year 5,508 according to the Seventy and Eusebius. He ruled from the death of his father for thirty-one years. He governed the empire very well, triumphed over his enemies who reigned together with him, and subjected many nations.

Chapter I

- Constantine begins. Folio 1.
- Concerning the deeds of blessed Sylvester, in which is contained the conversion of Constantine from the vision made to him of the apostles Peter and Paul. Folio 1.
- Concerning the disputation held between Pope Sylvester and twelve doctors of the Jews about the mysteries of the Christian faith, the objections of the Jews, and Sylvester's replies to them. Folio 1 at the end and the following folio 2.
- Concerning the finding of the Holy Cross with a miracle through Helena. Folio 3.

Chapter II

The second chapter concerns the supreme pontiffs who lived from the time of Constantine as far as the times of Arcadius and Honorius. The first of them was Sylvester; after him, Mark; then Julius; after him, Liberius; Felix followed him, and afterward Damasus; then Siricius, whom Anastasius succeeded; after him, Innocent I; and finally Zosimus. It begins, "The supreme." Folio 3 and the following folios.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns the Council of Nicaea, the deeds performed in it, and its decrees. It begins, "Concerning Nicaea." Folio 4 and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Nicholas, bishop. Folio 5 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the conversion of the Indians. Folio 6 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter IV

- The fourth chapter concerns the sons of Constantine, namely, Constantius, Constans, and Constantine. It begins, "When he had died." Folio 7 at the end and the following folio.
- When the other two had been killed, Constantius alone ruled as emperor. Being a heretic, he favored the Arians, persecuted the Catholics, and assembled a council of Arians at Milan. Concerning this and his death. Folios 8 and 9 and the following folios.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns Julian the Apostate, emperor. It begins, "With Julian." There also concerning his evil morals. Folio 10.
- Concerning his persecution against the Church and Lucifer the heresiarch. Folio 10 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the blessed martyrs John and Paul, Saint Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, and Emperor Jovian. Folio 11 at the end and folio 12 and the following folio.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns Valentinian, a Catholic emperor, and his brother Valens, an Arian. Folio 13 at the end and the following folio.
- That Valens, remaining emperor, persecuted the Church. Folio 14 near the end and the following folio.

Chapter VII

- The seventh chapter concerns Gratian, a Catholic emperor. Folio 15.
- Concerning Maximus, who usurped the empire for himself after Gratian had been killed. Folio 16.
- Concerning the elder Theodosius: that he became emperor, made peace with the Goths, killed Emperor Maximus, and restored Valentinian. Folio 16.

Chapter VIII

- The eighth chapter concerns the elder Theodosius, emperor, his virtues, wars, and victories. Folio 16 near the end.
- Eugenius killed Valentinian and usurped the empire for himself. Theodosius waged battle against him and killed him. Folio 17.
- That Theodosius destroyed idolatry in many ways. Folio 17.
- That, because of homicides perpetrated by the will of Theodosius, Ambrose enjoined public penance upon him, which he humbly performed. Folio 17 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the heretical Empress Iusticia [read: Justina] persecuting Ambrose. Folio 18.

Chapter IX

The ninth chapter concerns Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius, ruling as emperors: Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West. Folio 18. In the said chapter there is also treatment of two kings of the Goths. One was Radagaisus, who entered Italy with one hundred thousand men and was killed with them all in the mountains of Fiesole. The other king was Alaric. After he had been treacherously attacked by Stilicho, he rose in anger against the Christians, captured Rome, and did many evils. Folio 18 and the following folio.

Title X

The tenth title concerns principally the doctors who flourished around those times.

Chapter I

- The first chapter after the general prologue concerning the doctors treats of several men named Eusebius. Folio 19 near the end.
- Concerning Pope Eusebius, Eusebius of Caesarea the historian, and Eusebius of Nicaea. Folio 19 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli. Folio 20.

Chapter II

- The second chapter concerns Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and first, how he became a cleric. Folio 20.
- Concerning the calumnious accusations made against him and his great persecutions. Folio 20 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning his books and sayings. Folio 21.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, and first his exile and miracles. Folio 21.
- Concerning his death and miracles. Folio 22.
- Concerning certain obscure sayings of his. Folio 22.
- Concerning his sayings about the mystery of the Eucharist and the Holy Trinity. Folio 22.

Chapter IV

- The fourth chapter concerns Basil, bishop, and first his zeal for study and the conversion of his master. Folio 22 near the end.
- How he delivered a certain man who had given himself wholly to the devil by denying the faith. Folio 23.
- Concerning his prophecy and certain miracles. Folio 23.
- Concerning his books and notable sayings. Folio 23.
- Concerning his two brothers, Peter and Gregory, and certain sayings of Gregory himself. Folio 24.

- Concerning his death. Folio 24.
- Concerning Ephrem, who saw him as a pillar of fire, and certain sayings of Ephrem himself. Folio 24.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns Gregory Nazianzen and Didymus, and first Gregory's integrity, learning, and great authority. Folio 25.
- In his apologetic book he assigns the reasons why he renounced the episcopate. Folio 25.
- Concerning his notable sayings. Folio 25 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Didymus, blinded in childhood, his great learning, and his books. Folio 26.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns the most blessed Jerome, and first the translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Latin which he made, his beating by an angel because of his excessive study of the books of the Gentiles, and his temptations in the desert. Folio 26.
- Concerning the miracle of the lion and the others. Folio 27.
- Concerning the number of books published by him. Folio 27.
- Concerning his notable sayings, principally about the morals of religious. Folio 27.
- Concerning his sayings about the wisdom of the Scriptures and the learning of the Gentiles. Folio 28.
- Concerning the life of clerics and their vices. Folio 28.
- Concerning contempt of the world and discretion in abstinence. Folio 29.
- Concerning the love to be shown toward one fallen into sin. Folio 29.
- Concerning free choice toward good and evil and rewards. Folio 29 and the following folio.
- Concerning the mercy of God toward penitents. Folio 30.
- Concerning excommunication and correction not to be omitted. Folio 30.
- Concerning the scourges of God. Folio 30 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the two kinds of Christians, namely, clerics and laymen, and the morals owed to them. Folio 31.
- That children are good or evil from their will, not from birth, and concerning certain other matters. Folio 31.

Chapter VII

- The seventh chapter concerns Saint Ambrose, and first that, while he was prefect, he was named bishop by an infant, and concerning his flight lest he be made bishop. Folio 31.
- Concerning his persecutions and miracles. Folio 31 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning his authority and virtues. Folio 32.
- Concerning the number of books published by him. Folio 32 near the end.
- Concerning his notable sayings about the Eucharist and baptism. Folio 33.
- Concerning his sayings about penance. Folio 33.
- Concerning his judgments about various virtues. Folio 33 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning his sayings about various vices. Folio 34.
- Concerning certain morals to be observed according to his teaching. Folio 34.

Chapter VIII

- The eighth chapter concerns the most blessed Augustine, and first the excellent commendation of him by the doctors and his excellent manner of life. Folio 35.
- How and by what means he was converted. Folio 35.
- How he was made a priest and afterward a bishop, although unwilling. Folio 36.
- Concerning his manner of life and holy morals. Folio 36.

- Concerning the number of books published by him. Folio 37.
- Concerning his sayings about the mystery of the Trinity. Folio 37.
- Concerning the properties of the divine persons. Folio 37.
- Concerning the goodness, omnipotence, and providence of God. Folio 37.
- Concerning the foreknowledge of God and predestination, from his sayings. Folio 37 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning blessedness and the virtues leading to it. Folio 38.
- Concerning the love of God and concerning using and enjoying. Folio 38.
- Concerning the degrees of contemplation through creatures. Folio 39.
- Concerning the greatness of divine goodness. Folio 39.
- Concerning the mediator, Christ Jesus. Folio 40.
- Concerning faith and correction. Folio 40.
- Concerning original and actual sin, its cause and degrees. Folio 40.
- That mortal sins are punished in hell and venial sins in purgatory, and concerning its punishment and suffrages. Folio 41.
- Concerning certain sins in particular from his sayings, such as superstition, simony, usury, falsehood, and homicide. Folio 41.
- Concerning lust, ambition, and lying. Folio 42.
- Concerning penance, excommunication, and tithes. Folio 42.

Chapter IX

- The ninth chapter, which begins, "Like a vessel of gold," concerns John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, his holiness and wisdom, and the persecution and hatred against him because of his rebukes. Folio 42 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the persecution which Theophilus of Alexandria carried out against him and the disagreement between John and Bishop Epiphanius. Folio 43 near the end.
- Concerning Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who because of avarice caused Isidore to be falsely accused of the worst vice, and concerning the persecution which Theophilus carried out against the hermits. Folio 44.
- That Theophilus caused a council to be assembled against Chrysostom. Folio 45.
- That, when a council had been assembled by John's enemies, he was calumniated with the crime of injured majesty, on account of which he was banished by the emperor. Folio 45.
- That John was recalled swiftly from exile, but a short time afterward a council was again assembled against him. Folio 45.
- That John was again banished, dissension having arisen in the city on account of this. Folio 46.
- A persecution was made against John and his supporters, and, having been deposed, he died in exile. Folio 46.
- Why John ate alone and concerning the persecution of Theophilus against him. Folio 47.
- Concerning letters sent to Pope Innocent about the deposition of Chrysostom and Innocent's replies. Folio 47 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning this Theophilus of Alexandria and Saint Epiphanius, and concerning the sayings of Chrysostom from his various books. Folio 48.
- Concerning his sayings which are contained in the Decretals. Folio 49.

Chapter X

The tenth chapter, which begins, "There flourished also others," concerns certain other doctors of that time.

- First, concerning Orosius the historian and certain sayings of his. Folio 49.
- Concerning Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, and his invectives against Jerome and Jerome's against him. Folio 49.
- Concerning John Cassian and his books. Folio 50.
- Concerning Maximus the Doctor. Folio 50.

- Concerning John Damascene, monk and doctor: how, when a charge of treason had been laid against him, his hand was cut off, but miraculously restored. Folio 50.
- Concerning Claudian, a Gentile poet, certain sayings of his, Prudentius, a Christian poet, and certain sayings of his. Folio 51.
- Concerning the Macedonian heresy, the Priscillianist heresy, the Pelagian heresy, and the Predestinarian heresy arising in those times. Folio 51.
- Concerning Sulpicius Severus and his sayings. Folio 51 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the miracles of certain fathers and the writings of Sulpicius. Folio 52.

Chapter XI

- The eleventh chapter concerns Saint Martin and begins, "Martin." First, that as a catechumen he clothed a naked man, and that, having been baptized, he went to Saint Hilary. Folio 52 at the end.
- How he was elected bishop of Tours and, after a monastery had been constructed, gathered disciples. Folio 53.
- Concerning his virtues and holiness. Folio 53.
- Concerning his miracles. Folio 54.
- Concerning his passing. Folio 54.
- Concerning Saint Brice, his successor. Folio 54.

Chapter XII

- The twelfth chapter concerns Saint Zenobius, bishop of Florence, and begins, "The light of the world." First, concerning his lineage and virtues. Folio 55.
- Concerning the dead raised by him and other miracles. Folio 55.

Chapter XIII

- The thirteenth chapter concerns Saint Maurilius and begins, "Contemporary." Folio 56. Concerning his holiness and miracles.
- How he was made bishop of Angers and, fleeing out of humility, made himself a gardener in an unknown place, but, having been recognized, was brought back to his see; and concerning his life. Folio 56.

Chapter XIV

- The fourteenth chapter concerns Saint Alexius and begins, "Alexius." First, concerning the nobility of his parents and that, departing from the nuptials and from his bride, he wandered far away as a beggar. Folio 56.
- Concerning his death, at which he was recognized by his parents, and his honorable burial. Folio 57.

Chapter XV

The fifteenth chapter concerns the dormition of Saint Paula, a most noble Roman woman, and her virtues. Folio 57.

Title XI

The eleventh title contains the deeds of approximately one hundred two years: concerning the supreme pontiffs; the emperors of East and West; the other kingdoms of the Huns, Vandals, Lombards, Franks, and Britons; and the doctors, holy bishops, and abbots flourishing in those times. Folio 57.

Chapter I

- The first chapter concerns the supreme pontiffs, and first Boniface I and the schism then made. Folio 57 at the end.
- Concerning Pope Celestine and the general council then held. Folio 57.
- Concerning Sixtus II and a false accusation against him. Folio 58.
- Concerning Leo I and his notable sayings in the Decretals and the Council of Chalcedon. Folio 58 and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Hilary. Folio 59.
- Concerning Pope Simplicius. Folio 59.

- Concerning Pope Felix II. Folio 59.
- Concerning Pope Gelasius I and his sayings in the Decretals. Folio 59.
- Concerning Pope Anastasius II. Folio 60.
- Concerning Pope Symmachus, the schism between him and Laurentius, and the council celebrated because of the accusation against him. Folio 60.
- Concerning Pope Hormisdas. Folio 60.

Chapter II

- The second chapter concerns the emperors in the aforesaid time. It begins, "After the supreme pontiffs." First, concerning Emperor Constantius and the emperors Theodosius, John, and Valentinian, the Vandals capturing Africa, and Merlin the prophet. Folio 60 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Emperor Maximus in Italy and Leo I in the East. Folio 61.
- Concerning Zeno ruling in the East and Orestes and Odoacer in Italy. Folio 61 at the end.
- Concerning Theodoric, king of Italy, whom Emperor Zeno established. Folio 62.
- Concerning Emperor Anastasius in the East and several kings of the Lombards. Folio 62 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Athalaric and his mother Amalasuntha reigning after Theodoric. Folio 63.
- Concerning Clovis, the pagan king of France, and Clotild his most Christian wife, who led him to the faith. Folio 63.
- Concerning Clovis himself fighting the Goths. Folio 63.
- Concerning Clotild, her husband Clovis, their sons, and several wars among them. Folio 63 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter III

The third chapter concerns the kingdom of the Persians. It begins, "Moreover." First, concerning several men successively reigning in Persia, after whom the Saracens subjected them to their empire. From that time, in place of the kingdom of the Persians, it is styled the kingdom of the Saracens, and it concerns those succeeding in that kingdom. Folio 64.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter concerns the kingdom of the Franks. It begins, "In the year." First, from the first king of the Franks, called Priam, as far as Charlemagne, twenty-five men reigning successively are numbered; then twelve who reigned successively in France after Charles; and thereafter five others reigning as far as the time of Louis, son of Philip, who held the kingdom in the time of Vincent the historian. Folio 65.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns the kingdom of the Britons, whence it took its origin, and begins, "Concerning the kingdom." Folio 65.
- Concerning the successors of Brutus and how the Saxons obtained England. Folio 65.
- Concerning the catalogue of the kings of Britain. Folio 65.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns the kingdom of the Vandals and begins, "The Vandals." First, concerning their origin. Folio 66.
- Concerning the catalogue of the kings of the Vandals. Folio 66.

Chapter VII

- The seventh chapter concerns the kingdom of the Goths. It begins, "Of the Goths." Folio 66.
- Concerning the division of the Goths into two kingdoms, namely, that of the Visigoths in Spain and that of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Folio 66.
- Concerning the catalogue of the kings of the Visigoths. Folio 66.
- Concerning the catalogue of the kings of the Ostrogoths. Folio 66 at the end.

Chapter VIII

- The eighth chapter concerns the kingdom of the Huns and begins, "Concerning the kingdom." First, concerning their origin from incubus demons. Folio 67.
- Concerning Attila, king of the Huns. Folio 67.
- Concerning Saint Nicasius and his sister Eutropia. Folio 67.
- Concerning Attila and the signs appearing at that time, namely, an earthquake, redness of the air, a comet, and a slaughter made against his men. Folio 67 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Lupus speaking to Attila, the destruction of Aquileia by Attila, and the building of Venice. Folio 68.
- Concerning Pope Leo approaching Attila and the death of Attila himself. Folio 68.
- Concerning Saint Anianus and the victory obtained through him against Attila. Folio 68 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the passion of Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. Folio 69.

Chapter IX

The ninth chapter concerns the kingdom of the Viruli, that is, the Lombards, and begins, "Of the Viruli": concerning their origin and the catalogue of their kings. Folio 69.

Chapter X

- The tenth chapter concerns the persecution carried out against the Christians in Africa and begins, "Because among the barbarians." First, concerning Huneric, king of the Vandals, persecuting the Christians. Folio 69 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the afflictions inflicted upon the Christians in Africa. Folio 70.
- Concerning the signs preceding this persecution. Folio 70.
- Concerning men and women with infants sent into exile. Folio 70 near the end.
- Concerning the ignominious confinement of the faithful and other reproaches against the Catholics. Folio 71.
- Concerning the wicked convocation of the bishops of Africa to a council by Huneric. Folio 71.
- Concerning the confession of the truth of the faith by the bishops. Folio 71.
- Concerning the deceitful oath offered to the bishops. Folio 72.
- Concerning the passion of Saint Victoria and her brothers, and certain men who spoke after their tongues had been cut off. Folio 72.
- Concerning the various torments inflicted upon the faithful by the Vandals, and especially upon Bishop Eugenius. Folio 73.
- Concerning the marvelous constancy of the wife of a certain physician. Folio 73.
- Concerning the miserable death of Huneric the persecutor. Folio 73.
- Concerning Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, entering Italy and despoiling Rome and the cities of Campania. Folio 73.

Chapter XI

- The eleventh chapter concerns Saint Prosper, bishop, and begins, "He flourished." First, concerning his origin and uprightness and the books published by him. Folio 74.
- Concerning his judgments and sayings in verse. Folio 74.
- Concerning Prosper's sayings in prose. Folio 74.
- Concerning his sayings about the matter of charity in the Decretals. Folio 75.
- Concerning his judgments about various vices. Folio 75.
- Concerning Saint Petronius, bishop of Bologna, and certain sayings of his in verse. Folio 75 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning certain doctors. Folio 76.
- Concerning Arator the poet and his sayings, and Priscian the grammarian. Folio 76.
- Concerning Saint Fulgentius, bishop and doctor, and how he was made bishop. Folio 76.
- Concerning the life of Fulgentius himself and his morals. Folio 76.

- Concerning his little works and sayings. Folio 77.

Chapter XII

The twelfth chapter concerns Saint Paulinus and begins, "In the times," and the marvelous charity in him, whereby he permitted himself to be sold to an unbeliever for the liberation of a widow's son. Folio 77.

Chapter XIII

The thirteenth chapter concerns Sidonius, bishop, and begins, "He flourished": concerning the books published by him and certain sayings. Folio 77 near the end.

Chapter XIV

- The fourteenth chapter concerns Cassiodorus, monk and rhetorician. It begins, "In the same." Folio 78.
- Concerning the books published by him. Folio 78.

Chapter XV

- The fifteenth chapter concerns Boethius, who is also called blessed Severinus. It begins, "Concerning Boethius." Folio 78.
- Concerning the books published by him, the persecution which he endured from Theodoric, and his sayings in the book *On Consolation*. Folio 78 and the following folio.
- Concerning Symmachus the patrician, his father-in-law, and certain sayings of his. Folio 79.

Chapter XVI

The sixteenth chapter concerns certain holy bishops. It begins, "Concerning certain men." Folio 79.

Chapter XVII

- The seventeenth chapter concerns Saint Germanus, bishop, and begins, "In Gaul." First, how, while he was prefect in Gaul, he was tonsured by Saint Amator and thereafter made bishop. Folio 79.
- Concerning the marvelous austerity of his life. Folio 80.
- Concerning his miracles and a dead man raised. Folio 80.
- That, on account of his liberality, he established a certain swineherd as king of Britain. Folio 80.
- Concerning his liberality toward the poor and the expulsion of demons manifested through him. Folio 81.
- Concerning his death and the consecration of the church of Vercelli by him. Folio 81.
- Concerning Saint Lupus, bishop. Folio 81.

Chapter XVIII

- The eighteenth chapter concerns Saint Remigius and begins, "While he was reigning." First, that his holiness was announced beforehand to his pregnant mother, and concerning his life. Folio 81 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Genebald, husband of the niece of Remigius, his fall, and his penance. Folio 82.
- Concerning Saint Patrick, his marvelous works in Ireland, and his purgatory. Folio 82.

Chapter XIX

- The nineteenth chapter concerns certain saints of that time. It begins, "Concerning certain men." First, concerning Saint Genevieve, her prophecy, abstinence, and miracles. Folio 82 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Leonard, his life and miracles. Folio 83.
- Concerning another Leonard. Folio 83.
- Concerning Saint Vedast, bishop. Folio 83.
- Concerning Saint Severinus, abbot. Folio 83.
- Concerning Abbot Maxentius. Folio 84.
- Concerning Saint Melanius, abbot. Folio 84.

- Concerning Saint Vigor, bishop, and his miracles. Folio 84.

Title XII

The twelfth title contains the deeds of eighty-six years, namely, from the year 518 as far as the year 605: concerning the supreme pontiffs and emperors of that time; the sayings of Pope Gregory; the Goths and Lombards cast out of Italy; and the saints of that time.

Chapter I

- The first chapter concerns Pope John I. First, concerning his martyrdom. It begins, "When he had died." Folio 84 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Felix II. Folio 85.
- Concerning Boniface II and the schism then made. Folio 85.
- Concerning Pope Agapitus. Folio 85.
- Concerning Pope Silverius, who was treacherously sent into exile at the command of Empress Theodora, with Belisarius the patrician and Virgilius [i.e., Vigilius] the deacon cooperating. Folio 85.
- Concerning Pope Vigilius, who, opposing Empress Theodora, was sent into exile by her. Folio 86.
- Concerning Pope Pelagius I and Pope John III. Folio 86.
- Concerning Pope Benedict I, who wished to send Gregory the Great to convert the English, but was prevented by the Romans. Folio 86.

Chapter II

- The second chapter concerns Saint Pelagius II, pope, and begins, "When he had died." First, that Gregory the Great was sent by him to Constantinople as cardinal legate, and concerning his sayings against schismatics. Folio 87.
- Concerning his constitutions and sayings on diverse matters. Folio 87 throughout and the following folio.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns Pope Gregory I of that name and begins, "Gregory." First, concerning his noble lineage, the monastic life assumed by him, his alms, and the punishment by him of a monk who possessed private property. Folio 88.
- Concerning a very great pestilence invading Rome and the processions ordained by Gregory. Folio 88 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning his elevation to the papacy and the very great humility shown by him. Folio 89.
- Concerning the deliverance of certain persons from dangers through his merits. Folio 89 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the extirpation of heresies and evil morals by him and the ordering of the divine offices. Folio 90.
- Concerning his ordinances, that he preached to the people, and that he had learned and holy men with him in the curia. Folio 90 and the following folio.
- Concerning the conversion of the English procured by him when he sent Augustine with certain men to preach there. Folio 91.
- Concerning his miracles and the liberation of Trajan from hell through him. Folio 91 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning his liberality, the alms sent into diverse parts of the world, and Christ received at dinner in the form of a poor man. Folio 92.
- Concerning several of his letters to his officials about distributing alms. Folio 93.
- Concerning his justice and innocence in exacting debts. Folio 93.
- Concerning his humility and patience in adversities. Folio 93 at the end.
- Concerning the books published by him and his humility in teaching. Folio 94.
- Concerning his diverse letters of admonition, and especially the one to Emperor Maurice. Folio 94 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the letter sent to Empress Constantina against the pride of John of Constantinople. Folio 95.

- Concerning his ordinances about the continence of clerics and against simoniacs. Folio 95.
- Concerning justice to be exercised in judgments. Folio 95 near the end.
- Concerning matter relating to religious. Folio 96.
- Concerning his admonition against detractors. Folio 96.
- Concerning his teaching against the arrogant, avaricious, lascivious, and gluttonous. Folio 97.
- Concerning the degrees of sins and temptations. Folio 97 at the end.
- Concerning grace, the virtues, and their degrees. Folio 98.
- Concerning faith and obedience. Folio 98.
- Concerning diverse sacraments. Folio 98 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning absolution, marriage, and the conjugal act. Folio 99.
- Concerning the sacrament of order and the diverse offices of those orders. Folio 100.
- Concerning the association of the good with the evil, purgatory, burial, and suffrages. Folio 100.
- Concerning prelacy and Jews not to be compelled to the faith. Folio 100.
- Concerning the blessed life. Folio 101.
- Concerning the seven capital vices, their daughters, and how they wage battle against the human being. Folio 101 and the following folio.
- Concerning the death of Gregory himself. Folio 102.
- Concerning the hermit who grieved that he was to be made equal to Gregory in glory. Folio 102.

Chapter IV

- The fourth chapter concerns the emperors and begins, "Because concerning the supreme." First, concerning the greater Emperor Justinian. Folio 102.
- Concerning Emperor Justinian, who reduced the scattered laws into three volumes, namely, the *Old Digest*, the *Infortiatum*, and the *New Digest*; that through Belisarius his commander he recovered Africa, long possessed by the Vandals; and that afterward he sent him to Italy to liberate it from the Goths. Folio 102 and the following folio.
- That Belisarius, entering Italy, captured Naples and killed Theodahad, king of the Goths, after which the Goths made another king for themselves. Folio 103.
- Rome is captured by Belisarius, a great slaughter of the Greeks is made, and there is treatment of the very great battle between Belisarius and Vitiges, king of the Goths. Folio 103.
- That Belisarius performed many laborious deeds for the retention of Rome, which had been captured by him. Folio 104.
- Concerning the greater forces and men-at-arms sent to Belisarius by the emperor, a severe famine, and the truces made. Folio 104.
- That Belisarius was wounded by Constantinus; on account of this Constantinus was killed, and Ariminum was besieged but not captured. Folio 104 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Narses sent to Italy with an army by the emperor, the diverse wars waged by him and Belisarius in Italy, Milan captured and destroyed by the Goths, and Fiesole besieged. Folio 105.
- Concerning Theudebert, king of the Franks, entering Italy with eighty thousand men to capture Italy, but he was unable to do so. Folio 106.
- Concerning the agreement made between Belisarius and Vitiges, king of the Goths, and the recall of Belisarius to Greece. Folio 106.
- Concerning the virtues of Belisarius and Vitiges, king of the Goths, going to the emperor. Folio 107.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns Totila, who was made king of the Goths after Atharic, his victory against the emperor's peoples, and the siege of Florence by Totila. Folio 107.

- That Totila captured many cities throughout Calabria and Apulia, and the emperor's fleet that had been sent was captured. Folio 107 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the return of Belisarius to Italy and his wars. Folio 108.
- That Saint Benedict knew Totila, though disguised, by prophetic sight and, rebuking him, foretold to him the things to come. Folio 108 at the end and the following folio.
- That Totila afterward besieged Rome, a great famine pressing the city. Folio 109.
- Concerning the naval war of Belisarius with the Goths. Folio 109.
- Concerning the capture of the city and Totila's address to his men, and Totila's rebuke of the Romans. Folio 109.
- That Totila sent envoys to the emperor for peace, to whom the emperor replied. Folio 110.
- That Rome was recovered by Belisarius and Totila besieged Perugia, which at last, when food failed, he took by force in the seventh year of the siege. Folio 110.
- That Totila commanded Saint Herculanus, bishop of Perugia, to be killed, and Totila again besieged Rome. Folio 111.
- That the Goths captured many cities in Italy. Folio 111.
- Concerning Narses sent to Italy by Justinian. Folio 111.
- Concerning the naval war in which Totila and the Goths were overcome. Folio 111.
- Concerning the war of Narses against the Goths, in which Isdrilas, a distinguished man of the Goths, and Totila were killed. Folio 111 at the end and the following folio.
- That Rome was captured by Narses and Theias, king of the Goths, was killed. Folio 112.
- Concerning the petitions made by Narses and by the Roman people and clergy before Justinian that Pope Vigilius be recalled from exile; concerning Justin adopted as a son by Justinian; and concerning certain other matters. Folio 112.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns Emperor Justin II and begins, "He succeeded." First, concerning Empress Sophia insulting Narses by letters, on account of which Narses, indignant, brought the king of the Lombards into Italy; and concerning certain prodigies. Folio 112 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Alboin, king of the Lombards, who killed the king of the Gepids and, after taking the daughter of that king as his wife, was killed by her. Folio 113.
- Concerning Theophilus, who gave himself to the devil so that he might recover his dignity, and his penance; and concerning the miracle of the Jewish boy sent into the furnace by his parents. Folio 113.
- Concerning the division of the kingdom of the Franks among the sons of Lothar; concerning their wives; and the killing of King Sigebert. Folio 113 near the end.
- Concerning Chilperic, king of the Franks, and Fredegund, concubine and queen, procuring the death of her husband through adultery. Folio 114.
- Concerning Saint Columbanus rebuking the king for adultery, on account of which he was expelled, and Queen Brunichild was killed. Folio 114 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the death of Emperor Justin, who established Tiberius, his adopted son, as emperor; Tiberius had victory against the Persians. Folio 115.
- Concerning Emperor Maurice, Antioch overthrown, and an inundation of rains so great that it was believed to be a flood; and that Maurice defeated the Armenians and Persians. Folio 115 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Chosroes, king of the Persians; a certain fool who performed miracles and said that he was Christ; Agilulf, king of the Lombards; and the conversion of the Lombards. Folio 116.
- Concerning the killing of Emperor Maurice by Phocas, who usurped the empire for himself. Folio 116.

Chapter VII

- The seventh chapter concerns the saints of those times and begins, "Concerning the saints." First, concerning Saint Goar, his abstinence, and his miracles. Folio 117.
- Concerning Saint Brigid in Scotia, her life and miracles. Folio 117.

Chapter VIII

- The eighth chapter concerns Saint Carilephus and his life. First, it begins, "In the times." Folio 118.
- Concerning Saint Gregory, bishop of Langres. Folio 118.
- Concerning Saint Germanus, bishop of Augustodunum, and his life. Folio 118 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Radegund, queen in Francia. Folio 119 and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Brendan of Scotia and Bishop Machutus. Folio 120.
- Concerning Saint Samson of Dol. Folio 120 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Ethbinus. Folio 121.
- Concerning Saint Basolus. Folio 121.
- Concerning Saint Amandus. Folio 121 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Gregory of Tours. Folio 122.
- Concerning Saint John of Alexandria, who was surnamed the Almsgiver, his alms, and his admonitions. Folio 122 and the following folio.
- Concerning certain other virtuous acts of his. Folio 123.
- Concerning his examples inducing persons to alms. Folio 124.

Chapter IX

- The ninth chapter concerns the miracles and examples of certain persons which Gregory relates in the book of the *Dialogues*, and begins, "Many." First, concerning Honoratus. Folio 124.
- Concerning Libertinus raising a dead man and his patience. Folio 124.
- Concerning Saint Equitius and his virtues. Folio 125.
- That Equitius himself was sent by God to preach, and that, because the pope had sent for him, the pope dismissed him by a revelation from God. Folio 125.
- Concerning Saint Constantius and his humility. Folio 125.
- Concerning Nonnosus, bishop and monk, and his miracles. Folio 126.
- Concerning Saint Boniface, his alms, and his miracles. Folio 126.
- Concerning Saint Fortunatus, bishop of Tuder, and his miracles. Folio 126 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Severus and a dead man raised by him for a brief time. Folio 127.
- Concerning Datius, bishop of Milan. Folio 127.
- Concerning Sabinus, bishop of Canusium. Folio 127.
- Concerning Andrew, bishop of Fundi, and a Jew beholding the examination of demons. Folio 127 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Fridianus, bishop of Lucca. Folio 128.
- Concerning Saint Cerbonius, bishop of Populonia. Folio 128.
- Concerning Isaac, a hermit of Syria. Folio 128.
- Concerning Saints Eutychius and Florentius and their miracles. Folio 129.
- Concerning Martin the solitary and his marvelous works. Folio 129.
- Concerning a certain dead man raised by Fulgentius and concerning Benedictus the monk. Folio 129 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning miracles performed by the relics of saints. Folio 130.
- Concerning Menas the solitary and the martyrdom of certain rustics. Folio 130.
- Concerning Abbot Eleuterius and his miracles. Folio 130 at the end.

- Concerning Sanctulus, his miracles, and his great charity in exposing himself to death for the bodily salvation of his neighbor. Folio 131.
- Concerning Saint Amantius. Folio 131.
- Concerning the blindness of our mind regarding invisible things, from the fourth book of the *Dialogues*. Folio 131.
- Concerning the words of Solomon in Ecclesiasticus, where human beings seem to be likened to beasts, and how they are to be understood. Folio 132.
- That although the soul is not seen in the body, it is nevertheless shown by its works to be there. Folio 132.
- That, when souls depart from the body, the sweetness of heavenly praise is sometimes heard. Folio 132 near the end.
- Concerning a five-year-old boy who blasphemed and whose soul was carried away by demons. Folio 133.
- Concerning a certain soldier raised from the dead who related both the punishments of certain persons and the glory of others, seen by him in the other life. Folio 133.

Title XIII

The thirteenth title contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors over one hundred eight years; the sayings of the doctors Isidore and Bede; Muhammad and the most foul law invented by him and accepted by Saracens, Turks, and Tartars; and its refutation by arguments.

Chapter I

- The first chapter concerns the supreme pontiffs and begins, "After the death of Gregory." First, concerning Pope Sabinian. Folio 133.
- Concerning Pope Boniface III. Folio 133.
- Concerning Boniface IV, who instituted the feast of All Saints. Folio 133 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Deusdedit and certain sayings of his. Folio 134.
- Concerning Pope Honorius. Folio 134.
- Concerning Pope Severinus. Folio 134.
- Concerning Pope John. Folio 134.
- Concerning Pope Theodore. Folio 134.
- Concerning Saint Pope Martin, who, after assembling a council, excommunicated and deposed the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople on account of heresy; concerning the persecution carried out against him and his ordinances in the decrees. Folio 134 and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Eugenius I. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Vitalian. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Adeodatus. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Donus. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Agatho and the general council held by him. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Leo II. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Benedict. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope John V. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Conon. Folio 135.
- Concerning the contention over the papacy. Folio 135.
- Concerning Pope Sergius and certain ordinances of his in the decrees. Folio 135 near the end.
- Concerning Pope John VI. Folio 136.
- Concerning Pope John VII. Folio 136.

- Concerning Pope Constantine and Pope Zosimus. Folio 136.

Chapter II

- The second chapter concerns Saint Isidore, bishop, and begins, "While he was reigning." First, concerning the books published by him. Folio 136.
- Concerning his sayings about the matter of laws in the decrees. Folio 136.
- Concerning his sayings about general councils and the refutations of heresies. Folio 136.
- Concerning his judgments regarding clerics and their orders. Folio 137.
- Concerning the circumstances to be considered in the Scriptures. Folio 137.
- Concerning dispensation toward the fallen and concerning certain sacraments. Folio 137.
- Concerning prelates and other matters. Folio 137.
- Concerning his sayings in the *Soliloquies*. Folio 138.
- Concerning certain instructions of his. Folio 138.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns the venerable Bede and begins, "Bede." First, that he was an English priest and monk, and concerning the books published by him. Folio 138.
- Concerning his sayings from the decrees. Folio 138 near the end.
- Concerning a dead man raised to life who, according to Bede, related the various punishments which he saw in the other life. Folio 139.

Chapter IV

- The fourth chapter concerns the emperors and kings of Francia and begins, "When he had been killed." First, concerning the king of the Persians rising against him because of the killing of Maurice. Folio 139 near the end.
- Concerning Lothar and Theodoric, kings of Francia, warring against one another; Theudebert, king of Francia, killed by his brother; and other savage occasions. Folio 139 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Emperor Heraclius procuring the death of Phocas and, while himself ruling, fighting against Chosroes and overcoming him with his men. Folio 140.
- Concerning the pride of Chosroes in making himself a god, his killing by Heraclius, and the miracle of the carrying back of the Cross to Jerusalem. Folio 140.
- Concerning the war between the Romans and Saracens under Heraclius, who at last became a heretic. Folio 141.
- That Jerusalem was captured by the Saracens together with all Syria. Folio 141.
- Concerning Constantine II, son of Heraclius, ruling and being killed by the treachery of his stepmother; Herodian II, son of Heraclius, ruling and being sent into exile with his mother by Constans, the ruling son of Constantine, who persecuted the Church; and concerning the kings of Francia and the captivity of Queen Bathild. Folio 141.
- Concerning Constantine III, son of Constans, ruling and procuring a general council under Pope Agatho, by which heretics were condemned who said that there was only one natural operation and will in Christ. Folio 142.
- Concerning Emperor Justinian II, son of the aforesaid Constantine, who, being a heretic, persecuted the Church. Folio 142.
- Concerning Leontius, or Leo, usurping the empire; Tiberius taking the empire away from him; and Justinian II, after being exiled, recovering the empire taken from him. Folio 143.
- Concerning Justinian himself summoning the pope to Constantinople and honoring him, and Justinian's killing with his son on account of his cruelty. Folio 143.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns Muhammad and begins, "Among." First, concerning his manifold deceits, the various opinions about him, and his lasciviousness. Folio 143.
- Concerning the ceremonies of the Saracens according to the law of Muhammad. Folio 144.

- Concerning the carnal paradise which Muhammad promises to those who observe his law. Folio 144.
- Concerning the hell which he foretells for transgressors of his law and the resurrection of the dead. Folio 144.
- Concerning his death and burial. Folio 144.
- Concerning the refutation of those who excuse that law, although it is bestial. Folio 145.
- Arguments by which that law is proved to be from the devil and not from God, and concerning the false signs of Muhammad. Folio 145.
- Concerning the teaching of the Qur'an, how it is foolish and base and received by no wise man. Folio 145.
- That that teaching is contrary to itself and induces observance through violence. Folio 146.
- That Muhammad was a false prophet and performed no miracles except deceitful ones. Folio 146.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns many saints and begins, "Concerning many." First, concerning Saint Phara the virgin. Folio 146 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Pharaon, bishop, and his wife, a nun. Folio 147.
- Concerning the disciples of Saint Columbanus. Folio 147.
- Concerning Saint Walaricus, his miracles, and especially the raising of a dead man. Folio 147 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Hildeuntus, bishop. Folio 148.
- Concerning Saint Austregisilus. Folio 148.
- Concerning Saint Sulpitius and his miracles. Folio 148 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Saleberga, abbess. Folio 149.
- Concerning Dagobert, king of the Franks. Folio 149.
- Concerning Saint Magnobodus and the raising of a boy by him. Folio 149 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Aurea, abbess, and her punishment on account of a certain transgression. Folio 150.
- Concerning Saint Romaric. Folio 150.
- Concerning Saint Goericus, bishop. Folio 150 near the end.
- Concerning Saint Arnulf and his miracles. Folio 151.
- Concerning Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, who was killed, and miracles from his relics. Folio 151.
- Concerning Saint Eligius, his miracles, and a dead man raised to life. Folio 151 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the monastery of women instituted by him, his death, and his miracles. Folio 152.
- Concerning Saint Andoenus, bishop, his austerity, morals, and miracles. Folio 152.
- Concerning Saint Philibert and the troubles inflicted upon him by the devil. Folio 153.
- Concerning Saint Richarius and Saint Augadrisina. Folio 153.
- Concerning Saint Ausbert, monk and bishop. Folio 154.
- Concerning Saint Agilus and his miracles, and Saint Videbotus. Folio 154.
- Concerning Saint Forseus and the six accusations which demons made against him when he was dead. Folio 154 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Andomarus. Folio 155.
- Concerning Saint Praeiectus and the punishment of those who killed him. Folio 155.
- Concerning Saint Theodore, who instituted penitential canons. Folio 156.
- Concerning Saint Leodegarius the martyr and Saint Garinus, his brother. Folio 156.
- Concerning Saint Vigilius, an eclipse of the sun and moon, a very great pestilence that occurred, and its remedy. Folio 156.

- Concerning Saint Lambert, bishop and martyr, and his patience and humility in his deposition. Folio 156 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Leufredus. Folio 157.
- Concerning Saint Wandregisilus, his mercy, and the snares of the devil against him. Folio 157.
- Concerning the translation of blessed Benedict from Mount Cassino. Folio 157.
- That they wished to carry the body back from Francia to Mount Cassino and were unable to do so. Folio 158.
- Concerning Saint Egidius, abbot, his miracles, and especially the raising of a dead man. Folio 158.
- Concerning Saint Lupus, bishop of Sens, into whose chalice, while he celebrated, a gem fell from heaven. Folio 158 near the end.

Title XIV

The fourteenth title contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors over one hundred years: namely, from the time of Gregory II as far as the time of Leo III, and from the time of Emperor Philippicus as far as the empire of Charlemagne inclusive; and concerning the doctors Alcuin and Rabanus. It begins in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 713.

Chapter I

- The first chapter concerns the supreme pontiffs, and first Pope Gregory II, who sent men to preach to the Teutons, and they were converted. Folio 159.
- Concerning Gregory III, the council against the emperor and others who destroyed images, and the translation of the body of Augustine. Folio 159.
- Concerning Pope Zacharias, to whom Aistulf, king of the Lombards, restored the lands of the Church; Carloman, brother of King Pippin, becoming a monk; and Pippin becoming king of Francia through Pope Zacharias. Folio 159 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Stephen II, who sent to Pippin for aid against the Lombards; coming into Italy, Pippin compelled the king of the Lombards to restore the lands of the Church. Folio 160.
- That, after Pippin's departure, Aistulf again took away the lands of the Church, and Pippin, returning again, compelled him to restore them. Folio 160.
- Concerning Pope Paul; Charlemagne, who obtained the whole kingdom of Francia; and the deposition of Constantine the antipope. Folio 161.
- Concerning Pope Stephen III, the council held by him, and his sayings. Folio 161.
- Concerning Pope Adrian, who sent to Charlemagne so that he might liberate Italy from the Lombards. Folio 161.
- That Charlemagne, entering Italy and capturing Pavia, carried Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, into Francia, on account of which Italy was wholly liberated from the Lombards. Folio 161 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Adrian holding a council and giving Charlemagne great power in the election of prelates, the Felician heresy condemned, and Adrian's decrees. Folio 162.
- Concerning Saint Boniface, archbishop of Mainz, who converted the Teutons to the faith, and his sayings in the decrees. Folio 162.
- Concerning Pope Leo III, who was seized by the Romans and had his eyes put out; having been restored to sight, he went to Charlemagne, and Charlemagne, coming to Rome, punished those who had offended the pope. Folio 163.

Chapter II

- The second chapter concerns the emperors, and first Philippicus usurping the empire. It begins, "Philippicus." Folio 163.
- Concerning Anastasius usurping the empire and Saint Albinus raising a dead man. Folio 163.
- Concerning Theodosius usurping the empire, Saint Wulframnus, and Radbod deceived by the devil through a vision. Folio 163.
- Concerning Leo usurping the empire and the Saracens besieging Constantinople, but they were overcome. Folio 164.
- Concerning Charles Martel, king of Francia, subjecting many nations to himself and killing, together with his men, 375,000 Saracens. Folio 164.
- Concerning Emperor Constantine, son of Leo, and the translation of the body of blessed Mary Magdalene. Folio 164.

- That Carloman, brother of Pippin, became a monk and Pippin became king of Francia; and concerning terrible earthquakes, by which some cities were entirely overthrown and others in part, while other cities migrated intact, with their walls and habitations, from the mountains to the plains lying below for more than six miles. Folio 164 and the following folio.
- Concerning Emperor Constantine assembling a synod and commanding images to be destroyed. Folio 165.
- Concerning Leo, son of Constantine, ruling as emperor, and the Saxons converted to the faith and baptized. Folio 165.
- Concerning Charlemagne warring against the Saxons, Gascons, Hungarians, Normans, and Bohemians, and subjecting them all to himself. Folio 165.
- Concerning Constantine ruling with his mother Irene, who was deprived of the empire by him, but she blinded and imprisoned her son and ruled. Folio 165 at the end.
- Concerning Charlemagne, his diligence toward divine worship, the conspiracy against him that was punished, and the miracle of the image of Christ mocked by the Jews. Folio 166.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns Amelius and Amicus, friends alike in appearance, and begins, "It relates." First, that they were baptized by the pope and that, after departing from one another, they subsequently recognized one another. Folio 166.
- That Amelius knew the daughter of Charles carnally, and Amicus, pretending to be Amelius, killed Hardericus in a duel when Hardericus accused Amelius; and that the daughter of Charles, assigned to Amelius as wife, was restored by Amelius himself to Amicus. Folio 166 at the end.
- That Amicus became leprous and on account of this was cast out by everyone, even by his wife, but was honorably received by Amelius; Amelius, by a revelation of an angel, killed his own sons so that Amicus, washed in their blood, might be healed; and the sons were raised to life. Folio 166.
- That the aforesaid men were killed while fighting against the Lombards in Charles's army, and that Charles restored Florence, which had been devastated by Totila. Folio 167.

Chapter IV

- The fourth chapter concerns Charlemagne and begins, "Charles." First, concerning the disposition of his body, his fortitude, and his life. Folio 167 near the end.
- Concerning his morals and his honor toward the Church. Folio 167.
- Concerning a very great earthquake shaking Italy and the plague that followed; the Roman Empire conferred upon Charlemagne and the nations subjected to him; and the catalogue of the Greek emperors as far as Charles. Folio 168.
- Concerning the liberation of the Holy Land by Charles and the relics given to him in Jerusalem. Folio 168.
- Concerning the apparition of the apostle James made to Charles, admonishing him to liberate Spain from the unbelievers. Folio 169.
- Concerning the battle undertaken by Charles with Aygoland, prince of the unbelievers in Spain. Folio 169.
- Concerning the battles between Aygoland and Charles's army, many kings assembling. Folio 169 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the promise made by Aygoland to Charles to receive baptism, which he did not keep; the very great slaughter of the unbelievers by the Christians, in which Aygoland also was killed. Folio 170.
- Concerning the killing of the giant Ferracutus by Roland. Folio 170.
- Concerning the treachery of Ganelon, who was with Charles, through which the Christians were defeated and Roland and many other palatines were killed. Folio 170.
- Concerning the vision which Bishop Turpin had during Mass about those killed in the battle, and the killing of Ganelon on account of his treachery. Folio 171.
- Concerning the revelation of the body of Saint Salvius and his deeds. Folio 171.
- Concerning the school transferred from Rome to Paris, and the four disciples of Bede, namely Rabanus, Alcuin, Claudius, and John, who advanced that school. Folio 171.
- Concerning the morals of Charles toward his household. Folio 172.
- Concerning the death of Charles and his honorable burial. Folio 172.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns the doctors of that time and begins, "They flourished." First, concerning Alcuin, the master of Charles in the arts and divine Scriptures, and the books published by him. Folio 172.
- Concerning his sermon on the feast of All Saints. Folio 172.
- Concerning Rabanus, abbot and afterward made bishop of Mainz, and the books published by him. Folio 172 near the end.
- Concerning the sacramentals about baptism, whose meaning Rabanus sets forth. Folio 172 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the praises of the Cross according to Rabanus. Folio 173.
- Concerning certain other sayings of his in the decrees. Folio 173.

Title XV

The fifteenth title contains the substance of the *Conferences of the Fathers* and their notable sayings; the life and holy manner of life of the anchorites, from Paul the first hermit and Saint Anthony as far as that solitary who burned his own fingers; and of the cenobites, from blessed Benedict as far as the Order of the Humiliati, who began in the year of the Lord 1018.

Chapter I

- The first chapter concerns in general the state of anchorites and cenobites and begins, "The deeds of God and of the Savior." First, concerning the fourfold state of the saints in the Church, namely: apostles; martyrs; doctors and pontiffs; and religious under a threefold kind, namely, anchorites, cenobites, and Sarabaites. Folio 173 near the end.
- Whence those three states of religious took their beginning. Folio 174.
- Concerning the morals fitting those three states. Folio 174.
- Concerning the commendation of John Cassian's book of the *Conferences of the Fathers* and his other books. Folio 174.
- Concerning the manner of psalmody and prayer in the book *On the Institutes of the Cenobites*. Folio 174 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the form of receiving and instructing novices and the morals to be observed in their manner of life. Folio 175.
- Concerning an instruction made to a certain man about receiving the habit and nine things to be observed. Folio 175.

Chapter II

The second chapter concerns the twenty-four *Conferences of the Fathers* and begins, "In the first."

- First, from the first conference of Abbot Moses: that purity is the end of the religious life, concerning manifold contemplation toward God, and the threefold kind of thoughts. Folio 176.
- Concerning the second conference of Moses: that discretion is supremely necessary and humility leads to it. Folio 176 at the end.
- Concerning the third conference, that of Paphnutius, in which the threefold calling to God and threefold renunciation are treated. Folio 177.
- Concerning the fourth conference, that of Daniel, in which the threefold cause of mental weariness and the threefold state of the soul, namely hot, cold, and lukewarm, are treated. Folio 177 near the end.
- Concerning the fifth conference, that of Serapion, in which the battle of the eight capital vices and how the vices are conquered are treated. Folio 178.
- Concerning the sixth conference, that of Theodore, in which the threefold difference of things, namely virtues, vices, and temporal goods, and the six causes of scourges are treated. Folio 179.
- Concerning the seventh conference, that of Serenus, in which the instability of the mind and how evil angels know thoughts are treated. Folio 179 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the eighth conference of the same Serenus, in which the manifold exposition of Scripture and the claim that angels were created before the world, which nevertheless is not maintained today, are treated. Folio 180.
- Concerning the ninth conference, that of Isaac, in which prayer, its fourfold species, and the manifold manner of praying are treated. Folio 181.
- Concerning the tenth conference of the same Isaac and the error of those who say that God is corporeal and its cause; and concerning the prayer, "O God, come to my assistance." Folio 181 at the end and the following folio.

- Concerning the eleventh conference, that of Chaeremon, which concerns the three things that draw human beings back from vices. Folio 182.
- Concerning the twelfth conference of the same Chaeremon, where the perfection of chastity, its contraries, its six degrees, and the manner of acquiring it are treated. Folio 182.
- Concerning the thirteenth conference of the same Chaeremon, which concerns the protection of God, grace, and free choice, concerning which matter Prosper and Cassiodorus accuse him as one who thinks wrongly. Folio 183.
- Concerning the fourteenth conference, that of Nesteros, concerning the active and contemplative life, the way to contemplation, the various states of the active life, and the manifold manner of expounding the Scriptures. Folio 184.
- Concerning the fifteenth conference of the same Nesteros, the threefold cause of miracles, and that they are sometimes performed by demons. Folio 184.
- Concerning the sixteenth conference, that of Joseph, concerning friendship, its manifold kind, and the six degrees of perfect friendship. Folio 184 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the seventeenth conference of the same Joseph, concerning definitions, that is, promises, which are not readily to be made nor always to be kept. Folio 185.
- Concerning the eighteenth conference, which is that of Piamun, concerning the manifold kind of monks, how patience is acquired, and examples concerning this. Folio 185 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the nineteenth conference, which is that of John, concerning the comparison of the cenobitic life with the anchoritic life, which is better, and the end of each. Folio 186 and the following folio.
- Concerning the twentieth conference of Pinufius, concerning penance and the ten ways by which sins are remitted. Folio 187 throughout.
- Concerning the twenty-first conference, which is that of Theonas: that he dismissed his wife on account of the common law; the difference between precepts, which are always to be observed, and counsels, which are not always to be observed; the difference between the Mosaic and evangelical law; and the fast of Lent. Folio 188 throughout.
- Concerning the twenty-second conference of the same Theonas, concerning the threefold cause of pollution in dreams and when communion is to be omitted on account of it. Folio 189.
- Concerning the twenty-third conference of the same Theonas, concerning the exposition of the apostolic saying, "For the good that I will, this I do not do," and what is principally good and what is evil. Folio 189 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the twenty-fourth and final conference, which is that of Abraham, concerning mortification and that not all the examples of the saints are to be followed. Folio 190.

Chapter III

- The third chapter concerns the life of blessed Anthony and begins, "After the teaching." First, concerning the excellence of his holiness and concerning Paul, the first hermit. Folio 191.
- Concerning the temptations and visions of Anthony himself. Folio 191.
- Concerning his detestation of heretics and his teaching from the book of Athanasius. Folio 191.
- Concerning his visions, prophecy, and discretion. Folio 191 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning an instruction of his. Folio 192.
- Concerning his disputation against pagan philosophers with arguments of the faith. Folio 192 and the following folio.
- Concerning Eulogius and the leper, whom Anthony, when they were tempted by impatience, instructed. Folio 193.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter concerns Saint Paul the Simple and begins, "He had." Throughout it treats his perfect obedience, miracles, and visions. Folio 193 near the end.

Chapter V

- The fifth chapter concerns Saint Hilarion, whose life Jerome described, and begins, "There was." First, that he entered the desert in his fifteenth year, his austerity, and the expulsion of a demon by him. Folio 194.
- That he foretold the death of Anthony, obtained rain, and performed other miracles. Folio 194 and the following folio.

- Concerning his death. Folio 195.

Chapter VI

- The sixth chapter concerns the two Macarii, disciples of Anthony, and begins, "Concerning two." First, concerning their miracles. Folio 195.
- Concerning their diverse works. Folio 195.
- Concerning the flight of Macarius out of humility and that he found the skull of a pagan in the desert, which he questioned concerning his state and that of other unbelievers. Folio 195 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Macarius the Egyptian, who by prayer destroyed a bewitchment through which a certain woman appeared to have been turned into a mare. Folio 196.

Chapter VII

- The seventh chapter concerns Abbot Pastor and a fugitive monk and begins, "There were." First, concerning Pastor himself and his sayings. Folio 196.
- Concerning Malchus, a fugitive monk, who, after being captured by unbelievers, was married; at last he and his wife, living in chastity, fled. Folio 197.

Chapter VIII

- The eighth chapter concerns John the hermit, who was a prophet. It begins, "John." Folio 197.
- Concerning his instructions. Folio 197.
- Concerning certain examples introduced by him. Folio 197 near the end.
- Concerning Sarah the abbess and her sayings. Folio 198.
- Concerning Saint Arsenius and his sayings. Folio 198.
- Concerning certain perfect persons, such as the maidservant of a certain man, another enclosed woman, Amon, and Pambo. Folio 198 near the end.
- Concerning Ammonius, Isidore, Dorotheus, and Appelles. Folio 199.

Chapter IX

- The ninth chapter concerns Moses the Ethiopian and begins, "Moses." First, concerning his conversion, fear of punishment, the troubles of the devil against him, and his admonitions. Folio 199.
- Concerning Moses himself made bishop of the Saracens and his martyrdom and that of others. Folio 199 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the monastery of three thousand monks, and concerning Theonas, Dorotheus, and Piamun. Folio 200.
- Concerning Abbot Silvanus. Folio 200.

Chapter X

- The tenth chapter concerns Saint Apollonius and begins, "Concerning the saint." First, concerning his preaching, miracles, the rules given by him to his subjects, and foods sent by God. Folio 200 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Mutius, a converted robber, a vision made to him, the sun standing still at his prayers, and a dead man raised. Folio 201.
- Concerning Saint Copres and Saint Helenus. Folio 201.
- Concerning Saint Paphnutius. Folio 202.
- Concerning Thais, a prostitute converted by Paphnutius. Folio 202.
- Concerning twelve monasteries of virgins and their holiness, Saint Melania, and the virgin who hid Athanasius. Folio 202.
- Concerning a certain Christian virgin sent into a brothel by a judge, to whom a certain man, entering to her, handed over his own clothing so that she might thus escape unrecognized and uncorrupted. Folio 203.
- Concerning a certain virgin who fell but repented. Folio 203.

- Concerning a certain lector falsely accused of fornication but delivered. Folio 203.
- Concerning Saint Melania the Roman. Folio 203.
- Concerning a monastery of four hundred men and another of four hundred women, in which a certain woman who pretended to be foolish was declared to be of great holiness. Folio 203.
- Concerning Saint Euphrosyna, who, pretending to be male, was received as a monk, and the demonstration of her innocence from a charge of fornication laid against her. Folio 203 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Marina, who pretended to be male and to whom something similar to what happened to Euphrosyna happened. Folio 204.
- Concerning Saint Mary the Egyptian, whom Abbot Zosimus found. Folio 204.
- Concerning John the carpenter, who had the spirit of prophecy, and Saint Serapion. Folio 204 at the end and the following folio 205.

Chapter XI

- The eleventh chapter concerns Saint Pachomius and begins, "Concerning the saint." First, concerning his temptation and his strengthening by an angel. Folio 205.
- Concerning the congregation made by Pachomius in monasteries, in some of which there were seven thousand monks and more. Folio 205.
- Concerning the rules of living which Pachomius gave from a revelation of an angel. Folio 205.
- Concerning a notable saying of the same hermit. Folio 205 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Saint Evagrius. Folio 206.
- Concerning a certain perfect man who was vehemently tempted for a long time. Folio 206.

Chapter XII

- The twelfth chapter concerns the moral sentences of diverse holy fathers and begins, "Instructions." First, concerning the sentences of Sisois, Agathon, Arsenius, and certain others. Folio 206.
- An example concerning diverse states, two penitents, and certain other notable matters. Folio 206 at the end.
- Concerning other brief notable sayings of diverse persons. Folio 207.
- An example against presumption and boasting. Folio 207 at the end.
- An example against rash judgment and against temptations of the flesh. Folio 208.
- Concerning a certain solitary who burned the fingers of his hand to overcome temptation of the flesh, who raised a lascivious woman to life, and concerning certain other examples. Folio 208.
- After many Greek and Latin religious doctors or founders of religious orders, the history then proceeds to holy religious who flourished in the West. First, concerning Saint Benedict. Folio 208.

Chapter XIII

- The thirteenth chapter concerns blessed Benedict and begins, "There was a man." First, how he abandoned the world, remained a solitary for three years, and was visited at Easter by a priest through a revelation from the Lord. Folio 209.
- Concerning his grave temptation of the flesh and victory; how, when he was elected abbot, the monks tried to kill him with poison, on account of which he relinquished their care. Folio 209.
- That he constructed several monasteries and corrected a wandering monk by discipline; and that Florentius the priest, who persecuted him, perished by an evil death. Folio 209.
- That through preaching he converted many; that he suffered attacks from the devil; and that he raised a dead man. Folio 210.
- That he was illustrious through the spirit of prophecy, knew many hidden things, and foretold them to others. Folio 210.
- Concerning his miracles, and especially a dead man raised, Maurus walking upon the waters, a vessel of oil cast down but not spilled, and his other miracles. Folio 211.
- Concerning his sister Saint Scholastica, whose soul he saw ascending to heaven through her merits, and likewise the soul of Germanus, bishop of Capua. Folio 211.

- Concerning his happy passing and the vision of his glory. Folio 211.
- Concerning his Rule and the five degrees of humility which he sets forth in that Rule. Folio 212.

Chapter XIV

- The fourteenth chapter concerns Saint Maurus, his disciple, and begins, "After Benedict." First, that he was sent by Benedict with four men into Francia to construct a monastery, and concerning the miracles which he performed on the way. Folio 212.
- That Florus, a great man and friend of the king, gave him a place to construct a monastery; concerning the miracles which he performed, even raising a dead man; and that Florus became a monk there. Folio 212 at the end and the following folio.
- That he gathered there one hundred fifty monks, of whom one hundred sixteen died within a short time, and he himself after them. Folio 213.
- Concerning Saint Placidus, disciple of Benedict: first, concerning his noble lineage, the offering made of him, and the donation made by Tertullus his father. Folio 213.
- Concerning his sending into Sicily and the miracles which he performed on the way. Folio 214.
- Concerning his arrival in Sicily, his holy morals, and his miracles. Folio 214.
- Concerning the visit of Placidus's siblings, the persecution of the Saracens, and his martyrdom and that of others. Folio 214.

Chapter XV

- The fifteenth chapter concerns Saint Romuald, who instituted the Camaldolese Order, and begins, "The saint." First, that Peter Damian described his life. Folio 215.
- That he was from Ravenna and saw Saint Apollinaris in a spiritual vision; that he became a monk; and that, because his companions sought to kill him, he departed and went to Marinus the hermit. Folio 215.
- Concerning the austerity of his life. Folio 215 at the end and the following folio.
- His father became a monk; he pretended to be a fool; and demons beat him. Folio 216.
- That Emperor Otto visited him; he was established as abbot and, when his subjects complained about his severity, he relinquished them; and he procured peace for the people of Tibur. Folio 216.
- Concerning Saint Boniface, his disciple, through whose passing through fire without injury many were converted to the faith. Folio 216 at the end and the following folio.
- That two of his disciples were sent to King Buscanus on account of the faith, and that he himself foretold death to Emperor Otto. Folio 217.
- Concerning the morals and devotion of Romuald and the wisdom infused into him. Folio 217 and the following folio.
- Concerning the many persecutions inflicted upon him, even by monks, his marvelous abstinence, and his death. Folio 218.

Chapter XVI

- The sixteenth chapter concerns Odo, who instituted the Cluniac Order, and begins, "There was in the year." First, concerning his learning and holiness; blessed Gregory also exhorted him in a vision to reduce the *Moralia* under a compendium into one volume. Folio 218.
- That he was established as abbot of the monastery of Cluny, governed the monks with great rigor, and concerning his miracles. Folio 219.
- Concerning certain marvelous works and certain examples introduced by him to induce monks to regular observance, and concerning Odilo his successor. Folio 219 and the following folio.
- How he was made bishop and concerning his morals in the episcopate. Folio 220.
- Concerning his miracles. Folio 220.
- Concerning a certain vision in which it was shown that many were delivered from punishments in the other life on account of the prayers and merits of the Cluniacs, whom Odilo governed after Odo; Odilo also published elegant festal sermons. Folio 220 near the end.

- That after Odilo, Hugh succeeded in the government of the Cluniac Order. He was a man of great virtues. When he visited Pope Stephen, who was lying ill at Florence, the devil departed from the room when Hugh entered and returned when Hugh went out. Hugh was also held in great veneration among kings and pontiffs. He recognized that the character of the material of a book accorded with a vision, and that the book, full of obscenities and rites of the Gentiles, was unworthy to be laid there. Folio 221.
- Concerning a certain bishop who, after he had died, revealed that he was in punishments because he used amusing words too frequently; and concerning the aforesaid Hugh, who saw the Virgin Mother with her Son on the feast of the Lord's Nativity; and concerning his death. Folio 221.

Chapter XVII

The seventeenth chapter concerns blessed John Gualbert, who founded the Order of Vallombrosa in the year of the Lord 1040, and begins, "About the same time."

- First, that he was born of noble parents, was a military man, and was a Florentine. When he encountered an enemy and spared him for love of the Crucified One, and afterward prayed in a church, the Crucified One inclined himself toward him. Being thereby pierced with compunction, he became a monk. Folio 222.
- That, when the abbot of that monastery, namely, of Saint Minias, had been appointed through simony committed with the bishop of Florence, John, on the counsel of a certain hermit, publicly disclosed the vice that had been perpetrated; and that he founded a monastery and an order. Folio 222.
- Concerning his poverty, humility, and miracles. Folio 222.
- That he was illustrious through the spirit of prophecy. Folio 223.
- Concerning his liberality and mercy toward the poor. Folio 223.
- Concerning the many miracles performed by him. Folio 223.
- Concerning the very great persecution that he and his monks endured because he publicly called the bishop of Florence a simoniac, which he also proved through fire; and concerning his death. Folio 223 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter XVIII

The eighteenth chapter concerns the Order of the Cistercians, which Stephen founded in the year of the Lord 1908, but which blessed Bernard marvelously enlarged. It begins, "The order."

- First, it treats how the said order had its beginning in a place called Cistellae in Burgundy, and concerning the holiness and vigor of the said Stephen. Folio 224.
- Concerning the ordinances of the said order. Folio 224 near the end.

Chapter XIX

The nineteenth chapter concerns the Premonstratensian Order, whose founder was Norbert in the year of the Lord 1220. It begins, "In the year." The chapter itself treats his life and holiness. Folio 225.

Chapter XX

The twentieth chapter concerns the order of the Templar soldiery, who are called those of Saint John of Jerusalem and are commonly named brothers, which began in the year of the Lord 1220. It begins, "At this time also."

- First, it contains the purpose for which such a religious order was established, its praises by blessed Bernard, and a censure of their evil morals. Folio 225.
- Concerning the relaxation of religious discipline in general. Folio 225.

Chapter XXI

The twenty-first chapter concerns the Order of Grandmont, founded by Stephen in the year of the Lord 1076, and begins, "In the year of the Lord."

- First, concerning the morals and austerity of the said Stephen. Folio 225.
- That, when the aforesaid saint had died and had been translated to another place, and many miracles were being performed through his merits, his successor commanded him not to perform those marvels any longer, or else he would cast his bones into the river. Folio 226.

Chapter XXII

The twenty-second chapter concerns the Carthusian Order, which Bruno the Teuton founded with certain companions in the year of the Lord 1086. It begins, "In the year of the Lord."

- First, concerning Hugh the bishop, the promoter of that order, and his holiness, and concerning Bruno himself. Folio 226.
- Concerning the astonishing miracle of a certain dead doctor who rose upon his bier and said that he was damned, which was the occasion for this religious order. Folio 227.
- Concerning a certain deceased brother of the said order who performed miracles, whom the prior commanded to desist from those miracles. Folio 227.

Chapter XXIII

The twenty-third chapter concerns the Order of the Humiliati, which had its beginning in the year of the Lord 1017. It begins, "In the year."

- First, how it had its beginning and concerning their morals. Folio 227.
- How all the aforesaid monastic religious orders had become relaxed, but around the year of the Lord 1400 they were reformed to some degree. Folio 227 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the Order of Saint Bridget, instituted under double monasteries, and concerning others. Folio 228.
- The mendicants, however, who began around the year of the Lord 1200, will be discussed in the last title of this work.

Title XVI

After the narrative in the preceding title concerning the religious orders and holy monks who lived from the year of the Lord 300 until the year 1100, this title resumes the history of the supreme pontiffs, who numbered forty within so great a period, and of the emperors who lived from the year of the Lord 823 until the year 1110, and thus through three hundred years, and so forth; and of the doctors of that time and certain saints; and of the acquisition of the Holy Land by Christians.

Chapter I

The first chapter treats the supreme pontiffs and begins, "From the continuation of the history."

- First, it treats Pope Leo, who crowned Charlemagne emperor, and certain sayings of his. Folio 228.
- Concerning Pope Stephen IV, who went into Francia to Emperor Louis for the affairs of the Church. Folio 229.
- Concerning Pope Paschal I, to whom the body of blessed Cecilia was revealed, and to whom Emperor Louis swore fidelity. Folio 229.
- That he established the celebration of the octave of the Assumption of blessed Mary, repelled the Saracens who entered Italy, and that many bodies of saints were found, exalted, and venerated. Folio 229.
- Concerning Pope Paschal II and certain sayings of his in the Decretals. Folio 229.
- Concerning Pope Eugene II, who, having been blinded by the Romans, was crowned with martyrdom. Folio 229.
- Concerning Pope Valentine, who sat for forty days and, because of the shortness of the time, is omitted by certain writers. Folio 229.
- Concerning Gregory IV, in whose time the Saracens, summoned by certain Romans, entered Italy, but were defeated with the aid of the Lombards and Gauls. Folio 229.
- Concerning Pope Sergius II, under whom it was established that one elected pope should change his name. Folio 230.
- Concerning Pope Leo IV, who was devout and holy. Folio 230.
- Concerning John the Englishman, who nevertheless was a woman, but was detected through her giving birth. Folio 230.
- Concerning Pope Benedict III. When he had been elected, he asked that he not be raised to that dignity. Folio 230 at the end.
- Concerning Pope Nicholas I, in whose time the Bulgars were converted to the faith and the body of Saint Clement was translated at Rome. He excommunicated Lothair, king of Francia, because of adultery. In his time the Greeks divided themselves from the Roman Church through the activity of Pontius [read: Photius], who usurped the patriarchate of Constantinople for himself. And concerning many sayings of Nicholas. Folio 231.

- Concerning his epistles written to diverse persons. Folio 231.
- Concerning Pope Adrian II and his alms. He also assembled a council at Constantinople and, after sending his legates, quieted the schism that had arisen between the Roman and Constantinopolitan churches, Ignatius having been restored and Fortinus [read: Photius] deposed. Folio 232.
- Concerning Pope John VIII, under whom Anastasius, chancellor of the Roman Church, flourished. He was most skilled in both languages, Greek and Latin, and translated the books of Dionysius from Greek into Latin. And concerning several decrees of Pope John himself. Folio 232 near the end.
- Concerning Pope Martin II, in whose time Rollo, duke of the Normans, received the faith together with the Normans. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Stephen V and two others who are not commonly placed in the catalogue of pontiffs. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Formosus, his expulsion and restoration to his see, and the great scandals that followed therefrom. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Boniface VI. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Stephen VI, who caused the body of Pope Formosus to be taken from the tomb and, in a council, after it had been clothed in pontifical garb, to be stripped, degraded, and cast into the Tiber. Folio 233.
- Concerning a pope named Romanus. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Theodore, who reconciled those ordained by Formosus. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope John IX, who assembled a council to confirm the ordinations of Formosus and caused the acts of the synod that Stephen had assembled for the condemnation of Formosus to be burned. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Benedict IV. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Leo V, who was imprisoned by his priest Christopher. Christopher intruded himself into the papacy and, after he had been cast out, was made a monk. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Sergius III, who rebuilt the Lateran church after it had been wholly destroyed. Some writers state that the ignominious things against Formosus were done through this Sergius, and add that, when Formosus's body had been found by fishermen and carried upon a bier into the church of Saint Peter, certain images of saints appeared to adore it. Folio 233.
- Concerning Anastasius III. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope Lando. Folio 233.
- Concerning Pope John X, in whose time the Saracens who entered Italy were defeated, and the Hungarians who entered Italy laid waste Tuscany. John himself was strangled. Folio 233 at the end.
- Concerning Pope Leo VI. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope Stephen VII. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope John XI, in whose time a fountain of blood flowed at Genoa, perhaps as a portent, because in that year the Saracens captured the city and despoiled it of its people and treasures. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope Leo VII. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope Stephen VIII, who was mutilated by the Romans. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope Martin III. Folio 234.
- Concerning Pope Agapitus II. Folio 234.
- Concerning John XII, a most wicked man, who became pope by entreaties, gifts, and threats. Reproved by the emperor for notorious unchastity, he fled from the city and was therefore deposed. But, returning to the city by violence, he sought the see again, and at last, while committing adultery, was killed by the devil. Folio 234.
- Concerning Leo VIII, whom the Romans rejected, electing a certain Benedict; but the emperor restored Leo to the see and banished Benedict. Folio 234.
- Concerning John XIII, who was imprisoned by the Romans but was freed by Otto, who severely punished those who had imprisoned him. Folio 234.
- Concerning Benedict VI, in whose time the nation of the Danes was converted. Benedict was captured and strangled. Folio 234.

- Concerning Pope Boniface VI; but according to some writers, Pope Donus is placed before him. While Boniface governed the Roman Church, the Romans made another man pope, called John XIV, who was imprisoned and killed by Boniface. Folio 234 at the end.
- Concerning Pope John XV, a learned man and one experienced in affairs, whom the emperor restored to the see after he had been expelled from the city. Folio 235.
- Concerning Pope Gregory V, whom the Romans cast out, electing another, namely John XVI. But the emperor, after blinding that man, restored Gregory. Folio 235.
- Concerning Pope Sylvester II, a magician and conjurer of demons, who was deceived by the devil in a prediction of the duration of his life, but repented at his death. Folio 235.
- Concerning Pope John XVIII and his successor John XIX, whom certain writers nevertheless do not include, but after Sylvester designate Sergius IV. Folio 235.
- Concerning Pope Benedict VIII. After he had been cast out, a certain man called John XX was made pope. Benedict, however, appeared in punishments after his death because of money wickedly received and asked for the aid of alms. Folio 235.
- Concerning John XX, in whose time the Hungarians, who were idolaters, were converted. Folio 235.
- Concerning Pope Benedict IX. After he had been cast out of the papacy, a certain Sylvester III was made antipope; Sylvester was deposed, and Benedict recovered the papacy. After his death Benedict appeared in the form of a monstrous beast because he had lived bestially. Folio 235 at the end.
- Concerning Gregory VI. Finding the ecclesiastical state greatly oppressed by the robberies of the Romans, he recovered the things taken away, using censures and arms; from this followed the killings of many. When he had fallen ill and the cardinals doubted whether to bury him after death in a church, Gregory, knowing this beforehand, assembled them and showed that he had done it from zeal for justice, which they would be able to perceive from a sign to be manifested at his burial. Folio 236.
- Concerning Pope Clement II, made through force. When he died shortly afterward, Damasus II succeeded him, himself also invading the Apostolic See, but dying within a month. And concerning Leo IX, who succeeded canonically. At his enthronement voices of angels were heard saying, "I think thoughts of peace." Proceeding with a zeal of charity, but not according to knowledge, to war with Teutons against the Normans who occupied Apulia, he was captured with his men, although otherwise he was a holy man. Folio 236.
- Concerning Pope Victor II, who celebrated a universal council at Florence and deposed many bishops because of fornication and simony. Folio 236.
- Concerning Pope Stephen IX, who died within a year and was buried at Florence. After him Benedict X intruded himself through violence; when Benedict yielded the papacy, Nicholas II, who was then bishop of Florence, was canonically appointed. Nicholas celebrated a council at Rome in which Berengar, renowned in holiness and knowledge, abjured his heresy concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist. Folio 237.
- Concerning Alexander II, bishop of Lucca, under whom a schism was made by the bishops of Lombardy, an antipope named Candalus having been appointed; the schism was removed through a council celebrated at Mantua. And concerning Countess Matilda making a donation of her lands to the Church. Folio 237.
- Concerning Gregory VII, his zeal, and his decrees against simoniacs; that, having been imprisoned by the son of the prefect, he was afterward freed; and that he excommunicated Emperor Henry and the bishop of Mainz because of a schism that they were undertaking, and absolved the emperor after he had humbled himself. Folio 237 at the end and the following folio.
- That the same Gregory again excommunicated the emperor because of rights of the Church usurped by him; and concerning the scandal that arose because of the decree against concubinaries. Folio 238.
- Concerning the schism procured by Henry against Gregory, in which a certain Clement was made antipope. On account of this the pope deposed the emperor and made another, namely Rudolf, who was killed by Henry's army. Folio 238.
- Concerning Henry besieging Rome, where Gregory was in the castle of Saint Angelo with the cardinals; Robert, duke of Apulia, freed Gregory. Folio 238.
- Concerning several decrees of Gregory himself on diverse matters in the Decretals. Folio 239.
- Concerning Pope Victor III, poisoned in the Blood of Christ, and the translated body of Saint Nicholas. Folio 239.
- Concerning Pope Urban II, who was made pope from a monk. Henry IV persecuted him, and Urban excommunicated him and also the king of Francia. And concerning a general council first celebrated at Piacenza and afterward at Clermont, where he also caused the Cross to be preached for the recovery of the Holy Land. Folio 239 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the decrees of this Urban II. Folio 240.

Chapter II

The second chapter concerns the emperors of the aforesaid period and begins, "After the history of the supreme [pontiffs]."

- First, that Louis I, son of Charlemagne, began to rule the empire in the year of the Lord 814. He had three sons: Lothair, Pippin, and Louis. He was very devout and diligent in divine worship. His sons rose against him and deposed him from the empire, but he was afterward restored. And concerning the great prodigies that then occurred. Folio 241.
- Concerning his firstborn son Lothair, who ruled as emperor after him and divided the kingdom of Francia with his brothers; the dukes of the Bohemians were baptized, and the king of England subjected his kingdom to the Roman Church by tribute. At last Emperor Lothair became a monk. Folio 242.
- Concerning Louis II, son of Lothair, who assumed the empire after his father had died; and Lothair, Louis's brother, committed adultery, because of which he was excommunicated; Basil ruled as emperor in Greece; and Charles, king of Francia, deprived his apostate son of his eyes. Folio 241.
- Concerning the marvels that occurred at that time, namely, thunderbolts, rains of blood, marvelous locusts consuming everything, the harshest cold, and assaults of demons. Folio 242.
- Concerning Charles II, called the Bald, who assumed the empire; the appearance of a comet; inundations of waters; many wars waged by the Franks; and John Scotus, who flourished at that time. Folio 242 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Charles III, son of Louis, called the Fat, ruling as emperor, while Basil ruled in Greece. At that time Hubald, skilled in many sciences, flourished. And concerning the body of blessed Martin carried to diverse places, with many miracles. Folio 243.
- Concerning the studies and virtuous acts of the king of England, and how he divided the time of the day: one third, namely eight hours, in reading, writing, and praying; a third in dispatching the affairs of the kingdom; and a third in the care of the body. And concerning his alms. Folio 243.
- Concerning Charles IV, son of Louis, ruling as emperor and crowned by Pope John. In his time the Normans devastated Gaul, and Hugh, son of King Lothair, who sought to reign, was deprived of his eyes and made a monk. Folio 243.
- Concerning the aforesaid King and Emperor Charles IV, seen in punishments with many of his blood relatives, and concerning the punishments of princes in the other life because of evil counsels. Folio 244.
- That the aforesaid Charles was rejected from the empire, and Arnulf, son of King Carloman and his cousin, was raised to the empire; and Gaul was gravely attacked by the Normans, by whom Archbishop Sinderold was martyred. At last the Normans themselves were conquered and became Christians. Folio 244 through the end.
- Concerning Louis IV, who succeeded his father Arnulf in the empire in the year of the Lord 903; Conrad succeeded Louis in the empire. In that time the Saracens, departing from Gaul, occupied Calabria, Apulia, Benevento, and the kingdom of the Romans, and most grievously oppressed Italy; and in the aforesaid Louis the empire in Francia came to an end. Folio 245.
- Concerning Henry I, ruling as emperor in the year of the Lord 920. In his time the Hungarians who were laying waste Francia were killed; the Africans who invaded Italy were defeated; Berengar usurped the kingdom of Italy; and concerning certain portents. Folio 245.
- Concerning Athelstan, king of England, his virtues, and a miracle against perjurers. Folio 245.

Chapter III

The third chapter concerns the three Ottos who ruled successively as emperors and begins with the first Otto.

- First, it contains that under this Otto I the empire was transferred from the Franks to the Germans in the year of the Lord 938, and it has continued until the present year, namely 1471. In his time a holy man, the prince of Bohemia, was killed by Boleslaus, because of which Otto waged war against him for fourteen years. Concerning the heresy of the Anthropomorphites; that in the East Constantine ruled as emperor with his son Romanus; and that Otto freed the king of Francia and obtained many victories. Folio 245 at the end and the following folio.
- That Otto I, emperor, subjected Lotharingia to himself; and concerning a horrible eclipse of the sun. Folio 246.
- Concerning Romanus II, emperor of the Greeks, and his capture, together with many provinces, by the prince of the Persians and Assyrians, who subjected many provinces of the Christians to themselves. Folio 246.
- That Henry, Otto's brother, rebelled against him and was besieged by him in the city of Merseburg; submitting himself to Otto, he sought pardon. The Hungarians entered Italy and received from Berengar, king of Italy, ten modii of coins for their return or departure. Edwy, a most wicked man, reigned in England. Folio 246 at the end.

- That Emperor Otto entered Italy, liberated it from the hands of tyrants, and was crowned at Rome. Pope John XII, being incorrigible because of his crimes, was deposed. Otto, coming again into Italy, punished those who had imprisoned Pope John—not the aforesaid John, but another. Folio 247.
- Concerning the justice observed by Emperor Otto. Entering Italy again, he caused all who had rebelled to be slaughtered at a banquet. He gave four castles to a certain widow whose husband he had caused to be killed on the false allegation of his wife; after the falsehood had been discovered, he caused his wife to be burned. Folio 247.
- Concerning Otto II, son of the first Otto, ruling as emperor. He sought to subject Apulia and Calabria, which belonged to the Greeks, to the Roman Empire, but was defeated. And concerning Saint Medericus. Folio 247 near the end.
- Concerning Otto III, son of the second Otto, ruling as emperor, and concerning Hugh, surnamed Capet, who performed many great deeds. This Otto III caused a certain magician and conjurer of demons named Gilbert to be consecrated pope as Sylvester. Otto himself at last perished by poison. Folio 248.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter concerns the emperors who were created through election, and first Henry II, duke of Saxony. Under him emperors began to be assumed not through hereditary succession as before, but through election. Seven persons take part in that election: three archbishops who are chancellors, namely the archbishop of Mainz, chancellor of Germany; the archbishop of Trier, chancellor of Gaul; and the archbishop of Cologne, chancellor of Italy; and also four secular princes, namely the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine. It begins, "After Otto."

- First, concerning these electors, by whom this Henry was elected. He and his wife preserved virginity. Under him the nation of the Hungarians was converted to the faith, and a comet appeared, which was followed by famine and universal pestilence. Folio 248 near the end.
- Concerning a certain great miracle against persons dancing in a sacred place; and concerning the common ordeal to which Henry compelled his wife, falsely suspecting her; and concerning the death of Henry himself. Folio 249.
- That the empire was vacant for two years, after which Conrad II was elected. The king of Bohemia wished to rebel against him but could not, and Poland was made tributary to the empire. Rebels in Lombardy were punished by Conrad. Folio 249.
- That Rudolf, king of Burgundy, bequeathed that kingdom to Henry II; and that a certain novel observance concerning certain illicit acts, upon the performance of which peace would follow, was suggested by the devil. Guido of Arezzo was illustrious in music. Folio 249.
- Concerning Emperor Henry III, whose wife, accused of adultery, proved her innocence through the duel of a certain man. Afterward she left her husband and entered the religious life, and her husband married another. On the feast of Pentecost a great quarrel and killing occurred between the members of the emperor's household and the servants of the prelates of the Church, as they contended over the more honorable place in the seating.
- Concerning the great anguish that this emperor experienced when he was ill because he had given a bishopric to a certain man in return for a silver pipe that the man had given him in childhood. Folio 249 at the end.
- That this Henry subjugated the unbelieving Vindelici and led them to the faith. And concerning Robert Guiscard and his virtues, and the body of Pallas found with a burning lamp that was, as it were, inextinguishable. Folio 250.
- Concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem after its second destruction. Folio 250.
- Concerning the Turks, whence they had their origin, and how they made a king for themselves. Folio 250 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter V

The fifth chapter concerns Emperor Henry IV, established after his father Henry III. He began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 1057. It begins, "Henry."

- First, concerning his prosperity in wars, in which he fought sixty-two times. Seduced by evil counsels, he inflicted many persecutions upon the Church and introduced a schism. Folio 251.
- Concerning William, duke of the Normans and son of Robert, who became king of England, and his virtues. Folio 251.
- That Emperor Henry was excommunicated by Gregory VII and deposed from the empire, another emperor having been appointed by the pope. Folio 251 at the end and the following folio.
- That Robert sought to capture Constantinople with a fleet; Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, resisted him through Duke Alexius, but Alexius afterward usurped the empire for himself. Folio 252.

- That Emperor Alexius, together with the Greeks, was defeated by Robert. Folio 252.
- Concerning Emperor Henry, who was again excommunicated by Pope Urban because of the investitures of churches; that he twice besieged Florence because it favored the rights of the Church; and concerning marvelous occurrences such as an earthquake, famine, and pestilence. Folio 252 near the end and the following folio.

Chapter VI

The sixth chapter concerns holy bishops and certain kings of England and begins, "Concerning Saint Dunstan."

- First, concerning his marvelous infancy and his morals, and his expulsion from the court of England. Folio 253.
- That, having become a religious, he was tempted but overcame the devil, and afterward became an abbot. Folio 253 through the end.
- That, when called to the episcopate, he refused, but afterward, having been admonished by God, consented. Folio 254.
- Concerning Edwy, king of England, who was deprived of the kingdom because of his crimes; his brother Edgar was made king, and Dunstan delivered the soul of the deceased Edwy from hell. Folio 254.
- That Dunstan, at the insistence of the king of England, who procured this from the pope, was translated from the bishopric of Winchester to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He sharply rebuked that king of England because the king had carnally known, against her will, a girl clothed in the habit of a holy nun. When the king sought pardon, Dunstan imposed upon him as penance that for seven years he should not wear the crown of the kingdom, should fast twice each week, should distribute his treasures to the poor, and should build a monastery of virgins, together with many other things. He humbly performed them all, and otherwise ruled very well. Folio 254.
- Concerning the virtues of the aforesaid King Edgar: that in every year of his reign he built a new monastery; that he compelled five kings assembled at his court to bind themselves to him by a perpetual oath; and that he had a vision concerning things that would occur in England. Folio 254.
- Concerning the constancy of Archbishop Dunstan. He excommunicated a certain earl who had married his own kinswoman and was unwilling to correct himself, and he would not absolve him at the entreaties either of the king or of the pope. He refused to celebrate on the feast of Pentecost unless three counterfeiters of money first had their hands cut off. During that Mass a dove was seen above him. When several magnates wished to retract his sentence against certain clerics whom he had deprived because of crimes, the upper chamber beneath their feet fell and crushed them. Folio 255.
- Concerning Dunstan's prophecy against the royal house; concerning Elfrida, who caused Edward, the son of Edgar, to be killed so that her own son might reign; and concerning Ethelred, an evil king of England who was consumed by lice. Folio 255.
- Concerning Dunstan's passing, his admonition to the people, and his miracles. Folio 255 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter VII

The seventh chapter concerns Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, and begins, "He flourished."

- First, concerning his noble lineage, his abstinence, and his solitude. He was made bishop of Winchester by a revelation of blessed Andrew the Apostle. Folio 256.
- Concerning his virtues and alms. Going to Rome, he suffered an injury on the journey with the utmost patience. Folio 256.
- Concerning his constancy, the persecution of the Danes, the siege of his city, and the slaughter of human beings, amid which he comforted the people; and concerning his martyrdom and miracles. Folio 256 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Ethelred, king of England, and a great intemperance of the air in drought and moisture. Folio 257 near the end.
- Concerning another king of England named Canute; also concerning Edward, king of England; and concerning a marvelous vision of a certain sorceress. Folio 258.
- Concerning certain martyrs, a little child who was martyred, Edmund the king and martyr, and certain holy women. Folio 258.
- Concerning certain marvels of that time: the revealed burning of a certain city, a certain man flying through the air with wings, a monstrous birth, and an appearing comet. Folio 258 at the end and the following folio.

Chapter VIII

The eighth chapter concerns Peter Damian, an Italian distinguished in life and learning, and begins, "In the year of the Lord."

- First, that he composed elegant sermons and certain little works; that he renounced the episcopate, and why; concerning the very harsh penance of a certain Dominicus, who said twelve Psalters within a day and a night while beating himself; concerning saints who renounced the episcopate; and concerning a bishop of Florence punished because of the game of chess. Folio 259.
- Concerning certain marvelous cases narrated by Peter. Folio 259.
- Concerning certain other examples against vices, namely against theft and against neglecting vows and promises. Folio 259 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning certain other examples of Peter himself. Folio 260.
- Terrifying examples against monks who eat meat, and concerning certain other matters. Folio 260.

Chapter IX

The ninth chapter concerns Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, and begins, "He flourished."

- First, concerning the tribulations and imprisonment that he endured. Folio 260 near the end.
- Concerning his sentences in verse. Folio 261.
- Concerning the seven acts of the soul, likewise in verse. Folio 261.
- Concerning his devout prayer to the Holy Trinity. Folio 261 near the end.
- Concerning his prayer to Christ, likewise, and concerning the conditions of the city above. Folio 262.

Chapter X

The tenth chapter concerns Lanfranc, prior of the monastery of Bec, and begins, "In the year of the Lord."

- First, that he was originally from Pavia and imbued with every secular science, and that through tribulations he became a monk. Folio 262.
- From being an abbot he became archbishop of Canterbury; when suspected of heresy, he cleared himself. Folio 262.
- Concerning certain deeds of his and how God helped him in a case unjustly brought against him. Folio 262 near the end.

Chapter XI

The eleventh chapter concerns Saint Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and begins, "Concerning the saint."

- First, how, when he proposed to leave the world, he was tempted by the devil lest he become a monk; and concerning a certain vision of his. Folio 262 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning certain notable deeds performed by him; how he conducted himself toward his rival; and how children are to be chastised moderately. Folio 263.
- Concerning the books published by him and the likeness of a sinner detained by the devil as a sparrow is detained by a boy. Folio 263.
- Concerning the misery of the human fall and his exhortation to consideration. Folio 263 at the end.
- Concerning the inquiry into the divine power, mercy, and justice of God. Folio 264.
- Concerning the inquiry into the goodness, truth, and eternity of God. Folio 264.
- Concerning the inquiry into the supreme good and full joy according to Anselm himself. Folio 264.
- Concerning a lamentation over the misery of the present life and the future judgment. Folio 264 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the invocation of the Son of God and the remembrance of the Passion. Folio 265.
- Concerning a lament over his own fall and future punishment. Folio 265.

Chapter XII

The twelfth chapter concerns Peter Alphonsi, converted from Judaism, who refutes the errors of the Jews through arguments. It begins, "Around the year of the Lord."

- First, concerning the cause of his conversion and the little book composed by him against the errors of the Jews. Folio 265 at the end and the following folio.
- Concerning the errors of the Jews about the simplicity of the Deity, which he refutes through arguments. Folio 266.

- Concerning their error that asserts that God is born and weeps for the Jews, and its refutation. Folio 266 near the end.
- That corporeal things are said of God topically [read: tropically] or figuratively. Folio 266 at the end and the following folio.
- That he proves by physical arguments that God exists and that God created the world in time. Folio 267.
- Concerning the error of the philosophers who say that prime matter has a soul, and concerning the manner of the creation of the planets, elements, animals, and plants. Folio 267.
- Concerning the fables, or rather follies, of the Jews from the book of the Talmud. Folio 267 at the end and the following folio.
- That the cause of the last captivity of the Jews was the Passion of Christ and the obstinacy of their unbelief; because modern Jews imitate that unbelief, they too are punished. They have not been wholly destroyed, so that they may bear witness to the truth of the faith. Folio 267.
- Concerning the final resurrection of the dead from the prophecy of Ezekiel, concerning which the Jews err. Folio 268.
- A refutation of their error by which they assert that those raised must assemble in the Promised Land for temporal uses. Folio 269.
- That the Jews transgress the law in manifold ways; concerning their many errors; and concerning the law of Mohammed, which is most wicked. Folio 269.

Chapter XIII

The thirteenth chapter concerns how Jerusalem was captured by the worshipers of Christ and wrested from the hands of the Turks. It begins, "In the year."

- First, that Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, captured it with his forces of Christians and was made king of Jerusalem. For three years previously the preparation of the faithful for its capture had been made. For accomplishing this, temporal lords, nobles and ignobles, bishops, monks, clerics, old men, young men, and children set out, coming from Spain, Provence, the Province, Aquitaine, Britain, Scotland, England, Normandy, Francia, Burgundy, Germany, Lombardy, Apulia, and other kingdoms, marked with the sign of the Cross. Their number was estimated at six million. Folio 269 near the end and the following folio.
- A certain Peter the Hermit also came with an army of forty thousand armed men collected from various nations. In their first battle, once and again, one part of them was defeated and killed by the Turks because of their stubbornness and lack of order. Folio 270.
- That discord occurred between the emperor of the Greeks and his men and Godfrey with the forces of the pilgrims, but at last they were reconciled. Folio 270.
- That the army of pilgrims was found to contain six hundred thousand foot soldiers and one hundred thousand mailed horsemen. Besieging Nicaea, a very populous city, they captured it, its Turkish lord having been defeated and put to flight. They then captured Tarsus, the metropolis of the province of Cilicia, expelled the Turks, subjected the whole adjacent region to themselves, and captured the city of Edessa. Folio 270 at the end and the following folio.
- After these cities they captured Antioch, expelling the Turks, and certain other cities. Folio 271.
- How Antioch was captured after a siege of nine months and found empty of people and provisions. In it they found so much gold, silver, and precious stones that those who had previously begged became wealthy. Folio 271 near the end and the following folio.
- That the emperor of the Greeks and his men maliciously signified to armies of the faithful who were coming to their aid that the forces of the Christians had been defeated and scattered, so that he might draw them back from pursuing their journey. Folio 271.
- That the faithful, after many labors, distresses, and a scarcity of provisions, were strengthened by God and, entering battle with the Turks, killed many, put the Turks to flight, and took from them great riches of gold, silver, and precious stones. Folio 272.
- That, when a pestilence came upon the Christian people, nearly fifty thousand failed from disease within a few days. The armies of the Christians set out; before they approached the holy city of Jerusalem, the Turks dwelling there expelled the faithful who were within it from the city after despoiling them. Folio 272.
- That they captured the city of Jerusalem in a very great battle joined with the Turks, strengthened by a sign from heaven. For upon the Mount of Olives a certain soldier, girded with shining arms, appeared to the army of the faithful, which was already weary and, as it were, yielding to the adversaries. The soldier, who afterward did not appear, gave them a sign and exhorted them to return and repeat the assault anew. Strengthened for this, they received victory within the space of one hour; Godfrey was the first to enter. Folio 272 at the end.
- That, when the city of Jerusalem had been captured, the people of the faithful visited the holy places with the greatest joy and pious tears. Godfrey was made king there; and concerning his holy morals and alms. Folio 273.

- That, while Godfrey reigned there, the prince of the Egyptians called the caliph sent a great army against him to drive him out, which Godfrey defeated, many having been killed. When Godfrey himself died, his brother Baldwin succeeded him in the kingdom; and concerning Baldwin's virtues. Folio 273.
- That the western princes sent many forces to aid the faithful who were fighting in the Holy Land. Emperor Alexius of Constantinople, envying the successes of the Latins, sought to draw them back from their journey by falsely reporting their defeat. And concerning the many victories that King Baldwin obtained against the unbelievers. Folio 273.

Chapter XIV

The fourteenth chapter concerns certain marvelous occurrences and begins, "Around the years."

- First, concerning a certain dead man who appeared to a companion and showed the immensity of the punishments of hell that he suffered in the other life because of the negligence in preaching and in the care of souls that he had exercised. Folio 274.
- Concerning a certain woman who killed her son-in-law because suspicion concerning him had arisen against her. The priest who heard the confession of the penitent woman and revealed it was the cause of her capture and condemnation to the fire; but she was miraculously delivered. Folio 274 near the end.
- Concerning a certain disease of fire that consumed human flesh, from which certain persons died. Folio 275.
- Concerning a certain eleven-year-old boy, a keeper of sheep, who was afflicted with the aforesaid fiery disease; concerning the marvelous vision that he had and his knowledge of the whole of history from the beginning of the world; and that he recited the text of the Gospel rhythmically, as if he were reading in a book. Folio 275.

Title XVII

The seventeenth title contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors through one hundred years or thereabouts: namely, from Urban II exclusively, who died around the year of the Lord 1110, until Innocent III, who lived around the year 1200. Within this period there were sixteen supreme pontiffs, several schismatics, and five emperors. The histories of certain saints of that time are also contained, as are the wars waged in the Holy Land.

Chapter I

The first chapter concerns the supreme pontiffs and begins, "Urban II."

- First, it treats Paschal II and the schism in which three antipopes were successively created. This Paschal celebrated a general council at Florence. And concerning Henry's persecution against the Church because of the investitures of prelates. Folio 275.
- That, after the pope had been imprisoned and compelled to concede the investitures of prelates to the emperor, he annulled the concession when he had been freed; and concerning the emperor's undue coronation. Folio 275 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Gelasius II, who was imprisoned with many others and, fleeing to Gaeta, was crowned, a certain antipope having been made at Rome. Folio 276.
- Concerning Pope Calixtus II and the antipope Burdinus. Folio 276.
- Concerning the decrees of Calixtus. Folio 276 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning miracles of blessed James the Apostle, about which Calixtus composed a little book. Folio 277.
- Concerning Pope Honorius II, the illumination of a certain blind man, and an illusion of the devil who appeared in the form of someone having three heads under the appearance of the Trinity. Folio 277.
- Concerning the beginning of the order of the Templar soldiery and miracles performed when relics were brought forth. Folio 277 near the end and the following folio.
- Concerning Pope Innocent II and the schism that occurred through Peter Leonis, the antipope called Anacletus. Folio 278.
- Concerning blessed Bernard showing through miracles the justice of Innocent, and concerning the decrees of Innocent himself. Folio 278.
- Concerning Pope Celestine II and Peter Abelard, a heretic convicted by blessed Bernard. Folio 279 at the beginning.
- Concerning Pope Lucius II, Saint Hildegard, and a vision of hell and paradise received by a certain man. Folio 279.
- Concerning Pope Eugene III, abbot of Saint Anastasius outside Rome, who was elected pope and, when harassed by the Romans, went into Gaul, where he celebrated a council at Reims. And concerning Gilbert of Poitiers, who was convicted as a heretic by blessed Bernard. Folio 279 at the end and the following folio.

- Concerning Pope Anastasius; and concerning Saint Peter, bishop of Tarentaise, and his virtues, especially the manifestation of a certain malicious deed. Folio 280.
- Concerning Pope Adrian and his sayings that declare the misery of the papacy. He excommunicated the king of Sicily. In his time three suns appeared in the western region. Folio 280 through the end.
- Concerning Pope Alexander III and four other antipopes successively created in the schism; the canonization of blessed Bernard; and Saint Thomas of Canterbury setting forth arguments for the right of the Church before the pope. Folio 281 at the beginning.
- Concerning the arguments that Thomas assigns against the customs existing in England contrary to the liberty of the Church, because of which the king persecuted him; and concerning the Venetians, in defense of Alexander, defeating Emperor Frederick in a naval battle. Folio 281.
- Concerning Lucius III, miracles involving the sacrament of the Body of Christ, and Saint Alpais. Folio 281 at the end.
- Concerning Urban III, Abbot Joachim, and his teaching; he prophesied concerning the mendicant orders. Folio 282.
- Concerning Gregory VIII urging the princes to aid the Holy Land; and concerning blessed Peter, abbot of Clairvaux, and his virtues. Folio 282.
- Concerning Clement III, Hugh the Cistercian abbot, and examples concerning confession. Folio 283.
- Concerning Pope Celestine III. Folio 283.

Chapter II

The second chapter concerns Saint Malachy, archbishop, whose life blessed Bernard describes, and begins, "In the time."

- First, a certain proem of Bernard and the legend of Malachy himself. Folio 283.
- Concerning his origin, because he was from Ireland; his ordination as a priest; and his deceased brother's liberation from punishments. Folio 283 near the end.
- Concerning his solicitude in the prelacy and for his native land. Folio 284.
- Concerning his elevation to the archiepiscopate and the intrusion of Maurice into that episcopate against him for five years. Folio 284.
- That Malachy, metropolitan of Ireland, traveled through the regions teaching the peoples. The intruder died miserably. Malachy, possessing the archiepiscopal dignity, went to Rome seeking permission to resign it. Folio 284 through the end.
- Concerning his holy manner of life and preaching. Folio 285.
- Concerning his miracles, and especially the raising of a dead man. Folio 285.
- That he knew the hidden sin of a deacon. Folio 285.
- That he foretold his own death and, returning from the Curia, fell ill in the monastery of Clairvaux and departed to the Lord. Folio 285.

Chapter III

The third chapter concerns Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and begins, "The saint."

- First, how he was made archbishop of Canterbury and concerning his holiness; and that, when the king of England asked him to observe the customs of that church which were evil, that is, contrary to the liberty of the Church, he consented on the advice of others in order to avoid scandal, but, repenting, revoked his consent. Folio 285 at the end and the following folio.
- That the king of England persecuted him on account of this; he endured exile with his companions for seven years and was at last crowned with martyrdom. Folio 286.
- Concerning his miracles after death. Folio 286.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter concerns the vision of Tundal concerning hell and paradise and begins, "He relates."

- First, concerning his lineage and condition; good and evil angels appeared to him. Folio 286.
- Concerning the very narrow bridge over which he had to pass and the diverse vices punished in the hell that he saw. Folio 287.
- Concerning the places of glory that he saw. Folio 287.

- A clarification of certain doubts concerning the said vision. Folio 287.

Chapter V

The fifth chapter concerns Saint Bernard and begins, "Blessed."

- First, concerning his origin and parents. While still a layman, on the night of the Nativity he saw a vision of the child Jesus as though then being born from the Virgin; and concerning his temptations in the world. Folio 287.
- Concerning his entrance into the Cistercian religious life. Folio 287.
- That he became an abbot, and concerning his perfection and mortification of the senses. Folio 288.
- Concerning his admonitions and patience in losses, insults, and beatings, and his sister converted by him. Folio 288.
- Concerning his temptation by despair and vainglory, and the rapture of his mind. Folio 288.
- Concerning several notable deeds performed by him. Folio 288.
- Concerning his illness and a rustic servant providing for him. Folio 289.
- Concerning his affliction and infirmity of the stomach. Folio 289.
- Concerning his many miracles, because of which his brother, a religious, rebuked him. Folio 289 near the end and the following folio.
- That blessed Bernard labored greatly by traveling about for the removal of the schism in the time of Innocent II; that the determination and declaration of which man was the true pope was committed to Bernard by the bishops, the king of Apulia, and the king of England; that he recalled the emperor from the schism and rebuked him when he sought the rights of the Church. Folio 290.
- Bernard disputed before the king of Apulia, showing that Innocent was the true pope; Peter of Pisa, who disputed on behalf of the antipope, assented to Bernard's statements. Folio 290 around the end and the following folio.
- Concerning certain notable deeds performed by him, especially that he caused 160 monasteries of his order to be constructed. Folio 291.

Chapter VI

The sixth chapter concerns the emperors and begins, "Now concerning the emperors."

- First, concerning Emperor Henry V, who captured his father, deprived him of the empire, and imprisoned the pope. Folio 291.
- That he returned from Germany into Italy to persecute the pope; his address to the Romans and the response of the Church to Henry. Folio 291 near the end and the following folio.
- War was waged by the Latins against the Greeks in the Holy Land; Tripoli and the city of Sidon were captured by the Christians; the Turks defeated the Christians and were afterward defeated by them; and Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, died. Folio 292.
- Concerning marvels of that time, namely earthquakes, a rain of blood, an opening of the earth, lightning, whirlwinds, fires, and fiery battle-lines appearing in the sky. Folio 292.
- Under Baldwin II, Alexius, emperor of the Greeks and persecutor of the Latins, died. The unbelievers defeated the worshipers of Christ and killed many. Folio 292.
- King Baldwin was captured and imprisoned. Folio 293.
- That a prince of the Egyptians, coming against the worshipers of Christ, was defeated by them, many having been killed. Folio 293.
- That the duke of the Venetians, proceeding into Syria with a fleet, destroyed an innumerable multitude of unbelievers, captured ten ships laden with the riches of the East, and captured the most noble city of Tyre. King Baldwin was freed from prison, and the Turks were defeated. Folio 293.
- A certain false hermit pretended that he was Emperor Henry, but was discovered. Folio 293.

Chapter VII

The seventh chapter concerns Emperor Lothair and begins, "When he had died."

- First, that the emperor, after he had been elected, proceeded against the rebellious Bohemians and, through treachery, suffered a great slaughter of his men. After restoring Pope Innocent to the city, he died at Verona. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, also died. Folio 293 at the end.

- Fulk became the fourth king of Jerusalem. He made provision for Antioch, which lacked a lord, and caused a great slaughter of the Turks. Folio 294.
- That Sanguin, prince of the unbelievers, defeated the Christians; that the emperor of Constantinople besieged Antioch but could not obtain it; and that, when the king of England died, great dissension followed in that kingdom. Folio 294 near the end and the following folio.

Chapter VIII

The eighth chapter concerns Emperor Conrad and begins, "After Lothair."

- First, Henry, duke of Bavaria, rebelled against him but was reduced to nothing; and Roger the Sicilian, often repulsed, at last became king of Sicily. Innocent II, proceeding against Roger with forces, was captured by him and reconciled to him. And concerning whence they were called Guelphs. Folio 295.
- That the emperor of Constantinople, proceeding into Syria with forces, died by his own arrow; Baldwin III became king of Jerusalem; and Edessa was captured by the Turks. Folio 295.
- That Eugene III caused the Cross to be preached against the unbelievers by Bernard and others. Emperor Conrad and Louis, king of Francia, taking the Cross, proceeded into Syria; the Greeks deceitfully led them by a bad road, whence the army of the faithful was laid low. Folio 295.
- Concerning the victory of the Franks against the unbelievers. They were afterward defeated through lack of caution, so that the king of Francia scarcely escaped. Folio 296 through the end.
- That the emperor, the king of Francia, and the king of Jerusalem began a war against Damascus, in which certain of the faithful gave treacherous counsel; making no progress, they returned to their own lands. Folio 297.
- That Noradinus [i.e., Nur ad-Din], prince of the unbelievers, proceeded against the worshipers of Christ with an infinite multitude and defeated them, many having been killed. The king of Jerusalem defeated the Turks who came against him. Louis, king of Francia, was captured by the Greeks but was freed; and Emperor Conrad died. Folio 297.

Chapter IX

The ninth chapter concerns Emperor Frederick I and begins, "After the death."

- First, it is said that he descended into Italy with a great multitude and was crowned by Pope Adrian. Thereupon grave enmities arose between Adrian and William, king of Sicily, and Adrian excommunicated William. After a siege of seven years Frederick destroyed Milan, reducing it to the ground; he then translated the bodies of the Magi to Cologne and initiated war against Pope Alexander. Folio 297 at the end and the following folio.
- That Baldwin became the fifth king of Jerusalem; Nur ad-Din, prince of the unbelievers, captured Damascus; and Ascalon was recovered by the Christians. Folio 298.
- Concerning the rashness of the brothers of Saint John of Jerusalem, who quarreled with the patriarch of Jerusalem; and whence the said house of Saint John had its beginning. Folio 298.
- Reynald, prince of Antioch, captured the island of Cyprus; Baldwin, the fifth king of Jerusalem, defeated the unbelievers and afterward perished by poison; and Reynald was captured. Folio 298 near the end and the following folio.
- Amalric became the sixth king of Jerusalem, and the sultan of the unbelievers was defeated and killed. Folio 299.
- Nur ad-Din was defeated together with the Turks, but afterward he defeated and killed the Christians. Folio 299.
- Alexandria was besieged, and the emperor of the Greeks sought to obtain Egypt. Folio 299.
- That the king of Jerusalem freed Cairo, a city of the unbelievers, from a siege after receiving money. Shiracon killed the sultan, and Saladin killed the caliph and made himself lord of Egypt. Folio 300.
- That the emperor of the Greeks crossed into Syria, and there was an earthquake in the eastern regions such as is never read to have occurred; among other cities, it utterly laid Antioch low. Folio 300.
- That the king of Jerusalem went to Constantinople for aid; and concerning a certain nation in Syria called the Assassins, who, when they sought to come to the faith, were prevented by the brothers of the Templar soldiery, their messenger having been killed. Folio 300 near the end and the following folio.
- That Philip was crowned king of Francia and attacked tyrants who oppressed churches; and that, when the Jews in Francia perpetrated enormities against the faithful, they were compelled either to receive baptism or to leave the kingdom after relinquishing their goods. Folio 301.

- That, after Manuel, emperor of the Greeks and friend of the Christians, had died, Andronicus usurped the empire for himself and killed as many Latins as he could, certain of them escaping by galleys. Folio 301 through the end.
- That Baldwin IV, the seventh king of Jerusalem, became a leper; proceeding against the unbelievers, he defeated them. Folio 302 at the beginning.
- That the king of Jerusalem defeated the forces of Saladin but was afterward defeated; and concerning the Maronite heretics converted to the faith. Folio 302.
- Saladin, prince of the unbelievers, after subjecting Mesopotamia to himself, captured the city of Aleppo. The princes of the Christians set out against him, but because dissension arose among them they accomplished little or nothing. Concerning the death of Baldwin, the seventh king of Jerusalem. Folio 302.
- Concerning the wars between the king of Francia and the king of England; and that Emperor Frederick set his son Henry over Italy. Folio 302 at the end and the following folio.
- Saladin, having assembled an infinite multitude of Turks and Saracens, proceeded against the worshipers of Christ, who were defeated by them. In that conflict the bishop of Acre, who carried the Lord's Cross in battle, was gravely wounded. When another man had taken it, he was captured with it, very many having been killed and captured. Folio 303.
- Saladin captured the city of Acre and then Jerusalem in the year 1187. After entering, the Saracens did many shameful things in the churches, but the Turks displayed marvelous veneration toward the Temple of the Lord. Folio 303.
- That the faithful departed from Jerusalem, while Syrians, Maronites, Armenians, and Georgians remained there under tribute. Thereafter the unbelievers captured Ascalon, and Pope Urban III died from grief over this loss. Folio 303 near the end and the following folio.
- The kings of Francia and England, after making peace, prepared themselves for the recovery of the Holy Land, taking the Cross with many others. Emperor Frederick also took the Cross, and Tancred became king of Sicily. The aforesaid emperor and kings therefore undertook the journey to liberate the holy city with many people from diverse nations, especially from Italy with ships and galleys. Among them the Pisans, with a furnished fleet, set out almost first with their archbishop. But when great discord arose between the kings of Francia and England, the work of the journey was delayed. Folio 304.
- Guy, king of Jerusalem, proceeded to battle against Saladin and his men. Although at the beginning they resisted manfully, they were at last defeated and killed by the Saracens. Folio 304.
- Frederick, emperor of the Romans, proceeding against the Saracens in battle, wrought an unheard-of slaughter upon them. After the victory, when on a certain day he was burning with the force of the heat and had gone down to a certain river for the sake of bathing, he was drowned in it, to the irreparable loss of all Christendom. The Germans in those regions were very disorderly in food; finding an abundance of provisions and of all things, while they poured themselves out in feasts they incurred a pestilence through intemperance, so that few remained. Folio 304 near the end.
- That Guy contended with certain persons concerning the kingdom of Jerusalem, asserting that he had been justly and solemnly anointed at Jerusalem and crowned king, and that he ought not to be deposed from the throne of the kingdom. At last he remained king. Folio 305.
- Philip, king of the Franks, desiring to hasten to the aid of the Holy Land, entrusted custody of the kingdom to his mother and to the archbishop of Reims, his maternal uncle, and piously ordained many things to be done during his absence. He undertook the journey and entered the sea; the king of England followed him. While these kings were at the siege of Acre, there was an eclipse of the sun; after a long siege they captured the city. Folio 305.
- When the princes of the Christians deliberated among themselves whether it would be more useful to proceed against Egypt or to recover the city of Jerusalem—to which opinion the greater part assented—the enemy of the human race impeded the undertaking. For he renewed the former discords between the kings of the Franks and English. Because of this, holding one another in suspicion, they returned to their own lands. Folio 305.
- When the city of Acre was captured by the Christians, one of the sultan's admirals, a man of great prudence, counsel, and cunning, was captured among the Saracens. When asked how and by what device the kingdom of Jerusalem might be obtained with less difficulty and preserved in peace, he replied that it was expedient to capture Egypt and, in order to accomplish this, to impede the ships that carry goods to Quadrum and Babylon. Folio 306.
- Before Frederick I set out into Syria, he passed through Florence. Because the Florentines, who held with the Church, did not favor him, he took from them the county as far as the walls. At that time a fire was kindled in Florence which, aided by the wind, burned several buildings; the Old Bridge collapsed because of an inundation of waters. And concerning the civil wars and those waged with their neighbors. Folio 306.
- After Frederick had died, his son Henry VI was created emperor. Having been crowned, he gave the Romans permission and power to destroy Tusculanella utterly. Henry himself entered Apulia in order to subject it to himself but, when a pestilence arose,

was compelled to withdraw. At the instigation of the devil, a great war began between the king of Francia and the king of England. Emperor Henry took the kingdom of Sicily by force. Folio 306.

- That Philip, king of the Franks, expelled the Jews from his kingdom because of the reproaches that they committed to the dishonor of the Christian religion, whence many were burned. Folio 307.
- Concerning seven thousand Contarelli who were killed; the dissension that arose between the king of Aragon and the count of Saint-Gilles; the dissension made between the king of the Franks and the count of Flanders; and a certain dead man raised to life. Folio 307.
- Concerning the divorce made between the king of Francia and his wife, and the wars between the king of Francia and the king of England. Folio 307.
- Concerning the efficacious preaching of certain persons, whence great goods followed, and concerning certain marvels. Folio 308.
- King Philip brought the Jews back to Paris and grievously persecuted the churches of God, because of which he suffered great losses in war. A certain cardinal legate, in a certain case, notwithstanding the appeal of the king, to whom he did not defer, after some days commanded that the sentence of excommunication already rendered be published and placed an interdict upon the whole kingdom. Angered by this, the king cast bishops and clerics out of his land and confiscated their goods. He made peace, however, with the king of the English. Folio 308.
- Two cardinal legates were sent into Francia to the king to judge concerning the divorce that had been made, since the king, after dismissing his first wife, had married another. When many and various disputations were held concerning this, the king took Ingeborg, his first wife, with him and departed without greeting the prelates. While King Philip was waging war with the English king, a legate sent by the pope commanded them to make peace, with the justice of each being preserved, and to restore destroyed abbeys and churches to their former state. The king of Francia appealed from his sentence, and the king of Aragon offered his kingdom to the pope. Folio 308.
- Emperor Henry, after he had caused his son Frederick to be elected king of Germany, returned with him to the kingdom of Sicily, where at Messina he closed his final day; his wife, the Empress Constance, remained. Folio 309.

The end. Praise be to God.

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Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter I

The reign of Constantine

Constantine, therefore, when his father Constantius had died, began to reign in the year of the Lord 309; from the beginning of the world, however, in the year 4,272 according to the lesser computation, but according to the greater computation in the year 5,508. He reigned for 31 years from the death of his father. For he reigned in Gaul for seven years before he cast Maxentius down from the imperial power.

Constantine, moreover, as Jacobus *de col.* relates, was during the first period of his reign comparable to the best princes. For there were in him innumerable gifts and virtues of mind and body. He was exceedingly desirous of military glory; his fortune in wars was always prosperous, yet in such a way that it did not surpass his industry. He was devoted to civil arts and liberal studies and, besides this, was a seeker after a righteous love, which he sought for himself both by liberality and by affability. And just as he was doubtful in the case of some friends, so in the case of the rest he was excellent, omitting no opportunity by which he might render them wealthier and more illustrious.

Therefore, while Constantine, beloved by all and formidable, was ruling in Gaul, the Roman senate and people, being unable to endure any longer the impiety and crimes of Maxentius, summoned Constantine by messengers so that, mindful of his father, he might come to the aid of the Roman commonwealth and rescue his citizens from the power of so monstrous a beast. Great in spirit, striving to accomplish everything he had resolved in his mind, and at the same time aspiring to the principate of the whole world, he determined to undertake this civil war against Maxentius together with his colleague Licinius, who was then ruling in the regions of Spain. In this encounter, when the sign of the cross had been shown to him, by which he would conquer Maxentius, he defeated [Maxentius] together with his army; Maxentius was drowned in the river at the Milvian Bridge, as was said above.

When Constantine entered the city, he was received by everyone with great glory, and an arch was erected for him. And although he was still an idolater and not yet regenerated in Christ through baptism, after affairs in the city had been settled with Licinius, they together decreed a law in which they extolled the God of the Christians with the fullest praises. They judged him to be the author of all virtue and of the whole undertaking, and [judged] that he had granted the victory over the tyrant Maxentius; and therefore they held that veneration and worship ought to be rendered to him by everyone.

Then, as was said above, Maximinus, who ruled in the East, came against Licinius and was defeated and overcome by Licinius. After Constantine's conversion and baptism, however, Licinius, moved by the passion of envy against Constantine, went to war against him. Licinius was defeated several times and was at last captured and beheaded. Licinius having been cast down, and every remembrance of tyrannical dominion having been removed, Constantine alone obtained firm possession of the Roman realm. He had three sons: Constantius, Constans, and Constantine. He also had a daughter named Constantia.

At that time, indeed, the condition of the commonwealth was maintained with even moderation and with discipline most worthy of the Roman name. It has been recorded with what great devotion on the part of the religious emperor the glory of the churches increased beyond belief, and how great his care was even for the maintenance of the needy. The goodness and tranquillity of present circumstances prevailed to such an extent that they produced forgetfulness of former evils. For by frequent edicts posted in every place, he had not only driven away the tyrannical laws against the Christians, but had also bestowed many privileges upon the churches and the highest honors upon the priests, being greatly beloved by God and men. And the more humbly he subjected himself to God, the more fully God subjected all things to his wishes.

Thus, trusting in divine aid, he attacked the Sarmatians and Goths, barbarian peoples, and with marvelous valor subdued them after they had been conquered in many battles. He then crushed unto destruction, in a single battle, the tyrant Calaterus, who was attempting revolution in Cyprus. Moreover, by divine power he also restrained the Scythians, Gallicanus, a most valiant man, being the commander of his army. For this most savage nation, pouring itself into Roman soil, had invaded with slaughter, plunder, and fire not only the provinces of the Romans but had also besieged the Roman army after it had been driven back, together with Gallicanus, who was then a gentile. But at the urging of Saints John and Paul, who were with him, he made a vow that he would become a Christian if he returned victorious to the emperor with his army unharmed. So great a change suddenly occurred that the barbarians, who excelled both in valor and in number and were superior in the battle, contrary to everyone's expectation subjected themselves and their possessions to Gallicanus, while an angel who had appeared accompanied him. Returning with victory, he received baptism with the greatest devotion.

§ I. Gelasius on the deeds of Blessed Sylvester

Fol. Ir–Iv (PDF pp. 25–26)

Pope Gelasius speaks as follows concerning the deeds of Pope Sylvester, in Distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*: “Although we do not know the name of the person who wrote the *Acts of Blessed Sylvester, Prelate of the Apostolic See*, we nevertheless know that it is read by many in the city of Rome, and many churches imitate this in accordance with ancient usage.”

Sylvester was born of a mother who was Justa both in fact and in name. He was instructed by the priest Cirinus and practiced hospitality with the greatest diligence. A certain Christian named Timothy, who was being avoided by others because of the persecution, was received by him as a guest. After a year, Timothy obtained the crown of martyrdom while he was preaching the faith of Christ with the greatest constancy. The prefect Tarquinus, thinking that Timothy had abounded in great riches, demanded them from Sylvester, threatening him with death. But when he discovered that Timothy had not in fact possessed riches of this kind, he ordered Sylvester to sacrifice to the idols; otherwise, on the next day, he would undergo various kinds of torments.

Sylvester said to him: “Fool, this night you will die and receive everlasting torments; whether you wish it or not, you will recognize that the God whom we worship is the true God.” Sylvester was therefore handed over to prison, while Tarquinus was invited to a meal. As he was eating, a fish bone became so lodged in his throat that by no means could he cast it out or swallow it. Thus, having died at midnight, he was carried to the tomb with mourning, while Sylvester was released from prison with rejoicing. Sylvester was loved with marvelous affection not only by Christians but also by pagans. For he was angelic in appearance, polished in speech, whole in body, holy in deed, great in counsel, catholic in faith, most patient in hope, and abounding in charity.

Therefore, when Melchiades, bishop of the city of Rome, had died, Sylvester—resisting exceedingly—was elected supreme pontiff by all the people. He had the names of all orphans, widows, and poor persons written in a register and provided necessities for them all. He established that the fourth and sixth days and the Sabbath were to be observed with fasts, but that the fifth day was to be celebrated as though it were the Lord's Day.

When the Greek Christians said that the Sabbath ought rather to be observed on the fifth day, he replied that this ought not to be done, both because this was a matter of apostolic tradition and because [the Sabbath] was due to the Lord's burial. The Greeks, however, said that there was one Sabbath of the burial, on which a fast was to be observed once in the year. Sylvester said to them: “Just as every Lord's Day is adorned with the glory of the resurrection, so every Sabbath is adorned with the Lord's burial.” They therefore acquiesced concerning the Sabbath, but contended vehemently concerning the fifth day, asserting that it ought not to be associated with Christian solemnities.

Sylvester chiefly demonstrated its dignity in three things: because on this day the Lord ascended into heaven; he instituted the sacrament of his body and blood; and the Church consecrates the sacred chrism. Everyone therefore acquiesced in his arguments.

§ II. Constantine's leprosy, vision, and baptism

Fol. Iv–IIr (PDF pp. 26–27)

While Constantine was persecuting the Christians—or rather, while his officials were doing so—Sylvester departed from the city and remained with his clerics upon a certain mountain. Constantine himself, however, fell under the incurable affliction of leprosy. At length, on the advice of the priests of the idols, 3,000 boys were brought together so that he might have them killed and bathe himself in their fresh and warm blood.

As he was going out to the place where the bath was to be prepared, the mothers of the boys came to meet him, wailing pitiably with their hair let down. Constantine wept, ordered the chariot to stop, raised himself up, and said: “Hear me, companions, fellow soldiers, and all you people who stand here. The dignity of the Roman Empire is born from the fountain of piety, which also gave this law: that whoever killed an infant in war should be subjected to a capital sentence. How great, therefore, will be the cruelty if we do to our own sons what we forbid to be done to those of others? What profit is it to have overcome barbarians if we are overcome by cruelty? For to have overcome foreign nations is the valor of peoples who wage war, but to overcome vices and sins is moral virtue. In those battles, therefore, we proved stronger than they; in these, however, we are stronger than our own selves.

“For whoever has been overcome in this contest obtains victory in being overcome. For the victor is conquered after his triumph if piety is overcome by impiety. Therefore let piety conquer in this encounter. For we shall indeed be able to be victors over all adversaries if we are conquered by piety alone. He proves himself to be lord of all who has shown himself to be the servant of piety. It is therefore better to die while the lives of the innocent remain safe than to recover a cruel life through their destruction. Yet it is uncertain whether that life would be recovered, while it is certain that a life recovered in this manner is cruel.”

He therefore ordered that the boys be returned to their mothers and that very many gifts and innumerable vehicles be provided to them, so that those who had come weeping into a foreign country might return with joy to their own places. The emperor himself then returned to his palace.

On the following night, Peter and Paul appeared to him, saying: “Because you recoiled from the shedding of innocent blood, the Lord Jesus Christ has sent us to give you counsel for the recovery of your health. Therefore summon Bishop Sylvester, who lies hidden near Mount Siraptus. He will show you a pool in which, when you have been immersed three times, you will be cured of every affliction of leprosy. You, in turn, are to make this return to Christ: destroy the temples of the idols, restore the churches of Christ, and henceforth become his worshiper.”

Constantine awoke and immediately sent soldiers to Sylvester. When Sylvester saw the soldiers, he believed that he was being summoned to the palm of martyrdom. Commending himself to God and exhorting his companions to come with him, he was presented fearlessly before Constantine. Constantine rose to meet him and said, “Let us rejoice that you have come well.” After Sylvester had returned his greeting, Constantine related to him in order the vision of his dream.

When Constantine asked who the gods were who had appeared to him, Sylvester answered that they were apostles of Christ and not gods. Then, at the emperor's request, Sylvester ordered images of the apostles to be brought to him. As soon as the emperor saw them, he exclaimed that these were the ones who had appeared to him. Sylvester therefore made him a catechumen, imposed upon him a fast of one week, and directed that the prisons be opened. When Constantine descended into the water of baptism, a marvelous splendor of light flashed forth for him. Thus he emerged from it clean and asserted that he had seen Christ.

On the first day after his baptism, he issued this law: that Christ should be worshiped by the city of Rome as the true God. The second: that anyone who blasphemed Christ should be punished. The third: that whoever did an injury to a Christian should be deprived of half of his goods. The fourth: that just as the emperor was the head at Rome, so the Roman pontiff should be regarded as the head by all the bishops. The fifth: that whoever fled for refuge into a church should be kept immune from everyone. The sixth: that no one should build a church within the walls of any city except with the permission of his bishop. The seventh: that the tithes of the royal possessions should be granted for the building of churches.

The emperor then came to the church of Saint Peter and sorrowfully accused himself of his offenses. Afterward, taking up a two-pronged mattock, he was the first to break ground for the foundation of the basilica that was to be built, and he carried twelve baskets of earth outside upon his own shoulders.

§ III. Helena and the disputation with the twelve Jewish teachers

Fol. IIr–IIIr (PDF pp. 27–29)

When Helena, mother of Constantine Augustus, residing in Bethany, heard these things, she praised her son by letter because he had renounced the images of the idols, but harshly reproached him because, having abandoned the God of the Jews, he worshiped a crucified man as God. Augustus wrote back to his mother that she should bring the teachers of the Jews with her, while he would bring forward the teachers of the Christians, so that the true faith might thus become apparent from their mutual disputation.

Saint Helena therefore brought 141 most learned teachers of the Jews. Among them were twelve who shone above the others in wisdom and eloquence. When Sylvester with his clerics and the aforesaid Jews had assembled together to dispute before the emperor, by common consent they appointed two most wise and approved gentile judges, named Craton and Cenophilus [i.e., Zenophilus], to whom the judgment concerning the things said would belong. This rule was established among them: while one person was standing and putting his question, the other was not to speak.

The first of those twelve, named Abiathar, therefore began and said: “Since these men speak of three gods—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—it is manifest that they act against the Law, which says, ‘See that I am alone, and let there be no other God besides me.’ Finally, if they say that Christ is God because he performed many signs, in our Law also there were many who performed very many miracles and who nevertheless never dared on that account to claim the name of divinity for themselves, as did that Jesus whom these men adore.”

To this Sylvester replied: “We worship one God, but we do not say that he exists in such solitude that he possesses no joy of a Son. Moreover, from your own books we are able to proclaim to you the Trinity of persons. For we speak of the Father, concerning whom the prophet says, ‘He shall call upon me: You are my Father.’ We speak of the Son, concerning whom the same prophet says, ‘You are my Son,’ and so forth. We speak of the Holy Spirit, concerning whom the same prophet says, ‘By the spirit of his mouth is all their power.’ And that which he also said—‘Let us make man according to our image and likeness’—plainly demonstrates both the plurality of persons and the unity of divinity. Although there are three persons, nevertheless there is one God, which we can demonstrate to some extent by a visible example.”

He took the emperor's purple cloth and made three folds in it, saying: “Behold, you see three folds.” Unfolding it, he said: “Behold, although there are three folds, there is one cloth; so the three persons are one God.”

“Concerning what was said—that one ought not to believe someone to be God on account of miracles, since many saints performed miracles but did not call themselves gods, whereas our Christ wished by this means to assert that he was God—certainly God never allowed those who exalted themselves against him to pass without the most bitter punishment, as is apparent in Dathan and Abiron and in very many others. How, therefore, could he have lied and called himself what he was not, when no punishment followed him for calling himself God, but the effective power of mighty works accompanied him?”

Then the judges said: “It is evident that Abiathar has been overcome by Sylvester. For an argument of this kind also teaches that, if he were not God and had called himself God, he would not have been able to confer life upon the dead.”

When he had been removed, the second, who was also called Jonas, approached the contest and said: “Abraham was justified when he received circumcision from God, and all the sons of Abraham were justified through circumcision. Therefore, he who has not been circumcised will not be justified.”

Sylvester replied: “It is evident that Abraham pleased God before circumcision and was called the friend of God. Therefore, circumcision did not sanctify him; rather, faith and righteousness caused him to please God. He therefore received circumcision not for sanctification but for distinction.”

When he had been overcome, the third, who was also called Godolias, approached and said: “How can your Christ be God, since you assert that he was born, tempted, betrayed, stripped, given gall to drink, bound, and buried, when none of these things can exist in God?”

To this Sylvester replied: “From your books we prove that all these things were foretold concerning Christ. For Isaiah said concerning his birth: ‘Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel,’ and so forth. Concerning his temptation, Zechariah said: ‘I saw Christ, the great priest, standing before the angel, and Satan stood at his right hand,’ and so forth. Concerning his betrayal, the Psalmist said: ‘He who ate my breads magnified supplantation against me.’ Concerning his being stripped, the same said: ‘They divided my garments among themselves.’ Concerning his drink of gall, the same said: ‘They gave me gall for my food,’ and so forth. Concerning his binding, Ezra said: ‘You bound me, not as the father who freed you from the land of Egypt, crying out before the tribunal of the judge.’ Concerning his crucifixion, the same said: ‘You humbled me, hanging me upon the wood; you betrayed me.’ Concerning his burial, Jeremiah said: ‘In his burial the dead come back to life.’” Since Godolias had nothing with which to answer, judgment was given and he was removed.

The fourth, called Annas, approached and said: “This Sylvester affirms that those things which were said concerning others were foretold concerning his own Christ. It therefore remains for him to prove that these things were said concerning his Christ.”

Sylvester answered: “Will you therefore produce another whom a virgin conceived; who was fed with gall, crowned with thorns, crucified, killed, and buried; and who rose and ascended into heaven?” Constantine then said: “If he does not produce another, let him know that he has been overcome.” Since he could not do this, he was removed.

A certain fifth man, Occhi, was brought forward. He said: “If Christ was born from the seed of David, and by being born was made the Son of God because he was born sanctified, he ought not to have been baptized so that he might be sanctified a second time.”

Sylvester replied: “Just as circumcision received its end in Christ's circumcision, so our baptism received the beginning of its sanctification in Christ's baptism. He was therefore baptized not so that he might be sanctified, but so that he might sanctify.” When Occhi remained silent in this way, Constantine said: “Occhi would not remain silent if he had contrary arguments to bring forward.”

Then the sixth, who was also called Cusi, said: “We would like this Sylvester to explain to us the reasons for this virginal birth.”

Sylvester replied: “The earth from which Adam was formed was incorrupt and virginal, because it had not yet opened itself to drink human blood, had not received the curse of thorns, had not held the burial of a dead man, and had not been given to the serpent for food. It was therefore fitting that a new Adam should be made from the Virgin Mary, so that, just as the serpent had overcome one born from a virgin, conversely it might be overcome by one born from a virgin. He who proved the victor over Adam in paradise was himself made the tempter of God in the desert, so that he who had overcome Adam when he ate might be overcome by God when he fasted.”

When this man had been overcome, the seventh, Benjamin, said: “How can your Christ be the Son of God when he could be tempted by the devil, so that at one moment in hunger he was urged to make bread from stones, at another he was raised to the height of the Temple, and at another he was brought to the point of worshiping the devil himself?”

Sylvester replied: “If the devil conquered because he was heeded by Adam when he ate, it is evident that he was overcome because he was despised by Christ when he fasted. We acknowledge that Christ was tempted not insofar as he is God, but insofar as he is man. He was tempted in three ways so that he might shut out all temptations from us and give us a pattern of

conquering. For in a man, the temptation of human glory often follows a victory of abstinence; and the appetite for dominion and eminence accompanies the temptation of human glory. Therefore, he is defeated by Christ in these things, so that a pattern of conquering may be given to us."

When this man had been overcome, the eighth, who was also called Acel, said: "It is evident that God is supremely perfect and needs nothing. What need, therefore, did he have to be born in Christ? How, moreover, do you call Christ the Word? This also is evident: before God had a Son, he could not be called Father. Therefore, if he was afterward called the Father of Christ, he was made mutable."

To this Sylvester replied: "Before all times, the Son was begotten from the Father so that he might make the things that did not exist; and in time he was born so that he might restore the things that had perished. Although he could have restored them by his word alone, he could not redeem them through suffering unless he became man, because in his divinity he was not capable of suffering. Nor was the man [a man] of imperfection but of perfection, if he was not passible in his divinity. Moreover, the Son is the Word of God. This is apparent because the prophet said: 'My heart has uttered a good word.' God also was always Father because his Son always existed. For the Son is his Word, his Wisdom, and his Power. The Word was always in the Father, according to the saying, 'My heart has uttered a good word'; Wisdom always [was in him], according to the saying, 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, the firstborn before every creature'; Power always [was in him], according to the saying, 'Before all the hills I was brought forth, when the fountains of waters had not yet broken forth,' and so forth. Since, therefore, the Father was never without the Word, Wisdom, and Power, how do you suppose that this name came to him in time?"

When this man had been removed, the ninth, Jubal, said: "It is evident that God does not condemn marriages and did not curse them. Why, therefore, do you deny that the one whom you worship was born from marriage, unless you seek to cast a shadow upon marriages? Again, how is one who is powerful tempted, one who is Power made to suffer, and one who is Life made to die? Finally, you are driven to say that there are two sons: one whom the Father begot and another whom the virgin bore. Again, how can it happen that the man who was assumed suffers without injury to the one by whom he was assumed?"

To these things Sylvester replied: "We do not say that Christ was born from a virgin in order to condemn marriages; rather, we receive on rational grounds the reasons for the virginal birth. Nor are marriages obscured by this assertion; instead, they are adorned, because the virgin who bore Christ was born from a marriage. Christ is tempted so that he might overcome all the temptations of the devil. He suffers so that he might subjugate all passions. He dies so that he might subjugate the dominion of death. Moreover, the Son of God is one: just as he is truly the invisible Son of God, so he is the visible Christ. He is therefore invisible in that he is God, and he is visible in that he is man.

"An example can teach that the assumed man was able to suffer without suffering on the part of the one who assumed him. For—to employ as an example the purple cloth of the king who is present—it was wool, and blood applied to this wool supplied the purple color. When, therefore, it was held by the fingers and twisted into thread, what was being twisted: that which is the color of royal dignity, or that which was wool before it became purple? Man is therefore likened to the wool and God to the purple color; [God] was together with [the man] in the Passion while he suffered upon the cross, but was in no respect subject to suffering."

The tenth, who was also called Thara, said: "That example does not please me, because the color is twisted together with the wool." When everyone contradicted him, Sylvester said: "Then receive another example. When a tree which holds within itself the brightness of the sun is cut, the brightness remains unharmed by the cutting through which the tree receives the blow. Thus, when the man suffered, the divinity was subject to no suffering."

The eleventh, who was also called Sileon, said: "If the prophets foretold these things concerning your Christ, we would like to know the reasons for so great a mockery, suffering, and death."

Sylvester replied: "Christ hungered so that he might restore us. He thirsted for our dryness so that he might minister such cups. He was tempted so that he might free us from temptations. He was seized so that he might release us from the captivity of demons. He was mocked so that he might free us from the mockery of demons. He was bound so that he might loose us from the knot. He was stripped so that his indulgence might cover the nakedness of the first transgression. He received the crown of thorns so that he might restore the lost flowers of paradise. He was suspended upon the wood so that he might condemn the concupiscence engendered at the wood. He was given gall and vinegar to drink so that he might bring man, who was flowing down toward the earth, into [the land of] milk and honey, and might open honey-flowing fountains for us. He assumed mortality so that he might give us his immortality. He was buried so that he might bless the burial of the saints. He rose so that he might restore life to the dead. He ascended into heaven so that he might open the gate of heaven. He sits at the right hand of God so that he might hear the prayers of believers." As Sylvester continued with these things, everyone—the emperor, the judges, and the Jews alike—burst out with one accord in praise of Sylvester.

Then the twelfth, who was also called Zambri, became angry and said with great indignation: "I marvel that you, most wise judges, believe circumlocutions of words and think that the omnipotence of God can be comprehended by human reason. But

now let words cease, and let us come to deeds. For those who worship one who was crucified are most foolish. Since I know the name of almighty God—whose power rocks cannot endure and which no creature is able to hear—let a most ferocious bull be brought to me so that you may prove that I speak the truth. When that name has sounded in its ear, the bull will immediately die."

Sylvester said to him: "And how did you learn this name by hearing it?" Zambri said: "It is not for you to know this mystery, since you are an enemy of the Jews." A most ferocious bull was therefore brought forward, dragged with difficulty by 100 very strong men. But when Zambri uttered the word in its ear, the bull immediately bellowed, rolled out its eyes, and expired. All the Jews therefore shouted vehemently and insulted Sylvester, the man of God.

Sylvester said to them: "He did not utter the name of God, but named the worst of demons. For my God, Jesus Christ, not only does not put the living to death but even gives life to the dead. For to be able to kill but not to give life belongs to lions, serpents, and wild beasts. Therefore, if he wishes me to believe that it was not the name of a demon, let him speak it again and give life to what he killed. For it is written concerning [God], 'I shall kill, and I shall make alive.' If he cannot do this, without doubt he named a demon, which can kill a living thing but cannot give life to a dead one."

When Zambri was pressed by the judges to raise the bull, he said: "Let Sylvester raise it, and we shall all believe in him. For even if it could fly with wings, that would nevertheless not avail very much." All the Jews therefore promised that they would believe in Sylvester if he raised it.

Then Sylvester prayed, placed himself close to the bull's ear, and said: "O name of curse and death, come forth at the command of our God Jesus Christ, in whose name it is said to you: Bull, arise and return tamely to your herd." The bull immediately arose and departed with all tameness. Then the queen, the Jews, the judges, and all the others were converted to the faith.

The dragon and the death of Blessed Sylvester

Fol. IIIr (PDF p. 29)

After several days, the priests of the idols came to the emperor and said: "Most sacred emperor, since you received the faith of Christ, that dragon which is in the pit has killed more than 300 people every day with its breath." When Sylvester was consulted about this, he replied: "By the power of Christ, I shall cause it to cease from every injury." The priests promised that they would believe if he did this.

While Sylvester was praying, Saint Peter appeared to him and said: "Descend without fear to the dragon, you and the two priests who are with you. When you come to it, you shall address it in this manner: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, born of a virgin, crucified and buried, who rose and sits at the right hand of the Father, is to come here to judge the living and the dead. You also, Satan, await him in this place until he comes.' You shall bind its mouth with a cord and seal it from above with a ring bearing the sign of the cross. Afterward, you will come to me safe and unharmed and will eat the bread that I shall prepare for you."

Accordingly, Sylvester descended into the pit with two priests by 150 steps, carrying two lanterns with him. He then spoke the aforesaid words to the dragon and, as he had been commanded, bound its mouth while it gnashed and hissed. He ascended and found two magicians who had followed him to see whether he would descend all the way to the dragon. They were almost dead from the dragon's stench, but he brought them back with him unharmed and well. They were immediately converted together with an innumerable multitude. Thus the Roman people were freed from a twofold death: namely, from the worship of the demon and from the dragon's poison.

At length, as Blessed Sylvester approached death, he admonished the clergy concerning three things: namely, that they should have charity among themselves, govern their churches more diligently, and guard the flock from the bites of wolves. After this, he fell happily asleep in God around the year of the Lord 320.

§ IV. The finding of the Holy Cross

Fol. IIIr (PDF p. 29)

Rufinus relates the finding of the Holy Cross in this manner in the *Ecclesiastical History*. During the same time, Helena, the mother of Constantine—a woman of incomparable faith, religious disposition, and singular magnificence, whose son Constantine indeed was—was admonished by divine visions and went to Jerusalem. There she inquired of the inhabitants concerning the place in which the most sacred body of Christ, affixed to the gibbet, had hung. This place was difficult to find because the ancient persecutors had fixed an image of Venus upon it, so that if any Christian wished to worship in that place, he would appear to worship Venus. For this reason, the place had become unfrequented and had almost been given over to oblivion.

But when, as we said above, the religious woman had hastened to the place designated for her by a heavenly judgment, she removed everything profane and polluted from it, cleared away the rubble to a great depth, and found three crosses lying in

confused order. But uncertainty over the distinctive identity of each cross disturbed the joy produced by the gift that had been found. The inscription that had been written by Pilate in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters was indeed also present, but even it did not demonstrate with sufficient clarity the identifying marks of the Lord's gibbet. At this point the uncertainty of human doubt demanded divine testimony.

It happened that in the same city a certain leading woman of that place lay half-dead, exhausted by a grave illness. At that time Macharius was bishop of that church. When he saw the queen hesitating, together with everyone else who was present, he said: “Bring here all the crosses that have been found, and God will now reveal to us which is the one that bore the Lord.” Entering with the queen and the people to the woman who was lying ill, he knelt down and poured forth to the Lord a prayer of this kind:

“You, O Lord, who through your only-begotten Son deigned to confer salvation upon the human race through the Passion of the cross, and who now in these last times have inspired within the heart of your handmaid the search for the blessed wood upon which our salvation hung: show plainly which of these three crosses was for the Lord's glory and which were for the punishment of slaves, so that this woman who lies half-alive may, as soon as the saving wood touches her, be recalled from the gate of death to life.”

When he had said these things, he first applied one of the three crosses, and it brought no benefit. He applied the second, and not even then was anything accomplished. But when he took the third, the woman suddenly opened her eyes and rose. The firmness of her strength having been restored, she began to run throughout the whole house and magnify the power of the Lord, much more joyful than she had been while healthy.

Thus, by this evident judgment, the queen obtained the fulfillment of her vow. With royal magnificence, she constructed a marvelous church in the place where she had found the cross. She carried to her son the nails with which the Lord's body had been fastened. From some of them he made bits for bridles which he would use in war, and from others he is likewise said to have furnished a helmet suitable for the purposes of war. She delivered a portion of the saving wood itself to her son; another portion, enclosed in silver cases, she left in that place, where it is preserved even now in solicitous veneration as a memorial.

The venerable queen also left this token of her religious disposition: she is said to have invited to a meal the virgins consecrated to God whom she found there, and to have attended upon them with such devotion that she thought it unworthy to employ the services of servants. Instead, clothed in the short-girded dress of a maidservant, she herself placed food before them with her own hands, offered them the cup, poured water upon their hands, and—though queen of the world and mother of the empire—accounted herself a handmaid of the handmaids of Christ. These things, indeed, were done at Jerusalem.

Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter II: The Supreme Pontiffs from Constantine to Arcadius and Honorius

Chapter heading and Sylvester

The supreme pontiffs who presided over the Roman Church from the time of Constantine the Great down to the times of Arcadius and Honorius—that is, for 100 years or thereabouts, from the year of the Lord 309 down to the year 413—were those written below.

Pope Sylvester, of whom an account has been given, had succeeded Melchiades. This Sylvester occupied the chair of Peter for 24 years, ten months, and eleven days. Sylvester instituted the solemn consecrations of churches and altars, and he is said to have consecrated the churches of the apostles Peter and Paul. This appears much more strongly in the case of the church of Saint John Lateran, which is the patriarchal and principal church of the whole world.

For he established that the celebration should take place upon a clean sindon, a linen cloth—that is, a pall or corporal. In a synod he also decreed the following, as is contained in Distinction 93, *A subdiacono*: “From the subdeacon down to the lector, let all be subject to the cardinal deacon, a most reverend man, showing him honor in the church. Moreover, in every place, whether in public or in the bosom of the Church, let the priest show obedience to the pontiff; the deacon to the priest; the subdeacon to the deacon; the acolyte to the subdeacon; the exorcist to the acolyte; the lector to the exorcist; the doorkeeper to the lector; the abbot to the doorkeeper; and the monk to the abbot.”

Marcus

Pope Marcus, a Roman by nation, succeeded Sylvester. He established that the Roman pontiff should be consecrated by the bishop of Ostia and that the bishop of Ostia himself should use the pallium. He sat for two years and eight months, a holy man.

Julius

After him Julius, a Roman by nation, ascended the chair of Peter. According to Damasus, he sat for eleven years, but according to Jerome, for sixteen years and four months. In his time the Nicene synod is said to have been celebrated, although others say that it was under Sylvester. After enduring many contests and exile at the hands of the Arians for the catholic faith, he migrated to Christ in the twelfth year of the reign of Constantius.

In his decrees he says as follows: “The aforesaid privileges were granted by God to this holy see, both concerning the convocation of councils, judgments, and the restoration of bishops, and concerning the greatest affairs of the churches, so that all who are oppressed may receive assistance from it, and even those justly condemned may receive restoration.” II, Question VI, *Adeo*. The same author, in the same Question: “He who knows that he has been placed over others has believed that his deputies ought to be granted to the churches, so that they may be called to a share of the solicitude, not to the fullness of power.”

The same author, writing to the eastern bishops in Distinction XVII, says: “Your rule has no force and will not be able to have any, because this council was neither celebrated by orthodox bishops nor attended by a legate of the Roman Church, while the canons command that councils ought not to be held without its authority.”

The same Julius, II, Question VII: “It was established in the holy Nicene synod that no one who has been anathematized should be received as our accuser, nor those who wish to receive us as their accused, since we know that we have been appointed by the Lord over them, and not they over us. And just as a greater cannot be judged by a lesser, neither can he be made a colleague [read: bound] by one, because everything that is great is rare. We bear the burdens of all who are oppressed; indeed, Blessed Peter, whose office we discharge, bears these things in us.”

Liberius and Felix

When Julius had now entered upon the way of all flesh, Liberius, a Roman by nation, was created high priest. He presided over the Church for ten years, six months, and four days. He was sent into exile by the emperor Constantius because he refused to assent to the Arians and favor that heresy. Having assembled the clergy, on their advice he either, together with the others, elected the venerable priest Felix and proclaimed him pontiff, or appointed Felix himself as his general vicar.

While Liberius was in exile, Felix, inflamed with zeal for the faith, assembled a council of forty bishops and condemned the priests Ursatius and Valens, who favored Constantius in the Arian heresy. He also excommunicated the emperor Constantius himself as a heretic and one rebaptized. Constantius, angered for this reason, assembled a conventicle of many persons from the dregs of the Arians, caused Liberius to be recalled from exile, and caused Felix to be cast from the pontifical chair. Shortly after he had been expelled, Felix was crowned with martyrdom by Constantius's command.

Liberius therefore returned, worn down by the exile in which he had spent three years, and at the demand of Constantius subscribed by consenting to the heretical depravity of the Arians. Afterward, he occupied the chair of Peter for seven years. During his time there was a great persecution by the Arians against the true catholics in the city of Rome.

This Liberius established as follows, XXIV, Question I: “Those who are against the peace of the Church, if they possess a dignity or the belt of military service, are to be stripped of them. If they are private persons and are noble, let them suffer the confiscation of their property. If they are of low birth, let them not only be beaten in body but also punished with perpetual exile.”

Damasus

When Liberius had died, Damasus, a Spaniard by nation, a holy man and very learned in the Scriptures, undertook the government of the Church of God. He occupied the chair of Peter for seventeen years, seven months, and ten days. At that time, a certain Roman called Ursinus was improperly elected pope by some persons. But as an intruder he was expelled from the city by the supporters of Damasus, who had been canonically appointed; and by the will of Damasus he was made bishop of Naples.

Damasus diligently sought out many bodies of martyrs and buried them honorably. He himself was also accused of adultery by some persons out of envious zeal, as Jerome relates. But before his adversaries he cleared himself with forty-two bishops and showed himself innocent, as is contained in II, Question VII, *Si quis super his*, in the preceding paragraph. For this reason, the fathers expelled his accusers Concordius and Calixtus from the Church and condemned them.

As Sigibertus relates, at Jerome's request Damasus established that at the end of a psalm in church there should be said: “Glory to the Father. As it was,” and so forth. He also instituted the singing of psalms in church by night and day.

Among other things, in his decrees he established the following, IV, Question IV, *Nullus*: “Let accusers and judges not be the same persons. Rather, let the accusers, judges, witnesses, and accused each be distinct, every person in his own order. Let a formal written accusation always be made so that the calumniator may receive the law of retaliation, because before a formal accusation no one ought to be judged or condemned, since the secular laws also maintain this.”

The same author established as follows in V, Question II, *Relatum*: “The secular laws require accusers to be present, and not absent persons [appearing] through writings. Hence the canonical ordinances of the fathers proclaim, not once but very often, that no one can bring forward accusations or testimony through writings. Nor may anyone give testimony concerning other affairs except those which are known to have been transacted in their presence. Likewise, one who chooses to accuse another must be present and accuse in person, not through another, after first submitting the formal accusation. Nor may anyone ever be judged until he has his accusers present and receives an opportunity to defend himself in order to clear away the charges.” These are his words.

The same author says in XXIV, Question I, *Violatores*: “Those who, not compelled by necessity but willingly—that is, out of contempt—either act insolently in some matter against the sacred canons, presume to speak, or freely consent to those wishing to do such a thing, appear not unfittingly to blaspheme the Holy Spirit. For such presumption is one kind of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, because it acts against him by whose impulse and grace [the canons] were issued.”

In the time of this Damasus, and in the time of the emperor Theodosius, a universal synod of 350 bishops was celebrated. In it the heresy of Macedonius, which denied that the Holy Spirit is God, was condemned.

Siricius

After Damasus migrated to the Lord, Siricius, a Roman by nation, was raised to the summit of the supreme pontificate. He held it for fifteen years, eleven months, and twenty-five days. He banished the Manichaean heretics into exile and commanded that the faithful should not have communion with them.

He also imposed continence upon deacons and those married clerics above them—that is, with respect to the use of a marriage contracted before ordination—and this upon those in the West; for the Eastern Church did not receive that constitution, as in Distinction LXXXII, *Plurimos*. He also established the intervals to be observed in receiving orders, Distinction LXXVII, *Quicumque*, although these are not observed today. He likewise established that the following should be said in the Mass: “Communicating and venerating the memory,” and so forth, as I have found in *De consecratione*, Distinction I.

Anastasius

When Siricius died, Anastasius, a Roman by nation, was created bishop of the city and of the world, occupying the see for three years and twenty-five days. He made the following decree, saying in *De consecratione*, Distinction I: “By apostolic authority we command that, while the holy Gospel readings are read in church, the priests and everyone else—not sitting, but reverently bowed and standing in the presence of the Gospel—should listen attentively to the words of the Lord and faithfully adore them.”

Innocent I

After Anastasius, Innocent I, Alban by birth [i.e., from Albano], held the papacy for fifteen years, two months, and twenty days. He condemned the heresiarch Pelagius, who asserted that human beings could be saved without grace through their own merits and works, together with his accomplices and followers Celestinus [read: Caelestius] and Julianus.

This Innocent also excommunicated the emperor Arcadius because he consented to and ordained that John Chrysostom should be driven from his see of Constantinople by a council of bishops. You have a full account of this below, in the following title.

Innocent established that a fast should be observed on Saturday because on that day the Lord Jesus lay in the tomb and the apostles are believed to have fasted, *De consecratione*, Distinction III, *Sabbato*. At present, however, this is a counsel and not a precept. He also decreed that the kiss of peace should be given in the Mass. He likewise confirmed Pope Siricius's constitution concerning the continence of clerics, Distinction LXXXII, chapter *Proposuisti*. “Let no one presume to ordain a cleric from another church unless that cleric's bishop, having been entreated with prayers, is willing to grant permission,” Distinction LXXI.

Zosimus I

Zosimus I succeeded Innocent and sat for two years, eight months, and twenty-five days. He established that the candle should be blessed in church on Holy Saturday, that a slave should not be ordained, and that a cleric should not minister in a tavern.

He reproved the ordination of unsuitable and inexperienced men into the clergy, saying: “The excessive laxity of our fellow priests causes this. They seek the display of a multitude and suppose that from this crowd some dignity is acquired for themselves. Hence a numerous plurality is found everywhere, even in those places where there is solitude, because they desire to extend parishes or lavish divine honors upon those to whom they can furnish nothing else. It is necessary that this always be a matter of strict judgment. For everything that is great is rare.” Distinction LIX, chapter II.

Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter III: On the Nicene Council Convened under Constantine against the Heresy Introduced by Arius

Arius and the convocation of the council

On the Nicene council convened under Constantine against the heresy introduced by Arius.

When Alexander had assumed the episcopal office at Alexandria after Achillas, who had succeeded Peter the martyr, as was said above, prosperity was disturbed by domestic contention, because there was peace and rest from persecutions for our people and the Church was rejoicing in the merits of the confessors. For, as Rufinus says in book X of the *Ecclesiastical History*, a certain priest at Alexandria named Arius, religious indeed in appearance but wickedly desirous of glory, praise, and novelty, began to put forward certain perverse things concerning the faith of Christ and to separate the Son from the substance of the Father. For he preached, as Hugh of Fleury says, that the Son of God was a creature and that the Holy Spirit was created by him, adding also: "There was [a time] when he was not." And when Arius made these distinctions between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Alexander, bishop of the same city, resisted him. But when he could not recall him from his deadly error, he expelled him from the holy Church. Arius, however, stirred up sedition against him.

When the pious prince Constantine heard this, he caused a holy synod to be assembled at Nicaea, a city of Bithynia, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 316. Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled there. And this is the first universal synod. Sylvester, however, had already died, and Marcus had succeeded him. Julius had in turn succeeded Marcus, and at that time he occupied the apostolic see. Nevertheless, Julius himself did not attend this council because of the frailty of old age; but Vitus and Vincentius, priests of the Roman Church, attended in his place. Macarius of Jerusalem, Eustachius of Antioch, and Alexander of Alexandria, honorable patriarchs from the apostolic sees, also attended. Thus far he.

But Vincent adds in book XIV of the *Historical Mirror* that Sylvester is found elsewhere to have attended the said council. For in the *Book of the Pontiffs* it is read as follows: "In the time of Sylvester a council was held by his command at Nicaea in Bithynia. Three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled, who set forth the integral catholic faith and condemned Arius, Fotinus, and Sabellius. But in the city of Rome Sylvester himself, with the counsel of the Augustus, assembled 277 bishops, and they again condemned Calixtus and the aforesaid heretics." The same Eusebius asserts in his chronicle that Pope Sylvester, by the counsel of Constantine, assembled 277 bishops in the city, in which council the same heresy was condemned. But some wonder that Damasus should assert in his chronicle-that is, the chronicle of the pontiffs-that the synod at Nicaea was assembled under blessed Pope Sylvester. And in Distinction XV, chapter X, it is said from the words of Isidore, Gregory, and Gelasius that the said Nicene council was celebrated under Constantine. But nothing is said about under which pope it was held, except that Bede, in the book *On Times*, says that the Nicene synod was celebrated in the time of Pope Julius, Distinction XVI, *Sextam*. But in the following paragraph, which begins *Prima*, it is said to have been in the time of Sylvester.

The Nicene profession of faith and the danger of Arianism

Therefore, as Rufinus says in the place cited above, when the fathers had assembled in council and the assertions of Arius had been examined, after a long and extensive discussion it pleased them all, and it was decreed as if by the single mouth and heart of everyone, that *homousion* ought to be written-that is, that the Son ought to be confessed as being of the same substance as the Father. It is said that at that time there were only seventeen to whom the faith of Arius was more pleasing. Of these, only six allowed themselves to be expelled with Arius; the remaining eleven, having taken counsel among themselves, consented to subscribe with their hands but not with their minds. The principal author of this dissimulation was Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia.

The form of the profession of faith of those who were catholic there is as follows: "We believe in one God, the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten born from the Father-that is, from the substance of the Father; God from God, light from light, true God from true God; begotten, not made; *homousion* with the Father-that is, of the same substance as the Father; through whom all things were made; who for us and for our salvation descended from heaven and was incarnate, having been made man," and so forth. "But those who say, 'There was once [a time] when he was not,' and, 'Before he was born, he was not,' and those who say that he was made from no existing substances, or that he is from another subsistence or substance, or that the Son of God is convertible or mutable, the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes."

Here it must be noted that this Arian heresy was more dangerous, more universal, and almost more enduring than the others. It was more dangerous because it concerned the mystery of the Trinity, concerning which Augustine says in the book *On the Trinity* that nothing more difficult is investigated, nowhere is error more dangerous, and nothing more fruitful is found. It was

more universal because it involved many bishops and priests, and Pope Liberius himself, as will appear below; emperors, such as Constantius and Valens; kings, such as Theodoric and the king of the Goths; and it was diffused throughout almost the whole world. Hence Jerome says: “Arius was one spark”-that is, of error-“in Alexandria; and because it was not quickly extinguished, its flame laid waste the whole world,” XXIV, Question III, *Resecandae*. It was indeed more enduring because it flourished through many periods. But the said heresy was refuted and destroyed by the doctors, not only through very many authorities of Scripture and through the opinions and reasonings of very many doctors, but also through many miracles, which are not found to have been performed by any of the Arians.

And as for the statement that this Nicene synod was the first general synod, it is true not absolutely-because other councils had also been celebrated earlier, as is evident above-but in a qualified respect: that is, because it was more universal than the other synods, because many more persons came together there, with the emperor consulting and urging and the pope giving authority. And there some things were added to the shorter creed, which is said to have been issued by the apostles. These things were not contrary to what was in it, but declared it more explicitly against the heresies arising concerning those articles. Such was the phrase “Creator of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible,” against the error of Manichaeus, who taught that God was the creator of invisible things and the devil the creator of visible things. And the phrase “born from the Father”-namely, the Son-“before all ages, God from God,” and so forth, “begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made,” was added against the error of that accursed Arius, who asserted that the Son of God was a creature made by the Father, neither eternal nor consubstantial with the Father, but of a substance different from the Father and less than the Father. And he said the same concerning the Holy Spirit.

How much harm the Arian pest itself brought upon the Church was shown not only to Peter, bishop of Alexandria and martyr, concerning whom it was shown above in a vision and prophetic revelation, but also by blessed Antony. Antony, placed like a burning and shining lamp upon the lampstand of the Church, lived in the time of this Constantine, from whom he-that is, Antony-received letters commending Constantine himself and his sons to Antony's prayers. Antony himself gave the emperor most gracious and venerable letters in reply, admonishing him to preserve humility and to execute justice in all things.

For once, while he was working with the brothers, he looked up into heaven and saw a sorrowful vision. Therefore, prostrating himself before God, he prayed that God would avert the crime to come. While all who stood by trembled and asked him to explain the vision, he, hindered by sobs and tears, told them that a great wickedness, unheard of in the ages, was imminent. “I saw,” he said, “the altar of God surrounded by a multitude of mules, which were scattering everything with their hoofs; and that by this great whirlwind the catholic faith would be overthrown, and men like beasts of burden would plunder the sacred things of Christ. This is the cause of my groans.” When these things had been heard, a voice came from heaven, saying: “My altar will be made abominable.” And so it happened. For after two years, when the Arians burst forth, the Church was subjected to so great a devastation that virgins and married women and the baptistery itself were defiled, and true Christians were slaughtered like sheep before the altar.

Section I: Moral decrees of the Nicene council

In addition to the rule of faith handed down, certain moral decrees or constitutions, chiefly concerning the clergy, were issued in the said Nicene council. For, as Rufinus says in the place cited above, they established that it was to be observed in the churches that no one among those who cut themselves because of an inability to endure lust should enter the clergy, Distinction LV, *Si quis*. Likewise, no one newly taken from a gentile life or manner of living, after receiving baptism, should become a cleric before he is examined more carefully, Distinction XLVIII, chapter *Quoniam*. Likewise, no bishop or other cleric should live with women unrelated to him, except with a mother, sister, or grandmother, or persons who are relations of this kind, Distinction XXXII, *Interdixit*. Likewise, a bishop, if it can be done, should be ordained by the bishops of the entire province; and if this is difficult, by no fewer than three, but in such a way that above all the presence or authority of the metropolitan bishop is secured, Distinction LXVI, *Porro*, and Distinction LXIV, *Illud*.

Likewise, if one bishop has expelled someone from the Church, whether a cleric or a layman, another bishop is not to receive him. But lest there be no remedy if this was done unjustly because of some anger or contention, as is wont to happen, they decree that each year in the individual provinces councils ought to be held for a second time by all the provincial bishops and affairs of this kind ought to be adjudicated, so that if perhaps something was done unjustly by one, it may be corrected by the others; if it was done rightly, it may be confirmed by all, Distinction XVIII, *Habeatur*. Likewise, no cleric who, having abandoned his church when no reasonable cause exists, wanders and strays about should be received into communion by other churches. Likewise, no one, surreptitiously taking a man who belongs to another, is to ordain him as a cleric in his own church without the consent of the one to whom he belongs, Distinction LXXI, *Si quis*.

Likewise, deacons are not to be preferred to bishops, nor are they to sit in the assembly of the priests or distribute the Eucharist while priests are present, but are only to minister while the priests perform [the rite]. If, however, no priest is present, then they are permitted also to distribute it, Distinction XCIII, *Pervenit*. Likewise, as is contained in Distinction XLVII, *Quoniam*, it is established from the Nicene council that a cleric who is found taking usury is to be cast out of the clergy. Likewise, in *On*

Consecration, Distinction III, it is said from the Nicene council: “It was resolved that all churches should fast except on Sundays.” Likewise, consecrated churches are not to be consecrated again, just as one who has been baptized is not to be baptized again, provided that those who consecrated or baptized held the faith of the Holy Trinity, Distinction LXVIII, *Ecclesiis*-that is, provided that they observed the required form. Hence the Arians, who said, “I baptize you in the name of the greater Father and the lesser Son,” and so forth, did not baptize.

It must also be known that seventy chapters of constitutions were issued at the Nicene synod, as Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, says in Distinction XVI, *Septuaginta*. But only twenty remained in the Roman Church, as is said in the following paragraph and chapter. The other chapters either passed out of use through neglect or were incorporated or renewed in the council of Antioch or another council.

Likewise, what is contained in the *Tripartite History* and is placed in Distinction XXXI must be noted with great care: “The Nicene synod, wishing to correct the life of persons dwelling in the churches, established laws which we call canons. In the discussion of these, it seemed good to some to introduce a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons should not sleep with the wives whom they had married before consecration. But the confessor Pannutius rose and spoke against it, confessing marriage to be honorable and saying that lying with one's own wife was chastity. He urged the council not to establish such a law, asserting that the matter was burdensome and would become an occasion of fornication either for the men themselves or for their spouses. Pannutius set forth these things although he himself was inexperienced in marriage. The synod praised his opinion and established nothing in this respect, but left it to the will of each person.” Thus far there.

But for a fuller explanation of this matter-namely, concerning the continence of clerics with respect to marriage-the gloss upon the chapter *Diaconi* in Distinction XXVIII must be considered carefully. There it is said that, in both the Eastern and Western Church, marriage is lawfully contracted by those established in the minor orders, as in Distinction XXXII, *Si quis eorum*. But it was never lawful for those established in the higher orders-that is, the subdiaconate and above-to contract marriage, even from the time of the apostles; and if they contract one, it is not a marriage. This is evident from the seventh synod, which was celebrated in the East and handed down the rule to them, as in Distinction XXXII, *Si quis eorum*.

There is therefore a difference between Easterners established in sacred orders and Westerners. If Easterners contracted marriage before receiving a sacred order, they can lawfully make use of the marriage already contracted; but they cannot contract another marriage afterward if that wife should die. Westerners, however, even if they contracted marriage before receiving a sacred order, cannot make use of such a marriage. This has been so from the time of Popes Innocent and Siricius, who imposed continence in this respect upon deacons and those above them, as in Distinction LXXXII, *Proposuisti*, and chapter *Plurimos*. Before that, Westerners, like Easterners, could make use of a marriage already contracted before ordination to sacred orders. But Pope Gregory imposed continence in like manner upon subdeacons-that is, with respect to the use of a marriage contracted earlier, namely, that they should abstain from their wives-as is evident in Distinction XXXI, *Ante triennium*.

Hence Pope Stephen says in the same Distinction: “The tradition of the Eastern churches conducts itself in one way, and that of this holy Roman Church in another. For their priests, deacons, and subdeacons are joined in marriage; but in this Church and among Westerners, none of the clergy, from subdeacon up to bishop, has permission to enter into marriage.” Thus far there. The text is obscure, but the gloss explains it, and explains it well. For when it says concerning the Easterners, “they are joined in marriage,” it means that they make use of a marriage already joined; and when it says that Westerners do not have permission to enter into marriage, it means that they may not even make use of one already contracted. For with respect to contracting marriage there is no difference between Easterners and Westerners established in sacred orders, because none of them can contract one, as has been said.

Section II: On Constantine's reverence toward those assembled in the council

On Constantine's reverence toward those assembled in the council. As Zozomen [read: Sozomen] says in the *Tripartite History*, when the bishops had entered the place prepared for the council at Nicaea, the prince Constantine entered the assembly last, accompanied by a few persons, with a seat lower than the bishops' placed for him in the middle. Nor did he sit down until, at the bishops' command, he sought permission for this to be granted to him.

And when bishops assembled from almost every place, as Rufinus says in the place cited above, had brought forward certain disputes among themselves arising from various causes, they repeatedly appealed to him, and written petitions were offered by each one. But Constantine, seeing that the cause of the highest business would be frustrated by disputes of this kind, appointed a certain day on which each of the bishops should bring forward whatever complaint he appeared to have. And when he had taken his seat, he received written petitions from each of them. Holding them all together in the fold of his garment and not disclosing what was contained in them, he said to the bishops: “God established you as priests and gave you power to judge even concerning us; therefore we are rightly judged by you. But you, who have been given to us by God as gods, cannot be judged by human beings, because it is not fitting that a human being should judge gods. Rather, await among yourselves the judgment of God alone, concerning which it is written: ‘God stood in the assembly of the gods,’” and so forth. “Therefore, setting aside these

disputes, distinguish the things that pertain to the faith of God without any contention of souls." And when he had said these things, he ordered all the written complaints to be burned together, lest the enmity of the priests should become known to any person. Gregory also relates these things in XI, Question I, *Sacerdotibus*, a notable text.

Pope Nicholas also says, writing to Louis in Distinction XCVI: "It is related in the writings that the emperor Constantine said: 'Truly, if I had seen with my own eyes a priest of God, or one of those who are wrapped about in the monastic habit, committing sin, I would unfold my cloak and cover him so that he might not be seen by anyone whose mind could be disturbed by his example.'"

Section III: On the philosopher defeated and converted by a simple man

On the philosopher defeated and converted by a simple man. Because, according to the Apostle, God chose the foolish things of this world to confound the wise-that is, those wise according to the world-as Vincent relates after Rufinus and Hugh of Fleury, when for many days the question was being debated among the 318 bishops sitting in council, philosophers and the most highly reputed dialecticians also assembled, moved by the report. Among them there was a certain distinguished man who every day engaged our bishops learned in dialectic in a conflict of the highest contention, and he could not be refuted or constrained by anyone. For he met the questions put to him with such skill in speaking that, precisely when he was thought to have been most tightly bound, he slipped away like a slippery snake.

But in order that God might show that the kingdom of God is not in speech but in power, a certain man among the confessors, a simple man who knew nothing other than Jesus Christ and him crucified, seeing the philosopher insulting our men, asked everyone for leave to address the philosopher. But our men, who knew the man's simplicity and his lack of skill in speech, began to be afraid and to suffer something like shame, lest holy simplicity perhaps be made an object of ridicule among clever men. Nevertheless, the elder persisted and began his address to the philosopher: "In the name of Jesus Christ," he said, "hear, philosopher, the things that are true. There is one God, who by the power of his Word completed and created all the things that are seen, and confirmed them by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit. This Word, whom we call the Son, taking pity upon human errors, is born from the Virgin and by his death delivered us from everlasting death. We now await him, raised from the dead, who will come as judge of all the things we have done. Do you believe that this is so, philosopher?"

But the philosopher, as though he had never learned any argument of contradiction, was so stupefied by the power of these words and mute before everything that he was able to answer this alone: that it seemed so to him, and that nothing other than what the elder had said was true. Then the elder said: "If you have believed that this is so, arise and follow me, and receive the seal of this faith." But the philosopher, turning to his disciples or to those who had assembled for the sake of hearing, said: "Hear, learned men. As long as the contest with me was conducted by words, I opposed words with words and overthrew what was said by the art of speaking. But when power, in place of words, proceeded from the mouth of the speaker, words could not resist power, nor could a human being oppose God. Therefore, if any one of you has been able to perceive in the things that were said what I perceived, let him believe in Christ and follow this elder in whom God has spoken." And so the philosopher, having become a Christian, at last rejoiced that he had been defeated.

Cassiodorus also bears witness in the *Tripartite History* that, when certain philosophers wished to dispute with Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, the emperor commanded him to undertake the contest. Although Alexander was a simple man, he accepted and ordered all the philosophers except one to keep silence. To that one he said: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I command you first of all not to speak." He was immediately made mute.

Section IV: Holy men present at the Nicene council

At the same council there were also many holy men from different parts of the world. But among the others, as Rufinus writes in the place cited above, was Athanasius, a deacon at Alexandria of the Alexandrian bishop, who very greatly assisted the elder Alexander himself with his counsels. A fuller account of Athanasius will be given when the doctors of that time are treated.

Panutius [i.e., Pannutius] was also there, a man of God, a bishop from the regions of Egypt, and one of those confessors whom Maximinus condemned to the mines after their right eyes had been dug out and their left thumbs cut off. But so great a grace of powers was present in him that signs were performed through him no less than through the apostles. For he put demons to flight by a word alone and healed the sick by prayer alone. He is also said to have restored sight to the blind and to have recalled paralytics to bodily stability. Constantine held him in such veneration and affection that he very often summoned him into the palace and embraced him, and caressed with eager kisses the eye that had been torn out in the confession of the faith.

Spiridion, a Cypriot bishop, is also said to have been among their number. Even after he had been placed in the episcopate, he remained a shepherd of sheep. One night, when robbers had come to the sheepfolds and stretched out their wicked hands to make a way for leading out the sheep, they were restrained by certain invisible bonds and remained until daylight as though they had been handed over to torturers. And when the elder made his way early in the morning to lead the sheep to pasture, he saw the young men hanging bound at the sheepfolds without human chains. When, therefore, he had learned the cause of their

offense, he released by a word those whom he had bound by his merits. And lest their nocturnal occupation come to nothing for them, he said: “Young men, take one ram for yourselves, lest you appear to have come without cause-a ram which it would have been better for you to seek by entreaty than by theft.”

This holy man had a daughter named Hirene, who died after ministering well to him. Then a certain woman came, saying that she had entrusted a particular deposit to his daughter. The father, however, knew nothing of what had been done. But moved by the woman's tears, when what she sought had been searched for throughout the whole house and not found, he hastened to his daughter's tomb and called her by name. Then she answered from the tomb: “What do you wish, father?” He said: “Where did you put that woman's entrusted property?” But she, indicating the place, said: “You will find it buried there.” Therefore, returning to the house, he found the property as she had answered and handed it to the woman who reclaimed it.

James, bishop of Nisibis, also attended the Nicene council. When Sapor, king of the Persians, besieged this city of Nisibis, for seventy days he held back the force of the river Migdomius, making both banks higher. When he saw that they had filled, he suddenly released the waters against the city wall, which fell because it could not bear the weight of the water. He rested on that day so that the river might clear and it might be possible to walk through it. But Bishop James armed the soldiers and the people together by prayer, and they immediately restored the wall with its defensive works, which greatly terrified Sapor. Moreover, when Sapor saw [someone] standing above the wall in the likeness of the emperor, he thought it was Constantine. But when he heard that Constantine was staying at Antioch, he said that God was fighting for the Romans. In anger he shot an arrow into the air as though intending to strike God.

But the deacon Ephrem begged the bishop to come to the wall and curse the Persians. Ascending the wall, the bishop prayed to God that gnats and mosquitoes would come. These immediately filled the elephants' hollow trunks and the ears and nostrils of the horses and beasts of burden. The animals threw off their riders and, throwing the broken battle lines into confusion and abandoning the army, fled with the greatest violence. Seeing this, Sapor withdrew in confusion. These things are from the *Tripartite History*.

Vincent further relates in book XIV, chapter LXVII, of the *Historical Mirror* that, as is found in the true history of the Greeks, Saint Nicholas, bishop of the city of Mirrea, is also read to have been present at the Nicene synod, already an old man and surviving afterward for a few days. Concerning him the Church sings in the collect that God adorned the blessed pontiff Nicholas with innumerable miracles; and this is treated in the following section.

Section V: Saint Nicholas

Saint Nicholas, as is contained in his deeds, was born from an illustrious lineage and was a citizen of the city of Patara, which was once most noble in the province of Lycia but afterward, because sins required it, was reduced to the likeness of a very small town. The parents of blessed Nicholas, exceedingly wealthy and honored, sought the glory of heavenly dignity more than earthly dignity. And in a wondrous manner, when in the earliest flower of youth they had begotten this one son, they renounced all pleasures; and amid their frequent prayers they asked that this one son should survive them and should be heir not so much of their riches as also of their character. Looking down from on high upon their prayers, God showed at the very beginning of the boy's birth what sort of person he would be. For while he was being nourished with his mother's milk, he began twice in the week-that is, on Wednesday and Friday-to suck the breasts only once, and, content with this occasion, he thus remained throughout the whole day.

After passing his earlier years innocently at home, when he began to be a young man of good disposition, he did not embrace the wantonness of the world, as that age is accustomed to do. Rather, now with his parents and now alone, he frequented the thresholds of the church, and whatever he apprehended from the Scriptures he entrusted to his mind. But when he was orphaned of his parents, considering what Christ says in the Gospel-“Unless someone renounces all the things he possesses, he cannot be my disciple”-he considered how to fulfill it in such a way that the breeze of human favor would not strike him.

It happened that a certain neighbor of his, previously exceedingly wealthy, came to such poverty that he not only could not give his three marriageable virgin daughters in marriage, but had resolved to prostitute them, intending to sustain his unhappy life from their shameful commerce. When the holy man learned this, he had compassion upon the most wretched man. Therefore, having marked an hour of the night at which he would be seen by no one, he took a considerable amount of gold, bound it in a cloth, went to the man's house, secretly threw it inside through the window, and secretly departed. When the man arose in the morning and found the gold, he gave thanks to God and gave his first daughter in marriage.

Not much later Nicholas did the same thing, and so the man also gave his second daughter in marriage. Thereafter the nobleman resolved to keep watch more attentively so that he might be able to know who was providing so generously for his poverty. For the third time, however, Nicholas did this with twice as much, throwing the gold into the man's house so that from one part he might have a dowry for the third daughter and from the remainder might provide a livelihood for himself. But the man, hearing the sound from the fall of the gold into the upper room, immediately went out of the house and pursued the fugitive. Recognizing Nicholas, he strove to kiss his feet. Nicholas refused this and required him to keep the matter secret.

When the bishop of the city of the Mirreans had been taken from this life, the bishops of the province assembled with the clerics to provide a suitable prelate for the widowed church. Among them was one pontiff of great authority, upon whose judgment the opinion of all depended. He admonished them all to persist in fasts and prayers for this matter. While this was being done, it was revealed to that pontiff that the man who came first to the church at the morning hour was to be placed over it as prelate, and it was added that he would be called Nicholas. Therefore, that pontiff kept watch with the others. When Nicholas was the first of all to approach the door in the morning and, having been asked his name, replied, “Nicholas, the servant of Your Holiness,” he was elevated to the episcopal chair by the common consent of all, although he resisted exceedingly.

Preserving humility in all things, he was eager in exhorting, severe in correcting, affable toward the poor, and showed authority toward the rich and powerful, while abhorring familiarity with women and private conversations. And because he shone with the power of all spiritual gifts and attributed nothing to himself but everything to the grace of God, he began so to shine with miracles that not only his own people but even strangers, when oppressed by any distress, immediately felt relief when his name was invoked.

That he was suddenly elected bishop while still a layman, although this is prohibited by law, was by the special prompting and revelation of the Holy Spirit, as is said in Distinction LXI, section *Ex his omnibus*, in the gloss.

This Nicholas also, as Jacobus de Columna relates, being kindled with zeal for the faith, struck Arius with a slap before the fathers assembled in council when Arius was uttering blasphemy against the most holy Trinity-namely, that the Father was greater than both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence, as the Greeks say, he was deprived of the episcopal mitre for a time. And they say that from this it came about that Nicholas is depicted among the Greeks without the episcopal mitre.

His other miracles are sufficiently well known; I shall relate only this one in full. When a certain people in Phrygia had revolted from the empire of Constantine, three commanders of soldiers were sent by the Augustus to subdue the rebels. While they were ploughing the sea of Lycia, a storm arose. Having cast anchors, they steadied their fleet and reached the desired shores of the sea. Some young men began to walk here and there and, approaching the place of the market for the sake of commerce, began to commit robberies. When the entire crowd of inhabitants rushed upon them and resisted, and while they were fighting, a sudden tumult was reported to the city of Patara. When the whole city rushed together to ward off the violence of the disturbance, the man of God, moved by this commotion, hastened to the aforesaid harbor. Finding the commanders there, after performing the office of greeting them, he admonished them to restrain their soldiers from this disturbance and, as they proceeded to the city, to deign to enjoy his blessing.

When these things had therefore been calmed, it was reported to him that the citizens had greatly lamented his absence, because the consul, blinded by a bribe, had consented to the unjust death of three soldiers. When he heard this, the man of God, inflamed with the fire of piety, asked the aforesaid commanders to hasten with him at a furious pace. When they had entered the city, he asked whether those who were to receive the capital sentence were still alive. Hearing that they had been carried to the place where the condemned were customarily punished, although wearied by so great a journey, he ran to the place. He found them with knees bent and faces veiled, while the executioner's sword was already brandished above their outstretched necks. Not terrified by the blade, he boldly threw his whole body upon the executioner and, knocking the sword from his hand, did not depart until he had freed them from their bonds and led them back with him, repeating: “Take me, I say, in place of these men innocently condemned; I am prepared to surrender myself to death.”

Supported, therefore, by the favor of the people, he approached the consul's praetorium. The consul hurried to meet him and greeted him. But because proven virtue reproves the foolish, the saint, spurning him, said: “Enemy of God, transgressor of the law, whose mouth has drunk the blood of the innocent more sweetly than honey, with what rashness have you presumed, conscious of so great a guilt, to behold our face? Most bloodthirsty man, why did you not heed the command of the Lord, which daily thunders: ‘You shall not kill the innocent and the just’? Desire for gold and silver enticed you to consent to the commission of so great a crime. Believe my wickedness: your rule, by which you govern-or rather plunder-this country, will be brought to the pious ears of the Augustus, who will repay your deeds with fitting justice.”

At last, the aforesaid military commanders came forward and pleaded with him to grant pardon to the consul, who was suffused with intense shame. The man of God received their petition mercifully and, before everyone, humbly sought to soothe the ruler whom he had defamed before everyone. After a banquet had been celebrated and the said commanders had received the pontiff's blessing, they undertook the journey they had begun and reached Phrygia by sea. Having removed the promoters of the sedition and reduced the region beneath the law of the empire, they returned to Constantinople. The people and a multitude of nobles came joyfully to meet them, and the emperor received them triumphantly in his palace.

Afterward certain deceitful persons approached the eparch, the prefect, and accused the commanders to him on many charges, striving especially to represent them as conspirators against the Augustus. They began to entice the man's mind with gifts so that they might arm him for the destruction of the innocent men. Corrupted immediately, he went in to the Augustus to report

this to him as true and virtually certain. The Augustus, believing his falsehoods because he was his prefect, angrily commanded that they be seized and thrust into prison, and eventually that they be killed without consideration of an inquiry.

When the prison guard, having compassion upon them, announced that the sentence had now gone forth from the Augustus that they should perish on the following night, he urged them to make arrangements concerning their affairs. While they, greatly and for a long time terrified, were groaning, one of them remembered how blessed Nicholas had miraculously freed the three innocent young men. Sighing again and again, he at last poured forth this prayer: “God, exalted king, by the merits of your servant Nicholas come to the aid of the wretched men who are about to die.” His companions likewise supplicated, and together they cried out with one voice: “Saint Nicholas, help us. Although absent, intercede for us, so that, rescued from the present slaughter, we may deserve devotedly to see your face.”

Therefore, on the following night, when they were to be punished and the Augustus had given himself to sleep, a certain likeness of Saint Nicholas appeared to him, saying: “Constantine, why have you assigned those commanders to death without a crime? Arise and order them to be released as swiftly as possible. If you refuse, I shall beseech the heavenly king to permit war to rise against you in your obstinacy; and when you have been killed in it, your flesh will become food for beasts and birds.” The Augustus said to him: “Who are you, or of what authority are you, that, having entered my palace at this hour, you dare to say such things?” He replied: “I am Nicholas the sinner, bishop of the metropolis of Mirrea.” Saying this, he disappeared. He also threatened the eparch with a similar vision and terror.

In the morning, when the emperor had summoned his magnates and the eparch, the prefect, and they had compared their visions with one another, he caused those commanders to be presented to him. As they stood before him, he addressed them with a grim appearance: “What magical arts do you know, that you mock us with such great phantoms and harass us in dreams?” While they stood astonished and gave no answer, the Augustus said again: “Tell us what your sorceries are.” One of them answered him in a trembling voice: “Far be it from us, lord, that we should be instructed in the teachings of a wicked art.” The Augustus said to them: “Do you know any man whose name is Nicholas?” Immediately, upon hearing so great a name, they raised their hands toward the stars and cried out: “Blessed are you, Lord God of Saint Nicholas, who do not forsake those who hope in you.”

When the Augustus eagerly asked who this man was and how great he was, one of them said: “He is holy in every respect, and through his merits we believe we have been rescued from the destruction intended for us.” Continuing to speak about his humility and goodness, he narrated in order the liberation of the three young men set forth above. When Caesar heard these things, he said: “Go and give thanks to the servant of God-or rather to God, who has delivered you through him. Carry to him from among my gifts this Gospel book wonderfully covered in gold, this golden vessel adorned with gems, and these other little gifts. Tell him to deign to accept these things and that, since I most willingly obey his commands, he should strive to pray for me rather than to threaten me; and let him entreat God for the peace of our kingdom and, still more, for that of the whole world.”

He performed many miracles during his life and after his death: concerning deliverance from a storm and shipwreck at the invocation of his name; concerning the multiplication of grain taken from the emperor's ships and nevertheless delivered at Byzantium according to the proper measure; concerning the deceit of Diana, appearing in the form of a woman, which was revealed to persons sailing to visit him; concerning an image of blessed Nicholas which a certain barbarian had set up to guard his possessions-when those possessions were nevertheless taken from him and, seeing this, he beat the image, Nicholas appeared to those who had stolen them and commanded them to be returned to him, because of which the barbarian was converted to Christ; and concerning a boy and a golden cup submerged in the sea but afterward restored to him together with the cup.

There is also the account of the deceit of a merchant who had sworn-or had given Saint Nicholas as surety to the Jew who lent him money-that he would repay it at the appointed time. But afterward, in court, the merchant employed a fraud. He placed the money in a hollow staff and gave the staff into the Jew's hand to hold; then the Christian swore to the Jew that he had repaid the whole amount. Afterward the merchant took back the staff entrusted to the Jew, who did not know that the money was inside. But while proceeding on his way, when he had fallen asleep, he was crushed and torn apart by oxen coming toward him. The staff was also broken by the oxen, the money came out, the fraud was understood, and the money was restored to the Jew. The Jew was also converted to the faith after the dead man had been raised.

There is also the account of a certain man who received the linen sheet from blessed Nicholas's bed as a relic. After prayer had also been made to Nicholas, the man received a son from his barren wife and named him Adeodatus. Years afterward, the boy was captured by the Hagarenes. When a year had passed and the day arrived on which the nobleman with his household was accustomed to celebrate a solemn feast in honor of blessed Nicholas, the boy Adeodatus was in the palace of the king of the Hagarenes, attending upon him. While the boy was recalling the feast customarily held in his house on that day in honor of blessed Nicholas, the saint himself appeared, seized Adeodatus by the hair, and presented him before his parents at their banquet.

There is also the account of the prior who was beaten because he would not permit the history and office of blessed Nicholas to be sung.

At last, blessed Nicholas, perceiving that death was present, began to pray and sing psalms. Seeing the holy angels coming to him, with his head bowed he began the psalm, “In you, Lord, I have hoped,” and so forth. When he had reached the verse, “Into your hands,” and so forth, he delivered his most precious soul to God into the hands of the archangels. From his honored tomb two springs flowed: one flowing with oil from the side of his head, and the other with water from the side of his feet, beneficial for health. But when, at a certain time, the bishop of Mirrea had been sent into exile by the prefect, the oil and water immediately ceased to flow until he was recalled from exile.

Section VI: On the conversion of Further India to the faith

As Rufinus bears witness in book X of the *Ecclesiastical History*, in that division of the terrestrial world which was celebrated by lot among the apostles for preaching the word of God, Parthia is said to have been assigned by lot to Thomas, Ethiopia to Matthew, and Nearer India, adjoining it, to Bartholomew. Between it, Parthia, and Media, but far more inward in extent, lies Further India, inhabited by many and various languages and peoples. As though it were far removed, no plough of apostolic preaching had made an impression upon it. Nevertheless, in the time of Constantine it received the first seeds of faith from a certain cause of the following kind.

A certain philosopher, Methodorus, is said to have penetrated into Further India for the sake of inspecting places and searching through the world. Invited also by his example, a certain Tyrian philosopher, Methyopius, wished for a similar reason to go to India. He had with him two little boys, related to him, whom he was instructing in letters. The younger of them was called Edesius, and the other Frumentius.

Now it is the custom of the barbarians there that, if at any time neighboring peoples report that their treaty with the Romans has been disturbed, all Romans who are found among them are slaughtered. The philosopher's ship was attacked; all were killed together with him. The little boys, found beneath a tree meditating and preparing their lessons, were preserved through the barbarians' compassion and were led to the king. He made one of them, namely Edesius, his cupbearer. But to Frumentius, whom he had perceived to be, as it were, foresighted and prudent, he entrusted his accounts and archives. From this they were held in great honor and affection by the king.

But when the king died, he left his wife, together with his little son, as heir to his kingdom. He gave those young men free power to do whatever they wished. Nevertheless, the queen entreated them suppliantly, as though there were nothing more faithful in the whole kingdom, to share with her the care of governing the kingdom until her son should grow to maturity, and especially Frumentius, whose prudence would suffice to govern the kingdom. For the other displayed simply a pure fidelity and a sober mind.

While they were doing this and Frumentius held the helm of the kingdom in his hands, with God stirring his mind and spirit, he began solicitously to inquire whether there were any Christians among the Roman merchants, to give them the greatest authority, and to admonish them to make assemblies in each place and to come together for the sake of prayer according to the Roman rite. But he himself did the same things much more, exhorted the others in this manner, invited them by favor and benefits, supplied whatever was opportune, provided places for buildings and other necessities, and rejoiced in every way that the seed of Christians should arise there.

But when the royal boy, whose kingdom he was administering, had grown to maturity, after everything had been completed and faithfully handed over, they returned again to our world, although the queen and her son greatly detained them and begged them to remain. Edesius hastened to Tyre to revisit his parents and relatives. Frumentius proceeded to Alexandria, saying that it was not right to conceal the work of the Lord. Therefore, he related to the bishop the whole matter as it had occurred and admonished him to provide some worthy man whom he might send as bishop to the now very many Christians assembled and the churches constructed in the barbarian land.

Then Athanasius, who had recently received the priestly office, considering Frumentius himself more attentively in the council of priests as a man full of the Spirit of God, conferred the priestly office upon him and commanded him to return, with the grace of the Lord, whence he had come. When he had gone to India as bishop, so great a grace of mighty works is said to have been given him by God that apostolic signs were wrought through him and an infinite number of the barbarians was converted to the end [read: faith]. We learned these things from Edesius himself, who was afterward made a priest of Tyre and who had been the companion of Frumentius.

Section VII: The converted nation and Saints Juventius and Florentius

At the same time, the nation of the Hebrews [read: Iberians] was also converted to the faith through a certain Christian captive found among us [read: found among them]. For it was their custom that, if a little child became ill, he should be carried about by his mother through each house, to see whether perhaps some remedy might be found in any house. It happened that a certain woman carried her sick little child through all the houses, and he was relieved in none. At last she came to that Christian captive, who healed him by her prayer. When this became known to the queen, and she herself was then ill, the captive was summoned and healed her also by her prayer.

But when the king, while hunting on a certain day, wandered astray and, separated from the others, found himself alone in places of the greatest darkness, he said: “If Christ, whom the captive preaches to my wife, is truly God, let him now deliver me from this darkness, and I shall worship him with all who are subject to me.” And so it was done. When a new church was being made, moreover, there was an immense column that could not be erected by any strength. The captive herself raised it by prayer alone and set it in its place.

Saint Juventius and Florentius also shone with holiness and miracles in those times. Saint Juventius, a Samaritan by nation, born from pagans, was converted at the preaching of Saint George, deserved to be advanced to the priesthood, and converted his parents to Christ by his teaching. At the admonition of an angel, he proceeded to Thessalonica. There, by the sign of the cross, he shattered the idols of Datianus and freed his daughter Cleopatronia, who was beset by a demon. When she had been converted to the faith and had received baptism with nearly two hundred persons, out of devotion she sent to Rome, to blessed Peter-that is, to his church-two candlesticks and other utensils, through Juventius and the blessed bishop Benedict. And when provisions failed them on the journey and they were passing along the shore, a great fish came out of the sea. When it had been caught by them, it sufficed for their sustenance for one week.

On one occasion a plundering soldier, together with his companions, took his garment away from him, and the following miracle occurred concerning it. It could never be sold, and wherever it was at night, a great light issued from it. But when a certain king, Rictiovarus, was laying waste the Roman territories in Asia and persecuting Christians, the said garment was carried to a certain church in the city where Rictiovarus was. He was killed with his whole army, as is believed, by the power of the saint whose garment it was. This occurred thirty years after the time when the said garment had been taken away from him.

Blessed Juventius lived until the time of Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, from whom he also received as a place for dwelling with his companions the fortress of Gravione. There he died in the one hundred and twentieth year of his life. Once, when he had fallen among six robbers and they wished to despoil and kill him, the first of them, who had raised his sword to kill him, ran himself through; the second hanged himself from an oak; the third, seized by a demon, expired; the fourth lost his eyes; the fifth, filled with madness, tore his own hands and arms with his teeth; and the sixth, running to the sea, cast himself into it.

Florentius, beginning to journey into Gaul at an angel's command, came to a port of the river Rhone and found there a broken ship without a pilot. Wishing to hasten to Mass as quickly as possible, because it was the Lord's Day, he entered it, commending himself to God after making the sign of the cross. He reached the bank safely, and there, finding a man tormented by a demon, he freed him.

An angel also revealed his arrival to blessed Martin, bishop of Tours, admonishing him to consecrate Florentius as a priest. He did this, receiving him with great joy and affection and assiduously praying to God to show him a place for his dwelling in which to serve him. A place was revealed to him, namely a certain cave near the Loire. Since there were many serpents in it, Florentius drove them away by his prayer.

Now because he had the custom of going to the city of Tours each year for the sake of prayer, on one occasion, when he came to a river in order to cross it, he found there a blind woman weeping bitterly. When, upon being questioned by him concerning the cause of such great grief, she had explained that her only son, who showed her the way, had been submerged in that river three days before and that not even his corpse could be found, Florentius, moved by compassion, prayed for him. An angel revealed to him that the boy was not dead but remained alive and well in a certain place. Accordingly, fishermen, casting their nets at the place shown by Florentius, drew him out alive. Florentius restored him to his mother and gave sight to the blind woman herself. He lived for 123 years and migrated to the Lord on the tenth day before the Kalends of October.

Section VIII: On Arius's recall from exile and his deceit

On Arius's recall from exile and his deceit, and on a certain Arian priest who deceived Constantine's sister.

For after Helena, Constantine's mother, had been taken from this light, Constantia, her daughter, having been left by Licinius-that is, having been widowed of him-used the consolations of her brother, the Augustus, that is, Constantine. It happened that a certain priest who secretly favored the party of Arius came into her acquaintance. But, when familiarity at first afforded abundant opportunity, he gradually began to spread a report, saying that envy had been aroused against Arius and that, because of private animosities, his bishop had pursued the matter contentiously, pierced by the spur of rivalry because Arius

was held sufficiently dear among the people. By suggesting these and other things of this kind rather frequently, he made the mind of Constantia his own.

When she was about to die, she was visited by her brother and was addressed by him tenderly and religiously. She is said to have asked a final favor from him: namely, that he receive the priest into his familiarity and listen to whatever might be suggested to him by the priest for his hope and salvation. She said that she cared nothing for herself, since she was now departing from this light, but that she was concerned for the condition of her brother, lest perhaps his kingdom should suffer destruction on account of the punishments of innocent persons.

Having received these admonitions from his sister and believing his own sister's concern for him to be faithful, he lent his ear to the priest and ordered Arius to be summoned again from exile so that he might explain how he understood the faith. Then Arius wrote a statement of faith. This indeed appeared not to contain our meaning, but nevertheless to contain our words and profession. The emperor was amazed and thought that one and the same opinion was contained in Arius's exposition and in that of the council held previously. Nevertheless, he relaxed the vigor of his mind in no respect, but again referred him to the council's examination, because priests from the whole world were being invited to assemble for the dedication at Jerusalem.

He was indeed easily received by his supporters. But when he proceeded to Alexandria, his whole undertaking was there frustrated, because there is a place for deceits among the ignorant, whereas to direct deceit against those who know produces nothing other than laughter.

Meanwhile, while these things were being done in vain at Alexandria, the venerable Augustus died in the city villa at Nicomedia, in the thirty-first year of his reign, having named his children in his testament as heirs to the succession of the Roman world. At Constantine's death there appeared a hairy star, which the Greeks call a comet, as many relate.

At that time Constantius, to whom he had indeed assigned the government of the East, was not present. Constantine is said secretly to have summoned the priest whom, as we said above, his sister had commended and whom he had thereafter held as a familiar, to have handed him the testament that he had written, and to have adjured him under oath not to deliver it into the hands of anyone except Constantius when he should arrive. Since the eunuchs who were in the palace also favored Constantius, the judgment concerning the emperor's death [read: the announcement of the emperor's death] was artfully suppressed until Emperor Constantius arrived. With many who were attempting innovations suppressed, affairs were to remain restored and intact.

When Constantius arrived, the priest restored the deposit. In gratitude for this benefit, the emperor, desirous of the kingdom, became so bound to him that, although he aspired to command everyone, he patiently allowed himself to be commanded by that man. Therefore, having joined himself in friendship with the emperor, the priest began to make suggestions concerning the restoration of Arius and to persuade him that priests who were unwilling to acquiesce should be compelled.

Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter IV: On the Sons of Constantine the Great: Constantius, Constans, and Constantine

The division of the empire among Constantine's sons

After Constantine the Great had therefore died, his three sons succeeded to the same empire. They divided the Roman world among themselves in such a way that the elder Constantius held Constantinople and the East; Constans presided over Antioch, Illyricum, and Africa; and the younger Constantine possessed Rome and the western kingdoms.

Their father, when dying, left Dalmatius, the son of his brother, as a sharer in the kingdom. For Constantine the Great had two brothers, although not from the same mother, because Constantine alone was born from Helena and the other two from another wife. One of them was called Constantius, who had two sons, namely Gallus and Julian the Apostate, concerning whom it will be spoken below. The other was called Dalmatius, namely the brother of Constantine the Great, and he had a son upon whom he imposed his own name; it is this son who is discussed here. But this man afterward displayed a promising disposition and was not unlike his uncle Constantine. Not long afterward he was killed by a military faction, with his cousin Constantius permitting it rather than ordering it.

The younger Constantine, namely the son of Constantine the Great, for reasons that are not known brought war against Constans in the first years of the empire. When he involved himself too imprudently in wars, he was killed not far from Aquileia by the commanders of his brother Constans. As Hugh of Fleury says, this Constantine, for as long as he lived, wore royal apparel and continually adorned his head with a diadem. He always cultivated the good arts, but especially literary studies: he himself read, wrote, and meditated. Thus the commonwealth of the Romans was reduced to two Augusti, namely Constantius, who presided over the East, and Constans, who presided over the West.

Meanwhile Sapor, the most powerful king of the Persians, having occupied Mesopotamia, broke into Syria. After capturing many cities there, he inflicted great losses upon the provincials of the Roman people. On this account Constantius, having raised many armies from both East and West, proceeded against the Parthians with extraordinary preparation for war. He fought with them on nine occasions, now successfully and now unsuccessfully. The last battle was fought at Sighara. In it he lost an undoubted victory through the foolishness of the soldiers, who seditiously and foolishly demanded battle, contrary to the reasoning of warfare and the precepts of military practice, when the day was already declining. And although the emperor Constantius emerged victorious from that battle, it was nevertheless with little loss to the enemy. For it is believed that, if the battle had been prolonged into the following day, all the forces of the Parthians could easily have been destroyed.

Constans, his brother, who governed the two western regions, waged many wars of varying fortune against the Franks and Alamanni. At last he defeated and subdued them with great slaughter, though in a most difficult battle; for this reason they suppliantly sought peace from Constans. After Constans had for a long time governed the western kingdoms as a good prince, had sufficiently revered the servants of God, and had conducted himself justly and vigorously, he soon fell into a grave illness. When he had fully recovered from it, he seemed to be changed into another man and began to employ the counsels of wicked men. Turning from there to grave vices, he became intolerable to the provincials and hateful to the soldiers.

At that time, among the principal commanders of Constans was a certain man named Magnetius, a man of profound and provident counsel and accustomed to military affairs. He was, moreover, liberal and generous, for which reason he was dear to the whole army. Under his command Constans had several times routed the barbarians. Seeing that Constans had fallen away from his former virtue and was now hated by all orders of society, Magnetius devised a plan to kill him and occupy the western kingdom for himself. It assisted this plan that he knew Constantius was then occupied with the Parthian war of which it was spoken above. Therefore, not much later, with many conspiring with him and an opportunity having been obtained, he killed Constans, who suspected nothing of the kind, not far from the Spanish territories, in a fortress whose name was Helena. This was in the sixteenth year of his reign and the thirtieth year of his life.

After Constans had been killed, Magnetius, with no one resisting him, occupied Italy, Africa, the Gauls, and Illyricum. When this had been done, with the consent of all the soldiers he made a certain Vetranio, already advanced in age and beloved by everyone because of the success and long duration of his military service, a sharer in the empire. He was certainly an upright man and most knowledgeable in military affairs, but wholly without experience of all the liberal arts, to such a degree that he did not learn even the first elements of letters until he was advanced in age and an emperor. After these things had been accomplished, Magnetius sent him to defend Illyricum.

At that time in Rome, through a military tumult and a faction of the nobles, Nepontianus, the son of Constantine's sister, was chosen emperor. On the eighth day he was crushed by Magnetius's commanders. After his death, fearing that the Romans might

attempt something against him, since he had learned that the Roman senate and people greatly favored Constantine's heirs, Magnetius came to the city with a great army. When he had arrived there, he killed many of the nobles; in addition, he relegated many who had favored Nepontianus into exile and began to oppress the city and Italy itself with a grievous tyranny.

Section I: Constantius's civil war and the death of Arius

When Constantius learned of his brother's death, he hastened to war against Magnetius and made peace with the Parthians-a peace certainly more useful than honorable. For he voluntarily left to the Parthians for their possession that part of Mesopotamia which lies beyond the Euphrates and which until those times had been under the dominion of the Romans.

And so Constantius, having gathered great forces from every side, set out for civil war against Magnetius in vengeance for his brother's murder. First he fought with him in a most grievous battle near the city of Mursa, in which Magnetius himself was defeated and almost captured. In that contest vast forces of the Roman Empire fell, forces fit for any foreign wars and which could have contributed greatly to triumphs and security. After that war Magnetius, having again repaired his forces, fought and was defeated. Accordingly, after being defeated in various battles and fleeing to Lyon in Gaul, he killed himself by his own hand in the third year and seventh month of his reign. His brother Decentius also, whom he had sent to defend the Gauls and had called Caesar, upon hearing of his brother's death, wrested his life from himself by a noose at Sens.

At that same time Gallus, the son of Constantius's paternal uncle, whom Constantius, when setting out to avenge his brother, had made Caesar and to whom he had entrusted the eastern empire, attempted a revolution and was killed by the command of Constantius. He was a man fierce by nature and more inclined toward tyranny, if it had been permitted him to rule in his own right. This Gallus crushed the Jews who, after killing soldiers during the night, had taken up arms for rebellion. He killed many thousands of persons, even those of an innocent age. He also delivered their cities-Diocaesarea, Diospolis, and Tiberias-and very many towns to the fire. Silvanus, moreover, having attempted a revolution in Gaul, was killed before the thirtieth day. From that time Constantius alone was prince and Augustus in the Roman Empire.

Constantius therefore reigned as the thirty-fifth emperor of the Romans. Although he reigned with his brothers, he himself was nevertheless the principal one; and after the death of his brothers Constantine and Constans, he remained sole monarch. He ruled, partly with his brothers and afterward alone and over the whole, for twenty-four years. Their empire began in the year of the Lord 340, but in the year of the world 4303.

From the beginning of his reign Constantius himself was corrupted away from the catholic faith through his friends who favored the Arians. Moreover, Athanasius, a man distinguished and of magnificent faith, disputed with Arius in the second year of this reign, with crowds standing on either side, at Laodicea, a city of Syria. A certain man named Probus, at the emperor's command, sat as arbiter between Arius himself and Athanasius, the most vigorous defender of the holy faith. There the splendor of the faith was beaten out to purity [read: was thoroughly examined], and from the divine books it was shown that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit exist in their proper persons, and yet that the nature of the three is one. Arius nevertheless remained in his wickedness with a hardened mind.

Rufinus, in book X of the *Ecclesiastical History*, says that Eusebius of Nicomedia, concerning whose dissimulation in subscribing it was spoken above, having obtained an opportunity from the circumstances and having been made familiar with the prince through the aforesaid priest, attempted to overturn everything and to reduce the acts of the Nicene Council to nothing. He caused Arius to come and, by imperial edicts, caused a council to be summoned again at Constantinople. To it there assembled especially those who followed Arius and Eusebius.

Having often met with Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in order that he should receive Arius, they at last fixed a definite day and gave notice that either he himself was to receive Arius or, if he resisted, he should know that he would be driven from the church and thrust into exile and that Arius would be received by another. Then Alexander, during the night that intervened before the appointed day, lay beneath the altar and passed that entire vigil in prayer and tears, commending the cause of the Church to the Lord.

When light had arisen and Alexander nevertheless did not cease from prayer, Eusebius, with all his followers, as though the standard-bearer of a heretical war, went down early in the morning to the house of Arius and ordered him to follow him to the church. He declared that, unless Alexander acquiesced in their presence, he would be expelled and would yield his place. The minds of everyone were therefore suspended in expectation as to which would give way: the perseverance of Alexander or the insistence of Eusebius and Arius.

Arius, proceeding to the church surrounded by a crowd of bishops and peoples, turned aside because of human necessity to a public place. While he was sitting there, his intestines and all his entrails flowed out into a heap of excrement. Thus, in such a place, he paid the worthy penalty of his blasphemy and fetid mind. When this was reported in the church to Eusebius and to those who, together with him, were wearying the holy and innocent man Alexander about receiving Arius, they departed covered with confusion.

Section II: The persecution and exile of Athanasius

When Alexander, bishop at Alexandria, had died, Athanasius received his see. So great were his struggles in the Church for the integrity of the faith that even this appears to have been written concerning him: “I shall show him how great things he must suffer for my name.” Therefore, in the second year of the reign of Constantius, Arian impiety, supported by the protection of that emperor, persecuted first Athanasius and then all bishops who were not of its party, by exiles, prisons, and various kinds of afflictions.

For, as Rufinus says in book X, the emperor Constantius, deceived through the eunuchs by Arian bishops, complied with their wicked contentions with sufficiently earnest zeal. But they, fearing that Athanasius might at some time be given an opportunity of approaching the king and that through him the king might be instructed from the Scriptures concerning the truth of the faith that they were perverting, began in every way to accuse him before the prince and to represent him as though he were the author of every crime and shameful deed, as will be discussed more fully below when the doctors are treated.

When he was sought for death throughout the various places of the world, and scarcely a corner remained in which he could conceal himself, lest his hiding places become burdensome to anyone and an occasion of calumny be sought against innocent persons, presuming that nothing was now safe for him in the kingdom of Constantius, he departed as a fugitive into the territories of Constans. He was received by him with sufficient honor and religious devotion. This was before Constans was killed by Magnetius, as was said.

When Constans had learned more diligently the cause of Athanasius, which he had known by report, he wrote to his brother that he had discovered as certain that Athanasius, the priest of the most high God, was unjustly suffering flights and exiles. He said that Constantius would therefore act rightly if he restored him to his place without any molestation. If he were unwilling to do this, Constans would take care to accomplish it himself, penetrating the inner parts of his kingdom and exacting the most worthy punishments from the authors of the crime.

Terrified by this letter, because Constantius was conscious that his brother could do what he threatened, with feigned kindness he ordered Athanasius to come to him voluntarily. After touching him with a slight rebuke, he promised him that he might return secure to his church. But when, through the crime of Magnetius, the emperor Constans had been deprived at once of his kingdom and his life, those former instigators began again to arouse the prince's hatred against Athanasius. After driving him from the church, they sent in his place a certain George, a companion of their perfidy and savagery.

Section III: Maximinus of Trier and the martyrs under Sapor

At that time, as Jerome writes in the *Chronicle*, Maximinus, bishop of Trier, was held to be illustrious. When Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, was being sought by Constantius for punishment, he was honorably received by Maximinus. As is contained in his deeds, related by Vincent in book XV of the *Historical Mirror*, Maximinus was a native of Poitiers, born from most illustrious parents. His brother Maxentius was bishop of Poitiers. Maximinus himself, as was revealed through an angelic ministry to Agririus, bishop of Trier, was ordained as his successor.

Once, when Maximinus was proceeding to Rome, he found Saint Martin, not yet made a bishop, traveling there upon the road. While they were proceeding together, a bear attacked and ate the little ass that carried their small bundles. Maximinus is said to have commanded the bear to fulfill the service of the ass. It did so until they returned to the place called Ursarii Villa. There the saint gave the bear its former freedom to wander, while taking away its license to do harm.

Maximinus compelled Martin to go with him to Trier. When he had afterward set out for Poitiers to revisit his own people, he migrated there to the Lord. But his body was transferred to Trier, where it became renowned for miracles. Among other wonders, a certain priest, when compelled to swear the truth concerning a certain case upon his body, swore falsely and suddenly died upon the road. Another man, an archdeacon, was accused of adultery. When, at the inquiry of his bishop, an oath was required from him for his purgation concerning it, and he was preparing himself for this, he was seized by violent fevers, confessed his crime, and was delivered.

Meanwhile Sapor, king of the Persians, persecuted our people. Under him, as Sozomen writes, sixteen thousand martyrs were crowned in his kingdom. Among them was Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, royal cities in Persia, who was accused before Sapor by the Magi. At first the king afflicted the Christians with immense taxes and assigned these exactions to cruel men. He then ordered Simeon to be brought to him in bonds. When he had been brought, Simeon did not adore the king.

When the king asked why he had not adored him, Simeon said: “Previously I was not brought here in bonds in order that I should deny the true God, and without any hesitation I fulfilled the solemn observances of the king. But now it is not lawful for me to do this.” At last he was ordered to adore the sun. He refused and was led into prison.

As he was going, there met him Eustazades, an aged eunuch, the king's foster father and the chief man of the royal house. He had formerly been made a Christian but, having suffered violence, had adored the sun. Sitting before the king's doors, he rose

and adored Simeon. Simeon, rebuking him insultingly and crying out with fury, turned away from him and despised him. Then the eunuch, weeping and groaning, put off his splendid garment and put on a mourning garment.

When the king heard this and could not bend him, he ordered him to be beheaded. Eustazades obtained from the king that he should cause a herald to proclaim that he was dying for no other cause than for Christ. He caused this to be proclaimed so that those who had been cast down by his example might recover their courage. When Simeon learned this in prison, he joyfully offered hymns on his behalf.

Prischius, who was over all the king's artisans, seeing a certain old man named Ananias trembling beneath the sword, strengthened him, saying: “Close your eyes for a little while, old man, and be secure, for soon you will see the countenance of Christ.” Immediately Prischius also was beheaded with the others.

Blessed Simeon suffered on the eleventh day before the Kalends of May under King Sapor, and on the following day his companions suffered. Hence it is also said in the martyrology that, on the tenth day before the Kalends of May, many suffered martyrdom in Persia under King Sapor. In that contest of faith there suffered the bishops Milesius, Acepsimas, Mareas, and Hygor, and the priest Jacob, together with nearly two hundred clerics, fifty monks, and many consecrated virgins.

Section IV: The councils of Milan and Rimini

Moreover, when Constantius had come to the western regions to avenge his brother's murder and, with the tyrant Magnetius destroyed, alone possessed the citadel of the kingdom, he began to harass the western bishops and to compel them through deception to consent to the Arian heresy. The condemnation of Athanasius was first put forward, and thus the obstruction of this most powerful barrier was removed. For this purpose a council of bishops was convoked at Milan, and many were deceived.

But Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, who by his preaching purified and defended the provinces of the West from the Arian pestilence just as Athanasius did those of the East, persecuted the Arians to such an extent that he condemned the heretic Auxentius, bishop of Milan, after he had been expelled by all Christians, and ordained Bishop Dionysius there in his place. Angered on this account, Constantius ordered a council to be held in the West and by letters summoned Eusebius, who was most renowned among the bishops, to it. But Eusebius, knowing the malice of many, sent letters of excuse, alleging his old age.

Contrary to his excuse, however, the emperor ordered the council to be held at Milan, which is not far from Vercelli. When the emperor had arrived and perceived that Eusebius was absent, he sent for him again. While Eusebius delayed in coming, Constantius meanwhile ordered the Arian bishops to describe their faith, and the catholics also to subscribe after Athanasius had been condemned. The first of these was Dionysius, bishop of Milan.

When Eusebius departed from Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan met him as he came, fell at his feet, and said: “I have sinned, father. Deliver me now, father, if you can.” Eusebius was summoned by the emperor. Since he could be bent neither by flatteries nor by threats to subscribe to the heretical opinion against the decrees of the Nicene Council, he at last said before everyone: “You say that the Father is greater than the Son. Why, then, have you preferred my son, namely Dionysius, to me in the subscription? The son is not above the father. Therefore let another, new document be made, on which I may be able to subscribe first of all.”

This pleased everyone, and the document on which Dionysius and some catholics had already subscribed was burned. When Dionysius and Secundus, catholic bishops who had subscribed out of simplicity, saw the subscription burned, they recognized their error and rejoiced. Eusebius, however, refused to subscribe himself on the other sheet, and so did the catholic bishops. Angered on this account, the emperor delivered Eusebius into the hands of the Arians, who afflicted him in many ways, as will be said below.

After the council had been dissolved, the emperor established that another, Arian council should be held. In it a determination contrary to the decrees of the Nicene Council was made concerning the matter of faith. Hence that synod of Rimini was afterward condemned together with all its decrees, as is evident in Distinction XV, *Sancta*. Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, Paulinus, Tedanus, and Lucifer were thrust into exile. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also joined to them, while the others either did not know or did not believe the fraud. But the outcome of the affair showed that the business had been conducted by such a plan.

When those men had been removed, a synod was immediately assembled at Rimini. There, in accordance with what the easterners had composed at Seleucia, cunning and crafty men easily circumvented the simple and inexperienced western priests. They did this by proposing to them which they would rather worship and adore: *homousion* or Christ. Since they did not know the force of the word-what *homousion* signified-the discussion was led as though to a certain pinnacle [read: disgust] and execration, while they affirmed that they believed in Christ, not in *homousion*.

Thus the minds of many, apart from a few who knowingly fell, were deceived. Coming to a position contrary to what the fathers had written at Nicaea, they decreed that the word *homousion*, as though unknown and foreign to the Scriptures, should be removed from the exposition of the faith; and they stained their communion with the communion of the heretics.

At that time the face of the Church was foul and exceedingly ugly. For it was not devastated by outsiders, as before, but by its own people. One man drove another into exile, and another was driven into exile, and both were of the Church.

Pope Liberius also was thrust into exile, and in his place his deacon Felix was substituted by the heretics. He was stained not so much by difference of sect as by connection in communion and ordination. At Jerusalem, Cyril, after Maximinus, received the priestly office in a confused ordination and varied at one time in faith and at another in communion. At Alexandria, George held with sufficient obstinacy a bishopric seized by violence, so that he thought those entrusted to him were given more for exercising the haughtiness of jurisdiction than that the priestly office was to be administered through religious duties.

At Antioch, indeed, many things were done in exceedingly confused fashion at different times. For when Eudoxius had died, and bishops of many different cities were striving with the highest ambition for that see, they at last transferred Meletius from Sebaste, a city of Armenia, contrary to the decrees of the council. Nevertheless, he was thrust into exile by those same men because, contrary to their opinion, he began to preach in the church not the faith of Arius but our faith. A great multitude followed him when he was driven from the church and was separated from the society of the heretics.

Section V: The threefold division of Arianism and Pope Liberius

Meanwhile, as Rufinus continues in the place cited above, so that a malice rich in evils might also rage against itself, the priests and peoples who at first had been torn from the Church under Arius as their leader were divided again into three sects and parties.

For Eunomius, a man leprous in body and mind and corrupted by the royal disease, yet extremely powerful in dialectical art, wrote very many things against our faith. He gave laws of disputation to his followers, from whom even now the Eunomian heresy takes its name. There was also another man named Macedonius, whom, after our people had been expelled-or rather killed-they established as bishop at Constantinople.

Thus that pestiferous beast which had first raised its head from the lower regions through Arius suddenly appeared in three forms: through the Eunomians, who say that the Son is in every respect unlike the Father, since a thing made can in no way be like its maker; through the Arians, who say that the Son can indeed be called like the Father, but by the generosity of grace, not by the property of nature, insofar as a creature can be compared with the Creator; and also through the Macedonians, who say that the Son is in every respect like the Father, but that the Holy Spirit has nothing in common with the Father and the Son. That these three opinions are judged heresies by the Church is found in XXIV, Question III, the penultimate chapter.

Constantius, as is contained in the *Tripartite History*, had ordered a council to be celebrated again at Nicaea in Bithynia, but in a moment the city was shaken. Arsacius, who had passed from military service into the eremitic life and was enclosed there in a certain tower of the city, had foreknown this earthquake. When he learned of it, he announced it to the people. When they did not believe him, he returned to the tower and was found dead, lying prostrate in prayer. He is said to have asked God that he should die before he saw the destruction of the city. He also cured a demoniac and killed a dragon. This occurred in the consulship of Tatian and Cerealis, on the eighth day of August.

The council was therefore transferred to Seleucia in Isauria. Constantius commanded Lauricius, duke of Isauria, to be present there so that he might minister to the bishops in whatever was necessary.

Therefore, after Pope Julius, as Vincent transcribed from the *Book of the Pontiffs*-Julius himself had also sustained many tribulations, had been in exile for ten months, and, after he died, was buried on the Aurelian Way at Rome-his successor Liberius was also deported into exile by Constantius because he refused to consent to the Arian heresy. He was in exile for three years.

Gathering the priests, with their counsel he secretly ordained the venerable priest Felix in his place. Felix held a council and found two priests, Ursatius and Valens, consenting to the Arian emperor Constantius; and he condemned them in a council of forty-eight bishops. After a few days Ursatius and Valens, led by zeal, asked Constantius to recall Liberius from exile so that he might participate only in a single communion, apart from a second baptism. Then, when authority had been sent, Liberius consented to the commands of the Augustus that he should communicate with the heretics in one participation only, provided that they did not rebaptize.

Thus, returning from exile, he lived in the cemetery of blessed Agnes with the sister of Constantius, so that he might return to the city, as it were, through her intervention. But she, being faithful, refused to petition the Augustus because she had learned of the council. Constantius, together with Valens and Ursatius, then convoked certain persons from the dregs of the Arians. After holding what was, as it were, a council, he sent for and recalled Liberius from the cemetery of blessed Agnes, expelling from the Roman episcopate Felix, who was catholic and who was at last also crowned with martyrdom.

Thus Liberius, as Jerome notes in the *Chronicle*, conquered by weariness of exile, subscribed to heretical depravity and entered Rome as though victorious. Nevertheless, this Pope Liberius exhorted others to the endurance of labors which he himself neglected to fulfill. He wrote as follows to all bishops, as is contained in VII, Question I:

"It has been reported to us that, because of past labors and persecutions, some of you have abandoned the peoples assigned to you and committed to you by God, and choose freedom from the labors of the episcopate, desiring to lead your life in silence and leisure rather than to remain among those things committed to you. The Lord says: 'Blessed is he who perseveres to the end.' From what, then, does blessed perseverance arise except from the virtue of patience? For according to the apostolic preaching, all who wish to live piously in Christ suffer persecution.

"Therefore, most beloved brothers, let not the bitterness of afflictions constrain you to withdraw from the pious purpose of your mind. Consider how great things our Lord and Redeemer bore for our absolution and liberation, and to what insults he delivered himself to be subjected, so that he might free us from the chains of diabolical power.

"Therefore attend to yourselves and to the whole flock in which the Holy Spirit established you as bishops to govern the Church of God, which he acquired with his own blood, so that there may be no one who deceives or seduces you through loftiness of speech, so that you abandon the peoples committed to you and, because of the reproach of evil men, give yourselves over to rest, so that you save yourselves alone and leave your sons orphans." Thus far he.

Therefore, from the day on which Liberius subscribed, as is written in the *Book of the Pontiffs*, there was a persecution among the clergy, so that priests and clerics were killed inside the church and were crowned with martyrdom. Felix, after being deposed, lived on his estate on the Portuensian Way, where he rested in peace on the fourth day before the Kalends of August.

Section VI: Eusebius of Rome and other victims of Constantius

Eusebius-not the bishop of Vercelli, but a priest of the city of Rome, as is contained in his deeds-began to declare Liberius himself a heretic. Through his teaching many avoided the communion of Liberius, and he strengthened the assembled people in the Lord.

He was apprehended by Constantius, while Liberius himself said: "Are you alone a Christian in the city of Rome?" Eusebius answered: "Thus we trust in the Lord, because Christ will find us faithful, just as we preserve the blessing which we received from blessed Julius." Liberius said to him: "Do we not perform the office of Julius?" But Eusebius replied: "You would, if you had persevered in the faith which at first, during the persecution, you appeared to maintain. But the matter itself teaches you."

Constantius said: "And what difference is there between faith and faith?" Eusebius answered: "We sinners maintain the faith integrally, but the madness of the devil and the envy of superstition hold you, who sent Felix-a pure bishop and a priest declared such by everyone-into exile, and who ordered death to be inflicted upon Christians, and especially upon clerics, priests, and deacons."

Then the angered Constantius, at the request of Liberius, caused the priest Eusebius to be enclosed in a certain chamber of his house which was four feet high. Remaining enclosed there for many months and persevering constantly in prayer, after seven months he at last slept in the Lord on the nineteenth day before the Kalends of September.

The priests Gregory and Orosius collected his body, and his relatives buried it in the crypt beside the body of blessed Sixtus. There they also placed the inscription: "To Eusebius, man of God." When Constantius heard this, he caused Bishop Gregory to be enclosed alive in that same crypt. Then the priest Orosius secretly collected the half-living blessed Gregory by night because of the Augustus Constantius. When Gregory had breathed forth his spirit, Orosius buried him beside the body of Eusebius. This Orosius wrote down these deeds.

From that same day, by command of the emperor Constantius, whoever was found inside the churches not confessing or participating in the same manner as Liberius was punished with the sword without a hearing. People were slaughtered by the sword in the squares, streets, churches, and baths, while Constantius together with Liberius persecuted the Christians.

At Constantinople, as is contained in the martyrology, the natal feast of blessed Paul, bishop of that city, is celebrated on the seventh day before the Ides of June. Having been sent into exile by the Augustus Constantius because of the catholic faith, he was cruelly strangled through the plots of the Arians and migrated to the heavenly kingdoms.

At Trier also is celebrated the feast of Saint Paulinus, bishop and confessor, who was relegated into exile by Constantius because of the catholic faith. Wearied until death by the changing of his places of exile, he received from the Lord in Phrygia the crown of blessed suffering.

Likewise, on the seventh day before the Ides of May, the most sacred body of blessed Andrew the apostle, together with the bones of Saint Luke the evangelist and Timothy, the disciple of blessed Paul, were translated to Constantinople under the emperor Constantius.

Section VII: Leontius of Antioch and the conversion of Victorinus

When Gallus, having been made Caesar, came to Antioch, as the *Tripartite History* relates, a column in the form of a cross was seen in the sky around the East. At that time Leuntius [i.e., Leontius], who had succeeded Stephen, was bishop at Antioch. Before he was a prelate, he had been cast down from the dignity of the priesthood because, while living with a woman named Eustolia and wishing to conceal a shameful suspicion, he is known to have cut off his own genitals. Nevertheless, through the exertion of the emperor Constantius, he was afterward ordained bishop.

In his time, when hymns were said to God at the end of the psalms, the catholics said: “Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.” The Arians, however, said: “Glory to the Father and to the lesser Son,” wishing to signify that the Son was less than the Father.

When the Arian Leuntius could not prohibit the catholics, he is reported to have touched his head, which was already gray, and said: “When this snow has dissolved, an immense quantity of mud will be gathered,” signifying that after his death there would be discord among the people because of the different manner of singing the psalms.

Under this Leuntius, Flavian and Diodorus were the first to divide the choirs of those singing psalms into two parts. From there this custom began to be observed throughout the whole world. Celebrating vigils at the tombs of the martyrs, they also summoned lovers of God to such service.

At this time, as Jerome writes in the *Chronicle*, Magnetius killed himself by his own hand in the palace at Lyon. His brother Decentius, whom he had sent as Caesar to defend the Gauls, ended his life by a noose at Sens, as was said above. Gallus Caesar, however, having been summoned by his cousin Constantius, into whose suspicion he had come because of his excellent disposition, was killed in Histria; and his brother Julian was called Caesar at Milan.

At that time Martin, as it is read, served as a soldier under Julian Caesar. Antony the monk died in the desert in the nineteenth year of the reign of Constantius and the one hundred and fifth year of his life. His sayings will be treated below.

In that same year-that is, the nineteenth of Constantius-as Jerome bears witness in the *Chronicle*, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who three years before had been driven into Phrygia through the faction of Saturninus, bishop of Arles, and the other Arians who were with him, composed books concerning our religion. But he and his books will be treated more fully when the doctors are discussed.

Around that time Victorinus the rhetor and Donatus the grammarian-“my teacher,” says Jerome in the *Chronicle*-were held to be distinguished at Rome. Of these, Victorinus even merited a statue in the Forum of Trajan. As Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, this is the Donatus whose little book is read to this day in the schools by boys learning the first rudiments of grammar.

I believe that this Victorinus is the man concerning whom Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions* that, when he was a gentile, he would say privately to his friend Simplicianus, a most devout man: “Know that I am a Christian.” Simplicianus would answer: “I shall not believe it unless I see you in the church.” And Victorinus, smiling, would say: “Do walls, then, make a Christian?”

When he had said these things several times, at last the fervor of faith overcame the shame by which he feared to displease his friends. He entered the church and publicly asked to be made a Christian. When the clerics offered him a written formula for professing that he believed the articles of faith, as was then the custom among them, and offered that he might do so, as it were, in secret, as though sparing his embarrassment, he refused. Instead, ascending the ambo where he could be seen by everyone, he publicly and in a loud voice confessed the things that belong to the faith, while the church was full, the Christian people rejoiced, and Rome marveled.

Section VIII: The death of Constantius

Finally, as is related from the *Tripartite History*, Constantius, coming to Opsocrenis [read: Mopsucrenis], died from an apoplectic seizure brought on by excessive eating [read: brought on by excessive anxiety]. Julian, called the Apostate, succeeded him. He was not the son of the aforesaid emperor Constantius, but the son of another Constantius, who was a cousin of his.

For an explanation of this, Hugh of Fleury, in the place cited above, relates that Constantine the Great, who called Byzantium Constantinople after his own name and magnificently adorned it, had two brothers from the same father but not from the same mother, namely Helena. For their father had only Constantine by Helena. Of these brothers, one was called Dalmatius and the other Constantius. This Constantius had two sons, namely Gallus and Julian. Of these, Gallus was Caesar for a short time under Constantius Augustus, but was killed through his agency. Julian, however, was made Caesar by him and sent against the rebellious Gauls. He suddenly conquered them and, having become pleasing to his soldiers, was called Augustus by them. When Constantius proceeded against him in war, he died on the journey, in the forty-fifth year of his life. Thus Constantius, who had persecuted the catholics, endured the whole period of his reign without peace.

Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter V: On Julian the Apostate

Julian's reign, education, apostasy, and accession

Julian therefore, as Jerome says in the *Chronicle*, reigned as the thirty-sixth emperor of the Romans, in the year of the Lord 364, but in the year of the world 4327 according to the lesser computation, and 5563 according to the greater. He reigned for one year and eight months. But Vincent says in book XV of the *Historical Mirror* that elsewhere three years are assigned to his reign, those eight months being counted as one year; hence there seems to have been an error of a scribe here. Finally, Bede, in the book *On Times*, says that he reigned for two years and eight months.

This Julian, as is contained in the *Tripartite History*, while formerly studying at Constantinople as a young man, had Mardonius as his pedagogue, Nicoles as his grammarian [read: Nicocles as his grammarian], and Eubolius the sophist, who was then a Christian, as his teacher of rhetoric. Julian himself was also a Christian at first. When he advanced in learning-or, according to another reading, in speaking-a report spread among the people that he was capable even of governing the Roman commonwealth. When this became more widely heard, it caused agitation in the emperor Constantius. For that reason he removed Julian from the city of Rome [read: the imperial city] and sent him to Nicomedia, forbidding him to associate with Libanius the sophist, who lived there and was a pagan. Julian therefore did not dare to visit Libanius, but nevertheless used his books.

Then Maximus, the Ephesian philosopher, came to him, drawn by his reputation; Valentinian afterward ordered this man to be killed as a magician. When Julian had first tasted his words as though they were philosophical, he began to imitate his religion. Maximus also put a desire for the empire into his mind.

Since these things did not escape the emperor's ears, Julian, placed between hope and fear, wished to conceal the suspicion against him. He who had formerly been an upright Christian was afterward made a betrayer. Having been tonsured, he pretended to live the monastic life: secretly he was indeed exercised in philosophy, but publicly he read the sacred books of the Christians. Finally, he was appointed a lector in the church of Nicomedia, and under this guise he escaped the emperor's fury. He did these things because of fear, while in no way abandoning the hope which he had conceived in his mind. He would say to his friends that happy times would come when he became emperor.

Afterward he became suspect to the emperor and fled. Eusebia, the emperor's wife, found him in concealment and with difficulty persuaded the emperor that he should not be killed, but should be sent to Athens to study philosophy. Coming there and seeking diviners everywhere, he found one who caused demons solemnly to appear to him. When Julian saw them, he signed himself, and immediately the demons fled. The magician reproved him because he had signed himself. When Julian praised the power of the cross, the magician said: “Do not suppose, good man, that they feared this sign; rather, they withdrew because they abhorred it.” Thus, ensnaring the wretched man, he filled him with hatred for the Christian sign.

After Julian was subsequently recalled from Athens, he was appointed Caesar by Constantius, received Constantia, the latter's sister, as his wife, and was sent into Gaul against the barbarians. When he entered a certain city, a laurel crown of the kind with which cities are customarily adorned was hanging between columns. The cord broke, and it fell upon his head and crowned him most fittingly. He therefore conquered the king of the barbarians and was called Augustus. Since an imperial crown was lacking, one of the standard-bearers placed around his head the torque which he wore upon his neck.

Puffed up by this title, Julian despised Constantius and persuaded Italy and Illyricum to adhere to him, as Hugh says in the place cited above. When Constantius, who was situated in the imperial city, heard this, he abandoned the preparation for the Persian war and proceeded against him. But, as was said, he died on the journey. Julian came to Constantinople and was made emperor.

Wishing to please everyone, Julian recalled the catholics whom Constantius had exiled, and he gave pagans permission to sacrifice to idols. He expelled eunuchs, barbers, and cooks from the palace: the eunuchs because his wife had died and he did not marry another after her; the barbers, he said, because one was sufficient for many; and the cooks because he used simple foods.

He was the only emperor since Julius Caesar to recite orations in the senate house. He gathered philosophers from every quarter. In an oration which he wrote concerning the Caesars, he assailed all the rulers before him. Moved by this arrogance, he also wrote against the Christians. In the third book *Against the Christians*, after he had collected many examples of the human dispensations in Christ, he said: “If each of these does not possess some ineffable contemplation, they plainly constitute the greatest blasphemy against God.”

Section I: Julian's character and his measures against Christians

Concerning Julian's character and appearance, Gregory of Nazianzus says in book IX *Against the Pagans*: “Julian's character became known to me while I knew him more clearly at Athens. The exceeding abundance of his inconstancy of character made me cautious. For he is an excellent prophet who considers well. I saw no sign in him that appeared useful to me: a rigid and inflexible neck; shoulders tossed about; eyes darting, directed here and there, and looking furiously; restless feet; nostrils breathing injuries and contempt; ridiculous gestures always bearing this same quality; unrestrained and, as it were, bubbling laughter; assent and denial together; conduct established upon no reason; disorderly questioning; and a response possessing no agreement with itself. When I had seen these things, I immediately said: ‘O what an evil the Roman commonwealth is nourishing!’” Thus far he.

It is contained in the *Tripartite History* that he grew a long beard like a philosopher. The people of Antioch mocked him about it in this way: “Let his beard be shorn, so that it may be useful for ropes.” And because, on account of his superstition, he very frequently sacrificed a bull to the idols, he ordered an altar and a bull to be fashioned upon his solidus. Therefore the people of Antioch said: “This bull overturns the world.” Retaliating with insults, he published a sufficiently witty and urbane book against the people of Antioch, which he called the *Antiochene*.

Concerning his savagery toward Christians, it is said from the *Tripartite History* that through certain sacrifices, invocations, and the immolation of blood he attempted to wash away our baptism and to renounce his ecclesiastical profession. He polluted the springs of Daphne near Antioch with sacrifices so that those who drank the water might be affected by its horror. When he had also polluted with that crime foods offered for sale in public-for bread, meat, fruit, and vegetables were sprinkled from the sacrifices-the Christians groaned when they saw it. Nevertheless, according to the apostle's command, they ate them: “Eat everything that is sold in the meat market,” and so forth.

Julian indeed pretended to have a mild countenance, but he prepared snares with which to deceive the innocent. In public images he painted Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars, and in this way he secretly caused his subjects to adore the gods. He also caused pagans to become accustomed to the Christians' works of duty.

Concerning matters of this kind he wrote to Arsacius, pontiff of Galatia, admonishing him that a priest should not attend spectacles, should not drink in taverns, and should not take part in shameful things. He had established hospices in every city; for this work he ordered thirty thousand modii of grain and sixty sextarii of wine [read: thirty thousand modii of grain and sixty thousand sextarii of wine] to be given to him each year. “A fifth part of these,” he said, “ought to be expended upon the poor who attend the temple, and the rest distributed to the needy and to strangers.” He also said that contributions of this kind were to be made by those offering the first fruits of their crops to the gods. Homer, he said, approves this by introducing Eumenius doing such things [read: introducing Eumaeus doing such things].

When Christians came to him because they were being excessively burdened with tributes and exactions, he answered: “It is your part to endure evils patiently, for this is the command of your God.” At Caesarea Philippi, he took down the bronze image of the Savior which had been erected by the woman freed from the flow of blood through touching the hem of his garment. In place of it he set up his own statue. Fire falling from heaven split it around the breast, and the head with the neck was cast down as one part; the remaining part stood until that time and preserved the mark of the thunderbolt.

While he was sacrificing, a sign of the cross surrounded by a crown was shown to him in the entrails of the animal. When others interpreted this as a victory of the Crucified, he answered that the Crucified was rather being confined and that no space was being left to him for expansion.

Wishing to please the Jews as well as the gentiles, he commanded them to rebuild their temple. They made no progress in the work, since whatever they constructed by day fell at night, with danger to many. When this had now happened for three days, on the fourth day a splendid sign of the cross appeared in the sky, and the garments of the Jews were filled with the sign of the cross.

While Julian was sacrificing at the shrine of Fortune at Constantinople, Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, who had been blinded by old age and was guided by the hand of another, openly called him an apostate. Julian said to him: “Not even your Galilean God is able to cure you.” He answered: “I give thanks to God that I do not see you stripped of piety.”

Julian withdrew all privileges from our clerics, dissolved both the honors and the laws enacted for them, and handed them over to the curiae. He ordered virgins and widows who were supported by the churches to pay back the things which they appeared formerly to have received from the public treasury. He removed the ornaments of the churches, destroyed our temples, and demanded again the money previously given for their construction.

He was exceedingly hostile to the inhabitants of Caesarea in Palestine because, even while he was reigning, they had demolished the shrine of Fortune which alone had remained. Therefore, seeking the possessions and money of those churches by means of

beatings, he collected three hundred pounds of gold from them. He also caused all the clerics to be enrolled among the soldiers to serve the province.

Concerning this Julian, Augustine and Ambrose speak thus in XI, Question III: “Was not the unbelieving emperor Julian an apostate and an unjust idolater? Yet Christian soldiers served an unbelieving emperor. When the matter came to the cause of Christ, they recognized none but him who is in heaven. When he wished them to adore idols, offer incense, or move arms against Christians, they placed God before him. When he said, ‘Lead out the battle line for the defense of the commonwealth against such a nation,’ they immediately obeyed. They distinguished the eternal God from a temporal lord.” Thus far there.

Section II: Lucifer of Cagliari and the Luciferian schism

Concerning Lucifer the heresiarch, Rufinus narrates in book X of the *Ecclesiastical History*, saying that Lucifer was entreated by Eusebius, namely the bishop of Vercelli-since each had been relegated to regions near Egypt-that they should go to Alexandria to see Athanasius and, by common deliberation with those priests who had survived, determine the state of the Church. Lucifer refused to be present himself and sent his deacon as a legate in his place, while he himself proceeded with intent purpose to Antioch.

He appointed Paulinus bishop while the parties there were still divided among themselves, yet hoping that they could be recalled into one body if such a man were chosen for them in whom both peoples, not merely one, might rejoice.

Meanwhile Eusebius proceeded to Alexandria. There a council of confessors was assembled, few in number but integral in faith and many in merits. They assigned the care of the East to Athanasius and that of the West to Eusebius. There a fuller discussion concerning the Holy Spirit was added: namely, that he should be believed to be of the same substance and deity as the Father and the Son, and that nothing at all in the Trinity should be called created, inferior, or later.

Through Scripture a discussion also arose among them concerning the difference between substances and subsistences, which the Greeks call *ousiai* and *hypostaseis*. For “substance” signifies the very nature and principle by which some thing is constituted, while “subsistence” indicates of each person the very fact that it exists and subsists. Therefore, because of the heresy of Sabellius, three substances-that is, subsistences or hypostases-were to be confessed. Concerning the incarnation of the Lord, it was also established in that council that the body which the Lord assumed was assumed neither without sense nor without a soul.

When Eusebius returned to Antioch and found a bishop ordained there contrary to his promise, he departed, impelled by shame and indignation together, granting his communion to neither party. For when he had left that place, he had promised that he would act in the council so that a bishop would be ordained for them from whom neither party would withdraw.

Meanwhile Lucifer, grieving over the injury that Eusebius had not received the bishop ordained by him, himself did not intend to receive the decrees of the Alexandrian council. Yet he was bound by the act of his legate, who had subscribed to the council by Lucifer's authority. He chose, therefore, after receiving back his legate, to preserve toward the others his own opinion, different from theirs but pleasing to himself.

Thus he returned to the regions of Sardinia and died, whether because, having been quickly overtaken by death, he had no time to change his opinion-for things rashly conceived are commonly corrected with time-or because he remained immovably fixed in this disposition. In the meantime, however, the schism of the Luciferians took its beginning from him.

Their error, as is contained in XXIV, Question III, the penultimate chapter, consisted in this: they were unwilling that those who had adhered to the Arians should be received or should remain in their orders and dignities, even though they returned to the catholic faith. Nevertheless, the council, or the fathers in it, had mercifully decreed and determined that they were to be received. On this account, those called Luciferians separated themselves from the unity of the Church and were declared heretics.

Eusebius, however, as the *Tripartite History* continues, journeying through the East and Italy, discharged the office of physician and priest together. He recalled each of the churches, after they had renounced unbelief, to the health of right faith. In particular, he found Hilary, now returned from exile and situated in Italy, striving for those same things in restoring the churches and repairing the faith of the fathers. Hilary, however, was a man gentle and peaceable by nature, learned at the same time, and most well suited to persuasion; he therefore conducted the affair more diligently and suitably. He also published nobly written books concerning the faith, in which he carefully exposed both the cunning deceits of the heretics, the deceptions suffered by our people, and their simplicity, prone to believe wrongly. Thus these two men, like certain magnificent lights of the world, illuminated Illyricum, Italy, and the Gauls with their splendor, so that all the darkness of the heretics was driven away even from hidden and confined corners.

Section III: Julian's laws and persecution against the faithful

After Julian came to the East to attack the Persians in war, he began to be carried along in public by the madness toward the worship of idols which he had previously concealed. More cunning than the other persecutors, he struck down almost a greater part of the people through rewards, honors, flatteries, and persuasions than if he had assailed them cruelly by violence and torments.

Then also, as is said in the *Tripartite History*, he established laws against piety. First, he forbade the sons of the Galileans-for so he called the worshipers of Christ-to study the disciplines of the poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers. “For according to the proverb,” he said, “we are wounded by our own feathers, since, armed with our own writings, they undertake wars against us.” He also enacted another law, commanding that the Galileans be expelled from military service.

Jerome says in the *Chronicle* that Phesius, an Athenian sophist [read: that Prohaeresius, an Athenian sophist], when a law had been issued that Christians should not be teachers of the liberal arts, voluntarily abandoned his school, although Julian granted to him personally that he might teach as a Christian.

And so, as Rufinus says, Julian decreed that the schools of letters should be open only to those who venerated gods and goddesses. He ordered that the belt of military service should be given only to those who sacrificed. He determined that the government of provinces and the authority to pronounce law ought not to be entrusted to Christians, since their own law had forbidden them even to use the sword. Each day he advanced in devising laws of this kind, in which he might discern something subtle or cunning, yet something that appeared less cruel.

When, like foul serpents bubbling forth from the caverns of the earth, the profane bands of magicians, philosophers, haruspices, and augurs had come to him, they all alleged alike that nothing would succeed through their arts unless Athanasius were first removed as an obstacle to them all. Therefore he was sought for death, but he remained in hiding.

Julian also gave another proof of his folly and levity. For when at Daphne in the suburb of Antioch he poured a libation to Apollo and received no answer concerning the things which he asked, he inquired from the priests about the causes of the silence. They said that the demons declared the tomb of the martyr Babylas to be situated nearby and that for this reason the responses were not given. Then Julian ordered the Galileans to come and remove the martyr's tomb.

Accordingly, the whole Church assembled-women and men, young men and virgins, girded with immense exultation-and in a long procession they drew the martyr's shrine, singing psalms with the greatest cries and saying with exultation: “Let all who adore carved images be confounded, and those who glory in their idols.” For six miles the faithful people sang this in the ears of the profane prince with such exultation that the sky resounded with their cries.

From this Julian was driven into so great a rage of anger that on the following day he ordered Christians to be apprehended everywhere, thrust into prison, and afflicted with punishments and tortures. Sallustius, his prefect, did not approve this, although he was a gentile; nevertheless, under orders, he carried it out.

He seized one young man who first came before him, named Theodore, and tortured him from first light until the tenth hour with such cruelty, and with so many executioners taking turns, that no age remembers a similar deed. Yet Theodore, suspended upon the rack while the torturer pressed upon his sides from either direction, did nothing except repeat, with a serene and joyful countenance, the psalm which the whole Church had sung on the preceding day.

When Sallustius perceived that, after expending every cruelty, he had accomplished nothing, he returned the young man to prison. He is said to have gone to the emperor, reported what he had done, and admonished him not to attempt anything of that sort thereafter; otherwise he would procure glory for the Christians and dishonor for himself.

“We ourselves afterward saw this Theodore at Antioch. When we asked him whether he had experienced a sensation of pain, he said plainly that he had indeed felt little pain, but that a certain young man had stood beside him, wiping the sweat from him with a most white linen cloth and frequently pouring cold water upon him. He was so delighted by this that he became sadder when he was ordered to be taken down from the rack.”

As is said in the *Tripartite History*, after the body of the martyr Babylas was removed, a thunderbolt sent from heaven reduced to ashes the entire temple of Apollo, together with its golden and gilded image.

The vessels of the churches were also ordered to be assigned to the treasury. Julian, the maternal uncle of this Julian, gathered in one place at Antioch the cloths dedicated to God, contemptuously threw them upon the ground, and sat upon them. Immediately his private parts and the regions surrounding his thighs were struck with so great a putrefaction that they bred worms. He was not free of this affliction until his death.

They caused sacred virgins, unaccustomed to being seen by the people, to stand naked in the theater; finally, after cutting them through the middle, they invited pigs to eat them. At Ascalon and Gaza, pagans cut virgins apart, heaped barley upon them, and set them before pigs.

At Sebaste they opened the tomb of John the Baptist, committed the bones to fire, and scattered the ashes. Bede, however, says in *On Times* that certain monks then living there collected some small particles from those bones.

In Heliopolis, a city of Phoenicia, as Theodoric relates [read: as Theodoret relates], pagans cut open the belly of the deacon Cyril and even ate from his liver. Whoever participated in that crime lost their teeth and became unable to speak, because their tongues putrefied and fell away; they also lost their sight.

The same author relates that the doors of the greater church at Antioch were taken away. Julian, prefect of the East, then entered together with Felix, superintendent of the royal treasuries, and Helpidius, count of the private affairs, who had once been Christians. The prefect Julian urinated against the sacred altar. Felix, seeing the most precious vessels which Constantine and Constantius had frequently offered, said: “See in what vessels the Son of Mary is served!”

Not long afterward, the aforementioned Julian died when his bowels putrefied, expelling excrement not below but above. His most Christian wife vehemently rebuked him. He therefore asked the emperor that the church be restored to those from whom it had been taken, but he died without bending the emperor. Felix, pouring blood from his mouth by day and night and with the veins of his body emptied on every side, quickly expired.

Valentinian, who was then a *millenarius* but afterward emperor, struck with his fist one of the ministers of the temple of Fortune who purified those entering the temple by sprinkling them. For Valentinian had seen a drop of water upon his cloak and said that he had been defiled by that purification. On account of this he was immediately sent into exile.

Section IV: The martyrdom of John and Paul

Under this Julian the Apostate, the brothers John and Paul, Gallicanus, Saint Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, and very many others suffered, as Vincent narrates in the place cited above from their deeds.

For when Julian heard that John and Paul were sustaining the poor from their own possessions, he commanded them to adhere to him just as they had adhered to Constantine. But they said: “While the glorious emperors Constantine and his sons, Constans and Constantius, gloried in being servants of Christ, we Christians served them. But because you have abandoned a religion full of virtues, we scorn to obey you and have withdrawn ourselves entirely from you.”

Julian sent this answer back to them: “I myself once held a clerical office in the Church, and, if I had wished, I would have attained the first rank of the Church. But, considering it vain to pursue inactivity and leisure, I applied my mind to military service; and by sacrificing to the gods I acted in such a way that I attained the empire. Therefore you, who were reared in the imperial court, ought not to be absent from my side, so that I may have you as the first men in my palace. But if you despise me, I shall act so that I am despised [read: But if you despise me, I shall act so that you do not despise me].”

They answered: “Placing God before you, we do not fear to lose the friendship of a mortal man, lest we incur the enmity of the eternal God.” Julian then fixed a period of ten days in which they might come to him voluntarily, after which he would compel them to come. They said: “Carry out today what you intend to do after ten days.”

During those ten days they therefore distributed all their possessions to the poor. On the eleventh day, at the hour of supper, Terentianus came to them bearing a small image of fire [read: a golden statuette of Jupiter]. When they refused to adore it, he caused a pit to be made in their house and concealed them there after they had been beheaded, publishing abroad that by the emperor's command they had been sent into exile. A little afterward Julian was killed in the war against the Persians, as will be related below.

Demons, moreover, were cast out of possessed bodies within the saints' house, confessing their suffering, to such a degree that the son of Terentianus cried out in that house that he was being burned by the holy martyrs. Seeing this, Terentianus was converted to the faith, and his son was freed from the demon.

Section V: Saint Gallicanus

Saint Gallicanus also suffered under Julian. He had formerly been Constantine's master of the soldiers and was greatly beloved by him. When Constantine sent him against the Scythians, who had rebelled against the empire, Gallicanus asked that, if he returned victorious from the battle, Constantine's daughter Constantia should be given to him as a wife.

Constantine was deeply saddened by this request, considering that Gallicanus was a pagan and that his daughter had a purpose of virginity. Constantia herself consoled her father, strengthening him so that he should not distrust God, but should promise Gallicanus what he had requested if he returned victorious against the Scythians.

It was accordingly settled that John and Paul, the chief officers of Constantia and most Christian men, should proceed with Gallicanus into battle, while Gallicanus's two daughters, Arthica [i.e., Attica] and Arthemia [i.e., Artemia], should remain with Constantia in the meantime.

Gallicanus therefore returned victorious and, having been received joyfully by everyone, hastened to the church of the apostles to give thanks to God. Seeing this, Constantine was astonished because Gallicanus was a pagan. When he asked why he had done this, Gallicanus answered:

“While I was in battle, when our men were failing and I did not know what I should do, Paul and John told me that I would immediately obtain victory if I made a vow to the God of heaven. As soon as I did this, a certain young man appeared to me bearing a cross upon his shoulder and said to me: ‘Take your sword and follow me.’ Then two armed soldiers stood beside me. Strengthening me on either side, they led me through the midst of the enemy to their king. I received him and his two sons bound from them, and I killed no one at all, nor did I do so or order it to be done. I have vowed myself a Christian, and I have also resolved to abstain from marriage.”

While everyone therefore rejoiced, his two daughters, already converted through Constantia, remained with her in virginity. Gallicanus himself departed from there and built a monastery near the city of Ostia. There he ministered with his own hands to the poor and to strangers.

When he was asked to be bishop there, he refused, but chose the man who was to be ordained. He performed such great miracles there that demons fled from possessed bodies at his command alone. He had four houses in which he stored provisions for the poor. God guarded them in such a way that whoever entered maliciously or for the purpose of taking anything immediately became either demoniac or leprous.

When the demons were then questioned, they answered that unless Gallicanus sacrificed, the disease which had occurred would invade all collectors of revenues. But because no one dared to approach so great a man concerning this matter, the emperor Julian commanded him either to depart from that place or to sacrifice to the idols. Immediately abandoning everything, Gallicanus sought Alexandria and was joined to the saints there for one entire year. From there he withdrew into the desert. When, even there, he was invited to sacrifice and scorned to do so, he was beheaded and passed to the Lord.

Section VI: Saint Donatus of Arezzo and other martyrs

Under the same Julian, Saint Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, also suffered. He had once been raised as a cleric at Rome by the priest Pigmenius and was instructed together with the emperor Julian in all worldly wisdom. In divine teaching he was a gentle and humble lector.

After Julian assumed the empire, he ordered Donatus's father and mother to be killed. Donatus fled to the town of Arezzo, and the monk Hilarinus received him joyfully into his house. As they lived together, applying themselves to prayers and abstinence, many sick persons were healed through their merits. Donatus was ordained priest by Satyrus, bishop of the city of Arezzo.

In those days there was a certain man named Eustachius, a collector of the treasury. While he was administering municipal affairs, a war arose which harassed the province. When his wife, named Euphrosyna, saw the enemy approaching, she feared that the money of the treasury which her husband possessed would be taken from her. In her husband's absence she took the public money and concealed it; amid this tribulation she was overtaken by death.

When peace had been restored, Eustachius returned to the city. Finding his wife dead, he searched through the house for the said money. When he did not find it and the money entrusted to him was demanded back by the officials, he and his sons were taken into secure custody so that they might be handed over to punishment. He approached the holy priest Donatus and explained his affliction and danger.

Donatus said to him: “Show me the tomb of your wife.” Going with him to it and offering a prayer over the tomb, Saint Donatus said: “Euphrosyna, I adjure you through the Holy Spirit to say what you did, or where you placed the money for which your husband is now being tortured.” Suddenly a voice came from the tomb, saying: “At the entrance of my house; I concealed it there by digging.” They searched there and found it, and through this the man was freed from that distress.

When the bishop of the city of Arezzo had died, Donatus was elected by the voice of all and, although he resisted greatly, was consecrated. When on a certain day he was celebrating Mass and his deacon was ministering the blood of Christ to the faithful people, the deacon, pushed by pagans, fell, and the holy chalice was broken. After its fragments had been collected-for it was made of glass-Saint Donatus restored it by his prayer to its former form. Through this miracle very many were converted to the faith and baptized.

After these things Quadratianus, an *augustalis*, took Hilarinus and Donatus captive and attempted to compel them to sacrifice. When they refused, he ordered the mouth of Donatus to be pounded with stones. While he was being struck, Donatus said: “I have always desired this.”

Finally, Quadratianus caused Hilarinus to be beaten with clubs until he breathed forth his spirit, and Donatus to be thrust into prison. After Donatus was freed from his chains, he approached a spring of water near the city where there was a dragon that infected the water and made it poisonous. When Donatus approached the place upon a little ass, the dragon came out to meet him in order to devour him. Saint Donatus struck it with a whip and killed it; he purified the water itself from the poison and made it drinkable. By his prayer he also procured another spring for the people.

Furthermore, he freed from a demon the daughter of a certain great but pagan man who was called Theodosius. And, what is more marvelous, he raised a certain dead man for a time. For the dead man had a creditor to whom he had owed two hundred gold solidi and who possessed a bond written by the debtor's hand. Although the money had been repaid to the creditor, the debtor had not received back the bond. The creditor was preventing the burial until satisfaction should be made to him concerning the debt, and he displayed the bond.

The dead man's wife, knowing that the money had been repaid to him, approached Saint Donatus, commending herself to him in this matter. Donatus came with her to the bier and said to the dead man: “Rise and see what you are to do with this man, who does not permit you to be buried.” Rising and sitting upright in the coffin, the dead man refuted the creditor concerning the debt that had been paid; receiving the bond himself, he tore it apart. Looking upon the saint of God, he said: “Command me, therefore, to sleep again.” Donatus answered: “Go, son, in peace.”

On another occasion, when there was a great drought from which famine followed, he obtained abundant rain by prayer. Although he was then outside the city, he returned home with dry garments, as though not even a drop of water had touched those garments.

Finally, Quadratianus, hearing of the marvels which Donatus performed and on account of which the Christian people increased, ordered him to be beheaded.

Gordianus also, a *vicarius* of Julian, was attempting to compel the holy priest Januarius to sacrifice. Through Januarius's preaching Gordianus was converted to the faith and was baptized with his wife Marina and fifty-three persons from his household. First the image of Jupiter which they had in the house was melted down and, through Saint Januarius, cast into the sewer.

When Julian heard this after some days, he commanded Clementianus to send Januarius into exile and, if Gordianus refused to sacrifice, to behead him. This was done, and Gordianus's body was thrown to the dogs. But during the night it was taken up by his household, and he was buried with blessed Epimachus, whom Julian had caused to be killed in those days.

Julian the Apostate also caused Saint Pigmenius himself, who had raised the emperor Julian from boyhood and instructed him in sacred letters, to be cast into the Tiber for the faith of Christ. He made very many other martyrs of Christ as well, as is evident from the martyrology.

Section VII: The martyrdom of Cyriacus of Jerusalem

When Julian proceeded against the Persians in war, he came to Jerusalem and caused Bishop Cyriacus to be sought out. This man had found the Lord's cross at the request of Saint Helena. He had been called Judas by his parents, but after he was converted to the faith he was called Cyriacus.

When Cyriacus was presented before Julian, the emperor attempted to persuade him to sacrifice to the idols, promising him riches and great honors in return. When he refused, Julian ordered him to be stretched out and molten lead to be poured into his open mouth. When he received no injury from this, Julian caused him to be stretched upon an iron bed, with burning coals placed beneath it and salt and fat scattered over them, and ordered his body to be beaten from above with rods. Speaking in Hebrew, Cyriacus prayed to God.

The tyrant, marveling at his endurance, ordered him to be taken back to prison. His mother, named Anna, came to him and exhorted him to contend manfully for Christ. When this was reported to Julian, she was presented before him by his command. Because she refused to sacrifice, he commanded her to be suspended by her hair and torn with iron claws.

When she had been tortured for three hours and said nothing, the emperor said: “What is it, Anna? Have the claws treated you well?” She answered: “Senseless dog and worker of every iniquity, if you possess greater torments, bring them forth. For I am prepared to contend against your father Satan, whom I hope to conquer through the name of Christ.” Then the Apostate ordered burning lamps to be applied to her sides, and she breathed forth her spirit.

Afterward Cyriacus was summoned. When he was asked by what magical practices it came about that he did not feel the punishments, he answered: “O accursed and unworthy dog, you who turn the power of God into magical practices, after not many days you will be struck by a heavenly plague.”

Then the tyrant ordered a deep pit to be made and a multitude of serpents to be placed in it by enchanters, and Cyriacus to be cast among them. None of these harmed him in any way. When a certain soldier named Amon, moved by this miracle, rebuked the tyrant for such great madness and confessed that the God of the Christians is great, he was beheaded.

After these things Julian commanded Cyriacus to be placed in a cauldron full of boiling oil. Finally, when he received no injury from this, Julian caused him to be struck in the breast with a very powerful iron instrument. From this he was taken up into glory on the fourth day before the Nones of May.

When Cyriacus was bishop at Jerusalem, the Lord performed many miracles through him by expelling demons and healing the sick.

Section VIII: Julian's Persian expedition and death

Julian the Apostate, therefore, continuing against the Persians, sent a demon into the West, as is contained in the *Lives of the Fathers*, so that it might bring him some response from there. When the demon wished to pass through a place where a certain monk named Publius lived, it was unable to pass, but remained there for ten days. During this period the monk did not cease from prayer by day or by night.

At last the demon returned ineffectually to Julian and reported to him that the monk Publius had not permitted it to pass. Julian said in anger: “When I return, I shall take vengeance upon him.” But not long afterward he was destroyed, as will be related.

As Socrates bears witness in the *Tripartite History*, when there was at Antioch, among others, a certain excellent instructor of young men, and Julian had threatened that upon his return from Persia he would destroy all the Christians, a sophist named Libanius said to that instructor, mocking him and the Christians as it were: “What do you think the carpenter's son is doing now?” He answered prophetically: “The Creator of all, whom you have called the carpenter's son, is fashioning a little coffin for Julian.” And so it happened that after a few days Julian's dead body was brought back in a little coffin. Nevertheless, the response of that demon concerning the victory to be obtained had been false, just as both it and its father are liars.

As the Apostate Julian was passing through the regions of Caesarea, Basil, bishop of Cappadocia, came out to meet him with many attendants. Seeing him, the emperor said: “I have out-philosophized you, O Basil.” Basil answered: “Would that you had philosophized!” And he offered him three barley loaves as a blessing.

The emperor ordered his attendants to receive them and to give Basil hay in return, saying: “Barley is the fodder of beasts. Since he gave it to us, let him himself receive hay.” Receiving it, Basil said: “We, O emperor, offered you from the things which we eat. But you have given us that with which you nourish the irrationality of your nature; although you willingly mocked our offering, unwillingly you have made this hay into food for us.”

Hearing this, Julian raged and said to him: “The feeding of this hay shall be given to you without being taken away. But when I have returned after subduing the Persians, I shall desolate your city, so that it may become more productive of hay than of men. For I am not ignorant of the audacity you urged upon your people: unable to endure the enchantment, they completely restrained the goddess whom I adored after setting her up [read: they completely shattered the goddess whom I adored after setting her up].” Having said these things, he proceeded toward the region of the Persians.

Basil returned to the city, summoned the entire multitude, related the emperor's words to it, and gave it excellent counsel, saying: “Brothers, reckon money as nothing and provide for our safety, so that, if time is granted, we may placate the tyrant upon his return with gifts.” Going to their houses, each person brought to Basil with eagerness the things which he possessed in his hands, namely an infinite quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones.

Basil placed these things in the treasury, writing each person's name above them, and said to them: “God is powerful both to strike him and to restore your possessions to you.” Immediately he commanded all the people and clergy of the city, together with the women and infants, to ascend the mountain upon which a temple had been built in honor of Mary the Mother of God. Undertaking a fast for three days, they asked the Lord to scatter the purpose of the wicked emperor.

While they persevered in prayer, Basil saw a multitude of the heavenly army on either side of the mountain. In their midst there sat upon a glorious throne one in the appearance of a woman, saying to the magnificent men standing nearest her: “Call Mercurius for me.” When he stood before her, she said to him: “Kill Julian, who blasphemes against God and my Son.” Saint Mercurius, who had been a soldier during his life, was seen to depart swiftly from her with his armor.

That lady then called Basil and gave him a little book containing in its narrative the whole creation of the world and, on the right, man fashioned by God. At the end, where man had been fashioned, was the word “Spare.” Basil immediately awoke from sleep and was placed at once in fear and joy. Libanius the sophist, who was in Persia and was discharging the office of quaestor, saw a similar vision of Julian's death on the same night.

Greatly astonished, Basil came to the city with Eubolus alone and approached the place of Saint Mercurius's tomb, where his arms were also preserved. When Basil sought those arms and did not find them, he asked the custodian where they were. The custodian affirmed with an oath that they had been there in the evening. Basil understood the vision and, gladdened by it, returned to the mountain while everyone was still sleeping.

When he had awakened them, he revealed the vision, saying that the emperor Julian had been killed that night. Giving thanks to God, they returned to the city and approached Saint Mercurius's tomb, where his lance was kept affixed. They saw that it was wet with blood.

While everyone was assembled in the church and praising God, behold, Libanius, Julian's quaestor, who had escaped by flight, came into the congregation in the church and narrated the death of the impious Julian. He said that when Julian was beside the river Euphrates with his army, and the soldiers' watches were guarding him, a certain unknown soldier came with his arms and a lance. With a violent and terrible assault he pierced Julian and, suddenly departing, appeared nowhere. The most wretched Julian himself gave forth a horrible cry and expired with a blasphemous shout. Libanius also narrated the similar vision which he had received concerning this; hence he sought and received baptism.

On the following day Basil commanded each person to take back the possessions deposited with him. They all said with one voice: “If we wished to give all these things to a temporal emperor so that he would not demolish our city, much more ought we to offer them to the eternal emperor, who has freed us from so great a destruction. Behold, all things are in your hands. Do with them as God shall command you.” Even though they were unwilling, Basil gave a third part of the possessions back to them. He expended the remainder upon the adornment of the church and gave a part to the poor.

Jerome, however, says thus in the *Chronicle*: “Julian set out against the Persians and, after victory, had vowed the blood of our people to the gods. There he was led into the desert by someone through a pretended flight. When through hunger and thirst the Apostate had lost his army and, unadvised [read: too incautiously], was wandering away from the columns of his own men, his flanks were pierced by an enemy horseman who happened to meet him, and he died in the fortieth year of his age [read: the thirty-second year of his age].”

As Hugh of Fleury says, when Julian was dying he began to blaspheme Christ the Lord, saying: “You have conquered, Galilean; you have conquered!” With these words the wretched man expired in the third year of his reign.

Socrates bears witness in the *Tripartite History* that, in the city of Carthage, a woman was found in the temple where Julian, when setting out, had secretly sacrificed. She was suspended by her hair, with her hands stretched out and her womb opened; in her liver he had sought a sign of victory. At Antioch, many chests full of human heads were found in the palace, and innumerable bodies of the dead were found submerged in wells.

When Julian's death had been announced in that city, the people celebrated a public festival, saying in the theaters with exhortation: “O greatest fool, where are your prophecies? God and his Christ have conquered.”

Section IX: The reign of Jovian

After Julian's death, as Hugh of Fleury bears witness, Jovian reigned for eight months. He was a strong and noble man. At the time when Julian set before his soldiers by law the choice that they should either sacrifice or withdraw from military service, Jovian was a *millenarius*. He chose to lose the military belt rather than obey the emperor's impious commands. Nevertheless, when Julian set out for war, he retained Jovian among the military men because of the necessity of the war.

When, after Julian's death, Jovian was forcibly drawn by the soldiers to the imperial office, he said that he was unwilling to rule pagan men, since he himself was a Christian. When the voice of everyone acclaimed him in common, saying that they too were Christians, he accepted the empire.

Sozomen says that the emperor Jovian issued to Secundus, prefect of the praetorium, a law that those who presumed to violate a sacred virgin by a nuptial bed should be punished with a capital sentence, as should those who looked upon her with an immodest gaze, to say nothing of those who perhaps attempted to seize her.

As soon as Jovian was elected, Rufinus says in the *Ecclesiastical History*, divine clemency came to him beyond all hope. For they were confined on every side and held by the enemy, and no means of escape was available. Suddenly they saw envoys sent by the barbarians asking for peace and promising food and other necessities for sale to the army, which had been consumed by want.

Thus, after peace had been arranged for twenty-nine years, Jovian returned to Roman soil. Admonished by the fall of his predecessor, he sought out Athanasius by honorable and most dutiful letters. From Athanasius he received the form of the faith and the manner in which the churches were to be ordered.

Having been made emperor, Hugh of Fleury says, Jovian considered the common safety and how he might lead the army unharmed from the midst of the enemy. But when he had been trapped by the difficulty of the terrain and surrounded by the enemy, and foresaw no means of escape, he made a treaty with Sapor, king of the Persians, and conceded to him the town of Nisibis and a part of upper Mesopotamia. Afterward the Persian king caused a market of goods to be prepared for him in the desert, and thus Jovian led the Roman army unharmed from the midst of the enemy.

But when he had returned to Illyricum, he withdrew into a certain new chamber. There, overwhelmed and suffocated by the heat of the coals and the brightness of the walls recently coated with lime, he ended his life in the eighth month after he had begun to rule. Thus an untimely death ruined beginnings so pious and so joyful.

This Jovian, as James of Colonna relates, was from Pannonia. As the delivery of his father's wife approached, it was announced to his father in a dream that he should call the child Jovian. He was distinguished in body, joyful in spirit, devoted in intellect to the study of letters, inclined to civility, naturally liberal, most skilled in military affairs, and lacking in nothing required for governing the empire. He died in the twenty-third year of his age.

At this point the historiographer Eutropius ended his history, which Paul the Deacon continued.

Section X: Apollinaris of Laodicea and his heresy

Around that time Apollinaris of Laodicea flourished. Jerome speaks of him as follows in *On Illustrious Men*: “Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, whose father was the priest Probus, devoted himself especially to grammar in his youth. Afterward, writing innumerable works on the sacred Scriptures, he died under the emperor Theodosius. Thirty books by him against Porphyry are extant, which among his other works are especially approved.”

But Rufinus, in book XI of the *Ecclesiastical History*, accuses him of heresy, saying as follows: “Apollinaris of Laodicea was indeed a man instructed in other respects. But while he was excessively driven by the vice of contention and delighted to go against everything that anyone thought, through the display of a talent badly fortified he generated a heresy from contention. He asserted that a body without a soul had been assumed by the Son of God.

“When he was pressed by the evident testimonies of the Gospel, he afterward reversed himself and, lest he appear to be entirely defeated, said that Christ indeed possessed a soul, but not that part by which it is rational; he possessed only that part by which it gives life to the body. He said that the Word of God himself supplied the place of the rational part.” Hence this was determined and declared to be heretical in XXIV, Question III, the penultimate chapter.

The *Tripartite History* places two men named Apollinaris at Laodicea in that time: the father a priest and the son a lector, the father a grammarian and the son a rhetorician. Yet according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, it seems rather that the father, not the son, was the bishop, he who had the priest Probus as his father, as Jerome said above. Bede also says that this man introduced the aforesaid heresy, namely the man who was bishop of Laodicea.

Title IX: On Constantine the Great, Emperor

Chapter VI: On Valentinian and Valens

Valentinian's accession, division of the empire, and election of Ambrose

Valentinian was the thirty-eighth emperor. According to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, because he was a true catholic he had been deprived of military service by the most impious Julian on account of the orthodox faith. Therefore, after Jovian died near the city of Nicaea, Valentinian obtained the empire by consent of the Roman soldiers. He held it for eleven years.

He shone not only in courage but also in prudence, temperance, justice, and greatness of body. He took his brother Valens as a partner in the kingdom. He retained the western regions for himself and conceded the eastern regions to be governed by his brother.

As Jerome says in the *Chronicle*, the emperor Valentinian was excellent and similar to Aurelian in character, except that certain people interpreted his excessive severity and parsimony as avarice and cruelty. He began to reign with his brother Valens in the year of the Lord 367, and in the year of the world 4330.

In the following year an earthquake occurred throughout the world. The sea went beyond the shore and overwhelmed innumerable peoples in Sicily and in many cities. In the third year of this reign, Valens, the brother of Valentinian, was baptized by Eudoxius, bishop of the Arians, and persecuted our people.

As is contained in the *Tripartite History* and noted in Distinction LXIII, when the emperor Valentinian was coming from the East to the western regions, Auxentius died. Auxentius was a teacher of Arian treachery who had torn apart the church of Milan like a wolf. Since Valentinian wished, by God's ordering, that a catholic bishop be consecrated, he summoned the bishops and spoke these words to them:

“You who are instructed in the divine eloquences know openly what sort of man a pontiff ought to be. You know that it is not fitting for him to govern his subjects by word alone, but also by his conduct, to show himself an imitator of every virtue, and to possess good conduct as the witness of his teaching. Therefore establish such a man in the pontifical see that even we who govern the empire may sincerely submit our heads to him and, when we transgress, may necessarily receive his admonitions like the medicines of a healer.”

When the emperor had said these things, the synod asked that he himself should instead make the decision, since he was wise and pious. But he said: “Such an election belongs to you. For you, who have obtained divine grace and shine with an uninjured splendor, will be better able to elect.” The priests then departed from the episcopal seat and deliberated.

When by divine ordering Ambrose, who had not yet been baptized, was elected, the emperor rejoiced and said: “I give thanks to you, almighty Lord, because the man to whom I had entrusted bodies, you have entrusted with souls; you have shown my judgment to agree with justice.” When Saint Ambrose was saddened by what had happened, the emperor comforted him and said: “Do not fear, because the God who chose you will always assist you, and I too shall always be your helper and defender.” Thus far there.

Section I: Valentinian's character, wars, and government

This Valentinian, as James of Colonna writes, arose from a family of middling rank in Pannonia. He was a distinguished man, becoming in countenance, quick in intellect, grave in character, and most cultivated in speech, although he was sparing in speaking. He knew how to paint most beautifully, to devise new weapons, and to fashion images from clay or wax.

As certain persons say, he would have been preferred to all who had been before him if he had lacked the foul men to whom he had entrusted himself as though they were most faithful.

When he had been acclaimed emperor as though against his will, and in those days the army wished him to give it another man as his partner in the empire, he assembled the multitude and said: “It belonged to you, soldiers, to give me the empire and government. But once I received it against my will, it is now not yours but mine to take thought for common affairs.” Hence he soon called his brother Valens to be his partner in the empire, as was said.

When Valentinian was now passing the third year together with his brother Valens, at the exhortation of his wife and father-in-law he created his son Gratian, who was not yet fully of age, Augustus.

At that time Valentinian crushed the most ferocious nation of the Saxons, situated among inaccessible shores and marshes and terrible to the Romans through courage and agility. He defeated them in a great and difficult war within the boundaries of the Franks as they planned an incursion into Roman territories.

The Burgundians also, a new enemy with a new name, numbered more than eighty thousand armed men, as is reported. Having abandoned their dwellings, they had settled upon the bank of the river. Although they were peoples of great courage and boldness, they were defeated and displaced.

At that time the most ferocious nation of the Alans first went out from their territories and inflicted much damage upon the Roman provinces. Valentinian met them in a most difficult war and defeated them, compelling them to flee within the Maeotian marshes. When the emperor pursued them with the Roman legions, he was impeded by the nature and difficulty of the places and suffered grave loss from the barbarians, who frequently burst forth.

Therefore, employing a sounder plan, he set forth an edict to everyone: if any people or nation could enter these marshes and crush the Alans, they would be freed from every tribute for ten years.

At that time the nation of the Sicambri was neighboring to the Alans. After Troy had been captured, they entered under the leadership of Antenor and came into the territories of the Pannonians. Building a city there, they called it Sicambria. Living there for a long time, they became a great people.

Accordingly, after many battles the Sicambri defeated the Alans and compelled them to obey the Roman Empire. They therefore remained free for ten years from the tribute which they paid to the Roman Empire. When the ten years had elapsed, the Romans began to exact the customary tributes from the Sicambri, whom Valentinian had called Franks because of their courage, from their ferocity.

The Franks answered the Romans that, by reducing the Alans beneath the yoke of Roman dominion, they had paid the Roman Empire at the cost of their own blood. Therefore tribute should not be sought from them in the future. When the Sicambri or Franks refused to pay while the Romans demanded it, the emperor's legates were killed in a tumult which arose among the people.

For this reason Valentinian, angered against them, assembled an army and declared war upon them. In a single war they were crushed by him, so that they abandoned their own dwellings and came into the territory of the Germans. There, after building the city of Cologne, they lived for many years. Multiplying greatly, they became terrible to their neighbors.

Under Valentinian, a certain Procopius assumed a tyranny at Constantinople and drew many of Valentinian's commanders with him into partnership in the tyranny. But he was defeated and destroyed by Valentinian's army in Phrygia. Very many of his party were killed or relegated into exile.

Section II: Valentinian's death, his sons, and Justina

Finally, in the eleventh year of his reign, when the nation of the Sarmatians had spread itself through the Pannonian regions and was laying many low by fire, plunder, and slaughter, Valentinian prepared war against them near the town of Brigetio. While he was answering their embassies, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, a sudden effusion of blood through his nostrils-which the Greeks call apoplexy-came upon him. Having lost his voice but with sense and memory unimpaired, he expired.

He left two sons: Gratian, whom he had received from his first wife, and the younger Valentinian, whom his second wife Justina had borne to him.

When Valentinian died, as is contained in the *Tripartite History*, the soldiers of Italy appointed his son Valentinian, a boy, emperor on the sixth day after his death. His brother Gratian and his paternal uncle Valens afterward accepted his empire, although unwillingly, because it had been done without their knowledge.

The boy was born from Justina, whom his father Valentinian had held as a wife together with Severa, in the following manner. Justus, Justina's father, was judge of Picenum in the time of Constantius. He saw in a dream that from his right thigh he had begotten the imperial purple. When this vision became publicly known and reached Constantius, Constantius caused Justus to be killed.

His daughter Justina came so fully into Severa's acquaintance that she lived with her. Severa, captivated by Justina's beauty, told the emperor that Justina was so beautiful that even she herself was seized by love for her.

The emperor wished to take Justina, but nevertheless did not wish to cast aside Severa, from whom Gratian had already been born. He therefore publicly proposed throughout the city a law that it should be permissible for those who wished to possess two wives at the same time.

Accordingly, after Justina was joined to him as a second wife, he named their son Valentinian, who afterward presided over the Roman Empire. From the same Justina he also had three daughters: Grata, Placida, and Galla. Nevertheless, that law concerning the possession of two wives was afterward abolished by canon and civil law.

Section III: Valens, the Arians, and Basil

Concerning Valens, Valentinian's brother, who ruled with him, the *Tripartite History* narrates that although he was a catholic, his wife made him an Arian. Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, was the author of his seduction. When Eudoxius baptized him, he bound him by an oath to remain in that sect.

This Valens therefore exiled Eusebius of Samosata. Eusebius concealed the messenger who had brought him the letters of his exile so that the messenger would not be killed by the people. At night he went out with one servant alone, carrying with him only a feather cushion and a book.

When a certain Arian named Eunomius had been ordained in his place, no one from the people came to the church. Seeing this, Eunomius departed from the city. After him Lucius was ordained. On one occasion, as he was passing, it happened that young men were there playing ball. When their ball happened to pass beneath the feet of the bishop's ass, the boys, wailing, kindled a fire and cast the ball through its midst, as though they had purified it.

At that time Agelius was bishop of the Novatians. He always used a single tunic and walked without shoes.

Amphilochius relates in the deeds of blessed Basil that the Arians obtained from the emperor Valens an order that he should cast the Christians out of the church of the city of Nicaea and give it to them. Saint Basil came to Valens and spoke on behalf of the Christians.

Demosthenes, the prefect of the emperor's banquets, supported the heretics and, while uttering a blasphemy, committed a barbarism. Basil said to him: “It is your part to think about stews, not to cook divine dogmas.” Immediately confounded, Demosthenes fell silent.

Valens then said to Basil: “Go and judge between them, but not according to the immoderate love of your people, for that is not fitting.” Basil answered: “If you condemn my judgment, exile me and cast out the catholics.”

Then Basil departed and said to the Arians: “Come, both you and the catholics. Close the church, and let each party seal it. After three days, if it is opened by your prayers, let it be yours. But if it is not opened, and after we do the same for one night it is not opened for us, take it.”

This was done, and it was opened to the Christians, not to the Arians. For when prayer had been made, the bars were shattered and the keys fell together with the bolt; under a vehement wind the gates struck against the walls. Basil therefore began the chant: “Lift up your gates, O princes,” and so forth. When the gates had opened, the Christians entered. On account of this miracle many of the Arians were converted to the catholic faith.

Jerome says that in the third year of Valentinian's reign so great a tempest arose at Constantinople that hail of marvelous size fell and killed some people. Among the Atrebates wool fell from heaven mingled with rain. In the following year Nicaea, which had often fallen before, was utterly overturned by an earthquake.

In the next year Athanaric, king of the Goths, stirred up a persecution against the Christians, killed very many, and expelled them from their own dwellings into Roman soil. Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, died. Hilary of Poitiers had died two years before; and Didymus, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus flourished. But these doctors and others will be treated more fully below in the following title, concerning the doctors of the Church.

Section IV: Valens's persecution of the catholics

After Valentinian's death, therefore, as James of Colonna attests, his brother Valens reigned for four years with his two nephews, Gratian and the younger Valentinian, the sons of the elder Valentinian. Although Valens himself, as was said above, had declined into the Arian heresy, nevertheless he long concealed the persecution which he intended against the catholics, restrained by brotherly affection and fear. For he considered how great a force the faithful emperor had exercised in avenging the faith.

But the impiety which he had meditated while his brother Valentinian was alive he revealed immediately after his death. For, now free in his unbridled audacity, he issued a law that monks and clerics who had been assigned to the divine work of faith should abandon the manifold activity of secular affairs and be compelled to military service.

At that time a great multitude of monks dwelling there had filled those vast deserts of Egypt, spread out even to the present day, which human habitation had not known because of thirst and barrenness and the most dangerous abundance of serpents. Therefore, at the command of the emperor Valens, tribunes with their soldiers were sent to this place to draw away the saints and true soldiers of Christ, by another and novel manner of persecution, either from the faith or from the desert. They also killed many companies of saints there. But it would be lengthy to recount in writing what things were everywhere done throughout

the various provinces, by similar visions [read: by these and similar commands], against the catholic churches and the peoples of the right faith.

When Athanasius, as he was dying, had chosen Peter to be his successor in the city of Alexandria, this Peter afterward became so ready to receive heretics, as Jerome writes in the *Chronicle*, that he brought upon himself the suspicion among some that he had accepted money. But Lucius, bishop of the Arian party, as Rufinus says, flew upon the sheep like a wolf. The aforesaid Peter immediately boarded a ship and fled to the city of Rome.

Lucius, however, as though the material for cruelty had been taken away [read: as though material for cruelty had been presented to him], went so eagerly after blood that he seemed to preserve no appearance of religion. When this Lucius entered Alexandria, as Theodoric says [read: as Theodoret says], the gentiles said: “Welcome, bishop who does not defend the Son. Serapis loves you and has brought you in.”

At his first entrance into Alexandria, such numerous and shameful things were done to the virgins and continent women of the Church that things like them are not recorded in the persecutions of the gentiles. For they tore apart the garments of the holy virgins and led them naked throughout the whole city, mocking them with obscenity as much as they could. They dressed a certain boy in a woman's garment, painted his eyes and face with pigment, and made him move this way and that upon the altar itself and make gestures toward it with his hands as though celebrating.

Afterward, placing in the church one of their own men, who was very well known for shamefulness and was stripped of his garment and naked in his genital parts, they made him an obscene preacher against Christ. In place of sacred words he uttered crimes, praising lust, impiety, fornication, intercourse between males, theft, food, and drink.

“After the flights and exiles of the citizens,” says Rufinus, “after the slaughters, tortures, and flames to which Lucius condemned innumerable persons, he turned the weapons of his fury against the monasteries. He laid waste the desert and declared wars upon those who were at rest.” At one and the same time he undertook to attack three thousand or more men dispersed throughout the whole desert in secluded and solitary habitation. He sent an armed force of cavalry and infantry. But they, on the contrary, offered their necks to the swords and said nothing except: “Friend, for what have you come?”

And, as is contained in the *Tripartite History*, when Valens had commanded all catholics to be expelled from the city of Edessa, a certain poor woman, carrying her son in her arm, ran toward the church by an unclosed door. All the catholics had gathered there, although the prefect, wishing to spare them, had commanded that no one should remain in the church.

The prefect, indignant on account of that woman, said to her: “O unhappy woman, where are you running so headlong?”

She answered: “Where the others are.”

Then he said: “Have you not heard that the prefect is going to kill everyone who is found there?”

She said: “I have heard, and therefore I hasten so that I may be found among them.”

When this had been heard, the prefect immediately ran back to the prince and said that all were prepared for death, but that it was impious to kill so many in a short time. Thus he called the prince back from his anger.

Afterward the prefect, as Theodoric says [read: as Theodoret says], compelled them by the prince's command either to communicate with the Arians or to go into exile. When all remained silent, he said to Eulogius, their leader: “Why are you silent?”

He answered: “It is not necessary to answer when nothing has been asked.”

The prefect said: “Did I not speak to all of you? I admonished you to communicate with those with whom the emperor communicates.”

Eulogius said: “I have a shepherd, and I obey his commands.”

The prefect immediately dispatched eighty of them into Thrace.

When a certain Maximus, the emperor's prefect, strove to overthrow Basil, the pillar of the true faith, and attempted to bend him to the emperor's will, now by flatteries and now by threats and terrors, Basil answered the prefect fearlessly: “Heap these words upon young boys. They and those like them indeed look to such promises.”

When the prefect said that so great a persecution should not be stirred up on account of a single word, namely *homoousion*, Basil answered: “Those who are fattened upon the divine eloquences do not endure even one syllable of the divine dogmas to be corrupted, but embrace every kind of death for them. I judge the emperor's friendships to be great when joined with piety; without it, I call them perdition instead.”

When the prefect called him a fool, Basil said: “I desire always to have this folly.”

And when death was threatened against him, Basil said: “Would that I possessed something worthy as a gift to offer to the one who would release Basil more swiftly from the knot of this bellows.”

When the prefect gave him until the middle of the night as time for deliberation, Basil said: “Tomorrow I myself shall be the man who I am now. Would that you did not change yourself.”

That same night the emperor's wife was tormented as though handed over to torturers, and their only son paid the penalty for his father's impiety. Therefore the emperor, affected by so many terrors, sent messengers asking Basil to entreat the Lord for him and his empire. From that time onward he also embraced Basil's constancy and gave him excellent estates for the use of the poor and lepers who were governed by him.

After a short time, however, forgetful of what had gone before, the emperor wished to ratify with his own signature a law concerning Basil's exile, but he could not. For the pen was broken, and the second and third pens suffered as the first had. Then, trembling, he tore the document with both hands.

Meanwhile, while Valens was raging against the catholics at Antioch, there was a monk there named Aphraates. Looking down from the palace upon him as he passed through the street, the emperor saw that he was dressed in a very cheap cloak and, in his advanced old age, was hurrying along. The emperor said to him: “Tell me where you are going.”

He answered: “To pray for your empire.”

The emperor said: “You ought to pray at home, according to the monastic custom.”

Aphraates answered: “You speak very well, if you would permit me to do so. I did this while Christ's sheep enjoyed peace. But because they are now moved by the greatest tumult, so that they are held captive, I must run about everywhere and save them from necessity.”

On hearing this the emperor made threats but remained silent. One of his chamberlains, however, who had charge of the bath, spoke harshly to the holy man. But immediately after his words, when he went down to prepare the emperor's bath, he lost his mind, descended into the boiling water, and died there.

Then the book of Themistius the philosopher called Valens back from raging against the catholics at Antioch. In it he argued that Valens ought not to be so hostile to the Christians because of ecclesiastical disagreement, since among the pagans a difference of sects was evident and each person remained in his own opinion. Perhaps, he said, this was more pleasing to God, since he is not easily known and is glorified in different ways, so that each person might fear him the more because the completeness of knowledge concerning him—how, in what manner, or how great he is—is the more unknown.

Section V: Firmus and the death of the elder Theodosius

At that time, as James of Colonna relates, a certain Firmus, after stirring up the peoples of the Moors in the regions of Africa, established himself as king. Having also assumed the name of emperor, he claimed Africa and Mauretania for himself.

Against him the emperor Valens sent from Spain Theodosius, the father of Theodosius the Great, who afterward ruled the Roman Empire, together with an army. Crossing into Africa, he routed the nation of the Moors in great battles and compelled Firmus himself, afflicted and overwhelmed by battles, to a voluntary death.

After he had arranged affairs in Africa with most experienced foresight, he was ordered, while envy attended him [read: at envy's instigation], to be killed by Valens at Carthage. When he learned this, Theodosius caused himself to be baptized for the remission of sins. After he had obtained the sacrament of Christ which he had devoutly sought, secure after the glorious life of this age also concerning the eternity of life, he voluntarily offered his throat to the executioner.

Socrates, however, in the *Tripartite History* speaks thus concerning this event. At that time Valens caused it to be investigated by necromancy who would reign after him. The demon disclosed four letters: T, E, O, and D. Therefore the emperor, driven by jealousy, killed many bearing such a name, thinking that they wished to assume tyranny. Thus men called Theodotus, Theodore, and Theodosius were killed, and all who bore these letters at the beginning of their name. Because of this fear, very many changed their names, denying with an oath those which they had previously possessed. Vincent says that upon this occasion Theodosius, the father of the emperor Theodosius, appears to have been killed, although Jerome was silent about it.

Section VI: Gratian's victory and the conversion of the Goths to Arianism

Meanwhile Gratian, the son of Valentinian and the nephew of Valens, who governed the western empire, saw an inestimable multitude of enemies poured into the Roman territories. Trusting in the power of Christ, he attacked them with a far smaller number of soldiers near Strasbourg, a town of Gaul, and completed that most formidable war with incredible success. For he killed more than thirty thousand Alemanni in that battle with the least loss among his own men.

In those times also the Goths, fleeing the territories of Scythia before the face of the Huns, joined battle with them and were defeated and put to flight with a great slaughter of their own people. Therefore the Goths abandoned their own dwellings, crossed the Danube with all their multitude and herds, and came into the soil of the Roman Empire. They were received by the emperor Valens without any agreement of treaty.

At that time the Goths were ruled by two leaders, Frigiderius and Athalaric. When they contended with one another concerning power, a very grave war was waged between them. After civil battle had been joined between them, Athalaric was defeated in one battle and then another. But Athalaric himself, together with those of his forces who had survived the war, fled for refuge to the emperor. The emperor not only received him but also assisted him against Frigiderius.

Trusting in the aid of the Romans, Athalaric renewed his strength, again attacked Frigiderius, and deprived him, defeated in battle, of both life and army together. In gratitude for this benefit, the greater part of the Goths who had followed Athalaric, and who after the death of Frigiderius had surrendered themselves to him, sent messengers to Valens and humbly asked him to send them bishops by whom they might be instructed in the rule of catholic truth, for the Goths were idolaters at that time. Then Valens, employing malignant depravity, sent teachers of Arian doctrine to them, since he himself was an Arian. Thus that whole nation was made Arian.

Section VII: The defeat and death of Valens

Now in the thirteenth year of Valens's reign, after he had perpetrated tortures and killings of the saints throughout the whole world, that root of our miseries—the nation of the Goths, which had been received into a treaty by the emperor Valens—was compelled by famine and injuries to rise in arms because of the intolerable avarice of the commander Maximus. First the Goths defeated the army of Valens and poured themselves throughout Thrace, laying waste everything with fires, plunder, and slaughter.

When Valens learned these things, he went out from Antioch. While he prepared war against the Goths, he was goaded by a late repentance for his sin and commanded that the clerics, bishops, and other saints whom he himself, led by depraved counsel, had expelled from their sees should be recalled from exile.

Thus, in the fifteenth year of his reign, he waged that lamentable war in Thrace with the Goths, who were then most fully equipped through the training of men [read: through the training of their forces] and an abundance of resources. At the very first attack of the Goths, the disordered squadrons of Roman cavalry abandoned the unprotected defenses of the infantry. The infantry were soon surrounded by the enemy cavalry and overwhelmed by clouds of arrows. While they ran madly here and there, they were utterly cut down.

The emperor Valens himself turned in flight. Wounded by an arrow and repeatedly slipping from his horse because of his excessive pain, he was carried with difficulty by his men into the hut of a certain small farmstead. While he lay hidden there, he was discovered by the pursuing enemies and suddenly consumed by fire. By God's just judgment, he was burned with fire by those whom he himself had burned with the fire of Arian perfidy. And those men burned him alive who, on account of him, were going to burn even after death in the vice of error.

After the emperor had been killed and they had gained a complete victory, the Goths now proceeded without fear toward the city of Constantinople. When they constrained that most powerful of cities with a continual siege, Dominica Augusta, the wife of Valens, gave out much money and drove the enemies away from laying waste the city. She faithfully preserved the empire for the relatives who governed the western empire.

At this point Jerome ends his *Chronicle*, which he had continued where Eusebius had left off. After Jerome, Prosper, Bede, and Sigebert the monk continued it.

Title IX, Chapter VII

Gratian and the beginning of the reign of Theodosius

After the heretical emperor Valens had been killed by the Goths, Gratian—his nephew and a son of the elder Valentinian—who governed the western empire with his brother Valentinian, another son of the aforesaid elder Valentinian, obtained the principate of the Roman summit. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 381 and reigned for six years after the death of his paternal uncle.

This Gratian, as James of Colonna attests, was highly educated in letters. He knew how to compose verse, to speak ornately in the manner of rhetoricians, and to explain controversies. He was, moreover, very thoroughly trained in arms, for every day he exercised himself with darts and missiles in the manner of his ancestors. In addition, he was sparing of wine and a conqueror of food, sleep, and lust.

As the histories say, he was full of every good activity, if only he had seriously occupied his mind with the care of the commonwealth. He was estranged from that care not by will, but by practice.

Therefore, when after the death of Valens he saw the state of the commonwealth collapsed in the East, Gratian, with the same foresight by which Nerva was once elected emperor and through whom the commonwealth was repaired by Trajan, summoned Theodosius from Spain. With everyone favoring it, he clothed him with the purple at Sirmium, took him into a partnership of the empire, and set him over the eastern provinces.

Thus Theodosius, having been made emperor, trusted that the commonwealth afflicted by the wrath of God would be repaired by the mercy of God. For, transferring all his confidence to hope in Christ, without delay he attacked those very great Scythian nations which had previously been feared by his ancestors, which had also been summoned by Alexander the Great [read: which had also been avoided by Alexander the Great], and which were then most powerful. For, after killing Valens, the prince of the Romans, and crushing the Roman army, they were most fully equipped with Roman horses and arms. These peoples were the Alans, Huns, Taphali, and Goths.

He defeated and subdued them in great and numerous battles. He liberated Thrace and the East, which had in great part been occupied by these nations, and rescued them from every tumult of wars. When these things had been gloriously accomplished, he entered Constantinople in triumph with Gratian's consent.

After these things had thus been done and the condition of the East settled, Gratian went to the western regions, leaving Theodosius at Constantinople. Theodosius considered the small number of his own men and, lest he dishearten them by continually waging war, struck a treaty with Athalaric, king of the Goths.

Not long afterward Athalaric came to Theodosius at Constantinople, and Theodosius received him with marvelous kindness. When Athalaric himself had entered the city and had beheld its buildings and how richly adorned were those who had assembled for the feast day, and when he clung to each sight with his mind astonished, he finally entered the emperor's royal court. When he saw there the various acts of service and offices, he turned to Theodosius and said: “Without doubt you are an earthly god, O emperor; whoever dares to raise a hand against you will himself be guilty of his own blood.”

When the king of the Goths had remained at Constantinople, he departed from human affairs. The emperor himself walked before his funeral procession and delivered him to burial with due honor. After his death all the nations of the Goths, seeing the kindness, munificence, and other virtues of Theodosius, voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Roman Empire.

Afterward, at the same time, the nation of the Parthians—who were still fierce because they had defeated Julian and injured the territories of the Roman Empire—of their own accord sent ambassadors to Theodosius at Constantinople seeking a treaty of peace. When they had been received with marvelous gladness, a treaty was struck with them.

Therefore, after the East had been pacified, the excellent emperor did not cease, by most just and most merciful laws, to assist the Church laboring against the impious, which the heretic Valens, favoring the Arians, had vehemently afflicted. The pious emperor rejoiced more to be a member of that Church than to reign upon earth.

Furthermore, he commanded the images of the gentiles to be overturned everywhere, understanding well enough that earthly gifts are placed in the power not of demons but of the true God. Not long afterward, once the nations of the barbarians had been subdued, he made his son Arcadius a partner in the empire.

Section I: The tyranny of Maximus and the death of Gratian

At the same time, while Theodosius governed the eastern empire and Gratian, together with his brother the younger Valentinian, protected the western empire with excellent laws and repaired the fallen commonwealth, a certain Maximus, one of the Roman commanders, seized the tyranny in Gaul. He was an upright and vigorous man and, as some maintain, like Augustus Octavian in all things, except that he broke the faith of his oath.

This Maximus had been sent by Gratian into Britain, where he overcame the Picts and Scots, who were overrunning the island, several times in battle. Elated by this victory and, as some maintain, compelled by the soldiers, he crossed into Gaul and there, with all favoring him, assumed the purple.

When the emperor Gratian was there, he neglected the army and the Roman legions and preferred to the veteran Roman soldier a few of the Alans whom he had brought over to himself with an immense quantity of gold. He always employed their company, so much so that at times he made a journey in the same clothing as they. For this reason he aroused against himself the minds of the veteran soldiers.

As soon as Maximus learned this, he considered that the time had now arrived in which he might claim the Roman Empire for himself. Relying upon many auxiliaries of barbarians and Romans, he moved his camp against Gratian.

When Gratian learned this, he was suddenly terrified by Maximus's arrival, especially because all his army had gone over to the tyrant Maximus. While Gratian planned to cross into Italy, where his brother reigned, he was circumvented by the treachery of Maximus and, as some maintain, was killed at Lyon, a city of Gaul.

Therefore, after Gratian had been killed, Maximus easily occupied all Gaul. He gave the part which is called Armorica, adjoining the Ocean Sea toward the west, to be possessed by the Britons whose assistance he had employed in these wars against Gratian's commanders. From its British inhabitants it is called Lesser Britain even to the present day.

Thus Maximus, having occupied the Gauls and aspiring to the empire of the whole world, prepared to cross into Italy against Valentinian with an incredible apparatus of war. When Valentinian learned of his approach and saw that he was unequal to him both in number of soldiers and in strength, he voluntarily abandoned Italy and fled for refuge into the East, to Theodosius at Constantinople.

Thus, after Gratian had been killed and his brother Valentinian put to flight, the tyrant Maximus obtained the western empire. Almost all Italy, with the exception of the city of Rome, followed the party of Maximus.

Section II: Maximus and Saint Martin

While Maximus ruled in Gaul, he frequently summoned the blessed bishop Martin and, when he had received him within the palace, honored him greatly. His whole discourse with Martin concerned future things, the glory of the faithful, and the eternity of the saints.

When the other bishops had assembled before Maximus and the shameful flattery of them all toward the prince was observed, apostolic authority resided in Martin alone. For even if it was necessary to make supplication on behalf of certain persons, he commanded rather than entreated.

Although frequently invited, Martin also abstained from Maximus's banquet, asserting that he could not be a participant at the table of a man who, contrary to his oath, had deprived legitimate emperors, one of his life and the other of his kingdom.

Maximus, however, said that he had not assumed the empire voluntarily, but had defended with arms the necessity of imperial rule imposed upon him by the soldiers. He said that this necessity did not appear alien to the will of God, in whose power victory had already rested through an incredible outcome, and that none of his adversaries had fallen except in battle.

At last Martin, overcome by reasoning or entreaties, came to the emperor's banquet, the emperor rejoicing in a marvelous manner that he had obtained this. The most illustrious men were present: Evodius, prefect and likewise consul, than whom no one was ever more just; and two powerful counts, the emperor's brother and his paternal uncle.

Martin's priest reclined in the middle, while the blessed pontiff himself sat upon a small chair placed beside the king. At the middle of the banquet, as was customary, a servant offered a golden cup to the king. But the king directed that it be given instead to the most holy bishop, expectantly desiring that he himself should receive the cup from Martin's right hand. Martin, however, after he had drunk, handed the cup to his own priest, judging that no one more worthy could drink before him. The emperor and all who were present marveled at this deed, so that the very act by which they had seemingly been held in contempt pleased them.

When Maximus was hastening with a very great army to occupy the city of Rome and the remainder of Italy, blessed Martin foretold to him that, if he attempted this, he would perish a short time afterward. Maximus nevertheless judged that at his first arrival he would be victorious. This occurred, as will be evident below.

When Valentinian had fled for refuge to Theodosius at Constantinople, Theodosius, mindful of the benefits which Valentinian's father and brother had conferred upon him, received him with paternal devotion. He not only preserved toward Valentinian while he lived the fidelity which he owed him, but also consoled him, though driven out after his brother's death, by preserving his imperial dignity; and with kindness and favor he commanded him to be of good hope.

Section III: Theodosius defeats Maximus

Theodosius, therefore, moved by just and necessary causes toward civil war, sought in the case of the two august brothers to avenge the one who had been killed and to restore the other. He burst forth against the tyrant Maximus, superior in faith alone but far inferior in comparison with the whole apparatus of war.

Although Maximus's success rendered him terrible, Theodosius in the straits of his anxieties did not lapse into sacrilegious curiosities. Instead he sent to John, who dwelt in the Egyptian desert and whom, as his fame increased, he had learned to be a man of God endowed with the spirit of prophecy. From him he received a most certain announcement of victory.

Theodosius therefore departed from the city of Constantinople and the eastern regions and came to Rome with the forces of the whole East. At that time Maximus was seated at Aquileia as a spectator of his own victory, while the commander Andragasus [read: Andragathius] administered the highest direction of the war.

With very large forces of soldiers, Andragasus [read: Andragathius] had fortified by an astute plan every approach through the Alps and across the rivers. But while he prepared to forestall and overwhelm the unsuspecting enemy by a naval expedition, he voluntarily abandoned the very barriers which he had obstructed and prepared to go by a sea route to meet Theodosius.

Theodosius, however, hurrying by a land route, entered the empty Alps without anyone perceiving it. At Aquileia, where Maximus was present with a small force, he shut in, captured, and killed without trick or contest that great enemy Maximus, who was ferocious and who exacted tributes and payments even from the most savage nations of the Germans by terror alone.

When the count Andragasus [read: Andragathius], who had prepared to forestall the unsuspecting enemy by a naval expedition, learned of Maximus's death and despaired that he could thereafter resist Theodosius, he hurled himself headlong from his ship into the waves. Thus, drowned, he ended his life.

“Behold,” says Orosius, “how in Christian times civil wars are concluded when they cannot be avoided. For the city was captured and the tyrant who stirred up the war was killed. Behold, on the other side the enemy army was defeated, and Andragasus [read: Andragathius], the tyrant's count, more bloodthirsty than the tyrant himself, was driven to death. Ambushes of so great a kind were dissolved and mocked, as were military preparations of so great a kind; and yet Theodosius devised no tricks and drew no sword from its sheath. Nevertheless that most formidable war was brought without bloodshed all the way to victory through the deaths of two men.”

Section IV: Valentinian's restoration and Justina's persecution of Ambrose

Thus, after Maximus had been killed, the younger Valentinian was restored to the kingdom by Theodosius. Having recovered Italy and restored his forces, he hastened against the son of the tyrant Maximus, who was still ruling in Gaul. He defeated and killed him in the first battle. When he had been killed and all that multitude of tyrants had been removed, Valentinian received the western kingdoms beneath his dominion and restored the commonwealth in Gaul.

Valentinian's mother was Justina, the wife, as was said, of the elder Valentinian. As Rufinus says in the *Ecclesiastical History*, she, a foster-child of the Arian heresy, confidently disclosed to her easily deceived son the poisons of her impiety which she had suppressed while her husband was alive.

Therefore, while she was at Milan, she began to disturb the condition of the churches and to threaten the priests with expulsions and exiles unless they confirmed the decrees of the Council of Ariminum, by which the faith of the fathers had been violated. In this warfare she struck Ambrose, the strongest wall and tower of the Church, and, wearing him down with threats, terrors, and every kind of attack, sought an initial entrance for herself by which the Church might be conquered.

But although that Jezebel was armed with a malignant spirit, Ambrose, filled with the spirit of Elijah, resisted her. Nevertheless, she did not cease to rage, chatter, make a tumult, stir things up, and inflame the peoples toward discord. She considered it an injury that affairs turned out less in accordance with her judgment, and she complained about this before her son.

The young emperor, therefore, inflamed by resentment over the insult which his mother had falsely fabricated, sent a troop of armed men to the church. He commanded the door to be broken, the holy places to be attacked, and the priest of God to be

dragged away and driven into exile. But the perseverance of the faithful people was so great that they preferred to lose their lives rather than their bishop Ambrose.

Again, a certain Benevolus, who then presided over the imperial archives, was commanded to dictate imperial decrees against the faith of the fathers. But, being a most Christian man, he denied that he could utter the imperial words and speak against God.

When a higher honor was promised to him if he fulfilled the commands, he said: “Why do you promise me a higher rank as the reward for impiety? Take away the very rank which I possess, provided only that the conscience of my faith endure uninjured.” Saying this, he cast his belt before the feet of those who commanded the impious things.

Ambrose, however, did not defend himself against the queen's fury with hand or sword. Instead, placed beneath the altar with fasts and uninterrupted vigils, through supplication he prepared God as defender of himself and of the Church.

It must be diligently noted that when the younger emperor Valentinian, at the insistence of his Arian mother Justina, demanded from Ambrose one church for the Arians, Ambrose did not consent. He said the things contained in Cause XXIII, Question VIII:

“I myself was approached by the counts so that through me the basilica might promptly be handed over. They said that the emperor had commanded that it ought to be handed over by his own right, since all things were in his power.

“I answered: If he sought from me that which is mine—that is, my estate, my silver, or anything of this kind belonging to me—I would not resist, although all things which are mine belong to the poor. But the things which are divine are not subject to imperial power.

“If he seeks my patrimony, seize it. If he seeks my body, I shall meet him. Do you wish to drag me into chains? Do you wish to drag me to death? It is my will. I shall not fortify myself by a surrounding multitude of people, nor shall I hold the altars while begging for life; rather, I shall be sacrificed more gladly for the altars.

“I shuddered in spirit when I learned that armed men had been sent to occupy the church's basilica, lest, while the people claimed the basilica, some slaughter should occur which would turn to the destruction of the whole city. I prayed that I might not survive the funeral pyre of so great a city, or rather of all Italy.”

And below:

“Against weapons, soldiers, and Goths, my tears are my weapons. Such are the defenses of a priest; otherwise I neither ought nor am able to resist. Would that I were secure that the church would by no means be handed over to the heretics. I would willingly go to the emperor's palace, if this accorded with the priestly office, so that I might contend in the palace rather than in the church. Who would deny that the cause of faith must be conducted in the church?

“Do not burden yourself, emperor, by thinking that you possess any imperial right in those things which are divine. Do not exalt yourself, but if you wish to rule for a longer time, be subject to God. It is written: ‘The things which are God's to God, and the things which are Caesar's to Caesar.’ Palaces belong to the emperor; churches belong to the priest. The right over public things has been entrusted to you, not the right over sacred things.

“Holy Naboth defended his vines with his own blood. If he did not hand over his vineyard to the king, shall we hand over the Church of Christ?”

And below:

“What is more honorable than that the emperor should be called a son of the Church? When this is said, it is said without sin and with grace. For the emperor is within the Church. A good emperor seeks the assistance of the Church; he does not reject it.

“If that which is within my right were sought—such as a house, an estate, or gold—I would willingly offer it. I can neither take anything away from the temple of God nor hand anything over. I received it to be guarded, not to be handed over.” Thus far there.

Amid these events that impious Jezebel ended her life, so that she might not complete the persecution which she had begun against the Church.

Title IX, Chapter VIII

Theodosius's character and family

After Gratian had been killed and Valentinian had been restored to the western empire, Theodosius alone obtained the eastern empire. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 387; from the origin of the world, in the year 4,351 according to the Hebrews and Jerome, and in the year 5,486 according to the Septuagint and Eusebius; and in the year 1,138 from the foundation of the city. He reigned for eleven years after the death of Gratian.

He was from Spain, as was said, and was born from the elder Theodosius, who had been unjustly killed by the emperor Valens. He was most devoted to the catholic faith, as James of Colonna says, and an enlarger and defender of the commonwealth. In character and body he was like Trajan, from whom, as some write, he derived his origin.

Nevertheless, he was unlike Trajan in this: Trajan was a gentile, while Theodosius was a devout catholic. He was merciful in spirit, compassionate, accessible, and thought to differ from others only in his clothing. He was liberal toward everyone, lavish toward the good, a lover of simple talents, an admirer of learned ones, and a lover of his citizens. He honored and rewarded them with money, especially those whose services toward himself or the commonwealth he had approved under adverse circumstances.

He so greatly detested that desire for triumph by which Trajan was stained that he did not initiate wars but found them. He was moderately learned in letters, yet studious and very diligent in learning the deeds of his ancestors. When he read them, he execrated proud and cruel princes.

He nevertheless possessed—something which cannot be denied—strict precepts from the law of nature, and he was suddenly angered by unworthy affairs, but was immediately softened. Therefore blessed Ambrose admonished him that he should establish nothing harsh while he had begun to be angry, but should revolve in his memory the twenty-four letters of the Greeks. Thus, his mind having been led elsewhere by that thought, his anger would weaken after the intervention of a short time.

He was accustomed to make an elegant and joyful banquet among his friends, but not an expensive one. He governed his health through temperance in eating.

He was joined in marriage to a woman named Fallacia [read: Flaccilla], from whom he received his sons Arcadius and Honorius. When she died, he took as his wife Galla, the daughter of the elder Valentinian and Justina. She bore him Placidia, to whom afterward the name Galla was added from her mother's name.

Section I: Eugenius and Arbogast defeated by Theodosius

Thus, while Theodosius governed the Roman Empire in the East and the younger Valentinian in the West, as certain persons report, Valentinian was killed by the treachery of the count Arbogast. But, as others maintain, he ended his life by a noose for hidden reasons—yet this also occurred through the treachery of the aforesaid commander, who was preparing the empire for himself. Valentinian was killed at Vienne, a city of Gaul.

After he had been extinguished, the said Arbogast created a certain Eugenius emperor. This Eugenius had formerly been a grammarian and teacher of Latin letters, but after leaving the schools he served in the palace and was the imperial secretary of the emperor Valentinian. On account of his singular eloquence, he was honored by everyone.

These two, therefore, induced the eunuchs by great promises to bring about the death of their lord. While Valentinian slept, he was strangled by them, so that he might be thought to have ended his life voluntarily.

Arbogast chose for the empire precisely such a man upon whom he might impose only the title of emperor, while he himself would govern the empire according to his own judgment. For Arbogast himself was a Frank by birth, but a barbarian in spirit and counsel, savage and cruel, and a most sordid worshiper of idols. Valentinian had entrusted to him the care of all the armies on account of his singular knowledge of military affairs.

Thus the tyrant Eugenius, preparing the Roman Empire for himself through Arbogast's zeal, gathered from every quarter innumerable and unconquered forces, whether from Roman garrisons or from auxiliaries of the barbarians, some of whom Arbogast had drawn in by power and others by kinship. With these forces he took the road toward Italy against the prince Theodosius.

When the emperor Theodosius learned of the death of his colleague Valentinian, he was no less inflamed toward vengeance and took up arms against Eugenius. Nevertheless, the pious emperor sought to learn God's will through John, a most holy anchorite and a man endowed with the spirit of prophecy: whether it would be better to preserve peace or wage war. As concerning

Maximus, so also concerning this man, John promised Theodosius victory, although not without a very great outpouring of blood on both sides.

Theodosius therefore prepared for war against Eugenius, fortified not so much by the assistance of arms and weapons as by that of fasts and prayers, and not so much by the watches of guards as by spending the night in supplications. For he went about with the priests and the people to all the places of prayer. Before the shrines of the apostles and martyrs he lay prostrate in ashes and sackcloth, and with humble intercession sought from the saints faithful assistance for himself.

But the pagans began to invoke sacrifices. At Rome, where Theodosius then was, they began to inspect the bloody entrails of animals from deadly victims and to announce a certain victory to Eugenius.

When Theodosius began to press upon the passes of the Alps which the enemies had occupied, those who had sacrificed to the gods were the first to be turned to flight. Especially so was Fabianus, prefect of the city [read: Flavianus, prefect of the city] and a pagan, who, favoring Eugenius, had been the cause of all the sacrifices. He had greatly insulted the Christians and promised a certain victory to Eugenius; although he could have escaped, he ran into death.

Eugenius and Arbogast had deployed their ordered battle lines upon the plains and had occupied the high sides of the Alps and the unavoidable passages by sending cunning ambushes ahead. Thus, by the disposition of the war alone, they ought to have been the victors, had the Lord not fought for the justice of Theodosius.

Theodosius, therefore, stationed upon the summits of the Alps, prostrated his body upon the ground and fixed his mind upon heaven. After he had passed the night in prayer until sleep, he confidently seized his arms. Alone, knowing that he was not alone, he fortified himself with the sign of the cross and cast himself into the battle, certain that he would be victorious even if no one followed him.

When he came to the foremost troops, they surrendered themselves without a struggle to the legitimate prince. But a most bitter conflict was waged with the others who were in the valleys in dense battle lines with Eugenius and Arbogast.

For some time the victory stood doubtful. The auxiliary barbarians whom the emperor had hired for the war were already being poured out in slaughter and were already turning their backs to the enemy. But this occurred not so that Theodosius might be defeated, but so that he might not appear to conquer through barbarians.

Then Theodosius, when he saw the battle lines of his men turned about, cast away his weapons and turned to his accustomed auxiliaries. Prostrate in the sight of God, he said: “Almighty God, you know that in the name of Jesus Christ your Son I have undertaken just battles of just vengeance. If it is otherwise, take vengeance upon me. But if I have come here with a justifiable cause, trusting in you, extend your right hand, lest perhaps the nations say: ‘Where is their God?’”

For he stood upon a lofty rock from which he could be seen by his men and could see them while he spoke these things. Through this supplication of the prince, those who were with him, made certain by God, were encouraged toward the slaughter.

It happened, moreover, that Arbogast, a count of the enemy party [read: Arbitio, a count of the enemy party], although he had caught the unsuspecting emperor within ambushes placed around him, was by God's will turned toward reverence for the Augustus. He not only freed the emperor himself from danger but also furnished him with assistance.

It was also learned that, after that prayer which the emperor had poured out to God, that great and ineffable whirlwind rushed into the faces of the enemies. The darts cast by the faithful were carried through the air and struck the enemies beyond the measure of a human cast. On the contrary, the weapons which the unbelieving enemies cast were turned back against the enemies themselves.

When these things had been seen, fear born of human conscience looked out for itself. For the hostile army immediately prostrated itself before the victorious Theodosius.

Eugenius, seeing the slaughter of some of his men and the surrender of others, attempted secretly to withdraw himself from the war. He was captured and killed by the soldiers of Theodosius. Arbogast, however, attempted to seek safety in flight. When he perceived himself surrounded on every side by enemies and no way of safety lay open to him, he killed himself with his own hand. Thus the civil war was confined by the blood of these two men.

Before the battle against Arbogast, Theodosius had sent ten thousand Goths whom he had hired for payment. Circumvented through barbarian treachery by Arbogast, they were utterly destroyed. To have lost them was a gain, and to be defeated was to conquer.

Let the detractors of the Christian religion now say whether, from the foundation of the city, there was any single civil war undertaken from so pious a necessity, completed with so divine a success, and settled with so merciful a kindness.

It was therefore evident that Theodosius was always victorious in wars by divine power, not by the strength of human forces. So great was Theodosius's mercy and kindness after this victory that he wished the sons of his enemies, who were not yet Christians and had fled to the church, to be made Christians. Afterward he loved them with Christian charity and did not deprive them of their possessions, but increased them in honors.

Section II: Theodosius destroys the temples of the idols

Therefore, after victory over the tyrants, the pious prince Theodosius, with the greatest care and the greatest zeal, after heretics and pagans had everywhere been driven out, took care to extend everywhere the worship of the Christian religion. He restored to the catholics the churches which the heretics had taken away by violence, and he rose up with all his strength against the rites of the pagans. By a law which he issued, he commanded that all temples of idols everywhere throughout the whole Roman world be overthrown. For down to the times of this most fortunate prince the idols were worshiped by the gentiles; but he, kindled with pious zeal, commanded them to be destroyed.

Now when, at Alexandria in Egypt, they had begun by command of the prince to overthrow a certain temple of idols, the gentiles resisted even with arms, also killing some of the Christians in that tumult. And when the ensuing sedition and killing were reported to the prince, he indeed refused to exercise vengeance upon the killers, reserving them for correction and exposing them rather to subjection. But he decreed that henceforth those who hindered those things—that is, the overthrow of the temples of the idols—ought to be killed. When this was established by the prince's rescript, fear and stupor seized the gentiles, and they resisted this work no further.

At that time there was at Alexandria that temple of Scrapis [read: Serapis] which was marvelous to all of the age. In it an immense image of that same Scrapis [read: Serapis] was worshiped, so great that its right hand touched one wall and its left the other. That monster was said to have been composed from every kind of metal and wood. There were, besides, certain things in the said temple which, constructed by deceits and art, induced amazement.

Now when permission for overthrowing the idols had been given by the emperor through a rescript, certain things had already been spread among the people: that if a human hand touched that temple of Serapis, the earth, opening, would immediately be dissolved into chaos, and the heaven would suddenly fall headlong.

But behold, one of the soldiers, a faithful man fortified more by faith than by arms, rose up and with all his force dashed the thing he had seized [read: a double-edged axe] against the deceiver's jaw. A cry was raised among the peoples. Yet neither did heaven then fall, nor did the earth sink. Then, striking again and yet again, he cut down the smoky image of rotten wood. After this its head, struck off from the neck, and its trunk, when fire was applied, burned as easily as dry wood. Afterward the other idols throughout all Alexandria were likewise cast down.

In the temple of Saturn there was a certain priest named Tyrannus. As though by a response from the divinity, he told the noble and principal men worshiping in the temple, whose matrons had pleased him for his lust, that Saturn had commanded that his wife spend the night in the temple. Then the man who heard this, rejoicing that his wife was called worthy of the divinity, sent her to the temple more elegantly adorned.

In the sight of everyone the matron was shut in. The priest Tyrannus, after closing the doors and handing over the keys, departed. Then, when silence had been made, he crept through hidden and subterranean approaches into the very image of Saturn through open cavities. That image had been hollowed out at the back and carefully fastened to the wall, with lights burning brightly beneath it. He suddenly conveyed a voice to the supplicating woman through the cavity of the image's mouth, so that the unhappy woman trembled with fear and joy because she thought herself worthy of the address of so great a divinity. Afterward, by a certain art, all the lights were extinguished. Then he descended and introduced the poison of adultery into the terrified woman.

When these things had now been done for a long time, as it were, among all the matrons, it happened that a certain woman of chaste mind abhorred the deed and, having returned, disclosed to her husband the deceit of the crime. He, inflamed by the injury to his spouse—or rather to himself—delivered that priest Tyrannus to tortures. He confessed the deceits, and shame invaded everyone because of so great a foulness and fraud. For these things he did not escape unpunished, and he received what he deserved.

Now who could enumerate the superstitious crimes of the idol of Canopus? There was a public school of magical art there; there, among the pagans, a greater gathering was held as at a fountain of demons than was held at Alexandria. That image had been made with such deceitful art that it seemed to sweat water. The water was concealed in a vessel in its belly, and, descending, it extinguished the fire placed beneath the image, as though the god Canopus were greater than the god of the Chaldeans, which is fire, because by extinguishing it he seemed to overcome it. But no sweat availed to prevent this idol too from being brought to the ground when the fraud had been exposed.

Moreover, it was the custom in Egypt for the measure of the river Nile to be carried to the temple of Serapis, as though to the temple's author of the waters and inundation. But when his image had been overturned and consumed by fire, all the pagans declared that Serapis, mindful of the injury, would no longer bestow the waters and abundance. But in order that God, not Serapis, might be shown to be far more powerful than the Nile and to command the waters of the river at his own seasons [read: God might show that it was not Serapis, who was far later than the Nile, but he himself who commanded the river's waters in their appointed seasons], from that time onward so great a flood rose that no former age records its equal. In all these things the most pious emperor gave thanks to God because the most ancient errors of idolatry were being removed.

Section III: The massacre at Thessalonica and Theodosius's public penance

During the same time, through a certain stealthy incursion of the demon, a foul stain was inflicted upon the religious prince. For when a sedition had arisen at Thessalonica and a certain man from among the soldiers had been killed by an assault of the people, the emperor, inflamed by the savagery of the sudden report, invited the people to the circus games. He ordered soldiers unexpectedly to surround them and everywhere to cut down with the sword whoever came in their way, and vengeance to be given not according to the crime but according to fury. There more than five thousand men were slaughtered.

Now when, not long afterward, the emperor came to Milan and wished to enter God's sacred temple, Ambrose, the bishop of God who still presided over that church, met the approaching emperor at the threshold of the church and addressed him with these words:

“Emperor, do you not know the things perpetrated by you? Why, after the cause of so great a fury, do you not recognize the mass of your wickedness? Perhaps the power of empire prevents recognition of the sin; nevertheless, it is fitting that reason conquer power. Nature must indeed be known, and its mortality and dissolution and dust, and the lowly condition of the progenitors from whom we have received this vile corpse; and, trusting not in a purple garment, let us not ignore the infirmity and fragility of the body with which we are covered. With what eyes will you look upon God and God's temple? What hands will you extend to him, from which the blood of the innocent still flows? With what presumption will you receive God's sacred body and blood, when by your command so much blood of the innocent has been shed? Withdraw, therefore, withdraw, lest by a second sin you endeavor to increase the wickedness of the former ones. Accept the bond with which the Lord of all binds you.”

Obeying these words, the emperor did not presume to enter God's church, but returned to the palace weeping and groaning. For he had been instructed in the divine sayings and knew that Christ's bishop had spoken true things. Nor was he ignorant of the things proper to priests and those proper to kings.

When a space of eight months had passed, the sacred Nativity of Christ our Lord drew near. But the emperor, remaining in the palace amid continual lamentations, poured forth tears without ceasing. Rufinus, the master of the soldiers, observing this, attempted to console the Augustus. The emperor, full of sobs, said to him: “You, Rufinus, do not perceive the evils which I suffer. For God's temples are open to slaves and beggars; they freely entreat the common Lord of all. But entrance is denied to me, and, what is worse, the heavens are closed to me.” While saying this, he interrupted his words with sobs.

Then Rufinus said: “I shall run, if it pleases you, and persuade Bishop Ambrose to absolve you from the bond with which he has bound you.”

The emperor answered him: “You will not persuade Ambrose. For I know his decree to be most just, and in this case he will not reverence imperial power.”

But when Rufinus asserted that Ambrose could be bent, the emperor commanded him to proceed with haste; he himself, with a humble retinue, followed the footsteps of the one preceding him.

It is indeed marvelous: when Ambrose perceived that Rufinus had come to the church, anticipating him with words he said: “You have followed the impudence of dogs, O Rufinus, though you exist as the author of the death of so many innocent persons; and now, wiping shame from your forehead, you do not blush, nor do you fear to bark against the divine majesty.”

When Rufinus begged him to loose the emperor's bond and added that the emperor would follow immediately, Ambrose said to him: “I foretell to you, Rufinus, that I shall forbid him to enter the sacred thresholds. But if he turns the empire into tyranny, I shall willingly receive death for the truth.”

Hearing these and other things, Rufinus reported to the emperor the will of the prelate. But when the emperor learned this in the middle of the street, he said: “I shall proceed, and I shall receive the insults cast into my face.”

Therefore, when he arrived, he did not dare enter the basilica, but, finding the bishop seated in the reception room, begged that he loose his bond. But the bishop said that his presence was tyrannical, that Theodosius was raging against God, and that he was trampling God's sacred laws.

The emperor answered him: “No, most holy father, I do not rise up against the ecclesiastical ordinances, nor do I contend to enter the sacred thresholds. But I entreat you to loose my bonds and to pray for me to the clemency of the common Lord, and that the door which our Lord opened to all who do penance not be closed to me.”

Then the prelate said: “What penance have you shown after so many impieties? With what medicines have you cured incurable wounds and blows?”

The emperor answered him: “It is your work to teach and prepare the medicines, but mine to receive the things offered.”

And when the emperor introduced the example of David, who joined murder to adultery and nevertheless was pardoned, he replied: “You have imitated him when he erred; imitate him when he corrected himself.”

“Since, therefore,” said Ambrose, “you committed your judgment to fury, and reason did not pronounce the sentence but rather wrath, write a law which annuls the decrees of fury. For thirty days let a sentence of death and proscription remain only in letters and await the judgment of reason. When these days have passed and wrath has now ceased, let reason judge the case and dispose in truth what it has recognized within itself.”

The emperor willingly accepted this admonition, confessed it to be an excellent law, immediately caused it to be written, and confirmed the letters with his own hand.

Thus, therefore, the most sacred emperor, presuming with the prelate's permission to enter the thresholds, supplicated the Lord neither standing nor with knees merely bent; rather, lying prone upon the pavement, he proclaimed the Lord's saying: “My soul has cleaved to the pavement,” and so forth. Pulling out his hair with his hands, striking his forehead, and sprinkling the pavement with drops of tears, he begged to obtain pardon.

When the time approached at which he was accustomed to carry an offering to the altar, he rose and entered with tears. But when he had offered, he stood within the sanctuary rails, as he had been accustomed. Again Ambrose did not acquiesce, but taught him the distinction of places. First he asked what he was waiting for there. When the emperor said that he was awaiting the reception of the sacred mysteries, Ambrose sent word through the archdeacon:

“O emperor, the inner places have been assigned to priests alone; others are permitted neither to enter nor to touch them. Go out, therefore, and hold this expectation in common with the others. For purple makes emperors, not priests.”

Then the most faithful emperor, receiving this rule also with a grateful spirit, sent back word: “I did not remain within the rails because of audacity, but because I learned that this custom exists in the city of Constantinople. Therefore I give thanks for this medicine.”

Thus both bishop and emperor shone with such and so great a virtue: the former with the fervor of zeal and confidence, the latter with purity of faith and obedience.

When he had returned to Constantinople and proceeded to church on feast days, after the gifts had been offered upon the altar he immediately went out. And when Nectarius, the bishop there, sent to ask why he did not wish to stand within, the emperor sent this answer: “I was scarcely able to learn what the difference is between an emperor and a priest. I have scarcely found a teacher of the truth. I have known Ambrose alone to be worthily called a pontiff.”

The wife of this man, Placella [i.e., Flaccilla], did not differ greatly from her husband's purpose in devotion toward God. It could not be said how greatly she venerated the priests of God and especially the poor of Christ. For she ministered to the sick poor with her own hands, using neither slaves nor others as ministers; rather, she herself went about through the dwellings of the poor and the hospitals, serving the sick, cleaning their pots, and washing their feet.

That excellent woman used to say: “To distribute gold is the work of empire; I offer this work to the Most High for the safety of the empire.” And she often said to her husband Theodosius: “Husband, you ought to consider what you formerly were and what you now are. If you do this continually, you will never be ungrateful for such great benefactions.”

In the Decrees, Distinction 96, *Duo sunt*, it is said that Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius. And in Cause XI, Question III, *Cum apud Thessalonicam*, it is related, taken from the *Ecclesiastical History*, that for that killing he performed public penance as ordered by Ambrose's imposition and established that law of which mention has been made.

Title IX, Chapter IX

The death of Theodosius and the succession of his sons

Thus, while Theodosius was ruling with great fear of God and with the exaltation of the Church, the Lord God gave peace in his days. For, when the din of wars had been lulled, the world enjoyed an excellent peace, the commonwealth having been made tranquil.

But after no long time, the most faithful emperor fell into illness at Milan. Constrained by care for the ordering of the commonwealth, he sent for his sons. When they arrived, he gave to Arcadius, the elder of his sons, the empire principally in the parts of the East; and to Honorius, his younger son, endowed with equal dignity, he handed over the empire of the West to be governed. Finally he migrated from the earthly empire, as is believed, to the heavenly one.

In his time at Emmaus a double boy was born, divided from the navel upward. The bodies of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were revealed and found. Augustine, converted to the faith, was baptized by Ambrose. And Jerome flourished. But concerning these things below.

Section I: Arcadius and Honorius; Gildo, Rufinus, and Stilicho

Therefore, when Theodosius had died, his two sons succeeded to the empire. They began to reign in the year of the Lord 398, and they reigned together for thirteen years. Their father, as James of Colonna reports, while he was still living had entrusted the care of his sons to two men. One was Rufinus, whom he had placed over the eastern court; to the other, namely Stilicho, he had entrusted the western court. Moreover, a certain Gildo from among the companions of Theodosius governed the regions of Africa.

As soon as this Gildo knew that Theodosius had been removed from human affairs, judging that there would be little hope in his young sons, he broke faith and occupied Africa. His brother Masteher [read: Mascezel], detesting his brother's perfidy, left Africa, came to Honorius in Italy, and reported his brother's rebellion to him. When Gildo learned that his brother had gone to Honorius, he deceitfully surrounded and killed the two sons of Masteher [read: Mascezel] who had been left in Africa.

Masteher [read: Mascezel], therefore, was sent with an army against Gildo, as a suitable man inflamed against his brother by the killing of his sons. But Masteher [read: Mascezel], knowing from the examples of Theodosius how much prayer and humiliation avail in desperate affairs, first went to the island of Capraria with holy men, imploring God's clemency for many days and nights with prayers and fasts.

Then, having taken confidence from God, and strengthened also concerning victory by a nocturnal vision in which Ambrose appeared to him and announced this, he advanced against the enemy—he himself with five thousand against eighty thousand armed men. When those first meeting him were uttering pious words of peace and a standard-bearer resisted insolently, Masteher [read: Mascezel] drew his sword and wounded him in the arm. Weakened on account of this, the man lowered the standard. Those following, thinking from this that the foremost ranks had surrendered, abandoned Gildo and delivered themselves to Masteher [read: Mascezel].

When Gildo sought flight by ship, he was brought back to the place by contrary winds, captured, and strangled. But Masteher [read: Mascezel], elated by victory and despising the fellowship of the saints, after he had violently dragged certain persons from a church, was killed by order of Honorius.

While these things were being done in Africa, Rufinus, to whom Theodosius had entrusted the care of the eastern court, corrupted by the evil of perfidy, attempted to invade the empire with the auxiliaries of the barbarians. By order of the prince Arcadius, he paid the penalty for so great a crime by a most just death.

At the instigation of his wife, this Arcadius caused a council to be assembled for the deposition of John Chrysostom, because John had publicly reproved the emperor's wife, likening her to Herodias. On this account Pope Innocent excommunicated the emperor Arcadius, because he had procured this, namely, that John be deposed and sent into exile, as is contained in Distinction 26, *Duo sunt*.

Now Stilicho, to whom Theodosius had entrusted the care of the western court because his son Honorius, to whom he had given the western empire, was quite young, after the death of Arcadius treated the empire of Honorius with contempt and endeavored to substitute his own son Eucherius for himself, as it were, in the empire. Hence he also secretly negotiated treaties with the nation of the Goths. He permitted the Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians to rage against and infest the Roman provinces when he could have driven them back, so that in this way, at least, Honorius would be compelled to make his son Eucherius emperor. And although he had often conquered and often shut in Alaric, king of the Goths, he always released him.

When the scene of such great evils had been disclosed to Honorius, Stilicho was killed after an army had most justly been moved against him. His son Eucherius, who, in order to obtain for himself the favor of the pagans, had promised the rebuilding of the temples of the idols and the destruction of the churches, and also a persecution of the Christians, was punished with his attendants.

Section II: Radagaisus and Alaric invade Italy

During the earlier times when Arcadius and Honorius were reigning together, a certain Radagaisus, one of the most powerful kings of the Goths, who had not yet received the faith of Christ, invaded all Italy in a sudden attack. It is written that there were more than two hundred thousand Goths in his army. Beyond this unconquered multitude and unconquered strength, he was a pagan and a Scythian who had devoted all the blood of the Roman race to his gods.

Therefore, as this most monstrous beast approached the Roman walls, immense fear invaded the Romans. Within the city there was a great running about of pagans, crying that they were suffering these things because the sacred rites of the great gods had been neglected by the Romans. For this reason, great complaints were made everywhere about restoring and observing the sacred rites. Blasphemies seethed throughout the whole city, and the name of Christ was publicly blasphemed by the pagans. Among them especially a certain Symmachus, a great and distinguished orator, raged; he also dealt with the people by letters and writings for the restoration of idolatry.

On this occasion two pagan commanders of Goths and Huns, namely Pharus [read: Sarus] and Uldin, were hired by the Romans. But God did not allow a matter of his power to be accomplished by human strength. For Radagaisus, suddenly terrified by divine power, withdrew with his forces onto the rough ridge of the mountain of Fiesole. Those for whom Italy had at first seemed narrow were driven by divine power onto one small summit of a mountain.

While they labored from hunger and thirst, Radagaisus alone, taking up the hope of flight, secretly deserted his men. But falling among our men, he was captured and immediately killed. The others were either captured or killed by the Romans. So great a multitude of captive Goths is said to have existed that, in the manner of the cheapest cattle, herds of men were everywhere sold for single gold coins.

When this barbarian king had been killed, another most powerful king of the Goths, named Alaric, raged through the Roman provinces; he, however, was a Christian. Having now been received into the bosom of Italy, he shook trembling Rome from nearby with terror. He sent word to the emperor Honorius that Honorius should either engage him in war or give the Goths a place to inhabit within his empire. Therefore Honorius, after communicating counsel with his men, assigned them Gaul, which lay exposed to the fury of the Vandals—for they had not yet crossed into Spain—to inhabit.

Thus, when Alaric had accepted this concession and was making for Gaul with his entire army, he stopped for a little while near the city of Piacenza to refresh the pack animals. But Count Stilicho, pursuing the Goths to the destruction of the commonwealth, when he desired to attack them by ambush, entrusted the chief command of the war to a certain pagan count. On the most sacred day of Easter, when the Goths suspected nothing of the kind, this man rushed cruelly upon them and laid low no small part of them.

For at first, disturbed by the sudden attack of those men, the Goths avoided battle because of reverence for the holy day. At length they seized their weapons and exhorted one another; by their own valor they laid low the army that was already victorious and turned those men to flight. When they had been utterly routed and a great part of them had been slain, the Goths, stirring themselves outwardly into rage [read: stirred into a frenzy of fury] and abandoning the journey they had undertaken, took the road toward the city of Rome.

They devastated everything through which they passed with slaughter, plunder, and fire. Without delay they came to the city itself. Then they besieged it, and, when it had long been besieged, by God's just judgment they took it. Nevertheless, Alaric first gave the command that, if any had fled to holy places, especially to the basilicas of Peter and Paul, he should allow them to remain unharmed and free; and that afterward, insofar as they could while intent upon plunder, they should refrain from bloodshed.

Rome, therefore, the mistress of the world, was taken, broken open, burned, and devastated. What, then, concerning the many nations which waged wars among themselves and never spared the conquered in the abodes of their gods, and yet in this devastation of the city he willed that those fleeing to the churches of the saints should be free?

Augustine writes many most lucid things concerning matters of this kind at the beginning of *The City of God*, in order to confute the falsehood of those Romans who most unjustly complained that Rome had always suffered evils and adversities after receiving the faith of Christ, and who attempted to restore the worship of idols. He refutes their error with most efficacious reasons.

Therefore, whatever devastation, slaughter, plundering, burning, and affliction was committed in that most recent calamity of Rome, the custom of wars did this. But what was done in a new manner was that, in an unaccustomed appearance of affairs, barbarian inhumanity appeared so mild that the most spacious basilicas were filled with a people who were spared, where no one was struck; from them no one was seized; to them many who were to be liberated were led by pitying enemies; and from them none who were to be made captive were led away, not even by cruel enemies.

This must be attributed to our Christ and to Christian times. Whoever does not see it is blind; whoever sees it and does not praise it is ungrateful; whoever insults the one who praises it is insane. Far be it that any prudent man impute this to the savagery of the barbarians. He terrified those most ferocious and most savage minds; he restrained them; he wondrously tempered them—he who so long before had foretold through the prophet: “I shall visit their iniquities with a rod,” and so forth; “But my mercy I shall not scatter from him.”

After the city had been plundered, the barbarians voluntarily departed on the third day after they had entered, when some buildings had been set on fire. And lest anyone perhaps doubt that this had been permitted to the enemies for the correction of the city's pride, wantonness, and blasphemy, at the same time the most renowned places of the city which could not be set aflame by the enemies were broken apart by thunderbolts.

In that irruption Placidia, daughter of the prince Theodosius and sister of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, was captured by Asculphus [read: Athaulf], a kinsman of Alaric, and taken as his wife. This afterward occurred to the great advantage of the commonwealth.

Rome was therefore taken by the Goths in the year of the Lord 400, or thereabouts, but in the one thousand one hundred seventy-fourth year from its foundation.

Thus, withdrawing from the city, the barbarians raged through Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium with a similar slaughter and reached the cities of Calabria. When, with hands having been mounted [read: with ships having been boarded], they wished to cross into Sicily, they suffered shipwreck and lost many of their men. Amid these things, while Alaric deliberated about what he ought to do, he was extinguished by a sudden death.

When he had died, the Goths at Consentia diverted the river Busento from its bed by the labor of captives and buried the body of their king Alaric with infinite treasures. When he had been buried, they restored the river to its former course. But lest anyone thereafter be able to know the place of burial, they cruelly killed all the captives whom they had employed to complete the work.

When this had been done, they all with one mind created Asculphus [read: Athaulf] king. Then, returning to Rome, they eradicated like locusts whatever remained. Placidia, a shrewd and prudent woman, then bent the mind of her husband with subtle blandishments so that he might of his own accord seek peace from the Roman emperors. After he had obtained it, he observed it quite zealously while he lived; and he desired to serve the emperor Honorius in defense of the commonwealth and to expend the strength of the Goths.

This Asculphus [read: Athaulf], since he was a prudent and keen man and was supported by great forces of Goths, is said in the first days of his reign to have longed vehemently to make and call all Roman soil the empire of the Goths, the Roman name having been forgotten and abolished; that Rome itself should be called Gothia; and that Asculphus [read: Athaulf] himself should hold the monarchy in the commonwealth as Octavian had.

But when by much experience he had proved that the Goths, on account of their unbridled barbarity, could in no way obey laws, and that the laws of the commonwealth ought not to be forbidden—for without them a commonwealth is not a thing—he sought at least for himself the glory of restoring in its entirety and increasing the Roman name by the strength of the Goths, and of being held among posterity as the author of the Roman restoration, since he could not be its transformer. On this account he abstained from war and longed for peace, principally through the persuasive counsel of his wife Placidia, a woman of most acute intellect and sufficiently approved religion, toward every work of good ordering.

While he remained at Barcelona, a city of nearer Spain, in order to seek and procure peace, he was killed, as is reported, by the treachery of his own men.

After him Sigeric was created king by the Goths. Since he was inclined toward peace, he was killed by his own men. Then Wallia succeeded to the kingdom, chosen for this purpose, that he should break the peace with the Romans, but ordained by God for this purpose, that he should confirm the peace. Therefore, after giving excellent and most select hostages, he composed an excellent peace with Honorius. Moreover, he restored to him his sister Galla Placidia, formerly the wife of Asculphus [read: Athaulf], and offered himself with his Goths against the other nations which had occupied Spain.

Section III: Arcadius, the younger Theodosius, and Honorius

But Arcadius, who had held the seat of the eastern empire at Constantinople, was seized by a grave illness. When he perceived himself to be near death, he declared his son Theodosius Augustus and gave the king of the Persians to him as his guardian. The king benignly undertook the guardianship of the boy and made a most firm peace with the Romans.

This younger Theodosius began to reign after the death of his father, together with Honorius his paternal uncle, in the year of the Lord 413.

Now when the Vandals were raging through Gaul on account of the recent irruption into the city, and Honorius was occupied by other arduous affairs in Italy, he sent several legions to defend Gaul. But these legions created as emperor a certain Constantine merely on account of the hope inspired by his name and valor. As soon as he invaded the empire, he gathered an army against the barbarians. Longing in vain hope for the empire of the whole West, he also attempted to occupy Spain.

Hence, when he had sent certain of his men with an armed force and many had adhered to them, nevertheless two noble and wealthy men, Didymus and Viridianus [read: Verinianus], favoring Honorius, gathered no small army and resisted the tyrant Constantine. Against them that tyrant Constantine sent his son Constans, made Caesar from a monk. Supported by the aid of the barbarians, he defeated them in war, put them to flight, and killed them.

Therefore, the Vandals, seeing that they could not withstand Constantine and the power of his men, entered Spain. Devastating everything with slaughter, plunder, and fires, they reduced the inhabitants to such misery that, from the want caused by famine, they ate human flesh.

Thus Honorius, when he perceived that the strength of the commonwealth was being weakened by daily injuries, placed Count Constantius, a vigorous and warlike man, over the whole army and sent him, furnished with many forces, into Gaul against Constantine. Constantius entered Gaul, joined battle with him, and destroyed Constantine himself at the city of Arles; Constantine's son Constantius [read: Constantine's son Constans] was captured and killed at Vienne.

The Vandals, Suevi, and Alans had devastated and occupied several provinces of Spain. Celtiberia alone was held by Roman judges, and the Alans infested it with continual incursions. But the aforesaid Constantius, supported by the aid of Wallia, king of the Goths, defeated the Alans in a most difficult war, inflicted a very great slaughter upon them, and killed their king. Those who survived abandoned their settlements in Lusitania and New Carthage and fled to Gunderic, king of the Vandals, who was reigning in Galicia. They subjected themselves to his rule, and one people was formed with them.

Meanwhile, while these things were being done in Spain, a certain Tertullus, one of the patricians, a rich and powerful man, with certain peoples from Italy favoring him, usurped the empire for himself. Immediately abandoned by his men, he was killed by the supporters of Honorius.

After him a certain Attalus invaded the empire at Rome. On the third day he was captured by Constantius and sent to Honorius; with his hand cut off, his life was granted to him.

Moreover, in Africa, Heracanus [read: Heraclianus] and his son-in-law Sabinus, commanders of the Roman army, gathered many auxiliaries of the Moors and of other nations. With three thousand ships he undertook a journey to occupy Rome and the empire of Italy. But, terrified by the encounter with the maritime count, he was the first to abandon his men, seized a ship, and fled back to Carthage, which he had occupied. There, not long afterward, he was killed by his own men.

Therefore, when so many and such great disturbances throughout the whole world had been quieted by God's favor, the emperor Honorius united his sister Galla Placidia, already betrothed to him, in marriage to Count Constantius, a great man and of most uncorrupted faith, to the great joy of everyone. From her Valentinian, the third of that name and afterward emperor, was born.

Now the kings of those nations which had occupied Spain, seeing that Honorius's constancy prospered in all things and that the Goths had been joined to the Romans in friendship, sent envoys with most select hostages to the emperor Honorius, subjecting themselves to him.

Honorius also, perceiving the valor and industry of Constantius, with everyone at Ravenna praising him, clothed him with the purple and made him a partner in the empire. He died seven months thereafter, to the greatest loss of the commonwealth.

Finally the emperor Honorius, religious and excellent, not unlike his father in religion and magnificence, when ten years had passed in which he had reigned with his father Theodosius, six in which he had reigned with his brother Arcadius, and three with his nephew the younger Theodosius, left the commonwealth at peace everywhere and died at the city of Rome. His body was buried beside the shrine of Peter.

This Honorius made a constitution concerning what should be done in a case of schism, as is evident in Distinction 79, *Si duo*. But because laymen, of whatever status, can dispose nothing concerning ecclesiastical affairs nor make constitutions over the

clergy, that constitution therefore has force insofar as it was approved and canonized by the Church. Indeed, he did this at the request of Pope Boniface, as is contained in Distinction 97, *Ecclesiae meae*.

Title X

The following Title X principally contains the deeds of the holy doctors and their more notable sayings, of those who lived from Constantine, the first emperor, down to the times of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius—that is, from the year of the Lord 300, or thereabouts, down to the year of the Lord 450, or thereabouts. These are, namely, Eusebius, Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Paul Orosius, Rufinus, Maximus, John Damascene, Claudian the poet, Lactantius, and Sulpicius Severus. It also concerns certain holy pontiffs and others, namely Martin, Brice, Zenobius, bishop of Florence, Maurilius, Alexius, and Paula.

Chapter I

"Those who are learned shall be as the splendor of the firmament"

"Those who are learned shall be as the splendor of the firmament, and those who instruct many unto justice as the stars unto perpetual eternities." Daniel 12.

Although after the apostles there have always been illustrious men in the holy Church who shone not only in holiness but also in doctrine, who instructed the wise, enlightened the foolish, and put to flight the darkness of errors and vices like stars which the night does not obscure, nevertheless these shone most greatly from the time of Constantine the Great down to the times of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. They were most holy and most learned men in divine as well as human knowledge, who not only taught the peoples by word and confuted heresies but also instruct men daily by the writings which they left.

Hence their works are approved by the Church, as is evident in Distinction 15, *The Holy Roman Church*: the works of blessed Cyprian, martyr and bishop of Carthage; the works of blessed Gregory Nazianzen, bishop; the works of blessed Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; the works of blessed Hilary, bishop of Poitiers; the works of blessed John, bishop of Constantinople; the works of blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan; the works of blessed Augustine, bishop of Hippo; the works of blessed Jerome, priest; the works of blessed Prosper, a most religious man; and the works of blessed Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

Moreover, in Distinction 16, in the chapter *How Holy*, the general synod celebrated under Justinian confirmed the works of certain other Greek doctors, namely Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria; Gregory of Nyssa; Gregory the Theologian—this man, I think, is Nazianzen—Timothy, bishop of Alexandria; and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. Because we possess few works in Latin from the last-named Greeks, they are therefore omitted. Concerning the other, earlier men, we shall set down below both their lives and certain flowers from their books, and most especially the passages which are found transcribed in various places in the Decrees.

Section I: The several men named Eusebius

Among the others, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli and a contemporary of Athanasius, shone like the splendor of the firmament. Of these two, just as Athanasius defended the faith against the faithless Arians in the East, so did Eusebius in the West. And although he left no writings, nevertheless he very greatly illuminated the Church by his word and by the example of his holiness.

But in order to remove equivocation, which is the mother of error, it must be observed that many illustrious men served under this name, contemporaries or almost near in time. And, omitting that Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who was the greatest supporter and defender of the Arians, there was first a certain Eusebius, pope and martyr, who immediately preceded Pope Melchiades; Sylvester succeeded Melchiades in the time of Constantine.

Around the same time flourished Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* and a chronicle from the time of Ninus down to his own times, and who suffered martyrdom, as is said, concerning which something was said above.

Eusebius, a priest of Rome, also shone in holiness of life and constancy. Reproving both the emperor Constantius and Pope Liberius, Arians, to their faces for their error, he was fearlessly shut within a most confined chamber and was crowned there.

There was in those times another certain Eusebius of Nicaea, who published certain very lucid works. From his sayings the following is contained in the section *On Consecration*, Distinction 2:

Because the assumed body—that is, Christ—was to be taken away from our eyes and carried to the stars, it was necessary that on the day of the Supper he consecrate for us the sacrament of his body and blood, so that what was once offered as the price might continually be worshiped through a mystery; so that, because a daily and unwearied redemption was proceeding for the salvation of men, the offering of redemption might be perpetual; so that the everlasting victim might live in memory and be ever

present in grace, truly a single and perfect sacrifice, to be esteemed by faith, not by outward appearance, and to be judged not by exterior sight but by interior affection.

Hence heavenly authority confirms: “For my flesh is truly food,” and so forth. Let every doubt of unbelief therefore depart, since he who is the author of the gift is himself also the witness of its truth. For the invisible priest by his word and secret power converts visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood, saying thus: “Take and eat; this is my body.”

Therefore, just as at the command of the Lord who gave the order, the heights of the heavens, the depths of the waves, and the expanses of the lands suddenly came forth from nothing, by an equal power in the spiritual sacraments, where power commands, the effect serves.

And how it ought not seem new and impossible to you that earthly and mortal things are converted into the substance of Christ, ask yourself, who have been regenerated in Christ. Long ago, alien to truth, a stranger to mercy, exiled inwardly from the way of salvation, you were dead. Suddenly initiated into Christ's laws and renewed by the mysteries, you passed into the body of the Church not by seeing but by believing; and from being a son of perdition you merited by a hidden divinity to become an adopted son of God.

Remaining in visible measure, you were invisibly made greater than yourself without increase of quantity. Nothing was added outwardly, and the whole was changed inwardly. Therefore, just as, without bodily perception, your former vileness having been laid aside, you were suddenly clothed with a new dignity; and just as the fact that God, with the mind wounded, healed what was wounded, washed what was infected, and cleansed what was unstained [read: God healed what was wounded in you, washed what was infected, and cleansed what was stained] is entrusted not to your eyes but to your senses; so, when you ascend to the reverend altar to be satisfied with spiritual foods, behold by faith the sacred body and blood of your God. Honor it, marvel at it, touch it with the mind, receive it with the hand of the heart, and above all take the whole draught with the inner man. Thus says he.

This rhetorician, as Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History*, composed innumerable books which pertain to the applause of the people, and, having followed history more closely, is read most zealously by those who wish to declaim. He wrote against the Jews and the gentiles, and especially ten books of *Innovations*, and very many short homilies upon the Gospels. He flourished under the emperor Constantius and was buried at Antioch.

Section II: Eusebius of Vercelli

In the times of Diocletian and Maximian, Eusebius of Vercelli, still a little catechumen, came to Rome with his parents and received baptism and his name from Pope Eusebius. Before baptizing him, Pope Eusebius was instructed by an angel what manner and how great a man he would become, and by what name he should call him. At his very baptism angelic hands were seen which lifted him from the sacred font.

He always remained a virgin. After baptism he touched no woman with a kiss, not even his mother—not by despising his mother but by fleeing fault.

When a certain noble matron, captivated by his beauty, wished to approach his chamber, she circled the streets of the city for the whole night and could not reach his chamber because angels were guarding it. Hence, on the following day, being contrite, she cast herself at his feet, and, seeking pardon, confessed the crime she had contemplated.

Pope Marcus, who succeeded Sylvester, ordained him a priest because constancy of faith excelled in him and because he was already fifty years old. He shone with such holiness that during the solemnities of the masses the sacred mystery appeared between his hands.

After this, Pope Julius, seeing the Arians as if prevailing under the emperor Constantius, consecrated him bishop of the city of Vercelli, which at that time held the principality among the other cities of Italy. When he had entered Vercelli, all the doors of the churches were closed through the doing of the heretics, so that no one might enter. But blessed Eusebius, having learned of their malice, prayed on bended knees before the door of the greater church, and the closed doors were divinely opened.

When blessed Eusebius was purifying all the provinces of the West from the Arian pest by his teaching, just as Athanasius was purifying those of the East, the emperor Constantius labored to drive him into exile. Blessed Eusebius persecuted the Arians to such an extent that he condemned Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan, after he had been expelled by all the Christians, and ordained Saint Dionysius bishop there in his place. Hence Constantius, angered against him, assembled councils.

When Eusebius came to the council of Milan to which he had been summoned by the emperor, he tore up there a writing made in favor of the Arians against the truth of the faith, which bore the subscriptions of very many catholic bishops who had been deceived through ignorance by an equivocal word. The emperor Constantius, angered, handed him over to the will of the Arians.

Dragging him from the midst of the other bishops and flogging him violently, they dragged him over the stairs of the palace from the top to the bottom, and again from the bottom to the top. When his head had been battered by the stones of the steps and he had already poured out much blood, and still refused to consent to them, they bound his hands behind him and dragged him by the neck so that he might assent to them. But, yielding in nothing, he steadfastly said that he remained in his confession and would willingly die for it.

When other catholic bishops, animated by his example, had been sent into exile, he was bound and enclosed in a cage at Sercopolis [read: Scythopolis]. Then the Arians dragged him from there, denied him food and drink, and shut him for seven days in a most confined place. After some days they sent him to a still more confined place, so that he could turn himself in no direction or see any of his men. There he was consoled by an angelic visitation in so great an affliction.

Finally, when Constantius had died and Julian the Apostate had taken up the empire, in order that he might render himself lovable to everyone, at the beginning of his empire he permitted each person to live under whatever law he wished. On this account the bishops were recalled from exile, and Eusebius himself was released free.

After Julian, while Jovian was emperor and the Arians had been quieted, Eusebius returned to Vercelli, and the people received him with great exultation. But when afterward the Arian Valens was emperor, the Arians sprang up again and resumed strength against the catholics. They stirred up a sedition against Eusebius while he was visiting the dioceses, surrounded his house, seized him, dragged him supine outside the house, and overwhelmed him with stones. Thus he migrated to the Lord, crowned with martyrdom.

He was buried by his disciples in the church which he himself had constructed. He lived at least eighty-eight years.

Title X, Chapter II

“Like the flower of roses in the days of spring”

“Like the flower of roses in the days of spring, so Athanasius shone in the temple of God.”

For the rose is the most beautiful flower. Fragrant in odor, it strengthens; by its white and red color it delights the sight; by its substance or juice it restores and refreshes. So Athanasius was the good odor of Christ through the reputation of his uprightness. He delighted those who saw him by the brightness of purity and the fervor of charity. By doctrine he restored those who were weak in truth. And, what is more marvelous, amid the thorns of persecutions he shone more than the other doctors.

At the time when Bishop Alexander was observing the feast day of Peter the Martyr at Alexandria, after the solemnities had been completed, he was waiting in a place near the sea for the clerics who were to assemble for a meal. From afar he saw a game of boys upon the seashore, imitating, as is customary, a bishop and those things which are customarily done in churches. When he had watched them intently for a rather long time, he also saw certain more secret mysteries being performed by them. Immediately disturbed, he ordered the boys to be seized and brought to him.

When they were present, he carefully asked what their game was, what they had done, and how. Fearful, as that age is, they denied it at first. Then they disclosed the deed in order and confessed that certain catechumens had been baptized by them through Athanasius, who had played the bishop in that childish game.

Then Alexander diligently inquired of those who were said to have been baptized what they had been asked and what they had answered. When he saw that all things agreed with the rite of our religion, he is said, after conferring with a council of clerics, to have determined that for those upon whom water had been poured with the interrogations and answers complete, baptism ought not to be repeated, but those things which priests customarily perform ought to be completed.

But Athanasius and those whom that game seemed to have made priests or ministers he handed over, after their parents had been summoned and adjured by God, to be reared by the Church. After a short time had passed, when Athanasius had been instructed by a grammarian, he was soon restored by his parents to the priest, as one commended to the Lord in faith, and was reared like a certain Samuel in the temple of the Lord.

At the time of the Council of Nicaea he was also present at the counsels of that bishop Alexander, greatly assisting the old man. When Alexander proceeded to his end in a good old age, Athanasius was chosen to bear the priestly ephod—that is, to be bishop of Alexandria.

Now in a year of the reign of Constantius, since the emperor himself greatly favored the Arians and was himself an Arian, as Rufinus says in Book X, the eunuchs and those who were about him, carefully instructed for this purpose by the Arian bishops, took care that Athanasius should not be given an opportunity to approach the emperor, lest the emperor be taught by him concerning the truth of the faith. But they frequently accused Athanasius before the emperor as the author of every crime and shameful act, to such an extent that they carried a human arm in a box and showed it to the emperor himself, affirming that it had been cut from the body of a certain Arsenius by Athanasius for the sake of magical art.

Therefore, the angered emperor summoned a council at Tyre and ordered Athanasius to be condemned, sending one of the counts from his own side; and Athanasius was brought there. Thus, when the council was seated, his Arian rivals arose, saying: “Behold the arm of Arsenius which he cut from him. Let this man who is present state for what cause.”

This Arsenius was a young cleric. Having committed a certain offense, since he feared punishment by Athanasius, he fled to unknown places. Meanwhile the Arians, judging that he would not return or come to that place at that time, cut an arm from a certain corpse and secretly showed it to the emperor. Afterward they asserted in the council that Athanasius had cut it from Arsenius, not under the pretext of punishment but in order to perform works of magic.

But since certain catholics had previously perceived the calumny prepared against Athanasius, they arranged that Arsenius should be sought and found and should come secretly to the city where the council was assembled, and that he should remain hidden until someone was sent for him.

Therefore, when his rivals had arisen in the council and had shown the severed arm to everyone, many catholic bishops who did not know of their fraud began to hold Athanasius in horror. Athanasius rose in the midst and said: “Do you know this Arsenius?”

Many answered: “We know him very well.”

He said: “Let someone therefore be sent for him. Let him come, and let the truth of the deed shine forth.”

Immediately those who knew him and his place went for him. When he arrived, Athanasius said: “Show your right arm, Arsenius.” When he had shown it intact, Athanasius said: “Show the left also.” When it too appeared intact, the calumny was uncovered.

An accusation by a certain woman was also introduced. She said, having been suborned for this purpose by the Arians, that she had at one time received Athanasius as a guest, suspecting nothing, and had suffered from him by night the violence of corruption.

Athanasius was ordered to be brought in for this purpose. He entered with Timothy his priest and instructed him that, after the woman had finished speaking, while Athanasius himself remained silent, Timothy should answer the things she had said.

When the woman had delivered what she had been taught, Timothy turned to her and said: “Truly, woman, did I at any time remain with you, or did I do violence to you, as you assert?”

Then she, with the obstinacy customary to women of such a kind, said: “Did you do violence to me? Did you stain my chastity with yourself in that place?” At the same time, turning to the judges, she began to adjure the faith of God that she spoke true things.

Then a shame that was ridiculous began to possess everyone, because the faction responsible for the fabricated crime had been exposed so easily while the accused remained silent. But because it was a council for oppressing the man, not for judging him, a clamor was suddenly raised by everyone. They cried that Athanasius was a magician and deceived the eyes of those looking upon him; and, after making an assault, they prepared to tear him apart with their own hands.

But Archelaus, who with the others presided over the council at the emperor's command, snatched him from the hands of those tearing at him and led him away through secret exits. Nevertheless, the council assembled again and, as though absolutely nothing had been discovered, condemned Athanasius as if convicted of the charges brought against him. By sending proceedings of this kind throughout the world, they compelled the other bishops to consent to their crime, while the emperor protected them.

From that time Athanasius was driven as a fugitive throughout the whole world, and no safe place of concealment remained for him. Tribunes, prefects, counts, and armies were commanded by imperial edicts to search for him. Rewards were offered to informers if anyone should deliver Athanasius alive, especially, but if not, his head. Thus the forces of the whole kingdom contended in vain against him with whom God was present.

Meanwhile, he is said to have lain hidden for six continuous years in the basin of a cistern which had no water, so that he never saw the sun. But when he seemed to have been betrayed by the maid who alone knew of it and served the masters who had provided him the hiding place, being warned, as it were, by the Spirit of God, on the very night on which the officials were coming with judges to seize him, he removed to another place. Thus those who came were frustrated; the masters also having turned to flight, they exacted penalties from the maid as from a false informer.

Then Athanasius went to the regions where Constans, the brother of Constantius, reigned. Constans received him honorably and, having heard his true doctrine and unjust persecution, wrote letters to his brother, even with threats, that he should restore him to his place. Thus recalled from exile, Athanasius returned to Alexandria.

As Sozomen reports in the *Tripartite History*, while Athanasius was once proceeding through Alexandria, it happened that a flying crow cried out. Immediately the pagans standing around, reproaching him as a magician, asked that he disclose to them what that crow signified. Smiling, he said to them: “In the Latin language ‘tomorrow’ is a future day very near at hand. By crying this, therefore, it signifies that tomorrow will be a sorrowful day for you.”

On the next day letters came from the emperor to the judges, ordering that the pagans not be permitted to enter their temples or celebrate their solemnities. Their more venerable and general festival was therefore destroyed.

But after Constans had been killed, Athanasius was again expelled from the Alexandrian see by the will of Constantius, and another man named George was appointed bishop in his place by the heretics. But, as Jerome writes in the *Chronicle*, after a time, when George, who had been ordained in Athanasius's place, was burned in a sedition of the people, Athanasius returned to Alexandria.

Afterward, however, while Julian the Apostate was emperor, since all the magicians and soothsayers to whom he attended asserted that nothing prosperous would happen unless Athanasius were killed, once again, as Rufinus says, an army was sent; once again commanders were sent; once again the church was attacked.

When the sorrowful and weeping people stood around him, he is said to have used a prophetic saying among them: “Do not be disturbed, little children, for it is a little cloud and will quickly pass.”

When he had departed and was making his journey by ship along the river, the count who had been sent for this purpose, having learned of his route, began to pursue him urgently. When Athanasius's little ship happened to put in at a certain place, he learned from those passing by that his executioner was behind him and already appeared to be threatening. All the companions who were present, terrified, advised seeking the desert as a refuge for flight.

Then Athanasius said: “Do not be frightened, little children. Let us go rather to meet our executioner, so that he may know that he who defends us is far greater than he who persecutes us.”

He turned the little ship and, making his journey, went to meet the man who was pursuing him. The man, who could in no way suspect that the one whom he sought would come to meet him, ordered them to be questioned as if they were merely travelers, asking where they had heard that Athanasius was. When they answered that they had seen him going not far away, the man passed by at full speed, hastening in vain to capture the one whom, placed before his eyes, he had been unable to see. But Athanasius, also protected by God's power, returned to Alexandria and remained there safely in hiding until the persecution ceased.

And note that, in Cause XIX, Question III, section *Against*, Gratian says that Paul, the first hermit, in his testament left his cloak to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, but his tunic to blessed Anthony.

What was said above, that Athanasius lay hidden for six years in a cistern under the emperor Constantius, is read differently elsewhere. As Vincent of Beauvais reports in Book XVIII of the *Mirror of History*, when the Arians under the aforesaid Constantius stirred up calumnies against blessed Athanasius, he avoided the corrupted judgment and entrusted himself neither to friend, relative, nor cleric.

But when officers suddenly entered his house, clothed in a tunic and hood he fled at midnight and came to a certain virgin. Although that virgin was young and very beautiful, she had been accustomed at Alexandria to avoid the sight of everyone. When Athanasius had fled for refuge to this virgin, the holy bishop said to her, terrified by the novelty of so unexpected a matter:

“I am harassed by the Arians and assailed by calumnious charges. Therefore, lest I too be branded by a baseless stigma, and lest those who are unjustly prepared for my punishment fall into sin on my account, I judged it better to flee. But God revealed to me this night that I could be saved with no one as I could with you.”

Then she, rejoicing together in the Lord and casting aside vain thoughts, concealed that holy man within the secret parts of her cell for six years, as long as the aforesaid emperor Constantius lived. She herself washed his feet and supplied all necessary things to him in person. She also borrowed the books which he sought and provided them for him to read. Nevertheless, no one in the city was able to discover where he remained until, when Constantius had died, Athanasius again put on his own garments at night and suddenly appeared in the church while everyone marveled. For all believed that they saw him as one raised from the dead.

He satisfied his closest friends, saying: “I did not betake myself to your hiding places so that you could safely swear that you did not know where I remained. And because it was necessary for me to be sought everywhere, I lay hidden in that virgin's cell, where no one would suspect that I was concealed because she appeared young and beautiful. Thus I benefited both her and my reputation or glory.”

Section I: Concerning the books published by Athanasius

Jerome, in *On Illustrious Men*, speaks thus concerning the books of Athanasius published by him: Two books of his *Against the Gentiles* are circulated; one book against Valens and Ursacius; many books *On Virginity* and *On the Persecutions of the Arians*; a work *On the Titles of the Psalms*; and a very lengthy history of Anthony the monk in lucid discourse; and several other things which are rarely possessed by the Latins.

He also composed the symbol of faith which begins, “Whoever wishes,” and so forth, which is sung at Prime on Sundays in the churches unless a greater solemnity intervenes. And although it belongs to the Roman pontiff alone to issue a symbol of faith, it is pronounced by everyone and publicly not because it was issued by Athanasius, but because it was approved and authenticated by the universal Church as full of catholic truth, according to Thomas in the *Second Part of the Second Part*.

Vincent of Beauvais says in Book XV of the *Mirror of History* that there is found a very useful exhortatory book of Athanasius to monks, from which I have excerpted the flowers written below, namely:

It is permitted to you, initiated into Christ by these beginnings, to glory in him, so that your beginning may be perfection. And, prevailing over the degrees placed between you and the true fruit of living, having occupied the peak of its summit, may you hold the highest point.

While you hear me not only willingly but also eagerly, you have made me shameless through your love. For I lead those who go before me and, extended beyond the measure of my ability, I am compelled to lead those whom I desire to follow.

Abstinence is the nurse of continence, which suffers the reins more easily if it is not incited by the spurs of delights. Those who believe that the thing from which they abstain is unlawful diminish for themselves the reward of their labor. For to beware of unlawful things is the yoke of necessity; to conquer things set before one is the hand of choice [read: to conquer permitted things is the gift of choice]. To abstain from evils is the reward of discipline; to rise above good things is the liberty of choice, not the end of command.

If it can be done, let only the bowl of inward reading break prayers [read: the inward desire for reading interrupt prayers]. Let food be simple and clothing cheap. Let your life command and your tongue persuade, because example bears more authority than speech.

Honor upright women who are truly devoted to the pursuit of religion with a measured veneration, so that neither severity be inhuman nor attentiveness relaxed. But in speaking with them, age, hour, and solitude are principally to be avoided by you, so that everything which can be fabricated against you as though it could also be believed may be avoided. Let the very seeds of rumor perish before they are nourished. For not only credence in the deed but almost even the possibility of the lie must be banished, so that your good may not be blasphemed.

Blessed and illustrious is the life concerning which falsehood is allowed nothing. Nor does the envy of secular labor [read: the hostility of worldly spite] escape me, which always burns to detract from religion. But let the world employ its own nature, provided that it finds nothing in our discipline. Let falsehood be hurled about according to custom, provided that what is said cannot even be probable.

Nevertheless, no one ought to despise the wound of infamy, because it is always fitting to feign a reputation [read: rumor has always been accustomed to fabricate], but should take precautions all the more attentively because rumor is also accustomed to invent falsehoods.

Let departure from the house be necessary and rare, such as either the rule of religion requires or the cause of performing work directs toward the substance of one's livelihood.

Abstain from all gifts except those which supply daily food and yearly clothing, knowing that it is written: “Having food and things with which we may be covered, with these let us be content.” The poor widow put in more than everyone, because that which is the whole cannot be little. Nor did anyone give more abundantly than the one who reserved nothing for himself.

Why should anyone not loose by the will to live that which must be broken by the law of dying, making reward from lot, so that he may increase virtue from necessity? Indeed, by distributing his household property, let him make great things from small, precious things from cheap, and eternal things from transitory. Thus says he.

Title X, Chapter III

“Like the full moon in his days”

“Like the full moon in his days, so Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, shone in the temple of God.” He also flourished at that time.

As Vincent of Beauvais reports in Book XV, chapter 23, of the *Mirror of History*, from his Acts, he was of Bordeaux and Aquitanian by nation. He was always an excellent Christian and most wise in Sacred Scripture.

It is also read concerning him that, when in adolescence he devoted his labor to letters and did not advance as quickly as he desired, despairing of attaining knowledge he withdrew from the schools, proposing to occupy himself with other things. While traveling on the road, he found a certain well having great upright stones around its mouth, as is customary. Seeing that those stones had been hollowed in certain places by the continual drawing of the rope, he resumed strength of mind and confidence, saying: “If a rope, which is so soft, by continually rubbing this very hard stone has cut and hollowed it, then by continuing I too shall certainly be able to advance and fulfill my desire.” Hence, returning to the schools, he continued his study and became most acute and learned.

Therefore, when the people of Poitiers saw that he fought all heretics with his whole strength, they all elected him bishop alike. Immediately, defending from the tree of faith not only his own land but all France against the heretics, he was exiled by the emperor Constantius, who was himself a heretic, at the suggestion of two heretics, because they could not endure his wisdom.

Exiled, he went to the island of Gallinaria. Although it was full of serpents, when he went there all the serpents disappeared from that island.

While living as a layman he had had a wife, and from her he received one daughter, whom he called Apra [i.e., Abra]. After Hilary her father had been made bishop, when she sought an earthly spouse, Hilary by his persuasion led her to the purpose of virginity. When he saw her firm in it, fearing lest in the future she decline from the holy purpose, he urgently asked the Lord to call her to himself and not allow her to live longer. This was done; for after a few days she fell asleep in the Lord. Her father buried her with his own hands.

Seeing this, his wife, herself also a most devout woman, asked Bishop Hilary that he obtain for her herself what he had obtained for their daughter. This too followed: she migrated to the Lord.

In the fourth year of his exile, the emperor Constans ordered that all the exiled bishops, Hilary among them, should return and dispute concerning the truth of the faith. Having returned, Saint Hilary asked the emperor that permission to speak be given him. But those two bishops, unable to endure his eloquence, obtained from the emperor that he should be compelled to return to Poitiers.

Thus, while he was returning to Poitiers, a certain woman met him, weeping for her son who had died without baptism. Moved by her prayers and tears, Saint Hilary raised him.

It is also read concerning him, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, and James of Voragine, that while the Arian heresy raged throughout the world, even Pope Leo, corrupted by this pest, caused a council of all the bishops to be summoned. Saint Hilary also came, though rather late, yet fortified with the arms of faith.

When it was announced that he was present before the doors, the pope, indignant not as at one coming late but rather as at a catholic, commanded the synod that none of his fellow bishops should rise for him or assign him a place to sit. Therefore, when the man of God had been presented to the council, he respectfully greeted those seated. The pope, insulting him as though he did not know him, is reported to have answered thus: “Are you Hilary the cock?”

He replied: “I am not Hilary the cock, but Hilary from Gaul.” It is as if he said: “I am not a cock by nation, but a bishop from Gaul.” For he was Aquitanian by nation, but in pontifical dignity he was preeminent among the Gauls.

The pope, moved by the agitation of his spirit, said: “Even if you are Hilary from Gaul, I am Leo, judge of the apostolic Roman see.”

Then Hilary, understanding his obstinate contention, answered him: “If you are a lion, nevertheless you are not of the tribe of Judah. And if you sit as judge, nevertheless you do not sit upon the seat of majesty.”

Immediately the pope, scorning the seat—or rather the dignity of the see—rose, and, threatening the discerning bishop greatly, went out, saying: “See, for when I return to you, I shall leave you humbled by these proud reasonings.”

Hilary said: “And if you do not return?”

Then the holy man, preparing to sit upon the ground, is reported to have said as a supplicant: “The earth is the Lord's, and its fullness.” At that utterance, the ground itself, as is reported, suddenly broke forth and rose upward, providing him a seat no lower than that of the bishops sitting in the midst. While everyone, and especially the catholics, marveled at this and praised God for the merit of the saint, a cry was raised: the apostolic man, struck by a sudden failure, had died.

Thus the synod was dissolved, and all the bishops returned reverently to their own places amid praises of blessed Hilary, the head of the error having been crushed.

But because it is not clearly found that at that time anyone named Leo was in the papacy, therefore, so that this miracle may agree with history, Vincent, in the place cited above, and James say that it could be said that Pope Liberius, who favored Constantius and the other Arians, had two names and was called both Leo and Liberius. For the custom had not yet been introduced into the Church that a pope's name should be changed at his creation. It is clear that this Liberius was pope in the time of Hilary.

Or perhaps around that time there was some antipope called Leo. But nothing concerning this is said in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Tripartite History*, or Jerome's *Chronicle*. Hence it is held as a doubtful matter.

Section I: Hilary's death, miracles, and writings

When Saint Hilary, having returned to Poitiers, became ill and knew that his death was approaching, as Vincent reports, he caused Leoninus, a priest of that city whom he especially loved, to come to him. As night approached, Hilary ordered him to go out and report whether he heard anything outside. Returning, the priest explained that he had heard voices of the city's people making a tumult for this purpose [read: the voices still of the tumultuous city].

While he kept watch around Hilary, awaiting his end, at midnight he was again ordered to go out and report to the man lying there what he could hear. When he reported that he heard nothing, immediately an exceedingly great brightness, which not even the priest himself could endure, entered to Hilary. And thus, as the light gradually withdrew, Hilary migrated to the Lord.

Now two merchants once came to the basilica of this same saint, possessing a form or mass of wax, as though jointly and in common. One addressed the other, proposing that they offer it to so great a confessor. But he expended his words in vain upon the mind of his companion, who refused this. Nevertheless, he prostrated himself in prayer with his companion and placed that wax before the rails of the tomb. Immediately the appearance of the wax divided itself into two wholly equal parts. The part belonging to the faithful offerer was accepted, while the other part, before very many witnesses, rolled itself as far as the other rails and by divine command was repelled with every insult, as though the saint refused to receive what the other had not devoutly offered him. Then that man, confounded, groaned and afterward offered greater things.

Likewise, when a certain boy once fell asleep beside a hedge, lying with his mouth open, a serpent entered his mouth. When his parents brought him to Saint Hilary's basilica, they prostrated themselves in prayer for the boy's health. Immediately the serpent came out from the boy's mouth, poured out its venom before everyone, and died; and the boy was restored unharmed.

Jerome, in the book *On Illustrious Men*, says that Hilary composed twelve books against the Arians, titled, I believe, *On the Trinity*; another book *On Synods*, which he wrote to the bishops of Gaul; likewise the first and second commentaries on the Psalms, in which work he imitated Origen but also added some things of his own; another little book to Constantius, which he directed to him at Constantinople; likewise a book against the heretics Ursacius and Valens, containing the history of the synods of Rimini and Seleucia; likewise a book of hymns and another of mysteries; likewise commentaries on Matthew; and treatises on Job, which he translated according to the sense from the Greek of Origen; another elegant little book against Auxentius; and some letters to various persons.

He died at Poitiers while Valentinian and Valens were reigning. Certain sayings from his book *On the Trinity* are set down so that the profundity of his doctrine may appear.

Section II: Concerning the Passion of Christ

Around the subject matter of Christ's Passion, Hilary speaks thus in Book X of *On the Trinity*:

The only-begotten God, without failing from himself, assumed true man according to the likeness of our man. Although in him a blow might fall, a wound descend, bonds come together, or suspension raise him up, these things indeed brought the assault of suffering, yet they did not bring the pain of suffering—just as a weapon piercing water, pricking fire, or wounding air.

The weapon indeed inflicts all these effects according to its own nature, inasmuch as it pierces, wounds, and pricks; but in these objects the suffering inflicted does not retain its own nature, since it is not in the nature of water to be pierced, fire to be pricked, or air to be wounded, although it is of the nature of the weapon to wound, prick, and pierce.

Christ indeed suffered while he was struck, suspended, and died. But the suffering rushing upon his body was indeed suffering; nevertheless, it did not exercise the nature of suffering, since the penalty failed in its penal ministry [read: the penalty raged in its penal office] and the power of the body received, without the sensation of penalty, the force of the penalty raging against it.

Assuredly that body of the Lord possessed the nature of our pain, if our body has by nature the ability to tread upon the waves and walk over them and is not kept back by the barriers of a closed house. But if the Lord's body alone has this nature, that it is borne upon wet places, stands upon liquids, and passes through things tightly closed, what do we judge concerning flesh conceived from the Spirit through the nature of a human body? That flesh is from heaven, and that man is from heaven, having a body for suffering; and he suffered, but did not have a nature for feeling pain.

And below: What infirmity, therefore, do you believe ruled over this body, whose nature possessed so great a power, namely, to lay prostrate those who came to seize him? But perhaps the pain of his wounds swelled. I ask you, O asserter of the Lord's infirmity: what terror from the nail penetrating his flesh did he possess who restored a severed ear by the touch of his hand alone? Does the hand which produced this ear grieve at the nail? And does he feel a wound who left no pain of the wound in another? Is he sorrowful through fear that his flesh will be pierced, by whose touch flesh is healed after it has been cut?

And below: Therefore, when the powers of the sayings and deeds have been compared, it is not uncertainly demonstrated that bodily infirmity was not in the nature of his body, and that, although that suffering was inflicted upon the body, it nevertheless did not impart to the body a nature of feeling pain. For although the form of our body was in the Lord, nevertheless the form of our corrupted infirmity was not in the body which the Virgin brought forth from conception by the Holy Spirit. Thus says he.

Because these words are obscure, they could generate error in the minds of simple persons who do not understand them soundly. For on the surface they seem to say that Christ, insofar as he was man, did not possess true pain in his Passion.

Hence blessed Thomas, in Book III of the *Sentences*, Distinction 15, sets down three modes of speaking. The first is according to William, bishop of Paris, who said that Hilary retracted these things in a certain letter which is said to be his.

The second mode is that Hilary speaks here concerning Christ according to the divine nature, in which without doubt there was no pain or other suffering. For in those words Hilary was disputing against those who said that the Son of God was a creature.

The third mode of exposition is that of the Master of the Sentences in Book III, where he sets down the aforesaid words. It consists in this: Hilary did not wish simply to exclude pain, fear, and things of this kind from Christ, but three things which surround pain.

The first is the dominion of pain; hence he says, “What infirmity, therefore, do you believe ruled over this body?” and so forth. That is, pain and fear existed in him, but not according to suffering as it exists in us, because in us they somewhat obscure reason, but not in Christ.

The second is the meritorious cause of pain, which is noted when he says, “Nevertheless, not the form of corrupted infirmity,” and so forth; and again, “Not possessing a nature for feeling pain.” He says this because there was in his nature no ordering toward pain from any deserving of sin, as there is in us, at least from original sin.

The third thing which he excludes from Christ is the necessity of pain, which is noted when he says, “Let us see whether that order of suffering,” and so forth. For he possessed in his reason the power by which he could have excluded fear and sorrow from sensuality if he had willed, which is not so in us. This can be seen more fully there.

Section III: Concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist

The same Hilary speaks thus in Book VIII of *On the Trinity*:

These matters must not be spoken of according to human or worldly sense, nor must the perversity of alien knowledge and impious understanding be wrung out through a violent and imprudent proclamation of the heavenly sayings [read: the perversity of an alien and impious interpretation be wrung from the soundness of the heavenly sayings through violent and imprudent preaching]. For unless we have learned from him the natural truth of Christ in us which we declare, we speak foolishly and impiously.

For he himself says: “My flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink. And he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me, and I in him.” Therefore, concerning the truth of the flesh and blood no place for doubting is left. For now, both by the declaration of the Lord himself and by our faith, it is truly flesh and truly blood; and these, received and drunk, bring it about that we are in Christ and Christ is in us.

Therefore he himself is in us through the flesh. But that through the sacrament of the communicated flesh we are in him, he himself testifies, saying: “You shall see me, because I live and you shall live; because I remain in the Father, and you in me, and I in you.”

If he had wished only a unity of will to be understood, why did he expound a certain degree and order for consummating unity, unless so that he might be believed to be in the Father through the nature of divinity; we, on the other hand, to be in him through his bodily nativity; and he again to be in us through the mystery of the sacraments? And thus a perfect unity through the mediator would be taught: while we remain in him, he himself would remain in the Father, and, remaining in the Father, he himself would remain in us. Thus we would advance toward unity, since, with him who is naturally in the Father according to nativity, we too would naturally be in him, while he himself naturally remained in us. Thus says Hilary in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2, *In Christ*.

Concerning the divine persons, their properties, and matters of this kind, he speaks thus in the same book *On the Trinity*:

Immense is that which is being treated—namely, inquiry concerning the mystery of the Trinity—and incomprehensible, beyond the signification of speech, beyond the reach of sense. It is not proclaimed, not attained, not grasped. The nature of the thing itself consumes the signification of words. An impenetrable light blinds the gaze of sense; that which is contained by no boundary exceeds the capacity of understanding.

Therefore, in my perception there is decay; in understanding, stupor; but in speech I confess a new infirmity, namely silence. It is exceedingly dangerous to bring forth anything concerning such great and hidden matters beyond the heavenly prescription, so that discourse concerning God should go beyond the definition of God. The form of faith is certain. Therefore nothing is to be added, but a limit must be established for audacity. Whatever is sought beyond it is not understood.

The same author says in Book I of *On the Trinity*: That man is the best reader who awaits the understanding of sayings from the things stated rather than imposes it upon them, and who carries back more than he brings in, and does not force that to seem contained in the sayings which before reading he presumed ought to be understood. Therefore, when discourse concerns the things of God, let us grant to God the knowledge of himself and serve his sayings with pious veneration.

The same author says in that book: The understanding of sayings must be taken from the causes of speaking, because the thing ought not be subject to the discourse, but the discourse to the thing. This is in the title *On the Meaning of Words*, *Understanding*.

Title X, Chapter IV

“Like shining fire and incense burning in the fire”

Great Basil, in the time of Julian the Apostate, Valens, and others, was like shining fire and incense burning in the fire: fire through ardent love, shining through the irradiation of doctrine, and incense burning in the fire through devout contemplation.

He is called the father of the monks in the East, just as Benedict is in the West. He wrote a rule of living for them. He instituted double monasteries, namely, monasteries of men and women in one monastery, yet separately and with the greatest honorableness. The Church afterward abolished these because of the dangers, as is contained in Cause VIII, Question II, *We Define*.

In a vision he was shown to the holy man Ephrem as a column of fire reaching as far as heaven, as is contained below.

Saint Amphilochius, who wrote his marvelous life, relates that, when Basil was seven years old, he was handed over by his parents to letters. Afterward he went to Athens, the mother of words, where with Gregory Nazianzen, Julian the Apostate, and Libanius the sophist he studied Greek doctrine, in which he was not able to find God, the Creator of all.

While he was there, on a certain night a divine splendor of faith kindled him, and he began to examine thoroughly the Scriptures of the whole Christian religion. Kindled by this spirit, he went to Egypt and sought the sacred books. Returning, he devoted himself to the study of the divine Scriptures and in Greece showed the way of salvation to many worldly philosophers.

Among them, seeking Eubolus his teacher, he found him, now worn out with old age, disputing among his disciples. Basil reproved him. Those who were with him said: “Who reproves you, O philosopher?”

He answered: “Either God or Basil.” Turning to Basil, he said: “What is the definition of philosophy?”

Basil answered: “The first definition of philosophy is the meditation of death.”

Marveling, Eubolus said: “Who is pure?”

Basil answered: “He who is above the world. The words of the world are indeed sweet, but the world is bitter to him who holds it corruptly. The pleasure of the body is one thing and the pleasure of the spirit another; these cannot coexist in anyone at the same time. For no one can serve two masters.”

They remained without food for three days, inquiring together concerning the word of life. Then Eubolus, having learned from him the way of truth, humbled himself under him, offering himself and his possessions. After everything which he had was sold and given to the poor, so that they might go to Jerusalem, they came to Antioch. There they preached the word of God to Libanius the sophist and his disciples.

They came to Jerusalem and, prostrate, sought regeneration there from Bishop Maximinus. They came with him to the Jordan, and Basil prayed that a sign of his faith be revealed. Then lightning came over them, and from that same lightning a dove, which disturbed the waters and flew back into heaven.

After a year they returned baptized to Antioch, where Basil was ordained deacon under Bishop Meletius. Then, as they approached Caesarea, their arrival was revealed by a nocturnal vision to Eusebius, together with the fact that Basil would become his successor. This was done not long afterward.

Having been consecrated, Basil asked that grace and understanding be given to him to offer the sacrifice of the altar in his own words. After six days, having been placed in ecstasy, he began to minister at the coming of the Holy Spirit.

On a certain night the Lord Jesus came to him in a vision with the apostles, making an offering of bread upon the altar, and awakened him, saying: “Let your mouth be filled with praise, so that every day you may offer sacrifice to me.”

Unable to bear the vision with his eyes, Basil approached the altar and wrote upon a sheet: “Let my mouth be filled with praise, that I may sing a hymn to your glory.” After the end of the prayer he raised the bread and, dividing it into three parts, communicated one; he reserved another to be buried with himself; and he placed the third in a golden dove which hung above the altar.

When he went out, Eubolus and the chief of the clergy, who stood before the door of the temple, prostrated themselves and said that they had seen an intelligible light in the temple and men clothed in white, and had heard the voice of the people glorifying God.

When a multitude had assembled in the church for the divine mystery, a certain Hebrew, wishing to examine the mystery of the office, mingled with the people and saw an infant divided in the hands of Basil. Approaching with the others, he received true flesh and true blood. Reporting this to his wife, he was baptized with his whole household.

Section I: The servant's written compact with the devil

A certain senator named Procerius wished to consecrate his daughter to God. The devil, envying him, inflamed one of his servants with love for her. The servant addressed a certain enchanter and received from him a letter which said: “Go and stand at night upon the tomb of a gentile and lift the sheet into the air. Demons who will lead you will stand near.”

When this was done, the devil, reading the letter, said: “Do you believe in me?”

The servant said: “I believe.”

The devil added: “Do you renounce Christ?”

He said: “I renounce him.”

But the devil said: “You Christians are faithless. When you have need, you come to me; but after your desires have been completed, you return to your Christ, who benignly receives you. Therefore make for me a written, voluntary renunciation of your Christ and your baptism, and a profession of me which I may possess on the Day of Judgment; and immediately I shall complete your desire.”

He did this. Then Satan sent spirits of fornication to the girl, and they inflamed her with love for the young man. Casting herself upon the ground, she began to cry to her father: “Have mercy on me, father, because I am tormented on account of that boy. Join me to him, otherwise I shall die.”

Her father, unable to resist many prayers and blandishments, finally gave her to the boy as his wife. After a short time, the young man was observed by others not to enter the church or communicate in the sacred things. They said to his wife: “Do you know that your husband is not a Christian, but belongs to an alien faith?”

Then she, filled with sorrow, prostrated herself and began to tear herself with her fingernails and beat her breast, crying: “Alas, why was I born?” Her husband ran to her and contended that what she had heard was not true. Coming to consolation, she said: “If you wish to satisfy me, tomorrow let us go together to the church, and in my presence partake of the sacred mystery.”

Then, compelled, he explained to her the course of his deed and his compact with the devil. She ran to Saint Basil and narrated to him the order of the events.

Basil questioned the boy whether the matter stood thus, and with tears he related everything. The saint said to him: “Do you wish to return to God?”

He said: “I wish to, but I cannot, because in writing I renounced Christ and made a profession to the devil.”

The saint said to him: “Let this not trouble you; God is benign. Do you believe that you can be saved?”

He said: “I believe, Lord; help my unbelief.”

Then, shutting him in after making the sign of the cross over him, Basil labored together with him for three days. Afterward he visited him, saying: “How are you, son?”

He answered: “Holy man of God, I cannot endure the cries, terrors, and stonings of the demons who hold my writings in their hands and say: ‘You came to us; we did not come to you.’”

The saint said to him: “Do not fear; believe God.” Giving him a little food with the sign of the cross of Christ, he shut him in again. After a few days, again visiting him, Basil asked how he was.

He answered: “I hear their threats and cries from afar, but I do not see them.”

Again Basil gave him food and shut him in. On the fortieth day he returned and, asking how he was, heard him say: “I am well, holy man of God. For today I saw you fighting for me and conquering the devil.”

Then the holy man summoned the entire church and instructed them to pray for him that night. Taking the boy, he led him into the church. The devil, invisibly seizing him, attempted to snatch him from Basil's hand, so that, pulling the boy, he pushed the holy man.

The devil said to him: “You prejudge me, O Basil. For I did not come to him, but he himself came to me. Behold the sheet written by his own hand which I am carrying to the judgment.” Very many heard his voice, while the people cried, “Lord, have mercy.”

The saint said to him: “Blessed is God. This people will not lower their hands from the height of heaven until you return the written document.”

While the people continued in prayer, behold, the writing came, carried through the air and seen by everyone, and was placed in Basil's hands. Giving thanks, he said to the boy: “Do you recognize these letters?”

He answered: “Yes, father, because they were written by my hand.” Basil tore it apart, handed the boy over to his wife, and gave him a rule for living thereafter.

Section II

Saint Basil also, illuminated one day by divine splendor, went out from his city, saying to certain of his disciples: “Sons, follow me, so that with me you may see the glory of God, and let us marvel at the master on account of his disciples.”

A priest named Anastasius also knew this by the power of the Holy Spirit. He had a wife who had lived with him in virginity for forty years, and he himself fasted daily on bread and water except on Saturday and the Lord's Day.

He said to the woman, his sister in practice: “I am going to work in the field. Rise and adorn the house. Around the ninth hour, take a thurible and candles and go to meet Saint Basil the archbishop, for he is coming to lodge in the house of sinners.”

When she had done this with veneration and fear, the holy father Basil arrived, gave her a blessing, and said: “How are you, Lady Theogenia?”

Terrified that he called her by her name, she said: “Well, holy man of God.”

Basil said: “Where is Lord Anastasius, your brother?”

She said: “Lord, he is my husband, and he has gone to work in the field.”

He said: “He is in your house.” Terrified by these words, the woman, struck with stupor, fell to the ground, crying: “Holy man of God, pray for me, a sinner, because I see great and marvelous things in you.”

Making a prayer over her before everyone, he said: “Stretch a cloth between your arms.” When she had stretched it, he ordered living coals from the thurible to be poured upon it. Placing incense upon them, she walked before them.

Therefore, when they came to the priest's house, he too met them. Kissing the saint's feet, he said: “Whence is this granted to me, that the holy man of God should come to me?”

When they had gone to the church, at the command of Archbishop Basil the priest stood at the sacred mystery. While he ministered, Saint Basil and certain of the worthy saw, at the time of the elevation of the Lord's body, the Holy Spirit descending in the form of fire and surrounding the priest and the altar.

When they had communicated and returned to the house, while they took food Saint Basil said to him: “Tell me whence you have this treasure, and what your life is.”

He answered: “I am a sinner subject to public taxes, possessing two yokes of oxen, one for the service of pilgrims and the other for the service of the taxes. This woman is my fellow servant, who ministers to the poor and to me.”

The saint said to him: “Call her your sister, as she is, and tell me your virtues.”

He said: “I possess nothing good and am alien to every virtue.”

Then the saint led him to one of the cells of the house and said to him: “Open the door for me.” When he refused to open it, saying that the necessities of the house were there, the saint opened it by a word. Entering, he found there a leper wasted away in several members of his body.

Basil said to the priest: “Why did you wish to conceal this treasure of yours?”

He answered: “He is furious and abusive, and therefore I feared lest perhaps he should slip in speech.”

Basil said: “You have contended well for him. But allow me to minister to him this night, so that I too may receive a reward.”

Then they left the holy man of God in the cell with the leper and closed the door. Making prayer over him throughout the whole night, Basil healed him. Leading him out, Basil returned to the city.

Section III: Concerning Basil's doctrine

Jerome, in the book *On Illustrious Men*, says: Basil, distinguished bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, carefully composed books against the heretic Eunomius, a volume on the Holy Spirit, eight homilies on the Hexaemeron, and other treatises.

Vincent of Beauvais, in Book XV of the *Mirror of History*, says that these are found among his books: nine books on the Hexaemeron and one book on the institution of monks.

And note that, from the book on the Holy Spirit against Eunomius, at the Council of Florence celebrated in the presence of the Greek emperor and many bishops of the Greeks before Lord Pope Eugenius IV, it was proved and concluded against the error of the Greeks that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son. Basil openly attests this in the said book. This Basil is of great authority and deserved veneration among them.

He himself also wrote a rule of monks, in which, among other things, he says:

If we move rightly and fittingly those things which have been implanted in us, this is to live according to virtue. But if we corrupt the benefits of nature, this is to incline toward malice. Therefore, this is the definition of evil: not to employ rightly the movements of the soul implanted in us by God. But the definition of virtue is to employ the same movements rightly according to the commandment of God and conscience.

Therefore, by a certain natural affection we are constrained toward everything which we judge good. If, with no one teaching us, we are constrained toward love for the kindred of our flesh, and if we are also joined by every affection and service to those whose benefits we have received, what is so good as God? I perceive a love of God utterly ineffable, which can be felt rather than spoken. Because, therefore, the Lord has sown in us the seeds of the virtues, without doubt he also requires their fruit.

Concerning the praise of solitary and common life, he speaks thus:

It profits greatly toward preserving the memory of God to dwell secretly and rather remotely and not to live with those who act more negligently. For it happens that a soul looking upon a multitude of persons living wickedly is first hindered from attaining understanding of its own evils and from being able to purge by penance the things in which it has offended, or to cut away the causes of fault by amendment of the vices, because, in comparison with the worst persons, it now judges itself already to have accomplished something great. It is afterward hindered by the disturbances and occupations which the common life of men is accustomed to possess.

Nevertheless, in many cases I also see that it is more useful to lead a common life with those who are of the same will and purpose than a solitary one. First, because each person alone is not sufficient for bodily uses and for the service of subsistence, but we need one another's work. Nor does the principle of charity permit one to seek what is one's own. Further, one does not easily recognize one's own faults when there is no one to reprove them. But in an assembly of brothers, his offense easily appears to the offender when he is reproved or censured by several persons. Against the snares of the devil, moreover, the fellowship of many is safer and more useful than solitary life.

It is a sign of incontinence to act with disordered and uncomposed movements. It is unbecoming to raise up a crackling laugh with noise. This is accustomed to happen through incontinence of mind even to unwilling persons, and usually softens and dissolves the gravity and constancy of the spirit.

The desire for food is natural. But if there is anything which can satisfy this necessity of the body more quickly or more easily, it should be chosen in food. Whatever things inflict manifest harm upon the body are also to be avoided. Clothing should be chosen for us which can cover nakedness and keep away the force of cold and that which harms from without. The religious habit itself is like a certain pedagogue for the weak, so that it guards them, even unwilling, from dishonorable and indecent conduct.

Joy in the Lord exists when we conduct ourselves according to God's commandment, act for God's glory, suffer gladly for his name, or congratulate others who act rightly. A person eats and drinks to God's glory if he always holds in memory the God by whom he is fed.

If anyone directs his soul toward every word of the Psalms as the taste is directed toward discerning the flavor of foods, he is the one who fulfills what is said in the Psalms: “Sing psalms wisely.”

The one who presides ought diligently to examine for what part each person is suited and thus to enjoin that work or office which is fitting, so that neither those who enjoin are thereby condemned as evil stewards because they enjoined upon someone an office unsuited to him, nor those upon whom it is enjoined appear to have an occasion for sin.

A monk ought not to undertake anything on his own authority; he ought to undertake what is enjoined by those who preside. He who faithfully and purely loves God and is certain of the Lord's recompense does not judge the things enjoined upon him to suffice, but always seeks further increases of work, even if what he does appears to be beyond his strength.

In the Decrees, the following things are contained from the words of Basil. In Cause XX, Question IV: A monk is not permitted to make a vow without the consent of the abbot. But if he has made one, it is to be broken.

And in Cause XXI, Question IV, *Every*: “Everything which is received not on account of necessity but on account of elegance bears the accusation of pride,” as the great Basil says.

Likewise, in Distinction 90, from the Eighth Synod, although these things were taken from the words of Basil, it is said: “If any monk has loved contentions or quarrels, or has brought a manifest insult against a brother, let him expiate it by prolonged penance according to the judgment of the ruler and the measure of the sin. And he who has been contentious or murmuring shall do penance, according to the judgment of the prior, for as long as the character of the fault endures.”

The same Basil speaks thus in *On Consecration*, Distinction 2: The Apostle teaches us fear, saying: “He who eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgment to himself.” But the saying of the Lord teaches us faith, saying: “This is my body,” and so forth.

And the Apostle says concerning the only-begotten Son of God: “He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.” Therefore, when the soul has faith in these things, considers the glory of his magnificence, and marvels at the excess of his humility—how one so great and of such a kind was obedient to the Father unto death for our life—I judge that it can be stirred toward affection and love of him and of God the Father, who did not spare his own only Son but handed him over for us. He who receives the bread and cup of the Lord ought to prepare such faith and affection in his soul.

Section IV: Basil's brothers and Gregory's book on the creation of man

Basil had two brothers, Gregory and Peter, as Rufinus says in Book XI of the *Ecclesiastical History*. One followed his brother in the word of doctrine and the other in works, in such a manner that each reproduced either Basil or Gregory.

Certain lucid works of this younger Gregory survive. Jerome also says concerning him: Gregory, bishop of the city of Enizene [read: Nyssa] and brother of Basil of Caesarea, a few years ago read to me and Gregory Nazianzen books against Eunomius; he is said both to have written and to be writing many other things.

This Gregory's book is *On the Image*, that is, on the creation of man, which he published as a supplement to Basil's Hexaemeron. Yet that book, as Vincent of Beauvais says in Book XV of the *Mirror of History*, is to be read cautiously because certain small marks of falsehood are intermingled with it. From that book these few things have been excerpted:

Man is brought forth into this life naked of natural coverings, unarmed also and helpless, and most destitute of all necessary things. According to what is seen, he seems worthy of pity rather than happiness. For he is not armed with protruding horns, not fortified with the defense of claws or teeth, nor does he pour out deadly poison through any sting; by these things most beasts and serpents are naturally equipped for their own vengeance.

Nor is his body covered with hair, although it would have been fitting for him who was set over others for dominion to be fortified by natural provision with his own arms, lest he require the supports of others for his protection. For the lion and the boar naturally possess sufficient strength for their own safety. The bull has horns, the hare swiftness, the stag a leap and sure sight. Other animals have size, and others a projecting service of the mouth. Winged animals also have the service of wings, and bees a sting. It is agreed that some single natural protection has been conferred upon absolutely all; man alone is believed to have been left destitute before all.

And how, someone will say, did such a one obtain the principality of all things? But I judge that nothing is difficult to demonstrate here: through that which is believed to be lacking to our nature, a certain occasion is given by which he obtains dominion over all subjected things.

For if these supports had been naturally attributed to his body, he would first be like the beasts and would appear difficult in an encounter. Then he would disdain to exercise lordship over others, since he would need none of their assistance. But now the use of our life is divided among the individual things subjected to us, so that our possession of principality over them may appear necessary.

For the slowness of our body and its difficulty in rapid movement caused us to employ the provision of horses; and this provision supplied from the yearly returns of labors those supplements which nature lacked. For other causes also, beasts of burden have been subjected to us as necessary for life. Because we needed a bite and teeth for restraining beasts or taking vengeance upon them, the nature of dogs supplied what was lacking to us. In place of horns or claws, iron, stronger and more penetrating, was invented by men.

Section V: Ephrem visits Basil

When Saint Ephrem the Syrian was in the desert and heard the works of this great Basil, he asked without ceasing that it be revealed to him what manner of man Basil was, as the aforesaid Amphilochius reports. Placed in ecstasy, he saw a column of fire whose summit touched heaven, and a voice saying from above: “Such is the great Basil.”

Immediately taking an interpreter, he came to Caesarea. Entering the church secretly on the feast of the Theophany, he saw great Basil proceeding in a white stole with the white-robed clergy, and said to the one following him: “We have labored in vain, as I judge, brother. For since that man is in such an order, he is not as I saw him.”

As Basil proceeded, Ephrem stood in a hidden place in the church and said within himself: “We who have borne the burden and heat of the day have obtained nothing. And is this man, though he is in such an escort and human honor, a column of fire? I marvel.”

While he said these things, the saint sent his archdeacon, saying: “Go around the western door, and in a corner of the church you will find an abbot wearing a hood with another short man. Call him to me.”

When blessed Ephrem learned through the interpreter what was said, he answered: “You are mistaken, brother; we are strangers.” The archdeacon went away and reported these things to the archbishop.

While Basil was reading the sacred books, Saint Ephrem saw a fiery tongue speaking through his mouth. Basil said to the archdeacon: “Go and say to him: ‘Lord Ephrem, enter the presbytery.’”

The saint, stupefied by these things, bent his knee and said: “Truly, truly Basil is great; truly he is a column of fire; truly the Holy Spirit speaks through his mouth.”

Ephrem asked the archdeacon to excuse him and requested instead that Basil greet him after the ministry in the sacristy. Thus, after completing the ministry, Basil entered the sacristy and greeted him, saying: “Welcome, O father of the sons of the desert, who have multiplied Christ's disciples in it and driven out demons. You have come to see a sinful man. May God give you a reward according to your labor.”

Ephrem received Communion from Basil's hands. While Basil showed him hospitality, Ephrem asked him to petition God that he might speak Greek.

Basil said: “You have asked beyond my strength. But because you have asked faithfully, come, let us petition God, who shall perform the will of those who fear him.”

When they had made prayer and risen, Basil said to him: “Why do you not receive ordination to the priesthood?”

He answered: “Because I am a sinner.”

As they lay upon the ground, the saint placed his hands upon Ephrem and said in the Greek language: “Receive, save, have mercy, and preserve us, O God, by your grace.” They rejoiced spiritually for three days. Saint Basil ordained the interpreter a deacon and Ephrem himself a priest, and dismissed them in peace.

Before Basil, the holy man, migrated from the body, during the illness from which he also died, he summoned to himself, as though he needed his services, a certain Jew named Joseph, very skilled in the medical art. The man of God loved him greatly because he foresaw that he would be converted to the faith.

Joseph touched his pulse and, recognizing by the touch that death was at the doors, said to the household: “Prepare the things necessary for burial, because he will die immediately.”

Hearing this, Basil said: “You do not know what you are saying.”

Joseph said to him: “Believe me, lord, because today the sun will set with the sun.”

Basil said: “What will you say if I do not die today?”

Joseph answered him: “This is impossible, lord.”

Basil said to him: “And if I live until the sixth hour tomorrow?”

Joseph said: “If you live until that hour, I shall die.”

Basil said: “May you die to sin, but live to Christ.”

The man answered: “I know what you are saying. If you live until that hour, I shall do what you exhort.”

Then blessed Basil, although according to nature he was then about to die, nevertheless obtained from God a postponement of death and lived on the next day until the ninth hour. Seeing this and stupefied, Joseph believed in Christ. Basil, overcoming the weakness of his body by the strength of his spirit, rose from his chamber, entered the church, and baptized him with his own hands. Afterward, returning to his bed, he happily departed.

Concerning his free and fearless address to the heretical emperor Valens and to Julian the Apostate, and his foreknowledge of the death of Julian himself through Mercurius, something was said above.

Likewise, a certain woman gave him, in a closed writing, the sins for which he was to obtain remission from the Lord. By praying he obtained it. Hence the woman, receiving the writing, found them erased, with one exception.

When Basil, dead, was being carried to the church, she cast the sheet bearing that writing upon the bier, praying that he procure from God that this one also be erased for her. A short time afterward, receiving the sheet, she found it obliterated, as Sigebert reports.

When his body had been carried into the church, Gregory Nazianzen, hearing of his passing, came hastily and, falling upon his honored body, poured out tender tears abundantly. With twelve bishops and the multitude of the city, they reverently committed him to burial. He died on the first day of January.

Section VI: Saint Ephrem

Concerning Saint Ephrem, of whom mention was made, Jerome says in the book *On Illustrious Men*: Ephrem, deacon of the church of Edessa, composed many things in the Syriac language and came to such renown that after the reading of the Scriptures his writings are read publicly in certain churches. I read a Greek volume on the Holy Spirit which someone had translated from the Syriac language, and even in translation I recognized the acuteness of his sublime intellect. He died under the prince Valens.

Vincent of Beauvais says in Book XV of the *Mirror of History* that seven works of his survive among us, namely, *On Penance*, *On the Struggles of the Age*, *On Compunction of Heart*, *On the Blessedness of the Soul*, *On the Resurrection*, and *On the Day of Judgment*.

Among other things, in the book *On Compunction*, he inveighs thus against lukewarm religious:

You have renounced this age, dearest one, and again you seek worldly rest. You were called into tribulation, and you inquire after refreshment. You were called into nakedness, and you contend to apply zeal to clothing. You were called into thirst, and, rejecting water, you delight to drink wine. You were also called to vigils, and you are dissolved by the idleness of sleep. You were called to weep and lament, and you pour forth laughter with a guffaw. You were called into subjection, and you contradict. You were called into meekness and humility, and you walk proud and exalted. You were called into charity, and you hate your brother.

Why do you go about resentful toward your neighbor, whose burden you ought to have borne? Why, on account of your sluggishness, do you disparage and accuse the good and sweet yoke of Christ as though it were hard, heavy, and unendurable?

And below: Come, dearest ones, let us conduct business while the market is held. A worldly man sometimes advances excuses, inasmuch as he is bound in the world. But what shall we say? What excuse shall we possess if we have been negligent? It is to be feared and trembled at lest perhaps those who exalt us here with praises should begin to deride us there and insult us. Thus says he.

It is read concerning Saint Ephrem that, while he was a deacon of the church of Edessa, he merited by God's grace to possess knowledge of natural things. He always led a quiet life and for very many years taught all who came to him to live. At length, because of a certain necessity, he went forth from his cell.

For when a severe famine raged in that city through the multitude of country people, moved by pity he approached the rich, saying: “Why does no mercy move you for human nature thus failing before your eyes, while you preserve things rotting within for your condemnation?”

They said: “We have no one to whom we ought to entrust money to be distributed to the needy. For everyone wishes to conduct business for his own advantage.”

He said: “What manner of man do I appear to you?”

They said: “We know that you are a servant of God.”

He said: “Give me, therefore, your money, and I shall undertake the ministry of pilgrims and the wretched.”

Having received the money, he enclosed the city's porticoes with certain walls and placed three hundred beds in them. There he restored those perishing from famine, also caring for the sick and burying the dead.

When that year had been completed, after which there was a great abundance of crops, he returned to his cell. He died there after the space of one month. Vincent reports these things in Book XVIII of the *Mirror of History*. Whether this Ephrem is the one of whom mention was made before is not certain.

Title X, Chapter V

“Like lilies that are beside the passage of water”

Like lilies that are beside the passage of water, so Gregory Nazianzen and Didymus, placed beside the waters of secular letters, flourishing in Greece in the whiteness of purity and the golden hue of eternal wisdom, spread the fragrance of odoriferous doctrine in the Church.

First, concerning Gregory. As Vincent relates in Book XV of the *Mirror of History*, while preserving entire the seal of chastity and while still a young man flourishing at Athens in the studies of philosophy, in sleep he saw two exceedingly beautiful women sit down on his right and left as he sat and read. Looking at them with a rather stern eye under the impulse of chastity, he asked who they were and what they wanted with him.

But they, embracing him rather familiarly, said: “Do not take it ill, young man. We are known to you and quite familiar. For one of us is called Wisdom and the other Chastity, and we have been sent to dwell with you because you have prepared a sufficiently pleasant and clean dwelling in your heart.”

Afterward, when Athens constrained him to teach rhetoric because of its very high regard for his learning, he secretly boarded a ship and departed. Troubled by a storm at sea, he vowed that he would serve God. This also he did. But when he had been raised to the priesthood by his father, who was a bishop, he bore this with difficulty and withdrew for a time.

Rufinus speaks thus of him in Book XI of the *Ecclesiastical History*: Cappadocia brought forth Gregory together with Basil: both noble, both educated at Athens, both fellow students. Both were asked, with God’s help, to make profession of rhetoric. Basil indeed fulfilled that work magnificently, but Gregory more magnificently despised it.

When Gregory had wholly bound himself to the service of God, he presumed so much upon the love of his fellow student that he removed Basil, as he sat, from the teacher’s chair and, laying hold of him with his hand, led him with himself to a monastery. There, as they say, for thirteen years, all books of the secular Greeks having been put away, they devoted their labor solely to the volumes of divine Scripture. They followed their understanding not from their own presumption, but from the writings and authority of the elders, concerning whom it was established that they themselves had received from apostolic succession the rule of understanding. Examining chiefly their commentaries on the prophets, they sought the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden in earthen vessels.

But when they themselves, now sufficiently instructed, were called by divine dispensation to instruct the peoples, and each was drawn by a different path to the same work, Basil, going about the cities and countryside of Pontus, began to stir by words and kindle by preaching the sluggish spirits of that nation, who had little concern for future hope.

Gregory, however, continually cultivated the good earth of his own heart, and here made much greater progress in himself than Basil did in others. Basil received what those who renounced the world laid at his feet; Gregory, content with the sacrament of having nothing and possessing all things, clung greedily and with great desire to the riches of wisdom alone, and by his example preached freedom from the cares of the world.

Therefore, not long afterward, Basil became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Gregory, however, being appointed bishop in place of his father at the town of Nazianzus, faithfully endured the turbulence of the heretics. When peace had been restored, he came to Constantinople to teach, where he was established as bishop. There, in a short time, he accomplished so much in reforming a people infected with the ancient poisons of the heretics that then for the first time they seemed to themselves to become Christians and to behold the new light of truth, since the teacher of religion taught many things by words, but more by examples.

But when envy followed upon the glory he had obtained, certain men began to contend that, with him returning to his own place, another should be ordained bishop. Perceiving that this was only being whispered and muttered under the breath, he himself brought forth what no one dared to say to him: “Far be it that any dissension among God’s priests should arise on my account. If this storm is because of me, take me and cast me into the sea, and the tossing will cease for you.”

Then, returning to his own church, he passed the time of life that remained. Because he was now worn out in age and infirm in body, he selected a successor for himself, so that, while that man governed the church, he might enjoy the repose of weakness and old age.

Jerome writes thus of him in the book *On Illustrious Men*: Gregory Nazianzen, bishop, a most eloquent man, my teacher, by whose exposition I learned the sacred Scriptures, composed all his works in thirty thousand verses. Among them are these: *On the Death of His Brother Caesarius*; *Praises of the Maccabees*; *Praises of Cyprian*; *Praises of Athanasius*; *Praises of Maximus the Philosopher after His Return from Exile*; a book of the *Hexaemeron*, with Virginity and Marriage disputing against one another;

two books *Against Eunomius*; one book *On the Holy Spirit*; and one book *Against the Emperor Julian*. He practiced the life of a monk in the countryside and died about three years before this under the emperor Theodosius.

According to Thomas in the First Part, he was of such authority among the ancients that no one dared to reject his opinions or sayings, although that which he himself held as an opinion concerning the angels—namely, that they were created long before the creation of the world—is not commonly held today; rather, it is held that they were created at the beginning of the age, when other things also were created.

Section I: From his apologetic book on his flight from pastoral care

In his apologetic book, where he assigns the causes of his flight from pastoral care, Gregory says thus:

The cause of that disturbance of mine, by which I contradicted so persistently and, putting aside the modesty that had always been my inseparable companion, resisted so imprudently, was its sudden coming upon me, just as, when a sudden noise has thundered, those struck by terror are at once disturbed. The next cause was the recollection of my quiet and silence, since I saw that what I had loved from the beginning of my life and had vowed to God amid the greatest dangers was being hindered for me.

For truly nothing seems more excellent to me for a man with a view to the blessed life than that, the carnal senses having been closed, and having been made exterior to the flesh and the world, someone should turn into himself and, having been made a stranger to mortal cares, should speak to himself alone and to God; so that, having been raised above all visible things, he may fill his mind with divine perceptions and heavenly forms without any admixture of earthly things; and, having truly been made an immaculate mirror of the image of God and always receiving light from his light, he may bear in himself certain first tokens or beginnings of the future age; and, although still placed upon earth, may in a certain manner enjoy the fellowship of angels; and, earthly frailty having been despised and abandoned, may be transported to the things above by the coming of the Holy Spirit.

If perhaps any one of you has at some time felt the ardor of love of this sort, he knows what I say and recognizes the things of which I speak. But in certain men the sickness of envy hinders the faculty of judging rightly, and they fasten a vicious name upon philosophy, calling it vainglory, and defame illustrious wisdom and studies with the appellations of boastfulness. The crowd of the unskilled is more ready to disparage good studies than to imitate them.

I was also ashamed because of certain men whom I saw possessing nothing at all pertaining to the amendment of their life, rushing competitively into holy things with unclean feet and, before they were held worthy even of the first entrance and the doors, proceeding immediately to the tribunal and hastening to the priesthood; and, with the others thrust aside, reclining upon the sacred altars themselves, so that it may deservedly be said according to the ancient proverb: “Is Saul also among the prophets?”

Although it is difficult to know how to obey one who rules, it is much more difficult to know how to rule others. For as much as the hope and glory of this rule are greater, so much more grave is the danger, at least for those possessing understanding. For if there is any disease of vices in rulers, it is easily poured into those who are ready to obey him, and that which is evil passes from him much more easily than whatever virtue and industry may be in him. For nothing is so easy as to become evil, even if no one teaches or compels it; but it is exceedingly difficult to become good. Very many of us are ready to receive evil.

One must fear, he says in the same book, lest we be found to be certain very bad painters of the beauty of virtue before other painters—that is, before the common people, who ought to paint it in themselves—by offering them the worst exemplars of that image. Or certainly lest the matter of the familiar proverb happen to us, so that we who undertake to heal others are ourselves found to be teeming with ulcers.

Moreover, it is not enough that the man to whom the highest charge of teaching is committed should not be evil; for being evil is assuredly blameworthy and disgraceful even in those who are taught. Rather, he ought to be furnished with all good things. We ought never to think that any end has been made for us of good things or any boundary set to advancement. Those things rightly done by us are not so much to be brought into the light as those things which we have not yet willed to fulfill are to be reckoned as loss.

This life ought to be considered by us as a certain ascent, in which it avails nothing to have completed what you have climbed unless you surmount what remains. Nor should we measure ourselves by comparison with others or think ourselves to be something great if perhaps we are found more excellent than some. Rather, let us judge it a loss if we do not conduct ourselves worthily of our place and rank. And if any things are done by us, let them be weighed not by comparison with the negligent, but by the authority of the commandment.

Those who preside ought not to constrain their subjects by force or necessity, but to persuade them by reason and examples of life, because everything that is extorted from unwilling persons, besides the fact that it seems tyrannical, cannot indeed endure. For whatever is drawn violently is accustomed to return, just as, if someone bends the top of a young tree, once released it

returns again to what it had been. But that which is done from purpose and will is as lawful as it is certain, being bound by the strongest bond, namely, that of its own will.

Truly it seems to me that to rule or instruct a human being is the art of arts and the discipline of disciplines, since man is certainly, among all living beings, the most varied in manners and diverse in will.

But for us who preside, the chief endeavor is to conquer those who love carnally and in no manner wish to yield to us, fighting against their own selves, so that they may be for us a kind of veil against those on whose behalf we fight; while each one brings as much zeal to covering and concealing the diseases of sins as he ought to have brought to showing the sickness to the physician.

Some ought to be rebuked before everyone because they despise more secret admonitions. Others ought to be admonished more secretly because, when corrected publicly, they become more shameless. All the actions of some ought to be observed more diligently and examined even to excess, especially of those who, while they think their evils are concealed by a certain art of theirs, raise themselves and are puffed up against others. In the case of others, certain things ought to be passed over, and, though seeing, one ought as if not to have seen, and, though hearing, as if not to have heard, lest by rebuke they come to final contempt—those who perhaps are ashamed to extend and multiply their faults.

What this Gregory touches very briefly concerning the varied manner of admonishing and correcting delinquent subjects according to the variety of their condition, Gregory the Great, that is, the pope, treats at length, descending to particulars in the *Pastoral Book* and citing this Gregory Nazianzen.

Finally, Nazianzen himself says: To philosophize according to God, and to know how to hold the rudders of souls and to govern others when I myself had not yet learned to obey those governing rightly, I judged to be a business above me, especially at this time, when we see men being turned this way and that and disturbing all things, so that nothing seems better than to flee from the midst and lie hidden.

I indeed do not fear external wars, nor do I dread that beast which has now risen up against the churches, that is, Julian the Apostate, in whom is the fullness of the devil, although he threatens fires, swords, and beasts; although in cruelty he exceeds all persecutors who were before him; although he seeks new kinds of torments. For me there is one remedy against all these things, one victory: willingly to receive death for Christ.

But concerning the internal war of vices, I do not know what I should do, what aids I should procure, what gift of the Holy Spirit I should invoke, with what spiritual arms I should surround myself against the snares of the devil. I indeed confess myself to be exceedingly weak for his battles, and on this account I confess that I have turned my back. Covering my face with confusion, I sat alone, because I am filled with bitterness. I sought to be silent, understanding that the time is evil.

Section II: On the proper manner of monastic life and the modesty of preachers

The same Gregory says:

I set a guard upon my mouth and gave silence to my lips, since I saw it to follow that the mind first ought to be purified by philosophy in deed, and only then to open the mouth, draw in the spirit, utter a good word, and speak God’s wisdom perfectly among the perfect.

I desired, namely, to see that pale company offering glory to God in the Church: those who meditate upon the law of the Lord day and night; those who live as an example and admonition of a better life to all the rest. They are also silent preachers of the law of God and of Christ’s Gospel, in whom their very habit displays the insignia of virtue: a shaggy head with uncombed and bristling hair, shorn only as much as suffices; bare feet like those of the apostles; the cheapness of their garment, condemning the arrogance and pride of the age; a belt more precious through its very neglect, holding only so much of the garment as does not permit it to wander loose.

Their gait is ordered; their eye does not wander; they never laugh, but smile gently. Their speech is brought forth with reason, or their silence is more precious than speech. In praising they are not excessive, but offer as much as suffices for exhortation and not for flattery. A rebuke is more precious when joined with praise; the measure of sadness and joy is most just, and the tempering of each by the other most fitting. Gentleness is joined with austerity, freedom with modesty, so that one is not hindered by the other.

They mingle with crowds and withdraw into secrecy, doing each with measure, so that in the one they are joined with human beings and in the other with God. They lead a common life without common vices, but a private life not without the common affection of fraternity.

And, what is greater and more illustrious than all these things, in poverty they are rich, having nothing and possessing all things; having nothing in the world and living above the world. For them labor is delight; placed in the flesh, they live outside

the flesh. Their portion is the Lord; they are poor for the sake of the kingdom, and kings for the sake of poverty; glorious in humility, strong in weakness.

But let us shun and avoid those who are incurable, lest perhaps we be stained by their contagions and not so much deliver our health to them as take their sicknesses upon ourselves. Thus he speaks there as above.

The same Gregory says to the emperors at Constantinople, as found in Distinction X: “Do you receive freedom of speech? Do you willingly accept that the law of Christ subjects you to priestly power and to these tribunals? For he gave us power; he gave us a principate much more perfect than your principalities. Or does it seem just to you that spirit should yield to flesh, that heavenly things should be overcome by earthly things, and that human things should be preferred to divine things?”

The same author says in Cause I, Question I: There is no doubt that one who endeavors to purchase the gift of God for a price in sacred ordination can thereafter in no manner remain or be recalled to it. Let such a man be cut off from communion in every way. For what else is it to purchase the gift of the Holy Spirit for a price than a capital crime and the simoniacal heresy? How detestably this is punished in each Testament is readily apparent from many examples.

For Gehazi sold the grace of healing to Naaman the Syrian; when Elisha exacted punishment for this same grace of healing, Gehazi was made a leper and lost it. Judas sold the Redeemer of all and, soon hanged by a noose, did not obtain that same grace of redemption—and deservedly, because no one can retain what he has sold.

Simon Magus also, when he wished to buy that same grace of the Holy Spirit, heard from Peter the sentence of his condemnation: “Your money,” and so forth. The Lord also, in order to show that those buying and selling were without this grace, left all the other sinners in the temple, but, rebuking and scourging specifically those buying and selling in the temple, cast them out of the temple. For those whom Christ casts out of the temple—will the Holy Spirit make them a temple for himself? Thus far the quotation. You have a lengthy treatment of simony in the Second Part of the *Summa*.

Section III: Didymus of Alexandria

As Rufinus says in Book XI of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Didymus, having been deprived of his eyes at a young age, when he still did not know the first elements of letters, was inflamed with a greater desire for the true light. Hearing it written in the Gospel that “what is impossible among human beings is possible with God,” and therefore trusting in the Lord, he prayed most earnestly that he might receive illumination of the heart.

He mingled studies and labor with prayers, and unremitting and continual vigils, so that hearing might confer upon him what sight conferred upon others. When, after the labor of working by lamplight, sleep came upon him, as it is accustomed to come upon those who labor by night, Didymus, like a clean animal ruminating the food it had taken, called it back whole and reconsidered in memory and mind those things which he had learned a little earlier from the reading of books as others ran through them.

Thus in a short time, with God teaching him, he came to such learning and knowledge of divine and human things that he became a teacher of the ecclesiastical school, being highly approved by Bishop Athanasius and the other wise men in the Church of God.

He was also so skilled in the other disciplines, whether dialectic, geometry, astronomy, or arithmetic, that none of the philosophers, when proposing to him anything from these arts, was ever able to overcome or confute him. Rather, as soon as he had received his answers, he believed him to be a master of the discipline concerning which he had proposed the question.

His writings are held in great admiration by all. We, however, who were in some degree hearers of his living voice, heard a far greater grace and some divine thing—I know not what—sounding above the human voice in those discourses which came forth from his mouth.

Blessed Antony also, when he had descended from the Thebaid to Alexandria to bear testimony to the faith of Athanasius against the Arians, consoled him with magnificent words: “Let it in no way offend you, Didymus, that you seem to have been deprived of carnal eyes. For those eyes which mice, flies, and lizards possess are lacking to you. But rejoice that you have the eyes which angels possess and by which God is seen, through which a great light of knowledge is kindled for you.”

Jerome says thus concerning him in the book *On Illustrious Men*: Didymus of Alexandria, blind from a young age and for this reason ignorant of the elements of letters, presented to everyone so great a marvel of himself that he learned dialectic, and also arithmetic and geometry—disciplines which especially require sight—even to perfection.

He wrote very many noble works: commentaries on all the Psalms; commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and John; two books *On Doctrines against the Arians*; one book *On the Holy Spirit*, which I translated into Latin; eighteen volumes on Isaiah; three books of commentary on Hosea; five books on Zechariah at my request; commentaries on Job; and many other things.

Vincent says, however, in Book XV of the *Mirror of History* that nowhere did he find any of all these books of Didymus except the book *On the Holy Spirit*, which Jerome bears witness that he translated. In its prologue Jerome himself speaks thus:

Wishing to chatter something concerning the Holy Spirit, I preferred to be the translator of another's work rather than, as certain men do, to adorn myself like an ugly little crow with the colors of others. Long ago I read little books on the Holy Spirit, and, according to the comic poet's judgment, from good Greek works I saw Latin works that were not good. There was nothing manly there, nothing close and compressed, but everything flaccid, soft, and polished.

But my Didymus, possessing the eye of the bride and those eyes which Jesus commanded to be raised to the fields whitening for harvest, gazing far and more deeply, restores to us the ancient custom according to which a prophet is called a seer. Certainly, whoever reads this man will recognize the thefts of the Latin writers and will scorn the little streams when he has begun to draw from the fountains.

From that book of Didymus, against the errors of the Greeks, the following is contained in the Decretals, *On Consecration*, Distinction V, final chapter:

The Savior, who is also the Truth, says concerning the Holy Spirit: "For he will not speak from himself"; that is, without me and without the judgment of me and of the Father, because he is inseparable from my will and the Father's. And further: because he is not from himself, but is from the Father and from me. I speak the truth, that is, I inspire what he speaks, since he is the Spirit of truth.

For "to say" and "to speak" in the Trinity are not to be received according to our custom by which we converse and speak among ourselves, but according to the form of incorporeal natures, and especially of the Trinity, which continually inserts its will into the hearts of the faithful—into the hearts of those who are worthy to hear it.

Indeed, for the Father to speak and the Son to hear, or conversely for the Son to speak and the Father to hear, is for the Father and the Son to be of the same nature. And in the Father and the Son the Holy Spirit is the bond and communion. He who is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of wisdom cannot hear the Son speaking things which he does not know, since he is himself that which is brought forth by the Son: that is, God proceeding from God, the Spirit of truth proceeding from the Truth, the Consoler flowing from the Consoler. Thus far the quotation.

Title X, Chapter VI

“Like a rainbow shining among clouds of glory”

Like a rainbow shining among clouds of glory, so blessed Jerome, a rainbow of glory—that is, glorious—placed among the dark clouds of delinquents and those going astray, illuminated the Church. By a most true and most tenacious interpretation he cleared Scripture, which had been clouded by the falsehoods of Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins who interpreted it badly. Translating from the Hebrew with respect to the Old Testament, and from the Greek with respect to the New, except for a few things, he handed it down in Latin to the faithful. He illuminated very many of its books by commenting upon them and confuted many heretics by his doctrine.

On account of the bright light of his wisdom, the Church has granted him such authority that whatever opinions or books of writers he rejected are held as rejected, and the things which he wrote are firmly maintained, as is clear in Distinction XV, *The Holy Roman Church*. And although dense clouds of men emulating him tried by diverse calumnies to obscure his glory, amid them his truth and holiness shone more brightly.

This Jerome, then, the son of Eusebius, was born in the town of Stridon, which lies upon the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia. Baptized at Rome as a boy, he was most fully instructed in the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages. He had Donatus as his teacher in grammar, Victorinus in rhetoric, and Gregory Nazianzen in sacred Scripture.

As he himself writes concerning himself to Eustochium, when in his youth he delighted exceedingly in the study of gentile authors, avidly reading Cicero by day and Plato by night, and if at any time he looked upon the books of the prophets, their uncultivated speech repelled him, for which reason he put them aside, on a certain occasion about the middle of Lent he was seized by so sudden and burning a fever that, while his whole body was now growing cold, vital heat throbbed in his breast alone.

While the rites of his funeral were therefore being prepared, he was carried to the tribunal of the Judge, where there was an immense light. Asked of what condition he was, he answered: “I am a Christian.”

The Judge said to him: “You lie. You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian. For where your treasure is, there also is your heart.”

Jerome became silent. Immediately the Judge ordered those standing near to beat him for a very long time. But Jerome, crying out and wailing, said: “Have mercy upon me, Lord; have mercy upon me.” Those who stood near entreated the Judge to grant pardon to the young man.

He himself began to swear by God and to say: “Lord, if ever I possess books, if ever I read them, I have denied you.” Released at this word of his oath, he returned to himself and found himself drenched in tears and, lest it be thought a dream, his shoulders livid from the blows received before the Judge.

Rabanus touches upon this point in *On the Afflictions of the Church*, saying: “We read that blessed Jerome was scourged by an angel because, though a Christian man, he attended to the fictions of the gentiles,” as found in Distinction XXXVI. Therefore he afterward read the sacred books with as much zeal as he had never before devoted to the gentile books.

If afterward he at times introduces testimonies of the gentiles in his books, he assigns the reason for this in Distinction XXXVII, *Those Who from the Table*, saying: “If at any time we are compelled to recall secular letters and to say certain things from those which we formerly omitted, it is not of our will but, so to speak, of the gravest necessity, so that we may prove that those things which were foretold many ages before by the holy prophets are contained in the writings of the Greeks, the Latins, and other nations.”

Accordingly, when he was thirty-nine years old, he was ordained a cardinal priest of the Roman Church. While at Rome for three years he labored over the sacred letters and supplied eminent examples of holiness by purity of life and abstinences. He obtained such favor among the peoples that by the judgment of all he was considered worthy of the highest priesthood.

But because he reproved the wantonness of certain clerics and monks, and because they, unable to endure it, laid snares for him, giving place to their madness he withdrew from the city and went to Gregory Nazianzen, bishop of Constantinople, for the sake of fuller instruction in the divine oracles.

The nature of the snares that certain men prepared for him is related: namely, by secretly placing a woman’s garment in his bedchamber after his own had been removed. When, rising at night for matins, he put on the woman’s garment, thinking it his own, he entered the choir and was mocked by his rivals as if he kept a woman in his chamber. But this is not very authoritative.

After he had acquired from Gregory a most excellent knowledge of the sacred page, he passed into the desert. He himself narrates how much he endured there, writing thus to Eustochium:

How often, when situated in the desert and in that vast solitude which, scorched by the sun's heat, offers a dreadful habitation to monks, did I think myself amid Roman delights. I sat alone because I was filled with bitterness. Sackcloth made my deformed limbs bristle, and neglected skin had drawn over my flesh the foulness of an Ethiopian. Daily there were tears, daily groanings. And if at any time, as I resisted, oppressive sleep overcame me, I dashed upon the bare earth my bones, which scarcely held together.

Concerning food and drink I am silent, since even the sick use cold water, and to have received anything cooked is a luxury. Therefore I, who on account of fear of Gehenna had condemned myself to such a prison, a companion only of scorpions and wild beasts, was often present among choirs of girls. Faces grew pale with fasts, yet the mind burned with desires in a cold body; and, before its human being, the flesh, had already died, only the fires of lusts boiled.

And so, destitute of every help, I lay at Jesus's feet; I watered them with tears, I wiped them with my hair, and I subjected the resisting flesh by the fasting of weeks. I am not ashamed of my unhappiness; rather, I lament that I am not what I was. I remember that, crying aloud, I frequently joined day with night and did not cease from beating my breast until, at the Lord's command, tranquillity returned.

I feared even my cell itself as if it were conscious of my thoughts; and, angry and severe with myself, I alone penetrated the deserted places. Wherever I saw hollow valleys or the rugged precipices of mountains, there was the place of my prayer, there the most wretched prison of my flesh. And, as God is my witness, after many tears, after my eyes clung to heaven, at times I seemed to myself to be among the companies of angels and, glad and rejoicing, I sang: "After you we shall run in the fragrance of your ointments." Thus speaks he.

Section I: His life at Bethlehem and the lion

When four years had been passed in this penance, he returned to the town of Bethlehem. There, gathering many disciples in a short time, he labored for fifty years and six months in the holy purpose of the religious life and in translating and expounding the Scriptures.

On a certain day toward evening, while he was disputing about the Scriptures with his disciples, a limping lion suddenly entered. While the brothers scattered in fear of it, Jerome went to meet it as if it were a guest. When the lion showed him its foot, he ordered the brothers to wash it and found that it had been injured by thorns. Without delay the lion recovered and, putting aside all ferocity, lived among them like a domesticated animal.

Then Jerome, seeing that it had come both for the health of its foot and for their utility, by the counsel of the brothers assigned to it the duty of guarding in the pastures the ass that carried wood from the forest.

Meanwhile, on a certain day, while the ass was grazing, the obedient lion was overcome by sleep and slept. Behold, merchants, seeing the ass without a guardian, led it away with them. Awakening, the lion did not find its companion. When, after searching everywhere for a long time, it had not found the ass, it came sadly to the gate of the monastery.

Seeing that it had come later than usual and without the little ass, and that on arriving it did not dare to enter, the brothers thought that, compelled by hunger, it had eaten the ass. Giving it nothing, but sending it back to what remained of the carcass, although they nevertheless doubted this, they went out to the pastures to see whether they could find any sign of its death.

Returning because they had found nothing, they reported the matter to Jerome. Patiently bearing the loss and treating the lion humanely, they imposed the little ass's duty upon it, namely, that it should carry wood from the forest.

While it performed this diligently, on a certain day, after carrying the wood, it went out to the field as if still anxiously seeking its companion. From afar it saw the merchants approaching with laden camels, with that ass going before them. For it is the custom in those regions that, when they travel a long distance with camels, they take with them one going ahead with a cord and a little bell upon its neck.

When they approached one another, the lion recognized the ass and rushed upon them with a great roar. As the men fled, the lion, striking the earth terribly with its tail, compelled the laden camels to go before it to the monastery.

Hearing this, Jerome enjoined the deepest silence and ordered the gates to be opened kindly and, once the camels had been unloaded, that they should await the divine will concerning the matter. Then the lion, walking about the monastery as it was accustomed and prostrating itself before each brother, seemed to ask pardon with its tail for a fault it had not committed.

When, as Jerome had advised, they had prepared necessities for the guests who would come, behold, it was announced that guests who wished to see the abbot were standing before the gates. Entering, they modestly prostrated themselves before Jerome in order to merit pardon for the theft they had committed.

He gently raised them and, admonishing them thereafter not to usurp the things of others, ordered that they be refreshed and then depart after receiving their camels with the merchandise. But they would eat nothing until, despite Jerome's great

resistance, they gave him half the oil which they were carrying. They also promised that thereafter the same measure of oil would be sent to them annually by themselves and their heirs. And thus they gladly returned to their own places.

It is read in certain little works entitled with the name of Augustine, and in others attributed to Cyril or other men, concerning many miracles done after Jerome's death at his invocation, and especially concerning three dead men raised to life when his tunic had been laid over them, who related the punishments and glory shown to them in the other life. But because it is not authoritative that such doctors wrote those things, and because neither Vincent in the *Mirror of History*, nor Jacob of Voragine, nor other historians make mention of them, we therefore omit relating them.

Vincent speaks thus concerning Jerome's writings in Book XVII of the *Mirror of History*:

- *Expositions of His Faith to Pope Damasus*.
- One treatise *On the Nicene Creed*.
- One book of commentaries on Ecclesiastes.
- Eighteen books on Isaiah.
- Twenty books on Jeremiah.
- Fourteen books on Ezekiel.
- One book on Daniel.
- Three books on Hosea, and similarly on each of the Minor Prophets.
- Four books on Matthew.
- One book on Mark.
- Works on the Epistle to the Ephesians, on the Epistle to the Galatians, on the Epistle to Titus, and on the Epistle to the Philippians.
- Several books on that which is written, "the husband of one wife," to Oceanus.
- *On Twelve Questions, to Hedibia*.
- *On Eleven Questions, to Algasia*.
- One book of *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*.
- One book *On Three Questions, to Pope Damasus*.
- Two books of *Hebrew Questions on the Book of Kings*.
- Two books of *Questions on Paralipomenon*.
- One book of the *Breviary on the Psalter*.
- One book *On the Best Manner of Interpreting, to Pammachius*.
- One book *On the Interpretations of Hebrew Names*.
- One book *On the Study of the Scriptures, to Paulinus*.
- One book *On the Priestly Garment*.
- One book *On the Prodigal, to Damasus*.
- One book *On the Corruption of the Seventy in the Psalter*.
- One book *On the Forty-Two Stations of the Children of Israel*.
- One general treatise *Against Heretics*.
- Three books *Against the Pelagians*.
- Two books *Against Jovinian*.
- One book *Against the Luciferians*.
- One book *Against Helvidius, on the Perpetual Virginity of Mary*.
- One book *Against Vigilantius*.
- One book *Against Origen, on the Resurrection*.

- One book *To the Priest Avitus, on the Errors of Origen*.
- One book *Against Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia*.
- One *Apologetic to Augustine*.
- One *Exhortation to Julian*.
- One book *On Penance, to Rusticus*.
- One book *On the Perfect Man*.
- One book *On the History of Joachim and Anna*.
- One treatise *On the Fifteen Signs Preceding the Judgment*.
- One book *On Illustrious Men*.
- One book *On the Distance of Places*.
- One book *On the Life of Clerics, to Nepotian*.
- One book, the *Epitaph of Nepotian, to Heliodorus*.
- One book *On the Institution of a Cleric or Monk, to Paulinus*.
- One book *On the Life of a Monk, to Rusticus*.
- One book *On the Life of a Cleric, to Oceanus*.
- One book *On Preserving Virginity, to Eustochium*.
- One book *To the Virgin Demetrias*.
- One book *To Laeta, on the Instruction of Her Daughter*.
- One book *To a Mother and Daughter Dwelling in Gaul*.
- *Rebukes of the Consecrated Virgin Susanna*.
- One book *On Her Fall*.
- One book *To Geruchia, on Monogamy*.
- One book *To Furia, on Preserving Widowhood*.
- One book *To Salumia, on the Death of Nebridius*.
- One book of consolation *To Paula, on the Falling Asleep of Blesilla*.
- One book *To Pammachius, on the Falling Asleep of Paulina*.
- One book *To Oceanus, on the Death of Fabiola*.
- One book of consolation *To Tyrasius, on the Falling Asleep of His Daughter*.
- One book, the *Epitaph and Death of Paula*.
- One book *To Numenius and Alexander, on the Resurrection of the Flesh*.
- One *Apologetic to Pammachius*.
- One book *To Heliodorus, on Contempt of the World*.
- One book *To Ctesiphon*.
- One book *To Domnion*.
- One treatise *On the Three Virtues*.
- One book *On the Death of Uzziah, the Seraphim, and the Coal*.
- *Expositions of Psalm Forty-Four, to the Virgin Principia*, one book.
- Seventy brief epistles to diverse persons.
- Ten sermons, and especially one very lengthy and notable sermon *On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

Some extracts from these works are briefly placed below; many of them are also contained in the Decretals.

Section II: Extracts concerning the Christian and monastic life

Nothing is happier than the Christian, to whom the kingdoms of heaven are promised. Nothing is more laborious than he, who is daily imperiled concerning his life. Nothing is stronger than he, who conquers the devil. Nothing is weaker than he, who is overcome by the flesh.

Judas falls from the summit of the apostolate into the Tartarus of perdition, and is moved neither by the intimacy of the banquet, nor by the dipping of the morsel, nor by the grace of the kiss so as to refrain from betraying as a mere man the one whom he knew to be the Son of God. What was wiser than Solomon? Yet he was made foolish by the loves of women.

We say these things, son Rusticus, so that on the first page we may teach you that you have begun great things and pursue lofty things; and that, while trampling upon the incitements of youth—indeed, of puberty—you ascend the grade of perfect age. But the path on which you proceed is slippery, and not so much glory follows upon victory as ignominy follows upon a fall.

I know that I shall offend very many who refer a general disputation concerning vices to an insult against themselves, and who, while becoming angry with me, indicate their own conscience and judge much worse concerning themselves than concerning me. For I shall name no one, lest with the license of ancient comedy I select and lash particular persons. It belongs to a prudent man to dissemble—indeed, to amend—what he understands to be in himself, and to be indignant with himself, not to heap curses upon the admonisher.

And below, as is also found in Cause XVI, Question I: If desire for the clerical state tickles you, learn what you may teach, and offer a rational sacrifice to Christ. Do not be a soldier before you are a recruit, nor a master before you are a disciple.

We are now examining the cradle and customs of a monk. First it must be treated whether you ought to live alone or with others in a monastery. It pleases me that you have the companionship of holy men and do not teach yourself or enter without a teacher upon a way which you have never entered; for then you would immediately be liable to turn aside in the opposite direction and to error, to walk more or less than is necessary, to slacken while running, or to fall asleep while delaying.

In solitude pride quickly steals in. If a man has fasted for a little while and has not seen another human being, he thinks himself to be of some importance. Forgetting himself, he judges other men’s servants. He extends his hands for what his appetite demands. He sleeps as much as he wishes. He does what he wills. He fears no one and thinks everyone inferior.

What, then? Do we reprehend the solitary life? By no means, for we have often praised it.

And below, as found in *On Consecration*, Distinction V: Let the book of the Psalter never depart from your hand and eyes. Let body and mind together tend toward the Lord. Conquer anger by patience. Love knowledge of the Scriptures, and you will not love the vices of the flesh. Nor let your mind be vacant for diverse disturbances; if they settle in your breast, they will rule you and lead you to the greatest offense.

Do some work, so that the devil may always find you occupied. Either weave a little basket from rushes or bend flexible twigs into a hamper. Let the soil be sown. Let garden plots be divided by an equal boundary; when seeds of herbs have been cast into them or plants set in order, let irrigating waters be led to them. Let fruitful trees be grafted with buds or shoots, so that after a little time you may pluck the sweet fruits of your labor.

Make hives for bees, to which Solomon’s Proverbs send you, and learn the order of monasteries and regular discipline in their little bodies. Let nets for catching fish also be woven. Let books also be written, so that the hand may produce food and the soul may be filled by reading. For every idle man is in desires.

The monasteries of the Egyptians maintain this custom: they receive no one without work and labor, not so much because of the necessity of sustenance as for the salvation of the soul, lest it wander through pernicious thoughts.

Jerome adds an example concerning himself: because in his youth, when his mind burned with thoughts even amid fasts, he gave himself as a disciple to a certain man from among the Hebrews who had been converted to the faith, in order to learn the Hebrew idiom, in which he labored greatly.

He adds another example concerning a certain Greek youth in a monastery of Egypt whom he saw with his own eyes. When the youth was gravely tempted by the vice of the flesh and could not extinguish the flame of the flesh by any abstinence of the body, he cured him by this device. He instructed one of the monks to pursue him with quarrels and insults and afterward to come to accuse him before the abbot, as though the youth had insulted him and inflicted an injury upon him.

The youth was so afflicted by insults of this kind that had been brought against him and by the false accusations that within a year he was freed from those temptations. Hence, when the abbot asked how he stood amid a temptation of this kind, he answered: “Father, I am not permitted to live—and should it please me to fornicate?”

And below: No art is learned without a master. Even mute animals and herds of wild beasts follow their leaders. Among bees there is one prince. Cranes follow one in lettered order. There is one emperor, one judge of a province, one bishop. When Rome was founded, it could not have two brothers as kings at the same time and was dedicated by fratricide. In a ship there is one helmsman, in a household one lord, and in every great army the standard of one man is awaited.

Through all these things the discourse tends to this: that I might teach you that you must not be left to your own judgment, but ought to live in a monastery under the discipline of one father and in the companionship of many, so that from one you may learn humility, from another patience; this man may teach you silence, that man meekness. Do not do what you wish.

Eat what you are ordered. Have what you receive, and be clothed with as much as you receive. Pay the required amount of the work enjoined upon you. Be subject to the one to whom you do not wish to be subject. Come weary to your bed and sleep while walking, and be compelled to rise when your sleep is not yet complete.

Recite a psalm in your order, in which not sweetness of voice but affection of mind is sought. Serve the brothers. Wash the feet of guests. When you have suffered an injury, be silent. Fear the superior of the monastery as the Lord; love him as a parent. Believe that whatever he commands you is salutary for you, and do not judge the opinion of your superior, whose office it is for you to obey and to fulfill the things commanded.

And below: By no means consider what evil things others do, but what good thing you ought to do. Conduct and live your life, therefore, so that you may proceed to the altar of Christ like a virgin from the bridal chamber and may possess a good testimony from those outside.

The same Jerome says to Paulinus: If you wish to exercise the office of a presbyter, if perhaps the honor or work of the episcopate delights you, live in towns and villages and make the salvation of others your gain. But if you desire to be what you are called—that is, a monk, that is, one alone—what are you doing in cities, which assuredly are not habitations of solitary men but of many?

Each way of life has its own leaders set before it. Let Roman commanders imitate the Camilli, the Fabricii, the Reguli, and the Scipios. Let philosophers set before themselves Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; poets, Homer, Virgil, Menander, and Terence; historians, Sallust, Herodotus, and Pliny; orators, Lysias, Demosthenes, and Cicero.

And, to come to our own people, let bishops and presbyters imitate the apostles and apostolic men, whose honor and merit they who preside seem to possess. But let us have as leaders of our purpose Paul, Antony, Macarius, and Hilarion. Our leader is Elijah and Elisha. Our commanders are the sons of the prophets and the Rechabites.

Section III: That wisdom is to be sought more than eloquence, and the study of sacred letters more than secular ones

Jerome says in the letter to Nepotian:

David, a cold old man, is wrapped in garments and does not grow warm unless he has embraced a young woman. Who, therefore, is this Shunammite, a wife and virgin, so fervent that she warmed the cold man, so holy that she did not provoke the warm man to lust? Let most wise Solomon explain his father’s delights, and let the peaceful man recount the embraces of the warrior man: “Possess wisdom; possess understanding. Love her, and she will preserve you.”

Nearly all powers of the body are changed in old people, and, as wisdom alone increases, the others decrease: fasts, vigils, alms, running here and there, receiving pilgrims, defending the poor, persistence and perseverance in prayers, visiting the sick, working with the hands, and all things which are exercised through the body become less when the body is broken.

I do not say this because wisdom is cold in the young, seeing that in very many old people it withers with age, but because youth endures many wars of the body and amid the incitements of vices and the ticklings of the flesh is choked in its powers, like fire among pieces of wood, so that it cannot unfold its own brightness.

But the old age of those who instructed their youth in honorable arts and meditated upon the law of the Lord day and night becomes more learned with age, more certain through experience, wiser with the passage of time, and gathers the sweetest fruits of former studies.

Hence that wise man of Greece, Themistocles, when at the completion of one hundred and seven years he saw that he was dying, is reported to have said that he grieved because he was then departing from life when he had begun to be wise.

Moreover, “Shunammite” is called “scarlet” in our language, signifying that she glows with wisdom and burns with divine reading. To what end have these things been repeated in so long an introduction? Lest you ask from me childish declamations, little flowers of maxims, enticements of words, and certain sharp things briefly concluded at the ends of individual chapters, which may stir applause and shouts from the hearers.

Let Wisdom now embrace me, and let our Abishag, who never grows old, rest in my bosom. Hear, therefore, as blessed Cyprian says, things not eloquent but strong. Hear a brother in office, a father in old age. Thus speaks he.

Section IV: On the study of gentile or secular letters

The same Jerome does not reprehend the study of gentile or secular letters simply and altogether, but rather its excess or an improper end: namely, delight in eloquence or the display of glory, and not instruction; or the omission on its account of things more useful and fitting to one's state.

Hence Jerome himself says to Damasus upon the Gospel of the Prodigal: "We see a priest of God, with the Gospels and the Prophets put aside, reading comedies, singing the words of bucolic verses, holding Virgil in his hands, and making in himself a crime of pleasure what in boys is a cause of necessity," as found in Distinction XXXVII.

The same author says in the following chapter: Does it not seem to you that they walk in vanity of sense and darkness of mind who by day and night are tortured by dialectical art; who, as investigators of nature, raise their eyes beyond heaven and are plunged beyond the depth of the earth and the abyss into a certain void; who seethe over the iambus; who studiously distinguish and collect in their heart so great a forest of meters?

And, to pass to the other part: those who seek riches by right and wrong; who flatter kings; who hunt after the inheritances of others; who heap up wealth, though they do not know to whom they will leave it in a moment.

The same author says upon Isaiah in the following chapter: They are made drunk with strong drink who abuse secular wisdom and the little snares of the dialecticians, which ought to be called not so much bonds as phantasms—that is, certain shadows and images which quickly perish and are dissolved.

According to Jerome himself, they are figuratively signified by the pods which the swine ate, with which that prodigal of the Gospel desired to fill his belly and could not. For such doctrine is the food of demons, which inflates the mind but does not satisfy it.

But Jerome does not censure the study of such things in a due manner for a due end. Rather, upon the Epistle to Titus he says: "If anyone knows the grammatical or dialectical art, so that he possesses the principle of speaking rightly and judges between true and false, we do not condemn it. Geometry, arithmetic, and music possess truth in their knowledge. But that knowledge is not the knowledge of piety. The knowledge of piety is to know how to read the Scriptures and understand the Prophets, to believe the Gospel, and not to be ignorant of the Apostles," as found in Distinction XXXVII, *If Anyone*.

In the following chapter he says concerning Daniel and his companions: "Let them learn the Chaldean teaching with the same mind with which Moses learned all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But let them learn not in order to follow it, but to judge and refute it. In the same manner, if anyone wishes to write against mathematicians, he will be exposed to the laughter of those skilled in mathematics if he is unskilled in mathematical learning; and likewise if, disputing against the philosophers, he is ignorant of the doctrines of the philosophers." Thus speaks he.

Jerome says upon Leviticus: These two things are the works of a bishop: that he may learn from God by reading the divine Scriptures and meditating upon them frequently, and that he may teach the people. But let him teach those things which he has learned from God—not from his own heart or human sense, but those things which the Holy Spirit teaches.

There is also another work which Moses does. He does not go to the wars or fight against the enemies. But what does he do? He prays, and so long as he prays, his people conquer. If he lets down and relaxes his hands, his people are conquered. Therefore let the priest pray without ceasing, so that his people who are under him may conquer, so that they may conquer the invisible enemies, the Amalekites—that is, the demons—as found in Distinction XXXVI, *If Anyone*.

Section V: On the life and conduct of clerics

Jerome says to Nepotian:

Let the cleric who serves the Church of Christ first interpret his own designation, and, when the interpretation of the name has been set forth, let him strive to be what he is called. For *cleros* in Greek is called "lot" in Latin. Clerics, therefore, are so called either because they are of the lot of the Lord, or because the Lord himself is their lot—that is, the portion of clerics.

They ought therefore so to present themselves that they may possess the Lord and themselves be possessed by the Lord. He who possesses the Lord and says with the prophet, "The Lord is my portion," can possess nothing outside the Lord. For if he possesses anything else besides the Lord, the Lord will not be his portion—for example, if gold, if silver, if possessions, if varied household goods are his portion, the Lord disdains to become his portion together with these things. This is found in Cause XII, Question I, *The Cleric*.

And again: Avoid as a kind of plague the cleric who is a merchant and who has been made rich from poverty and glorious from obscurity, as found in Distinction LXXXVIII.

And below: The glory of a bishop is to provide for the needs of the poor; the disgrace of a priest is to devote himself to his own riches. I, born in a poor house and a rustic hut, who could scarcely satisfy my growling belly with millet and coarse bread, now disdain fine flour and honey.

And below: Many build walls and remove the columns of the church; marbles gleam, ceilings shine with gold, the altar is distinguished with gems, yet there is no selection of Christ's ministers.

Nor let anyone object to me that in Judea the temple, table, lamps, censers, plates, cups, little bowls, and the other things were fashioned from gold. These things were approved by the Lord at that time, when priests sacrificed victims and the blood of beasts was the remission of sins. Although all these things preceded as a figure, they were written for our sake, upon whom the ends of the ages have come. But now, since the poor Lord has dedicated the poverty of his house, let us carry the cross and reckon delights as mud.

And below: To seize something from a friend is theft; to defraud the Church is sacrilege. To have received what is to be distributed to the poor, and, while very many are hungry, to reserve it, is either timidity or caution. But to subtract anything from it—which is a crime of the most manifest kind—surpasses the cruelty of all robbers.

And below: Crates the Theban, once a very rich man, when he was proceeding to Athens to philosophize, cast away a great weight of gold, for he did not think that he could possess virtues and riches at the same time. We, laden with gold, follow the poor Christ; and, reclining upon our former wealth under the pretext of alms, how can we distribute the things of others faithfully when we timidly reserve our own? A full belly easily disputes about fasts. It is not having been at Jerusalem, but having lived well at Jerusalem, that is to be praised. All these things are Jerome's, in Cause XII, Question II, *Glory*.

The same author says to the same man: Be subject to your bishop and love him as the parent of your soul. But let bishops know that they are priests, not lords. Let them honor clerics as clerics, so that honor may be rendered to them by clerics as bishops.

That saying of the orator Domitius is well known: "Why should I hold you as a prince," he says, "when you do not hold me as a senator?" One Lord, one temple, one ministry. Let us know that what Aaron and his sons were, the bishop and presbyters are.

Let us always remember what the Apostle Peter commanded priests: "Feed the flock of the Lord which is among you, not by constraint but voluntarily according to God; neither for the sake of base gain, nor as exercising dominion among the clergy, but made a pattern of the flock from the heart." A wise son is the glory of his father. Let the bishop rejoice in his judgment when he has chosen such priests. This is found in Distinction XCV, *Be Subject*.

The same Jerome says to Lucinus, in Distinction XII: "I think that you ought briefly to be admonished that ecclesiastical traditions, especially those which do not injure the faith, must be observed as they were handed down by the elders, and that the custom of some ought not to be overturned by the contrary practice of others."

The same author says: Either never or rarely let the feet of women tread your little hospice, because he cannot dwell with God with his whole heart who delights in the approaches of women. A woman burns the conscience of the man dwelling with her. Never dispute about the appearances of women. Let women not know your name. Love in your mind, not by bodily association, the woman whom you see living well. But it is good not to touch a woman; therefore it is evil to touch one, as found in Distinction XXXII, *The Little Hospice*.

The same author says: Either be equally unacquainted with all girls and virgins of Christ, or love them equally. See that you do not remain under the same roof, nor trust in past chastity, because you cannot be holier than David, stronger than Samson, or wiser than Solomon. Always remember that a woman cast the inhabitant of paradise out of his own possession.

If on account of an affair of the clerical office either a widow or a virgin is visited by you, never enter the house alone. Do not sit alone with her alone, secretly and without an arbiter or witness. Have such companions also as will not bring you into disrepute by their company. Let them be adorned not by clothing but by conduct, and let them not curl their hair with a curling iron, but promise chastity by their habit.

Beware of all suspicions, and whatever can plausibly be invented against you, avoid beforehand lest it be invented. Holy love does not possess frequent little gifts, handkerchiefs, bands, garments applied to and offered at the mouth, tasted foods, and coaxing and sweet little letters. "My honey, my light, and my desire" is Christ. We blush at every delicacy, pleasure, witty urbanity worthy of laughter, and the other follies of lovers in comedies; we detest them in worldly people—how much more in clerics and monks.

The same author says to Oceanus: The first temptations of clerics are the frequent visits of women. Woman is a harmful race, a door of the devil, the way of iniquity, a scorpion's blow. She strikes with flaming fire when she approaches. Stubble kindles a fire

which burns even the foundations of mountains. I judge that, if women dwell with men, the devil's birdlime will not be lacking. Therefore the man's withdrawal sets up the arms of chastity. After the temptation of her suffering at Antioch, Thecla is forbidden to proceed with Paul.

The same Jerome says to Nepotian: Read the divine Scriptures very frequently; indeed, never let reading be put down from your hands. Learn what you may teach; remain in the things which you have taught. Let not your works put your speech to shame, lest, when you speak in the church, anyone silently answer: "Why, therefore, do you not do these things which you say?"

He is a dainty teacher who with a full belly disputes about fasts. A robber too can accuse avarice. While you teach in church, let not the shout of the people but their groaning be stirred. Let the tears of your hearers be your praises.

Let the discourse of a presbyter be seasoned by the reading of the Scriptures. I do not wish you to be a declaimer or a noisy and garrulous wrangler without reason, but one skilled in the mystery. A brazen brow often interprets what it does not know and, when it has persuaded others, claims knowledge for itself also. Nothing is so easy as to deceive a worthless common crowd and an unlearned assembly by fluency of tongue, which admires more whatever it does not understand.

Adornment and filth are to be avoided equally, because the one savors of delights, the other of glory. Of two imperfections, it is better to possess holy rusticity than sinful eloquence.

You must avoid the banquets of secular men, especially of those who swell with honors. It is shameful for a priest of the crucified and poor Lord, who was also fed by another's food, to keep watch before the doors among the lictors of consuls and soldiers. It is better for the judge of the province to dine at your house than for you to dine at the palace.

Let your fasts be pure, chaste, simple, moderate, and not superstitious. A continual fast is to dine daily and daily to hunger. Fasting heals the wounds of the delinquent and sanctifies the healed.

The same author says: Let your fasts be daily; let refreshment flee satiety. For it profits nothing to carry an empty stomach for two or three days if it is filled up in like measure afterward, as found in *On Consecration*, Distinction V.

The same author says in the same place: Beware lest you have an itching tongue or ears; that is, lest you either disparage others yourself or hear others disparaging them. And know that you will be judged by your own sentence concerning all things which you say about others.

Nor is this a just excuse for those who report such things: "I cannot inflict an injury upon others." No one gladly reports something to an unwilling hearer. An arrow is never fixed in a stone; sometimes, rebounding, it strikes the one directing it. Never dispute concerning the appearances of women. Let not another household know through you what is done in another.

Hippocrates adjures his disciples before he teaches them and compels them to swear to his words. He exacts silence by oath and prescribes their speech, gait, disposition of meekness, and conduct. How much more ought we to do so, to whom the medicine of souls has been committed.

We ought to love the houses of all Christians as our own. Let them know us as consolers in their griefs rather than as table companions in prosperity. The cleric who, when frequently invited to a meal, does not refuse is easily held in contempt. All these things are Jerome's in the said letter.

Section VI: On contempt of the world

Jerome says to Heliodorus:

Although your little nephew may hang from your neck; although your mother, with disheveled hair and torn clothing, may show you the breasts with which she nursed you; although your father may lie upon the threshold, proceed by trampling over your father and fly with dry eyes to the standard of the cross. To be cruel in this matter is the highest kind of piety.

The love of Christ and the fear of Gehenna easily break these bonds. On the contrary, Scripture commands that parents be obeyed; but whoever loves them above Christ loses his own soul. The enemy holds a sword to kill me, and shall I think about my mother's tears?

And below, the same author says: You fear poverty, but Christ calls the poor blessed. You are terrified by labor, but no athlete is crowned without sweat. You think about food, but faith does not fear hunger. You fear to dash upon the bare earth limbs wasted by fasts, but the Lord lies with you. The uncombed hair of your squalid head bristles, but Christ is your head. The infinite vastness of the desert terrifies you, but walk about paradise in your mind. As often as you strive there in thought, so often you will not be in the desert.

And, to hear the Apostle answering briefly to all things: "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy," and so forth.

You are dainty, dearest one, if you wish both to rejoice here with the world and afterward to reign with Christ. Let that day come on which the earth with its peoples will tremble at the voice of the trumpet, and the world will bellow more mournfully. Kings once most powerful will tremble with bare side. Venus will be displayed with her offspring; then fiery Jupiter will be brought forward, and foolish Plato with his disciples. Aristotle's arguments will not profit.

Then you, a rustic and poor, will exult, laugh, and say: "Behold my crucified God. Behold the Judge who, wrapped in cloths, wailed in a manger. This is that son of the laborer and the prostitute. This is he who fled into Egypt; this is he clothed in scarlet; this is he crowned with thorns; this is the magician, the one having a demon, and the Samaritan. Behold, O Jew, the hands which you fastened. Behold, O Roman, the side which you pierced."

The same Jerome says in *On Consecration*, Distinction V: He errs in no small degree who prefers a lesser good to a greater. Does he not lose the dignity of a rational human being who prefers either fasting to charity or vigils to integrity of the senses, so that on account of immoderate abstinence and the indiscriminate chanting of psalms or offices he incurs the mark either of madness or of sadness?

Can God, like a human being, be bent by a multitude of words? For God is to be prayed to not by words but by the heart. Therefore the singing of five psalms with purity and serenity of heart and spiritual cheerfulness is better than the modulation of the whole Psalter with anxiety and sadness.

"I am the Lord," he says, "loving judgment, hating robbery in a holocaust." He offers a holocaust from robbery who afflicts himself either by an excessive lack of foods or immoderately.

The same author says in *On Consecration*, Distinction V: Let us not receive such foods as we either digest with difficulty or grieve to have eaten because they were prepared at great and ruinous labor. The preparation of vegetables, fruits, and legumes is easier, does not need the art and expenditures of cooks, and, taken in moderation, sustains the human race without care; for that which does not possess the enticements of gluttony is not devoured avidly and is digested by a lighter digestion.

From excessive satiety diseases are generated, and very many, through the impatience of gluttony, are remedied by vomiting; and what they disgracefully brought in, they cast out more disgracefully.

Hippocrates teaches in the *Aphorisms* that thick and obese bodies which have fulfilled the measure of their growth, unless they are quickly diminished by the removal of blood, break forth into paralysis and the worst kinds of diseases; and for this reason that subtraction is necessary, so that they may again possess a condition in which they can grow. For the nature of bodies cannot remain in one state, but must either always increase or decrease; nor can a living body exist unless it is capable of growth. Thus speaks he.

The same Jerome says to Domnion against a certain man who disparaged him because he had written against Jovinian:

I marvel that a monk and young man is not ashamed—one from whose beauty the charms of Venus flow, whose eloquence in speaking is so great that he is suffused with comic wit and elegance—to go about the houses of nobles, to cling to the greetings of matrons, to make a battle against our religion, and amid these things to disparage his brother, to declaim against me, and to gnaw with a dog's tooth the books which I wrote against Jovinian.

Foolish am I, who without cause had Gregory Nazianzen and Didymus as catechists in the holy Scriptures. Instruction in Hebrew profited me nothing, nor daily meditation from youth even to this age in the Law, the Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Apostles.

A man has been found perfect without a teacher, who in eloquence surpasses Cicero, in arguments Aristotle, in prudence Plato, in learning Aristarchus, in multitude of books Didymus Chalcenterus, and in knowledge of the Scriptures all the interpreters of his time. Finally, he is said to request a subject and, referring something to the flesh and something to God, to dispute on either side of it—that is, both for justice and against justice.

I ask you, therefore, dearest father, to admonish him not to speak against his purpose, not to destroy by words the chastity which he promises by his habit. Let not one who is a virgin or continent—for he himself will see what he boasts himself to be—compare married women with virgins.

Let him spare himself, spare me, spare the Christian name. Let him know himself to be a monk not by speaking and running about, but by keeping silent and sitting. I do not condemn marriage, but I wish all those who perhaps cannot sleep alone because of nocturnal fears to take wives. Thus speaks he.

That everyone ought to fear and guard against dangers of the soul

Jerome says to Eustochium, as found in Cause XXXII, Question V:

If Paul, the vessel of election and prepared for the Gospel of Christ, on account of the goads of the flesh and incitements of the vices, represses his body and subjects it to servitude, lest, while preaching to others, he himself be found reprobate; and nevertheless sees another law in his members fighting against the law of his mind and taking him captive in the law of sin; if after nakedness, fasts, hunger, prisons, scourges, and torments, turning into himself, he cries, “Unhappy man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death?”—do you think that you ought to be secure?

Beware, I ask, lest at some time the Lord say concerning you: “The virgin Israel has fallen, and there is no one to raise her.” I shall say boldly: although God can do all things, he cannot raise a virgin after her fall. He is indeed able to deliver her from punishment, but he is not able to crown one who has been corrupted. Thus far the quotation.

The same author says in the same epistle: I do not wish pride to come to you from your purpose, but fear. You walk laden with gold; a robber must be avoided. This life is a racecourse for mortals. Here we contend so that elsewhere we may be crowned. No one enters securely among serpents and scorpions.

“Behold,” says the Lord, “my sword is made drunk in heaven,” and do you suppose that there is peace upon the earth, which generates thorns and thistles, which the serpent eats? We are surrounded by great companies of enemies; all things are full of foes. Fragile flesh, soon to be ashes, fights alone against many.

But if their multitude troubles you, and at each incitement of the vices you begin to burn, and your thought says to you, “What shall we do?” Elisha will answer you: “Do not fear, because there are more with us than with them.” With your eyes opened you will see the fiery chariot which, after Elijah’s example, may raise you to the stars, and then you will joyfully sing: “Our soul is like a sparrow,” and so forth.

And below: It would have been more right for a person to have entered marriage and walked upon level ground than, while striving toward higher things, to fall into the depth of hell. I do not wish you to permit a thought to grow; while the enemy is small, kill him. Let wickedness be crushed in the seed. Let not, I beseech you, the daughter of Zion become a harlot city, and after the hospitality of the Trinity let demons dance there and sirens and hedgehogs make their nests, as found in Cause XXXII, Question V, *If Paul*.

The same Jerome says in the epistle to the Galatians, as found in Cause XXXII, Question II: “Just as seeds are gradually formed in the womb and it is not reckoned homicide until the completed elements receive their forms and members, so a perception conceived by reason, unless it has broken forth into works, is still retained in the womb and quickly perishes by the enemy.”

Jerome proves by many authorities of both Testaments that after baptism someone can sin and rise again through penance. He writes against Jovinian, who asserted the contrary and was therefore a heretic, in *On Penance*, Distinction II, *For If*.

There Jerome expounds that saying of John, “Everyone who is born of God does not sin,” which Jovinian introduced on his own behalf. It is to be understood conditionally: namely, while he remains in spiritual nativity through grace, he does not sin. For, Jerome says, just as day and night cannot be mingled, so neither can justice and iniquity, sin and good works, Christ and Antichrist.

If we receive Christ in the lodging of our breast, we immediately put the devil to flight. If we sin and the devil enters through the door of sin, Christ immediately departs. Hence David too, after sin, says: “Restore to me the joy of your salvation,” which, namely, he had lost through sin.

And below: John himself says in his first canonical epistle: “If we sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins.” He says “we have,” not “you have”; and not only for the sins of John and the others, but also for those of the whole world. In that whole world were the apostles and all believers, from which it is plainly proved that one can sin after baptism.

And below, concerning what the Apostle says to the Hebrews: “It is impossible for those who have once been illuminated and have tasted the heavenly gift and been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have fallen away, to be renewed again to penance, crucifying again the Son of God,” and so forth. Therefore even the baptized can fall into sins.

But lest Montanus and Novatian confirm their error from this, contending that the baptized cannot obtain pardon through penance for sins committed after baptism, the Apostle resolves this error by adding: “But, dearly beloved, we trust better things and nearer to salvation concerning you, although we speak thus. For God is not unjust, that he should forget your work,” and so forth. It is as though the Apostle said: I have spoken thus so that I might draw you back from sins and make you more cautious through fear of despair.

And below, the same author says: God created us with free judgment. We are drawn by necessity neither to virtue nor to vices; otherwise, where there is necessity, there is no crown. As, therefore, in good works God is the perfecter—for it is not of him who wills or runs, but of God who has mercy and helps, so that we may be able to reach the finish—so in evils and sins our knowledge supplies the incitements and the devil the completion.

When he sees that upon the foundation we have built hay, wood, and stubble, he then sets the fire beneath it. Let us build gold, silver, and precious stones, and he will not dare to tempt us, although even in this there is not assuredly a secure possession. For the lion sits in ambush to kill the innocent.

And below: Who does not know that under the lofty dispensation of God all the saints of former times were of the same merit as Christians now are? As Abraham pleased in marriage, so now virgins please through perpetual chastity. They served the law and their time; let us also serve the law and our time, upon whom the ends of the ages have come.

David, chosen according to the Lord's heart, who had done all his wills, when tempted by the devil, speaks after his sin as a penitent: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to your great mercy." A great sin wishes to be blotted out by great mercy. Solomon, beloved by the Lord and to whom God had twice been revealed, because he was a lover of women, departed from the love of God. The Book of Days relates that the most impious king Manasseh, after the Babylonian captivity, was restored to his former dignity. The holy man Josiah was pierced through by the king of Egypt in the field of Megiddo.

It is superfluous to write concerning Moses and Aaron, who offended God at the water of contradiction. For what if he who was nourished in the paradise of delights among nine stones was wounded? Lucifer descended from the mountain of the Lord to the infernal regions. If that most high sublimity fell, who cannot fall? If there are falls in heaven, how much more upon earth? All these things are Jerome's in *On Penance*, Distinction II, *For If*.

The same Jerome says to Rusticus in *On Penance*, Distinction III: "Seven times in a day the just man falls and rises again." If just, how does he fall? If he falls, how is he just? But he does not lose the designation "just" who always rises again through penance, and not only seven times but seventy-seven times.

The Gloss expounds this fall or lapse in three ways. In one way, for adversity, and then he is said to fall from prosperity. In a second way, for mortal sin, and then he falls from charity. In a third way, for venial sin, and then he falls from a certain purity. A determinate number is placed for an indeterminate one.

The same Jerome says in *On Penance*, Distinction I: Because the divine nature is clement and loving, and more inclined toward indulgence than vengeance, if anyone after a fall into sins turns himself to true penance, he will quickly obtain pardon from the merciful Judge. The same author says: "The second plank after shipwreck is simply to confess one's fault."

Section VII: On God's mercy and clemency toward penitents

Jerome says to Rusticus, as found in Distinction XCIII, *The Deacons*: God's moderation and loving-kindness seek only our return, and by his long goodness he desires to save us. But if we are not converted, if we are hard-necked, if we persevere in sins until death, God does not have mercy upon those continually sinning.

The same Jerome says in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *The Importunate Woman*: In the Gospel a woman at last merited to be heard, and, although the door was closed with its bars, at midnight a friend received loaves from a friend. God himself, who cannot be overcome within himself by anyone's powers [read: cannot be overcome by any powers arrayed against him], is overcome by the publican's prayers. The city of Nineveh, which had perished by sin, stood firm through tears.

Why have these things been repeated in so long an introduction? So that you who are great may look upon the little one; so that you who are a rich shepherd may not despise a sick sheep. Christ took the thief from the cross into paradise and, lest anyone think conversion too late, made the punishment for homicide a martyrdom.

Christ, I say, joyfully embraces the returning prodigal son; and, leaving the ninety-nine sheep in the desert, the one little sheep which had remained is carried back upon the shoulders of the Good Shepherd. But when the sinner, recognizing his wound, has handed himself to the physician to be healed, there a rod is not necessary, but the spirit of gentleness. Thus far the quotation.

The same Jerome says upon Daniel in *On Penance*, Distinction I: For this reason God speaks of himself as threatening evils upon a nation, and if it does good—namely, by repenting—his clemency changes the threats. Again he asserts that he promises good things, and if it does evil, he says that he changes his sentence—not against human beings, but against their works, which have been changed. For God is not angry with human beings, but with vices; when these are not in a person, he by no means punishes, because the person has been changed.

And below: When Daniel, foreknowing future things, expresses doubt concerning God's sentence, saying to Nebuchadnezzar, "If perhaps God may forgive your sins," those who boldly promise pardon to sinners act rashly. Nevertheless, pardon is promised to Nebuchadnezzar if he does good works.

The same author says upon the Book of Judges in *On Penance*, Distinction I: Behold the benign Lord, mingling mercy with severity and weighing the measure of the punishment itself with a just and clement balance. He did not hand the delinquents over to punishment perpetually in the present, but for as much time as they served Cushan-Rishathaim, that is, for eight years.

Learn, therefore, O hearer, whoever you are who are conscious to yourself of some error: for as much time as you know that you have erred, for as much time as you have sinned, for so much time nevertheless humble yourself to God and make satisfaction to him by the confession of penance. Do not wait until Cushan-Rishathaim humbles you—that is, until the necessity of fear extorts penance—but yourself forestall the harshness of these torturers. For if you amend yourself, if you correct yourself, he is loving and merciful, and tempers vengeance toward the one who forestalls it by repenting.

And let us consider this: that not before they cried out, but after they cried out to the Lord, he raised up a savior for them.

The same author says upon Exodus in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *And He Came*: All things which the saints do, they do in the sight of God; but sinners flee from the sight of God, as Cain did. If the saints eat and drink, they do so in the sight of God, as is said here concerning Aaron when he came to eat with Moses's father-in-law. All things which they do, they do in God's sight, even if they have sinned, as did the one who said—namely, David—"I have done evil before you." For to do evil in God's sight is to repent quickly concerning what has been committed; but to flee from God's sight is not to be converted and not to do penance.

The same Jerome says in *On Penance*, Distinction I: The canons do not set a measure of time for doing penance sufficiently clearly for every crime, so that it might be said concerning each how each one is to be amended; rather, they decree that it be left to the judgment of an understanding priest. For before God the measure of time does not avail so much as that of sorrow, nor abstinence from foods so much as the mortification of crimes. On this account they command that the times of penance be shortened according to the faith and manner of life of the penitents, and judge that they should be prolonged according to negligence.

Section VIII: Why excommunication is imposed by the Church

Excommunication is imposed by the Church so that the sinner who had been excommunicated by God through sin may return to penance.

Jerome says upon the Book of Judges, as found in Cause XI, Question III, *Hear*: As it seems to me, even now human beings are handed over from the Church into the power of the devil in two ways. In one way, when a person's offense is manifest to the Church and through God's priests he is expelled from the Church, so that, marked by everyone, he may be ashamed and, being converted—that is, coming to penance—it may happen that his spirit is saved.

In another way, someone is handed over to the devil when his sin is not manifest to human beings, but God, who sees in secret, beholds his mind and soul serving vices and passions, and sees that in his heart he does not love God, but avarice, lust, vainglory, and other things of this sort. The Lord hands such a man over to Satan, because he departs from his mind, turns himself away, withdraws from his malignant thoughts and desires, and leaves his house empty. Thus far the quotation.

Those who are evil—that is, who persist in evil—are not to be brought into the Church through baptism. But if those already existing in the Church have manifest evils and are incorrigible, they are to be cast out of it through excommunication. If they are not notorious, they are to be tolerated in the Church, but with caution.

The same author says in the same place: I beseech you who are faithful to preserve your life and manner of conduct, lest in anything you either suffer scandal yourselves or cause scandal to others. Rather, let it be for you a matter of the greatest zeal and the greatest caution that no polluted person enter this congregation of saints, that no Jebusite dwell among you. "Jebusite" is interpreted "trampling."

Therefore, since we cannot cast out those who trample us—namely, those whose sins are hidden—let us at least cast out those whom we can, namely, those whose sins are manifest. For where there is no evident sin, we cannot cast anyone out of the Church, lest perhaps, uprooting the tares, we uproot the wheat with them.

The Jebusites—that is, those who trample—are in the Church, whom the children of Israel were not able to cast out. Neither can we do so spiritually with those who unworthily hear the word of God and, when they have heard it, neither depart as unbelievers nor remain as faithful people, but, having received knowledge of the mysteries and searched more secret matters of the faith, turn and attack us and rend the words of the Lord, staining the pearls that are the ornaments of faith. Thus far the quotation.

Jerome says upon Joshua, as found in Distinction XLV: The great loss that follows from the omission of correction when it ought to be made must not be passed over idly. When one man, namely Achan, sinned, the wrath of God came upon the whole people.

This happens when the priests who preside over the people wish to appear benevolent toward delinquents and, fearing the tongues of sinners lest perhaps they speak badly of them, forget priestly severity and refuse to fulfill what is written: "Rebuke the sinner before all, so that the others may have fear"; and again: "Take away evil from among yourselves." Nor, kindled by zeal for God, do they imitate the Apostle saying, "I have handed such a man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh," nor that Gospel saying, "If your brother sins against you," and so forth.

While they spare one, they contrive the destruction of the whole Church. What is this goodness? What is this mercy: to spare one and bring all into danger? For the people are polluted by one sinner, just as the whole flock is infected by one diseased sheep.

Concerning sins of this sort—namely, manifest ones—that saying of Jerome in Cause XXIV, Question III is also understood: "Putrid flesh must be cut away, and a scabbed sheep driven from the folds, lest the whole house, mass, body, and flock burn, be corrupted, putrefy, and perish."

But where someone sins from passion and recognizes himself, one must act benignly and mercifully with him. Of such a person is to be understood what the same Jerome says upon Jeremiah, in Distinction XLV: "They say, 'Depart, you polluted ones; depart, go away, do not touch us, do not communicate with us.' Such speech does not illuminate the blind, heal the sick, or cure the infirm, but rather kills and finally casts him into the danger of despair."

Good rulers, weighing the infirmities of others from their own infirmity, strive more by the relief of humility and gentleness to rescue sinners from the snare of error than by austerity to drive those tottering into the pit of perdition. Hence the Teacher of the Gentiles says: "I became weak to the weak."

Section IX: On God's scourges which contribute to salvation

Jerome says upon Nahum, as found in Cause XXIII, Question V:

"Why, therefore, do you devise things against the Lord?" He who created the world will also make its consummation. If he seems to you cruel, rigid, and bloody—he who destroyed the human race in the flood, rained fire and sulfur upon Sodom and Gomorrah, submerged the Egyptians in the waves, and laid low the corpses of the Israelites in the desert—know that he rendered punishments in the present so that he might not punish eternally.

If the things which the prophets seem to say concerning the Lord's severity are true, they themselves said: "God will not judge twice for the same thing in tribulation." But if they are false, then what is said is also false: "A double tribulation will not arise." If it is true that God will not judge twice for the same thing, therefore those who have been punished will not afterward be punished. Accordingly, those who perished in the flood, the Sodomites, the Egyptians, and the Israelites received their evils in their own life.

But understand this, according to the doctors, only concerning those who were pierced with compunction amid the scourges themselves.

If anyone objects that, according to these words, if someone is punished in the present, he will not be punished in the other life, because God does not judge twice for the same thing, and thus it should be desired for adulterers and other criminals that by a brief and swift present punishment they escape eternal torments, Jerome answers: God knows the measures of all things, and likewise of punishments; the sentence of the Judge cannot be forestalled, nor can the power to exact punishment from the sinner thereafter be taken from him, and a great sin is expiated by great and long torments.

But if someone has been punished like the man who had gathered wood on the Sabbath, such a person is not punished afterward, because his lighter fault has been compensated by a present punishment.

Jerome says upon Malachi, in Distinction L, *And He Will Purge the Sons of Levi*: "For it is time that judgment should begin from the house of God." And elsewhere it is written: "Begin from my holy ones." Understand by the sons of Levi every priestly dignity.

If priests are to be purged and refined—namely, through tribulations—so that they may be found pure gold and silver, what must be said concerning the others? When they have been amended and refined, then they will offer just sacrifices to God, and their sacrifice which they offer for Judah and Israel—that is, for those who confess the Lord and behold his peace in their mind—will please God.

On heretics

Jerome says upon the Epistle to the Galatians, as found in Cause I, Question I: Marcion and Basilides and the other plagues of the heretics do not possess the Gospel of God, because they do not possess the Holy Spirit, without whom the Gospel that is taught becomes a human gospel. Nor should we think the Gospel to be merely in the words of the Scriptures, but in their meaning; not in the surface, but in the marrow; not in the leaves of the words, but in the root of reason.

The same author says upon Haggai: "Thus is this people of the heretics in my sight," says the Lord. Everything they do, everything they offer to me—whether vows, offerings for salvation, peace offerings, offerings for sin, or holocausts; whether through alms, fasts, or chastity of the body—will be contaminated in my sight. Although in its appearance it seems holy,

nevertheless, because it is offered by one who is polluted in soul, all things are polluted. This is found in Cause I, Question I, insofar, namely, as it concerns salvation.

Jerome says to a certain Levite: There are two kinds of Christians. There is one kind which, bound to the divine office and dedicated to contemplation and prayer, ought to cease from every disturbance of temporal things, such as clerics and those devoted to God, namely, converts. For *cleros* in Greek means "lot" in Latin, because the Lord chose such people as his lot—that is, his portion.

And below: There is another kind of Christians, such as the laity. For *laos* in Greek means "people" in Latin. They are permitted to possess temporal things, but only for use—that is, not for enjoyment. For nothing is more wretched than to despise God on account of the least thing. They are permitted to take a wife, cultivate the earth, judge between man and man, plead causes, place offerings upon the altar, and render tithes; and thus they will be able to be saved if they avoid vices by doing good. This is found in Cause XII, Question I, *Two*.

Jerome says, as found in Cause VIII, Question I, that clerics ought to excel laypeople in goodness: What edification is there for the disciple if he understands himself to be greater than the master? Hence not only bishops, presbyters, and deacons ought to take great care that they excel in conduct and speech all the people over whom they preside, but also those of an inferior grade, such as readers, doorkeepers, exorcists, acolytes, and absolutely all who serve the house of God; because it vehemently destroys the Church of Christ for laypeople to be better than clerics.

Section X: That the better men ought to be assumed into prelacy

Jerome says upon Leviticus, as found in Cause VIII, Question I: Although the Lord had commanded and made his choice concerning the appointment of a leader, nevertheless the synagogue is also assembled. For in ordaining a priest, the presence of the people is also required, so that all may know and be certain that the one who is more excellent than all the people, who is more learned, holier, and more eminent in every virtue, is chosen for the priesthood.

And below: Furthermore, the fact that Moses assembled the whole synagogue signifies that all the powers of the soul ought to be collected into one in choosing a priest, so that all the powers of the soul may keep watch upon him and be attentive. Let nothing of wisdom, nothing of knowledge, nothing of industry be lacking in them; rather, let the whole multitude of the senses be present, the whole congregation of holy thoughts.

The same Jerome says in the Book of Numbers, as found in Cause VIII, Question I, *If Therefore So Great*: The Lord says to Moses: "Take to yourself Jesus, the son of Mary, and place your hand upon him," and so forth. Hear how manifestly the ordination of the leader of the people is described. There is no acclamation of the people here, no consideration of blood relationship, no regard for kinship. Let the inheritance of fields and estates be left to relatives; but let the government of the people be handed to the one whom God has chosen: namely, to such a man as possesses within himself the Spirit of God, before whose sight God's commandments stand, who is very familiar with Moses—that is, in whom is the clarity and knowledge of his law—so that the children of Israel may be able to hear him.

Against those who seek or become proud concerning prelacy, the same Jerome says in Cause VIII, Question I: This is to be inferred against those who swell with pride concerning the episcopate and think that they have obtained not the stewardship of Christ but a dominion; for they are not immediately better than all those who were not ordained bishops, nor should they consider themselves more approved from the fact that they themselves were chosen.

If the sins of sons rightly bar a person from the episcopate, how much more does each man, considering and knowing himself, withdraw himself from this, knowing that the powerful will powerfully suffer torments? He withdraws not so much from an honor as from a burden, and does not hesitate to leave the place for others who are more worthy.

Against evil rulers Jerome says in Cause VIII, Question I: Perhaps we say something boldly, yet we say what is written. A leader for the people and a judge for the Church is not always given by God's judgment, but according as our merits demand. If our acts are evil and we work malignant things, leaders according to our heart are given to us.

Hear, therefore, what the Lord says: "They made for themselves a king, but not through me; a prince, but not through my counsel." This saying seems to concern Saul, whom the Lord had chosen and had ordered to be made king. But because he had been chosen not according to God's will—namely, that of good pleasure—but according to the merit of the sinful people, God denies that he was appointed by his will or counsel.

And below: Let us understand that something of this kind also occurs in churches. If a people acts malignantly in God's sight, such a judge is given to the church under whom the people suffers hunger and thirst—namely, of hearing the word of God.

Section XI: That children are neither good nor evil by the quality of their parents, nor because they were begotten in marriage or fornication

Jerome says in the epistle against Rufinus, in Distinction LVI: To be born from adultery is not the fault of the one who is born, but of the one who begets. Just as among seeds the earth which cherishes does not sin, nor the seed which is cast into the furrows, nor the moisture and heat by which the tempered grain sprouts into a shoot, but, for example, the thief and robber who by fraud and violence carries off the seed; so the ground of human beings—that is, the womb—receives what is its own, cherishes what it has received, gives body to what it has cherished, distinguishes the embodied thing into members, and amid those narrow places of the secret belly the hand of God always works, the same Creator of body and soul.

Do not despise the goodness of the Potter who fashioned you and made you as he willed. He is the power of God and the wisdom of God who in the womb of the Virgin built a house for himself. Jephthah, numbered among the holy men by the Apostle's testimony, was the son of a prostitute. Esau, born from Rebecca and Isaac, rough in mind as in body, degenerates like good wheat into darnel and oats, because the cause of vices and virtues is not in the seeds, but in the will of the one who is born.

The same author says upon Matthew, in the same distinction: Our Lord Jesus Christ willed to be born not only from foreigners but also from adulterous unions, granting great confidence to us, so that, from whatever household we are born, provided that we imitate his footsteps, we are not separated from his body, whose members we have been made through faith.

On giving alms

Jerome, treating that saying of Malachi, "In tithes and firstfruits you pierce me, and in want you are accursed," says upon Malachi, in Cause XVI, Question I: Whenever famine, scarcity, and want of all things oppress the world, let us know that this descends from the wrath of God, who says that he is defrauded in the poor if they do not receive alms. We can also interpret tithes and firstfruits as his possession.

If anyone learned and instructed in the law of the Lord can instruct others, he ought not to assign what he possesses to his own prudence and talent, but should give thanks first to the Lord, who bestows all things, and then to his priests and ministers, by whom he was taught. Thus speaks he. And this is spiritually to give tithes.

Jerome says to Pope Damasus, in Cause XVI, Question I, concerning alms to be given by clerics and to whom they are to be given: Because whatever clerics possess belongs to the poor, and their houses ought to be common to all, they ought to keep watch over the reception of pilgrims and hospitality. They must take the greatest care that from the tithes and offerings they furnish to monasteries and hospitals such support as they wish and are able, and that among the poor they regard not so much poverty as religion.

The use of tithes and offerings, however, can in no way come to laypeople. According to the Gloss, this is understood concerning the right of receiving them, because that is spiritual; but concerning their fruits, these can be granted to them for a time.

On the disordered love of spouses

Jerome says against Jovinian, in Cause XXXII, Question IV: The origin indeed was honorable; the greatness of the love was deformed. It makes no difference from how honorable a cause anyone becomes insane. In the wife of another, every love is shameful; in one's own wife, excessive love is shameful. A wise man ought to love his wife by judgment, not by affection—that is, passion. The impulse of pleasure does not rule in him, nor is he carried headlong to intercourse. Nothing is more foul than to love one's wife as though she were an adulteress.

On usury

Jerome says upon Ezekiel, in Cause XIV, Question III: Certain men think that usury exists only in money. Foreseeing this, divine Scripture removes superabundance from every thing, so that by lending you may not receive more than you gave.

The same author says: Others are accustomed to receive little gifts of diverse kinds in return for money lent at interest, and do not understand that Scripture calls usury and superabundance whatever it is that a person receives in excess of what he gave.

Title X, Chapter VII

“Like the morning star in the midst of a cloud”

Like the morning star in the midst of a cloud, which shines more brightly than the other stars, especially when a cloud exists in the air and it precedes the sun about to rise, so the sacred prelate Ambrose, in Italy—most especially where the dense shadows of the Arian heresy existed—in his time shone beyond the others in the Church by doctrine and holiness, preceding in age and in the faith of the fathers the sun, Augustine.

Hence, over Ambrose himself after his death, when he had been placed upon a bier in the church, certain people saw a radiant star.

Jerome says in *On the Twelve Doctors*: Ambrose, seized upon the profound things of penance and a bird of the air, for as long as he goes forth into the deep, seems to take fruit from on high. All his opinions are columns of the faith and of the Church. Augustine says that not even an enemy dared to reprehend his faith and his most pure understanding in the Scriptures.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola, wrote his life.

This Ambrose, then, the son of Ambrose, prefect of Rome, while as an infant he had been placed in a cradle in the courtyard and was sleeping, was suddenly approached by a swarm of bees, which so filled his face and mouth that they appeared to enter and leave it as if it were their own little hive. Afterward, flying away, they were raised to so great a height in the air that they could scarcely be seen by human eyes.

Terrified by this event, his father said: “If this little child lives, he will be something great.”

Accordingly, educated in letters at Rome, while he pleaded causes splendidly in the praetorium, he was sent by the emperor Valentinian to govern the provinces of Emilia and Liguria.

When he had come to Milan, and there was then no bishop there because the bishop had died, the people assembled to provide a bishop for themselves. But when no small sedition arose between the Arians and Catholics concerning the choice of the bishop, Ambrose proceeded there for the sake of calming the sedition.

Immediately the voice of an infant thundered, saying: “Ambrose for bishop.” All unanimously assented to this voice, acclaiming Ambrose as bishop.

When he learned this, in order to deter them from it by terrors, he left the church, ascended the tribunal, and, contrary to his custom, ordered that tortures be applied to persons. Although he did this, the people nevertheless acclaimed: “Your sin be upon us.”

Then, troubled, he returned home and wished to profess philosophy, but he was restrained from doing this. He also caused public prostitutes to enter openly to him so that, when these were seen, he might turn the people away from choosing him, not so that he might be polluted with them.

But when he did not succeed even thus, and the people always acclaimed, “Your sin be upon us,” he sought flight at midnight. Although he thought that he was proceeding toward Ticinum, in the morning he was found at the gate of the city of Milan which is called the Roman Gate.

When he had been found and was being guarded by the people, a report was sent to the most clement emperor Valentinian. He received it with the greatest joy, because the judges sent out by him were sought for the priesthood. The prefect Probus also rejoiced because his word had been fulfilled; for, when Ambrose was departing and Probus gave him his commands, he had said: “Act not as a judge, but as a bishop.”

When, after hiding again, Ambrose had been found, since he was a catechumen and discerned God’s will in this, he was baptized and on the eighth day was raised to the episcopal see.

Hence Ambrose himself says in the epistle to the people of Vercelli: “A neophyte is forbidden to be ordained, lest he be raised up by pride. But if the humility fitting for the priesthood is not lacking, where the cause is not present, the vice is not imputed. Accordingly, the Westerners approved my ordination by judgment, the Easterners by example,” as found in Distinction LXI, in the paragraph *By All These Things*, where the Gloss says that the constitution ceases in this case—namely, so that a dispensation may be made concerning it.

Section I

When Ambrose had gone to a certain city for the ordination of a bishop, the empress Justina and other Arians opposed his choice, wishing one from their sect to be ordained. One of the Arian virgins, more imprudent than the others, ascended the tribunal and seized blessed Ambrose by his garment, wishing to drag him toward the women so that, beaten by them, he might be expelled from the church with injury.

Ambrose said to her: “Even if I am unworthy of so great a priesthood, nevertheless it is not fitting for you to lay a hand upon any priest whatsoever. Hence you ought to have feared God’s judgment, lest something happen to you.”

The outcome confirmed this saying. For on another day he conducted her dead body to the tomb, repaying kindness for her insult. This deed greatly terrified everyone.

Returning to Milan, he suffered innumerable snares and persecutions from the empress Justina, the Arian mother of Valentinian the Younger, who stirred up the peoples against him by gifts and honors.

When many Arians strove chiefly to send him into exile, one man, more unhappy than the rest, was stirred to such fury that he rented a house for himself next to Ambrose’s church for this reason: that he might keep a prepared carriage there, so that, with Justina procuring it, he might more easily seize Ambrose and carry him into exile.

But by God’s judgment, on the very day on which he thought to seize Ambrose, he himself was expelled into exile from the same house in that same carriage. Nevertheless Ambrose, returning good for evil, furnished him expenses and necessities.

At that time there were many in Milan possessed by demons, who cried out in loud voices that they were being tormented by Ambrose. But Justina and many other Arians, calumniating this report, said that Ambrose had procured men to say that, though possessed, they were being tormented by Ambrose.

Then suddenly one of those Arians, seized by the devil, began to cry: “Would that those who do not believe Ambrose were tormented as I am.” But they, confounded, killed the man by plunging him into a pool.

A certain heretic, a most vehement disputant, hard and unconvertible to the faith, while hearing blessed Ambrose preaching, saw an angel speaking into his ears the words which he preached to the people. When he had seen this, he began to defend the faith which he had persecuted.

A certain soothsayer summoned demons and sent them to Ambrose so that they might harm him. But the demons returned and announced that they could approach neither Ambrose himself nor even the doors of his house, because an unconquerable fire fortified that whole building, so that even those stationed far away were burned by it.

When the said soothsayer was being tortured by the judge on account of certain evil deeds of his, he cried that he was being tortured by Ambrose.

A demon released a certain demoniac as he entered Milan and invaded him again as he left the city. Asked why he had released the man when he entered the city, it answered that it had feared Ambrose.

On another occasion, when the devil cried through a man possessed by him that he was being tormented by Ambrose, the saint said: “Be silent, wretch, because Ambrose does not torment you, but your envy does, because you see human beings ascending there from which you, unhappy one, fell; for Ambrose does not know how to be puffed up.” Immediately the devil became silent.

When on a certain night someone, secretly introduced to Ambrose’s chamber by a price from Justina, had raised his right hand with a sword to strike him, his hand immediately withered.

On a certain day Ambrose came to the palace of Macedonius, master of the offices, to intercede for someone. But when he found the doors closed and could obtain no opportunity to enter, he said: “You also will come to the church, and, though the doors are not closed but open, you will not be able to enter.”

After some time Macedonius, fearing enemies who pursued him, fled to the church, but although the doors were open, he was unable to enter.

The exceedingly young son of a certain most illustrious man, Pansophilus, as Vincent relates in Book XVIII of the *Mirror of History*, suffered from an unclean spirit and was healed by the priest’s frequent prayer and imposition of hands.

Afterward, overtaken by a sudden infirmity, he breathed out his spirit. His mother, full of faith, lifted him up and placed him in the bed of the priest Ambrose while Ambrose was absent. When Ambrose returned and found the dead boy in his little bed, pitying the mother and contemplating her faith, like Elisha he placed himself upon the infant’s body and by praying restored him alive to his mother.

Section II

As Jacob of Voragine relates, when blessed Ambrose was proceeding to Rome and was lodging at a certain village in Tuscany with an exceedingly wealthy man, he carefully questioned him about his condition.

The man said: “My condition, lord, has always been fortunate and glorious. I abound in infinite riches. I possess very many servants and attendants and a numerous household of sons and grandsons. I have always had all things according to my wish, nor has anything adverse ever happened to me which might make me sad.”

Hearing this, Ambrose said to those who were with him: “Rise, and let us flee from here as quickly as possible, because the Lord is not in this place. Hurry, and make no delay in fleeing, lest divine vengeance seize us and involve us likewise in the sins of these people.”

When they had fled and proceeded a little distance, suddenly the earth opened and swallowed that man with everything belonging to him, so that no trace remained except a certain exceedingly deep pit.

Seeing this, Ambrose said to his companions: “Behold, brothers, how mercifully God punishes when he gives adversities here, and how severely he is angry when he always bestows prosperity.”

In a certain fortified town in the regions of the East, as Vincent relates from Paulinus where cited above, a synagogue of the Jews was burned by Christians because the Jews had insulted Christian monks. When the count of the East reported this deed to the emperor Theodosius, the emperor commanded that the synagogue be rebuilt by the bishop.

When Ambrose heard this command, he sent a letter to the emperor in which he urged him to revoke that decree. If Ambrose were not worthy to be heard, he would also not be worthy to be the one who was heard on the emperor’s behalf, or the one to whom the emperor entrusted his prayers and vows. He was prepared even to undergo death for such a matter, lest by his own dissimulation he make the emperor a transgressor who had commanded such unjust things against the Church.

Afterward, however, when Ambrose had returned from Aquileia, where he then was, to Milan, with the emperor in the church, he treated the same cause before the people. In that discourse he introduced the person of the Lord speaking to the emperor: “I made you an emperor from the lowest condition. I handed an army over to you. I established one of your seed upon the royal throne. And do you grant triumphs over me—that is, to my enemies?”

As Ambrose came down from the raised seat, the emperor said: “Bishop, today you have preached against us.”

Ambrose answered that he had spoken not against him but on his behalf. Thus he obtained the revocation of that decree. Nor would he approach the altar before the emperor testified upon his own faith that he ought to do this. Once that promise had been repeated upon his faith, Ambrose proceeded with the divine mysteries.

On a certain day, a man named Cresconius, when he had been ordered to be seized because of his crimes, fled to the church. He was seized and led out of the church by the soldiers of Stilicho, count of the East, notwithstanding the prohibition and defense of Ambrose together with his clerics.

But while Ambrose persevered in prayer with the clergy, suddenly, released by divine power, leopards, ascending with a swift leap to the place in which those who had triumphed over the church were sitting, left them grievously torn.

Seeing this, Stilicho was led to penance, so that for many days he made satisfaction to Ambrose; and he released that accused man of his who had been taken from the church.

Section III: Ambrose’s authority, manner of life, and death

From the foregoing, therefore, and also from those things said above in the preceding title concerning the correction exercised toward Theodosius, Valentinian, and Justina, it is clear that Ambrose was of the greatest authority and constancy, fearing no one.

He was also exceedingly devoted in the office. Hence he instituted a special office and chant in the church of Milan, which that church alone retains. He composed prefaces for almost all the feasts of the more celebrated saints.

He greatly sympathized with human falls. For, as Paulinus relates, when someone confessed his fall, Ambrose wept most bitterly, so that he compelled that man also to weep. Yet he was not so sympathetic and merciful that he left sins, especially manifest ones, unpunished.

Hence, when certain people presented a flagitious man to him, he said: “This man must be handed over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, lest he dare thereafter to perpetrate such things.” The devil immediately seized and tore him. This is also evident in the penance imposed upon the emperor Theodosius.

He was of such abstinence that he fasted daily except on the Sabbath, Sunday, and principal feasts, because the custom there was not to fast on Saturday and Sunday.

He was of the greatest chastity. For Jerome relates that he said: “We not only extol virginity, but preserve it.”

He was of such loving-kindness and sweetness that, when the death of any holy priest or bishop was announced to him, he wept so bitterly that he could scarcely be consoled. When he was asked why he thus lamented holy men who had proceeded to glory, he answered: “Do not think that I weep because he has departed, but because he has gone before us, and because it is difficult to find one who may be held so worthy of his office.”

He was of the highest liberality and mercy toward the poor. Hence he says in the book *On Offices*, in Distinction LXXXVI, chapter *Not Enough*: Let us sympathize with the sins or calamities of others. Let us aid the necessities of others as much as we can, and sometimes more than we can. For it is better to furnish reasons for mercy and suffer envy than to make a pretense of inclemency. We once incurred envy because we broke the mystical vessels in order to redeem captives.

Blessed Augustine, who was baptized by Ambrose, relates that he received three teachings from him. The first was that he should procure a marriage for no one, lest afterward the spouses, angered with one another, curse him as the mediator of their marriage.

The second was that he should not commend for military service anyone wishing to serve in the army. The reason for this is lest soldiers practice calumny and others cast the blame back upon him. But today military service ought to be dissuaded and, if it were possible, prohibited, because soldiers are free for nothing except robberies of friends and enemies and every flagitious deed.

The third was that, when invited to banquets, he should not attend, lest perhaps he exceed the measure of temperance.

Finally, when Ambrose saw avarice, the root of all evils, growing more and more, especially among the powers of the world and ministers of the Church, he groaned deeply and asked to be delivered more quickly from the dangers of this age.

Rejoicing, he revealed to the brothers that he had obtained this, saying that he would remain with them until the Lord’s resurrection. While he lay in sickness and dictated Psalm Forty-Four as a notary wrote, suddenly, as the notary watched, fire covered his head for a short time in the manner of a shield and entered through his mouth as though it were an inhabitant. Then his face was transformed like snow, but afterward returned to its former appearance.

While he labored in this illness, the count of Italy, who was at Milan, heard of it and summoned the nobles, saying that, when so great a man departed, there would be danger lest the destruction of Italy be imminent. He asked them to approach the man of God and beseech him that he obtain from the Lord a further span of life.

When Ambrose heard this from them, he answered: “I have not lived among you in such a manner that I am ashamed to live longer, nor do I fear to die, since we have a good Lord.”

At the time of his illness, four deacons assembled to discuss who would be good for ruling after his death. Although they were far from Ambrose’s bed, they named Simplicianus so softly that they could scarcely hear one another. From far away Ambrose cried three times: “He is old, but good.” Terrified at hearing this, they fled. Nevertheless, after his death they chose no other than Simplicianus himself.

Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli, when he had given himself to sleep, heard someone call him three times, crying: “Rise, because he is now about to depart.” Rising immediately, Honoratus gave him the sacrament of the Eucharist. After this Ambrose extended his hands in the form of a cross and breathed out his final spirit amid words of prayer. He flourished around the year of the Lord 390.

After his death, when a certain presbyter at a banquet disparaged the saint among others, a blow immediately struck him and ended his life.

When three bishops had assembled in the city of Carthage and one of them disparaged blessed Ambrose, what had happened to the presbyter who disparaged him was related. When that bishop regarded it lightly, he received such a wound, and an extreme one, that on that very day he ended his life.

Section IV: Books published by Ambrose

- One book *On Paradise*.
- Two books *On the One Penance*.
- One book *On Flight from the World*.
- Five books *On the Trinity, to Gratian*.

- Three books *On the Holy Spirit*.
- One book *On the Incarnation of Christ*.
- Six books *On the Sacraments*.
- One book *On Pastoral Care*.
- Three books *On Offices*.
- Three books *On the Death of His Brother Satyrus*.
- One book *On the Consolation of Valentinian*.
- One book *On Choosing a Bishop, to the People of Vercelli*.
- Six books on the *Hexaemeron*.
- One book *On Noah's Ark*.
- One book *On Isaac and the Soul*.
- One book *On the Good of Death*.
- Two books *On Jacob and the Blessed Life*.
- Two books *On Holy Abraham*.
- One book *On Holy Joseph*.
- One book *On the Blessings of the Patriarchs*.
- One book, an *Apology on Holy David*.
- One book *On Elijah and Fasting*.
- One book *On Holy Naboth's Vineyard*.
- Three books *On Holy Virginity*.
- Eleven treatises upon eleven Psalms.
- One book upon "Blessed Are the Immaculate."
- Ten books upon Luke.
- Fourteen books upon the fourteen Epistles of Paul.
- Two treatises *On the Surrender of the Basilica*.
- One treatise *On the Death of Theodosius*.
- One book *On Widows*.
- One book *On the Creed, to the Newly Baptized*.
- Four books *On the Weakness and Interpellation of Man*.
- Seventy-seven brief epistles to diverse persons.
- Seventy-five declamatory sermons.
- He also wrote the legend or passion of blessed Agnes and the finding of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius.

Some things have been excerpted from these books, especially those transcribed in the decrees in various places.

It is said that Ambrose, upon the Epistle to the Corinthians, said that a woman departing from her husband because of fornication should either be reconciled or remain unmarried—that is, not marry another—but that the husband himself can take another when he dismisses his wife because of fornication.

Gratian says in Cause XXXII, Question I, *According to That*, that this was inserted into Ambrose's book by falsifiers, or says that it must be understood otherwise than the letter sounds, as he shows there.

Section V: On the sacrament of the Eucharist, that Christ is truly there

Ambrose says in the book *On the Sacraments*, and in *On Consecration*, Distinction II: “All things whatsoever the Lord willed, he did in heaven and upon earth,” and because he willed it thus, it was thus done. Therefore, although the appearance of bread and wine is seen, nevertheless after the consecration nothing other than the flesh and blood of Christ is to be believed.

Hence the Truth himself says to the disciples: “This is my flesh for the life of the world.” And, to speak more marvelously, it is plainly no other flesh than that which was born of Mary, suffered upon the cross, and rose from the tomb. This, I say, is that very flesh. Therefore the flesh of Christ which is still offered today for the life of the world is Christ; and when it is worthily received, eternal life is restored in us.

The same Ambrose says in the same distinction concerning its excellence: It is truly marvelous that God rained manna for the fathers in the desert, who were fed with daily food from heaven, whence it is said: “Man ate the bread of angels.” Consider now which is more excellent: the bread of angels, or the bread of Christ, which assuredly is the body of life?

That manna was from heaven; this is above heaven. That was of heaven; this is of the Lord of the heavens. That was liable to corruption if it were kept for another day; this is alien to every corruption. Whoever tastes it religiously will not be able to experience corruption.

Water flowed for them from the rock; for you, blood from Christ. Water satisfied them for an hour; Christ’s blood washes you forever. The Jew drank and thirsted; when you drink, you will not be able to thirst. That was in shadow; this is in truth. But light is more powerful than shadow, divinity than figure, and the body of the Author than manna from heaven.

Perhaps you say: “I see something else. How do you assert to me that I receive the body of Christ?” This remains for us to prove. How many examples, therefore, do we use to prove that this is not what nature formed, but what the blessing consecrated, and that the power of the blessing is greater than that of nature, because by the blessing nature itself is changed?

Moses held a rod in his hand. He cast it down, and it became a serpent. Again he seized the serpent’s tail, and it returned to the nature of a rod. You see, therefore, that by prophetic grace the nature of the serpent and of the rod was changed twice.

He also places many other examples: the waters of Egypt, which were turned into blood by Moses’s word and afterward into their former nature; the waters of the Red Sea and the river Jordan, which stood still or were turned backward; the most bitter waters which were sweetened when wood was cast into them; the rock which, struck with the rod by Moses, gave waters; the iron which, shaken from its handle and sunk in the depth of the water, floated and entered its handle at Elisha’s command; and the fire coming from heaven at Elijah’s prayers.

He adds: You have read concerning the works of the whole world that “he spoke, and they were made” from nothing. Therefore, can the Word which was able to make from nothing what did not exist not change the things which exist into that which they were not? For it is no less to give new natures to things than to change them.

But why do we use arguments? Let us use his own examples and be strengthened by the truth of the mystery of his incarnation. Did the customary order of nature precede when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If we seek the order of nature, a virgin generated. And this body which we confect is from the Virgin. Why do you seek the order of nature in Christ’s body, since Christ himself was born of the Virgin beyond the order of nature? It was assuredly the true flesh of Christ which was crucified and buried. The Lord himself cries: “This is my body.” Thus far the quotation.

The same author says in the same place, in *On Consecration*, Distinction II: It is ordinary bread upon the altar before the words of the sacraments. When consecration comes, from bread it becomes the flesh of Christ. Consecration is made by Jesus’s words. For the priest does not use his own discourses, but the discourses of Christ. What is Christ’s discourse? This by which all things were made. For the Lord commanded, and heaven, earth, sea, and the other things were made.

Concerning baptism the same Ambrose says in the same book *On the Sacraments*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: Through the water of baptism there is a passage from earthly to heavenly things. Therefore Passover is called a passage. This is a passage from sin to life, from fault to grace, from pollution to sanctification. He who passes through this water does not die but rises again.

Not every water heals, but that which possesses the grace of Christ; water does not heal unless the Holy Spirit first descends.

The same Ambrose says in Cause I, Question I: The baptism of the faithless does not heal; it does not cleanse, but pollutes those who will not approach God in the flood of waters. For, as is said through the Apostle, whatever is not from faith is sin, and it not only does not profit those who perform it and those for whom they perform it, but is unto judgment.

Gratian says in the following paragraph that Ambrose speaks concerning the baptism of those heretics who in baptizing do not preserve the Church’s form, such as the Arians and Sabellians.

The same Ambrose says upon the Epistle to the Romans, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: The grace of God in baptism requires no groaning, no lamentation or any work, but faith alone, and forgives all things freely. According to the Gloss, this is understood concerning exterior penance—that is, satisfaction.

Section VI: On penance

Ambrose says in *On Penance*, Distinction I: No one can properly do penance except one who has hoped for indulgence. But God excepts no crime, since he has forgiven all sins.

And in the following chapter: The Lord willed the right of loosing and of binding to be equal, for he permitted each under an equal condition. Therefore he who does not possess the right of loosing does not possess that of binding either.

It is certain that the Church possesses both. Heresy possesses neither.

The same author says in the same distinction, *There Are Those Who Think*: You find more easily one who has preserved innocence than one who has fittingly done penance.

The same author says: Some seek penance so that they may wish communion to be restored to them immediately. They do not so much desire to loose themselves as to bind the priest. For they do not so much desire to strip themselves in their conscience as to clothe the priest with it. On account of these it was commanded: “Do not give what is holy to dogs,” and so forth. That is, the fellowship of sacred communion is not easily to be granted to unclean spirits—namely, to those persisting in sins—as found in *On Penance*, Distinction I.

Concerning contrition, Ambrose says in a Lenten sermon: Penance is to lament past evils and not again to commit things that must be lamented, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction III; that is, to propose not to commit them.

The same author says in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *There Are Those Who Think*: There is nothing which is of such great sorrow as that each person, placed beneath the captivity of sin, should remember whence he slipped and whence he fell, and that from that fair and beautiful intention of the divine creation he has flowed down to bodily and earthly things.

The same Ambrose says thus in the *Apology of David*, in *On Penance*, Distinction III: So great and powerful a king—namely, David—did not suffer the consciousness of the offense to remain with him even for a small moment after he was reproved by Nathan, but by a prompt confession and immeasurable sorrow he returned his sin to the Lord, saying: “I have sinned.”

And below: Finally, the sorrow of his innermost affection moves the Lord, so that Nathan said: “Because you have repented, the Lord has removed your sin.” The promptness of the pardon therefore declared that the penance—that is, the sorrow—had been profound in the king, which carried away the offense of so great an error. Thus far the quotation, namely, concerning fault and eternal punishment.

Concerning confession, the same author says in the book *On Paradise*, in *On Penance*, Distinction I: No one can be justified from sin unless the sin has first been confessed—that is, at least in the purpose of the mind.

The same author says in a Lenten sermon: Behold, now the acceptable time is present, in which confession liberates the soul from death; confession opens paradise; confession grants the hope of being saved. Hence Scripture says: “Tell your iniquities, that you may be justified.”

The same author says in the book *On Paradise*: “The serpent deceived me, and I ate,” Eve said to the Lord when he inquired. A fault followed by confession of offenses is venial—that is, worthy of pardon. Therefore the woman who was not silent before God but rather confessed her sin is not without hope; a curative sentence followed her, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *The Serpent*.

Concerning satisfaction, Ambrose says in the sermon for the Sunday of Abraham: The medicine of mercy removes great sins. We have many aids by which we may redeem our sins. You possess money; redeem your sins. The Lord is not for sale, but you are for sale. You have been sold to your sins; redeem yourself by your works. Your money is cheap, but mercy is precious. “Alms,” says Scripture, “liberates from sin,” as found in *On Penance*, Distinction I.

The same author says in the book *On Penance*, in the same distinction: Immediately after his fault God cast Adam out of paradise. He did not delay, but immediately separated him from the delights so that he might do penance. Immediately he clothed him with a tunic of skins, not silk.

The same author says in the same place: God made no limitation, since he promised his mercy to all and granted to his priests, without any exception, the authority to grant remission. But those who aggravate their fault should also aggravate their penance—that is, make it greater. For greater crimes are washed away by greater weeping, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *God*.

When Ambrose himself says in the book *On the One Penance* that, if there is one baptism, so also there is one penance, this is understood according to Gratian, in *On Penance*, Distinction III, of solemn penance, which was performed only once; concerning this, see Distinction L, *At the Head*.

Section VII: On the virtues

Ambrose says in the *Hexaemeron*: That soul is painted by God which possesses within itself the shining grace of the virtues and the splendor of loving-kindness. That soul is well painted in which the likeness of divine operation shines. That soul is well painted in which there is the splendor of glory and the image of the Father's substance. According to this image, in which the precious painting shines, Adam was painted before sin; but when he fell, he put it aside, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction II, *That Soul*.

The same author says in the book *On Flight from the World*: To be like God is to possess justice, wisdom, and to be perfect in virtue, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction II.

Likewise Ambrose says in Cause XXXII, Question I: When wickedness is renounced, virtue is immediately adopted. For the departure of malice effects the entrance of virtue. By the same endeavor by which crime is excluded, innocence is joined.

The same Ambrose says in *On the Blessed Life*: The wise man is never empty. He always possesses within himself the covering of prudence, who can say: "I put on justice; I clothed myself with judgment." These are the inner garments of the mind, which no one else can take away unless someone strips himself by his own fault. Thus Adam, stripped in this manner, was found naked, as found in *On Penance*, Distinction II.

The same author says in the book *On Paradise*: That shepherd of the Gospel is read to have carried the fallen sheep, not cast it away. Solomon also says: "Do not be excessively just." For moderation ought to temper justice. For how will the one whom you hold in disgust offer himself to you to be healed, if he thinks that he will be an object of contempt rather than compassion to his physician? This is found in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *The Serpent*.

The same Ambrose says in the book *On Offices*: There is also an unjust mercy, concerning which it is written in the law regarding a certain man: "You shall not have mercy upon him." In the Books of Kings it is read that Saul contracted an offense because he had mercy upon Agag, king of the enemies, whom the divine sentence had forbidden to be preserved.

And below: The form of justice must especially be maintained, lest anyone withdrawn from the fellowship of communion on account of a crime extort from the priest's facility, by a brief little tear prepared for the moment or even by more copious weeping, a communion which he ought to seek for very many periods. Does he not, when he grants indulgence to one unworthy person, provoke all to the contagion of falling? For facility of pardon supplies an incitement to delinquency, as found in Cause XXIII, Question IV, *There Is an Unjust Mercy*.

The same Ambrose says in the sermon beginning *More Bitter*: A father does not always kiss his son, but sometimes chastises him. Therefore, when the one who is loved is chastised, loving-kindness is then exercised toward him. For love possesses its own blows, which are sweeter when inflicted more bitterly. Religious chastisement is sweeter than flattering remission, as found in Cause V, Question V, *He Is Not Kissed*.

The same Ambrose says upon "Blessed Are the Immaculate": Let him judge concerning another's error who does not possess in himself something which he condemns. Let that man judge who is led to pronounce by no hatred, offense, or levity.

And a little afterward: A good judge does nothing from his own decision or the private purpose of his will, but pronounces according to laws and rights. He brings forward nothing prepared or meditated from home, but judges as he hears, decides according to the nature of the matter, obeys the laws rather than opposing them, examines the merits of the cause, and does not change them, as found in Cause III, Question VII, *Let Him Judge*.

The same author says in the book *On Offices*: Fortitude which in war protects the fatherland from barbarians, or at home defends the weak, or protects companions from robbers, is full of justice, as found in Cause XXIII, Question III.

The same author says: The law of virtue is not to inflict injury, but to drive it away. For he who does not repel injury from a companion when he is able is as much at fault as the one who inflicts it. This is found in the same place.

The same Ambrose says in the sermon beginning *Divine, to the Father*, and in Distinction XXXV: On the sixth day the beasts were created, and with the beasts arose the power of eating and the use of foods. Where food began, there the end of the world was made. There it began not to know its own increase, where divine things began—

—where the divine works concerning it began to rest. By this judgment it is declared that the world was diminished through the foods through which it ceased to be increased.

And below: That we may know fasting not to be new, he established there the first law concerning fasting.

And below: Until then no one had known how to transgress, and that which is the first transgression had not yet arisen. The fast of abstinence was enjoined; the law was from the Lord God, the transgression of the law from the devil; the fault through food, the hiding place after food; the knowledge of infirmity in food, the strength of fortitude in fasting. The serpent counsels gluttony; the Lord decrees fasting. Therefore gluttony expelled the wanderer from paradise; abstinence recalled the wanderer to paradise. Thus far the quotation. And he adds beautiful things concerning sobriety and drunkenness.

On liberality and mercy

The same Ambrose says in the book *On Offices*: Perfect liberality is commended by faith, cause, place, and time, so that it first works toward the household of the faith.

For it is a great fault if, with your knowledge, a faithful person is in want; if you know him to be without means, to endure hunger, to suffer misery, especially when he is ashamed to be in want; if he has fallen into a cause either of captivity or calumny and you do not aid him; if he is in prison, under punishments and torments, and, although just, is tortured on account of some debt. For although mercy is owed to all, it is owed more to the just man.

If in the time of his affliction he obtains nothing from you; if in the time of danger, when he is being dragged to death, your money avails more with you than the life of the one about to die.

And below: That liberality also is to be approved by which you do not despise the neighbors of your stock if you know them to be in need. Weakness also must be considered, and sometimes modesty, which reveals noble birth.

It is also beautiful liberality to preserve measure even in the gift itself, so that you may abound for more people, not to pour out beyond measure for the sake of winning favor. Do not undertake superfluous buildings, nor omit necessary ones; adorn God's temple with fitting honor; give to pilgrims as much as is necessary, not superfluities.

And below, the same author says upon Luke: The practice of mercy is common. Therefore it is a common precept, necessary to every office and every age, and to be rendered by all. The publican is not excepted, nor the soldier, the farmer or city-dweller, the rich or poor; all are moved in common to contribute to the one who does not possess. For mercy is the fullness of the virtues, and therefore the perfect form of virtue is prescribed to all, as found in Distinction LXXXVI, *Not Enough*.

The same author says in the book *On Offices*: The Church possesses gold, not to preserve it but to expend it and assist necessities. For what need is there to guard that which helps nothing? Or do we not know how much gold and silver the Assyrians carried away from the Lord's temple?

Is it not better for a priest to melt it down for the sustenance of the poor, if other aids are lacking, than for a sacrilegious enemy to contaminate and carry it away? Will not the Lord say: "Why did you suffer so many needy persons to die of hunger? Why were so many captives led into commerce and not redeemed, and killed by the enemy? It would have been better that you preserve vessels of living beings than vessels of metals."

To these things you cannot return an answer. For what will you say? "I feared lest adornment be lacking to God's temple." He answers: The sacraments do not seek gold, nor do things which are not purchased with gold please by gold. The redemption of captives is the adornment of the sacred things. Those truly are precious vessels which redeem souls from death. That is the true treasure of the Lord which works what his blood worked, as found in Cause XII, Question II, *Gold*.

The same author says in *On Flight from the World*: He whose portion is God ought to love nothing except God, lest he be hindered by the duty of another necessity. For that which is contributed to other offices is taken away from the worship of religion and from this office of ours. This is the true flight of a priest: the renunciation of his household and a certain alienation from those dearest to him, so that he who desires to serve God may deny himself to his own, as found in Cause XII, Question I, *He Whose*.

The same author says in the book *On Offices*: Finally, if one person cannot be assisted unless another is injured, it is more fitting to help neither than to burden the other.

And below: It belongs to a priest to harm no one and to wish to benefit all; but to be able to do so belongs to God alone, as found in Cause XXIII, Question IV, *Finally*.

The same Ambrose says in the book *On Offices*, as found in Cause XXII, Question IV: "The innocent believes every word." His easiness is not to be censured, but his goodness praised. To be innocent is to be ignorant of what may harm. Even if he is circumvented by someone, he judges well concerning all, since he thinks faith to exist in all.

Inclined by this gift of his mind, Joshua believed the Gibeonites, established a covenant of God, gave peace, and confirmed fellowship. When the fraud was discovered, the people began to be indignant. Joshua, nevertheless, did not judge that the peace which he had given should be revoked, because he had confirmed it by the sanctity of religion.

The same author says in the same place: Let no one promise anything dishonorable. Or, if he has promised it, it is more tolerable not to do what was promised than to do what is shameful. All promises are not always to be fulfilled. Finally, the Lord God himself frequently changes his sentence, as found in Cause XXII, Question IV, *Each One*.

Section VIII: On diverse vices, and first on avarice

Ambrose, expounding upon Luke the example of that rich man whose field brought forth abundant fruits, says in Distinction XLVII: Just as those who through madness have been carried away in mind no longer see the things themselves but the phantasms of their passion, so also the mind of the avaricious person, once bound by the chains of cupidity, always sees gold, always silver, always calculates revenues. He regards gold more gratefully than the sun. His very prayer to God seeks gold.

Sometimes, by the most wicked art of usury, gold is even born from gold itself. But neither satiety nor an end will ever come to cupidity.

And below: But the avaricious man says: “What injustice is it if, while I do not invade the things of others, I guard my own more diligently?” O shameless saying! You call them your own. From which hidden things did you bring them into this world when you entered this light? When you came forth from your mother’s womb, surrounded, I ask, by what resources and supports did you enter?

And a little afterward: Let no one call his own what is common. More than would suffice for use has been obtained violently. Is God unjust, that he should not distribute equally to us the supports of life, so that you should be affluent and abounding while things are lacking to others and they are in want? Or did he do this rather because he willed to confer upon you proofs of his kindness and to crown another through the virtue of patience?

But you, after receiving God’s gifts and drawing them into your bosom, think that you do nothing unjust if you alone possess the goods of so many. For who is so unjust, so avaricious, as one who makes the food of many not his use but his abundance and delights?

For it is no less a crime to take away from one who possesses than, when you can and abound, to deny those who are in need. The bread which you retain belongs to the hungry; the garment which you shut away belongs to the naked; the money which you bury in the earth is the redemption of the wretched. Know, therefore, that you invade as many goods as you could furnish when you have the ability. Thus far the quotation. See the Gloss, which expounds certain obscure words, such as “what is common,” that is, what must be shared in a time of necessity.

Concerning simony, Ambrose says in the book *On the Mysteries*: When you were ordained bishop, what you gave was gold; what you lost was your soul. When you ordained another, what you received was gold; what you gave was leprosy—namely, the spiritual leprosy of sin and suspension.

The same author says: You did not receive grace when you were ordained, because you did not merit it gratuitously.

The same author says: Foul leprosy quickly follows Gehazi as his recompense, and money wickedly acquired contaminates body and soul. You see that through the deed of the originator—namely, Gehazi—the succession of the heir is condemned. Why, therefore, is the seed of Gehazi condemned forever, unless you understand the seed of vices rather than of lineage—that is, simoniacs? This is found in Cause I, Question I, *When He Was Ordained*.

Concerning usuries, he says in the book *On Naboth*, as found in Cause XIV, Question III: Many, fleeing the precepts of the law, when they have given money to merchants, exact usuries not in money but receive from their merchandise what are, as it were, the profits of usuries. Therefore let them hear what the law says: “You shall not receive usury of foods, nor of all things.”

The same author says: Food is usury, and clothing is usury, and whatever is added to the principal is usury; and by whatever name you wish to call it, it is usury. Understand this in a loan made beforehand with the principal intention of this.

The same author says in *On the Good of Death*, as found in Cause XIV, Question IV: If anyone receives usury, he commits robbery; he does not live life.

Against lust, Ambrose says in the book *On the Patriarchs*, as found in Cause XXXII, Question IV: Let no one flatter himself concerning human laws. What is not permitted to a woman is not permitted to a man. The same chastity which is required from the wife is required from the husband. Whatever is committed with one who is not a lawful wife is condemned by the crime of adultery.

The same author says in the same place: No one is permitted to know a woman besides his wife. Therefore the right of marriage has been given to you, lest you fall into a snare and sin with another woman. It is more tolerable if a fault lies hidden than if authority is usurped for the fault.

Against pride, Ambrose says in the book *On Offices*, as found in Cause XI, Question III: If anyone does not obey the bishop, desiring to raise and exalt himself and seeking also to overshadow the bishop's merits by a simulated affection for doctrine, humility, or mercy, he is led astray from the truth and grows proud. For this is the rule of truth: that you do nothing for the sake of commending yourself by which another is made smaller.

Nor, if you possess some good, should you exercise it for another's deformation and censure. Do not defend the wicked man, nor judge that holy things should be committed to the unworthy. Nor should you accuse and rebuke one whose crime you have not discovered.

Section IX

Ambrose says in the *Hexaemeron*, as found in Cause XV, Question I: Those things which proceed from our will must be guarded against: the offenses of youth and the irrational passions of the body. Therefore, of the things whose masters we are, let us not seek their beginnings externally or divert them onto others, but let us acknowledge as properly ours those things which we can avoid doing if we wish.

This is said concerning that which properly appears evil. For those things are not evil which neither entangle the mind with crime nor bind the conscience. Hence no wise man will call poverty, obscurity, sickness, or death evils, nor number them among the lot of evils.

The same author says in the book *On the Blessed Life*: There is no reason for us to ascribe our misery to anyone except our will. None of us is held in fault unless he has turned aside by his own will. Things inflicted upon those resisting do not possess guilt.

And below: Christ chooses a voluntary soldier for himself; the devil claims a voluntary servant for himself. He possesses no one bound by the yoke of servitude unless that person has first sold himself for the price of sins, as found in Cause XV, Question I, *There Is Not*.

The same Ambrose says: Marriages fill the earth; virginity fills paradise.

The same author says: Integrity of body is to be sought by us; I counsel it by advice, not command it by authority. For virginity alone can be counseled; it cannot be commanded, as found in Cause XXXII, Question I.

The same author says in the book *On Paradise*, as found in Cause XV, Question I, *Nor He*: Consider this also: when the impious man is killed, Christ is poured in; and where abomination is abolished, sanctification is consecrated, because the Lord said: "On that day when I killed every firstborn of Egypt, I sanctified to myself every firstborn of Israel," which is referred to every time.

The same Ambrose says near the beginning of his *Pastoral*: The honor and sublimity of the episcopate can be equaled by no comparisons. If you compare the splendor of kings or the diadem of princes with it, royal glory will be as far inferior to episcopal honor as lead is to the brightness of gold. For you see the necks of kings and princes submitted to the knees of priests, and, after kissing their right hand, they believe themselves fortified by their prayers, as found in Distinction XCVI, *There Are Two*.

The same Ambrose says in the *Pastoral*: Human beings first learn what they may teach. But I, taken from the tribunals to the priesthood, began to teach what I myself had not learned. Thus it is necessary to teach and learn at the same time, since there was no leisure to learn beforehand.

What, before all else, ought we to say except that we should be silent so that we may be able to speak? Let the tongue be subjected to the mind and possess reins by which it may be recalled to measure. Let it bring forth discourses weighed in the balance of justice, so that there may be gravity in meaning, weight in speech, and measure in words. For the devil lies in wait most especially when he sees passions of anger being generated within us.

I indeed love you whom I begot in the Gospel no less than if I had received you from marriage. For nature is not more vehement for loving than grace. Just as gravity is commended in old men, eagerness in young men, so modesty in adolescents is commended as a certain endowment of nature.

Modesty must be preserved in movement itself, gesture, and gait. For the disposition of the mind is discerned in the state of the body, and the motion of the body is a certain voice of the soul. There are those who, by walking slowly, imitate theatrical postures, so that whenever they move a step, they seem to preserve certain rhythms.

Nor do I judge it honorable to walk at a run, unless the cause of some necessity or danger requires it. If there is assuredly some defect in nature, let art amend it. We ought not only to speak nothing indecorous but not even to offer an ear to sayings of this sort, because the one whom hearing delights provokes another to speak.

Modesty also stands forth more in the beauty of the body itself, yet in such a way that the beauty itself is not produced but natural, simple, more neglected than elaborated, assisted not by costly and gleaming garments but by common ones.

Let nothing be added to its brightness. Let the voice itself be neither faint nor broken, sounding nothing feminine, but preserving a certain form, rule, and masculine vigor. Just as I do not approve a soft and broken sound of voice or gesture of body, so I do not wish to imitate a savage or rustic nature.

I judge that this chiefly befits ecclesiastical persons in the offices of ministers: to avoid the banquets of strangers, either so that they themselves may be hospitable to pilgrims or so that there may be no occasion for reproach.

There is no need for younger men to visit the homes of widows and virgins except for the sake of visitation, and this with elders—that is, with the bishop—or, if the cause is more serious, with a presbyter.

Why, O cleric, do you not expend upon reading those times in which you are free from the church? Why do you not revisit Christ, address Christ, hear Christ? We address him when we pray; we hear him when we read the divine oracles.

Although honorable jokes may be pleasant, nevertheless they are foreign to the ecclesiastical rule. I judge that not only excessive jokes but all jokes are to be avoided.

The same Ambrose says: So great is the splendor of honorableness that tranquillity of conscience and security of innocence make the life blessed. It is plainly blessed, because it is not estimated by the judgments of others but perceived by its own inward senses as its own judge. It neither seeks popular opinions for any reward nor fears them as punishment.

Goodness is popular and pleasing to all, and there is nothing which slips so easily into human senses. But who will commit himself to the counsel of one whom he does not think wiser than he himself is? Or how can you judge one superior in counsel whom you see inferior in conduct?

Shall I truly think him suitable to give me counsel which he did not give to himself, and believe that he has leisure for me when he has none for himself—whose soul pleasures occupy, lust conquers, avarice subjugates, cupidity disturbs, and agitation shakes? How is there a place of counsel here, where there is no place of quiet? Thus speaks he.

Title X, Chapter VIII

“Like the sun shining”

Like the shining sun, which is called the lord of the planets and the father of light, shining above all luminaries, delightful to the eyes, and looking through all things, so Augustine illuminated the Church: the jewel of the doctors, the father of theologians, sweet in eloquence, elucidating all subjects by penetrating them.

Hence Jerome says concerning him in the book *On the Twelve Doctors*: Augustine the bishop, flying over the peaks of the mountains like an eagle and not considering the things which are at the roots of the mountains, proclaims in clear speech the many regions of the heavens, the positions of the lands, and the circuit of the waters.

Prosper says concerning him in the book *On the Contemplative Life*: Saint Augustine was acute in intellect, sweet in eloquence, skilled in secular literature, industrious in ecclesiastical labors, illustrious in daily disputations, composed in all his action, acute in resolving questions, circumspect in convicting heretics, catholic in expounding our faith, and cautious in expounding the canonical Scriptures.

Emicius also, after commemorating and praising Jerome and certain other doctors, concludes: Augustine surpasses all these by his intellect and knowledge. For although Jerome admits that he read six thousand volumes of Origen, Augustine nevertheless wrote so much that no one could copy his books even by writing day and night, much less find time to read them.

Volusianus also says concerning him that whatever Augustine happened not to know is lacking from the law of God. Devout Bernard likewise calls him the strongest hammer of the heretics.

Deservedly, therefore, like a shining sun, he shone in God’s temple by the splendor of most illustrious doctrine, the ardor of most fervent love, and the beauty of a most holy life.

Possidius, bishop of Calama, described this life, as Cassiodorus relates.

Augustine, therefore, was born in the African province, in the city of Carthage, from honorable parents: from his father Patricius, a gentile, and his most Christian mother, called Monica.

In his youth he was so fully instructed in the liberal arts that he was held to be a supreme philosopher and a most eloquent rhetorician. Because of his exceedingly great and acute intellect, he understood the books of the liberal arts almost by himself.

Hence he says concerning himself in the book of the *Confessions*: All the books of the arts which they call liberal, as many as I was able to read, I read and understood by myself, although I was then the most wicked servant of evil desires. Whatever there is of the art of disputing and speaking, whatever there is concerning the dimensions of figures, music, and numbers, I understood without great difficulty and with no human being handing it down.

You know, Lord my God, that speed in understanding and learning is your gift, but I did not sacrifice to you from it.

But because knowledge without charity inflates and does not edify, from the error of gentility he fell into the heresy of the Manichaeans. They posit two principles of things: namely, God as the author of invisible things and the devil as the author of visible things. They also assert that Christ’s body was not true but phantasmal—that is, aerial. Augustine remained in this error for nine years.

When he was now nineteen years old and a certain exhortatory book of Cicero concerning philosophy or the acquisition of wisdom came into his hands, he was greatly moved toward its teaching because it invited him to contempt of the world and devotion to wisdom.

Nevertheless, this restrained him and did not wholly seize him: that the name of Jesus Christ was not in that book. He had drunk in this name with his mother’s milk and retained it deeply. Whatever he read in which this name was absent, although polished and true, did not satisfy him.

The vanity of the world began to become vile to him, and he began to direct himself wholly toward study.

Nevertheless, by fornication he had a son named Adeodatus from a certain unattached woman. Adeodatus was afterward baptized with him and was of so acute an intellect that he was an object of admiration even to Augustine his father. But in his youth he was taken away from this light.

Augustine’s most devout mother, named Monica, now a widow after her husband’s death and persevering in great holiness of life, wept daily for her son’s error, praying continually for the hastening of his conversion.

One day, as Augustine himself relates in the book of the *Confessions*, while she prayed in grief, she saw herself standing upon a certain wooden rule. A certain exceedingly beautiful young man—namely, an angel—appeared to her and asked the cause of so great a sadness.

She answered: “I lament the perdition of my son Augustine.”

The young man said to her: “Be secure, because where you are, there he is.” Looking, she saw Augustine beside her upon that rule.

When, therefore, she was gladdened and had related these things to Augustine, he answered: “You are mistaken, mother. It was not said to you thus, ‘Where he is, there you are,’ but, ‘Where you are, there he is.’” On the contrary she said: “It was not said to me, ‘Where he is, there you are,’ but, ‘Where you are, there he is,’” because Augustine in turn was to be led to the right rule of the Catholic faith, in which his mother then was but he himself was not.

When his pious mother was persistent in seeking her son’s conversion, she approached a certain holy bishop, asking that he intercede for him and speak with him in order to lead him out of his error.

He answered: “He is still swollen by the novelty of that error, but by reading he will discover how great its impiety is.”

When she still pressed him with tears, he answered, overcome by her persistence: “Go secure; it is impossible that the son of so many tears should perish.”

After Augustine had taught rhetoric at Carthage for many years, hearing that study was conducted more quietly and more perfectly at Rome, he boarded a ship and departed for the City without his mother’s knowledge, lest she follow him. Many disciples assembled to him there, hearing his teaching. There also he became ill, while his mother was ignorant of it but prayed continually for his salvation, and he was very quickly restored to health.

At that time the Milanese asked Symmachus, prefect of the Romans, that some teacher of rhetoric be appointed for them. For this reason Augustine was sent there by him, where Saint Ambrose was then bishop. But his mother, unable to rest, followed him as far as Milan, although with much difficulty.

Section I

Augustine frequently heard Ambrose preaching, with much devotion. One day, in preaching, Ambrose discoursed at greater length upon such material, refuting that error by arguments so efficaciously that Augustine wholly cast that heresy out of his mind.

When his mother learned this from him, rejoicing greatly, she said to him: “I believe my God, because I shall not pass from this world before I see you a perfect Christian.” Hence she herself also venerated and loved Ambrose, having learned that Augustine had abandoned that error through his teaching.

Accordingly, although the way of Christ now pleased him, he was reluctant to go by it, doubting that he could endure the customs of the Christian religion. Reproaching himself, as is evident in the book of the *Confessions*, he said to himself: “How many boys and girls there are in the Church who serve their God in all chastity and obedience. Why do you stand in yourself and not stand? Cast yourself upon him, and he will receive you and heal you.”

The Lord also put it into his mind that he should go to a certain servant of God named Simplicianus, a man of great renown, because from his youth he had served God most devoutly and had experienced many things. He was already an old man, and divine grace shone in him. Augustine was to confer with him concerning the surges of his thoughts, so that he might consult him as to what manner of walking in God’s way would be suitable for one disposed as he was, on which one person went in one manner and another in another.

Simplicianus exhorted him to receive baptism, introducing to him the example of Victorinus, his greatest friend in the art of oratory, who, converted from gentility to Christ, entered a church full of people and did not blush publicly to confess his belief and recite the articles of the faith.

Strengthened, Augustine returned home. One day, while he was speaking in the courtyard of his house with Alypius, his dearest friend and fellow countryman, a certain acquaintance of theirs from Africa, named Nepotianus, arrived. He began to relate to them the marvels which had been published in his regions concerning the holiness of blessed Anthony the hermit, who had been unlettered and had died a little before.

Augustine, his face changed, said to Alypius: “What do we hear, Alypius? What do we suffer? The unlearned rise and seize heaven, and we with our branches of knowledge are plunged into the deep. Is it shameful to follow because they have gone before?”

Immediately pierced with compunction, he burned toward God at the examples of Anthony which he had heard from his life. Having left Alypius, he entered the garden of that house alone and placed himself beneath a fig tree. Letting loose the reins of his eyes and dissolved into weeping, he poured forth a great rain of tears of compunction, reproaching himself and saying: “How long, how long? Tomorrow and tomorrow? ‘Allow me now; allow me a little while.’ ‘Now’ had no measure, and ‘allow me a little while’ went forth at length. And you, Lord, how long? How long shall I place counsels in my soul?”

Concerning this delay of his he afterward complained very greatly in the same book of the *Confessions*, saying: “Late have I loved you, beauty so ancient and so new. Late have I loved you. You were within, and I was outside, and there I sought you; and, deformed, I rushed upon those beautiful things which you were. You were with me, and I was not with you. You called and cried out, and broke my deafness. You flashed and shone, and put my blindness to flight. You blazed and brought breath, and I pant for you. I tasted, and I hunger and thirst for you. You touched me, and I burned toward your peace.”

While, therefore, he wept most bitterly beneath that fig tree, he heard a voice saying to him: “Take up and read; take up and read.” His tears being restrained by this, he began to consider whether the voice heard was that of children singing for amusement around the garden wall. But when he could not remember having heard such a voice sung by children or others, he judged it to be what it was: namely, that voice formed by God.

Hence he returned to the place in the courtyard of the house from which he had withdrawn from Alypius. Finding there the book of Paul’s epistles which he had left upon the table when, unable to restrain his tears, he had withdrawn into the garden, he opened the book. Casting his eyes upon the first verse which occurred, he read: “Put on the Lord Jesus Christ.” Immediately, as though a light of security had been poured into him, all the shadows of doubt fled from him. He understood from those words that the Lord was telling him to put on the Lord Jesus Christ by receiving baptism, which he wholly determined that he would do.

Meanwhile a most violent pain of the teeth seized him so that he lost his speech. Therefore, since he could not speak, he wrote upon wax tablets that they should pray that the Lord might mitigate the pain. As they prayed with him, he immediately felt himself healed.

At last, when the paschal solemnity arrived, he was baptized by blessed Ambrose when he was already thirty years old, together with his son Adeodatus and his friend Alypius. Then, as it is related, Ambrose said, “We praise you, God,” and Augustine answered, “We confess you, Lord.” Alternately they composed that hymn itself to the end.

Wonderfully confirmed in the Catholic faith and filled with the greatest fervor of divine love, Augustine abandoned every hope and care of the world and also renounced the schools which he governed. Nor in those days was he satiated by the marvelous sweetness, as he himself says, of contemplating the height of the divine counsel concerning the salvation of the human race.

He says: “How much I wept at the hymns and canticles, moved by the voices of the sweet-sounding Church.” These had then been instituted to be sung in the church of Milan.

Speaking to the Lord in the said book of the *Confessions*, he says: “You, Lord, had pierced my heart with your charity, and I carried your words fixed through my inward parts. The examples of the servants of God whom you had made living from the dead, gathered into the bosom of my thought, burned and consumed my heavy torpor like devastating coals. O Jesus, my helper, how sweet it suddenly was for me to lack the delights of my vanities; and those things which I had feared to lose it was now a joy to dismiss. You cast them out from me, you true and highest delight. You cast them out and entered, sweeter than every pleasure, though not to flesh and blood; brighter than every light, more inward than every secret, and higher than every honor, but to those who are high in themselves [read: but not to those who are high in themselves].”

Section II

After these things, taking with him Nebridius and Evodius, his mother, and his son Adeodatus, he was returning to Africa. When he was at Ostia on the Tiber and they had disembarked from the ship to refresh themselves, they spoke with one another very sweetly concerning heavenly things.

Then she said to her son: “Now I delight in nothing in this life, since I see you, earthly happiness having been contemned, a servant of Christ.” His pious mother then became ill there, died, and was buried. At her passing he poured forth pious tears and poured forth devout prayers to God for her.

After his mother’s death Augustine returned to his own estates, where, attending to fasts and prayers with friends, he wrote books and taught the untaught.

When his fame became known, blessed Valerius, bishop of Hippo, caused him to be summoned to himself and, although he was unwilling, ordained him a presbyter as Augustine wept over so great an order. When people, as if consoling him, said that he was worthy of a greater honor, he answered that he therefore mourned because the presbyterate approached the episcopate,

which he greatly fled. Hence he also avoided approaching any city lacking a bishop, lest it happen that he was taken up into that office.

Having therefore been made a presbyter, he immediately established a monastery of clerics and began to live according to the rule constituted under the holy apostles.

But because the aforesaid bishop Valerius, his ordainer, was a Greek and less learned in the Latin language and letters, he granted power to Augustine, who was most skilled in Greek and Latin, to preach to the people in his presence, contrary to the custom of the Eastern Church. And although many bishops disparaged this matter, the holy bishop did not care, provided that Augustine satisfied the people in what Valerius himself could not do so openly.

At the same time the presbyter Fortunatus was seducing very many by the cunning of the Manichaeans. Saint Augustine overcame him by disputing publicly. He also refuted Faustus, that great snare of the devil, and other Manichaean and Donatist heretics. On this account they laid snares for him and threatened him with death, since the heretics proclaimed among themselves that it was not a sin to kill their enemy, but that a remission of sins was to be had from it.

Valerius, fearing that at some time Augustine might be taken away from his church and given as bishop to another city—for at one time he would have been taken from him for this purpose had he not caused Augustine to go to a secret place so that he could not be found—obtained from the archbishop of Carthage that he himself should yield the episcopate and Augustine should be promoted as bishop of the church of Hippo.

Although Augustine had resisted very greatly, he was at last compelled to be made bishop and to govern the church of Hippo pontifically. Afterward he both said and wrote that it ought not to have been done that he was ordained while his bishop was living, because of a prohibition of a universal council which, after he was ordained, he learned. Hence afterward he took care in councils of bishops that all the statutes of the fathers ought to be made known by ordainers to those about to be ordained.

It is read that he afterward said concerning himself: “In no matter do I perceive the Lord to be so angry with me as in this: when I was scarcely worthy to be placed at an oar, I was placed at the stern-post, at the summit of the governance of the Church.”

Section III: Concerning his manner of life

His garments, footwear, and other adornments were neither too abject nor exceedingly splendid, but of a moderate and suitable habit.

It is also read that he said concerning himself: “I confess that I blush at costly clothing, and therefore, when it is given to me, I sell it, so that, because the garment cannot be common, its price may be common.”

The clerics of his church lived in common like regular canons, as is evident in Cause XII, Question I, *I Do Not Wish*, and the chapter *Certainly*. The order of regular canons is also said to have had its beginning from him. He also wrote for them the rule which very many religious profess today, such as the Preachers, the Hermits, the Servites, all regular canons, although they are of diverse religious orders, and others.

From this rule was transcribed the statement, “Do not call anything your own,” and so forth, in Cause XII, Question I. And that statement in Cause XXXII, Question V: “Not only by touch and affection but also by sight does desire for women both seek and become the object of desire,” and so forth. And that statement in Cause V, Question V: “Do not judge yourselves to be malevolent when you report the crime of another”—namely, from charity—and so forth.

And this statement to prelates, in Distinction LXXXVI: “When the necessity of discipline in restraining conduct compels you to say harsh words, it is not required of you that you ask pardon from your subjects,” and so forth. See there.

He always used a frugal and sparing table, and among vegetables and legumes he usually had meats on account of infirm guests. At that table itself he loved reading or disputation more than feasting. Against the plague of detraction he had this written upon the wall there:

> *Whoever loves with words to gnaw the life of those absent,*
> *Let him know this table is unworthy for himself.*

When certain bishops most familiar to him once loosened their tongue in detraction, he rebuked them so harshly that he said either those verses must be erased or he would withdraw from the table, unless they ceased from detraction.

He was always mindful of the poor and liberally furnished from the things which he was able to have. For if the people did not bring aid, he also ordered vessels belonging to the Lord, such as chalices and the like, to be melted down and given for the sake of the poor and captives, reporting that he had learned this deed from blessed Ambrose.

He provided for his blood relatives not so that they might possess riches, but so that they might either not be in need or be less in need. He had vessels not of silver, except spoons, but of wood, glass, marble, or earthenware—not on account of poverty, as though he could not have them, but on account of honorableness.

He never had a zeal for new buildings, avoiding in them the entanglement of a mind which he wished to be free so that he might be able to attend more fully to the Scriptures. Nevertheless he did not impede those wishing to build them, unless he perceived that it was being done immoderately.

He did not wish to buy a house, field, or villa. He rejected many inheritances left to him because, he said, they were owed rather to the children of the dead. Hence he himself also says in Cause XVII, Question IV: “Whoever wishes, after disinheriting his son, to make the Church his heir, let him seek another who will accept it than Augustine; indeed, God being propitious, he will find no one.”

He adds an example concerning what Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, did, according to the law of heaven, however, not of the forum.

He never permitted any woman—not even his own sister or the daughter of his brother, who likewise served God—to live with him. For he said that, although no suspicion of evil could arise concerning a sister or nieces, nevertheless, because such women could not exist without other persons necessary to them, and other women would come to them, the weaker could be moved to human temptations by those women or be weakened by the evil suspicions of human beings.

He never wished to speak alone with a woman unless some secret matter intervened. Therefore, says Gregory, great caution must be taken by us from this learned man. Distinction LXXXI, *It Is Read*.

He rarely wished to intercede for anyone by letters or words, recollecting that a certain philosopher, in consideration of his reputation, had not furnished many things to friends. He often said: “The power which is asked oppresses.” When he did this, however, he so tempered his style that he was not burdensome but merited to be heard by the civility of his composition.

He wished to hear cases between strangers more than between acquaintances, saying that he could freely discern what was unjust among them and make one of them a friend—namely, the one on whose behalf he rendered a judgment through justice. But among friends he would lose one—namely, the one against whom the judgment came.

He also praised very greatly those in whom there was a desire to die, and concerning this he frequently recited the examples of three bishops. Omitting two, he used to say that Cyprian reports concerning a certain bishop that, when he labored under a grave illness, he still prayed for health to be restored to him. A beautiful young man appeared to him, groaned with indignation, and said: “You fear to suffer and do not wish to depart. What shall I do with you?”

He was invited by many churches to preach the word of the Lord there, and by preaching he converted many from errors. Sometimes in preaching he made a digression from his subject and then used to say that the Lord had ordained this for someone’s advancement. This happened concerning a certain Arian merchant who, while hearing his preaching, was converted when Augustine turned aside from his subject and spoke against that heresy.

He himself also reports that, when his mother was with him at Milan and found that the faithful there did not fast on the Sabbath, although elsewhere she had been accustomed to fast, she began to waver within herself whether she ought to fast according to her former custom or not to fast according to the custom of the Milanese.

Accordingly, through her son Augustine she consulted Ambrose about what she ought to do. Ambrose answered him: “When I am at Rome, I fast on the Sabbath. When I am at Milan, I do not fast. So also you, at whatever church you arrive, preserve its custom, if you do not wish to be a scandal to anyone or anyone to you.” Distinction XII, *That*. This must be understood in those things which are not contrary to the commandments of God or the Church, or to one’s vow or rule.

Hence the same Augustine says in Book IV *On Baptism*: “This is plainly true, because reason and truth must always be preferred to custom. But if reason supports custom, nothing ought to be retained more firmly.” Distinction VIII, *In Vain*.

And he says to the presbyter Casulanus, in Distinction XI: “In those matters concerning which divine Scripture has established nothing certain, the custom of the people of God and the institutions of the elders must be held as law. And just as violators of divine laws, so transgressors of ecclesiastical customs must be restrained.”

In his days, namely around the year of the Lord 411, the Vandals, who were unbelievers and spared neither sex, order, nor age, occupied the whole province of Africa. At last they besieged with a powerful force the city of Hippo, where Augustine was bishop.

Under this tribulation Augustine led the most bitter and mournful life of his old age, when he saw some killed, others put to flight, churches widowed of priests, and cities with their inhabitants dispersed. Therefore, having called together the brothers,

he said: “Behold, I have asked the Lord either to rescue us from these dangers, or to grant patience, or to receive me from this life, lest he compel me to see so many calamities. And behold, I have obtained the third thing which I sought.”

Hence, laboring with fevers in the third month of the siege, he lay down upon his bed. Understanding that the dissolution of his body was imminent, he caused the seven penitential psalms to be written out for him. Lying upon his bed, he recited them where they had been placed against the wall, weeping abundantly.

In order that he might attend to God more freely and that his intention might be impeded by no one, for the ten days before his departure he commanded that no one enter to him unless either a physician came in to him or refreshment was brought to him.

While he himself was held by illness, a certain infirm man approached him, asking that Augustine impose his hand upon him to recover health. Augustine said to him: “What is it, son, that you say? Do you think that, if I could do any such thing, I would not confer it upon myself?”

But when the man persisted, saying that he had been commanded by the Lord in a vision to approach Augustine and thus would recover health, Augustine, seeing his faith, prayed for him, and he was healed.

He healed many possessed persons and performed many other miracles. In Book XXII *On the City of God* he relates that two were liberated from a demon—through Augustine himself, as is believed, although he does not name himself.

Finally, when the dissolution of his body drew near, he left this memorial teaching: that no human being, of however excellent merit, ought to pass away without confession and the Eucharist. This he himself also did.

When he was brought to the final hour, with all the members of his body unharmed and his sight and hearing intact, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the forty-fifth of his episcopate, while the brothers stood present and prayed, he slept with his fathers.

He made no testament, because the poor man of Christ had nothing from which to make one.

When the barbarian people occupied that whole land and profaned the holy places, Augustine’s body was secretly carried to Sardinia. Two hundred and eighty-three years after his passing, Liutprand, king of the Lombards, hearing that Sardinia had been devastated by the Saracens, brought the body of blessed Augustine from there at a great price and placed it, after it was translated, at Pavia.

Section IV: Concerning the books published by Augustine

As Vincent relates in Book XIX of the *Mirror of History*, the books, treatises, and epistles of Augustine extend to one thousand and thirty, so that this saying deservedly suits him: “He lies who professes to have read you whole.”

The principal books among them, however, both those of great volume and those of daily use, are these:

- The book *On the City of God*, divided into twenty-two books against the errors of the pagans concerning the worship of their gods. There he describes two cities: Jerusalem, or the Church, whose king is Christ and whose citizens are those virtuous by a true and living faith; and infernal Babylon, whose head and king is the devil and whose citizens are the reprobate. In the present life the elect are afflicted and oppressed by the evil, while the reprobate frequently flourish in worldly things. The love of God founded in humility builds the city of Jerusalem and grows even to contempt of self; but the love of self growing even to contempt of God builds infernal Babylon.
- Fifteen books *On the Trinity*.
- Thirteen books of *Confessions*.
- Seven books *On Baptism, Against the Donatists*.
- Three books *To Marcellus, on the Baptism of Infants*.
- Four books *On Christian Doctrine*.
- Four books *On the Soul and Its Origin*.
- Three books *On Free Choice*.
- Six books *Against Julian the Pelagian*.
- Three books *Against the Epistle of Permenianus* [i.e., *Parmenianus*].
- Three books *Against the Letters of Petilian the Donatist*.
- Four books *Against Cresconius the Grammarian*.

- Four treatises *On the Creed*.
- Twelve books *On Genesis According to the Letter*.
- Seven books of *Questions on the Pentateuch*.
- Seven books of *Locutions on the Heptateuch*.
- One hundred and fifty upon the Psalter, in which he expounds the whole Psalter.
- One hundred and twenty-four homilies upon John.
- Sixty-five treatises *On the Words of the Lord*.
- Twenty treatises *On the Words of the Apostle*.
- Ten homilies upon the First Canonical Epistle of John.
- One book upon the Epistle to the Galatians.
- One book upon the Epistle to the Romans.
- Two books *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*.
- Two books *On Questions in Matthew and Luke*.
- One treatise *On the Agreement of Matthew and Luke in the Genealogies of the Lord*.
- One treatise upon "Who shall find a valiant woman?"
- One book of *Annotations on Job*.
- One book *On Christian Discipline*.
- One book *On Eighty-Three Questions*.
- Two books *On the Incarnation of Christ*.
- One book *On Faith and Works*.
- One book *To Valentinus, on Grace and Free Choice*.
- One book to the same man and to the monks who were with him, *On Correction and Grace*.
- One book *On Nature and Grace*.
- One book *On the Perfection of Justice*.
- One book *To Boniface*.
- One book *To Macedonius*.
- One book *On Seeing God, to Paulina*.
- One book *To Proba, a Religious Woman*.
- One book *On the Quantity of the Soul*.
- One book *On Continence*.
- One book *On Penance*.
- One book *On Patience*.
- One book *On Virginity*.
- One book *On the Good of Widowhood*.
- One book *On the Good of Marriage*.
- One book *On Adulterous Marriages*.
- One book *On the Ten Hearts* [read: *On the Ten Chords*].
- One book *On Divine Predestination*.
- Two books *Against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets*.
- One book *On Lying*.

- One book *On the Grace of God*.
- One book *On Faith, to Peter*.
- One book *On Catechizing the Uninstructed*.
- One book *On the Presence of God, to Dardanus*.
- One book *On the Nature of the Good, Against the Manichaeans*.
- One book called the *Mirror*.
- Four orations *On the Concupiscence of the Flesh Against the Spirit*.
- One book *Against Five Kinds of Enemies*.
- One book *On Marriage and Concupiscence*.
- One book *On the Predestination of the Saints and Perseverance*.
- One book *On the One Baptism*.
- One book *To Aurelius, on the Work of Monks*.
- One book *On Purgatorial Fire*.
- One book *On the Nature of Demons*.
- One book *On the Praises of Charity*.
- One book *On the Care to Be Taken for the Dead*.
- Two books *On Diverse Customs, at the Inquiry of Januarius*.
- One book *On the Grace of the New Testament*.
- One book *On Questions of the Old Testament*.
- One book *On the Utility of Believing*.
- One book *On the Christian Life*.
- One book *On the Christian Combat*.
- One book *On True Religion*.
- One book *On Eighty-Eight Heresies*.
- One book *To the Presbyter Orosius*.
- One book *On the Error of the Priscillianists*.
- Six books *On Music*.
- Thirty-two books *Against Faustus the Manichaean*.
- One *Enchiridion to Laurence*.
- Two books of *Soliloquies*.
- One book *On the Immortality of the Soul*.
- One book *On the Blessed Life*.
- Two books *On Order*.
- Three books *On the Academics*.
- One book *On the Liberal Disciplines*.
- One book *To Count Julian*.
- One hundred and fifty brief epistles to diverse persons.
- Two hundred diverse sermons.
- His epistles to Jerome also.
- One book, the *Rule for the Institution of Canons*.

- Two books of *Retractions*.
- One book *On the Spirit and the Letter*.

The titles of other works having been omitted, it is also reported, as Vincent says in the *Mirror of History*, that Augustine published the book entitled *On the Soul and Spirit*, which without doubt is most useful, elegant, and eloquent. But this book's style does not seem to me to savor of Augustine. Hence some report rather that it was excerpted and compiled as a compendium by Hugh of Saint Victor from diverse books of Augustine.

Augustine himself was very humble. Hence the same man says: "An old man may be taught by a boy. A bishop of so many years, I am prepared to be taught by a colleague who has not yet served a year." Cause XXIV, Question III, *If You Have*.

The same author says in Distinction IX: "Do not be subject to my writings as though to the canonical Scriptures. But whatever you believed in those, when you find it, believe without hesitation. In these, however, do not hold firm what you held as certain unless you understand it to be certain."

The same author says concerning himself in the chapter *Do Not*: "For we are of that number that we do not disdain to receive as said by the Apostle even to us: 'And if perhaps you understand anything otherwise, God has revealed this also.'"

He also showed in the book of the *Confessions* how great his purity was, for in it he accuses himself before God and human beings of those things of childhood and adolescence which are reckoned the smallest sins or none at all, as is evident there.

Section V: Concerning the mystery of the Trinity

Augustine speaks thus in the book *On the Trinity*, as is also found in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV:

All those whom I was able to read who before me wrote concerning the Trinity which is God—the Catholic expositors of the old and new divine books—directed themselves to teach this according to the Scriptures: that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, of one and the same substance, intimate the divine unity in inseparable equality. Therefore they are not three gods but one God.

Although the Father begot the Son and therefore the Son is not he who is the Father, and the Son was begotten by the Father and therefore the Father is not he who is the Son, the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son but the Spirit of the Father and the Son, himself also coequal with the Father and the Son and pertaining to the unity of the Trinity.

Nevertheless, we do not say that the same Trinity was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, buried, rose, and ascended into heaven, but only the Son. Nor do we say that the same Trinity descended upon Christ when he was baptized in the appearance of a dove, or upon the apostles in the appearance of fire, but only the Holy Spirit.

Nor do we say that the same Trinity said from heaven over Christ when he was baptized or transfigured, "You are my beloved Son," or, "This is my beloved Son," but only the Father, although the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit operate inseparably just as they are inseparable. Thus far the quotation.

Hence the whole Trinity operated and created, or formed, Christ's humanity, and that dove, cloud, fire, and voice. Nevertheless, the union of that humanity was to the person of the Word, not of the Father or the Holy Spirit. That dove or fire was not for union but for the signification of the Holy Spirit alone, and that voice for representing the Father alone.

Section VI: Concerning the properties of the divine persons

Augustine speaks thus in Book VI *On the Trinity*: A certain man, wishing to intimate most briefly the proper things severally in the Trinity of persons, said: "Eternity is in the Father; form is in the image; use is in the gift."

And because Hilary was of no mean authority in the treatment of the Scriptures and the assertion of the faith, he placed in his books these words—namely, Father, image, and gift; eternity, form, and use.

Searching out their hidden understanding as much as I am able, I judge that in the word "eternity" he followed nothing except that the Father does not have a father from whom he himself is. But the Son is from the Father, that he may be and that he may be coeternal with him. For if the image perfectly fulfills that of which it is the image, the image itself is equaled to it, not it to its image.

In this image he named form, I believe, on account of beauty, because there is so great a congruence, and the first equality and the first similitude, dissenting in no matter, unequal in no manner, dissimilar in no part, but corresponding in identity to him whose image it is.

There is the first and highest life, for which to live, to understand, and to be are not different, but the same. There is the first and highest intellect, for which to live and to understand are not different, but are the same. And this is one and, as it were, the

perfect Word, to which nothing is lacking, and a certain art of the omnipotent and wise God, full of all living and immutable reasons.

And all are one in it, just as it is itself one from one, with whom it is one. There God knew all things which he made through it.

There is also a certain ineffable embrace of the Father and the image, which is not without enjoyment—that is, without joy and without charity. Therefore that love, delight, felicity, or beatitude—if indeed it is spoken at all worthily by a human voice—is called “use” by him.

And in the Trinity it is the Holy Spirit, not begotten, but the sweetness of the Begotten and the Begetter, pouring over all creatures with immense generosity and abundance according to their capacity.

Accordingly, those three appear to be determined in relation to one another, and in themselves are infinite. Let him who sees this in part or through a mirror in an enigma rejoice, knowing God, and give thanks. But let him who does not see strive through the piety of faith toward seeing, not through blindness toward calumniating, because God is one, yet a Trinity. Thus speaks Augustine.

The words of Hilary are of such profundity, as the Master says in Book I of the *Sentences*, Distinction XXXI, that, even when Augustine’s said exposition is furnished, human understanding is scarcely able to understand them in any measure.

Augustine says in the *Enchiridion*: All things were created by the supremely, equally, and immutably good Trinity. Yet they are not supremely, equally, or immutably good. Nevertheless, they are individually good and all together very good, because the admirable beauty of the universe consists of them all.

In it even that which becomes evil, when good is elicited from it, ordered and placed in its own location, commends the more eminent goods so that they may please more and be more praiseworthy when they are compared with evils. Thus speaks the same author.

Augustine says in the *Enchiridion*: Nothing happens unless the Omnipotent wills it to happen, either by permitting it to happen—which pertains to evils—or by himself doing it—which pertains to goods.

The same author says: Almighty God is so powerful and good that he would in no manner allow anything evil to exist in his works unless he were so powerful that he could elicit a greater good from every evil: as from the impiety of the Jews in Christ’s Passion, the redemption of human beings; and from the cruelty of unbelieving tyrants, the patience and crown of the martyrs.

Augustine himself says in *On Penance*, Distinction II, in the final paragraph: God alone is called omnipotent. Although he can do all things, this alone he cannot do—namely, sin, because the ability to sin is not a power to do anything. For this is not ability, but failure.

Section VII: Concerning God’s foreknowledge and predestination, that they do not remove free choice toward good or evil

Augustine speaks thus in Cause XXIII, Question IV: Nebuchadnezzar merited fruitful penance. Did he not repent after innumerable impieties, when he had been scourged, and receive again the kingdom which he had lost? Pharaoh was made harder by the same scourges and perished.

Let him who judges the divine counsel with an excessively lofty, wise heart render me an account: Why did one medicine prepared by one physician avail one for destruction and another for salvation, unless because we are Christ’s good odor to God in every place—to one an odor of life unto life, to another an odor of death unto death?

As regards nature, both were human beings; as regards dignity, both were kings; as regards the cause, both possessed God’s people captive; as regards the punishment, both were mercifully admonished by scourges. What, therefore, made their ends diverse except that one, feeling God’s hand, groaned in the recollection of his own iniquity, while the other fought by free choice against God’s most merciful truth?

The same author says in the same place: God would never render destruction to vessels of wrath if a human being were not found to possess voluntary sin, because God would not justly inflict wrath upon a sinful human being if that human being had fallen into fault from God’s predestination.

The same author says: It is said most foolishly that God’s predestination operates in all persons, whether toward good or evil, so that a certain necessity appears to drive human beings toward either. In goods the will must be understood, but not without grace; in evils the will must be understood without grace.

But when we read that some have been handed over by God to their desires, or hardened, or left to their sins, we profess that they themselves merited this because crimes of theirs of such a kind went before that they owed a penalty to themselves, whereby even punishment would be turned into guilt for them.

And thus we do not complain concerning God's judgment, by which he abandons those deserving to be abandoned, and we give thanks for his mercy, by which he liberates those not deserving to be liberated.

God's predestination is also always in the good. It knows that sin committed by the will of the human being alone is either to be forgiven with praise of mercy or punished with praise of justice.

In our evil works, however, God's foreknowledge alone must be understood, because, just as he foreknew and predestined those things which he himself made and gave us to do, so he only foreknew and did not predestine those things which he neither made himself nor gave us to do. Thus far the quotation.

The same Augustine says: No necessity compels the will of a human being walking voluntarily to walk, although it is necessary that he walk while I see him walking.

In the same manner, if the foreknowing providence of God sees something, it is necessary that it be, even if it possesses no necessity of nature. But foreknowledge beholds those future things which proceed from freedom of choice. Therefore, when referred to the divine gaze—to which, namely, all things are present—they are necessary through the disposition of divine knowledge; but, considered in themselves, they do not abandon the absolute freedom of their nature.

Therefore, without doubt, all things which God foreknows will be future come to pass; but some of them proceed from free choice—namely, human acts.

The same Augustine says in Cause XXIV, Question III, *Let Them Be Corrected in the Faith*: "Not knowing who pertains to the number of the predestined and who does not pertain, we ought to be so affected toward all by the affection of charity that we wish all to be saved."

The same author says in Cause XXIII, Question IV: Just as prayer must not cease for those whom we wish to be corrected—even though, with no human being praying for Peter, the Lord looked upon him and made him weep for his sin—so correction must not be neglected, although God makes those whom he has willed to be corrected, even when they have not been corrected.

A human being then profits from correction when God has mercy and assists—that God who makes those whom he wills profit even without correction.

Augustine says in the book *On Correction and Grace*: Human beings are compelled to confess that it is a gift of God that a person ends this life before he is changed from good into evil, because it is said: "He was taken away"—namely, by God, while good—"lest malice change his understanding."

Why this gift is given to some and not given to others is unknown. Nevertheless, let those who, according to the Scriptures concerning which I have already set down many testimonies, confess with us that perseverance in the good is a gift of God, and why this gift is given to some and not given to others, deign to be ignorant with us without murmuring against God, and exclaim that word of the Apostle: "O depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments!" This is in *On Penance*, Distinction IV, *If from Good*.

Augustine says upon John, concerning the passage, "No one comes to me unless the Father has drawn him": "A great commendation of grace," says Augustine. "No one comes to Christ unless drawn. Whom he draws—namely, by his grace—and whom he does not draw, and why he draws this one and does not draw that one, do not investigate if you do not wish to err. Receive and understand once for all. You are not yet drawn; pray that you may be drawn. The mind, however, is not drawn unwillingly, but by love."

God also sometimes draws human beings to himself by the lash of tribulations. Hence Augustine says in the book to Vincent the Donatist: Who can love more than God? Yet he does not cease not only to teach us sweetly, but also to restrain us wholesomely. To the light fomentations of benefits by which he consoles us he often also joins the most biting medicine of tribulations.

He tries even pious and religious patriarchs by hunger and drives a contumacious people by graver penalties. When asked three times, he does not remove the thorn of the flesh from the Apostle, so that he may perfect virtue in infirmity.

And below: You should know that sometimes a thief scatters fodder to turn cattle away, while sometimes a shepherd recalls wandering sheep with a lash. The one who binds a madman and rouses a lethargic patient is troublesome to both, yet loves both. This is in Cause V, Question V, *Not Every*.

The same Augustine says in the book *On Free Choice*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: Grace which is given through Christ not only effects the remission of sins, but also causes the law to be fulfilled and nature to be liberated, lest sin have dominion.

The Spirit of grace also gives faith, which is granted by God even when it has not been sought. For faith belongs to free choice, yet is the gift of God.

The same author says *Against Julian*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: No one removes sins except Christ alone, who is the Lamb taking away the sins of the world. He takes them away both by forgiving the things which have been done—in which original sin is also contained—and by assisting lest they be done, and by leading to the life where they cannot be done at all. Thus far the quotation.

Christ takes them away insofar as he is God, by authority with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and insofar as he is a human being, meritoriously.

The same Augustine says in *On Penance*, Distinction III: When grace destroys the prior evils—namely, through penance for them—it also rewards the goods. And when it destroys what it did not find its own, it loves and rewards what it planted in the sinner.

Section VIII: Concerning the beatitude to which virtue leads

Augustine says in Book X *On the City of God*: It is the certain judgment of all human beings who can use reason in any manner that all wish to be blessed. But while mortal infirmity asks who are blessed or whence they become so, many and great controversies have been stirred up. In these philosophers have worn away their studies and leisure.

Concerning this matter we read that the Platonists are the noblest among all philosophers for this reason: because they were able to understand that the immortal and rational or intellectual soul of the human being cannot be blessed except by participation in the light of that God by whom both it and the world were made.

Thus they deny that anyone will attain that which all seek—that is, the blessed life—unless he adheres in the purity of chaste love to that one supreme being who is the immutable God. But they erred in this: that they thought many gods ought to be worshiped, or assented to the peoples who worshiped them.

The same Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions*: We all wish to live blessedly. But neither is that person blessed who does not possess what he loves, whatever it may be; nor he who possesses what he loves, if it is harmful; nor he who does not love that which, since it is the best, ought to be loved.

For he who seeks what he cannot obtain is tormented; he who has obtained what ought not to have been obtained is deceived; and he who does not seek what ought to have been obtained is sick.

Therefore a fourth remains, where the blessed life may be found: when that which is the best thing of a human being is both loved and possessed. This, however, is God. If we follow him, we live well; but if we attain him, we live blessedly.

But how do we follow that which we do not see? Or how do we see, we who are foolish—namely, darkened in ourselves concerning divine things? But we are assisted through faith in the sacred Scriptures working through love.

Hence Augustine adds: Therefore, as we desire to flee into dark places, by divine dispensation let that obscurity of authority meet us, and with the marvelous things and voices of books, as with more tempered signs and shadows of truth, let it caress us.

Accordingly, with the precepts of the faith of true religion preserved, let us not abandon the way which God fortified for us by the separation of the patriarchs, the bond of the law, the prediction of the prophets, the sacrament of the humanity assumed, the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and the occupation of the nations. And let us submit our little reasonings to the divine utterances.

Let us hear, therefore, what end of goods you, O Christ, prescribe for us. Nor is there doubt that it is the end toward which you command us to strive with the highest love. He says: “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.”

Love therefore is directed toward God; by it a human being seeks not to place himself on an equal footing with God but to subject himself to him. The more urgently he does this, the more blessed and sublime he will be; and, with him ruling, we shall be free.

Through charity it will come to pass that we are conformed to God, and, circumcised from this world, are not confounded with those things which ought to be subject to us.

Finally, if virtue leads us to the blessed life, I would affirm that virtue is nothing except the highest love of God. For even that which is called fourfold virtue is so called from a certain varied effect of that love itself.

Temperance is love presenting itself whole to that which is loved. Fortitude is love readily tolerating all things for the sake of that which is loved. Justice is love serving the beloved alone, and therefore ruling rightly. Prudence is love sagaciously choosing the things by which it is assisted from those by which it is impeded.

But we have said that this love is not of just anything, but of God—that is, of the highest good, the highest wisdom, and the highest concord. For charity is simple and pure; inspired by the Holy Spirit, it leads to the Son, through whom the Father is known.

The office of temperance now, therefore, is to put off the old human being and to be renewed in God—that is, to contemn all bodily enticements and popular praise and to direct the whole love toward divine things, lest by sins a human being subject himself to those things which by deeds rightly done are subjected to him by divine law.

For what else is it to be mocked and deceived by false goods than to judge things inferior to yourself worthy of wonder and desire?

Concerning fortitude not many things need be said. For that love of which we speak, which ought to be inflamed toward God with all holiness, is called temperate in not desiring these things and strong in losing them.

But among all these things which are possessed in this life, the body is a most burdensome bond under the most just laws of God on account of the ancient sin, than which nothing is more widely known for preaching and nothing more hidden for understanding.

Therefore this bond shakes the soul with fear: lest it be disturbed and vexed by labor and pain, and lest it be taken away and destroyed by death. For it loves the body by the force of custom, not understanding that, if it uses it well and knowingly, its resurrection and reformation will be subject to its husband by divine power and law without any molestation, when with this love it has turned itself wholly toward God.

When these things are known, it will not only contemn death but even desire it. As an example for us, it must be considered how strong lovers of gold, praise, or women are in enduring for the sake of that which they love.

It belongs to justice, however, to serve most willingly the God whom it loves and to govern all other things, some already subject to itself and some which it presumes ought to be subjected.

As Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions* and in Distinction VIII, *Those Things Which Are Contrary*: When God commands something contrary to the custom or pact of any people, even if it was never done there, nevertheless it must be done; and if it was omitted, it must be restored; and if it was not established, it must be established.

For if it is lawful for a king in the city in which he reigns to command something which neither anyone before him nor he himself had ever commanded, and if obedience to him is not contrary to the society of his city—indeed, it would be contrary to society if he were not obeyed, namely in lawful things—since it is the general compact of human society to obey its kings, how much more must God, the ruler of his whole creation, be obeyed without doubt in those things which he has commanded?

For just as among the powers of human society a greater power is preferred to a lesser for obedience, so God is preferred to all. Thus far the quotation. This pertains to justice: namely, to obey superiors.

Concerning prudence a longer discourse must be made, for to it pertains the discernment of things to be desired and avoided. If it is absent, none of those things which have been said can be accomplished. The vigilance of its watch is that we not be deceived little by little by an evil persuasion creeping beneath us. For he who despises small things falls little by little.

Augustine says in Distinction XXXVIII: Although error must be guarded against as much as we can, not only in greater but also in lesser matters, and although error cannot occur except through ignorance of things, nevertheless it does not follow that everyone who does not know something immediately errs, but he who judges that he knows what he does not know. For he approves the false as true, which is proper to error. But it matters very greatly in what matter anyone errs. Thus far the quotation.

For, as the same author says in the *Enchiridion* and in Cause XXII, Question II: In those matters in which it makes no difference for attaining the kingdom of God whether they are believed or not, and whether they are thought true or not, to err in these must be judged either no sin or a very small one. But in those things without faith in or knowledge of which God cannot be worshiped, to err or be deceived is pernicious.

Here it must also be noted that in every crime there is an error of choice, because reason obscured by passion sees that which is proposed to it for doing, even if it is unlawful in itself, nevertheless as a greater good to be preferred to God's command. Hence it is said in Proverbs: "They err who work evil."

And Augustine says that sin is not the appetite for evil things—namely, things evil in themselves—but the abandonment of better things. Hence one who acts contrary to prudence, which is right reason concerning things to be done, also acts so that better things are not preferred to lesser goods.

Section IX: Concerning love

Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions*: Why should I dispute further concerning morals? If God is the highest good of the human being, it is nothing other for a human being to live well than to love God with all his heart, with all his mind, and with all his soul.

From him it comes that the human being is guarded incorrupt in that love, which belongs to temperance; is broken by no hardships, which belongs to fortitude; serves no other, which belongs to justice; and watches in discerning things lest deception creep beneath, which belongs to prudence.

This is the one perfection of the human being, by which alone it is obtained that he may enjoy the truth. This is inferred for us from both Testaments.

A human being who loves God cannot fail to love himself. Indeed, only he who loves God loves himself, because he diligently acts so that he may enjoy the highest good.

But what you do with yourself must be done with your neighbor also: namely, that you may lead him to that good toward which you yourself strive. For it is that one good which does not become narrow for all who strive toward it with you.

From this love of neighbor arise the duties of human society, in which it is difficult not to err. For sin is committed against a human being in two ways: in one, if he is harmed; in the other, if, when you are able, he is not aided.

Since a human being is a rational soul using a mortal body, he who loves his neighbor does good partly to the body and partly to the soul. Medicine pertains to the body; discipline to the soul. I call medicine whatever restores or guards the health of the body, such as food and drink, covering, shelter, and the like.

That discipline which is the medicine of the soul is divided into two: restraint and instruction. Restraint is effected by fear, instruction by love—I speak of the person who is aided through discipline. For the one who gives aid has no part in either except to love.

In these two Testaments the Lord gave us the rule of discipline. For in the Old, fear prevails; in the New, love. In the former servitude, in the latter liberty, is proclaimed by the apostles.

Deservedly, therefore, O Catholic Church, you preach that not only he whose attainment is the blessed life must be worshiped purely, to whom alone the rational soul cleaves without misery. You exclude everything made which is subject to time; neither do you confound what eternity, truth, and peace distinguish, nor do you separate what one majesty conjoins.

But you also embrace the charity of neighbor in such a way that with you the medicine—namely, of the sacraments—prevails against all the various diseases by which souls sicken on account of their sins.

Augustine likewise says in the book *On Christian Doctrine*: The things which are to be enjoyed make us blessed—namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. By those things which are to be used, we who strive toward beatitude are assisted and, as it were, supported, so that we may be able to arrive at and adhere to those things which make us blessed.

But we, who enjoy and use and are placed between both, if we wish to enjoy those things which must be used—as all created things are—our course is impeded, so that we are either delayed from obtaining those things which must be enjoyed or even called back from them, being fettered by the love of inferior things.

For to enjoy is to adhere to some thing for its own sake, which must be done in God alone. But to use is to refer whatever has come into use to the attainment of that which you love, provided it ought to be loved. For unlawful use must rather be called abuse.

Augustine says elsewhere that nothing is worse than to use things which are to be enjoyed—namely, to serve God for the sake of temporal things—and to enjoy things which are to be used—namely, to establish the end of one's love in created things.

Not all things that must be used are to be loved from charity, but only those which either are referred with us to God in a certain fellowship, such as a human being or an angel, or, being related to us, deem something unworthy by God's beneficence through us, as the human body [read: or, being related to us, need God's beneficence through us, as the human body does].

Therefore four things must be loved. One is that which is above us—namely, God. Another is that which we are—namely, the soul. Another is that which is beside us—namely, our neighbor as regards the soul. The fourth is that which is beneath

us—namely, our body and our neighbor's. It is certain, however, that the holy angels also are contained under the command by which we are ordered to love our neighbor, for great benefits are now furnished to us by them.

And as the same Augustine says to Macedonius in Cause XXIII, Question IV: A human being ought to love his neighbor as himself, so that any human being whom he can restrain by the consolation of beneficence or by the formation of teaching and discipline, he may lead to worshiping God. This pertains, namely, to those living in the world.

The same author says upon the First Epistle of John, in *On Penance*, Distinction II: If anyone has so great a charity that he is prepared to die for the brothers, charity is perfect in him. But is it entirely perfect as soon as it is born? It is born so that it may be perfected. When it has been born, it is nourished; when it has been nourished, it is strengthened; when it has been strengthened, it is perfected. When it has come to perfection, then it is said: "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

Section X: Concerning the degrees of contemplation through visible creatures, and the powers of the soul for knowing and loving God

Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions*: You struck my heart, Lord, and I loved you. But heaven also, and earth, and all things which are in them—behold, from every direction they tell me to love you, nor do they cease to tell all, so that they are without excuse.

What, however, do I love when I love you? Not bodily form, not sweet song, not the delight of perfumes, or anything of this kind. And yet I love a certain light, voice, odor, food, and embrace of my interior human being: where there shines for the soul what place does not contain; where there sounds what time does not carry away; where there is fragrance which a breath does not scatter; where there is savor which voracity does not diminish; where there adheres what satiety does not tear away. This is what I love when I love my God.

And what is this? I questioned the earth, and it said, "I am not." And all things which are in it confessed the same. I questioned heaven and its luminaries, and I said to all things which stand about the doors of my flesh: "Tell me concerning God, which you are not; tell me something concerning him." They cried out in a great voice: "He made us." The questioning was mine; their response was their appearance [read: My questioning was my attention, and their response was their appearance].

I directed myself toward myself and said to myself: "Who are you?" And I answered myself: "A human being." And behold, body and soul are present in me, one exterior, the other interior; but that which is interior is better.

For the bodily messengers report to reason, which presides and judges the response of heaven and earth, which say: "We are not God, but he made us." I, the interior human being, therefore knew this through the ministry of the exterior—that is, through the senses of my body.

Does this appearance therefore become evident to all whose sense is intact? Why then does it not speak the same to all? Small animals see these things, but nevertheless are unable to question them. For reason as judge is not placed over their reporting senses.

But human beings are able to question, so that the invisible things of God may be beheld, being understood through the things which were made. Yet through love they are subjected to those things, and those who are subjected cannot judge concerning them. Nor do those things answer those who question unless they judge.

Their voice indeed—that is, their appearance—speaks to all, but only those understand it who, having received it outwardly, compare it inwardly with truth. For truth says: "God is not heaven and earth, nor any body," because bulk is less in any part than in the whole.

Now you are better, O soul, because you animate the bulk of your body, furnishing it life, which no body furnishes to a body. But your God is also the life of all things. Therefore I shall ascend to him through my soul itself.

I shall pass over that power of mine by which I adhere to the body and vitally fill its frame, because it is common to the horse and the mule. I shall also pass over that power which gives sensation to my flesh, because it likewise is common to beasts.

And behold, I come into fields and broad courts where there are treasures of innumerable images of things of every kind brought in by the senses. I drive these very images away from the face of my recollection until that which I will is cleared of cloud and proceeds from hidden places into sight.

There heaven and earth are present to me with all the things which I was able to sense in them, except those which I have forgotten. There I also meet myself and recall myself—what, when, and where I did, and with what affection I was affected when I acted. There are all things which I remember, whether experienced by me or believed.

From the same abundance I myself also combine now these, now those similitudes of things, either things experienced or things believed from those which I did not experience, with past things. And from these I also ponder future actions, occurrences, and appearances, and all these things as though present.

Here also are all those things perceived from the liberal disciplines which have not yet fallen away, as though in a more remote interior place; and I bear not their images but the things themselves.

For when I hear the three kinds of questions—whether it is, what it is, and of what kind it is—I indeed retain the images of the sounds from which these words were formed, and I know that they passed through the ears with a noise and now no longer exist. But I touched the things themselves which are signified by those sounds through no bodily sense, nor did I see them anywhere except in my mind. And in my memory I concealed not their images but the things themselves. Whence and by what way they entered my memory, I do not know.

Memory likewise contains innumerable reasons and laws of numbers and dimensions, none of which the bodily sense impressed, because they themselves are neither colored, nor fragrant, nor sounding, nor tasted, nor handled.

It also contains the affections of my mind, not in the manner in which the mind has them when it suffers them, but in a far different manner, according as the power of memory bears itself.

Through all these things I run and fly this way and that; I penetrate, and there is never an end. I shall therefore pass over even this power of mine, ascending through my mind to you, who remain above me.

For cattle and birds have memory; otherwise they would not return to their lairs and nests, nor to many other things to which they become accustomed. For they could not become accustomed to any things except through memory.

But where shall I find you, true good and secure delight, if I find you beyond memory? How, therefore, do I seek you, Lord? For when I seek you, I seek the blessed life. But how do I seek it? Is it through recollection, as though I had forgotten it and still retained that I had forgotten it? Or through the appetite for learning something unknown, either which I never knew or which I so forgot that I do not even remember myself to have forgotten it?

Is not the blessed life itself that which all desire? Where, therefore, did they know it so that they might love it? Surely we possess it in some kind of knowledge, concerning which I labor to discover whether it is in the memory; because, if it is there, we were already blessed at some time.

Do we remember it as one remembers Carthage who has seen it? Not thus, because the blessed life is not seen with the eyes, for it is not a body. Do we remember it as we remember numbers? No. For he who possesses them in knowledge does not still seek to obtain them.

Do we remember it as we remember joy? Perhaps thus. But far be it, Lord, that if I rejoice with any joy whatsoever, I should think myself blessed. For there is a joy which is not given to the impious, but to those who freely worship God, whose joy you are. And the blessed life itself is to rejoice from you, concerning you, and on account of you.

But those who pursue another joy do not pursue the true joy itself. Nevertheless, their will does not recede from some image of joy. The blessed life, therefore, is joy concerning the truth. All desire this joy. But he will be perfectly blessed if, with no molestation interrupting, he shall rejoice in the truth alone through which all things are true.

Where, therefore, O Truth, did I find you so that I might learn you? For you were not already in my memory before I learned you. Where, therefore, did I find you so that I might learn you, except in you above me, and nowhere is there place? We approach and withdraw, and nowhere is there place.

O Truth, everywhere you preside over all who consult you and simultaneously answer all, even those consulting diverse things. You answer clearly, but not all hear clearly.

Unhappy, says the same author, is he who knows all these created things but does not know you. But blessed is he who knows you, even if he does not know all these things. He, however, who knows you and these things is not more blessed on account of these things, but is blessed on account of you, if, knowing you, he glorifies and loves you as God.

Thus the faithful human being, for whom the whole world is riches and who, as though possessing nothing, possesses all things by adhering to you, whom all things serve—even if he knows not even the courses of the north—is assuredly better than the measurer of heaven, the enumerator of stars, and the weigher of elements who neglects you, who disposed all things in measure, number, and weight.

Section XI: Concerning the greatness of God

Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions*: What is my God? What, I ask, except the Lord God? Highest, best, most omnipotent, most hidden, most present, most beautiful, stable and incomprehensible, immutable, changing all things; never new, never old; renewing all things and leading the proud into old age, and they do not know it.

Always acting, always at rest; gathering and not needing; carrying, filling, and protecting; creating, nourishing, and perceiving [read: perfecting]; seeking, although nothing is lacking to you. You love and do not burn; you are jealous and secure; you repent and do not grieve. You are angry and tranquil. You change your works and do not change your counsel.

You receive what you find and never lost. Never needy, and you rejoice in gains; never avaricious, and you exact usuries. More than enough is paid out to you so that you may owe—and who possesses anything which is not yours? You render debts, owing nothing; you forgive debts, losing nothing.

And what have we said, my God, my life, my holy sweetness? Or what does anyone say when he speaks concerning you? And woe to those silent concerning you.

Who will grant me that you come into my heart and inebriate it, and that I embrace you, my one good? What am I myself to you, that you command that you be loved by me and, unless I do it, are angry with me and threaten immense miseries? Say to my soul: “I am your salvation.”

Augustine says in Book XXII of *The City of God*, Chapter XIV, after he enumerated very many things which God conferred upon us in this life: All these things are consolations of the wretched and condemned, not the rewards of the blessed. What, therefore, are those rewards if these consolations are so many, so great, and of such a kind?

What will he give to those whom he predestined to life, if he gave these things to those whom he also predestined to death? What goods will he cause them to receive in that blessed life, for whom in this misery he willed his only-begotten Son to suffer so many evils even unto death?

What goods shall we receive in that kingdom, when we have already received such a pledge in Christ dying for us? Of what sort then will be the spirit of the human being, then possessing no vice—neither one beneath which it lies, nor one to which it yields, nor one against which it contends even praiseworthily—but perfected by the most peaceful virtue?

How great, how beautiful, how certain will be the knowledge of all things there, without any error or labor, where the very wisdom of God will be drunk in its fountain with the highest felicity and without any difficulty? Of what sort will the body be, which, wholly subject to the spirit and vivified, will need no nourishment?

The same author says in the final chapter of *The City of God*: All those numbers which now lie hidden in bodily harmony, disposed inwardly and outwardly through all bodies, together with the other things which will appear great and marvelous there, will kindle rational minds in praise of so great an Artisan through delight in rational beauty.

What the movements of such bodies will be there I do not dare to define. Nevertheless, both movement and rest, just like the appearance itself, will be seemly, whatever it shall be, where nothing which is not seemly will exist.

True glory will be there, where no one will be praised either by error or flattery; true honor, which will be given to no unworthy person, nor will any unworthy person strive for it; true peace, where no one will suffer anything adverse either from himself or from anyone.

The reward of virtue will be he himself who gave virtue and promised himself to it, than whom nothing can be greater or better. There we shall be at leisure and shall see; we shall love and shall praise.

Section XII: Concerning the mediator, Christ Jesus

Augustine says in the book of the *Confessions*: You are the Truth, presiding over all things. But through my avarice I did not wish to lose you; instead I wished to possess a lie together with you. Just as no one wishes so to speak what is false that he himself does not know what is true, so I lost you, because you do not deign to be possessed with a lie.

Whom, therefore, could I find who would reconcile me to you? The mediator between you and human beings had to possess something similar to you and something similar to human beings, lest, similar to human beings in both, he be far from God, or, similar to God in both, he be far from human beings and thus not be a mediator.

He is the one whom in your secret mercy you revealed to the humble and sent so that by his example they might learn humility itself. He appeared among sinful mortals both mortal and just: mortal with human beings and just with God.

And because the stipend of justice is life and peace, through justice joined to God he would empty the death of the justified impious, which he wished to possess in common with them. He was revealed to the ancient saints so that they might be saved through faith in his future Passion just as we are through faith in his past Passion.

How, therefore, you loved us, good Father, who did not spare your only-begotten Son but handed him over for us impious ones! For us he was made to you victor and victim, and victor because victim; for us, to you, priest and sacrifice, and priest because sacrifice; making us sons from servants by being born from you and by serving us.

Deservedly my hope in him is strong, because you will heal all my infirmities through him who sits at your right hand and intercedes for us; otherwise I would despair. For those infirmities are many and great, but your medicine is more abundant.

We could think that your Word was removed from conjunction with the human being and despair concerning ourselves, unless he were made flesh and dwelt among us.

This only one of yours, in whom all the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are hidden, redeemed me by his blood. Let not the proud calumniate me, because I consider my price, and I eat and drink; and, poor, I desire to be satisfied from him among those who eat and are satisfied, and they praise God who seek him. Thus speaks he.

Augustine says in *The City of God*: So that the human being might walk more confidently toward truth, the Truth itself, the Son of God, having assumed a human being without consuming God, came and established and founded faith—namely, by teaching the things which belong to faith.

Augustine says: Christ the human being contemned all earthly things so that he might show that they are to be contemned. Human beings seek dignities, honor, and power. He did not wish to be made king but, when sought for this, fled.

They seek riches, and he lived most poor, not having where he might lay down his head. They seek delights, and he labored in vigils, fasts, and abstinence. They flee and shudder at adversities and reproaches, but he did not avoid insults, spittle, scourges, curses, nails, and the lance.

The same Augustine says upon the Psalms, in *On Consecration*, Distinction II: The Jews approached Jesus so that they might crucify him. Let us approach so that we may receive his body and blood. Truly the Lord is great, and his mercy is great, who gave us his body to eat and his blood to drink.

The same Augustine says in *On Consecration*, Distinction II: I neither praise nor blame receiving the Eucharist daily. Nevertheless, I exhort that it be received on every Lord's Day, provided that the mind is not in an affection for sinning. For I say that one who still possesses the will to sin is burdened by receiving the Eucharist rather than purified. I say this concerning him whom mortal sins do not burden.

The same author says: One person may say that the Eucharist is not to be received daily; another affirms that it is to be received daily. Let each person do according to what he piously believes ought to be done.

Section XIII: Concerning faith

In Cause XXIV, Question I: Where faith does not exist, justice cannot exist, because the just person lives from faith. Nor should schismatics promise themselves anything from this reward, because likewise, where charity does not exist, justice cannot exist.

The same author says in Cause XXXVIII, Question I, in the paragraph *From These Things Therefore*: The whole life of unbelievers is sin. Nor can that which is done without God—namely, through indwelling grace—be good, that is, meritorious. For where knowledge of eternal and immutable truth—namely, through faith—is lacking, virtue is false even in the best morals.

Although no one is to be compelled to receive the faith, nevertheless he can and ought to be compelled to preserve it once received. Hence Augustine says to Vincent the Donatist, in Cause XXIII, Question VII: You see, I think, that it must not be considered that anyone is compelled, but what that is toward which he is compelled—whether good or evil.

Not that anyone can be unwilling [read: can be good unwillingly], but by fearing what he does not wish to suffer, he either abandons the stubbornness which impedes him or is compelled by ignorance to know the truth [read: is compelled to recognize a truth previously unknown], and now willingly holds what he did not wish to hold.

My former opinion was that no one ought to be compelled to the unity of Christ, but that the matter must be conducted by the word, fought by disputation, and conquered by reason, lest we possess feigned Catholics whom we had known as open heretics.

But this opinion of mine was overcome not only by the words of those contradicting it but by examples of those demonstrating it. For first my own city was set before me, which, although it was wholly in the party of Donatus, was converted to Catholic unity by fear of the imperial laws. And many other cities were likewise recalled to me by name.

Section XIV: Concerning correction

Augustine says upon the Psalms, in Cause XXIII, Question IV: When we say these two names, “human being” and “sinner,” they assuredly are not said in vain, because you will not wholly liberate the human being unless you have persecuted the sinner.

Discipline attends to the duty of this name, as it is suitable and adapted to everyone who rules: not only to a bishop ruling his people, but also to a poor man ruling his house, a rich man ruling his household, a husband ruling his wife, a father ruling his offspring, a judge ruling his province, and a king ruling his nation. Thus mercy must be closed to no human being, and impunity must be relaxed for no sin. Thus far the quotation.

The same author says upon the preceding Psalm: Do not, with judgment abandoned, show mercy to a poor person in an evil cause. If you spare his purse, you strike his heart; and you render him the more wicked insofar as he sees a just person favoring him.

The same author says in the *Enchiridion*, Distinction XLV: He who corrects with a blow one over whom power is given, or restrains him by some discipline, and nevertheless forgives from his heart the sin of the one by whom he was offended, gives alms, because he furnishes mercy. For many goods are furnished to those unwilling when their utility is considered, not their will, because they are found to be enemies to themselves.

The same author says in the sermon *On the Words of the Gospel*, Cause XXIII, Question IV: Always be disjoined in heart from the evil; for a time be cautiously joined in body. An evil person does not stain you in two ways: if you do not consent and if you rebuke.

And this is not to consent: not to communicate. Therefore, neither be consenting, so that you approve, nor negligent, so that you do not censure, nor proud, so that you censure by insulting.

The same Augustine says upon the Psalms, in Cause VII, Question I, in the final paragraph: The voice of those suffering tribulation with Christ—that is, of martyrs being endangered amid persecutions but presuming upon their Head—and saying: “O God, attend to my help.”

With them is the voice of every just person for whom, because of charity, the abounding iniquity of Christians is a suffering, as it was for Lot, who endured bodily persecution from no one in Sodom but suffered from the evils of those among whom he dwelt. Therefore, the persecution of the just person is either from a lion in attack or from a dragon among fools [read: from a dragon in snares]. Hence let all cry: “O God, attend to my help.”

The same author says to Vincent, in Distinction XLVII: However much the discipline of my house may watch, I am a human being and live among human beings. Nor do I dare arrogate to myself that my house is better than Noah’s ark, where among eight human beings one was found reprobate; or that it is better than Abraham’s house, where it was said, “Cast out the handmaid and her son”; or that it is better than Isaac’s house, concerning whose two twins it was said, “Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.”

But before the Lord God, who is witness over my soul, I simply confess to your charity: since I began to serve God, just as I have experienced with difficulty any better than those who advanced in monasteries, so I have not experienced any worse than those who fell away from monasteries.

Section XV: Concerning sin, and first concerning original sin

Augustine says in *On Faith, to Peter*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: Believe most firmly and doubt in no manner that every human being who is conceived by the intercourse of male and female is born with original sin, subjected to impiety and subject to death, and on this account is born naturally a child of wrath. From this wrath no one is liberated except through faith in the mediator, the human being Jesus Christ.

Hold most firmly that not only human beings who use reason, but also little children, whether already born or dying in the womb, if they pass from this world without the sacrament of baptism, are to be punished by eternal fire. For although they possess no sin of their own action, nevertheless by carnal conception they drew the condemnation of original sin from birth.

The same author says in *On the Baptism of Infants*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV: Through Christ’s baptism it is effected that the flesh of sin is emptied. It is not, however, emptied in such a way that innate concupiscence does not exist in the flesh, but so that it does not harm.

For if after baptism they arrive at the natural age, there they possess something against which they may fight and which, with God assisting, they may overcome, if they have not received grace in vain.

For neither is this furnished to adults in baptism, except perhaps by a miracle of God: that the law of sin fighting against the law of the mind is thoroughly extinguished and does not exist. Instead, whatever was done, spoken, or thought by the human being when the mind subjected to the same concupiscence served it is wholly abolished and held as though it had not been done.

The same author says to Boniface, in Cause I, Question IV: And so, when a human being has been made another in himself from the one who begot him, he is not held liable for another's sin without his own consent. Therefore he drew the guilt because he was one with and in him from whom he drew it when that which he contracted was committed.

But one does not draw from another when, with each now living his own life, there is that from which it is said: "The soul which has sinned, it itself shall die."

Concerning actual sin the same Augustine says in the book of the *Retractions*, Cause XV, Question I, in the first paragraph: Sin is the will to retain or obtain what justice forbids, from which it is free to abstain. This is therefore true because that which is sin alone has been defined, not that which is also the penalty of sin—namely, that which is committed from ignorance.

And in the same place the same Augustine says that what he himself wrote in the book *On True Religion* must be understood in the same manner: "To such an extent is sin a voluntary evil that, if it is not voluntary, it is in no manner sin. And this is so manifest that neither a scarcity of learned persons nor a crowd of unlearned persons dissents from it."

He says that it must be understood concerning what is committed knowingly, not ignorantly. Although even those things committed by those not knowing or by those compelled cannot be called wholly involuntary, because, namely, the person both wills to perform that act which he does not know to be sin and, because he neglected to know that what he did was prohibited, in some manner willed that ignorance from which the sin proceeded.

Augustine adds in the following paragraph: All human beings who knowingly do what is not lawful would wish it to be lawful. To such an extent does no one seek sinning itself for its own sake, but for the sake of that which follows from it.

The same author says in Book V of *The City of God*: It can be said without being wholly absurd that certain astral influences have force upon the dispositions of bodies, but that the wills of the soul are not subject to the positions of the stars.

Augustine says in Book XII of *The City of God*, Chapter VII: No one seeks an efficient cause of the evil will. For it is not efficient but deficient, because that also is not an effecting but a defecting. For to defect from that which supremely is toward that which is less is to begin to possess an evil will.

To wish to find efficient causes of these defections, when they are not efficient but deficient, is as if someone wished to see darkness or hear silence. Nevertheless, both of these are known to us, the former not except through the eyes and the latter not except through the ears, yet not in appearance but in the privation of appearance.

Therefore let no one seek from me to know that which I know I do not know. Thus our mind indeed beholds intelligible appearances by understanding, but where they fail, it learns its ignorance by not knowing. For who understands transgressions?

This I know: the nature of God can never fail in any part. Those things, however, which were made from nothing—as all created things were—are able to fail, namely from themselves.

Insofar as they exist and do good when they do something, they possess efficient causes. Insofar as they fail, they act evilly from this. For the defect is not toward evil things but is evil—that is, not toward evil natures, but evil for this reason: because, contrary to the order of natures, it is from that which is supreme toward that which is less.

Avarice is not a vice of gold but of the human being who perversely loves gold after justice has been abandoned, which ought incomparably to be preferred to gold. Thus far the quotation. And so concerning other things.

The same author says in *The City of God* and in Cause XV, Question I: If concupiscence or disobedience, which still dwells in dying members, is moved as though by its own law beyond the law of our will, it is without fault in the body of one who does not consent.

Augustine says in *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, in *On Penance*, Distinction II: Just as sin is reached by three degrees—suggestion, delight, and consent—so there are three distinctions of sin itself: in the heart, in deed, and in custom, like three deaths.

One is as though in the house, when in the heart consent is given to desire—that is, to the delight of any mortal sin. The second is as though now carried outside the gate, when assent proceeds into deed. The third is when, by the force of evil custom, the mind is pressed as though by an earthly mass, already stinking, as in a tomb. Whoever reads the Gospel understands that the Lord raised these three kinds of dead persons.

The same Augustine says in *On Faith, to Peter*, Cause XV, Question I: Animals—namely, irrational ones—will render no account concerning their deeds, because they are not rational. Human beings, however, because they are rational, will render an

account to God concerning themselves and all the things which they received for the use of this life, and according to the quality of their acts they will receive either punishment or glory.

The same Augustine says in the book *On Purgatorial Fire* and in Distinction XXV, in the paragraph *Otherwise These Things*, treating those words of the Apostle, “If anyone builds upon this foundation wood, hay, and stubble,” and so forth: There are many who understand this reading badly. They are deceived by a false security when they believe that capital crimes can be purged by a transitory fire—namely, that of purgatory—and that they themselves afterward can arrive at eternal life.

But those who thus flatter themselves seduce themselves. For by that transitory fire—namely, purgatory—not capital but small sins, that is, venial sins, are purged.

He adds examples there, not of all, but of some things which are called mortal, adding: Whoever knows that any of these exercises dominion in himself, unless he worthily amends it and abstains from them, the eternal flame will slaughter him without any remedy.

He also sets down many things concerning venial sins which are purged in the other life through the transitory fire of purgatory.

Section XVI: Concerning one who repents at the end of life

Augustine says in the book *On Penance*, in *On Penance*, Distinction VII, final chapter: Since there are many things which impede and draw back a sick person from true penance—such as the affliction of illness, disordered love of family, habitual practice in evils, attachment to the present life, and the like—it is most dangerous and near to destruction to prolong the remedy of penance until death. But it is a great thing if God inspires someone then.

But if one converted in this manner should even live and not die, we do not promise that he will escape every punishment. For he must first be purged by the fire of purgation who deferred into the other age the fruit of conversion—that is, making satisfaction for the punishments owed for sins committed.

Augustine adds: This fire—namely, that of purgatory—although it is not eternal as regards the office of purging, for as regards its substance it is eternal, is grievous in a marvelous manner. For it exceeds every punishment which anyone ever suffered in this life. So great a punishment was never found in the flesh, although the martyrs suffered marvelous torments and many wicked persons often endured very great punishments.

Let each person therefore study so to correct transgressions that after death he need not endure punishment. For there are certain sins which, although mortal, are made vital in penance, yet are not immediately healed. He who before was about to die lies sick but will live.

But he who dies impenitent dies altogether and is tormented eternally. He who ends impenitent would sin forever if he lived forever. But it belongs to the mercy of God that he works the end of sin. All these things are found there.

Section XVII: Concerning suffrages for the dead

Augustine speaks thus in the *Enchiridion* and in Cause XIII, Question II: The time which is interposed between the death of a human being and the final resurrection contains souls in hidden receptacles, as each is worthy of rest or misery according to what it obtained in the flesh while it lived.

Nor must it be denied that the souls of the dead can be relieved by the piety of their living relatives. But these things profit those who, when they lived here, merited this for themselves: that afterward they could profit them.

And below: When sacrifices of the altar or alms of any kind are offered for all the baptized, for the very good they are acts of thanksgiving—that is, for the blessed; for those not very good or for the evil, they are propitiations—that is, for those who are in purgatory; for the very evil, as for the damned, although they are no aid to the dead, nevertheless they are consolations of the living.

For those whom they profit, they profit either so that there may be full remission or certainly so that the condemnation itself may be more tolerable. Thus speaks he.

Here “condemnation” is understood not as the punishment of hell, which is never removed or alleviated, but as the punishment of purgatory, which is redeemed or diminished through suffrages, according to Thomas in Book IV.

The same author says in *On the Care to Be Taken for the Dead*: Because we do not discern who those are whom suffrages made for the dead profit, it is necessary to make them for all the regenerated, so that none of those to whom these benefits ought particularly to come may be passed over. It is better that they be superabundant for those whom they neither harm nor profit than that they be lacking to those whom they profit.

Nevertheless, each person acts more diligently for his own relatives so that the same may be done for him by his own. Cause XIII, Question II. This must be understood concerning those who depart not in notorious crime, because such persons are deprived of suffrages just as they are of burial.

Concerning venial sins the same Augustine says to Felicianus, in *On Penance*, Distinction I, *There Are Three*: There is the daily penance of the humble and good faithful, in which we strike our breasts, saying, "Forgive us our debts," and so forth. Nor do we wish those things to be forgiven which we do not doubt were forgiven in baptism, but assuredly those which, although small, nevertheless frequently creep in through human frailty—namely, venial sins.

If these are gathered together against us, they will so weigh us down and oppress us as one great sin does. For what difference does it make for shipwreck whether the ship is covered and overwhelmed by one great wave, or whether water, creeping little by little into the bilge and left and contemned through the negligence of the sailors, fills and sinks the ship? For this reason fasts, alms, and prayers keep watch. Thus far the quotation.

And what he says—that many small sins oppress as one great, that is, mortal sin—is understood dispositively, not essentially or effectively.

Section XVIII: Concerning sins in particular—superstitions, auguries, incantations, and the like

Augustine says in the book *On Christian Doctrine*: Whatever was instituted by human beings pertaining to the making and worshiping of idols, or to worshiping a creature or any part of a creature as God, or to consultations and certain compacts of significations agreed and covenanted with demons, is superstitious. Of such a kind are the undertakings of the magical arts which poets are accustomed to commemorate rather than teach.

The books of haruspicy or augury are of this kind. To this kind also pertain all bindings and remedies which the discipline of physicians condemns, whether in incantations, in any marks which they call characters, or in any things to be suspended, bound, or even danced over.

Nor are those persons to be separated from this kind of pernicious superstition who formerly were called genethliacs on account of consideration of the days of birth but are now called mathematicians. For in attempting from these things to predict our actions or the outcome of actions, they err exceedingly.

After first concluding with many particular examples, he says: All arts of this kind, whether harmful or trifling superstitions, established from a certain pestiferous fellowship of human beings and demons as covenants of a faithless and deceitful friendship, must be thoroughly repudiated and fled by a Christian. Cause XXVI, Question II, *That Which Is*.

The same author says in a certain sermon: He who observes the Egyptian days, the Kalends of January, or other days; or who observes, attends to, or assents to those observing any divinations, fates, or auguries, strives more toward his condemnation than toward salvation.

This is so whether through Pythagorean necromancy he inquires into the life or death of the sick, or into future prosperity or adversity; attends to written dream-books; or places upon human beings or animals, for any infirmity, lots which are called those of the Apostles or written little slips, except for the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Let such persons know that they have transgressed the Christian faith and, as enemies of God, grievously incur his wrath. Cause XXVI, Question VII, *Do Not Observe*.

Against simoniacs, Augustine speaks thus in Cause I, Question I: Just as he who bought Joseph was a eunuch, so he who buys grace has no living seed in his dry generative organs.

Likewise, the fire of the sacrifice which had lived beneath water for the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity was extinguished when Antiochus sold the priesthood to Jason. This signified that the fire of the Holy Spirit does not shine in simoniacal sacraments.

Against usurers, Augustine says upon the Psalms: If you lend to a human being—that is, if you give your money as a loan—from whom you expect to receive more than you gave, whether it be wheat, wine, oil, or anything else, you practice usury and in this must be reproved, not praised. Cause XIV, Question III, *If You Lend at Interest*.

The same author says to Macedonius, in Cause XIV, Question IV: What shall I say concerning usuries, which even the laws themselves and judges command to be returned? Is one who secretly removes or seizes something from a rich person more cruel than one who slaughters a poor person by usury?

These things assuredly, and things of this kind, are possessed evilly; and I would wish that they be restored, but there is no judge through whom they may be reclaimed. See the Gloss there.

The same author says in *On the Words of the Lord*: Do not make alms from interest and usuries. Cause XIV, Question V. This is because they must be restored to those from whom they were extorted, if they are known, and not given to the poor.

Against judges and witnesses, Augustine says to Macedonius, in Cause XIV, Question V: Assuredly, not whatever is taken from one unwilling is taken away injuriously. For many are unwilling to render the physician his honor or the workman his wage; nevertheless, those persons do not receive injuriously the things which they receive from one unwilling, since those things would rather be withheld injuriously.

But a judge ought not therefore to sell a just judgment, nor a witness true testimony, because an advocate sells just patronage and one skilled in law true counsel. For the former are employed between both parties for examination; the latter stand on behalf of one party.

The same author says in Cause XI, Question III: Whoever in judging is led either by blood relationship, friendship, hostile hatred, or enmities perverts the judgment of Christ, who is justice.

The same author says: Whoever, being of any power, conceals the truth provokes the wrath of God upon himself. Both are guilty: he who conceals the truth and he who speaks a lie, because the former does not wish to benefit and the latter wishes to harm.

Augustine says in a homily, in *On Penance*, Cause II, Question I, in the chapter *Many*: We are unable to prohibit anyone from communion—although this prohibition is not deadly but medicinal—unless he has either confessed voluntarily or has been named and convicted in some judgment, whether secular or ecclesiastical. For who is able to assume both for himself, so that he himself may be someone's accuser and judge?

Augustine says in Cause XIV, Question V: For if anyone uses fields unjustly and wrongfully in vessels [read: uses fields that were unjustly and wrongfully invaded] so that he makes abundant alms from their fruits, robbery is not therefore justified. Nor, if another avariciously broods over a paternal or justly acquired estate, is the rule of civil law by which he was made its legitimate possessor therefore to be blamed.

Nor will the perversity of a tyrannical faction be praiseworthy if the tyrant treats his subjects with royal clemency. Nor is the order of royal power reproved if the king rages with tyrannical cruelty. For it is one thing to will to use an unjust power justly and another to use a just power unjustly.

Section XIX: Concerning wars and offices

Augustine says against the Manichaeans, in Cause XXIII, Question I: What is blamed in war? Is it that those who at some time are going to die, die so that those who will live may rule in peace [read: so that those who are to live may be subdued in peace]? To have reproved this belongs to the timid, not to the religious.

The desire to harm, the cruelty of avenging, an unreconciled and implacable mind, the savagery of rebelling, the lust for ruling, and any similar things—these are the things which are rightly blamed in wars. Wars to be waged are usually undertaken by good persons so that these things may also be punished rightfully against the violence of those who resist, when either God or some legitimate authority commands.

The same author says in the following chapter: To serve as a soldier is not a transgression, but to serve as a soldier for the sake of plunder is a sin. Nor is it criminal to administer the commonwealth, but to administer the commonwealth so that you may increase riches is a sin.

For this reason, by a certain providence, stipends were established for soldiers, lest, while expenses are sought, a robber grow fat. Hence John the Baptist also says to soldiers: "Be content with your stipends." This judgment of John can be said to soldiers, protectors, and all rulers. Whoever receives the stipend publicly decreed for him, if he seeks more, is condemned by John's judgment as a calumniator and extortioner.

The same Augustine says in the book of *Questions on the Old Testament*: When anyone has undertaken a just war, whether he fights openly or by ambush makes no difference to justice. Just wars are ordinarily defined as those which avenge injuries. Thus a nation or city must be punished which either neglected to avenge what was wickedly done by its people or to return what was taken away by injury. Cause XXIII, Question II, *The Lord*.

The same Augustine says to Macedonius, in Cause XXIII, Question V: When a human being is killed by a human being, it differs greatly whether it is done from a desire to harm or unjustly to take something away, as by an enemy or robber; or by the order of avenging—that is, punishing—or obeying, as by a judge or executioner; or by the necessity of escaping or bringing aid, as a robber is killed by a traveler or an enemy by a soldier.

Sometimes one who was the cause of a death is more at fault than the one who killed. Yet not everyone who is the cause of another's death is guilty: for example, if someone seeks sexual violation and, if he does not obtain it, kills himself; or if a son, fearing the pious blows of his father, perishes by a fall, and the like.

When these things occur, we owe them human grief, but on account of them we ought not, lest they occur, to repress the will to perform right deeds.

The same Augustine says to Publicola: Far be it that those things which we do and possess for a good and lawful purpose should be imputed to us if, through them and apart from our will, some evil happens to someone. Otherwise neither domestic nor agricultural tools ought to be possessed, lest someone kill himself with them. For what exists in the good or lawful use of human beings from which destruction cannot be inflicted? Cause XXIII, Question V, *Concerning Those to Be Killed*.

Section XX: Against carnal sins

Augustine says in Distinction LXXXVIII: It is never lawful to fornicate. It is sometimes lawful and sometimes not lawful to engage in business. Before you are a cleric, it is lawful; after you have been made a cleric, it is not lawful.

The same Augustine says in the *Questions on Deuteronomy*, Cause XXXII, Question IV: The Lord prohibits being prostitutes and approaching prostitutes, whose shamefulness is publicly for sale. Just as under the name of theft every usurpation of another's property is understood, so under the name of adultery every unlawful intercourse and the illegitimate use of those members must be understood as prohibited.

The same author says in Book II of *The City of God*, Cause XXXII, Question V: While the purpose of the mind remains, through which the body also merited to be sanctified, the violence of another's lust does not remove from the body itself the sanctity which the perseverance of one's own continence preserves. But one ought rather to tolerate all evils than to consent to evil—that is, to sin.

Augustine in *On Purgatorial Fire* places fornication—that is, that of an unattached man with an unattached woman—among deadly sins, in Distinction XXV, in the paragraph *Otherwise These Things*.

Augustine says in *On the Words of the Lord*, Cause XXXII, Question VI: If you are going to take wives, preserve yourselves for your wives. As you wish to find them, so let them find you. Who lives who does not wish to take a chaste wife? And if he is to receive a virgin, who does not desire one untouched? You seek one untouched; be untouched. You seek one pure; be pure. For she is able, and you are not unable.

The same author says in *On Adulterous Marriages*, in the same question: Husbands are indignant if they hear that adulterous men undergo punishments like those of adulterous women, although they ought to be punished more gravely insofar as it pertains more to them both to conquer by virtue and to rule women by example.

The same author says in *On Adulterous Marriages*, Cause XXXII, Question VII: The evil of adultery surpasses fornication, but adultery is surpassed by incest. For it is worse to lie with one's mother than with another's wife. But the worst of all these is that which is done contrary to nature, as if a man should wish to use a woman's member not conceded for this purpose.

And this act which is contrary to nature is done abominably with a prostitute, but more abominably with a wife.

The same Augustine says in Book III of the *Confessions* and in Cause XXXII, Question VII: Flagitious deeds which are contrary to nature must everywhere and always be repudiated and punished, such as those of the Sodomites were. Even if all nations did them, they would be held by the same guilt of crime under divine law, which did not so make human beings that they might use one another in that manner.

For the very fellowship which ought to exist between us and God is violated when that same nature, of which he is the author, is polluted by the perversity of lust.

Against the ambitious: that no one ought to desire or seek the governance of others, but, when ordered to these things, ought to obey.

Augustine says in Cause VIII, Question I, in the chapter *He Who Desires the Episcopate*: No one is prohibited from the study of knowing truth, which pertains to praiseworthy leisure. But the superior place without which the people cannot be governed, even if it is so held and administered as is fitting, is nevertheless indecently desired.

Therefore the charity of truth seeks holy leisure; the necessity of charity undertakes just business. If no one imposes this burden, one must be at leisure for perceiving and contemplating truth. But if it is imposed, it must be undertaken because of the necessity of charity. Yet not even thus must the delight of truth be wholly abandoned, lest that sweetness be withdrawn and just necessity be oppressed.

The same Augustine says to Valerius, in Distinction XL: Before all things I ask that your religious prudence consider that nothing in this life, and especially at this time, is easier, lighter, or more acceptable to human beings than the office of a bishop, presbyter, or deacon if the matter is conducted perfunctorily and flatteringly—but nothing before God is more wretched, sad, or damnable.

Likewise, nothing in this life, and especially at this time, is more difficult, laborious, or dangerous than the office of a bishop, presbyter, or deacon—but nothing before God is more blessed if one fights in the manner in which our emperor commands.

What that manner is, however, I learned neither in childhood nor in adolescence. And at the very time when I began to learn it, I was compelled, deservedly for my sins—for I do not know what else to think—so that the second place at the helm was entrusted to me, who did not know how to hold an oar.

The same author says to Eudoxius, in Cause XVI, Question I: But we exhort you, brothers, in the Lord, that you guard your purpose and persevere to the end. But if Mother Church should desire any works of yours, neither undertake them with greedy elation nor reject them with flattering sloth, but obey God with a meek heart, bearing with mildness him who rules you, who directs the meek in judgment, who teaches the mild his ways.

Do not prefer your leisure to the necessities of the Church in labor. If no good persons were willing to minister to her, you would not find how you might be born.

Against liars, Augustine in the book *On Lying*, Cause XXII, Question II, first sets down eight kinds of lies, concluding thus: Whoever thinks that there is any kind of lie which is not sin deceives himself shamefully, since he judges himself an honorable deceiver of others.

And in the said chapter he says: No one is to be led to eternal salvation with a lie furnishing assistance.

And in the said question he says: Let a human being do what he can even for the temporal salvation of human beings. But when he has come to this, that he cannot consult such salvation except by sinning, let him now judge that he has nothing to do.

Augustine likewise says in Cause XXII, Question III: It belongs to great wisdom for a human being to retract what he has spoken evilly.

Section XXI: Concerning penance

Augustine says to Vincent, in *On Penance*, Distinction I: Think that no one can pass from error to truth, or from any sin, whether great or small, to correction, without penance.

The same author says in the book *On Penance*, in *On Penance*, Distinction III: Penance is a certain vengeance of one grieving, punishing in himself what he grieves that he committed.

One must grieve continually for sin—namely, actually when it occurs to the mind, or at least habitually—which the force of the word itself declares. For to repent is to hold punishment, so that one always punishes in oneself, by avenging it, that which one committed by sinning.

The same author says in the same book and in *On Penance*, Distinction V: Let the penitent consider the quality of the crime: whether it was in a sacred place or not; at a festal time or another; in its perseverance, namely how long he remained in it and repeated it; in the variety of the person; by what kind of temptation he did this; and in the manifold execution of the vice itself.

For there are those who do not await temptation but anticipate pleasure. All this variety must be confessed and lamented.

The same author says in the same work, in *On Penance*, Distinction I: Let whoever repents repent wholly and show grief with tears. Let him represent his life to God through the priest; let him forestall God's judgment through confession.

The Lord commanded lepers about to be cleansed that they show themselves before priests, teaching that sins are to be confessed by bodily presence, not through a messenger and not disclosed through writing.

The same author says in the same work, in *On Penance*, Distinction VI: He who wishes to confess so that he may find grace should seek a priest who knows how to loose and bind, lest, when he has been negligent concerning himself, he be neglected by the one who mercifully admonishes and seeks him, lest both fall into the pit—namely, if a blind person is led by a blind person.

And below: Let the spiritual judge—that is, the confessor—take care that, just as he does not commit the crime of wickedness, so he does not lack the gift of knowledge. It is necessary that he know how to recognize whatever he has to judge. Judicial power requires this, that he discern what he must judge.

Therefore let the diligent inquisitor—namely, the confessor, the subtle investigator—wisely and, as it were, shrewdly interrogate the sinner concerning what perhaps he does not know or wishes to conceal through shame.

Once the crime is known, let him not doubt to investigate its varieties, and its place and time, and so forth. Once these have been known, let him be benevolent, prepared to exact and to carry the burden with him. Let him possess sweetness in affection, piety concerning another's crime, and discretion concerning variety.

Let him aid the one confessing by praying, giving alms, and doing other good works for him. Let him always assist him by soothing, counseling, promising hope, and, when it is necessary, rebuking. Thus far the quotation.

The same author says in the *Enchiridion*, in *On Penance*, Distinction III: Assuredly one must take care lest anyone judge that those crimes of the kind committed by persons who do not attain the kingdom of God are to be perpetrated daily and redeemed daily by alms.

For life must be changed for the better, and God must be rendered propitious concerning sins through alms, not in some manner bought for this purpose: that it may always be lawful to commit them with impunity. He gave no one permission to sin, although through mercy he grieves over things committed [read: although in mercy he blots out sins already committed], if fitting satisfaction is not neglected.

The same author says in the same distinction: The satisfaction of penance is to cut out the causes of sins and not to indulge an entrance to their suggestions—that is, to remove the roots and the near and remote occasions of sins.

The same author says in the same work, in *On Penance*, Distinction III: The perfidious still press, for they understand more than they ought, and say: “Although penance may avail those sinning once after baptism, nevertheless repeated penance will not profit those sinning often; otherwise remission would be an incitement to sin. For who would not sin if he could always return?”

But they were [read: But they err]. Indeed, it is certain that sins greatly displease him who is always ready to destroy them. For if he loved them, he would not always destroy them in this manner but preserve them.

Christ calls himself a physician. It belongs to physicians to heal a sick man a hundred times. He would be inferior to the other physicians if he were ignorant of things possible to others. He is mindful of himself who promised: “I do not wish the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live.”

For what sinner did he exclude? That he promised indulgence to all he declares by other promises. “He who confesses me before human beings,” he says, and so forth. Every sinner, however great and however often he has sinned, of whatever order, even if he has been a priest—“I also will confess him before my Father”; that is, I will reveal him, his sin forgiven and himself made virtuous.

For “whoever shall call upon the name of the Lord”—that is, according to that by which he is called Lord, namely, whoever shall call him to himself by serving and not contradicting him, as that person did while existing as a sinner—“shall be saved.”

The same Augustine says in the same work, in *On Penance*, Distinction VI, Chapter I: Let the penitent labor to be in the Church and to strive toward the unity of the Church. Unless the unity of the Church comes to his aid, the soul of the dead person will not be liberated from the hands of the enemy.

But it must be believed that all the alms, prayers, and works of justice and mercy of the whole Church come to the aid of the one who acknowledges his death for conversion. Hence no one can repent worthily whom the unity of the Church does not sustain.

Augustine says in *On the Words of the Apostle*, Cause XI, Question III: Every Christian who is excommunicated by priests is said to be handed over to Satan. How so? Because the devil is outside the Church, just as Christ is in the Church.

The same author says upon John: A Christian ought to fear nothing so much as being separated from the body of Christ. For he who is separated from the body of Christ is not his member and is not animated by his Spirit, but is a member of the devil.

The same author says in *On Penance*, Distinction VI: Let one confessing not seek priests separated from the unity of the Church—namely, through heresy or excommunication.

Section XXII: Concerning restitution

The same Augustine says to Macedonius, in Cause XIV, Question VI: If another’s property, on account of which the sin exists, can be restored and is not returned, penance is not performed but feigned. But if penance is truly performed, the sin is not forgiven unless the thing taken away is restored, if it can be restored.

But concerning how restitution must be made, you have the matter in the second part, Title II.

The same Augustine says *On Tithes*, in Cause XVI, Question I: Tithes are the tribute of needy souls. And if you give a tithe, you obtain not only abundance of fruits but also health of the body.

Therefore the Lord does not seek a price but honor. But if it is a sin to give late, how much worse is it not to give?

And below: This is the Lord’s most just custom: that if you do not give him a tithe, you yourself will be reduced to a tenth. You will give to an impious soldier what you are unwilling to give to Christ.

God is always prepared to do good for us, but he is hindered by the malice of human beings. Tithes, therefore, are required from debt, and those who are unwilling to give them invade the property of others. Thus speaks he.

Concerning this matter you have a full treatment in the second part.

Title X, Chapter IX

“Like a vessel of gold, solid with every precious stone”

Like a vessel of gold, solid with every precious stone of virtues, was John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople in the times of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius.

His surname corresponds to him—namely, “Chrysostom,” which in Greek is interpreted “golden mouth”—on account of his very great wisdom and eloquence.

He wrote very abundantly in Greek, but few of his little works were translated into Latin. Certain sayings from them are inserted here.

Thomas says upon John that the Greeks, in expositions of the divine Scriptures, prefer Chrysostom’s exposition to all others.

He was a vessel full of grace, solid by the constancy with which he fearlessly rebuked and reproved everyone, even princes.

His life, manner of conduct, lineage, and persecutions are sufficiently declared in the *Tripartite History*. Moreover Palladius, a bishop and his disciple, described more fully in Greek, in the manner of a dialogue, the persecutions which John suffered, especially from Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. The venerable Ambrose, abbot general of the Camaldolese order, translated this book from Greek into Latin around the year of the Lord 1430. From it I excerpted all the things set down below, except those which are alleged from the *Tripartite History*.

When John had therefore attained the eighteenth year of his age, he devoted his labor to the oratorical art. Medetius [i.e., Meletius], bishop of Antioch, a man of complete holiness, seeing him modest and powerful in intellect, caused him to remain with himself once he had been summoned, baptized him, and ordained him lector.

After three years, occupying the neighboring mountains, he gave himself as a companion to a certain old Syrian devoted to continence. He remained with him for four years, overcoming the incitements of natural ardor by the study of letters.

Thereafter he sought the desert and passed two years enclosed there in a cave. During this time, living almost without sleep, he thoroughly learned the sacred Scriptures. Made infirm by excessive vigils and abstinence, he was compelled to return to the city.

There he was made deacon, and after five years he was ordained presbyter by Flavian, bishop of holy memory, although unwilling and resisting. For twelve years in the office of the presbyterate, by word, writings, and holiness of life, he adorned the church of Antioch.

When blessed Nectarius, bishop of the see of Constantinople, had been taken from this light, many of the clergy who sought that see aided themselves with gifts and various entreaties. But the people solicited the king that a skilled and holy pastor be given to them.

It was suggested to the emperor, chiefly by Eutropius his chamberlain, that John, the presbyter of Antioch, be given, for the fame of his probity and doctrine was already flying through the regions. When this pleased him, he arranged that John the Constantinopolitan be summoned cautiously, lest perhaps, learning of it, he hide himself.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, beholding his constancy and irreprehensible confidence, attempted to impede his ordination but was unable.

Accordingly, when he had been ordained bishop, as is said in the *Tripartite History*, he was regarded as more severe on account of zeal for chastity. On account of the rectitude of his life, being incautious, he did not know how to foresee future things. In conversation he was judged arrogant by those who did not know him. In teaching he was foremost, in expounding excellent, and in restraining morals most capable.

Therefore, when he had been made bishop of Constantinople while Honorius and Arcadius reigned, he suddenly wished to correct the life of the clergy and stirred them all to hatred of him. They all avoided him as though he were furious and disparaged him among everyone.

Because he never invited anyone to a meal and did not wish to be invited by anyone, they said that he did this because he ate shamefully. Others proclaimed that he acted so on account of an excellent and exquisite use of foods. In truth, however, because of his abstinence his stomach and head always ached, and therefore he avoided the feasts of meals.

The people, however, loved him exceedingly on account of the sermons which he delivered in the church, making little of whatever his rivals spoke against him.

He compelled clerics who possessed concubines or women introduced secretly to cast them out. He preached against cupidity and admonished them to abstain from delicacies and drunken excess. He exhorted not only clerics but laymen to nocturnal vigils.

He cut away the superfluous expenses of his house and distributed them to the poor. On this account many watched to impose calumny upon him, searching into his former life at Antioch, but they found nothing reprehensible.

John also began to rebuke certain leading men, and therefore greater envy was kindled against him.

He did another thing which greatly moved many. Eutropius, the emperor's prefect, possessing consular dignity, wished to avenge himself upon certain persons who had fled to the church. He strove to have a law established by the emperor that no one should flee to a church; indeed, that accused persons who had fled there should be dragged out against their will.

A few days later, when Eutropius had offended the king, he fled to the church. John, hearing this, approached him as he hid beneath the altar and, making a reproving homily against him, rebuked him most harshly.

This matter offended many because John not only was unwilling to furnish mercy to the unhappy man but did not cease rebuking him. The emperor, however, took him from there and caused his head to be cut off. Therefore, because John confidently rebuked many for diverse causes, he was hateful to very many.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, wished to depose him and desired to intrude a certain presbyter named Isidore. Therefore he diligently sought causes for deposition.

But the people defended John and were fed by his doctrine with marvelous eagerness. John also compelled priests to live according to the canonical sanctions, saying that those who were unwilling to imitate the life of priests ought not to enjoy priestly honor.

He governed not only the city of Constantinople vigorously, but also the surrounding regions by prudent laws with imperial authority. When he learned that sacrifices were still offered to demons in Phoenicia, he sent clerics and monks there and caused the temples of idols to be destroyed.

At the same time there was a certain man named Gaymas [i.e., Gainas], Celtic by race, barbarous in counsel, wholly raised up by tyrannical ambition, infected with the Arian plague, and made master of the soldiers.

He had asked the emperor to give one church within the city to himself and his people. When the emperor had promised this, he asked John to grant him one church so that he might restrain his tyranny in this way.

But John, most powerful in virtue and wholly inflamed with zeal for the faith, said: "Do not, O emperor, promise this or give what is holy to dogs. Do not fear this barbarian, but command us both to be summoned and hear in silence what is said between us. I shall so restrain his tongue that he will not presume to seek this."

Hearing this, the emperor rejoiced and summoned them both on the next day. When Gainas sought one oratory for himself, John said: "The house of God is open to you everywhere, so that no one prevents you from praying."

Gainas said: "I am of another sect, and I demand to have one temple with my people. I have undertaken many labors for the Roman commonwealth; therefore I ought not to be contemned in my petition."

John answered him: "You have received very many rewards, and ones which surpass your struggles. You were made master of the soldiers and, moreover, adorned with the consular toga. You ought to consider what you were a little while ago and of what kind you now appear: what your former poverty was and what your substance now is; what garments you used and in what garments you are now clothed. Therefore, because a few labors conferred the greatest rewards upon you, do not be ungrateful toward the one who honors you."

By these words John closed his mouth and compelled him to be silent.

While John therefore governed the city of Constantinople vigorously, the aforesaid Gainas, seeking the empire, sent barbarians by night to burn the palace, since by day he could do nothing. Then it was openly shown how Saint John guarded the city.

For a packed multitude of armed angels possessing immense bodies appeared to the barbarians and immediately put them to flight. When they reported this to their lord, he marveled greatly, knowing that the army of soldiers had been stationed throughout other cities.

When on the following night he sent them again, they were similarly put to flight by the vision of the angels. At last he himself went out, saw the miracle, and fled, judging that soldiers lay hidden by day and guarded the city by night.

Departing from there, he went to Thrace and, gathering a great army, devastated everything, while all feared his barbaric savagery. The emperor therefore imposed the burden of an embassy upon most holy John.

But John, unmindful of enmities, departed eagerly. Gainas, recognizing his confidence undertaken on account of piety, met him after a long journey, placed John's right hand upon his own eyes, and commanded his sons to kiss John's sacred knees. For John was a man of such virtue that he compelled even very terrible men to be humbled and to fear him.

John Chrysostom therefore flourished at Constantinople and was held admirable by all. But when the Arians multiplied greatly and possessed a church outside the city, they nevertheless assembled on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day within the gates and porticoes and sang hymns and antiphons by night.

At daybreak, however, proceeding through the middle of the city, they assembled at their own church, frequently singing in contempt of the orthodox: "Where are those who say that three are one in power?"

John, fearing that the simple might be drawn by this singing, himself instituted that a multitude of the faithful should attend to nocturnal hymns, so that both the work of the Arians might be obscured and the profession of the faithful strengthened. He also caused silver crosses to be made, which were carried with silver candlesticks.

Then the Arians, inflamed by the zeal of envy, rose even to slaughter. One night Brison, the eunuch of the empress, who had been appointed by John to conduct the hymns, was struck by a stone. Certain persons from the people of each party were also killed. Moved by these things, the emperor prohibited the Arians from singing hymns publicly.

At that time Severian, bishop of Gabala, honorable among many leading men and greatly loved by the emperor himself and the empress, came to Constantinople and was received gratefully by John.

When John proceeded into Asia, he commended his church to Severian. But Severian commended not the faith but himself to the people. The cleric Serapion took care to report this very thing to Chrysostom.

When Severian passed by, Serapion did not rise. Indignant, Severian cried: "If the cleric Serapion shall not have died, Christ was not born in human nature."

Hearing these things, John returned and expelled Severian from the city as a blasphemer. This greatly displeased the empress, and she caused him to be recalled, asking John to be reconciled to him.

John in no manner acquiesced until the empress placed her son Theodosius upon his knees, supplicating and adjuring him to be reconciled to Severian.

Most especially this bishop Severian, Acacius, Antiochus, and a certain Isaac, a little Syrian who was leader of monks—disorderly and undisciplined men, rivals of John—strove toward his deposition. For because of his rebuke of vices and reformation of morals, John was grievous to them even to see.

Hence they opened their heart by letters to Theophilus, whose versatile talent for machinations of this kind they knew. Gladly embracing this, he sought an occasion, even a slight one, to accomplish it.

Section I

At that time Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, unjustly expelled Dioscorus, a most holy man, and Isidore, who previously had been his dearest friend. They came to Constantinople so that through John they might relate his deeds to the prince.

John honored them but, before knowledge of the cause, was unwilling to communicate with them. Nevertheless, a false rumor went to Theophilus that John communicated with them and brought them assistance.

Indignant, Theophilus armed himself mightily not only to exercise vengeance upon them but also to depose John. Concealing his intention, however, he sent to all the bishops of each city of that region, saying that he wished to condemn Origen's books.

He also circumvented Epiphanius, a most holy man and bishop of Cyprus, and made him his friend, similarly asking that he too condemn Origen's books. But Epiphanius, not attending to his deceits on account of his holiness, convoked his bishops in Cyprus and prohibited the reading of Origen's books.

He asked John to suspend himself from reading those books and to confirm the things which had been ordained. But John, making little of these things, labored in ecclesiastical teaching and flourished in it, and cared nothing for the things which were being devised against him.

At last Theophilus manifested his concealed hatred and indicated that he wished to depose John. Immediately John's enemies, many leading men of the palace, and clerics, finding an opportune time, strove that a council be held against John at Constantinople.

After these things Epiphanius came to Constantinople, bringing with him the condemnation of Origen's books, and declined John's invitation on account of Theophilus.

Some, on account of reverence for Epiphanius, subscribed to the condemnation of Origen's books, but very many refused to do this. One of them was Teotinus, bishop of Sichia [i.e., Theotimus, bishop of Scythia], a man most renowned for rectitude of life.

He answered thus: "My Epiphanius, neither do I bring injuries against one who has long rested well, nor do I presume to attempt a blasphemous matter. You condemn those things which our predecessors were unwilling to reject. For I perceive no evil teaching in his books. Those who bring insults against them do not know themselves."

"Athanasius, defender of the Nicene Council against the Arians, calls this man a witness of his faith, joining his books to his own and saying: 'The marvelous and most industrious Origen furnishes us this testimony concerning the Son of God, asserting that he is coeternal with the Father.'"

Here it must be observed that there was a great dispute concerning Origen's teaching among ancient and holy doctors, some approving and others reproving it. This was because the errors of his teaching had not been so manifested.

Hence those who approved it perhaps had not yet read those errors in his books, or because it was said that the errors had been inserted by falsifiers. But afterward, once they had been detected, the teaching together with its author was reproved by the Church, except for those things which Jerome approves as true.

John Chrysostom, however, was indignant that Epiphanius had performed an ordination in his church without ecclesiastical rules; nevertheless he asked that Epiphanius remain there with him among the bishops.

But he answered that he would neither remain with him nor pray unless John expelled Dioscorus and subscribed to the condemnation of Origen's books. When John refused to do this, Epiphanius was incited against John by those who envied him.

Hence Epiphanius passed judgment against Dioscorus, condemned Origen's books, and began to disparage John as their defender.

John sent him this message: "You have done many things contrary to the rules, O Epiphanius. First, you performed an ordination in a church constituted under my jurisdiction. Then by your own authority you celebrated sacred rites in it. Again, when invited, you excused yourself; and now anew you trust in yourself. Therefore take care lest sedition arise among the people and you yourself undertake the peril of this matter."

Hearing these things, Epiphanius departed. When he was about to return to Cyprus, he sent to John, saying: "I hope that you do not die a bishop."

John sent back to Epiphanius, saying: "I hope that you do not return to your homeland." Both assuredly happened. For Epiphanius died on the way, and John Chrysostom, deposed from the episcopate, ended his life in exile.

But when Epiphanius had departed from Constantinople, it was related to John, as is said in the *Tripartite History*, that the empress Eudoxia had incited Epiphanius against him.

On this account John, inflamed with zeal, delivered a sermon to the people which contained a complete reproach of all women. This sermon was accepted by all as though it had been delivered against the empress.

When the empress learned this, she complained to the emperor, saying that an insult brought against his wife redounded rather upon him. Moved by this, the emperor ordered that a synod be held against John.

Therefore Theophilus, hearing the desire of the emperor and empress, hastily gathered bishops already, as it were, prepared for this. All John's enemies eagerly came together, calling him proud and impious.

Accordingly, many bishops having been gathered at Constantinople, as is said in the *Tripartite History*, they no longer treated Origen's books but raised themselves against John. Hence they summoned him four times to the assembled synod.

He was unwilling to come, asserting that they were his manifest enemies, but cried that a universal synod should be held. Therefore the synod condemned him because he was unwilling to obey.

From this a great sedition was stirred among the people, who defended John against the clergy. But the emperor's command compelled him to depart.

Palladius sets these things out more fully; all that follows is in his words.

Section II

Palladius expresses the reason for which Theophilus expelled that holy man Isidore, formerly his friend.

This Isidore had been ordained presbyter by Athanasius. In the eightieth year of his age he was the receiver of pilgrims in the city of Alexandria.

A certain widow from among the foremost women of the city gave him one thousand gold pieces, adjuring him that he distribute them to the poor of Alexandria for clothing without Theophilus's knowledge, lest, if he knew, he expend them upon buying stones. For a certain rage for building had besieged him.

Isidore therefore received the money and distributed it to the poor. When this reached the ears of Theophilus—for he had spies for these matters—he caused Isidore to be summoned. When he learned from him that the matter stood thus, he bore it most grievously that the said money had not come to him and wished to avenge it as an injury to himself.

After two months, with priests assembled and Isidore present, Theophilus produced a paper which he himself had fabricated, saying: "I received this accusation against you, O Isidore. It is now the eighteenth year, but because I was occupied by other things I had handed it over to oblivion. While searching for other papers, I found this one again. What, therefore, do you answer to it?"

The paper contained the crime of the Sodomites. Isidore answered that the one who had given the libel should be summoned.

But because the young man whom Theophilus asserted had given the libel of accusation and with whom Isidore was said to have committed the evil was not present, the judgment was deferred until the next day.

Meanwhile, through his agents, Theophilus solicited a certain young man with many promises to accuse Isidore concerning this, offering him fifteen gold pieces to perform this very thing.

When the young man had arranged to execute it, he came to himself, fearing on the one hand the penalties of the laws if he failed in proof, and on the other Theophilus's indignation if he exposed the calumny; he fled to the church without carrying out the deed.

Nevertheless, after instituting a trial, Theophilus expelled Isidore from the Church, declaring that he had committed grave crimes. Isidore himself, fearing that Theophilus, aroused to still graver anger, might plot against his safety, went to Mount Nitria, resuming the monastic order in which he had been reared as a young man, and remained there in a cell.

Meanwhile Theophilus, conscious how indecently he had acted and mistrusting his uncertain victory, sent letters to the neighboring bishops, ordering that certain leading men be cast out from the mountain and the monks be driven from the inner desert. They came down to Alexandria with the elders and begged Theophilus to tell them why they had been condemned or cast out. Twisting his bloodshot eyes and raging like a many-formed monster, he fastened an iron collar with his own hands around the neck of Ammonius, his peer; striking his cheeks and attacking and bloodying his nose with outstretched fingers, he threatened in a roaring voice: "Heretic," he said, "anathematize Origen!" although nothing concerning Origen was at issue and only hatred of Isidore stood between them. Thus, bloodied and without any answer, they returned to their companions and devoted themselves to prayer.

Theophilus did not rest, but summoned the neighboring bishops and assembled a council against the monks. Although he had neither summoned them to answer nor addressed them, he condemned three leading men from among them, fearing to pronounce sentence against the multitude, and imputed perversity of doctrine to them. Though he had often honored them more than bishops before, he did not fear to call them magicians because they seemed attached to Isidore.

When Theophilus had therefore driven the holy men from the mountain, he procured for himself five little men who had never been seen in the assembly of the elders of the desert and were most unworthy. He ordained one of them as bishop, another as presbyter, and three as deacons.

He admonished them to give their accomplices libels of calumny against those three holy men, their fathers, similar to the other libels which he himself had composed.

Therefore he entered the imperial palace with them and, in his own person, brought an accuser against those men, namely the bishop of an Egyptian diocese. He asked that they be expelled from all Egypt by military force.

Accordingly, going to the mountain with an armed band, by night he invaded the monasteries, plundered their cells, and sought those three men with his customary indignation. Yet he did not find them, because they had hidden in a well with their books.

The monks, therefore, having been put to flight, made for Palestine and occupied Aelia, that is, Jerusalem. Three hundred monks outstanding in virtue followed them, while the others were dispersed through other places.

When Theophilus learned this, he commanded the bishops of Palestine by letters that they should not retain them, nor receive them either into an ecclesiastical place or into any other private place.

Compelled, therefore, to depart from there, they at last arrived at the imperial city, namely Constantinople. Visiting John and explaining to him the cause of their coming and expulsion, they commended themselves to him, concluding:

“If you also, father, despise us, whether from reverence for Theophilus or from fear of him, as do the other bishops, nothing now remains for us except to go to the emperor and publish the most wicked works of Theophilus himself, to the injury of the Church. Therefore, if you have a care for ecclesiastical reputation, persuade him to permit us to remain in Egypt. For we have sinned neither against the laws of our God nor against that man himself.”

Having heard these things, John, after tears of compassion and thinking that he could easily turn Theophilus’s anger against them into favor, willingly took up the matter. He admonished the men to conceal in silence the cause of their coming until he himself should write to Theophilus.

Meanwhile he caused provision to be made for their lodging and sustenance, the monks themselves assisting from the labors of their own hands.

Now it happened that clerics were then in the imperial city on certain business. John summoned them to himself and asked whether they knew those men and their case.

They answered that they knew them very well and that the men had suffered injury, but that it belonged to him to reconcile them to Theophilus. Yet in the meantime he should not communicate with them, lest Theophilus be saddened by this, though he should nevertheless render to them the offices of humanity.

John did all of this.

John wrote to Theophilus, supplicating and requesting this favor from him as from a son and brother: that he should recall those men to himself peaceably.

In reply, Theophilus indeed denied John the favor. He sent certain men trained for contests of this kind, of whom we spoke above, so that they might present libels which he himself had dictated, containing falsehood and calumny under a covering.

And since he could not disparage their manner of life, he caused them to be marked within the palace as though they were magicians from Egypt.

But when the monks perceived that they had accomplished nothing, but that he had turned aside into the precipice of greater anger, they brought with them many persons established in dignities. Anathematizing every heresy, they delivered libels to John in which the men now set forth his tyranny, adding certain chapters which it is vexing and shameful to recount before weaker persons.

Again, both by himself and through other bishops, John wrote to Theophilus, exhorting him that they should desist from the accusation. In this tenor he wrote again to Theophilus:

“These men have been driven to so great a resentment against you that they accuse you even by libels which they have presented. Now write back what seems good to you, for they do not listen to me that they should depart from this intention.”

At this Theophilus, inflamed with still greater anger, prohibited Dioscorus, bishop and brother of the monks, who had grown old in ecclesiastical affairs, from the Church itself, writing thus to Bishop John:

“I think that you are not ignorant of what the canons of the Nicene Council prescribe when they decree that a bishop is not to judge a case beyond his own boundaries. But if you are ignorant, learn, and cease to receive libels against me. For even if it is necessary for me to be judged, it is fitting that this be done by Egyptians rather than by you, who are separated from us by a journey of seventy-five days.”

Having received and read the letter, John indeed kept it by him. But to the monks of both parties he spoke those things which pertain to peace.

On hearing them, both parties were exasperated: the one because it seemed to be oppressed by the force of tyranny; the other, namely the party for Theophilus, because they would not presume to enter upon peace without him, at whose command they had presented libels full of calumny.

And so, after addressing them, John dismissed them from his presence.

Then the monks went forth, first meeting Augustus, and afterward approached the empress in the church. They asked John on their own behalf [read: they petitioned the empress in the church of Saint John] that the libels against them of the opposing monks—those, namely, who were of Theophilus’s party—should be examined before the prefects of the city; then that Theophilus, even if unwilling, should be brought and subjected to John’s judgment; and finally that Theophilus’s monks should either prove the crimes which they had cast against the holy elders or be subjected to the penalty of retaliation.

Thus Elaphius was sent to Alexandria to bring Theophilus, while the prefects were to execute the remainder of the sentence.

But when the case was argued and those men were detected in calumny, in their fear they turned everything back upon Theophilus, who had suborned them and had dictated the libels of calumny.

As the order of reason required, they were all imprisoned until Theophilus's arrival. Some of these died in custody because Theophilus delayed too long. Others, after his arrival, softened the severity of the judges with money and were sent into exile.

At last, though late, Theophilus arrived, standing like a tabereus [read: a dung-beetle] honored with filth among those whom he had brought from Egypt and India itself.

He remained there for three weeks. Neither did he meet Bishop John, as bishops are accustomed to do, nor did he approach the church, but he persisted in wandering by night and day and daily joining new hatred against John to the old, because John had received Isidore and Dioscorus, whom Theophilus had unjustly expelled, not into communion—as had been reported to him by wicked men—but for their sustenance.

He plotted against John so that he might not only be driven from the Church but deprived of life itself, partly by a profusion of gold against the truth, purchasing the partiality of powerful men; partly by more sumptuous banquets, inducing those given over to their belly; and partly by the hope of greater dignity, inducing various persons from among the clergy.

Two deacons had been driven out by John for their crimes and separated from the Church, one on account of homicide and the other on account of adultery. Theophilus, abusing their fickleness, exhorted them to present libels against John which he himself had dictated and which contained calumny. He promised to restore them to the place of their ministry, which he afterward also did.

Therefore John's principal adversaries were four bishops: Theophilus of Alexandria, Antiochus, Acacius, and Severian; two presbyters; five deacons; three men from the king's court furnishing aid with military force; and three wealthy widows, who to the destruction of their own salvation possessed money from plunder—money which could also disturb and intimidate the constancy of men—Marsa, Crasticia, and Eugraphia, vain and insufficiently chaste, and especially the third.

Theophilus stayed with Eugraphia, together with Severian, Acacius, Antiochus, and the rest who were hostile to John because of his most chaste admonitions.

At last they presented libels full of calumny against John to the emperor—with gold assisting them through all things—so that they might drag John himself, even unwilling, to their council.

"We were," says Palladius, who wrote these things, "with John, fifty bishops [read: forty bishops] then sitting in the episcopal dining hall, and wondering how that man, whom the emperor had commanded to come alone and answer for abominable crimes, had come accompanied by so many bishops; and how he now changed the opinions of the princes and perverted very many of the clergy."

While we were speaking thus among ourselves, John said: "Pray, brothers; and if indeed you love Christ, let no one for my sake desert his own church. For I am already being poured out, and the time of my dissolution is at hand. As I see, I shall first suffer many oppressions, and at last I shall depart from life. Remember me in your prayers."

Therefore, held by inexpressible grief, some of us poured forth a very great abundance of tears; others, kissing his eyes, his sacred head, and his mouth, could not restrain themselves from weeping and sobs.

"Sit down, brothers," said John, "and cease to weep, lest you afflict me further. For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

For the report had already flashed abroad, on account of the greatness of his boldness in rebuking, that he was to be beheaded.

"If you retain in memory," he said, "remember how I have always said to you that the present life is a way: both its sorrow and its joy pass by. All the things which we behold are marketplaces. We sell, we buy, and presently we depart. Are we better than the patriarchs, and do we surpass the prophets and the apostles, so that this life should remain immortal for us?"

At this one of those present, groaning, said: "But we lament our own lot: our desolation, because we are left as orphans; the widowhood of the Church; the confusion of the laws; the ambition of men who do not fear the Lord and who thrust themselves upon the rudders of the Church; the poor left destitute; and doctrine abandoned."

Having heard these things, John said to the speaker: "It is enough, brother. Do not pursue more. But, as I said, do not abandon your churches. For the teaching of Christ did not take its beginning from me, nor will it cease in me. Did not Moses die? Was not Joshua found after him? Did not Samuel die? Was not David conquered [read: anointed]? Paul was beheaded and left Tumotheus [read: Timothy]."

When these things had been said, Culisius, bishop of Apamea, said: "If we retain our churches, we shall necessarily be compelled to communicate and to subscribe."

At this the holy man said: “Communicate indeed, lest you divide the Church. But do not subscribe, for I am conscious of nothing on account of which I deserve to be deposed or cast down.”

Section III

While they were relating these things among themselves, it was announced that those whom Theophilus had sent were standing before the doors. John ordered them to enter immediately.

When they had entered, he asked of what rank they were. When he learned that they were bishops, he asked them to sit and to say for what cause they had come.

“We have only a brief,” they said. He ordered it to be read. Its text was as follows:

“The holy synod assembled at the Oak to John. We make known that we have received libels against you containing innumerable evils. Come, therefore, taking with you the presbyters Serapion and Tingi. For this is necessary.”

The place where Theophilus and his men had assembled was called the Oak; this place was outside the city.

After the document had been read, the bishops who were with John contradicted it, writing back to Theophilus through three bishops—Lupicius, Demetrius, and Elisha—and two presbyters—Severus and Germanus—all holy men, as follows:

“Do not dissolve the affairs of the Church. Do not confound order, and do not rend the Church for which Christ descended to the earth.

“But if, in your impatience, you wish to dissolve the canons of the Nicene Council and to hear a case beyond your own boundaries, come over to us yourself, into a well-ordered city. And do not, after the likeness of Cain, call Abel forth into the field so that we may hear you through a crack.

“For we have against you libels containing seventy headings of manifest and abominable actions. And, by the grace of God, more of us have assembled than has your synod—not for the overthrow of the Church, but for peace. For your synod has thirty-six bishops from one province, but we are forty from various provinces, among whom there are also seven metropolitans.

“And it is necessary and fitting, according to the canons, that the fewer be judged by the more numerous and more excellent. We also have your letter through which you admonish John, our fellow bishop, that a bishop ought not to judge beyond his own boundaries. Therefore, in obedience to the ecclesiastical laws, ask your accusers to desist from their accusation of you.”

But John said to his bishops: “Write what seems good to you; but it is fitting for me to reply to the things which have been written to me.”

Thus he sent a message to Theophilus, saying:

“Whether anyone is able to say anything against me, I do not know even to the present. But if anyone has brought something against me, and you wish me to come, remove from your assembly my manifest enemies, whom their own negligence has made hostile to me.

“And now let me not contend over the place where I ought to be judged, although it was especially fitting that this be done in the city.

“There are, however, those whom I reject as suspect: Theophilus, whom it is certain to have said in Alexandria and in Lycia, ‘I am going to the imperial court so that I may depose John.’ That this is true is proved from the fact that, when he arrived, he neither met me nor communicated with me.

“He, therefore, who is proved to have been an enemy before the hearing—what do you think he will do after judgment?

“Likewise Acacius, who said, ‘I am seasoning a pot for him.’ But what shall I say of Severian and Antiochus, whose crimes even the theaters of the age sing?

“Therefore, if in truth you wish me to come, drive these four from the council, if they are judges. If you do this, I am prepared to come not only to your charity, but to any universal synod.

“Know, therefore, that if you send to me a thousand times, you will carry back no other answer from me.”

When they had gone out, a notary immediately entered, having a royal edict by which, according to their demands, John was to be dragged unwilling to the judgment; and he pressed him.

When an answer had been given to the notary, two of John’s presbyters were announced as present: a certain Eugenius, who had received as the reward of his faction against John the episcopate of Heraclea, and Isaac, a monk—to say nothing worse.

They said to John: “The synod commands you to come over to us to answer the charges.”

John, in turn, wrote back through other bishops: “By what consequence, I ask, by what order do you judge, you who have made my enemies judges?”

At this, after those bishops had been seized, they killed one [read: they beat one], confounded another, and placed upon the neck of a third the iron which they had prepared for the holy man, so that, when it had thus been put upon him, they might send him by ship to more remote places.

Finally, they pronounced sentence against Saint John, whose face they had not seen and whose voice they had not heard, accomplishing together the wickedness which they had woven long before.

A report was sent to the emperor beginning thus:

“Because John, accused of certain crimes and conscious of them, was unwilling to appear to clear them, the laws depose persons of this kind, which is what he has suffered. The libels, however, contain a crime of injured majesty. Let Your Piety command him to be expelled, even unwilling, to pay the penalties for so great a crime. For it is not permitted to us to inquire into these things.”

The crime was a curse against the empress, whom—as they had reported—he had called Jezebel.

In this manner John was driven from the Church, a count having been sent for this with the assistance of soldiers, no differently than for a battle against barbarians.

And because this greatly displeased the people, lest a sedition arise he surrendered himself to them without resistance, so that he might be led secretly to the small estates of Bithynia.

But nearly half the day had passed when it happened that a certain movement, as though an earthquake, occurred in the king’s bedchamber.

Terrified by this, they recalled John by sending a notary, and a few days afterward restored him to his own throne.

But Theophilus, together with the Egyptian bishops, entrusted his safety to flight. For the city had borne his deed so indignantly that they sought to submerge him in the waves of the sea.

And it is said in the *Tripartite History* that, when an earthquake occurred, a murmur arose throughout the whole city, all saying that this had happened because of the unjust expulsion of John.

The empress asked the emperor that John be brought back into the city.

Many messengers were sent successively on behalf of the emperor and the people, asking that he return, come to the aid of the perishing city, and calm the sedition of the people.

Although under compulsion, he returned, the people meeting him with wax candles and lamps.

And when the people wished him to sit in his seat in the customary manner, he was unwilling, saying that it was fitting for him to be restored by the synod which had condemned him.

The people, however, persisted so urgently in requesting this that he acquiesced in them, namely, by sitting upon the episcopal throne.

At that time a silver statue, wrapped in a cloak, had been placed in the square beside the church of Saint Sophia in honor of the empress; there soldiers and leading men performed public games.

This greatly displeased John, since he saw that it pertained to an injury of the Church.

Therefore, with his accustomed boldness, he again armed his tongue. And although it was fitting to turn the princes aside by a word of supplication so that they should withdraw from such sport, he did not do this; rather, using the sovereignty of his eloquence, he assailed those who saw such things being done.

The empress drew this toward an injury to herself, and again sought that a synod be held against him.

John, perceiving this, delivered that famous homily: “Herodias still rages,” and so forth. This provoked the empress still more to procure his expulsion.

After another two months, having breathed a little after the blow inflicted, they raged against John a second time.

Finding no plausible beginning at all, they sent to Alexandria, to the sophist most expert in this matter, suggesting thus:

“Either come again as our leader, to act against John; or, if you fear to do this because of the people, suggest to us some manner from which we may take a beginning.”

Having received the letters, Theophilus himself was unwilling to come, knowing by what deed he had escaped. But he sent those three bishops, sending together with them certain canons made by the Arians against the most blessed Athanasius, so that, by using these, they might construct calumnies against John: namely, because after his deposition he had dared to return without a secular decree.

For he was by nature fervid, rash, bold, and contentious beyond measure; and whatever had seemed good to him, he tolerated neither judgment nor counsel, striving from the outset that his own judgment and sentence should always conquer and prevail.

They did what they had been instructed to do. When metropolitans and all the bishops had been summoned from Cappadocia, Syria, Pontus, and Phrygia, they assembled at Constantinople.

Upon arriving, they communicated with John according to the order of the canons, lest they incur the same things as before.

When this matter was learned, the princes bore it ill. And Theodore, bishop of Tyana, a man of the highest gravity, when he perceived from those who had come what was to be done, took leave of the imperial court and returned to his own church, lest he follow the rashness of Theophilus.

But Leontius and Ammonius, satellites of Theophilus, together with the bishops Acacius and Antiochus, caused that most wicked sentence to prevail in this second synod, decreeing against John that no place should be given John to clear himself, by force of the canons which Theophilus had sent, issued by forty accomplices of Arius and containing as follows:

“If any bishop or presbyter, justly or unjustly deposed, shall of his own accord return to the church without a synod, he shall no longer have any place for excuse, but shall be expelled altogether.”

And this rule, as wicked and issued by the most wicked men, was eliminated at the Council of Sardica by the Romans, Illyrians, Italians, Macedonians, and Greeks, when Liberius or Julius, under the rule of Constans, admitted Athanasius and Marcellus the Galatian to communion, on whose account that canon had been issued.

And those two, Leontius and Ammonius, joined to Acacius, Antiochus, Cyrinus, and Severian, enemies of John, went in to the king so that, by force of the said canon, John should be driven from the Church without any hearing, because he had returned to his church without the authority of a synod.

And when a dispute took place before the king, the Johannites—that is, those who supported John’s party—asserted that the canon had been issued by the Arians; the Theophilites—that is, those who favored the injustice of Theophilus—asserted, to the contrary, that the canon had been established by Catholics.

The venerable man Elpidius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, together with Tranquillus, advised the king that John ought not to be expelled irrationally. For he had not previously been deposed, but had been driven out by a count. Nor had he returned of himself, but at the command of His Piety, a notary having been sent for this purpose.

Furthermore, it could be shown by manifest indications that the canons which they brought forward were those of heretics.

But when John’s adversaries persisted in contending without discipline, and some were making a din with clamorous voices while others appeared to rave before the emperor with insolent gestures and swollen mouths, Elpidius, most learned in the canons, modestly obtained a little silence and addressed the king thus:

“Let us not vex Your Clemency longer, O emperor, but let this be done: let our brothers Acacius, Antiochus, and the others subscribe that they are of the faith of those who set forth the canons which they themselves allege. Then the controversy is resolved.”

When the emperor perceived the simplicity of the proposal, he smiled and said to Antiochus: “Nothing more useful can be brought forward.”

The emperor, however, was innocent in all the things which were being done.

Severian and the others, therefore, being anxious concerning this proposal, since they could answer nothing before the king’s judgment, and being pressed by their difficulties, promised, although unwilling, to subscribe.

But when they had departed from the king’s presence, they refused to fulfill the promise, as though it had been made without deliberation. They deliberated instead upon the manner in which John might be expelled.

While these things were being done, and some thought thus and others otherwise, nine or ten months passed, during which Bishop John, with forty-two bishops joined to him, daily conducted the things of God, and the people enjoyed his teaching with great delight.

Meanwhile the season of Lent arrived. Antiochus and the others again went in to the king and persuaded him that, with Easter approaching, he should command John to be expelled as though convicted.

The emperor, worn down by their wickedness, believed them as though they were bishops. He therefore commanded John to leave the church.

John answered him: “I received this church from God our Savior so that I might diligently care for the salvation of the people, and I cannot abandon it. But if you altogether wish this to be done, because the city dissents from you, use force against me, so that I may have as an excuse that, expelled by your authority, I left my order.”

And thus, sending men from the palace with a certain reserve, they drove him out, commanding meanwhile that he remain in the episcopal residence.

At the same time they awaited some sign of divine indignation, so that if anything should happen either to his adversaries or to themselves, by bringing him again into the church they might reconcile God to themselves; otherwise they would again plot against him, as Pharaoh against Moses.

Amid these things the day of Holy Saturday arrived. Again they commanded him to leave the church which he had entered to perform the offices. He answered them according to his former words.

The king, therefore, fearing the holy day and a commotion of the city, summoned Acacius and Antiochus and said to them: “What are we doing? See whether perhaps you have not counseled rightly.”

Then those most valiant and exceedingly great-hearted men in wickedness said to the king: “Let the deposition of John be upon our head, O emperor.”

As the assistance which remained, the bishops who were present with John approached the king and queen in the shrines of the martyrs, asking with tears that they spare the Church of Christ, especially because of the approaching Easter, and that they restore to those who were to be regenerated, who were already fully instructed, their priest.

But they were not heard. Thus Saint Paul, a bishop undaunted and full of confidence, said to Queen Eudoxia: “Fear God. Have mercy upon your children, and do not violate the holy solemnity of Christ by an effusion of blood.”

Finally, John’s presbyters in whom the fear of God was present began the vigils after the people had assembled in the public bath which is called the Constantinian.

When Antiochus, Acacius, and Severian, men of a ruined mind, learned this, they approached the master of the soldiers, importunately asking him to impede the assembly of the people.

When he refused because he feared a scandal among the people, they persisted in this, denying that a commotion of the people would occur and relying upon lies. At last he gave them a certain Lucius, a pagan tribune of the soldiers.

This Lucius, having with him four hundred Thracians, suddenly rushed by night, together with the clerics and soldiers of Acacius, upon the Lord’s flock like a wolf. With flashing iron he made a way for himself and cut apart the people as they attended to the divine rites.

He proceeded so far that amid the blessed waters he prevented those who were being initiated, and he shed the blood of the deacon who held the venerable mysteries in his hands. Striking the presbyters upon the head with clubs, he filled the baptismal pool with blood.

Naked women, together with the men who had been prepared for baptism, committed themselves to flight from fear of slaughter or of dishonorable defilement.

One departed weeping, wounded in the hand. Another dragged a virgin cut open by blows. All, having turned to plunder, appropriated to themselves all the ornaments and the things stored away.

Presbyters and deacons were sent to prison. Edicts containing various threats were repeatedly posted in various places unless each person should renounce communion with John.

When the fifty days had been completed, after the fifth day Acacius, Antiochus, Severian, and Cyrinus entered before the emperor and said to him:

“O king, you have been given to us by God, subject to no one. Since you rule over all, it is permitted to you to do whatever you wish. Do not be more merciful than the presbyters or holier than the bishops. We said to you in the presence of all, ‘Let the deposition of John be upon our head.’ Therefore do not spare one man to the destruction of us all.”

The king therefore sent a notary and commanded these things to John: “Acacius, Antiochus, Severian, and Cyrinus have placed your condemnation upon their own heads. Therefore, commending yourself to God, depart from the church.”

Thus, after the manifest command, Bishop John, as he was departing together with the bishops who favored him, said to all: “Come, let us pray.”

Then a certain faithful man from among the foremost of the city made these things known to John: “Because Lucius, exceedingly bold and shameless of face, is prepared in the public bath with the soldiers to drag you away and expel you unwilling if perhaps you resist or delay, a great commotion is arising among the people. Hasten to depart from the church, lest perhaps the people, flowing together to your aid, join battle with the soldiers.”

Then John, having kissed certain of the bishops with tears, addressed those who were within the sanctuary, saying: “Remain here meanwhile, so that, having departed, I may rest a little.”

Entering the baptistery, he summoned Olympias, Petachia [read: Pentadia], and Procula, deaconesses, most devout and noble virgins already of mature age, and Silvina, the wife of the blessed Nobriolus [read: Nevridius], then a widow outstanding in virtue. He said to them:

“Come here, daughters, and hear me. As I see, the things concerning me have their end, and perhaps you will see my face no more.

“This one thing I ask, this I beseech: let none of you abandon her customary benevolence toward the Church. And whoever shall have been ordained not of his own will nor from ambition, but by the consent of all, incline your heads to him as to John. For the Church cannot exist without a bishop. Have mercy upon me by always remembering me in your prayers.”

At these things the women, drenched with tears and lamentation, rolled themselves at his sacred feet.

Then John made a sign to one of the more honorable presbyters, saying: “Take these women away from here, lest they disturb the multitude.”

He departed toward the eastern side, leaving aside the western, where a beast of burden had been prepared and the people were awaiting his departure from there.

John avoided this so that there might be no sedition and conflict among the people.

Section IV

After these things a flame, suddenly leaping from the middle of the throne upon which John had been accustomed to sit, like a heart placed in the middle of a body, sought the teacher of the word of God.

When it did not find him, it consumed the whole seat; gradually rising upward, it went out through the roof.

But so that there might be a perpetual memorial of that deadly synod, that fire passed harmlessly over the intervening multitude of the people like a man crossing a bridge.

It did not first seize the nearer part of the church—lest we attribute an event of this kind to proximity—but the nearest part of the royal hall, so that no one might doubt that the miracle had been divinely brought about.

That fire, whirling about, was stirred as though proceeding by a certain compact. It demolished the adjoining roofs and spared only the small building in which a multitude of sacred vessels had been stored.

It did not reverence the material of gold or silver, but spared it lest it furnish to detractors a place for falsehood, so that they might be able to charge the holy man with having carried away something from the precious furnishings.

No loss of life occurred in that assault of the fire, either of human beings or of beasts. Rather, the force of that conflagration washed away the filth of those wickedly dwelling there, while the fire ruled from the sixth hour until the ninth.

Meanwhile, of the bishops who supported John’s party, some were held shut up, others were dragged into custody, and some lay hidden.

But John, together with Cyriacus and Eulysius, were bound by the prefects’ soldiers and led into Bithynia, not without threats of punishments because the church had been burned.

Afterward Cyriacus and Eulysius, having been brought bound together with the other clerics and proved innocent, were dismissed.

But the most blessed John added at last this proof of constancy to his remaining boldness, writing to them in this manner: “Even if in other matters no place for answering has been given to me, at least let me be heard concerning the deed done to the church. Indeed, as you say, I was the author of the fire; yet I was not heard even about this.”

He was led by soldiers into a most remote town of Armenia so that he might be killed by the Isaurians, who besieged it by night and sometimes by day. This place is called Cucusus.

A certain Arsacius, brother of the blessed Nectarius, was substituted in John’s place as bishop of Constantinople—a man whom fishes would surpass in eloquence and frogs in conduct.

When he had lived for one year and two months, he died at the end, swearing that under oath he had promised his brother Nectarius that he would never admit any election to the episcopate made concerning him.

Atticus, a presbyter and the architect of the entire plot against John, was substituted for Arsacius.

When he perceived that none of the eastern bishops nor the people of the city itself communicated with him, Atticus, ignorant of the divine Scriptures, acted so that those who did not communicate might be compelled by imperial rescripts when summoned.

The rescript against the bishops contained threats of this kind: “If anyone shall not communicate with Theophilus, Porphyrius, and Atticus, let him be driven from the church and cast out from his own possessions.”

Hence some, weighed down beyond measure by the weight of earthly things, communicated in large numbers; others were drawn to communicate by gifts.

But those who despised lineage, homeland, the glory of the world, and bodily oppression fled so that they might not communicate. Some preserved themselves at Rome, others in the mountains, and others in monasteries.

The rescript against laymen who would not communicate with that intruder contained this: if they were in dignities, they should remain deprived of them; if in the military, they should surrender the military belt; common people and artisans, after being fined money, should be driven into exile.

John, however, passing a year in exile at Cucusus, fed very many of the Armenian poor with the word of God.

His rivals, stirred by envy when they heard of his fruit, transferred him to Arabissus, subjecting him to various injuries so that, if they could, they might drive him even from life.

But there also, accomplishing the greatest marks of virtues, he drew many to God by his words, even unbelievers.

Hence, goaded by the flame of greater envy, Severian, Porphyrius, and other bishops from Syria—because the odor of his holiness grew everywhere—took care that he be transferred to another place.

And when they heard at Antioch that John’s most welcome philosophy was being proclaimed, they were cut to the heart.

Struck by this marvel, many clerics of the opposing faction said: “See a terrible dead man making the living and the victors tremble—astonishing!”

Those who trembled lest secular powers and ecclesiastical riches be lost together with their own power and principate testified by their pallor to their fear of one priest alone, deprived of his city, weak in flesh, and an exile.

Unable therefore to bear it, they sent to the army another, stronger rescript with an added penalty, procuring that John be transferred through the narrow places of a certain region, from which it was not permitted to depart, to Pityus, namely, a wholly deserted place.

Moreover, the soldiers of the praetorian prefect who conducted him pressed him exceedingly hard along the way. They asserted that they had it in their commands that they were to be advanced to a higher rank if he died on the road.

One of them, indeed, secretly showed him some humanity. But the other was so hostile and savage that he regarded the recommendations and blandishments made to him on behalf of the holy man as injuries done against himself, caring for this alone: that John should die.

Finally, when there was violent rain, so that the inundation beat upon his back and breast, the man, caring nothing, led him out.

Again he regarded an immense heat of the sun as a delight, knowing that by this the holy man’s head, bald like that of Elisha, was afflicted.

While amid all these things the holy man completed that most difficult journey for three months, he persevered like a radiant star.

They arrived at a certain church where a certain holy martyr named Basiliscus was buried, who had suffered martyrdom under Diocletian at Nicomedia together with Saint Lucian. There they remained.

And in that night Basiliscus appeared to him, saying: “Brother John, have confidence, for tomorrow we shall be together.”

This happened. For when they continued the journey, leading John toward the place of exile, and he was afflicted by fevers on the road, they brought him back to the said church of the martyr Basiliscus.

There John, having received the heavenly sacraments, poured forth a prayer before all those standing by, saying according to his custom: “Glory be to God for all things.”

And having signed himself at the end of the prayer, he stretched out his feet and passed over to Christ.

So great a multitude of virgins, and so great a company of monks and of persons distinguished by the testimony of a more honorable life, came to meet him from Syria, Cilicia, and Pontus, that very many thought they had come by arrangement.

And he was buried honorably with the martyr Basiliscus.

Section V

Although a certain reason has been assigned in the *Tripartite History*, as is evident above, Palladius himself assigns several causes why John ate alone, as it were, and wished neither to invite others to eat nor to be invited.

First, because on account of the heat of his head he was unsightly, except that in the summer he used what is called *dia-rhodon*.

Then, because by reason of a certain infirmity his stomach required an ordered regimen, to such an extent that often the things which had been prepared seemed distasteful and it was necessary to seek things which were not present.

Then, because, often forgetful of food, he fasted until evening, partly occupied by ecclesiastical cares and partly abstracted by spiritual understandings.

Then, to avoid the laughter, guffaws, vain speech, and detraction which occur at banquets; and, being an adversary of intemperance in delicacies, he judged it altogether a sacrilege.

Then, so that he might cut away from the stewards occasions of theft, lest, multiplying in their accounts the prices of gifts which had been designated for the use of the poor, they should claim them for themselves.

Furthermore, considering the dispositions of the city, he judged that it was fitting for him, as a steward of Christ, either to honor all dignities equally or to subject himself to no one.

And on account of these things, bidding farewell to curses arising from matters of this kind, he ate alone.

Section VI

And because that Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, in order to excuse his own rashness in his proceeding and persecution against John, asserted in his writing that John, incited by a lust for domination, had deposed sixteen bishops in one day and ordained his own men in their places, Palladius declares this to be false.

For it was not sixteen but only six bishops of Asia, and not in one day but after an investigation conducted over two years and in a council of very many bishops and metropolitans, who were removed on account of their excesses; and other men, outstanding in virtue and eloquent in doctrine, were substituted.

For when the bishops of Asia had assembled at Constantinople on account of ecclesiastical necessities, Eusebius, bishop of Valentinopolis, on the first day of the week handed to the synod a libel of accusation against Antonius, bishop or archbishop of Ephesus, containing seven chapters concerning his excesses.

The last of these was that he held it as a decree and law to sell the ordinations of bishops according to the measure of their revenues.

Both those who gave and Antonius, who received, were present; nor were proofs lacking.

When the libel had been received, John exhorted Eusebius to desist, lest perhaps he had been moved against Antonius by indignation, but instead to be reconciled to his brother. He also procured the same through another bishop familiar with him.

Eusebius, however, persisted, again presenting a libel containing the same things and adjuring John that he proceed in the case, for he was prepared to prove the crimes alleged.

When those chapters had therefore been read through, those father bishops assembled in the council began to examine the last one, namely that concerning simony, as the crime of greater weight and more detestable.

Antonius, who was present, was therefore questioned and denied the alleged crime.

Those also were questioned who had been named as having given him money for ordination, and they similarly denied it.

Eusebius offered to prove it through witnesses; but because they were not present, the case was deferred.

And because John feared the suborning of the witnesses, in order to discover the truth of the matter John arranged to go personally into Asia to examine them.

When Antonius, conscious of his crime, perceived this, he treated secretly with one of the more eminent men of the court who was his friend, so that John should not be permitted by the prince to depart, on the ground that he was more necessary for the affairs of the city.

When this had been done, the examination of this matter was committed to one of the metropolitans and two bishops, so that they should go into Asia to the city of Pepis [read: Hypaepa], and within two months the witnesses who had been introduced should appear under penalty of excommunication.

For various reasons they did not appear, nor did Eusebius the accuser at the appointed time; on account of this he too was excommunicated, either as a deserter or as a detractor.

Meanwhile the accused Antonius died.

The Ephesians sent to John that there should be given to them a chief priest who would govern well the church that had long been afflicted, both by Arians assailing it and by men devoted to avarice and money. They asked him to come personally and to furnish to that church a form of living well.

John went, although he was held by ill health of body and the inclemency of the weather stood in his way. Embarking upon a ship, after a storm he finally arrived at Ephesus.

And when the bishops of Lydia, Asia, and Caria had assembled, amounting to seventy men, they ordained a bishop there.

Eusebius was present, asking to be reconciled. When this was denied him because he had committed calumny, he added prayers, saying:

“Although this case has been argued for two years and only the delay of the witnesses stood in its way, I beseech Your Piety that you deign to examine the witnesses, for they are now present. For although Antonius, who performed the ordination after accepting gold, has died, nevertheless those who were ordained after giving a price are alive.”

It pleased the synod that the matter be examined more diligently. The things which had been done were read out. The witnesses entered, and those also entered who had been ordained after giving gold.

At first they denied it. But when the witnesses persisted—partly laymen, partly presbyters in whom they had previously seemed to confide, and certain women—recounting the nature of the gifts, the places, the times, and the quantity, and when consciousness of the crime also pressed them, they confessed of their own accord, without being compelled to the uttermost.

“We gave it,” they said, “thinking that this was the custom, so that we might seem to be freed from the curia. But now, if indeed it is honorable, we ask that we remain in the ministry of the Church. But if not, let us at least receive back the gold which we gave. For some of us gave the gold and various furnishings of our wives.”

At this John promised the synod, saying: “I shall press the king that they be absolved. But you command them to receive from the revenues of Antonius what they gave.”

The synod commanded that the gold be restored by the heirs of Antonius, and that those men, removed from the priesthood, remain in communion, lest, if such things were everywhere permitted, an Egyptian custom should arise of selling and buying the priesthood.

The records of all these things are extant, and the judges survive.

For the investigation was not made in one day, as Theophilus lies, but over two full years; nor were sixteen deposed for the vice of simony, but six.

In their place others were substituted, distinguished in virtue and adorned by the grace of divine speech.

But after John’s exile, within four years, his most wicked rivals recalled these men into the church, driving out those who had been lawfully substituted, to the supreme destruction and singular detriment of Christ’s sheep.

And, having ordained the eunuch of Victor the tribune, they placed him in the episcopal seat.

But the man who had been ordained by seventy bishops they kept shut in prison to the present time.

He was a man who had been trained in the liberal disciplines and who, after a solitary life, had been called from the desert because of his knowledge of sacred things.

That eunuch, however, was subject to his belly, raving after women, shameless, a purchased and ignoble prostitute, neither man nor woman; he is said to have carried theatrical girls upon his shoulders, his head crowned with ivy, even after his baptism.

When Flavian, bishop or patriarch of Antioch, died, a certain most holy man, Constantius, was called by the people to be bishop. He was meek above all others, singular in active and contemplative life, a virgin, and, in brief, admirable in every virtue.

But when the criminal Porphyrius saw a man of such merit, he took care to drive him away by money in this manner. He wrote to the princes and obtained that he be driven into exile as the author of innovations and sedition.

They sought that another be appointed in his place, and secretly did what they had sought, Porphyrius himself, together with Acacius, Antiochus, Severian, and their accomplices, having accepted a price.

Section VII

Afterward, however, John was driven from the Church a second time.

Theophilus sent his letters to Pope Innocent, indicating how he had deposed him.

When Innocent had read them, he shuddered at the rashness and pride of Theophilus, objecting that he alone had written and that he had omitted to report the course of the whole affair: namely, for what reason and with what persons joined to himself he had dared to depose John. Moved by the indignity of the affair, he wished to write back nothing.

After three days four bishops sent by John arrived, most reverend men bearing letters to Pope Innocent: one from John, a second from forty bishops concerning communion with John, and a third written by John's clergy.

John's letter had the following beginning:

"To the venerable and most blessed lord, Bishop Innocent, John: greeting in the Lord.

"We think that, even before our letter, this audacious crime has reached the ears of Your Piety. Indeed, the magnitude of the wickedness has caused no part of the world to remain which the report of this dreadful calamity has not filled. Rather, the fame of the deeds, reaching even the very ends of the earth, has stirred immense groaning and mourning everywhere.

"But because it is fitting not merely to mourn and pursue the matter with lamentations, but to amend it according to our strength and prudently to foresee how this most savage storm of the Church may be put to rest, we judged it necessary to exhort my most honorable lords the prelates, Clement, Pappus, and Eugenius [read: Demetrius, Pansophius, Pappus, and Eugenius], to leave their churches, entrust themselves to the sea, and hasten to your charity, so that, when all things had been clearly set forth, they might earnestly request that a salutary remedy be given to so great a calamity."

Thereafter John narrates the event at length in the letter itself: how Theophilus, bishop of the Alexandrian church, although commanded by the emperor to come to Constantinople to clear himself of the crimes alleged against him, finally came with many bishops, not to clear the crimes but to depose John.

And when, after assembling a synod of his own men, he had drawn John's clergy to himself, he caused John to be summoned by bishops to the synod to answer his accusers.

When John refused, alleging that his accusers and judges were his manifest enemies, but offering himself as prepared to answer the objections and to clear himself before any persons whatever, provided that the matter proceeded in the due manner, Theophilus therefore deposed him and cast him out of the Church and the city.

But when John had been recalled by the emperor as quickly as possible to his own church, John himself urged the emperor to assemble a council to which Theophilus and he might come so that the affair could be examined.

But Theophilus had already fled.

Afterward, when many bishops had again been assembled at Constantinople by Theophilus's accomplices, through their procurement and conspiracy John had again been cast from his church by military force, a great slaughter having been made in the church on the night of the Easter solemnity.

And at last he concludes the letter thus:

"Therefore, considering all these things and learning them manifestly and more fully from my lords the venerable bishops, deign to apply your zeal, labor, and diligence, which is the duty of our party. For thus you will confer a favor not only upon us but upon all the churches, and you will receive a reward from God.

“We have also written these things to Venerius, bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia. Farewell in the Lord.”

To these things the most blessed Pope Innocent wrote back. Maintaining communion with both parties, he decreed that Theophilus’s judgment was null and void, saying that another irreproachable synod of western and eastern priests ought to be assembled, with the parties’ friends first withdrawing from the council, and then their enemies, since the judgment of either party is very often not right.

A few days afterward, a presbyter of Theophilus came with a deacon of the church of Constantinople, carrying Theophilus’s letters and certain records in which John appeared to have been condemned by thirty-six bishops.

When Innocent had read these and discovered that neither were the faults grave nor had John been present, he shuddered more and more at the madness of Theophilus.

Having dismissed them with grave letters rebuking his rashness, he gave himself to the work of prayer; and, after a fast had been proclaimed for the Church, he prayed to divine clemency that scandals of this kind might be removed.

The substance of the letter was this:

“Brother Theophilus, we decree that both you and our brother John are in our communion, as we also expressed in our former letters; and we now also persist in the same judgment.

“Therefore, if you trust in your conscience, you too hasten to judgment at the next synod to be held, and contend there according to the canons and decrees of the Nicene Council. If you prevail, your case will be evident and irrefutable.”

A short time had passed when the presbyter Teotinus of Constantinople [read: Theotecnus of Constantinople] came, carrying the letters of a council of twenty-five bishops of John. By these they taught that John had been driven from the city with the aid of soldiers and sent into exile, and that the church had been burned.

A little afterward there arrived a little man foul in appearance and ruined in mind, who vomited forth many curses against John. He had brought letters from certain bishops—Acacius, Antiochus, Cyrinus, and Severian—and delivered them to Innocent; by these John was falsely accused of having burned the church.

When this falsehood had been manifestly detected, Innocent repelled him with indignation, not even wishing to write back.

Different bishops who had been sent arrived daily, carrying letters from very many persons.

Among the others were Germanus the presbyter and Cassianus the deacon of John, men of great religion, who brought letters from all John’s clergy. These contained that their church had suffered tyranny, its bishop having been violently expelled by soldiers and sent into exile, while the bishops Acacius, Antiochus, Severian, and Theophilus of Alexandria effected it.

Innocent, the Roman pontiff, endured it no longer.

He wrote to Emperor Honorius, brother of Arcadius, who ruled in the West, that he should cause a synod of western bishops to be assembled concerning these things, and, when they had come together into one judgment, report it to him.

When this had been done and the judgment reported, Emperor Honorius wrote to Pope Innocent that he should send five bishops, two presbyters of the Roman church, and a deacon who would carry his letters to his brother.

The tenor of the letter was this:

“I now write for the third time to Your Clemency, asking that you correct the things wickedly done against John, bishop of Constantinople. But, as I see, this has not been done to the present.

“Wherefore, desirous of ecclesiastical peace and troubled with immense care, I write again through holy bishops and presbyters. For when the churches are at peace, peace also comes to our empire.

“Command the eastern bishops to assemble at Thessalonica. For our western bishops have sent chosen men of stern constancy, who incline toward neither party through love or hatred: five bishops, two presbyters of the Roman church, and one deacon.

“I ask that you receive them with every honor, so that, if they have been persuaded that John was justly expelled, they may teach me to depart from his communion. But if they discover that the eastern bishops acted wickedly of their own accord, let them likewise separate themselves from the communion of those men.

“What the judgment of the western bishops concerning Bishop John is can be established from almost all the letters which they have repeatedly given to me. Of these I have appended two containing the same thing after the remainder, namely those of the bishops of Rome and Aquileia.

“But before all things I ask this from Your Clemency: command Theophilus of Alexandria to be present, even unwilling. For all these evils are said to have arisen through him, so that the synod of the arriving bishops, impeded in nothing, may bring a peace fitting for our times.”

Therefore three holy bishops and two presbyters received the letters of Emperor Honorius, Pope Innocent, and the bishops of Italy—Chromatius of Aquileia, Venerius of Milan, and other bishops—and one commonitory of the whole West, and, undertaking the journey at public expense, proceeded toward Constantinople.

The commonitory was this: that John ought not to enter into judgment unless the church and communion were first restored to him, so that, with every occasion of delay removed, he might be able to enter the council of his own accord.

After four months they returned, reporting Babylonian affairs: namely, that they had been detained at Athens by a certain tribune of the soldiers, who afterward added a centurion to them, who did not permit them to approach Thessalonica at all.

For there they intended first to deliver their letters to Bishop Anysius, because the council was to be assembled there.

And, having been thrown into two ships after a storm, on the third day they arrived before the city near the suburbs of Victor.

In that place, detained by those who guarded the ports, they were commanded to go back. Shut up in the maritime fortress which they call Athyra, and tortured there, they were divided from one another: the Romans in one cell, the others in several.

When they were required to give up the letters, they did not acquiesce, saying that it was not fitting that, since they were elders, they themselves should not deliver the emperor’s letters and those of the bishops to the emperor himself.

When we obstinately refused and wished to give them neither to the notary who came nor to others who pressed us for this, at last a certain tribune of the soldiers named Valerian, from Cappadocia, approached. Having broken the thumb of Bishop Marianus, he violently took away the sealed letter of the king together with the other letters.

On the following day, either the king’s courtiers or Atticus, who was said to have invaded John’s see, sent to us, offering three thousand *numismata* so that we should communicate with Atticus and remain altogether silent concerning John’s judgment.

We did not acquiesce in them at all. We therefore persisted in asking that, since we could accomplish nothing peaceful, we should at least be permitted to return to our churches.

The savagery of the men moved them, and the Savior had also shown this by various revelations.

For Paul the Apostle had appeared in the ship to a certain holy deacon, a most meek and chaste man, saying: “See how carefully you walk, not as unwise but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.”

Therefore that same tribune Valerian, standing by, threw them into an old and rotten ship, a price—as was reported—having been given to the shipmaster that he should destroy them. Sailing continuously, he drove them away from Tyris [read: Athyra].

After very many stadia had therefore been traversed, when we already seemed about to perish, we arrived at Lampsacus. Having changed ship, from there they reached Hydruntum in Calabria.

Palladius does not relate further what was done thereafter.

But it is found in the *Tripartite History* that, when John had passed to the Lord, violent hail descended upon Constantinople and all its suburbs, all saying that this proceeded from the wrath of God because of the unjust expulsion of John.

The death of the empress, which followed on the fourth day, gave credence to these words; for she had been a great cause of this affair because of the indignation conceived against John.

But when the western bishops heard of John’s death, they wished in no way to communicate with the eastern bishops until the name of that most sacred man should be placed among the predecessor bishops, intimating from this that he had been most unjustly deposed and banished.

Pope Innocent also excommunicated Emperor Arcadius because he had consented to the deposition and exile of John, as is found in Distinction 96, *Duo sunt*.

Theodosius also, the most Christian emperor and son of the aforesaid Arcadius, who bore the name and piety of his grandfather, after the death of his father caused the sacred relics of this holy doctor to be transferred in the month of January to the imperial city.

The most faithful people met him with wax candles and lamps. Theodosius himself, supplicantly adoring his relics, prayed on behalf of his parents Arcadius and Eudoxia, who were already dead, that he should grant pardon to those who had sinned in ignorance.

Section VIII

I do not believe that Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who was the origin and principal cause of the whole evil against John Chrysostom, was that doctor who wrote upon the Gospels, whose minor works are approved, but another.

When the heresy of the Anthropomorphites arose—that is, of those who said that God was corporeal and had bodily members like human beings, because Scripture frequently speaks of the eyes, ears, face, hands, and feet of the Lord—and a very great crowd of simple monks adhered to this error, Theophilus preached and thought the contrary: namely, that God is spiritual, not corporeal, and that the words of Scripture were not to be understood so superficially and according to the bark, but were spoken through similitude, so that the eyes of God signified the sight or knowledge of God, and similarly concerning the other members.

When the monks of Egypt heard this, they abandoned their dwellings and came to Alexandria, stirring up sedition against him, so that they attempted to kill him as a heretic, because he asserted the contrary and commanded it to be believed.

Perceiving this, when they had approached him he received them joyfully, saying: “Thus I see you, sons, as the face of God.”

They said to him: “If you speak truly, anathematize the books of Origen, which oppose our opinion. If you do not do this, you will suffer from us the penalties which belong to men rebellious against emperors and God.”

But he said: “Do not rage. I shall do what pleases you.” Thus he restrained their fury.

A certain Serapion followed that error, a man advanced in years in the desert, of great abstinence, and renowned for holiness. John Cassian, with a companion, recalled him from that error, as he himself relates in the first *Collation*.

And under this pretext, namely of condemning the books of Origen, Theophilus caused the bishops of Egypt to assemble at Constantinople.

He circumvented Epiphanius, a most holy man and bishop of Cyprus, and made him his friend, asking that he likewise condemn the books of Origen. This he did.

But when they had assembled at Constantinople and he had incited Epiphanius against John, it was not his care to treat of Origen’s books, but of the deposition of John.

This Epiphanius, however, was a holy man of marvelous liberality toward the poor. When on a certain day he had distributed all the money of the church and nothing remained to him, a certain man suddenly arrived and offered a purse containing much money, and immediately departed; nor could it ever be known whence he came or where he went.

Certain poor men, wishing to deceive him so that he would give something to them, agreed with one another that one of them should lay himself on his back upon the ground as though dead, while the other should stand over him lamenting him and crying out in plaintive voices that he had nothing with which to bury him.

When Epiphanius came upon them and the man asked him for money so that he might be able to bury his dead companion, Epiphanius prayed that he might sleep in rest, furnished the things necessary for burial, consoled the man concerning the dead, and departed.

But the man struck his companion and said: “Rise, so that today we may feast from your labors.”

When he had struck him repeatedly and discovered that he was dead, he ran to Epiphanius and announced what had happened, asking him to raise the man.

Epiphanius consoled him, but was unwilling to raise the man, lest the ministers of God be readily mocked.

When this Epiphanius visited Paula, the mother of Eustochium, in her sickness, and had been secretly asked by Jerome, who was present there, to exhort her to drink wine because of her infirmity, Paula smiled as he did this, saying that he had been sent by Jerome for this purpose. Nevertheless, she did not acquiesce in relaxing her rigor.

When Jerome asked Epiphanius what had resulted from this, he answered: “I accomplished only this: that she nearly persuaded me, an old man, not to drink wine.”

He wrote some things, but few. It is also reported that demons are expelled at the sepulcher of the holy man himself.

From these things and others it is evident that John Chrysostom was a contemporary of Jerome.

Hence Jerome himself, in *On Illustrious Men*, says: “John, presbyter of the church of Antioch, a follower of Eusebius of Nicaea [read: Eusebius of Emesa] and Diodore, is said to have composed many things, of which I have read only *On the Priesthood*.”

I heard from a Greek cardinal, very learned, that he wrote as copiously in Greek as Augustine did in Latin.

Vincent, however, says that he found only the following books of his translated: one book, *That No One Is Injured Except by Himself*; one book, *On the Restoration of the Fallen*; two books, *On Compunction of Heart*; likewise many homilies upon Matthew, in various form and number; eighty-eight homilies upon John; many homilies upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; seven homilies *On the Praises of Paul*; thirty sermons.

In the beginning, when he was made a lector, as is found in his deeds, he wrote a book *Against the Jews*; when made a deacon, the book *On the Priesthood*.

Some things drawn from these will be set down.

Section IX

Chrysostom, in the book *That No One Can Be Injured Except by Himself*, says:

“What is virtue of soul? To think rightly concerning God and to act rightly among human beings. This alone is what no one can take away.

“For liberty, bodily health, riches, and things of this kind can be taken away, because they are not properly the goods of a human being; but virtue of soul alone is. Hence it is evident that no one can be injured by another, because virtue, which alone is the good of a human being, cannot be taken away from him.

“Nor do I say that no one injures another, but that no one is injured by another. For Joseph’s brothers injured him and acted wickedly against him, but he himself was not injured.

“Indeed, I shall say something further: those alone who injure are injured, and the harm which they inflict upon others hurts no one else.

“But if anyone, beaten or afflicted by another, brings forth a blasphemous or impious word, he has indeed been injured; in this, however, not by another but by himself through his own impatience.

“For the fire of avarice is kindled by riches and is fed by riches; and when men have given their hands to it, it daily sharpens swords with those riches, prepares pits and precipices, and dashes them against a thousand rocks and shipwrecks.

“Nevertheless, as volunteers they delight like swine on a stage [read: in mud] and, like dung-beetles, to roll its dung.

“It is certain, therefore, that unless someone injures himself, he cannot be injured by others, even if the whole world conspires against him.

“Nor is temptation the cause of falling and ruin, but instability and cowardice of soul, which even without temptation is sometimes cast down of its own accord, as is also a building constructed upon sand, even if rivers and winds do not press upon it.

“If you indeed do all the things which are in your power, you ought also to hope for the things which are from God. For he will also be present to you if you have not first failed yourself.”

The same man says in the book *On Compunction of Heart*:

“I do not see, dearest one, that any of us is held by a true and perfect desire for heavenly things. Otherwise we would regard all things which seem to be burdensome as a shadow and a laughing matter.

“A true lover of Christ transfers himself entirely to that place toward which the intention of his love leads him. And that delight and sweetness which he beholds through the spirit obscures every delight of visible sweetness of this kind.

“For he is so inflamed and burns with the love of Christ that, even if you apply immortal flames, he does not know it, does not feel it, and is not burned.

“For much more vehement is the fire of Christ by which he is burned through love; and, bound by blessed desire, he bears all things in such a manner that from the penalties which he suffers he receives consolations of his love more than he feels pain of body.

“This is the custom of lovers: they are unable to cover their custom [read: their love] in silence and cannot contain their flames within the breast, but narrate them frequently, so that by the very constancy of narrating they may receive consolation for their love and take refreshment from their immense love.

“Now we do not so much speak of compunction of heart as experience it, because to teach and not to do brings not only no gain but even very great loss.

“For it is a great condemnation for one who composes his speech and neglects his life.

“How can it happen that a weak and cold soul should bring forth words of compunction?

“I do not wish you to think that mountains or deserts can so confer silence upon the soul and destroy its disturbances as does that fire which Christ kindles within.

“Silence and repose, therefore, are to be sought not only of places, but of the soul and intention. For if the soul bears an intention of repose, it will not be disturbed even in the habitation of a city.

“But it is impossible for compunction of heart to flourish amid delights.

“True compunction of heart is to do great things and speak humble ones, to act justly and to fear on behalf of sinners.

“I do not say that we think about or groan over our sins, which are many and grave; rather, we do not even make mention of them.

“But while there is no grief concerning past sins, we more easily give place to new evils which come upon us.”

The same man, in the title *On the Restoration of the Fallen*, says:

“Just as it is philosophical to refrain from tears for an ordinary dead person, so I say that to receive consolation for the death of a soul is foolish and irreligious.”

And below:

“Some of the unskilled believe it to be enough and judge it desirable if they merely lack Gehenna. But I say that it is a much more grievous torment to be removed from that glory and to be barred from the sight of Christ.

“That fire, however, is called inextinguishable not only because it is not extinguished, but because it neither extinguishes nor purifies those whom it receives.

“And just as it does not possess a nature of consuming, so neither does it possess one of illuminating. Rather, it is a dark fire and a shadowy flame.

Section X

Concerning those things which are contained in the Decrees from the words of Chrysostom’s book *On the Restoration of the Fallen*:

“Believe me: such, such is the piety of God toward human beings that he never rejects a person’s repentance if it is offered to him purely and simply. Even if someone has reached the summit of evils and wishes to return thence to the way of virtue, he receives him, embraces him willingly, and does all things so that he may recall him to his former state.” *On Penance*, distinction III, *Talis*.

The same man in a sermon:

“Perfect repentance compels the sinner willingly to suffer all things. For in the heart is contrition; in the mouth, confession; in the work, complete humility, namely of action [read: satisfaction]. This is true and fruitful repentance.” *On Penance*, distinction III.

The same man in a sermon:

“The stronger medicine, which works especially in repentance, is almsgiving, namely with regard to satisfaction. For just as in the precepts of medicine a remedy receives many herbs, but one that is most dominant, so also in repentance this herb is more dominant and powerful, and it itself effects the whole. Hear what Scripture says: ‘Give alms, and all things are clean for you.’” *On Penance*, distinction I, *Medicamentum*.

The same, *On Penance*, distinction I:

“Now, brother, remember your sins and frequently pronounce them in the sight of God, and beseech God’s clemency for them; you will erase them more quickly. But if you now forget your sins, then you will remember them unwillingly, when they are published throughout the whole world in the sight of all friends and enemies and of the holy angels.”

The same, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews:

“If you continually hold your sins in your mind, you will never retain evil against your neighbor in your heart.” *On Penance*, distinction I, *Non tibi*.

The same:

“There is no remedy for sins like the continual memory of them, namely for grieving over them.”

The same, *On Penance*, distinction I:

“Who has ever seen a cleric repent quickly? If, when detected, he has humbled himself, he does not grieve because he sinned, but is confounded because he lost his glory.”

The same, against those who impose indiscreet penances upon penitents, upon Matthew:

“There are even now men who command every justice to the people and themselves observe not even a little, wishing to appear just not by doing but by speaking.

“Such are those who impose a heavy burden upon those coming to penance, who say and do not. And thus, while the present penalty of penance is fled, the future penalty of sin is contemned.”

And he gives the example of a young man who, when too great a burden is imposed upon him, casts it off or fails beneath it.

And below:

“Is it not better to render an account to God for mercy than for cruelty? For where the father of the household is generous, his steward ought not to be grasping. If God is kind, why does his priest wish to appear austere?” Thus far there.

The same concerning evil prelates, upon Matthew, distinction XL, chapter *Multi*, says:

“See how you sit upon the chair. The place does not sanctify the man, but the man the place. An evil priest acquires from his priesthood guilt, not dignity.

“You sit in judgment. For by living well and teaching well, you instruct the people how they ought to live; but by teaching well and living badly, you instruct God how he ought to condemn you.”

And below:

“He who shall have desired primacy on earth will find confusion in heaven; nor will he be numbered among the servants of Christ who has treated of primacy.”

The same, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, distinction XLII, chapter *Quiescamus*, says:

“God will grant you a reward not from the life of those whom you receive, namely pilgrims or those to whom you give alms, but from your will, from much honor, from mercy, and from goodness.”

The same, upon Matthew, distinction LVI, says:

“Let us never be ashamed of the vices of our parents, but let us seek and embrace that one thing: virtue.”

And below:

“No one is altogether either to be praised or blamed for the virtue or vice of his parents. No one is truly obscure or illustrious from that source. Rather, to say something more carefully considered, I do not know how he does not shine the more who, born from parents altogether alien to virtues, has himself been marvelous by the virtue of God.” Thus far there.

The same, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, question XI, chapter III:

“Let no one contemn the bonds of the Church. For it is not a man who binds, but Christ, who gave this power and made human beings lords of so great an honor.”

The same, question XXII, chapter V, *Iuramenti*, says:

“Both perjury and falsehood, namely pernicious falsehood, are condemned by the penalty of divine judgment, Scripture saying: ‘The mouth which lies kills the soul.’”

The same in the following chapter:

“He who is prepared to perjure himself appears already a perjurer before he swears, because God judges not merely from works but from thoughts and from the heart.”

The same, upon Matthew, question XXIII, chapter VIII:

“Phinehas killed a man, and it was reputed to him unto justice. Abraham, not only a murderer but even a parricide, which is graver, pleased God the more. Peter committed a double homicide. Nevertheless, the deed which was done was spiritual.

“Therefore, let us not regard works alone, but let us most diligently inquire into the time and cause, the will, the difference of persons, and whatever other circumstances have attended the works themselves. For otherwise we cannot arrive at the truth of things.”

The same, *On Consecration*, distinction IV, says:

“The waters of baptism could never purify the sins of believers unless they had been sanctified by the touch of the Lord’s body.”

Title X, Chapter X

Others also flourished in those times.

For in the time of Augustine, Orosius the historian flourished in Spain. As Vincent writes in the *Historical Mirror*, book XIX, he wrote historical books which are entitled *On the Ormesta of the World*, at Augustine's request or command. In them he unfolded the miseries and calamities of human beings from the beginning of sin, or of the world.

He did this against the vain speech of the pagans, who defamed those times as though they were infested with evils beyond what was customary because Christ was worshiped and idols were spurned.

And this book is greatly commended in the Decrees, distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*, as exceedingly useful against the calumnies of the pagans.

The same man also wrote an apologetic book for himself against the Pelagian heresy. From it the following original passage is taken:

"As though enlightened by the Lord, let us be persuaded that lamps burning in our hands are prepared in good works. These, wearied by temptations of many kinds, are always endangered by their own failure and by the blow of another.

"But if the light which is in you is darkness, how great will that darkness be?

"Or do you truly think it easy that one should simply be free of scurrility while joyful in speech; of wrath while solicitous; of negligence while patient; of sloth while meek; of vaunting while learned; of envy while supreme—apart from that desire of vainglory which is the general darkness of all good works?

"Therefore, let each one of you undertake a comparison, so that he may despise himself more because of the superiority of one who is better than be justified by contempt for one who is lesser.

"Christ, the Son of God, in the virtue and glory of the Father, created in the beginning, redeemed in the middle, and will judge at the last."

The same man says in the prologue to the history *On the Ormesta of the World*:

"If this world is governed by divine providence, which is as pious as it is just, a human being who is weak and contumacious through the mutability of nature and the freedom of license must, just as one in need of aid, be governed piously; so also it is necessary that he, immoderate in liberty, be corrected justly."

Section I

Also held illustrious at that time was a certain man called Tichomus [read: Tyconius], an African by nation, learned in the divine writings, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, sufficiently instructed in history, and not ignorant of secular matters. He was also studious in ecclesiastical affairs.

He wrote three little books *On the Internal War* and expositions of various causes of the Church, in which, in defense of his own people, he made mention of ancient synods.

From all these things it is known that he was a Donatist. Hence Augustine says of him in book III of *On Christian Doctrine*: "Tyconius, who wrote most invincibly against the Donatists although he was himself a Donatist, is found there to have had a most absurd heart, in that he was unwilling to abandon them in every respect."

He made a book which he called *The Book of Rules*, because in it he pursued seven rules by which, as by keys, the hidden things of the divine Scriptures might be opened. Concerning these you have above, in the title concerning the gift of understanding.

He also expounded the Apocalypse of John *ex intergo* [read: in its entirety].

Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, published books in an elegant style.

Concerning him Heraclides says thus: "Rufinus was a man of noble manners and sufficiently steadfast in a singular purpose. No one gentler and more placid—as though knowing all things—could be found in the male sex."

He also says that Rufinus lived at Jerusalem with Saint Melania for thirty-seven years, supported the poor and pilgrims at his own expense, and recalled many heretics and schismatics to the unity of the faith and ecclesiastical peace.

But Helinand says thus concerning him, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book XVIII: Blessed Jerome charged Rufinus with the Pelagian heresy in addition to the heresy of Origen, and likewise John, bishop of Jerusalem.

Concerning these two Gennadius speaks thus:

“Rufinus, presbyter of the church of Aquileia, was no small part among the doctors of the Church, and possessed an elegant talent for translating from Greek into Latin.

“Finally, he presented to the Latins the greatest part of the Greek libraries: the books of Basil, bishop of Caesarea; Gregory Nazianzen; the *Recognitions* of Clement of Rome; and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea, to which he also added two books.

“He also translated the *Sentences* of Evagrius, the *Sentences* of Pamphilus the Martyr, and *Against the Mathematicians*. But he did not translate all of Origen, for Jerome also translated some things which are distinguished in his own prologue.

“He also discussed the Creed in such a manner that, in comparison with him, others are thought not even to have expounded it; likewise the blessing of Jacob upon the twelve patriarchs, and many letters exhorting to the fear of God.

“He also answered the detractors of his books in two volumes. And he wrote explanations upon three prophets, namely Hosea, Joel, and Amos.”

John of Jerusalem likewise wrote one book against the detractors of his study, in which he showed that he followed the talent of Origen, not his faith.

But because Jerome marked him as not having thought catholically concerning free will, in those sayings or opinions in which Jerome accused him the Church reproved him; distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*, approves the others.

Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, book XIX, that after hostility had arisen between Jerome and Rufinus on account of questions of Scripture, they composed books of invectives which were indeed sufficiently brilliant but used speech that was excessively biting.

Hence Rufinus says thus against Jerome in book I:

“The sons of men—their teeth are weapons and arrows, and their tongues,” and so forth.

“But for these wounds which are inflicted among human beings by the tongue, there is almost no physician. And therefore I turned myself to Jesus, the heavenly physician, who gave me a most powerful antidote taken from the medicine-box of his Gospel, by which the force of the pain might be comforted by hope of the future just examination.

“Therefore that draught which Christ mixed consisted of these words: ‘Blessed shall you be when men curse you and persecute you,’” and so forth.

The same man says in book II:

“That eastern master, namely Jerome, when Christ the judge sat upon the tribunal, with the angels standing by and interceding for him, when placed amid blows and torments, swore that he would never possess or read secular books.

“Now, I ask, let us reread the things which he writes. But there is not one page of his work which does not pronounce him a Ciceronian, where he says not only ‘our Tully,’ but ‘our Flaccus and Maro.’

“Indeed, he scatters Chrysippus, Aristides, Empedocles, and the names of the other Greek authors before his readers like smoke and clouds, so that he may appear learned and very widely read.

“When writing to girls or little women, who assuredly desire and ought to be edified only from our Scriptures, he interweaves examples from his Flaccus or Maro.”

Jerome, however, says thus against him:

“According to the saying of the illustrious orator, it is apparent that he has the will to lie but not the art of fabricating.

“We erred as young men; let us amend as old men. With the same fervor with which we formerly praised Origen, let us now condemn him who has been condemned by the whole world.

“If, when accused, I am silent, I shall seem to acknowledge the crime. Hospitality is dear to us in the monastery. We receive all who come to us with the joyful appearance of humanity.

“For we fear lest Mary with Joseph should find no place in the lodging, lest Jesus, excluded, should say to us: ‘I was a stranger, and you did not receive me.’

“Heretics alone we do not receive. For our purpose is to wash the feet of those who come.

“In one thing I shall not be able to agree with you: that I should spare heretics. If this is the cause of the discord which you have toward me, I can die; I cannot be silent.” Thus says he.

And from these things it is evident that Rufinus held something of heresy, whence Jerome reproved him.

Section II

There also flourished in the time of Honorius, according to Vincent’s *Historical Mirror*, book XX, the illustrious, prudent, and eloquent man John the hermit, who is also called Cassian.

I do not know for what cause he was driven from the church of Constantinople by John Chrysostom; and, having been ordained a presbyter at Marseilles in Gaul, he wrote many things.

Among them, in many books addressed to various persons, he also set forth the lives, teachings, and rules of the fathers which he had discovered in Egypt.

Concerning him Gennadius says in the book *On Illustrious Men* that, having been ordained a deacon by John the great bishop and a presbyter at Marseilles, he founded two monasteries, one for men and one for women, which remain to this day.

With experience as his mistress, he wrote in measured speech—and, to speak more openly, finding words through understanding and moving his tongue through action—the things necessary to the profession of all monks.

Concerning his books Vincent writes thus in the place cited above:

“Certainly this man’s minor works contain much edification of souls and shine with brilliant speech. These, among the many works of the ancients, I judge that I have read anything so useful for advancing toward spiritual progress and the summit of spiritual perfection [read: Among the many works of the ancients, I judge that I have read scarcely anything so useful for one advancing toward spiritual progress and the summit of spiritual perfection].

“Hence also the blessed Father Dominic, as is read in his life, diligently reading and vigilantly understanding that book which is inscribed *The Collations of the Fathers*, and searching in it for the paths of salvation, attained a great summit of perfection.

“For that book treats of purity of heart, of vices, and of the perfection of all virtues.”

But that book is said to be numbered among the apocrypha in distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*, where it says, “The minor works of Cassian, presbyter of the Gauls.”

This is perhaps because Prosper, whose teaching is approved by the Church in the said chapter, and after him also Cassiodorus, accuse him, asserting that he wrote uncatholically concerning free will and grace, and attributed more to free will and less to grace than was fitting, in the Collations, namely the first of Moses and that of Chaeremon concerning the protection of God.

Nevertheless, some, such as Master John Dominici in the book entitled *The Love of Charity*, excuse him in this matter, saying that his statements can be preserved if they are understood soundly and maturely, and not in the manner in which Prosper and others expound them, understanding them too hastily and superficially.

First, therefore, this venerable man wrote to Bishop Castorius [read: Castor] ten books *On the Institutes of Cenobites and the Eight Principal Vices and Their Remedies*.

Then, to Bishop Leontius and his brother Belladius [read: Helladius], ten Collations of the Fathers, namely of the abbots Moses, Pannutius [read: Paphnutius], Daniel, Serapion, Theodore, Serenus, and Isaac, dwelling in the Scetic desert, which he had heard from them.

After these, to Bishop Honoratus and Cutherius [read: Eucherius], another seven Collations of three anchorites leading their life in another desert of Egypt, namely Chaeremon, Nesteros, and Joseph.

Finally, another seven to the brothers Juvenian [read: Jovinian], Meucrius [read: Minervius], Leontius, and Theodore, which are those of the abbots Piamun, John, Theonas, and Abraham: twenty-four Collations in all.

At the last, when asked by Leo the archdeacon, afterward bishop of the city of Rome, he wrote seven books *On the Incarnation of the Lord against Nestorius the Heretic*.

With these he made an end of writing and of life under Theodosius the Younger, that is, the son of Arcadius.

Although he visited some of the said abbots, he did not, however, receive from their mouths all those opinions and words just as he writes them, even if he received some. Rather, he published them in his monastery, fashioning his own questioning and their answer, just as was done by saints in their dialogues, at which those asking the questions were not always present when the saints themselves composed them.

Some things concerning those Collations will be said in the following title, when hermits and cenobites are treated.

Section III

At that time Maximus, bishop of Turin, shone forth. As Vincent writes in the *Historical Mirror*, book XX, he labored elegantly in composing homilies to be declaimed in the church.

He is read to have composed treatises in praise of the apostles and of Saint John the Baptist; concerning Saint Eusebius of Vercelli; concerning Saint Cyprian; and a book *On the Grace of Baptism*; *On Avarice and Hospitality*; *On the Eclipse of the Moon*; *On Alms*; *On Fasting*; *On the Passion of the Lord*; and many other things.

Around the same time the bodies of Stephen the protomartyr, of Nicodemus, and of Gamaliel and his son Abibo were revealed, Gamaliel appearing three times by night to the presbyter Lucian and teaching him the place where they were buried.

John, bishop of Jerusalem, approached that place with other bishops to whom Lucian had disclosed the vision. When they began to dig, an earthquake occurred, and so great an odor burst forth that no one remembered ever having perceived its equal.

The power of this odor freed seventy persons from various infirmities.

The body of the most holy protomartyr Stephen was carried to the church of Zion at Jerusalem.

And, as Sigebert relates, in the eighth year of Honorius the presbyter Orosius, returning from Jerome—to whom he had been sent by Augustine to learn the question concerning the origin of the soul—carried relics of the protomartyr Stephen to Africa with the history of their discovery. With the grace of miracles accompanying it, the Lord glorified it everywhere.

Hence Augustine, in the last book of *The City of God*, narrates many miracles performed at his relics which he himself also saw.

The same Sigebert relates concerning a certain miracle that, in the sixth year of Honorius, a certain Jew, since he had often received baptism for the sake of gain in many churches of the heretics, also came to the church of the orthodox with the same intention, to be baptized.

When he was to be baptized, the water of the font suddenly disappeared. Again and yet again water was brought and the font filled; and again and yet again the water disappeared, displaying the power of God and the perfidy of the Jew.

Around those times, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book XIX, Bishop Donatus was held illustrious in holiness and the virtue of miracles—not Donatus of Arezzo, but another later in time.

By spitting into the mouth of an enormous dragon he killed it; eight yokes of oxen were scarcely able to drag it away to be burned.

This dragon, as Sozomen says, lay upon a public road near a bridge. It ate goats, sheep, cattle, horses, and human beings.

When that dragon raised its head against the bishop as he passed, as though about to devour him, the bishop made the sign of the cross, spat into its mouth, and killed it.

Eight pairs of oxen dragged it into a neighboring field, and it was burned there.

Section IV

In the time of Theodosius the Younger, John Damascene, presbyter and monk, was held to be a distinguished doctor, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book XVIII, chapter one hundred.

As the same author narrates from his deeds, John, instructed from infancy in Greek letters, attained knowledge of all the liberal arts before twelve years of age.

Exercising himself in the love of God and of his glorious Mother, he assumed the monastic habit and remained a virgin. He most diligently chanted the Hours of the Queen of Virgins every day.

When he had been made a presbyter, he celebrated Masses most devoutly in her honor.

Moreover, he was accustomed to compose prayers, antiphons, responsories, and sequences, which at her solemnities he chanted most sweetly in her honor.

Noble men entrusted their sons to him to be educated. He not only instructed them most diligently in letters, but also carefully formed them toward fear and love in every uprightness of conduct.

One day, when he had gone beyond the city walls and was walking for a short time with his scholars, Saracens suddenly rushed upon them in their customary manner. Together with a multitude of human beings and animals, they seized John also and carried him with them into Persia.

When a division of the plunder was made among the robbers, it happened that John Damascene fell to the share of a certain man who was the richest among them.

Although the others were assigned to the labors of servitude, by a divine disposition and through the merits of the Blessed Virgin that man acted more gently toward John.

The captive, however, did not neglect to discharge the customary due of servitude; but, persisting in fasts and vigils, he directed most devout prayers to the Blessed Virgin every day.

When that pagan perceived his good manner of life, as though overcome by a spiritual enchantment, he permitted him to go and return freely wherever he wished within the precincts of the palace.

One day he addressed him thus:

“My dearest John, I have marveled at your prudence in dictating, your courtliness in writing, your usefulness in taking precautions [read: singing], your sweetness in playing the organ, and also your holy purpose and manner of life.

“I have a young son no less dear to me than I myself am. I ask that you instruct him in the liberal arts and take care to conform him to yourself in dictating, writing, reading, and singing, so that if perhaps you should one day depart from us free, you may in a certain manner remain wholly among us in him.”

Receiving the boy obediently and humbly, and beginning to instruct him from the first elements, within a few years John rendered him so instructed in the liberal arts that, if you attended to the rhetorical mode of dictating of master and disciple, if you beheld the form of the writing, or if you heard the melody of the voice, you would declare that there was no difference between the two.

Moreover, when John seemed necessary to Emperor Theodosius in certain matters on account of the merit of his life and the uprightness of his conduct, as well as the splendor of his eloquence, the emperor sent an embassy and commanded that lord to send John to him as quickly as possible.

Not daring to contradict the imperial command, the man caused John to be conducted honorably to the emperor at Constantinople.

The emperor received him with honor and granted him a monastery in the city in which he might quietly serve God with the brothers. The emperor himself also came there frequently and treated familiarly with him concerning the condition of the kingdom and the salvation of his soul.

But so that the good John might still be proved in the furnace of tribulation for an increase of merits, that young man whom he had taught in Persia, moved by a spirit of wickedness, dictated a letter by his own sense and talent in John’s manner of dictating and his distinctive hand of writing.

He sent it furtively to Constantinople and caused it to be cast into a place in the palace where it might more quickly be found by the imperial ministers.

The letter was as follows:

“To the beloved friends who are in Persia, John Damascene, least of the monks, greeting.

“Know that the emperor has sent the strength of his army to various wars among the most distant nations, and that the imperial city and its neighboring regions have remained empty of men. Therefore, since you are wise, come securely and without delay obtain manfully the victory prepared for you.”

The letter was therefore found and read through before the emperor. Treason was cried out by all, and inquiry was made as to who was the author of this treason.

The form of the letter and the manner of writing were examined, and it was reported to the emperor to be John’s.

John was immediately sought and, with much injury, led into the emperor’s presence, while he marveled whence so sudden a tumult and conspiracy against him had arisen.

The whole people, casting insults against him, proclaimed him not a priest but a traitor, not a monk but an apostate; and, raging, they scarcely restrained their hands from his eyes.

Then the emperor, when silence had been made, sighed and said:

“O most wicked John, ungrateful for my benefits, you have returned evil to me for good. Most wicked Sarabaite, insofar as it lay in you, you betrayed the fatherland, taking liberty away from me and mine and thrusting us into the worst captivity.”

When the letter was shown to him, he answered thus:

“Truly, lord, I recognize the form of writing and the manner of dictating as my own kind. But God is my witness that I did not make it at all.”

When all made a din against him because he appeared to wish to conceal the truth, they cried out from every side that he should be punished with death without delay.

The judges, having taken counsel, said with equal agreement that because he had been a special friend of the emperor, he ought not to be killed, but the hand which had perpetrated so great a crime ought to be cut off.

When this had been done, he gave thanks to God for the pain of the wound and the diminishment of his body, and for a short time grieved that he could no longer offer sacrifice in his honor.

Therefore the hand, cut off by the office of the executioner, was, at the emperor’s command, hung before the monastery of John himself as testimony of so great a crime.

Immediately the maimed man came before the image of his special Lady. With the wound uncovered and the arm extended, he piously disputed with her, saying:

“Lady, are these the rewards of our merits? Is this the blessedness of your servants?

“Be it so, my Lady: you worthily wished me, a sinner, to be scourged according to my deserts. But why did you permit the instrument of your office to be entirely cut off?

“For this hand, by frequently writing hymns and songs of your praise, prepared them; and it many times offered to God the Father the most sacred body and blood of your Son in your honor for the salvation of all sinners.”

When he had repeatedly completed such words with lamentation, it happened one night that, after this lamentation, exhausted upon his bed, he appeared neither wholly sleeping nor waking.

And behold, the Queen of Virgins was present with a great light and a joyful face, consoling him with this address:

“What are you doing,” she said, “my most faithful child?”

“Alas, Lady,” he said, “why do you ask me? Rather, I ask you: where were you when I suffered these things? Behold, to my dishonor—and indeed to yours—the severed hand of your little servant hangs in the church.”

But she said: “Be strengthened in the Lord, son. He who fashioned the whole human being from nothing can restore your hand to you.”

Having said these things, while he watched she went to the church, brought back his hand, and with marvelous kindness restored it to his arm in a moment.

Then, giving ineffable thanks, when daylight had returned he arose, summoned the brothers, showed them his hand, and encouraged them to glorify with him the magnificent works of God.

Immediately, solemnly vested, he celebrated in a loud voice a Mass of the most blessed Virgin.

When the emperor heard of the miracle, he came to his feet and, kissing John’s hand with his own mouth, after praise of God and of the glorious Virgin diligently inquired of him whether he knew anyone anywhere who possessed his manner of dictating and form of writing.

John indeed reported the matter to him, and thus the truth of the affair became known when it was investigated more diligently.

This John Damascene published a book of *Sentences*, notable and very learned, whose statements are frequently alleged by modern doctors. He wrote it in Greek, but Pope Eugenius caused it to be translated into Latin.

This John Damascene is also said to have compiled the history of Barlaam the hermit and Josaphat, son of King Ademur [read: Abenner], who was converted to the faith through his teaching.

That history is very moral and devout, showing the vanity of the world, inducing contempt for the age, setting forth probable arguments of the faith, and intimating the tranquil and perfect state of religion. Vincent narrates it at length in the *Historical Mirror*, book XVI, through many chapters.

He appears to have held the heresy of the Greeks who say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, not from the Son, which is heretical and condemned.

Nevertheless, Blessed Thomas says in the *Summa* that he can be excused from the vice of heresy, because it had not yet been declared by the Church that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and that the contrary—namely, that he does not proceed from the Son but only from the Father, as the Greeks hold—is heretical.

Section V

In the time of the divine Theodosius there was an illustrious poet, Claudian. Although he was a pagan, he remained at Rome.

He published two metrical books, namely the *Greater Claudian* and the *Lesser Claudian*. A few of his verses are these:

“Alas, how blind a love inheres in vices!

“For many, transgressions have been the bonds of friendship.

“What does it profit to confess one’s errors when the ship has already sunk?

“If you fear, if you desire more things, if you are led by anger, you will suffer the yoke of servitude; you will tolerate unjust laws within.

“Then you will possess all things by right, when you will be able to be king of yourself.

“Through practice a readier descent into worse things is granted; license counsels luxury.

“Now I do not complain that the unjust have risen to the summits of affairs. They are raised on high that they may fall with a heavier fall.

“Take counsel for all, not for yourself, and let not your own interests move you, but the public wishes.

“Do not condemn all human beings for the crime of a few.

“The world is formed according to the example of the king. Edicts are not so powerful to bend human minds as is the life of the ruler.

“Luxury is a very sweet evil which, always devoted to the judgments of the body, dulls the senses with darkness.

“The fickle crowd is always changed with the prince.

“Pride, when joined to excellent conduct, defiles it.

“Let not what pleases you come before you, but what ought to have been done; let regard for what is honorable subdue your mind.

“He is nearest to the gods whom reason, not anger, moves.

“The resources which the hand of a deceitful parent gathered, the hand of a worse son will pour out.

“It is more to have preserved what was acquired than to have sought something new.”

The same man says in the *Lesser Claudian*:

“Death, you who will condemn the guilty and give rest to the pious, make all things equal.

“Luxury, a dissuader from what is honorable, and abundance make human minds forgetful.”

Section VI

At that time another poet flourished who was called Prucientius [read: Prudentius], and he composed a book *On the Conflict of the Vices and the Virtues*. A few of his verses are set down here:

“First Faith seeks the field, about to fight beneath the doubtful lot of battle, disordered in rustic dress. She challenges the dangers of breaking the raging war.

“Behold, modest Patience stood with grave countenance. Unmoved amid the battle lines and their varied tumults, she watched with eyes fixed and remained unhurried.

“Humility moderately sets her step ablaze, and her mouth sparingly; she exacts and moderates her joys with a downcast countenance [read: Humility directs her step moderately, raises her face sparingly, and moderates her joys with a gracious countenance].

“Cease to speak grandly. God breaks everything proud. Great things fall; inflated things burst; swollen things are pressed down.

“Learn to put away haughtiness; learn to beware. The humble ascend the heights; the fierce are delivered to the depths.

“Avarice is borne along, girded with a capacious bosom. Whatever precious thing devouring Luxury had left behind, she seized with a hooked hand.

“Nor is it enough to have filled her ample folds; it delights her to stuff shameful gain into purses.

“She ravishes the whole race of human beings. There is no vice on earth more violent.

“The highest repose is to desire nothing beyond what due need demands, so that simple nourishment and one garment may cover the feeble limbs, moderately restore them, and not draw beyond the measure that satisfies nature.

“Let love join what we understand; let that by which we live breathe together in one pursuit. Nothing divided is firm.

“Peace is the full work of virtue; peace is the summit—that is, the end—of labors. Peace is the reward of completed war and the reward of peril.

“Nothing is pleasing to God without peace, nor is a gift at the altar. Peace is the conclusion of merits.

“She does not swell up inflated; she does not envy as a rival of an achievement. Being patient, she endures all things and believes all things.

“When injured, she never swells up. She forgives every offense. Pardon hastens to precede the setting of the light.”

Thus says he.

Section VII

Under the aforesaid pontiffs and emperors, however, several heresies arose which were condemned by the Church and finally reduced to nothing, having been refuted by the aforesaid doctors.

Hence, at the command of Emperor Theodosius and with the assent of Pope Damasus, a holy universal synod of one hundred and fifty fathers was assembled at Constantinople.

This synod, condemning Macedonius, who denied that the Holy Spirit is God, taught that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son. It gave the form of the Creed which the entire confession of Latins and Greeks chants in the Church at Masses on solemn days. It was also decreed there that the bishop of Constantinople, as the bishop of New Rome, is to have privilege after the Roman pontiff, as is evident in distinction XXII, *Renovantes*. These things are from Vincent’s *Historical Mirror*, book XVII.

Priscillian also, a bishop in Spain around those times, founding a heresy of his own name, disturbed the Church.

He confounded the persons of the Holy Trinity, saying that the Father is the same as the Son and the same as the Holy Spirit, which pertains to the heresy of the Sabellians.

But he held other errors. For he regarded foods of flesh as unclean. He separated married men from unwilling women, and conversely.

He assigned the *opicium* [read: fashioning] of all flesh not to the true and good God but to evil angels.

He said that the soul is of the same nature and substance as God, and that souls, for a certain voluntary contest—though one not to be exercised on earth [read: one to be exercised on earth]—descend gradually through seven heavens and through certain principalities, and encounter an evil prince by whom, he said, this world was made; and that by this prince they are sown through various bodies of flesh.

He said that human beings are bound to the stars of fate, and that our body is composed according to the twelve signs of heaven, placing Aries in the head, Taurus in the neck, Gemini in the shoulders, Cancer in the breast, Leo in the hands, Virgo in the belly, Libra in the navel, Scorpio in the hips, Sagittarius in the male member, Aquarius in the bladder, Capricorn in the shins, and Pisces in the soles of the feet.

Seeking to be heard concerning these matters in councils of bishops, he went to Rome, and there he was rejected by Saints Damasus and Ambrose.

In Gaul also he was judged a heretic by Saint Martin and other bishops in the Synod of Burgendala [read: Bordeaux].

But when he understood that he was to be condemned, he appealed to Emperor Maximus. Having been heard by him and driven from the episcopate, he was killed at Trier by the prefect Evodius, together with many of his followers, while the emperor decreed that the accomplices of this sect in Spain should be killed.

The bishops Ithacius and Ursatius, the accusers of Priscillian, were deprived of the communion of the Church by bishops who said that it was an abomination for a human being of any sort to be killed through the accusation of bishops, while Emperor Maximus and certain bishops defended Ithacius and Ursatius.

And for this reason Saint Martin was harassed by Emperor Maximus, because he refused to communicate with Ithacius. Nevertheless, he scarcely obtained that the Priscillianists should not be killed.

These things are from Vincent in the place cited above. The condemnation of this heresy is found in cause XXIV, question III, the penultimate chapter.

Section VIII

In the time of Pope Innocent I, as Sigebert says, while Honorius and Arcadius were ruling, Pelagius in Britain attempted to stain the Church of Christ with an execrable doctrine, saying that a human being can be saved without the grace of God, and that each individual is directed to righteousness by his own merits and his own will.

He said that infants are born without original sin, but are as innocent as Adam was innocent before his transgression; and that they are not therefore to be baptized in order that they may be released from sin, but in order that through adoption they may be admitted into the kingdom of God; yet that outside the kingdom of God there is an eternal and blessed life for them.

He said that Adam alone was injured by his sin, and that he died not by the desert of fault but by the condition of nature, since he would have died even if he had not sinned.

He also said that the prayers which are made by the Church, whether for unbelievers or for believers, are ineffectual.

Pope Innocent therefore condemned him and Celestinus [read: Celestius] and Julian, his accomplices. Jerome also, and Augustine most especially, assailed them as enemies of the faith with the weapons of truth.

Hence many chapters against these errors are found in *On Consecration*, distinction IV, *Placuit*, and the four following chapters, and from the Council of Milevis, at which Augustine was present.

Among the Easterners also, a question raised concerning God caused grave agitation: whether God is a body and has a human form, or is incorporeal and wholly foreign to human form.

The simpler hermits asserted that God is corporeal and under human form, because sacred Scripture tells of the eyes, face, ears, hands, and feet of God.

Others, thinking better and truly, denied this; and what Scripture sets forth on the surface concerning the members of God they expounded spiritually according to the true sense—for example, God's eye as his sight and knowledge, his hand as his operation, and other things of this kind.

Hence it was determined by the Church to be heresy to believe that God has corporeal members, as is evident in cause XXIV, question III, the penultimate chapter.

Under Emperor Honorius also, as the same Sigebert says, the heresy of the Predestinarians began to spread.

They are therefore called Predestinarians because, when disputing about divine grace and predestination, they asserted that the labor of good works does not profit even those living piously if they have been predestined by God to death, and that living wickedly does not harm the impious if they have been predestined by God to life.

This most dangerous assertion both removed the good from good things and provoked the evil to evil things.

This heresy is said to have taken its beginning from books of Augustine that were badly understood. Nor is this to be imputed to Augustine as a fault, just as it is not to be imputed to the Lord God, the author of sacred Scripture, from which heretics, understanding perversely, drew occasions for their errors.

For there is nothing good and lawful in human use from which destruction cannot be inflicted by abusing it, as is said in cause XXIII, question V, *De occidendis*. Therefore, the fault is to be imputed to the one who abuses it, not to the one who gave the good thing.

Section IX

Sulpicius Severus also was held illustrious at that time in Aquitaine, near the city of Toulouse, noble in birth and learning, and conspicuous for his love of poverty and humility.

He was also dear to the holy men Martin and Paulinus, as Helinand says.

He wrote little works not to be despised: many letters to his sister exhorting her to the love of God and contempt of the world; two to the aforesaid Paulinus; and others to other persons.

But because private necessity is interwoven in some of them, they are not arranged here.

He also wrote a chronicle, the life of Blessed Martin, and a conference held between Postumianus and Gallus, with himself as intermediary and judge.

In his old age, deceived by the Pelagians and recognizing the fault of loquacity, he maintained silence until death, so that by keeping silent in penitence he might amend the sin which he had contracted by speaking.

From the aforesaid conference held between Gallus and Postumianus, Vincent excerpted the things written below in the *Historical Mirror*, book XIX.

“When with a prosperous course,” says Severus, “we had reached Alexandria, foul conflicts were being carried on there between the bishops and the monks on this occasion, or for this reason: priests, having often gathered into one, were seen to have decreed in repeated synods that no one should read or possess the books of Origen, who was regarded as the most skilled of the expositors of sacred Scripture.

“But certain bishops recalled some exceedingly insane writings in his books. His defenders, not daring to defend these writings, said rather that they had been fraudulently inserted by heretics, and therefore that the rest also ought not to be condemned on account of them.

“The bishops, resisting these men more obstinately, compelled by their authority that all the upright things should be condemned together with the perverse things and with the author himself. And because the books which the Church had received were sufficient and more than sufficient, they said that this reading, which would harm the unwise more than it would profit the wise, was to be rejected entirely.

“But when I investigated certain things from those books rather inquisitively, very many things pleased me greatly. Yet I also reproved many things in which there is no doubt that he thought perversely, although his defenders contend that they were falsified.

“I marvel that one and the same man could have been so different from himself, because, in that part in which he is approved, he had no equal after the apostles; but in that part in which he is rightly reproved, no one is taught to have erred more shamefully.

“And although these and other things of this kind were brought forth by the bishops, a sedition arose from the zeal of the parties. Since it could not be suppressed by the authority of the priests, in a savage precedent the prefect was called upon to regulate the discipline of the Church.

“Terrified by him, the brothers were scattered and the monks were driven through diverse regions, so that, after edicts had been issued, they were not permitted to remain in any place.

“This disturbed me greatly: that Jerome, a most Catholic man and one most skilled in the sacred law, was thought at first to have followed Origen, whereas now that same man especially condemned all his writings.

“Nor indeed did I dare to judge anyone rashly concerning this matter. Nevertheless, the most excellent and learned men were said to disagree in this contest.

“Thus, however, whether that was an error, as I think, or a heresy, as it is thought, it could not be suppressed by the many censures of the priests; but it could by no means have spread so widely if it had not grown through contention.

“Alexandria was therefore wavering in a disturbance of this kind when I came there. The bishop of that city received me very kindly, and better than I expected, and attempted to keep me with him.

“But it was not my intention to remain where envy was boiling over from the recent destruction of the brothers.

“Therefore, departing thence, I sought the town of Bethlehem, which is six miles distant from Jerusalem. It is, however, sixteen stopping places distant from Alexandria.

“Jerome governs the church of that place, for it is a parish of the bishop who holds Jerusalem.

“This man, in addition to the merit of faith and the endowment of virtues, is so instructed not only in Latin and Greek but also in Hebrew letters that no one would dare to compare himself with him in any field of knowledge.

“I marvel, however, if he is not known to you through the many works which he has written, since he is read throughout the whole world.”

“He is exceedingly well known also to us,” said Gallus. “For before this five-year period I read a certain little book of his in which the whole nation of our monks is assailed and most vehemently censured by him. Hence our Belgian is sometimes accustomed to become very angry because Jerome had said that we eat until we vomit.

“But I,” said Gallus, “pardon that man, and I think that he disputed concerning the Eastern monks rather than the Western ones. For voraciousness among the Greeks is gluttony; among the Gauls it is nature.”

Then I said, “Gallus, you defend your nation like a schoolman. But I ask you: does that book condemn only this vice in monks?”

“Indeed,” he said, “he left out absolutely nothing which he did not censure, tear apart, and expose. He pursued avarice especially, and vanity no less. He discussed many things concerning pride and not a few concerning superstition.

“I shall truly confess that he seems to me to have painted the vices of many. Moreover, concerning the familiar associations of virgins with monks and clerics, he disputed things as true as they were forceful; hence he is said not to be loved by certain persons whom I am unwilling to name.”

Postumianus said: “As I had begun to say, I was with Jerome for six months. His continual struggle against the wicked and perpetual contest stirred up the hatred of the lost.

“Heretics hated him because he did not cease to assail them. Clerics also hated him because he pursued their vices and crimes. But plainly all the good admired and loved him.

“For those who judge him to be a heretic are truly mad. I would say that the man’s knowledge is Catholic and his doctrine sound.

“Neither by day nor by night does he rest. He is always either reading something or writing.

“Had it not been fixed in my mind and promised, with God as witness, to approach the desert I had set before myself, I would not have wished to depart from so great a man for even the briefest point of time.

“Therefore, having entrusted to him all my possessions and my whole household, which had followed me against my will and held me entangled, I returned free to Alexandria. Having visited the brothers, I hastened toward the Upper Thebaid—that is, to the furthest parts of Egypt—for vast, open solitudes of the desert were reported to contain monks there.”

Section X

He thereafter narrates several marvelous things which he saw or heard while journeying through the desert.

In some monasteries a hundred men lived together under one abbot.

He tells of a certain twelve-year-old boy, sent by the abbot to carry loaves to a certain solitary. When an asp of marvelous size met him on the way, the boy grasped the asp with his hands without any fear, wrapped it in his cloak, led it to the monastery, and placed it on the ground before the brothers.

But when the brothers praised the child’s faith, the abbot, in order to keep him in humility, had him sharply beaten for this as though for the transgression of a vice.

He tells of another solitary who in their presence gathered dates from a palm tree, and a great lion took that food from his hand like a domestic animal.

He tells of another to whom a she-wolf came while he was dining, arriving at the hour at which he dined; and, after taking food from his hand following dinner and licking his hand, she afterward withdrew.

He tells also of another who was speaking with two men who had come to him for the sake of a visit, when a lioness of marvelous size came. Rolling herself at his feet as though with weeping, she begged for his help.

Understanding this, that man of God arose and followed the lioness, who led him to her cave, where she was nourishing five grown cubs born blind. She placed them before the anchorite, and he restored sight to them.

The wild beast was not ungrateful: after a few days, as though in return for the gift of the benefit bestowed, the lioness brought him the hide of a beast.

He tells likewise of a certain man who had come to another solitary in order to serve God under his discipline. When the solitary told him that he would not be able to endure his austerity and commands, the man persevered in his petition and offered himself for everything commanded, even to enter into fire.

The solitary accepted him, suddenly testing him by such an experiment. For he commanded him to enter an oven which had been kindled nearby. Obeying without delay, he cast himself into the midst of the fire, suffered no pain there, and came out unharmed.

The same abbot commanded another man who came to him for the sake of taking up religious life to pour water every day upon a certain dry staff which he fixed in the earth in his sight. He drew the water from the river Nile, two miles distant from the place.

And when he had labored in this work for two years, at last that dry wood flowered, which Severus relates that he himself saw with green leaves.

Severus himself relates in the same book that a certain holy man was endowed with incredible power for driving out demons. He healed possessed bodies not only when present and not only by a word, but, when absent, sometimes by sending the fringes of his haircloth or letters.

And while he was sought out in a marvelous manner by peoples coming to him from the whole world, and in addition by prefects, counts, and judges of various powers, vanity began to creep upon him from honor just as honor had arisen from virtue.

When first he was able to perceive this, he strove for a long time and greatly to drive it out as it raged within him. But vanity could not be expelled entirely while his power continued, even though he was secretly conscious of it.

Everywhere the demons acknowledged his name; he was unable to exclude from himself the peoples flowing to him. Meanwhile, the hidden poison crept in his breast, and he was unable to purge himself of the secret thoughts of vanity.

Turning himself wholly to God with prayers, therefore, he is said to have prayed that, with the devil's power permitted against him for five months, he might become like those whom he himself had healed.

Why should I linger over many words? That most powerful man, that man made famous throughout the whole world by signs and mighty works, that man before whose doors the highest powers of this age had prostrated themselves, was seized by a demon, was held in chains, and suffered all those things which possessed persons are accustomed to endure.

At last, in the fifth month, he was purged not only of the demon but also—what was more useful and more desirable for him—of vanity.

And below, directing his pen to the works of Blessed Martin, he says:

Postumianus said: "Indeed, when for a long time I was listening more intently to you concerning the mighty works of the saints, I returned in my thoughts to my Martin.

"I perceived deservedly that all those things which the several men had done in diverse ways were easily accomplished through this one man.

"For although you relate sublime things, so far as I may say it with the peace of the saints, I have heard absolutely nothing from you in which Martin was inferior.

"For those men, free from every impediment, with only heaven and the angels as witnesses, *is plainly taught* [read: are plainly taught] to have worked marvelous things.

"This man, in the midst of the assembly and society of peoples, among disagreeing clerics, among raging bishops, although he was pressed from this side and that by daily scandals, nevertheless stood founded upon an unconquerable virtue against all things; and he worked things so great that not even those who are reported to be or to have been in the desert did the like, even if they had done equal things.

"For this man fought *in loco in equo* [read: in an unfavorable place], namely while dwelling in the world, and nevertheless conquered; those men contended *ex equo loco* [read: from level ground] or even from higher ground, namely in the desert.

"But although you have related the illustrious deeds of others, you have related of no one that a dead person was raised. In this, at least, it is necessary that you confess one thing: no one is to be compared with Martin.

"This man also often *impavit* [read: commanded] fires. The ferocity of beasts, conquered, succumbed. He restrained the rage of wild animals and the poisons of serpents. He freed those beset by demons. Angels spoke with him daily.

"Against vanity and boasting, moreover, he bore so unconquered a spirit that no one despised those vices more bravely.

"I, therefore, shall always preach the monks of Egypt. I shall praise the anchorites. I shall marvel at the hermits. Nevertheless, I shall always except Martin.

“I shall not dare to compare any one of the monks with him, and certainly not any one of the bishops. Egypt confesses this; Syria confesses this; the Ethiopian has learned this; the Indian has heard this; the Parthian and the Persians know it; nor is Armenia ignorant of it.

“I shudder to say what I recently heard. I do not know what unhappy man said that in that book of yours about Martin you had lied about many things.

“That is not the voice of a human being but of the devil. Nor in this respect is Martin disparaged, but the faith of the Gospel is diminished.

“But the unhappy, degenerate, sleepy men are ashamed of deeds done by others which they themselves cannot do.”

Because, therefore, the deeds of this saint whom the Church especially venerates and whom peoples celebrate solemnly are sufficiently well known, they will be noted here in abridged form. Sulpicius Severus, of whom immediately above, described them at length and in lucid speech.

Title X, Chapter XI

“Martin, poor and lowly, enters heaven rich; he is honored with heavenly hymns,” Holy Mother Church sings concerning him.

He was poor indeed in spirit, that is, poor in temporal substance by his voluntary will.

He was poor, that is, having little of the perversity of vices, even when he was a youth and a soldier.

He was lowly in his estimation of himself, by humility. He was lowly in sparingness of food, drink, and *vestitutus* [read: clothing].

He enters heaven rich: rich, namely, in the abundance of merits and virtues; rich in the copiousness of miracles of every kind.

He is honored with heavenly hymns: by the angels in glory, and by the churches of the world in manifold celebration.

And all these things will be evident from his history.

Martin, therefore, was born in Sabaudia, a town of the Pannanians [read: in the town of Sabaria in Pannonia], but was raised in Italy at Ticinum, that is, Pavia. With his father, a tribune of the soldiers, he served as a soldier under Constantius and afterward under Emperor Julian.

He did not do so voluntarily. For, divinely inspired from infancy, when he was twelve years old he fled to the church against the will of his parents and asked to be made a catechumen; and from that time he longed for the desert.

He would have satisfied his vows if the weakness of the flesh had not stood in the way.

But when the Caesars had decreed that the sons of veterans should serve as soldiers in place of their fathers, Martin, although unwilling, was compelled to serve as a soldier for his father when he was fifteen years old.

Martin, content with only one servant, often ministered to him in service and frequently removed and cleaned his shoes.

At a certain time in winter, while passing through the gate of the city of Amiens, he encountered a poor man. When the man had received alms from no one, Martin, understanding that he had been reserved for him, drew his sword and divided the cloak which alone remained to him, since he had bestowed his other things as alms. Giving one part to the poor man, he clothed himself again with the remainder.

On the following night he saw Christ clothed with the part of his cloak, and Christ joyfully saying to the angels standing around: “Martin, still a catechumen, has covered me with this garment.”

Thereafter the holy man, not raised up in glory but recognizing the goodness of God, caused himself to be baptized when he was eighteen years old.

At the insistence of his tribune, who had promised that when the time of his tribunate was completed he would renounce the world, Martin continued to serve as a soldier for two more years, yet free from those vices in which that kind of human being is accustomed to be entangled.

Hence he was poor in possessions, because he reserved nothing of his pay for himself except food, but bestowed it upon the poor and did not think about the morrow.

Afterward he was poor of the vices of which he had been entirely stripped through baptism.

Meanwhile, when barbarians were breaking into Gaul, Julian Caesar began to distribute a donative, that is, pay, to the soldiers.

But when he came to Martin, Martin, no longer wishing to serve as a soldier, refused to receive it, saying to Caesar: “I am a soldier of Christ; it is not lawful for me to fight.”

Indignant, Caesar told him that he was refusing military service not for the sake of religion but from fear of the imminent battle.

Martin answered him: “If this is ascribed to cowardice and not to faith, tomorrow I shall stand unarmed before the battle line; and in the name of Christ, protected by the sign of the cross, not by shield or helmet, I shall securely penetrate the formations of the enemy.”

Caesar therefore commanded that he be kept under guard, so that he might make his deeds equal to his words.

But on the following day the enemy sent an embassy concerning peace, surrendering themselves and all their possessions. Hence it was doubtful to no one that such a victory without blood had been granted through the merits of the saint.

Having left military service, he went to Saint Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, submitting himself to his discipline.

Attending to his fervor, Hilary wished to ordain him a deacon, so that he might bind him more closely to himself.

Martin, lowly through humility, was by no means willing to accept this; but he did not refuse the order of lector.

Not much later, admonished by the Lord in dreams that he should visit his parents, who were still held in paganism, he obtained permission from Saint Hilary, who begged him with tears to return to him, and undertook the journey, foretelling that he would suffer many adversities.

While making his journey among the Alps, therefore, he fell among robbers.

When one of them had brandished an axe over his head, another prevented the blow of the one striking him, namely by holding back his hand.

With his hands bound behind his back, Martin was entrusted to one of them for guarding.

When the robber asked whether he had been afraid, Martin answered that he had never been so secure, because he knew that the mercy of God would be present especially in temptations.

Beginning to preach to the robber, he converted him to the faith. The robber led him back to the road, commended himself to his prayers, and released him.

Afterward that robber was seen to lead a praiseworthy life.

When Martin had passed Milan, the devil, appearing to him in human form, asked where he was going.

When Martin answered that he was going where the Lord called him, the devil said: “Wherever you go, the devil will oppose you.”

And Martin said to him: “The Lord is my helper; I shall not fear what man”—that is, the devil—“may do to me.” The devil immediately vanished like smoke.

Coming at last to Pavia and visiting his parents, Martin converted his mother to the faith. His father, however, remained in error.

But when the Arian heresy was springing up throughout the world and he almost alone resisted it there, he was publicly beaten and cast out of the city, and went to Milan, establishing a monastery for himself there.

But, driven from there by the Arians, he withdrew with only a certain presbyter of great virtues to the island of Gallinaria.

Remaining there, he unknowingly ate poisonous hellebore among the other herbs. Perceiving from eating it that death was near him, he drove away all pain and danger by the power of prayer.

Afterward, hearing that Blessed Hilary was returning from exile to Poitiers, he set out to meet him. When Hilary had already passed by, Martin came to Poitiers and constructed a monastery for himself near that city, performing many miracles.

Section I

When the bishop of the city of Tours in Gaul was taken from this light, the neighboring bishops, the clergy, and the people of Tours assembled to provide a future prelate there. Almost all agreed upon Martin.

But knowing that, because he was lowly—that is, very humble—he could not be drawn from his monastery for this purpose, one of them, using a wise plan, pretended that his wife was gravely ill.

Going to the monastery, he insistently begged Martin with tears that he would deign to visit her for the salvation of her soul.

The holy man, overcome by compassion and ignorant of the pious ambush, departed from the monastery.

As he followed and approached the city, crowds of people who had been lying in concealment surrounded him, calling him their bishop. When, because of his humility, he wished to flee so great a dignity, they detained him and brought him into the city and church with great glory and joy, so that he might be consecrated bishop.

And although certain prelates objected because he was misshapen in his clothing, contemptible in countenance, and lowly—and especially one named Defensor—when the regular reader was absent, one of the clerics arose to supply the deficiency. Opening the Psalter, he read through in the hearing of all the first passage which met his eyes.

That verse was: “Out of the mouth of infants and nursing children you have perfected praise”—namely, in Martin, at the petition of simple persons, you have shown perfect praise—“because of your enemies,” who despised this man, “that you may destroy the enemy and the defender”: literally, to confound the man who was called Defensor, who resisted such praise and the nomination of Martin more than the others.

And thus Defensor, having been pointed out, was confuted by all.

The chosen pontiff of God remained constant in his accustomed lowliness of humility and austerity.

Hence, even when residing in the sacristy, he never used the episcopal chair; for no one ever saw him sit in the church. Rather, he sat in a rustic little cell which they call a tripod.

Encountering at Paris a leper who was horrible to everyone, he kissed and blessed him, and immediately the man was cleansed.

And because he could not endure the tumult of the people approaching him for diverse reasons, being accustomed to the quiet of contemplation he constructed a monastery about two miles outside the city, exceedingly humble in its dwellings and very difficult of access.

There, when eighty disciples had gathered, they lived in the greatest austerity of eremitical life.

No one there knew wine unless infirmity compelled it. A soft garment was regarded there as a crime.

They knew no bodily exercise except the art of the scriptorium, to which the younger men devoted themselves; but they devoted themselves only to prayer and reading.

Several bishops were created from among them.

When in a certain place someone was venerated by the people as a martyr, Martin, finding nothing certain concerning his name or way of life, abstained from such veneration, lest by venerating him he should grant an increase to superstition, and lest by forbidding it without clear knowledge he should take away the devotion of the people.

At last he approached the place, praying over the tomb and asking that it be made known to him what it was.

Turning to the left, he saw a shadow blacker than black standing there.

Adjured by Martin to declare who he was and of what merit, he answered that he had been a robber, had been killed there for his crimes, and had no fellowship with the martyrs.

From that time Martin caused that altar to be removed and, when the fraud had been revealed, prohibited the veneration of the place.

When, on a certain feast day, he was coming from the monastery to the church to celebrate, a poor naked man met him.

Martin, beholding him, commanded his archdeacon to clothe the man who was freezing.

But when the archdeacon delayed doing it, Martin at last entered the sacristy of the church. While he was alone, the poor man, still naked, presented himself to him.

And since Martin was alone, devoting himself to prayer in his customary manner, he secretly removed his tunic and gave it to the poor man, and immediately commanded him to depart.

The archdeacon came to him, urging him to proceed to carry out the ministries.

Speaking of himself, Martin said that he could not do such a thing unless the poor man received a garment.

The archdeacon did not understand, because, since Martin was covered above by a cope, he did not see him without a tunic within.

He alleged that the poor man was not present.

But Martin said: “Let a garment be brought to me; a poor man to be clothed will not be lacking.”

Compelled, the archdeacon went to the marketplace and bought one cheap and short Bigerric tunic for five silver pieces, and cast it before Martin’s feet.

Then Martin, after everyone had been excluded, removed the cope and clothed himself with that garment, and afterward put on the alb so that the tunic which he had just received would not be seen.

Thus, therefore, clothed in the pontifical vestments, poor and lowly in humility, he proceeded to the altar to celebrate Mass.

But while he offered the sacraments for the people, a fiery globe appeared over his head and was seen by many.

Moreover, when he elevated the sacrament and the sleeves of the alb fell down, so that his bare arms appeared—for that purchased tunic scarcely reached to the elbows—it is reported by some that angels suddenly covered his bare arms with golden and jeweled sleeves.

Section II

He entered rich in the abundance of virtues and merits.

Concerning these riches Gregory says: “If you desire to be truly rich, love true riches, namely the virtues. What is richer than patience, purity, justice, charity, faith, and the others in which he shone?”

He was so patient that, although he was the supreme priest, he was often injured with impunity by clerics, nor on account of such things did he drive them from his charity.

No one saw him angry, no one grieving, no one laughing.

His own archdeacon sometimes called him delirious, and nevertheless he was not moved against him.

On a certain occasion Martin, clothed in rough clothing with a black and hanging cloak, was making a journey seated upon an ass, while his companions followed at some distance.

When the horses of certain soldiers coming toward him from the opposite direction were frightened before him, their riders, imputing this to Martin, cast themselves to the ground in a headlong leap. Seizing Martin, they beat him severely.

But he, silent, offered his back to those striking him. At this they raged all the more, because, as though not feeling their blows, he seemed to despise them.

After this, when they mounted their horses to continue their journey, those animals remained so fixed to the ground that, however much they were whipped, they remained firm as rocks.

At last the soldiers were pierced with compunction and, attributing this to the injury inflicted upon Martin by their blows, returned to the man of God, seeking pardon for the sacrilege committed against him.

He freely granted it; and when permission to depart had been given them, their horses proceeded at a rapid pace.

His companions arrived and found him lying on the ground from the blows and giving thanks to God.

He was of such purity and constancy in praying that he seemed almost never to cease from prayer.

For, just as it is the custom of ironworkers to strike the anvil amid their works as a certain relief from labor, so also Martin always prayed while he was doing something else.

Because of his great purity, angels and saints frequently visited him.

Hence, on a certain occasion, when Martin was praying alone in his cell, and Severus and Gallus, his disciples who wrote these things concerning him, approached and waited before the doors, they were suddenly shaken by a marvelous dread and heard several persons conversing.

When afterward they asked him about this, he answered: “I shall tell you, but I ask you to tell no one. Agnes, Thecla, and Mary came to me.”

And he confessed that he was visited by them not only on that day but often, and that Peter and Paul were frequently seen by him.

Nor is it marvelous, because if the clean of heart shall see God, much more shall they see his saints.

He was rich in justice, not regarding the person of human beings.

For when, after being earnestly invited by Emperor Maximus, he found himself with his chaplain at the emperor’s banquet and, having drunk from a bowl offered to him by a servant, Emperor Maximus waited with great devotion afterward to receive the bowl from his hand for drinking, Martin offered it not to him but to the priest who was his companion, saying that there was no one more worthy to drink after himself. This was related above in the preceding title.

But on another occasion, when he had approached Emperor Valentinian concerning a certain just petition and the emperor had denied him an audience several times, commanding his ministers to close the doors to him because he was unwilling to grant what Martin intended, Martin at last gave himself to persistence in prayer for this matter for a week, fasting in ashes and haircloth.

Thereafter, when an angel appeared to him and admonished him to enter to the emperor, he went to the palace and, all the doors lying open, reached the emperor himself.

When the emperor saw him and was angry that he had been admitted, he refused to rise for him, until fire invaded the royal chamber and began to burn the emperor’s garments from behind.

From this miracle, the emperor, although angry, confessed that he had perceived divine power in Martin. Hence, rising and embracing him greatly, before Martin asked he granted all the things desired.

He also offered him many gifts, which the man of God did not accept at all.

He was exceedingly rich in faith and charity.

For through charity itself, Augustine says, the poor man is rich.

He was of such compassion that he received all penitent sinners into the bosom of mercy.

And when the devil once complained concerning him, asking why he received again to penance those who had fallen into sins, Martin answered: “If you yourself, wretched one, should cease from harassing human beings and repent of your deeds, trusting in the Lord I would promise even you the mercy of Christ.”

Through the greatness of his faith he moved mountains, namely by driving away from creatures demons most exalted in pride, as from a cow driven by a demon, and from one fraudulently attempting to extort divine worship from him for itself.

For on a certain day the ancient enemy appeared to him in the form of a king, adorned with purple, a diadem, and golden boots, and with a joyful face.

When they both had long remained silent, the devil at last said: “Recognize, O Martin, the one whom you worship. I am Christ, about to descend to earth; I wished first to manifest myself to you.”

And when Martin, still marveling, remained silent, the devil said again: “Martin, why do you hesitate to believe the one whom you see? I am Christ.”

Then Martin, instructed by the Holy Spirit, said: “The Lord Jesus did not foretell that he would come clothed in purple and gleaming with a diadem. I shall not believe that Christ has come unless he is in that form and clothing in which he suffered and bears the marks of the cross.”

At this utterance the devil, confounded, disappeared and filled the cell with a stench.

Demons often appeared to him under diverse forms: sometimes in the form of Venus, sometimes of Jupiter, sometimes of Mercury, and sometimes of Minerva. Recognizing them, he spurned them.

Section III

He was most rich in the abundance of miracles, so that after the apostles none of the saints was equated with him.

The Lord conferred so great a grace upon him that, through the power of the divine Trinity, he merited to become the magnificent raiser of three dead persons.

In a certain field, when a woman besought him with tears for the raising of her young son, where there was a multitude of pagans, Martin prayed for him on bended knees, and he was raised. From this almost all those pagans were converted to the faith.

The second was a certain catechumen who, while he remained in Martin’s monastery to be instructed in the faith and in Christian conduct, was overtaken by an almost sudden death while Martin was absent.

When this was announced to Martin on his return, he prayed for him, and he rose from the dead.

That man, when restored to life, was accustomed to relate that, when his soul was released from his body and had received a sorrowful sentence from the judge before whom it had been presented—namely, to go to the places of darkness—an angel suddenly suggested to the judge that this was the man for whom Martin was praying. Hence the soul was commanded to return to the body, so that Martin might obtain what he desired.

The third was a certain servant who, from despair, had wrested life from himself by a noose.

Compassionating the death both of his soul and of his body, Martin by his prayer drew the soul out of hell—which was a very great thing, and a setting aside of the common law granted to very few saints—and, joining it to the body, raised the man.

Likewise, when Evantius, the uncle of Gallus who relates this, had been brought by a most grave infirmity to his last extremity, Martin was summoned to visit him. He was healed by Martin’s power and met him while he was coming on the road.

And on the following day, when a serpent had bitten one of the boys of Evantius’s household and the poison, diffused through his limbs, was bringing him near death, he was presented to Martin. When Martin placed a finger upon the wound, the poison,

already poured through the whole body, was drawn back and went out through that opening of the puncture, and the boy was healed.

He was so powerful in work and speech that all things seemed subjected beneath his feet: insensible things, vegetative things, animals, and intellectual beings.

Fire, which devours all things, forgot the force of its nature through him.

For when he himself had set fire to a certain temple in order to remove idolatry, and the flame of that fire, with the wind blowing, extended toward neighboring houses, Martin opposed himself to the flame, and it proceeded no farther.

On another occasion, when a fire carelessly placed caught in the chamber where he rested, he escaped unharmed while praying in the midst of the flames, because he was unable to go out.

When certain merchants sailing upon the waters of the sea were endangered after a tempest had arisen, one of them, though an unbeliever, cried out and said, “God of Martin, help us,” and immediately a calm was made.

Every year hail which thickened in the air devastated a certain district, that is, a village, of Sens. When the inhabitants of that place sought help from Martin, that tempest so ceased after he poured forth prayer for it that, as long as Martin lived thereafter—namely, for twenty years—that tempest did not afflict them. It invaded again, however, in the year in which he died.

When he commanded that a lofty pine tree dedicated to demons, at which pagan superstitions were practiced, should be cut down, the pagans and peasants resisted.

Nevertheless, they agreed to this work on this condition: that, as they cut down the pine, Martin should remain fixed in that place toward which no one doubted that the very great tree would fall, so that he might receive it as it fell upon him.

When he assented and the cut tree leaned toward Martin, he opposed the sign of the cross to it. Immediately the pine, turning itself in the opposite direction, nearly crushed several of the pagans who were in a safe place.

They were converted to the faith by this miracle.

A certain dog was barking against someone and as though about to bite him. That person commanded it in Martin’s name to be silent, and it became quiet.

When a serpent came through a river toward him and his companions from the other side, he commanded it to return whence it had come, and it went back very swiftly.

When he was going to visit the diocese of Candes for the sake of settling discord, journeying with his companions beside a river, he saw diving birds in the river lying in wait for fish and seizing every one they could.

“This,” he said, “is an image of demons. They lie in wait for the unwary; they seize those who do not know; they devour those seized; and they cannot be satisfied by the ones devoured.”

He therefore commanded them to leave the deep water and seek deserted regions. Immediately, forming a flock, they sought the mountains and woods.

At Nîmes, when a synod of bishops had assembled, what had been decreed in it was intimated to him by an angel.

He cast demons out of many possessed persons.

They feared him so greatly that, when he left the monastery and approached the church, demons cried out through the possessed, roaring as though at the arrival of a judge they were feeling the pains of punishment. Hence, as though groaning, they announced his arrival beforehand.

Oil blessed by him in a glass vessel increased beyond its measure for curing diverse illnesses. And even when the vessel slipped from a window onto a marble pavement, it remained unbroken.

Section IV

Finally, he enters heaven through a happy death.

For when peace had been restored among the clerics of the church of Candes, to which he had gone from his diocese, the man suddenly began to be deprived of his bodily strength.

Calling together his brothers, he foretold that the dissolution of his body was imminent.

But his disciples wept abundantly and said: “Why, father, do you desert us, or to whom do you leave us desolate? Ravening wolves will invade your flock. And who will be able to restrain them from biting when the shepherd has been taken away?

“We know indeed, father, that you desire Jesus; but, your rewards being safe for you, have mercy rather upon us by asking the Lord that the limit of your life be extended.”

Moved by their tears in the bowels of compassion, he himself also wept. Then he prayed, saying: “Lord, if I am still necessary to your people, I do not refuse the labor. Your will be done.”

“O ineffable man,” the Church sings, “neither conquered by labor nor to be conquered by death, who neither feared to die nor refused to live.”

And when for some time he was held by the affliction of fevers on his bed, where he lay in ashes and haircloth, he was asked to permit some softer bedding to be placed beneath him.

He did not consent, saying: “It does not befit a Christian to die otherwise than in ashes and haircloth. If I were to leave another example to you, I myself would have sinned.”

With his eyes and hands always directed toward heaven, he did not relax his unconquered spirit from prayer.

And since he continually lay on his back, when the priests begged him to relieve his little body by changing his side, he said: “Permit me to look toward heaven rather than toward earth, so that my spirit may be directed to the Lord.”

While saying these things, he saw the devil standing by.

“What,” he said, “are you doing here, bloody beast? You will find nothing deadly in me; rather, the bosom of Abraham will receive me.”

And with this utterance, in the eighty-first year of his life, he passed to the Lord.

His body shone like that of a glorified human being, and a concord of angels was heard by many; by them he is honored with heavenly hymns.

O how great was the grief of human beings, how great the lamentations of the sorrowing, especially the choirs of monks and virgins, because it is pious to rejoice for Martin, and it is pious to weep for Martin.

His heavenly glory was shown to several holy men.

On the Lord’s day on which the saint departed, Blessed Severinus, bishop of Cologne, was going around the altars of his church after Matins, praying with the archdeacon, when he heard angels singing in heaven.

Calling the archdeacon, he asked whether he heard anything. When he answered that he heard nothing, Severinus told him to attend diligently.

Raising his head while Severinus prayed for him, the archdeacon said that he heard certain voices in heaven.

Then Severinus said: “My lord Martin has passed to the Lord, and the angels are bearing his soul into heaven. Demons were present also; but, finding nothing of their own, they withdrew confounded.”

The archdeacon therefore noted the day and hour; and, sending a messenger, he found that Martin had passed to the Lord at that hour.

On the same day, when Blessed Ambrose was solemnly celebrating Mass at Milan, he fell asleep at the altar between the prophecy and the epistle.

Because no one presumed to awaken him, and the subdeacon did not dare to read the epistle unless the bishop gave the signal, when a space of two or three hours had passed some persons awakened him, saying: “Father, the hour has passed and the people wait, very weary. Let our lord therefore command the subdeacon to read the epistle.”

He said to them: “Do not be disturbed. My brother Martin has passed to the Lord, and I rendered service at his funeral. But, because you awakened me, I was unable to complete the final prayer.”

Noting the day and hour, they found that he had passed away on that day.

Severus also, the monk who described above the deeds of Martin himself, as he relates, at the hour in which Martin passed from the world saw Blessed Martin clothed in white, with fiery countenance, flashing eyes, purple hair, and a book in his hand; and, after giving him a blessing, Martin *condescended* into heaven [read: ascended into heaven], where he is honored with heavenly hymns.

When the men of Poitiers and Tours, who had assembled at the place of his passing, disputed over the body after he died, at last at midnight, while the men of Poitiers were oppressed by a heavy sleep, the men of Tours passed the body through a window and, by boat along the Ligur [i.e., Loire] River, carried it to Tours with great joy.

He is also honored magnificently by the Church, since it commanded that on his feast day there should be abstention from manual works, as is stated in *On Consecration*, distinction III, *Pronunciandum*.

And many basilicas are constructed under his title.

Section V

Saint Brice, Martin's archdeacon, was exceedingly envious of him and troublesome to Saint Martin himself, sometimes inflicting insults upon him.

For when a certain poor man once sought Martin, Brice said to him: "If you seek that madman, look in the distance. For he is the man who, as though insane, gazes at heaven."

When the poor man had obtained from Martin what he sought, Martin called Brice to him and said: "Brice, do I seem mad to you?"

When, from shame, he denied that he had said this, Martin said: "Were my ears not at your mouth? Amen, I say to you that I have obtained from the Lord that you shall succeed me in the episcopate; and know that you will suffer many adversities in it."

When Brice heard this, he said: "Did I not speak the truth that this man is mad?"

After the death of Blessed Martin, Brice was elected bishop of Tours, and thereafter devoted himself to prayer.

And although he was proud, he was nevertheless chaste in heart.

In the thirtieth year of his episcopate, a certain woman clothed in religious garb who washed his garments conceived and bore a son.

Then all the people, judging that the boy had been conceived by Brice, ran to his door with stones, saying: "For a long time we have tolerated your lust out of regard for Saint Martin, but now we are by no means able to kiss polluted hands."

When he firmly denied this, he said: "Bring the infant to me."

When he was brought, being thirty days old, Brice said to him: "I adjure you by the Son of God to say here before everyone whether I begot you."

And the infant said: "You are not my father."

But when the people pressed him to inquire who the infant's father was, he answered: "That is not my part. I have done what pertained to me."

The people, however, attributing this whole thing to magic arts, said: "You shall by no means rule over us under the false name of shepherd."

Then, to clear himself, he carried burning coals in his cloak as far as the tomb of Blessed Martin. When the coals had been cast out, his garment was found unharmed, and he said: "Just as this garment was not injured by the coals, so my body is clean from contact with the woman."

But when the people still did not believe this, they afflicted him with many injuries and cast him out of the episcopate, so that the saying of Saint Martin might be fulfilled.

Then Saint Brice went to the pope and, remaining there for seven years, bewailed in penitence the offense which he had committed against Saint Martin.

The people, however, made Justinian bishop for themselves and sent him to the city against Brice to obtain the episcopate.

While he was journeying, he ended his life in the city of Vercelli, and the people appointed Armenius in his place.

Therefore, in the seventh year, Brice returned by authority of the pope and received lodging six miles from Tours. On that same night Armenius breathed out his spirit.

Knowing this through a revelation, Brice told his companions to arise and go with him to bury the bishop of Tours.

As Brice entered the city through one gate, the dead man was carried out through another.

When he had been buried, Brice recovered his see; and, surviving for six years, he led a praiseworthy life and rested in peace in the forty-third year of his episcopate.

That he cleared himself of the crime falsely imposed upon him by carrying burning coals in an unharmed garment was not according to the common law, since a purgation of this sort is prohibited, but arose from a special prompting of the Holy Spirit, as is contained in the Decrees.

Title X, Chapter XII

Zenobius, a pontiff of Florence, the light of the world and enlightened by divine light, irradiated the Church, especially in the parts of Tuscany, by holiness of life, the glory of miracles, and also doctrine, being endowed with a twofold knowledge, although he left no published little works to posterity.

Born, therefore, of noble but pagan parents—his father Lucian and his mother Sophia—he derived his origin from Florence.

Entrusted to letters in his boyhood years, by an acute intellect and immense study he reached the summit of all philosophy in a rather short time.

When his progenitors had arranged that a beautiful and noble girl should be betrothed to him as he was already approaching the twentieth year of his age, he refused carnal nuptials and betrothed his soul, a chaste virgin in faith, to the one husband Christ, humbly seeking baptism from Theodore, bishop of the city, and devoutly receiving it.

Hearing this, his parents, filled with fury and accompanied by their attendants, assailed the pontiff with insulting words and threats.

But while Zenobius stood by, and divine grace already worked marvelously in him, so great a sweetness of speech was poured upon his lips that not only did his kindred dismiss the indignation they had conceived, but, after abandoning the error of paganism, they themselves also received the sacraments of baptism.

Zenobius, having despised the vanity of the age, wholly bound himself to divine services.

Having been made a cleric and adhering to the bishop, he was created a canon of the cathedral church.

Advancing from virtue to virtue with marvelous speed, he was assumed as archdeacon of that basilica, being made for all a mirror of holiness and an example of religion.

For he was constant in prayer, devoted to preaching, driving away the poisons of heretics such as the Arians by disputations, expansive in charity, liberal toward the poor, and conspicuous in every uprightness.

When the most blessed man Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was passing through Florence, he bound Zenobius himself—who visited him and whom he regarded as a perfect and most learned man—to himself by a certain intimate and familiar love.

Coming afterward to the city of Rome, Ambrose made known to Damasus, the supreme pontiff, the holiness and wisdom of Zenobius.

For this reason Damasus caused him to be summoned to himself and determined that he should remain with him.

On a certain day, when Pope Damasus was going to the church of Saint Mary across the Tiber and Zenobius was with him, the prefect’s son, dissolved by paralysis, was presented to him, and Zenobius restored him to health by his prayer.

Sent as a legate to Constantinople by the supreme pontiff for certain causes, he faithfully and diligently fulfilled that for which he had been sent and returned to the city.

Meanwhile it happened that, when Theodore, bishop of Florence, was taken from this light, no small controversy and contention arose between Catholics and heretics concerning the election of a successor.

For this reason Damasus sent Zenobius, as a citizen, to quiet the tumult.

As he approached Florence, the people went out to meet him, receiving him with much honor. Escorting him as far as the church, they all began to cry out unanimously: “Let Zenobius be our bishop.”

But, entirely refusing this and understanding the burden, he returned to the one who had sent him and announced that he could do nothing.

The magistrates and the people, however, directed solemn ambassadors to Damasus, asserting that all unanimously sought Zenobius and would not turn to another, and supplicating with urgent prayers that he would deign to grant him as their shepherd.

The supreme prelate resisted at first, grieving that so holy a man was to be separated from him.

At last, overcome by their importunate prayers, he heard them according to their desire, instituting Zenobius bishop of Florence; and although Zenobius was unwilling, Damasus himself, as though unwilling, sent him to Florence to execute the pastoral office.

Received with the greatest joy and veneration, he was enthroned.

The holy man did not diminish but increased the works of the virtues day by day, feeding his flock by the word of doctrine and example of holiness; persisting in preaching and in hearing confessions; refuting heretics with reasoned arguments; stirring the remiss to good works by exhortations; rebuking the disorderly and perverse; and giving everything to the poor beyond the scantiness of his own sustenance.

He subdued his flesh by abstinence from food and drink as much as health permitted, was covered with haircloth beneath his tunic, and adhered to fasts and vigils.

Intent with Mary upon prayer and contemplation, in order that he might more fittingly devote himself to them, he remained with holy men—Eugene his archdeacon and Crescentius the subdeacon—in the church of Saint Lawrence, which was then outside the walls though nearby, observing an almost eremitical life.

Section I

In order to make known his marvelous holiness and to confirm the truth of his teaching, the Lord deigned to work many miracles through him while he was still placed in the flesh.

For he raised several dead persons.

A certain noble lady of Gaul, as she was going to visit the shrines of the apostles, brought with her her only son, weakened by the journey; having heard the holy man's fame, she caused the boy to be commended to him until her return.

But the infirm youth ended his final day on the second weekday after Easter, at the very time when Blessed Zenobius was proceeding in procession with the clergy and people to the church of Saint Peter Major, as is observed even now.

For that pontiff is reported to have instituted that three-day procession after Easter in order to implore God's mercy toward those communicating unworthily and to preserve grace in those receiving devoutly.

But on that day the mother of the youth, returning from the city of Rome, entered Florence and learned that her son had passed to the Lord.

Although cast down in spirit, yet supported by the magnanimity of faith, she caused the corpse of her dead son to be taken up; and, with a numerous crowd following and compassionating her, she approached the place where she had heard that the holy man was present.

She came to him when he had already left the church of Saint Peter and was proceeding with the clergy on the road called that of the Albizi. She caused the corpse of her son to be placed at the saint's feet, tore her garments in grief, pulled out her hair, and, full of tears, cried out that her only son, who had been entrusted to him, should be restored to her, and that otherwise she would not return to her own people.

Moved by her tears, the saint of God poured forth prayer and made the sign of the cross over him; and, when he had been made alive again from the dead, he assigned him to his mother.

Hence all the clergy and people, giving thanks to God, were refreshed with immense joy and confirmed more and more in the faith.

On another occasion, when the saint was visiting with his clerics a certain church near the walls of the city, it happened that the corpse of a certain noble youth was carried to the tomb along that road.

When the saint perceived this, he wished to turn aside from the road lest he meet them, but as they hastened to him he could not do so.

Placing the lifeless body at his feet, they begged that he would deign to raise him, having now experienced his power for that work.

Although he excused himself greatly from so great a work, when they insistently entreated him he was compelled by their prayers and, by the power of prayer, raised him from the dead.

It is added that he raised a third person, namely a five-year-old boy. While the boy was on a public road near the cathedral church, oxen raging with a cart rushed upon him and crushed him.

His tearful mother, gathering him in a linen cloth, carried him to Eugene, the holy man's deacon, so that, presenting him to Zenobius, she might beg that he be raised by him. And this was done.

A certain blind man asking alms at the gate of the church, having heard the fame of his miracles, approached him on the road with undoubting faith, asking him to have mercy upon him.

And because the man was a pagan, Blessed Zenobius asked him whether he wished to become a Christian if he received sight.

When he assented, Zenobius prayed for him, and he immediately received sight.

He freed a certain boy possessed by a demon.

For when the boy was burning with fevers and his mother, called by him forty times in one night, had given him drink, and he sought drink again, the wearied mother offered the drink, saying in anger: “Drink in the name of the devil.”

From that time a demon invaded him. But when he was presented to the saint, Zenobius freed him from the affliction by his prayer; and afterward the mother and son, who were unbelievers, were baptized.

A certain noble lady, a widow and a pagan, had five sons. When they had become adults, they frequently afflicted their mother with injuries and insults, even to blows.

On a certain day, when they had beaten her sharply, she, exceedingly angry, cursed them: that, turned into madness, they might devour their arms with their own teeth.

Divine vengeance immediately followed them. For, seized by demons and turned into madness, they began to gnaw their own arms.

Seeing this, the mother, full of tears, cried aloud for help. The neighbors, aroused by her cry, bound them with chains lest they harm themselves and others.

At last the mother, still a pagan, had recourse to the saint of God, laying before him the misery of her sons.

After prayer had been made from morning until Terce, at last he freed them from the demons and restored them to health; and, after instruction in the faith, he bestowed baptism upon them with their mother.

When Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who had been familiar with him from youth, once visited him, and Eugene his deacon lay ill, Eugene heard of the death of a certain relative without fitting provision for his soul and, burdened greatly by compassion, was greatly aggravated in his illness.

Ambrose urged Zenobius not to delay in providing for the case.

Zenobius therefore blessed water and, sending it to Eugene, commanded him to rise from his bed, go to the house in which the dead man lay and pour it over him, and then come with him and present himself before Zenobius without delay.

When this was done, the man who had died arose, and together they stood before the holy man.

The man also survived for a long time afterward. Eugene, however, returning to his bed, happily fell asleep in the Lord in that infirmity.

At last, full of days and holy works and foreknowing his death, Zenobius gathered the clergy and people in the church and publicly announced his departure to them all.

Admonishing them to fraternal charity and mutual peace, he consoled those saddened by his departure with the hope that, ascending into heaven, he would furnish them aid.

Then, returning home, he became ill. After receiving the sacraments of the Church most devoutly, while the clerics chanted psalms, in the ninetieth year of his age, in the time of Pope Innocent I—namely, in the year 424 from the Incarnation, on the twenty-fifth of May—that most holy soul, released from the body, penetrated the heavenly kingdoms.

He was buried with exceptional honor in the church of Saint Lawrence, not ceasing even after death to illuminate the Church by miracles.

In the fifth year from the day of his burial, his successor Andrew arranged to transfer the saint’s body to the cathedral church dedicated to the Savior.

In order that this might be done more honorably, the surrounding bishops were summoned to this most pious work.

When the bishops, clothed in pontifical vestments, carried the sacred body from the church of Saint Lawrence to the mother church and were before the gate of the oratory of Saint John the Baptist, which is on the northern side, there was then a certain elm there dry of leaves, because it was winter, namely the twenty-sixth of January.

The bishops, pressed by the multitude of the people, each one of whom desired from devotion to touch the bier, fell; and the bier, driven this way and that, struck the elm.

At its touch that elm suddenly put forth leaves and flowered.

At last the body, carried into the church, was honorably placed there. The head, however, separated from the body and covered with silver, is frequently shown to the devout people.

The elm, cut into little pieces out of devotion, was replaced by a marble column erected there for perpetual remembrance, with a cross also of marble placed upon its summit. It remains there to the present day before the aforesaid gate of the church of Saint John.

Title X, Chapter XIII

Saint Maurilius, bishop of Angers, was a contemporary of Blessed Martin and, indeed, was promoted by him to the priesthood.

Born of most illustrious parents in a certain town of the region of Milan, he was instructed in sacred letters and liberal studies and ordained a lector by Blessed Ambrose; and, in the course of time, he was ordained by Martin to another order, that of priest.

Thereafter, entering the city of Angers, he heard that in a certain village named Calonne there was a most ancient temple dedicated to the diverse cults of idols, and he approached it.

Seeing that it could not be destroyed by human hand, he prayed to the Lord that he himself would destroy it by his power. This was suddenly done, for fire descending from heaven consumed the whole thing in a moment.

In that place he caused a church to be built and consecrated by Blessed Martin. Dwelling there for twice six years, devoting himself to fasts and prayers, he shone with many virtues.

Among other things, a shepherd struck by a viper and turned into a swelling, so that his death was expected soon, was brought before him.

When he had prayed over him and impressed the sign of the cross with his saliva upon the little wound through which the viper had infused poison, immediately all the poison dispersed through the body went out through that place, and he was healed.

Not far from the said village of Calonne was a certain hill adorned with shrines of diverse idols, to the destruction of souls.

He therefore proceeded to that place with the faithful in order to destroy it.

But the demons hidden there in the idols began to cry out: “Why, Maurilius, do you persecute us even here? In these regions there is no place to which we can escape you.”

When the sign of the cross was opposed to them by him, the demons suddenly fled with a great roaring and not without an immense stench.

When the idols had been reduced to ashes by fire, he constructed an honorable monastery there.

While the saint had his residence there, it happened that some merchants passing by led a certain captive to be sold by them.

The man, leaping forward, entered the church and asked the man of God to redeem him.

When, out of piety, Maurilius wished to pay his lord the price for him, the man did not consent but caused him to be dragged by force from the church by his companions.

When the holy man prayed that this lord might expire as swiftly as possible, he died.

But his companions, fearing lest some judgment of God should likewise enfold them, sought pardon and insistently supplicated that life should be restored to the dead man.

The saint, fearing lest the man’s death become an occasion of perdition for him, prostrated himself in prayer with tears and did not arise until he obtained both life for the dead man and liberty for the captive.

When certain men sailing on a river were shipwrecked after a tempest arose, with every human hope of escape lost, they invoked the holy man for help and, when a calm was made, escaped unharmed.

Because he frequently went about, now visiting churches and now the sick, and used a little ass since he was burdened by weakness, a robber stole it one night.

But the thief, seized by a demon, was mocked as he wandered about like a madman for the whole night.

When morning came, the robber was present with the little ass before the doors of the blessed man’s house and confessed his crime.

And when he tried to flee, with the devil working lest he be healed, he remained after being adjured by the saint.

Maurilius freed him from the demon and afterward absolved him from his sins; and for the nocturnal labor which he had suffered, he commanded that three gold pieces be given him, and permitted him to depart free without the little ass.

Section I

When the church of Angers was widowed of its shepherd, those assembled to provide themselves a future prelate did not come together into one, because they sought the things that were their own, not those of Jesus Christ.

While they were thus disagreeing, it was announced that Martin, archbishop of Tours, had arrived, and they all awaited his judgment.

Entering among them, therefore, he said: “Men and brothers, hear and attend to my counsel. He who has been chosen by the Lord as your pontiff is Maurilius, presbyter of the church of Calonne.”

With equal resolve they agreed with the saint’s judgment, for they already knew the man’s virtues and merits.

Having received the archbishop’s command, Maurilius was seized very swiftly from his own church and, though unwilling, was placed in Martin’s presence.

When he entered the church with Blessed Martin, to declare the merits of so great a priest a dove of snowy whiteness, gliding down from heaven, descended upon his head and sat there; and then Martin consecrated him, while an army of angels was also present.

Now placed in the pontifical see, he shone with so great a grace of the Lord that signs of mighty works no smaller than those worked through the apostles were done through him: casting demons out of the possessed, healing the sick, and restoring sight to the blind.

But another miracle, marvelous in many ways, is also to be noted in the saint—not one miracle, but several.

While he was celebrating the solemn rites of Mass in the basilica, a certain matron arrived with her dying son. Since she had been sterile, the holy man had obtained him from the Lord by his prayers. She desired that, before the boy died, he should receive from him the sacrament of chrism.

But while Maurilius delayed in the celebration, the boy died.

When the office of Mass had been completed and he learned that the boy had died without the gift of chrism, he imputed it to his own delay and for a long time lamented with irremediable tears the fault of his disobedience.

When not even these things sufficed for him, he at last thought that among his fellow citizens he could not fully expiate the guilt of so great a negligence.

Therefore, having found such a plan, he secretly removed himself from there and carried with him the keys of the reliquary of the saints’ relics belonging to that church.

Reaching a port, unrecognized by the others he boarded a ship. While he was sailing, the keys of the said relics happened to slip from his hands and were submerged in the sea.

He is then reported to have cried out: “Unless I see these same keys again, I shall never return to the city from which I am fleeing.”

Crossing the sea, therefore, and changing his clothing so that he might be less easily known, he attached himself to one of the chief men of that religion [read: region], professing himself to be a gardener.

He was appointed to cultivate his garden, supporting his little body from the labor of his hands.

The house [read: The Lord] gave so great an abundance of vegetables that he offered them to all who had need, and they did not fail; hence he was loved by all.

Because the church of Angers was as though widowed by this event, very many persons were admonished in a vision that unless they sought Maurilius, found him, and led him back to the city, the city of Angers would soon be destroyed.

For this reason, by the common counsel of the people, four vigorous men were appointed to journey through the world to find him.

When they had sought him for a long time, for several years, and had not found the one whom they sought throughout the diverse regions, as they sailed near land upon a calm sea, suddenly a great fish emerged from the sea and leapt into the ship.

Taking it and disemboweling it, they found within it the keys of the reliquary.

Marveling greatly at this matter, they began to suspect that the saint of God had suffered shipwreck and been submerged. Hence they even deliberated about returning to their homeland, thinking him dead.

But all were admonished in dreams not to return, but to hasten the undertaking begun.

Continuing their voyage from this event and at last going down upon land, by the working of divine prudence they came to the house of that lord who had hired the saint as a gardener.

Hearing that lord call Maurilius to bring vegetables in the usual manner, they recognized him when he came.

Falling at his feet and asking with many tears, they begged him to have mercy upon the city of Angers, which would fall unless he returned.

Although, astonished, he could not deny himself to their weeping, he began to resist more urgently, saying: “I have bound myself by a vow and oath never to return to my homeland until I merit to see the keys which I lost.”

When the keys were shown to him by them and they declared how they had found them, he arranged to return.

Meanwhile, the fame of this affair flew about everywhere; and where he had been an abject stranger and gardener, he was venerated eagerly by all.

Wearied by vigils and fasts and also by prayers concerning his return, he slept a little, and an angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: “Arise, Maurilius, and fulfill the desire of the peoples seeking you. For behold, the Lord has preserved the sheep entrusted to you through your merits and prayers, and has restored to you the boy whom you long sought with weeping.”

Why say more? The saint returned with the greatest honor to his city and, now secure concerning the Lord’s promise, went to the tomb of the boy and invoked Christ with many tears.

When Maurilius arose from prayer, the boy arose from death.

Giving him chrism, Maurilius called him Renatus from the event. Bound to divine services and adhering to Maurilius, he was sufficiently instructed in letters and merited to flourish with such great virtues that after Maurilius he attained the pontifical chair.

Other miracles being omitted, the holy man always had poor sustenance, little water, and cheap furniture.

Indeed, when the days of holy Lent arrived, throughout that whole time his food was dry and taken in the evening; every third day he had warm water, a little salt, and barley bread which he himself threshed and ground.

During those days he did not set foot in public, being always covered with haircloth and ashes.

Nevertheless, he did not grow sluggish through bodily wasting, nor did pallor appear in his countenance. He was robust in body, and his face was red as a rose.

He died in the ninetieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his episcopate.

And when he was carried to the tomb, blind persons who touched his bier merited to receive sight.

Title X, Chapter XIV

Saint Alexius, who by a new art deceived the world and marvelously triumphed over the enemy of the human race, passed from this world to the Father of all in the twentieth year of Innocent I and in the eighth year of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, shining with miracles, although in life he had been abject and unknown to human beings.

Therefore, to touch briefly upon his deeds, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book XIX, he was the son of Euphemianus, a most noble Roman citizen, who was chief in the emperor's palace, full of riches and possessing a large household of servants.

Fearing God, he and his wife Egloës [i.e., Aglaës] devoted themselves constantly to works of mercy, and also to prayers and fasts.

Since his wife was sterile, by prayers they obtained from the Lord that one son should be given to her, whom they called Alexius.

They reared him in holy conduct and, thereafter themselves abstaining even from marital intercourse, entrusted him to be instructed in the liberal disciplines.

When he had grown up, they procured for him a bride of imperial lineage.

When the nuptials had been celebrated, the whole city was crowned with joy.

Indeed, when night came, Alexius entered the chamber to his bride and addressed her, exhorting her to virginity, showing that this would be most pleasing to God and his angels, that the pleasures of the body make people like brute beasts, and that vanity would perish as swiftly as possible.

Having persuaded her to this purpose, he handed her his ring and the head of his belt, so that she might preserve them as long as it pleased God.

Taking from his substance what seemed fitting to him, he secretly withdrew from the bridal chamber and the house; and, proceeding to the sea, he boarded a ship and reached Edessa, a city of Syria.

There, having bestowed upon the poor what he had carried with him and being clothed in a most cheap garment, he began to beg with the other poor in the church of Mary, the Mother of God, receiving Communion on every Lord's day and conferring upon other poor persons what remained in excess to him.

When morning came on the second day of the nuptials and Alexius did not appear, he was sought throughout the whole city; and when he was not found, the joy of the nuptials was changed into the mourning of his parents and the entire household.

Euphemianus sent messengers throughout the world to make inquiry concerning his son.

Some of them, reaching Edessa in Syria, gave alms to their lord as he begged among the poor, not recognizing him.

But he, not failing to recognize them, gave thanks to God because he had merited to receive temporal aid from his own servants.

The servants, returning from every direction, reported that they had found him nowhere.

All therefore remained in no small sadness.

His bride, however, declared that, like a turtledove after the loss of her mate, she wished to remain with her mother-in-law until she received a report concerning her most sweet bridegroom.

Meanwhile, when for seventeen years he had persevered in begging at the said church, wholly devoted to prayer, a voice came from the image of the Virgin of that church to the sacristan, saying: "Bring the man into the house of God, because his prayer ascends like incense in the sight of God."

When the sacristan did not know what man it designated, it was declared to him that it spoke of Alexius.

He therefore brought him in, held him in great veneration, and made known the deed.

Because Alexius feared the stealthy approach of vainglory to himself, since he had begun to be honored by all, he departed from there.

He boarded a ship to be carried to Tarsus in Cilicia, but by a contrary wind the ship was driven to the port of Ostia.

Descending from it and entering the city, he met his father, recognizing him but remaining unknown to his father.

He supplicated him that he would deign to grant him some little dwelling in his house to inhabit, so that his Lord might have mercy upon him and upon his pilgrim son.

When the father heard the name of his son, moved in the bowels of piety, he assented and commanded his servants to assign the man a certain place in his palace and furnish the necessities.

He therefore commanded that a dwelling be prepared for him in the courtyard of his house, so that he might see him when entering and departing, and that provision be made for him from his table.

But the servants, unruly in the manner of their kind, inflicted many injuries and derisions upon him while their lord was ignorant, and Alexius endured all things without complaint, always applying himself to prayer in great austerity.

Thus he remained there for another seventeen years.

Then, when the Lord revealed his death so that he might carry back the triumph from his long contest, he asked the servants for a writing tablet and reed, and wrote who he was, how he had departed, where he had lived, and narrated all things in order.

Having closed the document, he surrendered his spirit as it sought the things above.

On the Lord's day, however, after the solemn rites of Mass, a voice was heard from heaven, saying: "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I shall refresh you."

At this voice all were terrified and stupefied.

A voice came a second time, saying: "Seek the man of God, so that he may pray for Rome."

When they asked among themselves who he could be and were unable to know, they heard a third time: "Seek in the house of Euphemianus."

And all turned to Euphemianus, who was present, and asked why he wished to conceal so great a grace from others; but he also declared that he did not know.

Therefore, when the supreme pontiff Innocent and the emperors Arcadius and Honorius proceeded to the house of Euphemianus, Euphemianus himself ran ahead to arrange the house according to what befitted them.

But one of the servants who ministered more attentively to Alexius said to Euphemianus: "See, lord, whether perhaps it is that pilgrim whom you received long ago and have kept in your house. For that man is of great patience and prayer."

Reaching the house, Euphemianus approached the little cell of Alexius's dwelling and found him dead.

Uncovering his face, he saw it shining like the countenance of an angel.

When he wished to take the closed document which Alexius held in his hands, the dead man did not release it.

When therefore the pope arrived with the emperors and a very great multitude of the people, Euphemianus announced that the man of God had been found and that he held a document in his hands which he had been unwilling to release.

The supreme prelate approached the place where the holy body lay and took the document from his hands, which he immediately released, and handed it to a notary to be read before all the people.

But Euphemianus, hearing his son named, became lifeless and fell to the ground.

When his spirit returned, he tore his garments and pulled out his hair because of immense grief. He uttered pitiable cries, poured forth abundant tears, cast himself upon the body of his son, and did not cease to kiss him, saying: "Alas for me, my lord! Why have you afflicted me thus? Why for so many years have you crushed my soul?" and so forth.

His mother also, hearing this, came upon them full of tears, roaring like a lioness whose cubs had been taken.

His wife came similarly after her, clamorous and tearful, uttering words which could not be imagined in such an event.

But the Lord made his saint marvelous. For at his touch the blind saw, the sick were healed, and those possessed by demons were freed.

Seeing such great marvels, for honor and no small advancement, the supreme rulers themselves wished to be the bearers of such a burden.

The most sacred body was carried with no small difficulty, because of the multitude desiring to touch the sacred relics, to the church of Saint Boniface; and there it was laid away most honorably with hymns and praises on the seventeenth day of the month of July, in the year of the Lord 410.

Title X, Chapter XV

In the following year, namely the ninth year of Emperor Honorius, as Sigebert says, Paula, a most noble, most wise, and most holy woman, passed to Christ.

Jerome described her life, beginning thus:

“If all the members of my body were turned into tongues and all my limbs resounded with a human voice, I would say nothing worthy of the virtues of Saint Paula.

“Noble by birth, but nobler by holiness; once powerful in riches, but now more distinguished by poverty, she was an example of chastity to all the matrons of Rome.

“She conducted herself in such a manner that no one even among slanderers ever dared to touch her reputation.

“She did not seek the powerful; nevertheless, she did not look down with disdain upon the proud and those seeking glorious things. She sustained the poor; she invited the rich to do good.

“By fleeing glory, she merited the glory which follows virtues like a shadow, and, abandoning those who seek it, seeks those who despise it.

“Born, therefore, of such a stock, she was joined to the man Toxotius, who draws the most exalted blood of Aeneas and the Julii.

“And we say these things not because they are great in those who possess them, but because they are marvelous in those who despise them. Human beings of the age receive those who flourish in these privileges; we praise those who despise them for Christ’s sake.

“She bore five children: Blesilla, over whose death I consoled her at Rome; Paulina, who left the holy man Pammachius heir both of her purpose and of her possessions, to whom we also published a little book concerning her death; Eustochium, who is now in the holy places a precious jewel of virginity and of the Church; Rufina, who at a mature funeral strengthened the pious soul of her mother [read: whose untimely death deeply distressed the pious soul of her mother]; and Toxotius, after whom she ceased to bear children.

“What poor person, when dying, was not wrapped in her garments? What cleric was not sustained by her resources?

“Seeking them most carefully throughout the whole world [read: throughout the whole city], she regarded it as a loss if anyone weak or hungry was sustained by another’s food.

“She despoiled her children, and amid the rebukes of her relatives she said that she was leaving them a greater inheritance: the mercy of Christ.

“Nor could she for long endure the visits and frequent attendance belonging to exalted birth and a most noble family.

“She once had as a guest Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, which is now called Constantia; and she possessed Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, who remained in another house, through kindness as though he were her own.

“Inflamed by their virtues, at every moment she thought of abandoning her homeland.

“Why say more? She descended to the port, while brother, kindred, relations by marriage, and children followed and desired to conquer her by affection.

“Little Toxotius stretched out suppliant hands on the shore. Rufina, already marriageable, silently entreated with tears that she should await her nuptials.

“And nevertheless Paula directed dry eyes toward heaven, overcoming affection toward her children by affection toward God.

“She did not know herself to be a mother, so that she might prove herself a handmaid of Christ.

“Thus, plowing the sea by ship, she journeyed through many regions, visited the holy places of the Promised Land and the monks of Egypt, and at last, intending to remain at Bethlehem perpetually, remained for three days [read: for three years] in a narrow lodging, until she constructed cells, monasteries, and lodgings for pilgrims beside the road on which Mary and Joseph had not found lodging.”

When she first visited the Lord’s manger, she saw in a certain imaginary or sensible vision Christ being born of the Virgin, the angels praising together, and the Magi adoring, as though those things were then actually occurring, as the same Jerome relates near the beginning of the sermon *On the Assumption*.

Jerome says:

“She had Blesilla as mother and Rogatus as father. Of these, the one is of the lineage of the Scipios and the Greeks [read: Scipios and Gracchi]; the other, through almost all Greece to this very day, is reported by riches and nobility to draw the blood of Agamemnon, who destroyed Troy in a ten-year siege.

“She cast herself down with such humility—which is the first virtue of Christians—that whoever had seen her before would not now believe her to be the same, but the last of the handmaids.

“And although she was surrounded by frequent choirs of virgins, she was the least of all in clothing, voice, bearing, and gait.

“After the death of her husband, she never wished to eat with any man, however holy she knew him to be.

“She did not approach baths unless she was in danger.

“Even in a most grievous fever she had no soft bedding for her couch, but rested upon the hardest ground with little pieces of haircloth spread beneath her—if indeed that is to be called rest by which she joined days and nights with almost continual prayers.

“She so bewailed light sins that you would have believed her guilty of the gravest crimes.

“When she was rather frequently admonished by us to spare her eyes and preserve them for the reading of the Gospel, she said: ‘The face which, against God’s command, I frequently painted with purple dye, white lead, and antimony is to be disfigured.

“‘The body which devoted itself to many delights is to be afflicted. Long laughter is to be compensated by perpetual weeping. Soft linen garments and things most precious with silk are to be exchanged for the roughness of haircloth.’

“Her generosity alone exceeded measure; and, paying interest, she also made interest [read: she also frequently contracted another loan].

“I confess my error. I reproved her because she was too profuse in giving, and warned her lest she should not always be able to do what she willingly did, according to that saying of the Apostle: ‘Not that there should be relief for others, but tribulation for you.’

“With marvelous modesty she dissolved this argument with most skilled speech [read: with most sparing speech], saying that she had this as her vow: that she should die begging, leave not even one coin to her daughter, and even at her funeral be wrapped in another person’s shroud.

“She wished to learn the Hebrew language, which I learned from adolescence with much labor and sweat, and she attained it, so that she chanted the Psalms in Hebrew and sounded out the speech without any quality of the Latin tongue.

“We discern this to this day in her holy daughter Eustochium, who always adhered to her mother and obeyed her commands in such a manner that she never lay down, went out, or took food without her, and had not even one coin in her own power.

“In this alone did Paula have longing for her homeland: that she might know her son, a man, and a grandson [read: her son, daughter-in-law, and granddaughter] to have renounced the age and to serve Christ.

“But when she had fallen into a most severe illness, the piety of her daughter Eustochium, always proved toward her mother, was then proved all the more by diligently standing by her in all things.

“With what prayers, with what lamentations and groaning, did she run between her mother lying ill and the onrush of the Lord [read: the cave of the Lord], lest she be deprived of so great a companionship, lest she live in Paula’s absence, but that she should be carried upon the same bier!

“Why say more? The most prudent woman perceived that death was present and, as though she were going to her own people and abandoning strangers, whispered those verses: ‘Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house,’ and so forth; and, ‘How beloved are your tabernacles, O Lord,’ and so forth.

“When she was asked by me why she was silent and why she did not wish to answer me when I cried out to ask what she suffered, she answered in the Greek language, which she knew, that she had no affliction, but regarded all things as quiet and tranquil.

“After this she became mute and, holding a finger to her mouth, traced the sign of the cross upon her lips.

“She turned even that sweat [read: death-rattle] by which the life of mortals is ended into praises of the Lord.

“The bishops of Jerusalem and other cities were present, and an innumerable multitude of priests, Levites, monks, and virgins; and songs of psalms resounded in diverse languages.

“Carried upon a bier by the hands of the bishops, she was placed in the middle of the church, in the cave of the Savior.”

Title XI

Title XI contains the deeds of one hundred and two years, or thereabouts, namely from the year of the Lord 418 until the year 518.

It treats of eleven supreme pontiffs, namely Boniface, Celestine, Sixtus, Leo I, Hilary, Simplicius, Felix II, Gelasius, Anastasius II, Symmachus, and Hormisdas.

It treats also of the emperors succeeding one another in the East: Theodosius the Younger, Marcian, Leo I, Zeno, and Anastasius.

In the West there reigned Valentinian III and, after the usurpation, Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Orestes, and Odoacer; and finally Theodoric was made king in Italy by Zeno, one succeeding another.

This title also contains the origin and progress of other kingdoms: namely, the kingdom of the Persians; of the eastern and western Goths, that is, those reigning there; the kingdom of the Huns; of the Vandals, who, having become Arians, persecuted the Church in Africa; the kingdom of the Lombards; and the kingdom of the Franks and Britons.

It also contains the doctors of that time and the holy bishops and abbots then flourishing.

Title XI, Chapter I

From the year of the Lord's Incarnation 381, in which Gratian began to rule, Sigebert began to describe the contemporaneity of several kingdoms: namely, that of the Romans; of the Persians, which afterward became that of the Saracens; the kingdom of the Franks; of the English; the kingdom of the Vandals; the kingdom of the Lombards; the kingdom of the Visigoths; the kingdom of the Ostrogoths; and the kingdom of the Huns.

We shall note something briefly concerning all these.

Concerning the kingdom of the Romans, about which something has been said and, with life as companion, is to be said down to the present time—namely, the year of the Lord 1454—Sigebert speaks thus in his *Chronicles*:

"According to Daniel's interpretation from the vision of the statue seen by Nebuchadnezzar, this kingdom is the fourth monarchy and the last of the world, signified in the iron shins and feet of the statue, yet mixed with clay.

"For just as iron breaks, subdues, and crushes all things, so from its origin it broke, struck, and subdued almost all the kingdoms of the world.

"But in the last time, that kingdom, which in its iron shins had stood for a very long time and most firmly without any weariness, at last, when the composition of human weakness in the feet had been mingled with the iron of its strength, began to slip from the exalted degree of its dominion with a terrible crash.

"The Persians first struck this kingdom. They had always held themselves almost as equals with the Romans, but now, while the state of the commonwealth wavered, they did not fear to attack them beyond measure and were moreover able to mutilate them at their borders, when, after Julian the Apostate was killed and the army miserably subjugated, the Persians became exceedingly fortunate through their misfortune.

"And thus that kingdom which for so long had held almost all the nations of the world for plunder and dominion, now, when the omnipotence of God was angered against it, lay open to the plunder and mockery of almost all nations, receiving double in the cup which it had mixed for others.

"Those who formerly contended with other nations for glory alone were now scarcely able to take sufficient counsel for their own safety.

"For whatever nations were exiled from their homeland either for the sake of diminishing the multitude of their household or from love of exercising their ferocity assailed the empire of the Romans, cut away from its most extensive body certain parts, as it were, and established for themselves in them a place for reigning."

And because, of the ecclesiastical and royal powers by which the world is governed, the ecclesiastical is the greater, as is contained in distinction XCVI, *Duo sunt*, it is therefore necessary to treat first of the supreme pontiffs.

Section I

Boniface, the fortieth from Peter, succeeded Zosimus—of whom it was said above in Title X—to the supreme pontificate.

He was Roman by nation and presided over the Church for three years, five months, and thirteen days.

Against him a certain other man named Eulalius was ordained pope.

Therefore, when the clergy disagreed, by command of Emperor Honorius, who was still living, Boniface, who had been ordained first, was placed in the apostolic see.

When, after Boniface died, many sought for Eulalius, who had been expelled, to be recalled, Eulalius did not consent to return to Rome.

And note that concerning this Emperor Honorius writes thus to this Pope Boniface, as is contained in distinction LXXIX:

"If perhaps two men have been ordained through the impious rashness of contenders, we decree that neither of them is to become priest, but we judge that he alone is to remain in the apostolic see whom divine judgment and the consent of the universality shall choose from the number of the clerics by a new ordination."

There the Gloss notes that, since it does not pertain to the emperor to establish anything concerning elections and other ecclesiastical matters, he did this at the request of the Church, and the Church approved it.

And as Gratian adds in the following section, this is not understood of the case when one man is elected canonically and another is afterward created in fact, because the first prevails.

Or, according to the Gloss, it is understood when neither is elected by two parts of the cardinals, as is required, because then neither of them is pope, as is stated in the Decretals, *On Election*, in the final chapter.

Or a council will be summoned when, namely, there is doubt concerning the right of each.

This Boniface also decreed that no woman or nun should touch or wash the consecrated cloth of the altar, or offer incense at the altar; and that a slave or one bound to the curia should not be ordained, namely unless he had been freed.

He presided over the Roman Church in the tenth year of Emperor Honorius, but in the year 418 from the Lord's Incarnation.

Section II

When Boniface passed from this light, Pope Celestine, the forty-first, succeeded to the see of Peter.

He was Roman by nation and sat for nine years, ten months, and nine days.

He established that the introit of the Mass should be said from the Psalms of David, as is observed for the most part. This was not done before, but the epistle of Paul and the Gospel were said.

And not only the introits, but also the graduals or responsories and the offertories began to be said before the sacrifice, and prayers to be sung with modulation at Mass in the Roman curia.

Under this most blessed prelate Celestine, a certain bishop Peter built the church of Saint Sabina on the Aventine Hill. Celestine consecrated it and placed there several bodies of saints, especially those of Pope Alexander I, Eventius, and Theodulus, and of Saint Serapia the virgin and Saint Sabina the widow and martyr. It now belongs to the Friars Preachers.

By this Pope Celestine, Bishop Palladius was sent to the Scots believing in Christ.

After him Saint Patrick, a Briton by race and son of Conches, the sister of Saint Martin, was sent to them by the same pope.

Ordained archbishop of the Scots by Celestine himself, distinguished by holiness and excelling in doctrine for sixty years, Patrick converted the whole island of Ireland to Christ. He will be discussed below.

This Celestine inveighs against those who promote laymen and unworthy persons to orders and dignities, saying thus:

"Whoever desires to be a teacher ought first to be a disciple, so that he may be able to teach what he has learned.

"Every institution of life strengthens itself toward that to which it tends by this principle.

"He who has devoted no labor to letters will not be able to be an instructor.

"He who has not advanced through each period of service will not be able to reach the order belonging to the reward of service.

"Priesthood alone among these things is held cheaper. Why is it bestowed more easily, when it is fulfilled with greater difficulty?" This is in distinction LIX, *Ordinatos*.

The same Celestine says in distinction LXII: "The people are to be taught, not followed. We also, if they do not know, ought to admonish them what is lawful or what is not lawful, not give our consent to them."

The same man says in cause XXVI, question VI, chapter *Agnovimus*:

"Whoever has denied penance to a human being at the time of death takes salvation away from him.

"Those who did not believe that God could suffice to aid the dying even in a moment despaired of the mercy of God.

"The thief hanging at Christ's right hand would have lost his reward if the penitence of one hour had not aided him.

"While he was in punishment he repented, and by the command of a single word he merited, with Christ promising it, a dwelling in Paradise."

Under this Pope Celestine, as is said in the Decrees, distinction XVI, chapter *Sexta*, according to Bede a universal synod of three hundred fathers was celebrated at Ephesus in the times of Theodosius the Younger against Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople.

Nestorius said that Blessed Mary was the mother not of God but only of a human being, because he posited in Christ two distinct persons, namely a human and a divine person.

Hence he was declared a heretic, and it was determined that there is only one person in Christ, but in two natures, namely divine and human, and that the Blessed Virgin ought to be called the Mother of God.

Some, however, say that it was celebrated under Pope Sixtus, who follows immediately.

Section III

After Celestine, Sixtus, the second of this name and the forty-second pope, sat in the chair of Peter.

He was Roman by nation and governed the Church for eight years and nineteen days.

He was accused of a false crime by a certain patrician named Bassus. Hence Sixtus himself writes thus to all the bishops in the Decrees, cause II, question IV:

“You commanded that I write to you how this dispute was stirred up against me and by whom, so that it might be repelled by your support and my cause might be strengthened.

“Know, therefore, that I am accused by a certain Bassus and unjustly persecuted.

“Hearing this, Valentinian Augustus commanded, by our authority, that a synod be assembled; and, when the council had been held, I satisfied everyone after a great examination, although I could have escaped quite well in another way.

“Nevertheless, fleeing suspicion, I cleared myself before everyone, namely freeing myself from suspicion and rivalry, but not giving a form for doing this to others who are unwilling to do it or have voluntarily chosen it [read: have not voluntarily chosen it].”

These things are there.

When he had thus been cleared before sixty-six bishops, the aforesaid Bassus was condemned by the synod, yet in such a manner that on his last day viaticum should not be denied to him, because of the piety of the Church.

Valentinian Augustus and his mother Placidia, indignant against Bassus with holy fervor, condemned him, relegated him to exile, and assigned all his resources to the Catholic Church.

By the just judgment of God he died within three months.

Nevertheless, Blessed Sixtus, unmindful of the injury, caused his body to be preserved with spices with every service of humanity and buried it honorably with his own hands in the church of Blessed Peter.

At the exhortation of this pontiff, Emperor Valentinian offered many gifts to ecclesiastical churches and renewed many things in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul which had been taken away by barbarians.

Under this Pope Sixtus, Emperor Theodosius died at Constantinople.

Pope Sixtus says thus in the Decrees, cause XXIV, question I:

“I remember that I preside under the name of him whose confession was glorified by the Lord, and whose faith never favors any heresy but indeed destroys all heresies.

“I understand that it is not lawful for me to do otherwise than expend all my efforts upon that cause in which the salvation of the universal Church is assailed.”

Section IV

While Marcian was ruling at Constantinople and Valentinian III in Italy, after the passing of Pope Sixtus, Leo, the first of this name, was created pope.

He was Tuscan by nation and presided over the Roman Church for twenty-one years, one month, and twenty-nine days.

He was very powerful in declaiming homilies and most eloquent in his sermons.

He wrote seventy decretal letters. He delivered seventy-nine sermons to the people, which are also preserved in writing; hence he was called the Sermologist.

And because of the commendation of this holy man’s prudent intellect and the charm of his eloquence, some things from his sayings are introduced below.

He added to the Canon of the Mass: “a holy sacrifice, an immaculate victim.”

He was conspicuous in holiness.

Whenever he was asked by anyone to give them some relics of the apostles or martyrs, he was accustomed to celebrate Masses in honor of those apostles or martyrs at their bodies or memorials whose relics were sought.

Thus he divided piece by piece the grandeuum of the altar [read: the brandeum of the altar]—that is, the corporal in which he had wrapped the consecrated body of the Lord—and gave it as relics of the apostles or martyrs.

Hence, if anyone doubted, by piercing those cloths with a little knife he drew forth blood, thus making manifest to all that even by the consecration of the mysteries the blood of the apostles or martyrs which had been shed for Christ entered those cloths by divine power, and that those cloths were therefore deservedly given as relics of the saints in whose honor they had been consecrated.

By his prayers and entreaties he obtained peace for the city when he personally approached Attila, who was stationed with his peoples near Ravenna, so that Attila would depart from Italy when he was striving to go to plunder the city of Rome.

In his times and those of Emperor Marcian, the fifth and most celebrated synod, of six hundred and thirty fathers, was celebrated in the city of Chalcedon against Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople.

He asserted that after the assumption of humanity Christ did not exist from two natures, but that the divine nature alone was preeminent in him, as though the human nature had been changed into the divine.

Therefore, when the aforesaid heresy had been condemned, they established twenty-seven canons, whose principal author was Saint Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, as is contained in distinction XVI, chapter *Sexta*.

Hence Emperor Marcian, present at the council, said, as is contained in distinction XCVI:

“Following the example of the most religious prince Constantine, we wish to be present at the synod to confirm the faith, not to display power, so that, once truth has been found, the multitude, drawn by perverse doctrines, may disagree no longer; judging it fitting that its chapters be confirmed regularly by a synod rather than sanctioned by our law.”

These things are there.

Not only was Abbot Eutyches condemned, but also his defender Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria.

Nestorius also, formerly bishop of Constantinople, who had been condemned as a heretic in the preceding Council of Ephesus for asserting two persons in Christ, was again condemned with other heretics.

It was decreed that Blessed Mary, the Mother of the Lord, should be believed and called not only *Christotokos* but also *Theotokos*, because of the blasphemies of Nestorius, who falsely asserted that she bore not God but a mere human being.

To refute the said errors, Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, book XXI, chapter XXXV, relates this miracle as having occurred from the acts of the said council.

For while the heretics disputed with the orthodox in the presence of Pope Leo, the orthodox said:

“Let us write our faith on one document, and you heretics yours on another, and let us place them with our seals upon the body of Saint Euphemia. Let us secure the tomb before the emperor and pray to God—we according to our faith, you rather according to your perfidy—that God may manifest the true faith to us.”

When this had been done, the orthodox prayed and fasted for seven days.

After this, all went with the emperor to the tomb. Opening it, they saw Saint Euphemia holding the document of the orthodox in her hand, while the document of the heretics had been cast beneath her feet.

His little work, or letter, directed to Bishop Flavian—namely, concerning the mystery of the faith—was approved down to its last iota in distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*.

I believe this to be the letter which, as is read, after he had published it he placed upon the tomb of Blessed Peter the Apostle, praying and fasting for forty days so that, if there were anything in it which ought to be corrected, Peter might amend it.

Peter appeared to him at the end of the forty days, saying that he had amended it where it was expedient.

When the same man prayed and fasted at the tomb of Blessed Peter, asking that Peter obtain pardon for his sins, Peter himself appeared, saying:

“I have entreated the Lord for you, and he has forgiven you all your sins. Only concerning the imposition of hands must you be examined”—that is, whether you imposed hands well or otherwise upon anyone, namely by conferring orders or benefices.

Concerning certain statutes made by him, Vincent relates in the place cited above:

“Because the malignant one does not cease to lie in wait for the followers of piety and always searches out some new thing against truth, it was resolved that no one should be able to build a monastery or oratory without the consent of the bishop of the city.

“In monasteries a slave is not to be received to be made a monk without the consent of his own lord.

“Nor are monks to involve themselves in ecclesiastical or secular affairs.

“Nor is it lawful for a cleric to serve simultaneously in the churches of two cities.

“Clerics or monks who are conspirators are to lose their own rank, for this vice is cut away entirely even under external laws.

“A cleric or layman who accuses a bishop ought not to be received unless their reputation has first been examined.

“It was resolved that ordinations of bishops should be made within three months.

“Every church that has a bishop is also to have a steward from its own clergy.

“The severity of enactments must be numerous where license for faults is frequent.”

These things are there.

Among his other statutes, these things are contained in the Decrees, distinction XIV:

“Just as there are certain things which cannot be overturned by any reason, so there are many things which must be tempered either because of the necessity of the times or because of consideration of ages, with this consideration always preserved: that in matters which are doubtful or obscure, we should know that course to be followed which is found neither contrary to the evangelical precepts nor opposed to the decrees of the holy fathers.”

Concerning the continence of clerics, he says thus in distinction XXXII:

“The election of all priests is so excellent that things which in other members of the Church are free from fault are nevertheless regarded as unlawful in them.

“For although those constituted outside the order of clerics are free to devote themselves to the fellowship of nuptials and the procreation of children, nevertheless, for displaying the purity of perfect continence, carnal marriage is not conceded even to subdeacons, so that those who have wives may be as though not having them—that is, may not use them—and those who do not have them may remain single—that is, may not contract marriage.”

Pope Leo says in distinction XXXVIII:

“If lack of knowledge seems intolerable in laymen, how much more in those who preside? It is neither worthy of excuse nor of pardon.”

The same man says concerning the manner of correction in distinction XLV:

“Although things which are to be reproved sometimes occur among priestly persons, nevertheless, in regard to those to be corrected, let benevolence do more than severity, charity more than power, exhortation more than agitation.

“But those who seek the things that are their own, not those of Jesus Christ, easily depart from this law; and while it pleases them to dominate rather than to take counsel for their subjects, honor inflates them into pride, and what was provided for concord tends toward harm.”

The same man says against cupidity in distinction XLVII:

“A Catholic man, and especially a priest of the Lord, just as he ought to be entangled by no error, so he ought to be violated by no cupidity, Scripture saying: ‘Do not go after your desires.’

“For a mind greedy for power neither knows how to abstain from forbidden things, nor to rejoice in things conceded, nor to grant consent to piety.”

The same man says concerning undue promotions in distinction LXI:

“We marvel that among you, through the occasion of an unquiet time, the presumption of those canvassing for office, or a popular tumult, had such power that the pastoral summit and governance of the Church were entrusted to unworthy persons and to those established far outside priestly merit.

“This is not to take counsel for the people but to harm them, not to furnish governance but to increase danger.

“For the integrity of those who preside is the salvation of their subjects, and where the soundness of obedience exists, there is a sound form of doctrine.”

And below:

“But if in any grades of the Church care must be taken prudently and knowingly that nothing in the house of the Lord be disordered and nothing inverted, how much more must labor be expended that there be no error in the election of him who is placed over all the grades?

“For the state and order of the whole household of the Lord will waver if that which is required in the body is not found in the head.

“Where is that precept of Blessed Paul the Apostle, issued through the Spirit of God, by which in the person of Timothy the whole number of Christ’s priests is instructed, whence it is said to each one of us: ‘Impose hands hastily upon no one, nor make yourself a sharer in the sins of others’?

“For what is it to impose hands hastily, unless it is to bestow priestly honor upon the unproved before the age of maturity, before the time of examination, before the merit of obedience, and before experience of discipline?

“For just as he who maintains upright judgment in electing a priest obtains for himself the fruit of a good work, so he who exalts an unworthy man to the fellowship of his dignity afflicts himself with grave harm.

“That which is contained in general enactments is not to be omitted in the case of any person.

“Nor is that order to be regarded as lawful which has been conferred contrary to the precepts of divine law.”

And below:

“Nor can there be doubt concerning the advancement of him to whom, for many labors, chaste conduct, and strenuous deeds, the reward of a higher place is owed.”

The same man says:

“We establish that the Church of the Lord is not to be entrusted for governance to those who, ignorant of lawful institutions and unacquainted with all humility, have wished not to take their increase from the lowest things but to have their beginning from the highest, since it is exceedingly unjust and absurd that the inexperienced should be preferred to masters, the new to the ancient, the untrained to the meritorious.”

The same man says concerning penance for the sick in cause XXVI, question VI:

“Those who in a time of necessity and under the pressure of urgent danger implore the aid of penance and the manner of reconciliation are neither to be forbidden satisfaction nor denied reconciliation, because we can neither impose measures upon God’s mercy nor define times for it. With him conversion suffers no delays in coming, the Spirit of God saying through the prophet: ‘When you have turned and groaned, you shall be saved.’”

And he says in cause XXVI, question VII:

“The times of penitence are to be established with moderation according to your judgment, as you perceive the minds of the converted to be devout, having consideration likewise for advanced age and regarding the necessities of any dangers and illnesses,” and so forth.

The same man says in *On Penance*, distinction V:

“The quality of profit either excuses or accuses the merchant, because there is honest gain and shameful gain.

“It is difficult, however, that sin should not intervene in commerce between seller and buyer.

“And one seeking pardon for unlawful things must abstain even from lawful things.”

Thus says he.

The feast of this saint is celebrated on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul.

Section V

After Leo I, Hilary, a Sardinian by nation and the forty-fourth in the catalogue of the Roman pontiffs, undertook the governance of the Roman Church.

He sat for six years, two months, and ten days.

He disseminated decretals concerning the Catholic faith throughout the East, confirming three synods, namely Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

He also condemned Eutyches, Nestorius, Dioscorus, and all their followers.

He restored many things to the Roman churches.

This Hilary says thus in cause XXV, question I:

“Let it be lawful to no one to violate either the divine constitutions or the decrees of the apostolic see without peril to his state, because the guilt of such transgressions will look to us who administer the offices of the most powerful priest if we are found negligent in the causes of God, since we remember what we ought to fear and how God threatens the negligence of priests.

“Indeed, he who enjoys a higher honor sins with greater guilt, and the sublimity of those sinning makes the vices of sins more grave.”

At that time Blessed Mamertus, a venerable doctor and bishop of Vienne, flourished.

As John of the *Collection* says, he established that three-day litanies should be celebrated before the Ascension in the regions of Gaul.

The cause of this was that at Vienne very great earthquakes occurred at that time, which cast down many houses and churches. Nocturnal sounds and cries were heard.

On Easter Day, fire descending from heaven burned the king’s palace; wolves and other wild beasts entered the city, ran about, and devoured many persons.

Because of these things Saint Mamertus instituted a three-day fast and the saying of litanies, and thus that tribulation became quiet.

This institution was afterward assumed and commanded by the whole Church, as is evident in *On Consecration*, distinction III, chapter *Rogationes*.

Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne and a very learned man, marvelously commends this Mamertus, who was also surnamed Claudianus, saying:

“No one like Claudianus, who wrote the book *On the State of the Soul*, in my time had such power to affirm what he wished.

“He thinks like Pythagoras, divides like Socrates, explains like Plato, enfolds like Aristotle, flatters like Aeschines, grows angry like Demosthenes, blooms like Hortensius, delays like Fabius, feigns like Crassus, dissembles like Caesar, advises like Cato, dissuades like Appius, and persuades like Tullius.

“Now, if one comes by comparison to the sacrosanct fathers: he instructs like Jerome, destroys like Lactantius, builds up like Augustine, is exalted like Hilary, submits himself like John, corrects like Basil, consoles like Gregory Nazianzen, flows like Orosius, is concise like Rufinus, narrates like Eusebius, exhorts like Paulinus, and perseveres like Ambrose.”

Thus says he.

Section VI

When Hilary died, Simplicius, a Tiburtine by nation and the forty-fifth, was enthroned in the Roman see.

He held it for fifteen years, one month, and eight days.

He condemned Peter, an Eutychian and bishop of Constantinople, and established many holy things in the Church, as John of the *Collection* says.

Felix, the forty-sixth, succeeded him in the pontificate.

He was Roman by nation and sat for six years, eleven months, and eighteen days.

He lived in the time of Odoacer, king of Italy, and Emperor Zeno.

Under his pontificate, the aforesaid Peter, whom the apostolic see had condemned, was recalled to the royal city of Constantinople by Bishop Acacius, who had been substituted for that same Peter in the see of Constantinople.

When venerable Pope Felix heard this, as John of the *Collection* relates, he assembled a council at Rome and condemned and deposed Acacius together with Peter.

When Acacius had been condemned, Emperor Zeno wrote to Pope Felix that, if Acacius should repent and draw back from the error, he should be received.

Then the blessed pontiff sent two men concerning this, namely Bishop Misenus and a certain Vitalis.

When they came to Constantinople, they did not act according to the command of the supreme pontiff who had sent them, but were corrupted by money.

When Felix discovered this, he assembled a council, recalled them, and cast them out from the communion of the faithful.

Section VII

After Felix, Gelasius, the forty-seventh, an African by nation, governed the Roman Church for four years, eight months, and nine days.

This holy man was a lover of the poor, and by his munificence he freed the city itself from the danger of famine.

He was most learned and most eloquent, as is apparent from his decretals, and solicitous in the investigation of the Scriptures.

He wrote five books against Eutyches and Nestorius, and two against Arius, and letters concerning the faith to diverse persons.

He also composed some hymns in the manner of Blessed Ambrose, and prefaces and very many prayers which are in use.

He declared which writings of the Old and New Testaments were authentic in addition to the decrees and decretal letters of the supreme pontiffs, and which authors and writings were apocryphal—that is, doubtful—and which were condemned, as is evident in distinction XV, *Sancta Romana*.

He also declared which passages from sacred writings were to be read in the readings of Matins at diverse times of the year.

He says thus in the Decrees, distinction X:

“Who but one who thinks that his transgression will pass unpunished for him would say that either the laws of princes, the rules of the fathers, or paternal admonitions ought to be despised?”

The same man says to Theodoric, king of Italy, in whose time he lived:

“It is certain that our magnificence [read: your magnificence] wishes, for the increase of its own felicity, that the kings of Roman princes [read: the laws of Roman princes], which it commanded to be observed in human affairs, should be preserved much more concerning reverence for Blessed Peter the Apostle.”

The same man says in cause I, question I:

“Let priests set no payments for those to be baptized and confirmed among the faithful, because we are commanded to give freely the things which we have freely received; and therefore let them not attempt to exact anything from the aforesaid.”

The same man says in distinction XCIII:

“We establish that deacons are to observe their proper limits.

“Let them not dare to baptize without a bishop or presbyter, unless perhaps, when those orders are situated farther away, extreme necessity compels it—which is also frequently conceded to laymen.

“They are not to have the right to exercise the distribution of the sacred body in the presence of a bishop or presbyter, unless these are absent.”

The same man says to Emperor Anastasius, who lived at that time, in distinction XCVI:

“There are indeed two things, august emperor, by which this world is principally governed: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the royal power.

“Of these, the burden of the priests is so much the weightier because they will render an account in the divine examination even for the rulers themselves of human beings.

“You therefore know that among these matters you depend upon their judgment, and that they cannot be reduced to your will.”

And for this he introduces the example of Pope Innocent, who excommunicated Emperor Arcadius, and of Saint Ambrose, who excommunicated Theodosius the Great.

The same Gelasius says thus in distinction LXXXVIII, *Consequens*:

“A report recently sent to us announced something which must not be passed over: that very many clerics gape after dishonest transactions and shameful gains, recounting without any shame the Gospel reading in which the Lord himself is said to have driven the merchants from the temple after beating them, and not recalling the words of the Apostle in which he says, ‘No one serving as a soldier for God entangles himself in secular transactions.’

“They also pretend with a deaf ear not to hear the Psalmist David singing: ‘Because I have not known trafficking, I shall enter into the powers of the Lord.’

“Therefore, let men of this kind know that henceforth they must abstain from unworthy gains and cease from every contrivance and cupidity of any business; or, in whatever grade they have been placed, let them immediately be compelled to abstain from clerical offices, lest the house of God, which is a house of prayer, be made a den of robbers through the offices of commerce.”

Section VIII

When Blessed Gelasius went to the fathers, Anastasius II, a Roman by nation and the forty-eighth in order, was created pope.

He sat for one year, eleven months, and twenty-four days.

In his time many of the clergy withdrew themselves from communion with him because, without a council of bishops, he had communicated with Photinus, a deacon of Thessalonica, who favored the heretic Acacius.

Hence, because he wished secretly to recall Acacius—namely, to dignity—but could not, he was struck by divine judgment, as is stated in distinction XIX, *Anastasius*, where the Gloss says that while defecating he discharged his intestines.

His decretal directed to Emperor Anastasius, which begins *According to the Church*, in the same distinction, as the Gloss says, is condemned together with its author because in it he seems to say that those ordained by a heretic—as were those ordained by that heretic Acacius—could execute the offices of their orders without another dispensation, which is false.

After Anastasius, Symmachus, the forty-ninth pope, was assumed to the supreme priesthood.

He was Sardinian by nation and held the chair for fifteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days.

He established that on Lord’s days and feast days the *Glory to God in the highest* should be said. Pope Telesphorus had previously ordained that it be said only on the day of the Nativity.

At the ordination of this Symmachus, however, so great a schism arose among the clergy at Rome that slaughter was committed not only of laymen but of clerics.

For this Symmachus was ordained in the Constantinian Basilica of Saint John Lateran, while Laurentius was made pope—or rather antipope—in the church of Saint Mary Major.

Therefore the clergy was separated and the people divided. Some senators also favored Symmachus, others Laurentius.

After much controversy, as John of the *Collection* says, they agreed upon this: that they should go to Ravenna concerning the matter and await the judgment of King Theodoric, who then reigned in Italy and was descended from the Goths.

When both had come to Ravenna, they received this judgment from the king: that whoever had first been ordained and upon whom the greater part had agreed should be regarded as the true pontiff.

Hence, by this judgment, Symmachus obtained the supreme prelacy.

Unwilling to return evil for evil, he ordained the said Laurentius bishop in the city of Nuceria.

But when four years had passed, Laurentius again came to Rome at the suggestion of certain men and renewed the schism, while the consuls Festus and Probinus adhered to him. Against Faustus and the consul [read: Faustus the ex-consul], who protected Symmachus and the Church, they stirred up wars and seditions, so that slaughter and homicide occurred in the midst of the city.

The clergy was divided to such an extent that some communicated with Symmachus and others with Laurentius.

Moreover, Festus and Probinus, having suborned false witnesses, sent them to Ravenna to King Theodoric against Symmachus, seeking that the king give a visitor to the apostolic see.

At their suggestion the king, contrary to the canons, gave a certain Peter by name, bishop of the city of Altinum.

And, as is said in the Decrees, distinction XVI, section *Hinc etiam*, King Theodoric commanded bishops from diverse provinces to assemble in the city of Rome, so that a holy council might judge concerning those things which Symmachus’s adversaries said were charged against the venerable Symmachus, prelate of the apostolic see.

But the bishops of Liguria, Emilia, and Venetia suggested that the one who was said to have been accused ought to convene the synod, knowing that first the merit of Blessed Peter the Apostle belonging to his see, and then the authority of the venerable councils, secure in the Lord’s vision [read: following the Lord’s command], had given him singular power among the churches; and that the prelate of the aforesaid see had not been subjected to the judgment of inferiors.

To these things the most serene king, with God inspiring him, answered that it belonged to the judgment of the synod to prescribe what was to be followed in so great a matter; and that nothing pertained to him concerning ecclesiastical affairs except reverence.

He also committed it to the power of the pontiffs to deliberate whether they wished to hear the proposed matter or did not wish to do so, according to what they judged more useful, provided that peace should be given to the city of Rome by the provision of the venerable council.

The bishops sitting in the synod, however, assembled by the authority of that same Symmachus, said:

“Pope Symmachus, prelate of the apostolic see, assailed by accusations of this kind, as far as concerns human beings, is to be immune and free; we reserve his whole cause to the judgment of God.

“Concerning the clerics of the aforementioned pope who departed from their bishop prematurely contrary to the rules and made a schism, we decree that this be done: that, making satisfaction to their bishop, they may obtain mercy and rejoice that they are restored to ecclesiastical offices.”

Laurentius, bishop of Milan, subscribed this statute, then Peter, bishop of Ravenna, and after him seventy-five bishops.

These things are there.

And the Gloss says there that Symmachus had been calumniously accused of heresy.

And, as John of the *Collection* says, Peter, who had been made visitor but became an invader of the apostolic see, was condemned together with the antipope Laurentius, and Symmachus was received by all the clergy as the true pontiff.

At Carthage in the time of Symmachus, a certain Arian bishop Olympius, while blaspheming the Holy Trinity in the baths, is reported to have been visibly burned when an angel discharged three fiery darts.

At Constantinople, however, when a certain Arian bishop named Cutherus baptized a certain Barrabas and, distinguishing the Trinity badly, said, “I baptize you, Barrabas, in the name of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit,” the water suddenly disappeared.

At that time, when Thrasamund, king of the Vandals in Africa and an Arian, had exiled two hundred and ninety Catholic bishops, among whom was Fulgentius, an excellent doctor and bishop, Pope Symmachus benevolently exercised the hand of his liberality toward them by assisting them in Sardinia.

Gregory relates in book IV of the *Dialogues* that Paschasius the deacon was a very learned man, greatly devoted to alms and to holiness, so much so that when, dead and placed upon a bier in a church and clothed in a dalmatic, he was touched by a certain possessed man, that man was freed.

Because Paschasius adhered too greatly to the party of Laurentius, judging him rather to be pope, after death he was found by Saint Germanus, bishop of Capua, when Germanus had approached the baths because of infirmity, serving there in his soul—that is, in an aerial body—while sustaining the punishment of purgatory.

He explained that the aforesaid matter was the cause of his punishment and asked to be aided by Germanus’s prayers.

When this had been done, because he was found there no longer, he is believed to have been freed.

This Symmachus was most eloquent, as is evident from his decrees, which are many.

He says thus in distinction XL:

“We do not judge, as you say, that Blessed Peter received from the Lord, together with the privilege of the see, a license to sin for himself or his successors.

“He transmitted to posterity a perpetual endowment of merits with the inheritance of innocence.

“That which was conceded to him through the light of his deeds pertains to those whom an equal splendor of conduct illuminates.

“Who doubts that he whom the summit of so great a dignity raises up is holy?

“If in him good things acquired through merit are lacking, those which are attested by the predecessor of the place suffice.

“For either it raises illustrious men to these summits, or it illuminates those who are raised.”

He also held a council in the city, in which he says thus, as is contained in distinction XCVI:

“Your fraternity, having duly followed the ecclesiastical laws, defined beneath fear of the divine judgment the things which were to be established, and reached the summit of justice when it sufficiently embraced all things and the fullness required no addition, especially concerning clerics whom love of dominion invaded and caused to spurn the yoke of ecclesiastical discipline. Their transgressions are difficult to narrate.

“Nevertheless, I do not delay to intimate to your venerable order one thing which occurs to me.

“Among other things, I report a certain writing of Basil, of illustrious memory, as though made out of love for ecclesiastical property, in which no prelate of the Roman Church was present or subscribed,” and so forth.

For the understanding of this, as the Gloss notes there, when Pope Symmachus became gravely ill and feared that, if death befell him, another schism might occur because of the clamor of heretics or others, he persuaded the patrician Basil, who held the place of Odoacer, king of Italy, at Rome, to make a constitution that a papal election should not be held without consultation with Basil himself, and that no one should be permitted to alienate the immovable possessions of churches and their sacred property. Basil did all this.

But this constitution was revoked by a council.

The reason is also alleged through the council in the said chapter *Bene*: namely, because it was not lawful for laymen, nor is it lawful, to have any power of making enactments in the Church apart from the Roman pope. Laymen, namely, remain under the necessity of obeying, not the authority of commanding.

And thus it was determined that that constitution or writing was of no force, although it had been made with a pious intention.

And this, as is said at the end of the said chapter, was lest there remain an example for any laymen, however religious or powerful, to presume in any city and in any manner to decree anything concerning ecclesiastical resources, the care of disposing of which has indisputably been committed by God to priests alone.

Section IX

After the passing of Symmachus, Hormisdas, the fiftieth pope, a Campanian by nation, ascended the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 517.

He sat in it for nine years and seventeen days.

Hearing that Emperor Anastasius had fallen into the Eutychian heresy, as John of the *Collection* relates, he sent Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, and Peregrinus of Messina as legates to him at Constantinople with a formulary of the orthodox faith which he was to confess.

The emperor was unwilling to consent to it, but attempted to corrupt them with money and gifts.

The legates of the apostolic see, however, despising his gifts, urged Emperor Anastasius to receive the admonition of the Catholic Church and not stain so great an empire with the blemish of heresy.

But Anastasius, filled with fury against Pope Hormisdas, among other things which he wrote proudly to him, proudly placed this in his letters: “We wish to command others, not to be commanded ourselves.”

Moreover, he cast the legates from his sight with insult and, having placed them in a fragile ship, commanded the magistrates conducting them not to put them ashore in any city of Greece and not to publish the letters of the supreme prelate which he had directed to the eastern churches.

But not long afterward that same Anastasius perished by the just judgment of God through a stroke of lightning.

To Justin the Elder, who succeeded the aforesaid Anastasius in the empire, Hormisdas sent as legate Saint Germanus, bishop of the city of Capua, with many others for the sake of restoring the faith.

He was received honorably and with great joy, strengthened the hearts of many who were doubtful in the faith, and, at his petition, Justin recalled all whom Anastasius had relegated to exile because of the Catholic faith.

Hormisdas says thus concerning those to be ordained in distinction LXI:

“In selecting or ordaining priests, it is necessary to exercise perspicuous care, for it is fitting that those who must preside over those to be corrected should be irreproachable.

“He to whom the rudders of the Church are committed ought to manifest his life by long probation.

“We do not deny that conduct pleasing to God exists in laymen, but the institutions of the faithful seek soldiers proved for themselves.

“One ought to learn before he teaches, and rather to furnish others from himself an example of religious conduct than to take one from them.

“It is fitting that he who must pray for the people be more blameless than the people.

“One who bears the stain of a memorable crime does not possess the bright dignity of priesthood.”

According to others, this Hormisdas held the pontificate for four years.

Title XI, Chapter II

After the supreme pontiffs have been named who sat in the chair of Peter until the time of John I, we return to the Roman Empire, which is intended more than the other kingdoms, and to those reigning in it.

When Emperor Honorius died, he had given his sister Placidia in marriage to his count Constantius, who had performed many things strenuously for the Roman Empire.

For Attalus, who had usurped the kingdom or empire of Rome but, soon dismissed from it, had adhered to the Goths and, with the aid of the Goths, exercised a tyranny in Gaul against the Roman Empire, was seized by the aforesaid Constantius when he proceeded to war against him, and was sent to Honorius.

Emperor Honorius entered Rome in triumph, with the said Attalus going before his chariot. After one of his hands had been cut off, Attalus was sent into exile on Lipari.

This same Constantius, as vicar in the city, also did many things for the Christian faith against the Pelagians.

From the aforesaid Placidia, sister of Honorius, he received a son named Valentinian, the third emperor of this name.

Thereafter Honorius was assumed [read: assumed] the aforesaid Constantius into a share of the kingdom.

When Constantius had returned to Toulouse in order to subject it to himself again, he died there by an untimely death.

After the death of his father Arcadius, Theodosius the Younger ruled in the East together with his uncle Honorius, who was in the West.

After the death of Honorius this Theodosius ruled alone for three years, and afterward for twenty-four years with Valentinian III, to whom he gave the empire in the West, and with his mother Placidia, sending them to Italy.

He caused the body of John Chrysostom, who had been exiled by his father Arcadius, to be transferred honorably to Constantinople.

He was so exceedingly merciful that he adjudged none of those injuring him to death, saying: “Would that it were possible even to recall the dead to life.”

His court seemed a monastery. He listened to the praises of Matins and read sacred books.

His wife Eudocia, being most learned, composed several poems.

They had a daughter also named Eudoxia, whom they gave in marriage to the aforesaid Valentinian.

He also published a codex, a book of laws, from the constitutions of ancient princes reduced into three codices, namely the Hermogenian, Theodosian, and Gregorian, and from other extraneous constitutions, as Prosper says.

When Honorius had died after ruling for thirty-one years, a certain tyrant John invaded the empire of Italy, as is thought at the command of Crastinus [read: Castinus], who presided over the army as master of the soldiers.

But Theodosius the Younger, nephew of Honorius, sent Ardaburius by sea against him into Italy. Ardaburius, who had often fought against the Parthians and was commander of the army, put to flight the tyrant John within Ravenna while he feared nothing hostile.

John the tyrant, having been made weaker while he sought by war to recover Africa, which Boniface held, was killed.

When he had therefore died and Castinus had been sent into exile, because it did not seem that John could have presumed the kingdom without Castinus’s complicity, Theodosius Augustus considered to whom he ought to entrust the kingdom of Italy.

There was then a certain Valentinian, a boy born of Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great and sister of Honorius and wife of Constantius, whom Honorius himself had made Augustus.

Theodosius the Younger therefore took this Valentinian, crowned him, and sent him with his mother Placidia to Italy, appointing him emperor and his mother Augusta, in the year of the Lord 427, but from the beginning of the world 5,626 according to the Seventy.

Against Boniface, who had been sent by Emperor Honorius against the barbarians but through envy was falsely represented as rebelling against the empire, and who flourished in glory and power in Africa, Mavortius and Galbio were sent. While they prepared to besiege Boniface, they were overcome and killed by him.

Count Sigisvult was again sent against Boniface.

But Boniface, perceiving that he could not hold the whole of Africa, admitted into Africa from Spain the peoples of the Vandals and Alans with their king Gaiseric.

Entering Africa, they devastated all things with slaughter, plunder, captives, sword, and fire, and stained the Catholic faith there with Arian foulness, as was evident above.

Valentinian Augustus went to Emperor Theodosius the Younger at Constantinople and received his daughter Eudoxia in marriage.

Theodosius the Younger, wishing to assist Africa against the Vandals, sent three commanders—Ariobindus, Ansila, and Germanus—with a great fleet into Sicily.

By deferring the business through long delays, they were more a burden to Sicily than a defense to Africa.

Peace was made by Valentinian Augustus with Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, and Africa was divided between them according to certain territories.

In the time of this Theodosius and Valentinian, as Sigebert, Vincent, and John of the *Collection* relate, when the earth at Constantinople shook with an earthquake for four months, a certain man was raised into the air by divine power before all who were praying.

He was admonished by a divine voice that, when litanies had been made, all should sing: “Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us.”

When this had been done, the earthquake ceased.

Section I

In the following year, King Vortigern, having taken counsel with wise men about what he ought to do for his protection, commanded builders to come and construct for him a most strong tower.

But when the earth swallowed up their work, he was advised by diviners to seek a human being without a father and cause the stones and cement to be sprinkled with his blood, as though by this deed the foundation could stand.

A youth named Merlin was therefore found, who was said to have no father.

His mother was brought, and she confessed before the king that she had conceived not from a human being but from a spirit appearing in the form of a human being, which was, namely, through an incubus demon.

Merlin taught the manner of remedying that swallowing up, so that he should not be killed.

This Merlin revealed many obscure things and prophesied many future things.

For he disclosed that there was a lake beneath the foundation, and that beneath the lake two dragons lay hidden, one of which, the red, designated the people of the Britons, while the other, the white, designated the people of the Saxons; and he disclosed which would prevail in their conflict with one another.

He also foretold that Aurelius Ambrosius would reign after Heugist [i.e., Hengist] had been conquered and Vortigern burned, and that his brother Uther Pendragon would succeed him in the kingdom, and that both would perish by poison.

Concerning Arthur, whom he calls the Boar of Cornwall, he prophesied that he would aid the Church of God, that he would subject the western islands to himself, that he would possess the provinces of Gaul, that he would display himself as terrible to the Roman army, and that he would have a doubtful end.

He also prophesied that England would come under the dominion of the Normans, and spoke concerning many other things which could scarcely be understood.

For the Spirit of God is accustomed to speak his mysteries through whomever he wills, as through the Sibyl and through Balaam the diviner.

At that time also, according to Sigebert, Christianity was expanded among the Persians.

For Bishop Maruchas [i.e., Bishop Maruthas], performing an embassy, freed by prayer the son of their king Sidigris [i.e., king Isdegerd] from a demon, on account of which greater glory accrued to the faith.

But afterward a greater persecution against the Christians flared up from the enemies of God.

Eudoxia also, wife of Emperor Theodosius, coming to Rome from Jerusalem, where she had gone by vow, brought the chain by which Blessed Peter was held bound in prison under Herod but was freed by an angel.

When it had been joined to the chain in which the same Peter stood bound under Nero, it was made one; and by contact with it, after much time, a certain count was freed from a demon.

And from this the feast of Saint Peter in Chains was instituted in place of the festival which the Romans held in honor of Octavian for the victory obtained on the first day of August.

Section II

After the death of Theodosius the Younger—in whose time the bodies of the Seven Sleepers, who under Emperor Decius had been shut in a cave and crowned with martyrdom, were raised by God to confute an error that had arisen among certain persons who denied the resurrection of the dead; and after they had spoken to Theodosius himself and to many others, bearing witness to the resurrection, they fell asleep in peace—Marcian assumed the empire at Constantinople.

He began to rule in the year of the Lord 455, but from the beginning of the world, according to the Hebrews, 4,416, and according to the Seventy interpreters and their followers, 5,654.

Valentinian III, however, ruled in the West. He held the empire for thirty years: twenty-five with Theodosius the Younger and five with Marcian.

But when Valentinian had been killed at Rome by a certain soldier of Aetius, a certain nobleman named Maximus seized the empire. In order to establish the empire more firmly for himself, he took Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, as his wife by force.

But before two months had been completed he was killed by the Romans.

And in the same year, after the city had been captured and plundered by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, and after he himself had returned to Africa, the Romans, like sheep at the point of death, set over themselves a certain man named Avitus.

Emperor Marcian composed a treaty with him, and Avitus ruled at Rome and in Italy for four years.

Marcian himself was killed in the sixth year of his empire.

Therefore, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 458, and from the origin of the world 4,431, but according to the larger reckoning of others 5,657, Leo I was made emperor at Constantinople.

He ruled for sixteen years, and made his son, who was also called by his own name, a partner in his empire.

A little afterward, when Avitus had died at Rome, a certain Majorian, with the army unwilling at Ravenna, seized the Roman Empire.

When he had reigned for about four years, he was killed near the city of Tortona.

After his death a certain Severus was clothed with the purple at Ravenna.

While he was emperor, the king of the Alans entered Italy with great forces. Ricimer the patrician, meeting him with an army, fought with him in a very grave and difficult battle not far from the city of Bergamo; and after slaughter on both sides, the king of the Alans was conquered and killed.

The aforesaid Severus, after ruling in Italy for four years, closed his last day.

After him, with the consent of the whole army, Anthemius received the rights of empire in Italy.

Against him a certain Servandus, prefect of the Gauls, called himself emperor in Gaul. Conquered in war and captured by Anthemius's commanders, he was condemned by a capital sentence.

While these things were being done in Italy, Aspar the patrician, having plotted snares against Leo Augustus, attempted to cast him down from the citadel of empire.

But Leo, recalling the army that was in Sicily, killed Aspar, conquered in battle, together with the son whom Aspar had made Caesar.

While Italy was thus tossed by internal disturbances, Gaiseric was still ruling Africa. Desiring also the empire of Italy, he was attempting to come into Italy with an innumerable army.

When this was learned, Basiliscus the patrician, master of the soldiery under Anthemius, met him and, engaging in a naval battle, compelled Gaiseric to return to Africa after many of his men had been lost.

After these things, for causes that are not known, a great hunger for discord arose between Ricimer the patrician, who was stationed at Milan and governed Liguria, and Anthemius, who ruled Italy.

When with great preparations they were preparing to attack one another, and while the preparations for war were under way, Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, a man conspicuous for sanctity, interposed himself as a restorer of peace and at first called them back to concord.

But Ricimer, raging with barbarian perfidy—for he was a Goth by race—broke the peace, gathered great forces of barbarians, advanced toward Rome, and for some space of time placed his camp not far from the city, to the destruction of the city and of all Italy.

Leo, who ruled at Constantinople, having compassion upon the desolation of Italy, sent a certain Olybrius with an army into Italy.

Coming to Rome while Anthemius was still alive, Olybrius obtained royal power.

Meanwhile Bilimer, ruler of the Gauls, when he had heard that Ricimer was attacking Anthemius, desired to bring aid to his prince. Having gathered an army of many men, he hastened to the city and, engaging Ricimer with unequal forces at Hadrian's Bridge, was conquered and killed.

When he had been destroyed, Ricimer soon entered the city with many who favored him, captured and killed Anthemius, who had now ruled for four years, and exposed part of the city to plunder.

But he did not long rejoice in his perfidy and cruelty, for during the third month, tormented by illnesses, he himself died at the city.

Therefore, when Ricimer was dead, Olybrius, who was staying at Ravenna, came to Rome and disposed matters according to his own judgment, with no one preventing him.

While he applied himself wholly to arranging the condition of the republic, he closed his last day in the seventh month after he had come to Italy.

After his death a certain Glycerius, through the agency of Gundobad the patrician, obtained the empire at Ravenna with the consent of all Italy.

But not long afterward Nepos the patrician, supported by a multitude of Romans, deprived Glycerius of imperial power and ordained him bishop at Salona, a city of Dalmatia.

But while internal discord endured between Glycerius, or Eucherius, and Nepos, and these two were preparing war with their utmost strength, Saint Epiphanius, of whom mention was made above, intervened; Glycerius yielded, and the terms of a treaty were confirmed between them.

While this Leo I was emperor, Arthur began to reign among the Britons. The marvelous deeds of this man resound even upon the tongues of peoples, although many are believed to be fabulous.

He was in truth a renowned king, prevailing in much probity and magnificence, and showed himself lovable to all; for by the favor of his men he expelled and put to flight the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, who occupied a great part of the island of Britain, after they had been afflicted in many battles.

At that time also, when the Saracens were making incursions into Egypt, the Venetians transferred the body of Blessed Mark from Alexandria to Venice.

Section III

After Leo I had held the eastern empire for seventeen years, he departed from life, and Zeno obtained the empire in the year from the Incarnation 473, but from the beginning of the world 5,673 according to the reckoning.

Here some say, as does John of the *Collection*, that Leo I at his death left the empire to his son, who was also called Leo and whom during his life he had made a partner in the empire.

Others say that this Leo II was not the son of Leo I but his grandson, namely, one born of the daughter of Leo I and Zeno.

But Leo II, fearing the savagery of Zeno, became a cleric, using his mother's counsel.

When Zeno required the mother to betray her son, she used womanly cunning and presented to him another similar in appearance.

And Zeno ruled for seventeen years.

Meanwhile in Italy a certain great and powerful man from among the Roman patricians, having gathered a large army, deposed Nepos, who had occupied the city and a great part of Italy, from the imperial summit, and assumed the empire for his son, whom he called Augustulus.

Nevertheless Orestes himself governed affairs, because his son was still a boy.

But Odoacer, king of the Turchilongi [i.e., Turcilingi], or Siri [i.e., Sciri], and of the Heruli, coming against Orestes with a very great army, met him in the parts of Liguria.

Orestes, seeing that he could prevail in nothing against the exceedingly strong multitude—especially since certain of his men were deserting him, against whose request for a portion of the lands he had previously resisted—at last shut himself within Pavia, trusting in its fortification.

But Odoacer, soon arriving there, stormed the city and entered it by force.

All things were laid waste by plunder; the sword raged everywhere; fire consumed both sacred and private buildings.

Orestes, having been captured, was led to Piacenza and killed there.

Thereafter the barbarians, dispersed throughout all the cities, without any delay subjected Italy to their own right.

Therefore Odoacer, to whom the victorious army of Orestes had soon subjected itself, seeing prosperous successes come to him, assumed royal dignity.

Then, coming to Rome with the army, he deposed Augustulus and gave a portion of the lands to the soldiers.

And thus, having obtained dominion in this manner, he governed the cities at pleasure in his own name and in that of the army.

And thus the empire of the Romans, marvelous to the whole world, and that august dignity which had begun with Octavian, perished in Augustulus.

Odoacer moreover conquered and killed Philegeus, king of the Rugians, in Germany, and returned to Italy with very great plunder and an immense number of captives.

Section IV: Concerning Theodoric, Who Reigned in Italy after Odoacer Had Been Killed by Him

For fuller information concerning him, it must be known, according to John of the *Collection*, that Valamir, king of the Ostrogoths, first served in Italy in the obedience of Attila, king of the Huns.

But after Attila had died, mindful of their former liberty, he withdrew himself and his men from the dominion of the Huns.

Ardaric, king of the Gepids, and the other subject peoples of this kind did likewise.

But the Huns, grieving not only that Valamir and his army had shaken off the yoke of their dominion, but that they had also been the authors who caused the other peoples to do similar things, pursued the Goths as fugitive slaves and attempted by arms to compel them to be subjected again to servitude.

Therefore Valamir, having gathered his men, rushed upon the Huns and raged against them with so great a slaughter that thereafter the men feared the arms of the Ostrogoths.

Leo, who then ruled, soon entered into a treaty with the Goths who were laying waste Illyricum, and received as a hostage from Valamir, his paternal uncle, Theodoric, the son of Thiudimir, born of a concubine named Alcuva.

But after Valamir had been killed among the Assyrians [read: among the Sciri], his brother Thiudimir received the royal rights.

He immediately received back with gladness his son Theodoric, who had been given as a hostage to Emperor Leo.

Then Theodoric, son of Thiudimir, in his eighteenth year, without his father's knowledge and with some attendants summoned, invaded the neighboring people of the Sarmatians and carried back to his father the best of their spoils.

Thiudimir, with the marvelous favor of all his men, soon assumed Theodoric to the rudders of the kingdom.

Zeno, who had received the empire after Leo I around the year of the Lord 480, hearing that Theodoric had been made king by his father, summoned him to himself at Constantinople and exalted him with great honor and riches.

He even elevated him with the fasces, a dignity that is reckoned the first after the imperial summit, and placed a bronze statue of him before his palace.

But while Theodoric abounded in delights of this kind at Constantinople, his Ostrogothic soldiers began to suffer need, since because of the sanction of the treaty they were not permitted to carry off plunder in their accustomed manner, nor were the stipends offered by the emperor sufficient.

They cursed the treaty and reproached the useless compact made with Zeno.

They immediately sent men to Theodoric to tell him that, while he overflowed with the banquets of the Greeks, they themselves endured the miseries of poverty.

They exhorted him that, if he wished to take thought for himself and his men, he should return more quickly, so that his entire people might be supported and might seek new lands to inhabit.

But when Zeno heard this and feared greatly, in order to free himself and the neighboring regions from fear of the Goths, he persuaded Theodoric to cross into Italy and claim it for himself from its unjust occupiers.

Giving Italy to him, he again confirmed the grant even by the sacred veils, as was the custom, and, commending to him the senate and the Roman people, commanded him to depart.

Therefore Theodoric returned to his men for these reasons, and exhorted the Goths to be prepared as soon as possible to set out from there upon the journey to possess Italy.

But before they arrived in Italy, he conquered and killed in war Trastila, king of the Gepids, who was devising snares against him.

He also laid low Brisa, king of the Bulgars, together with his great ranks, in a great slaughter.

Therefore, departing from Thrace and Moesia, Theodoric set the Goths in motion with their wives and children, with their household goods and all their possessions; and through Sirmium, Pannonia, Illyricum, and other regions he entered Italy.

When he had entered it, he placed his camp beside the Sontius [i.e., Isonzo] River, not far from Aquileia; and while the beasts of burden, wearied by the length of the journey, were refreshed for some time in the very rich pastures found in that place, Odoacer soon met him with a great army of his men and with all the forces of Italy.

Theodoric gladly received him and, overcoming him in a great battle, finally turned him to flight.

After Odoacer had been put to flight, Theodoric hastened from there to Verona, where Odoacer with a smaller army met him in battle.

But Theodoric, engaging in battle not far from Verona, also crushed Odoacer himself with a great slaughter and compelled him with his army to turn their backs.

Certain of his soldiers, however, while in fear of flight they plunged headlong into the Athesis [i.e., Adige] River, were entangled in the waters and suffocated.

Then Theodoric, pursuing the fugitives, immediately invaded and occupied Verona, its citizens having been dismayed.

Odoacer with those of his men who remained made for Rome, but, its gates having been closed against him, he was excluded.

When he saw that entrance was denied to him, he consumed with sword and flame every place through which he made his journey.

He betook himself to Ravenna so that he might defend himself there against his enemies.

But Theodoric, departing from Verona, reached Milan.

While he remained there, a great multitude of soldiers and many peoples of Italy assembled.

But after a few days had intervened, the surrendered army, at the instigation of a certain man named Tufa, handed itself over to Odoacer's party.

This event so greatly terrified Theodoric that he kept himself and his army within the fortifications.

At last, leaving there his mother, sisters, and the whole multitude of the common people, he set out for Ravenna to besiege Odoacer with chosen companies of armed men.

He placed his camp in the place whose name is Pinetum, and besieged Odoacer for almost three continuous years.

Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, observing such vicissitudes of Italy, entered Liguria with an immense army; and, plundering everything he could seize, he led away with him into Gaul an infinite multitude of captives.

At length, while Theodoric was besieging Odoacer in the city of Ravenna, this siege was prolonged beyond what he and the Goths had estimated at the beginning.

Thus Theodoric, remaining with the Goths around it for almost three full years, was unable to take it.

Yet during this same time he took all the towns neighboring Ravenna except Cesena, which was itself also held by a strong garrison of Odoacer.

At last, when the besiegers and the besieged were weary, the matter was settled by a compact, so that Theodoric and Odoacer together would be partners in dominion.

Upon these terms Theodoric and the Goths entered Ravenna, and thereafter no parts of Italy were closed to him.

But this partnership of the kingdom did not endure long.

For since they held hidden suspicions against one another, Theodoric, forestalling him, killed Odoacer after inviting him to dinner.

Therefore, after Odoacer had been killed, Theodoric alone ruled with the Goths throughout Italy.

His dominion was not very harsh, although he retained for his men the portion of the lands which Odoacer had recently divided.

For the rest, he permitted the cities to be governed by themselves and by their citizens.

He established the seat of the kingdom at Ravenna and dwelt there, reigning alone in Italy for thirty-five years.

But proceeding to Rome soon after Odoacer's death, he was received by the Romans with joy.

He granted them an annual provision of 120,000 modii of wheat.

Meanwhile Bishop Epiphanius, full of sanctity, was sent by Theodoric into Gaul to Gundobad for the redemption of captives. On account of reverence for his sanctity, six thousand captives granted to him as a gift were led back with him into Liguria.

At that time the Saxons and Britons fought for a long while by land and sea with the victory doubtful. At length the more powerful held the island for a long time.

Meanwhile Theodoric, in order to confirm the strength of his kingdom securely, joined Aldeflondia [i.e., Audofleda], daughter of Clovis, king of the Franks, to himself in marriage.

He joined his sister Amafreda [i.e., Amalafrida] in marriage to Henricus [read: Thrasamund], king of the Vandals.

He joined Amafreda's daughter Malaberga [i.e., Amalaberga] in marriage to Ermefrid [i.e., Hermenfrid], king of the Thuringians.

Theodicodo [read: Theodoric] likewise joined the daughters born to him of a concubine, one to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and the other to Sigismund, king of the Burgundians.

But he gave his third daughter Amalasuntha to Eutharic, who, coming from the stock of the Alamanni, had been summoned from Spain.

And thus no neighboring people of Italy and of the western region was omitted which was not allied to Theodoric either by the affinity of a marriage union or by the covenant of a compact.

After these things Theodoric did not remain idle and sluggish.

For in the year of the Lord 515 he joined all Sicily, with all its adjacent islands, to his kingdom, and also subjected Dalmatia to himself.

During these times he also crossed the Alps and the Rhône with a great army and went into farther Gaul against the Franks.

But when Theodoric, king of the Goths, oppressed the republic in Italy, in earlier times Boethius, a most illustrious senator—of whose wisdom it will be said below—and a lover of the republic, opposed the king in many things for the sake of justice.

And since, on account of the nobility of his lineage and his eloquence, there was a great opinion of him among all, he was feared even by the king himself.

Therefore, as is believed, certain persons having been suborned to accuse him of the crime of injured majesty, they said that, after betraying the Roman city, he had summoned Prince Anastasius into Italy so that he might free the republic from the hand of Theodoric.

For this reason, having seized the occasion, Theodoric banished him with certain other Roman nobles at Pavia, where, placed in prison, he wrote the book *The Consolation of Philosophy*, and where at last he was killed by him.

Symmachus the patrician, father-in-law of Boethius, who himself also adorned the republic with him, was killed by Theodoric.

This Theodoric was an Arian heretic, and he imprisoned Pope John I, killing him through the prolonged wasting of prison.

But divine punishment followed most quickly.

For by a horrible and unexpected death Theodoric suddenly breathed out a soul polluted by many sins.

A certain solitary man of great virtue saw that soul in a vision of the spirit, in the midst of Pope John and Symmachus, being plunged by them into the nearby cauldron of Vulcan.

After his death the Goths at Ravenna, since he had left no sons, set over the kingdom of Italy Athalaric, born of his daughter, together with the same Amalasuntha, his mother.

When Athalaric had ruled the Goths in Italy for four years, he was taken away by an untimely death.

His mother Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric, after his death associated with herself in the kingdom a certain Theodahad.

Unmindful of the benefit conferred, not long afterward he caused her to be strangled in a bath.

Justinian, who ruled in the East, bore her death most grievously and was justly moved against Theodahad, concerning whom it will be said below in the following title.

Section V

After Zeno had died, Anastasius succeeded to the empire.

He began to rule in the year of the Lord 493, but from the beginning of the world 5,591, and ruled for twenty-five years.

Corrupted by a certain Anthericus, he stained the Roman Empire with the Eutychian heresy. For this cause he also persecuted the Catholics.

And because, though admonished by Pope Hormisdas through legates, he was unwilling to separate himself from the heresy, he replied insolently to the pope and inflicted injuries upon the legates.

Under the empire of this Anastasius also, a certain most powerful king of the Saracens came to the Catholic faith.

When he was to be baptized and the Eutychian heretics wished to draw him to the cruelty of their doctrine, he confounded them by this example, saying that he had received letters in which it was asserted that Michael the Archangel was dead.

When they replied that this was impossible, since angels are by nature incapable of suffering, the king said: “How then, according to you, was Christ crucified in bare divinity, unless he was of two natures, since not even an angel has died?”

Also in the time of Anastasius, at the beginning of his reign, Tato, the seventh king of the Lombards, destroyed the Heruli even to annihilation, captured and killed their king Rodulf, and reigned for ten years.

But afterward Wacho killed Tato, his paternal uncle, and, seizing the kingdom of the Lombards, held it for eighteen years.

He brought war against the Gepids and conquered the Sueves in the year of the Lord 500.

Before Tato, however, the sixth king of the Lombards was called Daphon, who reigned for five years; and before him the fifth was Godo, who reigned for twelve years.

Under him the Lombards, eager for new settlements, occupied the region of the Rugians because it was fertile and almost deserted.

The ninth in the kingdom of the Lombards was Walthari, Wacho’s grandson through his daughter, who reigned for seven years.

Trasamund, who had succeeded his brother—or father—Huneric as king of the Vandals in Africa, followed his perfidy in the persecution of the Church and, after closing the churches of the Catholics, again banished 220 bishops to Sardinia.

But when Trasamund, king of the Vandals and of Arian perfidy, had died, Hilderic, his son, born of the captive daughter of Emperor Valentinian, obtained the kingdom.

He did not follow the error and admonitions of his most wicked heretical father, who at his death had bound him never to adhere to the Catholics, but imitated the faith of his Catholic mother.

When Hilderic had obtained the kingdom, he recalled from exile all the bishops whom his father had banished and commanded the churches to be restored.

Section VI

Athalaric, therefore, a boy born of Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric, and of his father Eutharic, who came from the stock of the Alamanni, succeeded with his mother to the kingdom of Italy when King Theodoric died without male offspring.

Since he was a boy, all care and government of the kingdom belonged to his mother, who was a widow.

Therefore the queen, undertaking the care of the boy, handed him over to be instructed in Latin letters, and had commanded that certain teachers of letters and men of the greatest gravity from among the elders of the Greeks be around the boy for the formation of his character.

She herself exercised the government of the kingdom with considerable severity, reconsidering injuries done by the Goths and even certain deeds of Theodoric, and reducing them to a milder form.

Among these was this also: she restored to the sons of Boethius and Symmachus the patrimonies already confiscated by Theodoric, asserting that they had been condemned upon false denunciations rashly believed by the king.

But Theodahad, her cousin, who possessed great estates in Tuscany and had occupied many properties of his neighbors by tyranny, she compelled with bitter rebuke to make restitution of what had been taken away.

This severity of the queen made many of the Goths her enemies.

Therefore certain leading men of the Goths, conspiring together, determined to favor the boy against the power of his mother.

For this reason, coming to the queen, they said that it did not please the Goths that their king should live under masters and teachers, nor that one handed over to elders should obey them; that horses, arms, and the exercises of young men befitted a great king, not the imitation of the coldness of elders or the diligence of teachers.

For by these his body and spirit were made effeminate, but by those his vigor and skill increased.

For a king was not made in order to teach the people the discipline of letters, but to exalt his power by war and arms.

Although the queen was not ignorant of the end toward which these things tended, she nevertheless conceded, lest she seem to resist their demand.

The youth, having been handed over to the company of his equals, was in a very short time carried over into a more wanton life, harlots, lusts, and other pleasures of this kind.

Because of evil counselors he became so resistant and hostile toward his mother that he did not deign either to hear her or to speak to her.

Therefore the queen, when she saw herself attacked by her adversaries through these devices and despoiled of the kingdom, did not endure the grief, being a woman of great spirit, but, after secretly sending assassins, caused three leading men of the Goths, who were the authors and counselors of the boy's evil counsels, to be killed.

She herself, after the youth had been reconciled to her, resumed the government.

Athalaric, however, having fallen from the wantonness of his former life into various illnesses, died after four years of his reign and in the eighteenth year of his life.

Amalasuntha, after the death of her son, thinking that the government of the kingdom would proceed more advantageously for her if she had a partner and helper, assumed her cousin Theodahad into a share of the kingdom.

Theodahad was instructed in Greek and Latin letters and had devoted much effort to philosophy.

Yet, weak and inconstant by nature, he labored under many vices.

Thus, assumed into the kingdom through the queen's beneficence, he immediately displayed ingratitude and perfidy.

For, secretly conspiring with the queen's enemies, he captured her and banished her to an island in Lake Vulsini [i.e., Bolsena].

Not long afterward he permitted her to be killed or strangled by the sons and kinsmen of those whom the queen had caused to be killed in her son's sedition.

This wickedness and perfidy of Theodahad disturbed many of the Goths, and they were not far from sedition.

When Emperor Justin learned this, judging the time suitable for liberating Italy, he turned his mind and thoughts toward these regions.

Section VII

At this time Clovis reigned among the Franks, an upright man and strenuous in arms, but still devoted to the worship of idols.

He took as wife Clotild, sister of the king of the Burgundians, a most Christian maiden.

When at first she was with her husband within the closed silence of the bedchamber, before she was joined with him in marital union, she said to her husband: “O my lord, before you are joined to me by the marital bond, I ask one thing: that you believe in the true King and Lord, Jesus Christ, creator of heaven and earth, who created you and redeemed you with his own blood, and in the Holy Spirit, illuminator and confirmer of all the just. And when these things have been acknowledged, abandon vain and mute idols and restore the holy churches which you have destroyed.”

But the king, who was still a barbarian, then mocked her admonitions.

When afterward she had conceived by him and borne a son, Queen Clotild herself wished the little child to be baptized, which he, as a gentile, refused.

But the queen pressed the king so greatly that she obtained from him by entreaties that the child be baptized.

When he had been baptized, he died very quickly, and King Clovis said to the queen: “Now it is apparent that Christ is a worthless god, because he could not preserve in life the one through whom his faith could have been greatly exalted.”

She answered him: “Rather, in this I perceive that I am greatly loved by my God, because he has received the first fruit of my womb, he who has granted his kingdom to my son, far better than yours.”

She conceived a second time and gave birth to one whom, as with the first, she caused to be baptized with great insistence.

When he had been baptized, he immediately became so ill that his life was despaired of.

The king said to her: “Truly weak is this Christ your God, who can preserve in life no one baptized in his name. For if you bear a thousand and baptize them, all will perish.”

But the boy recovered through the prayers of his mother, and afterward reigned after him.

The holy woman attempted to lead her husband to the faith, but he resisted.

Not long afterward it happened that Clovis engaged the Alamanni in war.

When in that battle his army was already yielding and, not without the slaughter of many, was already fleeing from the face of the enemies, and the king stood astonished at this, a certain Christian named Aurelian, one of his companions, said to the king: “O prince of the Franks, recall your courage within you. Believe in the God of heaven whom your wife preaches to you, and without doubt victory over your enemies will be given to you.”

At this utterance his heart was suddenly changed, and, lifting his eyes to heaven, he said with tears: “Lord Jesus Christ, whom my wife preaches and adores, who assist those who hope in you, in this my necessity I ask your aid, promising you that, if you give me victory over my enemies, I shall believe in you and shall be renewed in the waters of baptism in your name. Until now I have invoked my gods, and they do not aid me.”

At this utterance the Franks, suddenly animated as if by divine power, renewed the battle.

Those who had already fled in companies from the face of the enemies made an assault and compelled them to flee.

The Franks pursued them, killed many, and captured many. Their king also fell in the battle.

Therefore Clovis, having obtained this miraculous victory, returned into Francia and related to his wife the things that had been done.

Blessed Remigius, bishop of Reims, was immediately summoned and came to the king.

After he had been sufficiently instructed in the faith, the king approached the church to be baptized.

But when holy chrism was lacking, suddenly a snow-white dove, gliding down from heaven, brought in its beak a vial filled with chrism, from which the blessed pontiff anointed the king.

Even today this vial is religiously preserved in the church of Reims, and from it the kings of the Franks are anointed at their coronation.

When the king had been baptized, that whole people of the Franks received the faith and was baptized.

At that time, by command of King Clovis, the first synod of the Franks was celebrated at Orléans, in which many things useful to the Church were decreed.

After this glorious king had enlarged his kingdom far and wide through all Gaul, he died at Paris and was buried in the church of Saint Peter which he and his wife Clotild had built.

His four sons divided his kingdom in this manner: Theuderic obtained the seat of the kingdom at Reims; Chlodomer at Orléans; Childebert at Paris; and Chlothar at Soissons.

Section VIII

When King Clovis had come to Paris, he said to the queen and to his people: “It seems sufficiently harsh to me that the Goths, who are Arians, hold the best part of Gaul. Let us therefore go and, with God’s aid, cast them out of the land.”

The queen said to him: “Let us first make a church in honor of Blessed Peter the Apostle, so that he may be your helper in battle.”

The king said that he would do this upon his return.

Therefore Clovis, setting himself in motion with his army, directed his course toward Poitiers, for Alaric, king of the Goths, was then staying there.

But while passing through the territory of Tours, the king sent messengers with gifts to the basilica of Blessed Martin, and also sent his horse, which he loved very greatly.

When the messengers had entered the threshold of the church of Blessed Martin, the primicerius of the church ordered this antiphon to be sung: “You have girded me with strength for war,” and so forth.

The messengers, after leaving the gifts and requesting the support of prayers, returned with joy.

When the king came with the army to the Vincenna [i.e., Vienne] River and, because of the flooding of the rains, did not find the place where he ought to ford it, he entreated the Lord to show him the ford.

When morning came, a hind of marvelous size, preceding them at the Lord’s command, showed the ford. After it had crossed, the people followed the ford.

When the king arrived at Poitiers and had pitched his tents not far from the church of Saint Hilary, that night a fiery torch was seen to go forth.

It appeared over those tents as an aid to King Clovis through the power of Blessed Hilary.

The king therefore commanded his army that it should receive neither food nor anything whatever as provision from that district, and should not even seize spoil.

Therefore, fighting bravely with his forces ten miles from Poitiers against the king of the Goths, the Goths, having been exceedingly battered together with their king, turned their backs, and Clovis stood forth as victor.

Then, entering the city of Tours, he bestowed many gifts upon the church of Blessed Martin.

He wished to receive back or redeem from them his horse, which he had previously sent to that church, by giving one hundred silver solidi for it.

When these had been given, the horse could not be moved in any way.

He said: “Give another hundred solidi.”

When he had given them, the horse was immediately released and departed.

Then the king departed with joy and said: “Truly Blessed Martin is good in aid, but dear in business.”

King Clovis then received the imperial codicils from Emperor Anastasius in the church of Blessed Martin.

With a golden crown placed upon his head, he mounted a horse and with his own hand distributed much gold and silver in the courtyard before the people.

These things are from Gregory of Tours.

Section IX: For a Fuller Explanation concerning Clotild, King Clovis Her Husband, and Their Sons

Note, according to Vincent after Gregory of Tours, that when Gundenchus [i.e., Gundioc] reigned in Burgundy, who is said to have been of the lineage of Athalaric, he had four sons: Gundobad, Godegisel, Chilperic, and Godomar.

Gundobad therefore killed his brother Chilperic with the sword and commanded Chilperic's wife to be drowned in water with a stone tied to her neck.

He also had two daughters, of whom the elder was called Chrona; changing her clothing, he condemned her to exile.

The younger, named Clotild, he retained with himself at home.

At length this Clotild was betrothed to Clovis and, in a hidden manner, sent him a ring through a certain man, with Gundobad not knowing but Clovis consenting.

After this Clovis sent an envoy to Gundobad for his bride Clotild.

When Gundobad denied that Clotild was Clovis's bride, the ring of Clovis sent to Clotild was produced; by the counsel of the Burgundians and fearing the wrath of Clovis, he handed her over, although as if unwillingly, and appointed her as wife to Clovis.

Clotild, when she had become the wife of Clovis, asked him for two things.

First, that he worship the true God, since he was then a pagan. Second, that he seek the portion of her father and mother, whom Gundobad, the maternal uncle of Clotild herself, had killed, and at the same time avenge their blood.

He therefore did the first not then but afterward.

In order to accomplish the second, he again sent Aurelian to Gundobad on account of Queen Clotild's treasure.

Moved to anger, Gundobad said: "Will my kingdom or my treasures be handed into the hands of Clovis? Depart from me."

Aurelian said: "My lord the king commands you to send back to him with the greatest speed the treasures of his wife; otherwise he will meet you with his army."

Then the Burgundians, after taking counsel, said to the king: "Give to your niece from your substance what falls to her, because it is decreed that this is just; and have a treaty with Clovis and the people of the Franks, lest perhaps they rush upon our land, because that people is most ferocious and without God."

Gundobad did all this through the hands of Aurelian, sending the greatest part of his treasure to Clovis together with the household goods of his niece.

When Gundobad had died, his son Sigismund reigned in Burgundy in his place.

When Clovis had died, his four sons divided the kingdom equally among themselves, namely Theuderic, Chlodomer, Childebert, and Chlothar.

The first, namely Theuderic, had a son named Theudebert, strenuous and useful, and they were raised to great power.

Amalaric also, son of Alaric, king of the Goths, sought and obtained from the aforesaid brothers their sister as his wife.

In those days Queen Clotild, coming to Paris, asked her sons that, taking indignation at her injury, they avenge the death of her father and mother.

Moved with great anger, they sought Burgundy with a great army against Kings Sigismund and Godomar, sons of Gundobad.

At that time King Sigismund was building in Burgundy the monastery of the holy martyrs of Agaunum, namely Maurice and his 6,666 companions.

Therefore the army of the Burgundians was moved against King Chlodomer and his brothers Childebert and Chlothar, sons of Clovis.

While they fought one another, the Burgundians were slain.

Sigismund, however, when he had fled to the holy martyrs, was pursued by Chlodomer, who seized him, his wife, and his sons, led them as captives into the district of Orléans, and shut them in prison.

Blessed Avitus, who was then a holy abbot of God at Orléans, entreated Chlodomer not to kill them, but he was unwilling to hear him.

He killed Sigismund, his wife, and his sons, and cast them into a well.

This Sigismund, as Sigebert says, had killed his brother Sigeric, using the evil counsel of his stepmother.

Afterward, applying himself to suitable penance and devoting himself to the martyrs of Agaunum, he was worthy of pardon; the grace of healings frequently granted to many through him after his death, and the cure bestowed through him upon those suffering from fever, bear witness to this.

His feast is observed on the third day before the Kalends of May.

Again Chlodomer, after killing Sigismund, engaged with Sigismund's brother Godomar and was struck and killed, as Gregory of Tours writes in the *History of the Franks*.

When the Franks saw this, moved by excessive grief and anger, they pursued Godomar, destroyed and killed him, and, laying waste all the regions, killed everyone from boy to old man and returned.

Chlothar, hearing this, took as his wife Chlodomer's wife, named Guntheuca.

Queen Clotild, however, was rearing with herself the three orphaned sons of Chlodomer, namely Theodoald, Gunthar, and Chlodoald.

At that time King Theuderic, his son Theudebert, and King Chlothar, crossing the Rhine with an army of the Franks, directed their course into Thuringia against Hermenfrid, king of the Thuringians.

When the Thuringians heard this, they deceitfully made trenches and covered them with turf.

When they had assembled there for battle and perceived that the horses had fallen there, they became exceedingly indignant.

There was so great a slaughter of the Thuringians that the river itself, filled with their corpses, carried the Franks over them as over a bridge; and they trampled them down, laid waste that whole region, led away captives, and depopulated everything.

King Hermenfrid also escaped with difficulty by slipping away in flight.

Hermenfrid had two brothers, Baderic and Bercarius [i.e., Berthar].

And according to Hugh of Fleury, King Chlothar, returning from there, led away with him Regund [i.e., Radegund], daughter of King Berecharius [i.e., Berthar] and niece of Hermenfrid, and joined her to himself in lawful marriage.

But she afterward, leaving the marital bed, received the religious habit within the city of Poitiers; persevering in it, she ended her life praiseworthily.

But King Theuderic, brother of the aforesaid Chlothar, as Gregory of Tours says, gave his word to King Hermenfrid and caused him to come to him at the city of Culpiacum [i.e., Zülpich].

While they were speaking together upon the city wall, Hermenfrid was pushed, fell from the wall to the ground, and died.

Theuderic also commanded his children to be killed together.

Section X

Childebert, brother of Chlothar and Theuderic, while he was at the city of the Arverni, received messengers sent to him by his sister, wife of Amalaric, king of the Goths.

She signified to him how many evils Amalaric had done to her and how he laid snares for her because of the Catholic faith.

For when she went to the church of Christ and prayed, he cast dung and many foul substances upon her and beat him [read: beat her] so severely that she vomited blood.

She collected the blood in her veil and sent it to her brother, saying: "Dearest brothers, avenge my suffering and injury."

When Childebert heard these things, moved by great anger, he gathered a very great army and went into Spain to fight against Amalaric.

Amalaric, however, having been turned to flight, while he sought a ship by which to escape and did not quickly find one, was surrounded by Childebert's army; and when he fled to a church of the Christians, before he entered it a certain Frank struck him, and he died.

Then Childebert, after laying waste Spain, entered the city of Toledo and carried away great treasures from there.

He returned from there with his sister, who nevertheless died on the journey when illness overtook her, and was afterward buried at Paris beside her father Clovis.

Among the other treasures, Childebert caused many chalices and other objects made of gold for the ministries of churches to be distributed among the churches.

Queen Clotild, after the death of her husband, frequently went to Tours and served the Lord at the tomb of Saint Martin, coming rarely to Paris and rearing with herself the sons of the dead Chlodomer, as has been said.

But when she was at Paris, Childebert, seeing that she loved the sons of his elder brother exceedingly and thinking that she would make them kings, said to his brother Chlothar: “Our mother wishes to elevate the sons of our brother. Therefore, after taking counsel, we ought to consider what we should do. For either let us cut their hair or kill them, and let us divide their father’s kingdom between us.”

They therefore sent Arcadius, a noble and capable man, to the queen at Paris, speaking deceitfully: “Tell our mother to send us the sons of our brother so that we may establish them as kings.”

Believing this, she sent them joyfully.

When they arrived, Chlothar seized the elder boy, cast him to the ground, thrust a knife into his armpit, and he died.

Seeing this, his younger brother cast himself at Childebert’s feet and said weeping: “Assist me, most devoted father, lest I too perish as my brother did.”

Then Childebert, moved by his tears, said: “I beseech you, dearest brother, grant me the life of this one, and I shall give you whatever you wish for him.”

But he, kindled with anger, said: “Either cast him away from you, or you will certainly die for him. You are the one who perpetrated this evil, and now you wish to free him?”

Hearing these things, Childebert cast him away from himself; Chlothar killed him and slaughtered their foster boys, and, mounting their horses, they departed.

When the queen heard this, crushed by excessive fury, with a great company of psalm-singers and immense mourning she caused their little bodies to be buried at Paris.

One of them was ten years old, the other seven.

But the third, named Clodoald, escaped and was freed through the aid of strong men.

Afterward, leaving the earthly kingdom, he cut his own hair with his own hand and became a cleric; advancing in good works, he was at length ordained a priest.

In those days, when Theuderic, son of Clovis, had died, his own son Theudebert received the kingdom.

After these things Childebert and Theudebert, his nephew, set their army in motion and arranged to go against Chlothar.

Hearing these things and seeing that he could not resist their power, Chlothar fled to an island [read: fled into a forest] and poured all his hope into the mercy of God.

But Queen Clotild, their mother, went to the tomb of Blessed Martin and, prostrate there in prayer and keeping vigil for the whole night, entreated the Lord that civil war not arise among her sons.

When they had assembled with great forces to kill him on the following day, in the morning, in the place where they were gathered, a very great storm arose, tearing apart the tents; with flashes of lightning intermingled and rains rushing down with mighty thunder, it overturned everything.

They, prostrated, fell to the earth, beaten by very powerful hailstones and gravely wounded, and no covering remained to them except the shield alone.

They feared this above all: that they might be burned by fire from heaven.

Their horses were also so widely scattered that they were scarcely found within twenty stadia, and many of them were not found.

Then, prostrate and doing penance, they entreated pardon from God because they had wished to do such things against their own blood.

But not one drop of rain descended upon Chlothar.

They sent messengers and sought peace and concord. When this had been granted, they returned to their own lands.

After these things Childebert and Chlothar, having gathered a great army, again directed themselves into Spain.

After entering it, laying waste and burning the land and killing the people, they besieged the city of Zaragoza.

The people who were held besieged there, clothed in haircloth and with ashes scattered upon their heads, turned to God in such humility that they went around the city walls singing psalms with the tunic of Blessed Vincent the Martyr.

When the kings heard this, they seized a certain peasant from the city and said: “Go, tell the bishop of the city to come to us with confidence, doubting nothing.”

When he had done this, the bishop immediately met them with gifts.

Childebert asked that relics of Blessed Vincent be given to him by the bishop, and the bishop gave him Vincent’s stole.

Therefore the aforesaid kings, having acquired the greater part of Spain, returned with many treasures and spoils.

Childebert built the church of Blessed Vincent at Paris, and, dying through a prolonged illness, was buried there.

Queen Clotild, abounding in good works, migrated to the Lord at the city of Tours, full of days.

Her body was borne thence with great honor to Paris by her sons Childebert and Chlothar and buried beside her husband Clovis.

Title XI, Chapter III

Sigebert says that it does not seem useful to repeat at greater length the origin of the kingdom of the Persians, because the reader sufficiently recalls from the histories of the ancients what the antiquity of this kingdom was, how great it was, and how powerful the nobility of that antiquity was.

Yet I shall note this: having often abused victory over the Romans, and now having recently slain Julian the Apostate, routed the army of the Romans, and mutilated the Roman Empire in its territories, and having thus composed a treaty of peace according to their own pleasure within twenty-nine years [read: for twenty-nine years], they bore their prosperity without moderation.

And, with their King Shapur acting more insolently, they were in every way hostile to the Christians and Romans.

This Shapur, who had already ruled for a long time, ruled for twenty-eight years from the first year of Gratian.

After him Sidigerdis [i.e., Isdegerd] ruled for thirty-four years; Gaugaranes [i.e., Vararanes] his son, thirty-eight; after him Duades, thirty-one; Rabbades, sixteen; Cosdroe [i.e., Chosroes], thirty-seven; Homisda [i.e., Hormisdas], seventeen.

His son Cosdroe [i.e., Chosroes] killed him and reigned for thirty-eight years.

His son Sirois [i.e., Siroes] also killed him and reigned for one year.

After him Hormisda [i.e., Hormisdas] reigned for one year.

Then the Saracens, who had previously been under the king of the Persians, conquered them in war and, with the situation reversed, reduced them under their own lordship, namely in the twentieth year of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, according to the chronicle.

From then on, therefore, in place of the kingdom of the Persians, it is entitled the kingdom of the Saracens.

When their emir Muhanbad [i.e., Muhammad] had died, Ebubeber [i.e., Abu Bakr] held the principate for three years.

After him Aumer [i.e., Umar] held it for twelve years. A certain Persian, pretending that he wished to adore him, killed him by driving a sword into his belly.

Hoccinem [i.e., Uthman], who was substituted for him, held the principate for ten years.

When he also had been killed, Mubavias [i.e., Muʿāwiya I], having been made emir from an admiral, held the principate for twenty-five years.

After him his son Gizid [i.e., Yazid] held it for three years; Mathua, one; Abdalam [i.e., Abdallah], one; Adimelech [i.e., Abd al-Malik], twenty-two; Ulid [i.e., Walid], seven; Zulcimen [i.e., Sulayman], two; Ammar [i.e., Umar], two; Gizid [i.e., Yazid], three.

A certain Jewish magician, promising this Yazid that he would reign for forty years, persuaded him to command that the images of God and of the saints be taken down throughout his whole kingdom.

Seduced by the hope of reigning for a long time, he indeed published the edict, but he himself soon died.

After him Elwalid held the principate over the Saracens for twenty years; Yazid, one; Marwan, six.

After Marwan had been killed, Muhammad held it for five years; Abdallah, nineteen; Mahdi, nine; Moses, two; Aaron his brother, twelve; Muhammad, five.

This Muhammad engaged his brother Abdallah in battle and was overcome by him; against his will he suffered him to reign jointly with himself.

By this war the kingdom of the Saracens was shaken for some years.

There its history ceases, namely under the year of the Lord 821, after 616 years.

Title XI, Chapter IV

Therefore in the first year of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, which was the year 381 from the Lord's Incarnation, Priam first reigned over the Franks—not the great Priam, king of Troy, but another—and he reigned for five years.

The second king, his son Marcomer, reigned for thirty-three years.

The third, Pharamund, reigned for eleven years.

The fourth, Clodio, his son, the long-haired king, reigned for eighteen years.

The fifth, Merovech, reigned for ten years.

The sixth, Childeric, reigned for twenty-five years.

The seventh, Clovis, reigned for thirty years; he was baptized by Blessed Remigius.

The eighth, Chlothar, reigned for fifty years.

The ninth, Chilperic, reigned for twenty-three years.

The tenth, Chlothar, reigned for forty-four years.

The eleventh, Dagobert, reigned for fourteen years.

The twelfth, Clovis, reigned for seventeen years.

The thirteenth, Chlothar, reigned for three years.

Then his brother Theuderic was elevated to the kingdom, but was rejected by the Franks and tonsured, and was banished at Paris into the monastery of Saint Denis.

The fifteenth, his brother Childeric, reigned for twelve years.

The sixteenth, his brother Theuderic, who had been tonsured, was restored to the kingdom and reigned for thirteen years.

The seventeenth, Clovis, reigned for four years.

The eighteenth, Childebert, reigned for eighteen years.

The nineteenth, Clovis, reigned for four years.

The twentieth, Chlothar, reigned for two years.

The twenty-first, Chilperic, reigned for five years.

The twenty-second, Theuderic, reigned for fifteen years.

The twenty-third, Childeric, reigned for nine years; he was tonsured as a monk.

But Pippin the prince, by apostolic authority and the election of the Franks, was anointed and consecrated king by Saint Boniface, bishop of Mainz.

His line through his sons Carloman and Charles was also blessed by Pope Stephen with hereditary royal succession, and every alien was forbidden from invading it by apostolic anathema.

He therefore reigned as the twenty-fourth king for eighteen years.

Charles, who was called the Great on account of the great things he did, reigned as the twenty-fifth king; he reigned for forty-six years.

Of these years he reigned for only thirty-three over the Franks, the kingdom having been divided with his brother Carloman.

Then the Romans, departing from the emperor at Constantinople, acclaimed imperial praises to Charlemagne, crowned him by the hand of Pope Leo, and called him Augustus.

But this will be stated more fully when his times are reached.

Having assumed the empire, he ruled the Romans and Franks for thirteen years.

Then his son Louis reigned and ruled as emperor for twenty-seven years.

Then Lothar, son of Louis, usurped the empire for himself.

But when his brothers took this gravely and rose against him, in the fourth year of his empire they assembled and were pacified after the empire had been divided.

Louis reigned in Germany, and Charles in Francia for twenty-four years; this Charles was the twenty-eighth to reign in Francia.

For the twenty-ninth, Louis the Stammerer, reigned for two years.

The thirtieth, the brothers Louis and Carloman, reigned for five years.

The thirty-first, Emperor Charles, invited by the Franks to assist them against the incursion of the Normans, reigned in Francia for five years.

The thirty-second, Odo, son of Duke Robert, reigned for nine years.

The thirty-third, Charles, son of Louis the Stammerer, reigned for seventeen years; he died an exile and a martyr.

The thirty-fourth, Rudolf, reigned for two years.

The thirty-fifth, Louis, reigned for twenty-seven years.

The thirty-sixth, Lothar, reigned for thirty-one years.

The thirty-seventh, his son Louis, reigned for one year.

When he had died, while the Franks wished to transfer the kingdom to Duke Charles, brother of King Lothar, and while Charles deferred the matter for counsel, Hugh, who was called Capet, marshal of Francia, usurped the kingdom.

He was the son of Hugh the Great by Hedwig, sister of Emperor Otto I.

Thus the kings from the stock of Charles failed in the year of the Lord 987.

Therefore Hugh Capet reigned as the thirty-eighth king in Francia for nine years.

The thirty-ninth, his son Robert, reigned for thirty-four years.

After him the fortieth, his son Henry, reigned for thirty years.

After him his son Philip reigned for forty-nine years.

After him the forty-second, his son Louis the Fat, reigned for twenty-eight years.

His son Philip, recently anointed king while still a boy, was riding a horse in the city of Paris near the church of Saint Gervase when a pig happened to put itself beneath the horse’s feet; it caused the horse to fall headlong upon him and brought mourning upon the Franks through his sudden and pitiable death.

The forty-third, Louis, son of that same Louis the Fat, reigned for forty years.

After him the forty-fourth, his son Philip, reigned for forty-four years.

The forty-fifth to reign in Francia was Louis, son of the aforesaid Philip; he reigned for three years.

The forty-sixth was his son Louis, who still reigns, namely at the time when Vincent wrote this *Historical Mirror*.

These things are from Vincent.

But more will be said of these matters below, and also of the successors.

Title XI, Chapter V: Concerning the Kingdom of the Britons

The ancient history of the Britons relates, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, book XVII, chapter 5, that Ascanius, son of Aeneas the Trojan, had from his son Silvius a grandson named Brutus.

By being born he killed his mother, and later by accident he killed his father while hunting.

The cause of this parricide rendered him so hateful to his kinsmen that, expelled from Italy, he fled to Greece.

While he was there as an exile, he began to prevail with such probity that, when the Trojans who were held captive there flocked to him, he obtained their leadership.

Supported by their multitude and animated by their counsel, he sought from Pandrasus, king of the Greeks, liberty to go to other nations.

The king, however, moved by anger, wished to crush him in war, but was by no means able to do so.

For victory came so prosperously to Brutus that he killed very many from the king's army and unexpectedly captured the king himself.

He threatened the king with death unless he assented to those making request.

He demanded from him his daughter as wife, an abundant quantity of gold and silver, ships, grain, and the other things necessary for a sea journey.

Therefore, when more than three hundred ships had been procured by the king's command and loaded with every kind of provision and with gold and silver, Brutus received the king's daughter and, after greeting the king, undertook the voyage by sea.

They passed Africa and Mauretania and came to the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, where they found four generations of their people living in exile with their leader Corineus.

Taking them with themselves, they directed their journey toward the boundaries of Aquitaine.

There a very grave war arose for them with the Gauls, over whom ten kings presided at that time.

In this encounter the marvelous fortitude of the leader Corineus appeared: he struck one consul upon the top of the head so powerfully that he cut him into two parts, his whole body having been divided.

Turnus, Brutus's nephew and himself a most valiant soldier, who killed six hundred men there with his sword alone, was killed by the swords of the enemies.

He gave his name to the city of Tours because he was buried in that place.

When that struggle, in which many were killed on both sides, had ended, Brutus returned with his men to the ships and, undertaking the journey begun, at length arrived at the island appointed for him.

The name of that island was Albion, and it was inhabited by giants alone, with whom they repeatedly had conflict.

Brutus called the island Britain from his own name, and his men Britons.

The leader Corineus called the land which fell to his lot Corinea, which is now called Cornwall, or the Horn of Britain, through corruption of the said name.

Section I: Concerning the Successors of Brutus and How the Saxons Obtained England, according to Vincent in the Place Cited Above

When twenty-four years had elapsed from the time they entered the island, Brutus died, leaving three sons as heirs of his kingdom.

After burying their father, they divided their father's kingdom among themselves, each naming his own part from his own name.

The first, whose name was Locrinus, possessed the middle part of the island, which was afterward called Loegria.

The second, who was called Kamber, received that part which was afterward called Cambria and is now called Wales.

The third, whose name was Albanactus, possessed the land that is now called Scotland and bestowed upon it from his own name the name Albania.

The first, namely Locrinus, reigned for ten years and died; and thus the Britons reigned in free dignity down to Julius Caesar, under whose empire they were made tributaries to the Romans.

Later, in the time of Antoninus Verus, at the insistence of Lucius, king of the Britons, they received the mysteries of Christianity through the legates of Pope Eleutherius.

In that land some attained even to the crown of martyrdom.

For when persecution arose under Caesar Diocletian, although the faith failed in many, nevertheless in others it could neither be broken nor conquered by death.

But after the tyrant Maximus had emptied the island of Britain of the protection of soldiers, the Picts and the other barbarian nations rushed upon them and began to lay waste the unwarlike people and the whole land with slaughter and plunder.

Another evil was added to this one: King Vortigern, for his own protection and the defeat of his enemies, invited the still-pagan people of the Saxons.

For although for some time they protected them strenuously and bravely, enticed by the desire of ruling, they sought from the king the dignities of the citizens so that they might no longer bring aid to the citizens but might rather exercise tyranny over them more freely.

The Britons, guarding against this, expelled them.

But, after being repulsed, they returned in greater numbers and, feigning peace, deceitfully killed nearly all their leading men.

Prevailing therefore for a time, they occupied cities and castles until King Aurelius Ambrosius arose, who killed their leader, took the cities away from them, and put their remnants to flight.

After him arose Uther Pendragon, brother of Aurelius, who begot Arthur, an unconquered and magnificent king.

After these men six kings of their people reigned.

Then, when the Angles prevailed with the aid of Africans and other peoples, the Britons lost the monarchy of the island and the diadem of the kingdom.

Some fled into Lesser Britain, where both their race and their name remain, while others fled into Wales.

When they returned again, they obtained the kingdom; but not long afterward, when divine vengeance pressed them through famine and mortality, they left the island to be invaded by foreign peoples.

From that time the Saxons, that is, the Angles, held under their dominion England, named from them.

Section II: Concerning the Catalogue of the Kings of Britain, according to Vincent in the Place Cited Above

Therefore, from the first year of Gratian onward, Maximus reigned among the Britons for thirty-three years.

From then on the strength of the Britons was weakened by the excessive incursions of enemies.

And because they could have no aid from the Romans, who were laboring everywhere under war, they withdrew themselves from their dominion.

After taking counsel, they directed the archbishop of London to Aldroenus, king of Lesser Britain, so that he might assist them.

He handed over to them his brother Constantine with an armed band of soldiers, and thus Constantine was erected as king.

He reigned for ten years and had three sons: Constans, who became a monk; Aurelius Ambrosius; and Uther Pendragon.

Accordingly, after another twenty-three years, some place the coming of the Angles into Britain, namely in the year of the Lord 447, and say that Aurelius Ambrosius then began to reign.

But it appears more true that they came long before he reigned.

Finally, forty-five years after the aforesaid year, some place the beginning of the kingdom of the Angles, for the histories are greatly discordant in this matter.

Thus the Britons, no longer able to bear the power of the Angles, as conquered men yielded to their right and name.

The first from the people of the Angles was Olli; the second, Telim; and, succeeding one another, they reigned among them for seventy years.

After these, Edilbert reigned as the third among them for fifty-five years.

After him his son Cadbald reigned for twenty-four years.

His son Caccobert reigned in the year of the Lord 640, and reigned for twenty-five years.

He was the first in England to destroy idols and enlarge the faith of Christ.

After him his son Egbert reigned for eight years; after him his brother Lothere, twelve years; after him Edric, two years.

When he had died, foreign kings of the nations divided the kingdom of England for four years.

After these Vitred, son of Egbert, freed the Angles from that oppression and reigned over them for thirty-six years.

After him his son Edilbert reigned for eight years, namely until the year of the Lord 735.

From this point I refrain from recording the kingdom of the Angles, because I do not possess the histories of the ancients concerning these matters.

These things are from Vincent.

Title XI, Chapter VI: Concerning the Origin of the Kingdom of the Vandals

The Vandals also, sprung from Scythia, as Vincent says in the place cited above, chapter 8, having been conquered by the Goths, began to invade the lands of others, since they had been unable to retain their own.

When they were dwelling around the Danube, after a long time Gimerith, king of the Goths, again conquered them in war and drove them from there, compelling them to abandon whatever lands they seemed in any manner to possess, to subject themselves to the Roman Empire, and humbly to ask Constantine the Great that a place to dwell be given to them.

They obtained this, and peacefully inhabited the Pannonias assigned to them by him for sixty years.

From there, in the thirteenth year of Arcadius and Honorius, summoned at the instigation of Stilicho, who was devising rebellion against the republic, they poured themselves through Gaul with the Alans joined to them and for some time tore it apart most miserably.

The Goths then expelled them from there, not indeed taking thought for the peace of Gaul, but emptying the country for their own rapacity.

The Vandals, having entered Spain, depopulated now Spain and now Gaul for a long time.

But not even there could they be safe from the Goths.

For because the Goths were greatly troubling Italy, Emperor Honorius, after deliberating with his men, granted to the Goths by a welcome confirmation Spain and Gaul, which he grieved had been taken from him by the Vandals and other peoples.

Therefore, when the Goths hastened to put the Vandals and other enemies to flight from the territories assigned to them, and the Vandals, enclosed on every side, seethed with fear of the Goths, an unexpected and welcome opportunity of prosperity met them, the sins of the people bringing it about.

For when rivalry arose through envy between Boniface and Aetius, Roman commanders, Boniface was made the inferior.

Because he was unwilling to avenge the grief of his injury except with damage to the republic and danger, he crossed to Spain and invited the Vandals to occupy Libya and Africa.

When they had flown there, they confirmed their kingdom there for a long time and disturbed divine and human things without any regard for humanity or divinity.

Having entered Africa, among other lands they besieged the city of Hippo, in which Augustine, outstanding among teachers, was bishop.

And because the said Vandals spared no age, sex, or rank, Augustine, greatly afflicted by compassion, became ill and at last fell asleep in the Lord during the siege.

After a few months the city was captured, despoiled, and destroyed by the Vandals.

They became Arian heretics from pagans because, when they sent to Emperor Valens asking him to send them learned bishops who would teach them the Christian faith which they wished to believe, he, who was himself an Arian, sent Arian bishops, by whom they were infected with that error.

How and how greatly they persecuted the true Catholics will appear below in this same title.

Section I

Therefore from the first year of Gratian onward Modigisil reigned over them for thirty years.

After him his son Gunderic reigned in Spain for sixteen years.

When, after Seville had been captured, he impiously and arrogantly extended his hands against the church of that city, he was immediately seized by a demon through God’s judgment and died.

His brother Gaiseric, succeeding him in the kingdom, reigned for forty-eight years.

He is said to have apostatized from the Catholic faith into the Arian sect.

After arranging the succession of rule among his sons so that, when one brother died, the surviving brother would succeed without dispute from the sons, he died.

His son Huneric, succeeding him, reigned for eight years.

He raged grievously against the Church of God, as will be said below.

At length, struck by God's judgment and swarming with worms, he expired miserably.

After him Guntabundus [i.e., Gunthamund] reigned for nine years; after him his brother Transimundus [i.e., Thrasamund], for twenty-six.

He bound by oath his son Hilderic, born of Eudoxia, daughter of Emperor Valentinian, who had been captured by Gaiseric, that he would not adhere to the Catholics in his kingdom.

When his father had died, before he received the kingdom, Hilderic commanded all the Catholics to be recalled from exile and the churches to be restored by the bishops.

Thus, having received the kingdom, he reigned for eight years, seventy-four years having elapsed from the time his grandfather Gaiseric profaned the condition of the Church in Africa.

After him Gilimer reigned for five years. He was of such great cruelty that he did not spare even his kinsmen.

At length Belisarius the patrician, sent by Emperor Justinian at God's command to liberate Africa from the hand of the Vandals, entered Carthage at night with the wagons of peasants entering the city, captured it, and received infinite riches.

He reduced Gilimer from flight to surrender and led him back to the emperor at Constantinople.

Thus the kingdom of the Vandals was destroyed.

Thus at last that Vandal fury, together with the name itself, was utterly extinguished.

The persecution carried out by these Vandals against the African Church will be described below.

Title XI, Chapter VII

The Goths, who among the ancients were called Getae and afterward were divided from themselves into two kingdoms, namely those of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, are known from the history of Jordanes to have had the following origin, as Sigebert says, whom Vincent introduces in book XVII of the *Historical Mirror*, chapter 11.

They first inhabited Scandza, an island of Scythia.

Not content with its possession, they departed from there with their king Berith and, wandering through the neighboring islands and lands of Scythia, harassed the neighboring peoples with wars and subjected the surrounding peoples to themselves by terror of their name.

Afterward, under Filimer, their fifth king, advancing to the farther parts of Scythia and as far as the nearer banks of the Danube, they wandered long and widely through the lands of Thrace, Dacia, and Moesia.

There for many times—indeed, for many centuries—they grew into a great people; attaching many peoples to themselves by their victories, they enlarged their name and fortitude with strength.

Many, clever in natural ability and also instructed in the studies of philosophy, put off their barbarian nature and excelled other barbarous peoples in humanity and honorable conduct.

In the time of Emperor Decius, however, crossing the Danube with their king Guma, they grievously pressed upon the Roman Empire.

When attacked by Decius in war, they crushed the Roman army and killed Decius himself together with his son Decius.

Elated by this prosperity and afterward often made superior in encounters with Roman commanders, they were a terror to the whole world.

While they were still situated across the Danube in the time of Emperor Valens, they began to clash among themselves in civil war.

When Athalaric, commander of one party, had prevailed over Fritigern, commander of the other party, Fritigern sought aid from Valens and promised to become a Christian.

Valens sent him aid and, being himself an Arian, caused them to be led into the sect of the Arians.

Section I

In the thirteenth year of Emperor Valens, the Huns, of whom it will be said below, were themselves raging powerfully in Scythia, as Vincent says in the *History*, in the place cited above, chapter 12.

Ferociously seizing an opportunity from the internal rivalry of the Goths, they unexpectedly invaded their territories and, after conquering them in war, either subjected them to themselves, tortured them in captivity, or drove them from their fatherland.

Thus the Goths, who had subjected many peoples to their servitude, were subjected to the empire of the Huns and greatly increased their power, since all who served the Goths obeyed the principate of the Huns through the Goths.

In this manner the Huns held the principate in almost all Scythia and excelled all in strength.

Some of the conquered Goths crossed the Danube and thrust themselves into the territories of the Roman Empire, asking Valens that land be given to them to inhabit.

When this had been obtained, for some time they restrained themselves from every insolence of arms.

At length, compelled by the avarice of the Romans and want of household substance, they stirred up grievous wars in the very bosom of the empire.

Emperor Valens, meeting them, was conquered by them in war and burned by fire; by God's just judgment he brought excessive harm upon the republic but increased the enemies' exaltation.

These Goths who pressed upon the Roman Empire called themselves Visigoths, that is, western Goths, and for many years harassed the western territories of the Romans as far as the farthest parts of Spain, where afterward they also grew into a kingdom.

But the Goths who suffered themselves to remain in their native soil across the Danube under the dominion of the Huns had petty kings of their own people and called themselves Ostrogoths, that is, eastern Goths.

They too afterward, through their king Theodoric, having received dominion over the kingdom of Italy from Emperor Zeno, held it for many years.

And thus the Goths, as if fiercely tossing east and west with the two horns of their head, created from themselves two kingdoms: that of the Visigoths in Spain and that of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

Section II

Therefore, from the first year of Gratian onward, Fritigern reigned over the Visigoths for three years.

After him Athanaric reigned for one year. Having entered into a treaty with Theodosius and been invited by him to Constantinople, he died on the fifteenth day after he arrived.

From then the Visigoths were without a king under Emperor Theodosius for fourteen years.

Afterward, when the Visigoths had broken their treaty with the Romans, they created Alaric king over themselves, and he reigned for fifteen years.

After him Athaulf reigned for three years. When he was killed by his own men, Sigeric reigned for one year.

When he likewise had been killed by the Visigoths, Wallia reigned for twenty-two years.

After him Theodoric reigned for fourteen years; after him his son Thorismund, for three.

When he had been slaughtered by his brothers Frederic and Theodoric, his brother Theodoric succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned for thirteen years.

But when he too had been slaughtered by his brothers, Euric reigned for nineteen years.

After him his son Alaric reigned for twenty-one years.

At length Clovis, king of Francia, animated by signs of divine aid, engaged him in battle; after Alaric had been killed, Clovis transferred to the territory of Francia whatever the Visigoths possessed in Gaul.

But Amalaric, son of Alaric, fleeing into Spain, reigned there for sixteen years.

When he treated his wife Clotild shamefully because she refused to serve the Arian sect with him, he was killed in Spain by Childebert, Clotild's brother.

After him Truda [read: Theudis] reigned for seventeen years.

When he had been killed by his own men, Theudigisel reigned for two years.

When he too had been killed by his men during a banquet, Agila reigned for nine years.

When he acted insolently against his men, Athanagild, with the Romans assisting him, killed him and reigned for twenty-two years.

When he had died, Leovigild reigned with his brother Leuna [i.e., Liuva], and afterward alone, for six years.

After him his son Reccared reigned for fifteen years.

Thereafter Bethericus [i.e., Witteric] reigned for seven years; Sigigbodus [i.e., Sisebut], twenty-nine years; Sintila [i.e., Suintila], two.

When Sintila [i.e., Suintila] had been rejected by the Visigoths on account of his cruelty, Sisenand reigned for twenty years; Chyntila [i.e., Chintila], sixteen; and his son Tolga [i.e., Tulga], still a boy, four.

When Tolga [i.e., Tulga] had been rejected on account of the levity of boyhood and tonsured as a cleric, Chintasindus [i.e., Chindaswinth] reigned for seventeen years.

After him his son Flavius reigned, to whom twelve years are assigned.

At length the Saracens crossed from Africa into Spain and claimed it for themselves.

Thus the kingdom of the Visigoths and Sueves was destroyed and reduced under the Saracens, approximately 346 years having elapsed from the time they were expelled from Scythia by the Huns.

But from the time when the Vandals yielded and the Sueves had been conquered, they began to reign in Spain, approximately 256 years elapsed.

The kingdom of the third part of Spain, which is called the Galician kingdom and which neither the Visigoths then nor afterward the Saracens could subject, still flourishes unharmed.

Therefore, protected by the faith, it remains unconquerable.

The aforesaid kingdom ended in the year of the Lord 720.

Section III

Among the Ostrogoths, Vinitharius reigned from the first year of Gratian onward for six years.

Babanber [read: Balamber], king of the Huns, killed him in battle.

After him Hunimund reigned for two years; Horismud [i.e., Thorismund] likewise, two.

After him the Ostrogoths were without a king for forty years.

After these things Valamir received the kingdom and reigned for thirty-one years.

When he had been killed in battle, his son Theodoric succeeded him, to whom nineteen years are assigned.

Theodoric, after killing Odoacer, king of Italy, whom he had received in good faith, obtained Italy and reigned there for thirty-two years.

He at length killed Boethius, worn down by exile, concerning whom above, and also Symmachus the patrician.

He also killed by hunger Pope John, whom he had imprisoned.

But after twenty days Theodoric suddenly died; a certain holy hermit saw him naked and unshod, cast and thrust by Pope John and Symmachus the patrician into the cauldron of Vulcan.

Athalaric, Theodoric's grandson through his daughter, succeeding in the kingdom of Italy and of the Ostrogoths, reigned for eight years.

After him Theodahad, assumed into the kingdom by Amalmunda [i.e., Amalasuntha], Athalaric's mother, reigned with her for two years; after these things alone for one.

Eldepadus [i.e., Ildibad] reigned for one year; Erarius [i.e., Eraric], one; Totila, ten; Theias [i.e., Teia], two.

With him the kingdom of the Ostrogoths ended.

Title XI, Chapter VIII

Concerning the kingdom of the Huns, Vincent says after Sigebert that the barbarity of that people, which held the principate in almost all Scythia, would make him keep silent, had not that famous destruction of Gaul and Italy compelled him to speak, when through Attila their king the judgment of God poured itself far and wide.

God drew him against sinful peoples as a sword polished and sharpened from the sheath of his indignation.

I shall therefore disclose briefly concerning their origin what is read in the histories of the ancients.

Similarly [read: Filimer], king of the Getae, son of Gadaric the Great, already holding the principate of the Goths, formerly the Getae, in the fifth place after their departure from the island of Scandza, when he entered the lands of Scythia with his people, found among the people certain large women whom they call Alirunas [i.e., Haliurunnae] in the Getic language.

Holding them suspect, he drove them from his midst and, after they had been driven far from his army, compelled them to wander in the wilderness.

When wild men, whom some call satyr fauns, saw them wandering through the desert and mingled themselves with their embraces in intercourse, they produced this most ferocious race.

At first it was among the Maeotian marshes, a small, foul, and meager race resembling human beings, known by no other voice except that it presented the likeness of human speech.

Those whom perhaps they did not overcome in war they put to flight by their terrifying appearance, casting excessive fear upon them from the horror of their countenance.

For they possessed, as it were, a shapeless mass rather than a face, of a fearful blackness, having points rather than eyes; their grim appearance betrayed the confidence of their spirits.

They rage even against their own offspring on the first day of birth, for they cut the cheeks of the males with iron so that, before they receive the nourishment of milk, they are compelled to undergo endurance of a wound.

Hence they grow old without beards and are youths without beauty, because a face furrowed by iron consumes with a scar the timely grace of hair.

They are small in form but keen in movement, unencumbered and exceedingly ready for riding, broad in the shoulders, prepared with bows and arrows, firm in the neck, and always erect in pride.

Therefore the Huns, produced from such stock, were a horror and fear to all neighboring peoples.

Their power was increased by victory over the Goths dwelling beyond the shores of Lake Maeotis, who flourished in Scythia with the glory of singular power and fortitude.

The Huns obtained that victory in this manner.

Hun hunters, following the tracks of a stag, crossed the Maeotian marshes, which they had previously thought impassable, and carefully explored the Scythian region.

They announced all that they had explored to the Huns and encouraged them to cross.

Under their leadership, when the marshes had been crossed, they suddenly fell upon the Scythian peoples like a whirlwind and subjected them all to themselves.

They expelled from their habitations the Goths themselves, who ruled and excelled the others.

Elated among the other peoples of Scythia by this prosperous success, after the victory over the Goths the Huns labored for almost eighty years toward the shaking and ruin of the world.

Therefore from the first year of Emperor Gratian, Balamber and Mundruth [i.e., Mundzuc], father of Attila, ruled over the Huns; also his brothers Octer [i.e., Octar] and Rugila; and Bleda and his brother Attila, until the death of Emperor Marcian, for about eighty years.

Section I

Attila, king of the Huns, and his brother Bleda dwelt within Pannonia.

Supported by a multitude of powerful nations, they most savagely laid waste the surrounding provinces, namely Macedonia, Moesia, Achaea, and both Thraces.

For this reason Marcian, terrified lest Attila penetrate to the inner regions of the empire, himself made a temporary peace with the Persians and Vandals.

Attila, however, led by desire for the kingdom, killed his brother Bleda after surrounding him with deceit.

After Bleda had been killed, Attila compelled all the nations that had been subject to them to obey him alone.

Thus Attila, supported by the protection of most powerful nations, turned his mind toward demolishing the western empire.

At that time the most famous Ardaric, king of the Gepids, was subject to his dominion.

Valamir also, ruler of the eastern Goths and a king nobler than Attila himself, then served him.

In addition there were the most powerful nations, namely the Marcomanni, Sueves, Quadi, Heruli, and Thuringians.

Proud in his rule over all these and supported by the strength of their forces, Attila thought he could easily do whatever he desired.

Moreover, he endeavored to attack the Roman Empire no less by counsel and cunning of spirit than by strength of arms.

Therefore Attila, king of the Huns, departing his provinces with a formidable army, first traversed Germany and attacked Gaul.

Because he seemed to thirst for nothing other than the blood of Christians, he laid waste all things divine and human together, destroyed the best-fortified cities, burned churches, and consumed everything like a raging tempest.

Section II: Concerning Saint Nicasius and His Sister Eutropia, Martyred by These Huns

Although, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, book XXI, chapter 37, some say that the aforesaid suffered martyrdom from the Vandals. Nicasius, bishop of the city of Reims, and Anianus, bishop of Orléans, distinguished by great virtues, flourished in Gaul. Through their merits and prayers they strove for a long time to defer this wrath of God's indignation, so that meanwhile they might recall the people to repentance. But the people, treasuring up wrath for themselves, in no way obeyed their salutary precepts. Meanwhile, when the city was besieged and the whole region laid waste, they wished to destroy the Christians alone, as enemies of their gods and opponents of their customs.

At last, on the day of its overthrow, while they fought bravely on every side, the citizens, struck with terror, ran to Saint Nicasius, who was prostrate in prayer, asking what he judged it more useful to do: to hand themselves over to servitude under the nations, or to fight for the safety of the city even to death.

Foreknowing from a revelation of God that the city was to be utterly overthrown, he answered with great constancy: "We are not ignorant that this indignation has been provoked by your crimes through God's just judgment. Therefore, pricked by the divine scourges, let us undertake the danger of death, not unwillingly or despairing, but most devotedly and patiently, with the highest hope of our salvation, so that this present death may become for us not a punishment but a remedy. Behold, I am prepared to die as a shepherd for the sheepfold. Let us pray more earnestly for our enemies, wishing salvation for them as for friends."

Holy Eutropia, his sister, with her hands extended toward heaven, also roused the people with all her strength toward the crown of martyrdom.

Therefore, when the furious assault of the pagans rushed in, the holy man, accompanied by his sister, met them with hymns and spiritual songs at the door of the basilica of the Holy Mother of God, Mary, which he had founded as the citadel of his see.

As soon as he saw the armed battle lines, indicating silence with his hand, he said: "O fortitude ministering to divine commands, why do you turn the victory of your dignity, contrary to the condition of human nature, into rage? For the title of true right was once inscribed upon noble warriors: to spare the humble and subdue the proud. And behold, the Christian people, humble and devoted to their God, lie prostrate in your sight and, obedient even to death, await the remission of sins. You also repent of your crimes, acknowledging the true God, lest perhaps his indignation, which through you becomes for others a correction unto salvation, become for you the wage of infernal damnation. But if, persisting in impiety, you seek to slaughter my sheep, first offer me for them as a victim to the divine majesty, so that together we may deserve to be found worthy of heavenly blessedness."

After these words, while the bishop prostrate in prayer was singing this verse, "My soul has cleaved to the pavement," immediately, when his head was cut off by the blow of an executioner, the word of holiness did not cease from the mouth of the beheaded man; but, by fulfilling it, he obtained the sentence of immortality which he sought, saying: "Give me life according to your word."

Holy Eutropia, seeing impiety softened around her and her beauty reserved, as it were, for the pleasures of the pagans, leapt upon the priest's killer and said: "Alas, cruel tyrant, you have slaughtered a great man of God with unworthy hands, and you reserve me to be abused by you. The divine sentence already condemns you."

Then, provoking him to her own martyrdom, with a sudden leap she seized his eyelids and, not by womanly courage but by divine vengeance, tore out his eyes as an avenger.

Thus, preferring immediately to run upon the swords of the persecutors rather than to succumb by assenting to the pleasures of the pagans, she at once merited the palm of martyrdom with her brother and the others.

When the entire slaughter of martyrdom had been completed and sacred blood was flooding forth, sudden terror invaded the persecutors, as if they saw heavenly battle lines fighting and the church itself resounded with a horrible noise, so that, abandoning the city's spoils, they fled irrevocably through the crossroads.

Thus, while the city remained solitary for a long time, the bodies of the martyrs were preserved there under angelic custody, so that lights were seen from afar during the nights and sweetest sounds, as of choirs of the powers above singing celestial songs, were heard by many.

Hence, already strengthened by divine revelation and power, the very few fellow citizens who had remained to bury the bodies of the saints, with divine providence arranging it, hastened to the city with fasts and prayers.

Sensing there a sweetest fragrance and mingling groaning with joy, they buried the bodies of the saints in suitable places.

From then on they strove more attentively to serve the Lord without fear of enemies.

Saint Nicasius had long before foretold that the cause of the devastation of Gaul was Sodomitic prosperity arising from satiety, namely from idleness, avarice, and concupiscence of the flesh.

In the aforesaid year, as Sigebert says, Auctor, bishop of Metz, was taken captive; but, with his captor [read: the Huns] struck by blindness, he was released together with the captives of his city.

Section III

Therefore Attila, king of the Huns, supported by the aid of Valamir, king of the Ostrogoths, Ardaric, king of the Gepids, and many northern peoples subject to him, as Sigebert says, departed from Pannonia and invaded the western empire with five hundred thousand armed men.

First, so great an indignation of God raged through them throughout all Gaul that no city, castle, or town could be protected from their fury by any fortification at all.

In the preceding year, however, many signs occurred.

For continual earthquakes and many signs from heaven were shown. In the evening the sky from the north became red like fire, with brighter lines intermingled through the fiery redness and deformed into this appearance.

The moon was darkened, a comet appeared, and many other things which the impending succession of events showed not to be without meaning.

While the Huns with their king were besieging the city of Orléans, Ethius [i.e., Aetius], patrician of the Romans, flew to the aid of Gaul, together with the military forces of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, Meroneus [i.e., Merovech], king of the Franks, and other peoples.

Meanwhile, as John de Columna [i.e., John of Colonna] testifies, Attila, foreseeing with barbarian cunning that it would not be safe for him if the Goths who dwelt within Gaul were joined to the Romans for war, pretended to be a friend to the Goths and asserted that he would fight against the Romans alone.

Aetius, foreseeing these devices with no less acuteness, directed legates to Theodoric, who at that time ruled at Toulouse, asking that he be allied with the Romans by treaties of peace against the Huns.

Theodoric assented to the legates of the Romans and, according to Aetius's desire, was allied with the Romans, taking thought for himself no less than for them.

In addition, the Burgundians, Alans, Franks with their King Merovech, Saxons, Riparioli, Lambriones, Sarmatians, Armoricans who are now called Britons, Lutetians where Paris now is, and almost all the peoples of the West were an aid to the Romans.

The sagacity of Aetius the patrician assumed them all into fellowship in the war, lest he meet Attila with unequal strength.

Therefore, after some light engagements, the armies of both parties met in the Catalaunian Fields, which extend for two hundred miles in length and seventy in width.

When they had now come to the place where the contest could not be deferred, Attila, as a pagan and barbarous man, inquired of soothsayers and diviners what the outcome of the war would be.

Examining the entrails of animals according to the gentile rite, they announced unfavorable things to Attila, yet said that this slight consolation would exist: the highest commander on the hostile side would fall in the coming war.

Attila, thinking that the death of Aetius, which he desired above all, would occur, did not hesitate to commit himself to war with the destruction of his own men, contrary to what that supreme commander of the Romans used to say: “I prefer to preserve one citizen,” and so forth, provided only that he could destroy Aetius, who resisted his undertakings.

The most powerful nations assembled from each side, the battle lines were arranged, and, when the day was already turning toward evening, battle was joined with this purpose: that if Attila were overcome by the enemies, he and his men might escape more easily under cover of night.

Thus the battle lines met on each side, and a war began such as scarcely any history relates.

For a long time they fought most fiercely with equal fortune, and many thousands of men were laid low on each side.

That whole plain was filled with corpses, so much so that the warriors were compelled to fight even upon the bodies of the slain themselves.

At last, by God’s will, after great slaughter in both armies, Attila’s army yielded.

Had night not supervened, few from his army would have escaped.

The histories report that 180,000 men fell on both sides in this battle.

So much blood was poured out there, both from men and from horses, that a little stream flowing through the middle of the field grew so greatly that, made a torrent, it carried with it the corpses of the slain.

Nevertheless Attila’s belief concerning the death of Aetius the patrician deceived him, for while Aetius remained unharmed, Theodoric, king of the Goths, was killed among the strongest companies of the enemy.

On the following day Attila, confessing himself routed and conquered, confined himself with his men within the fortification of the wagons.

Thorismund, however, son of the king of the Goths, who had fought with his father against the enemies, wishing to avenge his father’s death with the blood of the Huns, arranged to attack Attila’s camp with his Goths.

When Attila learned this and had already despaired of confidence in his life, he commanded a great pile to be constructed from the saddles of the horsemen.

Mounting it, he instructed his men that if the enemies pressed them, he should be burned by his own men after fire had been placed beneath it rather than perish by the swords of the enemies, be made a mockery after capture by the Romans or Goths, and, a king of so many and such powerful nations, come into the hands of the enemies.

Aetius, however, incautiously considering that, if Attila had been killed and his army destroyed even to annihilation, the Romans could easily be oppressed by the Goths, persuaded Thorismund, as if consulting his interests, to return home as quickly as possible and receive his paternal kingdom.

He added that, if it were invaded by his brother, he would have to struggle more bitterly with his own people than with the enemies.

Thorismund, gladly embracing this counsel as advantageous to himself, returned home with his forces and received his paternal kingdom without any dispute.

But alas, how much harm to the fatherland did the ignorance of men bring through this provision; and while it desired to avert harm, it introduced it, as will be shown below.

Section IV

Therefore Attila, raised to the hope of safety after the departure of the Goths, like a raging lion released from prison, with those who had survived the war—of whom there was still an infinite people—again attacked the cities of Gaul.

First the noble and famous city of the Tungri was captured and overthrown by him, all its citizens having been killed.

Then he came to Troyes, in which city Saint Lupus was bishop.

Adorned in pontifical vestments, Lupus proceeded with his clergy to meet Attila as he came.

When he had come before him and been admitted to him, he said: “Who are you, who lay waste and trample the earth?”

Attila answered him: “I am Attila, king of the Huns, the scourge of God.”

At this utterance the bishop commanded the city gates to be opened and said: “Let the scourge of God be welcome.”

He led them into the city; but by God’s judgment, as soon as they entered, they were all struck with blindness, and, passing through the middle of the city, they injured no one.

Therefore, while Attila was laying waste Gaul, he heard that the Romans and Goths were again uniting forces against him and renewing the war.

Learning this, he hastily abandoned Gaul and returned.

There, after gathering a very great army, he came into Italy, the very fountain of the Roman Empire, and continuously besieged for three years the city of Aquileia, situated at the very entrance of Italy, while the citizens resisted strenuously.

When through the long siege his army had despoiled the whole adjoining region and, in the manner of locusts, scraped away everything necessary for food, the besiegers labored under no less hunger and want than the besieged.

But one day, while King Attila went around the city walls, he observed the storks which had nested in the city’s towers migrate from the city in one movement and carry their young outside through the fields, lifted in their beaks.

Seeing this, Attila said to those who accompanied him: “Behold, the birds, foreknowing future things, abandon the city that is to perish.”

At this sign the spirits of the barbarians were provoked; they attacked the city from every side with a great assault, fresh men succeeding the weary, and denied rest to the besieged.

At last, after the walls had been violently broken, the barbarians entered the city.

Entering it, they plundered its wealth, and all whom they met were slaughtered without distinction of sex or age.

Only matrons who possessed some beauty were reserved for the lust of the barbarians, a fate worse than every death.

There was then in the city a certain woman, noble according to worldly dignity and beautiful in body, but nobler in chastity and modesty, named Digna.

Her house stood upon the bank of the river that flows through the city.

When she heard that maidens were preserved by the barbarians, fearing that she too might become a mockery to the most filthy barbarians and that they might defile the beauty of her soul by inflicted lust, as soon as she perceived them approaching her house, she wrapped her head and cast herself headlong from the highest citadel of her house into the whirlpool.

When the city had been captured, Attila killed all its citizens and leveled it to the ground.

Therefore, after Aquileia had been destroyed, Attila attacked the surrounding cities and, demolishing them like vulgur [read: lightning], destroyed them utterly: Concordia and Patavium, which today is called Padua; then, throughout all the cities of the Venetias, they attacked and captured Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo.

While Aquileia was being besieged and at length destroyed, a city began to be built in the diocese called Castellum.

For wealthy men of the province of Venetia, fleeing the plunderings of Attila’s army with their servants and carrying precious household goods, abandoned their own dwellings and, departing with laden hands, were safe from the assault of the barbarians upon the islands called Rivus Altus [i.e., Rialto], since the barbarians had no use of ships for inflicting violence upon others.

Because the sands did not suffice for habitations, they carried sand in ships and industriously fortified dwellings, calling them Venice from the common name of the province.

After the destruction of Aquileia and the other cities of the province of the Venetias, the cities of Emilia were plundered in the same manner.

He spared only the city of Ravenna in this manner.

John, bishop of that city, accompanied by his clergy in white garments, hastened as a suppliant outside the city to Attila, who was encamped in the suburbs with his army, and begged him to spare the city and its citizens.

Attila, having heard the reputation of the bishop, answered: “I am willing to spare it. But lest your citizens glory that by their counsel or strength they resisted our power, I first wish the posts of the city gates to be taken down and trampled by the hooves of our army’s horses.”

The citizens of Ravenna accepted this condition with a willing spirit.

Attila therefore passed through Ravenna with his army without otherwise laying waste the city.

This tyrant did these things around the year of the Lord 453, but from the beginning of the world, according to the Seventy interpreters with their followers, in the year 5,651 according to the Hebrews.

Advancing thence into Liguria, Attila plundered Milan and Pavia, their citizens having been captured or killed.

At last, satiated with the slaughter of human beings and with plunder, he placed his camp at the place where the Minutius River [i.e., Mincio] flows into the Po.

Remaining there, he began to turn over in his mind whether he should go to Rome.

But fearing the example of Alaric, who did not survive long after capturing and despoiling the city, he deferred going.

Meanwhile a most peaceful embassy came to him from Rome.

Section V: Concerning Pope Leo, Who Came to Attila Asking Him to Leave Italy

Therefore the most holy Pope Leo, fearing for his spiritual sons, went personally to the king; obtaining everything he desired, he brought back the safety not only of the Roman city but also of all Italy.

For that most cruel king had been terrified by God’s command and could say nothing to Christ’s priest except what the holy prelate desired.

When the pontiff had departed, Attila was asked by his men why, beyond his usual custom, he had shown such reverence to the Roman pontiff, and why he had obeyed all that the pontiff had not only requested but even commanded.

He is said to have answered: “I did not honor the person of the man who came, but another man standing beside him in priestly clothing, narrower in form [read: more august in form] and venerable with white hair, who, with sword drawn, threatened me terribly with death unless I fulfilled everything that he sought.”

Therefore Attila, restrained from his hardness in this manner, after Italy had in great part been despoiled of its wealth and some citizens killed and others taken captive, returned to Pannonia.

Not long afterward Honoria, sister of Prince Valentinian, while she was guarded more strictly by her brother out of regard for chastity, directed her eunuch to Attila, asking that he extort her from her brother in marriage.

Receiving this message, Attila, because he had already approached the boundaries of Italy [read: had already left the boundaries of Italy] and could not return to Italy except with a weary army, sent an embassy to Emperor Valentinian and commanded him with threats to send him immediately his sister, together with a portion of the empire, to be joined in marriage; otherwise he would soon bring worse things upon the western empire.

But soon, by divine judgment, he departed from this life.

For, after returning to his own lands, beyond the many wives whom he had married, he joined to himself in marriage a certain most beautiful maiden named Hildico.

Holding most lavish banquets for this wedding, while he slept on his back because of drunkenness from the wine he had imbibed at the preceding banquet, he was suffocated by an eruption of blood which was accustomed to flow from his nostrils.

That night the Lord appeared in a dream at Constantinople to Emperor Marcian and showed him Attila’s bow broken, for that people was accustomed to use this kind of weapon in war.

By this vision it was signified that Attila was dead.

But because virtue always begets envy, Emperor Valentinian, as the event showed, greatly fearing the prosperous successes of Aetius, commanded him to be killed by the sword.

Thus Aetius, a warlike man and once the terror of Attila, fell through envy alone.

But the death of Aetius by no means went unpunished for Valentinian, for before the year was completed he too was killed by Tranhasila [i.e., Transila], a certain soldier of Aetius, after he had held the empire for thirty years, namely twenty-five with Theodosius and five with Marcian.

Section VI

Meanwhile the perfidious people of the Huns with their king Attila, as Hugh of Fleury says and Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, book XX, chapter 13, having departed from the sheath of their habitation, cruelly gnashed toward the dangers of very many peoples.

When Attila surrounded the walls of Orléans and turned every device of his military force toward the destruction of that city, Saint Anianus, bishop of that city, trusting in the Lord, carried the relics of the saints around the circuit of the wall and sang with a sweet voice.

Then a certain wretched priest captured by the barbarians addressed him in these words: “What you now do, each one of us diligently did in his own city, but it profited no one.”

When he had said these things, he immediately fell dead by divine vengeance, condemned to perpetual punishment.

Meanwhile the hostile army hurled missiles and also battered the wall with rams.

Then, while the people fled to the church, the bishop exhorted them to trust in the Lord.

He himself climbed the wall and, silently looking toward heaven, began to pray.

When he perceived the Lord’s aid to be present, he suddenly spat at the barbarians.

So great a mass of rain suddenly descended and checked the assault of the impious by a four-day flood that no one who wished to fight among the enemies could transfer himself to another place, but the marvelous power of God held the hostile company still.

When the rainstorm ceased, Saint Anianus went to Attila to entreat him for the people entrusted to him.

But, spurned by the perfidious man, he returned by the opposite gate of the city.

On the following day, when the bars of the gates had been opened, Attila’s leading men entered the city and, after lots had been cast to divide the people, loaded wagons from the people’s substance.

While the saint admonished the people not even thus to despair of God, he was suddenly carried by the Lord in prophetic manner to the place where Agentius—or according to others Aetius—the patrician who governed the republic in Gaul, was staying with his army together with Thorismund, king of the Goths.

Appearing to a court soldier, he said: “Go, tell my son Agentius that if he delays coming to the city today, tomorrow it will already profit nothing.”

Having said these things, he immediately departed.

When the soldier reported the message to Agentius, he, joyful and now secure concerning victory, admonished by divine revelation, hurried to Orléans together with Thorismund and his own army and that of the Goths.

He found the enemies unprepared and inflicted a great slaughter upon them.

Thus some of the Huns succumbed to swords, while others, compelled by fear, handed themselves over to the channel of the Loire, destined to meet their end in death.

Saint Anianus, however, returning good things for evil, rescued through his prayers many whom he saw being tortured before him.

He rejoiced in Christ that none of his sheep had been missing from their number except the one who, despairing of the Lord contrary to his command, had handed himself over to the barbarian people.

Therefore, when the bitter barbarity had been laid low, so great an abundance of crops arose from the earth at Orléans that the people exulted doubly in the Lord: both concerning deliverance from impious ferocity and concerning the generosity of divine grace.

When this saint, having been made bishop of Orléans, was about to enter the walls of that city, he sought from Agrippinus, who was in command of the soldiers, that all those whom he held shut in prison for various crimes be released on account of the favor of his entrance.

When Agrippinus resisted and refused this entirely, a stone of great weight fell from on high and struck the crown of his head.

Laid low by this blow and carried by the hands of his servants to his own house, he very quickly recognized that the wound had descended upon him because he had been unwilling to grant what the man of God had requested.

But when the blood from his head did not cease to flow and the aforesaid pontiff visited him for charity's sake, as soon as he placed the sign of the cross upon the wound with his own hand, he restrained the stream of blood and freed him from death.

And while by his own prayer he healed one corrected man, he obtained the others for whom he had previously petitioned.

When this same saint was raising to a greater height the church which his predecessor, Blessed Onuertius [read: Euvertius], had founded, the man who was in charge of the craftsmen fell from the roof and incurred danger of death, so that, with his whole body shattered, he scarcely gasped with his last breath.

But the saint of God restored him to health by prayer after making the sign of the cross.

Section VII: Concerning the Passion of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Ursula with Her Companions

At this place in his *Chronicles* Sigebert describes their passion, because they suffered under those who grew especially powerful in the land at this time.

But from their history it appears that they suffered long before, for the Huns themselves had also begun long before this time to leave their original places and range through the world.

Therefore, when Saint Ursula was the only daughter of Dionotus, a most noble and wealthy prince of the Britons, exceedingly beautiful and of great ability, and, when she had become marriageable, was sought in marriage by the son of the king of England, she saw her father, a very Christian man, greatly distressed over this: both because it was not consonant with reason to compel his daughter, already devoted to God, to marry, and, conversely, because by withholding consent he feared the ferocity of the pagan.

Divinely inspired, she herself persuaded her father to assent to the tyrant, yet with this condition proposed: that the son of the king of England deliver to her ten virgins selected in age, beauty, and lineage; that he join one thousand virgins both to her and to each of them; that eleven triremes, that is, ships, be prepared according to their number; and that he give her a truce of three years for the dedication of her virginity.

The young bridegroom himself was to be instructed in the faith during these three years.

She used this novel counsel of the Holy Spirit so that either the difficulty of the proposed condition might turn his mind away from his purpose concerning her, or by this opportunity she might dedicate all her contemporaries with herself to God.

Because the matter was being conducted by the Lord, the young man assented to everything proposed and brought his father to do the same.

Having been baptized, the bridegroom commanded that everything requested be hastened, and sent the virgins to Ursula his bride.

Then the virgin's father, after taking counsel, ordained that his daughter have men as directors, by whose assistance she and the virgins might be governed in spiritual matters and in the necessity of temporal things.

Many persons came together from every side to so marvelous a spectacle, even bishops.

Among them was Pontulus [read: Pantulus], bishop of Basel, who conducted them as far as Rome and, returning thence with them, underwent martyrdom.

Saint Gerasina, queen of Sicily and sister of Daria, Saint Ursula's mother, when the matter was reported to her, left the kingdom in the hand of her little son Adrian, went there with her four daughters, and associated herself with them even to martyrdom.

Therefore, when the triremes and provisions had been prepared, this most sacred company departed from Britain and came to the city of Cologne.

There it was revealed to Ursula by the Lord through an angel that they would proceed to Rome and, returning from there to that place, she with her bridegroom and the whole company would come through martyrdom to glory.

Therefore, sailing from the city of Cologne to Basel, they proceeded thence on foot to Rome.

Pope Cyriacus and the clergy received them all with joy and honor.

He himself was from Britain, had certain kinswomen among them, and was himself a virgin.

It was revealed to him that he would obtain the palm of martyrdom with them.

Therefore, while they remained there at Rome for some time, Pope Cyriacus caused those who had not yet obtained the grace of baptism to be washed in the sacred font.

At length, manifesting his will before all his clergy, he renounced the papacy, after he had governed the Church for one year and about three months, the nineteenth after Peter the Apostle.

The clergy took this exceedingly ill, since he was leaving the see of Peter to proceed with that multitude of women, for they did not know the counsel of the Lord.

Nevertheless, by his counsel and persuasion they elected another named Antherus, removing that Cyriacus from the catalogue of pontiffs.

While the said sacred company remained at Rome, two wicked gentile princes, Maximus and Africanus, fearing that the Christian religion would be excessively increased from so great a multitude of the faithful, to whom others were also being joined, discovered the place toward which they were going.

They sent a message to Julius, their kinsman and a prince of the king of the Huns, that when they came to Cologne he should slaughter that entire multitude upon their arrival.

Therefore Blessed Pope Cyriacus departed from the city with the said multitude of virgins and with several holy bishops also associated with them, and proceeded toward Cologne.

Meanwhile Etherius, Ursula's bridegroom, whose mother and father had both become Christians and whose father was now dead, succeeding him in the kingdom, was admonished by an angel to meet his bride at Cologne and there undergo martyrdom with her.

But the young man, now made faithful, had so tasted divine grace that, despising carnal nuptials, he desired heavenly ones and held dying for Christ as most desirable for himself.

Therefore, acquiescing in the angel's admonitions, with his mother, his sister Florentina, Bishops Clement and Marculus with his niece, and many others, by God's ordering they came to Cologne from one direction, while Ursula with Pope Cyriacus and eleven thousand virgins arrived together from the other.

When they had disembarked from the ships, the Huns who were then besieging Cologne, like wolves among sheep, sent that entire sacred company through martyrdom to heaven.

When the others had been killed, they came to Ursula and, astonished by her beauty, presented her alive to their prince.

Captured by love of her beauty, he consoled her over the killing of the virgins and promised to have her as his wife if she assented to him.

When she refused him, the indignant tyrant directed an arrow at her and made her a martyr.

Among them was one called Cordula, who, overcome by human fear, remained in the ship that night.

But, strengthened by God, she manifested herself on the following day and was killed.

She afterward appeared to a certain person, commanding that a feast of her be held on the following day.

According to others they suffered in the year of the Lord 237, in the time of Pope Antherus and Emperor Maximian.

Although the time of their passion may be doubtful, the Church in no way doubts their martyrdom.

Title XI, Chapter IX

Concerning the Viruli, who afterward in their native tongue were called Lombards from their long beards, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, book XVII: we indeed read a certain origin, but we do not find a certain time for their origin.

For we read that kings reigned over them, whose names also we have learned, but we do not find the years of their reigns distinguished by their times.

While they dwelt in Scandinavia, an island of Scythia, they were so multiplied that their land could not contain them, and they took counsel to diminish their multitude by the departure of a third part.

They sought by casting lots who ought to depart.

Therefore the third part of the Viruli, or Lombards, whom the lot sent forth had selected, departed from the island of Scandinavia under the leaders Agio and Ibor; uncertain and wandering, they went from place to place and were often attacked in many wars.

They defended their safety and liberty manfully, as if their lives were at stake.

After Agio and Ibor had died, Agelmund first reigned over them for thirty-three years.

While he conducted himself with greater confidence than was justified, he was destroyed by the Bulgars with many of his men.

Lamissio reigned as the second, so called because he had been drawn from a pool, that is, from a whirlpool.

For when his mother, having borne seven in one birth, had cast them into a fishpond, and King Agelmund, making a journey, turned them over with a spear, this Lamissio firmly grasped his spear; because of this he was lifted from there and reared by him.

Thus virtue advanced in him, so that he succeeded him in the kingdom and avenged his death upon the Bulgars.

Tethu was the third; Hildeoch the fourth; Gludeoch [i.e., Gudeoch] the fifth.

For the forty years from the time they set out for Rugiland, the sequence of their deeds was as follows, according to Sigebert.

Under Gudeoch and his son Claffo, the sixth king, they dwelt in Rugiland.

Under Tato, the seventh king, they dwelt in the fields of Affed [read: Asfeld].

There, in the third year, when Rodulf, king of the Heruli, had been killed by Tato and the kingdom of the Heruli destroyed, the power of the Lombards increased.

Wascho [i.e., Wacho] killed Tacchone [i.e., Tato] and obtained the kingdom as the eighth king for forty years, according to the chronicles.

He left his son Ualtarith [i.e., Walthari] as successor to the kingdom, who reigned for seven years.

After him Andohin [i.e., Audoin] reigned for seventeen years; his son Albuinus [i.e., Alboin], thirty-one years, namely twenty-five in Pannonia and six in Italy; Eleb [i.e., Cleph], two years.

Afterward they were under dukes for ten years.

After these things they appointed Authari king, whom on account of the dignity they called Flavius; from him onward all kings of the Lombards were named Flavii.

Six years are assigned to him.

Argilulphus [i.e., Agilulf] reigned for twenty-five years; his son Adalcaldus [i.e., Adaloald], five; Ariperith [i.e., Aripert], nine.

His sons contended over the kingdom for one year.

Of them, Germoard [read: Grimoald], duke of Taurmacium [read: Turin], deceitfully killed Godepert, seized his kingdom, and took his sister as wife, reigning for nine years.

After him Pertaricalcus [i.e., Perctarit], son of Ariperith [i.e., Aripert], reigned for seventeen years; his son Cunperch [i.e., Cunipert], twelve.

His son Ciperch [i.e., Liutpert] succeeded him, having Arusprandus [i.e., Ansprand] as guardian.

Regubertus [i.e., Ragimpert], duke of the people of Turin, overcame Arusprandus [i.e., Ansprand] in battle and reigned for one year.

When he had died, his son Ariperch [i.e., Aripert] reigned for nine years.

The son of Arusprandus [i.e., Ansprand] fought with him, and, when Ariperch [i.e., Aripert] fled and was drowned in a river, received the kingdom.

But when he died after three months, his son Citprandus [i.e., Liutprand] reigned for thirty-two years; Rascis [i.e., Ratchis], seven.

When Rascis [i.e., Ratchis] became a monk, his brother Aistulphus [i.e., Aistulf] reigned for seven years.

When he had been struck by God's judgment, Desiderius reigned for eighteen years.

When he had been conquered and captured at Pavia by Charlemagne, the kingdom of the Lombards ended and Italy was freed from their hands.

But the deeds performed by them, and especially by Totila, who was their king, will be related more fully below.

Title XI, Chapter X

Because among the barbarian nations which rose with their kings from diverse places against the Roman Empire and against the true faithful were the Vandals, concerning whose origin it was said above, who stirred up a great persecution against the Church in Africa, it must now be considered more fully.

Therefore Honoricus [i.e., Huneric], succeeding his father Gensericus [i.e., Gaiseric] in the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, at the beginning of his reign, as is the subtlety of barbarians, began to act more mildly and moderately, especially concerning the Christian religion.

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book XXI, chapter 74, being anxious to show himself religious, he sought out the Manichaean heretics, of whom he burned many and destroyed very many by ships bound overseas [read: sold very many to ships bound overseas].

He found almost all of them to be Manichaeans of his own religion, especially priests and deacons of the Arian heresy.

Being the more ashamed on this account, he raged against them still more.

At the request of Emperor Zeno and Placidia through written edicts [read: Emperor Zeno and Placidia, widow of Olybrius], he gave permission that the church of Carthage, which for twenty-four years had been deprived of such an ornament, should ordain for itself whatever bishop it wished.

Therefore he sent through his notary an edict to be read publicly, that, according to the petition of Emperor Zeno, the church of Carthage should have a bishop proper to its religion.

While this edict was read to the church in our presence, we began to groan, because through the intervening deceits of evil men a future persecution was being prepared.

Thus we answered the legate: “If this is so, with these dangerous conditions interposed, the Church does not wish to have a bishop. Let Christ govern it, who has always deigned to govern it.”

The legate neglected to receive this representation, and at once the people, that it should then be done, blazed like fire; their clamor was intolerable, so that it could be quieted by no means.

Therefore, when Eugenius, a holy man and acceptable to God, had been ordained bishop, sublime gladness arose and accumulated joy came to the Church of God, the Catholic multitude under the barbarian nation exulting over the ordination of a restored pontiff.

For that man of God began through his good manner of life to be held venerable and reverend even by those who were outside, and to be so pleasing to all that, if it had been lawful, he would have delighted to lay down his life for everyone.

Money is proved never to have remained with him, unless perhaps it was offered at the hour when the sun, completing the course of day, gave place to the darkness of night; and he reserved only as much as would suffice for the day, not as much as covetousness would seek, while our God daily and continually gave immense and greater things.

Section I

But when his fame was everywhere celebrated and manifest, the bishops of the Arians began to be tormented by grave envy, pursuing him with daily calumnies, and Cyril above all.

What more need be said?

They represented concerning him to the king that he should by no means sit upon his throne or deliver the customary word of God to the people.

Then they also demanded that he prohibit males or females proceeding in barbarian dress from being seen in the church.

He answered as was fitting: “The house of God lies open to all who enter; no one will be able to repel them,” especially because there was an immense multitude of our Catholics proceeding in that dress because they served the royal household.

When the king received such an answer from the man, he ordained that torturers be stationed at the church doors.

When these saw a man or woman proceeding in the fashion of their people, they immediately cast small toothed stakes into the hair upon the head and fixed them there; pulling more violently, they tore away the whole skin of the head together with the hair.

Some immediately lost their eyes while this was done; others died from the pain itself.

After this punishment, women, the skin stripped from their heads, were led through the streets for display to the city, with a herald going before them; they counted this as a very great gain for themselves rather than suffering.

We knew very many of them and do not know that any of them then withdrew from the right path.

When he was unable to break the faith in this manner, he devised that the men of our religion appointed in his court should enjoy neither rations nor their customary stipends.

He also added that they be worn down by rustic labors, and directed men noble in lineage and exceedingly delicate to the fields of Utica, so that under the burning heat of the sun they should cut the turf of the crops.

They all went with joy, rejoicing in the Lord.

In their company was one who had a withered hand which for very many years had rendered him no service.

When he truthfully excused himself as unable to work, he was commanded more violently to proceed.

But when they reached the place and all groaned in prayer especially for him, by divine mercy that withered hand was restored sound to the confessor.

From this point the honorable persecution [read: Huneric's persecution], which caused our pain and travail, took its beginning.

Huneric himself, who had already long shown himself kind, desiring to establish the kingdom after his death for his sons—which did not occur—began cruelly to persecute his brother Theodoric and his sons, leaving none of them unless death took away the opportunity for his desire.

First, knowing that the wife of his said brother Theodoric was astute, lest perhaps she arm her husband or elder son, who seemed prudent and wise, against the tyrant with sharper counsels, he imposed a crime upon her and commanded her to be killed by the sword.

Afterward that elder son, instructed in letters, was also killed; according to Gaiseric's ordinance, because he was older than all, the kingdom among the grandsons was especially owed to him.

He proceeded to perpetrate something still more cruel.

While the people stood by in the middle of the city, before the steps of the New Square, he commanded Jocundus, a bishop of his own religion whom they called patriarch, to be burned with fire because he was exceedingly acceptable in the household of Theodoric, the king's brother, by whose support perhaps that house could obtain the kingdom.

Then he also banished Gento's elder son, named Godagis, with his wife, to cruel exile without the consolation of male or female servant.

But after the killing of his wife and son he similarly exiled his brother Theodoric, naked and destitute.

After Theodoric's death he placed his surviving infant son and his two adult daughters upon asses and cast them far away in affliction.

Pursuing with false accusations very many noble counts of his own people because they favored his brother, he slaughtered some with the sword and burned others.

He existed as an imitator of his brother Gaiseric [read: his father Gaiseric], who drowned his own brother's wife by tying a weight of stones to her and casting her into the foul Ausaga, the river of the circus [read: the famous Amsaga River of Cirta].

After the mother's death he also killed her sons.

As Gaiseric lay dying, he had commended many to him under oath; but Huneric, unmindful of his pledge and a violator of his oath, slaughtered them with various punishments and fire.

For Heldic, whom his father had appointed governor of the kingdom, now aged and a veteran, he shamefully beheaded; and Heldic's wife, with another named Chevarica, he burned in the middle of the city.

He commanded their bodies to be dragged through the streets and squares. After they had lain for the whole day, only with difficulty, when requested by his bishops, did he permit them to be buried in the evening.

For five or more years these persons suffered things which could have sufficed them for eternal reward if they had been Catholics and had borne the things mentioned for their faith.

We could not remain silent even about this, so that the king's impiety should by no means be concealed even against his own people.

He not only burned his bishop Jocundus with flames, but also burned very many of his own priests and deacons—that is, Arians such as he was—and moreover delivered them to beasts.

Section II

Therefore, when in a short time all whom he feared had been cut off and he had made firm for himself, as he thought, a kingdom which was brief and perishable, hateful and secure in part [read: idle and secure on every side], like a roaring lion he turned all the weapons of his fury toward persecutions of the Catholic Church.

Before the storm of persecution, however, the threatening evil was demonstrated by many preceding signs and visions.

For almost two years before it occurred, a certain person saw the church of Faustus shining in its customary ornament; and while he rejoiced in the brightness of so great a splendor and in the shining candles, suddenly the radiance of that light was extinguished.

When darkness succeeded, an adverse stench arose in the nostrils; that whole crowd of persons clothed in white which had been seen in the church was driven outside by certain Ethiopians who threatened them.

A certain priest also saw the basilica of the said Faustus filled with a crowd of innumerable peoples, and a little afterward emptied and filled with a multitude of pigs and goats.

The venerable Bishop Quintinianus also saw himself standing upon a certain mountain, from which he looked upon a flock of innumerable sheep; in the midst of the flock were two cauldrons boiling exceedingly.

The killers of the sheep were present and plunged their flesh into the boiling cauldrons.

While this was done, that entire multitude of sheep was consumed.

I think that those two kindled cauldrons were the two cities of Successa and Larensis [read: Sicca Veneria and Laribus], in which the multitude was first assembled and from which the conflagration took its beginning; or else King Huneric and Cyril his bishop.

What more?

First the tyrant decreed by a terrible command that no one should serve in his palace or conduct affairs unless he had made himself an Arian.

A huge number of them, with unconquered vigor, cast away temporal military service rather than lose the faith.

Afterward he cast them from their homes, despoiled them of all substance, and banished them to the islands of Sardinia and Sicily.

He hastened to establish this also throughout all Africa: that the fisc should claim for itself the substance of our deceased bishops.

A person able to succeed one who had died was not to be ordained before he first offered five hundred solidi to the royal fisc.

But this structure which the devil attempted to construct Christ immediately deigned to destroy.

For his household officers represented to him, saying: “If your command preserves this, our bishops appointed in the parts of Thrace and other regions will begin to suffer worse things.”

He then commanded the sacred virgins to be gathered, directing Vandals with midwives of their people to inspect and handle them contrary to the law of modesty and shame, where neither mothers nor any Catholic matron were present.

They tortured them by grievous suspension, bound immense weights to their feet, and applied heated iron plates to the back, belly, breasts, and sides.

Amid the torments they said to them: “Say that the bishops and your clergy lie with you.”

We know that very many were then destroyed by the bitterness of these punishments.

Others who remained, their skin having dried, were made misshapen.

For he endeavored to find a path through whose entrance he might make the persecution public, as he did.

Acting thus, he was able by no means to discover how he might stain the Church of Christ.

Section III

With what rivers of tears shall I continue, when he destined for exile in the desert 4,975 bishops, priests, deacons, and other members of the Church?

Among them were very many gouty persons, others deprived by advanced age of temporal sight.

In their number was Felix, bishop of Abiritina, who had now been in the episcopate for forty-four years.

Struck by paralytic disease, he neither sensed anything nor spoke.

Thinking especially concerning him that he could not be carried upon a beast, we suggested that his people ask the king to command that one who would soon die be permitted at least to remain at Carthage, because by no means could he be led into exile.

The tyrant is reported to have said in fury: “If he cannot sit upon an animal, let untamed oxen be yoked to drag him bound with ropes to the place I commanded.”

We carried him throughout the whole journey bound crosswise upon a mule like a log of wood.

All were assembled in the cities of Succensa and Larensis [read: Sicca Veneria and Laribus], so that the Moors, meeting them there, might lead those handed over to them into the desert.

Then two counts arrived and, with damnable subtlety, began to address God’s confessors with flattering words: “Why does it seem good to you to be so obstinate that you do not obey our lord’s commands? You could be honorable in the king’s sight if you hasten to do his will.”

At once they shouted with a mighty outcry: “We are Christians; we confess the inviolate Trinity as one God.”

They were confined under heavier but still looser guard, where we were permitted to enter, speak a word of exhortation to the brothers, and celebrate the divine mysteries.

There were also very many little children there, whom their mothers followed with maternal affection, some rejoicing and others trying to hold them back. Some rejoiced that they had borne martyrs; others, by contriving the flood of rebaptism, tried to recall them from confessing the faith.

Yet at that time blandishments conquered no one, nor did carnal affection bend anyone toward the earth. It is pleasing to relate briefly what one woman then did.

While we accompanied God’s army and perhaps advanced more often by night because of the heat of the sun, we saw a little woman carrying a small sack and other garments, holding one infant by the hand, and comforting him with these words: “Run, my lord. You see where all the saints proceed and hasten joyfully toward the crown.”

When we rebuked her because she seemed importunate, and because it was not fitting for her sex either to join herself to men or to associate herself with Christ’s army, she answered: “Bless me, bless me, and pray for me and this little grandson of mine, with whom I go into exile. Let the enemy not find him alone and recall him from the way of truth unto death.”

At these words, filled with tears, we could say nothing except that the will of God be done.

Section IV

But when the adversary, who perhaps was already saying, “I shall divide the spoils; I shall fill my soul; I shall kill with my sword; my hand shall have dominion,” could seize no one, he sought narrow and most foul places, within whose chambers he might confine God’s army.

Then even the consolation of human visitation was denied to them.

They were punished and grievously afflicted with cudgels.

The confessors of Christ were cast, constraining confinement pressing them, one upon another like swarms of locusts—and, to speak more properly, like most precious grains of wheat.

In that crowding no provision of place allowed them to withdraw for the natural office; compelled by the necessity of dung and urine, they did these things in the same place, so that the stench and horror then surpassed every kind of punishment.

At times, after immense gifts had been given to the Moors and while the Vandals slept, we were scarcely admitted secretly to enter among them.

Entering, we began to sink as if in a whirlpool of mud up to our knees, then seeing fulfilled that saying of Jeremiah: “Those who were nourished in saffron garments embraced their own dung.”

What more?

With the Moors clamoring on every side, they were commanded to prepare for the journey to the place to which they had been destined.

Thus, departing on the Lord’s Day with their garments smeared with dung, and their faces and heads likewise, though cruelly threatened by the Moors, they sang a hymn to the Lord with exultation: “This is glory for all his saints.”

Blessed Pontiff Cyprian, bishop of Winditzilia [read: Unizibira], was then present there, an outstanding consoler, who cherished each with a pious and paternal affection, not without rivers of flowing tears, prepared to lay down his life for his brothers and voluntarily to hand himself over to sufferings if he were permitted.

He then expended among his needy brothers in that necessity everything he possessed.

For he sought an opportunity by which he, a confessor in spirit and virtue, might be associated with the confessors.

Afterward, through many contests and the squalor of prison, he proceeded with exultation into the exile which he desired.

How great multitudes then ran together from diverse regions and cities to see God’s martyrs is testified by the roads and paths of the peoples, which could by no means contain the companies of visitors.

An inestimable crowd of the faithful, converging over the summits of mountains and through valleys, descended carrying candles in their hands and casting their infants before the footsteps of the martyrs, crying aloud in this manner: “To whom do you leave us wretches while you proceed to the crown? Who will baptize these little children for us in the font of perennial water? Who will lay the hand of penance upon us and, when we are bound by the chains of sins, release us by the indulgence of reconciliation? May it be permitted for us also to go with you, if it were lawful, so that no necessity might separate sons from fathers in such a manner.”

Amid these utterances and praises no consoler was now admitted to proceed, but the multitude was forced to run so that they might reach the place where a ship had then been prepared [read: where a camp had been prepared] and receive a laborious dwelling.

When the old men failed, and perhaps others who, although young, were delicate, they began first to be beaten with the points of spear shafts and with stones so that they would run.

Failing all the more from this, they were further wearied.

Afterward it was commanded by the Moors [read: the Moors were commanded] that those who could not walk be dragged by their bound feet like the carcass of a dead animal through hard and rough places, where first their garments and afterward their individual limbs were torn away, because here the head was crushed upon the sharp edges of rocks and there the sides were split.

Thus they breathed out their spirits amid the hands of those dragging them.

We were by no means able to gather their number because the multitude constrained us.

The others, who were more able, reached the places of the wilderness in which they were stationed.

They received barley to eat like beasts of burden.

There is said to be so great a multitude of venomous animals and scorpions there that it seems incredible to those who do not know it; by their breath alone they pour the poison of venom even into those situated far away.

They say that no one struck by a scorpion ever escaped.

Yet their poisonous ferocity, with Christ defending them, is shown down to the present to have harmed none of his servants.

But after they had been nourished with grains of barley, even this was taken away, as if God, who rained manna upon the fathers in the desert, could not also feed those consigned to such exile.

Section V

The most savage tyrant Huneric devised against the Church of God that, having cut off certain limbs, he might destroy the whole body by mangling it.

For on the day of the Lord's Ascension, while the king was absent, he directed a command to be read to Bishop Eugenius in the middle of the church by Emperor Zeno's legate [read: with Reginus, Emperor Zeno's legate, present, he directed a command to be read to Bishop Eugenius in the middle of the church], written in the following tenor, which he also sent throughout all Africa by couriers:

"King Huneric of the Vandals and Alans to all bishops of the Homoousion. It is established that, not once but often, your priests have been forbidden to hold assemblies in the allotments of the Vandals, lest by their sedition they overturn Christian souls. Despising this matter, many have now been found contrary to the prohibition celebrating masses in the allotments of the Vandals, asserting that they hold the complete rule of faith. And because we do not wish there to be scandal in the provinces granted to us by God, know that by God's providence, with the consent of our holy bishops, we have established this: that by the day of the Kalends of January next to come [read: the Kalends of February next to come], with every excuse of fear set aside, you shall all come to Carthage, so that you may enter into conflict concerning the account of the faith with our venerable bishops and may prove properly from diverse scriptures the faith of the Homoousians which you defend, so that it may be known whether you hold the complete faith."

When we who were present learned and read together the tenor of this edict, we groaned because it indicated the fury of a future persecution, especially where it said, "In the provinces granted to us by God."

Then it seemed reasonable to Saint Eugenius that the heart of the barbarians might be softened by making a representation.

He endeavored to represent to the king that the adherents of his religion who were overseas also ought to be summoned.

He said: "Let the clemency of the king know that with God's aid we in no way decline or flee the disputation prescribed by law, but without the consent of the whole body we ought not to undertake the causes of the faith which must be asserted by us."

Eugenius did this not because persons were lacking in Africa who could refute the objections of the adversaries, but so that those who were alien to their dominion and possessed greater confidence of liberty might come and might likewise announce to all lands and peoples the injustice of our oppression.

But he who was weaving deceits refused to hear him, devising reasons with frequent argumentations so that he might harass with various persecutions whichever bishops he had heard were learned.

He had already sent Donatian of Viminacium into exile after 150 cudgels had been laid upon him, as well as Praesidius Sbseculensis [read: Praesidius, bishop of Sufetula], a sharp man.

Then he also put to flight [read: beat with cudgels] the venerable Mansuetus, Germanus, Fusculus, and many others.

While these things were done, he commanded that no one of our religion have a common table with them, nor that they eat at all with Catholics.

This matter afforded them no benefit, but conferred the greatest gain upon us.

But when the fire of persecution kindled the affair and the flame of the hostile king burned everywhere, the Lord showed a certain miracle.

There was in that same city, namely Carthage, a certain blind man named Felix, known to almost everyone.

It was revealed to him in a dream by the Lord that he should go to his servant Bishop Eugenius and, at the hour when he blessed the font so that those approaching the faith might be baptized, should touch his eyes and would receive light.

Admonished the first and second time, he feared that a delusion was being made and neglected to go.

But appearing a third time, the Lord gravely rebuked him.

He immediately came to Eugenius, led by the hand, explaining the vision and the delusion.

When Eugenius through humility excused himself, asserting that he was a sinner, Felix persisted in his petition with excessive importunity.

Overcome by his prayers, Eugenius approached the baptismal font and, when prayer had been made with great groaning, afterward said to the blind man: "I have already told you, brother, that I am a sinful man. But may he who has deigned to visit you deign to grant this according to your faith."

Making the sign of the cross over his eyes, he restored his sight.

Felix was seized and questioned as to how he had received light, and he related everything in order.

When this became known to the king, the bishops of the Arians said that Eugenius had done it through magical arts.

And because they could not obscure the man's most widely known blindness, they would have wished to kill him if they had been able.

Section VI

That calumnious future day of the Kalends appointed by him was now approaching.

The bishops not only of all Africa but also of many islands assembled, afflicted by suffering and sorrow.

Silence was maintained for many days while he separated from them the skilled and most learned men, to be killed after calumnies had been alleged.

For he burned with fire one from that company of learned men, named Laetus, a strenuous and most learned man, after the prolonged squalor of prison, thinking that by such an example he would strike fear and injury into the others.

At length they came to the conflict of disputation at the place which the adversaries had chosen.

Our men, avoiding the tumult of shouting lest afterward the Arians say that some of ours had oppressed them, delegated from themselves ten men to answer for all.

Cyril placed for himself with his attendants in a high place a most proud throne, while we stood by.

Our bishops said: "The discourse must be conducted in the place where the proud exaltation of power does not dominate."

Turning toward Cyril, our men said: "Propose what you have determined."

Cyril said: "I do not know Latin."

Our bishops said: "We manifestly know that you have always spoken Latin. You ought not now to make excuse, especially because you kindled the conflagration of this affair. But if you desire to know our faith, this is the truth which we hold. For by royal command we are instructed to render an account of the Catholic faith which we hold. Therefore, according to the small measure of our strength, with the aid of the faith which we believe and preach, we undertake briefly to make it known [read: supported by divine aid, we undertake briefly to make known what we believe and preach]. First, we have learned that the unity of substance of the Father and the Son, which the Greeks call *homoousion*, must be explained by us."

"Thus we confess the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be in the unity of deity in such a manner that we confess with faithful confession that the Father subsists in the property of his person, the Son likewise exists in his own person, and the Holy Spirit retains the property of his person.

"For we do not assert that the Father is the Son, nor confess the Son to be the Father or Holy Spirit, nor understand the Holy Spirit to be either Father or Son; but we believe the unbegotten Father, the Son begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son to be of one substance, or of one essence, because the unbegotten Father, the begotten Son, and the proceeding Holy Spirit have one deity, but three properties of persons.

"And because a heresy arising against this Catholic and apostolic faith had introduced a certain novelty, asserting that the Son was not begotten from the substance of the Father but subsisted from things not existing, that is, from nothing, the Greek term *homoousion*, which is interpreted 'of one substance or essence,' was established to refute and utterly abolish this profession of impiety which had arisen against the faith, signifying that the Son came into being neither from things not existing nor from another substance, but was born of God the Father.

"Therefore those who think that *homoousion* must be removed wish to assert that the Son existed from nothing. But if he is not from nothing, without doubt he is from the Father; and rightly the Son is *homoousios*, that is, of one substance with the Father.

"That he is from the Father, that is, of one substance with the Father, is proved by these testimonies. The Apostle says: 'Who, since he is the brightness of glory and the figure of his substance.' And in the Gospel Christ says: 'I am in the Father, and the Father is in me'; and again: 'I and the Father are one.' This is referred not only to unity of will but to one and the same substance, because he does not say, 'I and the Father will one thing,' but 'are one.'

"But because we confess there to be two natures in the Son, that is, true God and man, whatever the Scriptures report of him concerning the excellence of power and sublimity, we judge must be attributed to the remembrance of his divinity. Whatever they relate more humbly concerning the same one, below the honor of heavenly power, we assign not to the Word of God but to the man assumed, as this: 'The Father is greater than I,' because it is referred only to the humanity; and this: 'Father, if it can be done, let this cup pass from me,' and so forth.

“But concerning the Holy Spirit the Apostle says: ‘There are divisions of graces, but the same Spirit,’ and so forth, adding: ‘One and the same Spirit works all these things, dividing to each as he wills.’ Hence it is indubitably clear that the Holy Spirit is both God and the author of his own will.

“Therefore there is one religion, one glorification of the Trinity, so that we may hear the Apostle as the Corinthians heard: ‘May the grace of our Lord, and the charity of God, namely the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.’ He speaks in the singular to indicate the unity of essence.

“This, therefore, is our faith, founded upon the evangelical and apostolic traditions and upon the fellowship of all the Catholic churches which are in the world, in which through God’s grace we trust and hope to remain even to the end.”

When this our little book, having been offered, was read, they could by no means endure the light of truth with blind eyes; raging, they raised cries and bore it grievously that we had called ourselves Catholics by our own name.

They immediately lied and represented to the king concerning us that we had made an uproar and fled the hearing.

He, kindled at that same hour and believing the lie, hastened to do what he wished.

Already having a written decree, and secretly directing his men with the decree through the diverse provinces, on one day he closed the churches of all Africa while the bishops were stationed at Carthage, and granted as a gift to his bishops, namely the Arians, all the substance of the bishops and churches.

Knowing neither what he said nor concerning whom he affirmed it, they were not ashamed to set against us the law which our Christian emperors had given against them and against other heretics for the honor of the Catholic Church, adding many things of their own as pleased the tyrannical power.

Afterward, when these death-bearing edicts had been transfused with poisonous venom, he commanded all the bishops who were assembled at Carthage—whose churches, substance, and houses he had already seized—to be despoiled in their lodgings and, after being despoiled, driven outside the walls.

No animal, no servant, and no change of the clothing they bore was permitted them at all.

He added that no one should receive any of them in lodging or furnish sustenance; whoever attempted this for the sake of mercy was to be burned with his entire house.

The expelled bishops then acted wisely: although begging, they did not depart from there, because if they withdrew, they would not only be recalled entirely by force, but their enemies would also lie, as they did, that the bishops had fled the conflict; especially because, when they might be brought back, the Church’s substance no longer existed, its houses having been occupied.

Therefore, while they lay groaning around the walls beneath the open sky, it happened that the impious king went out to the fishponds.

They all preferred to meet him, saying: “Why are we afflicted in this manner? For what evils perhaps committed do we suffer these things? If we were assembled for a disputation, why have we been despoiled? Why are we led about? Why are we carried away, and, without our churches and houses, labor outside the city with hunger and nakedness, rolling amid dung?”

Looking upon them with savage eyes, before he heard their representation, he commanded horses with riders to be let loose upon them, so that by such violence they might not only be crushed but even killed.

Many of them were then crushed, especially the old men.

Section VII

Then those men of God were commanded to assemble at a certain place called the House of Memory, not knowing the fraud prepared for them.

When they arrived, a rolled document was shown to them, and with the cunning of the serpent it was said to them: “Our lord Huneric, although he grieves that you have been despisers, nevertheless, so that you may not delay to obey his will and become of his religion, has now thought good concerning you. If you swear to do what this document contains, he will restore you to your churches and houses.”

All the bishops answered: “We always say, have said, and shall say: we are Christians; we are bishops; we hold the one and true apostolic faith.”

Those sent by the king hastened also to disclose to them the tenor of the writing, which had been colored with these words.

For the calumnious sequence contained this: “Swear whether, after the death of our lord the king, you desire his son Hilderic to be king, and whether none of you will direct letters to the regions overseas. If you give an oath concerning this matter, he will restore you to your churches.”

The pious simplicity of many then thought to give the oath contrary to the divine prohibition, lest afterward God’s people say that through the fault of the priests who refused to swear, the churches had not been restored.

Other, more astute bishops, perceiving the deceit of the fraud, were by no means willing to swear, saying that this was forbidden by evangelical authority when the Lord said: “You shall not swear at all.”

The king’s ministers said to them: “Let those who determine to swear withdraw to one side.”

As they withdrew, the notaries wrote what each said and from what city he was.

It was done similarly with those who did not swear.

Immediately each party was consigned to custody.

Afterward the fraud which had been concealed appeared.

For it was said to those who had sworn: “Because you wished to swear contrary to the evangelical command, the king has commanded that you shall never see your cities and churches, but, banished, you shall take the journey to the colonies to cultivate the land [read: you shall be assigned under the law of the colonate to cultivate fields], on condition that you neither sing psalms nor pray nor carry a codex in your hands for reading. You shall not baptize, ordain, or presume to reconcile anyone.”

Likewise he said to those who did not swear: “Because you do not desire the kingdom of the son of our lord, you refused to swear. For this cause you have been commanded to be banished to the island of Corriscaria [read: Corsica], so that you may cut timber useful for the lord’s ships.”

That beast, thirsting for the blood of the innocent, added that, before the bishops had yet been directed into exile, most cruel torturers should be sent at one time throughout all the provinces of Africa, so that no house or place remained in which there had not been wailing, and no age and no sex was spared except those who submitted to their will.

Some they beat with cudgels; others they burned by suspension.

They tortured women, especially noble women, entirely naked in public view contrary to the laws of nature.

Of these I shall name briefly and in passing one of ours, Dionysia.

When the barbarians saw that she was not only bold but also more beautiful than the others, they first attempted to subject her, stripped of her clothing, to the cudgels.

When she suffered and said, “I am secure concerning God; torture me in whatever manner you please, yet do not uncover the modest members,” raging still more, they stripped her of her garments and placed her in a higher place, making her a spectacle to all.

While under the blows of the rods streams of blood now flowed over her whole body, she said with a free voice: “Ministers of the devil, what you reckon that you do for my reproach is itself my praise.”

Because she was filled with the divine Scriptures, constrained by the punishments prepared for her and thus already a martyr, she strengthened others for martyrdom.

By her holy example she liberated nearly her whole fatherland.

When she saw that her only son Majoricus, still of exceedingly tender age and delicate, was fearful through dread of the punishments, striking him with signals of her eyes and rebuking him by maternal authority, she so strengthened him that he was rendered stronger than his mother.

She said: “Remember, my son, that in the name of the Trinity we were baptized in our Catholic mother. Let us not lose the garment of our salvation, lest the one inviting us come, not find the wedding garment, and say to the ministers, ‘Cast him into the outer darkness.’ That punishment must be feared which is never ended; that life must be desired which is always possessed.”

Therefore, establishing her son with such words, she speedily made him a martyr.

Embracing her victim and giving thanks to the Lord with her voice as much as she could, she preferred to bury him in her own house unto the joy of future hope, so that whenever she poured out prayers to the Trinity over his tomb, she might consider herself never alien from her son.

But who is able to relate in order how much Dionysia's sister, named Dativa, and Leontia, daughter of Saint Germanus the bishop, and Emelius, a venerable physician and kinsman of Dativa, and also Tertius, a religious man illustrious in his confession of the Trinity, or Boniface, the Sibidensian bishop, suffered, and by what torments they were disemboweled?

Section VIII

I am not able to report the things done in the city of Culusi, because it is impossible to reckon even the quantity of martyrs or confessors there.

There a certain matron, Victoria, the author of her own name, while she was burned by continual suspension in the sight of the people, was entreated in this manner by her husband, who had already been lost, with her children present:

"Why do you suffer, wife? If you despise me, at least take pity upon these whom you have borne. Impious woman, why do you forget the little children of your womb and reckon as nothing those whom you bore with groaning? Where are the covenants of conjugal love? Where are the bonds of fellowship which were long ago written between us in tablets by the law of honor? Look, I beg you, upon your sons and husband, and hasten to fulfill the command of the royal order, so that you may gain freedom from the torments still threatening, and at the same time may be given back to me and our children."

But she, hearing neither the weeping of her children nor the blandishments of the serpent, raised the affection of her eyes higher from the earth [read: raised her affection much higher above the earth] and despised the world with its desires.

When, through continual suspension, her shoulders had now been torn away and even those who tortured her thought her dead, they took her down. "At all times she was entirely sound." [read: they took her down entirely lifeless in every part]

She afterward related that a certain virgin had stood beside her and touched each of her limbs, and that she had immediately been healed.

But how shall I proclaim Victorian, a citizen of the city of Ad Rumitana [read: Hadrumetum] and then proconsul of Carthage, since words fail me?

No one in the regions of Africa was wealthier than he.

He was also held exceedingly faithful before the impious king concerning the affairs always committed to him.

It was communicated to him familiarly by the king, and it was said that he would hold him dear above everyone if he readily lent assent to his command.

But that man of God gave with great confidence this answer to those sent to him: "I am secure concerning Christ, my God and Lord. Tell these things also to the king. Let him raise me upon fires; let him drive me to beasts; let him torture me with every kind of torment. If I consent, I was baptized in the Church in vain. For if this present life were the only one and we did not hope for the other, which is true and eternal, I still would not have acted so as to glory temporally for a little while and exist ungrateful to the Creator who conferred his faith upon me."

Provoked by this, the tyrant afflicted him with so many torments and such punishments that human speech will not be able to explain them.

Exulting and happily consummating his course, he received the martyrial crown.

Who could explain the contests of the martyrs performed at the city of Tabada?

There two brothers, secure concerning the Lord, swore to one another that they would ask the torturers to be tormented with one punishment and an equal torment.

While during the first suspension they hung for a whole day with masses of stones tied to their feet, one of them asked to be taken down and given a respite.

His other brother, fearing that he might deny the faith, cried out from the suspension: "Do not, do not, brother! We did not swear thus to Christ. I shall accuse you when we come before his terrible throne, because upon his body and blood we swore that we would suffer for him together."

Saying these and other things, he strengthened his brother for the battle of suffering.

The brother, crying out with a great voice, said: "Add whatever torments you wish, and constrain Christians with cruel punishments. What my brother will do, I also will do."

How many heated plates burned them, how each was furrowed [read: with what claws each was furrowed], and by what torments they were twisted, the event itself teaches.

Their teachers [read: Their torturers] themselves cast them from their sight, saying: “The whole people imitates these men, so that no one is converted at all to our religion,” especially because no bruises and no traces of punishments were visible upon them at all.

I hasten to tell to God’s praise what was done in the city of Tracena [read: Tipasa] in Greater Mauretania.

When they saw an Arian bishop, formerly one of Cyril’s notaries, ordained for their city to destroy souls, almost the whole city fled with a strong departure [read: by naval transport] to nearby Spain, leaving very few who had found no means of sailing.

The Arian bishop began to compel these first by blandishments and afterward by threats, so that he might make them Arians.

But, strong in the Lord, they not only mocked the madness of the one persuading them, but even were found publicly celebrating the divine mysteries, assembled in one house.

When he learned this, he secretly directed a report against them to Carthage.

When this became known to the king, he sent a certain count in anger and commanded that, with the whole province assembled there in the middle of the forum, he cut off their tongues and right hands to the roots.

But by the power of the Holy Spirit they so spoke, and still speak, with their tongues cut off just as they did before.

If anyone wishes to be unbelieving, let him now go to Constantinople and he will find one of them, the subdeacon Reparatus.

For this cause he is held exceedingly venerable in the palace of Emperor Zeno, and especially is venerated with great reverence by the empress.

But who could attain or heap together in fitting speech the diversity of punishments which, by command of their king, the Vandals exercised even against their own men?

At Carthage the matter displayed today in public shows it: you may see some without hands, others without eyes, others without feet, some mutilated in the ears, and others whose shoulders were torn away by excessive suspension, so that the head which was accustomed to project was sunk into the middle of the shoulder blades.

When the ropes broke, some who had been suspended high fell with a mighty blow from that height of suspension; many lost the crown of the brain together with the eyes; some immediately breathed out their spirit when their bones had been broken, others a little afterward.

These things were done in the presence of the legate of Emperor Zeno, who, coming to Carthage, boasted that he had come for the defense of the Catholic churches, so that the tyrant might show him that he feared no one, and for the reproach of the republic itself.

Then also, when Saint Eugenius, pastor of Carthage, had already been placed in exile, nearly five hundred or more of the whole clergy of the church of Carthage, worn by slaughter and media [read: slaughter and hunger], among whom were very many little boy lectors rejoicing in the Lord, were delivered far away to cruel exile.

Section IX

Therefore all the fathers, cheerful amid beatings upon their backs [read: Therefore all, preparing their backs for blows, cheerful], proceeded into exile.

While they were still established upon the journey of the longer road, merciless and violent men of the Arian bishops were sent, suggesting that whatever Christian compassion had perhaps contributed for their future sustenance be cruelly taken away.

Then each one of them perhaps sang more gladly: “Naked I came out of my mother’s womb; naked I must also proceed into exile, because the Lord knows how to extend food to the hungry.”

Two Vandals who had repeatedly been confessors under Gaiseric, accompanied by their mother and despising all their riches, also proceeded into exile with those clerics.

Concerning the multitude of confessors proceeding, that is, the clerics of the church of Carthage, at the representation of a certain apostate lector named Teucharius, who knew which of them were vocal, strenuous, and suited to the measures of song, it is said that twelve little boys ought to be separated by his designation.

When he was then a Catholic, he had had them as pupils.

Immediately, upon his representation, they were released in haste [read: couriers were dispatched in haste], and by the violence of barbarian fury the twice-six number of boys was called back from the journey.

They were separated in body, not in spirit, from the flock of the saints.

Fearing the precipice and unwilling to be torn away, with tearful sighs they clasped the knees of their companions; nevertheless heretical violence, separating them with threatening swords, recalled them to Carthage.

But when blandishments were not used with them as if with persons of such an age, they were found superior even to their own years; and lest they sleep in death, they kindled the lamp of evangelical light.

The Arians were grievously indignant at this and were ashamed that they had been overcome by boys.

Hence, inflamed, they commanded them again to be subjected to cudgels, though only a very few days before they had torn them apart with various beatings.

Wounds were impressed upon wounds, and the restored wounds grew raw again.

But with the Lord strengthening them, it came about that neither did their younger age fail in pain, and their strengthened spirit grew all the more in faith.

Carthage now honors them with marvelous affection and regards the company of boys as, so to speak, a twelfth choir of apostles [read: a choir of twelve apostles].

They dwell together, eat together, sing psalms together, and glory together in the Lord.

In those days two merchants also were crowned with outstanding martyrdom.

At that time, moreover, the bishops, priests, and clerics of the Arians raged more cruelly than the king and Vandals.

For a certain bishop among them, named Antonius, more cruel than the others, exercised such unspeakable and incredible things against our people that they cannot be narrated.

He was in a certain city near the desert, neighboring the province of Tripolitana; like an insatiable beast thirsting for the blood of Catholics, he ran roaring here and there to seize them.

For the impious Huneric, knowing the cruelty of Antonius, wished Eugenius to be exiled in those parts of the desert.

When Antonius received him to be guarded, he enclosed him in such strict custody that he permitted no one to enter to him.

Moreover, he planned to destroy him by various torments of snares and punishments.

But while Saint Eugenius lamented the harms of the persecution, wore down his aged body with the roughness of haircloth, lay naked upon the earth, and watered his bed of sackcloth with showers of tears, at some point he felt the hostile disease of paralysis.

When this report was turned into joy for the Arian, he hastened to the bed of exile of the man of God.

Seeing that the true pontiff, under the constraint of suffering, uttered words with stammering, he planned at the same time to destroy the one whom he did not wish to survive.

He commanded exceedingly harsh and very sharp vinegar to be sought.

When it had been brought, he poured it into the unwilling and resisting throat of the venerable old man.

After it had been received, especially harmful to that suffering, the disease increased.

Christ's mercy, mercifully assisting him, afterward furnished health.

When the aforesaid Antonius likewise afflicted another of our bishops, banished to the city of Luna, with diverse persecutions and could not make him an Arian, and saw Christ's soldier always constant in confession, he constrained the bishop with immense chains bound to his hands and feet.

With his mouth stopped lest his tongue cry out, he sprinkled upon his body the water of supposed rebaptism, as if he could bind conscience together with the body, or as if the one who hears the groans of those in fetters and searches the secrets of the heart were not present, or deceitful water could overcome the purpose of so great a will, which the man had already sent bound into heaven by pouring forth tears [read: sent as an embassy to heaven by pouring forth tears].

He immediately released the man from his bonds and followed him with a voice as if rejoicing: "Our brother Abdiner has become a Christian of our church."

Abdiner answered him: "That is the condemnation of your shameful death, Antonius, where the consent of the will is held. Tenacious of my faith, by frequent utterances confessing what I believe and have believed, I defended it by crying out. But

afterward, when you bound me with chains and blocked the door of my mouth, in the praetorium of my heart, with the angels subscribing to the violence, I drew up the record of the acts and sent it to my Emperor to be read repeatedly."

This violence of the tyrants was general.

For the Vandals had been sent everywhere for this purpose: that, while traveling upon the roads, they should lead persons to their priests to be slaughtered.

It was not lawful for private persons or merchants to travel anywhere, sell anything, or buy anything unless they had the character of the beast upon their forehead or hand.

Their bishops and priests, with a band of armed men, went around villages or towns at night.

After breaking the posts of doors, carrying water and a sword, these robbers of souls entered; and those whom they found at home, some perhaps asleep in their beds, sprinkling with a fiery shower and river [read: a fiery and lightning-like shower], with demoniacal shouting they called their own Christians, displaying rather the game of their heresy than any religion.

In this the less capable and slothful imputed to themselves the sacrilege of pollution fulfilled upon them.

The more prudent rejoiced that nothing inflicted upon them while unwilling and asleep harmed them.

With us seeing it, by such violence at Carthage the son of a certain nobleman, about seven years old, was separated from his parents by command of Cyril.

Without shame, while his matronly mother with loosened hair ran after the abductors through the whole city, he cried as loudly as he could, "I am a Christian; I am a Christian"; they stopped even his mouth and plunged the innocent soul into their whirlpool.

Section X

It is proved that the same was done concerning the children of the venerable physician Liberatus.

For by command of the king he was ordered to be sent into exile with his wife and children.

Arian impiety devised that the little children be separated from their parents and, through the affection of piety, overthrow the parents' virtue.

The tender pledges of the children were separated from their parents.

When Liberatus wished to pour forth tears, rebuked by the authority of his wife, the tears immediately dried in the very passage of their exit.

For his wife said to him: "Liberatus, will you lose your soul on account of your children? Reckon them not to have been born, for Christ will avenge them also. Do you not see them crying out and saying, 'We are Christians'?"

But what this woman did in the sight of the judges must not be concealed.

For although she and her husband were held separately in prison custody so that they did not see one another at all, it was reported to the woman and said to her: "Now dissolve your hardness. Behold, your husband has obeyed the king's command and has become our Christian."

She answered: "Let me see him; I shall do what God wills."

Led out of prison, she found her husband standing with an immense multitude, bent before the tribunal [read: bound before the tribunals].

Thinking true what the enemies had feigned, putting forth her hand she seized his garments nearest his throat and, with all seeing, choked him, saying: "Lost and reprobate man, unworthy of the grace of God and his mercy, why did you wish to glory for a little while and perish eternally? What will gold profit you? What silver? Will they deliver you from the furnace of Gehenna?"

She said many other things.

Her husband said to her: "What do you suffer, woman? What seems so to you? Or what perhaps have you been able to hear concerning me? I remain a Catholic in the name of Christ, nor shall I ever be able to lose what I hold."

Then the heretics, conscious of their lie, were by no means able to color their exposed deceit.

And because we spoke briefly above concerning the violence of their savagery, very many men or women, fearing it, shut themselves up—some in caves, others in desert places—with no one aware of them.

There, with no sustenance of food coming to their aid, overcome by hunger or cold, they breathed out a contrite and afflicted spirit amid these harms of affliction, carrying inviolate with themselves the security of the faith.

Section XI

A season of incredible famine occurred and began to lay waste all Africa with one devastation.

No rain was then present; the whole face of the earth remained sallow, because neither were oxen at hand, nor did any settlements remain at all.

One part of the hands of the country people had perished, and continually whatever perhaps survived was already seeking burial.

Some were scattered through the fields; others sought the hidden places of the woods, searching for ancient roots of herbs or some refuse.

Some, while attempting to enter houses, fell at the very threshold; with hunger overcoming them, they fell in companies.

The roads and paths, filled with corpses, killed the living travelers on every side with the stench of the dead breathing their last.

Funerals of those expiring were not lacking anywhere on any day, and there was no strength that might bestow burial as an act of mercy.

For the living did not suffice for burying while hunger dominated, since they themselves were to die a little afterward.

The unhappy multitude pressed to be gathered at the city of Carthage itself.

While animated corpses still flowed there in companies, when the king saw the piles of the dead to be carried in [read: the devastation of impending deaths], he immediately commanded all to be driven from the city, lest the common contagion of those failing prepare a tomb even for his own retinue.

At length this most wicked tyrant Huneric, struck by God's judgment, swarming with worms, expired miserably.

After him Gunthamund reigned for nine years, and he recalled Bishop Eugenius from exile.

Section XII

But before the reign of that most wicked Huneric, of whom it has been said, Valentinian, emperor at the Roman city and the third of this name, was killed by Trasila, a certain soldier of Aetius, whom Valentinian himself had commanded to be killed through envy, fearing that perhaps Aetius, since he was most experienced in war and famous through many victories, might take the empire from him.

A certain nobleman named Maximus seized the empire at Rome, and before two months had been completed he was killed by the Romans.

In order to confirm the empire for himself, this Maximus seized by force Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, and joined her, though resisting, to himself in marriage.

Indignant at marriage to the tyrant, she sent a messenger to Gaiseric, king of the Vandals in Africa, asking that, coming to Italy and to the city itself with an army, he rescue her from the power of the tyrant Maximus.

Rejoicing at this message, Gaiseric crossed to Italy by ship with a very powerful army of his men.

At that time Pope Leo still held the pontificate at Rome.

Therefore the Romans, struck by so terrible a report, since they despaired of being able to meet the arriving barbarians in war, especially since certain nobles favored Gaiseric, abandoned the city and hid themselves among the surrounding mountains and woods.

Gaiseric, arriving and finding the city empty of every garrison, entered it.

But "of the kindly pontiff, who so softened the king," [read: the kindly pontiff's entreaty, by God's action, so softened him] so that, although everything had been handed over to his power, he abstained from fire, slaughter, and punishments.

Therefore, during fourteen days, by an unhindered and free search, Rome was despoiled and emptied of all its wealth.

Many thousands of captives, according as each one's age, skill, or beauty pleased him, were led to Carthage with Eudoxia, who was the cause of so many evils.

Rome was captured by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, in the forty-fourth year after Alaric, king of the Goths, captured and plundered it, but 1,208 years after its foundation.

The barbarians, abandoning the city and pouring themselves through Campania, plundered everything like a whirlwind.

By them Capua, most noble of cities, was reduced even to the ground.

Only the city of Naples, fortified by the strength of its walls and the robustness of its citizens, escaped that fury and insatiable avarice.

After Gaiseric had been enriched by the wealth of Italy, he returned to Africa.

He joined in marriage to his son Transimundus [i.e., Huneric] the daughter of Emperor Valentinian, whom he had led away with her mother.

From her Hilderic was afterward born, who in the course of time ruled the Vandals in Africa in the fourth place after Gaiseric.

But when the Romans learned that Gaiseric had departed from the boundaries of Italy, emptied and like dying sheep, they set a certain Avitus over the republic; Emperor Marcian also composed a treaty with him.

This Avitus ruled in Italy for four years.

While he was emperor, the Visigoths with their king Thorismund, who had occupied the greater part of Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Spain.

They plundered many cities and despoiled them after they had been plundered, and, laden with spoils, returned to their own lands.

Since the aforesaid Vandals and their princes had been infected with the Arian heresy, as was said above, and since it was also spreading within Gaul to its destruction, as Sigebert, Vincent, and John de Columna [i.e., John of Colonna] report, such a miracle was shown.

For when the city of Nasata [read: Vasata] had been freed from the siege of the Huns through divine aid, and the bishop was celebrating Mass for the people in thanksgiving, looking upward he saw above the altar, as if from the vault of the temple, three drops of equal size, brighter than crystal, fall equally.

Flowing together and joined into one, they formed, as it were, one most beautiful gem.

When they placed it in the middle of a golden and jeweled cross, the other gems fell out.

Placed separately, however, it gave health to the sick; and among those adoring the image of the holy cross it increased devotion, because it appeared clear to the pious and clean, but obscure to the impious and unclean.

Therefore by this prodigy the Lord, who corrects those who err, declared to all that the Son was not less than the Father, nor the Holy Spirit inferior to both, as the perfidious Arians prattle, but that one God in three persons is of one and equal substance, and that divinity ought not to be treated by the unworthy.

Title XI, Chapter XI

Concerning teachers outstanding in learning and sanctity, who also wrote many works and flourished in the time of the aforesaid emperors of this title.

Blessed Prosper, a very learned man of the region of Aquitaine and notary of the aforesaid Pope Leo, flourished in the times of the emperor Leo and of Pope Leo I. Concerning him Gennadius speaks as follows in his book *On Illustrious Men*: “Prosper, of the region of Aquitaine, scholastic in discourse and vigorous in his assertions, is said to have composed many works. Among them I have read a chronicle inscribed with his name, containing the period from the creation of the first man, according to the faith of the divine Scriptures, down to the death of Valentinian and the capture of the city of Rome effected by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, and down to the time of this emperor Leo, in which Prosper also died. I have also read his book against the little works of Cassian, which the Church of God approves as salutary, but which Prosper nevertheless defames as harmful. For, in truth, the opinions of Cassian and Prosper concerning the grace of God and free choice appear contrary in some things.” The letters of Pope Leo against Eutyches, given to various persons concerning the true incarnation of Christ, are believed to have been dictated by Prosper himself.

Nevertheless, in the Decretals the little works of Prosper, a most religious man, are approved, in Distinction XV, *The Holy Roman Church*.

Among other things he wrote two books. One of them is entitled *Of Sentences, or Epigrams*. This book is partly in prose and partly in verse, and in certain places it is read in schools by masters of grammar. His other book, addressed to Julian, is entitled *On the Contemplative Life* and contains three books. Each was drawn in concise form from the sayings of Augustine. A few passages from them are inserted here.

I. Verses from the Book of Sentences

Whoever schemes to harm another first strikes himself with his own dart.

Whoever does not scorn the honor proper to human nature, love in every human being those things which you recognize as your own—yet in such a manner that concord avoids depraved morals, and that there be no alliances with any vices, even among a few [read: and that there be no treaties of peace with vices].

Behold, God the Creator alone is truly eternal. Life living in himself, he remains that which he is. A power prior to things past and later than things future [read: A power prior to things past and beyond things future], he receives nothing variable and has nothing that falls away.

The patience of the highest King long defers many things, holding in suspense the weights of an equitable judgment. Hearts are sometimes healed by a fatherly scourge, and the physician heals wounds by means of wounds.

True praise of the Lord is brought forth from the mouth of one praying if the things that flow in the voice possess the inward places of the heart. It does not profit anyone to speak good things in words alone unless a devout mind possesses that which the tongue sounds well. For it is wretched to speak rightly and to live wickedly: the rule of justice condemns the petitions of the wicked [read: the rule of justice condemns known evil].

Even in this life repose is given to many saints whose minds the falling world does not hold, whom no desires for perishable things weary, and for whom Christ is every good and every honor.

Called to the heavenly homeland through Christ’s redemption, the pilgrim passes the life of fleeting time. And while he strives through things not his own toward the promised rest, he suffers many dangers of the worldly road. That road, now beset with adversities and now filled with favorable things, either breaks the fearful or binds the wavering. Amid these snares, one who runs toward true joys is not caught by treacheries if Christ is his way.

The mind will be able to restrain no motions of the flesh unless it has always been capable of loving Christ. God is to be worshiped with this devotion of desire, so that God himself may be the entire reward of justice.

To blame in anyone things that are not known is malicious; for, if any things are known, they are good [read: To blame in anyone things that are not known is malicious, especially if the things known are good]. Let ears not lie open readily to savage rumors. Let it not please one to believe things that it is profitable not to know.

It is not enough to unfold the Lord’s precepts with the tongue. He remembers the law who is a doer of the work.

Those at rest can search both Laws if hearts lie free from the tumult of the world. The inner chambers of the Lord's teaching are, in this time, fully accessible to no human being. For there always remains something by which the saints may be able to grow, and the glory of the perfect is a beginning.

In the holy, the concord of peace is beautiful in their conduct. The impious part of the world is hostile to the portion of the devout.

The eternal joys of life will always be what they were, because God himself will be the cause of rejoicing. Nor will a diverse will produce varying movements: in all there will be one light and one love. And happy experience, placed among the highest goods, will neither wish to be increased nor fear to be diminished.

He who rejoices that he uses sins prosperously is exceedingly unhappy in his prosperity. For no one is innocent merely from fear of punishment if he does not love holy and just rule.

All things profit the good, whom death itself makes blessed, so that they may receive the rewards of princes.

An unharmed mind loses nothing when the body is violated. Wounds of the flesh do not stain a will that is unwilling, nor does an unwilling will receive the guilt of the deed. A servile yoke does not weigh down liberated hearts [read: A servile yoke does not weigh down free hearts].

The sinner alone serves evil, although he may use a spacious kingdom; nevertheless, he is a wretched servant. When the mind is under the excessive dominion of a fleshly tyrant, it is subjected to as many scepters as there are vices.

Wishing to know in which part of things you are to be placed, examine what you fear and what it is that you love. For all movements arise from a twofold kindling, and the offspring correspond to their own beginnings.

Behold, the Maker is shown by wondrous signs of his works, and all created things sing of their Maker.

What profit is there in drawing out the causes of disease at length? Why does today's health await an uncertain tomorrow? We know that pardon is not to be denied to those who have been corrected, but the last day is known to none of us.

When the wrath of the Mighty One flows because of the deserts of sin, enclosing all things, it confines the guilty person on every side. God himself, the living God, is a safe refuge for one who fears [read: God himself is the one safe refuge for one who fears]: let him who departs from God return to him, lest he perish.

Untouched and modest virginity is preserved in the body; the virginity of the soul is uncorrupted faith.

Behold, you wish to rejoice and desire to know hidden things. Seek the highest things, so that the lowest may not hold you. When, devout mind, you labor overcome in the praise of God, rejoice that so great a work vanquishes you well. Seek the good without end in the Good [read: Seek the Good without end], and persist when it has been found. Seek; let such vows have no limit. For he who believes that he now needs no gift, not desiring to grow, loses in tepidity the things he has acquired.

Exult, recognizing yourself reborn in the flesh of the Word. If you are a part of him, Christ will be your portion. He made himself the road for you to the promised kingdom—that God, the creator of the things of heaven and earth. For your sake he was born a man from the sacred Virgin [read: the God who created the world, heaven, and earth was born a man from the sacred Virgin for me]. He offered his back to lashes, his cheeks to blows, and his face to spittle, and did not refuse to be fastened upon the cross. Dying, he bore me; rising when death had been conquered, he bore me with himself above the stars to the Father.

What, then, should I refuse to endure for so great a hope? Or what will there be that separates me from the Lord? Apply fire; Terror, search my entrails with your hand [read: Apply fire; Torturer, search my entrails with your hand]: my loosened limbs will escape your punishments. If I am enclosed in a blind prison and bound with chains, free in an ecstasy of mind I shall approach God. If the executioner prepares to sever my neck with the sword, swift death will find short life unafraid [read: swift death and brief punishment will find me unafraid]. I do not fear exile: the world is one home for all. I scorn hunger: let the word of the Lord be food for me. Nor shall I marvel at riches; I shall pursue no honors. Yet this confidence does not rise in me from myself. You, Christ, grant me to speak; may you also grant me to suffer." These are his words.

II. Prosper's Sentences in Prose

Human beings are to be loved in such a way that their errors are not loved, because it is one thing to love that which they were made, and another to hate that which they do.

None of God's works is without mercy, since he takes counsel for a human being both by indulgence and by a scourge.

He who worships God in order that he may merit something other than God does not worship God, but that which he desires to obtain.

That death which a good life has preceded is not to be thought evil.

God is thought more truly than he is spoken, and he exists more truly than he is thought. Yet it is no small part of knowledge if, before we are able to know what he is, we are able to know what he is not.

The depths of the mysteries in the Holy Scriptures are good: for this reason they are covered, lest they become cheap; for this reason they are sought, that they may exercise us; for this reason they are opened, that they may feed us.

Conversion to him must not be deferred. For he who promised indulgence to one doing penance did not promise tomorrow's day.

All things that are feared are reasonably avoided; but God is to be feared in such a way that one flees from him to him.

From Augustine, in the *Book of Prosper's Sentences*, in *On Consecration*, Distinction II: "This is what we say, which we strive in every way to prove: that the sacrifice of the Church is effected by two things and consists of two things—the visible appearance of the elements and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; the sacrament and the reality of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ—just as the person of Christ consists of and is constituted from God and man, since Christ himself is true God and true man."

Likewise in the *Book of Prosper's Sentences*, in the same distinction: "Christ was sacrificed once in himself, and yet he is sacrificed daily in the sacrament, namely representatively." Prosper says that this is to be understood thus: that in the manifestation of his body and the distinction of all his members, true God and true man hung upon the cross only once, offering himself to the Father as a living victim—capable of suffering and mortal—efficacious for the redemption of the living and the dead: namely, of those whom the height of the divine counsel judged, foreknew, predestined, and called to be redeemed, in the modes and at the times in which it was fitting for this to be done. These are his words.

Prosper, in the book *On the Contemplative Life*—and it is contained in Cause XII, Question I—says: "It is expedient that the resources of the Church be possessed, and that personal resources be despised for love of perfection. For the resources of the Church are not personal but common. And therefore, whoever becomes a despiser of his own property after all the things he possessed have been relinquished or sold, when he has been made a prelate of a church, becomes the steward of all the things the Church possesses. Thus Saint Paulinus sold the immense estates that had been his own and distributed them to the poor; but when he had been made a bishop he did not despise the resources of the Church, but administered them most faithfully. By this deed it is sufficiently shown both that one's own possessions ought to be despised for the sake of perfection and that, without an impediment to perfection, the resources of the Church—which are assuredly common—can be possessed.

"What did Saint Hilary do? Did he not either leave all his possessions to his parents or sell them and distribute them to the poor? Yet when, through the merit of his perfection, he became bishop of Arles, he not only possessed the things that the Church then had, but also enlarged them by accepting numerous inheritances from the faithful. Therefore, if men most learned without ambiguity in both secular and divine letters had known that the possessions of the Church ought to be despised, those who had left everything ought never to have received them." These are his words.

The same author in the same work, also in *On Penance*, Distinction I: "Moreover, those whose sins lie hidden from human knowledge, neither confessed by themselves nor made public by others, if they are unwilling to confess or amend them, will have as avenger that very God whom they have as witness. And what does it profit them to escape human judgment when, if they remain in evil, they will go into eternal punishment as God repays them?"

The same author, concerning prelates: "The one to whom the dispensation of the word has been entrusted, if he lives holily and yet is either ashamed or afraid to reprove those living ruinously, perishes with all who perish while he is silent. And what will it profit him not to be punished for his own fault when he is to be punished for another's? I lie if the Lord does not say this through Ezekiel, speaking: 'I have appointed you a watchman for the house of Israel,' and so forth.

"We wish to be called shepherds, yet we do not strive to be shepherds. We avoid the labor of our office; we seek the dignity. When we behold rich or powerful persons sinning, not only do we not reprove them, but we even venerate them, lest, when offended, they either cease to send us their customary gifts or withdraw the services we desire.

"And so, remembering either my lack of skill or my end, I groaned and wished, after the burden of my episcopate had been laid down, to flee far away and remain in solitude, and there to await God, who would save me from faintness of spirit and from the tempest."

III. On Charity and the Order of Loving

The same Prosper, in the book *On the Contemplative Life*, speaks as follows concerning charity and the order of loving: "Therefore, if we show charity to God and to our neighbor, we shall easily resist sin, abound in good works, despise the enticements of the age, and accomplish with love all things that are difficult or harsh for human frailty—provided that we love God with the perfect charity which is ours from him, from the whole heart, from the whole soul, and from all our strength. For each person sins from that part from which he loves God less. But if we love him from the whole heart, there will be nothing in us from which we may serve the desires of sin.

"And what is it to love God, unless it is for the soul to be occupied with him, to conceive a longing for the enjoyment of his vision, a hatred of sin, and a loathing of the world? It is also to love the neighbor, whom God determined should be loved as oneself; to preserve the lawful measure in that very love; and not to overturn the established order of affection.

"We love our neighbors as ourselves if we love all of them not because of any advantages of our own, not because of benefits hoped for or received, and not because of affinities or blood relationships, but for this alone: that they are participants in our nature. Accordingly, we love all our neighbors as ourselves when we counsel them toward good conduct and toward obtaining eternal life, and take thought for their salvation just as for our own; when we think of ourselves amid their sins and dangers; and when, just as we would wish aid to be given to us, so we give aid to them—or, if the means is lacking, retain the will to give aid.

"But because our body is a part of us, it is to be loved by us for this end: that we naturally take counsel for its health and frailty and act so far as it, being subjected to the spirit in due order, may come to eternal salvation after receiving immortality and incorruption.

"Those overturn the order of loving—even though it is said in the Song of Songs, 'God ordered charity in me'—who also do not preserve the measure of loving: either they love the world, which is to be despised; or they love their bodies, which are to be loved less, more than they ought; or they do not love their neighbors as themselves; or perhaps they do not love God more than themselves.

"But those love God more than themselves who, for love of him, do not spare their own temporal welfare, who hand themselves over to tribulations and dangers, who are prepared to be stripped of their own resources, to become exiles from their homeland, and to renounce parents, wives, and children; and, to say the whole, who not only do not flee the very death of the body, but willingly receive it, desiring rather to depart from the life of their body than from God, the life of their life.

"This is true and perfect charity, which the Apostle calls the more excellent way. For just as no one arrives where he is tending without a way, so without charity, which is called the way, human beings cannot walk, but can only wander." These are his words, in *On Penance*, Distinction I, near the beginning.

The same author in the same work: "The treatment of questions, even if it does not instruct the mind of the one finding that which it seeks, nevertheless exercises the understanding of the one seeking. Just as knowledge without the gift of charity puffs up, so, if charity is mingled with it, it builds up.

"Let the ecclesiastical teacher labor especially for this: that those who hear him may be made better by sound disputations. Let him first shed the tears which he wishes to be shed by his hearers, and thus kindle them by the compunction of his own heart.

"The discourse of a bishop ought to be so simple and suitable—even if less polished in Latin—yet disciplined and grave, that it excludes no one, however unlearned, from understanding it, but descends into the breast of all who hear it with a certain delight.

"There are those who, by a depraved examination, assess not the reason of the things said but the dignity of those saying them, and attend more to who says something than to what they say, although truth, from wherever it shines forth, is to be ascribed not to human ingenuity but to God.

"Thus dissimilar remedies are to be applied to sins, just as the sins themselves come from dissimilar causes. 'Reprove,' says the Apostle, 'entreat, rebuke, with all patience and teaching.' Reprove equals; entreat elders; rebuke juniors—with all patience and teaching. For one chastised gently shows reverence to the one chastising; but, offended by the excessive harshness of the one rebuking him, he receives neither the rebuke nor salvation. Indeed, persons of this kind, weighed down by a mass of sorrow, succumb and flee the faces of all the saints through whom they might be restored to God; or else, exasperated, they rush forward into shamelessness in every kind of sinning.

"As long as someone is ignorant of his own sins, which he ought to recognize and lament, so long does he consider those of others.

"It is not impossibility that makes the things we are unwilling to observe difficult, but the will. Let them come into customary practice, and they trouble no one.

“Those are the riches to be sought by us which can both adorn and fortify us, which we cannot acquire unwillingly nor lose: these are the riches of virtues and the resources of the poor.

“The loss of a temporal good becomes an exercise for the just and a punishment for the unjust. For the just person, seized by desire for heavenly things, does not feel temporal things at all, whether he possesses them or loses them; and the unjust person does not lose without pain that which he possessed with delight.

“O unheard-of crime! The sweet yoke of Christ having been despised, we receive the iron dominion of cupidity by a voluntary inclination of our minds; and, after casting aside the light burden of our Lord, which does not weigh down those subjected to it but honors them, and does not press them down but raises them up, we weigh down our necks with a leaden weight that can more quickly be put down than borne.”

IV. On Various Vices

The same author in the same work: “Just as virtue, if it is true, justifies the soul that truly cleaves to it, so simulated virtue condemns it. And the soul is guilty in two ways: both because it does not do the good by which it may live spiritually, and because it seeks the likeness of the good under which it may live wickedly and lie hidden.

“The proud person wishes to be believed constant; the prodigal, liberal; the avaricious, needy; the rash, brave; the inhuman, sparing; the gluttonous, humane; the idle, quiet; the timid, cautious. Shamelessness ascribes to itself the name of confidence. Insolence holds out the designation of liberty. Wordiness feigns eloquence, and the evil of curiosity lies concealed beneath the appearance of spiritual study.

“By envying another’s good, the envious person makes it his own punishment. The envious person has as many tormentors by a just penalty as the envied person has praisers.

“Some are made chaste either by the temperament of their bodies, or fear of temporal punishment suspends them from the act of unchastity, or the denial of opportunity leaves them without it. But although they are chaste from necessity and not from will, nevertheless the first, if they give thanks to God for the benefit of nature, and the second and third, if they become accustomed to live chastely, advance from necessity into virtue; and, as delight in chastity itself gradually increases, they become truly chaste.”

The same author in the same work, concerning the signs of manifest pride: “In some persons pride rules so manifestly that it neither deigns nor is able to conceal itself. Their very bearing and gait, upright neck, fierce face, threatening eyes, and terrifying speech openly proclaim pride.

“Those whom the itching scab of a proud mind has corrupted do not observe the precepts of their elders, but, when reproved for their negligences, they either sit in judgment upon them, insolently rebel, or murmur. They dispute about a higher place. They even shamelessly desire to be preferred to their betters. They mockingly assail the simplicity of spiritual brothers. They insolently vaunt their own opinions. They disdain services when offered and stubbornly seek them when denied.

“They have obstinacy in intention, hardness in the heart, boasting in conversation. In humility they are deceitful; in jest, biting; in hatred, obstinate. They are sluggish for a good work; late for common fellowship; unyielding in service; quick to carry out what they do not understand; inhuman in brotherly services; rash in hearing; presumptuous in teaching; hideously unrestrained in laughter; ungrateful for benefits; puffed up by acts of service; imperious toward their subjects.”

“By envying them, the envious make the merits of those living holily into their own sins. Whatever good they hear has been done or said by holy persons, either they do not believe at all, or they turn it into evil by interpreting it wickedly. And every evil that lying report has spread abroad concerning them they immediately believe as if they themselves had seen it, and savagely contradict those who prove it not to be true.

“They fabricate everything against their rivals. At the progress of those rivals, they fail. They burn with unprovoked hostilities. They fear that the malice of their heart will be discovered. They are always bitter, never certain; friends of the devil, enemies of themselves; deceitful toward all; anxious at things to be rejoiced over and joyful at things to be lamented, perverse in each. They sow discords among friends. They discolor the reputation of good persons with lies. They are like friends in service, enemies in soul; restrained in word, foul in deed.

“Consider, I beseech you, how their own evils will punish the envious, whom even the goods of others punish. Where will those who become evil in the presence of good be able to become good? Or when will they use evils well, who do not cease to use goods badly?”

The same author says: “Vanity, that is, vainglory, is a certain puffed-up affection of a languishing soul concerning various delights, greedy and at the same time ignorant of obtaining honor; inflated by the empty disease of preeminence; hollow,

diseased, turbulent; mistress of light-minded souls; flattering to all who are poorly grounded; smoky toward those who resist; seductive to those who are to be captured; unconquered by those it has captured.

“It carries vain human beings about with the wind of its own blast. They shamefully boast of riches of which they are not conscious in themselves. They desire to be proclaimed by all. They rejoice in the greetings of those who meet them. They burn for their flatterers. They obey their pleasures. They eagerly teach what they do not know. They wish lofty things to be believed of them. They prefer delightful things to grave ones. In promising they are swift; in performance, false; grave in word; everywhere deceitful; joyful amid prosperity; frail amid adversities; born for acts of deference; anxious at reproaches.” These are his words.

V. Petronius, Bishop of Bologna

Petronius was bishop of Bologna, sprung from a noble lineage and a very learned man. He lived in the time of Theodosius the Younger and Pope Celestine. As it is said in his legend, he was sent from Constantinople into Italy for the purpose of rooting out the heresy that had infected those regions. Arriving at Bologna, and pleasing to the people by his teaching and conduct, he led many to the truth of the faith and of right manner of life.

Now when the church of Bologna was vacant and there were differing inclinations concerning the creation of the future bishop, Petronius himself was at length sent to Pope Celestine, so that Celestine might himself provide them with a shepherd. And when, upon arriving at Rome, he had visited the pope and Petronius was setting forth the people’s commission, the Lord—on the preceding night—had revealed to the pope that he should consecrate as bishop of Bologna the one who had been sent by the people of Bologna as their envoy for this purpose. The pope therefore appointed Petronius himself and set him over the church of Bologna.

He lived holily and was practiced in the pursuits of monks; from youth he is said to have received the habit and rule of Blessed Blasius. He is also thought to have written the *Lives of the Fathers*, concerning the monks of Egypt, as Jerome says in the book *On Illustrious Men*. Monks embrace it as a mirror and rule of their profession.

Gennadius, however, speaks of him as follows: “I have read under his name a treatise on the ordination of a bishop, full of reason and humility. Its more elegant language shows that it is not his, but, as some say, belongs to his father Petronius, a most eloquent man and most learned in secular letters. For in the treatise itself he indicates that he had been praetorian prefect.”

Vincent, in Book XXI, Chapter XXV of the *Historical Mirror*, says as follows: “From a certain book of Petronius, partly metrical and partly in prose, I have noted these moral excerpts:

> *What do laws accomplish where money alone reigns,*
> *or where poverty can never prevail?*
> *Now judgment is nothing but merchandise publicly offered.*

“In prose: It is safer to recover a lost thing at small cost than to descend into a doubtful lawsuit. It is dangerous to be involved in another’s secrets.”

“Beauty makes a vain mixture with wisdom [read: Beauty makes a rare mixture with wisdom]. I have always and everywhere lived in such a way that I spend each day as though it were my last and would not return. What is not common that nature has made best? I do not know how, but poverty is the sister of a good mind. Nothing is so arduous that importunity does not extort it.

“In verse:

> *A people for sale turns its votes toward plunder*
> *and the clamor of gain; the senate is first for sale,*
> *and majesty itself, corrupted by gold, will lie prostrate.*
>
> *Whoever possesses coins sails beneath a secure breeze*
> *and governs Fortune according to his own judgment.*
> *He composes poems, declaims, rebukes everyone,*
> *pleads causes, and becomes superior to Cato.*
>
> *I speak of small things. Whatever is desired will happen*
> *to those who furnish coins: the coffer possesses Jupiter enclosed.*
>
> *O piety, greatest of things and deservedly so,*
> *gentlest virtue of human beings.”*

There are other sayings as well.

VI. Other Writers of That Time

At that time there was a certain Celestine [read: a certain Caelestius], as Vincent reports in Book XXI, Chapter XXVI of the *Historical Mirror*. Before he joined Pelagius in heresy, while still a young man he wrote from a monastery to his parents a letter in the form of a little book [read: three letters in the form of little books], necessary for all who desire God. Indeed, the moral sayings in it betrayed nothing of the vice later disclosed, but contained an entire incitement to virtue.

There was also Julian, a bishop of Campania [read: a bishop of Capua], a man of acute understanding in business [read: a man of acute understanding], learned in the divine Scriptures, and scholastic in the Greek and Latin languages. Therefore, after he had undertaken to defend the impiety of the heretic Pelagius, he wrote against Saint Augustine, the assailant of that Pelagius [read: Before he revealed Pelagius's impiety in himself, he was distinguished among the teachers of the Church. Later, attempting to defend Pelagius's heresy, he wrote against Saint Augustine, its assailant], first four books and again eight books [read: first four books and again seven books]. There is also a book containing the disputation of both parties. During a time of famine and distress this Julian distributed his own goods as alms to all in need; enticing many of the nobles, and especially religious persons, by an appearance of compassion, he joined them to his heresy.

At the same time the priest Eutropius wrote to two sisters, handmaids of Christ, who because of devotion to chastity and love of religion had been from an inheritance by their parents [read: had been disinherited by their parents]. He wrote two letters of consolation in the form of little books, in elegant and suitable discourse, fortified not only by reasoning but also by testimonies from the divine Scriptures.

Then also the deacon Vigilus wrote, from the tradition of the monastic fathers, a concise rule which is read in assembly in the monastery for the advancement of the brothers. In clear discourse it contains within itself the discipline of the whole of monastic perfection.

At that time Victorius of Marseilles, a rhetorician, also wrote on Genesis from the beginning of the book down to the death of the patriarch Abraham. He also produced Christian books in verse, indeed with a devout meaning; but, as a man occupied with secular literature and trained under no master in the divine Scriptures, he fashioned opinions of lighter weight.

Theodore also flourished in the time of Leo, as Hugh of Fleury says. He was bishop of the city which, founded long ago by Cyrus, king of the Persians, is called Syria [read: Theodoret also flourished in the time of Leo, as Hugh of Fleury says. He was bishop of the city called Cyrus after its founder, the Persian king]. He wrote an ecclesiastical history, taking his beginning from the end of the books of Eusebius and bringing it down to his own time, namely that of the emperor Leo.

VII. Arator and Priscian

In the time of the emperor Justinian, concerning whom we shall speak in the following title, the poet Arator flourished. He was a subdeacon of the Roman Church and elegantly composed two metrical books on the history of the Acts of the Apostles. Some sayings from them are placed here to make known the unusual ability of the man.

In verse:

> *Judea, polluted by the blood of her own crime,*
> *dared this and completed the wicked deed. The senseless betrayer*
> *paid to himself the recompense of his crime; he shuddered*
> *at the weariness of his own guilt. Hateful to heaven and earth,*
> *he perished between the two.*
>
> *The crowd that was to bear the everlasting cross,*
> *and that followed the Lord [read: and that followed the faithful Lord], spurned fields,*
> *for it was to possess the heavens.*
>
> *For this faculty is stronger: from the part*
> *to acquire the whole more fully.*
>
> *The love of gold would be that which always burns breasts [read: When does the love of gold cease? It always burns hearts],*
> *by which the mortal race is captured; from this root*
> *every evil sprouts. Its ambition burns more violently*
> *as it grows, and hunger for gain, added to plunder, goads it.*
>
> *Peter is enclosed in a dark prison, but not without light;*
> *nor can the shadows, with their furnace-like gloom [read: tawny gloom],*

conceal the day of the Church. Love that confessed you, the Lord,
enriches whom with honor [read: Love that confessed the Lord three times enriches him with honor]. Bearing the name Peter
from the name of the rock, he carries everlasting designations,
bearing foundations that will never suffer ruin.

His body was asleep, but within him there kept watch
the faith that knows not how to sleep. The Song proclaims this:
"I sleep, but my heart keeps watch."

"O Paul, rapacious wolf! The blessing of Jacob gave you this name to bear. What will now remain in the world that you do not draw into your mouth, after pleasing ingenuity has yielded [read: after Greek ingenuity has yielded] and in doctrine you conquer unconquered Athens?

"O repose that spares wickedly [read: O repose wickedly obtained]! O breasts always given to sleep and bare of good! To how many ruins lies open the one whom night alone holds! He does not know how to keep watch in danger who suffers himself to sleep for God.

"O beloved band which fights with the arms of Christ! O people born for the highest God! Most gentle is the lot of the punishments which your vows bear, and it is the power of the kingdom to suffer perpetually for the King."

There was also at that time Priscian, the supreme grammarian, whose books on grammar are available everywhere. This is his statement in the larger volume: "I believe that nothing among human inventions is perfect in every respect." And, as Sigebert says, it is evident that those err who say that he lived in the time of Julian the Apostate. For he wrote the larger volume *On the Parts of Speech* not for Julian the Apostate, who lived a long time before, but for Julian the consul and patrician, as is read in the title of the book itself. He also wrote the smaller volume *On Construction*, and another *On Accidents*; all these concern grammar. There is also a book by Priscian *On Natural Questions*, addressed to the king of the Persians.

VIII. Blessed Fulgentius

Around the time of Pope Gelasius there also became renowned in Africa Blessed Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, conspicuous in sanctity and glorious in wisdom and teaching. He was born to a father named Fulgentius and a mother named Marciana, from the noble stock of the senators of Carthage, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, from the deeds of Fulgentius.

His mother first caused him to be instructed in Greek letters, and no less in Latin. When he had grown up, he became a procurator. But when he had read Blessed Augustine's exposition of Psalm 36, he began to wish to become and profess himself a monk. "He who bestowed the will upon one willing," he said, "is able also to give the capacity."

He was therefore made a monk by Blessed Faustus the bishop, who, when banished for the faith by the Arian Huneric, built a monastery for himself in the place of his exile. Having heard this, his mother ran to him, crying out to Faustus, "Give me back my son!" But Faustus, treating her insults with contempt, did not even give her permission to see her son.

Afterward Fulgentius was afflicted with a skin eruption because of excessive abstinence. To those who blamed him on this account he said, "Those also become ill who are fattened daily with richer foods."

When Faustus was again driven from there, Fulgentius, having received permission, sought a neighboring monastery, where Felix presided over a few but simple brothers. By him Fulgentius was immediately compelled to occupy the place of abbot. And because they had loved one another from youth, each assumed the other's name.

These two were afterward dragged away by a certain Arian priest, also named Felix, who was rich in possessions. While they were beating Saint Fulgentius, Felix said, "Spare Brother Fulgentius, I beg you, for he cannot endure torments. Let your cruelty be turned upon me." At length the priest shaved their heads, stripped off their garments, and cast them naked and empty-handed from his house.

And when many told Fulgentius to make a complaint against the priest who had beaten them, he answered, "It is not lawful for a Christian to seek vengeance in this age. The Lord knows how to defend the injury done to his servants."

After this he returned to his monastery. He again went to another monastery, where he imposed the name of abbot [read: laid aside the name of abbot]. There two aged priests discharged the office of abbot. Subjecting himself to them, Fulgentius made praiseworthy use of the copyist's art and praiseworthily wove fans from palm leaves. He devoted himself to this work even when he was abbot in his own monastery. But he was compelled by Bishop Faustus to return to his own place.

Afterward, when he had been made bishop of Ruspe, he retained his former purpose in both clothing and food, content with one exceedingly cheap tunic in summer as well as winter. He did not use an orarium as all bishops did. He wore a leather girdle. He

used boots without ornament in winter and light shoes in summer. Within the monastery he sometimes put on sandals. He often walked barefoot.

He himself neither possessed a costly chasuble, or one of a costly color, nor permitted the monks to possess one. Beneath the chasuble he walked wrapped in a blackish or milk-colored mantle. He was never seen by us with bare shoulders. Nor did he seek sleep after putting aside his girdle. He slept in his tunic and offered the sacrifice in it. At the time of the sacrifice he said that hearts rather than garments must be changed.

He never ate meat of any kind, but only vegetables, barley broths, and eggs. As long as he was young, he ate them without oil; after he grew old, with oil poured over them, lest dimness of the eyes impede the office of reading. While healthy he always abstained from wine. When he drank it because of infirmity, he so drowned it with water that it scarcely tasted of wine. Moreover, he always urged the brothers to vigils.

After this he was sent into exile in Sardinia. Sixty bishops and more were bound together with him by the chain of exile. He was the tongue and understanding of them all. And just as Blessed Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, among his privileges merited that he alone should write the letters to be given in the African council, so Fulgentius likewise merited that he alone should dictate the letters to be sent from exile.

He was invited to Carthage by Thrasamund, the Arian king. That king, full of faithlessness, wrote certain propositions to him, to which Fulgentius replied chapter by chapter. He composed three little books for the king, to which Pinta, an Arian bishop, wished to reply more than he was able. Against him Fulgentius afterward wrote a book which he entitled *Against Pinta*.

He was never delighted to perform wonders, and never desired that this grace be given to him.

When, however, he was being sent into exile a second time, he foretold to Militeus, a religious man [read: to Juliateus, a religious man] grieving over their departure, that he would return quickly. He added, “Let this also be a secret with you, which excessive charity compels me to reveal.” For he used to say, “Wonders do not confer justice upon a human being, but human recognition, which is more to be fled than sought. For whoever has become known to human beings, unless he has been just, will come condemned to earthly punishments [read: will come condemned to eternal punishments]. But one who is just in the sight of God, even if he has been unknown to human beings, will receive, crowned, the blessed joys of the saints.”

IX. His Admonitions Concerning Religious Life

The same Fulgentius used to say: “Necessity sometimes compels a monk perhaps to use richer foods. But for him to begin to claim the ownership of a personal right in any things, however small, is an evident testimony of a proud will and avaricious cupidity.”

The same author: “Whoever receives anything more from the common substance becomes a debtor to the community whose substance it is; but humility alone aids the debtor.”

The same author: “True monks are those who, their own wills having been justified [read: their own wills having been put to death], are prepared to will nothing and refuse nothing, but only to observe the counsels or commands of the abbot.”

If anyone had presumed to ask for more than he received [read: ask before he received anything], Fulgentius immediately denied it, even if the man deserved to receive it, saying, “A monk ought to be content with the things he has received.” Moreover, without his counsel he did not permit even his own prior to do anything.

He loved less the brothers who labored and performed bodily works with tireless strength but did not possess zeal for reading, and he did not judge them worthy of the greatest honor. But a lover of spiritual knowledge, even if deprived of bodily strength, was loved especially by him.

When he disputed before the brothers, he loved it if someone set before him the most difficult questions, on which he labored. All the brothers everywhere, even those simple by nature, were permitted to ask him whatever they wished; and he did not cease to give an account, overcome neither by weariness nor labor, until they confessed that they were satisfied.

He wrote against Faustus, bishop of the Gauls, who secretly assented to the Pelagians while openly wishing to appear Catholic.

When Fulgentius was recalled from exile, he was received with such devotion that they made a new kind of shelter over him from their cloaks stretched out above him. When he departed from Carthage, the people everywhere came to meet him with candles, lamps, and branches of trees.

He applied the greatest diligence lest any cleric be adorned with ostentatious garments or be occupied in secular business; that all should have homes not far from the church and cultivate a garden with their own hands; that they should take care to chant sweetly and pronounce correctly; and that, in each week, all clerics and widows, and anyone among the laity who was able, should fast on Wednesday and Friday.

At the Council of Vincensis, by the judgment of all the priests who had assembled, he was placed before a certain bishop named Quodvultdeus, who affirmed that he had precedence over Fulgentius. At the time, however, Quodvultdeus remained silent, lest he appear to diminish the council's authority. But after the council, Fulgentius perceived that the bishop was grieving and feared that, because of his own honor, a holy scandal might be generated. Judging it better that through charity he should be made lesser than, without charity, greater, he afterward obtained by insistent entreaties from the Council of Supheta [i.e., the Council of Sufes] that his own name should be recited later.

When Boniface, bishop of Carthage, was dedicating a church at Hurni [read: at Burnos], he waited two days for Fulgentius to give a discourse in his presence. He was so delighted in Fulgentius's words that he watered the ground with tears until Fulgentius finished the sermon.

One year before his death, Fulgentius left ecclesiastical occupations. Secretly withdrawing from his monastery, he dwelt on the island of Circina upon a small rock whose name is Chilim [read: whose name is Chilmi]. There, after a monastery had been built, he devoted himself to God and to himself.

He became most grievously ill for seventy days and said this alone: "Lord, give me penance here and indulgence afterward [read: Lord, give me patience here and indulgence afterward]." When the physicians advised him to use baths, he did not consent, saying, "Will baths be able to make a mortal man not die at his own time?"

While dying, with the brothers standing around him, he said: "Brothers, in looking to the salvation of your souls, I have perhaps shown myself troublesome and difficult; and therefore I beseech you that each person who grieves over anything forgive me." He ordered money to be given to the needy, recalling from his own memory the names of widows, orphans, pilgrims, and disabled persons in need there [read: all persons in need there], and what was to be given separately to each one.

X. The Writings of Fulgentius

The same Fulgentius wrote several little works useful for the edification of the Church. Indeed, he produced two books addressed to Euthymius *On the Remission of Sins*; one book addressed to Donatus *On Faith*; three books *On the Mystery of the Mediator*; three books addressed to Monimus *On Predestination and Certain Other Questions*; one book of replies against the objections of Thrasamund, the Arian king; one book *On the Continence of Married Persons to Be Preserved after a Vow*; one book addressed to Proba *On Virginity and Humility*; one book addressed to the same woman *On Prayer and Compunction*; one book addressed to Eugippius *On Charity*; one book addressed to the senator Theodore; and one book addressed to Venantia *On Penance and Indulgence*. He also wrote a number of sermons, especially very many sermons on the solemnity of the Nativity of the Lord and of Blessed Stephen the protomartyr.

A few things from these little works are noted here for the commendation of his eloquence.

Here he speaks as follows to the senator Theodore: "How great a grief do you think there is in the devil because he sees that the world has been despised by you and knows that you have been converted to Christ? For although Christ died equally for all the faithful, nevertheless the conversion of the powerful of the age fights on behalf of Christ's acquisitions.

"Nothing is lacking in God, because the whole is in him. Nothing remains beyond him, because nothing exists apart from him. Therefore, if some, after despising the love of temporal things, pass over into love of him, they are full in him in whom there is need of nothing; secure in him in whom nothing is feared; truly glorious in him whose glory is not taken away.

"Because you delight to run in the way of the commandments, nature does not give you this, but grace. For the eye also was made in such a way that it can see light, but it cannot see unless light pours itself into it. Therefore, that the eye sees is the benefit of light; if it lacks that light, it will remain blind in darkness.

"Accordingly, do not ascribe any good thing to yourself as though it were your own, lest you fail to receive what you were able to receive and lose what you had received.

"Detestable is the pride of the human heart by which a human being does what God condemns in human beings. But more detestable is that pride by which a human being attributes to himself what God gives in human beings. Condemnable is the person who uses the substance of the world badly, but more condemnable is the proud person who is carried away by spiritual gifts."

The same author, to Venantia, *On Penance and Indulgence*: "That is not perfect goodness by which every malice is not conquered. That is not perfect medicine for which any disease is found incurable.

"Let no one, despairing of the middle [read: despairing of the physician], remain in the infirmity of sin, because the Apostle says: 'Christ died for the impious.'

“Salutary conversion stands upon a twofold principle: that neither penance desert the one who hopes, nor hope desert the one doing penance.

“If the long duration of sins could conquer mercy, Christ would not have come in the last age of the world to take away the sin of the perishing world.

“At whatever age someone is called, if he does not spurn the kindness of God calling him, he must receive the denarius of life. Nor is penance ever late before God, in whose sight things past as well as things future are always held as present.”

Title XI, Chapter XII

In the times of the aforesaid emperors, Paulinus, bishop of the city of Nola—which is distant by a few miles from Naples in Campania—was also found outstanding in holiness of life and in divine wisdom.

As Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, he composed many things in brief verse; a consolatory little book on the life of an epitaph [read: a consolatory little book in the form of an epitaph], addressed to a certain person, concerning the death of a Christian and baptized infant; several letters to Severus; and, before his episcopate, a panegyric addressed to the emperor Theodosius concerning his victory over the tyrants, chiefly because he had conquered more by prayer and faith than by arms. He also made a sacrament of hymns [read: He also made a sacramentary and a hymnary]. He likewise wrote many letters to his sister, and produced disputations and treatises *On Contempt for the World* and on various matters. Nevertheless, the chief of all his little works is the book *On Penance and on the General Praise of All the Martyrs*.

He was also renowned for power against demons, in expelling them from possessed bodies.

Blessed Gregory, in Book III, Chapter I of the *Dialogues*, relates concerning him a singular example of exceptional charity toward a neighbor. This seems, from what has been said above, to have occurred in the time of the emperor Zeno: namely, when, after the emperor Valentinian III had been killed, Gaiseric, king of the Vandals in Africa, was summoned by Valentinian's surviving wife, as was said above. Entering Italy, he took the City and despoiled it of almost all its goods. Afterward, descending into Campania, he also exposed those cities to plunder, fires, and slaughter, and returned to Africa with very many captives.

Gregory therefore says in the place cited above: "When, in the time of the raging Vandals, Italy had been depopulated in the regions of Campania and many had been transported from there into the African region, Paulinus, the man of the Lord, bestowed upon the captives and the needy all that he could have had for the use of the bishop. And when now absolutely nothing remained that he could bestow upon petitioners, one day a certain widow came. She declared that her son had been led into captivity by the son-in-law of the king of the Vandals, and she asked Paulinus for his price in order to redeem him.

"But the man of God, inquiring what he could give to the woman making the request, found nothing in his possession except himself. He answered the woman who was petitioning him, saying: 'Woman, I have nothing that I can give. But take me myself; declare that I am a slave under your right, and, so that you may receive your son, hand me over into servitude in his place.'

"Hearing this from the mouth of so great a man, she believed it to be mockery rather than compassion. But he, since he was a most eloquent man and excellently instructed in external studies, quickly persuaded the doubting woman to believe the things she had heard and not to hesitate to hand over a bishop into servitude for the recovery of her son.

"Accordingly, they both proceeded into Africa. The widow presented herself to the king's son-in-law, who was detaining her son as a captive, and first asked that he ought to grant her her son. When that barbarian, swollen with the pride of arrogance, disdained to hear her, the widow said, 'Behold, I present this man as a substitute for him; give me back my only son.'

"When he had looked upon the man of handsome appearance, he inquired what craft he knew. Paulinus answered him: 'Indeed, I know no craft, but I know well how to cultivate a garden.' The gentile man accepted this willingly. He received Paulinus as a slave and restored her son to the widow. Thereupon the widow returned to her own home, while Paulinus undertook the care of cultivating the garden.

"When that same son-in-law of the king entered frequently, asked after his garden and gardener, and saw that Paulinus was a very wise man, he began to forsake his familiar friends, to speak more often with his gardener, and to delight in his conversation. Paulinus was accustomed daily to carry vegetables and green herbs to his table and, after receiving bread, to return to the care of the garden.

"When this had been done for a long while, one day he said to his lord, who was speaking with him in greater privacy: 'See what you do, and consider how the kingdom of the Vandals ought to be arranged, because the king is going to die very soon and with all speed.'

"When the son-in-law heard this, because he was loved by the king before the others, he by no means kept it silent from him, but made known what he had learned from his gardener, who was a wise man. When the king heard it, he immediately answered: 'I should like to see this man about whom you speak.' The son-in-law said to him: 'He is accustomed to carry green herbs to me for my meal. I shall cause him to bring them here to the table, so that you may recognize who it is who has spoken this to me.'

"And so it was done. When the king reclined to dine, Paulinus arrived to carry vegetables and green produce from his work. When the king suddenly saw him, he trembled. Summoning Paulinus's lord, who was related to him through his daughter, the

king revealed to him the secret that he had formerly concealed, saying: ‘What you heard is true. For this night in a dream I saw judges sitting upon tribunals opposite me. Among them this man also sat, and by their judgment the scourge that I had once received was taken from me. But ask who he is, for I do not suspect that a man of such great merit is one of the common people, as he appears to be.’

“Then the king’s son-in-law took Paulinus aside and inquired who he was. The man of God answered him: ‘I am your slave, whom you received as a substitute for the widow’s son.’ When the man insistently required that he disclose not who he was, but what he had been in his own land, and demanded this more frequently, the man of the Lord, constrained by great adjurations, testified that he had been a bishop.

“When his owner heard this, he became exceedingly afraid and humbly made an offer, saying: ‘Ask whatever you wish, so that you may return to your land with a great gift.’ Paulinus, the man of the Lord, answered him: ‘There is one benefit that you can bestow upon me: that you release all the captives of my city.’ All of them were immediately sought out throughout the African region and, with a ship laden with grain [read: with ships laden with grain], were released in Paulinus’s company in satisfaction of the venerable man.

“Not many days afterward the king of the Vandals died and lost the scourge which, by God’s dispensation, he had held for his own destruction and for the discipline of the faithful. Thus it came to pass that Paulinus, the servant of almighty God, foretold true things and that he who had handed himself alone into servitude returned with many from servitude to liberty. He plainly imitated him who, assuming the form of a servant, rescued us so that we should not be servants of sin, but should be delivered from servitude into the liberty of grace and glory.”

Title XI, Chapter XIII

Around that time, as Vincent writes in Book XXII of the *Historical Mirror*, Sidonius Apollinaris flourished at the city of the Arverni. From being prefect he was made bishop. He was a man most noble according to the dignity of the age and most skilled in literary learning.

Concerning him Helinand speaks as follows: “Gennadius, in the book *On Illustrious Men*, unless I am mistaken, calls this Sidonius Salvian, a priest of Marseilles, whom he remembers with much praise in this manner: ‘Salvian, a priest of the church of Marseilles, instructed in human and divine literature and—to speak without envy—a master of bishops, wrote many things in scholastic and clear discourse. Among them are these which I have read: three books *On the Good of Virginity*, addressed to the priest Marcellus; four books *Against Avarice*; five books *On the Present Judgment*; and, for the merit of those works, one book of satisfaction addressed to Bishop Salonius; one book of exposition of the final portion of Ecclesiastes; one book of letters to Claudius, bishop of Vienne; and, after the custom of the Greeks, one book in verse, a *Hexaemeron*, from the beginning of Genesis down to the creation of the first human being. I do not recall how many homilies he made for bishops.’” These are the words of Helinand.

Vincent, in the place cited above, says: “This Sidonius, a man of ingenuity and elaborate eloquence, wrote many difficult letters. From them these moral sentences have been excerpted.”

From the first book of Sidonius’s letters: “It belongs no less to natural conduct to cultivate one’s own person than one’s estate [read: It is no less in keeping with your birth for a man to cultivate his person than his estate]. Reverence is owed to a friend even when he is afflicted. Rome is the dwelling place of laws, the gymnasium of letters, the senate-house of dignities, the summit of the world, and the homeland of liberty. No great glory is given to anyone if he shines through comparison with inferiors.”

From the second book, the same author: “The very fact that you grant litigants plentiful access to yourself is an indication that you will judge well [read: The very fact that you grant litigants access to yourself only with difficulty is an indication that you will judge well]. For who does not desire himself to be chosen for arbitration [read: chosen as arbiter] when he is going to grant something either for a price or through favor? Neither the defeated man accuses your sentence as foolish, nor the victor mocks it as shrewd. Out of regard for truth, those bound by the judgment expend reverence upon you, and those set free, gratitude.

“The counsels of physicians who attend and disagree are generally to be avoided. Little learned and sufficiently diligent, they most dutifully kill many sick persons.

“Certain persons, having transgressed common human and divine law, reckon supreme happiness to be supreme power. They are the more marvelous in this very respect, because they understand too little that they lie beneath a most restless servitude [read: They are all the more wretched for this very reason, because they understand too little that they lie beneath a most restless servitude]. For just as kings rule human beings, so desires for ruling rule kings.

“An estate with ample revenues ought not to be dearer to the heart or to pleasure than a neighbor who is one’s equal in good conduct.”

From the third book, the same author: “Not to answer a chatterer is an insult. Young men apply very much praise to their own conduct whenever, while striving on account of the merits of business, they have recourse to the counsels of the experienced [read: Young men add very great praise to their conduct whenever, uncertain about the merits of affairs, they resort to the counsels of the experienced].”

Concerning detractors and murmurers, who speak as follows about someone, the same author says: “He is talkative, but not witty; ridiculous, but not joyful; arrogant, but not steadfast; curious, but not perspicacious; courting present times, carping at past times, and fabricating future ones [read: courting present times, carping at past times, and scorning future ones].

“If he has been asked for a benefit, he is burdensome to the petitioner, a detractor of what was denied [read: If he is about to ask for a benefit, he is importunate in asking and a detractor of what is denied], a rival of what was received, crafty in restoring it, querulous when it is demanded, and talkative when it is returned. If he must be asked, he pretends that he is prepared, dissembles that he was petitioned, sells what he performed, makes public what was secret, calumniates what was delayed, and denies what was paid.

“He is a hater of fasts and a pursuer of letters [read: He is a hater of fasts and a pursuer of banquets], producing a favorable judgment not concerning one who lives well, but one who feeds him well. Amid these things he is nevertheless most avaricious himself, for it is not so much good bread that feeds him as another’s bread. He is greedy for drinking and greedier for detraction; with an equally rabid mouth breathing mud, foaming wine, and speaking poison. Living in this manner, he is a pleasure to few, an object of love to none, and an object of laughter to all.”

The same author, from the fourth book: “Never disdain old companions because of the novelty of those who follow. For otherwise you will appear to use friends as though they were flowers, pleasing only so long as they are fresh. Private pursuits always overthrow the public good.”

The same author, from the fifth book: “I judge that the most exact man can be reckoned the one about whom a bad citizen cannot keep silent concerning the good [read: I noticed that a most exact man could be recognized as one about whom a bad citizen could speak ill and a good citizen could not keep silent]. Perfect love ought not so much to recall what it has discharged of its duties as to remember what it owes.

“This force indeed belongs to evil conduct: that the crimes of a few disfigure the innocence of the multitude; yet, conversely, the charity of the good cannot excuse the outrages of many through the virtues shared with them [read: the rarity of the good cannot excuse the outrages of many through the virtues shared with them].

“Who would not become embittered when he sees virtue defiled by the accusation of vices [read: Who would not become embittered when he sees the purity of virtues defiled by the accusation of vices]? If we choose a humble man, he is called abject; if an upright man, proud. If one less instructed, he is believed ridiculous because of ignorance; if one somewhat learned, he is said to be puffed up because of knowledge. If a severe man, he is dreaded as cruel; if an indulgent man, he is blamed for leniency. If a simple man, he is despised as brutish; if an acute man, he is avoided as crafty. If a diligent man, he is adjudged suspicious [read: If a diligent man, he is adjudged superstitious]; if a relaxed man, negligent. If an industrious man, covetous; if a quiet man, ignorant [read: if a quiet man, slothful]; if an abstemious man, avaricious; if one who feeds others well, gluttonous.

“It is fixed and rooted in human sinners by a natural vice that those who do not understand the arts do not admire artisans. Either the stiff-neckedness of peoples or the luxury of clerics is with difficulty subjected to monastic disciplines [read: Either the stiff-neckedness of peoples or the license of clerics is with difficulty subjected to monastic disciplines]. As true praise adorns, so false praise chastises.

“A certain barbarism of conduct is pleasant speech and an afflicted soul. One reaches the nectar of heavenly draughts through cups of earthly bitterness. If affliction pours out upon us however great an anxiety of the present life, we endure little if we remember what he who invites us to heaven drank at the gibbet [read: However great the cups of present life’s anxieties that affliction offers us, we endure little if we remember what he who invites us to heaven drank at the gibbet].”

Title XI, Chapter XIV

At the same time Cassiodorus flourished, as Helinand says. He was first a senator and afterward a monk; but before his monastic life he was chancellor to Theodoric, king of Italy. On the king's behalf he composed many letters to various persons concerning secular business.

The same man, as Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror*, composed 150 treatises upon the Psalms entrusted to him [read: while commenting upon the Psalms, he composed 150 treatises]. He elegantly composed a book *On the Nature of the Soul*, and a book *On Orthography*.

He himself says, as Gratian reports in Distinction XXXVII, in the section following the chapter *We Read*: "All the splendor of rhetorical eloquence, all the modes of poetic expression, and every variety of seemly pronunciation took their beginning from the divine writers."

The same Cassiodorus, in the prologue to his letters: "Persuasion that has more danger than honor must be avoided. One must speak for the purpose of persuasion in one way to those satiated with much salutary reading, in another way to those held in suspense by a moderate tasting, and in another to those fasting from the savor of letters; so that it is often a kind of skill to avoid what pleases the learned."

The same author in the third letter: "The assembly of the wise is the dignity of rulers. An innocent judge is an easy persuader of what is right; beneath his praiseworthy manner of life one is ashamed not to possess approved conduct."

The same author in the seventh letter: "It is exceedingly unjust that, from one substance, among those to whom equal succession belongs, some should flow in abundance while others groan beneath the hardships of poverty."

In the ninth letter: "It becomes each person to display in conduct the honor that he bears in name."

The same author in the twelfth letter: "A deceitful mind does not follow the judgment of the one commanding, but rather unfolds its own wishes. We owe it to all who act well that the assent of our praise should accompany them. For the running of horses is incited by cries, and by the hands of those making noise it is brought about that speed is sought from mute animals. How greatly, then, do we believe human beings can be stimulated, whom we find uniquely born for eagerness for praise?"

The same author in the fourteenth letter: "Let us willingly give assent to all whenever the voice of petitioners is just. It is not fitting that a benefit which suffers no loss through liberality should be difficult."

The same author in the fifteenth letter: "The resources of the absent always lie open to injuries, and what cannot be terrified by the insult of the mind of the one passing through seems in a certain way to draw opportunity into wrongdoing [read: The resources of the absent always lie open to injuries, and that which cannot deter an invader's mind by resistance seems in a way to invite wrongdoing]."

The same author in the twentieth letter: "A ruler's resources become richer when he remits a debt and, scorning the paltry value of money, acquires the noble treasures of reputation. What is not learned in youth is not known in mature age. Greater caution must be employed in preserving things than in finding them. It becomes a prince to bestow greater things than he may appear to have received from a servant. A road more inclined toward mercy always lies open to good minds."

The same author: "Praiseworthy fortitude lies hidden beneath inactivity; and while it has no space for proving itself, the whole light of merits is concealed." These are his words.

Title XI, Chapter XV

Concerning Boethius, who is also called Blessed Severinus by some. Because he wrote a book *On the Trinity* for the defense of justice and against the Arian heretics, he was imprisoned at Pavia and killed by Theodoric, king of the Goths and an Arian, when he reigned in Italy. Yet Boethius is not inscribed in the catalogue of the saints, just like very many others who were of the greatest merit before God but less known to human beings.

Concerning him Vincent speaks as follows in Book XXII, Chapter XV of the *Historical Mirror*: "Boethius composed many works. For in his time, as is read, a heresy concerning the Trinity arose. But when a full synod had assembled, he withdrew himself, lest the conduct of the cause be imposed upon him because of the fluency of his eloquence. Since on this account he was held suspect by the worshipers of Christ, he composed one book *On the Holy Trinity* against those heretics.

"When Theodoric, king of the Goths, invaded the Roman commonwealth by arms, Boethius resisted him more than all others. Afterward, when he had been accused before him of laboring earnestly to snatch the senate and commonwealth from his hands, he was proscribed with several others, sent into exile, and imprisoned at Pavia.

"While placed in prison, as though he grieved over the change of things, and in order to seek medicines of consolation for so great a sorrow not so much for himself as for others, he produced there the book *On the Consolation of Philosophy*. He showed that glory, dignity, and other earthly things are not true goods, but are nothing; that they are to be sought by no one; that one should neither grieve over their loss nor rejoice over their acquisition.

"At length, wearied by long exile and imprisonment, he was killed by Theodoric himself in the year of the Lord 521, according to the chronicles."

Besides the things that have been mentioned, he is found to have written a book *On the Discipline of Students* and a book *On Music*; books of *Topics* and *Divisions* concerning logic, and books of categorical and hypothetical syllogisms; and commentaries upon the books of Aristotle.

Sigebert speaks of him as follows: "At that time Symmachus the patrician adorned the Roman commonwealth, and with him his son-in-law Boethius, a distinguished man of consular rank, learned in both languages and in all the liberal arts. Nearly all of these he translated from Greek into Latin discourse and expounded."

Two other books are also cited by the doctors as composed by him: namely, the book *On the Two Natures in Christ* and the book *On the Hebdomads*.

Certain excerpts from his books are placed here, chiefly from the book *On the Consolation of Philosophy*.

From the book of hypothetical syllogisms he speaks as follows: "There is no good that does not shine forth more beautifully if it is approved by the knowledge of many. Friendship possesses this as its own special gift: it is unwilling to have solitary thoughts. For whatever someone thinks honorably, he confesses to none more readily than to the one whom he loves."

In Book I of *The Consolation of Philosophy* he speaks as follows: "The pursuits of philosophers, amid the fruitless thorns of the passions, kill the crop bearing the rich fruit of reason; and they accustom human minds to disease, but do not free them—things sweet through deceit.

"'We had conferred upon you such arms,' namely those of the virtues, 'which, unless you had first cast them aside, would have protected you with unconquered firmness,' Philosophy says to Boethius.

"Although the army of fools is numerous, it is nevertheless to be scorned, because it is ruled by no leader but is carried away rashly and everywhere, raving by error alone.

"If you await the work of one who heals, you must uncover the wound.

"The liberty of conscience possesses this for the defense of right: that the offense of powers is always despised.

"An old man lessens this burden of adverse fortune: when some crime is fastened upon the wretched, they are believed to have deserved the things they suffer [read: I would say only this: the final burden of adverse fortune is that, when some crime is fastened upon the wretched, they are believed to have deserved the things they suffer]."

The same author in meter:

> *Through how many slippery changes does Fortune turn affairs!*
> *A harmful punishment owed to crime oppresses the innocent,*
> *while perverse conduct sits upon a lofty throne*
> *and tramples holy things.*

Virtue lies hidden, enclosed in darkness in clear light [read: Virtue lies hidden in obscurity, though bright in darkness].
To behold the truth [read: You too, if you wish to behold the truth] with clear light,
to take the path along the straight course:
drive away joys, put hope to flight, drive away fear,
lest grief be present. The mind is cloudy and joined to reins
wherever these things reign.

The same author in Book II: "Every change in subject affairs occurs not without a certain wave, as it were, of minds [read: But every sudden change of affairs occurs not without a certain wave, as it were, in minds]. Prudence measures the outcomes of affairs. For who possesses happiness so well composed that he does not quarrel in some respect with the quality of his own condition?

"No one easily agrees with the felicity of his own fortune. For there is something in each lot of which one without experience is ignorant and at which one with experience is horrified.

"This place which you call exile is a homeland to those who dwell in it. To such a degree nothing is wretched unless you think it so; and, conversely, every lot is blessed through the equanimity of the one enduring it. For who is so happy that, when he has surrendered his hands to impatience, he does not immediately wish his condition to be changed?

"Nature is content with the fewest and smallest things. If you wish to press its sufficiency with superfluities, whatever you pour in will become either unpleasant or harmful.

"There is need of very many supports to protect the costly variety of household goods. And this saying is true: those who possess many things need many things; conversely, they need least who measure their abundance by the necessity of nature.

"Other animals are content with their own limits. But you, like God in mind, seek the ornaments of an excellent nature from the lowest things, and you do not understand how great an injury you do to your Creator. He wished the human race to excel all earthly things; you thrust your dignity beneath every lowest thing. For if it is agreed that every person's good is more precious than the one whose good it is, when you judge the vilest things to be your goods, you subject yourselves to those same things by your own estimation.

"In every adversity of fortune, the most unhappy kind of misfortune is to have been happy.

"With how many bitter things is the sweetness of human happiness sprinkled! Even if it appears pleasant to the one enjoying it, nevertheless it cannot be prevented from having when it wishes to be retained [read: Even if it appears pleasant to the one enjoying it, nevertheless it cannot be prevented from departing when it wishes].

"O splendid blessedness of mortal riches! Whoever has acquired it ceases to be secure.

"Honor accrues not to virtues from dignity, but to dignities from virtue; and dignity bestowed upon the wicked not only fails to make them worthy, but rather betrays and displays them as unworthy.

"Dew, unless it is for popular breezes and empty rumors, we do not know how to act rightly [read: But you, unless it is for popular breezes and empty rumors, do not know how to act rightly]; and, after abandoning the excellence of conscience and virtue, we hunt for rewards from the petty talk of others."

When a certain man had assailed with insults someone who had assumed for himself the false name of philosopher, not for the practice of true virtue but for proud glory, he added that he would now know whether the man was a philosopher if he patiently endured the injuries inflicted upon him. Then the other assumed patience for a little while and, after receiving the insult, said as if exulting, "Do you now at last understand that I am a philosopher?" The first man replied rather caustically, "I would have understood if you had kept silent."

"I think adverse fortune benefits people more than favorable fortune. The latter lies with a flattering appearance of happiness; the former is always true. The latter deceives; the former instructs. Favorable fortune leads those astray from the true good by enticements; adverse fortune very often draws them back with a hook, returning them to true goods.

"Or do you think this should be reckoned even among the smallest things: that this harsh and horrible fortune discloses to you the minds of faithful friends? She separates for you the cetros faces of your companions from the doubtful [read: She separates for you the certain faces of your companions from the doubtful]. In departing, she takes away her own and leaves yours," she says.

"Every concern of mortals, although it exercises the labor of manifold pursuits, proceeds indeed by a different path but strives to arrive at the one end of blessedness. When someone has attained it, he can desire nothing beyond it, for it contains all goods

within itself. It is therefore clear that blessedness is the state made perfect by the gathering together of all goods. As we have said, all mortals attempt to attain it by a different path. For a desire for the true good is naturally implanted in human minds, but wandering error leads them away to false goods.

“No pestilence is more efficacious for doing harm than a familiar friend [read: No pestilence is more efficacious for doing harm than a familiar enemy]. If you do not possess your own brightness, another’s splendor does not make you illustrious.

“The seeking of pleasures is full of anxiety, but their satiation is full of repentance.

“Will you attempt to heap up money? You will wrest it from one who possesses it [read: Will you attempt to amass money? You will wrest it from one who possesses it]. Do you wish to shine with dignities? You will supplicate the one who grants them; and you who desire others to perish in honor will become base in the humility of petitioning [read: you who desire to precede others in honor will become base in the humility of petitioning]. Do you desire power? Exposed to the plots of your subjects, you will lie open to dangers. Will you seek glory? Distracted through every harsh thing, you will cease to be secure. Will you lead a voluptuous life? Who will not scorn and cast aside servitude to the cheapest thing, namely the body?

“Who would give a law to lovers? A greater law is unto love itself [read: Love is a greater law unto itself].

“Whatever each person seeks before other things, he judges that to be the highest good.

“O glory, glory! What else have you become than a great swelling of the ears? Those who are falsely proclaimed must themselves blush at their own praises.

“If bodily pleasure makes persons blessed, beasts are more blessed than human beings, for their every intention hastens toward the fulfillment of wanton desire.

> *O you who govern the world by everlasting reason,*
> *begetter of earth and heaven, who command time*
> *to proceed from eternity; who, yourself remaining stable,*
> *cause all things to be moved; most beautiful yourself,*
> *bearing the beautiful world in your mind*
> *and forming it in a like image—and so forth.*

“From Book IV: There is nothing that the Omnipotent cannot do. But he cannot do evil; therefore evil is nothing.

“Just as probity itself is a reward to the upright, so wickedness itself is a punishment to the wicked.

“It is wretched to have willed depraved things; to have been able to do them is more wretched, without which ability the effect of the will to have mercy would have languished [read: It is wretched to have willed depraved things; to have been able to do them is more wretched, without which ability the effect of the wretched will would have languished].

“Therefore those who will, can, and complete a crime are pressed by a threefold misfortune.

“If wickedness makes persons wretched, the longer-lasting a wicked person is, the more wretched he is.

“The wicked who are unpunished are more unhappy than those paying penalties, even though in their punishment no hope of correction and no regard for example should be maintained. For punishment is good by reason of justice; impunity is evil by the desert of iniquity.

“An injury inflicted is the misery not of the one receiving it but of the one inflicting it.

“The same author, from Book V: You who seek heaven with an upright countenance and raise your brow on high, carry your mind upward also.

“Eternity is the whole, simultaneous, and perfect possession of interminable life.

“A great necessity of probity has been enjoined upon you—you do not wish to dissemble—since you conduct all things before the eyes of a judge who sees all [read: A great necessity of probity has been enjoined upon you, if you do not wish to dissemble, since you conduct all things before the eyes of a judge who sees all].” These are his words.

I. Concerning Symmachus the Patrician

Symmachus the patrician, the father-in-law of Boethius, although he was an excellent Roman citizen, was most unjustly killed by Theodoric, king of Italy and a heretic. As Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, he made one book of letters. A few sentences have been extracted from it and are noted here.

“Every display is not without suspicion of a lie, because whatever is assumed is not thought one’s own.

“A more tender affection makes a complaint more ready. The soul of one who loves is soft and is arraigned at every sensation of pain. If you handle it too negligently, it quickly withers like a rose; if you hold it too harshly, it dissolves like lilies.

“Nature always rejoices in equals, and everything similar to itself is familiar to it.

“It is the nature of things that those who stammer speak more. For, through shame at their defect, they affect an abundance of speech.

“Those whose mind is honorable have a weak brow.

“A conjecture is just when it is gathered from the weight and estimation of friends.

“Whoever intervenes on behalf of the best men seems not so much to love their advantage as to commend his own judgment.

“The mind is relieved of sickness whenever a friend is directed to duties [read: The mind is relieved of sickness whenever it is directed toward friendly duties].

“It is a lesser thing to scorn another’s opinion than to disagree with one’s own.

“I have hated long garments on a small body. That garment is becomingly put on which neither drags dust nor, lowered to the ground, is trodden upon.

“I know that old men become sluggish in undertaking labors; but because vices increase with time, the judgment of the living voice is more suitable for the communication of business [read: since failings increase with time, the indication of the living voice is more suitable for communicating business mutually].

“It is a labor of Superua cui to commend conspicuous men, as if you were to carry a torch before persons placed in the sun [read: It is a superfluous labor to commend conspicuous men, as if you were to carry a torch before persons placed in the sun].

“From my own mind I judge that friendship cannot feel satiety with dutiful persons [read: From my own mind I judge that friendship cannot feel satiety with duties].

“In an evident matter it is wearisome to be lengthy, but in arduous matters more prolonged diligence is of great value.

“In truth, every affection is impatient even of a just and lawful delay.

“The kindness of friends knows how to favor mediocre writings, but the envy of others does not know how to pardon them.

“It is dangerous to inhabit a homeland laboring from a failure of provisions; it is cruel and impious to desert it.

“We do not lack practice in tolerating adversity, for, frequently struck, we have learned to bear the blow of fortune.

“Just as, in the clothing of human beings and the other cultivation of life, things suitable to place and time are assumed, so the variety of talents in familiar writings ought to imitate a certain negligence, but in forensic writings to sharpen the arms of eloquence.

“It is familiar to good persons to accumulate good pursuits whose favor they perceive does not perish.” These are his words.

Title XI, Chapter XVI

Concerning certain most holy and most learned bishops.

First, concerning Saint Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, and Saint Hilary, who was bishop of Arles, something was said in the preceding title. These two, namely Eucherius and Hilary, both most noble and most eloquent men, flourished at the same time as Saint Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, concerning whom something will be said in the following chapter.

Eucherius, as Vincent says in Book XXI, Chapter XX of the *Historical Mirror*, was from a most noble senatorial family. Enclosed within a cave, he was made bishop by the revelation of an angel.

Hilary composed many most splendid sermons for the people. His natal day is the third day before the Nones of May.

And, as Gennadius says, Eucherius wrote one letter to Valentinian, his kinsman [read: Eucherius wrote one letter to Valerian, his kinsman], *On Contempt for the World and Secular Philosophy*, in scholastic and rational discourse; and another, obscure letter addressed in the persons of his sons Salonius and Veranus, afterward bishops. He also reviewed certain little works of Saint Cassian, extended broadly in discourse, and gathered into one volume, on a narrower path of words, the things necessary for ecclesiastical as well as monastic pursuits.

Gennadius says concerning Hilary that he was learned in the Holy Scriptures and a lover of poverty, and was solicitous concerning provision for the poor not only through the devotion of his mind but also through the labor of his body. For the refreshment of the poor he even practiced rural labor beyond his strength, since he was a man illustrious in birth and educated in a far different manner.

Nor did he neglect to labor in spiritual matters. For he possessed grace in teaching and, without acceptance of persons, brought to bear upon all the disciplined work of preaching. With a moral talent he also produced certain little works, which are the judgment of a learned mind and a faithful tongue. Among them, in a foremost work necessary for the benefit of many, he composed the life of Saint Honoratus, his predecessor. Eucherius and Hilary flourished while Valentinian and Marcian were emperors.

Hilary therefore says that this Honoratus desired baptism by his own decision in adolescence and, by mature counsel while healthy, feared death. Thus, while a catechumen, he rejected wantonness, honored clerics as fathers, and, sometimes with a boy's understanding, aided the poor [read: sometimes with a boy's means, aided the poor].

After he had now been baptized, his father, troubled by the suspicion of earthly affection and fearing that his son would be snatched from him by Christ, attempted to entice him away from the pursuits of youth and to entangle him in hunts, games, and the various pleasures of the world. The young man disdained that in which his aged father delighted, always compelling himself with this exhortation: "This life delights, but it deceives."

And so, having been converted, he subjected himself to the yoke of the Lord's service, understanding that the supreme yoke of captivity is the license of youth. Therefore, when his hair had been cut off and his garment changed, another person was shown so suddenly from the former one that his father lamented no otherwise than if he had been bereaved of his son. His father confronted him, resisted him, and threatened him; yet the boyhood supported by faith was shaken by none of these things.

The Lord stood beside his new recruit as consoler and raised up for him one of his own brothers as a companion. Converted by his example, the elder followed the younger.

When they shone together with many virtues and together adorned their whole homeland, one began to cast the other forward for praise and expose him to glory. But while each wished to be obscured beneath the other's shadow, the brightness, as though reflected, radiated upon both.

Thus, fearing their own glory, they thought that they had received themselves back in this life by way of reward [read: they reckoned that they had received their reward in this life]. Disdaining human society and favor, they burned with love of the desert. Therefore, after distributing everything, they departed from their country. And lest anything be thought to have been rashly begun by them through youthful boldness, they took Saint Caprasius, an old man of perfect gravity, as guardian of their age.

Thus a hiding place for pilgrimage was sought, and the fame of virtue was fled. But wherever they went, there, whether they wished or did not wish it, another reputation was produced.

Finally, when his brother in Christ, the man Venatio, had died [read: when his brother in Christ, the man Venantius, had died], Saint Honoratus came to a desert near the city of Arles. Because of the convenience of seclusion, he sought an island that was

vacant on account of excessive desolation and inaccessible because of venomous animals. When he entered, the horror of the solitude fled and the multitude of serpents yielded.

When many gathered to him there, he was made the father of many monks. Shining with many marvelous virtues, he was greatly solicitous for the reception of strangers and pilgrims and for liberal distribution to the poor. He reserved nothing for himself and his own except the food and clothing of the present days.

Thus, on one occasion, when his generous and munificent coffer retained only one gold piece after many thousands, in a failure of many kings he gave even that very piece steadfastly to a poor man [read: in a failure of many resources he gave even that very piece steadfastly to a poor man]. He said to me and others standing by, “It is certain that the one who will bring something is now approaching.” Scarcely had a space of three or four hours passed when someone immediately arrived who gave credibility to his words.

For my sake he also approached the homeland which he had disdained. At length, with great difficulty, by his most devout exhortations and at the same time by tears and prayers, he converted me, hard and untamed, to God and led me with him to the desert. First he nourished me with milk and afterward with the food of wisdom.

Nevertheless, when he had received governance in this church, under him the Church of Christ flourished just as the monastery had flourished before. At length he was received by his final sleep. Meanwhile, the sleep of many was shaken by various visions, whose character was that the offices of the saints were coming to meet that holy man. And truly, at that same point of midnight, he filled the church with an assembly at the reception of the holy body, so that it was thought that the gathering had been aroused by none but angelic messengers. Thus he was committed to burial with honor.

Title XI, Chapter XVII

That Blessed Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, was shown marvelous to all Gaul in wisdom, in austerity of life, and in miracles.

As Vincent says from his deeds in Book XXI, Chapter IV of the *Historical Mirror*, Germanus was born of most illustrious parents and instructed from infancy in the liberal studies. After the Gallican lecture halls, he also acquired knowledge of law at Rome. Then, by the profession of advocacy, he adorned the tribunals of the prefecture. Shining in that activity with manifold praise, he obtained a wife exalted in birth, conduct, and riches; immediately the commonwealth advanced him to the insignia of honors. When he governed the territory of Auxerre, it was his custom to indulge rather in the pursuits of young warriors than to devote his labor to the Christian religion.

There was a pine tree in the middle of the city. From its little branches hung the heads of wild beasts captured by him, for the admiration of his excessive hunting. Saint Amator, bishop of the city, frequently addressed him with these words: “Cease, I beg you, most illustrious man of the good, from practicing these games [read: Cease, I beg you, most illustrious of men of rank, from practicing these games], which are an offense to Christians but are to be imitated by pagans.” Germanus, however, was willing in no way to obey the man admonishing him.

When Germanus had on one day withdrawn to estates under his jurisdiction, Saint Amator cut down that tree with its roots and immediately assigned it to be consumed by fire. He commanded the little trophies hanging from it to be cast far from the city.

When Germanus heard this, his soul was so kindled with anger that, forgetful of the holy religion with whose gift he had already been distinguished, he threatened death to the most blessed man. And lest the assembly of Christians resist him in his fury, he gathered crowds of his own men to himself and unexpectedly came to the city. When all these things, learned by certain persons, were disclosed to Saint Amator, he said, “I judge myself unworthy to become a witness for the Savior by the shedding of blood.”

Therefore, foreseeing through divine revelation his own end and that Germanus would succeed him, he set out for Autun, where Julius, ruler of the commonwealth and governor of Gaul, presided. Amator addressed him thus: “Since the Lord has made it known to me, I have recognized my end. And because there is no other who is to receive the governance of the holy Church except the most illustrious Germanus, as God has revealed to me, I ask your Highness to grant me permission to tonsure that same man.”

The prefect said to him, “Although he is necessary to the commonwealth, nevertheless, because God—as your Blessedness testifies—has chosen him for himself, I cannot come against his command.” Then Saint Amator, having obtained his wish, returned to his city with joy.

As Amator entered the church, when the people also wished to enter, he addressed them thus: “Sons, unload your hands of javelins, because this is a house of prayer, not the arena of battling Mars.” They did so. Then the bishop, seeing that Germanus carried nothing of savage honor [read: seeing that Germanus carried no savage burden], commanded the doorkeepers to secure the doors of the church with bars. Joining together the assembled crowd of clerics, he himself laid hands upon Germanus and seized him. After invoking the name of the Lord, he removed the hair from his head and, after the secular ornaments had been cast aside, clothed him in the habit of religion together with the honor of promotion, exhorting him with these words: “You must labor, brother, to preserve uncontaminated the honor entrusted to you, because almighty God has entrusted the pastoral office to you.”

He also exhorted the people to consent to the will of God concerning the election of Germanus. The whole crowd, consenting in confirmation of his persuasion, answered, “Amen.”

Saint Amator himself began to be wearied by a sharp dissolution of his body. But even amid pains he did not cease from preaching, and said: “Prevent lamentation. Certainly voices that wander in mourning are to be emitted where a worse person succeeds a better one. But not only the life of this man will profit you, but also his death.”

Then he commanded himself to be carried to the church, so that he might there return his spirit to the Giver, where by day and night he had been accustomed to profess himself to that same Giver. Ascending the pontifical throne at about the third hour of the day, he sent forth his spirit. Immediately a choir of saints succeeded him and, while many beheld it, carried his spirit to heaven in the form of a dove with hymns and praises.

When his body was being conducted to burial, a certain paralytic, who had now been detained by that disease for thirty years, merited to be washed with the water with which Amator’s dead body had been washed. Germanus, then a priest, commanded this to be done; when it had been performed, the man was immediately healed.

This same Saint Amator, when he was a young man of age and excellently instructed in letters, was compelled by his parents to betroth a certain virgin. But when the time of their union pressed upon them, mutually exhorting one another, they made a vow of virginity. And behold, an angel of the Lord was present, who brought them two crowns, praising their resolution and exhorting them to persevere. Thereupon the girl handed herself over to the company of virgins. Amator shone in the clerical state with such proclamations of virtues that, after the death of Saint Eladius, he merited to be substituted in the episcopate.

When he had been made bishop, shining through many miracles, he converted many to the faith by the teaching of his preaching. Seeing, however, that the church was small and could not hold so great a multitude of Christians as was gathering, Saint Amator asked a certain citizen of Auxerre named Ruptilius to grant him a certain dwelling for enlarging the basilica. Ruptilius refused to do this, but afterward, when he became gravely ill, he granted it. There the basilica was constructed in which Amator tonsured Saint Germanus.

I. The Episcopate and Austerity of Germanus

After Germanus received the priesthood unwillingly and by compulsion, he was suddenly changed from all that he had been. The warfare of the world was abandoned and that of heaven assumed; his wife was changed into a sister; his substance was distributed to the poor.

From the day on which he took the beginning of the priesthood until the end of his life, he never received wheaten bread, wine, oil, legumes, or salt for the use of seasoning flavor. On the day of the Resurrection or of the Lord’s Nativity, a single drink was taken, in which the flavor of wine was diluted with very much water. At meals he first tasted ashes, then took barley bread, which he nevertheless threshed and ground himself.

His garment was always a cowl and tunic. Neither an addition in winter nor a lightening in summer was admitted. Each remained in use for so long—unless perhaps it was given away—until it was dissolved by excessive wear, while a hairshirt always clung underneath.

The space of his little bed was bounded by hewn wooden bars containing ashes cast in up to the edge. Yet, compacted by daily pressure, the unworked ashes offered only hardness. His whole bedding consisted of a haircloth placed beneath him and only one rough covering placed above. No addition raised his head from his shoulders along the joining of the neck. Thus, lying face downward, he condemned his limbs to the ground.

At night he never removed his clothing, rarely his belt, and rarely his footwear. He was always girded with a leather strap and a little case containing relics of the saints. His groaning was continual and his prayer persevering. I define it absolutely thus: amid so many crosses he drew out a long martyrdom.

Without acceptance of persons he offered hospitality to all and washed the feet of all with his own hands.

When his life and reputation shone with many miracles, a delegation sent from Britain to the bishops of Gaul announced that the Pelagian heresy had widely occupied the peoples in their regions and that aid must be given to the Catholic faith. For this reason a universal synod was assembled. By the judgment of all, two illustrious lights of the region—Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes—were sought with entreaties. The business was received by them most devoutly.

When they passed through the territory of the city of Paris, the citizens came out to meet them, sought the blessing of such great men, and expended upon them the veneration that was due. They were lodged in a village whose name was Nemetodorum.

While Blessed Germanus refreshed the gathering multitude with an exhortation of the saving word, he saw from afar, among others standing by, a certain girl named Genevieve. Perceiving in her something heavenly or angelic, I know not what, he extolled her with such a proclamation and addressed her parents thus: “That day on which it befell you to become the parents of so great an offspring made you blessed. Her birth produced joy even for the angels themselves. For she will be of precious merit before God and of a purpose of spiritual perfection.”

After pursuing several more things in praise of the virgin, he at length embraced her with gentle kindness and, amid mild caresses, asked whether she wished to receive the celibacy of a consecrated life and to be designated by betrothal to Christ. Delighted at the name of so great a bridegroom, she embraced the title of virginity and confessed that she had long desired to bind herself by this profession.

Meanwhile, the same saint turned his course toward the church, while a very great company of people followed. There, amid holy psalms and prolonged prayer, he held his right hand tirelessly over the virgin’s head.

Then, on the following day, when she had returned to him and he had spoken to her concerning the profession of the previous day, he fixed his countenance upon the ground. Presently he saw a bronze coin, perhaps brought there by divine ordinance, engraved with the representation of a cross. He immediately picked it up from the ground, gave it to Genevieve in place of a gift, and commanded her always to carry it suspended from her neck in memory of him.

“Moreover,” he said, “never permit other ornaments of worldly beauty to be placed upon either your neck or your fingers.” Having spoken thus, he bade the virgin farewell and admonished her to be mindful of him. After commending her to her parents, he continued the journey he had begun with Blessed Lupus.

II. The “Alleluia” Victory and the Second British Mission

On a certain day the devil, the plotter, having prepared accidental snares, injured Germanus’s foot through the occasion of a fall. He was ignorant that Germanus’s merits were to be propagated by affliction, just as were those of Blessed Job.

While Germanus was constrained for some time in one place by the necessity of his infirmity, an accidental fire broke out in the vicinity where he was staying. After consuming the houses there—which were covered with the reeds of carts [read: which were covered with marsh reeds]—it was borne, with the winds driving it, toward the lodging in which the blessed man lay. But the flame, growing pale at the dwelling of the holy man [read: dreading the dwelling of the holy man], raged farther away and round about. Thus, while infirm, he performed many mighty works.

And since he permitted no remedy to be applied to his disability, on a certain night he saw a figure present, shining in snow-white garments. With an outstretched hand the figure seemed to raise him as he lay and commanded him to stand upon firm footprints. After that hour the pains were so put to flight and he recovered health in such a manner that, when day returned, he entered upon the labor of the journey without fear.

Meanwhile, the Saxons and Picts, with their forces joined, undertook war against the Britons, and the Britons, undaunted, sought the aid of the holy bishops. Hastening their promised arrival, the bishops bestowed so much confidence that it was believed a very great army had arrived. Thus Christ fought in the camp under apostolic commanders, to such a degree that, instructed by daily preachings, the people flew in rivalry toward the grace of baptism.

Thus the army proceeded, wet with baptism; the protection of arms was despised and the aid of God awaited. This training, or formation, of the camp was announced to the enemies. Presuming upon victory over what seemed an unarmed army, it hastened with increased eagerness [read: they hastened with increased eagerness].

Germanus, leader and standard-bearer of the army, admonished everyone to answer his voice with a single cry. As the enemies approached, the priests cried “Alleluia” three times. One cry from all followed, and the enclosed places among the mountains multiplied it as the air reverberated.

The hostile column was laid prostrate by terror. They trembled as though not only the encircling rocks, but the very structure of heaven itself, had fallen upon them. The speed of their feet was scarcely believed sufficient. They fled everywhere, cast away their arms, and rejoiced to have snatched away even their naked bodies. Many also fell headlong and died from fear.

Thus, the enemies having been overcome without bloodshed, the Christians triumphed after gathering the spoils. The holy bishops hastened to return to their own places, after the heretics there had been confuted.

Not long afterward it was announced that the aforesaid Pelagian heretics had sprouted again in Britain, and the entreaties of all were again brought to Saint Germanus, that he might protect the cause of God which he had previously gained. Accordingly, after joining Saint Severus, bishop of Trier, to himself, he willingly consented, delighting in labors and gladly expending himself for Christ.

When he had now advanced a little, one of his disciples, who had been secure from Ireland [read: who had followed him from Ireland] and had been chosen for this same expedition, set out after him because he had been unable to depart with him. When he came to Ternodorum, he lay down there and died a little later.

When Saint Germanus, together with his companions, had confounded the heretics as before and was returning to his own country, it happened that he came to the same place. Knowing through the Spirit that his disciple had died there, he approached the place in which the man had been buried and ordered the grave to be opened. Calling the man by name, he asked what he was doing and whether he still desired to serve with him.

Thereupon the dead man, having recovered the vital spirit, sat up and answered that all things remained sweet to him and that he did not wish to be recalled here any further. When the saint consented that he should rest, the man laid down his head and again fell asleep in Christ.

III. The Swineherd Made King

When Germanus was preaching in Britain, on a certain day he entered the palace of the king of Britain with his disciples. He sent a messenger to the king and, because of the violent cold and the approach of night, requested lodging. But when the pitiless king refused to grant it, Germanus, remaining beneath the open sky with his disciples, patiently endured snow and hail.

Now the king's swineherd approached, returning from the pasture and carrying back to his own little hut the provision he had received in the palace. When he saw Saint Germanus wasting away with his disciples from the cold, moved by the dignity of his person, he said: "I beg you, whoever you are, lord, to spare yourself and your companions. Come to my lodging and kindly receive the service of my poverty."

When Germanus humbly turned aside to him, that swineherd advised his wife to kill the one calf they possessed and set it before their guests for supper. After supper, therefore, Germanus summoned the woman and commanded her to gather the calf's bones diligently and arrange them upon its hide before its mother in the manger. When this had been done, the calf rose without delay and, standing beside its mother, began to eat hay.

When Germanus heard this, he asked his hosts to accept this benefit for the present without prejudice to the right of hospitality.

When morning came, Germanus proceeded to the palace and waited for the king to depart from it. He hurried to meet him as he came out and authoritatively inquired why the king had denied him lodging in the evening. Fixed in amazement and thunderstruck by the saint's authority, the king was unable to answer.

Then Germanus said, "Depart, and leave the kingdom to a better man." When the king hesitated, Germanus drove the reluctant man onward. "You will depart," he said, "and, as the Lord has determined, you will never again abuse royal power."

The king, fearing the heavenly authority in the bishop, departed without distinction together with his wife and children, and did not presume to enter again. Then Germanus caused the swineherd to come and, while the whole palace marveled, established him as king. From that time kings proceeding from the stock of the swineherd rule the nation of the Britons, God marvelously ordering human affairs through Blessed Germanus.

IV. Saint Cassian of Autun

When Germanus was returning from Britain, passing through Autun, he came to the tomb of Saint Cassian the bishop. When he inquired how Cassian was faring, the latter immediately spoke from the tomb in the hearing of all: "I enjoy sweet repose; I await the coming of the Redeemer." Blessed Germanus answered him, "Rest for a long time, and intercede more attentively for us, that we may merit to obtain the joys of the sacred resurrection."

This Cassian was born of a noble family in Alexandria. Instructed in the divine letters by Saint Leo, bishop of that same city, he worshiped God from infancy. Abandoning all things for Christ, he constructed in the city of Orta a church in honor of Saint Lawrence, just as he had been instructed by Lawrence in a vision.

Then the emperor Jovian, who succeeded Julian the Apostate, fearing God, chose Cassian as bishop in the city of Orta while the people acclaimed him. But after he had governed it for some time in every sanctity, he bade farewell to all, abandoned everything, and undertook a pilgrimage with a few clerics. Entering the sea, he sailed to Marseilles. From there, while persecution by heretics and pagans was raging, he came to Autun and was joyfully received by Saint Simplicius the bishop.

After Cassian remained with him for three years, Simplicius migrated to the Lord. All the clergy and people there elected Cassian himself bishop. The Lord deigned to confer such grace upon him that the Lord constantly displayed miracles through him, granting sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and health to the disabled. After completing twenty years in the said episcopate, he migrated to the Lord Jesus Christ, to rise again in glory with the other saints.

V. The Thief, the Alms, and Other Deeds

When this same Saint Germanus had returned to Gaul, one day, as evening was already approaching, a traveler with bare feet and lacking a cloak approached his company. Germanus grieved at his nakedness. The man, deceitfully attaching himself to the fellowship, joined them at their lodging. While the guards, who were keeping vigil for God and not for animals, were occupied, the nocturnal robber seized the beast on which the elder man rode.

When day returned, the loss of the mount was discovered. Lest an animal be lacking to the priest, one of the clerics was transformed from a horseman into an impeded pedestrian [read: was changed from a horseman into a pedestrian]. While the journey was underway, the companions riding around Blessed Germanus beheld him veiling with a shadow upon his face the joy conceived against the delay [read: an uncustomary joy]. Then one, having assumed boldness, asked the cause of the joy.

But Germanus said: "Let us delay a little, because the labor of that unhappy man is both to be laughed at and lamented. You will soon see him in distress." When they had halted, they looked behind themselves and saw the man on foot leading the captured animal. When they had waited for the one hastening toward them, he immediately fell at the saint's feet, confessed the crime he had committed, and related that he had been so ensnared through the entire space of the night that he could not advance farther and could find no other path of escape except to restore the stolen animal.

To these things the saint said: “If yesterday we had given you a covering while you were naked, there would have been no necessity for stealing. Receive what is lacking; restore what is ours.” Thus the man who confessed the crime received not only pardon in place of the punishment for what he had committed, but also a reward by way of blessing.

On another occasion, while Germanus was making a journey, poor persons seeking alms met him. He asked the deacon how much there was for expenses. The deacon answered that there were only three gold pieces. Germanus immediately commanded all of them to be given.

To this the deacon said, “From what shall we live today?” Germanus answered him, “God will feed his poor; give to the poor what you possess.” The deacon, as if provident, distributed two and reserved one. A little afterward certain horsemen coming behind him offered him a gift of two hundred gold solidi.

Then, turning to the deacon, Germanus said: “Receive the things that are handed over, and understand that you committed fraud against the poor. For if you had bestowed upon the needy the whole of what I told you, our Rewarder would today have returned three hundred.” The deacon trembled because the secret of his guilt had become known to the bishop.

When Germanus was lodged in a certain place, after supper the table was prepared again. Marveling, he asked for whom it was being prepared anew. They told him that it was for those good women who walk by night. That night Saint Germanus determined to keep vigil. And behold, he saw a multitude of demons coming to the table in the form of human beings.

He commanded them not to depart and, rousing all the household of the house, asked whether they knew those persons. They answered that all were their male and female neighbors. Then the saint sent persons to the houses of each one in that neighborhood, meanwhile commanding the demons not to depart. Those sent by the holy man went to the neighbors’ houses and found them sleeping in their beds. The demons, therefore, adjured by the saint, said in the hearing of all that they were demons who thus mocked human beings.

When the man of God was ascending the Alps of Italy in the company of certain merchants, he saw among others a certain lame old man who was unable to cross a torrent descending from the mountains. Seizing this man’s burden, the holy man carried it across on his own shoulders. Crossing a second time, he also transported the old man himself upon his lowered neck.

Behold the marvelous virtue of charity, which bestowed so much strength upon the holy man that, although the hunger of so many fasts had wearied him, the fatigue of a continuous journey was exhausting him, and finally he could scarcely carry himself—and although he was also a person of such nobility—he first transported the burden and then bore upon his holy shoulders a rustic most burdened by age and disability.

VI. Germanus at Ravenna and His Death

When he came to Ravenna, where Peter the bishop then governed the Church of Christ by apostolic institution, he was received after having been awaited for a long time with desire. The chief men met him; princes surrounded him; the Church embraced him with exultation.

The venerable queen Placidia also, who ruled in the West with her son Valentinian, the third of that name—for in the East Theodosius the Younger held the empire—sent to the priest’s lodging a very large silver vessel filled with more delicate foods, without any admixture of meat. Germanus distributed what he had received in such a way that he gave the foods to his ministers but claimed the silver itself for the poor. In place of the gift he sent back a little wooden dish containing barley bread.

She embraced each with immense rejoicing: both that he had sent her silver to the poor and that she had received the holy man’s food together with the service of the humble little vessel. For she afterward surrounded the wood with gold and preserved the bread for many remedies and mighty works.

While Germanus remained at Ravenna, he also raised a dead man there, and his life shone forth through many miracles.

Indeed, in that Ravenna, when Queen Placidia had invited him to a banquet and he had consented, he was carried from his lodging to the palace upon a donkey, worn out by age, vigils, fasts, and labors. During the feast the servants secretly told the queen that Saint Germanus’s donkey had suddenly died. After ordering them to be silent, she commanded that a horse of marvelous gentleness be presented to the saint in place of the donkey.

Looking upon it, he said, “Let my donkey be presented to me, because the one who brought me here will carry me back.” Proceeding to the outstretched corpse, he said, “Rise, lazy one; let us return to the lodging.” Immediately springing up, the donkey shook itself and, as though it had suffered no evil, carried him with more vigorous strength.

Before he departed from the city of Ravenna, however, one day, after the morning solemnity had been completed, while he was conferring with the bishops about religion, he brought forth a most sorrowful declaration, saying: “Dearest brothers, I commend my passing to you. In a nocturnal sleep I seemed to myself to receive from the Lord the provision for pilgrimage.”

After a few days it came to pass that, when his illness grew worse, he migrated to the Lord. The queen received the little case containing relics which he carried at his neck. Bishop Peter claimed the cowl together with the hairshirt. Of the other bishops, one received the belt, another the cloak, and two divided the tunic, so that they might possess some memorial from the inheritance of his sanctity.

His body, however, was carried back into Gaul to his own city, as, while still living, he had requested of Queen Placidia.

When the bearers came to the city of Vercelli, Saint Eusebius, bishop of that city, having learned of Saint Germanus's death, solemnly entered the church which Saint Germanus had promised to dedicate for him when he returned, intending to dedicate it himself. He commanded candles to be lit, but the ministers were unable to light them, although they attempted it repeatedly.

Seeing this, Saint Eusebius understood that the dedication either ought to be deferred to another time or reserved for another bishop. Meanwhile, it was reported that the procession of the sacred funeral was coming. While all went to meet it, the body was carried by the hands of Saint Eusebius into the aforesaid church, and immediately all the candles were kindled by divine power.

Then Saint Eusebius remembered Saint Germanus's promise and recognized that what Germanus had promised while living he had accomplished when dead. Therefore, proclaiming a feast day to the people, he approached the altar and, chanting "Glory to God in the highest" as loudly as he could, afterward celebrated the sacred funeral rites.

Thus the body of Saint Germanus was received by his own citizens with great devotion and a great gathering of peoples, and was honorably buried. He died in the year of the Lord 450, in the thirtieth year of his episcopate. Indeed, he raised three dead persons.

VII. Saint Lupus and Saint Peter of Ravenna

Because mention was made of Saint Lupus, as the companion of Saint Germanus in confuting the heresy of the Pelagians in Britain, it must be known, according to Vincent in Book XXI of the *Historical Mirror*, that this saint was the foremost of the family of the Lenchi [read: this saint was from the city of the Leuci and foremost of his family]. Pimeniola of glorious memory, the full sister of Saint Hilary, bishop of Arles, was his wife.

In the seventh year of their marriage, by mutual exhortation they devoted themselves to conversion. Then, after leaving everything, he sought Saint Honoratus, abbot of Lérins. Having subjected his neck to Honoratus's institution, he was instructed in all the doctrines of vigils and abstinences.

After a year he returned, so that he might sell what remained to him for distribution to the poor, and was immediately seized for the episcopate of the city of Troyes. There, teaching the people the way of salvation and vigorously governing the clergy, after two years he proceeded with Saint Germanus into Britain to root out the heretics. On this journey they were an object of admiration to all through marvelous signs.

Not long afterward, when the army of the Huns, diffused everywhere throughout Gaul, oppressed it, the holy man, returning to his accustomed defenses, protected by heavenly aid the city of Troyes—which lay exposed upon open plains, fortified neither by arms nor walls—placing only intercession and prayer before God, as was said above.

He also became renowned through many other miracles. He healed a paralytic woman, freed by the imposed sign of the cross a girl rendered mute by the assault of a demon, and healed several other sick persons.

For nearly twenty-five years, having no experience of lying upon a bed, he sustained the labor of resting upon a board. His customary garment was nothing but a hairshirt. Always content with the use of one tunic, he remained wakeful in prayers and endured through alternate nights. Wearing down his little body with fasts of two days, he laid prostrate the incitements of youth and tirelessly watered his face with tears.

Moreover, the deeds that were his taught examples of virtue in the schools of his own disciples. For in Saint Polychronius, bishop of Medunum [read: Saint Pulchronius, bishop of Verdun], the grace of cures shone forth; and Saint Severus, ordained at Trier and preaching to the peoples of Germany, we do not doubt was mingled with the fellowship of the apostles.

Saint Lupus, after discharging the priesthood for fifty-two years, sent forth his spirit to heaven.

Concerning Saint Peter, bishop of Ravenna, of whom mention was also made above, elegant sermons remain, as Vincent says in the place cited above, and are cited by learned men.

Title XI, Chapter XVIII

While Marcian was emperor, and while Saint Germanus, of whom something was said above, was still living, Saint Remigius was born in Gaul. He afterward became archbishop of Reims.

As Vincent reports from his deeds in Book XXI of the *Historical Mirror*, when the persecution of the Vandals had devastated the Gauls, or France, a certain enclosed holy man had very frequently prayed for the peace of the Church. One night, after keeping vigil for a long time, he at length fell lightly asleep from weariness. Suddenly, by the will of God, it seemed to him that an angel was present.

While the angel was speaking out of devotion concerning aid for the Gallican Church, a voice came to them, saying: “That woman named Cilina will bear a son named Remigius, who will free his nation from the incursions of evil persons.”

Immediately awakening, the man ran to Cilina’s house and announced what he had heard. When she did not believe that, now an old woman, she could conceive by an aged husband, he answered: “Know that, when you have weaned the boy, by anointing my eyes with your milk I shall also recover my sight.” For, so that merit might increase for him as it did for Tobias, he had lost the light of his eyes. Thus everything was accomplished as he had foretold.

Therefore, when the boy had been born and handed over to letters, as soon as he was able he entered an enclosure. When he was twenty-two years old, he was elected archbishop—indeed, rather seized—by all the people of Reims. Thus, when he attempted to resist, a ray of new light suddenly descended upon the crown of his head, as though the sun itself, coming from heaven, had fallen upon him.

Since he excelled before and afterward in every virtue, he was of such great gentleness that sparrows came to his table and received remnants of food in his hands.

Once, while he was making a circuit of the parishes, he was lodged in the house of one of his female relatives. While they were speaking with one another, a servant of the house informed his mistress that the innkeeper had now sold all the wine except for a little that he had left for preserving the vessel. Blessed Remigius, seeing that she blushed, learned the cause, comforted her, and immediately went out into the garden as though to walk about.

Coming before the door of the cellar, he entered and asked whether there was any wine. “Behold,” said the servant, “the little that remains.” Remigius said, “Close the door until I return to you.” Going behind the cask, he made a cross over it. As he prayed with bent knees, the wine issued out through the buridone [read: through the bung], so that it was poured through the middle of the cellar. Seeing this, the servant cried out, ran to his mistress, and announced what he had seen.

This excellent doctor wrote diffusely upon the Gospel of Matthew and briefly upon the epistles of Paul.

It was said above how he baptized Clovis, the first king of the Franks to become a Christian from a gentile, and anointed him with chrism brought by a dove. When the said King Clovis wished to endow the church of Reims, he said that he would give to Remigius as much land as Remigius could walk around while the king slept at midday. This also was done.

But since a certain man possessed his mill within the boundaries of Blessed Remigius, the miller indignantly drove Remigius away while the blessed man was walking around them. Remigius said to him, “Friend, let it not be hard for you that we possess this mill jointly.” When the man rejected him, the wheel of the mill immediately began to turn in the opposite direction. He called after Saint Remigius, saying, “Servant of God, come, and let us possess the mill jointly.” Remigius answered him, “Neither for me nor for you.” Immediately the earth opened itself and swallowed the mill.

The prudent saint, foreknowing a famine that was to come in those regions, had gathered heaps of grain in a certain estate to provide for the necessities of the poor. At a suitable time, drunken rustics, mocking the prudence of the old man, set fire beneath them. Hearing this, he came there and, because of the cold of his age and of the evening hour, began to warm himself. With a tranquil heart he said, “A fire is always good. Nevertheless, the male descendants of those who did this will be ruptured in their genitals, and the women will be goitrous.” This so happened in that estate down to Charlemagne, who partly killed them and partly dispersed them through other places because they had killed one of his lieutenants.

I. Remigius and Bishop Genebald

After a long time, when Saint Genebald, a prudent man, had the niece of Blessed Remigius as his wife and they had mutually released one another for the sake of religion, Blessed Remigius ordained the aforesaid Genebald bishop of Laon.

But because Genebald permitted his wife to come to him rather frequently for the sake of being instructed, his spirit was inflamed with concupiscence through their frequent conversation, and he fell with her even into sin. When she conceived and

bore a son, she informed the bishop of this. Confounded, he sent word back to her, saying, “Because the boy was acquired through theft, I wish him to be called Latro, ‘Robber.’”

Lest any suspicion arise, he permitted his wife to come to him as before. Nevertheless, after lamenting the first sin, he fell with her a second time into sin. When she bore a daughter and reported this to the bishop, he answered that she was to be named Vulpecula, “Little Fox.”

At length, returning to himself, he approached Blessed Remigius and, falling at his own feet [read: falling at Saint Remigius’s feet], wished to remove the stole from his own neck. Saint Remigius forbade this. When he had heard from him what had happened, he gently consoled him, enclosed him by himself in a certain cell for seven years, and governed his church in the meantime.

Therefore, in the seventh year, while Genebald persevered in prayer on the Supper of the Lord, an angel of the Lord stood by him, declared that his sin had been forgiven him, and commanded him to go outside. When he answered, “I cannot, because my lord Remigius closed this door and secured it with his seal,” the angel said, “Behold, so that you may know that heaven has been opened to you, this door will be opened for you with the seal unharmed.” Immediately, as he said, it was opened.

Then Genebald, casting himself in the middle of the doorway in the form of a cross, said, “Even if my Lord Jesus Christ should come here to me, I shall not depart from here unless my lord Remigius, who enclosed me, comes here.” Then Saint Remigius, at the admonition of an angel, came to Laon and restored him to his own place. Genebald afterward persevered in holy works until death; and Latro his son, who also was holy, succeeded him in the episcopate.

At length Blessed Remigius, illustrious through many virtues, rested in peace around the year of the Lord five hundred. When his body was being carried upon a bier to the church of Saints Timothy and Apollinaris, it began to weigh so greatly beside the church of Saint Christopher that it could not be moved. At length they asked God to show whether he wished Remigius to be buried in that small church of Saint Christopher, where there were no relics. Immediately they lifted the body with the bier most easily and buried him there with honor.

When many miracles were afterward performed there, they enlarged the church and wished to place him in a crypt made behind the altar, but they were wholly unable to move him. They passed the night in prayers, and at midnight, when all had fallen asleep from weariness, on the following morning—namely, the Kalends of October—they found the sepulcher with the body of Saint Remigius carried by angels into that crypt behind the altar. Therefore, the feast made for him on the Kalends of October concerns the translation of his body, but his death is celebrated on the octave of Epiphany.

II. Saint Patrick

In an earlier time of Saint Theodosius the Younger, Saint Patrick was also illustrious. He was a Briton by race, who was sent by Pope Celestine I to the Scots newly converted to the faith and was ordained archbishop of the Scots. There, distinguished in sanctity and excelling in doctrine for sixty years, he converted the whole island of Ireland to Christ.

Besides those mighty works that he performed, he raised sixty dead persons. He redeemed many captives at his own expense. He founded three hundred sixty-five churches. He ordained as many bishops. He consecrated three thousand priests. He baptized twelve thousand persons. Like Elijah, he fasted for forty days and forty nights upon the summit of a mountain. He lived for one hundred twenty years.

He made three petitions to God for the Irish. The first was that each of the faithful, even though he should come to a state of penitence at the end of his life, should be received into mercy. The second was that Ireland should never be consumed by barbarians. The third was that no Irish person should survive until the coming of the Judge.

But when at first he wished to convert the aforesaid exceedingly bestial people from error by terror of torments and by love of the joys above, they said to him that they would never be converted to Christ by his words or miracles unless one of them could behold both those torments of the evil and the joys of the blessed, so that they might be made more certain by things seen than by things promised.

When he became yet more devout in prayers and fasts for this purpose, the Lord Jesus appeared to him, giving him the text of the Gospel and a staff. These are held in veneration to this day as great and most precious relics and are kept as a sign of the highest prelacy—that is, of the archiepiscopate—of that country. That staff itself, because the Lord Jesus bestowed it upon his beloved Patrick, is called the Staff of Jesus.

Accordingly, the Lord led his saint into a deserted place and showed him a certain round pit, dark on the outside, saying that whoever, truly penitent and armed with true faith, entered that pit and remained in it for the space of one day and one night would be cleansed from all his sins and, passing through it, would see not only the torments of the evil but also the joys of the good.

Thus, when the Lord disappeared from his eyes, Patrick joyfully constructed a church in the same place and established canons of the Blessed Father Augustine in it. He enclosed with a wall the pit, which is in the cemetery before the front of the church, and placed doors and bolts upon it, lest anyone presume to enter it rashly and without permission. He entrusted the key governing entrance into the said pit to the prior of the said church.

In Patrick's own time many, moved by penitence, entered the pit. When they returned, they testified both that they had experienced the greatest torments and that they had seen [read: they testified that they had experienced the greatest torments and had seen joys]. Blessed Patrick commanded their accounts to be recorded in the same church, and by their testimony others began to receive the preaching of Blessed Patrick. Because a person is cleansed from sins there, that place is therefore called the Purgatory of Blessed Patrick.

Vincent, however, says in the place cited above that this history is not received by many, especially because it says there that souls freed from purgatory do not immediately fly to heaven but remain for a time in the earthly paradise, as in an intermediate place of rest, and afterward arrive at their homeland at the appointed time; whereas, on the contrary, no intermediate place between purgatory and the heavenly paradise is believed to exist for souls that have been cleansed or are to be cleansed. Thus he says.

But if it is said—as is commonly asserted by certain persons from those regions—that, after a short stay in that place of purgatory, during which they sustain great penalties and injuries from demons, but only through imagination, they emerge from it and live in the world like others, and through those penalties of purgatory make satisfaction for the penalties owed for their sins, no absurdity seems to follow.

Title XI, Chapter XIX

Concerning certain other holy men.

Because it was said above how Saint Germanus betrothed to Christ a certain girl named Genevieve on account of the sanctity that he foresaw in her, I therefore relate briefly concerning her that she was a virgin of Paris and was illustrious in Gaul through great sanctity, as Sigebert says.

After she vowed her virginity to God before Saint Germanus, she withdrew herself from all the vanity of the world. When her mother was going to church and had commanded her to remain at home, Genevieve cried out to her with tears: “With Christ consoling me, I shall keep the faith that I promised to Blessed Germanus, and I shall frequent the thresholds of the church.” Her mother, therefore angered, struck her with the palm of her hand. Because of this, she was immediately deprived of sight for nine months.

At length, remembering the testimony that the bishop had given concerning her daughter, she commanded Genevieve to draw water from the well. Going to the rim of the well, Genevieve wept because her mother had lost the light of her eyes on account of her. Then, when the vessel had been filled, she made the sign of the cross over the water and brought it to her mother. Her mother received it with faith and veneration, her hands extended toward heaven; and, bathing her eyes from it twice and a third time, she recovered her sight.

When Genevieve was offered to Bishop Julicus with two girls for consecration, and this was being done according to the number of the years of their age, the bishop, knowing by divine means that Genevieve was more exalted than all, said, “Place before the others her who follows behind, because she has already obtained this sanctification from heaven.”

After her parents died, she entered the city of Paris. For some time she was so beset by paralysis that her body, now lifeless for three days, was preserved with only her cheeks a little red. When she was healed again, she professed that in spirit she had been led by an angel into the repose of the righteous and into the punishment of the reprobate.

When Attila, king of the Huns, was devastating the Gauls, the terrified citizens of Paris endeavored to carry their possessions to other, safer cities. Saint Genevieve summoned their matrons and urged them to persist in prayers, vigils, and fasts, so that, like Judith and Esther, they might escape destruction. She also urged their men not to carry their goods away from Paris, because, while other cities were laid waste, Paris would be preserved under the protection of Christ.

Because of this, they rose against her, calling her a false prophetess. While they were deliberating whether to stone her or submerge her in a river, an archdeacon arrived from Auxerre. He related the testimony of Blessed Germanus, who said concerning her that she had been chosen by God from her mother’s womb. “And behold,” he said, “I present the blessed gifts that Saint Germanus left for her.” Then the citizens dissolved their counsel. By her prayers, however, she drove away the aforesaid army, so that it did not surround Paris.

From her fifteenth year until her fiftieth, her food was barley bread and beans, which she mixed again in a pot and ate after two or three weeks. From the Lord’s Day until the fifth day of the week she fasted, and from the fifth day until the Lord’s Day. She never drank wine or anything intoxicating. After her fiftieth year, at the urging of the bishops, for the sake of obedience she began to eat fish and milk with barley bread.

With great veneration she loved the Catulensian village, in which Blessed Dionysius suffered. It was also her devotion to construct a church there in his honor. She urged the priests that each should make a contribution toward this building. They answered, “Our scant resources will perhaps suffice for building, but a supply of lime to be burned is lacking.” Filled with the Holy Spirit, she prophesied and said, “Go out, I beg you, to the bridge of the city, and report to me what you hear.”

Going out, they stood astonished in the street. Behold, two swineherds were conversing, one of whom said to the other: “While I was following the tracks of a wandering sow because of her offspring, I found a limekiln of marvelous size.” The other answered, “And I found in the forest, beneath the roots of a tree uprooted by the wind, a limekiln from which I believe nothing was ever removed.” Hearing this, the priests gave thanks and returned. On hearing these things, the saint filled her bosom with tears for joy. She summoned Genesius the priest to construct a basilica in honor of the aforesaid martyr. Thus, with all the citizens bringing aid and Genevieve imploring, it was constructed.

During its construction, when the drink failed the assembled carpenters, the saint took a cup and prostrated herself apart with tears. Then, rising and making the sign of the cross over the vessel, the vessel was filled to the brim with drink. From it the workmen drank most abundantly until the completion of the basilica and gave thanks.

One night about cockcrow, as she went to church accompanied by virgins, the lighted candle that was carried before them was extinguished. When she took it, it was immediately lighted again. On another occasion, while she was rising from prayer in the

church, a candle in her hand that had not yet been lighted was lighted by divine power. After portions were taken from it, many sick persons were healed.

A certain woman who stole Genevieve's shoes was blinded when she returned home. But when, penitent, she prostrated herself before Genevieve's feet and sought pardon for the theft, she recovered sight after Genevieve signed her eyes.

King Childeric of the Franks also greatly loved her. Fearing that the saint would rescue certain prisoners whom he intended to kill, he entered the city of Paris and commanded the gate to be closed. Hearing this, the saint immediately proceeded to free the souls. In her hands the city gate was opened without a key. Thus she followed the king and obtained from him that the prisoners' heads should not be cut off.

At that time there was also Blessed Symeon. Merchants going and returning report that he asked about her, saluted her with profuse veneration, and requested that he be mindful in her prayers [read: requested that she be mindful of him in her prayers].

In the church of Saint Dionysius at Paris, persons possessed by demons who were presented to her were freed. From the day of Epiphany until the Supper of the Lord, enclosed in a cell, she devoted herself to God alone. A certain religious girl, approaching and moved more by curiosity than by faith, wished to know what the saint did in her cell and was blinded. But when Genevieve came out from the cell, she restored the girl's sight.

The Lord performed many other miracles through her. She lived for more than eighty years, full of the spirit of prophecy.

I. Saint Leonard

Saint Leonard was raised from the sacred font by Blessed Remigius and was instructed by him in saving disciplines. His parents were reckoned foremost in the palace of the king of France. He obtained such great favor from the king that all prisoners whom he himself visited were immediately released.

When the fame of his sanctity increased, the king compelled him to remain with him for a long time, until he might give him a bishopric. Leonard refused this and, desiring solitude, abandoned all things and came preaching to Orléans with his brother Lifardus.

After they had lived for some time in a certain monastery, Lifardus wished to remain as a solitary upon the bank of the Loire, while Leonard, by the admonition of the Holy Spirit, resolved to preach in Aquitaine. Kissing one another, they departed.

Leonard, therefore, preaching everywhere and performing miracles, dwelt in a certain forest near the city of Limoges, where a royal hall had been constructed for the sake of hunting. It happened that one day the king was hunting there and the queen, having gone out there for recreation, was endangered in childbirth.

While the king and household mourned on account of the queen's danger, Leonard passed through the wood and heard the voices of those lamenting. Moved by piety, he hastened there and, when summoned by the king, entered. When the king asked who he was and Leonard answered that he had been a disciple of Saint Remigius, the king conceived good hope. Thinking him well instructed by a good master, he brought him in to the queen and asked that through his prayers he might obtain a double joy: his wife recovered and an offspring brought forth. Then Leonard poured forth a prayer and immediately obtained what he sought.

The king offered him many things in gold and silver. Leonard immediately refused them, admonishing him to distribute them to the poor, and said: "I need none of these things. Rather, after despising the riches of the world, I desire only to serve God in some forest." When the king wished to hand over the whole wood to him, Leonard said: "I do not accept that whole wood. Rather, I ask that as much as I shall be able to go around with my little ass in an entire night be granted to me." The king did this most willingly.

Accordingly, after a monastery had been constructed there, he lived there for a long time in great abstinence with two monks who had joined him. Since water was one mile distant from them, he commanded a wholly dry well to be dug there, which he filled with water by his prayers. He called the place Nobiliacum because it had been given by a noble king.

There he shone with such great miracles that whoever invoked his name in prison immediately went out free, after whatever bonds had been broken, with no one opposing him, and presented his chains or shackles. Many of these remained with him and served the Lord there.

Seven families from his noble stock also sold all things and came to him. After a portion of the forest had been distributed to each, they remained there with him and drew very many by their example.

At length Saint Leonard, illustrious through many virtues, migrated to the Lord on the eighth day before the Ides of November, around the year of the Lord five hundred.

Because he performed many miracles even after his passing from this world and that church was small, it was revealed to the clerics that they should build a basilica elsewhere, so that it might be more capacious for the multitude of the people arriving, and should transport Saint Leonard's body there. They and the people persisted in a three-day fast and in prayers. When they looked, they saw the whole province covered with snow, but saw that place where the body of Blessed Leonard wished to rest entirely free of snow.

He was therefore translated there. The multitude of diverse kinds of iron before his sepulcher shows how many miracles the Lord performs through him concerning prisoners.

One miracle from among many is placed here. A certain man dwelling in the place of Saint Leonard—that is, Nobiliacum—and existing as very faithful and devoted to that saint was captured by a certain tyrant. Thinking within himself, the tyrant said: "This Leonard releases all who are shackled, and every power of iron melts before him like wax. Therefore, if I bind this man in chains, Leonard will immediately be present and free him. But if I can guard him, I shall cause him to redeem himself for one thousand solidi. I know, therefore, what I shall do. I shall dig a deep pit in the tower and cast him into it weighed down with shackles. Then I shall place a wooden chest over the mouth of the pit and make armed soldiers lie within it. For although Leonard breaks iron, he has not yet entered beneath the earth."

When he had fulfilled everything as he had thought and that man had repeatedly called upon Saint Leonard, Leonard came by night and overturned the chest in which the soldiers lay, enclosing them beneath it like dead men in a sepulcher. Then, entering the pit with much light, he took the hand of his faithful man and said, "Are you sleeping, or are you awake? Behold Leonard, whom you desire."

The man, marveling, said, "Lord, help me." Immediately, after the chains had been broken, Leonard took him up and carried him outside the tower in his own arms. Then, conversing with him as a friend with a friend, he led him back as far as his own place and his own house.

II. Another Saint Leonard

It is read concerning another holy man, Leonard, of the same profession and virtue, whose body rests at Corbie. When he was a prelate in a monastery, he cast himself down with such humility that he seemed inferior to all.

But since almost the whole people flowed together to him, certain envious persons persuaded King Lothar that, unless he guarded himself against Leonard—who was assembling many under the pretext of religion—the kingdom of France would incur no small loss. The king, too credulous toward them, commanded that Leonard be expelled. But the soldiers who came to expel him were so pierced by his words that they promised they would become his disciples.

The king also sought pardon, and Leonard's detractors were deprived of their possessions and honors. The king greatly loved the aforesaid man of God, Leonard, because of his merits, and only with difficulty, at the prayer of the holy man, restored the possessions and honors to those detractors.

Leonard also obtained from the Lord that whoever was held in prison should immediately be released when his name was invoked—if, that is, it were expedient for that person's salvation.

One day, while he applied himself to prayer, a very great serpent extended itself from the region of his feet as far as his bosom. On account of this he in no way rose from prayer. When the prayer was completed, however, he said to it: "I know that from the beginning of your creation you disturb human beings as much as you can. But power has not been given to you over me—that is, to do everything you desire. Do against me whatever I have merited." When this was said, the serpent leapt out through his hood and fell dead at his feet.

After these things, when he had pacified two bishops who were at discord with one another, he foretold that he would come to his end on the following day. This happened.

III. Saint Vedast, Bishop of Arras in Gaul

Alcuin, who is also called Albinus, wrote the life of Saint Vedast, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*. This Saint Vedast, an excellent preacher, flourished in the time of Clovis, king of the Franks.

When the said Clovis, after gaining victory against the Alemanni, had vowed that he would become a Christian, he approached the town of Toul, where Saint Vedast was. After Clovis had been instructed by him in the faith, Vedast afterward led him to Blessed Remigius for the sake of obtaining baptism. On the way Blessed Vedast gave sight to a blind man. By this miracle the king was greatly strengthened in the faith.

After Blessed Remigius baptized Clovis, he earnestly commended Saint Vedast to him.

When Vedast had received a certain noble and religious man as a guest, and when, at the man's departure, Vedast wished to provide him with wine for the journey but had none in his house, Vedast obtained by a divine miracle that an empty vessel be filled with the best wine, from which Vedast provided for him. Vedast nevertheless commanded the boy who had drawn the wine to tell no one of such a sign during his lifetime.

After these things Saint Remigius made Blessed Vedast bishop of Arras. When Blessed Vedast entered the city, he healed a lame man at the gate and gave sight to a certain blind man.

Among fragments of walls and houses he found the ancient ruins of a church. A bear sprang out from the ruined caverns. When the man of God commanded it to seek deserted places, it departed and was seen no more in those regions.

A certain noble Frank named Ocinus invited King Lothar, the son of Clovis, and Saint Vedast with him to a meal. As they entered the house, the holy man extended his hand and signed all the vessels with the sign of the cross. There were certain vessels there filled with ale but infected by enchantments according to gentile error. They immediately burst apart with a crash, and whatever liquid they contained was poured out. When the king and the nobles sought the cause of this event, it was explained, and they were greatly strengthened in the faith.

He presided over the church of Arras for almost forty years.

On the night on which he passed away, a column of most brilliant light was seen to stand for the space of about two hours from the summit of the house in which he lay as far as the height of heaven. When the clergy, people, and priests of other churches assembled for his funeral rites, amid the voices of those weeping they heard persons singing psalms in heaven.

For the place of his burial he had chosen an oratory that he had constructed from wooden planks at poor expense. This place was difficult of access because of the marshes surrounding it. But when it became late and those who had assembled were preparing to depart, they asked the saint to permit himself to be carried to the church of the holy Mother of God, Mary, over which he had presided in the city. When they lifted the bier, they felt no weight.

IV. The Holy Abbots Severinus of Agaunum and Maxentius of Poitiers

When Clovis had now governed the kingdom of France well for twenty-five years, he was suddenly seized by a feverish illness. Since he could be healed by no art of the physicians, he heard the fame of Saint Severinus, abbot of the monastery of Agaunum, who was held by the inhabitants of the place to be distinguished by the titles of many miracles. Through messengers he humbly entreated Severinus to come to him.

Devout and kindly, Severinus came to him and through his prayers freed him from his inward feverish infirmity. Moreover, remaining with him for some space of time, by sacred prayers he restored to health many persons from his household and from the people of Paris who were oppressed by diverse afflictions: restoring movement to the lame, speech to the mute, sight to the blind, and hearing again to the deaf, and driving unclean spirits from the bodies of the possessed.

At length King Clovis addressed him benignly, saying: “I beseech you, father abbot, receive as much money as you wish from our treasury, and distribute it to the poor as you please. Let all guilty persons who are confined in prison in my kingdom and are detained for their wickedness be released by your indulgence.”

At the king’s command, therefore, all the prisons in his kingdom were opened. An innumerable multitude of those who were to be afflicted with diverse tortures and punished with the death they deserved came forth rejoicing at the arrival of Blessed Severinus, released from every kind of torment.

When he learned through the revelation of an angel that his death was approaching, he ascended from the city of Paris to a certain mountain. On its summit was an oratory in which two priests remained serving God. Received honorably by them, amid their holy conversations he commended his spirit to the Lord. At the very hour of his death the whole place was surrounded by light like a star.

V. Saint Maxentius

Maxentius the abbot, as Sigebert writes, was from Poitiers. Among other miraculous works of virtue, he merited to raise a dead person. Very often birds of the wild, leaving the branches of the groves, took now grains of wheat and now fragments of bread from his hand.

He was also frequently visited by angels, to such a degree that the splendor of the cell in which he dwelt, continually singing psalms, gleamed in the sight of the servants or monks like shining globes of stars. His refreshment was barley bread and water. Yet he was frequently fed by divine banquets.

He applied himself to prayers in such a manner that, from his bending himself down, swellings appeared upon his limbs like the humps of camels.

At one time, while the monks, laboring amid their works, were burdened by thirst, this man of God completed a prayer and fixed his staff in the field in the sight of those standing by. A living spring flowed forth beneath it. From it the monks gave thanks and quenched their thirst, and many sick persons were afterward healed from it.

At one time the Franks came to a military conflict with the Goths, with King Clovis preceding them. When they approached the monastery over which Maxentius presided, they began to consider that they should overthrow it and kill the holy man. At the devil's persuasion one of the barbarians stretched out his hand to behead him, with his sword suspended in the air. The swordsman's hand remained extended in vain, and the saint's neck remained unharmed.

After a little while, the man began to tear himself with his teeth and lacerate his own body with wounds. At length, inflamed into madness, the unhappy man became his own murderer. The others, however, were suddenly blinded in their eyes and disturbed in mind, so that one scarcely recognized another.

When this came to the ears of Clovis, he ran very swiftly to the holy man, prostrated himself, humbly adored, and sought pardon for himself and his men. The man, full of God, moved by the king's prayers, made the sign of the cross over them and bestowed the blessing of a sacred gift from a fragment of bread. He brought them health and permitted them to return to the camp.

After these things, when a certain cultivator of a crop hurried on the Lord's Day to pull rye in the harvest, his hand was constricted for two years, so that no remedy of physicians could apply health. But, going to the holy man, after prayer was poured forth he recovered complete health. Maxentius restored similar soundness to a certain woman whose hands had been made useless because she had spun on the Lord's Day.

At length, announcing his death to his monks, he rested in peace.

VI. Saint Melanius and Saint Arnulphus

There was also another abbot, Melanius, noble in birth, distinguished in beauty, and chaste in body, as Vincent reports in Book XXII of the *Historical Mirror*. By his counsel King Clovis fed the poor and honored the saints.

Melanius once met the devil in the appearance of a horned bull. The saint asked where it was going. It answered, "I am going to the brothers to give them a drink." The saint immediately went to his oratory. The devil, however, entered one of the elders as he drank water. When the devil tormented him, the saint struck the tormented man with the palm of his hand and shook out the demon. He was of such great virtue that demons did not dare to conceal themselves before him.

In the district of Vannes he raised a dead boy who was tormented by a demon. The demon, seducing him and knowing that it was to be cast out, had strangled him in a private chamber.

There was also Saint Arnulphus, the son of Saint Remigius in baptism, who was illustrious in Gaul. After many contests in preaching Christ, he was crowned with martyrdom in the Aquilian forest.

When Saint Remigius baptized Clovis, he commended Saint Arnulphus to him. Clovis gave him his niece as wife and handed them both over to Saint Remigius. Remigius persuaded them to remain virgins, which they did.

A voice from heaven came to Arnulphus in dreams, saying, "Unless anyone renounces all things that he possesses, he cannot be my disciple." He approached Saint Remigius with the greatest haste, received provision for the journey from Blessed Remigius, abandoned his bride and all things, and completed twenty-seven years in his pilgrimage in a lay habit.

At Ravenna, after Matins on the Lord's Day, he had remained alone in the church to pray. There the soul of a certain sinner, which the devil was dragging to hell after it had been stripped from the body, began to cry out: "Saint Arnulphus, chosen of God, give aid, and restrain these assaults of the enemies." Then he, moved to tears, prayed with most abundant weeping. The soul returned to the body, the man lived again, and he indicated by whose merits he had been saved. In a clear voice he disclosed to those present that Arnulphus himself was the pilgrim.

Immediately the saint, fleeing vainglory, returned to Saint Remigius. When he came upon the River Seine at the place called Cella, he encountered a certain dead man being carried upon a bier. After pouring forth prayer, he restored him to life and brought him with him to Saint Remigius.

Blessed Arnulphus, fleeing the people of Reims, again undertook a pilgrimage. After a visitation to the body of Saint Saturninus at Toulouse and Saint Hilary at Poitiers, he at length came to the body of Blessed Martin at Tours. There, through the revelation of an angel, he was made bishop.

One night there, when at the beginning of the vigils he began, “O Lord, you will open my lips,” the clerics fell asleep and there was no one to answer. An angel added, “And my mouth shall announce your praise.”

VII. Saint Vigor, Bishop of Bayeux

In the time of Childebert, king of the Franks and son of Clovis, of whom something was said above, Saint Vigor, bishop of the city of Bayeux, was illustrious. Born in the province of Arras from noble parents who were powerful in faith, he lived in religion with the monks within the monastery of Saint Vedast, as Vincent reports in Book XXII of the *Historical Mirror*.

He shone with such great obedience and humility that he seemed more pleasing than all. Since his very wealthy parents desired that he, while they were still living, should succeed to their abundance of possessions, but he aspired more eagerly to heavenly things, he took one little boy with him and, not knowing where he was going, took after abandoning his parents [read: he took one little boy with him and, not knowing where he was going, departed after abandoning his parents]. By divine direction he arrived in the region of Bayeux.

While he was on the journey, an angel of the Lord admonished him in dreams, saying: “Proceed where you have determined to go, because a place has been prepared for you by the Lord, and no small people is to be converted to the faith through you.”

Continuing the journey he had begun, he came to a village called Redeversus, where the people were held by the worship of idols. Constructing an oratory, he passed the nights in vigils and prayers and continually prayed to the Lord that the Spirit of God would illuminate that people for the knowledge of truth. The Lord bestowed so much grace upon him that, through his preaching and example of holiness, almost all were converted to the faith of Christ.

When the Lord wished his soldier to be made manifest, it happened that the son of a certain man—a little boy whom Vigor had converted to Christ—died while tormented by fevers. His mother, exhausted by weeping, ran to the servant of God and tearfully begged him to restore her son, extinguished by death. After sending forth a prayer for the little boy, he said to the woman, “If you believe with your whole heart in the God whom Christians worship, you will obtain whatever you wish.” Hearing these things, she therefore believed and returned to the house where she had left her dead son. She found him outside the house praising God.

Through this miracle the fame of his sanctity resounded far and wide. Divine mercy granted manifold medicine to the sick through his prayers, so that he restored sight to the blind, movement to the lame, and health to the infirm.

In a certain forest there was an enormous serpent that burned human beings and livestock with its breath. A certain wealthy man who possessed estates around the place asked the man of God to go there and free the people and livestock from that destruction.

Going there, Vigor said, “Ancient serpent and Satan, in the name of Jesus Christ I command you to come out of the cave.” It immediately came out with its head raised, emitting flames from its mouth and grinding its teeth, as though prepared to devour. Its length was forty feet.

As soon as the man of God saw it, he opposed the sign of the cross to it. It closed its mouth, lowered its neck, and came to him. Saint Vigor bound a thong around its neck and handed it to his servant Redemirus to be led to the sea, commanding that the serpent should not return from there again. This was done.

He also cast another serpent out of a place called Cella and a third from a place called Cameron. For this reason, all the aforesaid estates were handed over to him in possession.

When the bishop of Bayeux died, Vigor was ordained bishop there by the will of God, at the petition of the clergy and people. But a certain count named Beltulfus, burning with avarice, proudly and violently occupied a field belonging to the said church. When the saint prayed that God would defend the inheritance of the Church, that proud man fell from his horse and died with his neck broken.

Before Vigor’s conception it had also been revealed to his mother by an angel that she would have a son whom the Lord would magnificently illuminate with his grace. He died an old man, leaving many disciples educated in holy conduct.

Title XII

Title XII contains the deeds of eighty-seven years, namely from the year of the Lord 518 until the year of the Lord 605.

In this interval these supreme pontiffs succeeded one another: John I; Felix III; Boniface II; John II; Agapetus; Silverius; Vigilius; Pelagius I; John III; Benedict I; Pelagius II; and Gregory I.

The emperors were Justin the Elder, Justinian the Younger, Tiberius, and Maurice.

It contains principally many sayings of Pope Gregory; the history of the Goths defeated by Belisarius and afterward by Narses; how the Lombards entered Italy; and the deeds of many holy men and holy women who shone in the world in those times by life and miracles.

Chapter I

After the death of Anastasius, the perfidious emperor, the impious Justin the Elder succeeded him, concerning whom something will be said below. After Hormisdas, John I, the first of that name and the fifty-first in the number of the pontiffs, merited to hold the apostolic chair.

Because the aforesaid emperor Justin, as a true Catholic and most devout man, not only recalled from exile all the bishops and other most holy men whom Anastasius the heretic had sent into exile because they did not favor his error, and received them honorably, but had also ordained that the churches held by the Arians in the eastern regions be taken away from them, Theodoric, king of Italy and himself an Arian, therefore sent Pope John with certain senators and consuls to the emperor Justin, so that he would revoke such an edict and the churches would be restored to the Arians. Otherwise, Theodoric himself would expose all Italy to sword and fire.

To prevent the extermination of Italy, Pope John, although infirm, undertook the journey to the city of Constantinople, where Justin resided.

As Hugh of Fleury reports after Gregory in the book of the *Dialogues*, when John had now reached the regions of Corinth, it became necessary that a horse on which he might sit during the journey be sought for him. When a certain noble man heard this, he granted to John the gentlest horse, upon which his wife had been accustomed to ride, with the condition that when John had arrived at an open place where a suitable horse could be found for him, the horse should be sent back for his wife.

This was done. For, when another suitable horse was found as the journey continued, John sent the first one back to the nobleman. But when the wife of the aforesaid nobleman again wished to mount it as she had been accustomed, she was no longer able. For with immense blowing and neighing and with unceasing movement of its entire body, it seemed to disclose, as though with disdain, that after carrying the limbs of the pontiff it could not carry a woman. When her husband prudently perceived this, he sent the horse back to the venerable man, seeking with earnest entreaties that John himself should possess what he had now dedicated by the sitting of his holy person [read: the horse, which he had now dedicated to his own possession by sitting upon it].

He was received by the whole city of Constantinople with the highest honor, as Helinand says, so that at the fifteenth milestone from the city itself the people proceeded to meet him with candles, lamps, and crosses, giving thanks that they had merited to receive the successor of Blessed Peter and the vicar of Christ.

When he was received with the highest joy by the emperor and all the clergy and people, immediately at the Golden Gate, in the sight of all, he granted sight to a blind man who asked it. Justin humbled himself and, prostrate upon the ground, adored holy Pope John.

John, with the other envoys, asked Justin to hear the embassy, so that Italy might be freed and not exposed to extermination by Theodoric. He did this, permitting the Arians to use the churches that they had held before.

After obtaining those things for which he had gone, as Hugh of Fleury says, John returned to Ravenna, where the frequently named tyrant Theodoric held the seat of the kingdom. In the zeal of envy, because he had heard that John and his companions had been received and treated honorably by the emperor, Theodoric wished to kill him with the sword. But he feared that he would incur the excessive indignation of Emperor Justin. Nevertheless, he consigned him to the custody of a prison, where, wasted by the foulness of the prison, he rendered his spirit to God.

His martyrdom is celebrated on the fifth day before the Kalends of June. His body was translated from Ravenna to the City and buried in the church of Blessed Peter. He was Tuscan by nation, from a father named Constantius. He sat for two years. The papacy was vacant for fifty-eight days.

I. Felix II and Boniface II

Felix II succeeded John in the chair of Peter. He was the fifty-second in the catalogue, a Samnite by nation, from a father named Castorius. How long he sat is uncertain. For according to some it was eleven years; according to others, such as Martinianus and John of Columna, it was four years, two months, and fifteen days.

He constructed the basilica of Cosmas and Damian in the city of Rome. He rebuilt from the ground the church of Saint Saturninus on the Salarian Way, which had been consumed by fire in his time.

He held two ordinations during the month of March in the City and ordained fifty-five priests, four deacons, and twenty-nine bishops for diverse places. Added to his fathers, he was buried in the church of Saint Peter. The episcopate was vacant for three days.

After the death of Felix, Boniface II ascended the chair of Peter. He was a Roman by nation, from a father named Sigibund, and the fifty-third in the order of the Roman pontiffs. He sat for two years, for he was in the time of Emperor Justinian.

There was also a schism at that time, because another man named Dioscorus was ordained pope, but not canonically. On account of this, a dissension arose among the clergy and in the senate and endured for about one month. In the meantime Dioscorus died, and the schism was removed, Boniface II remaining in the see of Peter. Boniface, led by zeal and deceit, reconciled this Dioscorus to the clergy under the bond of anathema [read: Boniface, led by zeal and deceit, reconciled the clergy under the bond of an anathema and written pledge].

This Boniface assisted the clergy with much sustenance in a peril of famine. He assembled a synod in the basilica of Blessed Peter and made constitutions. He ordained Vigilius the deacon as his successor. But because this had been done against the canons, he revoked it.

Migrating to the Lord, he was buried in the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. The episcopate was vacant for two months and fifteen days.

Under this pontiff, a report came to Rome from the African bishops, who by unanimous will and counsel deliberated and established that the bishop of Carthage should establish and do all things by the counsel of the Roman Apostolic See.

Pope Boniface says as follows, in Distinction LXXXIX:

> *The providence of ordering established different grades and distinct orders for this purpose: that while the lesser exhibited reverence to the greater and the greater bestowed love upon the lesser, true concord might arise, a joining together out of diversity, and the administration of the several offices might be properly generated. For the whole could subsist by no other reason unless such a great order of difference preserved it. Because, indeed, each creature cannot be governed or live in one and the same quality, the example of the heavenly armies instructs us. For since there are angels and archangels, it is clear that they are not equal, but one differs from another in power and order.*

II. John II

John II succeeded Boniface in the Apostolic See. He was the fifty-fourth, also called Maturius [read: also called Mercurius], a Roman by nation, from a father named Projectus, from the Caelian Hill. He sat for two years and four months. He lived in the times of Athalaric, king of Italy, and Emperor Justinian.

At that time, before his death, Justin the Elder, a religious man, with the greatest love of the Christian religion, sent his faith in writing, in his own handwriting, to the Apostolic See through the bishops Apatius and Demetrius [read: through the bishops Hypatius and Demetrius]. He also caused to be offered to Blessed Peter the Apostle a golden cup surrounded with gems and very many silver chalices.

John held one ordination during the month of December in the City, promoting fifteen men to the priesthood and twenty-one to the episcopate in diverse places. When he passed from this world to the Father, he was buried in the basilica of Blessed Peter. The episcopate was vacant for seven days.

Pope John writes as follows to the bishop of Syracuse, in Cause XVI, Question II, chapter *Visis*:

> *Your fraternity added that a considerable dispute and sedition arose between clerics and monks from this cause—namely, by whom priests ought to be instituted there for the churches of the monks. Let no one doubt that this occurs at the instigation of the cunning enemy. For he has a thousand modes of doing harm, and we are not ignorant of his craftiness. From the beginning of his fall he endeavors to cut apart the unity of the Church, to wound charity, to infect the sweetness of holy works with the gall of envy, and by every means he can to overthrow and disturb the human race. For he grieves greatly and is ashamed that steadfast human beings, formed from earthen material, maintain upon earth the charity that he himself was unable to possess in heaven. Therefore, so far as is granted to our frailty, we must fortify every approach against his cunning for doing harm, lest death enter our gates.*

> *Accordingly, after the counsel of many brothers has been diligently sought, we decree that henceforth churches handed over to monks are to have their priests instituted through their own members. For divine and secular laws hold that the institution belongs to him whose possession it is. And if charity was ready in giving what is greater, let holy liberality be readier in granting what is lesser. For it was greater to give the possession than to grant the investiture. For how would the rights of a possessor be acknowledged and the things granted to him be returned to him as his own, where what is his is given through another and is taken away when that other wills? For it is a human custom to fear him by whose judgment and will one is now raised up and now cast down.*

Thus it is written there. But concerning this matter—namely, concerning the chaplains of monks—you have there in the gloss what the law is.

III. Agapitus

The fifty-fifth in the see of Peter was Agapitus, a Roman by nation, from a father named Gordian, a priest. There are diverse opinions concerning how long he was in the chair of Peter. John of Columna asserts that he sat for eleven years; according to others, only one year, which appears truer.

Theodahad, king of the Goths and of Italy, sent this blessed pontiff to Constantinople to Emperor Justinian. For he had heard that Justinian was most gravely disturbed against him on account of the death of the daughter of King Theodoric, because Theodahad had caused or permitted it. Theodahad believed that through the mediation of the pontiff the prince would be reconciled to him.

Coming to Constantinople, Agapitus was received with great glory by Justinian. But, after holding a conference with that prince, he discovered that he had fallen into the pestiferous dogma of the Eutychians. For he had been seduced by Anthimus, bishop of Constantinople.

When the blessed pontiff steadfastly rebuked the emperor because he had stained the majesty of the Roman Empire with the pollution of perverse dogma, the emperor at first bore that rebuke gravely, so that he said to him, “Either consent to us, or I shall cause you to be carried into exile.”

The most blessed pope, in no way moved, said to him: “I, a sinner, desired indeed to come to the most Christian emperor Justinian, but I have found Diocletian. Nevertheless, emperor, I do not fear your threats, so long as the true faith remains unshaken in me.”

The emperor, marveling at his holy constancy, was restrained from that fury of his. He commanded a council of the eastern bishops to be assembled in the royal city. When it had assembled, Blessed Agapitus, in the presence of the prince Justinian, proved against Anthimus from the words of the Gospels that there were two natures in the Lord Jesus Christ. When Anthimus had been convicted but was unwilling to withdraw from his obstinacy, he was condemned and deposed.

Then the emperor Justinian, filled with joy, humbled himself before the Apostolic See and adored the most blessed Pope Agapitus. He asked him to institute a Catholic bishop in the city of Constantinople. Agapitus set over that city as bishop a certain most holy man named Mennas.

After Blessed Agapitus had obtained from the emperor those things for which he had been sent by King Theodahad and was preparing himself for the return, he was seized by a grave illness and died at Constantinople. His body, however, was translated to Rome and buried in the church of Blessed Peter.

He held one ordination and ordained four deacons and eleven bishops. The episcopate was vacant for one month and twenty-six days.

Pope Agapitus says in Distinction I, *On Consecration*:

> *The Catholic vessel, the trumpet of the Gospel, the herald of justice—that is, the priest—erased with Catholic prayers the sacred coverings of the altar and see that had been infected with the sacrilegious names of the Arians.*

IV. Silverius

After Agapitus had been taken from this world, Silverius, the fifty-sixth pontiff, received the supreme prelacy. He was a Campanian by nation, from a father named Horimisda, bishop of Rome [read: from a father named Hormisdas, bishop of Rome], concerning whom something was said above. Silverius was nevertheless legitimate, because before Hormisdas was promoted to the clergy he had a wife, by whom he begot Silverius.

Silverius sat for one year, five months, and eleven days. Although he was a holy and good man, nevertheless, at the will and compulsion of King Theodahad, he was made pope without a decree of the clergy. For Theodahad had commanded that whoever did not consent to his ordination should be punished by the sword.

Therefore, the priests did not subscribe according to the ancient custom of the Roman Church, nor did they confirm a decree before his consecration. But afterward, because of the scandal that could arise, the priests subscribed themselves to his decree. King Theodahad, who had introduced this most evil and detestable custom into the Church, died not long afterward by the judgment of God.

Meanwhile Theodora, wife of Emperor Justinian, who was contaminated by the heresy of the Eutychians, grieved that Anthimus the patriarch had been deposed by Blessed Agapitus for his error. She sent letters to Pope Silverius, asking him either to come to her at Constantinople or to remove and depose Mennas, whom Pope Agapitus had made patriarch of Constantinople, and recall Anthimus.

But Pope Silverius, placing his hope in the Lord and knowing that one must obey God rather than human beings, wrote back to the empress: “Far be it from me, lady empress, ever to do this thing: to recall to the apostolic summit a heretical man already condemned in his perfidy.”

On hearing this, the empress, filled with a womanly fury, wrote to Belisarius the patrician, who was then at Rome, that, when an occasion had been taken, he should remove Pope Silverius from the pontifical see and carry him into exile. At that time the empress used the counsel of a certain Vigilius, who was then the representative of the Roman Church in the royal city. For, led by ambition, he aspired to the papacy.

When it became known among the Romans that the pontiff Silverius had incurred the empress’s indignation, certain false witnesses rose against him and accused him, leading him, of having sent letters to the king of the Goths [read: accused him, saying that he had sent letters to the king of the Goths], who was beyond the Po and commanded the Goths there, saying: “Come to Rome with an army, and I shall open for you the gate that is beside the Lateran and shall hand over to you Belisarius the patrician.”

Hearing this, Belisarius gave it no credence, for he knew that they were led by envy. Nevertheless, he caused Silverius to come to him. When he came into the palace, a certain subdeacon named John suddenly removed the pallium from his neck. After he had been taken away from their midst, stripped of his pontifical vestments, and clothed in a monastic garment, one of his clerics who had seen this went outside and announced to the clergy, saying, “The lord pope has been deposed and made a monk.” Hearing this, they all fled.

But Vigilius the deacon received him under his pledge and sent him into exile on the Pontian Islands, where he sustained him with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish. Dying not long afterward, Silverius, a true confessor of Christ, rendered his spirit to the Lord and was buried in that same place. A multitude of the sick who fled to him was healed.

He held one ordination during the month of December and ordained fourteen priests and nineteen bishops for diverse places. The episcopate was vacant for one day.

Concerning him it is written as follows in the Decretals, Cause XXIII, Question IV:

> *Gilisarius our patrician [read: Belisarius our patrician] commanded me to come peacefully to him in the prince’s palace for certain ecclesiastical dispositions. At the first and second curtain—that is, the chamber or door, according to the gloss—he detained all the clergy and people who came with me and permitted no one to enter except me alone and Vigilius our deacon. But after I had been detained by force and led before the aforesaid patrician, they sent me into exile, in which I am sustained only with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish.*
>
> *Nevertheless, I have not relinquished, nor do I relinquish, my office. Rather, with the bishops whom I was able to assemble, I anathematized those who did such things against me; and together with them I established by apostolic authority that no one should ever be deceived in the way that I was deceived.*

The same Silverius says to the aforesaid Vigilius:

> *Therefore, together with those who consent to you, possess the sentence of full damnation; and let the name and office of the priestly ministry be taken away from you.*

The gloss explains: so that he cannot obtain it.

As Gratian adds in the following section, Silverius did this lawfully and most justly, because he avenged not his own injury but that of the Church, for the injury of a prelate insofar as he is a prelate is the injury of the Church. Yet he could also avenge his own injury, because he had no superior, according to the gloss.

Note there a twofold defect in the text. The first occurs where, in the preceding chapter *Obicitur*, it says “that of Silvester.” The word is corrupted, as may be believed, by the fault of a copyist, because it intends to say “that of Silverius”; he was not called Silvester, but Pope Silverius. The second defect is that the chapter begins “Gilisarius,” where the first letter is changed. For it intends to say “Belisarius,” as is evident from the chronicles.

V. Vigilius

After Silverius, the aforesaid Vigilius was created the fifty-seventh pope. He was a Roman by nation, from a father named John, a consul. He sat for seventeen years, six months, and twenty-five days.

After the empress Theodora learned this, she immediately wrote to the pope that, according to what had been promised, he should recall the heretic Anthimus. Vigilius sent her this response: “Far be this from me, lady empress. For if at the beginning I spoke evilly and foolishly, I grieve for it. But now, although I am unworthy, I am the vicar of Christ and Blessed Peter on earth. Therefore, I in no way consent to restore to his former state a heretical and anathematized man, justly condemned by my most holy predecessors Agapitus and Silverius.”

When the empress learned this, she was greatly disturbed, but for some time concealed the fury that she had conceived against Vigilius.

Meanwhile Totila, king of the Goths, reduced the city of Rome to his power after many other cities of Italy had been captured and laid waste, and the Romans were dispersed here and there, as will be said in the following chapter. Some of the number of the senators, afflicted together with Pope Vigilius, hastened to Constantinople and explained to Emperor Justinian the calamities to which Rome was subjected. Receiving them kindly, the emperor consoled them and promised soon to aid the calamities of the City, which he did, as will be said.

But Pope Vigilius, who had earlier been received by the emperor, was unwilling to recall the heretic Anthimus at Theodora’s suggestion. After he endured many reproaches, he was thrust into exile at the emperor’s command, together with the clerics who had followed him from the City. When he had remained there for some time, afflicted by many exactions, he was recalled by the emperor through the intercession of the Roman people and nobles. While returning, he died on the island of Sicily.

Helinand, however, as Vincent reports in Book XXII of the *Historical Mirror*, speaks otherwise concerning this Pope Vigilius. Namely, when Vigilius was unwilling to recall Anthimus to the episcopate, as was evident, Theodora, wife of Justinian, sent a certain scribe to Rome to bring Vigilius to Constantinople by force.

When he had been placed in a ship and the ship had moved, the Roman people cast stones, sticks, and cooking pots after him, saying: “You did evil to the Romans; may you also find evil where you are going. Famine be with you; mortality be with you.”

After he entered Constantinople, they were in contention for two years concerning the recall of Anthimus. Vigilius did not consent to it, saying: “It was not Justinian and Theodora who caused me to come here, but Diocletian and a female lictor. Do what you will; I receive things worthy of my deeds.”

Then a certain man struck him with the palm of his hand, saying: “Do you not know to whom you speak, murderer? For you killed Pope Silverius and the son of a widow with kicks and clubs.”

Then Vigilius fled to the basilica of Blessed Euphemia and held the column of the altar. Dragged from it, he was cast outside the church. With ropes placed around his neck, he was dragged through the whole city until evening. He was then sent into prison, where a little bread and water were given to him. The Roman clergy who had come with him were sent into exile to diverse places to cut metals.

This Vigilius established as follows, in Distinction I, *On Consecration*:

> *If the fabric of any church has been destroyed, it must be restored. If the solemnity of consecration ought to be restored in that place in which there were no sanctuaries, we judge that it presents no obstacle if water that has not been exorcized is cast through it, because in the consecration of any church in which an altar of the Holy Spirit is not placed, we know there to be only the celebration of Masses.*
>
> *Therefore, if any basilica of the saints has even been renewed from its foundations without movement of the altar, without any doubt, when the solemnity of Masses has been celebrated in it, the consecration of the whole sanctification will be fulfilled. But if the sanctuaries that it possessed—that is, the relics of the altar—have been removed, it will again receive the reverence of sanctification by their deposition and by the solemnity of Masses.*

Thus it is written there. The expression is obscure; but see the gloss.

Vigilius was succeeded in the pontificate by Pelagius, the fifty-eighth pope, who sat for eleven years, ten months, and eighteen days. At the beginning of his episcopate there was no one in the City who wished to communicate with him, asserting that he had consented to the death of Pope Vigilius and had been the cause of his being afflicted with such great penalties and afflictions.

For this reason, after the clergy and people had been assembled at Saint Peter's, before Narses the emperor's chamberlain, Pelagius ascended the ambo. Holding the Gospels and a cross over his head, he swore that he had inflicted no evil upon Vigilius. Thus the people and clergy were calmed.

Note that there were two popes named Pelagius. One was this man concerning whom we now speak; the other was he who was immediately before Pope Gregory and after this first Pelagius. Since many chapters attributed to Pelagius are cited in the Decretals, and it is not said whether they are from the first or second, this must therefore be attended to.

VI. John III

After Pelagius, John III, the fifty-ninth, sat in the see of Peter. He was a Roman by nation and remained in it for twelve years, eleven months, and twenty-six days.

When this blessed pontiff learned that Narses was justly moved against the Roman people because they had complained to Emperor Justin concerning his government as he governed Italy, the pope himself considered how many good things had proceeded from the presence and providence of Narses, not only for the Romans but for all Italy. He hastened swiftly to Naples and strove with tears to reconcile him to the Romans, so that he would return again to Rome.

Narses said to him: "Say, most holy pope: what evil have I done to the Romans? I shall go to the feet of the prince, so that all Italy may know how I labored with all my strength to rescue it from the hands of the barbarians."

Nevertheless, at the persuasion of the pontiff, Narses returned to Rome and strove to recall the Lombards from entering Italy, but he was unable. For Alboin, king of the Lombards, who had received letters from him through a messenger that he should enter Italy, was already moved by a certain indignation, as will be said in the following chapter. Having already assembled great forces with their wives, children, and all their equipment, they had abandoned Pannonia and undertaken the journey. The king himself and the Lombards entered Italy in the year of the Lord 568.

Pope John says as follows in Cause XVI, Question III:

> *Moreover, if anyone raises a complaint about the number of years, let him know that between Christians and those who are of one faith a fixed number has been appointed for prescription. But where the fury of pagans and unbelievers is involved in the case, however much time may pass, it does not prejudice the right of churches, which, not knowing corporeal arms, await God alone as their champion, when it pleases him to have mercy. But if length of years impedes in such matters, God himself must be reproved, who after four hundred thirty years freed the children of Israel from the servitude of Pharaoh, and the Redeemer himself, who after thousands of years freed the human race from hell.*

VII. Benedict I and Gregory's Intended Mission to the English

After John III was taken from this light, Benedict I, the sixtieth pope, was created. He was a Roman by nation. After four years, two months, and one day less, he departed from life.

While he presided at Rome, there was a great famine in Italy, and especially at Rome. For the nation of the Lombards had consumed all things round about with hostile fury. Therefore, at the pontiff's prayers, lest the Romans be endangered by want, the most pious Emperor Justin sent ships to Egypt to carry grain to Rome. When the ships put in at the port, it freed not only the City itself but all Italy from the plague of famine [read: When the ships put in at the port, they freed not only the City itself but all Italy from the plague of famine].

At that time, as John of Columna writes, the Spaniards and Franks differed in celebrating Easter. For the Spaniards celebrated Easter on the twelfth day before the Kalends of April, but the Franks on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of May. That the Franks celebrated rightly became clear by divine means through this: the fonts in Spain that were accustomed to be filled spontaneously by divine power on the Holy Saturday of Easter for baptizing were filled not on the Easter of the Spaniards but on that of the Franks.

By this Pope Benedict, Gregory was ordained cardinal deacon. At his urgent request, he was permitted to depart to preach to the English, but very swiftly, because of the excessive complaint of the Romans, he was recalled from the journey he had begun, as Vincent notes in Book XXII of the *Historical Mirror*.

For one day, when many wares had been brought to the City by merchants and many people gathered from here and there to buy, it happened that Gregory, before he ascended to the supreme pontificate, passed through the marketplace. He saw certain boys exposed for sale there, of a milk-white color and a comely countenance, and having hair of exceptional brightness.

Looking at them, he asked from what region they had been brought. He was told that they came from Britain, whose inhabitants were all of a similar color. When he inquired whether the people of that island were Christians, he heard that they were pagans.

Then Gregory, drawing long sighs from his inmost heart, said: “Alas, what grief, that the author of darkness possesses such bright countenances, and that a nation with so pleasing an appearance of the brow bears a mind empty of inward joys.”

Again he asked what the name of that nation was. He was told that they were called Angles. “Well,” he said, “for they have angelic faces, and it is fitting that such persons should be coheirs of the angels in heaven.”

“What name,” he asked, “does the province itself have from which they were brought?” It was answered that those provincials were called Deiri. Gregory said, “They are called Deiri because they are to be led from the wrath of God to the mercy of Christ.”

Therefore, approaching the supreme pontiff, inflamed with zeal for their conversion, he asked him to abandon certain ministers of the word of God to the nation of the English in Britain [read: he asked him to send certain ministers of the word of God to the nation of the English in Britain], through whom they might be converted to Christ. He offered himself as ready for this, if it pleased the apostolic lord. Although with difficulty, the pope, overcome by Gregory’s unwearied entreaties, consented.

Concealing the business of his departure from his fellow citizens lest they impede him, Gregory undertook the journey with the apostolic blessing as swiftly as he could. But when it came to the people’s knowledge, all the citizens and suburban inhabitants, hearing it, ran to the church of Blessed Peter. As the apostolic lord went to the church, they cried out to him with a terrible voice: “Alas, apostolic lord, what have you done? You have offended Saint Peter; you have destroyed Rome, because you have dismissed Gregory.”

Moved by these voices and fearing the outcry of the people, the supreme pontiff sent an embassy after him with the greatest haste, commanding him to return to Rome as swiftly as possible.

When Gregory had now completed three days’ journeys and was resting in a certain meadow around the sixth hour, while the others were occupied with necessary matters and Gregory was reading, a locust approached. Leaping onto the page that he was running through, it settled there. Gregory, perceiving that it remained very tamely in the place where it had settled, began to interpret its name to his companions: “Locust—as though, ‘Stay in the place,’” intimating to his companions that they would not pursue the journey farther, as happened.

For apostolic messengers suddenly came, with their sweating horses wearied, bearing letters that commanded his return. Others nevertheless say that it was not Pope Benedict but Pelagius who permitted Gregory to set out for England and afterward recalled him. But the first account is truer, as is evident from the history.

Title XII, Chapter II

After the death of Benedict, Pelagius, the sixty-first pontiff, a Roman by nation, undertook the governance of the Roman pontificate. He sat for ten years, two months, and ten days.

He was consecrated pope without the emperor being consulted, because the Lombards were already besieging the City, so that they could not go out safely.

Gregory, who became pope after him, was afterward sent by him to Constantinople as representative—or Gregory was sent by Pope Benedict and afterward confirmed in the same office by Pelagius. There, in the presence of Emperor Tiberius, he confuted Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, who held an evil opinion concerning the resurrection of bodies—namely, that they would be airy and subtler than the winds. There also, at the exhortation of Leander, bishop of Seville, he composed part of the book of the *Morals upon Job*.

Around that time the Goths who inhabited the Spains returned from Arian perfidy to the Catholic faith. For Hermenegild, son of the king of the Spains, took as wife the sister of Aildebert [i.e., Childebert II], king of the Franks, a most devout girl. Through her exhortation and the preaching of Blessed Leander, Hermenegild was converted from the Arian perfidy in which his father languished to the true faith.

When his father learned this, he endeavored to persuade him by rewards and bend him by terrors to return to the sect of his perfidy. When Hermenegild answered that he could never abandon the true faith that he had come to know, though late, his angered father first deprived him of the kingdom after all his earthly possessions had been taken away. But when he could not soften the strength of his mind even in this way, he confined him in prison and bound his neck and hands with iron.

On the day of the approaching Paschal solemnity, in the untimely silence of the night, his perfidious father sent a bishop of the Arian perfidy so that Hermenegild might receive from his hand the communion of a sacrilegious consecration and through this he merits returning to his father's favor [read: and through this might merit to return to his father's favor].

But the youth beloved by God reproached the Arian bishop who came, as he ought, and repelled his perfidy from himself with fitting rebukes. For although outwardly he lay bound, inwardly he nevertheless remained erect upon the great summit of the mind.

When these things were reported to his father, he roared again with an insane mind. Immediately he sent attendants, commanding them to kill Hermenegild in the place where he lay bound. Entering the prison at once, they fixed an axe in his brain and took away the life of his body.

Divine miracles were not lacking to show his true glory. For in the nocturnal silence of the night, the singing of psalmody was heard and lamps were seen beside the body of that king and martyr.

When his perfidious father heard this, he was moved and, doing penance, grieved that he had done it, though not so far as to obtain salvation. For he recognized that the Catholic faith was true, but, terrified by the vain fear of his nation, he did not merit to arrive at it.

Nevertheless, when illness arose and he was brought to his last extremity, he took care to commend his son Reccared—whom he was leaving in his own perfidy and in the kingdom—to Bishop Leander, whom he had earlier afflicted greatly. He asked Leander to accomplish in Reccared by his exhortations such things as he had accomplished in his brother.

After his father's death, King Reccared followed not his perfidious father but his martyred brother and was converted from the Arian heresy to the true faith. He brought the whole nation of the Visigoths to the true faith so completely that he permitted no one to serve as a soldier in his kingdom who existed as an enemy of the kingdom of God through heresy.

These things Gregory says in the book of the *Dialogues*. It is also contained in Cause XXIV, Question I, in the final chapter, which begins *Coepit*.

Pope Pelagius was very abundant in establishing decrees, as is evident in many places in the Decretals. Against schismatics he says as follows in Cause XXIV, Question I:

> *Schism itself, which is a Greek word, signifies a rending. But there cannot be a rending in unity. Therefore, he who communicates with schismatics does not communicate with unity. They made parties for themselves and, separating themselves from that which is one—to speak in the words of the Apostle Jude—they do not have the Spirit.*
>
> *From all these things this is effected: because they are not one in unity, because they wished to be in a party, and because they do not have the Spirit, they cannot possess the sacrifice of the body of Christ.*

The present question for us is not whether we ought to tolerate evil persons, but whether we ought to be associated with schismatics. Even if they, abounding in their own opinion, nevertheless sought the truth while placed within their mother's inward parts, they were not to be repelled by us until, with reason as guide, the truth of the matter became clear to them.

But because they divided themselves from the universal Church, as Blessed Augustine says, every Catholic securely detests that party which he knows does not communicate with the universal Church strengthened by the apostolic sees.

Nor does it lighten their crime, but rather increases it, that you said they resisted for a long time so that they might not receive into their communion those who communicate with the apostolic sees. For in this, although those who wished to communicate with such persons must also be blamed, much more must those be execrated who separated themselves from communion with the apostolic sees not only in the priests but also in the laity themselves.

Nor does it profit them that in the same letters you report them to have suspended themselves from communion by nature [read: from our communion] either through ignorance of reason or through simplicity of their understanding. For this itself is rather the reason they are schismatics: not a judgment of holding diverse opinions, but a certain most evil opinion divided them, since they feared things reported among themselves yet unknown to them and rashly believed against the Apostolic See. Blessed Augustine declares that these persons are especially schismatics.

Since there cannot be two Churches, either you believe those persons—namely, the schismatics—to be the Church, and thus, which God forbid, you will judge us schismatics; or, if it is established that the true Church is in the apostolic sees, recognize them as divided from unity and recognize that the question of communion has been removed, since it is established that true communion cannot exist except in unity.

Therefore, do not wish, as though there were no difference between schismatics and the Church, to be associated indifferently with the sacrifices of both. That which a schismatic confects is not the body of Christ, if we are directed with truth as guide.

Thus he says. But this last statement must be understood soundly according to the gloss, and rightly: namely, that a schismatic does not confect the sacrament of the Eucharist when he does not preserve the form of the Church. Or, if he preserves the form, that which he confects is said not to be the body of Christ with respect to its effect, not with respect to the true sacrament, because in the person confecting it, or in one knowingly receiving it from him, it works not salvation but destruction on account of their abuse.

The same Pelagius says as follows against those who said that the Church carries out persecution when she punishes the evil or compels them to keep the good that was promised, in Cause XXIII, Question V:

Let not the empty words of persons who say that the Church carries out persecution hinder you when she either restrains the things that are committed or seeks the salvation of souls. They were inventors of this report. No one persecutes except him who compels another to evil. But he who punishes evil already done, or prohibits it from being done, does not persecute but loves.

For if, as they think, no one is either to be rebuked from evil or compelled to good, human and divine laws must be made void, which, at the persuasion of justice, establish both punishment for the evil and rewards for the good.

That schism is an evil and that persons of this kind ought to be repressed even through external powers, both the authority of canonical Scripture and the truth of the rules of the fathers teach us. Therefore, whoever is divided from the apostolic sees is undoubtedly in schism and endeavors to erect an altar against the universal Church.

But let your Glory consider what the canon inserted in the Synod of Chalcedon establishes concerning such persons. For there it decrees in substance that those who make a schism in the Church, rebelling against their superiors, and who, after being admonished, scorn to obey, ought to be excommunicated and deposed. If they persist in making seditions in the Church, they are to be repressed through secular powers.

And below:

Blessed Augustine also says concerning such persons: "Many things must be done even with the unwilling, who are to be punished by a certain kindly severity, and whose benefit rather than their will must be consulted. For in correcting a son, however harshly, paternal love is not thereby lost."

Therefore, you also are to do what we, knowing the intention of your Christianity, frequently exhort: give your labor so that such things may not be permitted to occur further. For your Highness ought to remember what God did through you at that time when Totila the tyrant possessed both Istria and Venetia and the Franks were also laying waste all things. Nevertheless, you did not permit a bishop of Milan to be made before you had reported the matter to the most clement prince and learned again through his

> *writings what ought to be done. Amid enemies raging everywhere, both the man who was being ordained and the man who was to ordain him were nevertheless conducted to Ravenna by the providence of your Highness.*

Thus it is written there.

The same pope says to Narses the patrician, in the chapter following in the same cause and question:

> *What am I to say concerning the Ligurian and Venetian bishops and the Istrians, whom your fitting Excellence knows how to repress by both reason and power, while you permit them to glory in their rusticity in contempt of the apostolic sees?*

And below:

> *Therefore, do not hesitate to repress persons of this kind by princely or judicial authority. For the rules of the fathers have specially established that if any person holding an ecclesiastical office resists him to whom he is subject, gathers separately, erects another altar, or makes a schism, he is to be excommunicated and condemned. But if perhaps he scorns even this and persists in making divisions and schisms, he is to be repressed by the public powers.*

This Pelagius ordained and commanded that no patriarch ought to call himself universal. He also established that neither archbishop, primate, nor patriarch could ordain before receiving the pallium, and that within three months of his confirmation he ought to seek consecration and the pallium from the Apostolic See; otherwise he is punished, as in Distinction C, chapter I.

Concerning general councils he says as follows in Distinction XVII:

> *We are instructed anew by many apostolic, canonical, and ecclesiastical rules that general councils ought to be celebrated without the judgment of the Roman pontiff.*

And below, at the end:

> *But the greater and more difficult questions, as the holy synod established and blessed custom requires, are always to be brought to the Apostolic See.*

Thus it is written there—namely, questions that concern the faith or the universal state of the Church.

The same pope, in Distinction I, *On Consecration*, declares all the prefaces that are said in the Mass: namely, on the Resurrection; on the Ascension of the Lord; on Pentecost; on the feast of the Trinity; on the Nativity of the Lord; on the Epiphany of the Lord; concerning the Apostles; concerning the Holy Cross; and concerning the fast in the Forty Days. The preface concerning the Virgin Mary is also added. These are in addition to the common daily preface.

The same Pelagius, writing to Antonina the patrician concerning monks, says in Cause XVI, Question I, chapter *De praesentium*:

> *I hold it exceedingly bitter that persons are led from the purpose of the monastic life to the office of defender—that is, of judge, advocate, and procurator—in which the things promised to God by monks can in no way be fulfilled. For there is every kind of difference between that habit and this office. There are rest, prayer, and labor of the hands in the former; but here there are the examination of causes, summonses, acts, public lawsuits, and whatever either ecclesiastical ordinances or the necessity of petitioners demands.*
>
> *May God cause those who either nurture in that habit under you or grow up in monasteries [read: those who are either nurtured by you in that habit or grow up in monasteries] to be such that, at an advanced age and after a proven life, they may be promoted not to the offices of lawsuits but to the priesthood.*

The same Pelagius granted by dispensation that a certain man who, after the death of his wife, had possessed a female servant as a concubine while in the lay state could be promoted to the diaconate, provided that he dismissed her. He writes to the bishop of Florence in Distinction XXXIV, chapter *Fraternitatis*, saying:

> *Because the deficiency of our time, in which not only the merits but the very bodies of persons have failed, does not permit the rigor of that strictness to remain; and the age of the man who is under consideration is known to remove the suspicion of future incontinence.*

The same pope says to Narses the patrician:

> *Because we know that, by the hidden judgment of God, your soul has been guarded from contamination by schism, even though through the iniquity and pride of others, we have given thanks to almighty God, who is accustomed to work good things even from the evil acts of human beings.*

This is in Cause XXIII, Question V, chapter *Relegentes*.

The same pope says as follows concerning continence in Cause XXVII, Question I, chapter *De viduis*:

> *Just as widows or virgins, if perhaps they were unable to contain themselves, were in no way forbidden to marry according to the Apostle, so, after holding deliberation with themselves, they ought to preserve the faith of chastity promised to God. But we ought to cast no snare upon such persons, but only to set before them exhortations concerning the eternal reward and the penalties of divine judgment, so that our conscience may also be absolved and their intention may render an account for itself to God.*
>
> *One must indeed beware of that to which the blessed Apostle bears witness concerning their conduct and acts, saying—*

We pass over explaining this more fully, lest the unstable sex seem not so much terrified as admonished.

The same pope, writing concerning changes of places to Benignus the archbishop, says as follows in Cause VII, Question I:

> *Know, most beloved brother, that it is one thing to act from a cause of necessity or utility, and another from a cause of presumption and one's own will. Therefore, he does not change his see who does not change his mind—that is, he who migrates from city to city not for the sake of avarice, domination, his own will, or affection, but is changed for a cause of necessity or utility. For the utility of many must be preferred to the utility or will of one person.*
>
> *For it is one thing to change, another to be changed; and one thing to cross over spontaneously, another to come under compulsion and necessity. Therefore, those who do this not spontaneously but under compulsion do not change a city, but are changed.*

The same pope says to the same person in the following chapter:

> *Everyone who groaned and who feared Saul [read: who was oppressed by Saul] fled and came to David. If David, the most pious and most just king, knew it to be a sin to receive those fleeing persecution and passing from place to place, he would by no means receive such persons, keep such persons with him, or place them in other cities.*
>
> *Those who persecute bishops and compel them to go from city to city persecute not so much them as our Lord Jesus Christ, whose embassy they discharge. But those who deny that mercy is to be shown to fugitives and to those suffering necessity deny Christ himself, who is mercy and truth.*

The same pope says in Cause VII, Question III, chapter *Talia*:

> *Certain persons, knowing that they cannot be brought to the episcopate by age, knowledge, or merits of life, wish to disturb the Church for this purpose alone: that the future bishop may promise them immunity concerning those things that they have seized from it, and that ambition for the episcopate may become security for robbery.*

And below:

> *Cause Elpidius the deacon, elected as though by all, to hasten to us. Nevertheless, through your Dilection and by the present command, we specially admonish him not to promise anyone that he will give or is going to give anything; nor to dare to make or promise any security to anyone concerning past ecclesiastical causes; nor, as though already made bishop, to permit those things that have been plundered to remain freely so.*

The same pope writes as follows to the illustrious Eresconius, in Cause X, Question III:

> *We wish you to guard this by every means: that none of the bishops of Sicily presume to receive more than two solidi from the parishes pertaining to him under the name of the cathedraticum, nor compel the priests or clergy of their parishes to prepare banquets for them beyond their resources.*

The same pope writes as follows to Sergius the chancellor, in Cause XI, Question I:

> *If any cleric, whether of an inferior or superior grade, exists as a plaintiff and directs his actions against a lay person, let him by every means go nowhere other than before the judge of the province to plead his case. But if any lay person has considered that a cleric of any grade is to be sued, let him set forth before the judgment of the bishops established in the same city or territory the actions that he thinks he possesses.*
>
> *That rule which commands the plaintiff to follow the forum of the defendant manifestly demonstrates this order to agree and accord in all respects with the laws.*

Title XII, Chapter III

Gregory succeeded Pelagius as the sixty-second in the number of the pontiffs.

“Gregory” is interpreted “watching,” which agrees with him most excellently. For he watched toward God by the light of grace, with the passions lulled through contemplation, according to that word of the Song: “I sleep, and my heart watches.”

He watched over himself, perfectly resisting vices and adhering to virtues, continually standing prepared against the snares of the devil through humility, prayer, and fear, according to that word of Christ: “Watch, praying at every time, that you may be able to flee all those things”—namely, dangers—“and to stand before the sight of God.”

He watched over his neighbors and subjects with respect to their souls, especially through moral doctrine; and not only over those of his own time, but perpetually over future human beings through the books published by him. With respect to their bodies, he watched through the greatest liberality. No pontiff is found who watched in such a manner to provide for the poor. He fulfilled that word of the Apocalypse: “Be watchful.”

Finally, John the Deacon says that, when as a teachable youth Gregory had passed with the commonly traversed course from the rising of infancy to the fork of the Pythagorean letter, he began without hesitation to abandon the left branch together with the pleasure of the world and to pant with all his strength toward the right branch with heavenly desire.

For understanding this, one must know concerning the Pythagorean letter that the letter Y was invented by him. When a boy ascends to the use of reason, if he hands himself over to vices, he takes the branch of that letter that descends to the depths. But if he takes the way of the virtues, he ascends by the right branch to the things above, although laboriously.

Gregory I, who is also called the Great because of his exceptional sanctity, the sublimity especially of his moral wisdom—in which he surpassed almost all the doctors—and his most worthy administration of the supreme pontificate with the greatest humility, since nothing shines more brightly upon the neck of a pontiff than humility, as he himself says in Distinction C, chapter *Contra morem*, received the Church of God to govern after Pelagius died from the plague.

Although unwilling, under the compulsion of all the clergy, the acclamation of the Roman people, and the assent of Emperor Maurice, he was found after his desired flight. Lest he appear contrary to the will of God, he received the burden. He was the sixty-second in the order of the Roman pontiffs, an order that he especially adorned.

Something will be said more diffusely concerning both his life and his doctrine. Paul, the historian of the Lombards, wrote his life, which John the Deacon afterward compiled more diligently.

This Gregory, therefore, born from senatorial stock, had as his father Gordian and as his mother Silvia, most noble Romans. When in his youth he had attained the highest summit of philosophy and abounded in a supply of possessions and riches, he nevertheless thought of abandoning all things and transferring himself to the state of religion.

But while he delayed his conversion for a longer time and thought that he would serve Christ more securely if under the appearance of the urban praetorship he outwardly rendered service to the world, many things arising from the care of the world began to grow against him. He was now held within the world not only in body but also in mind.

At length, deprived of his father, he constructed six monasteries in Sicily and built a seventh within the walls of the City, in his own dogma [read: on his own property], in honor of Saint Andrew the Apostle. There, after abandoning garments of silk radiant with gold and gems, he was covered by a cheap monastic habit.

There in a short time he came to such great perfection that at the very beginning of his conversion he could already be reckoned in the number of the perfect. His perfection can in some measure be weighed from the words that he wrote in the prologue to his work upon the *Dialogues*, where he says:

> *My unhappy mind, struck by the wound of its occupation, remembers what it once was in the monastery: how greatly it rose above all things that are rolled away; how it was accustomed to think of nothing except heavenly things; how, although still retained by the body, it already passed beyond the very enclosures of the flesh through contemplation; and how it loved even death—which is a punishment to all—as the entrance to life and the reward of its labor.*

Finally, he afflicted his body with such great strictness that, when his stomach had been weakened, he could scarcely subsist. Suffering a cutting of the vital parts, which the Greeks call syncope, he approached his departure through frequent agonies at successive moments of the hours.

Once, while he was writing something in the monastery over which he presided, an angel of the Lord came to him in the appearance of a shipwrecked man and tearfully asked that mercy be shown to him. Gregory caused six silver coins to be given to him, and the man departed. On the same day he returned again, asserting that he had lost many things and received few. After

he received the same number of silver coins from Gregory, he returned again on the third day and with importunate cries asked that relief be given to him in his misery.

Gregory learned from the administrator of his monastery that nothing remained in the monastery to be given except a silver dish in which his mother had been accustomed to send him legumes. He immediately commanded it to be given, and the man departed at once with joy. This was an angel of the Lord, as he afterward revealed.

When Gregory commanded that all things pertaining to the conversion of religion be diligently observed, two of his monks, unable to bear the rigor of this discipline, departed without bidding farewell to their host. Perceiving this, Gregory, then abbot, as the best shepherd took care to recall the wandering sheep to the fold lest they perish. He sent certain persons after them to bring them back when they had been found.

The messengers left the City to seek them. The monks who had fled saw from afar those who were seeking them, but they themselves were not seen by the seekers. Therefore, so that they might not be found but might be passed by, they entered a certain cavern beside the road and hid themselves there.

When the mounted messengers arrived beside that place so that they might find them more swiftly, their horses stopped. Although they urged them with spurs, they could in no way lead them farther or back. Inspired by God that this might perhaps be happening because those whom they sought were nearby, they entered the cave, found them hiding, and brought them back. Who would doubt that this was done by Gregory's merits?

Two others also, when they had resolved to depart from the monastery, were seized by the devil, and one of them was also deprived of sight. After they confessed their sin—namely, the flight they intended—they were freed by Gregory from the demon's torment. Similarly, another who had committed theft, retaining part of the price from a certain thing sold, was tormented by the devil until he confessed the sin to Gregory.

On the other hand, there were many monks of holy life in that monastery. Concerning a certain Gerentius [i.e., Gerontius], Gregory himself narrates that, when Gerentius [i.e., Gerontius] was placed in grave sickness, he saw men clothed in white—that is, angels—descending from the regions above into that monastery. One of them said: "*Venim* for this purpose [read: We have come for this purpose]: to send certain brothers from Gregory's monastery into military service." One, commanding another, said: "Write down Marcellus, Valentinian, and certain others—and this sick man himself, who beholds us." All of them were successively called away by the Lord a little afterward.

Moreover, while Gregory himself was abbot, when all private ownership had been eliminated in the monastery, it happened that one of his monks named Justus, who was skilled in the art of medicine and sometimes, with Gregory's permission, provided medicines or counsel for health to the sick, was led by cupidity at the devil's instigation. He secretly retained as his own three gold coins offered to him by a certain man.

When Justus became ill and was visited by his fellow brothers, those gold coins were found among his medicines. This was reported to Gregory. The holy man understood the vice of private ownership to empty out the whole regular life, as experience teaches. He detested the crime exceedingly and commanded most strictly, as punishment for the offense, that none of the monks ought to visit Justus any longer. Only his own brother, who dwelt as a layman in that monastery, was to minister necessities to him, and through that brother the cause for the withdrawal of the customary fraternal visitation was to be explained to him.

When this was observed to the letter, the monk Justus understood from the punishment the gravity of his fault, groaned vehemently for his sin, and ended his life from that sickness.

When Gregory heard of his death, he was not content with that punishment. So that he might banish all private ownership from the monastery more and more, he punished the dead man also, commanding the monks to cast his body not in a sacred place but upon a dunghill, together with those three gold coins, saying to him while they performed this office: "Your money be with you unto perdition."

When these things had been accomplished, lest the man of God appear to have persecuted the person rather than the vice, after a little while he had compassion upon him. He commanded one of the monks, whom he judged more devout, to offer the sacrifice daily for him for as many as twenty-one days [read: for as many as thirty days].

When the monk had completed this, the dead man for whom the suffrage was being made appeared to his brother on the thirtieth day. When the brother asked how he fared, the dead man answered: "Until now I fared badly; now *hutem* well [read: but now I fare well], because today I received communion."

From this example it became widespread and most customary to celebrate thirty Masses for the dead. This is certainly most beneficial for those who are in purgatory. Other things being equal, if they are celebrated continuously, the suffrage will assist more than if they are interrupted, because it will be received more quickly, and not because the days have been discontinuous. For it appears absurd that such a suffrage would be ineffective on account of a discontinuity of days, since every Mass has its

own value and degree of expiation, even if unknown to us. The greater the alms performed for a matter of this kind, the more, in comparison with other works, it will benefit the person for whom it is performed.

I. The Plague and Gregory's Election

In the seventh year of the reign of Maurice there was such a great inundation of waters that it was feared the world would again be dissolved by the waters of the flood. For at the city of Rome, because of continual rains, the River Tiber passed beyond its boundaries and flooded so greatly that it occupied the greater part of the City and overturned many houses.

Marvelous to tell, that inundation carried with it a multitude of serpents, among which a very great dragon was also seen. As this multitude of serpents descended toward the sea, they were suffocated by the salt waves and cast upon the shore. So great a stench followed from their accumulated multitude that it corrupted the entire adjoining region with its odor.

On account of this stench and the corruption of the air, the plague that they call inguinal followed throughout the entire surrounding region. It raged so greatly that within a few days many thousands of human beings died. Pope Pelagius died from this plague.

After he died, with the clergy, senate, and Roman people acclaiming, Gregory was named pope by the one consent of all. Declining the honor, he protested that he was unworthy of so great a priesthood. For the holy man feared that the glory of the world that he had earlier cast aside might at some time steal upon him beneath the color of ecclesiastical government.

When he saw the insistence of the entire people, he at some point feigned consent. He wrote to Emperor Maurice, whose son he had raised from the sacred font, adjuring him and asking with many entreaties that he never grant assent to the people's decree. But the prefect of the City, named Germanus, by God's will intercepted and retained his messenger and sent the will of the people, together with the decree of election, to the emperor.

On receiving it, the emperor rejoiced marvelously at the election of so great a man. He therefore granted his assent and, as was the custom, confirmed the decree.

Meanwhile, as the prince's assent was awaited, the plague devastated the people most gravely. Therefore, after the multitude had been assembled, the venerable deacon Gregory, as John of Columna writes, began an address of this kind to the people concerning penitence, saying:

> *Most beloved brothers, it is fitting that we at least fear the scourges of God that we did not fear would come in the future, now that they are present and have been experienced. Let pain open for us an entrance to conversion, and let the very penalty that we suffer dissolve the hardness of our heart. For, as was foretold through the prophet, "The sword has reached even unto the soul."*
>
> *Behold, the whole people is struck by the blade of heavenly wrath, and individuals are laid waste by sudden slaughter. Sickness does not precede death, but, as you behold, death itself precedes the delays of sickness. The person struck is snatched away before he can be converted to the lamentations of penitence.*
>
> *Consider in what condition he arrives before the sight of the Judge, since he is not permitted to weep for what he did. The inhabitants are not removed in part, but fall together. Houses are left empty. Fathers behold the funerals of their sons, and their heirs precede them to destruction.*
>
> *Therefore, let each one of us flee to the lamentations of penitence while there is leisure to weep before the blow. Let us recall before the eyes of the mind whatever we committed by wandering, and let us punish by weeping what we did wickedly. Let us come before his face in confession and, as the prophet says, let us lift up our hearts with our hands to God.*
>
> *That he says through the prophet certainly gives confidence to our trembling: "I do not will the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live." Let no one despair because of the enormity of his iniquities. For three days of penitence wiped away the long-standing faults of the Ninevites, and the converted thief merited the rewards of life even in the very sentence of his death.*
>
> *Therefore, let us change our hearts and presume that we have already received what we ask. The Judge is more swiftly bent to prayer if the sinner is corrected from his depravity. With the sword of so great a punishment hanging over us, let us persist in importunate prayers. For the importunity that is customarily displeasing among human beings pleases the judgment of Truth.*
>
> *Hence he says through the psalmist: "He calls upon me in the day of tribulation; I shall rescue you, and you will magnify me [read: Call upon me in the day of tribulation; I shall rescue you, and you will magnify me]." He himself is therefore witness concerning himself that he desires to have mercy upon those who call upon him, since he admonishes that he be invoked.*
>
> *Accordingly, dearest brothers, with a contrite heart and corrected works, tomorrow at first light let us come with a devout and*

> *tearful mind to the sevenfold litany, according to the distribution designated below. Let none of you go out to earthly works in the fields. Let no one presume to conduct any business. Rather, assembling at the church of the holy Mother of God, let all of us who have sinned together lament together the evils we have done, so that the strict Judge, when he considers that we have punished our own faults, may himself spare us from the sentence of condemnation.*

Accordingly, on the appointed day, a great multitude of every age, sex, and profession came according to the command of the deacon Gregory to beseech the Lord. By divine judgment the plague raged so greatly that, within the space of one hour, while the people uttered the voice of supplication, eighty persons fell to the ground and expired.

Nevertheless, the most eloquent doctor did not cease exhorting the people not to stop praying until, by divine mercy, the plague itself came to rest.

It was called the sevenfold litany or procession because Gregory established that they should proceed in seven orders. In the first order the clerics went before. In the second were monks and religious persons. In the third were all the nuns. In the fourth were infants and boys. In the fifth were virgins. In the sixth were all widows and continent persons. In the seventh were all married persons and the rest.

It is said that the most grievous plague happened in such a manner that, in sneezing or yawning, persons suddenly breathed out their spirits. Hence it was introduced by custom that in these acts one should say, “May God help you,” or make the sign of the cross.

This is intimated to have happened because the Romans had lived incontinently during Lent and, thus indisposed, had received communion at Easter; and afterward they occupied themselves more and more with lusts, games, and other vices.

II. Gregory’s Flight and Consecration

When Gregory, the future bishop, thought from his letters that the prince Maurice had not consented to the petition of all concerning his election, he afterward learned that his letters had been intercepted by Germanus, prefect of the City. Fearing the imperial response and the emperor’s assent to his election, he endeavored to forestall it.

Because he could not leave through the gates of the city, he cunningly obtained, as is reported, that he should be carried out openly by merchants in a changed garment. He sought the mountain passes of forests and the hiding places of caverns. While he was sought by all with the greatest solicitude, he was recognized by the indication of a column continually hanging from heaven above him. He was captured, dragged away, and consecrated at the church of the Prince of the Apostles.

Whoever reads his words clearly perceives that he ascended unwillingly to the summit of this honor. Hence he says as follows to Narses the patrician:

> *While you describe the heights of contemplation, you renew the groaning of my fall, because I hear what I lost within when I undeservedly ascended outwardly to the summit of government. Know that I am struck by such great sorrow that I scarcely suffice to speak. Therefore, do not call me Naomi—that is, beautiful—but call me Mara, because I am full of bitterness.*

And elsewhere:

> *You who know that I have come to the order of the episcopate, if you love me, lament it, because I also bewail it unceasingly; and I ask that you pray to the Lord for me.*

And in the prologue of the *Dialogues*:

> *Behold, I am now battered by the waves of a great sea, and in the ship of the mind I am struck by the billows of a mighty tempest. When I remember my former life, I sigh as though, with my eyes drawn behind my back, I beheld the shore.*

Because the plague was still devastating Rome in the customary manner, at Easter time he commanded that the procession with litanies be conducted around the circuit of the City. He ordained that an image of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin be carried before the procession. This image is said to be at Rome in the church of Saint Mary Major and to have been painted by Luke the Evangelist, not only a physician but also an excellent painter.

When the image was being carried, all infection and turbulence of the air gave way before it, as though fleeing it and unable to bear its presence. Marvelous serenity and purity of air therefore remained behind it.

Then, beside the image, as is reported, the voices of angels were heard singing, “Queen of heaven, rejoice, alleluia,” and the rest. Gregory, who followed the procession, immediately added, “Pray to God for us, alleluia.”

Gregory saw an angel standing above the Castle of the Holy Angel—which previously was called that of Crescentius, or the memorial of Hadrian—wiping blood from a drawn sword and replacing it in its sheath. Gregory understood that the plague had ceased, as happened.

III. Gregory's Humility

Gregory was of such great humility that he permitted himself to be praised in no way. Hence he writes as follows to Bishop Stephen, who had praised him in his letters:

> *In your letters you have shown me favor greatly and beyond what I merited to hear. Although it is written, "Do not praise a person during his life," nevertheless, even if I was not worthy to hear such things, I ask through your prayers that I may be made worthy, so that the good things you have said may be in me.*

The same pope says to Narses the patrician:

> *By making a similarity of cause and name, you have formed clauses and declamations through the Scriptures. Certainly, dearest brother, you call an ape a lion. We observe ourselves to act in this manner when we frequently call mangy little dogs leopards or tigers.*

The same pope says in a letter to Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch:

> *Because you call me the mouth of the Lord and a lamp, and report that I can profit many, I confess that you have brought my judgment into the greatest doubt. For I consider what I am and apprehend in myself no sign of this good. I consider who you are, and I do not judge you to lie. When I wish to believe what you say, my infirmity contradicts me. When I wish to dispute what is said in my praise, your sanctity contradicts me.*
>
> *But I ask, holy man, that something concerning this conflict of ours agree for us: if what you say is not so, let it be so because you say it.*

He wholly rejected even titles that sounded of boasting or vanity. Hence he writes as follows to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who had called him universal pope. This is contained in Distinction XCIX:

> *Behold, in the preface of the letter that you directed to me, you took care to impress a word of proud appellation, calling me universal pope. I ask that your most sweet Holiness do this no further, because what is offered to another beyond what reason demands is subtracted from you.*
>
> *I do not seek to prosper in words but in conduct. I do not reckon that to be my honor in which I recognize that my brothers lose their honor. For my honor is the honor of the universal Church. My honor is the solid vigor of my brothers. Then I am honored when the honor owed to each person is not denied. Therefore, let words that inflate vanity and wound charity depart.*

Thus it is written there.

He was unwilling that a word of command be spoken to him by fellow bishops and clerics. Hence, writing to Eulogius of Alexandria, he says:

> *Your Charity speaks to me, saying, "As you commanded." I therefore ask that the word of command be removed from my hearing, because I know who I am and who you are. In place you are brothers to me; in conduct you are fathers.*

Moreover, because of his excessive humility, he was unwilling that matrons should call themselves his maidservants. Hence, writing to Rusticiana the patrician, he says:

> *I received one expression in your letters with distress, because "your maidservant" was said repeatedly. For I, who through the burdens of the episcopate have been made the servant of all, by what reason do you call yourself my maidservant? Therefore, I ask through almighty God that I never find this word addressed to me in your writings.*

He was the first to call himself "servant of the servants" in his letters, and he established that others should be so named.

While he still lived, because of excessive humility he was unwilling that his books be published, and he judged his own to be worth nothing in comparison with those of others. Hence he writes as follows to Innocent, prefect of Africa:

> *Because you wished the exposition of Saint Job to be sent to you, we rejoice in your zeal. But if you desire to be fattened upon delightful nourishment, read the little works of your compatriot Augustine, and do not seek our bran in comparison with his fine flour.*

Thus he himself says.

I judge that this also was observed by him out of humility and so that curiosity might be avoided by readers in his books: although he was a supreme philosopher, was greatly commended in this by Albert the Great, and was most learned in the books of the gentiles, he never introduced into his books or homilies sayings of the gentiles.

Indeed, he rebuked not a little a certain bishop whom he had heard explain grammar to the people and moralize the fables of the poets, saying that the praises of Christ do not fit well in one mouth with the praises of Jupiter. This is in Distinction LXXXVI, chapter *Cum multa*.

IV. Maximianus and the Storm at Sea

When Gregory had been created cardinal deacon by Pope Benedict, he was directed by the pope to Constantinople for the affairs of the Church. Maximianus, who afterward became bishop of Syracuse and who was then provost of Blessed Gregory's monastery in the City, came with the brothers to Constantinople to visit the venerable deacon Gregory.

While Maximianus was returning to Rome, to the monastery entrusted to him, he was overtaken by an exceedingly great storm in the Adriatic Sea. By an inestimable order and an extraordinary miracle toward himself and all who were with him, he recognized both the wrath and the grace of almighty God.

For when the waves, raised by the violence of the winds, raged for their death, the rudders were lost from the ship, the mast was cut away, and the sails were cast into the waves. The whole vessel of the ship, battered by the excessive waves, had been loosened from all its joining. The sea entered through the opened oars [read: through the opened seams]. The sea filled the ship as far as the upper deck, so that the ship seemed to be not so much among the waves as the waves already within the ship.

At the same time those placed in the ship, now seeing the face of death before their eyes, all gave one another the kiss of peace and received communion in the body and blood of the Redeemer, each commending himself singularly to God that he might receive their souls kindly, since he had handed their bodies over to death in so fearful a manner.

But almighty God, who marvelously terrified their minds, more marvelously preserved their lives also through the merit of his servant Gregory, for whose special love they had come. For during eight days the same ship, filled with water even to the upper deck, made its own course and floated. On the ninth day it was conducted into the harbor of the Crotonian fortress. All who had sailed with the aforesaid venerable man Maximianus came out from it unharmed.

When Maximianus himself had also come out after them, the ship was immediately broken apart in the depth of the harbor [read: the ship immediately sank in the depth of the harbor], as though, when they departed, it had been deprived of the relief afforded by their weight. Filled with human beings, it had borne the waters and floated in the open sea; but when Maximianus departed with the brothers, it could neither bear the waters without human beings nor float even in the harbor. Through this almighty God showed that, by the merit of Gregory, whom the brothers had visited, he had held the laden ship in his own hand. These things are in Gregory's legend.

When Gregory returned to the City, there was in his monastery a very restless young man named Theodore, whom Gregory himself mentions in the *Dialogues* and in a homily. He dwelt there with his religious brother more from necessity than from will. It was exceedingly burdensome to him if anyone said anything for his salvation. He could not only not do good things, but could not hear them. By swearing and mocking, he testified that he would never come to the habit of holy life.

Nevertheless, struck in the groin by the pestilential disease that had grown thick in the City [read: the pestilential disease that raged through the City], he was brought to death. As he breathed his last, the brothers assembled with Gregory to protect his departure by prayer. His body had already died from its extremities; vital warmth still breathed only in his breast.

Suddenly, while those brothers stood by, he began to cry out and interrupt their prayers with great cries, saying: "Depart. Behold, I have been given to a dragon to be devoured. Because of your presence, it cannot devour me. It has already swallowed my head in its mouth. Give it room to torment me further and to do what it is going to do."

Then the brothers with Gregory began to say to him: "What is this that you say, brother? Impress upon yourself the sign of the holy cross."

He answered with great cries, saying: "I wish to sign myself, but I cannot, because I am pressed down by the scales of this dragon."

When the brothers heard this, together with the deacon Gregory they prostrated themselves upon the ground and began with tears to pray most vehemently for his rescue. Behold, the sick man suddenly began to cry out with a great voice, saying: "Thanks be to God. Behold, the dragon that had taken me to devour me has fled. It has been expelled by your prayers. Now intercede for my sins, because I am prepared to be converted and to abandon secular life."

Thus, by the prayers of Blessed Gregory, he escaped the death of the body and acquired the salvation of his soul. This is from Gregory's history.

V. Gregory's Government of the Church

When he had therefore been created Roman pontiff, he effectively governed with zeal the Church divinely entrusted to him. He compelled the Ligurians, Venetians, Iberians, and others who had made their confession in a written declaration to venerate the Synod of Chalcedon, and recalled them from schism to the unity of the holy Church.

He had already removed the inhabitants of Barbaricinum, the Sardinians, and the rustics of Campania from the vanity of paganizing, correcting them by preachings as well as by blows. With the Lord assisting him, through the most powerful authorities of his writings and importunate embassies, he had separated from the body of the whole holy Mother Church the heresy of the Donatists in Africa, of the Manichees in Sicily, of the Arians in Spain, and of the Agnoetae at Alexandria.

Only in Gaul did the heresy of the neophytes, sprouting from as many roots as there were simoniacal gifts, grow entirely far and wide and remain. Against it the venerable father fought forcefully before Queen Brunhild and also Theodoric and Theudebert, kings of the Franks, until he obtained that it be utterly condemned under anathema by an assembled general synod.

Nor, although the queen and kings sought it with many entreaties, did he give the pallium to Syagrius, bishop of Autun, before, in the presence of his abbot Cyriacus, they fulfilled that concerning which they had been admonished for expelling heresies. Hence he writes to them concerning these matters in Cause I, Question I, chapter *Non est putanda*, and chapter *Fertur simoniaca*.

From the very beginning of his consecration, throughout his whole diocese he ordained as bishops the best men he could find anywhere, with the greatest care. Whenever the necessity of ordaining priests pressed, he entirely excused neither the cardinals of his Church nor the monks of his monastery from entrusting the governance of a church to those who could better build it up equally by examples and words.

To touch upon a few out of many: from the cardinal priests of his Church he consecrated as bishops Boniface for Rhegium, Abenius for Perugia, and Dominus for Messina in Sicily. From the subdeacons he consecrated Gloriosus for Ostia, Festus for Capua, Peter for Troyes, and Castorius for Rimini. From the monks of his monastery he ordained as bishops Marinianus for Ravenna, Maximianus for Syracuse, and Sabinus for Callipolis.

He commanded Augustine to be ordained among the English by the bishops of Gaul. Through Augustine, the monks of that father—Mellitus, Justus, Laurence, and Paulinus—were nevertheless raised to the episcopate among the same nation at diverse times.

He spared, in a certain manner, only the deacons of the Apostolic See in this regard. Although their number abounded in the fullness of nineteen, he himself consecrated Boniface, Florentius, and Epiphanius. He removed none of them from office except Laurence the archdeacon, on account of pride and other crimes, in the Lateran basilica, where he immediately established Honoratus as archdeacon.

However greatly compelled by necessity, he strove to promote absolutely no one by force, lest under this occasion he appear, by removing someone, to depose him. He both prohibited this and rebuked it when done by another, in Distinction LXXIV, chapter *Honoratus*.

He also rebuked those established in the order of the diaconate—namely, the cardinals of the Roman Church—for devoting themselves to modulation of the voice when they ought to persist in preaching and alms, adding:

> *It very often happens in the sacred mystery that, while a pleasing voice is sought, a fitting life is neglected; and the minister who sings provokes God by his conduct while he delights the people by his voice.*

Hence he also prohibits this there, in Distinction XCII, chapter *In sancta Romana ecclesia*.

Then, for the compunction produced in the house of the Lord by music, with the greatest zeal he compiled a centon from the sweetness of antiphons, most usefully. He established the school of singers that to this day sings in the holy Roman Church according to the same ordinances.

With certain estates, he built for it two dwellings: one beneath the steps of the basilica of Blessed Peter the Apostle, and the other beneath the houses of the Lateran patriarchate. There to this day are preserved the couch upon which he reclined while modulating, the whip, and the authentic antiphonary.

Among the other peoples of Europe, the Germans or Gauls were conspicuously able to learn and repeatedly relearn the sweetness of this modulation. Yet they were wholly unable to preserve it incorrupt, both because of lightness of mind, through which some inserted things of their own into the Gregorian chants, and because of natural fierceness. For Alpine bodies, resounding exceedingly loudly with the thunder of their voices, do not properly echo the sweetness of the modulation they have received. These things John the Deacon says.

In the life of Blessed Eugenius, however, it is read that, when the office instituted by Ambrose was observed more than the Gregorian office, in the time of Charlemagne the Roman pontiff Hadrian assembled a universal council and established that the Gregorian office ought henceforth to be observed by all.

Charlemagne, acting as executor of this matter, reclined through diverse provinces [read: went through diverse provinces] and compelled all clerics to this very thing by threats and punishments, burning the books of the Ambrosian office wherever he found them.

When Blessed Eugenius came to the council and found that it had already been dissolved, through his sanctity he obtained from the pope that the prelates who had departed a little before—that is, three days previously—be recalled and assembled again.

When this was done, by common counsel and assent it was decreed that both the Ambrosian and Gregorian missals be placed upon the altar of Blessed Peter. With the doors closed and sealed with the seals of many lest fraud occur, they were to persist through the night in prayer, asking the Lord to deign to show by some sign which he preferred to be accepted universally.

This was obtained. For when they entered the church on the following morning, they found the Ambrosian missal closed in its place, but the Gregorian open and, according to others, its quires scattered here and there through the church. From this event they understood and thus established that the Gregorian was to be observed throughout the whole Church, but the Ambrosian was to be used only in its own church. This is observed to this day.

Concerning the chant of the offices, John the Deacon, cited above, says that when Charlemagne came to Rome and found a disagreement between the Roman and Gallican chant, he was offended. When the insolence of the Gauls argued that the chant had been corrupted by our countrymen with certain *neueijs* [read: with certain ditties], while our men, on the other hand, produced the authentic antiphonary as trustworthy evidence, he is reported to have asked which between a stream and a spring was accustomed to preserve purer water.

When they answered, “The spring,” he prudently added: “Therefore, we also, who until now have drunk corrupted water from a stream, must return to the principal currents of the perennial spring.”

Immediately he left two capable clerics of his own with Hadrian, then bishop. When they had been sufficiently and elegantly instructed, he recalled the metropolis of Metz to the sweetness of the ancient modulation and through it corrected all Gaul. When, in the course of time, they again corrupted it, Gaul was again brought back to the sweetness of the Roman chant through other clerics sent from the City.

VI. Gregory’s Liturgical Ordinances

Gregory compressed into the volume of one book the Gelasian codex concerning the solemnities of Masses, removing many things, changing a few, adding certain things, for the exposition of the Gospel readings.

In the canon of the Mass he added: “And dispose our days in your peace, and command us to be rescued from eternal damnation and numbered in the flock of your elect.”

He caused the Alleluia to be said at Masses outside the time of Pentecost. He commanded the *Kyrie eleison* to be sung. He decreed that the Lord’s Prayer be recited over the Host.

When he perceived certain persons murmuring concerning these things, as though he followed the customs of the church of Constantinople, the most pious father did not disdain to render an explanation. Concerning the Alleluia he said that, by the tradition of Blessed Jerome, in the time of Blessed Pope Damasus, this was drawn from the church of Jerusalem.

Concerning the *Kyrie eleison*, he also showed that this was not assumed from the Greeks, since they say it differently from the Latins.

Concerning the Lord’s Prayer, which is said in its place after the consecration, he says:

> *It was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Host of the oblation at that Lord’s Prayer alone, it having first been said. It appeared exceedingly unfitting to me that we should say over the oblation a prayer composed by a learned man and should not say over his body and blood the very prayer composed by our Redeemer. But the Lord’s Prayer itself is said among the Greeks by the whole people, whereas among us it is sung by the priest alone.*

Concerning the subdeacons, because it pleased a certain pontiff of ours that they should proceed clothed—namely, at Mass—whereas previously they went without the tunicles, they received this not from the Greeks but from their Mother, the Roman Church.

He afterward adds concerning the church of Constantinople:

> *Who doubts that it is subject to the Apostolic See? Both the most pious lord emperor and our brother, bishop of that same city, continually profess it. Nevertheless, if it or another church possesses anything good, I am prepared to imitate it and to cause my inferiors, whom I prohibit from unlawful things, to imitate it. For he is foolish who thinks himself first in such a way that he scorns to learn the good things he sees in others.*

The same pope says in Distinction XXII:

> *As for the primate of Byzantium saying that he is subject to the Apostolic See: when fault is found in bishops, I do not know who is not subject to it. But when fault does not demand it, according to the principle of humility we are all equals.*

With care he ordained stations through the basilicas or cemeteries of the holy martyrs, according to which the Roman people to this day run eagerly, as though he were living. Running among them himself while he still possessed sufficient strength to speak, he delivered twenty homilies on the Gospel before the Church at diverse times. He dictated the others of the same number, but, because an illness of the stomach continually afflicted him, he entrusted them to others to pronounce.

The army of the Lord followed Gregory as he went before. Innumerable voluntary cohorts of diverse sex, age, and profession flowed together from everywhere to hear the word of doctrine. As a leader of the heavenly army, he supplied to all only spiritual arms. But to the poor and strangers who had flowed into Rome because of the conditions of the times, he ministered daily stipends.

The most prudent ruler Gregory removed secular men from his chamber and chose for himself the most prudent clerics as counselors and intimates. Among them were Peter the deacon, his contemporary, with whom he afterward composed the four books of the *Dialogues* by disputing; Aemilianus the notary, who with his associates took down forty homilies on the Gospels; Paterius, likewise a notary, who, having been made *secum dicerius* by him [read: having been made *secundicerius* by him], culled certain most useful things from his books; and John the defender, who at Gregory's command was sent to Spain as examiner. John restored to his own see Januarius, bishop of the city of Malalita [read: city of Malaga], who had been deposed by neighboring bishops, and condemned those who had deposed him.

Gregory chose as intimates for himself the most holy monks: Maximianus, abbot of his monastery, whom he afterward made bishop of Syracuse and to whom he entrusted his authority throughout Sicily; Augustine and Mellitus, through whom he called the nations of the English to the grace of Christianity; Probus, whom, suddenly by revelation of the Spirit, he appointed abbot and sent to Jerusalem to establish a guesthouse; and Claudius, abbot of the city of Classis, who, while the pope was disputing, composed works concerning Proverbs, the Song of Songs, the Prophets, the books of Kings, and the Heptateuch, though not in the same sense as the pope.

Living with these men day and night, Gregory left behind nothing of monastic perfection in the palace and nothing of pontifical instruction in the Church. The most religious monks were seen everywhere adhering to the pontiff together with the most learned clerics, and a common life was maintained in diverse professions. Thus, under Gregory, the Church beside Rome was such as Luke the Evangelist and Philo record it to have been under the Apostles beside Alexandria [read: such as Luke records it under the Apostles and Philo records it beside Alexandria under Mark the Evangelist].

Then wisdom had visibly constructed for herself, as it were, a temple at Rome, and with the seven arts as columns of the noblest stones supported the atrium of the Apostolic See. None of those serving the pontiff, from the least to the greatest, displayed any barbarism in speech or dress. Rather, Latinity, clothed according to the Quirite custom in toga or state robe, singularly possessed its Latium in that Latian palace.

The studies of the diverse arts had flourished again there. Whoever perhaps lacked either sanctity or prudence had no confidence, by his own judgment, to stand before the pontiff. Prudent men whom I have mentioned—prudent rather than powerful—were summoned to the pontiff's profound counsels, while humble philosophy within rationally inquired by artful arguments what was thought preferable or most skillful to be followed in every business [read: what was thought preferable or most important to be followed in every business]. Rich idleness, which avenges itself upon the wise by an equal lot, remained despised before the doors of the chamber.

Only skill in interpreting both languages was lacking. The most eloquent Cecropian virgin, who once handed the keenness of her mind to the Latins when Varro took away her celibacy, claimed for herself the illusions of imposture, as Gregory himself complains in his letters.

No layman administered any office of the palace or any ecclesiastical patrimony. Ecclesiastical men undertook all functions of ecclesiastical law, while laymen were assigned only to military service in arms or to the continual care of fields.

For this reason, certain nobles first received the tonsure under the pretext of religion. Emperor Maurice prudently met their evasion. By a law issued through Longinus the imperial equerry, he commanded that whoever was implicated in public administrations should not be permitted to come to an ecclesiastical office.

Gregory greatly praised this law in this regard, saying: “He who abandons the secular habit and hastens to come to ecclesiastical offices does not desire to abandon the world, but to change it.”

VII. The Conversion of the English

Concerning the conversion of the English procured through him, from which he is also called the Apostle of the English, the same John the Deacon reports as follows.

Gregory was pressed by continual waves of thoughts concerning the conversion of the English Saxons, just as he had proposed during his monastic life. As soon as, after the state of the Church had been composed, he entered the fourth year of his pontificate, he sent Augustine with other monks from the monastery of his house to evangelize in Britain.

After a few days of the pilgrimage they had undertaken, they were weighed down by sluggish weariness and resolved to return home rather than approach a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation whose language they did not even understand.

Without delay they sent Augustine—whom Gregory had indicated was to be consecrated their bishop if they were received by the English—back to Rome. They entreated the supreme pontiff to remove from them so laborious a journey and so uncertain and perilous a pilgrimage, recently imposed, and to permit his men to return.

Gregory wrote to them, saying:

> *Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ. Because it would have been better not to begin good things than to turn backward in thought from those things that have been begun, with the highest zeal, most beloved sons, you must complete with the Lord’s assistance the good work that you have begun.*
>
> *Let neither the labor of the journey nor the tongues of slanderers deter you. Rather, with all insistence and all fervor, by God as author accomplish what you have begun, knowing that the glory of the eternal recompense will follow a great labor more greatly.*
>
> *In all things humbly obey Augustine, your provost as he returns, whom we have also appointed as abbot over you, knowing that this will profit your souls in all respects.*
>
> *May almighty God protect you by his grace and grant me to see the fruit of your labor in the eternal homeland, so that, although I am unable to labor with you, I may be found together with you in the joy of recompense, because I wish to labor.*

Strengthened by these exhortations, Augustine with the brothers sought Britain through Etherius of Arles, by whom the most pious father commended them in his own letters to the hospitality of the other bishops and kings of Gaul.

Coming to Ethelbert, king of the Kentish people, with God’s grace cooperating, Augustine easily obtained not only permission to preach but also food and dwellings in the city of Doruvernum, which was the metropolis of his kingdom.

Approaching it with his companions, with a cross or image of the Savior borne before them, Augustine sang, saying: “We beseech you, Lord, in all your mercy, that your fury and your wrath be removed from this city and from your holy house, because we have sinned.”

As they preached and performed miracles in the name of Jesus, many believed and were baptized, marveling at the simplicity of their innocent life and embracing the sweetness of heavenly doctrine.

For this reason Augustine came to Arles and, according to Gregory’s command, was consecrated bishop by Etherius. He returned to Britain. Immediately through Laurence the priest and Peter the monk he made known to Pope Gregory the conversion of the nation of the English and his own consecration. He suggested that Gregory send him very many ministers of the word of God, because he had a great harvest but few laborers.

Made joyful in Christ by these reports, Gregory sent many to Augustine, among whom the chief were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. Through them he sent all things necessary for the worship of the Church: sacred vessels, vestments of altars, ecclesiastical ornaments, clerical garments, relics of the Apostles and of many saints, and many codices.

He also sent him the pallium, commanding that under his own metropolis he should likewise ordain twelve bishops. He was to send individual bishops to London and York, who likewise, after consecrating twelve bishops, were to receive the pallium from the Apostolic See. After Augustine's death, the one among them who had merited to be consecrated first was to be regarded as the first.

He also commanded that among the nation of the English he should not destroy the temples of the idols, but, after holy water had been sprinkled upon them, should dedicate them as basilicas.

And because Augustine, questioning him concerning certain headings, inquired how a bishop ought to live with his clerics, and also concerning many other matters touching the diverse conditions of men and diverse affairs, the most humble Gregory answered each point and instructed him, as is found scattered through the various decretals.

Indeed, through Gregory's prayers almighty God conferred upon Augustine and his companions so great a grace of performing signs that they confirmed by the efficacy of signs the word of life that they preached with their mouth. Hence it came about that, after a few years had passed, the other kings of Saxony also came to the faith of Christ through his disciples.

Concerning this, Gregory himself wrote as follows to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who had reported to him the spiritual goods of his own church:

> *Since I know that in the good things you perform you rejoice together with others, I return to you a recompense for your favor. For although the nation of the English, placed in a corner of the world, had until now remained faithless in the worship of wood and stones, it pleased me, with the aid of your prayer, that, with God as author, I ought to send to it a monk of my monastery. Having been made a bishop, he was conducted to the aforesaid nation at the end of the world.*
>
> *And now writings concerning his salvation and work have reached us, because he himself, or those who were sent with him, shine forth in that nation with so many miracles that they seem to imitate the powers of the Apostles in the signs they manifest. On the solemnity of the Lord's Nativity, more than ten thousand English were baptized by him, our brother and fellow bishop.*

Concerning the conversion of these English, Gregory himself, as John the Deacon reports, also says in the books of the *Moralia*:

> *Behold, the tongue of Britain, which had known nothing other than to utter barbarous growls, has now long since begun to resound with Hebrew words in the praises of God. Behold, the ocean, formerly swollen, now lies beneath the feet of the saints and serves. Through fear of God, the mouths of priests bind with simple words those barbarous movements of the ocean which earthly princes were unable to tame with the sword. And he who, while unbelieving, did not in any way fear troops of combatants now, faithful, fears the tongues of the humble. For because the power of divine knowledge is poured into him through miracles, he is restrained by fear of the same divinity, so that he fears to act perversely and desires with all his longings to come to the grace of eternity.*

Nevertheless, Gregory himself wrote to the same Augustine concerning these miracles as follows:

> *I know that almighty God, through your love, shows great miracles among the nation that he willed to elect. Hence it is necessary that concerning this same heavenly gift you both rejoice with fear and fear while rejoicing. Let us rejoice, certainly, because the souls of the English are drawn through exterior miracles to interior grace. But let us fear lest, amid the signs that are done, the weak mind raise itself up in its own presumption, so that, from the source whence it is outwardly raised by honor, it may inwardly fall through empty glory.*

VIII. Concerning the Miracles Gregory Performed

In the City, a certain matron was accustomed to offer the customary offerings at the public stations while Blessed Gregory celebrated the solemnities of Masses. When, after the mysteries, he was about to give her the Host whose material had been offered by her, and Gregory said, “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ,” and so forth, she smiled wantonly. He immediately turned his right hand away from her mouth and placed that portion of the Lord's body upon the altar.

When the solemnities of the Masses had been completed, he questioned the matron before the people about why, when she was about to receive the body of the Lord, she had presumed to laugh. After muttering for a long while, she finally burst forth into words of this sort: “Because you declared to be the Lord's body the bread that I knew I had made with my own hands.”

Then Gregory, on account of the woman's unbelief, prostrated himself in prayer with the whole congregation. Rising after a little while, he found that the particle of bread which he had placed upon the altar had been made flesh. Showing it before everyone to the unbelieving matron, he was able both to call her back to the grace of belief and to take care to strengthen the whole people. Again prostrated in prayer with them, he restored the fragment of flesh to the original substance of bread.

At another time, when certain westerners made requests through legates, he enclosed, according to custom, a *prandeum* [read: a cloth relic] in individual little boxes under the names of the martyrs requested, sealed them above, and gave them to the legates. Carrying the relics they had received with appropriate veneration, after they had traversed several miles of the journey, they began foolishly to complain that they had undertaken so great a journey without knowing whether they had received bones of saints or, rather, pieces of flesh from the Roman pontiff.

Therefore, by common counsel, after removing the pontifical seal and opening the little boxes, they found pieces of cloth. Returning to the walls of the City in excessive fury, they tearfully complained through the archdeacon that Gregory had deceived them, so as to receive a cheap cloth in place of relics. They said that their lords abounded in most beautiful cloaks and consequently did not need the cheap cloths of the Romans.

Gregory was perhaps then celebrating the solemnities of Masses. When these had been completed, he received the cloth relics from those same legates before everyone and placed them upon the altar. He gave himself to prayer with all present, so that almighty God might disclose as quickly as possible whether that which had customarily been sent from the threshold of the Apostles as relics of the martyrs ought to be venerated.

Then, rising from prayer, he commanded the unbelieving legates to stand near. He asked for a small knife and, in the manner of the most holy Pope Leo, pierced the cloth; blood immediately flowed from its punctures. By this miracle, both the legates, confounded men, and all who were present, struck with trembling, prostrated themselves upon the ground with Gregory at his command. They did not cease from prayer until all the holes in the cloth relics were divinely closed.

Moreover, a certain one of the rich Romans, having left his wife, had been deprived of communion by the pontiff. Bearing this most grievously and being unable to invalidate the authority of so great a pontiff, he sought the aid of magicians. Persuaded by great gifts, they confidently promised that they could accomplish by their evil incantations that, once a demon had been sent in, the pontiff's horse would be tormented until it came into danger together with its rider.

Delighted by this promise, that incestuous judge permitted the magicians to stand hidden beside the road by which the pontiff was to proceed to the station, so that they could see those passing by but could not be seen by the passersby. When the magicians had recognized the great pontiff from the processions of those vested in chasubles and those bearing napkins, after sending in the demon they began to torment the horse so strongly that it was thought it could never be held by its rider or by the grooms.

Then Gregory, knowing by the revelation of the Spirit that the demon had been sent in, made the sign of the cross and both freed the horse from the present madness and, commanding that the sorcerers be brought down from their hidden height, punished them with perpetual blindness. They confessed their guilt at the accusation of the incestuous judge and, after much time, came to the grace of baptism. Gregory indeed willed to restore their eyes, lest they should return to magical practices [read: Gregory indeed did not will to restore their eyes, lest they should return to magical practices], but he commanded that they be maintained from ecclesiastical goods.

When Gregory, while pope, had built a monastery and established that no one should possess anything except in common, the abbot of the said monastery discovered that a certain monk secretly kept three coins received from his lay brother for some necessity of his own. He made this known to Pope Gregory, who excommunicated the monk as a terror to the others.

Meanwhile, unknown to Gregory, the excommunicated monk died. Upon hearing this, Gregory was grieved that the man had died excommunicated. But he drew up a document containing his absolution and gave it to one of the deacons to read over the tomb of the deceased. When the deacon had fulfilled the command, on the following night the deceased appeared to the abbot and made known that until then he had been held in custody, but declared that since yesterday he had been absolved when the absolution was read.

There is also read concerning him something that surpasses all marvels. On one occasion, while passing through Trajan's forum, he recalled that emperor's humanity and the justice he had exercised toward a widow whose son Trajan's son had killed while riding about on horseback. On account of this, Trajan had granted his own son to her as an adopted son, together with his very great riches.

Compassionating Trajan's damnation because he had died a gentile, Gregory entered the basilica of Blessed Peter, groaned for him, and prayed. It was divinely answered to him: “Behold, I have fulfilled your petition and have spared Trajan eternal punishment. Henceforth take the greatest care not to offer a petition for anyone damned.”

And Damascene relates in a certain sermon that Gregory, pouring out prayer for Trajan, heard a voice divinely addressed to him: “I have heard your voice, and I grant pardon to Trajan, to which matter all the East and the West are witnesses.”

Concerning this there is a manifold manner of speaking among theologians in the fourth book of the *Sentences*. But the more common opinion is that Trajan was raised again to the present life, in which, having been converted and baptized, he thus escaped hell. Nor had he been condemned in hell by God's final sentence, but only temporarily, until Gregory should pray for him. And the statement that there is no redemption in hell is understood concerning those who have been adjudged there by God's final sentence, but not those there temporarily, as this man was.

When Gregory was celebrating the solemnities of Masses in the church of Saint Mary Major in the City and said, “May the peace of the Lord be always with you,” the angels answered, “And with your spirit.” In memory of this event, when the supreme pontiff celebrates there on such a day, it is said that no answer is made to him by the choir at “May the peace of the Lord.”

IX. Concerning His Liberality and Piety Toward the Poor

There was found no one like him who observed the law of the Most High, which gives precepts concerning mercy and piety. For, as John the Deacon reports, by purchasing with his own money English boys dispersed through foreign regions, each year he brought them to knowledge of the faith.

Hence, writing to Candidus the priest, he says:

> *As you proceed to govern the patrimony that is in Gaul, we desire that your beloved self, from the solidi you receive, buy clothing for the poor or English boys—that is, slaves—who are seventeen or eighteen years of age, so that, given to monasteries, they may make progress for God. Thus the Gallic solidi that cannot be expended in our land may be usefully expended in their own place.*
>
> *But if you can receive any of the monies returned which are said to have been taken away, from these also we desire that you buy clothing or boys. But because those who can be found there are pagans, I desire that a priest be sent with them, lest some illness occur on the way, so that he ought to baptize those whom he perceives to be dying.*

The same Gregory, writing to Cyprian the deacon, commands that if the Jews dwelling on the possessions of the Church in Sardinia wish to be converted to the faith, he should remit to them a third or fourth part of their rents, adding:

> *Nor do we do this without profit if, for the sake of lightening the burdens of their rent, we bring them to the grace of Christ. For although they themselves come with less fidelity, nevertheless those born from them are baptized with greater fidelity. Therefore, we shall gain either them or their children. And for this reason it is not burdensome, whatever we remit from the rent.*

Hence, through both such alleviations of rents and promises of the kingdom of heaven, many Jews in diverse places were converted to the faith. Together with the salvation of the soul, he also conferred upon them garments suitable for those being baptized. Hence he wrote to Fantinus the defender that, since very many Jews wished to be converted to Christ, he ought to command the bishop of the place to baptize them on a feast day after the prescribed abstinence of forty days. He should make no delay because of the plague that had invaded that region, and garments should be bought for those who, because of poverty, could not procure them for themselves.

Solicitous also that the little children of the Arians be joined to the Catholic faith, he wrote to all the bishops of Italy, saying:

> *Since the most abominable Autharith, at the Paschal solemnity that has recently passed, prohibited the sons of the Lombards from being baptized in the Catholic faith, the divine majesty extinguished him for this fault, so that he did not see the solemnity of another Passover. It is fitting that your fraternity admonish all the Lombards throughout your places that, because a grave mortality threatens, they reconcile to the Catholic faith those same sons of theirs baptized in the Arian unbelief—that is, by baptizing them—because they had not been baptized, since the Arians do not observe the form of the Church, so that they may appease the wrath of almighty God upon them.*

The same man appointed suitable men to individual deaconries and guesthouses. And so that they might bestow care upon the needy and the disabled with greater security and sagacity, he fortified some with privileges. He wrote as follows to one of the most faithful among them:

> *By no manner or device are you ever to be compelled by any man to render an account or to suffer any molestation. But because we have thus freed you from human accounts, so that you may know that you will render an account to our God concerning those things we have committed to you, we exhort you that sincerity of faith flourish in you, that your mind be more intent upon affairs, your care more weighty, your zeal more vigilant, your devotion more illustrious, and your service more effective.*

Besides these things, he sent the religious Abbot Probus with much money to Jerusalem. By his diligence he established a venerable guesthouse. Both there and on Mount Sinai near Arabia, for the servants of God established under the governance of Palladius, he procured an abundance of daily food and clothing for as long as he was able to live.

Likewise, through diverse provinces, for the preservation of sacred religion and for the vigorous governance of the goods of the poor, he took on industrious men of his Church as administrators of the patrimonies. Among these he appointed Cyprian the deacon over the Sicilian patrimony; Pantaleon the notary over the Syracusan; Fantinus the defender over the Panormitan; Sergius the defender over the Calabrian; Romanus the notary over the Apulian; Benenatus over the Sanentician; Anthemius the subdeacon over the Neapolitan; Peter the subdeacon over the Campanian; Candidus the defender over the Tuscan; Urbicus the defender over the Sabine; Optatus the defender over the Nursian; Benedict the notary over the Carseolan; Felix the subdeacon over the Appian; Castorius the cartulary over the Ravennate; Castorius the notary over the Istrian; Antonius the subdeacon over the Dalmatian; John the notary over the Illyrian; Symmachus the defender over the Sardinian; Boniface the subdeacon over the Corsican; Pantaleon over the Ligurian; Hieronymus the defender over the patrimony of the Cottian Alps; Hilary the notary over the Germanician; and Candidus the priest over the Gallican. Through these men he provided marvelously for the poor.

So great was Gregory's hospitality in the patriarchal residence—as John the Deacon reports—that, apart from those whom, throughout diverse regions and also in Rome, he mercifully maintained with ecclesiastical alms as they fled the swords of the Lombards' treachery, he invited all manner of strangers to his table each day.

Among them, on a certain day, one came at whose hands Gregory himself, by the service of humility, wished to pour water. Turning aside, he took up a pitcher; but suddenly he did not find the man upon whose hands he had wished to pour water. When Gregory wondered within himself at what had happened, on that same night the Lord said to him through a vision: “On other days you received me in my members, but yesterday you received me in myself.”

At another time Gregory, according to his custom, commanded the treasurer to invite twelve strangers to the meal. Going, the treasurer fulfilled the command and arranged them together at the table. But while they reclined together, the pope looked and counted thirteen. Summoning the treasurer, he asked why, contrary to his command, he had presumed to invite a thirteenth.

Astounded, the treasurer counted the stranger-guests more carefully and, finding only twelve, answered as though secure: “Believe me, venerable father, there are only twelve, as you commanded.” Thus, when the one convicted repeatedly counted twelve again and did not see the thirteenth, whom Gregory alone was able to see, Father Gregory observed that the man reclining nearest him frequently turned *vultis* [read: frequently turned his face] and now simulated a young man, now an old man with a certain grayness.

When the meal was finished, he permitted the twelve to depart, but, taking the thirteenth by the hand, he led him into his chamber, vehemently adjuring him to deign to reveal himself and his name to him plainly. He answered, saying: “Why do you ask me about my name, which is wonderful? But know, recalling it to memory, that I am that shipwrecked man who once came to you when you were writing in the cell of your monastery, to whom you gave twelve coins and the silver dish, filled with vegetables, which your mother Silvia had sent to you. And let this be known to you for certain: from the day on which you bestowed these things upon me with a cheerful spirit, the Lord appointed you to become prelate of his holy Church.”

Gregory said, “How do you know this?” He replied, “Because I am his angel, sent to investigate your purpose.” Then Gregory was altogether terrified. The angel said to him: “Do not fear. Behold, the Lord has sent me to be your guardian as long as you are in this world.” Immediately Gregory fell upon his face, rendering immeasurable thanks to God.

Moreover, he converted into money the revenues of all the patrimonies and estates according to the Gelasian register, of which he clearly appeared to be a most devoted follower. From their rents, brought together in gold and silver, certain solidi were distributed four times in the year to all monasteries, churches, cemeteries, ecclesiastical orders, palace officials, and guesthouses: namely at Easter, on the natal feast of the Apostles, on that of Saint Andrew, and on his own natal feast. He prescribed this through the register according to which it had hitherto been disbursed.

On every first day of the month, without exception, he distributed generally to the poor the same kinds of goods that were gathered from the revenues. In their season the most discerning head of the Lord's household divided wheat, wine, cheese, pulse, lard, edible animals, fish, and oil. But spiced provisions and other things that were more delicate he honorably offered to persons of higher standing, so that the Church was thought to be nothing other than a certain common granary belonging to all.

He gave fifteen pounds of gold to three thousand handmaids of God for bed-coverings. To them he also conferred eighty pounds annually for daily stipends. Writing to the patrician Theoctista concerning these women or their holiness, Gregory says: “Theirs is such a life, and it is restrained to so great a degree by tears and abstinence, that we believe that, if they did not exist, none of us could now have survived for so many years in this place among the swords of the Lombards.”

Indeed, on every day he sent fixed stipends through appointed mounted couriers to any sick persons or persons disabled in any bodily member throughout the streets or crossroads of all the districts. But to the more bashful poor, before he himself took food, he took care to send from his table, door by door, a dish of the apostolic blessing.

When it happened that one of these poor persons was found dead by scavengers in the confined recesses of the lanes, Gregory, thinking that he had perished for lack of alms, was so saddened, as it is said, that for several days he abstained from celebrating Masses, as though he himself had slain him with his own hands—which it is impious even to say.

When Gregory was dedicating a certain church that had once belonged to the Arians, after relics of Sebastian and Agatha had been placed there, a certain pig appeared among those standing by, running here and there. At last it departed from the church and was seen no more. Hence the devil also was thought by all to have been expelled from that place through the consecrator.

On the following night, a great noise, as though of persons running about, was heard above the said church. On the next night, a still heavier sound was heard with so great a terror that it was as if the church had been utterly overturned.

After a few days, when the air was very serene, a cloud descended over the altar of the said church and covered it, and filled the church with so great a terror and fragrance that no one dared enter. On another day, the lamps were divinely kindled without

fire. On many occasions on other days, after the lamps had been extinguished by the clerics following the office, they were found kindled without fire borrowed from elsewhere.

X. Concerning Gregory's Liberality and Mercy Toward Particular Persons

John the Deacon relates that this bishop Gregory, through the procurators of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, like a certain most keen-sighted Argus, carried the eyes of his pastoral solicitude throughout the breadth of the whole world, as can be judged from the many instances of which a few are related here.

The same man writes as follows to Peter the subdeacon:

> *With fifty pounds of gold purchase new grain from outsiders and store it in Sicily in places where it will not perish, so that in February we may direct as many ships as we can there to bring it here, apart from the grain that, according to custom, we now await to be sent in February or October. For the yield of grain here was so small that, unless grain is collected from Sicily, severe famine threatens. But let the grain of the ecclesiastical tenants be collected without the harassment of anyone.*

Writing to Anthemius the subdeacon, Gregory says:

> *I desire that, as soon as you receive the present instruction, you offer to Donem Paterie [read: Lady Pateria] forty solidi for the footwear of the boys and four hundred modii of wheat; and to Donem Palatine [read: Lady Palatina], the widow of Urbicus, twenty solidi and three hundred modii of wheat. Let all these be computed in your accounts. But bring the total of the rent with haste.*

The same man writes to the same:

> *It has been made known to us that certain handmaids of God of the city of Nola, dwelling in the Aboritan house, suffer an excessive scarcity of food and clothing. It is fitting for us to aid them by God's command. Therefore, by the present instruction we command that you ought to give them forty solidi in gold and, in succeeding indictions, supply them twenty solidi annually, which may be computed in your accounts.*
>
> *Furthermore, we command that you give only two solidi each to Paulinus the priest of the monastery of Saint Erasmus on the side of Mount Syraptus [read: Mount Soracte] and to the two monks in the oratory of the Holy Archangel. Likewise, do not delay in giving the illustrious Paulina thirty solidi annually [read: the illustrious Palatina thirty solidi annually].*

The same man writes to Peter the subdeacon:

> *It has been made known to us that Marcellus, assigned to penance in the monastery of Saint Hadrian in the city of Palermo, endures the necessity of food and the excessive affliction of nakedness. Therefore establish for him as much as you foresee to be sufficient for food, clothing, and bedding.*

Likewise, to the same:

> *We have learned that the monastery of the Holy Archangel suffers need of food. Therefore let your Experience watch diligently, so that, if you learn that the monks of that place conduct themselves well and manifest truth can establish that they suffer need, you may aid them. Supported by this authority, you will hasten to do so in every way.*
>
> *But they also declare that they have a little estate of our Church called Viciana, which pays them one solidus and two tremisses. If it is so, permit them to possess it by libellary title for the sum of one tremissis. Therefore let it be your zeal to fulfill all these things, provided, as we have said, that its monks have shown themselves diligent in the service of God, as is taught [read: as is fitting].*

Likewise, to the same:

> *Since we have perceived that the son of a most worthy man suffers necessity not only through loss of sight but also through lack of food, we command your Experience that each year you ought to supply for his support twenty-four modii of wheat, twelve modii of beans, and twenty decimatatas of wine [read: twenty decimatae of wine], which may afterward be charged to your accounts.*

The same man writes to Cyprian the deacon:

> *Because of the necessities arising from various dangers, Cosmas says that he is bound by many debts, so that, for those same debts, he says that his sons are detained by his creditors. Therefore investigate his case with the greatest exactness. If you find that he is truly entangled in the aforesaid debts and has no substance from which he can pay them, then, for recovering his sons, arrange with the creditors for whatever sum you determine and pay it from the goods of the poor by our authority, knowing that whatever is given there will be counted as belonging to our patrimony.*

The same man writes to the same:

Zeno, our brother and fellow bishop, has made known that certain persons in his city suffer want of food. Therefore, by the present writing, we appoint your beloved self to give our aforesaid brother one thousand modii of wheat, or, if he can transport more, up to two thousand. We exhort you, therefore, to introduce no delay or excuse in granting these things.

The same man writes to the religious Abbot Eusebius:

Let your charity believe me, because I have been greatly saddened by your sadness, and so forth. Furthermore, we have caused one hundred solidi to be given to your beloved self through Peter the subdeacon; I ask that you receive them without taking offense.

Likewise, to Fantinus the defender:

Cosmas the Syrian, bearer of the present letter, declared that in the business he conducted he contracted a debt, which, from the testimony of others and his tears, we believe to be true. And because he owed one hundred and fifty solidi, I desired that his creditors make some agreement with him, since the law provides that a free man may in no way be detained for debt if goods are lacking that can be assigned to that same debtor [read: goods are lacking that can be attached to that debt].

He asserts that his creditors can agree to eighty solidi. But because it is a great thing to demand eighty solidi from a man who has nothing, we have sent sixty solidi through your notary, so that you may speak carefully with those creditors and explain that, according to the laws, they cannot detain his son, whom they are said to hold. And, if it can be done, let them condescend to something less than we have given. Give to the man himself whatever remains of those sixty solidi, so that he may be able to live from it with his son. But perform this diligently, so that, once the solidi have been received, they draw up for him in writing a full security.

The same man writes to Castorius, deacon and cartulary of Ravenna:

We desire without doubt that the monk Valerian, whom, when corrected, you delivered to the monastery of Saint John situated at Classis, remain in that monastery. From the revenues of the Holy Roman Church that have been collected there, with you providing, we desire that all his expenses be met. And if anything remains, bring it to us when you come.

The same man writes as follows to Liberatus, formerly praetor:

We are not unaware how great is the distress of this world that presses you.

And below:

For perhaps, magnificent son, you have offended him in prosperous circumstances, wherefore he wills that you be purified by merciful bitterness. Therefore let neither temporal affliction break you nor losses of property shake you, because if, giving thanks in adversities, you render God placable to you, both the things that have been lost will be restored multiplied and, beyond these things, eternal joys will be bestowed.

But I ask that you not consider it an injury that we have written, through Romanus the defender, that twenty years of clothing [read: twenty annual allowances of clothing] be furnished to your boys, because things offered from the goods of Blessed Peter the Apostle, however small they may be, must always be received as a great blessing.

How great was the innocence in his liberality is shown from his letter, as John the Deacon reports. For he writes as follows to Pantaleon the notary:

Your Experience remembers what sort of oath, and how great an oath, it furnished at the most sacred body of Blessed Peter the Apostle. Therefore we also, being secure, have sent it to investigate the patrimonies of the Syracusan region. It is fitting, therefore, that you always keep before your eyes both your faith and the fear of that same Blessed Peter the Apostle, and act so that you may be reproved neither by men in the present life nor by almighty God at the last judgment.

We have learned, however, from the report of Salerius our cartulary that you found the modius with which the tenants of the Church were compelled to give grain to be of twenty-five sextarii. This we have cursed in every way, and we have grieved that you undertook this investigation late. But because you record that you broke that same modius and made a just one, we have rejoiced.

But because the aforesaid cartulary also took care to disclose to us the sum that has now been collected before your Experience from the frauds of the leaseholders in two territories, we rejoice that, after the unjust modius had been broken, you acted so zealously. For in the future we also consider past sins in this way, lest, if the things that the leaseholders fraudulently took from the peasants come to us, the sins perpetrated by them also be drawn to us.

Therefore we desire your Experience, with complete fidelity, to make a list, estate by estate, of the poor and needy tenants, and from the monies found as a result of the frauds to buy cows, sheep, and pigs, and to distribute them to each of the poorer tenants. We desire you to do this with the counsel of the most reverend Lord John the bishop, Hadrian the cartulary, and, if necessary, also with the counsel of my son Lord Julian, so that no one else may know, but it may be secret.

The same man, writing to Peter the subdeacon, says:

> *We have learned that the peasants of the Church are burdened in the prices of grain, so that the fixed sum is not observed for them in purchasing at a time of abundance. Hence we desire that, according to the public prices at every time, whether more or less grain is produced, the measure of purchasing among them be maintained.*
>
> *But we desire that the grain which is lost by shipwreck be charged wholly to us, provided nevertheless that there is no negligence on your part in sending it, lest, while the proper time for sending is neglected, loss be generated from your fault.*
>
> *We have perceived it to be exceedingly unjust and inequitable that anything be received from the peasants of the Church in respect of the sextarii, and that they be compelled to give according to a larger modius than is brought into the granaries of the Church. Hence we command that grain should never be received from the peasants of the Church by a modius of more than eighteen sextarii, unless perhaps it is something that the sailors, according to custom, take in addition because they attest that the grain is diminished in the ships themselves.*
>
> *Likewise, they ought to exact neither siliquae beyond the pounds nor a larger pound. But according to your valuation, insofar as their ability suffices, let the total rent be increased, and thus let no shameful exaction be made.*
>
> *Lest, after my death, these same burdens that we remove because they have been superimposed be added again in any way, we desire that you draw up documents of security concerning the rents in such a way that you first state how great a rent each person ought to pay, with the added burdens in siliquae or grain dues inserted there.*
>
> *Before all things we desire you to attend carefully to this: that unjust weights not be set in exacting rents. But if you find any such, break them and establish new and correct ones.*
>
> *Furthermore, we have learned that the first payment of the burdatio greatly distresses our peasants, so that they are compelled to pay the taxes before they are able to sell their produce. Since they do not have the means to give these from their own property, they receive loans from public revenue officers and pay heavy interest for the same benefit, as a result of which they are constricted by grave losses.*
>
> *Hence we command that every loan they could receive from outsiders for the same cause be given publicly by your Experience and be received back little by little from the peasants of the Church as they have the means, lest, being constricted by the time, they be compelled to sell more cheaply and this by no means suffice for them.*

He also commanded the same man that, concerning marriage payments, what the rich gave should not exceed the sum of one solidus, while the poor should give less, and that this should be given to the leaseholders and not entered into the account of the Church.

He also commanded that heirs should succeed to the goods of the Church's leaseholders, and not the officials of the Church, as happened in certain places. He commanded that if a tenant unjustly received anything from a leaseholder, it should be restored to the leaseholder from whom it was taken and not assigned to the Church, as had been done.

> *But we desire you to receive no more from the estates of the Church than custom allows.*

Likewise, concerning a certain work enjoined upon him, he says to the same:

> *We give thanks to your Solicitude, because concerning the matter of my brother I instructed you that he ought to have sent the silver [read: I instructed you that you ought to send his silver back], and you so consigned it to oblivion as if something had been said to you by your lowest slave. Now, at least, let not your Experience but your Negligence take care to fulfill it, and send with all speed whatever you learn was in Antonius's possession.*

XI. Concerning His Manifold Affliction, Patience, and Humility

At the end of his exposition upon Ezekiel, he says:

> *Behold, insofar as we have been able through the Lord's largess, we have searched these things out for you also, dearly beloved brothers. But let no one reproach me if, after these things, I cease from speech, because, as you all discern, our tribulations have increased. On every side we are surrounded by swords; on every side we fear the threatening danger of death. Some return to us with their hands cut off; others are reported captured, others slain.*
>
> *Now I am compelled to restrain my tongue from exposition, because my soul is weary of my life. Now let no one seek in me the study of sacred eloquence, because my harp is turned into mourning. Now my heart does not keep watch in the investigation of mysteries, because my soul has slumbered from weariness. But how can one who is not permitted to live speak as he pleases*

concerning the meanings of Holy Scripture? And how can I offer sweet things to drink when I am compelled daily to drink bitter things?

The same man, writing to the patrician Italica and to *Venatio*, a patrician formerly a monk [read: to Venantius, a patrician formerly a monk], says:

My sins bring it about that for eleven months now it has been exceedingly rare for me to have been able to rise from my bed at any time, so that my life is a most grievous punishment. For daily I fail in pain, and I sigh while awaiting the remedy of death.

Moreover, so many attacks of fevers have fallen upon the clergy and people of this City that scarcely any free man or slave has remained who is fit for any office or ministry. From the neighboring cities, however, slaughters by mortality are reported to us daily. But you who are nearer Africa have, I believe, learned all the more exactly how it is devastated by mortality and sickness. Those who come from the East report still graver desolations.

Therefore, in all these things, because we recognize a universal scourging as the end of the world approaches, we ought not to be excessively afflicted by our own troubles.

The same man writes to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria:

Last year I received the most delightful writings of your Holiness, to which, because of the excess of my sickness, I have until now been unable to respond. For behold, nearly two years have now passed in which I have been confined to bed and am afflicted by so great pains of gout that on feast days I can scarcely rise for the space of three hours and celebrate the solemnities of Masses.

Immediately afterward I am compelled by grave pain to lie down, so that I can endure my torment while groaning interrupts me. This pain is sometimes mild for me, sometimes excessive. But it is neither so mild that it departs nor so excessive that it kills, whence it happens that I, who am daily in death, am driven back from death.

Nor is it a wonder, because, a grievous sinner, I am long held enclosed in such a prison of corruption. Hence I am compelled to cry out, "Lead my soul out of prison." But because I do not yet merit to obtain this through my prayers, I ask that the prayer of your Holiness furnish me aid by its intercessions and render me free from sins and from the weight of corruption, in that liberty of the glory of the sons of God which you know well.

Likewise, to the same:

I ask, therefore, that you pray more earnestly for me, a sinner, because both the pain of my body from gout and the bitterness of my heart from the afflictions of cares, the immense devastation of mortality, and the presence of so many swords of the barbarians afflict me vehemently. Amid all these things I seek not temporal but eternal consolation, which I cannot obtain through myself; but I trust that I may obtain it through the intercession of your Blessedness.

The same man, writing to Marinianus, bishop of Arabia [read: bishop of Ravenna], says:

It is now a long time since I have been able to rise from bed. For now the pain of gout torments me; now I know not what fire spreads with pain throughout my whole body. And it frequently happens that at one time heat together with pain assails me and causes both my body and my spirit to fail.

Therefore, most holy brother, entreat for me the mercy of divine pity, that it may graciously mitigate in me the scourges of its striking and grant patience to endure, lest—which may it not happen—the heart, through excessive weariness, break forth in impatience, and that which could have been cured through the wound increase in guilt through murmuring.

The same man writes to Bishop Sebastian:

Most holy brother, we are by no means able to say what things we suffer in this land at the hands of your friend Lord Romanus. Nevertheless, I say briefly that his malice against us has surpassed the swords of the Lombards, so that the enemies who kill us appear more benign than the judges of the republic, who wear us out in anxious thought through their malice, robberies, and deceits.

At one and the same time to bear the care of bishops and clerics, of monasteries also and of the people; to watch against the snares of enemies; to remain always suspicious against the deceits and malice of commanders—how great a labor and how great a grief this is your Fraternity judges the more truly, the more purely it loves me who suffer it.

The same man, writing to John, bishop of Ravenna, says:

I ascribe this to my sins: that this man who is now present—without doubt Romanus the exarch—both pretends not to fight against our enemies and forbids us to make peace. Although now, even if he wished, we are wholly unable to make it, because Ariulf, possessing the army of Autharith and Nordulf, desires that their subsidies be given to him, so that he may deign to speak

with us at all concerning peace.

XII. Concerning the Books Published by Him

When he had been taken from the monastery, made a cardinal deacon, and sent to Constantinople as apocrisiary on behalf of ecclesiastical answers, he was earnestly asked by the brothers—and especially by Leander, bishop of Seville, who had come to Constantinople as a legate for the affairs of the Visigoths—and was compelled to unravel the book of Blessed Job, wrapped in many mysteries. He treated it in an admirable order through a series of thirty-five books.

In them he discussed the virtues and vices in such a way that he seems not to explain them by words alone but, in a certain manner, to display them in visible forms. Hence there is no doubt that he attained the perfection of those same virtues whose effect he was able to express so efficaciously.

As John the Deacon says, the earlier portions of the said book, namely the *Moralia*, he delivered orally before the brothers present. Because he found a little more unoccupied time, he dictated the later portions by treating them. When more ample periods were available to him, adding much, subtracting little, and leaving certain things just as they had been found, he arranged into books by emendation those things that had been taken down orally while he spoke.

When, after he had been made bishop of Rome, he dictated the last portions, considering the style in which he had delivered the first, he took care that, running through with diligent emendation the things he had spoken, he should raise them, as it were, to the likeness of those dictated, and that the things he had dictated should not differ far from the discourse of one speaking.

Nevertheless, he left almost as he had delivered it in conversation the third part of the work itself, because, while the brothers drew him toward expounding other things, they did not permit this part to be more subtly emended. This work, extended through thirty-five books, he set forth, as has been said, in six codices.

At the very beginnings of his episcopate, when he had been humbly reproved by John, bishop of the city of Ravenna, as to why so suitable a man had willed, by hiding, to flee the burdens of pastoral care, he composed the book of the *Pastoral Rule* as though rendering an account.

Dividing it by a fourfold method, he showed that it must be weighed carefully: how each person should come to the summit of governance when the necessity of affairs demands it; how one who duly comes to it should live; how one who lives well should teach; and with how great consideration one who teaches rightly should daily recognize his own weakness.

First, therefore, let him moderate desire. Then let life commend the office of teacher that is received by one not seeking it. Next, let the good that is shown by living well also be propagated by teaching. Finally, let consideration of one’s own weakness press down even each perfect work, lest the swelling of self-exaltation extinguish it before the eyes.

In the third part of the book itself, he shows at length how individual persons devoted to various vices are to be admonished in different ways according to the diversity of their conditions. Anastasius the Great, bishop of Antioch, translated this book of the *Pastoral Rule* into Greek and procured the venerable work for the Eastern churches.

Then, while Gregory still had voice and breath sufficient for speaking, running through the station churches he delivered twenty homilies on the Gospel before the people at diverse times. He did indeed dictate the others of the same number, but, because a continual illness of the stomach assailed him, he permitted others to pronounce them. He sent copies of these to Secundus, a servant of God, when he requested them.

When he was earnestly asked by his intimates to describe some things concerning the miracles of the fathers, Gregory, moved by this, interrupted the study of another exposition and set forth with his deacon Peter the miracles of the saints—especially those performed in Italy—through question and answer. He distinguished them merely by placing names before them and arranged them in four books.

Many years afterward, Zacharias, Roman bishop, most learned in Greek and Latin speech, translated these books of the *Dialogues* into the Greek language and made them known to the Eastern churches, although the crafty perversity of the Greeks immediately erased and removed the name of the Son in the commemoration of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father.

The second of these books describes at length and throughout the birth, progress full of virtues and miracles, and passing of Blessed Benedict. The fourth, through many examples, treats the state of the future life, namely hell, purgatory, and paradise.

Finally, at the request of the Romans, he treated the first and last parts, or visions, of the prophet Ezekiel, which appeared more obscure. Distinguishing these through twenty-two homilies, he revealed how much light they contain within.

As John the Deacon says, although these books are taught by doctors of a later age to have been produced with both most correct opinions and a lucid style of rhetorical eloquence, Blessed Gregory, from the sweetness of his humility, declared them uncultivated to Leander. Concerning the book of the *Moralia*, he writes as follows:

> *I ask that whoever runs through the sayings in the Moralia of this work not seek in them the foliage of words, because, by Holy Scripture, the frivolity of fruitless loquacity is diligently restrained from its expositors, when it is forbidden to plant a name in the temple of God [read: plant a grove in the temple of God].*
>
> *Hence I also scorned to observe the art of speaking itself which the teachings of external discipline impart. For, as the tenor of this letter announces, I do not flee the collision of metacism, I do not avoid the confusion of barbarism, and I disdain to observe hiatuses, changes, and also the cases of prepositions, because I consider it exceedingly unworthy that I should restrict the words of the heavenly oracle beneath the rules of Donatus. Nor, indeed, were these things observed by any translators in the authority of Holy Scripture.*

In these words it is recognized that Gregory did not strive after pompous speech, but rather fell into it from the former custom of secular exercise. Nevertheless, both Isidore and Bede greatly commend his eloquence. Gregory himself, however, out of humility, calls his doctrine bran in comparison with the doctrine of other doctors. But he also prohibited his own books from being read publicly—that is, at table or in church during the offices.

At the end of the *Moralia*, his very great humility is also shown, when he says:

> *Now that this work is completed, I see that I must return to myself. For our mind, when it speaks rightly, is much dispersed outside itself. For while words are considered as to how they may be brought forth, because they draw the mind outward they diminish its integrity.*
>
> *And although I do not find that I have said any evil things, nevertheless I do not maintain that I have said none at all. But if, receiving them divinely, I have said any good things, I confess that by my own fault I have said them less well.*
>
> *Returning inwardly to myself, however, I inspect the root of my intention. I recognize indeed that from it I wished above all to please God. But, secretly and I know not how, an intention of human praise inserts itself into that same intention by which I strive to please God. When afterward, and too late, I discern this, I find that I act in one way in that which I know I began in another.*
>
> *It must therefore be confessed that our right intention, which desires to please God alone, is sometimes treacherously accompanied by a less right intention, which seeks to please men concerning the gifts of God. But if we are strictly examined by divine judgment, what place of salvation remains amid these things, when both our evil things are pure evils and the good things that we believe we possess can in no way be pure goods?*

And after a few words:

> *Therefore, I ask that each person who reads these things bestow upon me before the strict Judge the aid of his prayer, and wash away with tears everything he finds filthy in me.*

He seems also to have written or expounded other things, from what he appears to signify to John the subdeacon, his representative at Ravenna, writing among other things as follows:

> *Because Claudius, once my most beloved son, had heard me speaking of certain things concerning Proverbs, the Song of Songs, the Prophets, also the books of Kings, and the Heptateuch, which because of weakness I was unable to hand over in writing, he dictated them according to his own understanding, lest they perish through forgetfulness, so that at a suitable time he might bring these same things to me and they might be dictated more correctly.*
>
> *When he had read them to me, I found that the sense of my statements had been changed in a very mutilated manner. Hence it is necessary that, with every excuse and delay ceasing, your Experience go to his monastery, cause the brothers to assemble, and cause them to bring into the open, with complete truthfulness, however many little sheets concerning the various Scriptures he brought there. Receive them and send them to me more swiftly.*

From this it is established that he composed more books than those aforesaid which we possess. And although, while the treachery of the Lombards raged, he ceased from the exposition of books after the treatises on Ezekiel, nevertheless, for as long as he could live, he did not cease from composing letters. Of these he left in the archive as many books as the years he lived, whence he left the thirteenth book of letters incomplete.

From the multitude of these letters, in the time of the first Pope Hadrian, certain decretal letters were excerpted and gathered into two volumes, as is now seen. It is called the *Register of Gregory*.

XIII. Concerning His Various Letters

When the most avaricious and at the same time most rapacious emperor Maurice, at the suggestions of Gregory's enemies, issued the most deadly law that no soldier who had been marked upon the hand should be permitted to be converted, Gregory answered him, among other things, as follows:

> *The power of my lords' Piety over all men has been given for this: that those who desire good things may be assisted, that the way of the heavens may be opened more widely, and that the earthly kingdom may serve the heavenly. And behold, it is said in an open declaration that one who has once been marked in earthly military service is not permitted to serve Christ unless either his service has been completed or he has been discharged because of bodily weakness.*
>
> *To these things, behold, through me, his last servant and yours, Christ answers, saying: "From a notary I made you count of the guards; from count of the guards, Caesar; from Caesar, emperor; and not only this, but also father of emperors. I entrusted my priests to your hand, and do you withdraw your soldiers from my service?"*
>
> *Most pious lord, I ask: what will you, a servant, answer your Lord when he comes and says these things at judgment? Let my lord, I ask, inquire what earlier emperor gave this law, and let him consider more precisely whether it ought to have been given.*

The same man writes to Theodore the physician:

> *My sins bring it about, says Gregory, that, by whose counsel or suggestion I do not know, the emperor issued in his republic such a law as, so those who know the ancient laws say, Julian first issued; concerning him we all know how hostile he was to God.*

There was a certain John who, from being a monk, was made bishop of the imperial city. At the time when Gregory was residing at Constantinople as the pope's apocrisiary, John had pretended, as though humbly, to flee the supreme priesthood. But when he had received it, he was lifted up to such a degree in pride that, seeking an occasion from another matter, he held a synod in which he endeavored to call himself universal.

When Pope Pelagius heard this, he annulled the acts of that same synod by letters he sent. Blessed Gregory, following Pelagius's sentence, often warned the aforesaid John and, when he delayed in yielding, punished him with an equal sentence. Under threat of the loss of their own honor, he commanded all bishops never either to write or to accept the profane title "universal."

But that John, purchasing with many deceptions the consent of the most avaricious prince for his hypocrisy, obtained that the emperor would write to Gregory, requiring him to be peaceable toward John. For this reason Gregory himself, among other things, writes as follows to the empress Constantina:

> *From the writing of Sabinian, my deacon and representative, I learned how much the justice of your Serenity bestows itself in the causes of Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, against certain men proud in feigned humility and deceitful in flattery. Hence I continue to ask that you not permit the hypocrisy of anyone to prevail against the truth.*
>
> *For according to the Apostle's word, there are certain persons who, through sweet speeches and blessings, seduce the hearts of the innocent; who indeed are contemptible in clothing but swell in heart; who seem to despise all things in this world, but seek to obtain all at once the things that belong to the world; who confess themselves unworthy of all men, but cannot be content with private titles, because they desire that from which they may appear worthier than all men.*

And after a few words:

> *Furthermore, I make known that I received a writing from the most pious lord that I ought now to be peaceable toward my brother and fellow priest John. It was indeed fitting for so religious a lord to command these things to priests. But since this same John my brother, with novel presumption and pride, calls himself universal, so that in the time of my predecessor of holy memory he caused himself to be inscribed in a synod by this proud title—even though all the acts of that synod were dissolved when the Apostolic See contradicted them—the most serene lord intimated something grievous to me: namely, that he did not correct the one who is proud, but rather wished me, who in this cause defend the truth of the Gospels and canons, of humility and rectitude, to turn aside from my intention.*
>
> *In this matter, by my aforesaid brother and fellow priest, action is taken against the evangelical sentence, against Blessed Peter also, against all the churches, and against the canons. But there is an almighty God, in whose hand all things are, concerning whom it is written: "There is no wisdom, there is no prudence, there is no counsel against the Lord."*
>
> *Indeed, the aforesaid most holy brother attempts to persuade the most serene lord of many things, but I know well that those great prayers and tears of his permit nothing to be stolen from him by anyone contrary to his reason or his soul. Nevertheless, it is exceedingly grievous that it is patiently tolerated that, after all others have been despised, my aforesaid brother and fellow bishop alone attempts to be called "bishop."*

But in this pride of his, what else is designated except that the times of Antichrist are already near? For he imitates him who, despising the legions of angels in their shared joy, endeavored to burst forth to the summit of singularity, saying: "Above the stars of God I shall exalt my throne; I shall be like the Most High."

Hence, by almighty God, I ask that you not permit the times of your Piety to be stained by the elevation of one man, nor in any manner give any assent to so perverse a title, and that in this cause your Piety by no means despise me. For although Gregory's sins are so great that he merits to suffer these things, there are no sins of Peter the Apostle such that he should merit to suffer such things in your times.

Hence again and again, by the almighty Lord, I ask that, just as earlier princes sought the favor of Saint Peter the Apostle, you also take care both to seek and to preserve it for yourselves, and that, because of the sins of us who serve him unworthily, his honor among us be in no way diminished. May he be able both to be your helper now in all things and afterward to forgive your sins.

We now reckon twenty-seven years that we have lived in this City among the swords of the Lombards. How many things are expended to them by the Church day by day so that we may be able to live among them need not be suggested.

Writing to the emperor Maurice concerning this matter, Gregory says:

Behold, without doubt Peter received the keys of the heavenly kingdom; to him the power of binding and loosing is granted; to him the care and principate of the whole Church is committed. And nevertheless he is not called the universal Apostle, while the most holy man John, my fellow bishop, endeavors to be called universal bishop. I am compelled to exclaim and say, "O times! O morals!"

Behold, in the regions of Europe everything has been handed over to the men of the barbarians [read: handed over to the power of the barbarians]: towns destroyed, cities overturned, fortresses overthrown, provinces depopulated. No cultivator inhabits the land, but worshipers of idols rage and rule daily in the slaughter of the faithful. And nevertheless priests, who ought to have lain weeping in ashes upon the pavement, seek titles of vanity for themselves and glory in new and profane designations.

Most pious lord, do I defend my own cause in this matter? Do I avenge a spiritual injury? I defend the cause of almighty God, the cause of the universal Church. Who is this who, against the evangelical statutes and against the decrees of the canons, presumes to usurp a new name for himself? Would that he who desires to be universal were one without diminution.

Behold, we know that many priests of the church of Constantinople have fallen into the whirlpool of heresies and have been made not only heretics but heresiarchs.

And below:

Therefore, the one who must rather be bent by the command of the most pious lords is he who scorns to furnish obedience to the canonical commands. He must be restrained who does injury to the holy universal Church, who swells in heart, who desires to rejoice in a title of singularity, and who also, by a private designation, places himself above the honor of your empire.

Behold, we all suffer scandal concerning this matter. Let the author of the scandal return to a right life, and all disputes among priests will cease. I am the servant of all priests insofar as they live in a priestly manner.

XIV. His Disciplinary Measures

Gregory, therefore, observing that he had been appointed pontiff by God so that he might tear out the roots of vices and plant virtues, condemned with the threat of anathema all customs which he learned had newly sprung up in the Church contrary to apostolic tradition.

He removed all secular men from his chamber. He joined to himself as intimates and counselors the most prudent of the clerics or monks. He himself also established, saying in a general synod, II, question VII:

Since the life of the shepherd ought to be an example to the disciples, clerics for the most part do not know what the life of their shepherd is in secret. Concerning this matter, by the present decree we establish that certain chosen persons from the clerics or even from the monks should serve in the ministry of the pontifical chamber, so that the one who is in the place of governance may have such witnesses as see his true conduct in secret and from assiduous sight take an example of advancement.

The most holy pontiff himself added to the Lenten fast, which is said to have been instituted by Blessed Peter and was begun by laymen on the Monday after the first Sunday of Lent, four days to be fasted before that Sunday, so that in this we might conform

ourselves to Christ in a fast of forty days. For from the first Sunday until Easter there are only thirty-six days. In that Lenten fast he declares that abstinence must be made not only from meat but also from eggs and cheese, as is clear in Distinction IV, *Finally*.

Gregory himself imposed continence upon subdeacons, establishing that no one should thereafter be promoted to the subdiaconate unless continence had been promised implicitly, even if not explicitly, so that afterward they could not contract marriage and a marriage contracted in fact does not hold, as is clear in Distinction XXXI, *Three Years Ago*.

He also rebuked priests who lived with women, saying:

> *I conspitio that it is impious to say or hear [read: I perceive that it is impious to say or hear], and contrary to the enactments of the holy canons. Where there is such a cohabitation of persons dwelling together, the goads of the ancient enemy are not absent. Therefore they must be admonished not to be deceived by the fraud of the ancient enemy, so that, according to the Apostle's word, our ministry may not be reproached.*

This appears in Distinction LXXXI, *It Is Fitting*.

In the same distinction it is read that Blessed Augustine did not consent to dwell with his sister, saying: "Those who are with my sister are not my sisters." Therefore the caution of a learned man ought to be a great instruction to us.

Against simoniacs he says as follows in the *Register* and in I, question I:

> *If a priest obtains a church through money, let him not only be deprived of the church but also be spalietur of the honor of the priesthood [read: be stripped of the honor of the priesthood], because none of the faithful is ignorant that to buy or sell an altar, tithes, and the Holy Spirit is the simoniacal heresy; and a blessing is converted into a curse for him who is promoted to this end, that he may become a heretic.*

And below:

> *Those who sell or buy holy orders cannot be priests, whence it is written: anathema to the giver, anathema to the receiver.*

These are Gregory's words. These words, however, are very obscure. For such a simoniac cannot retain the benefice itself without a dispensation; and, if it is a benefice with cure, he is suspended from the execution of his offices and orders. Thus the statement that those who buy orders—even orders of any kind—cannot be priests is understood because, namely, they cannot carry out the acts of those orders. And thus they are understood to be anathematized, that is, suspended; for according to the ancient laws they were not excommunicated by the law itself, but suspended.

"Altar" means either the chapel itself; or presentation to the chapel, which is the right of patrons; or the patronage itself. To give or receive money for any of these is simony. "Tithe" here means the right of receiving tithes.

To sell the Holy Spirit is to receive money as the price of the sacraments in which the Holy Spirit is received, which is simony. And simony is called a heresy not properly but by similitude, because by that act a man seems to show that he can sell the Holy Spirit as though he were its lord, which is heretical to believe.

And the phrase "that he may become a heretic" is understood consecutively, not causally, because from the simoniacal promotion itself this effect follows: that he is regarded as though a heretic in the manner stated.

The same Gregory says in his treatise on the Gospels, at I, question I, *There Are Some*:

> *When the prophet described a just man, he said: "He who shakes his hands free from every gift." He did not say "from a gift," but "from every gift," because one gift is from service, another from the hand, and another from the tongue. A gift from service is service unduly bestowed; a gift from the hand is money; a gift from the tongue is favor. Therefore, that man then shakes holy orders, his hands, free from every gift [read: Therefore, he who confers holy orders then shakes his hands free from every gift] when in divine matters he seeks not only no money but not even human favor.*

The same man says in the *Register*, in the following chapter:

> *If anyone who neither excels in holy conduct, nor is called by the clergy and people, nor is compelled by urging, but, already polluted by some crime, shamelessly receives the priesthood of Christ—with an unjust desire of the heart, or with filthy entreaties of the mouth, or by attendance, or by manual service, or by a fraudulent little gift—and receives the episcopal or priestly dignity not for the gain of souls but through the avarice of empty glory and appearances [read: not for the gain of souls but supported by the avarice of empty glory], and if in his lifetime he does not voluntarily leave it and unexpected death does not find him penitent, without doubt he will perish eternally.*

This subject of simony, which reigns greatly in the Church, however, you have explained at length throughout the second part, Title I, Chapter I.

The same Gregory says in Homily XIII, and in I, question III, *Those Who Sell*, against judges who judge for money, even if justly:

> *Those selling in the temple are those who bestow for a reward that which belongs to certain persons by right. For to sell justice is to preserve it in return for receiving a reward. But those buying in the temple are those who are unwilling to render to their neighbor that which is just, and who, while they scorn to perform a thing owed by right, send forth sin by a price given to patrons [read: buy sin by giving a price to patrons].*

The same Gregory, in XI, question III:

> *He who judges rightly and awaits the reward of compensation perpetrates fraud against God, because he sells, by receiving money, the justice that he ought to have imparted freely.*
>
> *They use good things badly who judge justly for temporal gain. For such persons are provoked toward truth not by the defense of justice but by the love of reward; if the hope of money is withdrawn from them, they immediately depart from confession of justice [read: depart from the defense of justice].*
>
> *The acceptance of gifts is a transgression of truth, whence it is also said concerning the just man: "He who shakes his hands free from every gift."*

The same man says in the same question:

> *It must above all be guarded against that rulers of the Church and those who exercise public judgments should in no way, when dictating sentences, be precipitate through fickleness or fury. Rather, after the cases have first been diligently examined, when the matter that was unknown has come fully to knowledge, then let divine and human law be unfolded; and according to what is established there, with acceptance of persons removed, let the definitive sentence be pronounced.*

The same man says in Book XX of the *Moralia*, Distinction XLV:

> *Everyone who judges justly bears a balance in his hand, and in each scale justice and mercy are borne. Through justice he renders sentence for the sin; through mercy he tempers the punishment of the sin, so that with a just deliverance he may correct certain things through equity and pardon certain things through compassion [read: with a just balance he may correct certain things through equity and pardon certain things through compassion]. He who sets the judgment of God before his eyes, always fearing and trembling, is apprehensive in every affair lest he fall by deviating from the path of justice.*

The same man says in the preceding chapter of the same distinction:

> *Either discipline or mercy is greatly impaired if one is maintained without the other. But rulers ought to possess toward their subjects both mercy that counsels justly and discipline that rages piously. Hence wine and oil are applied by the Samaritan to the wounds of the injured man: putrid things are cleansed by wine, and things to be healed are soothed by oil.*
>
> *Mildness, therefore, must be mixed with severity, and a certain tempering must be made from both, so that subjects are neither ulcerated by excessive harshness nor released from authority by excessive mildness.*

The authority of the superior, the figure of the ark, and the example of Moses declare this.

The same Gregory says in a homily and in the same distinction:

> *True justice has compassion; false justice has disdain. Although the just also are accustomed to be indignant at sinners, one thing is done from the swelling of pride and another from zeal for discipline. The just indeed are indignant, but they are not disdainful. They stir up persecution—that is, against vices—but they do so while loving.*
>
> *On the contrary, those who are accustomed to take pride in false justice despise all others, condescend with no mercy to the weak, and become worse sinners in the degree that they do not believe themselves to be sinners.*

The same man says from the *Register* to the bishops established throughout Gaul, Europe, and Germany, in Distinction XLV:

> *Although things worthy of reproof frequently occur among priests, benevolence should nevertheless accomplish more than severity in correcting them, exhortation more than agitation, and charity more than power, since none of us lives without reproof or without sin. For if the Lord had immediately judged Blessed Peter, our teacher, after his threefold denial, he would not afterward have received so great a fruit from him as he did.*
>
> *Therefore, rulers of the Church must rather be stirred up [read: treated patiently] and corrected than immediately judged. Hence it is necessary that all ecclesiastical affairs be considered more solicitously and guarded more diligently after the experience of many cases, so that through the spirit of charity and peace all matter of scandals, the presumption of the envious, and the oppression of simple brothers may be removed from the churches of the Lord.*

These are his words. They seem to be understood and observed when the sins are hidden, or arise from some passion and weakness, and those who committed them grieve greatly over them, and when they do not arise from habitual malice with obstinacy.

Hence the same Gregory says from the *Register*, at II, question V:

> *Paul says, "Do not rebuke an elder." But this rule is to be observed when the elder's fault does not by its example draw the hearts of the younger toward destruction. But where an elder furnishes the young an example leading to destruction, there he must be struck with a strict rebuke. For it is written, "You are all a snare to the young," and again, "Cursed is the child of a hundred years."*

The same man says in a homily and at XXIII, question IV, *If He Who*:

> *Those things committed against us I can easily forgive; but those committed against God we can remit with great strictness, and nevertheless not without penance.*

The same man writes to Castorius, notary of Ravenna, saying:

> *The more that is entrusted by us to you and the more necessary you see the cases imposed upon you to be, the more vigorous and solicitous you ought to show yourself. Therefore, if Maximus the bishop has done penance for his disobedience, as we appointed, your Experience ought to give him for his consolation the letter that we wrote to him, by which we signified that we restored both our favor and communion to him. For just as it is fitting that we be severe toward those persisting in contumacy, so we ought not to deny pardon to humility and to the penitent [read: to the humble and penitent].*

The same man says in Homily XXVI and at XI, question III:

> *Those who follow their own hatreds or favor in the cases of their subjects are unable to judge their subjects worthily.*

The same man, writing to Boniface the defender, says at XXV, question II, *Of the Institution*:

> *It is exceedingly harsh, and especially hostile to the good morals of priests, for anyone, under however great an excuse of reason, to strive to rescind things that have been well ordained and to teach by his example that established things can at some time be dissolved.*

The same man says to Bishop Felix in the same question:

> *If I destroyed those things that our predecessors established, I would justly be proved not a builder but an overthrower, as the voice of Truth testifies, saying, "Every kingdom divided against itself will not stand," and every knowledge and law divided against itself will not stand.*

The same man says to Dominicus, bishop of Carthage, in the same question:

> *Concerning ecclesiastical privileges about which your Fraternity writes, hold this without hesitation: just as we defend our own, so we preserve their rights for each and every church. With favor supporting no one do I impart beyond what he merits, nor, with ambition urging, shall I detract from anyone that which belongs to his right. But I desire to honor my brothers in all things and so to advance each by honor, provided that it is not something that can be opposed by one to another by right.*

The same man says to Vigilius, bishop of Arles, in the same question:

> *Since the pious desire of the will and the priestly intention of a praising determination must always be aided by efforts [read: the intention of a praiseworthy determination must always be aided by priestly efforts], the care of solicitude must be applied so that those things disposed or ordained for the peace of religious life may neither be neglected by dissimulation nor disturbed by any presumption. Rather, just as that which reason required usefully obtained determination, so that which has been determined ought not to be violated.*

The same man says at XII, question II:

> *It is fitting that we provide with suitable consideration for those choosing the religious life, lest an occasion of any necessity either render them slothful or—may it not happen—break their religious way of life.*

The same man, writing to Luminosus, bishop of Rimini, says at XVIII, question I:

> *We wholly prohibit any occasion for a popular assembly to be furnished among the servants of God—that is, religious persons—or in their dwellings, because it is not expedient for their souls. Nor may a bishop dare to place a cathedra there, and so forth, so that monks may always remain under the power of their abbots and, with every vexation and burden removed, may perform the divine work—that is, the office—with the highest devotion of mind.*

Writing concerning religious persons to Bishop Januarius, he says as follows at XIX, question III:

> *By an open determination of law it has been decreed that those entering a monastery for the sake of conversion should afterward have no liberty to make a testament, but that their goods should belong to that same monastery.*

"For the sake of conversion" means for the sake of remaining. It is otherwise if they had entered for the sake of probation, according to the gloss. And there is no doubt concerning entry through tacit or express profession.

The same man says at XVIII, question II:

> *For the sake of visitation and exhortation, let the bishop of the city approach the monastery as often as it pleases him.*

This is understood of monasteries that are not exempt. He adds:

> *But let the bishop fulfill the duty of charity in such a way that the monastery incurs no burden.*

The same man says to John, bishop of Ravenna, in the same question:

> *It has come to me that, in the churches of your Fraternity, certain places long ago consecrated as monasteries have now been made dwellings of clerics or even laymen.*

And below:

> *Therefore, if this has been done in any place, let your Fraternity hasten to amend it.*

The same man says from the *Register*, in the same question:

> *In no place do we permit monks and nuns to dwell in one monastery, nor even in those they call double monasteries. And if there is any such place, let the religious bishop take care that the women remain in their own place, but compel the monks to build another monastery; and let the goods they possess in common be distributed to them according to the rights belonging to them.*

The same man, at XVIII, question I, *It Has Come*, prohibits monks from making women their comothers, namely by holding them at baptism or lifting them from the font.

The same man says from the *Register*, at XVII, question I:

> *Souls [read: Ananias] had vowed money to God, which afterward, conquered by the devil's persuasion, he withdrew. But you know with what death he was punished. If, therefore, he who withdrew the coins he had given was worthy of the danger of death, consider of how great a danger you will be worthy at the divine judgment—you who withdrew from almighty God not coins but your very self, whom you had vowed to him under the monastic habit.*

The same man says upon Ezekiel, in the same question:

> *Those who do good things, if they resolve to do better things and after resolving do not do them, although they persevere in their earlier good things, nevertheless have fallen in the sight of the Lord.*

Likewise:

> *There are some who resolve to abandon all things, subject themselves to God's service, and restrain themselves with the bridle of chastity; but when they see that others have fallen after undertaking chastity, they withdraw themselves and lose merit.*

The same man, writing to John, archbishop of Ravenna, says at XVI, question I:

> *No one can serve in ecclesiastical duties and remain duly in the monastic rule, so that he maintains the strictness of the monastery when he is compelled daily to remain in an ecclesiastical monastery [read: in ecclesiastical ministry].*

The gloss there says that either he speaks of secular clerics who wished to preside over monasteries although they did not observe the monastic life; or, if he speaks of monks, he means that one placed over a secular church possessing the cure of souls cannot observe monastic observances, such as silence and things of this sort, and attend to the cure of souls; or that he cannot simultaneously preside over a secular church and a monastery.

The same man, writing to Marianus [read: Marinianus], bishop of Ravenna, says at XVI, question I:

> *You must take care lest monasteries perhaps sustain any burden from the promotion of any monk or abbot, so that if any of the monks from any monastery advances to the clerical office or a sacred order, he should afterward possess no power there.*

The same man says from the *Register*, at XXVII, question II, concerning Agathosa:

> *Although worldly law provides that, for the sake of conversion—that is, entry into religion—the marriage of spouses can be dissolved when either one is unwilling, divine law nevertheless does not permit it. For it in no way concedes that a husband dismiss his wife except for the cause of fornication, because, after the joining of the man and woman in marriage makes one body, one part cannot be converted while the other remains in the world.*

These are his words. Nevertheless, he understands dismissal of a spouse because of fornication with respect to the marriage bed, not with respect to the bond.

XV. Against Detractors

Gregory says at II, question IV:

> *The envy of the ancient enemy has this as its own: that those whom, because God resists him, he is unable to cast down by the perpetration of wicked acts, he meanwhile rends by fabricating false reports about them.*

The same man says to Constantine, bishop of Milan, at XI, question III, *In All Things*:

> *In all adversities that occur in this life, as you know, only the strict judgment of almighty God must be weighed, and one must always return to one's own heart. Let the tongue of no one implicate a person where conscience does not accuse him. For one whom conscience defends is free amid accusations; and one cannot be free without accusation if conscience alone, which accuses inwardly, accuses him.*
>
> *We have the testimony of Sacred Eloquence that, when very great evils are perhaps alleged, they ought not to be believed unless proved, but the things proved should swiftly be avenged. I have said these things, therefore, to show that it is an act of excessive levity if anyone strives to believe grave evils when they cannot be proved.*
>
> *Hence your Holiness ought to separate your mind from the rumors and detractions of slanderous men and think only those things that belong to the interior life and advance the welfare of your subjects.*

The same man says in the same question:

> *Amid the words of those praising or blaming, one must always return to the mind. If the good that is said of us is not found in it, this ought to generate great sadness. And again, if the evil that men say of us is not found in it, we ought to leap into great joy.*
>
> *For what does it matter if men do not praise us, if conscience demonstrates that we are free? We have Paul saying, "Our glory is this: the testimony of our conscience." Job also says, "Behold, my witness is in heaven." Therefore, if we have a witness in heaven and a witness in the heart, let us permit fools outside to say what they will.*
>
> *For what else do detractors do except blow into the dust and raise earth into their own eyes, so that from the source whence they blow more strongly in detraction, from that same source they see less of the truth?*
>
> *Nevertheless, they also must be summoned and calmly admonished, and satisfaction must be made to them in every way, knowing that Truth says concerning the Jews, "Lest perhaps we scandalize them." But if they are unwilling to receive satisfaction from the truth, you have a consolation that you may behold in the Gospel. For when it had been said to the Lord, "Do you know that the Pharisees, when they heard this word, were scandalized?" he answered them, "Let them alone. They are blind and leaders of the blind."*
>
> *Paul also admonishes, saying, "If it can be done, insofar as it depends upon you, have peace with all men," as though saying: if we desire to preserve charity in our mind toward those who hate us, even if they do not have peace with us, we nevertheless without doubt have peace with them.*

The same Gregory assigns the reason why God permits this—namely, that good persons be detracted—saying at VI, question I:

> *There are very many who perhaps praise the life of good persons more than they ought; and lest some self-exaltation creep in from the praise, almighty God permits the wicked to burst forth into detraction and reproach, so that, if some fault is born in the heart from the mouth of those praising, it may be suffocated by the mouth of those blaming.*
>
> *Hence it is that the Doctor of the Gentiles testifies that he runs in preaching amid ill repute and good repute, and that to some he is an odor of death unto death, to others an odor of life unto life.*

That priests in particular ought not to be judged or despised because of detractions made against them, but ought to be honored by all, even princes, the same man shows by writing these things to the emperor Maurice at XI, question I:

> *Let our lord—that is, the emperor—not be too quickly indignant with priests from earthly power, but, from heavenly consideration [read: from excellent consideration] and because of him whose servants they are, let him rule over them in such a way that he also bestows the reverence owed to them.*
>
> *For in the divine writings priests are sometimes called gods and sometimes angels. For concerning the one who is to be brought to*

an oath, it is said to Moses, "Bring him before the gods," namely the priests. And again it is written, "You shall not detract from the gods," that is, the priests. And the prophet says, "The lips of the priest guard knowledge, and men seek the law from his mouth, because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts."

What wonder is it, therefore, if your Piety deigns to honor those to whom the Lord, bestowing honor in his own utterance, calls either gods or angels?

Ecclesiastical history also relates that, when accusations in writing against bishops had been offered to the prince Constantine of pious memory, he accepted the documents of accusation and, summoning the bishops who had been accused, burned in their presence the documents he had received, saying, "Go and arrange your cases among yourselves, because it is not fitting that we judge gods." In this sentence, by the reverence bestowed, he furnished something more to himself through humility than to them.

For before him there were pagan princes in the republic who, not knowing the true God, worshiped gods of stone and lingneous material [read: gods of stone and wood], and nevertheless bestowed the greatest honor upon their priests. What wonder is it, therefore, if a Christian emperor, a man of God, honors priests, when pagan princes knew how to bestow honor upon the priests who served gods of wood and stone?

Therefore we assert this not only particularly concerning good priests, but generally concerning all priests, even the wicked, since we do not yet know what sort each will be in the terrible judgment of God. For the excellent preacher Paul says, "Do not judge yourself before the time [read: Do not judge before the time], until the Lord comes." For there are many things concerning his judgment that men do not know, because perhaps those whom you praise he reproves, and those whom you blame he will praise.

These are his words.

XVI. Against the Arrogant or Proud and Against Flatterers

Gregory says as follows in Book XXIII of the *Moralia* and in Distinction XLVI:

The teaching of the arrogant has this as its own: that they do not know how to impart humbly what they teach, and they cannot minister rightly even the right things they understand. For in their words it is disclosed that, when they teach, they seem to themselves to sit upon a certain summit, and they look down upon those whom they teach as though placed far below themselves at the bottom. They deign to address them not as counselors, but only as rulers.

Rightly does the Lord say to these through the prophet, "You ruled with austerity and power." On the contrary, true teaching flees this vice of self-exaltation in thought the more vehemently, the more ardently it pursues with the darts of its words the teacher of self-exaltation himself.

The same man says in the *Pastoral Rule* and in Distinction XL:

If the sense of human understanding recognizes itself to be foolish and sinful, it apprehends knowledge of inward brightness. But if it attributes to itself the splendor of wisdom or justice, it excludes itself from the light of higher knowledge, and it in no way penetrates the brightness of the true light in the degree that it exalts itself before itself through arrogance, according to Romans I: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

The same man says upon Ezekiel, in *On Penance*, Distinction III, *Those Who Are Seduced*:

Frequently a man is secretly entangled in many sins and appears great in one virtue. That very virtue also vanishes and fails, because when it becomes known to men it is without doubt praised, and their favor is eagerly desired.

And below:

For frequently pride lies hidden and chastity becomes known, and chastity, after being displayed for a long time, is lost near the end of life because concealed pride is retained uncorrected until the end. Therefore, when the reprobate are seen to act well, they show, as it were, a level road to the elect who follow. But when they fall into the snare of wickedness, they show to the elect proceeding after them, as it were, a pit of pride that must be avoided.

The same man says in the book of the *Moralia* and in *On Penance*, Distinction II, the final chapter:

For this reason such marvelous things as those in which the first angel existed, and those which he lost, are told concerning him in Holy Scripture: that it may show man what he himself, if he becomes proud, will suffer for the fault of his self-exaltation, since God did not will to spare by striking him whom by creating he raised into the glory of so great a brightness. Therefore let an exalted man consider what he merits on earth, if the angel exalted above the others was cast down in heaven.

The same man says in the *Moralia* concerning disobedience, at VIII, question I:

It must be known: if to resist is as the sin of divination, and to be unwilling to acquiesce is as the crime of idolatry, obedience alone possesses the merit of faith, without which anyone is proved to be unbelieving, even if he appears to hold the faith.

Against the avaricious and covetous, the same man says in Distinction XLVII:

We are unable to cleave to the author of good things in any other way unless we cut away from ourselves covetousness, which is the root of all evils.

The same man says in Book XIX of the *Moralia* and in Distinction XLVII:

All lovers of this world are strong in earthly things and weak in heavenly things. For temporal glory they desire to toil even unto death; for perpetual hope they do not persist even a little in labor. For earthly gains they tolerate every injury; for heavenly reward they refuse to bear the insults of even the slightest word.

Frequently they tolerate nakedness, abasement, and hunger to acquire riches and honors, and by abstinence they torment themselves for the very things they hasten to attain. They neglect laboriously seeking heavenly things all the more, the more slowly they think those things will be recompensed.

The same man says from the *Register* and at I, question I:

Since all avarice is the service of idols, whoever does not vigilantly guard against this, especially in bestowing ecclesiastical honors, is subjected to the vice of unbelief, even if he appears to hold the faith that he neglects.

The same man, writing to Bishop Siagrius, says at I, question I:

It must not be thought alms if that which is acquired from unlawful goods is distributed to the poor. For he who receives evilly with this intention, that he may distribute well, is burdened rather than aided.

Therefore, lest under the pretext of alms we strive to acquire something with sin, Scripture prohibits it, saying, "The sacrifices of the wicked, which are offered from crime, are abominable to the Lord." For whatever is offered in sacrifice to God from crime does not appease but provokes the wrath of the Almighty.

Hence again it is written, "Honor God from your just labors." Hence also it is said through Solomon, "He who offers sacrifice from the substance of the poor does the same as if he sacrificed the son before the sight of his father." From this it is easily recognized how greatly God's indignation is provoked when a sacrifice from plunder is offered to him.

Therefore, one must greatly turn away from perpetrating the sins of the simoniacal heresy under the pretext of alms.

The same man, writing to Januarius, bishop of Sardinia, says from the *Register* and at XIII, question II:

Nereida, a most illustrious woman, has complained to us that your Fraternity wishes to exact solidi from her for the burial of her daughter. But, after by God's authority we came to the honor of the episcopate, we wholly prohibited this vice from our Church and by no means permitted it to be usurped again through a depraved custom.

I therefore admonish that this vice of avarice not presume to be attempted again. But if, at any time, you permit someone to be buried in your church, if his parents or heirs freely wish to offer something for the lights, we do not forbid you to receive it; but we wholly prohibit anything from being requested or exacted, lest—which is exceedingly irreligious—the Church be said, may it not happen, to be venal, or you appear to rejoice over human deaths if you strive to seek profit in any way from their corpses.

Concerning simony in burial, this is found in the second part, Title I, Chapter I.

The same man, writing to Constantia, queen of Gaul, against those who inflict losses upon churches through thefts, fires, or other means, says as follows at XII, question II:

Since I know that the most devout lady diligently thinks about the heavenly life and the remedy of her soul, I judge that I commit a fault if I remain silent instead of suggesting those things that belong to the fear of almighty God, and if I do not diligently stir your most holy self concerning ecclesiastical peace.

He then relates the complaint made to him by a certain Bishop Julian, whose church's estate in those regions had been invaded by robbers and injured by plunder and fires. Hence he asks that satisfaction for such things be made by them, as canonical and civil law command, adding with the attachment of a penalty:

The highest good in human affairs is to cultivate justice, to preserve for each person his own rights, and not to permit toward subjects whatever power can do, but to preserve what is equitable.

The same man, writing to Augustine, bishop of the English, says in the same question:

> *Your Fraternity can sufficiently weigh from the person how he may be corrected. For there are some who, possessing resources, perpetrate theft, and there are others who offend in this matter from poverty. Hence it is necessary that some be corrected by losses—that is, restitutions—and others by beatings.*
>
> *And when action is taken with a little strictness, it must be taken from charity, not from fury, because this is bestowed upon the one who is corrected, lest he be handed over to the fires of Gehenna. You also add by what increase he ought to return those things which he removed from churches by theft. But may it be far from the Church to receive with an increase that which it appears to lose in earthly goods and to seek the gains of a river [read: to seek gains from losses].*

These are his words. There the gloss notes that, with respect to the forum of conscience, it suffices to make satisfaction for the loss; with respect to the judicial forum, it sets down a manifold opinion concerning the increase.

The same man says in the same question:

> *Just as the Church ought not to lose its own goods, so it ought not, from the ardor of rapacity, to invade the goods of others.*

The same man says in the same question:

> *It is fitting that those who labor for ecclesiastical utilities rejoice in ecclesiastical remuneration, so that those who voluntarily subject themselves to the voluntary necessities of services may worthily be consoled by our provisions.*

Gregory himself did this there by example, giving Theodore, a most eloquent man and his counselor, one slave of the Church.

The same man says in the same question:

> *Since our Redeemer, the creator of the whole creation, propitiously willed to assume human flesh for this purpose—that, by the grace of his divinity, after breaking the bond by which we were held captive, he might restore us to the former liberty from servitude—it is salutarily done if men whom nature brought forth free from the beginning, and whom the law of nations subjected to the yoke of servitude, are restored by the benefit of the manumitter to the liberty in which they were born.*

He also shows there that he himself did this. For, with regard to piety, he made Montanus and Thomas, slaves of the Roman Church, free and Roman citizens.

The same man says in the same question:

> *It is the custom of the Apostolic See to hand commands to an ordained bishop that four portions ought to be made from every stipend that accrues: one to the bishop and his household because of hospitality and reception; another to the clergy; the third to the poor; and the fourth for repairing churches.*

XVII. Concerning the Ancient Law

That in the ancient law one who, among other defects, has a continual scab or is heavy is prohibited from offering loaves to God, Gregory expounds in the *Pastoral Rule* and in Distinction XLIX as signifying the lust of deed or even of heart. Those devoted to vices of this sort ought not to approach the altar to celebrate or communicate, because they are criminal.

For Gregory says:

> *He has a continual scab in whom the wantonness of the flesh rules without cessation. For in a scab the heat of the entrails is drawn to the skin. Through this lust is rightly designated, because, if the temptation of the heart leaps forth as far as action, the inward heat surely bursts forth into a scab of the skin and now wounds the body outwardly, because when pleasure is not restrained in thought, it also rules in action.*
>
> *He is heavy who does not exercise baseness in deed but nevertheless is burdened without restraint in his mind by continual thought of it. He is indeed by no means carried as far as an impious deed, but his spirit is delighted by the pleasure of lust without any goad of resistance. Therefore, he is heavy who, flowing down toward wantonness in all his thoughts, carries the weight of baseness in his heart.*

Concerning the vice of gluttony, the same man says in the book of the *Moralia* and in *On Consecration*, Distinction V:

> *The vice of gluttony tempts us in five ways. Sometimes times of need are anticipated. Sometimes, although the suitable hour is not anticipated, someone seeks more sumptuous foods. Sometimes he desires that the things to be consumed be prepared more carefully. Sometimes in the very quantity of consumption he exceeds the measure of refreshment. Sometimes the thing desired is contemptible, and nevertheless one sins more grievously by the very heat of immeasurable desire.*

The same man, writing to Augustine, bishop of the English, concerning the surfeit of Carnival, says as follows in Distinction IV, the chapter *Finally*:

> *Concerning that Sunday itself, however, we hesitate as to what should be said, since all lay and secular persons desire foods of flesh more carefully and beyond their custom on other days; and unless with a certain novel greed they gorge themselves until midnight, they do not otherwise think that they have received the observance of this holy time.*
>
> *This is certainly to be ascribed not to reason but to pleasure—indeed, to a certain blindness of mind. Hence they cannot be turned away from such a custom, and therefore they must be left to their own disposition with pardon, lest perhaps they become worse if they are prohibited from such a custom.*

These are his words. He speaks of Sunday because at that time the Lenten fast began on the following Monday.

Concerning anger and envy, he treats at length in Book V of the *Moralia*.

XVIII. Concerning the Degrees of Sins and Temptations

Gregory, writing to Augustine, bishop of the English, says in Distinction V, *The Testament*:

> *Every sin is completed in three ways: by suggestion, delight, and consent. Suggestion is made through the devil, delight through the flesh, and consent through the spirit, because first the serpent suggested the fault, Eve was delighted as the flesh, and Adam consented as the spirit.*
>
> *Great discernment is necessary between suggestion, selection [read: delight], and consent. For when the malignant spirit suggests a sin in the mind, if no delight in the sin follows, there is no sin at all. But when the flesh begins to be delighted, then sin begins to be born. If through deliberation it advances to consent: unless he has been washed with water, he is not permitted to enter the church until evening [read: If he consents through deliberation, then sin is known to be completed. The testament of the Old Law calls such a man polluted unless he has been washed with water and does not permit him to enter the church until evening].*

The spiritual people, however, understanding this otherwise, consider that one is deluded as though through sleep when, tempted by uncleanness, he is defiled in thought by true images. But he must be washed with water, so that he may wash away the fault of thought with tears; and, unless the fire of temptation has first departed, let him know himself guilty until evening and deservedly outside the church.

In this same illusion, however, discernment is greatly necessary, which ought subtly to weigh from what cause it occurs to the mind of the sleeper. For pollution sometimes occurs from surfeit, sometimes from a superfluity or weakness of nature, and sometimes from thought. It is added there in Gregory's text and in the gloss when, because of this pollution, someone ought to abstain from celebration or communion. But this is declared more fully in the third part, in the title concerning the sacraments.

The same man says in *On Penance*, Distinction II:

> *It must indeed be known that sin is admitted in three ways: one sins either through ignorance, weakness, or deliberate intent. Among these things it must be known that one thing is what the spirit suffers from the temptation of the flesh, and another when through consent the spirit is bound by delights.*
>
> *For frequently the spirit is tempted by a depraved thought but resists it. Frequently, however, it also wills through desire the perverse thing it has conceived within itself. An unclean thought in no way defiles the mind when it strikes it, but when through delight it subjects the mind to itself.*
>
> *Hence the excellent preacher says, "Let no temptation apprehend you except what is human." It is human temptation because frequently we are touched by a shameful thought even unwillingly. But it is now a demonic and not a human temptation when the spirit binds itself through consent to that which the corruption of the flesh suggests.*

Concerning perplexity between diverse vices, Gregory says as follows in the book of the *Moralia* and in Distinction XIII. Expounding the words of Job, "The sinews of Leviathan's testicles are intertwined," he says:

> *The arguments of his suggestions are bound together when they find persons entangled, so that they cause many to sin in such a way that, if perhaps they desire to flee sin, they do not escape it without some snare of sin; they commit a fault while inviting it [read: they commit a fault while avoiding it], and they are unable to release themselves from one without consenting to bind themselves in another.*

He gives examples among laymen concerning one who swore to his friend that he would keep the secrets told to him, and the friend reveals that he wishes to kill someone. Among religious persons he gives the example of one who, having entered religion, proposes to obey his superior in all things, and the superior commands him to sin. Among prelates he gives the example of one who has obtained an ecclesiastical dignity with money. He afterward adds:

> *Nevertheless, there is something to be done subtly to destroy the cunning of Behemoth: when the mind is constrained between lesser and greater sins, if absolutely no path lies open without sin, let the lesser always be chosen. For one who is enclosed on every side, lest he flee by a smaller circuit, casts himself down where the wall is lower.*

These are his words. But, as the gloss there says, and well, in reality and according to truth no one can be perplexed between two sins in such a way that he must incur one of them, but only according to his own erroneous conscience. Then what Gregory says here must be observed. For one who has sworn to keep another's secret does not perjure himself if, by revealing it, he prevents evil; and so with the other cases.

XIX. Concerning Grace and the Virtues

Gregory says in Distinction XL:

> *Any hidden places whatsoever cannot save a soul without grace, because sometimes in those very places we behold the errors of the elect. For Lot was just in the perverse city; on the mountain he sinned. But why do we say these things when we have known greater things? For what is more delightful than paradise? What is safer than heaven? And nevertheless man fell from paradise and the angel from heaven by sinning, because one who cast the nobility of God from himself was deprived of the nobility of the place.*

The same man, treating upon Ezekiel the words of the prophet, "God rained upon one city; upon another he did not rain; and he rained upon part of the same city and left part dry," expounds them as follows:

> *He pours the rain of grace into one soul and does not pour it into another, according to the hidden judgment of his cloud. And sometimes he does not rain upon the whole city but upon one part, leaving another part dry: that is, someone detests certain sins and not others. For detestation of crime is called rain because it is dropped into our heart from the fountain of divine grace, so that one may either thus come to true penance or be punished less by God.*

This appears in *On Penance*, Distinction III, the section *That Gregory*. But perfect detestation of all sins belongs to grace making one pleasing; detestation of some belongs to grace freely given.

The same man says upon Ezekiel, Homily V, and in *On Penance*, Distinction II, *He Can*:

> *In the hearts of the saints the Spirit, according to certain virtues, always remains; according to others, he comes in order to depart and departs in order to return. For in faith, hope, charity, and the other goods without which one cannot arrive at the heavenly homeland—such as humility, chastity, justice, mercy, and things of this sort—he does not desert the hearts of the perfect.*
>
> *But in the virtue of prophecy, eloquence of teaching, and manifestation of miracles, he is sometimes present to the elect and sometimes withdraws himself. Thus in the book of Wisdom the Spirit is called stable and mobile: stable because he remains in the hearts of the elect in the virtues without which life is not attained; mobile in those through which the power of holiness is shown, because sometimes he is mercifully present and sometimes mercifully withdraws himself.*

These are his words. The first things belong to grace making one pleasing; the second to grace freely given.

The same man, treating upon Ezekiel the words, "God will be known in its steps when he receives it," for which we have, "God will be known in its houses," says in *On Penance*, Distinction II:

> *When the Lord receives the holy Church, he is known in its steps, because his glory is declared through its increases. For the more the holy Church advances by ascending, the more God becomes known among men through its power.*
>
> *Job speaks concerning these steps, saying, "Through each of my steps I shall proclaim him." He proclaims almighty God through each step who, through the increases of the virtues he receives, always renders to him the praise of his loving-kindness. If there were not certain steps in the heart's ascent, the Psalmist would not say, "They shall go from virtue to virtue."*
>
> *Nor is it wonderful if there are steps from virtue to virtue, since every single virtue itself is increased through certain steps and thus, through increases of merits, is led to the summit. For the beginnings of virtue are one thing, its advancements another, and its perfection another. If faith were not increased toward perfection through certain steps, the Apostles would not have said to the Lord, "Increase our faith."*

In expounding, he introduces the parable concerning seed cast into the earth, which first produced grass, then the ear, and finally full grain in the ear:

> *When we conceive good desires, we cast seed into the earth. When we begin to perform right things, we are grass. When we grow toward the advancement of a good work, we arrive at the ear. When we make firm in the perfection of that work [read: When we are made firm in the perfection of that work], we now bring forth full grain in the ear.*

He adds the example of Peter, who was first grass before Christ's Passion, afterward an ear after the Resurrection, and afterward full grain after Pentecost.

The same man, treating upon Ezekiel and in *On Penance*, Distinction II, the words of Ezekiel, "The living creatures did not turn back when they went," says:

> *Each of the elect tends toward good things in such a way that he does not return to perpetrating evil things. And through Solomon it is said, "The path of the just, like a shining light, proceeds and grows unto the perfect day." For in their spirit a good desire and understanding of inward light is already a part of the day. But because they advance in virtue until the end of life, they then come to the perfect day when, conducted to the heavenly kingdoms, they will now possess nothing less in that light which they desire.*

The same man says in Book I of the *Moralia* and in *On Penance*, Distinction III:

> *A good thing is done in vain if it is abandoned before the end of life, because he also runs swiftly in vain who fails before he reaches the goals.*

The same man says at XXIII, question I:

> *Unless those carnal wars bore a figure of spiritual wars, never, as I think, would the books of the Jewish histories have been handed down by the Apostles to be read in the churches by Christ's disciples, to whom he came to teach peace. Finally, the Apostle, knowing that carnal wars are no longer to be waged by us but that the struggles of the soul against spiritual wickedness must be labored over, gives a command to Christ's soldiers as a master of the army, saying, "Put on the armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the snares of the devil."*

XX. Concerning Faith and Obedience

Gregory says in the book of the *Moralia* and at XXIV, question I:

> *Because Truth sees that with the Catholic Church alone there is a place where he may be beheld, the Lord indicates where he may be seen. Moses is placed upon the rock so that he may contemplate God's face, because unless one holds the solidity of faith, he does not recognize the divine presence. Concerning this solidity the Lord says, "Upon this rock I shall build my Church."*
>
> *It alone is that through which the Lord willingly receives sacrifice; it alone confidently intercedes for the erring. Hence, concerning the offering of the lamb, the Lord commanded, saying, "In one house you shall eat it, nor shall you carry any of its flesh outside." For it is eaten in one house because the true offering of the Redeemer is sacrificed in the one Catholic Church. The law prohibits its flesh from being carried outside because it forbids what is holy to be given to dogs.*
>
> *It alone guards those placed within it by the strong joining of charity. Hence the water of the flood indeed raised the ark to higher things, but destroyed all whom it found outside the ark.*

The same man, writing to the patriarch of Antioch, says at I, question I:

> *Since Paul says, "No one can lay another foundation beyond that which has been laid, Jesus Christ," that is, the faith of Christ, it is consequently proved that where Christ is not the foundation, no edifice of good work remains.*

Concerning obedience, Gregory says in the final book of the *Moralia* and at XI, question III:

> *What wonder is it, therefore, if sinful man subjects himself during the brevity of this life, when the mediator of God and men maintained obedience and commanded it to be maintained, and, when rewarding the obedient, did not abandon it?*
>
> *It must nevertheless be known that evil must never be done through obedience, while sometimes a good thing that is done must be discontinued through obedience. For the tree that God forbade man to touch in paradise was not evil. But so that man, well created, might grow better through the merit of obedience, it was fitting that he be prohibited even from a good thing, so that the thing he did would be a virtue the more truly insofar as, ceasing from a good thing, he showed himself subject and humble to his author.*

The same man says in the same work and at VIII, question I:

> *It must above all be known that obedience, if it possesses nothing of its own, is very small; and sometimes, if it possesses something of its own, it is nothing. For when the success of this world is commanded, when a higher position is imparted, one who obeys in receiving these things empties for himself the virtue of obedience if he pants after them from his own desire. For he does not direct himself under obedience who, in receiving this life's prosperous things, serves the desire of his own ambition.*
>
> *Again, when contempt of the world is commanded, when reproaches and insults are ordered to be acquired, unless the spirit desires this from itself, one who descends unwillingly and reluctantly to the things despised in this life diminishes for himself the*

merit of obedience.

A little above he says:

Obedience is rightly preferred to sacrifices, because through sacrifices another's flesh is slain, but through obedience one's own will is slain. Contrary to this, disobedience is shown to be the sin of divination.

The same man says in Distinction XII:

Let hard pride not resist apostolic commands, but through obedience let those things commanded by holy Roman and apostolic authority be savingly fulfilled, if you desire to have communion with that same holy Church of God, which is your head.

And at the end:

If anyone does not observe the commands of the Apostolic See, let him not doubt that he is an enemy of the commanded honor.

The same man says in Distinction XIX:

No one is a vas for willing or being able to transgress the commands of the Apostolic See [read: No one is permitted to will or be able to transgress the commands of the Apostolic See], nor the ministry of our ordinance, which it is fitting for your charity to follow. Therefore, let whoever wills to go against apostolic commands and decrees lie prostrate in grief over his ruin; and let him afterward have no place among priests, but let him be excluded from the holy ministry.

Let no one afterward have care concerning the judgment of him who, condemned by the holy and Apostolic Church, is doubted by no one to be so through his disobedience and presumption, because he ought not only to have obeyed the commands of the preeminent holy Church [read: the commands of the aforesaid holy Church], but also to have made them known to others lest they pass them by.

As the gloss there says, this disobedience is understood when someone asserts that the Roman Church is not the head of the others and cannot establish canons, which is heretical; hence such a person is excommunicated. But by transgressing the commands of the Church in another manner, one is not for that reason a heretic or excommunicated of himself.

XXI. Concerning the Sacraments

First, concerning baptism, Gregory says in the book of the *Moralia* and in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV:

What the water of baptism effects among us, among the ancients this was effected either by faith alone for little children, or by the power of sacrifice for adults, or by the power of circumcision for those who issued from the stock of Abraham.

Gregory says in Homily XXIV and in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV:

When priests, through the grace of exorcism, place a hand upon believers and forbid malignant spirits to dwell in their minds, what else do they do except cast out demons?

The same man, writing to Bishop Leander, says in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV:

Concerning the threefold immersion of baptism, nothing truer can be answered than what you yourselves have perceived: because in one faith a diverse custom of holy Church causes no hindrance. We, however, because we are immersed a third time, signify the mysteries of the three-day burial; and when the child is brought out of the waters a third time, the resurrection of the three-day period is expressed.

But if anyone perhaps thinks that this is also done out of veneration for the supreme Trinity, neither does this hinder immersion once in the waters when baptizing, because, since in three subsistences there is one substance, it can by no means be reprehensible to immerse an infant three times or once, since in three immersions the Trinity of persons, and in one the singularity of the divinity, can be designated.

The same Gregory says in *On Consecration*, Distinction IV:

Priests must not presume to sign the baptized upon the forehead with sacred chrism; rather, priests are to anoint the baptized upon the breast, and bishops afterward are to confirm them upon the forehead.

The same Gregory, writing to Bishop Januarius, says in Distinction XCV:

It has also come to us that certain persons were scandalized because we prohibited priests from touching with chrism those who have been baptized. We indeed acted according to the ancient usage of our Church. But if any are distressed concerning this matter, where bishops are absent we grant that priests ought also to touch the baptized with chrism upon their foreheads.

These are his words. There the gloss sets down several opinions concerning this. But according to Thomas in the fourth book and lay theologians, Gregory did this by a spiritual concession to them. For by common law priests, in confirming, do not in fact confer this sacrament unless they have this from a spiritual concession of the pope. Nor can bishops dispense or grant this, but the pope alone. And a contrary custom effects nothing, as in the title *On Custom*, chapter *How Much*.

XXII. Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist

Gregory says thus in a homily and in *On Consecration*, Distinction II, chapter *What the Blood Is*:

> *Let us consider what manner of sacrifice that is which, for our cleansing, always imitates the Passion of the only-begotten Son. For who among the faithful can have any doubt that, at the very hour of immolation, the heavens are opened at the voice of the priest; that in that mystery of Jesus Christ choirs of angels are present; that the highest and the lowest things are joined; and that one thing is made from invisible and visible things?*
>
> *At one and the same time and moment it is both taken up into heaven by the ministry of the angels, to be joined to the body of Christ, and is seen before the eyes of the priest upon the altar. So great a unity of the Church is seen in Christ that everywhere there is one bread of the body of Christ and one chalice of his blood.*
>
> *For the chalice that a Catholic priest sanctifies—that is, one preserving the form of the Church in this—is no other than that very one which the Lord handed to the Apostles. For just as the divinity of the Word of God is one, which fills the whole world, so, although that body is consecrated in many places and on innumerable days, there are nevertheless not many bodies of Christ and many chalices, but one body of Christ and one blood, together with that which he assumed in the womb of the Virgin and which he gave to the Apostles.*
>
> *For the divinity of the Word fills that which is everywhere, and joins and causes that, just as it is itself one, so also the body of Christ may be his one body in truth. Hence it must be observed that, whether anyone receives more or less from it, all equally receive the body of Christ in its entire integrity, both all generally and each one particularly.*
>
> *Daily it is eaten and drunk in truth, but it remains whole, living, and immaculate. And therefore it is a great and fearsome mystery, because one thing is seen and another understood. But although the mystery is called one body and blood, it has the appearance of bread and wine by the Lord's agency, because we do not have the custom of eating raw flesh and drinking blood.*

These are his words.

The same man says at I, question I:

> *Many secular men, when they examine the life of priests more than their own, incur the great crime of contempt for the divine sacraments. Hence it happens that they not only reject the things said by them but, what is worse, also contemn the divine mysteries. Alas, into how great a snare they fall, so that they believe the divine and hidden mysteries can be made more holy by some than by others, although the one and the same Holy Spirit, diffused throughout the Church over the whole circuit of the lands, incomprehensibly sanctifies those mysteries, secretly and invisibly and by working, and blesses them by blessing.*
>
> *It is called a mystery because it has a secret and hidden dispensation. It is called a sacrifice as though a sacred deed, because it is consecrated for us by mystical prayer in memory of the Lord's Passion. They are called sacraments because under the covering of corporeal things divine power more secretly works salvation; hence they are called from secret or sacred powers.*
>
> *"Eucharist" in Greek is interpreted in Latin as "good grace." And what is better than the body and blood of the Lord? Therefore, whether it is ministered within the Church by the good or by the evil, it is nevertheless sacred, because the Holy Spirit gives life. It is neither increased by the merits of good ministers nor diminished by those of evil ministers.*
>
> *This is to be understood and held concerning the body and blood of the Lord; this concerning baptism and chrism; and thus concerning the others, because divine power works secretly in them, and this belongs solely to divine power, not to human efficacy.*

XXIII. Concerning Penance

Gregory says thus in a homily and in *On Penance*, Distinction III:

> *To do penance is to lament evils perpetrated and not to perpetrate again things that must be lamented—that is, to have the intention of not committing them. For he who so deplores some things that he deliberately commits others again either still does not know how to do penance or dissembles. For what does it profit if someone bewails the sins of lust and yet still pants after the heats of avarice?*

The same man says:

> *There are those who say that penance for a short time ought to suffice them for sin, so that it may be permitted to return again to sin. Rightly does the sentence of the first shepherd strike these, who says: "The dog has returned to its vomit, and the sow, though washed, to wallowing in the mire."*

The same man says in *On Penance*, Distinction IV:

> *It is established from the evangelical sayings that, if we do not forgive from the heart what is sinned against us—that is, rancor—then that also is required anew which we were rejoicing had already been forgiven us through penance.*

According to Thomas, this is understood not as though things forgiven return with respect to guilt, but with respect to a certain effect of aggravation on account of ingratitude.

The same Gregory says in a homily and in *On Penance*, Distinction V:

> *To resume after penance an occupation which before conversion—that is, conversion to penance—existed without sin, namely mortal sin, was no fault. For there are very many occupations which can be carried on either scarcely or not at all without sins. Therefore, as for those which implicate one in sin, namely mortal sin, it is necessary that the mind not recur to these after conversion.*

He enlarges upon Peter, who after his conversion to the discipleship of Christ returned to fishing, as is evident after the Resurrection. Matthew, however, when he had abandoned the occupation of the tax office after he was called by Christ, did not return to it, because it was an unlawful occupation; Peter's, however, was lawful of itself.

Concerning absolution in penance, Gregory says in a homily and at XI, question III:

> *The absolution of the presiding minister is then true when it follows the judgment of the inward judge. The raising of the man four days dead signified this well, because first the Lord gave life to the dead man, saying, "Lazarus, come forth"; and afterward he who had come forth alive was loosed by the disciples.*

The same man says in *On Penance*, Distinction I, chapter *The Sin of David*:

> *Without doubt the Lord does not leave sin without vengeance. For either the man himself punishes it entirely by himself, namely through perfect penance, or God, avenging it together with the man, strikes him, namely through tribulations patiently borne. Thus David, after the confession of his sin, merited to hear, "The Lord has taken away your sin"; and yet afterward, afflicted by many torments and fleeing, he paid the liability for the guilt he had perpetrated, namely with respect to the penalty owed.*

The same man says upon Ezekiel and in *On Penance*, Distinction IV:

> *This is chiefly to be considered by us: that in the perpetration of evils there ought to be no confidence in past good things.*

And, treating upon the saying of the prophet Haggai, "They gathered wages and put them into a pierced sack," Gregory says there concerning the pierced sack:

> *From one side there goes out what is put in from another, because undiscerning minds do not perceive how the things acquired by a good work are lost by an evil one.*

XXIV. Concerning Matrimony

Writing to Bishop Verenus, Gregory says at XXXV, question X:

> *To the studious sagacity of your Fraternity, beloved brother, I return the thanks that I owe, because, since you asked the things you ought, you made me joyful; hence I answer calmly the matters inquired into. You resolved to consult the Apostolic See as to whether a woman joined in nuptial union to an unrelated man pertains to his kindred; whether, when he has died, the kinship remains; whether the names of kinship are dissolved by another husband; or whether offspring received can pass legitimately into a union with the kindred of the first husband.*
>
> *For the word of God is valid and strong, durable, persevering, and immutable, not momentary, not transitory. Truth itself, who is God and is the Word of God, says by himself, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." Before God appeared among men, Adam, by his inspiration, said: "For this reason a man shall leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and the two shall be in one flesh."*
>
> *Then, when Truth arose from the earth upon the earth and appeared visible in humanity, being asked whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife, by prohibiting he forbade it unless perhaps fornication excluded the marital union [read: by prohibiting, he forbade it to happen unless perhaps fornication excluded the marital union], namely with respect to the bed. Hence he*

immediately brought forth into their midst the very same sentence which, before the ages, the Word abiding with the Father had inspired in Adam, he himself confirming the same thing which the first man had brought forth, namely: "For this reason a man shall leave father and mother," and so forth.

Therefore, if there is one flesh, how can any relative of theirs pertain to one unless he pertains to the other? It must be believed that this can in no way occur. Moreover, when one has died, affinity is not destroyed in the survivor, nor can another conjugal union dissolve the affinity of the prior union. But neither is it pleasing, nor can the offspring of another union pass to fellowship with the affinity of the prior husband, because the word of the Lord is valid and strong. And, as the prophet says, "The word of the Lord shall stand forever."

And another prophet says: "For he spoke, and they were made," and so forth; "he established them," and so forth. For after the word and command, he made the two one flesh—that is, male and female—and did not cease to make one with himself the innumerable multitude of both sexes, just as Truth says by himself: "I pray not for these only, but for those who will believe in me through their word, that they may be one, as you, Father, are in me and I in you, that they also may be one in us."

If anyone, therefore, with sacrilegious and rash daring seeks to extinguish kinship in the deceased, or under another husband to disperse the names of the former affinity, or believes that the offspring received from another union can legitimately be joined to the kinship of the former, he denies that the word of God is valid and strong and durable. And he who seeks to dissolve it so easily and so swiftly does not believe that the word of God remains forever.

Behold earth gathered and glued together from four places separated from one another by a great intervening distance. Fashion from it a body of whatever figure or immensity you wish. Will there be any human ingenuity that can separate those four parts from one another, so that each part can be recognized? You can gather this similitude from the four elements from which man was created, if you assign each species of them, which has been partitioned in many divisions, to parts distinct from one another. The same thing occurs in metals; this same thing is proved in liquids; the painter pursues it in colors by mixing colors through art.

These are his words.

The same man says at XXXV, question VIII:

Concerning those who wish to contract second marriages after the wife has died, we have justly, honorably, and reasonably provided that they abstain from her blood relatives and from those who are related to her to the fourth degree of genealogy. We have more mildly given this foretaste according to the indulgence of mother Church.

The same Gregory says at XXXV, question III, section *But the Same*, writing most humbly to Felix, bishop of the city of Messina:

As for what I wrote to Augustine, bishop of the English people, and to that English people itself which had recently come to the faith, lest it withdraw from the good it had received out of fear of more austere things, know that I did this specially and not generally; hence the whole Roman city is also my witness. Nor did I write these commands to them with the intention that, after they had been made firm with a solid root in fida [read: in the faith], if they were found within their own consanguinity they should not be separated, or that they should be joined within the line of affinity—that is, as far as the seventh generation—but because, while they were still neophytes, it was necessary first to consent to certain unlawful things among them and to instruct them by words and examples. According to the Apostle: "I gave you milk to drink, not food."

These are his words. And when Gregory says "to consent to an unlawful thing," this is understood with respect to something prohibited by common law. But it was not unlawful for them, because they were dispensed in this matter. And what he says concerning the seventh degree is according to the ancient laws; but through Gregory IX degrees of consanguinity and affinity of this sort were reduced, and only four degrees of consanguinity and affinity were determined by the Church, in the title *On Consanguinity and Affinity*, final chapter.

The same man says at XXXIII, question IV, chapter *A Husband with His Own Wife*:

If anyone uses his own spouse, namely in the matrimonial act, not seized by the desire for pleasure but solely for the sake of procreating children, he certainly is to be left to his own judgment, whether concerning entrance into the church or concerning receiving the mystery of the Lord's body and blood, because he who, placed in the fire, knows not how to burn is not to be prohibited by us from receiving.

These are his words. The same applies, according to Thomas and others, when he renders the debt to his spouse after it has been demanded, because in either case he does not sin even venially. Concerning these things, however, there is fuller treatment in the third part, Title I.

The same man says to Augustine, bishop of the English, and in Distinction V:

> *If a woman at the same hour in which she has given birth—that is, has borne a child—enters the church to give thanks, she is burdened by no weight of sin. For the pleasure of the flesh is in fault, not pain. In the mingling of flesh there is pleasure; in the bringing forth of offspring, groaning. Therefore, if we prohibit a woman who has given birth from entering the church, we turn her very punishment into fault.*

The same man says to the same person in the same Distinction:

> *Her husband ought not to approach intercourse with her until the child who is born is weaned. But if, from a depraved custom, they hand their children over to others to be nursed, they ought not to mingle with their husbands until the time of purification has passed. Indeed, even apart from childbirth, when they are detained in their customary menses, they are prohibited from mingling with their husbands, so that the sacred law strikes with death one who approaches a menstruating woman.*
>
> *A woman, however, while she suffers the custom of menstruation, ought not to be prohibited from entering the church, because a superfluity of nature cannot be imputed to her as fault; hence it is unjust that she be deprived of entrance into the church for that which she suffers unwillingly.*

And below:

> *She ought not, however, to be prohibited from receiving the mystery of holy communion on those same days. But if, out of great veneration, she does not presume to receive it, she is to be praised; yet if she receives it, she is not to be judged. For it belongs to good minds to acknowledge faults where there is no fault, and often that which comes from fault is done without fault.*

See the gloss there for what is called the time of weaning.

XXV. Concerning the Sacrament of Order

Gregory, writing to Syagrius, bishop of Autun, says thus at I, question VI:

> *Just as he who, when invited, refuses and, when sought, flees must be admonished toward the sacred altars, so he who seeks them voluntarily or intrudes himself importunately must without doubt be repelled. For he who thus strives to ascend to higher things, what else does he do except decrease by growing and, while ascending outwardly, descend inwardly into the depth?*
>
> *Therefore, most beloved brother, let sincerity flourish in the ordaining of priests; let the consent be simple and without venality; let a pure election be preferred, so that the man advanced to the summit of the priesthood may be believed to be there not by the support of sellers but by the judgment of God.*

The same Gregory says at I, question I:

> *Be especially solicitous in ordination, and admit none to sacred orders unless they are advanced in age and pure in work. For first examine the life and morals of those who are to be placed in sacred order, so that you may be able to employ persons worthy of this office. Let neither the power nor the entreaty of any persons creep upon you. Therefore, when it is necessary to treat of these matters, employ grave and experienced men as participants in your counsel, and weigh this with them by common deliberation.*

The same man, writing to all bishops, says in Distinction LXXXIX:

> *We command the individual offices of ecclesiastical men [read: the individual offices of ecclesiastical law] to be committed individually to separate persons. For just as in one body we have many members, but all the members do not have the same act, so in the body of the Church, according to the truthful sentence of Paul, in one and the same spiritual body this office is to be conferred upon one person and another is to be committed to another.*
>
> *Nor, however well trained a person may be, are the offices of two matters to be committed to one person at one time, because if the whole body is an eye, where is the hearing? For just as the variety of members through diverse offices both preserves the strength of the body and represents its beauty, so also the variety of persons distributed no less through diverse offices manifests both the strength and the comeliness of the Church.*
>
> *And just as it is unseemly in the human body for one member to perform the office of another, so it is assuredly harmful and at the same time most shameful if the individual ministries of affairs have not been distributed to just as many persons.*

The same man says to John, bishop of Caralis, in Distinction LXXXIX, chapter *It Has Been Judged*:

> *Your Fraternity must take care that the property of any church not be committed to secular men or to those not living under our rule, but to approved clerics of your office, in whom, if anything of depravity can be found, you may be able to correct in your subjects what has been unlawfully done.*

And immediately above he says:

> *Whatever fraud shall be found to have been perpetrated concerning the property of the Church, even by laymen, let them be compelled to restore it with the penalty established by the laws.*

The same Gregory says at XXIII, question VIII:

> *If I had wished to involve myself in the death of the Lombards, today the nation of the Lombards would have neither king nor duke. But because I fear my God, I dread to involve myself in the death of any man.*

Gregory wrote this to a certain bishop so that he might excuse him before Emperor Maurice and before others among whom he had been defamed by his rivals because he had been the cause of a certain bishop's death through a harsh prison and other penalties inflicted upon him. Gregory had summoned that bishop to himself because of certain information concerning his excesses which had been denounced to Gregory. Nevertheless, having been molested by him in nothing but received humanely, he suddenly died his own natural death, as Gregory wrote back to that man.

The same Gregory says in the *Pastoral Rule* and in Distinction XLIII:

> *Let a ruler be discerning in silence and useful in speech, lest he utter things that ought to be kept silent or keep silent things that ought to be uttered. For just as incautious speech draws one into error, so undiscerning silence leaves in error those who could have been instructed.*
>
> *For often improvident rulers, as is said, fearing to lose human favor, are afraid to speak right things freely; and, according to the voice of Truth, they no longer devote themselves to the guardianship of the flock with the zeal of shepherds, but in the manner of hired men, because when the wolf comes they flee as they hide themselves under silence. The Lord rebukes them in Isaiah, saying, "Dumb dogs unable to bark."*

And below:

> *Hence through Isaiah the Lord admonishes, saying, "Cry out; cease not; raise your voice like a trumpet." For whoever approaches the priesthood assumes the office of a herald, so that he himself may advance crying out before the coming of the judge who follows terribly. Therefore, if the priest is ignorant of preaching, what voice of crying will the mute herald give?*

Hence, as a figure of this, he introduces the fact that in the hyacinth-colored garment of the high priest, in which he entered the Holy of Holies, bells were placed at its *extreminate* [read: at its lowest edge] with pomegranates interwoven, to signify that in the conduct of the priest, signified by the garment, there ought to be the speech of preaching, so that he may teach by example and by word.

Pomegranates, or Punic apples, in which many seeds are united beneath one outer rind, signify the unity of the faithful. These were inserted, interwoven with the bells, to intimate that in preaching the priest ought to seek the unity of his hearers and nurture charity in them, not sow material for scandals. And the preacher must also guard against excess or excessive prolixity. This is signified by the man who had an emission of seed, who was held unclean in the law; nor from loquacity of this sort does fruit follow in the hearer, but disgust, just as no fruit follows from seed discharged through the infirmity suffered by that man.

XXVI

Gregory says in a homily and at XXIII, question IV:

> *This life, which is situated between heaven and hell, just as it subsists in the middle, so commonly receives the citizens of both regions. Holy Church, however, receives them indiscriminately—that is, without distinction—and afterward discerns them at their departure.*
>
> *Therefore, if you are good, for as long as you subsist in this life, tolerate the evil with an even mind. For whoever does not tolerate the evil is by his own intolerance a witness against himself that he is not good. He refuses to be Abel whom Cain's malice does not exercise. For the iron of our mind cannot attain the sharpness of virtue unless the file of another's depravity has scraped it.*

The same man speaks concerning prelates who have evil subjects in Book II of the *Dialogues*. Asked by Peter the Deacon whether one ought to desert them, he says at VII, question I:

> *Evil persons gathered together must be borne with an even mind where some good persons are found who may be helped. For where there is no fruit at all from the good, labor over the evil is sometimes superfluous, especially if nearby causes are available through which they may offer better fruit to God.*
>
> *For something often takes place in the mind of the perfect which ought not to be passed over in silence: when they consider their labor to be without fruit, they migrate to another place for labor with fruit.*

The same Gregory says in Book IV of the *Dialogues* and in *On Penance*, Distinction I:

> *The wicked would have wished to live without end if they could have done so, so that they could have sinned without end. Those who never cease to sin while they live show by this that they always desire to live in sin. Therefore it pertains to the great justice of the judge that those who in this life, while they lived, never wished to be without sin should never be without punishment.*

The same man says in Distinction XXV:

> *As each person departs from here, so he is presented at judgment. Yet it must be believed that for certain faults there is a purgatorial fire before judgment, because Truth says, "But he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven either in this age or in the future." In this sentence it is given to be understood that certain faults can be forgiven in this age and certain ones in the future. For what is denied concerning one thing, the consequent understanding plainly grants concerning others.*
>
> *But this must be believed concerning small and very little sins, such as habitual idle speech, immoderate laughter, and the sin involved in the care of household property, which is scarcely conducted without sin even by those who know how they ought to avoid fault. These still burden after death if they have by no means been remitted while one was still placed in life.*

The same man says at XIII, question II, and in a *Dialogue*:

> *When grave sins do not weigh them down, it then profits the dead if they are buried in a church, because as often as their relatives come to the sacred places and behold the burial place of their own, they remember them and pour forth prayers for them to the Lord. For as for those whom grave sins weigh down, placing their bodies in churches leads rather to a greater accumulation of damnation than to their absolution.*

The same man says in the same question:

> *The souls of the dead are released in four ways: either by the offerings of priests, by the prayers of saints, by the alms of loved ones, or by the fasting of relatives. But care for the funeral, the condition of the burial, and the pomp of the obsequies are consolations of the living rather than aids of the dead.*

The same man says:

> *Let the last will of the testator be preserved in every way.*

The same man, writing to the bishop of Caralis, says at XVI, question I:

> *We wish to admonish you lest, which God forbid, the pious wills of the dead be rendered void by your remissness.*

The gloss says that it is otherwise if the wills were unjust.

The same man says at VII, question I:

> *The adversity that is cast against good vows is a testing of virtue, not a judgment of reprobation. For who does not know how prosperous it was that Blessed Paul the Apostle was coming to Italy in order to preach? And yet, while coming, he suffered shipwreck; but the ship of his heart stood intact amid the waves of the sea.*

The same man says in a letter to Candidus and at VII, question I:

> *When a bodily striking is imminent, we do not know whether the judgment of God comes for purification or for vengeance. And therefore affliction ought not to be added by us to those scourged, lest, which God forbid, the offense of guilt have regard to us.*

XXVII. Concerning Prelacy

As far as depends upon himself, each person ought not to seek prelacy but to flee it, yet to receive it from obedience. Gregory says from the *Register* and at VIII, question I:

> *In your writings you relate that you greatly sought rest, but through this you show that you came fittingly to pastoral solicitude, because just as the place of governance is to be denied to those who desire it, so it is to be offered to those who flee it.*
>
> *And just as it is written, "Let no one take honor to himself, but he who is called by the Lord, as Aaron was"; and it is said to the shepherd of holy Church, "Simon son of John, do you love me more than these? Feed my sheep." From these words it is gathered that if one who is able to feed the sheep of almighty God refuses, he shows that he does not love the supreme Shepherd.*
>
> *For if the only-begotten Son of the Father, to fulfill the advantage of all, went forth from the secret place of the Father into our public place, what shall we say if we prefer our own seclusion to the advantage of our neighbors? Rest is indeed to be desired by us from the heart, and yet it must sometimes be postponed for the gain of many. For just as we ought to flee occupation with our whole desire, so, if there is no one to preach, it is necessary to undertake willingly the burden of occupation upon the shoulder.*

We are taught this from the work of two prophets, one of whom endeavored to avoid the office of preaching, while the other received and sought it. For Jeremiah answered the Lord who was sending him, saying: "Ah, ah, ah, Lord God, behold, I do not know how to speak, because I am a boy." And when the almighty Lord sought a person to preach for him, saying, "Whom shall I send?" Isaiah offered himself, saying, "Behold, I, Lord; send me."

Behold, a different voice outwardly proceeded from each of them, but it did not emanate from a different fountain of love. For there are two commandments of charity: namely, the love of God and of neighbor. Therefore Isaiah, desiring through the active life to profit his neighbors, sought the office of preaching. Jeremiah, however, desiring through contemplation to adhere continually to the love of the Creator, speaks against his obligation to be sent to preach.

Therefore, what one laudably sought, the other laudably dreaded. The latter feared lest, by speaking, he lose the gains of silent contemplation; the former, lest by keeping silent he experience the losses of industrious work. But this must be perceived subtly in both: both he who refused did not fully resist, and he who wished to be sent first saw himself purified by the coal from the altar, lest either one not purified dare to approach the sacred mysteries, or one whom heavenly grace chooses proudly contradict under the appearance of humility.

The same Gregory, writing to the citizens of Naples, says in the same question:

It is neither new nor reprehensible that, in electing a bishop, the desires of the people divide themselves into two parties; but it is grave when in matters of this sort the election comes not from judgment but from favor alone.

The same Gregory says in Distinction LVI:

It is proved to be exceedingly perverse and contrary to ecclesiastical censure that someone, at the mere pleasures of certain persons, be deprived uselessly of offices from which his own fault or crime does not cast him down, and of the grade in which he serves.

Concerning the Jews, Gregory says, writing to Paschasius, bishop of Naples, in Distinction XLV:

Those who with sincere intention desire to lead persons alien to the Christian religion to the right faith ought to apply themselves to blandishments, not severities, lest adversity drive far away those whose mind an offered reason could have summoned to the level ground.

And below:

Therefore it must be done that, summoned rather by reason and gentleness, they may wish to follow us, not flee us, so that, by showing them from their own books the things we say, we may with God's help be able to convert them to the bosom of mother Church. Therefore, as both they themselves and their fathers, observing all their festivals and holy days through long periods past, have held them until now, let them have free license to observe and celebrate them; and do not permit them to be disturbed in such matters.

The same man, writing to Augustine, bishop of the English, says in Distinction XII:

Your Fraternity knows the custom of the Roman Church, in which it remembers that it was nurtured. But it pleases me that, whether in the Roman, Gallican, or any other church, you have found something which can please God more, you should choose it solicitously, and should infuse into the Church of the English, which is still new in the faith, by a distinguished institution, the things you have been able to gather from many churches.

For things are not to be loved on account of places, but places on account of things. Therefore, from every individual church choose the things that are pious, religious, and right; and, as though collected into a bundle, deposit these as a custom within the minds of the English.

In the same place, in the same Distinction, he says:

Just as we do not allow unlawful things to be perpetrated, so we do not deny the things that belong to custom.

XXVIII. Concerning the Blessed Life

Gregory says in a homily:

If we consider, most beloved brothers, the things promised to us in heaven, all the things possessed upon earth become worthless. For earthly substance is a weight, not a support. Temporal life, compared with eternal life, must be called death rather than life. For what else is the daily failing of corruption itself except a certain prolongation of death?

But what tongue suffices to say, or what understanding to comprehend, how great are the joys of the city above: to be present

among choirs of angels; with most blessed spirits to see the uncircumscribed light, to behold the face of God, to be affected by no fear of death, and to rejoice in the gift of perpetual incorruption? At hearing these things the spirit catches fire. Now it desires to stand there, where it hopes to rejoice without end.

But one does not arrive at great rewards except through great labors. If the greatness of the rewards delights us, let the multitude of labors not deter us. "He shall not be crowned," says the Apostle, "unless he has contended lawfully."

The same man says in the book of the *Dialogues* and at XXIII, question IV:

The things which have not been predestined can by no means be obtained. But the things holy men effect by praying have been predestined in such a manner that they may be obtained by their prayers. For the very predestination of the everlasting kingdom was so arranged by the Almighty that the elect should arrive at it from labor, so that by asking they may merit to receive what almighty God disposed before the ages to give them.

Gregory says in a homily:

We know, by the testimony of holy eloquence, that there are nine orders of angels: namely, Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim. Hence it is said of the first angel: "Every precious stone was your covering: sardius, topaz, jasper, chrysolite, onyx, beryl, sapphire, carbuncle, and emerald." Behold, it spoke nine names of stones, because there are assuredly nine orders of angels. That first angel is said to have been covered with those orders, because, when he had been placed over all the hosts of angels, he was more brilliant in comparison with them.

And this is found in *On Penance*, Distinction II, chapter *The Beginning*. The same man also says in a homily:

It must be known that the name "angels" is the name of an office, not of a nature, because those spirits are then angels when some things are announced or performed through them. Those who announce the least things are called Angels, but those who announce the greatest are called Archangels.

Those through whom signs and miracles are frequently done are called Virtues. Those who have received this more powerfully than the others, so that adverse powers are subjected to their dominion, are called Powers; these adverse powers are restrained by their power lest they prevail to tempt as much as they desire.

Those who preside even over the good spirits themselves are called Principalities. While they dispose for their subjects the things that must be done, they rule over them for the fulfillment of the divine mysteries. Those who transcend even the powers of the Principalities are called Dominations. For to be a principality is to exist as first among the others; to dominate is also to possess any subjects whatever.

Thrones, too, are those hosts over which God always presides for exercising the office of judgment. They are called Thrones because they are filled with such great grace of the divinity that the Lord sits in them and decrees his judgments through them.

"Cherubim" is said to mean "fullness of knowledge." And those more sublime hosts are therefore called Cherubim because the more nearly they contemplate the brightness of God, the more perfect they are in knowledge.

Those who, from a singular nearness to the Creator, burn with incomparable love are called Seraphim. For "Seraphim" is interpreted "burning" or "setting on fire."

But because that city above consists of angels and men, to which we believe that as many of the human race ascend as it happened that elect angels remained there, we ought to draw something from those distinctions for the use of our conduct.

These are his words. And subsequently he sets down there how, from diverse exercises of the virtues, human beings are assumed in glory into the diverse orders of the lower or higher angels, according to the degrees of perfection of human works.

XXIX. Concerning the Warfare of Vices in God's Elect

Gregory, in Book XXXI of the *Moralia*, treating the saying of Job, "From afar he smells the battle"—namely, the horse concerning which he there speaks by similitude—"the exhortation of commanders and the howling of the army," says:

To smell the battle from afar is to recognize, from the causes that precede them, the battles of vices which will follow. For because by smell a thing not seen is recognized, to smell the battle from afar is assuredly, just as by the breath of the nostrils, so by the foresight of thoughts, to track hidden wickednesses.

First, therefore, God's elect, signified by the horse, consider lest they perform any venial things [read: any evil things]. Second, lest they perform good things incautiously. And after they have subjected crooked things, they strive also to subject upright things

themselves, lest from merits they be turned into the fault of elation. For frequently through the vice of carelessness evils are born from good things.

With vigilant zeal God's elect person contemplates how arrogance arises from learning, cruelty from justice, laxity from piety, anger from zeal, and torpor from meekness. And when the good person does these things, he beholds how many enemies can rise up against him through them. For when he labors in the pursuits of acquiring learning, he solicitously prepares his mind against the contest of arrogance. When he desires justly to avenge the faults of delinquents, he considers most sagaciously lest the vengeance of cruelty exceed the measure of avenging justice.

When he strives to restrain himself by piety, he prudently looks ahead lest discipline be conquered by laxity. When he excites himself by the goads of right zeal, he provides with the greatest care lest he kindle in himself the flames of anger more than is necessary. When he tempers himself with the great tranquillity of meekness, he observes vigilantly lest he grow cold in body [read: lest he grow cold in torpor].

Therefore, because in the thought of the spiritual soldier every vice is beheld before it can creep upon him, it is rightly said concerning God's horse, "From afar he smells the battle." He also foresees what crowd of iniquities would rush in if he permitted even a few evil things to enter him. Hence there follows: "the exhortation of commanders and the howling of the army."

For the tempting vices which fight against us in an invisible battle under pride reigning over them, some go before in the manner of commanders, while others follow in the manner of an army. For all faults do not occupy the heart by an equal approach, but when the greater and fewer ones forestall the neglected mind, the lesser and innumerable ones pour themselves upon it in troops.

For pride itself, the queen of vices, when it has seized a conquered heart, soon draws it to be devastated by the seven principal vices as though by certain commanders of its own. An army follows these commanders, because importunate multitudes of vices assuredly arise from them. We show this better if we bring forward the commanders themselves and the army by enumerating them particularly.

For pride is the root of all evil, as Scripture testifies: "The beginning of every sin is pride." But its first offspring, the seven principal vices, are brought forth from this virulent root: namely, vainglory, envy, anger, sadness—that is, acedia—gluttony of the belly, and lust [read: vainglory, envy, anger, sadness, avarice, gluttony of the belly, and lust]. For because our Redeemer grieved that we had been captured by these seven vices of pride, he came to the battle for spiritual liberation full of the Spirit of sevenfold grace.

But pride has its army against us. For from vainglory arise disobedience, boasting, hypocrisy, contentions, obstinacies, discords, and presumption of novelties. From envy are born hatred, whispering, detraction, exultation in adversities, and affliction at a neighbor's prosperity. From anger are brought forth swelling of the mind, quarrels, insults, clamor, indignation, and blasphemies.

From sadness or acedia are born malice, rancor, pusillanimity, despair, torpor concerning the precepts, and wandering of the mind concerning unlawful things. From avarice arise treachery, fraud, deceit, perjury, restlessness, acts of violence, and hardenings of the heart against mercy. From gluttony of the belly, or gullet, are propagated inappropriate joy, scurrility, uncleanness, loquacity, and dullness of sense concerning understanding. From lust are generated blindness of mind, inconsideration, inconstancy, precipitation, love of self, hatred of God, affection for the present age, and horror or despair of the future.

Therefore, because the seven principal vices bring forth from themselves so great a multitude of vices, when they come to the heart they draw, as it were, the troops of an army following them. Of these seven, two are carnal and five spiritual; but each of them is joined to the others by such great kinship that one is brought forth only from another.

For the first offspring of pride is vainglory. When it has corrupted the oppressed mind, it soon generates envy, because, while it seeks the power of a vain name, it pines away lest another be able to attain it. Envy also generates anger, because the more the spirit is wounded by the inward wound of spite, the more it also loses the meekness of tranquillity. And because it is touched as though it were a hurting thing of the limbs [read: a hurting limb], therefore the hand of an opposing action is felt as though pressing more heavily.

Sadness is also born from anger, because the disturbed mind, by the degree to which it shakes itself inordinately, confounds itself by adijciendo [read: condemning itself]; and when it has lost the sweetness of tranquillity, nothing except the grief that follows from disturbance nourishes it. Sadness in turn is derived from avarice [read: Sadness in turn flows into avarice], because, when the confounded heart has lost the good of joy inwardly within itself, it seeks outwardly for a source from which it ought to be consoled. And the more it does not possess a joy to which it may recur inwardly, the more it desires to obtain exterior goods.

After these, the two carnal vices which remain are clear to all, because lust is born from gluttony of the belly, since by the very

distribution of the members the genitals are seen to be supported beneath the belly. Hence, when one is refreshed inordinately, the other is assuredly excited to wantonness.

The commanders are well said to exhort and the army to howl, because the primary vices insert themselves into the deceived mind as though under a certain reason; but the innumerable vices that follow, when they draw it from reason into madness, confound it as though with a bestial cry.

For vainglory is accustomed to exhort the conquered heart as though from reason when it says: "In what respect are you less than this or that man? Why, therefore, are you not either equal or superior to them? How many things can you do which they cannot? Therefore they ought not to be superior to you."

Anger also is accustomed to exhort the conquered heart as though from reason when it says: "The things done toward you cannot be borne with an even mind. To tolerate these patiently is indeed a sin. And if they are not resisted with great exasperation, they will henceforth be accumulated against you without measure."

Sadness also is accustomed to exhort the conquered heart as though from reason when it says: "Where do you have cause to rejoice, when you bear such great evils from your neighbors? Consider with what sorrow all those must be regarded who are turned so greatly against you with the gall of bitterness."

Avarice also is accustomed to exhort the conquered spirit as though from reason when it says: "It is very much without fault that you desire certain things to possess, for you do not seek to be multiplied but fear to be in need; and what another retains badly, you yourself spend better."

Gluttony of the belly is accustomed to exhort as though from reason when it says: "God grants all clean things for eating, and he who refuses to be sated by food, what else does he do but speak against being fortified by what has been granted?"

Lust also is accustomed to exhort the conquered heart as though from reason when it says: "Why do you not enlarge yourself in your pleasure, when you do not know what may follow you? You ought not to lose the time received amid desires, because you do not know how swiftly it passes by. For if God did not wish man to be mingled in pleasure, he would not at the very beginning of the human race have made male and female."

Therefore, when this exhortation of the commanders is incautiously admitted into the accustomed place of the heart, it persuades unlawful things more familiarly. The howling of the army follows it, because the unhappy soul, once captured by the principal vices, while it is turned to madness by multiplied iniquities, is devastated by the savagery of wild beasts.

But because one like God strives prudently to foresee the contests of the vices, he assuredly smells the battle [read: But because God's soldier strives prudently to foresee the contests of the vices, he assuredly smells the battle]. With his nostrils stirred he detects the exhortation of the commanders; and because, by foreknowing from afar, he beholds the confusion of the iniquities that follow, he recognizes, as though by smell, the howling of the army.

Therefore, because from the description of the horse we have recognized either God's preacher or any soldier in the spiritual contest, let us now behold that same man again under the signification of a bird, so that we who learned his fortitude through the horse may also learn his contemplation through the bird, namely how greatly he flies through contemplation. Hence there follows: "Does the ancipiter grow feathers through your wisdom, spreading its wings toward the south?" For the ancipiter to grow feathers in the south [read: "Does the hawk grow feathers through your wisdom, spreading its wings toward the south?" For the hawk to grow feathers in the south] is for each of the saints to become strong at the touch of the Holy Spirit.

Concerning each one of these vices, however, you have extended treatment throughout the second part.

XXX

After Gregory, therefore, had sat in the chair of Peter for thirteen years, six months, and ten days, full of good works he rested in peace in the year of the Lord 506, but in the second year of the reign of Phocas [read: in the year of the Lord 604, but in the second year of the reign of Phocas].

After his death, when a severe famine followed, certain envious persons began to detract from Gregory, asserting that, as a prodigal man, he had consumed the whole treasury of the Church. Hence, in vengeance for this, they inclined the minds of the others toward burning his books.

When they had already burned certain of them and wished to burn the others, Peter the Deacon, his intimate, with whom he had discussed the four books of the *Dialogues*, is related to have resisted most vehemently. He asserted that these things could

not erase Gregory's memory, since copies were held in diverse parts of the world. He added that it was an enormous sacrilege to burn so many books, and books of such a kind, by so great a father, above whose head he himself had very frequently beheld the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove.

At last he led them to this decision: confirming by oath what he had said, he would merit to die immediately if they themselves desisted from the burning of the books. But if he did not merit to die, but survived as a witness to his own testimony, he himself would also give his hands to the burners.

Accordingly, when the deacon's preparation had been made, the venerable Levite Peter came bearing the book of the Gospels. As soon as, after touching the sacrosanct Gospels, he gave testimony to Gregory's sanctity, free from the pain of death he breathed forth his spirit amid the words of a true confession.

At the same time, but while Gregory was living, there was a certain hermit, a man of great virtue, who had left all things for God's sake and possessed nothing except one cat. Caressing it frequently, he warmed it in his lap as though it were his cohabitant.

He therefore prayed to the Lord to show him with whom he ought to hope for a dwelling in the future reward, he who for love of him possessed nothing of the riches of the world. One night, therefore, it was revealed to him that he ought to hope for a dwelling with Gregory, the Roman pontiff.

But he, groaning deeply, thought that voluntary poverty had profited him little if he should receive a reward with one who abounded in such great worldly riches. Therefore, while day and night he compared Gregory's riches with his own poverty, sighing, one night he heard the Lord saying: “Since possession of riches does not make the rich man, but cupidity does, how do you dare to compare your poverty with Gregory's riches? You are proved to love that cat which you possess more by stroking it daily than he loves such great riches, which he disperses by not loving but contemning them and by bestowing them liberally upon all.”

And so the solitary gave thanks to God; and he who had thought his merit was diminished if he were made equal to Gregory began to pray that he might merit to receive a dwelling with him.

That hermit wondered that Pope Gregory was made equal to him in glory. But I, as one small in understanding, wonder vehemently that an unlearned and simple hermit, attending only to himself and not to the teaching of his neighbors, was made equal in glory to Gregory. Gregory exercised the supreme pontificate in such great humility that scarcely anyone was more humble; he was poured forth in such great liberality amid such great riches that he forgot no needy person; he shone with such great devotion that he ordered the office and chant of the Church; he was filled with such great learning, together with miracles, that he composed so many and such useful books; assailed by such great adversities from the Lombards and emperors, and vexed by so many nearly continual bodily pains, he bore all things most patiently.

I would wonder, unless I held in mind that the Lord is the weigher of spirits, who divides his gifts as he wills, gives to whom he wills and as much as he wills, without acceptance of any person. For he does not render the magnitude of the eternal, essential reward according to the quality of nobility, the quantity of dignity, knowledge, or teaching, the fruitfulness among the people, or bodily labor, but according to the amplitude of charity.

And when one man, with the same grade of charity, works few things outwardly at the end of creation and with modest knowledge [read: works few things outwardly with faith in the Creator and modest knowledge], while another, in great dignity, even ecclesiastical dignity, does very many things most useful to his neighbors, with the conversion of many by his teaching and miracles, according to the rule of divine justice both enjoy an equal essential reward.

Nor does what the Apostle says to the Corinthians disagree with this sentence: that each person shall receive a reward according to his own labor. This is true with respect to the accidental reward, so that he who has labored and borne fruit more may receive more accidental reward.

Title XII, Chapter IV

Because the road has been taken concerning the supreme pontiffs who existed from the time of John I as far as Gregory, concerning whom and whose sayings extended treatment has been given, the pen must return to the emperors who existed in those times.

It must be known that Justin the Elder, a most Christian emperor who reigned for nine years, succeeded Emperor Anastasius, who was treated in the preceding title. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 518; from the beginning of the world, in the year 5,717; according to another computation, in the year 4,486.

This Justin, as a most devout man, honorably received the legates sent to him by Pope Hormisdas and freed the bishops handed over to exile by the heretic Anastasius. Sending many golden and silver vessels to Rome, he bestowed them upon the church of Blessed Peter. With every effort he took care to extinguish the names of the heretics and to take churches away from the Arians.

Theodoric, king of Italy, bore this very ill because he was an Arian. He sent Pope John to Emperor Justin to protest to him that, if he did not restore the churches in the East to the Arians, all Italy would be exposed by him to fire and sword. Pitying the desolation of Italy, Pope John went to Constantinople and obtained from Justin what he sought, as was said above.

After this Justin had fought successfully against the Parthians and had established a most firm treaty with their king, being exceedingly old and failing, he designated Justinian, his nephew by his sister, as his successor, and died.

I. Justinian

Justinian succeeded Justin in the empire in the year of the Lord 528. For the restoration of the commonwealth, he first sent Belisarius the patrician against the Persians who had entered the Roman territories. Belisarius laid the Persians low in battle, vindicating the Roman boundaries; and, returning to Constantinople, he triumphed at Justinian's command. Justinian reigned for thirty-nine years.

Meanwhile the Lombards entered Pannonia and inhabited that province for twenty-four years.

And it must be noted that this Justinian collected in those times the ancient laws of the Romans, scattered through many volumes, and established many new ones. They were called the Digests or Pandects. They are called “Digests,” that is, things disposed, because they were diligently examined and ordered. “Pandects,” however, which is a Greek name, are so called as though receiving all things.

And, as is said by the Archdeacon, among modern writers, when they are cited, they are written in abbreviation with a double ff. This was introduced through a fault of scribes, because it ought to be a double s, with the title-mark cut across the letters themselves. It was explained as “holy sanction,” that is, a firm constitution. But that title-mark was so altered that it is formed by the letter f, and thus the Digests are designated ff.

Therefore, when Justinian saw the laws scattered in many books of very many legal experts, especially Julian, Scaevola, Papinian, Pomponius, Gaius, Modestinus, Paulus, and Ulpian, after superfluous things had been cut away he reduced them, and caused them to be reduced, into fifty books.

The one volume formed by these fifty books of the Digests or Pandects is thus divided today by legal experts into three volumes: namely, the Old Digest, the Infortiatum, and the New Digest. The first volume contains twenty-four and a half books. The second volume contains fourteen books and is called the Infortiatum. The third contains twelve books and is called the New Digest; its final rubric is *On the Rules of Law*.

Justinian also caused the volume called the Code, compiled by Theodosius the Younger, to be cut down. In it are contained the laws of many emperors, whose names are placed at the beginning of the laws; and it is divided into nine books.

The Volume is also so called because it contains four works within itself: namely, three books of the Code beyond the aforesaid nine; the volume of Justinian's Institutes, divided into four books; the volume of Justinian's Authentics, which are his own new decisions; and the volume of the Usages of Fiefs, which is not Justinian's but another emperor's, in which are written the customs of fiefs.

Moreover, in the year of the Lord 533 Emperor Justinian sent Belisarius, a most vigorous commander, to recover Africa, which for many passing years the Vandals, first pagans and thereafter made Arians, had possessed, as is contained in the preceding matters. Arriving there with a great army, Belisarius, with God's favor, immediately overcame the Vandals and recalled all Africa to the ancient body of the commonwealth under Roman rule.

Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when he could not bear the onset of Belisarius, fled to the Maurusians. But Belisarius, pursuing him there, captured him and brought him with him, bound by a silver chain. He also triumphed over him at Constantinople.

At that time in Italy shone Blessed Benedict, father of the monks in the West; but concerning him there will be treatment below in another place.

After these things, when Emperor Justinian had already long before fixed his mind upon liberating Italy, having found a suitable body of forces after the victory Belisarius had gained against the Vandals, he sent envoys to Theodatus. Theodatus had usurped for himself the kingdom of Italy after first procuring the death of Queen Amalasuentha, daughter of Theodoric, king of Italy, whom that Theodatus had taken as a partner and sharer in the kingdom.

Through his envoys Justinian sought that Italy and Sicily be restored to him, offering another dignity in recompense of this kind; but if Theodatus did not do it, Justinian declared that he should expect war. When Theodatus appeared to delay these matters, Justinian, thinking that he must wait no longer, ordered Belisarius to cross into Sicily with an army, yet in making his preparations to feign that he would be sent not to Sicily but to Africa.

Therefore, when the fleet had been prepared and the soldiers placed aboard it, Belisarius sailed to Sicily. He had sufficiently great forces of infantry, and in addition horsemen were being carried in the same fleet. Therefore, while he feigned that he was seeking Carthage, he departed into Sicily and remained in those places as though for the sake of refreshing himself.

Then, having taken from there a suitable time, by a sudden attack he assaulted and occupied the city of Catania. From there, soon displaying his forces and revealing his purpose, after many days he occupied Syracuse when the citizens surrendered themselves to him. After this, the course of his victory was marvelous, as cities surrendered themselves voluntarily and invited him.

The cause of this was the hatred of the Sicilians for the Goths, the authority of the Roman Empire, and the excellence of Belisarius. Because he had freed Africa from the Vandals, it was hoped that he would do the same concerning the Goths throughout Sicily and Italy. But the Goths had made no preparations throughout Sicily, nor did they think that there would be a future war. And so whatever Goths were in Sicily, astonished by Belisarius's sudden invasion, thought more about flight than resistance.

Palermo alone, because there was a strong garrison of Goths in that city, awaited and endured a siege. Since it was very strongly fortified from the land, the fleet was brought into the harbor—for the harbor lay open as far as the walls—and Belisarius observed that in certain places the height of the ships' masts was raised higher than the walls.

Therefore, archers stationed throughout the masts, striking the enemies placed below with arrows and weapons from every side, stripped the walls of defenders; and others, going up without any fear, battered the walls. Brought into this peril, the enemies surrendered the city. This was the last of the cities of Sicily that came into the power of Belisarius.

After this city had therefore been received, Belisarius returned to Syracuse, presented magnificent games, and scattered coin among the multitude.

Furthermore, at the same time, while matters in Sicily proceeded in this manner, Emperor Justinian commanded a certain Mundus—namely, a commander—to invade Dalmatia with other forces, so that the Goths, struck from both sides, might more easily be oppressed.

Therefore Mundus, having entered Dalmatia with an army, occupied Salona and enveloped those regions in war and tumult. But the Goths, having gathered great forces, hastened to the city of Salona. When they were nearby and war was being waged on both sides, battle was at last joined, not from preparation but beyond the preparation of either army. The cause of fighting in this manner was that, when they had seen one another, there was no delay before battle was joined.

They fought for some time so vehemently that nothing could have been done more strenuously. Many distinguished Goths fell in that battle, and at last Maurice himself perished. Both camps perceived that battle had been joined, and each hurried to bear aid to its own men.

While Mundus was on the way, he learned of his son's death. Then, being a man vehement and warlike by nature, and moreover inflamed by grief for his son, he was borne against the enemies as though in a certain rage. In the meantime all the forces of the Goths had arrived, and they fought on both sides with all their strength. The battle was most bloody and most bitter.

At last the broken Goths, after a great slaughter of their men, turned to flight. But while Mundus insatiably cut down the Goths and, in anger and grief for his lost son, pursued the routed enemy farther, he himself was killed by the fleeing enemies in his own victory. And thus vengeance for his son, exercised beyond measure, further added the death of the father.

After this battle both armies withdrew. For the routed Goths did not dare to remain in those places, and Justinian's soldiers, terrified because of the commander's death, abandoned Salona and went back. After the death of the commander Mundus and the withdrawal of the army, the Goths began to have greater power throughout Dalmatia.

For Grippa, one of the nobles of the Goths, after restoring the army, recovered the city of Salona and what Mundus had previously captured throughout those places. The affair of the Goths appeared much superior throughout those regions, and from these things the spirit of King Theodatus increased; for he himself was also from the nation of the Goths.

II. Justinian

But when Justinian had heard the things done in the Dalmatian war, he placed a certain Constantianus, one of his commanders, over the Dalmatian war and at the same time wrote to Belisarius that he should not delay crossing into Italy.

Therefore Constantianus, after restoring the army and sufficiently constructing a fleet, when he had remained at Dyrrachium for some time in completing these things, at last departed from there for Epidaurum. Certain scouts sent by Grippa were at Epidaurum. When they saw the fleet of Constantianus sailing beside the shore, the multitude of ships, and their excellent construction, they immediately returned to Grippa and reported a matter great in itself still more magnificently.

When he heard them, Grippa began to be uncertain in counsel. For he judged that to decide upon battle against such great forces was pernicious and rash, and he did not sufficiently trust in shutting himself within Salona, because the citizens were suspect and the walls of that town had collapsed through age in certain places. He also feared that, since the enemies prevailed at sea, he could quickly be reduced to want of provisions.

Anxious with these cares, he formed a plan. He departed from Salona with his forces and, having advanced some distance, fortified suitable places. Meanwhile Constantianus arrived at Lissa with the whole fleet. When he had there learned what had been done, he sailed to the nearest shore. Finally he moved the whole army to Salona and recovered the city without any difficulty.

When Grippa learned this, after remaining around those places for a few days, he resolved to depart; and, having been carried by sea to Ravenna, he entirely abandoned Dalmatia and Liburnia, which immediately came into the hands of Constantianus without anyone resisting.

Belisarius, however, after receiving Justinian's letters that he was to cross into Italy, left a garrison of soldiers at Syracuse and Palermo. Then, crossing from there into Italy with the army, he established a camp near Naples, which city was held by a great and strong garrison of Goths.

At last, sending many soldiers through the aqueduct by night, he caused them to enter the city and climb the walls. And while other soldiers fought by sea and land, they entered the city through a gate opened to them by the other soldiers. Slaughters and plunders were committed everywhere.

Nevertheless, after Naples had been captured, Belisarius used his victory most humanely. For he permitted no one of the Neapolitans to be killed or captured after their arms had been laid down. He kept the women intact from all lust and restored them to their husbands and parents.

But the Goths who dwelt at Rome and around those places, having heard the things done at Naples, were placed in the greatest suspicion and fear. Nor was it doubted that Belisarius would come to them with his victorious army. And through this, exhorting themselves and summoning the other warriors of their nation, they made camp between Anagnia and Terracina.

There, when the forces of the Goths were together, after complaining much about the prior wickedness of Theodatus and much about his present sloth, finally, when sedition arose in the army, they created Witigis as king for themselves. Witigis was not born of royal stock, but was held to be a great man in war; and by that virtue he had obtained for himself a name and very great authority.

But King Theodatus, perceiving these things, took flight and prepared to go to Ravenna. Yet attendants sent immediately after him by Witigis, the new king, overtook him on the way and killed him.

After these things Witigis set out for the city and exhorted the Romans not to make innovations, compelling them by oath to preserve fidelity to him. He said that if they did not do this, no one would be able to glory in his rebellion. And because his kingdom was new, he selected many persons from the Roman senate and people, whom he resolved to hold in the place of hostages.

He appointed to the city of Rome a certain Ludirim from among his nobles and left him four thousand chosen soldiers with whom to guard Rome. But he himself strove to seek Ravenna with the rest of the army, so that he might more firmly establish his kingdom.

When he had arrived there, he joined to himself in marriage Amalasuentha, the daughter and granddaughter of Theodoric, who was being held captive by Theodatus, so that he might honor his dominion with royal blood. He did not cease to summon and prepare forces of the Goths from every quarter, to arm infantrymen and horses among his people, and to provide the other things that pertain to war.

Since Witigis, king of the Goths, knew that a great multitude of Goths was dwelling around the Po and Ticinum, and that the remaining part of the said nation was throughout Cisalpine Gaul, he hastened to draw it together to himself. But in drawing it together, fear of the nation of the Franks presented itself to him. For at that time the Franks extended their dominion as far as the Alps, while the Goths possessed the region on this side of the Alps; and they were assuredly not friends with one another, but were regarded as mutually suspicious and, still more, discordant. It was also established that the Franks had recently been incited by Emperor Justin, who urged them to take up arms against the Goths. Because of this suspicion, Witigis, after sending ambassadors to the Franks, endeavored to remove suspicion on that side. This he at last obtained, a treaty having been entered into and friendship contracted with them.

Belisarius, however, after refitting and equipping the army, resolved to seek Rome. Therefore, after Herodian had been left at Naples with a garrison of soldiers and another garrison had been placed at Cumae, he himself sought Rome with the remainder of the army, having been made certain by some faithful persons that the Roman people would by no means close the gates against the emperor's army.

The Goths, therefore, being terrified and perceiving the will of the people, all resolved to depart of their own accord, except for the prefect Ludirim, who, led by shame, preferred to perish rather than abandon the city entrusted to his fidelity. Thus, while the Goths departed, the Romans obtained security. And it happened that on the same day and at the same hour the Goths departed from the city through the Flaminian Gate, while Belisarius entered Rome through the Caelimontane Gate, which is called the Asinarian Gate.

When Belisarius had been received within the city with the greatest rejoicing of the people, after addressing the senate and people with the things that were fitting, he then applied the greatest diligence in preparing the walls and fortifying the city. He not only attended to the walls, but also constructed battlements in suitable places and added ditches and embankments to the walls. He provided that a very great quantity of grain should be brought in by ships and preserved in the public granaries.

Nor was he meanwhile inactive; rather, through his commanders Constantinus and Bessas, at that time he received Narnia, Spoletum, and Perusia when the citizens surrendered themselves. Battle was also waged against the Goths not far from the city of Perusia. For as soon as King Witigis perceived the defection of the Perusians, he sent Unilas and Pissas with an army into Tuscany, so that they might hold the other cities in the alliance and recover the towns that had already defected.

Constantinus, a commander of Belisarius, was at Perusia, and he drew all his forces together there, except for a few left at Spoletum. When the forces of the Goths approached and were beneath the very walls of Perusia, Constantinus went out and, after drawing up a battle line prepared for fighting, attacked the Goths. A mighty battle was joined, and the contest was waged with great strength on both sides. After a long struggle, the Goths were at last overcome and turned to flight. A great slaughter was made of them, and many were captured. Among these, Unilas and Pissas, the commanders of the forces, were captured and sent to Belisarius at Rome.

Witigis, therefore, when on account of the defection of the cities he had received this defeat, judged that there should be no further delay and resolved to descend into war with absolutely the whole strength of the Goths. Accordingly, moving from Ravenna, he led the army toward Rome, having with him two hundred thousand men, very many among them being armored horsemen whom they call cataphracts. With all these forces he sought Rome in such a manner that he seemed to desire nothing more than that Belisarius should not await him. Therefore he halted neither at Perusia, nor at Spoletum, nor at Narnia, and did not wish to become entangled in war in those places, but hastened to seek Rome.

Belisarius, however, when he perceived so great a mass of war being turned against him, commanded Constantinus and Bessas to return to him quickly with the forces they possessed. Constantinus, obeying the command, came immediately from Tuscany to Rome. Bessas, who was at Narnia, departed more slowly, so that he became involved even with the foremost outriders of the Goths.

Witigis was making his way very near Narnia. When the first forerunners had arrived there, Bessas went out from the city of Narnia, attacked them, turned certain of their columns to flight, and killed many. But when he was pressed by a greater number, he withdrew himself into the city of Narnia. Soon afterward, hastening from there to Rome, he announced from his own sight that the Goths were at hand.

When the Goths approached Rome, they halted at the Aniene River. For Belisarius had fortified the bridge over that river on both banks with towers and forts and had commanded that it be guarded by a garrison of soldiers. Thus, being unable to cross at their first arrival, the Goths placed their camp across the river. But on the following night the soldiers who were in the garrison

of the bridge, terrified by the multitude and ferocity of the barbarians, abandoned the towers and fortifications of the bridge. Secretly taking flight, they went away into Campania, fearing the punishment of Belisarius.

On the following day Belisarius, having taken one thousand horsemen, set out for those places so that he might observe both the situation of the region and what the enemies were doing, and at the same time choose a suitable place for his camp. But as he advanced and was near the river, horsemen of the Goths came to meet him beyond expectation. For a little earlier the Goths, perceiving that the fortifications of the bridge had been abandoned, had broken its barriers and gates. A great multitude of them had already crossed; and when it suddenly came against Belisarius, who was ignorant of this, he was compelled by an inspired occurrence to fight [read: he was compelled by the unexpected occurrence to fight].

At the beginning Belisarius discharged only the duties of a commander, giving orders and exhorting, and showing what was to be done. But when his men were pressed more and more by the enemies, then, with necessity compelling him, he exercised no longer the office of commander but that of soldier. Flying forward among the foremost fighters, he conducted the affair vigorously by hand and strength. On that day he himself underwent very great danger for this reason.

Belisarius had an outstanding horse which he used very frequently. When, therefore, he fought from that horse and moved among the foremost fighters, certain deserters who recognized him signified by a shout that they should strike Vala, that is, his horse. From this it came about that the whole battle was turned against Belisarius alone. Had an excellent band of his household not gathered around him, received the onset of the enemies rushing against him, and protected his horse and Belisarius with their bodies and arms amid a thousand blows of missiles, he could not have escaped.

But he was excellently defended, both by his own valor, since he fought most skillfully, and by the aid of his friends and household, who remained around him with incredible love. In this place many of the best among the household of Belisarius fell, and Mesentius in particular.

At last those who were with Belisarius, exhorting one another and making an attack, turned the enemies to flight and pursued them as far as the bridge. But the infantry who stood before the bridge, taking up the battle, easily repelled Belisarius and his men. Finally, when many combatants had fallen on both sides, they were compelled to seek Rome at full speed. The flight was toward that gate which is commonly called the Pincian. The Goths pursued Belisarius as far as that gate, so that they were struck from the walls of the city.

There was a mighty tumult in that place. For the Romans who stood upon the walls, being afraid because of the nearness of the enemies, were unwilling to open the gates. Hence Belisarius, after the enemies had again been driven away and he had at last been clearly recognized—for the sun had set—led his men within the city.

The battle of that day was by far the greatest and most varied. For fighting began a little after sunrise and ceased only when darkness was already occupying the earth. By the judgment of everyone Belisarius was esteemed the best fighter on that day, but among the Goths, Visandus. When Belisarius had led his soldiers back into the city, he ordered the Roman soldiers to keep watches along the walls that night. The Goths, however, after remaining around the walls for some portion of the night, returned to the king's camp, which was between the city and the Aniene.

On the following day, since no one came out to battle, the Goths prepared themselves for a siege and placed camps around the city in six locations, from the Flaminian Way as far as the Praenestine Way. Five gates of the city were besieged by these camps. Afterward they added seven camps beyond the Milvian Bridge [read: Afterward they added a seventh camp beyond the Milvian Bridge]. These last camps besieged the Aurelian Gate and obstructed the roads leading across the Tiber. They fortified the camps themselves with a rampart, ditch, and wooden towers; and, possessing the regions both on this side of the Tiber and beyond it, they overran everything with frequent incursions.

III. The Siege of Rome

Belisarius, on the other side, made the following provisions for the defense of the city. He himself undertook to guard the Pincian Gate, which was especially opposed to the larger camps of the Goths, and the Salarian Gate next to it on the outer side, and whatever portion of the wall was around those gates. He committed the Praenestine Gate to Bessas. He assigned the Flaminian Gate, which is to the left of the Pincian, to Constantinus. He placed others over the remaining gates.

The Goths, however, proceeding around the city, broke all the aqueducts. There were fourteen of these, constructed with marvelous workmanship, through which water was carried into the city. From their destruction it was not so much the inconvenience concerning water that harmed the Romans as the loss of the mills. For those aqueducts furnished the Romans a great convenience for grinding; when they were now broken, they brought the besieged great difficulties in grinding.

But Belisarius, devising remedies against these inconveniences, made provision in this manner: namely, that pairs of skiffs—that is, small boats—standing a short distance apart and joined by beams should hold mills between them, which were easily turned by the rapid course of the river. Ropes extended with the greatest tension from each bank supported skiffs of this

kind. He placed such skiffs in sequence beside the bridge that is the first leading across the Tiber. Chains stretched across the river at the bridge caught every piece of material. The Tiber, however, supplied the want of the waters.

Belisarius provided with the greatest care many instruments of war along the walls for striking and repelling the enemies. The Goths likewise prepared various instruments for storming the city: engines, rams, wooden towers equal in height to the walls, and a very great number of ladders. King Witigis distributed their companies every day and prescribed what he wished each man to do. Belisarius stood every day before the gate with the most select of the soldiers. Thus battle was waged daily with varying victories on both sides.

When a suitable time for carrying out the affair appeared to the Goths, they went out suddenly from ambush and flew to attack Hadrian's millstone. Ladders having been applied, in a sudden assault they took the first enclosure, which surrounds the millstone in a square shape [read: they went out suddenly from ambush and flew to attack the Mole of Hadrian. Ladders having been applied, in a sudden assault they took the first enclosure, which surrounds the mole in a square shape]. This mole was the tomb of Emperor Hadrian, constructed with exceptional and magnificent workmanship. It is established that it was built of Parian marble with the highest diligence of craftsmen. In the middle of this square a round mass rises, lofty indeed in height and so great in breadth that there is an open area on its highest part. It has a bridge over the Tiber River, which extends from the mole itself to the other bank.

Belisarius, however, had provided that it should be guarded by his soldiers as though it were a citadel and a certain battlement, and had entrusted its care to Constantinus. Therefore, after taking the lower enclosure, the Goths strove to storm the millstone itself [read: the Goths strove to storm the mole itself]. But the soldiers fighting back from the upper part, so that they might repel the enemies more effectively, accomplished this with stones: they hurled down upon the enemies the statues that were on the highest part of that mole—statues of men, horses, and four-horse chariots fashioned by the excellent workmanship of artisans—some intact and some broken.

Constantinus also, suddenly bringing aid, repelled the enemies and added courage to his soldiers. In this manner the Mole of Hadrian was preserved, which today is called the Castle of the Holy Angel.

Thereafter King Witigis approached the Praenestine Gate with a multitude of Goths in order to storm it, but Belisarius, although with difficulty, defended it with his men. About three thousand of the Goths fell in these battles.

While the siege continued, the Romans, although they admired the virtues of Belisarius, nevertheless had a complaint against him: that, having stirred up war against so great a strength of Goths with his own scanty forces, he had brought Rome into its present difficulties.

Belisarius, understanding the complaints of the Romans, although at another time he had reported these same things to Justinian, then, being moved more greatly and immoderately, wrote more vehemently to Emperor Justinian, setting forth the siege of the city of Rome, the multitude of the enemies, and the small number of his own men: that only five thousand soldiers remained to him, while he was besieged by an army of two hundred thousand Goths; that the Romans, being unaccustomed to these dangers, were by no means enduring the siege; and that, as far as he himself was concerned, he had devoted his life to Emperor Justinian. But it was necessary to see what honor or infamy that affair was going to bring him.

When Justinian received this letter, he was greatly moved and immediately ordered certain forces already prepared to sail into Italy; and he determined to prepare other, larger forces. Valerianus and Martinus were over those forces already prepared. That winter they wintered throughout Aetolia and Acarnania. When these things were reported to the Romans, they sustained them in hope.

Meanwhile, while these things were being done at Rome, Asinarius and Uligasalus, commanders of the Goths whom King Witigis had sent into Dalmatia with an army, and to whom he had given a fleet, besieged Salona by sea and land after very great forces of barbarians had joined them. For Constantianus, who was there on behalf of Emperor Justinian, although unequal to so great a force of enemies, endured the siege in the city, which had previously been abundantly fortified. Sometimes, going out from the city, he even inflicted great losses upon the Goths by land and sea.

But Witigis, king of the Goths, because the storming previously attempted had succeeded shamefully for him, being thereby made more restless, did not cease examining all the things by which he might afflict the besieged Romans to the greatest degree.

There was a harbor beside the sea on the right bank of the Tiber River. Over it stood a city encircled by a strong wall. In that place ships deposited all the things that are carried by sea. From there they were again carried to Rome by land or river. Witigis, therefore, after suddenly and unexpectedly sending great forces of his men, took the city of Portus, because the townspeople were by no means sufficiently prepared to resist the sudden force of the Goths.

From an occupation of the city of this kind, great difficulties immediately increased at Rome, since the facility of transporting grain and the other things that are useful had been taken away. For the Goths left there guarded the town and the mouths of the Tiber so that nothing could be carried from there.

Then the aforesaid King Witigis caused one thousand Roman citizens whom he had previously led with him to Ravenna as hostages to be killed, except for a few who, when his anger became known, fled into Gaul.

Belisarius, however, fearing a failure of the grain supply, proclaimed to the Roman citizens that they should send their sons, wives, and every multitude useless for war to Naples. He compelled his soldiers to do the same. The Romans therefore sent out their wives, sons, and the multitude unfit for war.

At the same time—namely, in the year of the Lord 539—so severe a famine existed throughout all Italy, as Dacius [i.e., Datius], bishop of Milan, relates, that in the regions of Liguria women, through the scarcity of famine, ate their own sons.

Meanwhile Martinus and Valerianus, whom we said above had been sent by Justinian, came to Rome, having about one thousand six hundred horsemen. These were for the greater part Huns. Revived by the arrival of these horsemen, Belisarius resolved to wage war in another manner than before. For he did not guard the city by standing within the walls, but every day harassed the enemies with sudden incursions of cavalry. From this it came about that the contest was kindled without end on both sides and that they came into every kind of experience.

When Witigis, king of the Goths, had learned that battle would take place on the following day, he caused the Goths to be armed at first light. In arranging the battle line, he placed the infantry in the middle and disposed the horsemen on the right and left as though they were wings. Advancing in this manner to meet Belisarius, he joined battle.

The soldiers on both sides immediately charged fiercely. The commanders, standing behind them—Belisarius on this side and Witigis on that—exhorted their men. At the beginning of the battle the soldiers of Belisarius prevailed by far, and many fell from the battle line of the Goths; and they fought beside the enemies' very camp. Yet the Goths, abounding in multitude, sent other men forward into the place of those who fell. Battle was waged in this manner until midday, neither side prevailing.

Afterward the Goths, after they had taken the port of Ostia, wishing to prevent grain and other necessities from being carried to Rome, placed eight camps around that city between the Latin and Appian Ways. Thus they obstructed the Latin, Appian, and Ostian Ways, cutting off every facility of bringing things in. From this the condition of the besieged became exceedingly hard, and an undoubted famine threatened.

Nevertheless, so long as crops remained in the fields, soldiers went out from Rome by night, brought in grain, and sold it to the citizens at a great price; and in this way want was sustained. But when even this facility failed, then all things seemed desperate. The summer solstice had now come, and a pestilence had begun to spread at Rome. People frequently died, not only from the Roman populace but also from among the soldiers of Belisarius. Hence the affair itself was in the greatest difficulties and straits, and so the Romans, coming to Belisarius, complained gravely.

Then Belisarius began to turn his mind to this consideration: how he might bring upon the Goths the greatest possible difficulties in the matter of grain. For this reason he sent his soldiers to various places, and thus prevented supplies from being carried to the camps of the Goths. From this it happened in a very short time that the Goths conducting the siege were afflicted with no lesser difficulties than the besieged, especially from the failure of grain. Pestilence also invaded the camp of the Goths.

Meanwhile other forces sent by Justinian arrived in Italy. There were eight hundred Thracian horsemen, whom John, the son of Vitalian's brother, commanded. There were also one thousand three hundred chosen horsemen, over whom were Alexander, Marcentius, and Zeno. Moreover, three thousand infantrymen had been brought with the fleet, whom Paulus and Chonon commanded. There were besides five hundred infantrymen at Naples. All these forces, coming together as one, resolved to seek Rome. They carried with them many and great provisions.

When he himself attacked these forces and provisions from the rear, while those who had previously fled fought back from the front, he overwhelmed them with incredible slaughter. So great was the terror among all the Goths that the watches in the camps were doubled and they thought about no matter more than how they might keep themselves safe from the ambushes of Belisarius.

In this manner, after the enemies had also been terrified, the forces arrived at Ostia without any hindrance. The Goths, therefore, being wearied by many inconveniences, when they learned in addition that new forces had come to Belisarius, began to think about dissolving the siege. For already a mighty multitude in the camps of the Goths had been consumed either by pestilence or by the sword, and many had been weakened by disease or ulcers.

And now Witigis, after sending an embassy to Rome, when many things had been said and answered on each side concerning the cause of justice, finally consented that the controversies be referred to Emperor Justinian, so that the matters might be

settled by his authority. Envoys were sent for this purpose, and a truce of three months was made until the envoys should return. Hostages were also given on both sides so that the truce might be faithfully observed.

Datius, bishop of Milan at that time, and with him certain citizens of Milan, came to Belisarius and said that the city of Milan would be in the emperor's power if even a small garrison were sent there. They declared themselves able to expel the Goths not only from Milan but from all Cisalpine Gaul, provided only that the authority of the emperor's name was present.

Belisarius received them kindly, commended them with many and most ample words, commanded them to have good hope, and affirmed that, when there should be opportunity, he would do what they requested.

At the same time, when all things seemed prosperous and joyful, a horrible danger came upon them, which in a brief moment nearly overturned everything. There was a certain Roman citizen named Presidius. Since he had been accustomed to dwell at Ravenna, at the beginning of the aforesaid war he had secretly fled from there and was proceeding to Rome. On the journey, however, soldiers of Constantinus dwelling at Spoletum took from him a sword adorned at great cost.

Thus despoiled and having suffered the injury indignantly, he set forth his complaint before Belisarius and requested that the things taken away be restored to him. Belisarius commanded that the sword be restored to him. Although he had commanded this more than once to Constantinus, the latter despised the command and said: “I, Constantinus,” he said, “will sooner cast that sword into the Tiber than return it to that worthless fellow,” speaking this very contumaciously and insolently.

Then Belisarius said, “Are you not subject to me?”

“I am subject,” he said, “since the emperor so wills; but in this one matter I shall never obey you.”

When Belisarius heard this, he became more angry and commanded the attendants to be summoned. Constantinus, however, thinking that the attendants were being summoned for his destruction, seized the dagger that hung at his thigh and rushed upon Belisarius, striking him a little below the stomach.

Had those standing around not immediately intervened, forcibly wrested away the dagger, and delivered Constantinus into the hands of the attendants, that would have been Belisarius's last day, and his death would have drawn all things together into ruin. The Goths would indeed have become masters of affairs on that very day. But the goodness of God did not permit such great evils to occur. Constantinus was killed a little afterward at the command of Belisarius.

While, on account of the truce made above, Belisarius at Rome and the Goths were guarding their camps and fortifications, complaints and altercations arose because the truce had been violated against good faith for a cause of the following kind.

Since the Goths were guarding the city of Portus, the maritime city of Centumcellae, and the city of Alba, which is in the Marsian territory, when necessities for their sustenance failed them they left those cities empty. The commander of the Isaurians, who had remained at Ostia with the fleet, occupied them.

When Witigis learned that these cities had been taken by the enemies, he sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that the truce had been broken against good faith through the occupation of the Gothic cities, and therefore that restitution of them ought to be made.

Belisarius answered the ambassadors in this manner: “Return,” he said, “to your king and tell him that the causes for which the Goths regarded those cities as abandoned are evident to everyone. But occupation of things possessed by no one can by no means be prohibited.”

From this suspicions arose, and the Goths sought to return equal things to Belisarius. For these three cities brought Belisarius great opportunities for the war. He then sent two thousand horsemen into the Picene territory and placed John Vitalianus over these forces, so that, if the Goths attempted anything, he would be prepared against them.

The Goths therefore attempted to seize Rome secretly, first by seeking a way through a certain aqueduct at night, and then by crossing the river upon rafts beside the Campus Martius. But in both places their hope deceived them. For lights seen through the aqueduct disclosed their fraud, and after the aqueduct had been obstructed the opportunity of invading was cut off from them; and at the Campus Martius the treachery, having been discovered, rendered their attempt vain.

That treachery—namely, to enter the Campus Martius upon rafts after crossing the river—was being arranged with the aid of two Romans from the lowest part of the common people. It had been arranged that the watchmen posted to guard the place by which men could enter the Campus Martius from the river, after receiving from the two Romans money given to them for this purpose, should accept from them a sleep-inducing drink; after drinking it they would be unable to awaken and, consequently, would leave their approach open.

But, by the will of God, one of the two, being led by repentance, disclosed the affair to Belisarius. When the other was captured, the sleep-inducing drug that the king had given him was found, and the whole course of the affair was explained. By the

command of Belisarius his nose and little ears were therefore cut off, and he himself, placed upon an ass, was sent through the Pincian Gate to the camps of the Goths, so that Witigis might recognize that his fraud had been discovered and his attempt made manifest.

Belisarius, therefore, when these things had thus been detected, by no means judged that the truce was to be observed by him. Accordingly, he wrote to John that he should prosecute the war. Thus John, overrunning the Picene territory with two thousand horsemen, enveloped the whole region in plunder and pillage, the wives and children of the Goths being taken as booty.

He met Ugutheus, the paternal uncle of Witigis, who had been placed over forces of Goths against him, and overcame him in battle; he killed the commander himself together with a great part of his forces. Thereafter, having become victorious and captured many towns in the Picene territory, he left forces at Auximum and Urbinum after the cities had been fortified, led his forces onward, and took Fanum and Pisaurum.

Since the inhabitants of Ariminum did not agree well with the Goths, by approaching with the army he brought so great a terror upon them that, distrusting their ability to remain in that place, they all migrated to Ravenna. The citizens opened the gates to him, and in this manner John took Ariminum.

When the Goths learned that Ariminum had been taken, they resolved to dissolve the siege of the city of Rome and depart from there. Accordingly, after a few days Witigis burned the camps and departed with all the forces of the Goths. He also sustained great losses besides. For when half the army had already crossed the bridge, Belisarius commanded the hindmost to be attacked by his men. Many of the Goths were killed, and the others were forced to cross the bridge amid so great a tumult and haste that many fell into the river from both sides.

This siege of the city of Rome lasted one complete year and nine days, having begun in March.

Although Witigis hastened toward Ravenna, he nevertheless endeavored to retain in his power the cities of Etruria and of the other provinces. Therefore he sent his soldiers to guard Clusium, Urbs Vetus, Tudertum, Auximum, Urbinum, Caesena, and Mons Ferratus. He himself, however, set out with the remaining army to besiege Ariminum.

After the departure of the Goths, Belisarius commanded Martinus and Ildiger to hasten to Ariminum with one thousand horsemen and to lead away from there John and the horsemen who were with him, but to place infantrymen there. John himself was unwilling to obey, and he did not permit Damianus, his cousin, to obey with his horsemen. For this reason Ildiger and Martinus departed from Ariminum.

Meanwhile Witigis arrived and besieged Ariminum. At the very beginning they constructed a wooden tower equal to the height of the walls. The Goths therefore determined to storm the city on the following day with this tower against that part of the wall where access was easier. During the night John led out the soldiers and made a broad and deep ditch on that side.

A great battle was joined around the tower. After a long and savage struggle the Goths drew back the tower, with a great slaughter of their men and so great a loss that they cast aside the hope of taking the town by force. Witigis therefore planned to overcome the besieged by hunger.

Belisarius granted auxiliary forces to the Milanese envoys who had come to Rome during the aforesaid times. He placed Mundilas, one of his household and a vigorous man, over all the forces. When Mundilas had at last crossed the Po and arrived at the city of Ticinum, which is now called Pavia, the Goths came out of that town and attacked them. After a short battle had been joined, the Goths were driven within the city. Mundilas, however, crossed with his forces by the bridge that was beside the city. At length Mundilas and his men proceeded to Milan and were received into the city.

Thereafter Bergamum, Comum, Novaria, and other cities of those regions followed the example of Milan, voluntarily receiving Mundilas with his men.

When Witigis learned the things that had happened at Milan, he sent Uraias, his brother's son, to those places with a great army, both to hold in fidelity the cities that had not yet defected from the Goths and to attempt to recover those that had already withdrawn from him. Witigis himself sent to Theudebert, king of the Franks, who had recently entered into a treaty with him, so that he might join his auxiliary forces to those of Uraias.

Belisarius, when the crops were already ripening, went out from Rome and received Tudertum by agreement. Meanwhile Witigis resolved to make trial with all his forces of the city of Ancona, which was held by a garrison of Belisarius. At that time this city had walls only upon the mountain; the flatter places beneath it, although thickly occupied by buildings, were enclosed by no walls.

When the Goths arrived there, Chonon, a commander of Belisarius who was over Ancona, went out with one thousand soldiers to meet four thousand Goths in battle. He immediately paid the penalty of his presumption: defeated and turned to flight, he lost

a great part of his men and was at last scarcely received into the city. While the Goths endeavored to take the city with ladders, others, casting in fire, burned all the buildings that were beneath the city.

IV. Narses and the Division of Command

Meanwhile it was reported that Narses had come into Italy with a new army. Narses was a eunuch and possessed much favor and power with Justinian. Indeed, he alone governed the emperor's court in all things, being receiver and dispenser of the imperial monies, a participant in all counsels, and sometimes a victor. He increased the army sent into Italy by five thousand soldiers.

Belisarius had meanwhile come into Picene territory because of the danger to the people of Ancona. Narses had done the same. The two commanders themselves and the armies came together as one near the city, so that they might deliberate concerning the common war.

The opinion of Narses prevailed: that aid should immediately be furnished to John, who was besieged at Ariminum. John, being exhausted by hunger with his soldiers, had signified by his letters that he had agreed upon a delay of seven days. Although many accused John's rashness because, against the command of Belisarius, he had shut himself within Ariminum and, led by pride and boldness, had done everything according to his own judgment without regard for the commander or his orders, nevertheless they moved their camps by sea and land and at last arrived at Ariminum.

When the Goths saw the two armies, thinking that they were being surrounded, they immediately dissolved the siege and sought Faventia in flight without any order. The fleet therefore arrived first, and those who went out upon land plundered the camps of the Goths. Not long afterward Martinus and Belisarius arrived with the armies.

When they saw John and the soldiers who had been besieged with him exhausted by pallor and want of food, Belisarius said to John, as though mocking his rashness: “You ought to give the greatest thanks to Ildiger.”

To this John answered exceedingly proudly that he indeed owed thanks to Ildiger, but all thanks to Narses, wishing to show that Belisarius had had no care for his safety unless Narses had compelled him. These words disturbed Belisarius and were the beginning of dissension. For after this John, fearing Belisarius, adhered to Narses, saying that the glory of Italy ought to be claimed not for Belisarius but for Narses.

These things so exalted Narses that he made a camp separately for himself and wished to follow none of the things that seemed good to Belisarius, but undertook his own enterprises and counsels concerning the war by himself. Nevertheless, they proceeded together to the siege of Urbinum, though not in the same camp: Belisarius took his position opposite that part of the city which looks toward the east, while Narses took his position toward the west.

When Belisarius had resolved to storm the city and was preparing engines, Narses, deriding the affair as vain, abandoned the siege a few days after they had come there and returned with his army to Ariminum. He left Belisarius and his men in a worse condition than if he himself had not come at the beginning. For the enemies, seeing part of the army depart, assumed confidence beyond measure.

Belisarius nevertheless remained in the siege and had resolved to make trial of storming it. At length those who were being besieged, being terrified, entered into an agreement and surrendered the city, so that the Goths and the inhabitants of Urbinum should be subject to Emperor Justinian with equal right with the other Italians who obeyed the emperor.

After Urbinum had been received, Belisarius led the army against the inhabitants of Urbs Vetus. The storming of that city was exceedingly difficult because, being established on a rock cut off on every side, it gave no true access for an assault. But hope lay in a failure of grain. For because Italy had been trampled by many armies in a long war, the individual cities suffered from scarcity of grain. Therefore, at last overcome by scarcity, the city came into the power of Belisarius.

Narses, however, while he was at Ariminum, sent John with an army to storm Caesena. There, while the commander attacked the walls with ladders, he was repelled with many wounds, lost many of his men, and Phanates, commander of the Heruli, perished there. Therefore John withdrew from Caesena and led the army to Forum Cornelii, which is now called Imola, and received it when the inhabitants surrendered themselves.

During the same time Mundilas and those who were with him at Milan began to be involved in the greatest difficulties on account of the arrival of the Franks. For Theudebert, king of the Franks, having been summoned by Witigis, as has been said, had sent ten thousand Burgundians to the Arar. Relying upon that multitude, Uraias placed his camp not far from Milan and obstructed every importation of grain and of the other supply.

Mundilas was necessarily compelled to distribute his forces among Comum, Bergamum, and Novaria. He himself had with him no great number of horsemen, because there was no difficulty in the defense of the city. For the Milanese citizens ran

unanimously to the defense. But failure of the grain supply was feared in that most populous city if the barbarians should remain longer in those places.

Belisarius, therefore, understanding these things, sent Martinus and Ulianus with great forces so that, after joining the army of Mundilas, they might remove the barbarians. When these men arrived at the River Po, not daring to cross because of fear of the enemies, they remained for a long time in those places, daily frustrating the hope of Mundilas and the besieged. At last they wrote to Belisarius that they could not cross against so great a force of enemies.

When Belisarius heard these things, he immediately wrote to Narses concerning the imminent danger. Although Narses conceded that the army should proceed there, nevertheless, because the undertaking had belonged to Belisarius, the affair was conducted very slowly and carelessly, as though it were another's business. In this manner the delayed affair received frustration. Milan, however, was pressed more sharply and was already laboring intolerably from hunger.

Having been brought from this to the most extreme necessity, Mundilas and the soldiers agreed that they should be permitted to depart unharmed.

The Goths, however, after entering the city, spared no age. The citizens were slaughtered everywhere—not only those who could bear arms, but old men and those below the age of puberty. The women were handed over into the servitude of the Burgundians. The city was overthrown to the ground. A certain Roman citizen named Reparatus, captured in that city, was cut apart piecemeal by the Goths and given to dogs.

And thus the most beautiful and most populous city of all Italy underwent its final destruction because of the dissensions of Belisarius and Narses. Thirty thousand citizens of Milan were killed in that devastation.

When Belisarius heard of the slaughter of the Milanese, he was placed in the greatest grief. He wrote to Emperor Justinian the beginning and progress of the whole affair. When Justinian learned these things, he bore them with distress, but nevertheless punished no one. He recalled only Narses from Italy and commanded that the authority for the whole war should belong to Belisarius.

Hence Narses went away into Greece with part of the forces, while Belisarius remained in Italy with all the other forces. When Belisarius could now think more freely about waging the war, all his care was turned toward Witigis and Ravenna. Nevertheless, he determined that two towns must first be taken away from the Goths before the army was led against Witigis and Ravenna. These two towns were Auximum and Faesulae, both most strongly fortified by the situation of their places and both guarded by strong garrisons of Goths.

Therefore, after dividing the army into three parts, he resolved that he himself should set out with one part of the forces to besiege Auximum. He sent another part, with the commanders Cyprianus and Justinus, to Faesulae. He entrusted the third part of the forces to Martinus and John to be led, commanding them to make camp with these forces around the Po and to disturb Uraias and his forces in those places as greatly as could be done, lest they should come into Tuscany and the Picene territory to dissolve the sieges.

Martinus and John therefore set out with part of the army and occupied the city of Tortona. From there they began to harass Uraias and the Goths. Cyprianus and Justinus, however, went to Faesulae and arrived there. Although this city was most strongly fortified by its mountainous situation, they besieged it from the higher place where access to the city is more level. Belisarius, with a force strong by far, surrounded Auximum, which town Witigis had fortified with the best soldiers.

V. The Frankish Invasion

Theudebert, king of the Franks, after overcoming the Alps, descended through Citerior Gaul with eighty thousand men. He did this especially because, when they saw the war being conducted there, the warlike Franks judged that they themselves could then conquer all Italy.

Martinus and John had been sent by Belisarius against Uraias, and their camp was about seven miles distant from the camp of Uraias. Meanwhile the Franks suddenly appeared around those places. Uraias and the Goths, because of the treaty recently entered into, thought that these men had come as auxiliaries to them, as they had done in the preceding year in the war of Milan.

Very few of these Franks around their commander Theudebert were horsemen; all the remaining multitude was infantry. They bore as arms neither javelins nor bows, but for protecting the body a certain shield and a helmet, and for striking the enemy a sword and a double-headed axe. In battles they used axes especially; striking with these while drawn up, they broke the shields and helmets of the enemies, so that no one could resist so great a force.

Thus, crossing the River Ticinum by the bridge at Pavia as though they were friends of the Goths, they afterward inflicted great slaughters upon the inhabitants of Pavia and, with a certain barbarous savagery, killed the sons and wives of the Goths whom they found throughout the fields.

Soon afterward, having crossed the Po, when they approached the camp of Uraias, whether by design or by the rashness of the multitude, they became involved in a quarrel and battle with the Goths. There was no end to the fighting before the Goths, having been turned to flight, abandoned their camp.

In fleeing, the Goths came not far from the camp and soldiers of Belisarius, upon whom they brought the greatest astonishment. For they had heard nothing concerning the arrival of the Franks and thought that Belisarius had come by hidden routes to crush Uraias. Therefore, rapidly taking up their arms and advancing some distance, they unexpectedly encountered the Franks. Hence, being compelled to fight, they were quickly broken; not daring to seek their camp again, they consulted for themselves by flight alone.

The victorious Franks took both the camp of the Goths and that of the forces of Belisarius on one and the same day, and they remained in them, provisions having been found abundantly in both. Uraias therefore went in flight to Ravenna, while the forces of Belisarius passed through the territories of Placentia and Parma and, after crossing the ridge of the Apennines, went into Etruria.

This sudden arrival of the Franks disturbed Witigis and Belisarius together. The greatest fear seized Belisarius lest the Franks should descend into Etruria and crush the forces that were pressing Faesulae. For there is a short and expedient route through the territories of Placentia and Parma for descending into Etruria.

But the Franks, remaining around the Po, found neither wine nor other suitable things, as was natural in a region afflicted by a long war. Eating only the flesh of cattle and the water of the Po, they quickly fell into various illnesses. Being afflicted by these, since great numbers of them were dying, they resolved to go back; and by the same tracks by which they had come, they returned into Gaul.

The Goths who were being besieged by the soldiers of Belisarius at Faesulae, when they were pressed by hunger and the aid repeatedly requested did not come, at last surrendered the city by agreement to Cyprianus, Justinus, and the commanders of Belisarius. After a garrison of soldiers had been placed there, they proceeded with all the remaining forces to Auximum.

Although Witigis with the whole strength of the Goths promised that he would bring assistance to those who were being besieged at Auximum, nevertheless the besieged waited in vain. Therefore Belisarius, who had been compelled to draw together forces there from every quarter lest the labor of a long siege fall into nothing, resolved to compel them to surrender through some necessity. For the sake of this affair he devised the following.

There was a perennial spring of water outside the walls of Auximum, so near the walls that it was within the cast of a stone. Since Belisarius perceived that the besieged obtained water from that spring, he determined to take the spring away from them. For this purpose he sent down to the spring many men skilled in this craft, with axes and hammers prepared for the task and protected by many shields, so that they might dig out and destroy it.

Since they could do little to destroy it because of the tenacity of the structure and the resistance offered by the besieged through the wall, Belisarius abandoned this work and devised another. Namely, he caused the water of that spring to be infected with the malignant juice of herbs, the carcasses of beasts of burden, and a foul stone, and rendered it entirely useless.

The Goths, therefore, suffering from scarcity of water, sought an agreement from Belisarius: namely, that if the safety of their possessions were granted to them, they would depart for Ravenna after surrendering the city to him. But when the soldiers of Belisarius objected and demanded the whole booty of the fortress, Belisarius arranged the matter in this manner: that one half should be given to the soldiers as booty and the Goths should retain the other half for themselves. Thus the town was surrendered by this agreement.

VI. Ravenna

After these things, in the year of the Lord 542 [read: in the year of the Lord 540], Belisarius resolved to lead his forces against Witigis and Ravenna. After drawing them together from every quarter, he proceeded there. Immediately upon his first arrival he sent Maximus, one of his commanders, with part of the forces to watch and guard the banks of the Po, lest anything necessary could be carried from there into Ravenna. Vitalis, summoned by Belisarius, also came from Dalmatia with other forces and occupied the other bank of the river.

Meanwhile, when a great multitude of vessels came carrying grain and other supplies to Ravenna, the river itself rose to such a degree that most of the vessels were left helpless. From this it came about that all the vessels were captured by the soldiers of

Belisarius. Thus the opportunity of carrying necessities to Ravenna by the River Po was taken away. Nothing could be brought in by sea, because enemies of the Goths possessed the sea everywhere.

When Ravenna was being besieged in this manner, ambassadors of the Franks came to Witigis. They announced that five hundred thousand armed men were about to cross into Italy and offered the liberation of the siege and the destruction of Belisarius if the Goths were willing to receive the Franks into a partnership in the dominion of Italy.

Belisarius, however, perceiving that ambassadors of the Franks had come to Witigis, immediately sent his own ambassadors to Ravenna. They offered concord between the Goths and the Roman emperor and, by recalling the faithlessness of the Franks, sought to cast the Goths away from their alliance.

Therefore, after hearing on each side the ambassadors of the Franks and of Belisarius, the Goths deliberated about what would be best. After a long dispute they preferred concord with the emperor. The result of the matters discussed was that all controversies should be delegated to the judgment of Emperor Justinian. Ambassadors were sent to Justinian for the sake of this affair, and a certain truce was established between the besiegers and the besieged.

Meanwhile, it happened that the public granaries at Ravenna were burned with all the grain. This affair brought the Goths into the greatest difficulties, since the grain had been consumed by fire and Belisarius did not allow more to be brought in.

During this time very many of the Goths who inhabited the Alps surrendered themselves to Belisarius. For the Alps divide Gaul from Italy, rise to a marvelous height, and have most difficult approaches. Sifigis, one of the Gothic nobles who possessed certain fortresses in the Alps, was the first of all voluntarily to receive the soldiers of Belisarius sent to those places, and he persuaded other fortresses to do the same.

During the same time, although Uraias gathered an army so that he might proceed to Ravenna, the Goths who were with him deserted his camp and went over as deserters to the soldiers of Belisarius. Thus Uraias, abandoned by his men, returned with a few into Gaul.

Meanwhile ambassadors came from Emperor Justinian, bearing Justinian's answer to the things that Witigis and the Goths had requested concerning concord. The substance of Justinian's decision was this: Witigis should retain in place all things beyond the Po, but should surrender everything on this side of the Po; he should hand over to the emperor half of the royal monies and retain the remaining part; and all the Goths who dwelt on this side of the Po should be subject to the Roman Empire.

The ambassadors therefore spoke first with Belisarius. Then, entering Ravenna, they explained their instructions. These were heard and approved with joyful minds by Witigis and the other Gothic nobles. Belisarius, however, heard them with grief, being indignant within himself and bearing it heavily that, although he could have a complete victory over the Goths, it was being taken away from him.

Accordingly, when the ambassadors returned a little afterward and requested his acknowledgment and subscription, he was unwilling to subscribe. At last Belisarius promised that he would do all the things Emperor Justinian had written when he was at Ravenna before Witigis and the other Gothic nobles, although he was turning over things far different in his mind.

When matters had thus been conducted, Belisarius was invited into the city of Ravenna by the willing Goths. He, after equipping the army and preparing a fleet that carried supplies of every kind in abundance, entered Ravenna amid the great rejoicing of the Goths and of the army.

Since the forces of the Goths were immense, Belisarius, wishing to diminish them, a few days after his entrance gave leave to all who dwelt on this side of the Po to return home. Wearied by long military service, they returned most willingly to their people. Thus, after the multitude of Goths at Ravenna had been diminished, the army of Belisarius remained within the walls of Ravenna far more powerful and plainly dominant.

After these things had been accomplished, the Gothic nobles who were anywhere throughout Italy either came themselves to Belisarius at Ravenna or sent their ambassadors. But because the acceptance of the kingdom by Belisarius was delayed, and this affair produced first wonder and afterward suspicion, the recall of Belisarius made by Emperor Justinian increased the suspicion.

For a report had become frequent, and certain persons had reported, that Belisarius was aspiring to the kingdom of Italy and had already fully accepted it. Moved by this, Justinian immediately recalled him from Italy to himself. When the Goths perceived this, at first they could by no means persuade themselves that he was going to return to Emperor Justinian. But after they saw preparations being made and all the things being arranged that it was proper to make for his departure, they recognized that they had been deceived and plainly circumvented by Belisarius.

But they did not know what they should do. For he held Ravenna and the Gothic nobles in his power, so that not even their complaints could be free.

The Goths who were beyond the Po, however, when they perceived this, assembled at Pavia and, after complaining much among themselves concerning the common calamity of the nation and the fraud of Belisarius, at last wished to establish Uraias as their king. He did not permit this, excusing himself especially by this argument: that, since he was the brother's son of Witigis, he would appear to act neither piously nor honorably if he seemed to assume the kingdom while Witigis was alive.

Excusing himself by this plausible argument, he was the author of the proposal that Ildovadus should be established as king, a man of great authority and great power among the Goths who had long ruled at Verona. Therefore, having been summoned from the city of Verona to Pavia and clothed in purple, Ildovadus was called king of the Goths and was commanded to consider the salvation of his nation.

Ildovadus, therefore, having been made king of the Goths, immediately sent ambassadors to Belisarius at Ravenna. Recalling the promise he had formerly made concerning accepting the kingdom of Italy and the Goths, they openly accused him of a failure of faith and complained that the Goths had been deceived by him through that fraud.

Accordingly, if he were still willing to fulfill his promises and become king, he should show it in deed: Ildovadus offered that he would come to Ravenna and place the purple at his feet. But if he wished rather to be the servant of Emperor Justinian than himself to rule, he should not bear it heavily if Ildovadus and the Goths who remained strove to provide for the common safety of their nation. This was the substance of the speech.

Belisarius answered this openly: that while Emperor Justinian lived, he would never accept a kingdom. With this answer the ambassadors returned to Ildovadus at Pavia.

Belisarius then, after preparing the fleet, sailed with Witigis, the other Gothic nobles, and the king's treasures to Byzantium—that is, Naples [read: Byzantium—that is, Constantinople]—in the fifth year after he had begun to wage war in Italy.

VII. Belisarius

This Belisarius, to omit his knowledge of military affairs, in which he surpassed all the men of his age, was a man of the highest humanity, through which he made himself accessible to poor and wealthy alike. Access to him was easy and free for every kind of person.

Moreover, his liberality was marvelous. To soldiers who had lost horses, bows, or arms without cowardice he immediately gave others. He had so great a care for country people that, when leading the army, he permitted none of them to be violated and no losses to be inflicted upon anyone. His soldiers did not dare to touch even the apples hanging upon the trees.

By that severity of discipline he brought it about that his camp was more abundant than any market in a city. So free and secure was the importation of things for sale. No one can relate worthily enough his restraint toward allied and friendly cities and his very great benefits to cities. No acts of oppression were ever heard of.

When Belisarius came to Byzantium, he was held in great honor and received with great rejoicing by Emperor Justinian, and he removed every suspicion that had previously been held concerning him. The Goths whom he had brought with him were also received kindly and humanely and were looked upon with a certain admiration. Nor was this without merit. For there was Witigis, king of the Goths, and his wife, the granddaughter of the late King Theodoric, who had possessed Italy. There were besides the two sons of Ildovadus, whom Belisarius had found at Ravenna in the keeping of Witigis and had not released, but had brought with him into Greece. There were also other Gothic nobles.

They marveled at the valor of Belisarius, who had accomplished such great things, raising him to heaven with praises because he had recently brought Africa and now Italy under the empire of Justinian.

Title XII, Chapter V

After the departure of Belisarius, by Justinian's command the government in Italy remained with John, Bessas, and Vitalis. Constantianus also came from Dalmatia and was himself added to the number of governors.

It immediately became apparent how greatly the government of these men differed from that of Belisarius. For when they succeeded to the government, they were his equals neither in humanity, nor in valor, nor in abstention from plunder. They themselves pursued plunder and booty and permitted the soldiers to rush into every license. They were proud indeed toward the allies, but excessively fierce against the enemies. Thus in a short time affairs began to turn backward and tend toward ruin.

Ildovadus, however, newly established as king of the Goths after the departure of Belisarius, prosecuted affairs with the greatest diligence. He commanded all the Goths and the Italians who agreed with them to take up arms and assemble at Pavia on the prescribed day. At the beginning the army with him was indeed small, but, continually increasing and daily assuming a better hope, it was filled by a multitude of Italians and Goths.

The avarice and injustice of Justinian's soldiers assisted the Gothic side to no small degree. For collectors of monies, sent into Italy by Justinian in the name of the treasury, began to vex the peoples with marvelous harshness and to compel them to payment of monies not owed. By this affair they brought so great a despair publicly upon the cities that they desired even the Goths to become their lords. Many voluntarily proceeded to Ildovadus and increased his army, so that he received into his power all the cities of the Venetians beyond the Po.

For this reason, not long afterward he did not hesitate to lead his men into battle and try the fortune of combat. This battle was fought not far from Tarvisium against Vitalis, who was one of Justinian's commanders. Victorious, Ildovadus cut down the army of Vitalis with so great a slaughter that, while Vitalis himself escaped with a few, all the others were either killed by the Goths or led away captive.

Through this great and illustrious victory the spirits of the Goths increased to an incredible degree. So great did the forces of the adversaries become that the Gothic cause was strengthened not only beyond the Po throughout Gaul and the Venetian territories, but also on this side of the Po. The name of Ildovadus became celebrated before Emperor Justinian and the other nations.

Not long afterward Ildovadus persecuted Uraias, the greatest man among the Goths, after suspicion had been raised that he agreed with the enemies. This was put forward as the cause, but the truer cause was that the power of Uraias was suspect to King Ildovadus; and therefore he commanded him to be killed.

Very many of the Goths disapproved of his death and openly detested it as a criminal and impious affair. Accordingly Ildovadus himself was killed at the villa by one of his bodyguards while he was dining at a banquet. Atharicus was created king in his place [i.e., Eraric was created king in his place]. He himself did not reign long, but because of his evil and inept government he was killed by the Goths in the fifth month after his election. Thus two kings were killed within two years.

Totilas, therefore, after Atharicus, was made king of the Goths by their great consent. Before he was made king he had ruled Tarvisium, which is a city of the Venetians. His father had been the full brother of King Ildovadus.

Therefore, when Ildovadus had been killed, Totilas himself, fearing on account of his kinship with him, secretly sent to Ravenna and entered into an agreement with Justinian's commanders that he would cross over to the enemies with all who were with him. When a day had been set at Tarvisium for carrying out the affair, and it had not yet come, the Goths, led by repentance because they had rejoiced in the death of Ildovadus and had created Atharicus king—a man by no means of such worth that he could defend the Gothic nation against so great a force of enemies—began to look to Totilas, the kinsman of Ildovadus, and desire him as king.

This was the Totilas whom some, on account of the savagery of the slaughters inflicted, as will be said, called a certain scourge of God, as they also called another man, Attila, who was king of the Huns and lived one hundred years earlier. This Totilas, king of the Goths, was indeed a Goth by race, but was born and raised in Italy.

Emperor Justinian, when he learned the things that had happened in Italy, reproached the inexperience and sloth of his commanders because, amid so great dissensions among the enemies and so great revolutions, although they had obtained an opportunity for conducting affairs, they had accomplished nothing advantageous.

Moved by these reproaches, all the commanders assembled together at Ravenna. While they deliberated there about making war, it pleased them before all things to lead the army to the city of Verona, for a certain hope of taking that city was secretly being offered to them. These commanders were eleven. The principal among them were regarded as Constantianus and Alexander, who had recently been sent into Italy by Justinian to collect monies.

Having set out with immense forces, when they approached Verona they determined to test the hope previously given to them. There was a certain Marcianus, a man noble at home, who possessed a fortress not far from Verona. He favored the emperor's side in spirit and had induced the guardian of one of the gates to introduce the emperor's army.

The secret affair having thus been arranged, when the army arrived there, Artabazes the Armenian was sent ahead with a band of chosen soldiers, so that he might first take the gate and await the remaining forces. Nothing of the things promised failed in that place. For when the soldiers came to the gate in the dead of night, the traitor opened it and received them within the city. Having entered the gate and taken the walls over it, they gave a signal to the army.

The Goths, perceiving that enemies were in the city, fled through a different gate. The commanders, hearing that the gate had been taken by their men, indeed entered immediately [read: set out immediately]; but before they came into the city they halted five miles from it, disputing among themselves concerning the booty.

Meanwhile day shone forth. A citadel overhangs the city of Verona, from which there is a view for a long distance within and outside the city. The Goths who had fled into the citadel, seeing that there were few enemies within the city and that the army was outside the city and did not approach the walls, suddenly made an attack from the citadel, overran the city, recovered the gate that was being held by the enemies, and closed it.

The soldiers who had entered by night, partly taking refuge upon the walls, fought back from above. When the commanders arrived a little afterward and found the gate closed, although the soldiers who were within called them and begged them not to abandon them, they nevertheless immediately departed. Part of the soldiers escaped by lowering themselves from the wall; among their number was Artabazes the Armenian, their commander. The others were killed. In this manner the affair at the city of Verona perished through the wickedness and avarice of the commanders.

After this, because the undertaking at Verona had escaped shamefully and disgracefully from them, Emperor Justinian's commanders departed from those places. Crossing the River Po, they proceeded to Placentia.

Totilas was staying at Pavia during this time. When he learned of the arrival of the enemies, he rapidly gathered whatever forces he could. Meanwhile Justinian's commanders advanced beyond Placentia and made camp beside the bank of the Po. Although Totilas was very unequal to them, he nevertheless resolved to go out against them with the forces he possessed and to make trial of the fortune of battle.

When the camps were near one another and it had pleased both sides to decide the battle, during the night Totilas sent ahead part of the horsemen. He commanded them to cross the river about twenty stadia beyond the enemy camp and, when battle had begun, to attack the rear of the enemies with as great a tumult as they could.

When the time came, he himself led the army against the enemies. Justinian's commanders did the same. The battle lines therefore met together and entered upon a most bitter battle, and every experience of the sword was exercised in that contest. When the battle burned most fiercely and the fighting was most ardent on both sides, with victory not yet inclining to either side, the horsemen of Totilas, having crossed the river, attacked the rear of Justinian's commanders.

The greater tumult that arose from this, since they were believed to be a mighty multitude, first disturbed Justinian's army and soon turned it to flight. For, their ranks having been dissolved, when they saw enemies standing before and behind them, they were quickly scattered. Many were killed by the pursuing Goths, and many also escaped by casting themselves through every pathless place. There was an immense multitude of captives; and, what had never happened before, all the military standards of the emperor's army were captured in battle by the enemies and carried back to Totilas.

This was an outstanding victory for Totilas, who had entered battle with a smaller force against a greater. Nevertheless, he used this victory most humanely, inflicting trouble upon none of the captives and even releasing many freely. This humanity greatly increased his fame.

Not long after obtaining the victory, Totilas, now conceiving greater things in spirit, sent an army into Etruria. He placed over this army three of the most distinguished Goths: Beldas, Rodericus, and Uliaris.

There was in Etruria one of the commanders who had been present in the recent battle and who afterward had never ceased to restore his forces and fortify towns. When the army of Totilas came upon him, he was surrounded by the enemies and besieged within the walls of Florence. A failure of the grain supply terrified Justinus. For nothing could be brought in to the besieged, and it appeared that what grain was within would shortly fail.

Sending to the other commanders at Ravenna, Justinus showed the danger in which the affair stood and asked them to bring him aid. Warned by this messenger, Bessas, Cyprianus, and John came into Etruria with their forces. When the Goths learned that they were approaching, they immediately dissolved the siege, moved their camp backward, and, having traveled the journey of one day, halted in a place called Mucellium.

After Justinian's army came to Florence, it pleased the commanders that, leaving a few as a garrison of Florence, they should contend against the enemy. When John first reached them and directed the battle line of his men toward the mountains, while the enemies fought back most strongly from the higher places, it happened that a certain soldier beside him was pierced through by a javelin and died. There was a false belief that John had been killed.

Flight began from this, and there was no measure in the flight. Scattered and dispersed, they went away in different directions. Thus the commanders themselves, driven by no enemies, were compelled to take flight. Nor after this did they assemble as one; rather, each held towns in different places according as he recovered himself from the flight.

The Goths nevertheless did not return to the siege of Florence, being frightened by the greatness of the forces that remained dispersed throughout the towns of Etruria; and winter came upon them.

Some say that Totilas entered Florence and, after a great slaughter of human beings, plunder, and fire had been committed there, left it virtually desolate; hence for some time it remained as though abandoned and uninhabited. At that time, however, it had a small circuit and a limited territory. Nevertheless, the assertion that Totilas thus devastated it, as Leonardus of Arezzo says, is not very authoritative.

I. Totilas's Campaigns and the Siege of Naples

Totilas, however, as soon as it was time to lead out the forces, gathered the army and came into the Gallic territory. There he besieged Caesena and the town of Petra, which by a corruption is commonly called Bertinorum, and took many other towns of that region either by force or by agreement.

When these things had been accomplished throughout those places and he found all things more prosperous, he resolved by no means to waste time there. Thus, crossing the River Tiber, by which Etruria is bounded, he proceeded through the Umbrians, Sabines, and Marsians into Campania. In these places, after Beneventum had been captured, he stripped it of its walls. He did not wish the enemies to have a seat of war in so strongly fortified a city if it should ever happen.

He then besieged Naples and strove greatly that the Neapolitans should prefer his friendship to his enmity. But Conon, Justinian's commander, was in the garrison of that city and possessed no fewer than one thousand soldiers. Accordingly, nothing could be decided freely in an assembly. When Totilas understood this, he placed his camp not far away and besieged the city. He did not, however, storm it, but remained quietly intent upon it.

Meanwhile, after sending part of the army, he took Cumae and certain other cities throughout those places, from which he obtained a great quantity of money. It also happened that certain women of the Roman nobility were captured in these places. Totilas commanded that all of them, preserved with the greatest benevolence, should be free, and sent them back to their parents and husbands with an honorable escort.

Since throughout these regions there was neither a commander nor an army to resist the attempts of Totilas, by continually sending part of his forces he brought Apulia, Lucania, and Calabria, together with all their towns, into his power. From this it came about that no further monies were paid to Justinian's commanders, and this affair caused great difficulty for the enemies.

For when money was lacking for Justinian's soldiers and their stipends were not paid, they wished neither to obey the commanders nor to go upon expeditions, but, shut within the towns, they plundered the possessions of their friends. They defiled everything with plunder and evil deeds. The commanders also, remaining within the walls because of these difficulties, defended only the towns from the enemies.

Dividing the cities among themselves, John governed Rome; Bessas, Spoletum; Cyprianus, Perusia; Justinus, Florence; and Constantianus, Ravenna.

Meanwhile Totilas besieged Naples more harshly and, after preparing a fleet, permitted nothing to be brought in either by sea or by land. From this it was evident that, unless someone brought aid, the city would at last come into the hands of the enemies.

Emperor Justinian, hearing the aforesaid things and grieving over so great disasters of Italy and over the disgrace of the empire, sent Maximus, the praetorian prefect, to correct and restore affairs in Italy. He gave him a fleet and an army from the Thracians and Armenians.

Maximus therefore set out from Byzantium and came into Epirus. There, when he considered the affairs of Italy from close by, being doubtful between hope and fear, he lost time through delay and idleness. For Maximus was a good man and not suited to the business of peace, but he was entirely inexperienced in war and, on this account, timid, delaying in all things, and exceedingly doubtful.

Since Maximus brought very little hope concerning himself, Justinian sent a certain Demetrius, who had formerly served in Italy under Belisarius, with another fleet into Sicily. When he had sailed into Sicily and heard of the siege of Naples, he resolved to bring aid immediately.

But since he despaired of accomplishing this by a direct route, because neither his fleet nor his army was sufficient to resist the besiegers, he sought Rome so that, after taking soldiers from there, he might fill the ships. But the soldiers who were at Rome were unwilling to board the fleet. For, having been defeated by the Goths in two battles, they greatly feared to proceed against the enemies.

Thus, with hope failing, Demetrius was compelled to proceed to extreme measures against the enemies. When he began to approach Naples, a commander of Totilas suddenly came upon him with swift ships and unexpectedly turned the fleet of Demetrius to flight. The Goths pursued them with their ships and, after a great slaughter, captured the armed vessel of Demetrius. Demetrius, commander of the fleet, and a few men escaped by leaping into skiffs.

After this Maximus sailed into Sicily with a larger fleet. When he arrived at Syracuse, through the same cowardice as before he lost time by delaying. When commands and threats from Justinian came upon him, not even because of these did he sustain the voyage against the enemies; rather, he entrusted the fleet to Demetrius, Herodianus, and Phases to be led, while he himself remained in Sicily.

It was already plainly winter when they began to sail. When they came to Naples, a storm suddenly arose and seized the fleet. It could be resisted neither with oars nor by any art, but drove them to the very shore where the camps of the enemies stood. Thus the Goths captured the ships, killed any who resisted, and led the others away captive. Demetrius himself was among their number. Herodianus and Phases, although they too had been captured, were preserved by a certain chance.

Totilas commanded Demetrius in chains to be brought to the walls of the city of Naples. There, after Conon the commander, the soldiers, and the Neapolitan citizens had been summoned, Demetrius spoke words of this kind and persuaded them to expect no further aid, since two fleets together with their fighters had been lost.

The besieged, already long wasted by hunger, when they saw Demetrius captured and every hope removed, turned to weeping and lamentation and did not know what they should do.

Totilas then addressed words of the following kind to the Neapolitan people and Justinian's soldiers: “Although, alone among all the Italians, being unwilling and fighting, you ought to be punished together with our enemies, nevertheless we desire to render benefits to you rather than vengeance, and we shall not be harsh even toward our enemies who are with you in the city. For we shall give them the opportunity either to serve as soldiers with us upon equal right with the other soldiers or to depart with all their possessions, whichever they wish. We are prepared also to confirm these things by oath.”

The Neapolitans and soldiers praised the speech of Totilas. Nevertheless, so that the surrender might be more honorable, they sought a truce of thirty days, in which it might be seen whether any aid would arrive. To this Totilas answered that he would grant them a space not only of thirty days but of three times thirty days.

The besieged, marveling at this liberality and clearly perceiving that there was no hope of aid, opened the gates within a few days and received Totilas and his army within the walls.

After entering Naples, he did evil to no one and was troublesome to none. Indeed, he used so great humanity that it seemed scarcely possible. For because many, their strength failing on account of lack of food, were sick, lest a sudden abundance of food taken immoderately bring danger upon them, he provided with the greatest care and diligence that food should be given at a fixed weight twice a day not only to the Neapolitan citizens but also to the soldiers. It was most diligently observed that they should take no more from it, and that on each day a little more should be added.

He furnished ships to Conon and his soldiers when they wished to depart. Totilas therefore used this humanity toward strangers. Toward his own men, however, he preserved so great a severity of discipline that he permitted no deed to go unpunished. For a robber and a violator the penalty was death and confiscation of goods; and those goods were handed over to the person who had suffered the violence. Thus the camps of the Goths and their entrances through friendly cities and nations were free from every crime.

II

During this same time the condition of the commanders of Emperor Justinian was entirely different. For the commanders themselves were neither abstinent, and the soldiers, having been drawn into every license, restrained themselves from no evil deed. Nor was anything more miserable in those times than the peoples of Italy who obeyed the emperor, since outside the walls they were plundered by the enemies, but within the walls by the soldiers. For the commanders, holding fortified citadels, cared nothing about the wrongs of their subjects.

Justinian therefore, compelled by these crimes, since despair followed more and more each day, turned his mind and spirit once again to Belisarius. For the other commanders seemed not merely unable to recover the things lost, but unable even to defend any longer the very things they held. For these reasons, therefore, Belisarius was again chosen for the charge of the Italian war, although during the intervening time he had waged war against the Medes and that war had not yet been fully ended.

Since it was necessary to enlist new soldiers, for he had left his old army near the Euphrates, Belisarius traveled throughout all Thrace and, lavishly distributing money, gathered nearly four thousand volunteer soldiers. Having placed them upon a fleet, together with Vitalis, prefect of Illyricum, who had lately come from Italy, he sailed. At length, after crossing the Ionian Sea, he landed at Salonae. On this very voyage he freed Hydruntum, a town of Calabria, from the siege of the Goths. He then sailed to Pola and at last arrived at Ravenna with the whole fleet.

At his arrival he found everything throughout Italy worse than his expectation. For the enemies everywhere seemed to prevail and to be in the best hope, while the allies everywhere throughout Italy were broken and brought to despair: the cities and peoples because of the wrongs of the soldiers; and the soldiers themselves, because much was owed to them by the emperor and no stipends were paid, were rebellious and hostile, and wished neither to obey the commanders nor to go out upon an expedition. They had also been reduced to a very small number.

The arrival of Belisarius likewise increased their despair. For although he was held to be an excellent commander and without dispute the foremost one, he nevertheless had brought forces greatly to be despised: four thousand recruits, but no money that might be given to the soldiers. Therefore, when at last he addressed them at Ravenna concerning undertaking the war, neither did the townsmen hear him with a joyful spirit nor did they give any signs of joy or good hope.

Finally Belisarius himself began to repent that he had come into Italy, especially since Totilas had greater forces obedient to him and had received Tibur into his power. Tibur, moreover, overhangs Rome and is distant from it no more than sixteen miles.

At last, after sending John, the son of Vitalianus, to Justinian, through him he showed the condition of Italy and at the same time wrote a letter containing this substance:

“You have sent me into Italy, most excellent emperor, destitute of men, horses, and money, which I both showed and declared repeatedly even before I departed from you. But it was an impiety not to obey your command. For we have been compelled to lead with us very few Thracian and Illyrian soldiers, and those recruits inexperienced in wars and not even knowing how to hold arms.

“The veterans whom we have found throughout Italy, having already been defeated in certain battles, so fear the victorious Goths that they can scarcely endure even the sight of them. Having long been defrauded of their stipends, they have been able to replace neither the horses nor the arms lately lost. They do not consent to go upon an expedition without these, nor anywhere are the forces so great that they can encounter the forces of the enemies without manifest destruction. For the greatest part of those who fought in Italy under your name have of their own accord crossed over to the enemies because of the disadvantages that we have recalled.

“We have no hope, moreover, that any revenues of money will come to us from Italy, since it is occupied in great part by the enemies, and the part that remains is so exhausted and afflicted by war that it can pay tribute in no manner. If, therefore, it was sufficient that Belisarius be sent into Italy, it has been most excellently provided for by you, for I am in Italy. But if you wish to overcome the enemies, other things must be provided by you. For a commander of war without those things that are suitable can accomplish nothing.

“Therefore it is necessary that you send here, above all, forces of my own soldiers; then an immense multitude of Huns and other barbarians. Besides this, it is necessary that this be provided by you: that monies be present. For without them nothing can suitably be done in war.”

These things were then written by Belisarius.

John therefore set out for Justinian with these instructions and, having remained for a certain time, made progress only slowly and anxiously.

Meanwhile Totilas, when no one brought aid to the besieged, received Firmum and Asculum by agreement. Then, proceeding from the Picene territory into Umbria, he besieged Assisi and Spoletum and received them within a few days. Totilas then led his army to Perusia. Cyprianus, Justinian's commander, was over Perusia. After Totilas had caused him to be killed through Ulianus, his armor-bearer, corrupted with money, the soldiers nevertheless pursued Ulianus after the death of Cyprianus and defended the city excellently. Therefore Totilas, unwilling to remain there for long, dissolved the siege of Perusia and hastened to seek Rome.

III

Meanwhile, when King Totilas had heard that Saint Benedict, a man of God, possessed the spirit of prophecy, as he proceeded toward his monastery he halted a little farther away and announced to him that he would come. When a message had immediately been sent from the monastery that he should come, Totilas, according to the perfidy of his mind, attempted to examine whether the man of God possessed the spirit of prophecy.

One of his sword-bearers was called Rigo. Totilas gave him his shoes, caused him to be clothed in royal garments, and commanded him to go to the monastery in his person. In attendance upon him he sent three counts who were accustomed to adhere to Totilas before the others, so that, walking beside him before the eyes of the servant of God, they might pretend that he was King Totilas.

Thus Rigo, adorned as a king by garments and attendants, approached. When the man of God perceived him coming from afar, he cried out, saying, “Son, put down what you are carrying, for it is not yours.” Rigo immediately fell to the ground in terror. Then those who had come with him were cast down upon the ground. Rising, they did not presume to approach the man of God, but returned to their king and reported with what speed they had been detected.

Then Totilas himself approached him, as Gregory writes in the second book of the *Dialogues*, relating these things. When he saw him sitting from afar, he did not dare to approach but cast himself upon the ground. Although the man of God twice and three times said to him, “Rise,” and he did not dare to raise himself before him, Benedict, the servant of Jesus Christ, deigned himself to raise the prostrate king from the ground.

He both reproved him concerning his deeds and in a few words foretold all the things that would happen to him, saying: “You do many evil things; you have done many. Now at last restrain yourself from iniquity. Indeed, you are going to enter Rome; you are going to cross the sea; you will reign nine years; in the tenth you will die.” Terrified by these things that he had heard, the king sought prayer and departed; and from that time onward he was less cruel.

After Totilas departed from the holy man, when he had come to Rome he surrounded it at suitable places. Nevertheless, he was not troublesome to the country people. For throughout this whole war Totilas did not permit farmers and cultivators to be harmed by his soldiers.

Belisarius had stationed Bessas, Conon, Artasiras, a Persian by race, and Barbation, a Thracian, as a garrison for Rome. When they went out from Rome against the Goths and first turned them to flight, at last, surrounded by the multitude of the Goths and having lost the greater part of their soldiers, they scarcely took refuge in the city.

From that time famine also followed; and nothing could be brought in either by sea or by land, since a fleet had long since been prepared for the siege. Totilas also made a bridge over the Tiber with a wooden tower from each bank of the river, and thus the passage was guarded.

Meanwhile Vigilius, the Roman pontiff, then dwelling in Sicily, when he learned that the Roman people were oppressed by famine, sent to Rome a great quantity of grain placed upon ships. The Goths, however, knowing this, came beforehand into the harbor when the ships were already approaching and, hiding behind towers and buildings, set ambushes. At last all the ships were captured by the Goths lying in ambush, to the utmost despair of the Roman people, who depended so greatly upon the expectation of this grain.

A certain deacon Pelagius was in Rome during the same time. In this difficulty of famine he had bestowed many and very great works of piety upon the Roman people, distributing money and relieving the need of individuals. On account of this liberality his name, already illustrious, became great. The Romans therefore came to him and humbly requested that for the safety of the Roman people he should set out as an ambassador to Totilas, to seek a truce of a few days and promise the surrender of the city if aid did not arrive within those days.

Pelagius, because it was necessary, obeyed the people. He came with these instructions into the camp to Totilas. Totilas had suspected by conjecture that this very thing would occur, for he had learned from deserters the extreme difficulty of the besieged. He received Pelagius when he came to him with honor.

But before Pelagius explained his instructions, Totilas himself forestalled him and inveighed against the Romans in a long and bitter speech, reproaching them in turn with the benefits of Theodoric toward the Romans and censuring the perfidy of the Romans toward the Goths. At the end he concluded that there was no way of conference or agreement unless, after the walls had been destroyed, they committed themselves and their possessions to the judgment and power of the Goths, to suffer those laws that the victor should deliver.

Hearing this bitterness and insult of speech, Pelagius judged that he ought not to persist further with him. He said: “Since you, Totilas, have not endured to hear the voice of an ambassador, but by anticipating it have cut off every way of conference, we flee

to God, who is accustomed by his judgment to cast down the proud and excessively exalted minds of men." Having spoken these things, he returned immediately to the city.

When the Romans saw that Pelagius had returned with the matter unaccomplished, they knew neither what they should do nor where they should turn. On one side an intolerable famine pressed them; on the other the cruelty of Totilas and the Goths was before their eyes. They resolved rather to die through lack of food than to fall into the most savage hands of the Goths.

While Totilas thus besieged Rome, he sent another army to take Placentia. That alone of the cities of that region remained on Justinian's side.

Belisarius, exceedingly anxious concerning the danger of the city of Rome and unable to bring aid from Ravenna, determined to bring aid by another route. Therefore, leaving Justinus at Ravenna with a band of soldiers, he himself set out through Dalmatia to Dyrrachium. There he awaited the forces that were to come from the emperor.

Meanwhile Emperor Justinian sent John with an army to Belisarius, although not with great forces; but he was preparing to send greater ones in the following spring. For this purpose he had sent Narses the chamberlain to the Heruli and to certain barbarian nations dwelling around the Ister.

When the forces had therefore arrived at Dyrrachium, Belisarius and John, deliberating concerning the conduct of the war, came to this decision: that they should relieve the necessities of the Roman people. Belisarius accordingly set out from Dyrrachium with the fleet and reached Hydruntum. The Goths besieging Hydruntum dissolved the siege, fleeing before Belisarius and protecting themselves at Brundisium.

When Totilas heard of the arrival of Belisarius, he prepared to set out against him. But Belisarius, undertaking the journey by sea, reached the Roman harbor. When the Romans heard of his arrival, they endured all difficulties with better hope.

IV

John, however, after the departure of Belisarius from Dyrrachium, crossed the strait and attacked the Goths, who suspected no such thing. Turning them to flight and pursuing them with great slaughter, he took Brundisium. Having won the peoples of Calabria over to himself and brought them to goodwill toward Justinian, he came from Brundisium to the city of Cammisium and brought that town into his power. Not far from Cammisium is the village Cannae, in which that memorable battle between Hannibal and the Romans is related to have occurred.

Then, abandoning the journey to Belisarius, John turned his march with the army into the territories of the Bruttians and Lucanians. At the first attack he routed Ricomundus, the commander of the Goths; and, after a great part of the forces had been slain, he received the rest together with their commander in surrender. From this time all the Lucanians and Bruttians, defecting from the Goths, followed the imperial side.

Meanwhile Belisarius, waiting continually, was consumed by incredible grief. He condemned the inactivity of John, and had cast away his plan of seeking Rome. Therefore Belisarius, fearing that the besieged Romans might think themselves abandoned and devise something adverse out of despair, resolved to bring aid by the Tiber. For he did not have forces so great that he could encounter the enemies by land. The river and his ingenuity offered him hope of reaching the city by water.

Rising to this plan, therefore, he prepared two hundred ships that they call *cursariae*. These are ships having wooden bulwarks on every side, pierced at suitable places for shooting arrows and other missiles against the enemies. When the fleet had therefore been constructed and prepared with soldiers, Belisarius himself entered one of those *cursariae* and led at the front; the others followed. A land army also went at the same time beside that bank on which the harbor stood.

Belisarius had also sent to Bessas at Rome that, after making a sortie at that time, he should terrify the enemies as greatly as possible. But Bessas performed neither this nor anything else useful during that siege.

When the fleet had come near the bridge that Totilas had made over the Tiber, although it was still far from the city, as was said above, a most severe battle arose there with Belisarius, the Goths attempting to defend the bridge and the soldiers of Belisarius to force it.

After Belisarius had caused the rafts upon which a tower stood to approach the tower of the bridge in which the Goths were fighting, from the higher position he caused burning pitch and sulfur to be cast upon the tower of the bridge. From this it was burned together with two hundred Goths who were in it. Thus, when the Goths turned their backs, they took the bridge and immediately cut it apart; and they were about to proceed to Rome with the whole fleet, with grain and other necessities.

But, by the hidden judgment of God disposing it so because of their demerits, an impediment arising by a marvelous accident not from the enemies but from their own men overturned everything. For the Goths held the city of Ostia, which is on the left bank of the Tiber beside the sea, while Portus was on the right.

When Belisarius therefore set out with the fleet, he left his wife and possessions in the city of Portus and placed Isaac, a brave and faithful man, over the town with a sufficiently large garrison of soldiers, commanding and adjuring him not to depart from the town in any event whatsoever, but to remain there and defend the town.

When Belisarius had burned the towers of the enemies, as was said, messengers immediately flew to the city of Portus and, reporting a great victory, extolled it even more greatly. Exulting with joy at this report and raising himself up in spirit as if mad, Isaac, forgetful of the commands of Belisarius, commanded the soldiers to take up arms. Carried away by ardor and impulse, he ran to attack the station of the enemies that was on the other bank not far from Ostia. He suddenly attacked the Goths and drove them off at the first assault.

But the enemies, gathering themselves a little afterward and encouraging one another, returned against Isaac; and, after a great part of the soldiers who were with him had been slain and his madness had been shaken off, they captured Isaac himself.

After these things had thus been done, certain men swiftly reported to Belisarius that Isaac had been captured. Struck by this report, Belisarius asked nothing further—neither where nor when—but received it as if the enemies had taken Portus and held his wife and all his possessions in their hands.

Accordingly he was immediately affected by so great a grief that he could not speak. Turning backward, he recalled the fleet and soldiers on their course, with the most fixed purpose either of recovering the town while matters were still recent and not yet made secure by the enemies, or of dying in battle. In this manner a victory already prepared for Belisarius was abandoned by him.

When he arrived at Portus, he learned that the town was safe and that he had been deceived by an error. He took from this so great a grief that, seized by sickness, he lay ill. A fever following immediately detained him in a long and dangerous illness.

Isaac, however, the cause of such great evils, was killed in chains by the command of Totilas, in vengeance for Rodericus, commander of the garrison, who had died from a wound received in battle. Totilas altogether changed that humanity which he had shown at the beginning of his reign into pride and cruelty, whether by the success of prosperity or because virtue, assumed at the beginning, could not be feigned for long.

He spoke so bitterly concerning the Roman people that perhaps this terror was the cause of their enduring famine more stubbornly. The famine was so great that the flesh of horses, asses, and mules was regarded as delicacies during that time at Rome. They also ate dogs, mice, and certain things of that kind. They fed upon herbs of every kind, even those that livestock do not touch, upon the roots of herbs, and upon the bark of trees.

But when the Romans heard the things that had happened to Belisarius, they despaired of aid and turned to tears. Some of their own accord ended their lives; others, hiding, strove during the night to deceive the stations of the enemies; want of food killed many within their own walls.

V. Concerning the Capture of the City by Totilas

While Rome was therefore in these calamities, four Isaurians entered into a plan to betray the city. These kept watch at the Caelimontane Gate, which is commonly called the Asinarian. After a rope had been lowered from the walls during the night, they descended by it; and, going to Totilas, promised to betray the city to him. He encouraged them to this, promising them many things.

Therefore soldiers sent by Totilas were received upon the walls by the Isaurians. Soon, descending from there to the gate and relying upon their axes, they opened the gates. Totilas, having entered the city in this manner, held the army at the gate while awaiting daylight.

A shout suddenly arising from that quarter signified that enemies were within the walls. Columns of those fleeing went out through other gates opposite their entrance. Many also of the nobility and common people fled to the churches.

When day had therefore come, the Goths ran throughout the whole city and killed whomever they found among the citizens without any selection. Totilas himself, moving from the Lateran toward the church of Saint Peter as if to discharge a vow, made his way through the city. Bands of the fiercest men crowded around him with drawn swords full of blood, killing whomever they met without any distinction.

When he came to the threshold of Saint Peter, the deacon Pelagius, fearing his presence, clothed in the solemn habit of religion and holding the Gospels of Christ in his hands, bent his knees and said, “Spare, O king, your suppliants.”

But Totilas, with an exceedingly proud expression and as though disdaining him, said, “Do you now come to supplicate me, Pelagius?” To this Pelagius said, “Now, when God has willed you to be my lord. Therefore have mercy, lord, upon your servants.”

From this Totilas, his anger now as if soothed, commanded that no one should be struck after this and that there should be an end to the license of swords and to slaughters. He also commanded that no freeborn woman—whether virgin, married woman, or widow—should be violated, and he strictly guarded this. He freely conceded only the goods of the Roman citizens as booty; he willed their persons to be free.

Wishing, moreover, to cast down the spirits of the Goths, which had been raised by victory, Totilas summoned them to an assembly on the following day and addressed them in this manner:

“Is there anyone among you, fellow soldiers, who, seeing the changes—so great as have happened during these years—does not fear the frailty of human affairs and does not find it difficult to perceive whence these changes come? I omit that Rome, once mistress of the lands of the world, has now come into your hands. For these are not older matters [read: For these are older matters], and the ruin of this city did not now begin for the first time. I prefer to recall your own affairs. What was more powerful at the beginning of this war than the nation of the Goths throughout Italy? It placed two hundred thousand fighting men in the field, furnished with arms, horses, resources, gold, and silver; it possessed all Italy together with Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Dalmatia.

“Who would ever have thought that this very great power would have been overthrown by seven thousand Greeks—for no more than these entered Italy at the beginning? Yet, when the Greeks held everything and plainly ruled, who would have thought that you, very few and poor, would recover Italy against twenty thousand Greeks? At the beginning you scarcely mustered four thousand horsemen and held nothing throughout Italy except Pavia, Verona, and Tarvisium; now at last you have taken Rome, the head of affairs, which Witigis could not subdue with an army of two hundred thousand and a year-long siege.

“This is a very great thing, fellow soldiers, and worthy of no small admiration. But if I should wish to attend to the causes of these changes, they are most manifest. For as long as the Goths wished to cultivate justice and equity among themselves, their affairs and power flourished. But when the desire of possessing more drove them astray, then domestic seditions, internal slaughters, and clandestine betrayals produced ruin among them.

“Considering these things, therefore, you ought by no means to be proud in this victory of the city, but to fear God and dread the mutability of fortune. You should understand this also: all empires and powers are lost very easily unless they are preserved through justice, prudence, and industry. Know, therefore, fellow soldiers, that the greatest part of the labor remains for you in this matter. For it is more difficult to defend things acquired than to acquire them.”

In these words the Goths praised the wisdom of their king.

After this Totilas summoned the Romans to himself and censured their ingratitude and errors: that, although they had formerly been in the hands of Odoacer and the work of Theodoric and the Goths had freed them from his tyranny, they had received so many benefits that they had scarcely known how to desire so many, on account of which they had lived rich and blessed for many years. Yet at last, although they had received no wrong and no insult, they had acted against their pledged faith and oath and had turned to receiving the Greeks—most frivolous men and without any virtue—who, immediately besieged by Witigis, had never dared to advance into battle, but, shut within the walls and wasted by famine, had endured every disgrace.

Afterward, having been made masters of the cities not by arms but by treasons and deceits, they had filled everything with publicans, collectors, and informers. These had compelled the cities and peoples of Italy with marvelous harshness to pay those tributes that had already been condoned and remitted to them for many years by Theodoric and the other kings, so that they might fill the insatiable avarice of their emperors.

“Say, Romans,” he said, “whether you have ever suffered any evil from the Goths and their kings. Say again whether you have ever received any good from these petty Greeks, who have inflicted more evils upon you as friends than upon their enemies. They are a vicious and maleficent race, and effective in no matter more than in lying.

“But the Goths were born in Italy and were raised together with you; yet foreigners and men unknown to you pleased you more than your own countrymen and those known to you, to such a degree that you hated those whom you ought to have loved. Desiring new things, you are like horses that become restive through ease and excessive abundance. Therefore, acting against upright faith and against your own advantage, you have deservedly paid these penalties thus far and will continue to pay them.”

Having said these things, he dismissed the Romans without any good hope.

During these days the case of Rusticiana, a noblewoman, was heard. The Goths accused her of having caused the statues of King Theodoric to be broken and destroyed in vengeance for her husband Boethius and her father Symmachus, whom Theodoric had caused to be killed. What was alleged against the woman concerning the destroyed statues was thought to be true. But a just grief excused her, because it was established that those great men had been killed unjustly. For this reason Totilas absolved the woman and preserved her safe from the assault of the Goths.

Totilas then sent the deacon Pelagius and the Roman Theodorus to Emperor Justinian. The substance of his instructions to them was this: if the emperor wished to have Totilas himself and the Goths in friendship, he would preserve the city of Rome and would furnish great and faithful assistance in every expedition; but if he preferred to have war with the Goths, Totilas would raze Rome to the ground, because, being occupied in war, he could neither defend it nor leave it to the enemies.

He also wrote to Justinian in this manner:

“I know that you have learned all the things that have been done concerning the city of Rome. These are the reasons for which we send ambassadors to you. We desire both to receive and to offer the goods of peace, as lately there was peace between the Roman emperor Anastasius and King Theodoric. Their concord and peace produced tranquillity in those times and very great advantages for both.

“If, therefore, you are of his mind, I shall deservedly call you a father, and you will have me and the Goths as auxiliaries in every expedition. But if you are of another mind, you will learn from the ambassadors the things that follow.”

Having sent these ambassadors, Totilas remained at Rome until their return. Meanwhile Belisarius lay at Portus, exhausted by fever and grief of spirit. During this time John proceeded to make many new movements among the Lucanians and Bruttians; for this reason Totilas also was compelled to send into Lucania and renew the war.

Not long afterward Totilas was informed of Justinian's answer. It was nothing other than that Belisarius was in Italy, to whose power and judgment he had entrusted the affairs of Italy. After Totilas understood that what he had sought was denied to him, and, indignant at the deed of John because he had provoked him with war while he was at rest and awaiting the messengers sent for concord, he took counsel to destroy the city of Rome.

Therefore, rising with marvelous cruelty, he reduced the walls of Rome to the ground in several places. The part overthrown was almost a third of the entire circuit of the walls. He then burned the Capitol; around the Forum, the Subura, the Via, and the Sacred Way [read: the Subura and the Sacred Way], he burned everything. The Quirinal Hill smoked; the Aventine breathed out the flames of the fire. The crash of falling houses was heard everywhere.

Amid the fires the urban multitude was led out of its ancestral homes with wives and children, having indeed the freedom to bewail its miseries [read: not even having the freedom to bewail its miseries]. He dispersed the people and crowd throughout the towns of Campania, but retained the senators and patricians with him in the position of hostages. After this he departed from Rome with the whole army and left it completely desolate and empty, so that neither any man nor woman remained.

Thereafter he stationed part of the army against Portus, lest the soldiers of Belisarius be able to attempt anything during his absence; and he himself set out with the remaining forces against John in Calabria. John, however, perceiving this, fled and received himself into Hydruntum. When Totilas arrived in those parts, in a brief moment he recovered all the Lucanians and Bruttians except the people of Hydruntum.

He also received Spoletum at that time, after its walls had been overthrown; nevertheless, the citadel alone was guarded. At almost the same time Tarentum was rebuilt, although it had previously been deserted. The Calabrians and other peoples driven from home rebuilt it, not indeed to its former size, but a part of it. Thereafter, having brought the Lucanians and Bruttians into his power, Totilas hastened with his men to go to Ravenna.

VI. Belisarius

Meanwhile Belisarius, freed from his long fever, undertook to attempt a bold enterprise that many might have considered rash, although afterward it appeared magnanimous and praiseworthy. For he then determined to occupy the desolate city of Rome unexpectedly and to fortify it.

Concealing this plan within himself, therefore, and leaving a few soldiers at Portus as its garrison, he set out with all his remaining forces. With neither his own men nor the enemies suspecting it, he occupied Rome and caused it to be fortified with incredible speed. For in the part where the walls had been overthrown, he restored something of a wall by hurried work. He dug deep ditches before the walls. He placed wooden towers and battlements upon the restored wall for its protection.

Belisarius completed these things with the greatest willingness and labor of the soldiers in twenty-six days. Ships came frequently from Portus, bringing in grain and other necessities. When the Roman citizens who had been dispersed throughout the neighboring towns heard of the restoration of the city, they migrated back into their homeland with great desire, especially because an abundance of grain was held there.

When Totilas perceived these things, he left his other concerns and hastened to seek Rome. Belisarius had not yet been able to put gates upon the city when the enemies arrived and, after pitching camp, began to assault the city, while Belisarius resisted manfully with his men. At last the Goths were turned to flight, and Laocea, the standard-bearer of Totilas, was pierced through.

Totilas then approached Tibur with his men and received himself into it. The Romans, moreover, lest they be troubled by sudden incursions from that direction where Tibur lies, destroyed all the bridges of the River Anio. After the departure of the Goths Belisarius caused the gates of the city to be made at leisure, together with ironwork for closing them. He sent the keys of the city of Rome to Justinian in Greece.

Departing from Tibur, Totilas set out with his men for Perusia. That city had already previously been besieged by the Goths, so that he might press the siege more strongly, since grain and other necessities were already failing in the city.

When John heard that Totilas was occupied in the siege of Perusia, and that Totilas had left the senators and patricians of the city of Rome whom he had led away with him throughout the towns of Campania under guard of soldiers, he considered extending the fame of his name through their liberation. Moving, therefore, from Calabria with a chosen body of cavalry and interrupting his journey neither by day nor by night, he came into Campania.

It happened by chance that Gothic soldiers encountered John and his cavalry, and immediately a battle began between them. Prevailing in it, John killed many Goths, wounded very many, and turned them to flight. Thus, taking the Romans from the individual towns of Campania out of the hands of the Goths, he liberated them.

Totilas, greatly moved when he heard the things done by John, resolved to avenge himself. Leaving, therefore, part of his army in the siege of Perusia, he himself hastened with the remainder through the Picene territory, the Marsians, and the Paelignians into Apulia and Calabria. Finding John, he attacked him and routed him together with his whole army. He also took the camp, although no great slaughter was made by the Goths. This victory especially rendered the name of Totilas illustrious because of the speed of the journey.

Not long after that battle other forces of Justinian, sent into Italy, began to land at Hydruntum. For the emperor had been moved by the frequent letters of Belisarius, who, explaining the condition of the war, sought reinforcements. The leaders of the new forces were Valerianus, leader of the Armenians, and Verus, leader of the Heruli.

When Belisarius learned that the emperor's forces had reached Hydruntum, he immediately left Conon as governor and, carried from Rome by sea with nine hundred chosen soldiers, hastened to seek Calabria and to unite the forces at Tarentum, which is a journey of two days from Hydruntum.

But, with a storm opposing him, he reached the harbor of Croton. Landing the forces there, and because there was no fodder in those places, he commanded the horsemen to proceed farther, while he himself remained at Croton with his wife and the infantry so that he might summon John to himself with the other forces.

Ruscia is a fortress of the Turini [i.e., the people of Thurii]. Above it is another town, farther removed from the sea and situated in a difficult place, which they call Ruscida. John guarded that town with a garrison of soldiers.

When the horsemen of Belisarius had arrived there, it happened by chance that soldiers of the enemies came against them, whom Totilas had sent to make trial of that town. When battle was joined, the soldiers of Belisarius, although fewer in number, nevertheless easily prevailed and killed more than two hundred of the enemies.

But, remaining in those places as victors and wandering about, and staying far from the eyes of their commander, they observed neither order nor discipline and sent out no scouts. After Totilas learned this, he set out with three thousand horsemen and attacked them while they suspected nothing. From this a great slaughter and rout began. Phasas, performing marvelous works of valor with his troop of horsemen, at last fell together with his horsemen. Barbation, another commander of Belisarius, fled with only two companions; the others were captured or killed.

This disaster was reported to Belisarius by messengers who had taken flight. Therefore Belisarius, having lost his cavalry and suspecting that the enemies would come against him, hastily boarded the ships. Committing himself with great grief to the winds, he was carried on that same day to Messana in Sicily.

When Totilas had accomplished this and perceived that the forces of the enemies had been disturbed, he determined to besiege the town of Ruscianum. When necessities failed the besieged there, they sent to Totilas seeking pardon. He granted impunity to them all and permitted them to retain all their possessions if they wished to serve as soldiers with him. In this manner he received the town. He granted the goods of the townsmen to his soldiers and commanded their persons to be free.

Conon, the commander whom Belisarius had stationed at Rome, was killed by the angry soldiers. They were especially indignant because, having secretly entered into the grain trade, he increased the price of provisions daily. The same soldiers sought pardon for this offense from Justinian through ambassadors, asserting that, unless the emperor granted it and paid the stipends owed to them, they would hand Rome over to Totilas. Through this fear all things were granted to them.

Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, set out for Byzantium during this time so that she might ask Theodora, the wife of Justinian, for the recall of Belisarius from Italy. Therefore, through the agency of his wife Antonina, Belisarius was recalled by Justinian from Italy into Greece, and indeed easily, especially since a great fear of war against the Persians was present.

This occurred almost five years after he had set out from Greece into Italy; and he had proceeded in this last expedition supported by a fortune unlike that of the first. Departing from Rome, he left three thousand chosen soldiers as a garrison under the command and government of the legate Hesperogenes, a prudent man and one skilled in wars.

At last Perusia, after the departure of Belisarius, having been besieged for a long time by the Goths and at last lacking provisions, was taken by force and arms in the seventh year of the siege, in the year of the Lord 550, or thereabouts.

After the city was taken, the man who commanded the army sent to Totilas, asking what was to be done concerning the bishop and concerning that people. Totilas sent this command back to him, saying: “First remove a strap from the bishop, from the crown of his head as far as his heel; then cut off his head. Kill by the sword all the people who are found there.”

Then the commander led the venerable Herculanus, bishop of the city of Perusia—who had been brought from the religious life of a monastery to the grace of the priestly order and made bishop—upon the city wall and cut off his head. He then cut the skin of the man, now dead, from the crown of the head as far as the heel, so that a strap might appear to have been taken from his body. Soon afterward he cast his body outside the wall.

Then certain persons, compelled by a cause of humanity, placed the severed head against the neck and, together with a small infant who was found dead there, handed the body of the saint over to burial beside the wall.

When, forty days after that slaughter, King Totilas commanded that the citizens of that city who had been dispersed in any places should return to it without any fear, those who had fled from famine returned. Recalling how holy a life the bishop had led, they sought where his body had been buried so that they might bury it in the church of Saint Peter with the honor owed to it.

When the tomb had been opened, after the earth had been dug out, they found the body of the child, now dead for forty days, corrupted by decay and full of worms; but the body of the bishop was incorrupt, as if it had been buried in that same hour. And what is still marvelous and venerable: the head was so united to the body as if it had by no means been cut off, so that no traces of the cutting appeared.

When they turned it from one side to the other, seeking whether any mark of the incision could be found, nothing of that kind was discovered. Gregory relates these things concerning Saint Herculanus in the third book of the *Dialogues*.

VII. Totilas

Totilas, having dispatched affairs in Calabria and gathered forces from every side, came to Rome and besieged it. The departure of Belisarius from Italy gave him confidence. When the siege was prolonged, Roman envoys set out for Justinian, begging him to send Belisarius back to Italy to dissolve the siege. But by delaying and procrastinating he accomplished nothing.

The Goths, moreover, having taken the city of Portus so that nothing could be brought to the besieged by the Tiber, brought nearly all the neighboring towns into their power. But the Romans with all diligence caused grain to be sown within the city and in empty places, so that, when the old grain failed, the new crop grown within the city walls might succeed it. In this manner they endured the siege for a long time. At last they would have preserved the city, had not the betrayal of a few men overthrown them.

At the gate by which one goes on the Ostian Way to Saint Paul, there was a station of Isaurian soldiers. These approached Totilas and promised to hand that gate over to him. Totilas sent two small boats down into the Tiber and placed trumpeters in them, so that, sailing against the current of the river, they might suddenly emit as terrifying a blast of trumpets as possible. He himself, setting out with the army in silence, took his position at the aforesaid gate.

Then the Romans, terrified by the terrible sound, thought that the enemies were present from that direction, and a rush was made from every side to that place. While all ran together and neglected the other places, the traitors, left alone, broke open the gate and received Totilas and the Goths within the city.

Immediately a slaughter of Romans and soldiers began, and thought was given no longer to resistance but to flight. The commander Diogenes, because he saw that there were no remedies, departed from Rome with part of the soldiers and hastened to seek Centumcellae. Overcome on that journey by an ambush of the Goths, after losing a great part of his soldiers and being himself gravely wounded, he scarcely escaped.

Among the other leaders there was also a certain Paulus from Sicily, commander of a troop of horsemen. After he had entered several battles by night throughout the captured city, at last he withdrew with his horsemen to the Mole of Hadrian. At length,

when daylight had arisen and the other places of the city had been taken, nevertheless there was most violent fighting at the Mole of Hadrian.

For Paulus had four hundred horsemen, with whom he defended the Mole and the bridge beside it excellently. Having remained there throughout that whole day and the following night without food, on the next day they deliberated what they should do. Paulus therefore spoke words of this kind to the soldiers:

“In whatever direction we turn, fellow soldiers, you see that the last extremities are upon us. For there is no opportunity of flight, since the forces of the enemies are poured around us and watch us diligently. To surrender to the Goths, beyond the shame and baseness of the counsel, holds out tortures and dismemberment. For the savagery of the barbarians is not accustomed to be content with a simple death.

“To endure in siege, moreover, and to feed upon horseflesh would perhaps belong to those who hoped that aid would come to them; but for us, who lack this hope, no reason can persuade this endurance, unless they prefer the vilest postponement of death or, like fearful boys, prefer to be consumed by pain rather than cut by the sword.

“I think that surrendering to the enemies and wasting away through lack of food belong to those who have neither blood nor heart. But by us, men brave of hand and not unaccustomed to battles, a glorious death must be embraced. Let us die in such a manner that, drenched in the blood of the enemies, we do not fall unavenged, and that the enemy does not laugh at our destruction but laments it.

“For what profit is the addition of a few years to us, since, even if preserved now, we shall nevertheless die a little afterward? Go therefore with me to a glorious death, which citizens and enemies alike will admire and will carry to heaven forever with praises.”

Inflamed by these words, the soldiers devoted themselves to death. Therefore, embracing and kissing one another, with the most certain purpose of dying, they prepared themselves for combat. Their plan was to rush upon the nearest station and, after making a very great slaughter of the enemies, to perish.

When Totilas saw that they were preparing themselves for the final extremity, fearing that the efforts of desperate men would bring a slaughter upon the Goths greater than their number, he sent a certain man to them as a seeker of peace and gave them a choice: whether they preferred to lay down their arms and horses and depart unharmed, or to retain everything and serve as soldiers with him.

When the soldiers heard these things, they rejoiced. At last they all chose to remain with Totilas except their commander Paulus and Mandus the Isaurian, whom Totilas, liberally assisted with journey-money and other things, sent back to Byzantium. Totilas also commanded that the other soldiers of the garrison, as many as had fled to sacred buildings, should remain unharmed.

At Rome he neither raged nor made it desolate as before, but most diligently recalled the citizens both from the towns of Campania and from other places. He presented at Rome equestrian games and the other works of magnificence that were customarily performed in tranquil cities, with distinguished preparation, so that the citizens might take up good hope and be drawn by desire for the city.

He also endeavored to repair the buildings either overthrown or consumed by fire in the former devastation. Finally, he gave as much attention to making Rome populous as he had previously shown to making it desolate, whether because of a vow to the apostles Peter and Paul, or because this was expedient for the utility of the war, or because he was moved by the infamy arising from a destruction of this kind.

Afterward Totilas prepared an expedition into Sicily, which he accomplished by means of a great fleet of long ships. He besieged Regium and took Tarentum. Crossing into Sicily, after he had obtained many smaller towns by force or agreement, he besieged Syracuse by sea and land.

During the same time the Goths who had been sent into the Picene territory against John and Valerianus took Ariminum. In another battle joined not far from Ravenna, they killed Verus, leader of the Heruli, with all his forces. Those who were besieged at the city of Regium, their provisions failing, surrendered themselves to the Goths.

VIII. Justinian

When all these things were reported to Emperor Justinian at one time, he announced that Germanus, his cousin, would lead the Italian and Gothic war, and he immediately commanded great preparations to be made. For Germanus was a man of lofty spirit and of no less counsel, distinguished in liberality and of the highest favor among peoples and soldiers. Added to these things was the fact that after the death of Witigis he had taken as wife Matasuntha, the granddaughter of Theodoric. This circumstance had reconciled to him much of the favor of the Goths.

But when Germanus was already in Illyricum, the nation of the Slavs, having crossed the Danube, invaded the provinces of the Roman Empire, a cruel and savage race of men. When they turned into Macedonia and Thrace, they brought so great a fear upon Justinian that he commanded Germanus to interrupt the journey begun for Italy.

Meanwhile the Goths had very great time and opportunity to range throughout Italy and Sicily, for besides Ravenna, Ancona, Hydruntum, and Centumcellae, they possessed all the other places. One hope alone sustained men: the arrival of Germanus; but this too failed. For while he was vehemently expected in Italy, he was seized by disease and, to the great grief of his men, ended his last day in Illyricum.

Germanus had two sons whom he was leading with him into Italy. The emperor commanded them to pursue the undertaking begun by their father in Italy, together with John, son of Vitalianus, a commander already known throughout Italy and their kinsman. Therefore John and the sons of Germanus, leading the army, came to Salonae. Because it was winter, they determined to remain there and to cross to Ravenna immediately at the beginning of spring.

Emperor Justinian sent Liberius with a fleet into Sicily. He entered Syracuse, the Goths who held a station in the harbor being entirely unable to prevent his entrance. But a few days afterward, fearing a lack of necessary things, he sailed with the same fleet from Syracuse to Panormus.

Meanwhile Justinian, changing his plan again, appointed Narses the eunuch as commander of the Italian war and liberally promised him money and armies. He wrote to John that he should not cross into Italy, but, remaining at Salonae, should await the arrival of Narses. Narses, therefore, having taken up the business vigorously, gathered great forces from every side and, after making preparations, commanded the forces to be present with him in Illyricum.

Totilas, having now learned of the preparation of the enemies, had returned into Italy and was providing throughout Italy whatever seemed suitable for the work. But, so that he too might display his power against the Greeks and in turn invade them, he sent a fleet with a great number of men into Greece, commanding them to ravage everything with the greatest possible tumult.

That fleet first plundered Corcyra and the neighboring islands. Soon, crossing through Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia, it defiled everything with plunder and fires. Watching the sea also, it intercepted many ships of the Greeks that were sailing into Italy and Illyricum.

While these things were being done by the Goths in Greece, Totilas sent a new army into the Picene territory and commanded Ancona to be besieged by land and sea. He placed three commanders over this expedition, to whom he also assigned a fleet of forty-seven long ships.

Valerianus, who commanded at Ravenna, urged John, who was at Salonae, by letter to bring aid to the besieged people of Ancona, since he himself could not. John placed chosen soldiers from the whole army upon eighteen ships and sailed toward Ravenna. Valerianus came to meet him with twelve long ships. When by common counsel the whole fleet had sailed toward the enemy, they landed upon the shore of Ancona.

The ships of the Goths were therefore forty-seven, but those of the Greeks thirty. The commanders of the Greek fleet were John and Valerianus; those of the Goths were Ulidas and Gotildus. Their spirits greatly inflamed by a military address, they came into conflict from opposite sides.

At the beginning the battle was most bitter, with engagements meeting one another head-on. Although the Gothic fighters were excellent, nevertheless, not possessing experience in maritime affairs, they threw themselves into disorder; and in certain places, many being crowded together, they mutually impeded one another. The knowledge and discipline of naval affairs, however, greatly assisted the Greeks. Thus the Greeks were superior in the battle.

Several Gothic ships were sunk and perished together with their fighters and sailors. Many were stormed and captured with incredible slaughter. When the Goths saw this, they at last took flight. Only ten whole ships of the Goths fled back to the shore; the others were captured or sunk. The Goths then immediately burned the ships that had escaped, lest the enemies gain possession of them, and returned to the camp. Then, dissolving the siege of Ancona and abandoning the camps, they withdrew to Auximum.

John and Valerianus, therefore, entered the harbor with the victorious fleet, amid the greatest joy and the incredible rejoicing of the people of Ancona. Attacking the enemy camp and finding it deserted, they caused the provisions that were in it to be brought into the city of Ancona. A few days afterward John returned to Salonae and Valerianus to Ravenna.

This battle violently broke the spirit of the Goths and was, as it were, the beginning of their ruin.

Struck by this blow, Totilas recalled a great part of his forces from Sicily. Therefore Artabanes, Justinian's commander, who had succeeded Liberius and had received the fleet from him, having become more powerful throughout Sicily, not only freed the

allies from siege but also besieged the Goths in towns at several places. A fleet of Justinian, arriving upon the people of Croton who had long labored under a Gothic siege, liberated them and broke the enemies with great slaughter.

It terrified the spirits of the Goths much more, especially since many and frequent reports were being spread concerning the arrival of Narses in Italy and concerning his preparations. A certain Reginaris, a man distinguished among the Goths who commanded at Tarentum, crossed over to Justinian's side with the towns that he guarded and with his soldiers.

IX. Narses

When this was the condition of affairs throughout Italy, Narses, having assembled his forces through the winter, hastened to make the journey. He had an army so great that scarcely all the other commanders throughout Italy had possessed its equal, monies having been abundantly granted by Justinian, who was magnificent in distributing them.

He had drawn immense forces not only from Thrace and Greece but also from other places. For with the consent of King Alboin he had received more than five thousand of the Lombards, most warlike men. Three thousand of the Heruli came to him. An immense multitude of Huns had flowed together. Assuades came with five hundred fighters of the nation of the Gepids, and John surnamed Phagas with an army of Greeks and Thracians. In addition, John, son of Vitalianus, had joined to him the army of the sons of Germanus.

Narses therefore, having these forces, moved from Illyricum and crossed into Italy by a land journey through Dalmatia and Liburnia around the gulf of the sea. At his first entrance he halted in the Venetian territory. Abandoning the inland route, Narses chose the road along the shore of the Adriatic Sea because it was free from enemies, and at last reached Ravenna with all the forces.

There were many veteran soldiers throughout Italy to whom stipends had been owed for a very long time. Narses paid all of them their stipends and healed and raised their spirits. At last he hastened from there to seek Rome.

During this time Isdrilas commanded at Ariminum, a man distinguished in war among the Goths. When he came into the territory of Ariminum, he attempted to impede the passage of the first columns of Narses. A battle was therefore joined not far from the walls of the town. In it a certain Herulian horseman, fighting hand to hand, killed Isdrilas; and his soldiers, terrified by the death of their commander, fled into the town.

The head of Isdrilas was brought to Narses. He rejoiced at it as at a good omen, because in the first encounter the adversary had been killed by his men. Full of good hope, he completed the journey. Accordingly, passing by Ariminum, he set out for Rome.

X

Totilas, learning the things that had been done in the Venetian territory and understanding the arrival of Narses at Ravenna, although his forces were with Teias, nevertheless departed from Rome, prepared an army against Narses, and went to meet him. At last a most bitter battle was begun on both sides. In the end the Goths were overcome with a very great slaughter, and Totilas was killed, according to the prophecy of Saint Benedict, in the tenth year of his reign.

After Totilas had been killed, whatever Goths fled from the battle crossed the River Po and remained at Pavia and around those places. When there they considered a new leader for their nation, Teias was chosen king of the Goths by the judgment of all. Having been made king, he immediately took possession of the treasures that Totilas had gathered at Pavia. He did not cease to restore the forces, assemble an army, distribute arms, lavish those treasures [read: bestow horses], and vigorously perform all things. He also sent to the Franks, promising them fellowship in the war.

After the killing of Totilas, Narses, hearing of the preparation of the Goths, commanded Valerianus to be with his forces around the Po as if on guard, lest the Goths, with fear removed, wander more freely. He himself sought Rome with the whole army. Passing along the way, he received Narni, which surrendered voluntarily. He granted soldiers to the people of Spoletum to serve as a garrison until their walls, overthrown by the Goths, should be restored.

At Perusia there were two commanders of soldiers for the Goths, Meligedius and Ulitus. They were exceedingly discordant with one another, for Meligedius desired to surrender the city, while Ulitus resisted. Thus, when a sedition arose, Ulitus was killed and Perusia was handed over to Narses by Meligedius.

Narses, having therefore set out for Rome, besieged it. It was still full of the former ruins, and few citizens were in it. When Narses resolved to storm the city, he attacked the walls at several places at the same time. The Goths, running together to those places, fought back from the walls. But certain soldiers of Narses, seeking more remote places, since there was solitude there, climbed the walls with ladders. A shout made from there showed that the city had been taken.

The Goths therefore abandoned the defense. Some sought the city of Portus in flight; others withdrew into the Mole of Hadrian as a citadel. In this manner Narses gained possession of Rome. Not long afterward he received the besieged citadel by agreement.

There were in Campania certain Romans of patrician family and others of the senatorial order whom the Goths had sent as suspected men into their towns. The Goths killed all these with their sons and kinsmen when Rome was taken by Narses. Likewise, the Goths killed three hundred young Romans whom Totilas had chosen as soldiers but had in truth led beyond the Po as hostages, when Rome was taken by Narses. Thereafter Narses besieged Portus with forces sent there and took it, and Centumcellae likewise.

Teias, king of the Goths, did not cease to solicit the nation of the Franks and to urge it to fellowship. Now he promised money, now a share of dominion throughout Italy. But the Franks had already determined not to involve themselves in a war of this kind, and thus the hope of the Goths perished.

XI

While Totilas lived, he had gathered the royal monies partly at Pavia and had placed no small part also in the citadel of Cumae, over which citadel he had placed his brother. When Narses learned this, he sent part of the army to besiege Cumae. He himself, remaining at Rome, attempted to restore the city and make it populous.

Lest the Goths who were beyond the Po be able to aid either Cumae or other places, he commanded John, son of Vitalianus, to remain in Etruria with his forces and restrain the attempts of the enemies.

When King Teias perceived that Cumae was being besieged, he determined to bring aid. Setting out from Pavia by transverse routes through the Picene territory and the lands of the Marsians, he reached Campania. When Narses learned this, he recalled John with the army from Etruria, and he himself set out with the other forces and sought Campania with the purpose of fighting.

It is related that not far from the city of Nuceria there is a certain river called Draco, indeed narrow in width but so great in depth that it is passable neither by foot soldiers nor by horsemen. Around the said river both armies halted. The Goths also had a fleet in the sea sufficiently near, which landed grain and the other provisions on the shore, whence they were carried into the camp.

But after the fleet of the Goths was lost through treason, the resulting lack, because necessities could not be brought in to them, compelled the Goths to abandon the place. From there the Goths went to the nearest mountain, which is called Lactarius. Narses followed them and encamped at the foot of the mountain.

There a savage battle was fought, everywhere most bloody. For the Goths fought out of desperation; the soldiers of Narses, conscious of their multitude, were ashamed to yield. Teias, king of the Goths, wished to be among the foremost fighters. He was conspicuous in arms: in his left hand he shook a shield, in his right a javelin. Many who came against him fell, killed by him.

But when many javelins had been fixed in his shield and adhered to it, and he was impeded by the shield, he cried out that another shield should be brought to him. When it was brought, he put down the former shield and took up the new one. In this changing of shields he was secretly wounded by a flying missile. Although he poured out much blood, nevertheless, fighting most bravely, he never drew back his foot and never turned his face toward his own men, but, continually fighting while turned toward the enemy, at last fell upon his face and died.

The Goths, by no means deterred by the death of their king, fought until night, with at last a great slaughter on both sides. When day came, however, the Goths finally sent ambassadors to Narses and offered that they wished to depart from Italy if they were permitted to leave unharmed and carry away their own possessions. But if Narses did not permit them this, as long as they lived, so long would they be prepared to fight.

When Narses understood the aforesaid things, after the matter had been discussed in council, he determined to permit the Goths a free departure with their possessions, lest he gain a victory against desperate men with great loss to his own men. During this, one thousand horsemen fled from the Goths and came to Pavia and other towns beyond the Po.

The rest, after entering into a treaty with Narses, carried off their private possessions and promised to leave Italy and never wage war against the Roman Empire, nevertheless retaining liberty without any subjection to the Roman Empire. When this had been done, Narses received Cumae and the other cities that remained. After the Goths departed from Italy, Narses then possessed it for seventeen years.

After this Justinian erected in the city of Constantinople a temple to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father. He called it Holy Sophia, that is, Holy Wisdom, excelling the other works of the world.

After Narses had overcome the Goths, the Roman clergy then assembled so that, together with the recommendation of Narses, they might ask the emperor that, if Pope Vigilius and the priests, deacons, and remaining clerics who had been sent into exile with him were still living, they should return.

Having received the report of Narses and of all the Roman clergy, the emperor and all his nobles rejoiced that God had given rest to the Romans. Immediately by his edict he recalled from exile all who afterward came into the presence of the emperor. He said to them: “Do you wish to receive Vigilius so that he may be your pope?”

They replied: “We give very great thanks.”

“Behold, here you have Pelagius, your archdeacon, and my hand will be with you.”

They all answered: “May God command your piety. Restore Vigilius to us now, and when God wills him to pass from this age, then, with your command, may Pelagius our archdeacon be given to us.”

Then the emperor released all those detained with Vigilius. Landing at Syracuse, they entered the land from the sea. There Vigilius became ill and departed to the Lord; but his body was brought to Rome.

Although this Justinian did many great things, nevertheless, at the instigation of his wife, who favored heretics, he persecuted and banished into exile two supreme pontiffs, namely Silverius and Vigilius. Not only the said Theodora but several other queens or empresses raised great injuries and scandals against the Church: the sister of Constantine the Great, who favored the Arians; Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, in the persecution against John Chrysostom; Justina, mother of Valentinian; and many others. So too did Sophia, wife of Emperor Justin, whom Justinian, having no sons, adopted as a son by the counsel of the nobles and afterward established as emperor.

Narses overthrew and destroyed a certain Buccelinus, who was plundering Italy so that he might carry the spoils to his king Theodobert of the Gauls, when he was arranging to winter in Campania not far from Tarentum. Teutrius, also called Lucarius, the brother of Buccelinus, while burdened with much booty and desiring to return to his homeland, died his own death between Verona and Tridentum beside Lake Benacus.

Narses also, through Dagisterius, master of the soldiers, a warlike and vigorous man, obtained all the boundaries of Italy. When pestilence came in the year of the Lord 565, the peoples of Italy, and especially the Ligurians, were cast down.

At last Justinian, when he turned the ear of his heart away from the divine commands, incurred madness by the just judgment of God. Having summoned Justin, he delegated the care of the empire to him. Having done this, he died in the thirty-eighth year of his empire.

In the times of Justinian, when a great pestilence arose at Constantinople, the solemnity of the Purification of the Blessed Mary was established, and thus that mortality ceased. This feast was afterward celebrated throughout the whole world; in the following year it later began to rage in Italy. The said feast is called *Hypapante* among the Greeks and in Latin is interpreted “Meeting.”

During the time of this Justinian, Arator the poet flourished, a subdeacon of the Roman Church, who composed two metrical books concerning the Acts of the Apostles. In the time of Justinian also flourished the blessed Benedict, abbot, marvelous in life and holiness, concerning whom it will be said below.

The body of the blessed Anthony was also found in Egypt and at that time was carried to Alexandria with great veneration. Now, however, his body is certainly in the abbey of Montmajour near Arles in the province of Provence, and an arm is among the people of Vienne, where there is now a concourse of peoples, so that this development can clearly be apparent to one who considers it inwardly.

During the same time there also flourished in Scotland the blessed Brendan, who, illustrious in many virtues, was father of almost three thousand monks. Historiographers nevertheless omit the history of this pilgrim man [read: the history of this man's pilgrimage] because of the many apocryphal things and ravings contained in it.

At that time a certain Jew, taking an image of the Savior from a church, pierced it with a weapon. When he secretly carried it home under his garment, he found himself entirely bloodied by the blood that had flowed from it. Christians seeking the image found it by the traces of blood; after it had been restored to its place, they stoned the sacrilegious Jew.

Title XII, Chapter VI

Justin II therefore succeeded Justinian in the East, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 566, and in the year of the world 5,764. He ruled for eleven years and crowned his wife, named Sophia, as Augusta.

This man, tenacious of every avarice, a despiser of the poor and a despoiler of senators, was so rapacious that he made iron chests in which he kept many talents of gold. He also fell into the Pelagian heresy, but was punished by the just judgment of God, as will be said below.

Narses the eunuch, of whom we have spoken, after he had freed all Italy from the assault of diverse enemies and rendered it quiet, endured envy from the Romans for his great benefits. They sent envoys to the imperial city, saying that it was better for the Romans to serve the Goths than the Greeks, where Narses the eunuch commands and rules according to his own pleasure.

Moved by their words, the emperor substituted his prefect Longinus in place of Narses. Moreover, Sophia Augusta sent this insult to Narses: that he should return to Constantinople and, with her girls in an assembly of women, distribute the allotted weights of wool.

Narses, after receiving the letter containing these injuries, is said to have answered this: that he would begin to weave such a web for Sophia Augusta that, for as long as she lived, she would never put it down. Departing for Naples, he instructed the Lombards to abandon the very poor lands of Pannonia that they inhabited and to flow together to possess the fertile soil of Italy.

When Alboin, king of the Lombards, heard this, he handed Pannonia over to the Huns and prepared his journey to Italy.

In the year of the Lord 570, battle lines appeared in the sky throughout Italy, and signified the human blood that was afterward poured out. Then, when rains continued for several days, the Tiber was increased by so great a force of waters that the lower places were submerged with a great destruction of the people. It happened similarly in certain other cities and places. Leovigild, king of the Goths, subdued the rebellious cities of Spain.

Alboin, therefore, king of the Lombards, summoned by Narses, entered Italy with a great multitude of Lombards, with sons and wives, and with other barbarian nations. He then entered Milan and within a brief space of time subjected to himself all Italy except Pavia, Ravenna, and Rome. The Lombards and their kings possessed it for 204 years, namely until the times of Charlemagne, as will be said.

This nation of the Lombards, who were first called Humili and now Lombards, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 382 once abandoned the island of Scandinavia, situated in the northern ocean, and at last established their seat in Pannonia. From there, summoned by Narses, they came into Italy.

Although Narses, pacified by the persuasion of Pope John, attempted to recall the Lombards from entering Italy, nevertheless, because Alboin had already been inflamed by his letters and had undertaken the journey with all his men, their wives, and household, he could not be deterred from pursuing the undertaking begun.

At their first entrance they besieged the city of Milan on every side. When it had been violently broken open, they killed by the sword nearly all its inhabitants. For King Alboin had vowed that he would kill all Christians by the sword. Although the Lombards had then been baptized, they nevertheless worshiped idols and venerated the image of a viper as a god. From this error the blessed Barbarius [i.e., the blessed Barbatus], bishop of Beneventum, removed them and converted the said image of a viper into a most beautiful chalice.

After Milan had therefore been taken, all the other cities, fearing the cruelty of the barbarians, voluntarily subjected themselves to him.

Meanwhile Narses died at Rome. His body was placed in a leaden coffin and carried with all his riches to Constantinople—or, as others say, to Naples. Through his virtue he merited the dignity of the patriciate. He was a most pious man, so devoted to vigils and prayers that he obtained victories more by supplications poured out to God than by military arms. For he was Catholic in religion, munificent toward the poor, and sufficiently zealous in repairing churches.

Alboin, king of the Lombards, after entering the part of Italy that lies more broadly open there, gave it to his nephew Gisulf, a man of the greatest power.

In the year of the Lord 574, the Armenians publicly received the faith of Christ. Venetia and all Cisalpine Gaul were possessed by the Lombards except Pavia. After it had sustained a siege for three years, it was at last surrendered in this year.

I. King Alboin of the Goths [read: King Alboin of the Lombards]

Before he departed from Pannonia, Alboin joined battle with the neighboring king of the Gepids and killed him. While that king's son armed himself for vengeance for his father's killing, he too was overcome and killed by Alboin. His army was overthrown partly by the sword and partly by captivity.

Among the captives Rosamund, the daughter of the slain king of the Gepids, was found, most beautiful in body. Alboin took her as a wife to his own destruction. As John of Columna also relates, he took away the head of the slain king, adorned the skull or cranium with gold, and made from it a vessel for drinking, like a mixing-bowl, which he used at great solemnities and feasts.

After this Alboin, following many slaughters of men and destructions of cities, was at Verona. Once, while he reclined at dinner with the queen his wife on a solemn day, heated by much wine, he filled with wine the cup that he had caused to be fashioned from the head of his wife's father, presented it to his wife, and said, “Drink with your father.”

After she looked upon her father's head, she groaned, but in the manner of a woman covered it with feigned joy. From then onward she began to consider how she might avenge upon her husband the death of her father and brother.

At that time there was in the commander's army a certain young man handsome in body and vigorous in arms. He knew carnally a girl assigned to the queen's service. It happened that, when the king was absent, the queen summoned the said girl to herself and caused her to lie in her own chamber, while the queen lay in the girl's chamber.

When this had been done, she sent word to the young man in the girl's name that he should come to her that night. He came to the place in the first twilight of night, and, entering the bed in which the queen had placed herself, lay with her.

When this had been done, the queen said to the soldier, “Do you know who I am?” When he called her by the name of his lover, she said, “I am not she, but I am Queen Rosamund.” She added, “Today you have perpetrated such an affair that, unless you kill King Alboin and avenge my father, whom he killed, you will without doubt perish by his sword.”

He was vehemently stupefied at her words, but at last acquiesced after many promises. On the appointed day, therefore, he hid in the chamber fortified with every weapon. When the king had placed himself naked in bed, the young man leapt out of hiding and attacked the king with a drawn sword. As he was naked, the king rose from the bed and seized a stool with which to defend himself. But not for long: he was easily wounded by the armed man and at last killed.

After perpetrating this crime, the queen took a great part of the king's treasures and fled to Ravenna together with the soldier who had killed her husband. There she took him as husband. Not long afterward the queen fell in love with another most beautiful young man and desired to have him as husband; hence she considered destroying that former husband.

Mixing poison into wine, therefore, she asked him to drink. When he began to swallow it, perceived a great bitterness, and held the matter suspect, he commanded the queen herself to drink the remainder. When she refused, he drew his sword and compelled her to drink. After she had swallowed it, both died on that same day.

After Alboin, a certain man was substituted by the Lombards in the kingdom.

II

Around those times in Sicily [read: Around those times in Cilicia], a certain Theophilus, otherwise sufficiently modest, had unjustly lost his dignity—namely, his office as vicedominus (ecclesiastical steward)—after being calumniously accused. He bore so grievously so great a wrong that he omitted nothing to recover the reputation taken from him, to such an extent that, by the counsel of sorcerers, he invoked the devil to furnish him aid in recovering his honor, prepared to do everything that the devil commanded him.

The devil offered to do this for him, provided that he denied the faith and gave himself wholly to him, so that he should also write with his own hand an instrument of such a gift and hand it over to him. When this had been done, it followed by diverse means that he recovered his honor.

But the wretched man, returning to himself, recognized his crime and did penance for forty days, seeking the intercession of the Mother of God, to whom he had been devoted, and obtained pardon for his sin. Hence the Blessed Mary appeared to him while he slept and cast upon the bed the instrument of his denial that he had given sealed to the devil, as testimony of the remission made to him.

From the history of the Britons, John of Columna relates that at a certain most celebrated court, held in the city of the Legions with an assembly of princes, all the kings of the western nations and the princes of the Gauls were present. There it was deliberated that, under Arthur, leader of the Britons, they should occupy Italy and the city of Rome itself.

Therefore, having gathered a great army within the boundaries of Burgundy, Arthur advanced to battle against Lucius, commander of the Spains, who governed those regions under Prince Leo. On the journey he conquered a certain giant in single combat, and not long afterward, far from the city of Langres, joined a bloody battle with the Roman commanders. From it, after a grievous slaughter of both armies, he came away victorious.

After this victory, while he directed his journey toward Rome itself, he heard that Mordred, his nephew, whom he had left for the guardianship of the kingdom, had occupied Britain and established himself as king. Understanding this, Arthur desisted from his purpose and led the army back into Britain against his nephew.

After he landed there, he joined a most bloody battle with him. In it this marvelous and horrible thing is related by the report alone: that only twenty survived from that army, although the forces of both armies were innumerable. Arthur himself, after receiving a mortal wound in battle, was carried to a certain island, from which he never returned. Hence, according to the prophecy of Merlin, he had a doubtful end. His kinsman Constantine succeeded him in the kingdom.

Around those times in the East, a certain boy, the son of a Jew, had been brought by his contemporaries, the sons of Christians, as Vincent relates from the *Mariale*, to receive in the church of Saint Mary, Mother of the Lord, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Because of this, when his father perceived it, the boy was cast into a burning furnace, from which he was drawn unharmed by Christians.

For when his mother heard that the father was burning the son, she ran to free him. But when she saw the fires scattered here and there from the open mouth of the furnace, she cast the adornment of her head upon the ground and, with her hair loosened, filled the city with her cries, proclaiming herself wretched.

The Christians, however, running together to the spectacle and drawing the fires back from the mouth of the furnace, found the boy reclining as if upon the softest feathers. When the faithful had blessed God, they cast the Jew, his father and the author of this crime, into the furnace. The fire so completely consumed him that it scarcely left any small trace even of his bones.

When the Christians asked the boy what shelter he had had among the fires, he said: “That woman who, in the basilica where I received bread from the table, sits upon a chair and carries a little boy in her lap—she covered me with her mantle lest the fire devour me,” namely, the most blessed Virgin Mary. Thus the boy, having recognized the faith, believed and was baptized with his mother; and many other Jews were converted to Christ by this miracle.

In Gaul, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, a mountain above the River Rhône, after giving a roaring sound for many days, was at last shaken loose from another mountain neighboring it and was cast into the Rhône together with churches, houses, men, and animals.

Lothar, king of the Franks, pursued into Britain his son Chramn, who had long rebelled against him and committed many evils in his kingdom. He met Chramn and Chonober, leader of the Britons and his auxiliary. He killed Chonober, and, after Chramn had been captured, caused him to be burned with his wife and daughters.

After this, as Gregory of Tours relates, while King Lothar was hunting in the forest of Chocilia, he was seized by a violent fever. From there he went to the villa Compendium, which is a royal palace. When he was grievously afflicted there, he said: “Alas, alas! What manner of king do you think the heavenly King is, who is known to kill such great kings?” In this weariness he breathed out his spirit. He died in the fifty-first year of his reign. His four sons, carrying him with great honor to Soissons, buried him in the basilica of Saint Medard.

III. Concerning the Division of the Kingdom of the Franks among the Sons of Lothar and Their Wives

In those times, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* after Gregory of Tours, book twenty-two, chapter 117, Chilperic after his father's death received the treasures that his father had gathered at the villa Brumachum. He sought the Franks beyond and, after giving them many gifts, subjected them to himself. Soon he entered Paris and occupied the seat of King Childebert.

But he was not permitted to possess it for long, for his brothers, joined together, expelled him from it. Thus these four—Charibert, Guntram, Chilperic, and Sigebert—made a lawful division among themselves. Charibert received the kingdom of Childebert and established his seat at Paris. Guntram received the kingdom of Chlodomer and established his seat at Orléans. Chilperic, receiving the kingdom of his father Lothar, established his seat at Soissons. Sigebert obtained the kingdom of Theodoric by lot and established his seat in the city of Reims.

King Charibert took Vigoberga as his wife. The queen had two girls, daughters of a certain poor man, who were exceedingly beautiful; the name of the elder was Marcovefa, and the name of the younger was Merofledis. The king burned exceedingly with love for them. On this account Vigoberga afflicted them with excessive hatred, for she had also commanded their father to be made a preparer of wool-work.

Because of this the king, exceedingly angered, left Vigoberga and took Merofledis as wife. After this he also joined Marcovefa, her sister, to himself in marriage. For this reason he was excommunicated by Saint Germanus, bishop of Paris. But when the king refused to leave her, she was struck by the judgment of God and died. And not much time afterward King Charibert also died and was buried in the fortress of Blavia, in the church of Saint Romanus.

Furthermore, when King Sigebert saw that his brothers were taking wives unworthy of themselves and joining maidservants to themselves in marriage, he sent an embassy into Spain and, after many gifts had been given, sought the daughter of King Athanagild. The girl, named Brunhild, was elegant, beautiful, and intelligent. When he had received her, because she had been subject to an alien law, namely that of the Arians, he commanded her to be baptized.

When King Chilperic saw this, although he already had several wives, he sought in marriage Brunhild's own sister, named Galbunda, promising that he would dismiss his other wives. After she had been taken by him in marriage and baptized, she became a woman of great holiness. But through the hatred of Fredegund, his most wicked concubine, a great scandal arose between them.

Accordingly, Galbunda said that she could by no means endure such great injuries from Fredegund. She asked the king that, leaving behind the treasures that she had brought with her from Spain, he permit her to return freely to her father. But he caressed her with gentle words. Finally, through the most wicked counsel of Fredegund, he strangled her by night in her bed. After her death God displayed miracles on her behalf. When this had been done, Chilperic's brothers, indignant with him over this, wished to cast him out of the kingdom.

At that time Chilperic had three sons by Andovera his queen, namely Theodobert, Merovech, and Lodoveus. Fredegund herself, being crafty, also deceived her mistress Andovera, for Fredegund herself was from the lowest household.

When, therefore, King Chilperic proceeded with Sigebert his brother in an army against the Saxons, Queen Andovera remained at home pregnant and bore a daughter. Fredegund gave her counsel that she should cause the child to be baptized quickly, so that the king, coming from battle, might joyfully behold his baptized daughter.

Accordingly, when a bishop had been summoned to baptize her, because there was no matron to receive her, the mother herself, admonished by Fredegund, received her from the sacred font. When the king came with victory, Fredegund went out to meet him, saying: “Thanks be to God, because our lord the king has had victory over his enemies, and a daughter has been born to you. With whom, my lord, will you sleep this night? For my lady the queen is your co-mother through your daughter Hildeinde.”

And he said, “If I shall be unable to sleep with her, I shall sleep with you.” When the king had entered his hall, Queen Andovera ran to meet him with her daughter. And the king said, “You have done an abominable thing through your simplicity. For now you will not be able to be my wife.” He asked her to put on the sacred veil together with her daughter, and he gave her many estates and villas. He condemned to exile the bishop who had baptized her, and joined Fredegund to himself as queen.

IV

Vincent, in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, chapter 128, from the history of the Franks, relates that Chilperic sent his elder son Theodobert—whom he had previously sworn to Sigebert would not cross beyond the Loire—with an army against him as an enemy. Ranging around the cities of his uncle Sigebert, he invaded Tours, Poitiers, and the rest.

At Poitiers he fought against Duke Gundovald. Gundovald's army was struck down and fled, and Theodobert made a great slaughter there. Moving his army from there, he ranged through Limoges and Cahors, invaded and devastated them, burned churches, destroyed monasteries, killed clerics, cast down monasteries of men, made sport of girls, and devastated everything. At that time there was greater groaning in the churches than in the time of the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian.

Amid these discords Chilperic also moved his army, advanced as far as Reims, and burned and subdued everything. Hearing this, Sigebert summoned those nations that are beyond the Rhine, came to Paris, and resolved to go against his brother. Chilperic, fleeing through the region of Rouen with his wife and sons, entered the city of Tournai and there shut himself in and fortified himself. Sigebert, however, received those cities that are situated beyond Paris as far as Rouen, and from there returned to Paris.

Then the Franks who had once looked to Childebert the Elder sent an embassy to Sigebert and, abandoning Chilperic, established Sigebert as king over themselves. He sent them to besiege his brother in the aforesaid city of Tournai, saying that he would follow with an army.

Blessed Germanus, bishop of Paris, said to him: “If you go and are unwilling to kill your brother, you will return from there alive and victorious. But if you devise otherwise, you will die. For thus the Lord says through Solomon: ‘Into the pit that you prepare for your brother, you will fall.’” He neglected to hear this.

Then Fredegund, mindful of her arts, made two Timanensian youths drunk and said to them: “Go to Sigebert's battle-line, and pretend that you ought to raise him as king over you, and kill him. If you are able to escape, I shall honor you magnificently and your offspring. But if you fall, I shall distribute many alms throughout the places of the saints.”

They, however, without hesitation, fierce as they were at heart, came to him pretending that they wished to suggest another matter. Drawing knives, they struck him in both sides. He fell crying out and gave up his spirit; there those murderers also fell. Chilperic knew nothing until Fredegund narrated everything concerning his brother's death. Then King Chilperic, departing from Tournai, buried his brother Sigebert at the village of Lambras.

After King Sigebert had been killed, Queen Brunhild remained with her sons, full of grief and not knowing what she ought to do. Duke Gundovald secretly seized her son Childebert by night and fled with him into Austrasia. After the nations over whom his father had reigned had been gathered, he established him as king.

King Chilperic, however, coming to Paris, seized Brunhild and thrust her into exile at the city of Rouen. He commanded that her daughters also be detained in the city of Meaux.

After this Chilperic sent his son Merovech with an army beyond the Loire. But Merovech, abandoning his father's arrangement, then returned through the region of Le Mans and, pretending that he wished to visit his mother Andovera, came to Rouen. There he was joined to Queen Brunhild and joined her to himself in marriage.

When Chilperic learned that, contrary to divine and canonical law, he had taken his uncle's wife, he became exceedingly bitter and hastened to that city. But when they learned that he intended to separate them, they fled to the basilica of Saint Martin, which was constructed of wooden boards above the walls.

Since the king was unable to cast them out of there by contrivance, he deceitfully swore to them: “If it is the will of God,” he said, “I shall not separate them.” When this had been heard, they came out of the basilica. After they had been received graciously, the king feasted with them.

After this, however, through the plotting of Fredegund on account of his union with Brunhild, Merovech was tonsured and, at the command of Chilperic his father, was ordained a priest. He was sent to an island in Nomanicum, so that he ought to live there according to the rule.

At that time also blessed Germanus, bishop of Paris, full of virtues, migrated to the Lord. Having been carried gloriously and with great honor into the church of Saint Vincent, he was buried there. After this Childebert the Younger sent an embassy to Chilperic concerning the recovery of Brunhild his mother, and Chilperic peacefully returned her.

V

After this King Chilperic, through the counsel of Fredegund, commanded that new and burdensome assessments be made throughout his whole kingdom. For this reason many, abandoning those cities and possessions, sought other kingdoms, saying, “It is better to wander abroad than to be subjected to such peril.” The people, grievously oppressed, cried out to the Lord.

At that time King Chilperic became gravely ill. When he recovered health, his sons became gravely ill. Fredegund, full of grief and lamentation for her sons, now repenting, said to the king: “For a long time, while we act wickedly, divine piety has borne with us. Often it has chastised us with fevers and other evils, and we have neglected to amend ourselves. Behold, now we are losing our sons. For now the tears of the poor, the lamentations of widows, and the sighs of orphans are killing them. Behold the immense weights of gold and silver. Cellars and granaries overflow full, and we do not know for whom we gather them. Behold, we have lost that which we held more beautiful. What, therefore, will all these things profit us?

“Now, therefore, let my counsel please you: command that what we wickedly persuaded be restored, and command that the new assessments, which we made unjustly and wickedly, be burned with fire, so that, even if we lose our sons, we may at least escape everlasting punishment.”

Then the king, pierced in heart, handed over all the unjust assessments to be burned with fire. After this his little son died, and also another named Lodobert. Fredegund, however, bore a son whom they called Lothar. He afterward became a great king and also begot Dagobert.

Especially at that time, great discords arose between Chilperic and Childebert his nephew, for Fredegund and Brunhild stirred them up on both sides.

Queen Fredegund was exceedingly beautiful and intelligent, and an adulteress. At that time Landric was an effective and vigorous man in the court of King Chilperic, whom the aforesaid queen loved greatly, because he committed lust with her.

On a certain day, when King Chilperic had gone rather early from the villa Callensis into the district of Paris to practice hunting, he returned from the horses' stable into the chamber of the palace. She was washing her face in that chamber. The king, coming

up behind her, struck her on the buttocks with a staff. But she, thinking that it was Landric, said, “Why do you do this, Landric?” Looking back, she saw that it was the king and was vehemently terrified. The king, however, made exceedingly sad, proceeded to the hunt.

Fredegund therefore summoned Landric to herself and narrated everything that she had done, saying: “Consider what we ought to do, because tomorrow we shall be subjected to severe torments.” Landric, moved with a contrite spirit and tears, said: “At so evil an hour did my eyes see you, for I do not know what we ought to do. Distresses press me on every side.”

But she said to him: “Do not fear. Hear my counsel, and let us do this thing and we shall not die. When the king comes from the hunt at late evening as it grows dark, let us send men to kill him, and let heralds cry out that the ambush is that of Childebert his nephew. When he is dead, we shall reign with our son Lothar.”

Accordingly, at the beginning of night, when King Chilperic was returning from the hunt, certain young swordsmen, made drunk with wine and sent by Fredegund, struck the king in the belly with two scramasaxes (large single-edged knives) while he was dismounting from his horse and the other persons were proceeding to their own affairs. He cried out and gave up his spirit.

The swordsmen whom the queen had fraudulently sent cried out, saying, “The ambushes of Childebert, king of the Austrasians, have done this against our lord.” Then the army ran here and there; when they had found nothing, they returned to their own places.

Thus, after Fredegund had ingeniously killed Chilperic her husband, she remained in the kingdom with Lothar her little king and Landric, whom they chose as mayor of the palace. The Franks also established the said Lothar as king over themselves.

When Childebert, king of the Austrasians and son of Sigebert, heard this, he gathered an army. For, when Guntram his paternal cousin had died, Childebert himself had received the kingdom of Burgundy.

Once, while this Guntram, king of the Franks, wearied from hunting, slept in the lap of his armor-bearer beside a stream of water, he afterward awoke and, stupefied, said that in a dream he had crossed over an iron bridge and had seen many treasures beneath a certain mountain. When the king proceeded there according to the credibility of the dream, he found many treasures. After accepting them, he assigned them to the uses of the holy Church.

After Guntram's death, therefore, when Childebert had received his kingdom, the Burgundians, the Austrasians, and the upper Franks moved a great army through Champagne, went out, and devastated the territory of Soissons with Gundovald and Wintrio.

Hearing this, Fredegund gathered an army with Landric and the other leaders of the Franks. Coming to the villa Brumachum, she gave many gifts and presents to the Franks and incited them to fight against her enemies.

When she learned that the army of the Austrasians was numerous, she gathered the Franks who were with her and gave them counsel, saying: “Let us rise by night against them, with lamps carried before us by those proceeding in front, and at the same time let us carry branches of the woods in our hands, with little bells bound upon the horses, so that their watchmen and the keepers of their horses may be unable to recognize us. At the beginning of the dawning day let us rush upon them, and perhaps we shall conquer them.” This counsel pleased them.

When the appointed day had been announced on which they ought to assemble for battle at the place called Truncia in the territory of Soissons, she rose by night, as she had counseled, with the equipment of arms, with branches in their hands and the other things that we related above. Mounted on their horses, they came as far as Truncia, while she carried Lothar, the little king, on her arm.

When the enemy watchmen perceived the branches of the woods as though upon mountains in the column of the Franks, and heard the ringing of the little bells, one man said to his companion: “Were there not yesterday fields in this and that place where now we perceive woods?” But the other, mocking him, said: “Certainly you became drunk this night and now rave. Do you not hear the little bells of the horses pasturing beside that wood?”

While they did these things and dawn gave the beginning of the day, the Franks rushed with the noise of trumpets upon the sleeping Austrasians and Burgundians and killed the greatest part of their army, from the greatest to the least. Gundovald and Wintrio also escaped with difficulty, slipping away in flight. Landric pursued Wintrio, but he escaped by the course of a very swift horse.

Fredegund, however, with the rest of the army, advanced as far as Reims and, after all Champagne had been burned, returned with many spoils to the city of Soissons.

At the same time Childebert, king of the Austrasians, had two sons. The elder, born from a concubine, was called Theodobert. The younger, born from the queen, was named Theodoric; him, with his grandmother Brunhild, he sent into Burgundy, into the kingdom of the great King Guntram.

At that time Childebert the Younger died, and he had reigned twenty years. His son Theodobert succeeded to the kingdom of his father, that is, in Austrasia, but Theodoric in Burgundy.

VI. Concerning Saint Columbanus's Rebuke of King Theodoric for Adultery, and His Persecution against Saint Columbanus

Theodoric, therefore, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-three, chapter 4, rejoiced in this: that within the boundaries of his kingdom he had Saint Columbanus, an abbot of very many and a most renowned man.

But when the man of God came very frequently to Theodoric, he began to rebuke him for mingling in the adulteries of concubines and for not rather enjoying the consolation of a lawful marriage for the procreation of royal offspring. When the king, obeying his command, answered that he would separate himself from all unlawful things, his grandmother Brunhild was stirred up against the man of God.

For she feared that, if the king cast off his concubines and took a queen as wife, he would place a limit upon his grandmother's dignity and honor. Therefore, on a certain day when she came to him, she brought Theodoric's adulterine sons to him. When he asked what they wanted from him, she said, “They are the king's sons. Strengthen them by your blessing.”

But he said, “Know that they will by no means reign, because they came forth from brothels.” Then she, raging, commanded the little boys to depart. As the man of God was leaving the royal hall, while he crossed the threshold, a crash was suddenly produced. Shaking the whole house, it struck terror into everyone; nevertheless it did not restrain the fury of the wretched woman.

Then through messengers she commanded the provosts of the monastery that no journey outside their boundaries should lie open to any of them, and that neither lodging nor any assistance should be given to his monks.

But the man of God, perceiving the royal minds moved against him, hastened to break their obstinacy. At the setting of the sun he came to the public villa Pissa, where the king then was. When this had been announced to the king, he commanded that suitable provisions be prepared with royal refinement and sent to the servant of God.

When Columbanus saw the foods and cups prepared with royal refinement, he asked what they wished to do with these things. They said, “These things have been sent to you by the king.” Abhorring them, the saint said: “The Most High rejects the gifts of the impious, nor is it fitting that the mouths of the servants of God should be polluted by the foods of him who denies access to the servants of God not only in his own habitations but also in those of others.”

When these words had been spoken, all the vessels were broken into pieces, the wines and beer were poured upon the ground, and the other things that had been separated were scattered. The terrified servants announced to the king the circumstance of the deed.

Terrified, he hastened at dawn with his grandmother to the man of God, begged pardon for the offense, and they promised that they would afterward amend themselves. Pacified by these promises, he returned to the monastery.

The pledged rights of marriage were not kept for long but were violated, and the customary adulteries were perpetrated by the king. When the man of God heard this, he sent to the king letters full of blows and threats. Hence Brunhild, again moved, stirred up the king's mind against him. She also began to solicit the bishops, that they might detract from his recall and stain with blame the regular state that he had handed down to the monks [read: disparage his religious life and stain with blame the monastic rule that he had handed down to the monks].

Accordingly, the king came to Luxeuil and complained to him that he departed from the customs of the provincials and that access within the more secret enclosures did not lie open to all Christians. Columbanus, as he was bold and great in spirit, said to him: “If you have come to this place in order to destroy the habitations of the servants of God and to stain the regular life, know that your kingdom will fall utterly and will be submerged together with all the royal progeny.” The outcome of the matter afterward proved this.

Terrified by these words, therefore, he quickly stepped back outside the refectory that he had entered. When he was pressed by the harsh rebukes of the man of God, he said: “You hope that I shall confer upon you the crown of martyrdom, but I am not of such madness that I should perpetrate so great a crime. Rather, it pleases me that you, whose monastic purpose differs from the customs of others, should strive to retrace the way by which you came.”

To these things Columbanus said that he would not depart from the enclosures of the monastery unless he were dragged away by force. The king therefore departed and left a nobleman named Handulf, who, expelling the man of God from the monastery, conducted him into exile near the town of Nessonense.

While staying there, he heard that the prison in that place was full of condemned men. Hastening there, he announced the word of God. When all answered that, if they were freed, they would amend themselves and do penance, the man of God commanded his servant to bring them out of those iron bonds. With his hand the servant crushed the iron like a rotten shrub and freed them from prison.

After performing the office of evangelical service, Columbanus washed and dried their feet. Then he commanded them to enter the church and to wash away with tears the crime committed.

When the tribune heard that the prison had been emptied, he pursued them with soldiers. But after the man of God prayed for them that they should not be returned to chains, by an evident miracle they were released as free through the closing of the church's doors by divine power.

Not much time afterward Saint Columbanus, fearing nothing, returned to the monastery from which he had previously been exiled. When the king and his grandmother Brunhild heard this, stimulated by sharper goads, they commanded a cohort of soldiers to drag him violently from the place and carry him back to his former exile.

When the soldiers entered the monastery and passed before him, by the will of God they could not see him. When this had been announced to the king, his fury increased and he sent a certain count to him. The count asked him on the king's behalf to depart from there. He answered that he would not depart unless compelled by force.

At last the man of God, perceiving the danger to others if he satisfied his own steadfastness, departed from there and came to the fortress of Avalon. But while on the road the keeper of Theodoric's horses wished to pierce him with a lance, the man's hand, which he extended with the lance, grew rigid. Seized by a demon, he fell at the saint's feet, but was freed by his prayer.

Furthermore, King Theodoric, divinely struck near the town of Metz, died amid the conflagrations of a blazing fire. After him Brunhild substituted his son Sigebert in the kingdom.

But Lothar, mindful of the prophecy of the man of God, gathered an army, wishing to recover the kingdoms of his brothers [read: the boundaries of the kingdom] that were owed to his dominion. He killed the captured Sigebert, and captured his five brothers, the sons of Theodoric, together with their great-grandmother Brunhild. He killed the boys separately.

But Brunhild he first set ignobly upon a camel and, leading her around, displayed her to the enemies. Afterward, having entangled her in the tails of untamed horses, he miserably deprived her of life. Thus, when the stock of Theodoric had been utterly and radically removed, Lothar alone obtained the monarchy of the three kingdoms. In this way the prophecy of blessed Columbanus was fulfilled in all things.

This Saint Columbanus was illustrious in many miracles. Among other things, once, when he had visited the sepulcher of blessed Martin with his companions, the money that they had carried with them for traveling expenses was secretly taken away. When he had piously complained in prayer before Saint Martin that he had not come so that his companions' goods should be taken away, immediately the man who had stolen them appeared, beaten, disclosed the theft and the place where he had hidden them, and restored them.

Likewise, when Columbanus was remaining in a certain woodland place, receiving sustenance from the fruits of trees, and his servant approached the place at mealtime to gather fruits, he found a bear eating the fruits and announced it to the man of God. Columbanus sent him back to the place, commanding him to divide the fruit trees and apples, assigning one part to the bear for its sustenance and another part as food for the man of God.

The animal was wholly obedient and took nothing from the part assigned to the man of God. This is to the great confusion of men who do not obey God.

Among the other disciples of this Saint Columbanus was Saint Gall. After he had lived with Columbanus for a time in holy religion, inspired by God he ran through diverse places, constructing religious houses. It is read that he received from the Lord a special grace for casting out unclean spirits. He refused a bishopric offered to him, but, dwelling in desert places, had leisure for himself and God alone. After many miracles, he rested in the Lord.

VII

Thereafter, in the eighth year of his empire, Emperor Justin began to be infirm in his feet. On this account he took Tiberius, count of the Excubitors, adopted him as a son, and declared him his successor, as Hugh of Fleury relates.

When Justin died, as Sigebert testifies, after he had ruled for about twelve years, Tiberius, the second of this name, received the empire in the year of the Lord 577, and in the 5,775th year from the beginning of the world, according to the more common opinion.

For previously, when the Romans were pressed by a shortage of food, many of them gave themselves to the Lombards. These Lombards, as was said above, entered Italy while Justin was emperor.

This emperor was a just, vigorous, useful, and wise man, distinguished in judgments, an almsgiver, and—what is more excellent than all—most devout and wholly Catholic.

When he distributed to the poor many things from the treasures that Justin had gathered, Sophia Augusta reproved him more frequently, saying that he would reduce the commonwealth to poverty: “What Justin gathered over many years, you prodigally scatter within a short time.”

He said to her: “I hope in God that money will not be lacking to our treasury, provided only that the poor receive alms or captives are redeemed.”

Then, on a certain day, while he walked through the palace, he saw in the pavement of the house a marble slab upon which the Lord's cross had been carved. He said: “We ought to fortify our forehead and breasts with the Lord's cross, and behold, now we trample it beneath our feet.” He immediately commanded the slab to be removed from there.

When it had been taken up, they found another slab bearing this sign of the cross, which he also commanded to be lifted. When this had been removed, they found a third also bearing such a sign of the cross. He commanded this also to be taken away. When it had been removed, they found a great treasure of more than a thousand talents of gold. After the gold had been taken up, he bestowed alms more abundantly than he had previously been accustomed.

Moreover, while Narses the patrician was presiding over Italy, he caused a great cistern to be dug in his house, in which he hid immense treasures. After all who knew of this matter had been killed, he entrusted it to one old man, from whom he had exacted an oath to conceal it.

After Narses died, the old man set out for Tiberius and said to him: “If it will be profitable to me, I shall disclose to you a matter of great usefulness.” “Speak,” said the emperor, “for it will be profitable to you.” The old man disclosed the place of the treasure that Narses had hidden.

Rejoicing, Tiberius sent his servants to that place. When the cistern had been opened, they found the treasure, and the cistern could scarcely be emptied over several days. Then, with a bountiful hand, Tiberius distributed nearly all the said treasure to the poor.

In the following year, namely the second of his empire, Tiberius sent his army against the nation of the Persians and happily subdued it. Returning victorious, he brought so great a mass of booty, with twenty elephants, that it was believed able to suffice for human desire.

Dappon, king of the Lombards [i.e., Cleph], closed his final day on the tenth day after his election. After him they were without a ruler for ten years, during which various dukes subjected almost all Italy except the city of Rome, which is known never to have come into the power of this nation.

During those times the Goths, divided, laid one another low by mutual slaughter. Pelagius II then governed the little ship of Peter; he was spoken of above.

The Lombards, crossing the Alps, rushed into Gaul and, after exacting great booty and a vast number of captives, returned to Italy. Wolves, entering the city of Burgedalensis and fearing no one, devoured the dogs.

At last Tiberius Augustus, when he had ruled for many years and foresaw that the end of his life was imminent, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-three, at the beginning, chose for the empire a certain man, Cappadocian by birth, vigorous and most wise, who was also called Maurice.

He also handed over to Maurice his daughter Constantia, adorned with royal ornaments, saying: “Let my empire be granted to you with this girl. Use it, therefore, happily, and hold equity and justice unceasingly in mind, for these are the principal insignia of the best emperor.” After he had said this, he breathed out his spirit.

Then Maurice, clothed in purple and crowned with a diadem, proceeded to the circus. After praises had been acclaimed to him and gifts bestowed according to custom, he, the first from the nation of the Greeks, obtained the Roman Empire.

VIII

Maurice therefore received the empire in the year of the Lord 584 and in the 5,784th year of the world, according to the computation of the larger number. He ruled for twenty-one years. He was a man Catholic in faith and sufficiently useful to the commonwealth. By his industry the Huns, who are also called Avars, were overcome and subdued.

Around this time true blood flowed from broken bread. In the first year of Maurice, the Persians troubled Armenia with plundering, fires, captivity of bishops, and captivity of peoples. Nevertheless, they could by no means burn the church of the forty-eight martyrs who suffered in Armenia under Licinius.

In the second year of Maurice's empire, Antioch was overturned in this manner. A certain citizen of that city was so given to alms and hospitality that he never ate on any day without a poor man or guest. On a certain day he went around the city until evening in order to find a poor man or guest. At last he found an elderly man, clothed in a white garment and standing with two companions in the middle of the city.

When he invited the man to hospitality, he received this answer from him: “O man of God, you were unable, together with our Symeon, to save it from being overturned.” Having said this, he shook the cloth that he held in his hand over one half of the city. Immediately that half of the city was overturned together with its habitations and inhabitants.

When he wished also to shake the cloth over the other half of the city, he was scarcely bent by his two companions, with many entreaties, to spare the remaining half of the city. Thus, after consoling the astonished man who was watching this by the salvation of his house, he departed and appeared no more.

In the seventh year of Maurice, excessive rains flooded, so that almost everyone doubted whether the waters of the flood in the time of Noah would cover the earth again. And so great a calamity came upon them that no one remembered a more grievous one from the beginning of the world.

A great dragon also, in the manner of a stout beam, descended through the Tiber into the sea with an innumerable multitude of serpents. The beasts suffocated by them and cast upon the seashore corrupted the air by their putrefaction. This was discussed above in the chapter concerning Pope Gregory.

Gregory, in the third book of the *Dialogues*, relates that in that flood of waters this miracle happened at Verona. At Rome, indeed, the River Tiber left its channel and increased so greatly that its wave flowed over the city's walls and occupied the largest regions within it.

At the city of Verona, however, it came to the church of blessed Zeno, martyr and pontiff. Although the doors of this church were open, the waters did not enter the church at all. Increasing little by little, they reached as far as the church's windows, which were near the roofs. Thus the standing water closed the church's doorway as though that liquid element had been changed into the solidity of a wall.

Since many had been found within and the church was surrounded on every side by the multitude of waters, they had no way by which they could leave and feared that they would fail there from hunger and thirst. They came to the church's doorway to drink and drew water, which, as I said before, had increased as far as the windows, yet did not flow within the church in any manner. Accordingly, it could be drawn as water. Standing before the doorway to display the martyr's merit to everyone, it was water for assistance and was, as it were, not water for invading the place.

Around those times this Emperor Maurice fought through his prefects against the Armenian Persians. He sent fifty thousand solidi to King Giliber [i.e., King Childebert II] of the Franks, so that with his army he might drive the Lombards from Italy. Giliber afterward sent a multitude of Franks into Italy.

Meanwhile the Lombards fortified themselves in the cities. After gifts had been offered to the envoys of the Franks, they confirmed peace with the king of the Franks, and the army of the Franks returned into Francia. When Maurice afterward learned this, he began to demand from the king of the Franks what he had offered, but the king of the Franks gave him no answer.

At that time the Lombards appointed Authari, son of Daphon [i.e., son of Cleph], as king over themselves. He was called Flavius, from whom they were afterward surnamed Flavii. He was their thirteenth king and reigned six years.

King Authari of the Lombards invaded Bresillus, situated above the bank of the Po, from which Droctulf, a duke, had fled from the Lombards and, handing himself over to the emperor's party, stoutly resisted the army of the Lombards with allied soldiers. But when he could not resist, he fled to Ravenna. The city Bresillus was captured and its walls were broken down.

Thereafter the Lombards besieged Rome. But when the Tiber overflowed so greatly that the waters rose above the city's walls and a plague also came upon them, they dissolved the siege. Through this inundation of waters, which occurred in the month of October, an innumerable multitude of men and beasts perished throughout Italy, especially at Rome and in Liguria and Venetia. Thunder and lightning also occurred beyond what was customary.

When Pope Pelagius died from that plague, Gregory was elected and approved by Maurice, although Gregory himself, who had lifted Maurice's son from the sacred font when he was at Constantinople, had adjured him by letters not to assent to such an election of him, as was said above.

For some time Maurice was affectionate and devoted toward Gregory, but afterward, through his own avarice and the false reports of others, he was changed into an adversary, as will be evident.

IX

In the eighth year of Maurice, Chosroes, son of Hormisdas, king of the Persians, killed his father after the Persians had blinded him. Chosroes fled to Emperor Maurice and, overcoming the Persians by his power, received the kingdom of the Persians, in which he reigned thirty-eight years. Emperor Maurice gave him his daughter, named Maria, as wife. Chosroes will be discussed below.

In the tenth year of Maurice, a certain man in Gaul, while cutting wood in a forest, was so infested by flies that he became insane for two years. Then, exhibiting himself under the garb of religion, he presented himself as a false prophet. Afterward, also performing healings upon the infirm, he said that he was Christ and commanded that he be adored as Christ.

With the people who adhered to him in great number, he pursued as enemies those who were unwilling to adore him. He was afterward killed by a certain faithful man, and thus his followers were dispersed. These things are from Sigebert.

Reccared, king of the Visigoths, disturbed the borders of the Romans in the tenth year of Maurice, as Sigebert says. Two years afterward the same king assembled a synod of sixty-two bishops at Toledo. There, after the Arian heresy had been renounced and anathematized, he confirmed himself with the whole assembly of the Visigoths in the Catholic faith.

At Constantinople a four-footed boy was born, and another having two heads. These prodigies portended adversities for the places in which they were born.

Around those times Philtanus reigned in Ireland. In Scotland was Brendan, whose brother was named Adelphius. From this Adelphius's daughter, who was called Gelgehess, Philtanus, king of Ireland, begot Saint Furseus, who will be discussed below, and his brothers Foillanus and Ulcanus. To this point Gregory of Tours composed the history of the Franks.

Around that time the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ was found in the city of Zaphat, not far from Jerusalem, through the confession of Symeon, a Jew. By the bishops Gregory of Antioch, Thomas of Jerusalem, and John of Constantinople, it was placed at Jerusalem in the place where the cross of Christ was venerated.

Gaugericus, bishop of Cambrai, was illustrious.

At that time Agilulf, king of the Lombards, rose against the Romans. But through the agency of Queen Theudelinda, not long afterward he entered into a treaty with them. Pope Gregory sent the books of the *Dialogues* to this queen.

In those days the Lombards rushed upon Monte Cassino and broke down everything that they could find in the monastery of Saint Benedict. But they were able to seize no one, just as the Lord had promised the same servant of his: that although he would hand the possessions over to the nations, he would nevertheless save the souls. The monks therefore fled and sought Rome, carrying with them the codex of the Rule published by blessed Benedict, the weight of bread, and the measure of wine.

From morning until midday the sun was diminished to a third part of itself, namely by an eclipse when its light was withdrawn.

In the Egyptian River Nile, animals of human form were seen—a man, namely, and a woman—standing above the water as far as their loins. Adjured by God by men, they displayed themselves to be seen from morning until the ninth hour. The man was broad-chested, with a terrible countenance and red hair mixed with gray. The woman had breasts, a woman's face, and long hair. All the people marveled at them, naked as far as the loins; the water covered the rest.

In the eighteenth year of Maurice, the contention between the Roman Church and the arrogance of John of Constantinople, who had usurped for himself the name of universal patriarch, had been begun under Pope Pelagius and was then agitated not lightly by Gregory. It could not come to rest before John himself died a sudden death. Many letters of Gregory against John are found concerning this.

Augustine, bishop of the English, was consecrated by Etherius, bishop of Arles, and sent there with others by blessed Gregory. After holding a synod with the bishops of the Britons and Scots, because he found priests and monks who were adversaries of the truth, whom he wished to have as companions in preaching, he terrified them with a prophecy of a future calamity upon them.

In the twenty-first year of Maurice, the western English with their king Sigebert were converted to the faith of Christ through Bishop Mellitus, who had been sent with the aforesaid Augustine by Pope Gregory. Through Augustine himself, the dignity of the archbishopric that was formerly at London was transferred to the church of Canterbury.

After a very great drought had preceded, columns of locusts followed in a very great multitude. Devouring whatever grew green in the fields, they produced an immense famine for two years.

The first exarch of Italy, a Roman patrician, was created by the Roman people, and was the first prince against the Lombards; such a magistracy had not previously existed among them. He recovered the cities that were formerly held by the Lombards, namely Sutrium, Polimartium, Hortas, Tudertum, Ameria, Perusia, Luciolas, and many others.

Agilulf, king of the Lombards, confirmed peace with Cechano, king of the Huns, when the latter sought it through envoys coming from Pannonia. A comet appeared for a month.

X. Concerning the Killing of Maurice by Phocas, His Successor in the Empire

Finally, when Maurice perceived that Pope Gregory did not assent to his wishes, inasmuch as they were unjust, he admired the freedom of speech of so great a pontiff and the constancy of his rebuke, and strove to exercise tyranny against him.

But in that same year, namely the last of his empire, as John the Deacon relates, a certain man clothed in monastic garments, moved by a certain divine power, appeared. Taking a sword in his right hand and carrying it naked, namely from the forum as far as the bronze statue of the gladiator, he predicted that the emperor would die by the sword.

When Maurice learned this, he restrained himself from the tyranny to be inflicted upon Gregory. He feared all the more greatly that he would soon undergo the divine judgment that had been threatened against him, inasmuch as he believed Gregory could not lie, who at some time had, as it were, threatened this through letters.

Immediately he composed written prayers and sent many sums of money, candles, and incense both to Gregory himself and to all the patriarchs, bishops, and monks of cities or solitudes. He especially prayed for this: that he might receive the deserts of his evils in this world and not in the world to come.

When he had also sought this with tears for a long time, on a certain night while sleeping he saw himself standing before the bronze gate of the palace, in the presence of a great multitude, before the bronze statue of the Savior. Then a terrible voice came from that image of the incarnate Word, that is, the bronze figure, saying, “Give Maurice.”

The ministers of the judges seized him and placed him before that image of the Savior. From it a voice went forth: “Where do you wish me to repay to you the evils that you perpetrated in this world?” But he answered: “Lord, lover of men and just judge, repay them to me here rather than in the future world.”

Immediately the divine voice commanded that Maurice, Constantina his wife, all his sons and daughters, and all his kindred be handed over to the soldier Phocas.

Awakening, Maurice caused his son-in-law Philippicus to be summoned to him. He had formerly suspected that Philippicus wished to take the empire from him. Concluding that he was to perish because of the suspicion, Philippicus summoned Gordiana his wife and bade her a final farewell as one who would not return. After receiving the sacrament of communion, he came to the palace.

Entering the emperor's chamber, he fell at the emperor's feet. The emperor rose to him and likewise fell at his feet, saying: “Forgive me, I pray, because, taught by a divine revelation, I have learned that you committed against me none of the things that I suspected. But if you know anyone in our ranks who is customarily called Phocas, tell me.”

Philippicus, reflecting for a long time within himself, said: “I know one Phocas, who, recently named procurator by the army, contradicted your command.” When Maurice asked what his character was, he answered: “He is a certain young man and rash, but timid in action.” Maurice said, “If he is timid, then he is certainly also a murderer.”

While he hesitated over a matter of this kind, on the following day a *magistrianus*, returning from the hermits to whom he had carried the emperor's prayers, reported the answer, saying: “God, having received your penance, will save your soul and will establish you with your whole household among the saints. But you will fall from the empire with ignominy and danger.”

When Maurice heard these things, he glorified God and maintained his penance. But he did not withdraw from his desires even to this extent: he threatened Peter the praetor with deadly letters, commanding that the army should winter in dangerous places and, having crossed the Danube, should seek for itself, amid dangers, provisions from the region of the Slavs, lest they consume public food.

Peter summoned the commanders and said: “The emperor's commands—that the Romans should winter in a foreign province—seem exceedingly burdensome to me. It is cruel for the Romans not to obey, but to obey is most cruel. Avarice produces no good, because it is the mother of all evils. The emperor, sickening from it, is made the cause of these greatest evils for the Romans.”

Accordingly, when the army heard this through the commanders, it turned to sedition. Raising Phocas the centurion upon a shield, they acclaimed him exarch. After the praetor had been driven away, they sent Theodosius, the emperor's son, and

Germanus, his father-in-law, so that one of them might undertake to rule over them. They consented in no manner, but rather reported it to Maurice.

Maurice wished to destroy Germanus. Since Germanus had fled into a church, Maurice scourged his own son as a betrayer of his plan. Although he sent many men to drag Germanus from that church, this was never permitted. Rather, torn by many insults from the people, Maurice was called a Marcionist heretic.

When a grave tumult had been stirred within Constantinople, Maurice, with his appearance disguised, boarded a vessel by night with his wife and sons. Fleeing, he came to Saint Antonion [read: Saint Autonomus]. Phocas, however, was made emperor with the army. At his command Maurice, with his sons, wife, and daughters, was beheaded near Macedonia [read: near Chalcedon] in the manner that had been announced to him.

Accordingly, on the seventh day before the Kalends of May, the image of Phocas and of Leontia his wife, the Augusti, was brought to Rome with their favorable letters. After acclamation had been made to them by the clergy and senate in the basilica of Julius, at Gregory's command the image was deposited in the oratory of Saint Caesarius established in the Lateran Palace.

When Phocas, having been made emperor, requested from Gregory, who then presided at Rome, that a deacon of the Roman See be sent to him with great reverence of humility, Gregory wrote thus:

“It pleases us to consider with joys and great acts of thanksgiving how great are the praises we owe to Almighty God, because, after the yoke of sadness had been removed, through the piety of your imperial benignity we came to times of liberty.

“For the fact that your serenity did not find a deacon of the Apostolic See remaining in the palace according to ancient custom was not due to my negligence, but to the gravest necessity. For while all the ministers of this Church, with fear, avoided and fled such oppressive and harsh times, it could be imposed upon none of them that he should go to the royal city to remain in the palace.

“But after they learned that, by the arrangement of Almighty God's grace, your clemency had come to the summit of the empire, they themselves also, persuaded by joy, hasten to come to your footsteps, although previously they had greatly feared to go there.

“The bearer of the present letter, who was the first of all the defenders, is well known to me through long attendance, approved in life, faith, and morals. I judged him fit for the footsteps of your piety. Therefore, with God as author, I made him a deacon and took care to send him swiftly. Having found an opportune time, he will be able to relate to your clemency all the things that are done in these parts.

“I ask that your clemency deign to incline pious ears to him, so that you may be able to have mercy upon us all the more swiftly, inasmuch as through his report you will have learned our affliction more truly. For we are unable to set forth fully by any representations how we are oppressed by daily swords and by so many incursions of the Lombards, behold, now through the length of thirty-five years. But we trust in Almighty God that he who raised up pious lords in the commonwealth will extinguish the cruel enemies.”

Title XII, Chapter VII

Concerning the Saints Who Were Illustrious in Life and Miracles in the Times of the Aforesaid Emperors

As Sigebert relates, in the seventeenth year of Emperor Maurice Saint Goar, coming from Aquitaine, was illustrious in Gaul. As Vincent narrates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-three, from his deeds, he made a church in the suburb of Trier beside the river and placed there many relics of saints.

There he served God by day and night in fasts, vigils, prayer, and preaching. He converted many pagans and healed the sick. Hence the devil, envying his virtues, brought many tribulations upon him.

Accordingly, it happened that Alboin and Alamannus, envoys of the bishop of Trier named Rusticus, came as spies to the cell of the man of God so that they might be able to find there some novel or vain thing. They saw that, according to his usual practice, in the morning after psalmody and Mass he took food in charity with pilgrims and the poor.

Thinking that this was done not from charity but from gluttony, they accused him to the archbishop, saying that they had seen him eat or take drink in the morning without restraint.

When the archbishop heard this, he commanded those envoys to return there and present Saint Goar before him, saying that he wished to make an inquiry concerning him, so that he might know by what contrivance or art Goar had presumed to show such examples to the people entrusted to him.

When they came to blessed Goar, they spoke deceitfully to him, thinking that they could cover with flattering words the accusation by which they had defamed him. They said: “Our archbishop Rusticus sends you greeting and commands that you hasten to Trier for a conference with him.”

Hearing these things, Saint Goar said with joy: “May God cause me to be able to obey him, because obedience must be rendered without delay.” That night he made a supper for them according to his means, while he himself persevered in praises, as he was accustomed.

When morning came, after he had completed his course, he celebrated the solemnities of the Masses. When he had completed the divine office, he said to that servant: “Son, make for us a joyful day from our abundance, so that these envoys of the archbishop may perform charity together with us, because they are on a journey. And perhaps God will bring some poor man or pilgrim so that we may feast together.”

When they heard this, they could not hide the wickedness of their hearts and refused to consent to him. But after a certain pilgrim had been brought in, the saint ate with him in charity. Seeing this, the envoys joyfully saddled their horses, saying, “Now we have manifestly seen what we shall announce to the archbishop.”

Accordingly, after receiving from the man of God food and drink in vessels as provisions for the journey, they walked with him and began to be violently pressed by hunger and thirst. Putting their hands into the provision-box and wineskin, they found nothing, although they had certainly carried sufficient sustenance with them from Goar's house.

Alboin said to Alamannus: “I have never had such hunger and thirst.” Saying this, he fell from his horse as though dead. Alamannus, turning to the servant of God, said: “Aid us, pious priest of Christ, because we are dying of hunger and thirst.”

When Saint Goar heard these things, he said with joy: “Today, sons, when you saw an unworthy man perform charity, you should not have refused. My God permits these things that you now suffer to occur for your correction.”

While he said these things to them and hunger exceedingly afflicted them, three hinds of marvelous size came, representing the Trinity. Commanded by him to stand, they made themselves still. He milked them into a vessel and commanded them thereafter to depart.

The saint anointed their bodies with that milk, and immediately they felt none of the pain that had befallen them from hunger. Strengthened by it, they put their hands into their bundles, found food and drink, and feasted.

As they marveled among themselves at the things that had happened and were afraid, they pursued their journey and at last came to Trier. But the servant of God Goar proceeded through the oratories and churches of the saints, as he was accustomed to do.

The aforesaid envoys approached their archbishop and found him sitting upon his throne in synod with his clergy. They narrated the things that had happened to them and that they had seen.

When he heard them, he began to say with anger: “Insofar as I wish to consider with the understanding of my heart [read: As far as I am able to judge with the understanding of my heart], the custom of this obstinate man, who eats thus in the morning and milks beasts, must without doubt be imputed to gluttony rather than charity. Nevertheless, it must be inquired why he does this, or from what desire for human praise, and whether it is from the part of God or from the part of the adversary.”

He had scarcely completed the words, and behold, the man entered the house in which the archbishop himself was sitting. Entering, he began to look all around to see whether there might be a place where his disciple could stand and where he might hang or conceal his cloak.

After looking around for a long time, he saw in a corner of the house what appeared to be the likeness of a staff. It certainly was not a staff, but a ray of the sun penetrating the interior of the dwelling through a window. When he approached the ray of the sun, which presented the appearance of a rather thick pole, he hung his cloak upon that ray and there commanded his disciple to stand.

When Archbishop Rusticus saw this together with his clergy, he said: “Do you now see what he has done? Truly, if this deed were from God, he would not have eaten so early, because the earlier saints entered the kingdom of God through prayers and fasts. But what this marvelous deed that I see may be, I do not know in any manner; yet I am not a little stupefied by it. In the morning he eats and drinks, and now he also suspends his cloak upon a ray of the sun. Let him therefore come nearer, so that he may render an account concerning these things to those sitting around.”

Then a certain man came carrying in his arm an infant three nights old, who had been cast into a marble sewer where poor little women were accustomed to throw their infants. Seeing him, the archbishop said to Saint Goar: “Now you must show us whether your ministry is true or false. If it is true, through true obedience I command you to cause this infant to make known to us his father and his mother. If you are able to do this, we shall believe you and your virtues; but if not, we ought to believe nothing of you.”

Then the man of God sighed grievously and poured out tears, vehemently marveling why the pontiff, a disparager of his works, had commanded such a vain and inept obedience from him. Pouring out a prayer, he said: “Holy Trinity, I invoke you; and you, infant, in the name of the Trinity I adjure, that you name your father by name and likewise your mother.”

Answering, the infant said: “This Rusticus is my father; my mother is called Afflagia.” When he heard this, the bishop quickly fell at Saint Goar's feet, saying: “Now I know truly that you are a holy servant of God, to whom my crimes, which I thought so hidden that no one knew them except me, the woman, and one servant of mine, have been revealed through the words of my own son.”

Hearing these things, blessed Goar, filled with astonishment at the miracle, said: “Alas, alas, lord! Why through me, a wretched man, have your sins, hitherto hidden, been made manifest? A voluntary secret confession before God would have been better than this ignominious publication against your will.”

Then he solicitously and kindly admonished him to penance, saying: “As greatly as our Savior is merciful in forgiving, so greatly must you be prepared to do penance. But I, insofar as divine piety will grant me life and deign to hear me, have now resolved, with brotherly charity compelling me, to perform penance for you for seven years.”

When Sigebert, king of the Franks, heard the fame of such great sanctity and the new deeds, he immediately sent his envoys and commanded Saint Goar to come to him. As the king marveled and recounted all the miracles that had been done by the saint, all the people acclaimed to the king that he should make Goar archbishop of the city of Trier.

Since this was pleasing to the king, he asked the saint of God to consent to it. The saint answered him: “It is better for me to die than to receive the ministry of a bishop who is still living and to sin in the sight of the Lord. O king, permit Rusticus to bewail his crimes, just as you wish the Lord to forgive your sins.”

When the king pressed him greatly concerning this and asked him, with all the people and clergy seeking it, Goar said: “Most glorious prince, permit me first to return to my cell, so that I may prepare myself to give an answer to your highness.” The king said to him, “Go in peace, and when twenty days have passed, come to the city of Metz to answer.”

Returning to his cell, therefore, Goar began to be made sorrowful and to be wearied by a severe fever. Why say more? By day and night he prayed to the Lord to give him the aid of his defense and to deliver him from so grievous a yoke that the king wished to impose upon him. Unable to return to the king, he at last rested in peace in a good old age.

I. Saint Brigid

Before those times, namely while Justin the Elder was emperor, as Sigebert relates, the holy virgin of God Brigid shone in Scotland with admirable sanctity and miracles. As Vincent narrates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, she was born in Scotland of Christian and noble parents. From childhood she grew in the pursuits of good things, was always intent upon chastity and sobriety, and, growing from good things to better, was admirable for signs from her girlhood itself.

When her mother sent her to gather butter from the milk of the cows and to render it by weight, as other girls in those regions were accustomed to do, this virgin, already given to hospitality and wishing to obey God rather than men, began to distribute both the milk and the butter liberally to the poor and to guests.

When the time came for all to render the produce of the cows, her fellow workers displayed their work. It came to Brigid's turn to render her work. Frightened and having nothing to render because she had bestowed everything upon the poor, and frightened by fear of her mother, she turned herself wholly to the Lord and ran to prayer. The Lord heard her, and immediately after the prayer she assigned to her mother her own work, more abundantly abounding in butter than that of all her fellow workers.

Not long afterward, when her parents wished according to human custom to betroth her, she, inspired from heaven and wishing and vowing to present herself to Christ as a chaste virgin, went to a most holy bishop named Machilla. He placed a white pallium, a bright garment, upon her head.

Kneeling humbly before God and the bishop at the altar and offering her virginal crown to the Lord, she touched the wooden foundation of the altar. It was immediately made green and, remaining green in this manner to the present day, drives infirmities from the faithful.

Once, when she had cooked lard in a cauldron for guests who were arriving, she mercifully gave some to a dog that fawned upon and begged from her. Nevertheless, when the lard was afterward drawn from the cauldron and divided among the guests, it was found completely full, as though nothing had been taken from it.

Once, when she had summoned reapers and laborers to her harvest and the day had become cloudy and exceedingly rainy throughout the surrounding region, not a drop of water fell upon her harvest.

Once, when she was pasturing her sheep in a level and grassy place, a very great inundation arose and she returned home with wet garments. When a solar ray entered within through the openings of the house, she, with the edge of her eyes dulled by shadow, thought that a tree had been placed crosswise and fixed there. Upon it she placed her rain-soaked garment, and thus it hung upon that slender solar ray as though upon a great and firm tree.

When lepers sought beer from her for drink and she had none, she blessed pure water, converted it into the best beer, and gave it to them. When someone sought salt from her, she converted a stone into salt. She restored eyes to one born blind.

Certain most wicked men stole her oxen and wished to cross a river with them. The men were submerged, while the oxen remained safe and returned by themselves to Saint Brigid's house.

A fierce and wild boar came at full speed to Brigid's flock, namely of pigs. Seeing it, the saint blessed it; immediately, after laying aside all ferocity, it remained with the herd of pigs.

A certain simple man saw a fox walking through the king's palace. Not knowing that it was tame and trained in diverse arts of agility, he killed it. When this became known, the angry king commanded that the man be killed and that his wife, his sons, and all that he had be reduced to servitude, unless a similarly trained fox were returned to him.

When Brigid heard this, she yoked her cart and proceeded across the level countryside to ask the king, along the road that led to the royal palace, beseeching God from the depth of her heart to provide. Immediately the Lord sent one of the wild foxes to her. Running across the fields, it approached blessed Brigid's cart, lightly raised itself, entered her cart, and, placing itself beneath Saint Brigid's garment, sat tamely in the cart with her.

Coming to the king, Brigid began to ask that the man who had offended in ignorance be absolved. The king refused unless a similar fox were restored to him. Brigid produced a fox trained in every art of cunning, as the former one had been. Marveling, the king commanded that the accused man depart free.

Not long after the man had been freed, when the saint had returned home, the deceitful fox, twisting itself amid the crowds and moving cunningly, fled and could not be captured.

Nine men were accustomed to bind themselves by a certain abominable superstition with vows and oaths that on the Kalends of June they would slaughter a man. Brigid preached to them that they should desist from this error. They refused unless the vow were first fulfilled. She began to pray to the Lord against the execration of their error.

Those men went out and beheld an image in the likeness of the man whom they wished to slaughter. They immediately pierced it through with their lances and, as though after a triumph over their adversary, returned to Brigid with their arms bloodied. Thus they were converted to penance.

By her prayer she conveyed an immense felled tree to the place appointed. She performed many other miracles.

Title XII, Chapter VIII

In the times of Childebert and Lothar, kings of the Franks, Saint Carilephus flourished. In the camps of Holy Church, protected by the shield of faith against the powers of the air, he hurled the darts of doctrine and flashed with the thunderbolts of miracles.

Born of most illustrious parents in the territory of Ariminum [read: in the territory of Auvergne], he was sent for the sake of learning to the monastery of Menate, where he received eloquence in letters and the form of holy conduct.

When he wished to undertake a singular contest against the devil and lead the eremitical life, a monk of the same monastery named Anitus was present for the sake of conference, a man endowed with the prerogative of the highest merits. While they held conversations with one another, they opened the codex of the Holy Gospel, and the line that first met them at the top was this: “He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.”

Accordingly, blessed Anitus, who was placed over the service storerooms, secretly placed the keys of the cellar beneath his abbot's pillow. Proceeding together, they came into the suburb of Orléans.

When they heard the fame of Saint Maximinus, who presided there over the companies of monks dwelling in the monastery of Micy, they hastened to see him. Humanely received by him, they were distinguished with priestly dignity through him.

Afterward, seeking a more remote habitation, they divided the vast woodlands and sought solitudes. As they traveled through them among all the shaded places of the groves and the most hidden lairs of wild beasts, a fertile place presented itself to their sight. It was then called Pitiachus and is now called the cell of Saint Anitus.

When a spring of water had been found there, they served God in that place for very many days with Saint Carilephus. When the fame of Saint Anitus reached the king's ears, at the king's command a basilica was built there and enriched by the king's resources.

Blessed Carilephus proposed to avoid the world's prosperous things and to seek adversities for the guardianship of himself. Hence, departing from Saint Anitus, he entered the interior of the desert. Taking his fellow soldier with him, he turned his course toward the parts of the city of Le Mans.

At last he turned aside into a place called Casagnanum, remote in access and delightful in the fertility of its soil. Accordingly, it was often visited by the wild beasts of the wilderness at his coming, so that it might in a certain manner be said: “And the beasts of the earth will be at peace with you.”

Amid these things Childebert went with his wife and all his retinue to the region of Le Mans. While he remained there, it was announced to him that a buffalo, an unusual beast in those places, lay hidden there. Rejoicing, the king commanded the hunters to prepare what was necessary for capturing the beast.

As they diligently traversed the land, the wretched buffalo that was to be captured ran to Saint Carilephus, as though approaching a singular protection. At last the hunters came to the place where the holy man was and the buffalo behind him. Then the servants, troubled by the unusual novelty of the matter, dared neither to touch the beast nor to bring any trouble upon the holy man.

When the king saw the miracle, he by no means honored the power of God, but said indignantly: “Whence comes to you, O unknown person, such great presumption, that without anyone granting it you dared to break into woodland under my right and to diminish in any respect the dignity of our hunt?”

The saint answered him: “O good king, we have broken into the haunts of wild beasts by no means for the sake of despising you or disturbing the hunt, but we sought places inaccessible to men so that we might be occupied more familiarly and earnestly in the service of the Lord.”

The troubled king commanded that they depart from there. But the servant of God invited the king to drink, so that he might be refreshed. He did not acquiesce but, despising him, attempted to return. The horse upon which he sat stood immovable and, though bloodied by the spurs, could not move itself.

While the king and all with him marveled at this, not knowing the cause of the matter, one of them, more prudent than the others, said: “Excellent king, I judge that this happened because you treated that servant of God insultingly.” He urged him to send a messenger to the man of God seeking pardon.

When the king had done this, the saint said: “Go and tell the king to return, because this happened to him since he departed angry and without a blessing.” The swift messenger returned to the king and related what had been enjoined upon him. Immediately, when its bonds had been loosed, the horse moved itself.

Returning to Saint Carilephus, the king prostrated himself and with tears sought and obtained pardon. He humbly asked that, out of devotion, Carilephus bring the wine to drink that he had previously offered.

When the man of God extended one cup of wine to the king, he and his retinue drank from it. It was marvelous that a small glass vessel abounded into so great a quantity that everyone drank sufficiently, yet its supply was not diminished.

Queen Aldiogadis [read: Queen Ultrogotha] also, a most noble and devout woman, heard the character of his life—namely his parsimony in food, sleeplessness at night, and vileness of garments, for he was wrapped in haircloth and lay sleeping upon the bare ground. Desiring to enjoy his presence, she promised that she would give him all the revenue of the estate where she resided if he deigned to visit her.

He said to the queen's messengers who came to him: “It is equitable and salutary for me to beware the sight of a woman, lest I, dwelling in the squalid places of the wilderness, be caught in the enemy's snares. Go, therefore, excellent young men, and relate these words to your lady. If I have any power, I shall pray to the Lord for her. But for as long as I am in the body, let her hold that I shall never see the face of a woman, nor will this little monastery ever lie open to the entrance of a woman.”

A little afterward, with the monks standing by, he predicted that the dissolution of his body was imminent. But when the report had spread through the people's mouths that Carilephus had never permitted himself to behold the sight of a woman or a woman to approach his monastery, a certain dishonest and curious woman wished to test the outcome of this matter.

Cutting the hair of her head, putting on male garments, girded with arms and carrying a staff, she approached the place. But when she wished to penetrate the interior and examine it curiously, both lights of her head were afflicted by a sudden bursting. Seized by a demon, she emitted through her mouth, from the enclosure of her breast, a horrifying flood of most dark blood.

After his death, namely that of Saint Carilephus, the blind were illuminated at his sepulcher, the infirm were healed, and those possessed by demons were freed.

Saint Anitus, abbot of the district of Chartres that they call Portensis, foretold his own departure when the Holy Spirit revealed it. After he was honorably buried, a church was built in his honor near the city of Orléans.

When the anniversary day of his assumption was solemnly celebrated and other citizens were proceeding to his church, a certain man, having a hoe, went to dig or cleanse a vineyard. When he was reproved by others because he did not attend this feast, he answered, “This man whom you worship was also a laborer.”

But when he entered the vineyard, his face was turned toward his back. Then, trembling and with great weeping, he entered the basilica as the people looked on. After a few days of praying continually in the same place, he recovered with his neck made straight.

I. Saint Gregory, Bishop of Langres

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, Gregory was born from the senators of Autun and governed that region for forty years so severely and strictly that the guilty could not endure him. He had a wife named Armentana, from whom he received sons. After her death he was elected bishop of Langres.

He caused thin barley loaves to be placed for himself beneath wheaten loaves. Breaking and distributing the wheaten loaves, he ate the barley ones without anyone knowing. He also did not drink wine, choosing such a glass that it concealed the clearness of the water.

Many demoniacs, signed with the rod that he was accustomed to carry, were healed; and if any sick person took anything from his bed, he was healed.

In ignorance he was accustomed to frequent the sepulcher of Saint Benignus. Saint Benignus appeared to him, rebuked him, and admonished him to build an oratory over his sepulcher. Made joyful by the martyr's discovery, he wept most bitterly because he had previously prohibited it and fittingly repaired the crypt that had fallen through age.

There, for love of the martyr, he had an oratory in which relics of many saints were kept. At night he proceeded to it from his house adjoining the baptistery. Striking the closed door with his hand alone, he opened it; entering, he prayed for a very long time in silence.

Afterward, for three hours and more, voices of saints singing psalms with him were heard. When this was completed, he returned so cautiously to his little bed and laid himself upon the couch that no one perceived it. The keepers of the baptistery unlocked the door with their own key and found it opened, as though no one had opened it.

On the day of this Gregory's burial, a certain religious man saw the heavens opened. The deceased had a face like a rose, but the rest of his body was white as a lily. He caused himself to be buried beside Saint Benignus.

As he was carried to burial, prisoners cried out that he should have mercy upon them. His body became so heavy that it could not be carried. When it had been set down, the beam in which the prisoners' feet were enclosed and constricted split in the middle after its obstacles had been repelled, and they were freed by the judge.

After much time, when his body was transferred to another place by Saint Tetricus, his successor and son, his face was found whole and unharmed, and nothing in his garment had changed.

A certain girl, combing her head on the Lord's Day, felt the teeth of the comb fastened to her fingers in such a way that she was greatly tormented. But she was healed at Saint Gregory's sepulcher.

In the time of Emperor Justinian also, as Sigebert says, two uterine brothers flourished in Gaul, born on one and the same day and consecrated pontiffs: Medard to the see of Noyon and Gildard to that of Rouen. On one day they were released from the world and received by Christ.

Concerning Saint Medard, Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* from his legend that, when he carried to an artisan the chasuble that his mother had given him, he gave it to a certain blind man who met him. Likewise, whatever he received for food while he pastured a flock of pigs he gave to the needy, while he himself was in want from day to day.

While still a boy in the schools, he predicted to a certain companion of his, Eleutherius, that he would receive the office of count in public administration and that, when thirty years old, he would become a pontiff. Thus it happened: that man was made bishop of Tournai.

At Medard's passing, the priest Vilcarius saw the heavens altogether opened, and lights shone before Saint Medard's body for three hours in the sight of all who were present. Immediately a great flood flowed over the earth when exceedingly warm rain fell from heaven.

II. Saint Germanus

Saint Germanus was a native of the territory of Autun, with Eleutherius as father and Eusebia as mother, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two. Because the said Eusebia his mother had conceived him within a brief space after another child, moved by womanly shame, she desired to destroy him before birth.

She took a potion to destroy him, but when she could not harm him, she lay upon her belly so that at least by her weight she might suffocate him whom poisons did not injure.

He had a companion named Stratidius. Stratidius's mother, in order to obtain Germanus's inheritance for her son, placed a prepared potion in one flask and wine in another, commanding a girl that, when both came from school, she should offer the wine to the former and the poison to the other. But she unknowingly exchanged the flasks and cups and gave the poison to Stratidius and the wine to Germanus. Although anxious care was expended upon Stratidius, even if death did not take away his life, it nevertheless fixed in him the sign of death.

Germanus was therefore appointed abbot at Saint Symphorian by the venerable pontiff Nectarius. The bishop, inflamed by Germanus's good works, thrust him into custody. By divine will the prison was opened to him, but he did not depart from it unless the bishop's command was humbly given to him.

When an accidental fire arose, Germanus took a pot from the hearth and climbed upon the structure, singing “Alleluia.” Pouring out a little water in the form of a cross, he restrained the fires.

A certain Frank named Kariulsus had invaded his possessions. A bear avenged Germanus, devouring three of Kariulsus's horses every day and always tripling the damage until that man came to his senses.

When Germanus entered to her, Anna, the wife of Ebro, said: “Behold, Saint Germanus seems to me to walk with a horned face.” Ebro himself, both for honor and for terror, by no means presumed to sit beside the saint on that day. We believe that, because of his conversation with the Lord, this saint merited to be seen horned, as Moses was.

Four years beforehand he knew that he would become a bishop. For in sleep he saw the keys of the gate of Paris being extended to him by a certain old man. When he asked why this was done, he received the answer that he should save souls. Therefore, when the bishop of that city died, while Germanus was going to meet King Childebert, he was immediately elected bishop of Paris.

As he went to the church of a certain village, he met a certain youth named Amantius, whom he discovered being led in chains because he refused to be subjected to Jewish laws. But when Saint Germanus made the sign of the cross over him, the chains were loosed.

Likewise, when he had gone to Paris to the church of Saints Gervasius and Protasius for the sake of praying and entrance was denied to him because the doors were closed, he made the sign of the cross and opened the bolt.

Why say more? Wherever the presence of the pontiff turned itself, medicine was lacking for no kind of disease. Before him even demons, unable to tolerate his presence, lamented their burnings with a terrible howl. When he carried his foot out of a house or church, one could see the slaughter of demons before the gaze of so great a pontiff and triumphator.

They fell in troops around the saint's footsteps, poured out in diverse ways: some mute, others crying out. As though reporting their deeds before a judge, they did not escape their own torments.

Moreover, it cannot be explained how prodigal he was in alms. Frequently content with one chasuble or tunic, with whatever remained he clothed a naked poor man, so that the needy man was warmed while the giver grew cold.

How great also was the outpouring of redemption in him, when from every side those who were to be freed from the yoke of servitude ran together at the name of the blessed man. When at some time nothing was in his hands, sitting sad and anxious, he was severe in countenance and austere in speech. Then, if perhaps he was invited by someone to a meal, he compelled the fellow guests or his own servants to contribute together that from it they might free even one captive from servitude.

Who could worthily repeat how great a power of words revolved in his mouth when he preached to the people, so that astonishment arose in every learned person and a general compunction was produced in common? From the mouth of the speaker one would believe that the words were formed by an angel, while he spoke more than a man and, carried away in an excess of mind, compelled the hearts of the people, with sincerity of doctrine, to burn with divine ointments.

Riding on a journey, he always either spoke something concerning God or the Word, or sang. He traveled with his head uncovered, even if snow or rain pressed upon him. When he came to the table, a servant was immediately present reciting divine discourses, so that amid the courses of food the guest's spirit might be more fully satisfied by spiritual nourishment. He sullied no time in which he did not either benefit another or advance himself.

He predicted the day of his death in this manner. Some days beforehand, summoning his notary to himself, he commanded him to write only this much above his bed in his chamber: “The fifth day before the Kalends of June.” Although everyone was ignorant what this might mean, the saint's departure from the world afterward made it manifest. For on that day, nearly eighty years old, he migrated to the Lord.

III. Saint Radegund, Queen in Francia

She was of a barbarian nation, from the region of Thuringia, with King Berengar as her father. When that region had been devastated by a victory of the Franks, she departed from her homeland. Then among the very men whose royal prey she was, a dispute arose concerning the captive girl. Unless she had been returned after the contest was concluded, the kings would have moved arms against one another.

When she came into the lot of King Lothar, she was taken into the region of Vermandois and assigned to guardians at the royal villa Athias for nurture. When the aforesaid king wished to receive her at Victuriacum after preparations had been made, she slipped away by night with a few persons.

Then, when he had directed her from Soissons so that he might require her as queen, she avoided royal pomp, lest she increase in the world; but she is not changed from him to whom even human glory is owed. She therefore married an earthly prince, yet was not separated from the heavenly one.

As secular dignity accrued to her, her will inclined itself more than dignity permitted. Fearing that she would be degraded by God as she advanced in worldly rank, she enriched herself with alms from her resources. For whenever anything came to her from tributes, from all the things that came to her she gave tithes before she received them. Then she distributed what remained to monasteries, and where she could not go on foot she went around by sending a gift.

Likewise, at night, when she reclined with the prince, asking that she wished to rise because of human necessity, she arose and left the chamber. For so long she bent down in prayer before the privy, having cast down haircloth, that, warmed by spirit alone, she lay penetrated by frost, her whole flesh half-dead.

Because of this the king was told that he had in her a monastic wife rather than a queen, whence he himself, irritated, was exceedingly harsh toward her good works. But she partly soothed and partly endured the quarrels modestly inflicted by her husband.

It is enough to know how, during the days of Lent, she governed herself while doing penance singularly amid royal garments. Therefore, as the time of fasting approached, she sent to a religious nun named Pia, who, in support of Radegund's holy purpose,

reverently sent her a haircloth sealed in linen. The saint put it against her body and carried it throughout all Lent beneath her royal garment as a sweet burden.

If the king was absent, who could believe how she poured herself out in prayer, how she bound herself as though present at Christ's feet, and how, as though filled with delicacies, she was satisfied by a long fast in tears? To her, contempt for the belly's food was complete refreshment in Christ, and her entire hunger in Christ was that which she accomplished solicitously through piety.

If anyone, as is customary, was assigned by the king to be killed for a criminal fault, the most holy queen was moved to torment lest the designated accused die by the sword. How she ran about among faithful household servants and nobles, by whose flatteries she soothed the prince's mind, until from the very anger of the king whence the lot of death had proceeded, thence ran forth the voice of salvation.

Divine clemency advanced her, occupied in these blessed deeds, to such a degree that even while she was still a laywoman in the palace, miracles were made manifest through her by the Lord's bounty.

Finally, while the most holy woman walked through a certain villa, men thrust into prison for a crime cried aloud from the prison that she should succor them. She asked what it was, but the servants lied that a crowd of beggars was seeking alms. Meanwhile those who were held in fetters were compelled by the judge to be silent. When night came, their chains were broken and, released from prison, they ran to meet the saint.

Because, with divinity prospering it, some occasion falls toward salvation so that she might live more religiously, her brother was killed innocently. Sent by the king, therefore, she came to blessed Medard at Noyon and urgently begged that, after her garment had been changed, he consecrate her to the Lord.

Immediately she took off the noble garment in which, on a most celebrated day and with pomp accompanying her, she was accustomed to proceed as queen, and placed it upon the altar. Removing her ornaments and gems, she venerably burdened the table of divine glory. Breaking the girdle weighted with gold, she gave it for the needs of the poor.

IV

Furthermore, the mind of the aforesaid Saint Radegund was intent upon Christ. At Poitiers, through the inspiration and cooperation of God's grace, she constructed a monastery for herself by the arrangement of the most exalted King Lothar. Rejoicing, she entered it, where she might both seek the ornaments of perfection and gather a great congregation of maidens to Christ, the bridegroom who never dies.

When an abbess had been elected and established, Radegund handed both herself and all her possessions over to her authority, reserving nothing for herself from her own right, so that she might run unencumbered after Christ's footsteps and increase so much more for herself in heaven as she had withdrawn from the world.

But the envious enemy of the goods of the human race, whose will she had abhorred to do even while she was in the world, did not cease to persecute her. For, just as she had already learned through messengers what she feared, the most exalted King Lothar came to Tours with his most excellent son Sigebert as though for the sake of devotion, so that he might more easily approach Poitiers and receive his queen.

When this became known, blessed Radegund composed sacramental letters under attestation to the apostolic man Saint Germanus, bishop of Paris, who was then with the king. She sent them more secretly through Proculus, her agent, with a present or blessings.

When the man full of God read them, he cast himself with tears at the king's feet before Saint Martin's sepulcher, beseeching him by divine attestation, as had been intimated to him through the letters, not to approach Poitiers.

Then the king, full of bitterness and understanding that this petition was that of the blessed queen, was led to penance, imputing this to evil counselors and judging himself unworthy because he had not merited to possess such a queen for longer. He also prostrated himself before Saint Martin's thresholds at the feet of the apostolic man, asking that on his behalf Germanus seek pardon from blessed Radegund, so that she might forgive what he had sinned against her through evil counselors.

Divine vengeance punished them concerning this in the present life. For just as Arius, fighting against the Catholic faith, deposited all his intestines in a privy, so it also happened to those who acted against blessed Radegund.

Then the king, fearing divine judgment, asked the blessed man Germanus, the bishop, to go swiftly to Poitiers to seek pardon on his behalf, which he did. Coming to Poitiers, Germanus entered the monastery's oratory and prostrated himself at the holy queen's feet, seeking pardon for the king.

Rejoicing that she had been snatched from the jaws of the world, she kindly forgave him and prepared herself, unencumbered for God's service, to follow Christ wherever he might go.

Who could enumerate the infinitely many ways in which she bore herself in each matter? At the table she also secretly ate fine-wheat or barley bread hidden beneath a flat cake, so that no one perceived it. For from the time when she was veiled by blessed Medard's consecration until her illness, she had nothing for food except legumes and vegetables—not fruit, fish, egg, or any other thing. For drink she took nothing except honeyed water and a drink called miratum [read: piracium, perry or pear cider].

Then, according to the custom of Saint Germanus, she commanded a very secret mill to be brought to her. During the whole forty-day fast she labored at it only as much as a four-day refreshment demanded.

When a bath had been prepared, on Saturday she, girded up, washed the heads of the needy, rubbing away whatever scab, mange, or moth-like corruption there was, not disdaining the purulent sores and at times drawing out worms, cleansing the putrefactions of the skin. She herself combed one by one the heads that she had washed. If, as they departed, anyone had worn-out garments, she took them away and returned new garments shorn of roughness.

She caused ragged people to be properly clothed before they came to a meal. When they had been gathered and the service prepared, she herself extended water or a cloth to each; and for the infirm she herself likewise wiped mouth and hands.

Then, when three courses had been brought, she stood fasting before those dining and was present to the guests. She herself cut the bread, meat, or whatever was set before them. For the sick and the blind she did not cease herself to extend foods with spoons.

Taking women covered with diverse spots of leprosy, she embraced them with a kiss, loving them with her whole soul in God. As they departed, she furnished assistance in gold or clothing.

During the first Lent in which she enclosed herself in a little cell until it had passed, she took no food of bread except on the Lord's Day, but only herbs or vegetables of mallows seasoned without a drop of oil and without salt. Taking not even two sextarii of water during the whole fast, she labored under so great a thirst that, with her throat dried, she could scarcely recite the psalms, parched.

Always having haircloth against her body, she completed vigils while chanting. Before her she had ashes spread out and, after haircloth had been thrown over them, used this for her little bed. She had no sleeve with which to clothe her arm except that she made two sleeves from her stocking. But she treated herself in such a way that not even the abbess perceived these things.

While all the nuns were still asleep, she cleaned and anointed their footwear and sent it back through the individual cells.

Of the monastic offices, nothing pleased her unless she served first. She chastised herself if she performed a good work after another. Therefore, in her turns, sweeping the monastery's streets or corners and cleansing whatever was filthy, she did not shrink from carrying away burdens that others abhorred even to see. Not delaying to cleanse even the secret work, she swept and carried away the stench of dung.

She believed herself the lesser unless she ennobled herself by the vileness of service, carrying wood upon her arms. Falling, and not withdrawing herself though injured, beyond her assigned week she served the infirm, herself preparing foods, washing the faces of the sick, then, when the meals had been completed, herself washing the vessels and cleaning the kitchen brightly.

She showed kindness to all, washing and kissing their feet; and, still prostrated before everyone, she begged pardon for negligence committed.

After so many labors, her own voice that reports them shudders at what punishments she inflicted upon herself. On one occasion she had iron rings brought to her and bound them around her neck or arms for forty days. Inserting three chains and binding them tightly around her body, she enclosed the hard iron as the tender flesh grew over it.

When the fast had passed and she wished to draw out the chains enclosed beneath the skin but could not, the flesh across her back and breast was cut in a circle over the chained iron, so that the blood poured out emptied her little body to the utmost.

On another occasion she commanded a plate of bronze to be made in the sign of Christ. Heating it in her cell, she pressed it deeply into two places of her body, with all the flesh cooked. Thus, while the spirit burned, she caused the limbs to burn.

Still devising something more grievous against herself as her own torturer, during one Lent, beyond the austere fast and the torment of burning thirst, while the punishment of haircloth scattered her tender limbs with rough bristles, she commanded a brazier full of burning coals to be carried in.

When the others had departed from there, her trembling limbs were armed in spirit for punishment, considering that because these were not times of persecution she could not become a martyr. Amid these things, as though to cool so fervent a spirit, she resolved to set her body on fire.

The glowing metal was applied, hissing as it burned the limbs. The innermost skin was consumed wherever the heat touched it. A silent pit was made where it touched, but the decaying blood disclosed the openings because her voice did not betray her in the punishment. Thus, for the sweetness of Christ, the woman willingly received so many bitter things. Hence it came about that miracles did not keep silent about what she herself had hidden.

Praise of God departed from her heart and mouth to so small a degree that, on a certain day, when she saw the monastery's doorkeeper, named Codegundis, passing by, when she wished to call her by her name she cried, “Alleluia.” She did this a thousand times.

Never was a lie, never a curse, uttered from her mouth against any person whatever. Not only did she not detract from anyone, but she did not even hear one who detracted. She always prayed patiently for those who persecuted her and taught others to pray.

She never imposed upon anyone what she herself had not first done. From wherever a servant of God came, she solicitously inquired how he served God. If she learned from him any new thing that she herself did not do, she immediately first imposed it upon herself with all alacrity, and afterward both taught it to the congregation by word and displayed it by example.

When a psalm or reading ceased before her, she never departed. Although at night she seemed to take sleep for the space of scarcely one hour, a reading was always being read. When the reading ceased, her mind, intent upon Christ, seemed to say, “I sleep, and my heart watches.”

Concerning her miracles: a certain woman, when she labored grievously from an invasion of the enemy and they were scarcely able to bring the rebellious foe to the saint, commanded the adversary with his swelling to cast himself upon the pavement. As soon as he cast himself to the earth according to the blessed woman's command, he who was feared became afraid and was expelled.

Because the glory of the Creator also exists in the smallest things, it happened that, while a ball of yarn that the saint had spun hung from the chamber, a mouse came to touch it. Before it bit through the thread, it died and hung in its bite.

The most blessed woman asked that a stout laurel tree be torn from its place and transferred to her little cell for delight. When this had been done, because the transplanted root did not adhere, it became wholly dry in its leaves.

The abbess jestingly imputed this to her, saying that unless she prayed that the tree adhere to the earth, she would abstain from food. This was not said vainly, for through the saint's intercession the dried laurel revived in leaves, branches, and root.

Likewise, when the said saint was enclosed in her little cell, she heard weeping over a little nun who had died. Compassionating her corpse, the saint commanded it to be carried to her little cell and commanded everyone to depart. Meanwhile, while the funeral rites were prepared, she handled the little body, which had been dead for seven hours, and by praying restored her to life and health.

When she sent to the emperor for a portion of the wood of the saving cross and they brought some from it, she placed it in her monastery at Poitiers. Many miracles were displayed in the presence of this wood.

But when the messengers made their journey by sea, a great storm arose, so that their ship lay exposed to perils in the middle of the sea for forty days and nights. Despairing of escape, they invoked Saint Radegund for their aid. At the invocation of her name, a dove appeared. Circling the ship, it restored her servants from the gates of death to life.

At the very hour in which she migrated from the world, the saint appeared in sleep to a tribune of the treasury named Demolemus when he was failing entirely from an illness of suffocation. Touching his throat, she healed him, commanding that he release seven men whom he held in prison.

Awakening and finding himself healthy, he judged that the saint had migrated at that hour. Sending a messenger, he found it so, and he absolved from prison those who had been freed.

Vinoberga was one of her servants. By a rash presumption she presumed to sit in the blessed queen's chair after her departure. When she had done this, struck by God's judgment, she burned so greatly that everyone saw smoke proceeding upward from her. Confessing before all the people, she cried out that she had sinned and that she burned because she had sat in the blessed woman's seat.

For three days and nights, suffering the burning, she cried aloud: “Lady Radegund, I have sinned. I acted wickedly; forgive me. Cool my limbs burned by harsh torment.” All the people, seeing her in so great a punishment, prayed for her. Thus the blessed woman, kindly yielding to everyone's prayers, restrained the burning fire, and Vinoberga returned home safe.

The passing of this saint is observed on the Ides of August.

V. Brendan and Maglorius

At that time, as Sigebert says, Brendan was illustrious in Scotland. Seeking the Fortunate Isles by a seven-year voyage, he saw many things worthy of miracle.

Machutus, who is also called Maglorius, having been brought up according to the rule by Brendan and having been his companion in that voyage, was illustrious in Britain for sanctity and miracles.

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, Maglorius was born of noble parents in quadrangular Britain, from a mother said to be already decrepit, namely sixty-six years old, who was the sister of Haymo, the father of Saint Samson.

Saint Brendan the abbot baptized this Maglorius, received him thereafter as a spiritual son to be spiritually educated, and instructed him in letters. Although tender in age, he was nevertheless strong in spirit and founded in stable gravity. He testified that a fiery vigor burned strongly within his little body, so that while his fellow pupils were seen to chatter their teeth from excessive cold, he, fervent in spirit, was warm in body at every hour.

Accordingly, in the manner of boys, he and his fellow pupils proceeded to the seashore, so that they might relieve the labor of discipline by permission to play. But while the others fled before the inundation of the continually swelling sea, abandoned their play, and returned to the schools, the holy boy remained on the shore, sleeping upon a bundle of seaweed.

As the sea approached, it did not touch him at all but surrounded him. By divine will, as greatly as it rose around him, so greatly was the place on the shore where he lay raised up.

At last the boy, awakened by the horror of the sound of the waves, looked around. When he saw none of his fellow pupils, he began to call them by name. When no one answered him, he said within himself: “Almighty God, where have I now been placed? Do not abandon me, but aid me.”

Meanwhile the master solicitously asked the disciples where his most beloved pupil was. When they answered that they did not know, he groaned, fearing that Maglorius had been submerged. With evening already imminent, he proceeded to the seashore with his schoolboys, and they began to look all around through the waves of the sea, to see whether perhaps they might happen to see even the boy's corpse.

Not finding him, they returned to the monastery and celebrated the boy's funeral rites as though he were already dead. But while Saint Brendan prayed at night, an angel appeared to him, signifying that the boy was safe amid the sea's waves. “Behold,” he said, “for the boy's preservation a perpetual island has been made where he lay sleeping.”

Then the saint, giving thanks to the Lord, went with the brothers to the shore in the morning. There he saw the boy singing praises to the Lord upon a higher place of the island and joyfully greeted him.

Inviting everyone to bless God, the boy added: “Permit me to remain for at least one day now where the Savior's piety has deigned to illuminate me by a miracle. But bring my psalter also, so that I may have it with me; and if there is no means by which it may be carried to me, place it in the sea.”

When the holy master cast it into the sea, the bundle of seaweed upon which the boy had lain sleeping ran up, received the psalter upon itself, and presented it to the boy on the island, unwetted by the waters.

When Saint Brendan wished to assign him to his parents at their request, the boy said tearfully: “Holy master, venerable also to my parents, did I not hear, when the Gospel was read, ‘Do not call anyone your father upon earth’?” Thus his parents left him with the master.

On a certain night, he rose so that, according to custom, he might carry before the master into the church for Matins a candle burning in a lamp. When he approached the lamp or lantern to light it, the other boys, his companions, at envy's instigation, extinguished the fire from which the light ought to be kindled, wishing him to suffer blows from the master on this account.

When he discovered this, the boy, uncertain what to do, gathered at least the dead coals into his bosom. Suddenly fire broke forth among them, while his garment remained unharmed by them. Returning to the master, he found the candle illuminated by an angel.

Thus, remaining a virgin throughout his whole life, he put on the monastic habit. At last, when Saint Machutus returned to his homeland after a long voyage, flashing with miracles, the kings and nobles of that province elected him to the summit of the episcopate.

Solemnly ordained and happily administering the sacred office for some time, he again equipped ships and came to a certain island with Brendan, his former master. There they found a sepulcher of marvelous size.

Then Saint Brendan with his brothers asked blessed Machutus that by his prayer he should raise whatever body was buried there. Although at first he excused himself from this work, lest he appear disobedient to his master he prostrated himself with tears and, praying, raised the dead man, who was of giant stature.

When asked who he was and of what condition, he answered that he was named Milduinus and had been a pagan and idolater. He also narrated the torments that he had endured with the other lost souls and that through the merits of blessed Machutus he had been snatched from them.

He confessed that Christ is true God and the Son of God, and that the Jews who crucified him were tormented more than the others. Understanding, therefore, that he had been raised by the power of the Deity, he urgently sought to be reborn from water and the Spirit. Instructed by Machutus in the faith, he received baptism and, after a short time, rested in the Lord.

At last, preparing to return to their homeland, they moved their vessel from its station. When the most sacred day of Easter dawned, looking around, they approached what seemed to be a small island. There, at the brothers' suggestion, Machutus began to celebrate the solemnities of the Masses.

As the brothers sang the Mass with psalmody, the order of the Mass reached the Lord's Prayer. Then suddenly the whole thing that seemed to be an island was moved. It was a beast of those called whales, an inhabitant of the abyss, of so great a size that a little earlier they had believed it to be an island or some considerable expanse of land.

Those standing above perceived that it was a living animal. While everyone, terrified and crying out that they would now be submerged and swallowed, the man of the Lord stood unafraid, trusting in God, until the Mass had been completed. He began to comfort the company of brothers, setting before them the prophet Jonah, preserved unharmed for three days in the whale's belly, and saying that divine aids are present where human aids are absent.

When all fled to the ship, the holy man prostrated himself in prayer, asking God to make that whale immovable until that congregation of brothers escaped unharmed. Thus it happened that it remained immovable.

The same Saint Machutus, when he celebrated Mass on the vigil of Easter, commanded men carrying a corpse before the church doors to wait until the completion of the Mass. When it had been completed, by his prayer he restored that dead man to life.

When the man who had been raised, being thirsty, sought a drink of wine, the saint commanded that a marble vessel full of water be brought. By his episcopal blessing he converted the marble vessel into glass and the water in it into excellent wine.

As he traveled through Britain preaching the word of God, he found a swineherd mourning because by the cast of a stone he had killed a sow, since it had unseasonably devoured the crops. Seven piglets lay upon her, unable to draw milk or anything from her teats.

Compassionating him, the saint of God placed the point of his staff into the sow's ear. Thus she revived and nourished her young.

Likewise, when in a certain place many things had been brought to him and his companions, among the rest a certain countryman gave a little ass for carrying wood from the forest. One day a wolf killed and ate it. But the saint of God went into the forest where the wolf had withdrawn, caused the wolf to come to him, and placed upon it the burden of wood to be carried in place of the ass. Made a domestic animal, it performed the ass's office in carrying burdens.

The Lord performed very many other things through him. At last he rested with a holy end on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of December.

VI. Saint Samson of Dol

Sigebert relates that at that time Samson, archbishop of Dol and kinsman of blessed Maglorius, and Maglorius, Samson's successor—who had crossed from Britain beyond the sea to Britain on this side—were illustrious for sanctity and miracles.

As Vincent relates from Samson's deeds in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, this Samson was born in the province of Metiana from noble parents: his mother was Anna, formerly sterile, and his father Amon. It was revealed by the Lord to his mother herself that she would conceive such a son, upon whom she should impose the name Samson, who would become great in the sight of God and a holy priest.

Thus conceived and born, when he was five years old and wished to attend schools, his father opposed it lest he become a cleric. But, admonished by a heavenly rebuke through a dream, he was warned not to recall him from the schools.

He was therefore under the mastership of an excellent teacher of the Britons named Elchut, who was one of Saint Germanus's disciples. He was the wisest of all the Britons in all the Scriptures of the New and Old Testaments and all the arts of philosophy.

Thus the boy, instructed by him in letters, when he was about fifteen years old exercised himself in fasts and vigils more than everyone, so that he often strove to observe fasts of two days.

On a certain day in summertime, when the brothers had gone out to clear harmful growths of herbs from the crop, a certain snake coming out of a bush bit one brother in the groin. He immediately fell to the earth half-dead. When everyone despaired of his life, Samson came and, entreating God for his safety over the space of three hours, restored him completely to health.

When the aforesaid Samson was ordained deacon by Lord Dubricius, the pope—that is, the bishop—a dove was seen to descend upon him and remain immovable. The same happened when in his time he was promoted to the priesthood.

The more he ascended to a higher grade, the more he inserted himself into the path of stricter abstinence. Overcoming lustful incitements in the flower of his youth, he possessed a voluntary purity of the flesh as though by nature. He never tasted anything of any animal throughout his whole life.

Out of envy, one of the brothers offered him a death-bearing cup infected with poison, the malice of which had been shown by the trial of a certain animal that died from it. Drinking it, Samson was harmed in no respect.

But because the man who had committed so great a crime against the saint did no penance within himself, God's vengeance came swiftly. For on the following Lord's Day, when he communicated from Samson's hand, Satan entered him with the morsel and tormented him terribly, so that he tore himself, shamefully stripped himself naked, and lacerated his lips with his teeth.

But when the man of God Samson compassionated him and entreated with tears on his behalf, he obtained his deliverance, while the man performed penance before everyone for the evil committed.

The saint passed almost the whole night sleepless, occupying himself in reading and meditating upon the Scriptures. If it was ever necessary for him to rest as a man, inclining himself against a wall or the support of some hard object, he never slept upon a bed.

Inspired by God, he undertook a long journey to visit his infirm father. As he passed through a forest, a companion of his, fallen to the earth and half-dead from fear and horror of a certain monstrous animal that met them, was restored to safety by his prayer.

At last he came to the house of his father Amon. Rejoicing greatly at his arrival, his father publicly brought forth a capital crime that he had concealed within himself, vowed himself to the service of God, and caused his head to be tonsured. He also caused his wife, Samson's mother, with their five sons, to serve the Most High. But one sister, then a little girl, whom Samson foreknew would be entangled in pleasures, he nevertheless commanded to be nourished because she was a creature of God.

Then, returning to the former monastery, he found a terrible serpent in the grove. When it breathed against him with its head aflame, he killed it by the sign of the cross.

Created abbot in his monastery, he taught his brothers by word and example to live according to the Rule and the life of the saints. After a year and a half, entering a vast solitude, he resolved to dwell alone so that he might enjoy God more frequently. There by prayer he also procured for himself a spring of water.

In a nocturnal vision three bishops crowned with a golden diadem appeared to him as they entered the church. When he asked their names, they said that they were Peter, James, and John and had come to confirm him as bishop.

Hence, a little afterward, bishops assembled with Dubricius his metropolitan to provide a bishop for a certain widowed church. When the Lord revealed to them that Samson should be received for that pontificate, it pleased everyone to assent to him.

A dove was seen to descend upon him and remain until he was ordained bishop. It was seen by Dubricius and two excellent monks, when he celebrated Mass, that fire solemnly went forth from his mouth and nostrils. At his Masses, from the day when he was ordained priest, angels were ministers of his altar and sacrifice.

At last, while he solemnly celebrated Mass at Easter, an angel of the Lord appeared to him, strengthened him, and admonished him to set out across the sea.

Undertaking the journey, he visited his mother on the way and also found his sister separated from her mother and polluted by adultery. Because she persisted in this evil, he excommunicated her.

After doctrine and miracles, he at last came by ship into Lesser Britain. Descending from the ship near the harbor, he found a certain man weeping, looking toward the sea, and remaining at the door of his hut. When Samson asked him the cause of his grief, he said: “I have in this hut a leprous wife and a demon-possessed daughter, and I await a man from across the sea who ought to heal them, as was promised to me.”

The man of God therefore entered the hut and, pouring out a prayer over them, restored them to health.

In those parts he founded a monastery called Dol. After very many had been gathered there to serve God, and not ceasing by day or night from divine conversations and prayer, while devoting himself to fasts and vigils, he rested in peace, illustrious in miracles.

VII. Saint Ethbinus

As the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, relates, this saint was born in the regions of Britain. Most noble in his father's house, he was instructed in the liberal arts until his fifteenth year.

When his father died, his mother fled to Saint Samson, who consecrated her with the sacred veil and dedicated her to God; shaving the hair of her son Ethbinus's head, he made him a cleric. Remaining with Samson for some years, Ethbinus continually served him.

On a certain day while Samson celebrated, Ethbinus heard the words of the Lord saying in the Gospel: “He who does not renounce all that he possesses cannot be my disciple.” Compelled by this voice, he abandoned everything and came to Saint Similianus the abbot. He received the monastic habit from his hand and, in the monastery of Tauracum, bent his neck beneath the Lord's yoke.

In this monastery dwelt Saint Vignalocus, priest and monk. At the abbot's command he was accustomed to visit a church one mile distant from the monastery and there offer sacrifices to the Lord. For this he joined to himself Saint Ethbinus the deacon as a companion.

On a certain day, therefore, as they went, they found a leper lying in a field, filled entirely with wounds and asking aid from them with a tearful voice. When asked concerning his infirmity, he said: “Grievous pains rage throughout my body, but beyond them one pain is so harmful that, if I pass this day without its alleviation, I judge death to be near. For my nostrils, full of dung, are burned by the heat of the infirmity.”

Then Ethbinus, seizing him by the sides, lifted him upward from the ground, and Vignalocus extended his hands to the man's nostrils. But the poor man began to cry with a tearful voice: “Do not, elder, take my nostrils with your hands, because the pain does not permit it. But if you wish to wash away my pain, it is necessary that you put my nostrils into your mouth and draw in this way.”

Then Vignalocus, exalted by merits, humbled himself. When he thought to alleviate the poor man's pain, with his own mouth he received the flesh of the Son of God. Immediately, as he drew it to himself, a marvelous piece fell into his mouth.

Blessed Ethbinus, holding the Lord by the sides, looked upward, saw heaven opened, and saw the holy cross appear upon the head of the Lord whom he held. He also saw the Lord's angels coming to meet them.

Then he said to the priest: “Holy father, believe that the one whom I hold with my hands and you with your mouth is our Lord Jesus Christ, who handed himself over for us.”

When they wished to hold the Lord with their hands, he lifted himself into the clouds, saying: “My servants, you were not ashamed of me in my afflictions; neither shall I be ashamed of you in the kingdom of my Father. Your inheritance is with me, and salvation in my kingdom belongs to those who will have been mindful of you in their prayers.”

When he had said these things, he vanished from their eyes and was received into heaven. As they remained stupefied, each began to attribute the miracle to the other: Vignalocus to Ethbinus because of his perfect obedience, so that he omitted nothing commanded to him; Ethbinus to Vignalocus because of his daily celebration of Mass.

Finally, when the Franks devastated Britain, Ethbinus sought the regions of Ireland. In a forest called Nectensis, as a poor pilgrim, he made a hut and built a church in which he served the Lord.

On a certain day, in the name of Christ, he healed a lame man seeking alms from him. A certain woman also sought healing for her paralytic son. Ethbinus answered her: “We sinners cannot perform this miracle; we do not have this in practice. But if you wish your son to be healed, lead him to Saint Brigid's sepulcher.”

She said: “O father, I have already carried him there, but on a certain night I heard a voice telling me to approach you.” Entering the oratory, therefore, Ethbinus poured out prayers to the Lord on his behalf and restored him to health.

The holy man lived in that same place for twenty years, flashing with miracles. He was of such great abstinence that food entered him during the week only on Thursday, and that food was bread and water. He drank wine only when he communicated.

When he was now eighty-three years old and wearied by sharp pain, he summoned the brothers and foretold his death. After commending them to God, he rendered up his spirit before the altar on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of November.

VIII. Saint Basolus

In the second year of Emperor Justin, as Sigebert says, Basolus the abbot and Sindulphus, priest and recluse, were illustrious in Francia.

This Basolus, as Vincent relates from his deeds in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, was born in the territory of Limoges. When, in the times of his youth, the growth of sacred service touched him, he turned himself wholly to the work of divine service.

When he moved his foot beyond the boundaries of that place as a pilgrim, an angel of the Lord appeared to him as a companion on the journey. With the angel as guide, he came to the city of Reims, where the holy man Egidius, fourth after blessed Remigius, held the pontificate.

King Chilperic of the Franks and the nobles of the kingdom loved Egidius greatly. Thus, in the dispute that had arisen between Chilperic and Childebert concerning the principate of the kingdom, the same prelate did not fail to aid King Childeric [read: King Chilperic]. Hence he afterward sustained many adversities.

Honorably received by this man, the man of God Basolus sought that a more secret dwelling be granted to him because he had the intention of avoiding the crowds of peoples. At first, by the grace and authority of the same pontiff, he led the monastic life in a certain monastery at the roots of the mountain of Reims.

When he had grown sublimely from virtue to virtue, wishing to undertake the solitary way, he constructed for himself a cell with an oratory on the summit of the wooded mountain. Dwelling there for forty years, he faithfully fought in singular combat against the ancient serpent.

When he labored there from lack of water, he turned devoutly to God and prayed. More quickly than it can be said, a spring began to flow most abundantly in that same place, sweet to drink and healthful for the infirm to drink.

When a certain rich and powerful man named Attila entered that forest for the sake of hunting, he pursued a fleeing boar of marvelous size. Ascending the mountain, it came to the cell of the man of God and, laying aside all ferocity, stood prostrate before his feet as though imploring protection for its life.

Compassionating it, Basolus fixed the beast's pursuers in one place by so great a power that they perceived with their eyes the beast very near to them, yet were wholly unable to touch it. Then Attila, recognizing God's power and seeking pardon for his presumption, conferred upon the holy man whatever around that place was under his right and also certain estates to possess.

A certain man, judged for a crime committed and suspended from a gibbet, was already near his end amid the nooses when the memory of this holy confessor suddenly came to him. With what voice he could muster and with his whole heart constrained, he invoked Saint Basolus and tearfully asked him to come to his aid.

Immediately the noose broke and the man fell from on high. Astonishment rushed upon everyone, and that man, free, departed from death.

IX. Saint Amandus

In the sixth year of Emperor Justin, Saint Amandus was born. As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, he was born of noble parents and instructed from infancy in sacred letters. He left his parents and assumed the habit of religion in a certain monastery.

While he walked around the monastery on a certain day, he suddenly found a very great serpent, which immediately, by the power of the cross and prayer, he compelled to return to its pit, never to depart from there.

Afterward, leaving that monastery for the sake of pilgrimage, he came to Tours, to blessed Martin's sepulcher. There he remained in a certain cell for fifteen years, always covered with haircloth and sustained by water and barley bread.

From there he went to Rome to visit the thresholds of the apostles. When on a certain night he wished to keep vigil in the church, the church's keeper irreverently cast him out. While he slept before the church doors, Saint Peter appeared to him, asking him to return to Francia for the sake of preaching.

When he came there and preached the word of God with the greatest constancy, he suffered many injuries. When he rebuked Dagobert, the king of Francia himself, concerning his crimes, he was expelled from his kingdom.

At last, when the king had no son, he asked the Lord to give him a son who could succeed him in the kingdom. When, therefore, by God's will he had a son, the king solicitously considered who should baptize him, and Saint Amandus came to his mind. On this account he caused him to be diligently sought.

When Amandus had been found and brought by royal command, he was received with great joy. The king, prostrate at his feet, asked him to forgive what he had perpetrated against him and to baptize the son whom the Lord had granted him.

Amandus freely granted the first petition. But, fearing to be entangled in secular business, he altogether refused the second and departed. Nevertheless, the king sent to him Saint Eligius and his companion Dado. Wearied by their entreaties, Amandus came to the king and baptized his son.

After this, when the bishop of Traiectum migrated to the Lord, the king, although Saint Amandus resisted greatly, placed him in the cathedral seat in the church of Traiectum and caused him to be elevated there.

When he had steadfastly preached the word of God there for three years and saw his preaching despised by very many, he abandoned those who despised him and entered Vasconia, a most ferocious nation, for the sake of preaching.

When he had entered it and a certain frivolous and wanton entertainer began verbally to disparage his preaching, the man was immediately seized by a demon and began to lacerate and tear himself with his teeth. Crying aloud that he had done injury to God's servant, he expired.

Proceeding from there to another city, Amandus was humanely received by the bishop of the city. When that bishop, for the sake of humility and hospitality, gave water for his hands, Amandus commanded that the water be carefully preserved. For he believed that through the man's merits it would be for the salvation of many of the faithful, and this followed. For a certain blind man, washing his eyes with that water, suddenly received his sight.

After these things Saint Amandus, returning into Gaul, obtained from King Childebert a place called Manto, so that he might build a monastery there. But a certain bishop of the city of Ulcina, bearing this with displeasure, commanded his servants to cast him out from there or else to kill him.

Coming to him deceitfully, they told him to proceed with them and that they would show him a place suitable for constructing a monastery. But the saint, recognizing their malice because God revealed it to him, went with them to the summit of the mountain where they had resolved to kill him. Nevertheless, he had not told this to his own companions because he greatly desired martyrdom.

But when a storm suddenly arose, rain and hail so covered the mountain that the malicious men who had resolved to kill him saw absolutely nothing. Now thinking that they were going to die, they prostrated themselves, sought pardon, and entreated him to permit them to depart alive. Then the saint prayed until serenity had been restored and their sight recovered, and they returned to their own places.

At last Saint Amandus, after many miracles, rested in peace.

X. Saint Paul, Bishop of Léon

Saint Paul, bishop of Léon, was entrusted from childhood to the blessed man Hydultus to be formed in learning and morals, together with Saint Samson, afterward to become a bishop.

When Paul came to the house of his sister, situated upon the shore of the British sea, at her request he poured out prayers to the Lord that the waves of the sea might be restrained within an appointed channel and that the desired land might be enlarged by some space for her and the inhabitants of her island.

When the sea suddenly drew back its waves and dry land began to appear, he and his sister alike arose from prayer and approached the shore. Then Paul commanded his sister to carry little stones in her hands as far as the furthest margin of the sea. For the land, drained of the waters, had been enlarged by his prayer for a thousand paces or more.

Then they bent their knees in prayer upon the shore. When it was finished, Paul, turned toward the sea, said: “Let the little stones that I have placed at your boundaries be a sign between me and you, so that you may never again dare to cross them or enter these territories of ours.” The dreadful element of the sea observes the command of this speech even to the present day.

When they returned home, they suddenly saw that by divine power the aforesaid little stones had been made stone columns of marvelous size, so that the thing simply requested was returned doubled. The way that they took that day, walking through the midst of those columns, is still called Paul's Path among the Britons.

On a certain day, when they were making a journey and the disciples, grievously wearied as they traversed the forests, sought water and did not find it, he miraculously procured it for them. He also compelled a very great serpent to go over a precipice into the sea.

XI. Saint Gregory, Archbishop of Tours

As Sigebert says, in the eighth year of Justinian Gregory was ordained archbishop of Tours and was held illustrious in all things.

As Vincent relates from his deeds in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-two, Gregory was a native of the region of Auvergne. Once, when he was making the journey from Burgundy to Auvergne, a great storm arose against him: dense rain was gathered in the clouds, and the sky began to flash with frequent fires and resound with thunder.

While everyone grew pale with fear, Gregory drew from his bosom the relics of the saints that he continually carried around his neck and steadfastly held them against the clouds. These were immediately divided and, passing to the right and left, provided those making the journey an unharmed passage.

But pride, which is very often nourished by virtues, crept completely into his youthful mind. And because a fall is near to pride, while he privately rejoiced and arrogated to his own merits the aid that had been furnished, the horse upon which he sat immediately fell and dashed him grievously to the earth. Bruised throughout his whole body, he could scarcely rise. Understanding sufficiently the cause of his fall, he thereafter took care lest the spur of vainglory cast him down upon any occasion.

Thus, burning with love of blessed Martin and being exceedingly suitable for the pastoral office, he received the cathedral seat of Tours to govern in Martin's place, after blessed Euphronius, who had governed that church immediately before him, migrated to the Lord.

Gregory himself furnished many churches and published books in praise of the saints and in exposition of the sacred Scriptures. He repaired in vaulted form the mother church that blessed Martin had constructed and that had been consumed by excessive age, and he adorned it with historical scenes from the deeds of Martin himself.

Once, when he was proceeding along a road carrying around his neck a golden cross with relics, he saw the little lodging of a certain poor man, covered with leaves and the cuttings of twigs, being burned. The man, with his wife and children, ran noisily here and there and carried water, but they were unable to diminish the flames.

Then Gregory ran up and raised the cross against the balls of flame. Immediately, at the sight of the sacred relics, the whole fire was so stupefied that it was unable to scorch any further, even in the least, those things that it had already seized.

Once Gregory went to the sepulcher of blessed Hilary to make supplication. From there he turned aside to visit Saint Radegund, formerly a queen and then a nun. While the two inhabitants of paradise spoke together concerning the times, the oil that was accustomed to flow there drop by drop before the pledges of the Holy Cross so increased at the arrival of the pontiff that within the space of one hour it overflowed beyond one sextary.

Moreover, when this blessed queen was to be summoned to the kingdom of heaven, Gregory received a message concerning her passing. When she had already migrated as he hastened to her, he placed her sacred limbs in the sepulcher.

He had completed sixteen years in the episcopate when that namesake of his, Gregory the Great, was installed in the Apostolic See. It is also believed that each had long been bound to the other by familiar friendship.

Thus, when this Gregory journeyed to the sacred thresholds of the apostles, the pope received him with great reverence. Leading him to the confession of blessed Peter, he placed him at his side and requested that he rise.

Meanwhile the pope, since he was of most profound understanding, marveled at the secret dispensation of God. He considered that so great a grace had flowed into this man, for he was short in stature. Gregory soon perceived this divinely and, rising from prayer, looked toward the pope with his customary placid countenance and said: “The Lord made us, and not we ourselves. He is the same in the small as in the great.”

When the holy pope recognized that his thought had been answered, rejoicing that he himself had been detected, he thereafter began to hold in great veneration the grace that he had hitherto marveled at in Gregory. He so ennobled the see of Tours that he also gave it a golden chair, which by his decree was thereafter to be preserved at the aforesaid see.

When Gregory died, he caused himself to be buried in such a pavement or place that he would be trodden under the feet of everyone and held in no reverence. But the flock of blessed Martin, not tolerating such things, lifted him from that place and set him with due reverence in a beautiful elevated mausoleum at the left of the sepulcher of Saint Martin.

He died on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of December. He wrote the history of the kings of the Franks, from which many things in this work have been excerpted; the miracles of blessed Martin after his passing, in four books; and many other things.

XII. Saint John the Almsgiver

In the time of Emperor Phocas, as Vincent relates from his deeds in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-three, chapter one hundred eight, John, patriarch of Alexandria, flourished. He was surnamed John the Almsgiver.

When he was still in Cyprus, a youth of fifteen years, one night in sleep he saw a maiden brighter than the sun and adorned. She stood before his bed and struck him on the side. Awakening, when he truly saw her standing and thought her to be a woman, who also bore upon her head a crown made from branches of olives, he signed himself with the sign of the cross and said to her: “Who are you, and how have you dared to come in upon me while I sleep?”

With a cheerful countenance and smiling lips, she said to him: “I am the first of the king's daughters. If you possess me as a friend, I shall lead you into the emperor's presence.” Saying these things, she disappeared.

Returning to himself, he therefore understood the vision and said: “I truly believe that it is almsgiving and compassion that truly caused God to be clothed with flesh.”

Immediately he clothed himself and, waking no one, went to the church. It was already dawn. As he went, he met a certain man afflicted by the cold, stripped himself of his goatskin garment, and gave it to him.

He had not yet reached the church when suddenly a certain man clothed in white met him and gave him a bundle of one hundred nomismata, saying: “Receive this, brother, and dispense it as you wish.” Receiving it at once for joy, John returned, wishing to give back that bundle as though he needed nothing, but he found no one. Understanding, therefore, that the vision was not a fantasy but the truth, he often dispensed to the brethren whatever he was able.

A certain rich man whose house thieves had entered and stripped down to the straw approached him with great reverence and told him his calamity. Having compassion upon him, John commanded that fifteen pounds of gold be given to him. But the men to whom the gold had been entrusted, accepting the counsel of the steward and envying through the operation of the devil, gave him only five pounds.

When the archbishop was returning from the collect, a certain woman gave him in writing notice of a gift of five *centenaria* of gold. When he had received it, he summoned the dispensers and said to them: “How many pounds did you give to the man who came to me for alms?”

They said: “Lord, fifteen, as your Holiness commanded.” When through the grace dwelling within him he knew that they had lied, he brought in the man who had received it and asked what he had received. When the man said that he had received five pounds, John brought forth the written notice that had been handed to him and said to them: “God will require from you the other ten *centenaria*. For if you had given fifteen pounds, as my humility commanded, she who brought five *centenaria* would also have given ten. And that I may make you certain, I shall bring her to you.”

When he summoned that woman through messengers, she immediately arose, came with the quantity of gold, and clasped the holy man's feet. When he had received the offering and prayed over it, he said to her: “I beseech you, did you not wish to offer only this to God, or something else also?”

When she perceived that this God-bearing man knew what she had done, she was shaken with fear and said: “By Saint Menna, with my own hand I, your handmaid, had written fifteen *centenaria* to give to you, my lord, and I found ten erased of themselves. Then, stupefied, I said within myself, ‘Surely it is not God's will that I give more than five.’”

Then, when the patriarch dismissed her, the dispensers fell at his feet seeking indulgence and declaring that they would do nothing further of this kind.

This saint possessed knowledge of the Scriptures, not in the wisdom of speech for empty glory, but in the execution of works and in the secret counsel of each day. No idle speech was heard, unless perhaps the ordering of civil affairs required it; rather, there were the religious practices of the holy fathers, the traditions of the Scriptures, or dogmatic problems because of the multitude of heretics surrounding the region.

If anyone began to disparage another, as one wise and ingenious he diverted him through another discourse. If the man persisted again, John summoned the weekly attendant and commanded him not to permit the man to enter to him again, so that through him he might moderate and instruct the others.

While he reclined upon a low couch and used cheap garments in his cell, a certain one of the city's landholders came up to him and saw that he was covered with a torn woolen covering. He sent him a covering worth thirty-six nomismata, earnestly asking that John cover himself with it in remembrance of him.

Because of the man's insistence, John received it and was covered by it for one night. Throughout almost the whole night he said to himself, as his chamber-servants related: “Who will say that humble John is covered with a cloak worth thirty-six nomismata while Christ's brethren are killed by the cold? How many desire to be filled with a little of the vegetables that are cast out from my kitchen? How many can even smell the wine that is poured out in my cellar? How many, do you think, are afflicted by hunger, cold, and miseries?

“But you expect also to attain eternal delight; you drink wine, devour immense fishes, and remain in bedchambers. Now, moreover, with all your evils, you warm yourself beneath a covering worth thirty-six nomismata. Truly, living thus and conversing amid such ease, you will not expect to enjoy everlasting joys there, but you will surely hear what that rich man heard: ‘You received good things in your life, and Lazarus likewise evil things,’ and so forth.

“Blessed be God: another night shall not cover humble John. For it is just that one hundred forty brethren of your Lord be covered rather than you, unhappy man.”

Immediately on the following day he sent the covering to be sold. But the man who had offered it bought it and presented it again to the patriarch so that he might be covered by it. When he had done this a third time, the holy man said to him joyfully: “We shall see who fails, I or you.” For that man was exceedingly wealthy. The holy man gently harvested him, little by little taking many things from him so that he might give them to the poor.

He was also very diligent in speaking about the deeds of saints who had been almsgivers. On one day, when he related from the life of Saint Serapion, who was called the Sindonite, he found that Serapion, as it is told, had given his cloak to a needy man, had proceeded a little farther, and had met another suffering from the cold, to whom he furnished his tunic.

Because he sat naked holding a Gospel book, when asked by someone, “Who stripped you, abba?” he indicated the Gospel book and said, “This one.” At another time also, he is said to have sold this very Gospel book and given the money as alms.

When his disciple said, “Abba, where is the Gospel book?” he said: “This book said to me, ‘Go and sell what you have and give to the poor.’ I sold the book itself and gave the book itself, so that I may have confidence on the day of judgment.”

When a certain widow once sought alms from him because her children were hungry, and he had nothing, he handed himself over to her so that she might sell him. She sold him to Greeks, whom he made Christians within a few days.

Reading these things concerning Saint Serapion, the holy man, stupefied and wholly suffused with tears, said: “Believe me, until today I thought that I too was doing at least something by giving as much money as I had, not knowing that certain men, overcome by compassion, even sold themselves.”

He commanded that collects for the dead be made diligently, saying that a short time before a certain captive, led away by the Persians, was thrust into prison. Certain men who fled from there and came to Cyprus were asked by his parents whether perhaps they had seen him. They answered that they had buried him with their own hands. But it was not he, but someone like him.

Therefore, as though for a dead man, they caused three collects to be made for him in each year. After four years, however, he escaped by flight from the Persians and came to Cyprus. When he heard from his family that they had made commemoration of him as though dead three times in the year—namely, on the Theophany, on the holy Lord's Day, and at Pentecost—he answered:

“At these three times of the year, a certain man clothed in white like the sun came, released me from the iron chains and custody, and admonished me to walk about throughout the whole day. No one recognized me, and on the following day I was found bearing the iron chains.”

“From this,” said Saint John, “we learn that those who sleep have rest when we make collects for them.”

A certain man offered him all the gold that he possessed, one hundred seven and one-half pounds. Bending his knees, he asked John to pray for the salvation of his only son and that the Lord would bring back with a good arrival his ship, which had gone to Africa.

When John had done this, the boy died, and that ship, upon which the man's brother was, suffered shipwreck. Everything with which it was filled perished, apart from the lives and the empty boat.

When that man was sorrowful beyond measure, at night in his sleep he saw someone as though in the patriarch's habit saying to him: “Why are you troubled, brother? Did you not ask me to petition God that he might save your son? Behold, he has been saved. Believe me, because if he had lived, he would have become depraved and unclean.

“Concerning your ship, know that unless God had been placated by the good thing that you did, sentence had been given that the whole ship, with its souls, should go into the deep, and you would have lost your brother. But rise and glorify God, who gave him to you and saved your son from this vain world.”

Awakening, therefore, that man found his heart consoled. Running to the holy patriarch, he cast himself at his feet and gave thanks, relating the vision that he had seen; and John glorified God.

When a certain monk went around the city with one young maiden and sought alms, certain men who saw them were scandalized. They reported to the patriarch that the man, by having a woman, was bringing reproach upon the monastic life.

Then Saint John, wishing to prohibit sin, commanded the woman to be flogged, but the monk to be beaten and thrust into prison. When this had been done, the monk appeared to him in a vision at night, showing him his back putrefied by the lashes and saying to him: “Does this please you, lord patriarch? Believe me, this time you erred as a man.” Saying these things, he departed.

In the morning, the holy man, mindful of the vision, sat sorrowful upon his bed. Sending for the monk who was in prison, he caused him to be stripped before him, so that he might see whether his back was as he had seen it in sleep. When this was done, by God's will even the wrap with which he was clothed was loosened and fell, and everyone saw that he was a eunuch.

Then the holy man said that in ignorance he had sinned against God and against him. He nevertheless admonished him that it was not fitting for a monk to lead a woman around in such a manner, to the scandal of those who saw them.

But the monk humbly rendered an account, saying: “Recently, when I was in Gaza and going out from the city, this woman met me, saying that she was a Hebrew and wished to become a Christian. She also adjured me with terrifying words not to allow her to perish.

“Fearing God's judgment, therefore, I received her and baptized her. I was leading her around with a simple heart, seeking a little support, so that I might introduce her into a monastery.”

Then the saint, after relating the vision to those who were present, brought forth one hundred nomismata to give him. But he wished to receive nothing and said: “If a monk has faith, he has no need of these; and if he has need of these, he has no faith.” This especially caused everyone to believe that he was God's servant.

This is Vincent's narrative. Certain other things follow.

XIII. Further Accounts of Saint John the Almsgiver

James of Voragine relates the following concerning this John the Almsgiver from his legend. A certain poor man came to him in a pilgrim's habit and sought alms. Summoning the dispenser, John said to him, “Give him six nomismata.”

Receiving them, the man went away, changed his habit, returned to the patriarch, and again sought alms. Summoning the dispenser, John commanded that six gold nomismata be given to him.

The dispenser said to him: “By your prayers, Father, this poor man has changed his habit and received alms twice.” But blessed John dissimulated, as though he did not know this. The man changed his habit a third time and came to John for alms. Then the dispenser touched blessed John, indicating that this was the man who had already received twice.

Blessed John answered him: “Go and give him twelve nomismata, lest perhaps he be my Lord Jesus Christ, who wishes to test me as to whether he can receive more here than I can give.”

The patriarch heard that there was a custom whereby, as soon as an emperor was crowned, the builders of monuments immediately took four or five tiny fragments of marble of various colors, entered before the emperor, and said: “Of what marble or metal does your imperial authority command a monument to be made for itself?”

Imitating this, John commanded that a monument be made for him, but he wished it to remain unfinished until the day of his death. He appointed certain men who, when he stood with the clergy at a celebrated festival, would approach him and say: “Lord, your monument is unfinished. Command, therefore, that it be completed, because you do not know at what hour the thief will come.”

Once, when a patrician wished to place a certain quantity of the church's money in commercial dealings, and the patriarch in no way consented but wished it to be distributed to the poor, after contending greatly the two departed from one another in anger.

When the eleventh hour came, the patriarch sent word to the patrician through the archpriest, saying, “Lord, the sun is at its setting.” Hearing this, the patrician came to him suffused with tears and sought pardon.

When a certain nephew of his had heard a grievous insult from a particular tavernkeeper and sorrowfully related it to the patriarch but could not be consoled, the patriarch answered him: “And how has anyone dared to say these things and open his mouth against you? Certainly, son, today I shall do such a thing to him that all Alexandria will marvel.”

Hearing this, the nephew received consolation, thinking that John would cause the man to be grievously beaten. Seeing that he had received consolation, John kissed his breast and said: “Son, you truly show yourself a nephew of my humility when you prepare yourself to be scourged and to suffer insults from everyone. For true kinship is recognized not from flesh and blood, but from virtue of mind.”

Immediately, therefore, he sent for that man and caused him to be free from every payment and tribute. Hearing this, everyone marveled and understood this to be what he had said: “I shall do such a thing to him that all Alexandria will marvel.”

Likewise, when he commanded that five coins be given to a certain man seeking alms, the man was immediately indignant that he had not given him greater alms. He at once burst forth into insults against John and began to revile him to his face.

Hearing this, John's servants wished to rush upon him and beat him grievously. Blessed John prohibited this, saying: “Permit him, brothers, to speak evil of me. Behold, for fifty years I have blasphemed Christ through my works, and shall I not tolerate one insult from this man?” He commanded that a bag of money be brought and placed before him, so that he might take from it as much as he wished.

Once, when the people of Alexandria left the church after the Gospel had been read and occupied themselves with idle words outside, the patriarch went out with them and began to sit among them. When everyone marveled at this, he said to them: “Sons, where the sheep are, there also is the shepherd. Either enter and I shall enter, or, if you remain here, I too shall remain with you.” He did this once and again and taught the citizens to remain in the church.

When a certain young man had carried off a particular nun, and clerics reproached that young man before blessed John and said that he should be excommunicated, as one who had destroyed two souls—namely, his own and that woman's—Saint John restrained them, saying: “Not so, sons, not so. I shall show you that you commit two sins. First, because you act against the Lord's command, which says, ‘Do not judge, that you may not be judged.’ Second, because you do not know for certain whether they sin even to this day and have not repented.”

Frequently, when blessed John was in prayer and placed in ecstasy, he was heard to dispute with God in such words: “So it is, so it is, good Jesus. Let us see who will conquer: I by scattering, or you by supplying.”

When, stricken by fever, he saw that he was approaching death, he said: “I give you thanks, God, because you have heard my misery entreating your goodness that nothing might be found belonging to me as I die except one tornes.” He therefore commanded that this be given to the poor.

After his death, his venerable body was placed in a sepulcher where the bodies of two bishops had been buried. And behold, those bodies marvelously yielded to Saint John and left the middle place empty for him.

A few days before he died, a certain woman had committed a most shameful sin and dared never to confess it to anyone. Saint John told her at least to write it down, because that woman knew how to write, to bring it to him sealed, and that he himself would pray for her.

She assented and, writing her sin and carefully sealing it, handed it to blessed John. But after a few days John became infirm and rested in the Lord. Thinking herself disgraced and confounded, and believing that he had left the writing to someone and that it had come into someone's hands, she went to Saint John's tomb. Weeping there most abundantly, she cried out, saying: “Alas, alas! Thinking to avoid confusion, I have become a confusion to everyone.”

While she wept most bitterly and asked blessed John to show her where he had left her writing, behold, blessed John proceeded from the tomb in pontifical habit, flanked on either side by the two bishops with whom he had been buried. He said to the woman: “Why do you trouble me so greatly and permit neither me nor these saints who are with me to rest? Behold, our stoles are wet with your tears.”

He extended to her her writing, sealed as it had been before, saying: “Look at this seal, open your writing, and read.” Opening it, she found her sin entirely erased and found written there in this manner: “Through John my servant, your sin has been erased.”

Thus she rendered immense thanks to God, and blessed John returned to the tomb with those two bishops. This saint flourished, as was said above, in the time of Emperor Phocas, and therefore around the time of Pope Gregory, namely in the year of the Lord six hundred fifteen, or thereabouts.

A certain monk, a holy man named Natalius, wishing to test John while he was then living—to see whether he could be persuaded by words and easily inclined to scandal—entered the city of Alexandria and enrolled all the public prostitutes. He went in to them in order, saying to each: “Do not fornicate with another, but grant me this night.”

Entering to one in a corner of the house, he prayed all night with bent knees for her conversion. Afterward, going out in the morning, he commanded her not to reveal to anyone what was done through him.

But one revealed his way of life and was immediately seized by a demon while the old man prayed. Everyone said to her: “God has rendered to you what you deserved, because you lied in excusing him, since he had not entered to fornicate.”

When evening came, Natalius said in everyone's hearing: “I wish to go to the place. Mistress Such-and-Such—namely, the prostitute—awaits me.” When many rebuked him, he said: “Do I not have a body as others do, or is God angry only against monks?”

Certain men said to him: “Take one woman for yourself, abba, and do not scandalize others.” Feigning himself angry, he said: “Truly I shall not hear you. Let him who wishes to be scandalized be scandalized.”

When a complaint concerning him was brought before blessed John, the Lord hardened John's heart so that he did not believe it. Natalius entreated God that after his death he would reveal the matter to someone, so that it might not be imputed as sin to those who were scandalized concerning him. God therefore converted many prostitutes through this means, and Natalius sent them to monasteries of women.

One morning, as Natalius left the house of one woman, another man who was approaching her to fornicate gave Natalius a slap, saying, “How long, most wicked man, will you not amend yourself from such uncleannesses?”

Natalius answered him: “Believe me, you will receive such a slap from me that all Alexandria will be gathered together.” And behold, a little afterward, someone in the appearance of a Moor gave the man a slap, saying, “This is the slap that Abba Natalius sends you.” Immediately he was vexed by a demon, so that everyone ran to his cries; nevertheless, after repenting, he was delivered through Natalius's prayer.

Approaching death, the man of God left this writing: “Do not judge before the time.” When the women confessed what he had done, everyone glorified God, and blessed John especially, saying: “Would that I had received the slap that he received.”

This is a marvelous example and is not to be imitated; but from it this is to be gathered: that one must not easily judge for evil the extraordinary works of holy men.

XIV. The Account of Peter the Customs Officer

The aforesaid Saint John, wishing to induce people to give alms, used to introduce this notable deed. Once, when beggars sat in the sun's ray, they began to confer with one another concerning those who gave them alms: to praise certain good almsgivers by name and to condemn others as avaricious and grasping.

Among the others, a certain man named Peter the customs officer was brought into the midst of their conversation. He was rich and powerful but exceedingly merciless to the poor, because beggars approaching his house were driven away from him with excessive indignation.

When none of them was found who had ever received any alms from his house, one of them said, “What do you wish to give me if I receive alms from him?” When they had made an agreement with him concerning something, that man approached Peter's house seeking alms.

But Peter, returning home at that time, found the poor man before the doors while his servant was carrying rye bread from the oven into the house. Not finding a stone, Peter seized one loaf of rye bread and struck the importunate petitioner by throwing it at him.

But the man received it, brought it to his poor companions, and joyfully boasted that he had received alms from the hand of Peter himself.

After two days, Peter, sick unto death, saw a judgment standing before him and certain Moors hanging his evil deeds upon one pan of a balance. On the other side of the balance, certain white-clad men stood sorrowful because they found nothing to place there.

Then one of them said: “Truly, we have nothing except one loaf of rye bread, which two days ago he gave to Christ under compulsion.” When they placed it upon the balance, the balance was made equal. They said to him: “Add to this rye bread; otherwise these Moors will seize you.”

Awakening and being delivered from the infirmity, he said: “If one loaf of rye bread, which I cast in fury, profited so greatly, how much more will it profit to distribute all one's goods among the poor?”

Thus, on a certain day, when he was clothed in excellent garments and proceeded along the road, a certain shipwrecked man sought some covering from him. Immediately Peter stripped himself of his precious garment and gave it to him. Receiving it, the man immediately sold it.

When the customs officer returned and saw the garment hanging for sale, he was greatly saddened, so much that he did not wish even to take food, saying: “I am not worthy that the needy man should hold my memory.”

And behold, while he said such things, he saw someone shining more brightly than the sun, bearing a cross above his head, and clothed in the garment that he had given to the needy man. He said to him, “Why do you lament, Peter?”

When Peter had expressed the cause of his sorrow, he said to him, “Do you know me?” Peter answered, “Yes, Lord.” And the Lord said: “I have been clothed with this since you gave it to me, and I give thanks for your good will, because I was afflicted by the cold and you covered me.”

Returning to himself, Peter began to benefit the needy and to say: “As the Lord lives, I shall not die until I become one of them.”

Giving to the poor everything that he possessed, he summoned his notary and said to him: “I wish to entrust a secret to you. If you disclose it, or if you do not hear me, I shall sell you to barbarians.” Giving him ten pounds of gold, he said to him: “Go into the holy city, buy merchandise for yourself, sell me to some Christian, and distribute my price to the poor.”

When the man refused, Peter said to him, “If you do not hear me, I shall sell you to barbarians.” Leading him, therefore, as he had said, clothed in filthy garments, the notary sold him to a certain silversmith as though he were his own servant; receiving thirty nomismata for him, he dispensed them to the poor.

Peter, therefore, when sold, performed all the base offices, so that he was despised by everyone, struck by the other servants, and now judged insane. But the Lord frequently appeared to him and consoled him by showing him the garments and the nomismata.

While the emperor and all those known to him grieved over the loss of so great a man, certain neighbors of his came to Constantinople to visit the holy places. Invited by Peter's master, while they dined they said to one another in a whisper, “How exceedingly like this man is to Peter the customs officer.”

As they looked at him curiously, one said, “Truly, it is Lord Peter. I shall rise and hold him.” Perceiving this, Peter secretly fled.

The doorkeeper, however, was deaf and mute and opened the door by a sign. Peter commanded him not with signs but with words. The man immediately heard, recovered speech, smiled at Peter, and opened the door for him.

Entering the house while everyone marveled at his speech, the doorkeeper said: “The man who worked in the kitchen has gone out and fled, but see whether he might be a servant of God. For when he said to me, ‘I tell you, open,’ immediately a flame came forth from his mouth, touched my tongue and ears, and restored speech and hearing to me.”

Leaping up and running after Peter, they could find him no longer. Then everyone from that house performed penance because they had treated so holy a man so basely.

Title XII, Chapter IX

Gregory relates in the book of the *Dialogues* many miracles and examples of virtues to be imitated, which were performed by holy men in diverse parts of Italy around his own times.

I. Honoratus and Libertinus

In the parts of Samnium there was a certain man named Honoratus who, from the years of childhood, burned with love of the heavenly homeland through abstinence, withdrawing himself from the eating of meats and restraining himself even from idle speech.

On a certain day, when a feast had been prepared by his parents for their neighbors and meats had been made ready for eating, Honoratus, firm in his purpose of abstinence, refused to touch the meats. His parents began to mock him, saying: “Shall we bring fish for you from the mountains?” For in that place fish were customarily heard of, not seen.

When the water failed at the feast, a servant proceeded to the spring with a bucket. As he drew water from the spring, a fish entered the bucket. Before the faces of those feasting, the servant poured out the water with the fish, which was of so great a size that it could suffice Honoratus for the nourishment of the whole day.

Marveling at this, everyone began to venerate him whom they had formerly despised. At last, although Honoratus was a bound serf together with his father, because of his virtues he was given liberty by his lord. Constructing a monastery in a place called Fundis, he became the father of nearly two hundred monks.

On a certain day, a mass of an immense rock was torn from the mountain that rises high above his monastery. Coming down the mountain's slope, it threatened the destruction of the whole cell and the death of all the brothers. When the holy man saw it coming from above, repeatedly invoking Christ with a loud voice, he immediately extended his right hand and opposed the sign of the cross. He fixed the falling rock upon the very side of the mountain's slope, so that even now, to those looking at the mountain, it appears to hang as though about to fall.

In the time of King Totila, a certain man named Libertinus was provost of the aforesaid monastery of Fundis. Converted and instructed as a disciple of the said Honoratus, he was a man of great virtues.

Among other things, once when, seated on a horse, he made a journey for the use of the monastery, Darida, a commander of the Gothic army, met him. His arms-bearers cast Libertinus from the horse and took the horse away. He not only patiently bore the casting down and the loss, but also offered them the whip by which he had compelled the horse to go.

When they departed, Libertinus gave himself to prayer. When the horse-robbers came to the river named Vulturnus, their horses, neither beaten by spears nor bloodied by spurs, were able neither to move themselves nor to cross the river.

Returning to themselves and understanding that this had happened to them because of the injury done to God's servant, they returned to him and offered back the horse they had taken. When he refused to receive it, they compelled him to do so by lifting him themselves and placing him upon it. After this they freely continued their journey with their own horses.

At another time Libertinus proceeded to Ravenna for the monastery's business. According to his custom, wherever he went he always carried in his bosom for devotion a little boot of the venerable abbot Honoratus, of whom we spoke above.

As he proceeded along the way, a certain woman offered him the body of her dead son, held his mount by the bridle, and piously said with an oath: “You shall in no way depart from here unless you raise my son.”

Since he regarded such a miracle as unprecedented, he trembled at the oath of her petition. There the humility of his manner of life and piety toward the mother struggled with one another: fear, lest he presume upon unaccustomed things; grief, lest he not aid the bereaved woman.

But, to the greater glory of God, piety conquered that breast of virtue, which was strong precisely because it was conquered. Thus he descended from the horse, bent his knees, extended his hands toward heaven, brought forth the little boot from his bosom, and placed it upon the dead boy's breast.

As he prayed, the soul returned to the boy's body. Taking him by the hand, Libertinus restored him alive to his mother and thereafter continued his journey.

As Gregory adds in answer to Peter's question, in the manifestation of so admirable a sign the virtue of both concurred with the woman's faith—namely, that of both Libertinus and Honoratus, whose little boot he carried as a sign because of his devotion.

So also Elisha, in touching the waters of the Jordan with Elijah's cloak, divided them not by the cloak itself but by invoking the God of Elijah. For he was then able to manifest the master's virtue when from humility he recalled the master's name to memory.

Against this venerable man Libertinus, the one who held the governance of the monastery after Honoratus's death burned with grievous anger, so that he committed an excess against him. Because he found no rod with which he could strike him, he threw a footstool at him and bruised his head and face, rendering his whole countenance and face livid.

Libertinus, so violently beaten, silently withdrew to his own bed. On the following day, however, a matter had been appointed for the monastery's use. When the morning hymns had been completed, Libertinus came to the abbot's bed and humbly sought his prayer and permission to leave the monastery.

The abbot, knowing how greatly Libertinus was honored and loved by everyone, thought that he wished to leave the monastery because of the injury that he had inflicted upon him. Hence he asked him, saying, “Where do you wish to go?”

Libertinus answered: “A matter of the monastery has been appointed, father, which I cannot set aside, because yesterday I promised that today I would go where I resolved to go.”

Then the abbot, considering from the bottom of his heart his own harshness and hardness and the humility and gentleness of Libertinus, leapt from the bed, held Libertinus's feet, and testified that he had sinned and was guilty because of that blow.

Libertinus, on the contrary, prostrated himself upon the earth and, cast down at the abbot's feet, ascribed what he had endured to his own fault, not to the other's cruelty. Thus it happened that the father was led to great gentleness and the disciple's humility became the master's teacher.

When Libertinus had departed for the monastery's business, many men and nobles who greatly honored him saw his face so livid and swollen. Marveling, they solicitously asked what this was and the cause of so great a swelling of his face.

He answered them: “Last evening, because my sins required it, I struck against a footstool, and thus I suffered this.” Thus the holy man, preserving in his breast the honor of truth and of his master, neither betrayed his father's fault nor incurred the sin of falsehood. Here Gregory declares: “I prefer the virtue of patience to signs and miracles.”

In the same monastery there was a monk of great life who was the gardener. A thief was accustomed to come there and, climbing over the hedge, secretly carry away vegetables. Although the gardener planted many things, he found fewer and saw some trampled by feet and others torn up.

Going around the whole garden, he found the way by which the thief was accustomed to come. Walking through the same garden, he also found a serpent. Commanding it, he said, “Follow me.”

Coming to the thief's entrance, he said to the serpent: “In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you to guard the entrance and not permit the thief to enter.” The serpent immediately stretched itself crosswise, and the monk departed.

When at midday everyone rested according to custom, the thief came and climbed the hedge. As he placed his foot down into the garden, he suddenly saw that the outstretched serpent had closed the way. Terrified, he fell backward, and his foot, through his shoe, became caught on a stake of the hedge. Thus he hung head downward until the gardener came. At the usual hour, however, the gardener came to the place and found the thief hanging on the hedge.

The gardener said to the serpent: “Thanks be to God; you have fulfilled what I commanded. Depart now.” It immediately departed.

But he said to the thief: “What is this, brother? God has handed you over to me. Why have you so often presumed to commit theft amid the labor of the monks?” Saying these things, he freed the man's foot from the hedge in which it was caught and lowered him without injury.

He said to him, “Follow me.” Leading the man as he followed to the garden's entrance, he furnished him with great sweetness the vegetables that he had desired to carry away by theft, saying: “After this, do not commit theft. But when you are in need, come in here to me, and those things that you labor to take with sin I shall devotedly give you.”

II. Saint Equitius

In the parts of Valeria there was a most holy man named Equitius, who because of the merit of his life was held in great admiration among everyone. He became the father of many monasteries in that same province.

When in the time of his youth the incitements of the flesh wearied him in sharp conflict, the distresses of his contempt for himself made him more diligent in the practice of prayer. While he sought a remedy in this matter from almighty God with

continual prayers, on a certain night, with an angel standing by him, he saw himself being made a eunuch. It appeared in his vision that the angel cut away every movement from his genital members.

From that time he became as foreign to temptation as if he had no sex in his body. Relying upon this power through the aid of almighty God, as he had formerly presided over men, so afterward he began also to preside over women. Nevertheless, he did not cease to admonish his disciples not readily to trust themselves after his example in this matter and, being liable to fall, to tempt a gift that they had not received.

At the time when practitioners of magic were apprehended in this city, Basilius, who was foremost in magical works, fled to Valeria in monastic habit. Going to Castorius, the most reverend bishop of the city of Amiternum, he hoped to obtain from him that he would commit him to Abbot Equitius and commend him to his monastery.

The bishop then came to the monastery leading the monk Basilius with him and asked Equitius, the servant of God, to receive this monk into his congregation. Immediately looking at him, the holy man said: “Father, I see that this man whom you commend to me is not a monk but a devil.”

The bishop said to him, “You seek an occasion not to furnish what you can.” Equitius answered: “I indeed declare him to be what I see. Nevertheless, lest you think that I am unwilling to obey, I shall do what you command.” Thus Basilius was received into the monastery.

Not many days afterward, when Equitius had gone somewhat farther from the cell in order to exhort the faithful to heavenly desires, it happened in a monastery of virgins whose care also lay upon him that one of them, who appeared beautiful according to the corruption of this flesh, began to suffer fever and to be vehemently distressed. Now not with loud voices but with shrieks she cried: “Today I shall die unless the monk Basilius comes and himself restores health to me through the diligence of his treatment.”

But in the presence of so great a father [read: in the absence of so great a father] none of the monks dared to approach the congregation of virgins, much less that man who had arrived newly and whose life the congregation of brothers did not yet know.

Therefore a messenger was suddenly sent and this was announced to Equitius: namely, that she was grievously infirm and sought Basilius as a visitor. Hearing this, the holy man smiled disdainfully and said: “Did I not say that this man was a devil, not a monk? Go and expel him from the cell. Concerning the handmaid of God who is pressed by the distress of fevers, do not be solicitous, because from this hour she will neither labor under fevers nor seek Basilius.”

The monk returned and learned that the virgin of God had been restored to health at the hour that Equitius, though situated far away, had said it. In the power of the miracle he held the example of the Master, who, when invited to the ruler's son, restored him to health by a word alone.

After being expelled from the monastery, the aforesaid Basilius said frequently that by magical arts he had suspended Equitius's cell but nevertheless had been unable to injure anyone belonging to him. At last Basilius was burned with fire at Rome.

Likewise, on a certain day a particular nun from the monastery of virgins entered the garden. Seeing a lettuce, she desired it and, forgetting to bless it with the sign of the cross, greedily bit it. But, seized by the devil, she immediately fell.

While she was vexed, this was announced to Equitius. Hastening, he ran up. When he had entered the garden, the devil who had seized her began to cry through her, saying: “What did I do? I was sitting upon the lettuce; she came and bit me.” When the man of God with great indignation commanded him to release God's handmaid, he immediately departed.

Likewise, a certain nobleman of the province of Nursia named Felix, when he perceived that the aforesaid holy man Equitius did not possess sacred orders and nevertheless ran about everywhere and preached the word of God, one day approached him with the boldness of familiarity and said: “Since you do not possess sacred orders and have not received permission to preach from the supreme pontiff, how do you presume to preach?”

Compelled by his inquiry, the man of God disclosed how he had received permission to preach, saying: “I consider within myself those things that you say to me. But on a certain night a handsome young man stood by me in a vision and placed a medicinal instrument—that is, a phlebotome—upon my tongue, saying: ‘Behold, I have placed words in your mouth. Go forth to preach.’ From that day, even if I wished to remain silent concerning God, I am unable.”

Gratian notes these things in cause sixteen, question seven, in the section beginning “The same.” There he says that when an angel sent Equitius in sleep to preach and Equitius complained of a defect of the tongue, the angel touched his tongue with a phlebotome and cured the defect.

When Peter asked Gregory concerning the manner of life of this Equitius, who performed such works, Gregory answered him: “The work is from the gift, not the gift from the work; otherwise grace is no longer grace. For gifts precede every good work, although the gifts themselves also increase from the work that follows.

“Nevertheless, lest you be deprived of knowledge of this man's life, the most reverend man Albinus, bishop of the city of Reate, knew this well, as did many others who related it. But why do you seek more works, when purity of life accorded with the practice of preaching?

“So great a fervor for gathering souls to God inflamed him that he presided over monasteries in such a manner that he ran everywhere through churches, fortresses, villages, and the individual houses of the faithful and stirred the hearts of his hearers toward love of the heavenly homeland.”

He was very poorly dressed and so despised that, if someone who did not know him happened to be greeted by him, that person would even disdain to return his greeting. Whenever he went to other places, he was accustomed to sit upon a mount more contemptible than other mounts. Upon it he used a halter in place of a bridle and sheep-skins in place of a saddle.

He himself carried the sacred codices, placed in leather bags, on his right and left sides. Wherever he arrived, he opened the fountain of the Scriptures and watered the hearts of minds [read: watered the meadows of minds].

At that time certain clerics of this Apostolic See complained flatteringly against this holy man, saying: “Who is this rustic who has seized for himself the authority of preaching without the permission of our apostolic lord? If it pleases you, let someone be sent for him, so that ecclesiastical vigor may recognize what sort of man he is.”

Persuaded by the clerics, the pontiff gave his assent that Equitius should be brought to the Roman city. Julian the defensor, who afterward became bishop of Sabina, was sent to bring him with great honor, lest the man of God experience any injury from the summons.

Julian came swiftly to his monastery and asked where Abbot Equitius was. He received the answer that Equitius was in the valley cutting hay with the monks. Julian therefore sent his servant, who was sufficiently proud, to summon Equitius.

Coming to the place, the servant asked which of those cutting hay was Equitius. When he was shown to him, he looked at him from afar and was seized by immense terror. Coming to him and kissing his knees, he announced that his lord sought him.

Returning his greeting, Equitius said: “Lift up the green hay and carry fodder to the mounts upon which you came. Behold, I shall follow you when the work is completed, because little remains.”

Equitius therefore followed the servant carrying the hay, shod with hobnailed boots and bearing a hay-scythe upon his neck. While he was still some distance away, the servant indicated by his very habit who he was. Julian despised him, but as soon as Equitius came near, intolerable fear seized Julian, so that his tongue was unable to explain why he had come.

Perceiving this, the man of God Equitius began to render immense thanks to almighty God because heavenly grace visited him through the supreme pontiff. Immediately Equitius began to urge Julian most vehemently to pursue the journey.

But when Julian asserted that he was wearied from the journey and could not depart that day, Equitius said: “You sadden me, son, because if we do not depart today, tomorrow we shall not depart.” This was fulfilled precisely as though foretold by a prophet.

For on the following day at dawn, a servant came to Julian upon a horse wearied by violent speed, with a letter from the pontiff. In it Julian was commanded not to dare to remove God's servant from the monastery. For in a vision the pontiff had been vehemently terrified because he had presumed to send for the man of God to be presented before him. Thus Equitius remained in his monastery.

When Peter marveled how error concerning such a man could have stolen upon so great a pontiff, so that he commanded someone to be sent for him, Gregory removed the cause of the astonishment, adding:

“Why do you marvel, Peter, that we who are men are deceived? Has it escaped your mind that David, who was accustomed to possess the spirit of prophecy, gave judgment against the innocent son of Jonathan when he heard the words of a lying servant? Nevertheless, because it was done by David, we believe it just by the hidden judgment of God, and yet by human reason we do not see how it was just.

“What marvel is it, therefore, if we who are not prophets are led elsewhere by the mouth of liars? Moreover, it is a grave matter that the density of cares lays waste the mind of every prelate. When the mind is divided among many things, it becomes less for each one; and an error steals upon it in any one thing in proportion as it is more widely occupied among many.”

After the death of Equitius himself, miracles also appeared to demonstrate his sanctity. When a certain countryman placed a chest of grain above his sepulcher in the oratory of blessed Lawrence, a whirlwind suddenly sent from heaven lifted that chest from the sepulcher and cast it far away.

When the Lombards entered the province of Valeria and the monks of the said holy man's monastery fled to his sepulcher in the oratory, the Lombards entered the oratory and began to drag the monks outside so that they might be scattered by torments or killed.

One of the monks, groaning, said: “Ah, Saint Equitius, does it please you that we are dragged away thus and that you do not defend us?” At his voice an unclean spirit immediately invaded the Lombards. Falling to the earth, they were vexed so long that even the Lombards who were outside recognized that they should not dare to violate the sacred place further.

III. Saint Constantius

Near the city of Ancona there was a church under the title of blessed Stephen. In it a venerable man named Constantius served while performing the office of sacristan. The reputation of his holiness had extended itself far and wide to human knowledge, because this man, utterly despising earthly things, burned with the whole exertion of his mind for heavenly things alone.

On a certain day, when oil was lacking in that church and the aforesaid servant of God had nothing from which to light the lamps, he filled all the church's lamps with water. Placing papyrus in their midst according to custom, he applied fire and lit them. Thus the water burned in the lamps as though it were oil.

Because Peter asked of how great humility this man, so great in miracles, had been, Gregory declares it through the following notable example.

On a certain day a countryman came from a distant place to see him. At that same hour it happened that the holy man stood upon wooden steps, serving in the repair of the lamps. He was exceedingly small, of a slight and contemptible form.

When the man who had come to see him asked who Constantius was and earnestly sought that he be shown to him, those who knew him showed him who he was. But, as foolish minds believe a person's merit from the quality of the body, seeing him small and contemptible, he began altogether not to believe that this was the man.

A certain conflict arose in the countryman's mind, and he thought that the one whom he had held so immense by reputation could not be so short in appearance. When many assured him that this was indeed he, he despised and mocked him, saying: “I believed him to be a great man, but this man has nothing of a man.”

As soon as Constantius, the man of God, heard this, he joyfully abandoned the lamps that he was repairing and swiftly descended. He rushed into that countryman's embrace, began to clasp him with his arms and kiss him out of exceeding love, and gave great thanks because he had judged such things concerning him, saying: “You alone have had open eyes regarding me.”

From this one must ponder how great his humility was within himself, since he loved more greatly the countryman who despised him. For an inflicted insult proves what sort of person each one lies hidden within himself. As the proud man rejoices in honors, so the humble man rejoices in his own contempt.

Marcellinus was bishop of that same city of Ancona. Excessive pain from gout had contracted his step, and his familiars therefore carried him in their hands wherever it was necessary.

On a certain day, when the city was set on fire through negligence, although many ran together and cast water competitively, the flame so increased that it appeared to threaten the destruction of the whole city, so that no one was able to oppose it.

The said bishop came, carried in their hands, and commanded his attendants to place him against the fire. He was placed where the whole force of the flame appeared to press. In a marvelous manner the conflagration began to turn back upon itself, as though by its recoil it cried out that it could not pass the bishop. Thus, with the flame restrained at that boundary, it at last grew cold within itself.

IV. The Monk Nonnosus

On Mount Soracte there was a monastery in which a man named Nonnosus was provost under a most harsh abbot, whose conduct he always tolerated with marvelous equanimity.

Because the said monastery was situated on the mountain's summit, no level ground lay open for the brothers to cultivate even the smallest possible garden. One very small place had grown out upon the side of the mountain, but an immense mass of rock projecting naturally occupied it, which fifty pairs of oxen would have been unable to move.

When human labor had been despaired of for removing the said mass from there, Nonnosus gave himself to prayer in the silence of the night. In the morning the monks found that mass of rock withdrawn farther from its place, so that a broad space was left there for making a garden.

The same Nonnosus, when at one time he washed the glass lamps in the oratory, let one slip from his hands, and it was broken into innumerable pieces. Fearing the most violent fury of the father of the monastery, he gathered the fragments. When he had prayed with tears, the lamp was found whole.

At another time, when oil was lacking in the monastery, the time for gathering olives was already at hand, and no fruit, even the smallest, appeared upon the olive trees. It seemed good to the father of the monastery that the brothers should go all around to furnish their labor to outsiders in gathering olives, so that from the recompense for their work they might carry a little oil back to the monastery.

The man of God Nonnosus prohibited this with great humility, lest the brothers, going out from the monastery while seeking gains of oil, should suffer losses of souls. Instead, he commanded that the few olives upon the monastery's trees be gathered, placed in the mortar, and that the little expressed from them be brought to him.

When it had been brought before the altar in a vessel, he prayed and commanded that a very little of it be placed in all the vessels for oil. All of them were found full on the following day.

V. Saint Boniface, Bishop of Ferentis

In the parts of Tuscany there was a man of venerable life named Boniface, who held the episcopal office in the city called Ferentis and fulfilled it in his conduct. This city, however, is shown utterly overthrown and uninhabited toward Viterbo, by whose citizens it is said to have been destroyed.

This Boniface began to be illustrious in virtues and miracles in his boyhood. For while he still lived with his mother, the boy, going out from the lodging, sometimes returned without his linen garment and frequently even without his tunic, because as soon as he found someone naked, he clothed him. He stripped himself here so that before God's eyes he might be clothed with the other's reward.

Then his mother was accustomed frequently to rebuke him, saying that it was not just that he, himself needy, should lavish garments upon the poor.

On a certain day the boy's mother entered the granary and found that almost all the wheat she had prepared there for herself as the provision of the whole year had been expended by her son upon the poor.

While she struck herself with slaps and blows because she had, as it were, lost the year's sustenance, Boniface, the boy of God, came upon her and began to console her with such words as he could. When she admitted no consolation, he asked her to leave the granary in which a little remained.

When his mother withdrew, Boniface gave himself to prayer there. When it was finished, he brought his mother in. She found the granary fuller than it had been before when the grain was gathered there by her. Seeing this miracle and being pierced in heart, his mother now began to urge him to give, since he could so swiftly receive what he sought.

She was also accustomed to raise hens in the vestibule of her lodging, but a fox coming from the neighboring countryside carried them off. On a certain day, while the boy Boniface stood in the same vestibule, the fox came according to custom and took a hen.

He immediately entered the church and, prostrating himself in prayer, said with open cries: “Does it please you, Lord, that we cannot eat from my mother's sustenance? For behold, the fox eats the hens that she raises.” Rising from prayer, he departed from the church.

The fox soon returned, released the hen that it carried in its mouth, and, dying before his eyes, fell to the earth. Thus the holy and simple boy was heard in cheap matters, so that in small things he might learn how greatly he ought to presume upon God in great petitions.

When he became a bishop, he had so poor a church that for its entire sustenance it possessed nothing else except only one vineyard. On a certain day this vineyard was so devastated by hail that scarcely small and sparse clusters remained upon its few vines.

When Boniface entered it, he rendered great thanks to almighty God because he recognized that in his poverty itself he was still being constrained. For poverty is accustomed to be the guardian of humility for good minds.

When the time was now at hand when those few clusters began to ripen, he placed a guardian over the vineyard according to custom. On a certain day, however, he commanded the priest Constantius, his nephew, to prepare all the wine vessels in the

episcopal residence. His nephew marveled greatly at this, since he had no wine at all. Nevertheless, he did what had been commanded.

The man of God therefore entered the vineyard, gathered the clusters, carried them to the winepress, and commanded everyone to depart from there. He remained alone with one very small boy, whom he placed in the same winepress and caused to tread those very few clusters.

When a little wine flowed from those clusters, the man of God began to receive it in a small vessel and to distribute it as a blessing among all the prepared casks, so that all the vessels scarcely appeared to have been moistened.

When this had been done, he summoned the priest and commanded the poor to be present. Then the wine began to increase in the winepress so that it filled all the poor people's vessels that had been brought. When he perceived that he had made sufficient satisfaction, he commanded the boy to ascend from the winepress, closed the storehouse, secured it with the impression of his own seal, and immediately returned to the church.

On the third day he summoned Constantius, prayed, and opened the storehouse. He found that the vessels into which he had poured the exceedingly scant liquid were pouring forth wine abundantly, so that the increase of wine would have invaded the whole pavement if the bishop had entered any later.

Then he terribly commanded the priest Constantius not to disclose this miracle to anyone for as long as he lived. He feared lest, struck by human favor because of the power of the deed, he should become empty within from the same source by which he appeared great outwardly to men. He followed the example of the Master, namely Christ, who, instructing his disciples in the way of humility, commanded them to tell no one concerning himself the things they had seen.

At another time, when a nobleman named Fortunatus obtained with great entreaties from the aforesaid holy man Boniface that on the feast of blessed Proculus the martyr he would celebrate the solemnities of the Masses in the church dedicated to him and turn aside to his house for a meal, Boniface entered Fortunatus's house after the solemnities of the Masses had been completed.

Before he uttered a hymn to God, suddenly a man with a monkey stood before the door and struck cymbals, as certain men are accustomed to seek their living by the art of playing. The holy man, disdaining the sound, said: “Alas, alas, alas! This wretched man is dead. I have come to the table of refreshment; I have not yet opened my mouth in praise of God, and he, coming with a monkey, has struck cymbals.”

Nevertheless he added and said: “Go and, for charity, give him food and drink; but know that he is dead.” When the unhappy man had received bread and wine from that house, he wished to depart through the door. But an immense stone suddenly fell from the roof and came upon the crown of his head. Prostrated by the blow, he was lifted up half-dead. On the following day he died according to the sentence of the man of God.

In this matter, Gregory says, one must ponder how great a fear ought to be shown to holy men. For they are temples of God; and when a holy man is drawn to anger, who other than the inhabitant of that same temple is stirred to anger?

At another time, the priest Constantius, his nephew, sold his horse for twelve aurei. Placing them in his own chest, he departed to perform some work. Suddenly poor people came to Boniface, entreating that he bestow something upon their need. Since he then had nothing to give, he began to be agitated in mind lest the poor depart from him empty.

He suddenly recalled that his nephew Constantius had sold his horse. Therefore, while his nephew himself was absent, he approached the chest, piously and violently broke its fastenings, took the twelve aurei from it, and distributed them to the poor as it pleased him.

Returning from his work, Constantius found the chest broken and did not find the price of the horse. He began to make a great noise and to cry with excessive fury: “Everyone lives here; I alone cannot live in this house.” At his voice Bishop Boniface came, together with all who were present in the same episcopal residence.

When the man of God wished to calm him with a gentle voice, Constantius began to answer with contention, saying: “Everyone lives with you; I alone cannot live before you. Return my solidi to me.”

Moved by these words, the bishop entered the church of blessed Mary and began with extended hands to ask the Lord to return to him that with which he might mitigate the madness of the raging priest. When he suddenly lowered his eyes toward his garment between his extended arms, he found twelve aurei in his bosom, shining as though they had been brought forth from the fire at that same hour.

Immediately departing from the church, he cast them into the bosom of the raging priest, saying: “Behold, you have the solidi that you sought. But let this be known to you: after my death you will not be bishop of this church because of your avarice.”

From the truth of this sentence it is gathered that he had prepared those solidi for acquiring the episcopate; but he died in the priesthood.

Likewise, on a certain day, when two Goths who professed that they were hastening to Ravenna came to him for the sake of hospitality, with his own hand he furnished them a small wooden vessel full of wine, which perhaps they might have for their meal on the journey.

After they departed, while they drank the wine not only upon the whole journey but also during the several days that they remained at Ravenna and upon their return to him, it never failed from that vessel. It was as though the wine was not increased but was born within that vessel.

Likewise, at another time, when he entered the garden and saw that it was covered by a great multitude of caterpillars that consumed every plant, he turned toward them and said: “I adjure you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: depart from here and do not eat these plants.” They all immediately went out, so that not even one remained.

VI. Saint Fortunatus, Bishop of Tuder

As Gregory says in the first book of the *Dialogues*, Fortunatus prevailed by grace of immense power in driving out spirits, so that at times he expelled legions of demons from possessed bodies. A legion, moreover, contains the number six thousand six hundred sixty-six demons.

Among other marvels, as Gregory relates from the report of a certain Julian, a defensor in the city who had died a short time before and had been sufficiently familiar with the said Fortunatus, he performed this deed.

A certain noble matron in the neighboring parts of Tuscany had a daughter-in-law whom her son had recently taken as wife. This woman was invited by friends to go to the dedication of a certain oratory under the title of Saint Sebastian. On the night preceding the day of the dedication, the said daughter-in-law, overcome by the pleasure of the flesh, was unable to abstain from her husband.

When morning came, although the carnal delight she had committed deterred her, shame commanded her to proceed to that oratory. Blushing more before the faces of men than fearing God's judgment, she went with her mother-in-law to the dedication of the oratory.

As soon as the relics of blessed Sebastian the martyr entered the oratory, a malign spirit seized the aforesaid matron's daughter-in-law and began to vex her before all the people.

When the priest of that same oratory saw her being vexed most violently, he immediately took the sindon from the altar and covered her with it. But the spirit suddenly invaded him also. Because he wished to presume upon something beyond his powers, he was compelled in his own vexation to recognize what he was. Those who were present therefore carried the girl from the oratory to her home.

When the malign spirit wore her down by continual vexation, her parents, loving her carnally and persecuting her through their love, handed her over to practitioners of magic to obtain a remedy of health, so that they might utterly extinguish her soul whose flesh they strove to benefit for a time.

She was led to a river, immersed in the water, and for a long time enchanted by magical art so that the devil might depart. By the marvelous judgment of almighty God, while one was driven from her by perverse art, a legion suddenly entered her. From this she began to be agitated by as many movements and to resound with as many voices and cries as the spirits by which she was held.

Then, after taking counsel, her parents confessed the fault of their perfidy, led her to the venerable man Bishop Fortunatus, and left her. Receiving her, he gave himself to prayer for many days and nights and applied himself with as great an exertion of prayers as he found the battle line of a legion standing against him in one body. At last he restored her so sound that it was as though the devil had never invaded her.

At another time this same servant of almighty God expelled a spirit from a certain possessed man. When the malign spirit perceived that the day was already growing toward evening and that the hour was secluded from men, he pretended that he was a particular pilgrim. He began to go around the city's streets and to cry:

“O holy man Fortunatus the bishop, behold what he has done! He has cast a pilgrim from his lodging. I seek where I ought to rest, and I do not find it in this city of his.”

At that time a certain man sat by the coals in his lodging with his wife and small son. Hearing his voice and asking what the bishop had done to him, he invited him into his lodging and caused him to sit with him beside the coals.

While they spoke of various things in turn, the malign spirit invaded the man's little son, cast him into those same coals, and drove out his soul. Bereaved and wretched, the man recognized both whom he himself had received and whom the bishop had expelled.

Assigning the reason why God permitted so great an injury to happen to this man, Gregory says to Peter: “I judge that this man who, while ostensibly offering hospitality, was bereaved of his son was delighted not by the work of piety but by disparagement of the bishop. For the punishment that followed made known that the preceding reception was not without fault.

“There are some who strive to do good things for this reason: that they may obscure the grace of another's operation. On this account, I judge that this man who received the malign spirit in hospitality was intent upon display rather than upon the work, so that he might appear to do better things than the bishop by receiving the one whom the bishop had expelled. When the intention that precedes is perverse, everything that follows is little, even if it appears upright.”

The same servant of God restored sight to a certain blind man brought to him.

He also restored to greater gentleness than it had possessed before a certain soldier's horse that had turned to madness, so that it tore with bites those whom it could attack, by making the sign of the cross over its head. When the soldier asked with great and importunate entreaties that Fortunatus retain the cured horse for himself, he was unwilling, lest he appear to receive it because of the power of the miracle. Nevertheless, lest he sadden the man by not receiving it for charity, he accepted it after giving him a price.

The same Gregory further relates, from a certain old man of the city of Tuder who reported these things to him, that when he eagerly asked whether the old man had known Fortunatus and what he knew concerning him, the man answered: “That man was far different from the men whom we see now. For whatever he sought from almighty God he obtained even while he sought it.”

He continued: “On a certain day, when Goths who were hastening toward the parts of Ravenna came near the city of Tuder, they carried off two small boys from a possession subject to the aforesaid city. When this was announced to the holy man, he caused the aforesaid Goths to be summoned to him.

“When they arrived, he first sought by gentle speech to placate their harshness and afterward added: ‘What price do you wish for them? I shall give it. Release and return them, and in this furnish a gift of your favor.’

“The elder of them answered: ‘Whatever else you command, we are prepared to do, but not to return these boys.’

“The venerable man said to him: ‘You sadden me and do not hear your father. Do not sadden me, for it is not expedient for you.’ But he departed refusing. On the following day also, when the bishop again sought the same thing, he wished in no way to assent.

“The bishop said to him: ‘I know that it is not expedient for you to depart after saddening me.’ The Goth despised his words, returned to the lodging, and sent the same boys of whom the matter concerned ahead with his men, placed upon horses. He himself mounted his horse and immediately followed.

“When in that same city he came before the church of blessed Peter the apostle, his horse's foot slipped, and the horse fell with him. His thigh was immediately broken so that the bone was divided into two parts. Lifted in their hands, he was at once carried back to the lodging.

“He swiftly sent and brought back the boys whom he had sent ahead, and he sent word to the venerable man Fortunatus, saying: ‘I ask you, father, send your deacon to me.’

“When the deacon came to him as he lay there, the Goth returned the boys whom he had brought back and had refused to return to the bishop, saying: ‘Go and tell my lord bishop: Because you cursed me, behold, I have been struck. But receive the boys whom you sought, and, I ask, intercede for me.’

“The deacon received the boys and brought them back to the bishop. Fortunatus immediately gave blessed water to the deacon so that he might cast it over the body of the man who lay there, which he did.

“A marvelous and exceedingly astonishing thing: as soon as that water touched his thigh, the whole fracture was made solid. Thus that Goth mounted his horse and continued his journey as though he had suffered no injury.”

Gregory relates from the report of the same old man that in the said city of Tuder a certain man named Marcellus lived praiseworthily with his two sisters. It happened that, when he became infirm, he died on Holy Saturday. Because his body had to be carried some distance, his burial was delayed.

Meanwhile his sisters came to Bishop Fortunatus, weeping and beginning to cry with loud voices: “We know that you possess the life of the apostles: you cleanse lepers and illuminate the blind. Come and raise our dead man.”

As soon as he learned that their brother was dead, he too wept and answered them: “Depart and do not say this, because it is the command of almighty God, which no one can oppose.”

When they had departed, on the following Lord's Day before dawn he summoned two deacons and proceeded to the dead man's house. He approached the place where the lifeless body lay and gave himself to prayer.

When the prayer was completed, he called the dead man by name in no loud voice, saying, “Brother Marcellinus [i.e., Marcellus].” As one gently sleeping and awakened by a voice, the man immediately opened his eyes and, looking toward the bishop, said: “O what have you done? O what have you done?”

The bishop said to him, “What have I done?” He answered: “Yesterday two men came, cast me out of the body, and led me to a good place. Today one was sent who said: ‘Lead him back, because Bishop Fortunatus has come into his house.’”

He immediately recovered from the infirmity and remained longer in this life. Nevertheless, it must not be believed that he lost the place that he had received, because it is not doubtful that through the prayers of his intercessor he was able to live better after death, since even before death he strove to please almighty God.

But why do we say many things concerning Fortunatus's life, when even now we possess so many proofs of virtues at his body? For, as he was accustomed to do while living, he still ceaselessly persists at his dead bones in releasing the demon-possessed and curing the sick whenever it is sought in faith.

VII. Saint Severus

In the parts of Valeria there was a certain man named Severus, a priest of the church of Saint Mary the Virgin and a man of very venerable life.

When a certain head of a household had come to the end of life, he sent swift messengers asking Severus to come to him as quickly as possible and by his prayers to intercede for his sins, so that, after performing penance, he might leave the body absolved from the guilt of his faults.

It happened unexpectedly that the priest was occupied in pruning a vineyard. He said to those who came to him, “Go ahead; behold, I shall follow you.” He delayed a little to complete the very small amount of work that remained. When it was completed, he began to proceed toward the house.

As he went, those who had first been sent met him on the way, saying: “Why have you delayed, father? Behold, he is already dead.” Hearing this, he trembled and began to cry with loud voices that he was the man's killer.

Weeping, he came to the dead man's body and cast himself with tears upon the earth before his bed. While he wept vehemently, extended his head toward the earth, and cried that he was guilty of the man's death, suddenly the one who was dead received his soul.

When those standing around saw this, marveling and uttering cries, they began to weep still more for joy. When they asked the man where he had been or how he had returned, he said:

“Very foul men were leading me, and from their mouths and nostrils issued fire that I was unable to endure. While they led me through dark places, suddenly a young man of beautiful appearance, with others, came to meet us as we went. He said to those who were dragging me: ‘Lead him back, because the priest Severus laments. For the Lord has granted him in answer to Severus's tears.’”

Severus immediately arose from the earth and furnished the aid of his intercession to the man as he performed penance. While for seven days the sick man, restored to life, performed penance for the faults he had committed, on the eighth day he joyfully departed from the body.

When Peter asked, “What is the reason that such men cannot now be found?” Gregory answered: “Peter, I judge that even now many such men are not lacking in this age. For they are not therefore not such men if they do not perform such signs. The true estimation of life is in the virtue of works, not in the display of signs.

“For there are very many who, although they do not perform signs, are nevertheless not unequal to those who perform signs.” He proves this through the example of Peter and Paul, who were of equal sanctity; nevertheless, Peter walked with his feet upon the sea, namely toward Christ, while Paul suffered shipwreck in the sea.

VIII. Datius, Bishop of Milan

In the time of Emperor Justinian, when Datius, bishop of Milan, driven into exile on account of the faith, proceeded to the city of Constantinople, he came to Corinth. While he sought a large house for lodging that could contain his whole company and could scarcely find one, he saw a house of suitable size and commanded that it be prepared as a lodging for him.

When the inhabitants of that place said that it was impossible to remain in it because the devil had inhabited it for many years and it had therefore remained empty, the venerable man Datius answered: “Indeed, we ought to lodge in that house if the malign spirit has invaded it and driven human habitation from it.”

He therefore commanded it to be prepared for him and entered, secure in his intention to endure those contests of the ancient enemy.

Thus, in the untimely silence of night, while the man of God rested, the ancient enemy began with immense voices and great cries to imitate the roars of lions, the bleating of sheep, the braying of asses, the hissing of serpents, and the squeaking of mice.

Suddenly awakened by the voices of so many beasts, Datius arose greatly angered and began to cry with a loud voice against the ancient enemy, saying: “It has happened well to you, wretched one. Behold, you who said, ‘I shall place my seat in the north; I shall be like the Most High,’ have through your pride been made like pigs and mice. You who unworthily wished to imitate God, behold, as you are worthy, you imitate beasts.”

At his voice the malign spirit was ashamed, so to speak, of his own dejection and did not enter that same house to display monsters as he had been accustomed. Thus it was afterward made a habitation of men.

IX. Sabinus, Bishop of Canosa, and Cassius of Narnia

In the parts of Apulia there was Sabinus, bishop of the city of Canosa. When in great old age he had lost his sight so that he saw absolutely nothing, Totila, king of the Goths, heard that he possessed the spirit of prophecy. He did not believe it but strove to prove what he had heard.

When the king came into those parts, this man of the Lord invited him to a meal. When they had now come to the table, the king was unwilling to recline but sat at the right hand of the venerable man Sabinus.

When a boy offered the father a cup according to custom, the king silently extended his hand, took the chalice away, and himself offered the wine to the bishop in the boy's place, so that he might see whether Sabinus would discern by the spirit of prophecy who offered him the cup.

Then the man of God, receiving the chalice but not seeing the minister, said, “May that very hand live.” Rejoicing at this word, the king was ashamed because, although he had been detected, he nevertheless found in the man of God what he sought.

As the life of this venerable man was prolonged into great old age as an example to those who followed, his archdeacon, inflamed by ambition to acquire the episcopate, attempted to destroy him with poison.

He corrupted the mind of the wine-pourer so that he would offer wine mixed with poison in a cup. When, at the hour of refreshment, the man of God reclined to eat, the boy, corrupted by rewards, extended to the bishop the cup of poison that he had received from the archdeacon.

The venerable bishop said to him, “You drink what you offer me to drink.” The boy trembled, knowing that he had been detected, and, though about to die, preferred to drink rather than endure the punishments for the guilt of so great a murder.

When he placed the chalice at his mouth, the man of God restrained him, saying: “Do not drink. Give it to me; I shall drink. But go and tell the one who gave it to you: ‘I indeed drink the poison, but you will not be bishop.’”

Making the sign of the cross, the bishop securely drank the poison. At that same hour, in another place to which the archdeacon had gone, he died, as though those poisons had passed through the bishop's mouth into the archdeacon's entrails. Although bodily poison was lacking to inflict death upon the archdeacon, the poison of his own malice killed him in the sight of the eternal Judge.

In that same time of the Goths, when King Totila came to Narnia, Cassius, a man of venerable life and bishop of that city, met him. Because his face was always accustomed to be red from a skin eruption, King Totila believed that this was not from an eruption but from continual drinking, and he utterly despised him.

But that almighty God might show how great was the man who was despised, in the field of Narnia where the king had arrived a malign spirit invaded his sword-bearer before his whole army and began to vex him cruelly.

When he had been removed from before the king's eyes and led to the venerable man Cassius, Cassius, the man of God, expelled the spirit from him by prayer and the sign of the cross, and it did not presume to enter him further. After this the king venerated Cassius from the heart, whom previously he had judged greatly contemptible from his face.

X. Andrew, Bishop of Fundi

Concerning Andrew, bishop of the city of Fundi, who was delivered from an imminent fall into incontinence through the vision of a Jew.

This Andrew, therefore, while leading a life full of many virtues and guarding himself within the fortress of continence under priestly custody, was unwilling to remove from the household of his episcopal residence a certain nun whom he had formerly kept with him. Rather, confident in his own and her continence, he permitted her to dwell with him—

From this it happened that the ancient enemy sought an entrance of temptation into his mind. For he began to impress her appearance upon the eyes of Andrew's mind, so that, enticed, he might think wicked things.

On a certain day a particular Jew, coming from the parts of Campania to Rome, traveled upon the Appian Way. Coming to the territory of Fundi when he saw that the day was already growing toward evening and found nowhere to turn aside, he came near a temple of Apollo and betook himself there to remain.

Fearing the sacrilege of that place, although he did not possess faith in the cross, he nevertheless took care to fortify himself with the sign of the cross. At midnight, disturbed by fear of the solitude, he lay awake. Suddenly looking, he saw a throng of malign spirits proceeding as though in attendance upon a certain power.

When the one who presided over the others had seated himself in the bosom of that place, he began to examine the causes and deeds of each of the spirits attending him, so that he might discover how much wickedness each one had accomplished.

While the individual spirits, in response to his inquiry, set forth what they had done against the good, one sprang into their midst and disclosed by how great a temptation of the flesh he had moved the mind of Bishop Andrew through the appearance of the nun who dwelt in his episcopal residence.

The malign spirit who presided listened to this eagerly and believed the gain accomplished for him to be greater in proportion as he inclined the soul of a holier man toward a fall into perdition. The spirit who confessed these things added that, by the evening hour of the preceding day, he had drawn Andrew's mind so far that he gave the nun a caressing slap upon the back.

Then the enemy of the human race gently exhorted him to do what he had begun, so that among the others he might hold the palm for Andrew's ruin.

While the Jew who had arrived watched these things awake and trembled with great anguish of fear, the spirit who presided over all those attending there commanded that they inquire who the man was who had presumed to lie in that temple.

The malign spirits went to him and, looking more closely, saw that he was fortified with the sign of the cross. Marveling, they said: “Alas, alas! An empty vessel, but signed.” When they reported this, that whole throng of malign spirits disappeared.

The Jew who saw these things suddenly arose and hastened to the bishop. Finding him in his church, he drew him aside and asked by what temptation he was pressed. The bishop, ashamed, was unwilling to confess his temptation.

When the Jew said that Andrew had cast eyes of depraved love upon that handmaid of God, and the bishop still denied it, he added: “Why do you deny what is asked, when by yesterday evening you were brought so far that you struck her hind parts with a slap?”

At these words the bishop, seeing that he had been detected, humbly confessed what he had previously denied stubbornly. Taking counsel for his fall and shame, the Jew indicated how he had known this and what he had heard concerning the bishop in the assembly of malign spirits.

Recognizing this, Andrew immediately cast himself upon the earth in prayer. Soon he expelled not only that handmaid of God but also every woman who dwelt there in his service. In that same temple of Apollo he suddenly made an oratory of blessed Andrew and thereafter entirely lacked every temptation of the flesh.

The Jew by whose vision and rebuke he had been saved he drew to eternal salvation, instructed in the faith, and baptized. From this example, those who dedicate their bodies to continence should not presume to dwell with women, lest a sudden ruin of the mind steal upon them from the presence of a desired form. But this event also furnishes us both fear and confidence.

XI. Fridianus and Sabinus

Gregory relates that the venerable man Venantius, bishop of Luna, told him that in the church of Lucca, near Luna, there was a bishop of marvelous virtue named Fridianus. All who dwell there attest that this most celebrated miracle of his is remembered.

The river Ausaris, which flowed near the walls of that city, was accustomed frequently, when an inundation occurred, to leave the channel of its course, spread through the fields, and overturn whatever it found sown or planted.

When this happened frequently and great necessity pressed the inhabitants of that place, they attempted with devoted labor to divert it through other places. But although labor continued for a long time, it could not be turned from its own channel.

Then the man of the Lord Fridianus made a little rake for himself. Approaching the river's channel alone, he applied himself to prayer. Commanding the river to follow him, he drew the rake through the earth by the places that seemed good to him.

Abandoning its own channel, all the river's water followed him, so that it entirely deserted the place of its customary course and claimed for itself a channel where the man of the Lord had made a mark by drawing the rake through the earth. Thus it no longer injured whatever was sown or planted for the future sustenance of men.

Gregory relates, upon the testimony of the same Venantius, bishop of Luna, and of John of Piacenza, then prefect at Rome, that in the city of Piacenza there was a bishop of marvelous sanctity named Sabinus.

On a certain day, when his deacon announced to him that the Po had left the channel of its course, occupied the church's fields, and held beneath the water of that river all the places there that would serve for nourishing men, Sabinus, a man of venerable life, answered: “Go and tell it: ‘The bishop commands you to restrain yourself and return to your own channel.’”

Hearing this, the deacon despised and mocked it. Then the man of God summoned a notary and dictated, saying: “Sabinus, servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, sends a written admonition to the Po. I command you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that you no longer depart from your channel into these places and that you do not presume to injure the church's lands.”

He added to the notary: “Go, write this, and cast it into the river's water.” When this had been done, the river's water, receiving the holy man's command, immediately restrained itself from the church's lands. Returning to its own channel, it no longer presumed to depart into those same places. By this the hardness of disobedient men is confounded, since an irrational element obeyed the commands of a holy man through the power of Jesus.

XII. Saint Cerbonius and Bishop Fulgentius

The venerable man Cerbonius, bishop of Populonia, also gave a great proof of his sanctity in our days. Since he was very intent upon the practice of hospitality, on a certain day he received passing soldiers into his lodging. When Goths suddenly came upon them, he hid those whom he had received and, by hiding them, saved their lives from the wickedness of the others.

When this was announced to Totila, the perfidious king of the Goths, inflamed by the most monstrous madness of cruelty, he commanded that Cerbonius be led to a place called Merulis, eight miles from this city, where he then sat with his army, and that he be cast to bears to be devoured in a spectacle of the people.

When that perfidious king had taken his seat at the spectacle, a great multitude of people gathered to behold the bishop's death. The bishop was then led into the midst, and an exceedingly savage bear was sought for his death, which by cruelly tearing human limbs might satiate the savage king's spirit.

The bear was therefore released from its cage. Inflamed, it swiftly sought the bishop. But the bear suddenly forgot its ferocity, bent its neck, humbly lowered its head, and began to lick the bishop's feet, so that it was manifestly given everyone to understand that toward that man of God the hearts of men were beastlike and those of beasts were, as it were, human.

Then all the people who had gathered for the spectacle of death were turned with a great cry to wonder and veneration. The king himself was also moved to cultivate reverence for him. Even now some survive who were present and saw this event.

The same holy man Cerbonius had prepared a sepulcher in his own church, namely at Populonia, over which he presided. When the nation of the Lombards entered Italy and devastated everything, he went to the island of Elba.

When there he became infirm unto death, he commanded the clerics attending him: “Place me in my sepulcher, which I prepared for myself at Populonia.” When they said that they could not do this because the Lombards held those places and ran about everywhere, he answered: “Carry me back securely and do not fear. But take care to bury me there swiftly, and depart suddenly from there.”

When he died, they placed his body in a little boat so that they might carry it there. While they were on the way, immense rain broke forth. Throughout the whole space of sea that lies from the island of Elba to Populonia, namely twelve miles, stormy rain descended, but not one drop of rain fell into that boat.

After the saint's body had been buried as he commanded and they departed suddenly, Gumarith, a most cruel duke of the Lombards, arrived. From this it was manifestly evident that the saint had been illustrious in the spirit of prophecy when he commanded their sudden departure.

A similar miracle concerning rain occurred around Fulgentius, bishop of the church of Otricoli. When Totila approached those same parts with his army, the bishop took care to send gifts to him through his clerics and to mitigate the madness of his fury with offerings.

As soon as Totila saw them, he despised them and, enraged, commanded his men to constrain the bishop by force under every harshness and preserve him for his examination.

When the fierce Gothic servants seized him, they commanded him to stand in one place as they surrounded him. They made a circle for him in the earth, beyond which he was in no way to dare to extend his foot.

While the man of God stood in excessive sun, surrounded by those Goths and enclosed by the marking of the circle, suddenly lightning and thunder and so great a force of rain broke forth that those who had received him into their custody were unable to endure the immensity of the rain.

Although an exceedingly great inundation of rain occurred, not even a drop descended within the marking of that same circle in which Fulgentius stood. When this was announced to the king, that savage mind was turned to great reverence for him.

XIII. Isaac of Syria

Isaac was not from Italy, but when he first came from the parts of Syria into Italy, he arrived at the city of Spoleto and remained there almost until the final times of the Goths. Many of our people knew him, especially the sacred virgin Gregoria, who now dwells in the Roman city.

When in the time of her youth she fled into the church after her marriage had already been arranged and sought the manner of life of a nun, she was defended by this same man and led to the habit that she desired.

Isaac therefore entered a church in the city of Spoleto and sought from the keepers that permission be granted him to pray there as long as he wished and that he not be pressed to depart from the church at the more private hours.

He immediately stood to pray and passed the whole day in prayer. He joined the following night to it continuously. On the second day also, with the night that followed, he persisted tirelessly in prayers, and he joined a third day in prayer as well.

When one of the keepers, inflated by a spirit of pride, saw this—from which he ought to have profited, he came instead to the harm of his own defect—he began to call Isaac a dissembler and, with a rustic word, to cry that he was an impostor who displayed himself praying for three days and nights before the eyes of men.

Immediately running to him, he struck the man of God with a slap so that, as a dissembler of religious life, he would depart from the church with insult. But a malign spirit suddenly invaded him, cast him down at the man of God's feet, and began to cry through his mouth: “Isaac casts me out! Isaac casts me out!”

For it was not known by what name the pilgrim was called, but the spirit who cried that he could be cast out by him disclosed his name. The man of God immediately leaned over the body of the vexed man, and the malign spirit that had invaded him departed.

What had been done in the church was immediately made known throughout that whole city. Noble and ignoble men and women alike began to run, and they strove competitively to seize him for their houses. Some offered estates and others money for constructing a monastery.

But God's servant, receiving none of these things, departed from the city, found a deserted place not far away, and constructed a humble dwelling for himself there. Many proceeded to him and gave themselves to God's service under his instruction.

When the disciples frequently and humbly suggested that for the monastery's use he should receive the possessions that were offered to him, the vigilant guardian of his poverty held a strong opinion, saying: “A monk who seeks possessions upon earth is not a monk.” Thus he feared to lose the security of his poverty as avaricious rich men are accustomed to guard riches that will perish. There he became illustrious in the spirit of prophecy and in great miracles.

On a certain day at evening he caused as many iron implements as we call spades to be cast into the monastery's garden, and said to the disciples: “Cast this many spades into the garden and return quickly.”

That same night, when according to custom he rose with the brothers to render praises to God, he said to them: “Go and cook pottage for our workmen, so that it may be prepared at first light.”

When morning came, he commanded the pottage to be carried. Entering the garden with the brothers, he found as many men laboring as he had commanded spades to be cast into the garden.

Thieves had entered to plunder, but, their minds changed by the Spirit, they took the spades they found and cultivated throughout the whole night the uncultivated spaces of that garden.

Approaching them in the morning, Isaac said: “Rejoice, brothers. You have labored greatly; now rest.” Thus he caused them to be refreshed with the prepared food. When they had been refreshed, he said: “Do not do evil. Whenever you wish something from the garden, come to its entrance, ask peaceably, and cease from the depravity of theft.” Thus he caused them to be laden with gathered vegetables.

At another time certain pilgrims came to him seeking mercy, with their garments torn so that they appeared nearly naked. When they sought garments, the man of the Lord heard their words and silently summoned one of the disciples. He commanded him to go to a certain wood and carry back to him the garments that he would find there in a hollow tree.

Fulfilling the commands, the disciple brought their garments and secretly presented them to the master. Isaac showed them to the pilgrims who sought them and furnished them, saying: “Come, because you are naked; take these and clothe yourselves.” Receiving them, they recognized the things they had placed there.

At another time, when someone sent him two baskets full of provisions, the boy who carried them hid one at a certain place on the journey so that he might retain it for himself. Isaac kindly received the other that was carried to him but admonished the boy to take cautiously the basket that he had hidden on the way, because a serpent was in it.

Confounded by these words and seeing his theft detected, when on the journey he cautiously approached the place for that basket in order to test the truth of the saying, he found in it a serpent, as the man of God had foretold.

Although this man was eminent in the spirit of prophecy and other virtues, there was one thing in him that appeared reprehensible: namely, so great a joy was sometimes in him that, if he were not known, he would not have been believed full of such virtues.

When Peter asked the cause why so holy a man could not restrain that excessive joy, Gregory answered: “Peter, great is the dispensation of almighty God. It frequently happens that he furnishes certain greater things to some men and does not bestow certain lesser ones, so that their mind may always have something for which to reprove itself.

“While they labor in that which they have not received and are unable to prevail, they do not exalt themselves in those things they have received by the Lord's grant.”

XIV. Eutychius and Florentius

At the same time, in the Nursian part of the province, two men lived in the life and habit of holy conduct. One of them was called Eutychius, the other Florentius.

Eutychius had grown in spiritual zeal and in the fervor of virtue and strove by exhortation to lead the souls of many to God. Florentius, however, had given himself to simplicity and prayer.

Not far away, when a certain monastery had been deprived of its ruler by death, Eutychius was elected by the monks of that monastery. Overcome by their entreaties, he received the office of the presider and exercised it diligently, leaving to Florentius alone the oratory in which he had formerly dwelt with him.

Florentius, prostrating himself in prayer, sought from the Lord that he deign to grant him some solace for dwelling there. When the prayer was completed, he departed from the oratory and found a bear standing before the doors.

When it lowered its head toward the earth and showed nothing of ferocity, it was openly given to be understood that it had come for the service of the man of God, which he himself recognized.

Because four or five sheep remained in that cell and there was no one to pasture or guard them, he commanded the bear, saying: “Go and lead these sheep down to pasture, and return at the sixth hour.” It began to do this without ceasing, and the beast itself, fasting, pastured the sheep that it had been accustomed to eat.

When the man of God wished to fast until the ninth hour, he commanded it to return home with the sheep at the ninth hour. It fulfilled everything unfailingly.

The fame of so great a virtue began to grow far and wide. Seeing this, four monks from the disciples of the venerable Eutychius, stung by envy because their master and abbot did not perform the signs that Florentius performed while left alone, lay in wait for that bear and killed it.

When the bear, whom Florentius from simplicity called his brother, did not return home according to custom, he began to be afflicted. On the following day he went into the field to seek the sheep and found the bear killed. Solicitously inquiring by whom it had been killed, he discovered them. He gave himself to lamentation, deploring the brothers' malice more than the bear's death.

The venerable man Eutychius caused him to be brought to himself and strove to console him. But the man of the Lord, inflamed by the goads of great grief, uttered an imprecation, saying: “I hope in almighty God that in this life, before the eyes of everyone, those who killed my bear, which injured them in nothing, will receive vengeance for their malice.”

Divine vengeance immediately followed his voice. For those four monks who had killed the bear were struck by elephantiasis, so that they perished as their members putrefied.

The man of God was greatly terrified by what had happened and feared that he had cursed in this manner. Throughout the whole time of his life he lamented because he had been heard, crying that he had been a cruel murderer in their death. We believe that this was done by the Lord so that a man of marvelous simplicity, moved by however great a grief, would not further presume to hurl back the dart of a curse.

When the fame of this Florentius increased, a certain deacon proceeded to him and strove to commend himself to his prayers. Approaching the cell, he found the whole place all around full of serpents. Greatly terrified, he cried, saying, “Servant of God, pray for me.”

At that time there was marvelous serenity. Florentius came out, lifted his eyes to heaven, and prayed that the Lord remove that plague as he knew how. At his voice the sky suddenly thundered, and that same thunder killed all those serpents.

Seeing them killed, the man of God said: “Behold, Lord, you have killed them. Who will remove them from here?” Immediately at his voice as many birds came as there were serpents killed. Carrying away the individual serpents, they rendered the place entirely clean of them.

When Peter asked, “By what virtue or merit was this man heard at his will in this way?” Gregory answered: “Peter, before the pure and simple nature of almighty God, purity and simplicity of the human heart have great power.

“For the very fact that his servants, separated from earthly actions, do not know how to speak idle things, and avoid scattering and defiling the mind through words, obtains for them a hearing from their Creator before others. To the extent possible, they accord with him in the very purity and simplicity of their thought as though by a certain likeness.

“But we, mingled with the crowds of people, frequently speak idle things and sometimes even gravely harmful things. Our mouth is made as distant from almighty God as it is near to this world. We are drawn greatly downward when through continual conversation we mingle with secular people.”

Eutychius, who had been the aforesaid Florentius's companion in the way of God, became more illustrious after death by the power of signs. Among the other miracles that the citizens of that city are accustomed to relate concerning him, this is chief: that even down to these times of the Lombards, the Lord deigns continually to work through Eutychius's garment.

For whenever rain is lacking and a long drought burns the earth with excessive heat, the assembled citizens of that city are accustomed to lift up his tunic and offer it with prayers in the sight of the Lord.

As it was carried through the fields, sudden rain was granted, sufficient to saturate the earth fully.

XV. Martin the Solitary

Recently, in the parts of Campania, a very venerable man named Martin led the solitary life on Mount Marsicus. He was enclosed for many years in a very narrow cave. I learned many things concerning him from his own narration, from Pope Pelagius of blessed memory, my predecessor, and from other most religious men.

This was his first miracle: as soon as he betook himself into a hollow of the aforesaid mountain, from the same rock that had made within itself a narrow cave there broke forth a drop of water that sufficed Martin, the servant of God, for daily use. Neither was more present than necessary, nor was it lacking for his need.

But the ancient enemy of the human race, envying his virtues, attempted by his customary art to drive him from that cave. Entering a beast friendly to himself, a serpent, he attempted by creating terror to cast Martin from that dwelling.

The serpent began to be found alone with him in the cave: when Martin prayed, it stretched itself before him; when he lay down, it likewise lay down. But the holy man, entirely unafraid, extended his hand or foot even to its mouth, saying: “If you have received permission to strike, I do not prohibit it.”

When this occurred continually for three years, on a certain day the ancient enemy, conquered by so great a fortitude of his, roared and cast himself, creeping along the sloping side of the mountain, over a precipice. By the flame issuing from itself, it burned all the shrubs.

This same venerable man had first resolved during the time of his enclosure that he would no longer see a woman, not because he despised the sex, but because from beholding the form he feared that he would incur the fault of temptation.

Hearing this, a certain woman boldly ascended the mountain and impudently broke through to his cave. But he, seeing her at some distance and perceiving the feminine garments of the one coming toward him, gave himself to prayer and pressed his face to the earth. He lay prostrate until the shameless woman, wearied, withdrew from the window of his little cell.

On that same day, as soon as she descended from the mountain, she ended her life, so that by the sentence of her death it was given to be understood that it greatly displeased almighty God that by her wicked boldness she had saddened his servant.

At another time, while many still gathered with religious devotion and a narrow path along the sloping side of the mountain led those hastening to his little cell, a small boy walking incautiously fell from that mountain and tumbled as far as the valley, which, situated beneath the same mountain, appeared as though in the depth.

In that same place the mountain itself rose to so great a height that the immense trees proceeding from that valley appeared like fruit trees to those looking from the mountain.

All who came were therefore disturbed, and with the greatest care it was sought whether the body of the fallen boy could be found anywhere. For who would believe anything other than that he was dead? Who would suspect that his body could have reached the earth whole, when it could have been torn into pieces by the rocks interposed everywhere?

But when the boy was sought, he was found in the valley not only living but also unharmed. Then it became manifestly known to everyone that he could not be injured because Martin's prayer carried him in his fall.

Above his cave an immense rock overhung. Since it appeared attached to the mountain by only a small part, it projected over Martin's cell and, threatening to fall, daily menaced both its own fall and his death.

A multitude of countrymen came to him and entreated the man of God to deign to leave the cave so that they might tear away the rock about to fall and he might thereafter live there more securely. He did not acquiesce in this matter.

Thus, while the multitude that had come attempted, if it could be done without danger to the man of God, to lift the immense stone that pressed above, suddenly, before everyone's eyes, an exceedingly marvelous thing occurred. The mass that the multitude attempted to tear away was suddenly uprooted by those laboring, leapt so as not to touch the roof of Martin's cave, and fell farther away, as though fleeing injury to God's servant. It is understood that this was done by angelic ministry.

When Martin first betook himself upon that mountain and dwelt in the cave before it had been closed, he bound his foot with an iron chain and fixed its other end to a rock, so that it would not be lawful for him to proceed farther than the chain's length extended.

When the venerable man of God Benedict heard this, he took care to send him this message through his disciple: “If you are a servant of God, let not a chain of iron hold you, but the chain of Christ.” At this word Martin immediately loosened that fetter. Nevertheless, even when free, he never extended his foot beyond the place to which the chain had extended. Afterward he began to have disciples, although they dwelt apart from his cave.

XVI. A Dead Man Raised and Other Signs

A certain man bearing the monastic habit and fulfilling it in his conduct dwelt on Mount Argentarius. Each year he was accustomed to come to the church of the prince of the apostles, and on the way he lodged with a certain subdeacon named Quadragesimus in the parts of Aurelia.

When on a certain occasion he lodged there, it happened that near the church and Quadragesimus's dwelling the husband of a particular poor woman died. While that woman lamented around the dead man's body throughout the whole night, in the morning, moved by great compassion for the man to be buried, the monk said to Quadragesimus, “Rise and let us pray.”

Proceeding to the church, they prayed for a long time. When the prayer was completed, the monk gathered dust from the edge of the altar and came with Quadragesimus to the dead man's body.

After he had also prayed there for a long time, with his left hand the monk uncovered the covered face of the dead man, and with his right he began to rub the dead man's face with the dust he had brought. The woman opposed this act, not knowing its cause.

Returning to life, the dead man began to yawn, open his eyes, lift himself, and sit upright as though rising from sleep. Seeing this, the woman began to weep still more for joy and to utter louder cries.

But the monk restrained her with a modest prohibition, saying: “Be silent, be silent. If anyone asks how this was done, say only that the Lord Jesus Christ has performed his works.” Departing thereafter from Quadragesimus, he never again appeared in those parts, fleeing temporal honor.

When Peter, upon hearing these things, said that to raise a dead man was greater than all miracles, Gregory answered: “If we attend to visible things, it is necessary that I believe so. But if we ponder invisible things, it is undoubtedly established that it is a greater miracle to convert a sinner by the word of preaching and the solace of prayer than to raise one dead in the flesh.

“In the latter, flesh is raised that will die again; in the former, a soul that will live eternally. Therefore it is less for someone to be raised in the flesh than in the soul, unless perhaps through the vivification of the flesh the mind also is restored to life.”

Gregory also relates concerning another monk in the parts of Campania who was called Benedictus. In the time of King Totila, certain Goths attempted to burn him with his little cell. After fire was placed beneath it, everything around it burned, but his cell could not be burned.

Seeing this and raging still more, the Goths dragged him from his dwelling and, seeing not far away a heated oven prepared for baking bread, cast him into it and shut him inside. But on the following day he was found unharmed, so that neither his flesh nor the extremities of his garments were burned.

When Peter asked whether the aforesaid holy men had endured any ambushes of the devil, Gregory answered: “Without the labor of combat there is no palm of victory. The malign spirit always presses upon our thought, speech, and work, to see whether perhaps he may find something from which he may stand as accuser before the examination of the eternal Judge.”

He introduces the example of a certain priest named Stephen in the parts of Valeria, a man of venerable life. One day, returning home from a journey and speaking carelessly to his servant, he commanded: “Come, devil, take off my shoes.”

At this word the laces of his boots suddenly began to loosen themselves with the greatest speed, so that it was openly shown that the devil himself, whom he had named, obeyed him in removing the boots.

When the priest saw this, he was greatly terrified and began to cry with a loud voice: “Depart, wretched one, depart. For I spoke not to you but to my servant.” Thus the laces remained loosened in great part.

When Peter added that it was laborious and exceedingly terrible to stand continually against the enemy's ambushes, Gregory answered: “It will not be laborious if we attribute our guardianship not to ourselves but to heavenly grace, yet in such a way that we ourselves too keep watch beneath its protection as much as we can.

“When the ancient enemy begins to be expelled from the mind, by divine bounty it frequently happens that not only is he no longer feared, but he himself is terrified by the virtue of the living.”

Hence Gregory adds the example of a certain nun who, despising the world, devoted herself to God in the city of Spoleto against her parents' will. Many women also gathered with her in religious habit in order to imitate her.

On a certain day, when a particular countryman had been seized by the devil and was greatly vexed, he was led to that nun. With loud cries and renewed resolve she commanded him: “Depart from him, wretched one! Depart from him!”

When the devil said through the possessed man's mouth, “If I depart, into whom shall I enter?” she answered, “Enter into this pig.” He immediately departed from the man, entered a certain little pig feeding there, killed it, and departed. From this it is also gathered that without God's permission no malign spirit has power against a man, since it could not enter the pig unless permitted.

XVII. Miracles of the Bones of God's Elect

The very bones of God's dead elect frequently live in miracles. In the province of Valeria this marvel occurred. A certain venerable priest led a life of holy conduct there with his clerics, and when he reached his end he was buried before the church.

Sheepfolds adjoined that same church, and the place in which he was buried lay across the way of those going toward the sheep. On a certain night, while the clerics sang psalms, a thief came, entered the sheepfolds, took a ram, and swiftly departed.

When he passed through the place where that priest was buried, he suddenly became fixed and could not move his step. He put the ram down from his neck and wished to release it, but he was unable to loosen his hand.

The wretched man therefore began to stand there with his booty, guilty and bound. He wished to release the ram but could not; he wished to depart with the ram but was unable. Thus, in a marvelous manner, the dead man held the one who had feared to be seen by the living.

In the morning the clerics, departing from the church, found a man unknown to them holding a ram in his hand. The matter came into doubt whether he was taking the ram away or offering it. But the guilty man quickly disclosed his punishment.

Everyone marveled that through the merit of the man of God he stood bound to his prey. Praying for him, they scarcely obtained by their entreaties that the one who had come to seize their property should merit at least to depart empty.

Likewise, upon the mountain that rises above the city of Palestrina there is a certain monastery established in honor of blessed Peter. In it there was a venerable abbot of holy conduct who, nourishing a certain monk, advanced him to reverend manners. Seeing that he had grown in virtues, the abbot caused him to be ordained priest in that same monastery.

When a little after his ordination his departure was revealed to him, he asked the aforesaid abbot to permit him to prepare a sepulcher for himself. The abbot answered: “I shall die before you. Nevertheless, go and prepare your sepulcher as you wish.” He departed and prepared it.

After a few days, the abbot, stricken by fever and coming to his end, commanded that priest: “Place me in your sepulcher.” The priest answered: “You know, father, that I am now about to follow you; it cannot hold us both.”

The abbot answered: “Do as I have said, because the sepulcher will hold both.” Thus the abbot died and was placed in that sepulcher which the priest had prepared for himself.

The priest immediately became infirm and ended his life. When he was carried to the sepulcher prepared for himself and it was opened, everyone saw that there was no place in that sepulcher where the dead man might be placed, because the body of the abbot laid there occupied the whole sepulcher.

When those present were situated amid the difficulty of the thing to be done, one of them cried out, saying: “Behold, father, where is what you said—that this sepulcher would hold both?”

At his voice, immediately before everyone's eyes, the abbot's human body, which had been there before and lay upon its back, turned itself upon its side and furnished the vacant place of the sepulcher for burying the priest's body. That place held both men as, while living, he had promised and, while dead, fulfilled.

Gregory also relates another example that occurred in the Roman city, in the church of Saint Peter. A certain man named Theodore, keeper of the said church, arose earlier than usual one night to improve the lights near the door. He stood upon wooden steps placed beneath a lamp and replenished the lamp's light.

Blessed Peter the apostle suddenly stood below upon the pavement in a white stole and said to him, “Fellow servant, why have you arisen so early?” Having said this, he vanished from the eyes of the one who saw him.

But so great a fear rushed upon Theodore that all strength failed in his body and he lay infirm for many days. In this matter the apostle wished to show that, whatever men performed for his veneration, he himself always and without interruption saw it for the reward of recompense.

When Peter asked why Theodore had become infirm from that vision, Gregory answered by introducing the similar example of Daniel the prophet, who trembled and languished for many days after seeing that terrible vision. As the reason, he said that flesh is unable to bear the things that belong to the spirit.

Therefore, sometimes when the human mind is led beyond itself to see, it is necessary that this vessel of flesh, which is unable to bear so great a weight, become infirm.

He also gives another example concerning a certain paralytic girl. While she prayed before blessed Peter that she might receive health, he told her in a vision to go to Acontius, the sacristan of his church, a holy man of great humility.

Approaching him and disclosing the vision and command of blessed Peter, she heard him say: “If you were sent by him, rise.” Rising, she was immediately healed.

XVIII. Menas the Solitary and the Two Kinds of Martyrdom

In the province of Samnium, a certain venerable man named Menas led the solitary life. He died nearly ten years ago. For his use he possessed nothing other than a few beehives.

When a certain Lombard wished to inflict robbery upon those bees, he was first corrected by this same man's word and immediately afterward vexed by a malign spirit before his feet. From this it happened that he had a celebrated name even among that same barbarous nation, and no one thereafter presumed to enter his cell except humbly.

Bears coming frequently from the neighboring forest attempted to eat his bees. When he caught them, he beat them with the rod that he was accustomed to carry in his hand. Before his blows the most monstrous beasts roared and fled, though they were scarcely able to fear swords.

His practice was to seek nothing and to possess nothing in this world. He inflamed everyone who came to him toward desires for eternal life; and if he recognized the faults of certain persons, he never refrained from rebuke but raged against them through his tongue.

The inhabitants of that place had established a custom that each should send his offerings week by week, so that he might have something to bestow upon those who came to him.

When a certain man named Carcerius, overcome by unclean desire, carried off a particular nun and joined her to himself in marriage, as soon as the man of God heard this, he took care to rebuke him through whomever he could.

Conscious of his crime, the man in no way dared to approach the man of God, lest perhaps, as he was accustomed to rebuke offenders harshly, he might accuse him. Nevertheless, he made his offerings and sent them among the offerings of others, so that Menas, at least without knowing it, might receive his gifts.

When they were presented to him, the man of God sat silently and strove to consider them all individually. Choosing and receiving all the others, he recognized through the spirit the offerings that Carcerius had sent, despised them, and cast them away, saying: “Go and tell him: ‘You have taken his offering away from almighty God, and do you send yours to me? I do not receive your offering, because you have taken his from God.’”

From this a great fear invaded all who were present, since the man of God judged so knowingly concerning those absent.

When Peter said that he suspected that the aforesaid saints would have been suitable for martyrdom if persecution had found them, Gregory distinguished in answer that there are two kinds of martyrdom, one in secret and another in public.

For although persecution is absent outwardly, the merit of martyrdom is present in secret when virtue ready for suffering burns in the mind. He proves this through the Lord's word spoken concerning James and John, the sons of Zebedee: “You shall drink my cup,” which signifies the cup of suffering. Nevertheless, although James fell in suffering, John ended his life in the peace of the Church.

But holy men also who endure the ambushes of the hidden enemy, love their adversaries, and resist all carnal desires, through the fact that they sacrifice themselves in the heart to almighty God, were martyrs even in a time of peace.

Even in our own times, it has happened upon an arising occasion that persons base and of secular life, concerning whom nothing heavenly appeared able to be presumed, attained to the crown of martyrdom.

He introduces the examples of forty countrymen who, nearly fifteen years earlier, were captured by the Lombards. Because they were unwilling to eat meat sacrificed to the Lombards' idols, as the latter required under threat of death, they were killed by them and made martyrs.

He adds concerning four hundred others captured by the Lombards, many of whom were killed and crowned with martyrdom because they were unwilling to adore the head of a goat that the Lombards sacrificed to the devil and themselves adored.

If, therefore, those who in the peace of the Church appeared to follow the broad ways of this age merited to receive the palm of martyrdom, much more could those who, by afflicting themselves in the peace of the Church, held the narrow way of martyrdom have become martyrs if persecution had arisen.

Nevertheless, we do not hold this concerning everyone as though it were a rule. For just as very many who appear contemptible in the peace of the Church can undergo martyrdom in open persecution, so sometimes those who were believed to stand strongly in the peace of the Church fall from fear of weakness.

But those concerning whom it is established that they persisted to the end of life in the hidden virtue of the mind could not have fallen even in open persecution.

Gregory adds, showing how divine mercy often opposed itself to those Lombards and exposed their error through many miracles: through blindness inflicted upon a certain Arian bishop of theirs because he wished violently to enter a church; through lights divinely kindled in a church; and, at the dedication of a certain church that had formerly belonged to the Arians, through the devil seen departing in the appearance of a pig, a noise made there in the night, a cloud appearing over the altar, and a marvelous sweetness of fragrance.

XIX. Eleuterius

Eleuterius, father of the monastery of blessed Mark the Evangelist situated in the orchards of the city of Spoleto, lived with me for a long time in the city in the midst of the monastery and died there. His disciples related that he had raised a dead man.

He was a man of so great a simplicity and compunction that there was no doubt that the tears brought forth from so humble and simple a mind could obtain many things before almighty God.

I shall relate a miracle of his that, when questioned by me, he confessed simply. On a certain day, while he undertook a journey and, with the day growing toward evening, lacked a place for lodging, he came to a monastery of virgins in which there was a certain small boy whom a malign spirit was accustomed to vex every night.

When the nuns received the man of God, they asked him to receive that boy with him that night. He kindly assented. When morning came, the nuns asked the man of God whether anything had happened to the boy that night.

When he answered that the boy had suffered nothing, he asked them the cause of this inquiry. They indicated that he was accustomed to be vexed every night. Therefore, since they could no longer see such vexation—

they asked him to take him to his monastery. The man of God assented to this. When he had been in the monastery for a long time and the malign spirit had not presumed to approach him, the mind of that old man was touched rather immoderately with joy over the boy's deliverance.

For he said before the assembled brothers: “Brothers, the devil was playing with those sisters; but when he came to the servants of God, he did not presume to approach this boy any further.” After this utterance, in that same hour and moment, that same boy was vexed before all the brothers when the devil invaded him.

Seeing this, the old man immediately gave himself over to lamentation. When the brothers wished to console him as he wept for a long time, he answered, saying: “Believe me that today bread shall enter no one's mouth unless this boy has been snatched from the demon.”

Then he prostrated himself in prayer with all the brothers, and prayer continued until the boy was snatched from the vexation. And he was made so perfectly sound that the malign spirit did not return to him.

When Peter said concerning this matter, “I believe that a little self-exaltation had crept upon him, on account of which he wished his disciples to be assistants in that deed, that is, in the deliverance,” Gregory affirmed that it was so.

Gregory then adds how great the power of Eleuterius's prayer was, saying that he had experienced it in himself. For when Gregory himself, while dwelling in his monastery, suffered at a certain time from a cutting pain in the vital organs and, through repeated distresses at successive moments of the hours, drew near to death—a malady that the Greeks call syncope—and unless the brothers refreshed him with frequent food, his vital spirit seemed to be entirely cut off, the paschal solemnity arrived.

Since upon the most sacred Sabbath, on which even all little children fast, he was unable to fast, he began to fail more from sorrow than from infirmity. He brought the aforesaid man of God to his oratory, asking that through his prayer power to fast on that day might be granted to him by God.

When Eleuterius had accomplished this with tears, Gregory's stomach received such strength that both food and sickness were completely removed from his memory. He began to marvel who he had been and who he now was. When evening came, he found himself of such great strength that, if he had wished, he could have sustained the fast throughout the following day also.

Because Gregory had spoken of this man's compunction and tears, he adds, saying that there are two kinds of compunction, because a soul thirsting for God is first pierced by fear and afterward by love.

For at first it afflicts itself with tears because, while it recalls its own evils, it fears that it will suffer eternal punishments for them. But when fear has been consumed by the long bitterness of sorrow, a certain assurance of pardon now arises, and the mind is inflamed with love for heavenly joys.

It begins to weep most bitterly because it is deferred from that glorious kingdom of the vision of God; and because it is absent from those everlasting goods, it laments more than it had previously wept for its sins.

XX. Sanctulus

Sanctulus, familiarly known to Gregory, was from the province of Nursia and was accustomed to come to Gregory every year.

At a certain time, while the Lombards were pressing olives in a press so that they might be dissolved into oil, he was of so cheerful a countenance and spirit that he carried an empty skin to the press. He greeted the laboring Lombards with a joyful countenance, presented the skin to them, and, commanding rather than asking, ordered it to be filled for him.

But because those gentile men had already labored fruitlessly for the whole day and could not force oil out of the olives by pressing them, they received his words with annoyance and assailed him with insults.

The man of God answered them with a still more joyful countenance, saying: “Fill this skin for Sanctulus, and thus he will depart from you.” When he persisted all the more and they drove him away with greater reproaches, the man of God, seeing that oil would in no way come out of the press, asked that water be given to him. In the sight of all, he blessed it and cast it into the press with his own hands.

Immediately from this blessing so great an abundance of oil burst forth that the Lombards, who had previously labored in vain, filled not only all their own vessels but also the skin that the man of God had brought.

At another time a vehement famine lay everywhere. Wishing to restore the church of blessed Laurence, which had been burned by the Lombards, Sanctulus had brought together many craftsmen and the laborers who assisted them, to whom daily provisions were given. Bread failed them.

Those who were laboring began insistently to seek food, because they did not have strength for the work. Hearing this, the man of God consoled them with words by promising outwardly what was lacking; but inwardly he was gravely distressed because he was unable to furnish food.

As he went anxiously here and there, he came to an oven in which neighboring women had baked loaves the previous day. He looked inside to see whether perhaps loaves had remained behind when they baked. There he suddenly found a loaf of marvelous size and unusual whiteness.

He took it and first asked the neighboring women whether such a loaf had been left by any one of them. When they denied that it was theirs, he immediately gave thanks to God and joyfully distributed it to the craftsmen.

When they had been sufficiently and fully satisfied, he gathered from it more fragments than the loaf itself had been. On the next day he brought these to them for their refreshment, and after they had been refreshed, fragments of the bread remained over.

Thus it happened that for ten days all those craftsmen and laborers were satisfied from that one loaf, ate from it daily, and enough of it to be eaten remained over for the next day. For the same Lord who through himself satisfied five thousand men from five loaves satisfied many from one loaf through his servant; he who multiplies the innumerable grains of wheat of the crops from a few grains of seed and who also created all things together from nothing.

But lest you marvel too long at what the venerable man did outwardly through the power of the Lord, hear what manner of man he was inwardly through the power of the Lord.

On a certain day a particular deacon was held bound after being captured by the Lombards, and they were considering killing him. When the day was already drawing toward evening, Sanctulus asked those same Lombards that he should be released and his life granted to him.

When they utterly refused and had determined upon his death, he asked that the deacon should at least be given to him for safekeeping. They consented to his petition with this condition added: that if the deacon fled, Sanctulus himself should die. The man of God willingly promised this and received the deacon into his own pledge of fidelity.

At midnight, when Sanctulus saw all the Lombards oppressed by sleep, he awakened the deacon, saying: “Arise and flee swiftly. May the Lord deliver you.”

The deacon refused to do this, saying: “If I flee, you will without doubt die in my place.” At last Sanctulus compelled him to flee, saying: “I am in the hand of God. They will be able to do to me only as much as he himself permits.”

The deacon therefore fled, and the guarantor remained behind as though deceived. When morning came, the Lombards came to him and demanded back the deacon whom they had given into his custody.

The man of God answered that he had fled. Then they said, “You know what befits you.” But the servant of the Lord answered steadfastly, “I know.”

They said, “You are a good man; choose for yourself whatever death you wish.” But he said, “I am in the hand of God. Kill me by that death which he himself permits.”

Then it pleased them all that he should be beheaded. All of them, most cruelly joyful, assembled for the spectacle of his death. One was chosen who was more suitable than the others and concerning whom there was no doubt that he would cut off Sanctulus's head with one stroke.

When Sanctulus had been led into their midst, he asked that a little opportunity for prayer be given to him. When this had been granted, he prostrated himself upon the ground and prayed for a rather long time.

The executioner struck him with his foot, saying: “Arise, and, with knee bent, extend your neck.” He arose and, kneeling, extended his neck. Looking at the drawn sword held against him, he is reported publicly to have said this one thing: “Saint John, receive it.”

Then the selected executioner, holding the unsheathed sword, raised his arm high with a strong exertion in order to strike, but he was in no way able to lower it. For it suddenly stiffened, and his arm remained inflexible with the sword raised toward heaven.

Then all the Lombards who were present began to marvel and to venerate the man of God with fear. Thus, when he was asked to rise, he arose. When asked to heal his executioner's arm, he answered: “I shall in no way pray for him unless he first gives me an oath that with that hand he will not kill a Christian man.”

But the Lombard himself, compelled by the punishment exacted from him, was forced to swear that thereafter he would kill no Christian. Then the man of God commanded, saying, “Lower your hand,” and he immediately lowered it, having been delivered.

Sanctulus added to him, “Return the sword to its sheath,” which he also did.

Therefore, all who had recognized him to be a man of such great power wished eagerly to offer him as gifts sheep and oxen that they had plundered. He refused to receive them all, saying: “If you wish to grant anything to me, give me all the captives whom you have, so that I may have cause to pray for you.”

Thus it happened that all the captives were released with him; and because one man offered himself to death in place of one man, he delivered many from death.

Consider, therefore, what force of love possessed that heart, because he did not dread his own death for the salvation of one neighbor. We certainly know that this venerable man Sanctulus did not even know the elements of letters well and did not know the precepts of the law.

But because charity is the fullness of the law, what he did not know outwardly through cognition lived within him through love. Let us compare, if it pleases us, his learned ignorance with our unlearned knowledge. Where this knowledge of ours lies prostrate, there his discipline towers.

We, empty of virtues, speak about virtues and, as though placed among fruitful orchards, smell the fruit but do not eat it. He knew how to pluck the fruits of the virtues, although he did not know how to smell them in words.

XXI. Amantius

Gregory relates that Floridus, the holy bishop of Tibernia, told him that a certain priest named Amantius, a man especially of simplicity, had been with him. He was reported to possess this power: that, after the manner of the apostles, he would place his hands upon the sick and restore health, and that however vehement an illness might be, it would withdraw at his touch.

He said also that Amantius had this miracle: that in whatever place he found a serpent, even one of the most monstrous savagery, as soon as he marked it with the sign of the cross, he killed it.

Even if a serpent had sometimes fled into a hole in a rock, he blessed the mouth of the hole with the sign of the cross, and immediately the serpent was drawn out of the hole already dead.

I myself also took care to see this man of such great power. When he had been brought to me, I wished him to remain for a few days in the house of the sick, where, if any grace of healing were present, it could be proved more quickly.

There, among the other sick persons, a certain man lay bereft of mind, whose condition physicians call by the Greek term *phrenesis*. When one night this madman uttered loud cries and disturbed all the sick with immense clamors, so that no one was permitted to take sleep, that same venerable priest arose from his own bed and silently approached the bed of the frenzied man.

Placing his hands upon him, he prayed, and soon, when the man was in a better condition, he brought him with himself to the oratory in the upper part of the house. There he applied himself more freely to prayer for him and immediately brought him back sound to his own bed.

XXII. How Humanity Lost Knowledge of Invisible Things

The things that follow are taken from the beginning of the fourth book of the *Dialogues*. First, man through the sin of the first man lost the knowledge of invisible things, which he possessed in the state of innocence.

After the first parent of the human race, driven from the joys of paradise because his fault required it, came into the misery of this exile and blindness that we suffer, he could no longer see those joys of the heavenly fatherland that he had previously contemplated, because by sinning he was poured forth outside himself.

For in paradise man had been accustomed to enjoy the Word of God and, through purity of heart and loftiness of vision, to be present among the spirits of the blessed angels. But after he fell to this place, he withdrew from that light of mind with which he had been filled.

We, born of his flesh in the blindness of this exile, hear indeed that there is a heavenly fatherland; we hear that its citizens are the angels of God; we hear that the spirits of the just and perfect are companions of those angels.

But all carnal persons, because they are unable to know those invisible things by experience, doubt whether that which they do not see with bodily eyes exists.

This doubt could not have existed in our first parent, because even when excluded from the joys of paradise he remembered what he had lost, since he had seen it. But these persons are unable to perceive or recall the things heard, because none of them retains, as he did, even an experience from the past.

It is as if a pregnant woman should be sent into prison and there give birth to a boy, and the boy born there should be nourished and grow up in prison. If perhaps the mother who bore him should name for him the sun, moon, stars, mountains and fields, birds and running horses, the one born and nourished in prison would know nothing other than the darkness of the prison.

He would indeed hear that these things exist, but because he did not know them by experience, he would distrust that they truly existed.

So human beings, born in the blindness of this their exile, distrust whether the highest and invisible things are true when they hear of them, because they have known only these lowest visible things among which they were born.

Hence it happened that the Creator himself of visible and invisible things, the only-begotten Son of the Father, came for the redemption of the human race and sent the Holy Spirit into our hearts, so that, made alive through him, we might believe the things that we cannot yet know by experience.

Therefore, all of us who have received this Spirit, the pledge of our inheritance, do not doubt concerning the life of invisible beings. But whoever is not yet firm in this belief ought without doubt to give credence to the words of his elders and to believe those who now possess experience of invisible things through the Holy Spirit.

For the boy is foolish if he supposes that his mother lies concerning the light merely because he himself has known nothing other than the darkness of the prison.

When Peter, with whom Gregory speaks, adds that one who does not believe invisible things is assuredly an unbeliever, and that one who is an unbeliever does not seek faith concerning that which he doubts but reason, Gregory answers:

“I boldly say that not even an unbeliever lives without faith. For if I wished to ask that same unbeliever what mother or what father he had, he would immediately answer this one or that one.

“If I were at once to ask him whether he knew when he was conceived or saw when he was born, he would confess that he neither knew nor saw any of these things, and nevertheless he believes what he did not see. For he testifies without doubt that he had that man as father and that woman as mother.

“Unbelievers, therefore, also have faith—but would that it were in God! If indeed they had it, they would not be unbelievers.

“But from this they are to be reproved for their faithlessness, and from this they are to be summoned to the grace of faith: because, if they believe concerning this body of theirs that which they did not see at all, why do they not believe invisible things, which cannot be seen bodily?”

That the soul lives after the death of the flesh is plain by reason, but reason joined with faith.

XXIII. Three Kinds of Living Spirit

Almighty God created three kinds of living spirits: one that is not covered with flesh, another that is covered with flesh but does not die with the flesh, and a third that is covered with flesh and dies with the flesh.

For the spirit that is not covered with flesh is the spirit of angels. The spirit that is covered with flesh but does not die with the flesh is the spirit of human beings. But the spirit that is covered with flesh and dies with the flesh is that of beasts of burden and all brute animals.

For just as man was created in the middle, so that he might be lower than an angel and higher than a beast of burden, so he has something in common with an angel and something in common with a beast of burden: immortality with an angel, but the mortality of the flesh with a beast of burden.

This remains so until the glory of the resurrection absorbs that very mortality of the flesh and, by inhering in the spirit, the flesh is preserved forever, because the spirit itself also is preserved by inhering in God.

Yet this flesh does not utterly fail even among the reprobate amid punishments, because it always subsists while failing, so that those who have sinned in spirit and flesh, always living substantially, may die without end in both flesh and spirit.

But Peter asks: “Since he has thus distinguished the spirit of human beings from the spirit of beasts of burden, why does Solomon speak thus in Ecclesiastes?

“‘I said in my heart concerning the children of human beings, that God might prove them and show them to be like beasts. Therefore the death of man and beasts is one, and the condition of each is equal. For as man dies, so also do they die. All breathe alike, and man has nothing more than beasts of burden. All things were made from the earth and return alike to the earth.’”

Gregory answers that this question can be resolved from the title of that book. For that book is called *Ecclesiastes*, which in Latin speech is properly called “the preacher.”

In an assembly a judgment is put forward through which the sedition of a tumultuous crowd is restrained; and when many hold diverse opinions, through the reasoning of the one preaching they are led to one opinion.

This book, therefore, is called “the preacher” because in it Solomon assumes, as it were, the understanding of a tumultuous crowd, so that through inquiry he may say those things that perhaps an unskilled mind perceives through temptation.

For as many opinions as he raises through inquiry, so many persons of diverse people he assumes within himself. But the truthful preacher, as though with hand outstretched, calms the tumults of all and recalls them to one opinion when, at the end of the same book, he says: “Let us all alike hear the end of speaking. Fear God and keep his commandments. This is every man.”

Hence some things in that book are raised through inquiry and others give satisfaction through reason. Some are things that he brings forth with a tempted mind, as one still devoted to the delights of this world; but others are things that he discusses by reason and restrains the mind from delight.

Hence there also he says, “This has seemed good to me: that a person should eat and drink and enjoy gladness from his labor.” And much farther below he adds, “It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting,” statements that appear contrary.

From this circumstance it is shown that he introduced the former statement in the person of the weak, but added the latter from the determination of reason. The same applies to many other sayings contained in that book.

Therefore, when it is said above through Solomon that human beings are like beasts of burden and that man has nothing more than beasts of burden, he puts forward, as though from the mind of the weak, a judgment of human suspicion.

Yet afterward, from the determination of reason, he brings forth his own judgment, saying, “What has the wise man more than the fool? And what has the poor man, except that he should go where life is?”

Here he clearly shows that man has not only something more than a beast of burden but also something more than a fool, that is, an evil man—namely this: that he goes to life, that is, immortal life.

XXIV. How the Invisible Soul Is Known to Live

But, after the manner of Ecclesiastes, Peter assumes the person of the weak and inquires concerning many things that also pertain to the other life.

Because on one occasion, while Peter was present, a certain man who was speaking suddenly breathed forth his vital spirit, but Peter in no way saw whether his soul departed from his body or not, it seemed to him very difficult that things should be believed to exist that no one sees.

Gregory answered him: “What wonder is it, Peter, if you did not see the soul departing, when you do not see it while it remains in the body? Surely, while you speak with me now, you do not believe me to be without a soul merely because you cannot see my soul within me?

“For the nature of the soul is invisible, and it departs invisibly from the body just as it remains invisibly in the body.”

Peter answered him: “We can discern the life of the soul remaining in the body from the movements of the body itself, because, unless the soul were present in the body, the members of that body could not be moved.

“But in what movements or what works do I see the life of the soul after the flesh, so that from things seen I may gather that what I cannot see exists?”

Gregory answered: “I say this not in a similar but in a dissimilar manner: just as the soul vivifies and moves the body, so the divine power fills all things that it has created. It vivifies some by breathing life into them; to others it grants that they live; but to others it grants only that they exist.

“Because you do not doubt that the creating and governing, filling and encompassing, transcending and sustaining, uncircumscribed and invisible God exists, so you ought not to doubt that he has invisible attendants.

“For those who minister ought to be in the likeness of him to whom they minister, so that those who serve the Invisible One should not be doubted to be invisible. What else do we believe these to be but the holy angels and the spirits of the just?

“Therefore, just as you consider the movement of the body and perceive the life of the soul remaining in the body from the lesser thing, so you ought to discern the life of the soul departing from the body from the higher thing, because one whom it befits to remain in the service of the invisible Creator is able to live invisibly.”

Peter said: “Everything is said rightly, but the mind recoils from believing what it cannot see with bodily eyes.”

Gregory answered him: “Since Paul says, ‘Faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things not appearing,’ this truly cannot be believed which cannot be seen. For what can be seen can now be believed [read: this is truly said to be believed which cannot be seen. For what can be seen can no longer be believed].

“Nevertheless, to recall you briefly to yourself: no visible things are seen except through invisible things. Behold, the bodily eye looks upon all corporeal things, yet that bodily eye itself would not see anything corporeal unless an incorporeal thing sharpened it for seeing.

“For take away the mind, which is not seen, and the eye that was seeing lies open in vain. Withdraw the soul from the body, and without doubt the eyes remain open in the body. If, therefore, they saw through themselves, why do they see nothing when the soul departs? Hence gather that visible things themselves also are not seen except through invisible things.”

He also gives the example of great weights lifted by a man, because the body does not do this by itself, but the invisible soul that vivifies the body. For when the soul has been separated, all things remain motionless.

He adds: “In this matter it must be considered that in this visible world nothing is disposed except through an invisible creature.”

Peter said: “All that you say is pleasing. But just as I recognize the life of the soul remaining in the body from the body's movement, so I desire to recognize the life of the soul after the body through certain manifest attestations.”

Gregory answered him: “In this matter, if I find the heart of your affection prepared, I labor not at all in furnishing proof. Surely the holy apostles and martyrs of Christ would not have despised the present life and laid down their souls in the death of the flesh unless they knew that a more certain life of souls would follow.

“You say that you recognize the life of the soul remaining in the body from the body's movements. But behold, those who laid down their souls in death and believed that there was a life of souls after the death of the flesh shine forth in daily miracles.

“Living sick persons come to their extinguished bodies and are healed. Perjurers come and are vexed by a demon. Demoniacs approach and are delivered. Dead persons are brought and are raised.

“Consider, therefore, in what manner their souls live there where they live, when even their dead bodies live here in so many miracles. If, therefore, you comprehend the life of the soul remaining in the body through the movement of its members, why do you not discern the life of the soul after the body even through dead bones in the power of miracles?

“A little above you complained that you did not see the soul of a certain dying person when it departed, but this very thing was already a fault: that with bodily eyes you sought to see an invisible thing.

“For many of our people, purifying the eye of the mind through pure faith and abundant prayer, have frequently seen souls departing from the flesh.”

Concerning this matter he introduces several examples. First he speaks of Saint Benedict, who, while situated far from the city of Capua, saw at midnight the soul of Germanus, bishop of that city, carried to heaven by angels in a fiery globe.

Then he also gives the example of a certain abbot, a holy man called Spes, who dwelt not far from the city of Nursia. Although he had remained in bodily blindness for forty years with great patience, a fortnight before his death the Lord restored to him the light of his eyes, foretold his death to him, and sent him to preach among neighboring monasteries.

After this, having returned and received the Viaticum, he died while chanting psalms among the brothers. Those standing by saw his soul departing from his mouth like a dove and ascending to heaven.

XXV. Signs at the Departure of Souls

Gregory says in the aforesaid fourth book of the *Dialogues* that often, when the souls of the elect depart, the sweetness of heavenly praise is accustomed to burst forth, so that while they gladly hear it, they are not permitted to feel the dissolution of the flesh from the soul.

Hence I remember that I already related in a homily on the Gospel that in the portico that lies open to those going to the church of blessed Clement there was a certain man named Servulus. He was poor indeed in possessions but rich in merits, and a long illness had wasted him.

For from the time when we were able to know him until the end of his life, he lay paralyzed. Why should I say that he could not stand, when he was never able to rise in bed even to sit, never to bring his hand to his mouth, and never to turn himself onto his other side?

His mother and brother were present to serve him, and whatever he could receive from alms he distributed to the poor by their hands.

He did not know letters at all, but he had bought for himself books of sacred Scripture; and, receiving whatever religious persons he could in hospitality, he diligently caused them to read those books before him. Thus it happened that, according to his measure, he learned sacred Scripture fully.

In his pain he strove always to give thanks and to devote himself to the hymns and praises of God by day and night.

But when the time had now come for such great patience in him to be rewarded, the pain of his members returned to his vital organs. When he recognized that he was now near death, he admonished the foreign men whom he had received in hospitality to rise and chant psalms with him in expectation of his departure.

While he himself, though dying, chanted psalms with them, he checked the voices of those chanting, saying with the great terror of a cry: “Be silent! Be silent! Surely you do not hear what great voices resound in heaven?”

While he directed the ear of his heart toward those same praises that he had heard inwardly, that holy soul was released from the flesh. When it departed, so great a fragrance of odor was poured forth there that all who were present were filled with inestimable sweetness.

But just as blessedness gladdens the elect, so it is necessary to believe that from the day of their departure fire burns the reprobate. I do not doubt that the fire of Gehenna is corporeal, in which it is certain that bodies are tortured.

In the time of the Goths, a certain eminent man named Reparatus came to death. When his household was already mourning him as dead, he suddenly returned and said: “Send a boy very quickly to the church of blessed Laurence the martyr, which is called ‘of Damasus’ from the name of its founder. Let him see what is being done concerning Tiburtius the priest and hasten to report it.”

This Tiburtius was then reported to be subject to carnal desires. While the boy was going, that same Reparatus, who had returned to himself, related that he had recognized the place to which he had been conducted, saying: “An immense pyre had been prepared. Tiburtius the priest was brought and placed upon it, and, with fire set beneath it, he was burned.

“Another pyre, however, was being prepared, whose summit appeared to hang from earth to heaven. A voice was sent forth asking whose it was.”

Having said these things, Reparatus immediately died. The boy who had been sent to Tiburtius found him already dead.

The cauldrons of Vulcan in Sicily, as those who know them are accustomed to relate, increase daily as their boundaries are widened, so that as the end of the world approaches, in proportion as it is certain that more persons to be burned are gathered there, so also those same places of torments may appear more extensive.

Almighty God willed this to be shown in this world for the correction of the living, so that the minds of unbelievers who do not believe that the torments of hell exist may see the places of the torments that they refuse to believe from hearing.

The reaping angels bind the tares into bundles for burning when they join like persons with like persons in similar torments: the proud with the proud and the lustful with the lustful.

The mercy above also disposes, from the generosity of its great compassion, that some persons return to the body even after their departure and may at least fear the torments of hell after seeing them, when they had not believed them after hearing.

For an illustrious man named Stephen was accustomed to relate concerning himself to me that, while he was staying in the city of Constantinople, he died when an illness supervened for a certain reason.

When a physician and an apothecary were sought to open and embalm him and could not be found that same day, his body lay unburied during the following night.

Conducted to the places of hell, he saw many things that he had not previously believed when he heard them. But when he had been presented to the judge who presided there, he was not received by him, so that the judge said: “I ordered not this man to be brought but Stephen the smith.”

He was immediately brought back into his body, and Stephen the smith who lived next to him died at that same hour. Thus the words that he had heard were proved true when the outcome of Stephen's death demonstrated it.

XXVI. Whether All Children Enter the Heavenly Kingdom

Peter says in the same fourth book: “Since the human race is subject to many and innumerable vices, I think that the heavenly Jerusalem can be filled for the greatest part from little children or infants.”

Gregory answers him: “Although it is to be believed that all baptized infants who die in that same infancy enter the heavenly kingdom, nevertheless it is not to be believed that all little children who are now able to speak enter the heavenly kingdoms, because access to that heavenly kingdom is closed to some little children by their parents if they are badly reared.

“For a certain man very well known in this city had, three years ago, a son about five years old, as I judge. Loving him too carnally, he reared him indulgently; and that same little child—something grievous to say—as soon as anything had opposed his will, was accustomed to blaspheme the majesty of God.

“When, three years ago, he was struck in this mortality and came to death, his father held him in his bosom. As those who were present have testified, the boy, looking with trembling eyes and seeing malign spirits coming toward him, began to cry: ‘Keep them away, father! Keep them away, father!’

“As he cried, he turned his face aside so that he might hide himself from them in his father's bosom. When his father asked the trembling boy what he saw, the boy answered: ‘Moorish men have come who wish to take me away.’

“When he had said this, he immediately blasphemed the name of the Majesty and yielded up his soul.

“For in order that almighty God might show to what executioners and for what guilt he had been delivered, he permitted the boy at death to repeat what his father had been unwilling to correct while he lived. Thus the father might recognize his own guilt, because, being negligent toward the soul of his little son, he had nourished for the fires of Gehenna one who was not a little sinner.”

Here it must be noted that, since at such an age a little child is not ordinarily capable of culpable intent and hence not capable of moral desert either, it is necessary that the use of free choice had been accelerated in this child, since by sinning he was plunged into eternal fire.

XXVII. The Soldier's Vision of the Bridge

A certain soldier in this city, struck by the plague, came to his extremity. Drawn out of his body, he lay without life, but rather quickly returned and related to everyone the things that had been done with him.

For he said, as the event itself then became known to many, that there was a bridge beneath which flowed a black and dark river exhaling intolerable stenches in a mist.

But beyond the bridge there were pleasant and green meadows adorned with the fragrant flowers of herbs, in which there appeared to be assemblies of people clothed in white. So great an odor of sweetness was present in that place that the fragrance of that sweetness itself satisfied those walking and dwelling there.

There were individual mansions filled with a magnitude of light. There a certain house of marvelous grandeur was being built, which appeared to be constructed of golden bricks, but he was unable to recognize whose it was.

There were also some dwellings upon the bank of the aforesaid river, but some were touched by the mist of the rising stench, while the stench rising from the river did not touch others at all.

This was the trial upon the aforesaid bridge: whoever among the unjust wished to cross over it fell into the dark and fetid river. But the just, whom guilt did not obstruct, arrived by a secure and free passage across it at the pleasant places.

There he confessed that he had seen Peter, the chief officer of the ecclesiastical household, who died four years ago, placed below in most hideous places, bound and weighed down by a great weight of iron.

When he asked why this was so, he said that he heard those things that we who knew Peter in this ecclesiastical house recall from knowledge of his actions. For it was said: “He suffers this because, if anything was enjoined upon him for inflicting vengeance, he served more from a desire for cruelty than from obedience.” No one who knew him is unaware that this was so.

There he confessed that he also saw a certain foreign priest who, coming to the aforesaid bridge, crossed it with as much authority as the sincerity with which he had lived here.

He testified that on that same bridge he recognized this Stephen whom I mentioned above. When Stephen wished to cross, his foot slipped, and when half of his body was now cast outside the bridge, certain most hideous men rising from the river began to pull him downward by the hips, while certain men clothed in white and most beautiful began to pull him upward by the arms.

While this struggle was taking place, and the good men pulled him upward and the evil men downward, the one who saw this returned to his body and did not learn what was done more fully concerning Stephen.

In this matter it is given to be understood concerning that same Stephen's life that in him the evils of the flesh contended with the working of alms. For because he was pulled downward by the hips and upward by the arms, it is assuredly plain that he had loved alms and had not perfectly resisted the vices of the flesh that pulled him downward.

But in that hidden examination of the Judge, both we and the man who saw it and was recalled remain ignorant of what prevailed in him. Nevertheless, it is established that after this same Stephen, as I related above, saw the places of hell and returned to his body, he did not perfectly correct his life.

As for the house that appeared to be built of golden bricks in the pleasant places, this is to be understood not of material bricks but of works. For it is assuredly established that one who will merit the reward of eternal light through the generosity of alms builds his mansion with gold.

And because old people and young people, boys and girls, carried those same golden bricks for the building, as he had seen, it is given to be understood that those toward whom the kindness of alms had been exercised appeared there to be the builders themselves.

Likewise, a certain religious man named Deusdedit lived near us, who was accustomed to make shoes. Another man saw by revelation that his house was being built, but its builders appeared to work upon it only on the Sabbath day.

Afterward, carefully examining the life of that same man, he found that, from those things for which he labored on the individual days, Deusdedit was accustomed to carry whatever could remain over from food and clothing to the church of blessed Peter on the Sabbath day and distribute it to the needy.

Title XIII

Title XIII contains the deeds and vicissitudes of the supreme pontiffs and emperors through one hundred and eight years: namely, from Pope Sabinian, successor of Gregory I, to Gregory II, and from the emperor Phocas to Philippicus; also those of the doctors Isidore and Bede, who were of diverse nations; and matters concerning Muhammad, his most foul law, and his errors; and also concerning many saints who shone in life and miracles.

The title begins from the year of the Lord 605 and extends to the year of the Lord 713.

Within this span the following supreme pontiffs existed in successive order: Sabinian; Boniface III; Boniface IV; Deusdedit; Honorius I; Severinus; John IV; Theodore; Martin; Eugenius; Vitalian; Adeodatus; Donus; Agatho; Sergius; Leo II; Benedict II; John V; Conon; John VI; John VII; and Zosimus.

The emperors were Phocas; Heraclius; Constantine, son of Heraclius; Herodona, son of Heraclius, with his mother Martina; Constans, son of Constantine the son of Heraclius, who was also called Constantine; Maxentius, who usurped Constantine's empire; Justinian II, son of Constans; Leo, who was also called Leontius and usurped the empire; Hausimarus, who was also called Tiberius and usurped the empire for himself; the aforesaid Justinian, who had been exiled, recovered the empire from Gersone [i.e., Cherson] after Hausimarus and Leontius were killed; and finally Philippicus, after Justinian had been killed by him.

Chapter I

Sabinian

After the death of Gregory the Great, concerning whom something was said immediately above, Sabinian ascended the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 604, the five-thousand-eight-hundred-and-second year from the beginning of the world. He was Tuscan by nation. He sat for one year and five months.

At the beginning of his pontificate, when a severe famine afflicted the whole province, religious persons and poor people to whom Saint Gregory had been accustomed to minister came to him and said: “Lord pope, may your Holiness not permit those whom our father Gregory was accustomed to feed to perish.”

Indignant at these words, the pope always answered thus: “If Gregory took care to receive all peoples for the sake of the fame of his own praise, we are not able to feed everyone.” Thus he sent them away empty.

Hence Saint Gregory appeared to him a third time, and for a third time gently reproved him concerning his disparagement, his stinginess, and the necessity of the poor. But he neither bent himself toward mercy nor restrained himself from disparagement.

Therefore, appearing to him a fourth time, Gregory reproved him terribly and, threatening him, struck him upon the head. Vexed by the pain of that blow, Sabinian died shortly afterward.

The Romans themselves, also burdened by the aforesaid famine, disparaged Gregory, though already dead, saying that he had dissipated the treasures of the Church through excessive liberality, as the same Vincent relates above.

Because there was no person against whom they might burn with anger, they wished to erase the memory of his name from his books.

When the Romans therefore wished to burn his books, Peter the deacon opposed them with this testimony: that he had often seen the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove above Gregory's head as he dictated. He proved the truth of his statement, as was said above.

Sabinian made twenty-six bishops throughout diverse places. When he migrated to the Lord, the episcopate was vacant for eleven months and twenty-five days.

The Romans and Lombards established a peace in which the daughter of King Agilulf, formerly captured by the Romans, was redeemed.

Agilulf himself, king of the Lombards, who had previously fought successfully against the Romans in many places and had taken Mantua and Cremona, made his son Adaloald king, gave him as wife the daughter of Theudebert, king of the Franks, and renewed perpetual peace with the Franks.

The Franks, fighting against the Saxons, were defeated with a great part of their stock.

At the same time, namely in the second year of the emperor Phocas, as Vincent relates above, a certain poor man asked alms from sailors and did not receive it. The shipmaster said, “Cease asking alms from us, for we have nothing here except stones.”

When the poor man replied, “Then let all things be turned into stones,” whatever was edible in the ship was turned into stones, while the color and form of the things remained.

I. Boniface III and Boniface IV

When Sabinian had been removed from the midst, Boniface III succeeded him in the supreme pontificate. He was number sixty-four according to John of Columna. He was Roman by nation and sat for eight months and twenty-two days. And he was the sixty-fifth.

After Boniface III, Boniface IV received the Roman Church to govern. As Vincent relates from the *Book of Pontiffs* in book twenty-four, chapter thirteen of the *Historical Mirror*, he was Campanian by nation and sat for five years. He was the sixty-sixth in the order of the supreme pontiffs.

He was the mildest and most merciful of all men. He loved the clergy and gave a complete toga to his clergy.

Through his decree this Boniface declared that monks, if they are appointed over parish or popular churches, can minister the sacraments to them, saying in Distinction Sixteen, question one:

“There are some, supported by no doctrine and most audaciously inflamed with a zeal more of bitterness than of charity, who assert that monks, because they are dead to the world and live to God, are unworthy of the power of the priestly office and can bestow neither penance nor Christianity, nor can they absolve through the power of the priestly office divinely enjoined upon them. But they are altogether mistaken.

“For blessed Benedict, the beneficent instructor of monks, was not in any way a prohibitor of a thing of this kind. He decreed only that they should be free from secular affairs, something that is strongly enjoined not only upon monks but also upon canons.

“For the Apostle says, ‘No one serving as a soldier for God entangles himself in secular affairs.’ We believe, therefore, that the office of binding and loosing is worthily administered by priests who are monks, if it happens that they are worthily raised to this ministry.”

He also established, as Vincent relates above, that no one should be dragged from a church and that no acolyte should presume to lift the relics of the holy martyrs.

He obtained from the emperor Phocas the Pantheon at Rome, that is, the temple now called Saint Mary Rotunda. It had been dedicated by the ancient gentiles in honor of Cybele, the mother of all the gods, and therefore was called *Pantheon*, that is, “to all the gods.”

After all the filth of idolatry had been removed, he consecrated that temple in honor of Saint Mary and all the martyrs.

Afterward, when the Christian religion had increased, it was instituted on the Kalends of November, not only at Rome but throughout the whole world, that on that day the feast of All Saints should be solemnly celebrated by the universal Church.

Later, in the course of time, the Church established that on the immediately following day the office or commemoration of all the dead should be celebrated.

According to what Jacobus de Voragine says in the legends of the saints, this was established on account of a particular vision of a holy man. While he was at prayer in the church of Saint Peter at Rome after Matins on the feast of All Saints, he saw in spirit a Mass solemnly celebrated by Christ and his saints.

Afterward, conducted to the place of purgatory, he saw souls in various punishments and different kinds of food being carried to different persons: more delicate food to some, moderate food to others, cheap and scant food to others, and none to still others.

It was declared by an angel that those refreshments were the suffrages made by the living for their dead. He was commanded to make such a vision known, so that such a general office for the dead might be instituted by the Church and those who had no persons performing particular suffrages for them might at least be relieved by those general ones.

From the council of this Boniface IV, the following was established in Distinction Seventy-nine: “No pontiff, while the Roman pontiff is living, or while the bishop of his city is living, is to presume to speak or to make parties for himself, unless on the third day after his burial.”

He also obtained from the emperor Phocas that the Roman Church should be the head and mistress of all churches, because the Church of Constantinople asserted that it was the first of all churches.

When the aforesaid Boniface died, at the beginning of the reign of Heraclius, Deusdedit succeeded him in the chair of Peter, having been nominated by the people and clergy.

II. Deusdedit, Honorius, Severinus, John, and Theodore

Deusdedit was Roman by nation and sat for two years and twenty days, but according to others for three years. He was the sixty-seventh.

Under this pontiff the emperor Heraclius sent the patrician Eleuterius to govern Italy. As John of Columna relates, Eleuterius defeated in war and killed near Naples a certain John who had called himself emperor in Italy, and he kept Italy in great peace.

But in the course of time, lifted up into pride, he called himself his own lord and king of Italy. Coming to Rome, he was killed by faithful servants of the emperor, and his head was sent to Heraclius at Constantinople.

This Pope Deusdedit was asked whether parents who hold their own children at baptism can afterward have intercourse with one another, that is, whether the father and mother of such children can make use of marriage.

He answers, as is contained in the canon *It Has Come*, in Cause Thirty, question one, and says that the holy fathers of blessed memory Julius, Innocent, and Celestine, with the consent of many bishops and priests, wrote and confirmed in prohibition of such things that men and women who for any reason received their own children should in no way receive one another in marriage, but should separate themselves, lest, at the devil's persuasion, such a vice become established. Thus it is written there.

But today that which is said in the second chapter of the title *On Spiritual Kinship* is to be held: namely, whether knowingly or ignorantly the father or mother holds a child at baptism, they are not therefore to be separated with respect to demanding or rendering the marital debt.

Hence what is said in the aforesaid canon *It Has Come*, that they are to be separated, is understood, as the Gloss says, if they can be induced to continence, or until they repent of the sin.

For such persons certainly sin by doing this, namely, by holding their own children at baptism or confirmation outside a case of necessity.

In his time Sisebut, king of the Goths, who had become a Christian, recovered for his own rule very many cities of Spain that had defected from the Romans, and by rather severe punishments brought to baptism the Jews who dwelt in his kingdom. Concerning this Sisebut there is a text in Distinction Forty-five, *Concerning the Jews*.

After him Honorius I, Campanian by nation and son of the consul Petronius, received the Roman Church to govern. He sat for eleven years, eleven months, and seventeen days.

He did many good things for churches. At Rome he built the church of blessed Agnes that is on the Nomentan Way and endowed it with many possessions; he also constructed other churches.

According to others, he sat for thirteen years, and he was the sixty-eighth in the order of pontiffs. He held three ordinations and ordained thirteen priests, ten deacons, and eighty-one bishops throughout diverse places. He was buried at Saint Peter's.

When he died, the episcopate was vacant for one year, seven months, and eighteen days. Before this Honorius, some place another Boniface V, but others do not, and thus it appears true.

When Honorius was taken from this light, Severinus, Roman by nation, was created supreme pontiff. He presided over the Church for only two months and four days. Others say two years. When he died, the episcopate was vacant for four months and twenty-two days.

While he was still pope-elect and the prince's assent was awaited, at the suggestion of Mauritius the chartulary, Isacius the patrician and exarch, who governed Italy at that time, came to Rome.

He carried away all the treasure that Honorius and other supreme pontiffs had gathered in the Lateran church, and that Christian emperors or patricians and consuls had left to blessed Peter for the redemption of their souls, so that it might be distributed to the poor through apostolic hands or used to redeem captives.

He sent part of it to the imperial city for the emperor Heraclius, but retained the other part for himself and the soldiers. Yet he ended his days by an evil death.

After Severinus, John, Dalmatian by nation, received the miter of the Roman pontificate. He sat for one year, eight months, and eighteen days.

Through Martin, a most holy and faithful abbot, he sent much money throughout Dalmatia and Istria for the redemption of captives who were held after being captured by barbarians. When he died, the episcopate was vacant for one month and twenty-three days.

When Pope John migrated to the fathers, Theodore, a Greek, presided as bishop at Rome. He sat for six years, five months, and eighteen days.

He was a lover of the poor and more merciful than all, and therefore expended everything he could possess upon the poor and upon redeeming captives.

This blessed pontiff raised the bodies of Saints Primus and Felicianus, which had formerly been buried in a sandpit, and honorably reinterred them upon the Caelian Hill in the church of Saint Stephen, constructing there a beautiful oratory in honor of the aforesaid saints.

Under this Pope Theodore the emperor Heraclius died, and Martin succeeded Theodore.

III. Martin I

Martin, from the city of Tuder in the province of Tuscany, was raised to the supreme pontificate as the seventy-second pontiff. He sat for six years, one month, and twenty-six days.

In his times Paul of Constantinople, inflated by a spirit of pride, boldly presumed, contrary to the definitions of the fathers, to publish a decree against the right doctrine of the holy Church.

Moreover, he strove by certain surreptitious means to cover his error, so that he might persuade the most clement prince, the emperor Constans—grandson of the emperor Heraclius, born from his son; the emperor Heraclius himself also fell into that error of the Monothelites at the persuasion and instruction of the patriarch of Constantinople, as Vincent relates after Hugh in book twenty-four, chapter eighty-four of the *Historical Mirror* and from the deeds of the pontiffs—to publish a Type by which he would destroy Catholic doctrine.

Paul himself asserted that there had been only one will and operation in Christ, although according to the truth of the faith there is a twofold will and operation, namely divine and human.

Paul himself carried his presumption so far that he overturned and plundered the consecrated altar of the Holy Apostolic See that was in the house of Placidia within a venerable oratory.

He prohibited our apocrisiaries from being able to offer there the holy and immaculate Host for adoration or to receive the sacraments of communion.

Because these apocrisiaries, by a command of apostolic authority, warned him to withdraw from such a heretical intention, he pursued them with diverse persecutions, together with other orthodox men and venerable priests. He thrust some of them into custody, deported others into exile, and subjected others to blows.

While these penalties disturbed almost the whole world, very many orthodox persons from diverse places are shown to have brought complaints to the Apostolic See, entreating that the invention of so great an evil and so great an overthrow should be cut away through apostolic authority, lest the harmful disease of their heresy be able to rupture the whole body of the Catholic Church.

This most holy Martin sent for and assembled one hundred and fifty bishops in the city of Rome and held a synod according to the statutes of the orthodox fathers in the church of Saint Savior beside the Lateran episcopal residence.

With the bishops seated and the priests, deacons, and entire clergy standing by, they condemned Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, who had presumed innovations against the immaculate faith, anathematizing them and their followers under necessity.

He made copies and sent them throughout every region of the East and West.

In those days the emperor commissioned Olympius the chamberlain as exarch in Italy to govern all Italy and commanded him, saying: “It befits your Glory, as Paul the patriarch has suggested to us, to act for the preservation of this God-protected city.

“If you find that province consenting to the Type published by us, have all the bishops who are there subscribe to it.

“But if you cannot persuade them, we command the army stationed there to seize Pope Martin and afterward to read throughout all the churches the Type that was made orthodox by us, and let all the bishops of Italy subscribe to it.

“But if you find the contrary in such a cause, keep the army quiet until you have obtained the province and have been able to gather to yourselves the army both of the city of Rome and of Ravenna, so that you may be able to fulfill as quickly as possible the things commanded to you.”

When the aforesaid Olympius came to the city of Rome, he found the holy Church united with all the bishops of Italy. Wishing to fulfill the commands given to him, he armed the army with him and wished to introduce schism into the holy Roman Church.

This was attempted for a very long time, but God did not permit them to accomplish what they strove to do.

Seeing himself overcome by the holy and apostolic Church, Olympius sought to accomplish by a surreptitious means what he could not do through armed forces.

During the solemnities of Mass in the church of Saint Mary Major, while the most holy pope was offering communion to him as to a Catholic, Olympius wished to kill the pope, as he had commanded his swordsman.

But almighty God, who is accustomed to surround his orthodox servants with protection, blinded the swordsman of Olympius the exarch himself. He was not permitted to see the pontiff when he gave communion to the exarch or offered him the peace. The aforesaid armor-bearer afterward confessed this with diverse oaths.

Perceiving that the Lord protected Pope Martin, Olympius the exarch had to come to agreement with him and disclose to him all the things that had been commanded.

After peace had been made with the Church, Olympius gathered an army and departed for Sicily against the nation of the Saracens who dwelt there. Because the demerits of men required it, a great destruction arose within the Roman army. After this the exarch Olympius himself also perished.

At last Theodore the exarch, surnamed Calliopas, was sent by the emperor together with another Theodore, an imperial chamberlain, with the command that they seize Pope Martin and send him to Constantinople. They did so.

While he was there, the emperor demanded that he assent to and approve the Type of Paul, patriarch of Constantinople. Because he consented in no way, the most holy man Martin was sent into exile at Gersone.

There at last he ended his life and migrated to the Lord, worn down by the martyrdom of a long exile. Through him the Lord works many marvelous things at his sepulcher.

His feast is celebrated in the month of November on the day preceding the feast of blessed Martin, bishop and confessor.

He held two ordinations during the month of December, ordaining eleven priests, five deacons, and thirty-two bishops throughout diverse places.

Many statutes of this Martin from his council are contained in the decrees. Hence, in Cause Twenty-five, question five, it is said from the council of Pope Martin:

“It is not lawful for Christians to hold to the traditions of the gentiles, to observe or venerate the elements, the courses of the moon or stars, or the empty deceit of signs for building a house, planting crops or trees, or joining marriages.

“For it is written: ‘Whatever things you do in word or deed, do them in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God.’

“Nor is it lawful in gathering medicinal herbs to attend to any observances or incantations, except only with the divine Creed and the Lord's Prayer, so that God alone, Creator of all and Lord, may be honored.

“But if anyone, following the custom of pagans, introduces diviners and soothsayers into his house, as though they might cast evil outside and find acts of sorcery, or if he performs the purifications of pagans, let him do penance for five years.

“It is likewise not lawful for Christian women to observe vanity in their wool-working, but let them invoke as helper God, who gave them the skill of weaving.”

Likewise, from the council of this Martin, in Distinction Thirty: “If any priest, without some necessity, fasts on the Lord's Day out of a certain religious observance, as the Manichaeans do, let him be anathema.”

Likewise, from his council, in Distinction Forty-four: “It is not lawful for priests or clerics to hold banquets from contributions. Nor ought clerics or religious laypeople to enter banquets before the third hour of the sacred day. Nor are clerics ever to eat bread unless a hymn has been said, and after food they are to return thanks to God its Author.”

Likewise, from the council of Martin, in the second Distinction *On Consecration*: “It is not fitting that anything other than wine and water—and add bread—should be offered in the sanctuary for consecration. These are blessed in a type of Christ, because

while he hung upon the cross, blood and water flowed from his body. These three are one in Jesus Christ, this sacrifice and oblation to God as an odor of sweetness.”

Likewise, from his council, in Cause Seventeen, question four: “If anyone teaches another person's slave, for the sake of religion, to despise his lord and to withdraw from his service, let him be most severely reproved in all things.” Understand that service is to be rendered in lawful matters.

Many other decrees of his are dispersed in diverse places throughout the book of decrees.

There is also found a certain decretal letter of Pope Martin himself to Saint Amandus, according to Vincent in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*. In it he indicated that the same Amandus had wished to lay aside the pastoral service because of the disobedience of those priests or deacons who polluted themselves by a lapse after their ordinations.

The most blessed pope dissuaded him from that intention, urging him toward patience and commanding that he show them no compassion in their offense, but depose all who had lapsed from office and send them into perpetual penance.

“For,” he says, “if we seek for promotion to holy orders such persons as no wrinkle and no contagion of life would prevent from holy orders, how much more, if a person has fallen into a lapse after his ordination and is found liable even for the sin of transgression, must he be entirely prohibited from handling the mystery of our salvation with filthy and polluted hands?

“Let such a person therefore always remain deposed in this life according to the statutes of the sacred canons, so that he who searches the inward things of the mind and rejoices that none of the sheep goes astray may, when he sees the man's sincere penance, possess him as reconciled at the terrible judgment.” Thus he speaks.

The same Martin says in his council, in Cause Ten, question two: “Let the bishop have power over the goods of the church, so that he may distribute them to those who have necessity, with all reverence and fear of God.

“He ought also to share the things that are necessary, if he himself or the brothers who are with him should lack anything, so that they may in no way suffer necessity, according to the Apostle, who says: ‘Having only food and clothing, we are content.’

“But if the bishop wishes to give ecclesiastical goods into his own property, or gives them to his brothers, sons, or any of his relatives, or if the goods of the church are manifestly harmed through them, he ought to be answerable to the council.”

Likewise, from the council of the aforesaid Martin, in Cause Eleven, question one, it is said: “If any bishop has been excommunicated in a council, or a priest or deacon by his bishop, and after excommunication he presumes to make an oblation or to perform the morning or evening sacrifice as though acting in his office as before, it is not lawful for him either to have hope of reconciliation in another council or ever again to be reconciled.”

Likewise, from the council of Martin, in Distinction Fifty, it is said: “If anyone has married a widow or a woman abandoned by another, let him not be admitted to the clergy. If he has slipped in, let him be cast out. The same applies if after baptism he has been conscious of homicide by deed, command, counsel, or defense.”

IV. Eugenius, Vitalian, Adeodatus, Donus, and Agatho

Eugenius, Roman by nation, succeeded Pope Martin I, the precious martyr, in the chair of Peter. He sat for two years, nine months, and twenty-four days.

Under this pontiff Peter, patriarch of Constantinople, who had succeeded the heresiarch Paul, sent to Rome according to the ancient custom a synodal letter so obscure that what he meant could not be understood. In it he in no way declared the two operations in the Lord Jesus Christ.

When it had been read aloud, neither the clergy nor the people wished to receive it. When Eugenius died, the episcopate was vacant for one month and twenty-four days.

After Eugenius died, Vitalian was created supreme pontiff. When Constans, who was also called Constantine, the emperor and grandson of Heraclius, came to the city in order to cast the Lombards out of Italy—he was nevertheless unable to prevail but was turned to flight with his men—Pope Vitalian reverently met him at the sixth milestone from the city and led him as far as the thresholds of blessed Peter.

After the emperor had remained in the city for twelve days, driven by great greed, he carried diverse kinds of ornaments of bronze and marble down the Tiber so that he might transfer them to Constantinople.

Crossing by ship into Sicily, he was killed by his own men in the baths, so that posterity might take from this an example not to despoil churches.

This Vitalian arose in Campania, in the city of Signia, and sat for fourteen years and six months.

When Vitalian migrated to the Lord, a man named Adeodatus, Roman by nation and a monk, was placed in the chair of Peter. He presided over the Church for four years, two months, and ten days.

He was most mild and most generous to the poor. He restored the church of the Apostles on the Ostian Way.

In a certain monastery in the city of Rome called Boziana, he found Nestorianism among its monks. He divided those monks throughout diverse places and installed Roman monks in it.

He dedicated the church of Saint Euphemia at Rome. He enlarged the clergy with diverse orders and honors. He held one ordination in which he ordained ten priests, five deacons, and six bishops.

When he died, the episcopate was vacant for two months and sixteen days.

After Adeodatus, Donus received the Roman Church to govern. He sat for one year and five months.

In his time, beginning in the month of August, a star penetrating the heavens with its rays appeared in the east for three months from cockcrow until morning. Thereafter a very great mortality followed in those regions, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* after Sigebert.

He paved with great and broad marbles the atrium of blessed Peter at Rome that is called Paradise.

While he presided, the Church of Ravenna, which, filled with a spirit of pride, had separated itself from its mother the Roman Church, again subjected itself in humility to the ancient Roman Church.

Agatho succeeded Donus in the supreme pontificate. Around those times Æthelthryth, queen in England, shone forth. Although married to three men, she remained a virgin. Eleven years after her burial, her dead body was found incorrupt, as Vincent relates above after Sigebert.

Pope Agatho says in Distinction Nineteen: “Thus all sanctions of the Apostolic See are to be received as if confirmed by the divine voice of Peter himself.”

Agatho was Sicilian and sat for two years, six months, and four days in the time of Constantine III, great-grandson of Heraclius.

Through the action of Constantine as a most pious and Catholic emperor, the Sixth Universal Synod of two hundred and eighty-nine bishops was celebrated at Constantinople.

Certain legates sent by Pope Agatho presided there, because he himself was unable to go there on account of old age. After the matter had been examined most diligently, it was determined that in Christ there are two natures and hence also two wills and operations, namely divine and human.

George, patriarch of Constantinople, and the emperor himself assented to this determination. The error of the Monothelites, who asserted only one nature in Christ, was rejected and anathematized as heresy.

Remaining in this error, Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, was condemned and exiled. This synod is mentioned in Distinction Sixteen, chapter six, and concerning it there is also a text in Distinction Sixty-three, *Agatho*.

When the council had been dissolved, God gave so much grace to the legates of the Apostolic See in the sight of the Greek peoples that in the imperial city itself, namely Constantinople, on the holy day of Easter, John, cardinal bishop of Porto and then a legate, solemnly celebrated Mass in the presence of the patriarch of Constantinople, the emperor, and all the people.

When Agatho died, the episcopate was vacant for six months.

V. Leo II, Benedict II, and John V

When this Agatho had been taken away by the plague, which was then very great in the city, Leo the Younger, Sicilian by nation, succeeded him in the supreme pontificate. He sat for ten months and seventeen days.

As John of Columna relates, he was a most eloquent man, sufficiently instructed in both the Greek and Latin languages and very learned in the sacred Scriptures. He was also a lover of poverty and generous to the poor.

When the legates returned from Greece, Leo, who had now been made prelate, translated from Greek into Latin the synod written in Greek, that is, its chapters or decrees.

Among other things, he established that one who had been ordained archbishop should not, by any custom, be obliged to pay anything for the use of the pallium or to the diverse officials of the Church.

When he rested in peace, Benedict, Roman by nation, was raised to govern the universal Church. He sat for ten months and twenty-two days.

According to John of Columna, from his earliest age he had served in diverse offices in the Roman Church, and in him the grace of blessing truly abounded. For he was humble, dutiful, merciful, and gentle, and deserved to be worthily promoted to the supreme pontificate.

He received an imperial constitution written by the aforesaid emperor Constantine to the clergy, people, and army. It provided that whoever was elected to the Apostolic See at Rome should thereafter be ordained pontiff immediately and without delay, without awaiting the prince's command.

Under this pontiff Mount Lebius [read: Mount Vesuvius], which is in Campania not far from Naples, belched forth fire for many days in the month of March, so that all the surrounding places remained burned by sparks and ashes.

After Benedict died, John V, Syrian by nation and from Antioch, was created pope. According to John of Columna, he sat for one year and eight days.

He was a very energetic man and very learned in knowledge of letters. He had been one of the legates sent by Agatho to the synod in Greece.

At his prompting and prayers the dutiful prince Constantine reduced and removed the tax upon the patrimony that was exacted from the island of Sicily by imperial tax collectors.

VI. Conon, Sergius, the Two Johns, Constantine, and Zosimus

When the aforesaid Pope John died, no small contention arose at Rome between the clergy and the army. For the clergy inclined toward a certain Peter the archpriest, but the army demanded Theodore the archpriest, a wealthy man by whose gifts the commanders of the soldiery had been corrupted. Thus neither the clergy consented to the army nor the army to the clergy.

While responses passed from both parties and they made no progress toward concord, the clergy, by divine prompting, saw that the army was willing under no condition to consent to Peter's election and named a third person, namely a certain Conon, Sicilian by nation.

In him there were truly an angelic appearance, advanced age, a simple mind, quiet manners, and a religious life. Serving God, he had never polluted himself with secular affairs.

After this was made known throughout the city, the Roman nobles, together with the judges and leading men, immediately came to greet the pontiff, and all began to acclaim his praises.

When the soldiers and their commanders saw the clergy and people agree with one will in the creation of the pontiff, they too were at last persuaded after some days and subscribed to his decree with a devout mind.

After he had been consecrated pontiff, Conon sat for eleven months. He received imperial letters from the prince Justinian II in which he wrote to this pontiff and the clergy that he had found the acts of the Sixth Synod that Constantine of pious memory, his father, had assembled by God's inspiration.

He promised that this synod would remain inviolate forever. But he did not persevere in this intention, as is evident in the following chapter.

After a short time Conon lay down with a grave disease. Seeing his incurable infirmity, Paschal, his archdeacon, wrote to John the exarch at Ravenna, who presided there for the emperor, promising him many things if he should be elected pontiff after Conon's death.

At last, after a long bodily affliction, Pope Conon died. After his death the people were divided. One party followed Theodore the priest, but another favored Paschal the archdeacon.

Because neither wished by any means to yield to the other, but both persisted in obstinacy, certain members of the clergy, together with the judges and leading men, held counsel with God before their eyes. A great multitude of citizens followed them to the sacred palace.

While they deliberated among themselves about what ought to be done, by God's inspiration they elected a certain Sergius as supreme pontiff.

This Sergius was Syrian by nation, born at Antioch but raised at Rome from his childhood. Under diverse supreme pontiffs he had conducted himself very laudably in many ecclesiastical offices. At last Pope Leo the Younger appointed him cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church.

Therefore, after he was named supreme pontiff, Theodore, one of those to whom a part of the people adhered, immediately consented and, humbling himself, proceeded to kiss his feet. Paschal, however, still refused to do the same, but at last was compelled to consent.

Pope Sergius was therefore consecrated and sat upon the chair for thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-three days.

By God's revelation to him, he found in the sacristy of Saint Peter, in a most obscure place, a silver casket of such great age that it did not appear to be silver. A seal was impressed upon it, and beneath the seal lay a wholly silken embroidered cloth that is also called a *stauracium*.

When this was removed, he found a cross ornamented throughout with precious stones. Having drawn out four metal plates in which gems of marvelous size were enclosed, he found placed within an ineffable portion of the wood of the Lord.

That wood is adored and kissed by all the people on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Sergius established that, at the hour of the breaking of the Lord's body in the sacrament, the *Lamb of God* should be chanted by the people and clergy. He also translated the body of Pope Leo I by divine revelation.

Likewise, in the second Distinction *On Consecration*, Pope Sergius says: “The body of the Lord is threefold. The portion of the oblation placed in the chalice signifies the body of Christ that has already risen. The portion consumed signifies the body still walking upon earth. The portion remaining upon the altar until the end of Mass signifies the body in the sepulcher, because until the end of the age the bodies of the saints will be in sepulchers.”

The Gloss there says: “Today that portion is not reserved, but the two dry portions are taken together, for the third is taken with the blood.”

John, Greek by nation, succeeded Sergius in the Roman See. He sat for three years, two months, and twelve days.

While he presided, Tiberius, who was called Hausimarus and who, after Justinian had been cast down, had usurped the empire for himself, sent Theophylact the patrician, his chamberlain, to the city of Rome.

When his arrival became known, the armies that were in Italy, stirred to sedition in hatred of Tiberius, sought to kill Theophylact. For his safety the dutiful pontiff placed himself in their midst and by salutary admonitions calmed their tumult and sedition.

At that time Gisulf, Lombard duke of the Beneventans, entered Campania with an army of Lombards. Disturbing everything there with plunder, fires, and slaughter, when there was no one able to resist him, he led away many captives with him.

Compassionating the calamities of that province, the aforesaid pontiff sent many honorable men with much money to the tyrant, both to redeem the captives and so that he might depart with his army.

Another John of the same name, John VII, Greek by nation, succeeded John. He sat for two years, seven months, and seventeen days.

He was a very learned man and fluent in eloquence. He renewed many things in the Roman churches and established many things anew, especially concerning the cemeteries of the martyrs.

In his time Aribert, king of the Lombards, restored to the proper right of blessed Peter the patrimony of the Cottian Alps, which pertained to the right of blessed Peter and which the Lombards had possessed and held for very long times, executing the donation in letters of gold.

In his time, after Justinian recovered his paternal empire, he sent honorable messengers to Pope John and a sacred letter through which he adjured the aforesaid pontiff to assemble the bishops and determine what was to be held.

John was slow concerning this matter and closed his last day.

Constantine, Syrian by nation, succeeded John in the See of the Roman Church. He sat for seven years and fifteen days. He was a most mild man.

In his time a great famine prevailed at Rome for three years. Afterward so great a fertility followed it that people forgot the preceding want.

At the request of the emperor Justinian, Constantine also went personally to Constantinople. He was received with the greatest honor, and all privileges granted to him and to the Roman Church were confirmed.

Concerning him, you have many things at the end of the chapter about the emperors of this title.

Some place before this Pope Constantine a Zosimus, Syrian by nation, who sat for only twenty days and who was so constricted by a gouty humor that he could do nothing. He made a bishop on the island of Corsica.

When he died suddenly, the episcopate was vacant for eight months. Because of the brevity of his tenure, some do not place him among the pontiffs.

Title XIII, Chapter II

During the reign of Heraclius, blessed Isidore, bishop of Seville, abounding in holiness and learning, shone in Spain around the year of the Lord 640.

As Vincent says in book twenty-four, chapter thirty-one of the *Historical Mirror*, he produced and left in writing many useful works: two books of *Soliloquies*, or *Synonyms*; three books of *Sentences*, a work otherwise called *On the Supreme Good* because it begins thus; twenty books of *Etymologies*; two books *On the Origin of Offices*; two books *Against the Jews*, addressed to his sister Florentina; two books to Bishop Orosius *On the Difference between the Old and New Testaments*; one book of allegories on Genesis; one on Exodus; one on Leviticus; one on the Book of Numbers; one on Deuteronomy; one on Joshua; one on the Book of Judges; one on the Book of Kings; one treatise *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*; and several others. He also wrote a book *On the Birth and Death of the Saints*.

There also exists among us a book of apostolic decrees that Isidore first compiled. He gathered into one great volume the decretal letters of the Roman pontiffs and the canons of councils that, in the succession of times, were celebrated in diverse places throughout the world by Catholic bishops.

It is evident that the decrees of Ivo and Gratian were excerpted from that volume or its parts, that is, from pontifical letters and councils, and also from the short works of Catholic doctors.

Many notable sayings of this Isidore, excerpted from his books and especially from the book of *Etymologies*, are contained in the decrees.

In the first Distinction of the decrees, chapter one, Isidore says from the fifth book of the *Etymologies*: “All laws are either divine or human. Divine laws consist by nature; human laws by customs. Therefore, they differ, since different laws please different nations. Divine right is divine law; juridical right is human law. To pass through another person's field is permitted by divine right but not by juridical right.”

The same Isidore says in the same book: “Right is a general name, but law is a species of right. Right is so called because it is just. Every right consists of laws and customs. A law is a written enactment. A custom is a long-standing usage, treating only of practices.

“Custom is a certain right established by practices, and it is received in place of law when law is lacking. It makes no difference whether it consists in writing or in reason, since reason also commends law.

“Furthermore, if law consists in reason, everything that consists in reason will then be law, provided that it accords with religion, agrees with discipline, and advances salvation. That which is in common use is called custom.”

The same author says in the same book: “Right is either natural, civil, or of nations.

“Natural right is common to all nations because it is held everywhere by the instinct of nature, not by any enactment: such as the union of man and woman, namely a legitimate one; the succession of children; the rearing of children; the common possession of all things and the one liberty of all; the acquisition of those things that are taken from the sky, land, and sea; likewise, the restoration of a deposited thing or entrusted money; and the repelling of violence by force. For this, or anything similar to it, is never held to be unjust but natural and equitable.

“The right of nations includes occupation of sites, construction, fortification, wars, captivities, rights of return, treaties of peace, truces, the sacred obligation not to violate envoys, and the prohibition of marriages between foreigners. This is called the right of nations because almost all nations use it.

“Civil right is that which each people or city establishes as its own for a divine or human cause.

“Military right includes the solemnity of making war, the bond of making a treaty, departure against an enemy or joining battle when the signal has been given, and likewise withdrawal when the signal has been given; the punishment of military discipline if a post is deserted; the measure of stipends; degrees of ranks; the honor of rewards, as when a crown or torque is given; the adjudication of booty; its just distribution according to persons' ranks and services; and the prince's portion.

“Public law is in sacred things, priests, and magistrates.

“Quiritary right is properly the right of the Romans, which none possess except Quirites, that is, Romans. It treats of lawful inheritances, curatorships, guardianships, and usucaptions—rights that are found among no other people but are proper to the Romans and established for them alone.”

In the second Distinction it is said in the decrees: “According to Isidore, Quiritary right consists of laws and plebiscites, senatorial decrees and constitutions of princes, and edicts of senators or responses of the learned.”

Isidore explains each of these, describing what a law is: “It is an enactment of the people by which the elders together with the plebeians sanctioned something.

“Plebiscites are those things that the plebeians alone establish. Those things are called plebiscites that the plebs resolves, or that it asks and requests to be done.

“A senatorial decree is that which the senators alone decree while taking counsel for the people.

“A constitution or edict is that which a king or emperor establishes or publishes.

“Responses are what the jurists are said to answer to those consulting them; hence the works called the *Responses of Paul*. For there were certain learned men and arbiters of equity who published composed institutions of civil law, by which they might settle the lawsuits and contentions of those in dispute.

“Certain laws are also named from those who established them, such as the consular, tribunician, Julian, and Cornelian laws.

“For under Caesar Octavian, the substitute consuls Papius and Pompeius enacted laws that were named Papian and Pompeian from their names and contained rewards for fathers for undertaking to have children.

“Under the same emperor, Falcidius, tribune of the plebs, also made a law that no one should bequeath so much to strangers by testament that a fourth part did not remain for the heirs. From his name it was called the Falcidian Law.

“A composite law is one that speaks about many matters at once, so called from the abundance of matters.

“Rhodian laws are laws of maritime commerce named from the island of Rhodes.”

As Gratian says, all these kinds of secular laws are parts of laws.

In the third Distinction of the decrees, canonical law is treated. According to what Isidore says above, it is called canonical because the Greek word *canon* is translated into Latin as “rule.”

A rule is so called because it leads rightly and never draws a person elsewhere. Others have said that a rule is so called because it rules, provides a norm for living well, or corrects what is distorted and depraved.

The same author says: “A privilege is that which sometimes deprives a person of the common right or makes him immune from it. Privileges are laws of private persons, as though private laws, for a privilege is so called because it is enacted concerning a private person.

“Every law,” says the same Isidore, “either permits—and this either what is lawful, as that a brave man should seek a reward, or what is unlawful, as that a bill of repudiation should be given lest graver things occur—or forbids, as that no one should be permitted to seek marriage with sacred virgins; or punishes, as that one who commits slaughter should be punished with death; or commands, as, ‘You shall love the Lord your God.’ For human life is governed by its reward or punishment.”

Laws were made so that human audacity might be restrained by fear of them and innocence might be safe among the wicked.

The same author shows in the book of *Etymologies* the conditions that laws ought to possess in order to be just laws: “A law will be honorable, just, possible according to nature and according to the custom of the country, fitting to place and time, necessary and useful. It will also be manifest, lest through obscurity it contain anything as a trap; and it will be written for no private advantage but for the common utility of citizens.”

These words of Isidore are explained in the Gloss there, but much more perfectly in the First Part, in the treatise on laws, from the sayings of blessed Thomas in the *First of the Second Part*.

The same author says in the same book, in Distinction Seven of the decrees: “Moses was the first of all to explain divine laws to the Hebrew nation in sacred writings. King Phoroneus first established laws and judgments for the Greeks. Mercury Trismegistus first delivered laws to the Egyptians. Solon first delivered or published laws to the Athenians. Lycurgus first devised rights for the Lacedaemonians from the authority of Apollo. Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the kingdom, first published laws for the Romans.

“Afterward, when the seditious people could not bear the magistrates, it created ten men to write the laws. They set forth on twelve tables the laws from the books of Solon after they had been translated into the Latin language; their names also are placed there.

“Pompey the consul was the first who wished to undertake to reduce the laws into books, but he did not persevere because of fear of detractors. Then Caesar began to do it, but he was killed beforehand.

“The ancient laws gradually passed out of use through age and neglect. Although there is now no use of them, knowledge of them nevertheless appears necessary.

“New laws began from Constantine and the others who succeeded him, and they were mixed and disordered.

“Afterward, the younger emperor Theodosius, in the likeness of the Gregorian and Hermogenian codes, arranged under the proper title of each emperor a code made from enactments issued since the times of Constantine. He called it the Theodosian Code from his own name.” Thus speaks Isidore.

But add that afterward Justinian I reformed and ordered the work of the laws for the better, and it is now in use.

Isidore says in the sixth book of the *Etymologies* that the canons of general councils began from the times of Constantine. For in the preceding years, while persecution raged, no opportunity at all was given for instructing the peoples.

Hence Christianity was divided into diverse heresies, because bishops did not have permission to assemble together until the time of the aforesaid emperor. For he gave Christians the power to assemble freely.

Under him the holy fathers, assembling from the whole world at the Council of Nicaea, published the creed after the Apostles according to the evangelical and apostolic faith.

Among the other councils, there are four venerable synods that principally embrace the whole faith, like the four Gospels or the same number of rivers of paradise.

The first of these was that of Nicaea, conducted by three hundred and eighteen bishops during the reign of the emperor Constantine Augustus. In it the blasphemy of Arian faithlessness, which Arius himself asserted concerning inequality within the Holy Trinity, was condemned; and through the creed it defined the Son as consubstantial with God the Father.

The second synod, of one hundred and fifty bishops, was assembled at Constantinople under Theodosius the Elder. Condemning Macedonius, who denied that the Holy Spirit is God, it demonstrated the Holy Spirit to be consubstantial with God the Father and the Son.

The third, the first Council of Ephesus, was published by two hundred bishops under Theodosius the Younger. It condemned with just anathema Nestorius, who asserted two persons in Christ, showing that the one person of our Lord Jesus Christ remains in two natures.

The fourth, that of Chalcedon, was held by six hundred and thirty priests under the prince Marcian. It condemned Eutyches, the abbot of Constantinople, who pronounced the Word of God and the flesh to be one nature, and Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, his defender, preaching that Christ God was so born of the Virgin that in him we confess the substance of the divine and human nature.

But if there are any other similar councils that the holy fathers, filled with the Spirit of God, sanctioned after those four, let all their authorities remain established with full force. This is in Distinction Fifteen, *The Canons*.

II. Clerics, Their Orders, and Their Manner of Life

Concerning the reason they are called clerics and the orders into which they are distinguished, Isidore says in the seventh book of the *Etymologies*, in Distinction Twenty-one:

“We believe that clergy and clerics are so named because Matthias was elected by lot, whom we read was the first ordained by the apostles. For the Greek word for clergy is translated into Latin as ‘lot’ or ‘inheritance.’

“They are therefore called clerics because they are of the Lord's lot or because they have God as their portion.

“Generally, all who serve in the Church of Christ are called clerics. Their grades and names are these: doorkeeper, psalmist, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop.

“The order of bishops is fourfold: patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops.”

Afterward he gives the etymology and interpretation of these orders. But concerning how the offices of psalmist and bishop are called orders and whether there are seven or nine orders, see the Third Part under the title on the sacraments.

What pertains to the office of each of these orders is explained by the same Isidore in Distinction Twenty-five, *After Reading Through*.

The same Isidore shows how clerics ought to live and conduct themselves in his work *On the Life of Clerics* and in Distinction Twenty-three, where it is said:

“It is therefore provided by the law of the fathers that, separated from common life, they should abstain from the pleasures of the world; that they should attend neither spectacles nor processions; that they should flee public banquets and cultivate private ones that are not only public but sober [read: cultivate private banquets that are not only modest but sober].

“They should in no way devote themselves to usury or to the disgraceful occupations of profits, nor seek by frauds the pursuit of any gain. They should flee the love of money as the material of all crimes.

“They should refuse, that is, flee, secular offices and affairs. They should not receive a degree of honor through ambition. They should not receive gifts for the benefits of God's healing.

“They should beware deceits and conspiracies. They should flee hatred, rivalries, detractions, and envy.

“They should not wander with their eyes, be unbridled with their tongue, or walk with a wanton and flowing gesture, but should show modesty and the reverence of the mind by simple clothing and gait.

“They should utterly execrate obscenity of members and of words just as they do that of works. They should flee frequent association with widows and virgins. They should in no way seek the company of foreign women.

“They should strive perpetually to preserve the chastity of an inviolate body. They should also furnish due obedience to their elders and should not lift themselves up through the pursuit of any boastfulness.

“Finally, they should apply themselves vigilantly to readings of doctrine and the exercise of psalms, hymns, and canticles. For those who strive to devote themselves to divine worship ought to be such that, while they give their work to knowledge, they minister the grace of doctrine to the peoples.” Thus he speaks.

III. Further Canonical Extracts from Isidore

Isidore says in Distinction Twenty-nine: “It must be known that very many chapters are to be considered according to cause, person, place, and time. Because the modes of these are not searched out inwardly, some persons become entangled and stumble into a labyrinth of error when they judge before they understand and blame before they seek out what has been read by reading it repeatedly.”

The same Isidore says in *On the Difference between the Old and New Testaments*, in Distinction Thirty-four: “It is not lawful for a Christian—I shall not say to have several, but not even two women at the same time—except only one: either a wife or certainly, in place of a wife if a spouse is lacking, a concubine.”

But this is to be understood in the sound sense in which Gratian explains it there and well in the preceding section. Here, according to the laws, a woman is called a concubine when, legal instruments being absent, she is the only one and nevertheless is joined with marital affection.

That he understood it thus is evident from what he says upon Exodus and in Cause Thirty-two, question five: “You shall not commit adultery,” he says, “that is, let no one outside the covenants of marriage join himself to other women to fulfill lust. For one who approaches another woman in addition to his own commits adultery.”

The same Isidore says in Cause Thirty-two, question seven: “Sin reigns in a man not only from fornication committed, but if it is still delighted in and holds the mind, it reigns without doubt.

“The fornication of the flesh is adultery; the fornication of the mind is the service of idols.

“There is also spiritual fornication, concerning which the Lord says: ‘If anyone looks upon a woman to desire her, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart.’

“Every unclean utterance is called fornication, although each person prostitutes himself with a different pleasure of turpitude. For from the delight of fornicating various shameful deeds arise, by which the kingdom of God is closed so that man is separated from God.”

The same author says in the book of *Sentences*, in Distinction Six: “It is not a sin when unwillingly we are deceived by nocturnal images. But it is then a sin if, before we are deceived, we are anticipated by thoughts and affections.

“For images of lust that we truly enacted often appear in the mind of those sleeping, but harmlessly if they do not occur through desire.”

The same author says: “One who is polluted by a nocturnal illusion, although he may perceive that he has been defiled by the memory of shameful thoughts, should nevertheless attribute the fact that he was tempted to his own fault and immediately cleanse his uncleanness with tears.”

But concerning the matter of pollution in dreams, you have a full treatment in the Second and Third Parts.

The same author says in the book of *Sentences* and in Distinction Thirty-seven: “A Christian is therefore forbidden to read the fictions of poets because through the delights of fables they excite the mind excessively toward the incitements of lust.

“For a person sacrifices to demons not only by offering incense but also by receiving their sayings too gladly.”

The same author says in Distinction Eighty-one: “A change of place is sometimes beneficial to converts for the salvation of their soul. For very often, when the place is changed, the affection of the mind also changes.

“It is therefore fitting to be bodily torn away from the place where one served enticements, for the place where anyone lived wickedly places before the mind's sight what that person always thought or did there.”

The same Isidore writes to Bishop Massanus in Distinction Fifty: “To the holy lord and brother Massanus, blessed in merits, bishop: Isidore, bishop.

“Your venerable Fraternity made known in letters that in chapter eighteen of the Council of Ancyra it is read that after a carnal lapse a degree of honor is to be restored after penance, while elsewhere it is read that after an offense of this kind the merit of the former order is in no way to be restored.

“This diversity is resolved in this manner. The canons command those persons to return to their former degrees whose satisfaction in penance or worthy confession of sins came first.

“But on the contrary, those who are neither corrected from the vice of corruption and who strive with a certain superstitious rashness to vindicate that very carnal offense which they commit receive neither the degree of honor nor the grace of communion.”

He proves this through the authority of Ezekiel, who speaks on the Lord's behalf under the figure of the transgressing Jerusalem. The Lord says: “Be confounded, O Judah, and bear your disgrace.” A little afterward he says: “You and your daughters, return to your antiquity.”

And through John in the Apocalypse, the Lord says to the angel of Ephesus, that is, its bishop: “Remember whence you have fallen, do penance, and perform your first works. Otherwise, I shall come to you and move your lampstand from its place.”

It must be noted that this chapter speaks concerning such a carnal lapse of clerics as introduces infamy, concerning which a man has been convicted in judgment or has confessed and on account of which he has been suspended from his office.

The bishop can restore him to his office and remove the infamy contracted if the crime is of the kind in which he can dispense; and he ought to do this if, according to outward signs, the man truly repents.

By this dispensation, one who previously could not do so because of infamy can afterward be assumed to the government of a church. But if he does not repent, the bishop ought not to dispense, as the Gloss says together with the text.

The same Isidore, in the book of *Etymologies*—also contained in Cause Twenty-four, question three, *Certain Heretics*—sets down seventy diverse heresies and their errors together with their authorities. Concerning these, you have material in the Fourth Part under the title on the gift of understanding.

The same author says in the book *On the Supreme Good*, which is otherwise called the book of *Sentences*, and in the third Distinction *On Penance*: “One who still does that of which he repents is a mocker and not a penitent. He does not appear to ask God as one subject to him, but proudly to deride him.

“A dog returned to its vomit is a penitent returned to sin.

“Many pour forth tears without ceasing and do not cease to sin. I see some persons receive tears for repenting but not possess the effect of penance, because through inconstancy of mind, not through remembrance of sin, they pour forth tears. But when habit revives, they again commit the things they wept over.”

The same author says in the second Distinction *On Consecration*: “Those who live wickedly in the Church and do not cease to receive communion, thinking themselves cleansed by such communion, should learn that it profits them nothing toward amendment, for the prophet says: ‘Why has my beloved committed crimes in my house? Surely holy flesh will not take your evils away from you?’

“And the Apostle says: ‘Let a man prove himself, and thus let him eat of that bread,’ and so forth.”

The same author says in the book of *Sentences* and in the fourth Distinction *On Consecration*: “Those who are in their mothers' wombs cannot be baptized with their mother because one not yet born according to Adam cannot be regenerated according to Christ. For regeneration cannot be said to occur in one whom generation has not preceded.”

The same Isidore says in the fourth Distinction *On Consecration*: “The Roman pontiff judges that it is not the man who baptizes, but the Spirit of God who ministers the grace of baptism, even if the person who baptizes is a pagan.”

The same author says in the fourth Distinction *On Consecration*: “It is established that baptism was entrusted to priests alone. Its ministry—namely, outside a case of necessity—is not permitted even to deacons to fulfill without a priest or bishop, unless, when these are far absent, the final necessity of sickness compels it. This is also very often permitted to faithful laypeople.”

The same author says in the second book *On Offices* and in Cause Thirty, question five: “Women are therefore veiled when they are married so that they may know themselves always to be subject and humble toward their husbands.”

And below: “That in the beginning a ring is given by the bridegroom to the bride is done either on account of the sign of mutual affection or, still more, so that by that same pledge their hearts may be joined. Hence the ring is placed upon the fourth finger because in it, as is reported, a certain vein of blood reaches all the way to the heart.”

The same author says in the ninth book of the *Etymologies* and in Cause Thirty-two, question four: “Those who spring from a free marriage are called free children. For children from a free man and a female slave are of servile condition. For whoever is born always takes the inferior part.

“Natural children are called the children of freeborn concubines, whom nature alone, not the honorableness of marriage, begot. But those who are from legitimate marriage follow the mother rather than the father.” Concerning this, see the Gloss there.

The same author says in the eleventh book of the *Etymologies* and in Cause Thirty-five, question four: “When consanguinity, gradually separating itself through the orders of lines of descent, has withdrawn itself as far as the final degree and has ceased to be kinship, then for the first time the law will receive it into the bond of marriage and will in a certain manner recall it as it flees.

“Consanguinity was therefore established as far as the sixth degree of lineage so that, just as the generation and condition of man ends with the six ages of the world, so kinship of lineage might be bounded by the same number of degrees.” This is according to the ancient laws.

But now consanguinity and affinity extend inclusively as far as the fourth degree, as is evident in the final chapter of the title *On Consanguinity and Affinity* in the *Decretals*, and concerning this in the first title of the Third Part.

The same Isidore says in Cause Eleven, question three: “If one who presides does, or commands anyone to do, what the Lord prohibited; or if he passes over, or commands to be passed over, what was commanded, the judgment of Saint Paul the Apostle is to be cast against him: ‘Even if we or an angel from heaven should evangelize to you anything besides what we have evangelized to you, let him be anathema.’”

The same author says: “If anyone forbids you what the Lord commanded, or in turn commands that what the Lord forbade be done, let him be execrable to all who love God.”

The same author says: “If one who presides says or commands anything contrary to the will of God or contrary to what is clearly commanded in the holy Scriptures, let him be held as a false witness of God or a sacrilegious man.”

The same author says in Cause Twenty-three, question five: “Princes sometimes hold the heights of power allotted to them within the Church so that through that same power they may fortify ecclesiastical discipline.

“Otherwise, powers would not be necessary within the Church except so that what priests are unable to accomplish through the word of doctrine, power might command through the terror of discipline.

“Often through an earthly kingdom the heavenly kingdom advances, so that those placed within the Church who act against faith and discipline may be crushed by the rigor of princes.

“Let princely power impose upon the necks of the proud that very discipline which the usefulness of the Church is unable to exercise, and, so that it may merit veneration, let it impart that discipline by the strength of its authority.

“Let the princes of the age know that they will owe an account to God on account of the Church that they receive to defend for Christ. For whether the peace and discipline of the Church is increased through faithful princes or dissolved, he who entrusted his Church to their power requires an account from them.”

Likewise, from the Council of Seville at which Isidore was present, it is said in Cause Sixteen, question seven, *In the Ninth Action*: “It is unbecoming for a layman to be the vicar of a bishop and to judge ecclesiastical men.

“In one and the same office there ought not to be a disparate profession. This is forbidden in the divine law when Moses says: ‘You shall not plow with an ox and an ass together,’ that is, you shall not join a man of a different profession together in one office.”

The same author says in the book of *Sentences* and in Cause Eleven, question three: “While the poor man has nothing to offer, he is not only disdained from being heard but is even oppressed contrary to the truth. Justice is quickly violated by gold, and no guilty person fears a fault that he thinks can be redeemed with coins.”

The same author says in Cause Eleven, question three: “With an excommunicated person it is lawful neither to pray, to speak—except concerning things that pertain to that same excommunication—nor to eat. If anyone acts contrary to this, he will immediately contract with him the common penalty of excommunication, namely by incurring the lesser excommunication but not the greater, as the Gloss says.”

The same author says in Cause Eleven, question three: “One who consents to sinners and defends an offender will be accursed before God and men and will be corrected with a most severe rebuke. Hence a certain most holy father also says: ‘If anyone defends a sinner, let him be restrained more sharply than the one who sinned.’”

The same author says in the twentieth book of the *Etymologies* and in Cause Twenty-three, question two: “A war that is waged by edict for recovering goods or repelling enemies is just. A judge is so called because he declares right to the people or because he adjudicates according to right.”

The same author says in the second book of *Sentences* and in Cause Twenty-two, question five: “By whatever artifice of words a person swears, nevertheless God, who is the witness of conscience, receives it just as the person to whom the oath is sworn understands it.

“The swearer becomes guilty in two ways, because he both takes God's name in vain and ensnares his neighbor by deceit.”

The same author says in the book of *Synonyms* and in Cause Twenty-two, question four: “In evil promises, break faith; and in a shameful vow, change the decree. Do not do what you vowed incautiously. A promise that is fulfilled through crime is impious.”

The same author says in a letter to Mason, in Cause Thirty-three, question two: “The fact that the rigor of the canons commanded a penitent to return to his former condition after seven years was sanctioned by the fathers not by the choice of their own judgment but rather from the sentence of divine judgment.

“For it is read that Miriam, the sister of Aaron and a prophetess, when she incurred the offense of detraction against Moses, was immediately struck with the mark of leprosy.

“When Moses asked that she be cleansed, the Lord commanded her to go outside the camp for seven days and, after cleansing, to return to the camp.

“Miriam, the sister of Aaron, is understood as the flesh of the priest, which, when given over to pride, is stained by the most filthy contagions of thoughts. Let it go outside the camp for seven days, that is, let it be cast outside the Church for seven years, so that after cleansing from vices it may receive the merit of its place or former dignity.”

Gratian adds in the following section: “Although this appears to have been said specifically concerning priests, nevertheless it ought generally to be understood concerning all penitents.

“For in imitation of that sentence of the Lord, David, convicted of adultery and homicide, is read to have offered to God a fast of one week in satisfaction for the crime committed.” Thus it is written there, but I do not know where this is read.

In antiquity, as a rule, a seven-year penance was given for any mortal sin, as in Cause Twenty-two, question one, *It Must Be Preached*. Nevertheless, according to everyone, penances today are discretionary.

The reason why a seven-year penance was given is also that through penance the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, lost through sin, is restored, according to the Gloss.

IV. Sayings from Isidore's First Book of Soliloquies

Likewise, Isidore says in the first book of the *Soliloquies*: “That which happens to many must be borne patiently by one person.

“You have followed the flesh; in the flesh you are scourged. Your own weapons are led against you; you are wounded by your own missiles. For through the things by which you sinned, through these you are also tormented.

“Alas, how difficult it is to conquer a depraved custom. Constant custom is turned into nature. Through constant use vice becomes natural.

“I seek to rise from the fall and am unable to oppose habit. I am drawn by love of the good; I am drawn back by the law of evil custom.

“Although with pain, strive to resist evil habit. Set before yourself, against the heats of the flesh, the fires of future punishment. The memory of the heat of Gehenna excludes the fire of lust.

“The more the heart is inclined toward the lowest things by humility, the more it advances on high.

“The first degree of humility is willingly to hear the truth, to retain it in memory, and voluntarily to advance. Truth flees a mind that it does not find humble.

“Descend that you may ascend; humble yourself that you may be exalted, lest after being exalted you be humbled.

“Be small in your own eyes so that you may be great in the eyes of God. For you will be the more precious before God, the more contemptible you are before your own eyes.

“Humility does not know a fall.

“Be equal in all things. Change your mind neither through joy nor through sorrow.

“Let no event find you unprepared; let there be no event that your forethought does not anticipate. Set before yourself that there is nothing that cannot happen, for forethought lessens future troubles. But unforeseen evils strike more severely.

“Learn to bear evils rather than to return them. Let what displeases you in another displease you in yourself.

“Prepare the shield of patience against a harsh word and the buckler of patience against the sword of the tongue.

“Do not return an insult. Do not repay a reproach. Maintain the patience of silence; by being silent you will conquer more quickly.

“With a tranquil heart disclose the pain of an injury. However grave a wound may be, when opened it exhales; but when enclosed, the wound consumes the mind greatly.

“Envy first harms itself; first it bites its own author. For it is the moth of the soul, which devours perception, burns the breast, afflicts the mind, and feeds upon the heart like a plague.

“Let neither favor seduce you nor reproach break you. One who does not seek praise does not feel reproach.

“Show your profession by clothing and gait. Let there be gravity in your bearing and honorableness in your gait. Let nothing of wantonness, disgrace, petulance, insolence, or levity appear in your gait.

“A man's tongue discloses his character. For as the speech is shown to be, so the mind also is proved to be.

“Do not tear apart another person's life. Do not defile your mouth with another's evil. Do not detract from one who sins, but grieve with him. Fear rather in yourself what you detract from in others.

“Do not listen to detractors either, for detractors and listeners are held by equal guilt.

“Those who have not fulfilled what they knew are counted among the unfaithful, because they do not discharge the faith of their promise.

“In evil promises, break faith. In a shameful vow, change the decree. A promise that is fulfilled through crime is impious.

“No punishment is graver than an evil conscience, for a mind conscious of evil is agitated by its own goads.

“Disclose your depraved thoughts, for a vice that has been disclosed is quickly healed.

“Delay harms good things.

“Often nature is changed by habits; it is overcome by custom. Continual use turns itself into nature. All things yield to use.

“What you began with difficulty, through use you will complete willingly.

“Teach the good that you have learned. Pour forth by your mouth the knowledge that you conceive by your ear. For wisdom becomes more abundant by giving and is diminished by retaining.

“In disputation take away contention; take away the obstinate defense of conquering. Yield quickly to the one who conquers.

“Love hearing more than speaking. At the beginning hear; speak last. First be silent; speak afterward.

“The end possesses more honor, for in every matter the end is intended and the last things are sought. The end of a speech is better than its beginning.

“Not only the doer but also one conscious of a sin is held liable.

“Fear does not preserve lasting faith; therefore, where fear is, boldness follows.

“Make yourself such toward your subjects that you are loved more than feared; for fear removes faith, but affection restores it.

“It is impious justice not to pardon human frailty. Your own law binds you. You yourself will bear the judgment that you place upon others.

“Beware honors that you cannot hold without fault. The loftiness of honors is the magnitude of crimes, and at a higher grade there will without doubt be a greater punishment.

“The powerful suffer torments powerfully. Therefore, the greater the honor, the greater the dangers.

“A tall tree is agitated more strongly by winds, and its branches are more quickly driven into ruin. Lofty towers fall with a graver fall, and the highest mountains are struck by frequent thunderbolts.

“A glorious man is quickly exposed to ambushes, for glory produces envy and envy produces dangers.

“Whoever shines with the glory of the age, however he may stand forth adorned with precious splendor, is nevertheless always in punishment and always in distress. He lies upon silken couches, but disturbed; he lies upon feathers, but pale; he lies upon golden beds, but troubled.

“Your work will be such as your intention has been.

“He who gives with weariness loses the reward.

“Do not take away from one person that from which you bestow upon another.

“The body cannot be corrupted unless the soul has first been corrupted; understand this concerning vicious corruption.

“For chastity joins a man to God and makes him a fellow citizen of the angels.

“Lust is always joined to satiety; but, conversely, lust is restrained by fasting, and luxury is overcome.

“When the veins are filled with wine, luxury sprouts in the members. For cups are the instruments of luxury.

“When fuel is added to fire, the conflagration grows in the fields.

“If you wish to be safe from fornication, be separated from a woman in body and in sight. For you will not long remain unharmed near a serpent. Standing before a fire and close to danger, you will not long be safe. Though you be made of iron, at some time you will be dissolved.

“Gladness quickly steals upon those given to idleness.”

Title XIII, Chapter III

The venerable Bede, priest and monk, shone in England in the year of the Lord 692, as Sigebert says, and Vincent in book twenty-four, chapter 132 of the *Historical Mirror*. When he was passing through the thirtieth year of his age, he was ordained a priest.

As William says, although he was born in the farthest corner of the world, he touched upon every land. In the eighteenth year of his life he was made a deacon, and in his thirtieth a priest. From that time until the last year of his age, he did not cease either to teach or to write. He had already produced thirty-six volumes, which he divided into seventy-eight books.

He wrote the works that follow, as Vincent notes in the *Historical Mirror* at the place cited above: one book on Genesis; three books *On the Tabernacle of Moses*; four books on Samuel; one book *On the Temple of Solomon*; three books on Ezra and Nehemiah; one book on Tobit; one book on the Psalms; five books on the Proverbs of Solomon; five books on the Song of Songs; four books on Mark; one book on Luke; seven books on the canonical epistles; one book on the Acts of the Apostles; one book on the Apocalypse; one book *On Questions in the Books of Kings*; and one book *On the Holy Places*. He also wrote *On Times*, *On the Moon*, and many other works.

It is also read concerning him, as Jacobus de Voragine reports, that, when he had become blind, he nevertheless did not on that account cease from preaching the word of God. Instead, he caused himself to be led by a certain boy to a place where a great people had assembled.

One day, however, the frivolous boy, in mockery of him, led him to a certain place where there was no one, but there was a great multitude of stones. The boy then informed the man of God that a great people had gathered to hear his word. Believing this, Bede preached fervently and cried out. When the preaching was finished, although no one was present, the stones answered, saying, “You have spoken well, venerable father.” And for that reason he is called the Venerable Bede in the homilies. Others say that angels gave him that answer.

Some assert, as Vincent notes at the place cited above, that Bede went to Rome so that he might discuss whether his books agreed with the doctrine of the Church, or might correct them at the command of the Apostolic See if they were discordant. I do not, however, affirm that he was at Rome, but I know that he was invited there by Pope Sergius.

Among other things, Sergius writes as follows to Etelfridus, abbot of the monastery where Bede was: “Without any delay, do not defer to direct the religious servant of God Bede, a priest of your monastery, to the thresholds of the apostles Peter and Paul, your beloved patrons and protectors, and into the presence of our mediocrity. With the Lord favoring your holy prayers, you should not doubt that he will return prosperously to you after the examination of certain chapters and ecclesiastical causes has been completed, in which there is need of persons imbued with the art of letters for the purpose of consultation. For we believe that whatever becomes clear to the universal Church through the contribution of his presence will surely profit all the faithful.”

William says that he was so celebrated by fame that Roman sublimity required him for resolving questions. He was unpolished, but of sweet eloquence.

Section I

Bede says in the book of Kings and in Distinction 37: “He troubles the understanding of readers and forces it to fail who thinks that they are in every way to be prohibited from reading secular books. If any useful things are found in them, it is lawful to take them as though they were one's own. Otherwise, Moses and Daniel together would not have allowed themselves to be instructed in the wisdom and letters of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, although they shuddered at their superstitions and delights. Nor would the teacher of the gentiles himself have inserted some verses of the poets into either his writings or his sayings.”

The same author says in Cause One, question three: “Not only are they sellers of doves, and do they make the house of God a house of commerce, who seek a price of money, praise, or honor by bestowing holy orders. Rather, so too do those who, by the Lord's bestowal, have received a spiritual rank or grace in the Church and exercise it not with a simple intention but for the sake of some human recompense, contrary to that saying of Peter: ‘Whoever speaks, let it be as the words of God; and whoever ministers, let it be as from the power that God supplies, so that God may be honored in all things.’”

The same author says on the second epistle of Peter and in Cause Two, question eight: “They followed the way of Balaam from Bosor, who loved the reward of iniquity, but received a correction of his madness: the mute beast of burden, speaking with a man's voice, restrained the foolishness of the prophet.”

He says: “Heretics very often put forward doctrines so foolish and so execrable that even pagans of dull understanding, who are altogether without the reason of divine knowledge, detest their madness and, thinking soundly, refute their distorted ways that are contrary to God. And, what is worse, sometimes many Catholics so greatly love the reward of iniquity that even the learned

are reproved by the unlearned and clerics by laymen. They are rightly compared to the prophet who was rebuked by the words of an ass speaking contrary to nature, yet was not recalled from the purpose of his depraved journey.

“The interpretations of the names also agree with them. For Bosor is interpreted as ‘fleshly,’ and Balaam as ‘vain.’ These men plunge their hearers into the precipice, for they preach to them not salutary things that may correct them, but erroneous things that may delight them. Concerning them Peter adds: ‘These are wells without water,’ and so forth.”

The same author says on Matthew and in Cause Eight, question one: “Let us not judge that it suffices for our salvation if we are equated in faith or deeds with the shameful negligence of any ignorant persons. For in the sacred letters there is prescribed to them one rule alike for believing and for living.”

The same author, on Mark, treats the passage, “Judas went to the chief priests, and they appointed that money should be given to him.” He says: “Many today abhor, as monstrous and impious, the crime of Judas because he sold his Lord, teacher, and God for money, yet they do not beware of it. For when they give false testimony against someone for gifts, they certainly deny the truth for money: they sell God for money. For he himself said, ‘I am the truth.’

“When they defile the fellowship of brotherhood with any plague of discord, they betray God, because God is charity. Therefore, those who spurn the commands of truth betray God, who is both charity and truth, especially when they sin not through weakness or ignorance, but, in the likeness of Judas, seek an opportunity by which, in the absence of witnesses, they may exchange truth for falsehood and virtue for crime.” This is in Cause Eleven, question three, at the chapter *He Went*.

The same Bede says in Homily 43 and in Cause Twenty-two, question four: “If it should happen that something has been sworn too incautiously whose observance tends toward a worse outcome, let us know that it should freely be changed by a more salutary counsel. Under pressing necessity, we should rather commit perjury—that is, fail to observe what was sworn—than, for the sake of avoiding perjury, turn aside into another, graver crime.

“Thus David swore by God that he would kill Nabal, a foolish and impious man, and destroy all things that belonged to him. But at the first intercession of Abigail, a prudent woman, he immediately remitted his threats, recalled his sword to its sheath, and did not grieve that he had contracted any guilt through such perjury.”

The same author says in the following chapter: “Not only in swearing but in everything that we do, this moderation must be observed with care: if perhaps we have fallen into such a lapse or into the snares of a crafty enemy, from which we cannot rise without some contagion of sin, let us seek that means of escape by which we recognize that we shall suffer less danger.”

The same Bede says on the epistle of John and in Cause Twenty-four, question one: “‘If anyone comes to you and does not bring this doctrine’—namely, that of the faith of truth—‘do not receive him into the house, nor say to him, Hail. For he who says Hail to him shares in his evil works.’”

Saint John says this about avoiding heretics and schismatics. What he taught in words, he also showed in deeds. For the most valiant and holy martyr Polycarp, bishop of the Smyrnaeans, relates concerning him that once, when he had entered the baths at Ephesus for the sake of washing, and had seen Cerinthus there, he immediately leapt out and departed unwashed, saying, “Let us flee from here, lest the baths themselves in which Cerinthus, the enemy of truth, is washing should fall down.”

The same Polycarp, when Marcion once met him and said to him, “Recognize us,” answered him, “I recognize the firstborn of Satan.”

The same author says on the Acts of the Apostles and in Cause Twenty-six, question two: “It is not to be believed that lots may be used indifferently on the example of Matthias, or because Jonah the prophet was discovered by lot, since the privileges of individuals cannot make a common law. If, nevertheless, any persons, compelled by some necessity, think that God should be consulted by lots on the example of the apostles, let them see that the apostles themselves did this only when the assembly of the brethren had been gathered and prayers had been poured forth to God.” These are his words. And this is understood concerning divisory lots, not divinatory lots, which are commonly prohibited.

The same Bede says on John, in the second Distinction *On Penance*: “Meanwhile, it must be asked what special sign there was for recognizing the Son of God in the fact that the Spirit descended upon him and remained. What great thing is it for the Son of God that the Spirit is affirmed to remain upon him?”

He answers: “It must be noted that the Holy Spirit always remained in the Lord. But in holy men who, as long as they live, have borne a mortal body, he in part remains eternally and in part departs, intending to return.

“He indeed remains with them so that they may persist in good deeds, love voluntary poverty, attain meekness, mourn from a desire for eternity, hunger and thirst for justice, embrace mercy, cleanness of heart, and the tranquility of peace, and not fear to suffer persecution for the observance of justice; so that they may desire to persist in alms, fasts, prayers, and the other fruits of the Spirit.

“But he departs for a time so that they may not always have the power of healing the sick, raising the dead, casting out demons, or even prophesying. The Spirit always remains so that they may be able to possess virtues and live wondrously themselves; he comes for a time so that, also for others, they may shine outwardly through signs of miracles and disclose what they are within.”

The same author says from his *Penitential*, in the second Distinction *On Consecration*: “If anyone has vomited the Eucharist through drunkenness or voracity, let him do penance for forty days. Let clerics, monks, deacons, or priests do penance for seventy days, and bishops for ninety. If he has vomited it because of sickness, let him do penance for seven days.” These are its words. This, however, is a matter of discretion.

The same author says on Luke, in Distinction 31: “So that priests may always be able to stand at the altars, they are commanded always to abstain from their wives and always to observe chastity.”

Likewise Bede, in the book *On Times*, as contained in Distinction 16 in the canon *The Sixth Synod*, lists twenty-four councils celebrated at diverse times and places.

The venerable Bede died, as Vincent reports in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror* from the statements of Guilherinus, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 733 and the seventieth year of his age. For continuous days before his death, he rejected food with nausea because of a disorder of the stomach and drew breath with a constricted sigh. Nevertheless, he did not cast aside the work of literary study, but throughout all these days, beyond the required task of psalmody, he applied himself to it. He also translated the Gospel of John during these days into the evangelical language [read: into the English language].

He would say to his disciples, “Learn, little children, while I am still with you.” On the Tuesday before the Ascension, a slight swelling appeared in his feet. Then, when the congregation had been called, he was anointed and communicated. After bestowing a kiss upon all, he implored each of them to remember him in the future. Because of familiar acquaintance, he also bestowed upon some the little gifts that he had in his private stores.

On the day of the Ascension, lying down facing the oratory where he was accustomed to pray, with haircloth placed beneath him, with his senses unimpaired and his countenance cheerful, he said the words, “O King of glory, Lord of hosts, who as conqueror today,” and so forth, to the end. When he had said this, he sent forth his spirit. So great a fragrance followed that those who stood by said that they were in paradise.

Section II

There was a certain householder in the region of Nordabim that is called Incumennaum, as Vincent reports from Bede's statements. He died in the early part of the night, revived at dawn, and put those who were keeping watch over him to flight. His wife, however, although exceedingly afraid, remained.

He said to her, “Do not fear. I have risen from the death by which I was held, and it has been permitted to me to live among men again. But from now on I must live very differently from before.”

Immediately rising, he went to the oratory of the village and prayed until daylight. He then divided his substance into three parts, of which he gave one to his wife and another to his sons, but immediately distributed the third to the poor.

Not long afterward he came to the monastery at Aleos, which is encircled by the River Tindo. Having received the tonsure, he received a secluded dwelling from the abbot, and there, until his death, he remained in a wondrous manner of life.

He related the following: “A certain man, bright in appearance and splendid in clothing, was leading me. We walked in silence toward the rising of the sun at the solstice.

“We came to a valley that was exceedingly broad, long, and deep. It lay on our left and contained one lake exceedingly terrible with seething flames, but another exceedingly dreadful with boiling hail and cold blowing most violently through all things. Each was full of souls who were cast with force, by turns, from here to there. For when they could not endure one, they passed into the other.

“I thought within myself that this was hell. My guide, answering my thought, said, ‘This is not hell, as you think.’

“As we went forward, I saw places filled with darkness so dense that I saw absolutely nothing except the appearance and clothing of my guide. And behold, globes of flames ascended from a pit and fell again into the same place. Immediately my guide disappeared and left me alone. The peaks of the flames were filled with the spirits of men, ascending and falling back like sparks with smoke, and an incomparable stench boiled up with them.

“Meanwhile, a crowd of demons came and, insulting them, led three persons into the darkness. One of them had been shorn like a cleric, another was a layman, and the third a woman. They descended with them into the midst of the burning abyss.

“Certain spirits ascending from that abyss breathed putrid fire upon my eyes, nostrils, and mouth. With fiery pincers that they carried, they strove to seize me, but they could not touch me.

“And behold, behind me amid the darkness there appeared what seemed like the lightning of a shining star. This was my guide, who immediately put them to flight. Turning to the right, he began to lead me toward the rising of the sun.

“Soon, when I had been led out into serene light, I saw an exceedingly great wall to whose length and height no boundary seemed visible. No door, ascent, or window appeared in it; and immediately, I know not by what order, we were upon its summit.

“There was there a field exceedingly broad and joyful, full of blooming little flowers and the sweetest fragrance. It shone with a light like the midday sun. In it were many companies of people clothed in white and many seats of persons rejoicing.

“As he led me among them, I thought that this was the kingdom of heaven. Answering, he said, ‘This is not the kingdom of heaven, as you think.’

“Proceeding from there, I beheld a much greater grace of light, heard the sweetest voices of persons singing, and perceived a most magnificent fragrance. When I hoped that I was about to enter, my guide immediately turned his step backward by the way we had come.

“As we returned, he said: ‘The valley that you beheld is the place in which the souls of those who deferred confessing and amending their crimes until death are examined. Even these, departing from the body at the last as penitents and confessors, will all, through the mercy of God, come to the kingdom of heaven on the day of judgment. But alms, fasts, and the prayers of the living, and especially the celebration of Masses, free many before the day of judgment.

“‘The pit that you saw is the mouth of Gehenna; whoever has once fallen into it will never be freed.

“‘The flowery place is that in which the souls of those departing from the body with good works are received, though they are not of such perfection as to deserve to enter the kingdom of heaven immediately. All of them will enter it on the day of judgment.

“‘Whoever are perfect in word, thought, and deed, as soon as they depart from the body, come to that kingdom. Near it lies open the place in which you heard the sound of sweet song and drew in the sweetest fragrance.

“‘I departed from you for a time so that I might learn what ought to be done with you.’

“Although I abhorred living in the body again, I suddenly saw that I was alive among you; I know not by what order.”

That man related these things not indiscriminately to everyone, but only to those who either feared eternal torments or desired eternal joys.

In the neighborhood of his cell there lived a certain holy monk and priest named Englis, who is even now a solitary on the island of Ireland, sustaining his last age with common bread and water. Through him the things that this man had seen became known.

King Adiulfridus also, a most learned man in every respect, listened to him diligently. He too was at last made a monk in the aforesaid monastery. At that time, the abbot of that monastery was a holy man named Ediualdus, who is now bishop of Lindisfarne.

The brother who had seen these things was called Diotelinus. He very often immersed himself in the nearby river to restrain the heat of his body, so that even crusts of ice flowed away about him from his clothing. For he never removed the wet and icy garments from the river until they had lost their moisture and dried upon his body.

When he was asked why he endured so great a harshness of cold, he answered, “I have seen colder things.” When he was asked why he maintained so great a rigor of continence, he answered, “I have seen harsher things.”

Title XIII, Chapter IV

When the emperor Maurice had been killed and his entire progeny destroyed at the command of Phocas, Phocas himself, by the will of the army and through his own rashness, seized the Roman Empire in the year of the Lord 605, and in the four thousand five hundred sixty-eighth year from the creation of the world, as Sigebert reports. But according to another opinion, it was in the five thousand eight hundred fourth year from the creation of the world.

He held the empire for eight years. In his first year Gregory the Great, of whom above, died. When Phocas had been made emperor, he crowned his wife Leonticia as Augusta.

When the death of Maurice became known, the Persians on one side and the Huns on the other ravaged the provinces of the Romans.

According to John of the Column in his histories, the cause for which the king of the Persians rose against the Roman Empire was this.

During the reign of Maurice, the peoples of the Persians raised a sedition against their king, captured him, deprived him of his eyes, and consigned him to prison. The son of this king, called Cosdroe, fleeing the fury of his people, took refuge with the emperor Maurice. He was received most kindly by him, and Maurice treated him with paternal affection.

Furthermore, when some time had passed, Maurice gave him his only daughter, named Maria, as wife. Then, supported by Roman forces, he entered powerfully to recover the kingdom from which he had been expelled. When the Persians had been conquered, he received the kingdom owed to him by right, and he reigned for thirty-eight years.

At his wife's prompting, he also received baptism. He was exceedingly friendly to the Romans for as long as the emperor Maurice lived.

But after Cosdroe, king of the Persians, learned that his father-in-law Maurice had been killed treacherously by Phocas, he abominated the perfidy of the Romans. They had allowed so impious a man, still bloody with the slaughter of his lord, to reign over them, as though they were secretly guilty of association and accomplices in that crime.

He therefore entered the borders of the Roman Empire violently, raging against their possessions and desiring, at his wife's urging, to avenge the murder of his father-in-law. After many nations subject to the Romans had been subdued, he finally defeated them in war, entered Syria, and captured it and Jerusalem, as will appear above.

Section I

Lothair and Theodoric, kings of Francia, collided with one another in battle, in which more than thirty thousand are reported to have been killed. In the end, Theodoric obtained the glory.

As Vincent relates at the place cited above from the *History of the Franks*, this Theodoric, king of Burgundy, was handsome, vigorous, and exceedingly cunning. At the counsel of his grandmother Brunichild, he gathered a very great army from Burgundy and came against his cousin Lothair.

When Lothair heard this, he moved the army of the Franks and hastened against him. Coming together in the district of Sens upon a river, they joined in burning battles against one another. So great was the slaughter there from both armies that the very channel, filled with the corpses of men, was altogether unable to carry the water because of the multitude of blood poured out.

There, therefore, in that very combat, an angel of the Lord was seen above the people with a drawn sword.

But King Lothair, seeing his army wounded, slipped away in flight. He entered the fortress of Miclicon beside the River Seine and came from there to Paris. Theodoric, however, after devastating that region, returned with much spoil.

Brunichild repeatedly furnished worse counsels to her grandson Theodoric, saying, “Why are you negligent, and why do you not reclaim your father's treasures and his kingdom from the hand of Theodebert, since you know most certainly that he is not your brother? For he is the son of the harlot who was your father's concubine, and he was born in adultery.”

When Theodoric heard these things, being a king harsh in character, he moved a very large army against Theodebert, his full brother, and they came together at the fortress of Culpiacum. When they engaged one another, Theodebert, seeing his army wounded, turned in flight and entered the city of Cologne.

Theodoric then burned and devastated the whole Ripuarians' land. The people of that region submitted themselves to his dominion, saying, “Peace for us, most pious king. For we are now subject to you. Do not oppress us further.”

But he said, “Either bring Theodebert to me alive, or cut off his head and bring it to me, if you wish me to spare you.”

When they heard this, they entered the city itself and, falsely substituting one thing for another, said to Theodebert, “Thus your brother commands: ‘Return the treasure of your father that you retain with you, and after this he will withdraw with his army.’”

While they spoke this lie, he entered with them into the palace of his treasure. There one of them, with a drawn sword, struck him from behind on the neck and cut off his head. They carried it over the wall of the city of Cologne.

When Theodoric saw this, he seized the city itself with many treasures. After he had received oaths from the nobles of the Franks in the basilica of Saint Gereon the martyr, it seemed to him that he had been struck treacherously in the side. He said, “Guard the doors. I do not know which one of these perjured Ripuarians struck me.” When they had turned back his garments, they found nothing except a small purple mark.

King Theodoric then returned with much spoil, together with the daughter of his brother Theodebert and also his two little sons. When he came to the city of Metz, where Queen Brunichild then was, he killed the boys.

When King Theodoric saw that the daughter of Theodebert, his niece, was beautiful, he wished to join her to himself in marriage. Brunichild said to him, “How will you be able to take your brother's daughter?”

He said, “Did you not tell me that he was not my brother? Why, enemy of God, inventor of evils, and author of death, did you bring this sin upon me, so that I should kill my brother and my kinsmen?”

Drawing a knife, he wished to pierce her through, but she was snatched away by the bystanders and escaped.

After this, the murderess, in her exceeding hatred, sent him a poisoned drink by the hands of servants. Not knowing this deceit of the poison, he drank it, and then, failing, breathed forth his wicked spirit.

When he too was dead, the aforesaid queen wickedly slaughtered his little sons. She even killed his younger son while he was in white garments, dashing his brain against a stone.

When these kings had died, the Burgundians and Austrasians made peace with the Franks and established Lothair, the son of Chilperic, as monarch over themselves in all three kingdoms.

King Lothair, therefore, moved his army and came into Burgundy. He deceitfully pretended that he wished to join Brunichild to himself in marriage. When a pledge had been given, she hastened to come, adorned in royal attire.

When he saw her, he said, “Enemy of God, why did you wish to perpetrate such great evils, so that you did not fear to destroy so noble an offspring of kings by your evil deeds, and did not hesitate to commit so great a crime?”

Then, when the host of Franks and Burgundians had been gathered, the whole people cried out with a great voice that Brunichild was worthy of a most shameful death. At the command of King Lothair, she was then raised upon a camel and led through the whole army. Afterward, she was tied to the feet of untamed horses and died when her limbs had been torn apart. Finally, she was burned with fire and lacked a tomb.

The king, however, returned after peace had been made throughout the surrounding country.

As Sigebert says, while this Brunichild governed the kingdom with her son Childebert, she was intolerable to the Franks because of the insolence of her character, so that it was rightly believed that the Sibyl had prophesied concerning her: “A frost will come from the regions of Spain, before whose face nations, or the kings of nations, will perish. But she herself will perish, torn apart by the hooves of horses.”

Although she was so insolent, she honored the churches of God. She also founded many monasteries of saints and constructed benefices of wondrous workmanship, so that it was a marvel that so many things could have been done by her.

But Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, was also overwhelmed with stones and martyred by King Theodoric on Brunichild's counsel. And Saint Columbanus the abbot was expelled from Francia by the aforesaid King Theodoric at the prompting of Brunichild, his grandmother.

Section II

Concerning the Emperor Heraclius

When the emperor Phocas, as Vincent reports after Hugh in book twenty-four, chapter one of the *Historical Mirror*, raged cruelly against his own people, he too was killed at the command of Heraclius, the patrician of Africa. After his death, Heraclius claimed the commonwealth for himself and thus obtained the Roman Empire.

He found the commonwealth greatly dissolved and worn down, for the Avars had devastated Europe and the Persians Asia.

Heraclius assumed the empire in the year of the Lord 613 and in the four thousand five hundred sixty-sixth year from the beginning of the world, as Sigebert says; according to another computation, it was in the five thousand eight hundred tenth year from the beginning of the world.

According to John of the Column, this Heraclius reigned for thirty years. He was handsome in body, vigorous in arms, and learned in speech. Although he was devoted to military affairs and exceedingly fierce in mind, he nevertheless was Catholic in faith for a certain time, benevolent and devoted toward the servants of God. But at last he fell into heresy, as will be said below.

In the first year of his empire, the power and name of Saint John the Baptist were declared by miracles at the city of Maurienna in Gaul, which was wondrously distinguished by his relics, in this manner.

In that city, a certain woman exceedingly devoted to Saint John the Baptist begged the Lord that something from the relics of John the Baptist might be given to her. She persevered for three years in this urgency of prayer. Although any other person might have despaired in so long an expectation of this kind, she placed her hope in God and swore that she would not eat until she received what she sought.

Thus, after fasting for seven days, on the seventh day she saw a thumb of wondrous whiteness appear above the altar of the church where she was, and joyfully received the gift of God.

Three bishops came to venerate it. When they wished to draw a portion from this holy pledge, they marveled when three drops of blood dripped from it upon a linen cloth placed beneath. They rejoiced that each had merited one drop.

In the fifth year of Heraclius, Palestine was captured by the Persians, and in it up to twenty thousand men were killed in the holy city. Zacharias the patriarch was taken captive. The holy Cross was carried away by Cosdroe, king of the Persians, as Sigebert says.

As Hugh also says, Cosdroe captured Damascus, devastated Jerusalem, burned the venerable places that were in it, and took captive multitudes of the people together with their patriarch Zacharias. He carried with him into Persia the precious wood of Christ's Cross that Saint Helena, the mother of Constantine, had left there. By divine power, however, he was never permitted to enter or violate the Lord's sepulcher.

Heraclius sent to him, asking with great entreaties that he depart from that place until he determined the tributes. Cosdroe refused to do this and sent the envoys back to Heraclius without effect.

Therefore, in the sixth year of Heraclius, Cosdroe occupied all Egypt, Alexandria, Libya, and Carthage. When Heraclius heard this, he took his son Constantine and, having crowned him with the royal diadem, named him Augustus.

After gathering an army of men-at-arms, in April of the tenth year of his empire, on the second day of Easter, he undertook war against Cosdroe. He carried with him the icon of the holy Mother of God that is at Byzantium, which was painted not by the hand of man but, as is reported, by a divine miracle.

When he departed, he left his son Constantine in the city with the venerable patriarch Sergius and Bonosus the patrician, an astute and vigorous man. Taking the road through Syria, he came as far as the city of Gazote.

When Cosdroe learned this, he took to flight and burned with fire before him all the crops through which he fled. Heraclius, however, devastated the cities and regions through which he passed.

Cosdroe then appointed two generals, Sarabaga and Sarbaras, to contend with Heraclius. When Heraclius heard this, he sent wings of soldiers against them, while he himself crossed the Euphrates with the rest of the army, crossed Mount Taurus, came to the River Saron, and obtained the bridge together with the fortifications that were upon it.

Sarbarus also came to the same bridge and made camp before him. Many Romans then ran out across the bridge in disorder and brought battle upon the Persians. When Sarbarus saw this, after placing ambushes at a distance from himself, he showed himself to the Romans as though fleeing. In this way he drew many of them after him in pursuit, contrary to the emperor's wish.

Suddenly turning back from flight, he launched an attack against those pursuing him and immediately struck down many of them, who suffered the punishment of their disobedience.

Then a multitude of barbarians spread out along the bank of the river and sharply shot arrows at the Romans standing upon the bridge with the emperor. But the emperor resisted manfully with a few men, and in that battle he received many wounds, though none was dangerous.

Then a certain gigantic Persian man attacked the emperor in the middle of the bridge. The emperor pierced him with a lance and cast him into the waters of the river. When he fell, the terrified barbarians turned in flight.

After them, Cosdroe sent another general against him, named Say, whom Heraclius overcame through the intercession of Saint Mary. A violent hailstorm descended upon Say's army and destroyed many of them, while the battle line of the Christians remained undisturbed by that tempest.

After this, Cosdroe gathered soldiers and sent his general Razaces against Heraclius. Although Razaces fought fiercely against him, Heraclius overcame him with the aid of the Mother of God, killing him and the greater part of his army.

Around the same time, Adoloaldus, the son of Agilulf, was the fifteenth king of the Lombards in Italy. His mother Teutolinda reigned with him for ten years.

Section III

This Cosdroe dared to break forth into such great insolence that he commanded the inhabitants of the neighboring nations whom he had subjected to his impious empire to worship him as God and to call him king of kings and lord of lords.

He also made for himself a silver tower, in which he constructed a golden throne amid shining gems. There he had placed a four-horse chariot of the sun and an image of the moon and stars. Through subtle and hidden channels, he sprinkled water, so that he might seem to pour down rain from above like a god.

After he had subjugated Syria and Palestine, overthrown the churches of Christ, and carried away that portion of the wood of the Savior's Cross that Saint Helena had left there, the son of Cosdroe marched against Heraclius and took his position with his army beside the Danube.

At last, by the breathing of God's clemency, it pleased each prince that the two of them should fight singly upon a bridge in the middle of the river, and that the one to whom the lot brought victory should rule without injury to either army.

Why say more? The Lord, moved by the prayers of the Christians, granted his faithful Heraclius triumph over the enemy. So great a change of mind took possession of Cosdroe's army that they willingly submitted themselves to Heraclius with every household and offspring, both in authority and in faith.

The most Christian prince, traversing in every direction with only his own army the kingdoms that Cosdroe had invaded, came to Cosdroe's seat and found him sitting upon the golden throne.

When Cosdroe greeted Heraclius with trembling, Heraclius answered: “Because you have treated the wood of the holy Cross with honor, although you are unworthy, if you are willing to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and confess yourself to be his servant, I will nevertheless give you the kingdom of the Persians together with your patrimony and your life, after receiving hostages of peace from you. But if you are unwilling, you will immediately perish by my sword.”

When Cosdroe would in no way consent, Heraclius drew his sword and cut off his head.

He then received the wood of the holy Cross. All the peoples rejoiced: some went to meet it with hymns, candles, and songs, while others followed behind.

When the emperor descended from the Mount of Olives, he wished to enter upon a royal horse and with imperial ornaments through the gate by which the Lord had entered when he came to his Passion. Suddenly the stones of the gate descended, closed themselves against one another, and became one wall.

While they wondered in astonishment and were constrained by exceeding sorrow, they looked upward and saw the sign of the Cross shining in heaven with a fiery splendor. An angel of the Lord, holding that sign in his hands, stood above the gate and said: “When the King of heaven came to fulfill the mysteries of the Passion, he entered through this approach. He did not display himself clothed in purple or shining with a diadem, nor did he seek the conveyance of a powerful horse. Instead, humbly sitting upon the back of an ass, he left his worshipers an example of humility.”

When he had said these things, the angel immediately returned to heaven.

Then the emperor, rejoicing in the angelic visitation, arranged the insignia of empire [read: laid aside the insignia of empire]. Barefoot and immediately girded with a linen belt, he took the Lord's Cross in his hand and, his face bathed in tears and his eyes raised toward heaven, hastened to the gate.

When he too approached humbly, the hardness of the stones felt the heavenly command. The gate immediately raised itself and opened a free entrance to those entering.

A most sweet fragrance, borne by a divinely flying breeze, had also glided from the province of the Persians across long spaces of lands to Jerusalem at that same moment when the holy Cross, carried by Heraclius, had gone forth from the temple of Cosdroe. It then returned and poured itself pleasantly into their hearts.

Therefore, while the people of God praised his power, the glorious Augustus also broke forth in praises, saying, “O Cross, more splendid than the stars,” and so forth. When he had said these things, he restored that precious wood to its place.

At that time, in the month of August, there was a great earthquake. A calamity followed among the people, namely a scourge of scabs, so that no one could recognize his own dead.

Section IV

In the twenty-first year of the emperor Heraclius, war arose between the Romans and the Saracens for this reason.

When a certain eunuch of the emperor Heraclius was distributing military cloaks to the soldiers in the customary manner, Saracens serving as soldiers for the emperor's stipends came among the others to receive cloaks. When the eunuch saw those Saracens making importunate demands, he indignantly said, “It is scarcely possible for the emperor to give cloaks to his soldiers; how much less to these dogs?”

When they heard this, they were moved by shame and grief. Withdrawing from the court, they returned to their own people, where they stirred the whole nation of the Saracens against the Roman Empire.

They gathered their entire multitude and began to depopulate the regions of the Romans. They defeated in battle and put to flight the commanders of Heraclius who went to meet them.

But after so many and such great victories and immense triumphs, which he had obtained while divine grace favored him, the emperor Heraclius was seduced by Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, and deviated from the Catholic faith, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, John of the Column, and Martin in the *Chronicle*.

He fell into the heresy of the Monothelites, who persistently assert that there is only one nature in Christ.

Furthermore, because he was most sufficiently instructed in letters, he became an astrologer and began to devote himself to divinations and the signs of the stars. Learning from the signs of the stars that the Roman Empire was to be devastated by a circumcised people, and judging that these people would without doubt be the Jews, he commanded everywhere throughout the empire that Jews who were unwilling to be converted should be killed.

Moreover, through messengers he asked Dagobert, king of the Franks, to order all the Jews in his kingdom to become Christians and to condemn those unwilling to death. Dagobert obeyed him. Therefore, at that time many of the Jews were converted to the faith, and many who were unwilling to be converted were killed.

But Heraclius was deceived in his astrology, according to John of the Column and Martin in the *Chronicle*, because the prediction extended not to the Jews but to the Arabs and Saracens, who receive circumcision at the command of that abominable prophet Machomet, as the outcome of the matter immediately proved.

For, as the histories of the ancients teach, and as the traditions of the eastern peoples also contain, Homar, son of Cathapa, the third successor in error and kingdom after the aforesaid seducer Machomet, entered Syria with infinite forces of Arabs. He first seized by force the distinguished city of the Philistines, Gaza, after besieging it.

Afterward, he entered the territory of Damascus with his legions and the infinite multitude that he drew with him. Breaking in by force, he captured the very populous city of Damascus.

When these things were reported to the emperor Heraclius, who was then in Sicily—namely, that the Arabs, raised into such great pride and presuming upon their multitude, were invading the borders of the Romans and did not fear to claim the provinces for themselves—he saw that he did not have sufficient forces to meet so great a multitude. He preferred to return safely rather than to commit himself, with unequal forces, to the doubtful chances of wars.

Thus, when the one who was bound to furnish protection to his afflicted subjects departed, the violence of the Arabs grew strong. Suddenly and within a short time they occupied all the provinces from Laodicea of Syria as far as Egypt.

It certainly furthered their purpose that, a few years before, Cosdroe, king of the Persians, of whom above, had entered that same Syria by force, plundered its cities, and burned its suburbs.

The Arabs therefore entered the land and, finding it empty of inhabitants, found for themselves a greater opportunity for taking it. Thus they seized Jerusalem, beloved of God, which was enveloped in similar calamities. They spared the few people who were there, after making them tributary to themselves so that they might serve under the most extreme conditions, while permitting them to have their own pontiff and freely to observe the Christian religion.

While the above-named prince Homar remained in that city, he began diligently to inquire of the citizens, and especially of a man named Sempronius who had succeeded Modestus, where the place was in which the Lord's temple had stood, which had been destroyed with the city by Titus, a Roman prince.

They showed it to him by certain signs of the ancient work that still remained. There, after craftsmen who could suffice for the work had been engaged and resources assigned for the expense, he began to rebuild the temple. When it had been successfully completed within a short time in the form in which it is known to be at Jerusalem today, he endowed it with many possessions.

Thus the city beloved of God and the holy of holies, subjected through the demands of men's sins to the dominion of unbelieving enemies, suffered the yoke of an undue servitude with continuous labors and under changing conditions for 490 years, until it was freed by the western peoples. But afterward it was again captured by unbelievers and is now possessed by them.

While Heraclius was still reigning, a certain Mauritius, a chartulary, had many adherents. At his suggestion, Isatius the patrician had taken away the treasures of the Church, sending one part to the emperor and retaining another part for himself.

This Mauritius conspired against Isatius, wishing to obtain for himself the kingdom of Italy. When Isatius heard this, he sent Donus, the master of the soldiers, to Rome with a large army. At his first arrival, all who followed Mauritius abandoned him and adhered to Donus, the master of the soldiers.

Mauritius, therefore, being afraid, fled to the Church of Blessed Mary at the Manger. He was violently dragged from it, bound with chains, and sent to Ravenna, to Isatius, who was there. But before he reached Ravenna, at the twelfth milestone from it, Mauritius, who had advised that the treasures of the Church be taken away, was beheaded at the command of Isatius.

But Isatius also, who had executed this deed, was struck by divine judgment not much later and perished, so that all who take away the property of the Church may learn from this example that they fare badly.

When Adoloaldus, king of the Lombards, had been cast out of the kingdom, Aroaldus, their sixteenth king, received their kingdom and reigned for twelve years.

Syroes was made king of the Persians. He was the firstborn son of Cosdroe. Because his father Cosdroe had crowned another, younger son of his as king, Syroes, being indignant, adhered to the emperor Heraclius to fight against his father.

Rocharius was the seventeenth king of the Lombards for sixteen years. He adhered to the Arian doctrine. Hence this King Rocharius wished there to be two bishops in his cities, one Arian and one Catholic.

He caused the codices of his laws to be written, which he called an edict. From that time, the Lombards, who had been without a written law, began to be reduced into writings. Hence the Lombard law is sometimes cited.

After him, Rodoaldus, the son of Rocharius, reigned over the Lombards for five years. He was seventeenth in the order of their kings. After him, Aripertus, the eighteenth, reigned for nine years.

Section V

In the thirtieth year of his reign, Heraclius was called from this world.

He was buried at Constantinople. He left two sons: Constantine, already grown, whom he had begotten from his first wife, and Herodana, the second, whom he had received from his second wife, named Martina.

Therefore Constantine, the elder by birth, the son of Heraclius, succeeded him in the empire. But in the fourth month after he had begun to reign, he was extinguished through the deceit of his stepmother Martina and of Pyrrhus the patriarch, poison having been given to him.

When he had died, Martina invaded the empire with her son Herodana. But Constans, the son of Constantine, assumed the empire with the favor of the nobles. He captured Martina, his stepmother, who had caused his father to be poisoned, and her son Herodana. He cut out Martina's tongue, cut off Herodana's nose, and sent them both into exile.

Constans therefore began to reign in the year of the Lord 644, and he reigned for twenty-six years. At the suggestion of Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, he fell into the heresy with which his grandfather Heraclius had been infected.

Furthermore, at the suggestion of this same heresiarch Paul, he either consigned to prison, relegated to exile, or even killed with blows extending to death all Catholics, and especially the Lord's priests, who did not consent to him in that perfidy.

Seeing this, Pope Martin, who then governed the Roman Church, without any fear gathered a council of 150 bishops at Rome and, with the consent of all, condemned as heretics Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, and Pyrrhus, as was said above.

At last the heretical emperor Constans sent Pope Martin into exile at Chersona, where the blessed man also ended his life.

While Constans, who was also called Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, was reigning, Vindocus, the son of the king of the Britons, shone in the tenth year of his reign.

When his father had died, the paternal kingdom was owed to Vindocus by hereditary right. He refused to receive it. But when he was urged by the people to receive it, he sought and obtained a delay of seven days for deliberation.

Within that time, inflamed by the divine Spirit, he took a staff, left everything behind, and secretly fled under a pilgrim's habit. He joined certain pilgrims who asserted that they were going to Rome. After following them for some days, he arrived in the district called Pontinus.

At that place he was received as a guest by Duke Haymo. Seeing that the young Vindocus was elegant and adorned with good character, the duke entrusted to him for instruction the only son he had.

Remaining there and always advancing from good to better, Vindocus was ordained a priest. After he had laudably discharged the priestly office for seven years in the chapel of the aforesaid duke, he was pricked by heavenly love and humbly asked Haymo to grant him permission to live more privately.

With Haymo's consent, he came to the place that was called Chi. After a small cell had been built, he remained there for some time and began to shine with miracles. At last, after long service to God, he rested in peace.

In the eleventh year of Constans, fire fell from heaven and a great fear rushed upon men. A most grievous pestilence raged for three summer months.

A good angel and an evil angel were seen by many to go around the city. As often as, at the command of the good angel, the evil angel struck the door of any house with the hunting spear that he appeared to carry in his hand, so many persons from that house died on the following day.

At the same time, when the body of Blessed Vedast was being translated at Arras by Ubertus, bishop of that city, Lambert of Tongres, Abdemarus of Taurinum, and other bishops and abbots were present.

Abdemarus, who was blind from old age, was illuminated through the prayers of the holy bishops and the merits of Saint Vedast. Bearing it unwillingly that he had been freed from the blindness that he rejoiced had been sent by God for his salvation, he lost his sight again at his own prayers.

Section VI

In the eighteenth year of Constans, Clodoneus, king of the Franks, died. His son Lothair succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned in Francia for four years. Ebroinus was his mayor of the palace.

From that time, as the kings of the Franks degenerated from their customary courage and knowledge, the power of the kingdom was administered by the mayors of the palace, while the kings reigned in name alone.

It was their custom to be princes according to lineage and to remain at home, where they devoted themselves to bodily pleasures. But on the Kalends of May they went forth outside to greet the people. On that day they were accustomed to receive and return services and gifts, and thus they believed themselves to remain secure until the next May.

The mother of the aforesaid Lothair, king of the Franks, was Queen Bathildis. Having been seized as plunder from regions across the sea, she was redeemed by the venerable man Herchanoaldus, who then governed the palace as mayor.

This woman was beautiful in appearance, cheerful in countenance, grave in her gait, chaste, sober, prudent, humble, and gracious. She so pleased the aforesaid prince who had redeemed her, and everyone of his household, that after his wife had died he wished to take her as wife.

When she was called to the prince's chamber, she hid herself in a corner of the house. Because she was not found, the prince therefore took another wife.

Afterward, by God's will, she became the wife of King Clodoveus, the son of Dagobert, and deservedly so, for she herself was also of royal blood.

This venerable queen first extirpated the pest of simony from Francia and caused the impious exactions to cease. They had burdened the people so greatly that many preferred to die rather than to live.

This religious woman constructed many monasteries in Francia. Furthermore, she performed many good works in the churches and ministered necessities to the poor through the hands of Genesius the abbot, a most holy man whom this most prudent woman had taken to herself for this work. He was afterward made bishop of Lyon.

When her husband had died, she herself merited to fulfill her desired purpose. As soon as he had been buried, she transferred herself to the monastery of Hala, which she had constructed in the district of Paris, and there assumed the habit of holy religion. Dwelling there, she ministered humbly in the office of the kitchen like the other sisters. There, full of good works, she rested in peace.

Meanwhile, the emperor Constans, who was also called Constantine, heard that Italy was possessed by the Lombards. Wishing to join it again to his empire, he gathered great forces, departed from the royal city, and came to Athens. Crossing the sea from there, he invaded the territories of Benevento.

Grimoald, the duke who ruled in that city, met him and drove the defeated emperor's army into flight in battle. Therefore, when the Augustus saw that he could accomplish nothing against the Lombards, he turned aside to Rome.

Pope Vitalian, who had succeeded Eugenius, as was said above, met him at the sixth milestone from the city and led him to the thresholds of Blessed Peter.

After he had remained in the city for twelve days, he was drawn by great greed. He carried to the Tiber various kinds of ornaments of bronze and marble with which the Roman city was adorned, so that he might cause them to be transferred to Constantinople. Among these, he uncovered the basilica of Blessed Mary, which was formerly called the Pantheon and was covered with bronze and gilded tiles.

Departing from Rome, he went into Sicily, where he was killed by his own men in the bath. Behold the fruit of the spoliation and plundering of churches.

When he had died, the soldiers took a certain Maxentius from among the commanders and created him emperor for themselves. After he had been saluted as emperor by all the armies that were in Sicily, they swore allegiance to him, and he received the imperial insignia.

Section VII

When Constans, who was also called Constantine, had thus been killed, his son, the twenty-third emperor in the East, who was also called Constantine, received the empire at Constantinople.

He began to reign in the year of the Lord 670 and reigned for seventeen years. He sailed to Sicily, and when he came there he engaged in battle with Maxentius, defeated him, and killed him. When Maxentius had died, he killed all who had conspired in the death of his father. When this had been done, he immediately returned to Constantinople to strengthen the empire.

When he departed from Sicily, the Saracens again sailed to that island. After surrounding the city of Syracuse with a long siege, they captured it. All its inhabitants were either killed by the sword or taken captive. Carrying away whatever riches were in the city, they brought them with them to their ships.

For all those precious things that Constans had taken away from the city of Rome were still there. The Saracens carried them all to Alexandria.

After the emperor Constantine had arranged everything at Constantinople according to his will, he used wise counsel and first made peace with the nation of the Arabs, who had already occupied all Syria. Then he established peace and concord with the nation of the Bulgars.

When he had pacified everything throughout the empire, being a man Catholic in faith and modest, he recalled all who had been expelled by his father Constans or his great-grandfather Heraclius on account of the Catholic faith, and restored them to their former state. Thereafter he restored all the churches that had been destroyed in past times.

When Agatho, of whom above, had been created pope, this same emperor Constantine immediately sent imperial letters to the pope, asking him to send his messengers to Constantinople.

When this had been done, the emperor himself, beloved of God, summoned the Catholic bishops from all the East to Constantinople for a council, striving to overthrow the heretical opinions of the Monothelites. This was the holy Sixth Universal Synod of 289 bishops, of which it is said in Distinction 15, at the chapter *The Sixth Synod*.

This synod declared and showed from the sacred letters that there are two natures in Christ, namely the divine and the human, condemning those heretics who asserted that there is only one nature, will, and operation in Christ.

Because Pope Agatho, weighed down by old age, could not go there, he sent legates from his side approving the council: John of Porto, John of Regitana, and Habundanus of Panena, bishops; Theodore and George, priests; John, a deacon; and Constantine, a subdeacon. With them he sent religious servants of God, monks learned in every study and branch of knowledge.

When they came by ship to the royal city, they were received with the greatest honor by the religious prince.

Therefore, at the prince's command, they assembled in the Church of Blessed Peter. The Augustus was present and sat with the legates of the Apostolic See, together with George, bishop of Constantinople, and Macarius, bishop of Antioch, who dogmatized that there was only one operation in Christ, and with the other bishops who had come to the council, together with the priests of Constantinople.

First the emperor exhorted them to avoid philosophical assertions without tumult and clamor and to declare the truth of the faith by following the pure writings of the holy fathers.

After many disputes on both sides, they came to the codices of the holy fathers. So that the light of truth might appear, the codices of the holy and venerable doctors were brought forward, namely those of John Chrysostom, Cyril, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Dionysius, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Pope Leo. These assert that there are two natures, wills, and operations in Christ.

Afterward, the synodical letter of Pope Agatho was recited, in which the sayings of these fathers had been inserted. In that synodical letter, 120 bishops of the western regions had also subscribed themselves.

Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, was therefore asked whether he embraced the faith taught by the Apostolic Roman See according to the writings of Pope Agatho and the holy and venerable fathers. He answered that he wished to respond in writing with what seemed right to him.

Then on that day George, patriarch of Constantinople, professed that he believed and preached that there are two natures, wills, and operations in Christ, just as the Apostolic Roman See holds and preaches.

Thereafter, the council anathematized those who said that there was one nature, will, and operation in Christ. Macarius was admonished, together with his adherents, to express what he believed. He answered that he persisted in that faith, or rather perfidy, which he had proposed, and that he was in no way willing to assent to the orthodox faith.

When this had been heard, at the prince's command and by the authority of the holy council, the heretic Macarius was deposed from his throne and cast out of the synod as a heretic and excommunicate, together with the few who adhered to him.

When he had been expelled, the blackest web of spiders immediately fell in the middle of the council, in the midst of the people, so that all wondered and said that the filth of heresy had been expelled.

Thus, with God's aid, the two churches of the Greeks and Latins were united in the assertion of the true faith under this most pious prince. At the prince's command, Macarius and those who supported him with assistance were cast down to Rome.

When the council had therefore been dissolved, almighty God gave such grace to the legates of the Apostolic See in the sight of the Greek peoples that, in the royal city, John the cardinal bishop of Porto sang Mass in Latin in the Church of Hagia Sophia on the holy day of Easter, before the prince, the patriarchs, and the whole people; and with one accord they acclaimed the praises of the most pious prince in Latin words.

Under this Pope Agatho, the moon suffered an eclipse on June 18. This eclipse was followed in the city of Rome by a most grievous mortality, greater than any that is remembered at Rome, so that fathers were carried out together with their sons and sisters.

It first raged within the city itself. Afterward, spreading through the suburbs and fortresses, it took away a great people. Under it, the pious pastor himself also died.

In the time of this Constantine, Gundiberrus was the twentieth king of the Lombards. He reigned for one year and three months. Contending with his brother Bertarius, who held Milan, he called Grimaldus, duke of the Beneventans, with his army. Gundiberrus was killed by him a little afterward, and Bertarius fled into Pannonia.

Grimaldus then occupied the kingdom of the Lombards as the twenty-first king and reigned for eight years. He died at Benevento because of poison. After him his son Garibeldus, the twenty-second king, reigned for three months. Afterward Pertaritus, the twenty-third, reigned alone for ten years.

While the aforesaid Constantine was reigning, Pallinicus, an architect, fled from Heliopolis of Syria to the Romans. This Pallinicus, as is reported, invented marine fire. Using it, the Roman armies that were then waging war with the Saracens burned the ships of the Saracens. Thus, after many had been killed, captured, and submerged, they obtained victory.

Nevertheless, the prudent prince established peace with them for thirty years on this condition: the Saracens were to pay the emperor three thousand pounds of gold annually; furthermore, they were to return fifty noble captives and give fifty noble horses as tribute in each year.

The necessity for arranging peace with them after so great a victory was this. At that time, the nation of the Bulgars, having departed from Scythia under the leadership of Bachaias, was depopulating the regions of Thrace.

The army of Constantine unexpectedly met them and was shamefully defeated and put to flight. After this victory their incursion grew so powerful that the emperor was compelled, after establishing peace with them, to pay the annual terms.

From that time the kingdom of the Bulgars began, of whom Bachaias was the first. As Vincent writes at the place cited above, twenty years are assigned to him. After him reigned Tervellis, to whom twenty-six years are assigned; Cardamus, twenty-nine; and Crivinus, thirteen years. In him the narrative of this kingdom ends.

At first they were unbelievers, but in the course of time they were converted to the faith.

The aforesaid Constantine died. Justinian, the twenty-third emperor in the East, succeeded him.

Section VIII

When Constantine, the orthodox Augustus, had therefore died, his son Justinian II assumed the empire in the year of the Lord 686. This was the four thousand six hundred forty-ninth year of the world, but according to another computation, the five thousand eight hundred fifth year.

He reigned for ten years. He was seventeen years of age when he began to reign.

Bold with youthful lack of restraint, he broke, to the detriment and damage of the commonwealth, the peace that his father Constantine had made with Abimele, prince of the Arabs. Furthermore, disturbing the peace with the Bulgars, he dissolved all the things that his father, who was indeed a vigorous man, had ordained for peace.

Therefore, he disturbed his empire not a little. For barbarous nations began on every side to infest the Roman provinces. The emperor met them all with forces gathered together, manfully enough, and fiercely avenged the injuries inflicted.

First, therefore, he subdued through many battles the nation of the Slavs, which was nearer to him and had rebelled against his empire.

But when he was returning from there with victory, the Bulgars set an ambush for him on the road. Suddenly attacking his army from every side in a place suited to this purpose, they enclosed it. They attacked them everywhere from above with bows and missiles; and because the emperor's army was unable to approach them, many were killed.

The emperor, however, used the counsel of the princes who had followed him on that expedition. Surrounded by a wedge of his bravest men, because no other opportunity of escape was given, he made a sortie, cast himself into the midst of the enemies, and opened a road with the sword for himself and his men. Although he was struck with a grievous wound and lost many of his men, he nevertheless escaped.

Returning to Constantinople, he appointed as his treasurer a certain Stephen, a Persian by race and a man exceedingly wicked and cruel. Justinian conducted almost everything by his counsel. Using his depraved counsel and inflamed with the madness of cruelty, he intolerably afflicted those subject to him.

In the ninth year of his empire, this Justinian, corrupted by the counsel of evil men, attempted to infringe the holy Sixth Synod, which he had earlier promised the pope by his letters to preserve inviolate.

For this reason, he commanded that a council be gathered at the royal city. In it, the supporters of the heretics again asserted and published their errors. In it, the legates of the Apostolic See whom Pope Sergius had sent there were also deceived and subscribed to their decree.

Therefore, the three patriarchs who had come there, namely those of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, wrote a faith of perfidy in the aforesaid council. After it had been confirmed by the imperial hand, they sent it to Pope Sergius so that he, as the head of all the faithful and their pastor, might confirm it by his authority.

But when that most vigilant pontiff saw that the Catholic faith had been violated in the writing, he in no way consented. Nor did he permit the writing to be unfolded among the clergy in any manner. Instead, he rejected and cast it aside as invalid, choosing to die rather than to assent to such errors.

When the emperor learned this, he was inflamed with great fury. To dishonor the supreme pontiff, he sent Sergius the magistrian to Rome, commanding him to bring John, bishop of Porto, and Boniface, counselors of the Apostolic See, to Constantinople.

Not much later, he sent Zacharias the spatharius with commands to the city of Rome, so that he might carry Sergius, the supreme pontiff beloved of God, to the royal city.

When this minister of crime came to Rome, the army, clergy, and Roman people were suddenly moved against him, choosing to die before their pontiff should be carried to the royal city.

So great a disturbance and sedition arose in the city on that day that Zacharias the protospatharius, terrified and afraid that he would be killed by the crowd, fled trembling into the chamber of the blessed pontiff and implored with tears that the pontiff have mercy upon him.

The pious pontiff comforted him, saying, “Do not fear, son, because you will suffer no evil through this.” Going outside, therefore, by a gentle response he soothed the spirit of those who were crying out and seeking the death of Zacharias.

But the aforesaid Justinian, who had stirred all these things, did not escape unpunished. For Leo, or Leontius, a powerful and great patrician, conspired against the emperor Justinian with many adherents. Gallichinus by name, patriarch of Constantinople, also favored his conspiracy.

At that time, when Pertaritus had reigned among the Lombards for eight years, he made his son Iunipertus a partner in the kingdom, and he reigned with him for ten years. Iunipertus was the twenty-fourth king.

Before Justinian himself was handed over to exile, he recovered Africa, which the Egyptians had occupied, and established peace with them.

Limpertus, the son of Iunipertus, was the twenty-fifth king of the Lombards. He was a boy, and his father had given Asprandus to him as guardian. He reigned for eight months.

Laimpertus, the son of Guidopertus, overcame Asprandus and invaded the kingdom of the Lombards. He died in the same year and was the twenty-sixth.

Raipertus, the son of Raipertus, was the twenty-seventh king of the Lombards and reigned for eleven years.

Therefore, when an opportunity had been seized while the emperor was absent because of certain circumstances that had arisen, Leo, or Leontius, raised a sedition in the city. Armed and running with his men through the city so that he might reconcile the spirits of all to himself, he opened the prisons and brought out all the nobles as well as the others. He joined them all to himself, and especially the nobles whom Justinian had consigned there for diverse causes.

When this had been done and a great army had now been assembled for him, he attacked and captured the emperor Justinian. After Justinian's nose had been cut off, Leontius exiled him rather shamefully at Gersona and took the imperial dignity for himself.

Section IX

Leontius, therefore, or Leo, was made emperor by the consent of all, though by usurpation. As the twenty-fifth emperor in the East, he governed the empire at Constantinople vigorously enough.

When all now obeyed his empire, the Arabs, whose dominion God permitted to be spread far and wide throughout the East, also began to infest Africa. When the emperor Leontius learned this, he immediately sent John the patrician against them with great forces.

When John arrived at Carthage, at his first coming he engaged them in battle and turned them to flight. After they had been expelled, he wintered there.

But the Arabs returned to their own country, gathered a greater army, and again sought Africa. Landing their army on the land and relying upon their multitude, they devastated everything round about.

Because of the multitude of the enemies and the fewness of his own men, John the patrician did not dare to meet them. Leaving the army in Africa, he returned to the emperor at Constantinople and asked that his forces be increased.

Meanwhile, while the emperor was treating with John the patrician concerning the enlargement of the African army, the army that had remained in Africa suddenly created a certain Hausimarus emperor. He was named Tiberius by them.

As soon as he had been saluted by them as emperor, before news of his creation reached Constantinople, he placed the army in ships and sailed to Constantinople. Suddenly entering the city, he captured Leontius in the palace while Leontius contemplated no such thing. After cutting off his nose, he relegated him to exile.

When this had been done, Tiberius held the empire by the will of all for seven years, whereas the aforesaid Leontius had reigned for only two years.

Meanwhile, Justinian was still detained in exile at Gersona. Sometimes seriously and sometimes jokingly, he would say among the citizens that one day he would still recover the empire.

The inhabitants of that place, wishing to please the emperor Tiberius, frequently reported Justinian's words through messengers. Tiberius listened to them, fearing that, on account of Justinian's father Constantine, who had been exceedingly beloved by the people, the empire might one day be restored to Justinian. Hence he deliberated among his men that Justinian should be killed.

When he had already entrusted this to certain attendants, so that they should hasten to Gersona and slaughter Justinian, the former emperor, one of them, induced by a reward, disclosed everything to Justinian.

After Justinian learned this, fearing greatly for himself, he enticed the guards with many promises, secretly departed from Gersona, and fled to Canganus, prince of the Turks. Canganus received him with very great honor and gave him his sister as wife.

Then Justinian went to Trebellus, king of Bulgaria. After friendship had been established with him, Trebellus promised to aid him with great forces in recovering his paternal kingdom.

Therefore Justinian, supported by great forces and by the aid of the Turks and Bulgars, came to Constantinople with an equipped army from these nations. When he approached the city, several of the princes of the empire abandoned Tiberius and joined Justinian.

Hence, obtaining the city without battle, Justinian captured Tiberius, who was also called Hosmarus. He ordered Tiberius and Leontius, who had cast him from the citadel of empire, to be dragged before the people and slaughtered.

Furthermore, he blinded and relegated to exile the patriarch Gallinichus, who had favored them against Justinian.

Thereafter, he exercised so great a vengeance against his adversaries that, whenever he wiped away a drop of rheum flowing from the nose that Leontius had cut off, he ordered one of those who had conspired against him, from among those whom the prison held enclosed and who had survived slaughter, to be killed.

Justinian resumed the empire in the year of the Lord 706 and reigned a second time for seven years.

While John was presiding upon the pontifical chair, the aforesaid Justinian, after the tyrants had been cast out and killed and he had recovered his paternal empire, was immediately pricked by the divine Spirit. He sent two honorable messengers to Pope John and through them a sacred letter, by which he solemnly adjured and exhorted the aforesaid pontiff to gather a council of Catholic bishops and establish whatever seemed right to him concerning the orthodox faith.

He also exhorted him diligently to seek out the written tomes that, led by depraved counsel, he had sent to him at Rome together with his faith; to correct and amend them according to his will; and by apostolic authority to annul the things badly written against the orthodox faith.

But John, timid through human frailty, in no way amended them and sent them back to the prince.

When the pontiff John had died not much afterward, Constantine was created pope. When Justinian heard this, he sent an imperial letter, humbly asking him to deign to come personally to the royal city.

The pontiff assented to the entreaties of the Augustus and hastened by ship to Constantinople with a fitting retinue of clergy. When he came within the seventh milestone of Constantinople, Tiberius, son of the aforesaid emperor Justinian, met him with the patricians and all the nobles of the city, and they conducted him into the city with great reverence.

The Roman pontiff entered with those insignia with which he was accustomed to proceed at Rome.

Justinian, who was then in the city of Nicaea, was filled with immense joy when he heard of his arrival. When the pope came to him, Justinian, hearing this, met him at Nicomedia.

When they saw one another, the Augustus, distinguished by the imperial ornaments, prostrated himself on the ground before the pontiff and kissed his feet. When they fell into a mutual embrace, great joy arose among the people.

On the following Sunday, the supreme Roman pontiff solemnly celebrated Mass. The emperor received holy Communion from his hands and humbly asked him to entreat the Lord for his sins.

Then, at the pontiff's request, the emperor renewed all the privileges granted to the Church by former princes. When all these things had been completed, the pope returned to Rome and was received with great joy.

Although all things succeeded according to his desire after the emperor Justinian had recovered the empire and he administered the empire peacefully after subduing the rebels, he nevertheless remembered the injuries that he had received from the citizens of Gersona when he was there in exile. Bearing indignantly that he had been treated so inhumanly by them, he sent a numerous army and commanded that city, together with its citizens and the adjacent region, to be destroyed.

The executor of this monstrous edict was a certain patrician named Mauritius. Coming to the place with the army, he killed almost all the citizens by the sword and relegated some to exile.

He sent Tridinus, the prince of that city, together with forty other nobles bound in iron, to the emperor. He caused seven others of the leading men of Gersona, who perhaps had offended the emperor more greatly, to be fastened upon wooden spits and roasted by fire.

When the emperor's army returned from Gersona, it suffered shipwreck at sea. Almost all perished, and few escaped from seventy-three thousand men.

When Justinian heard of the misfortune of his men, he still did not consider satisfaction to have been made for his injuries if the name of that city remained upon the earth. He sent another army, commanding that all who remained in that city be killed, down to the innocent age, and that the city itself be set on fire and destroyed.

When the citizens who were there learned these things beforehand, they appointed as their leader a certain Philippicus, a very noble man and very well known to the imperial court, who was living there in exile.

Going out to meet the approaching army, Philippicus brought it about by entreaty, money, and promises that all should salute him as emperor with one voice.

Philippicus, therefore, having been made emperor by the army, immediately returned with that army to the royal city and received it without battle. After he entered the city, he commanded Justinian and his son Tiberius to be slaughtered. When they had been killed, he received the imperial ornaments under compulsion from the army. This was in the year of the Lord 713, and he reigned for two years.

This same emperor Justinian, because Felix, whom Pope Constantine had made archbishop of Ravenna, had not sent the customary pledge to the pope according to the custom of his predecessors, but sought judgment through power, sent Theodore the patrician with a fleet against the people of Ravenna, who had been raised into pride.

They seized Felix, the arrogant archbishop, bound him in a ship, blinded him, and sent him into exile. They also bound all the rebels in fetters, took away their riches, and sent them to Constantinople. Justinian condemned them to a capital sentence because of their rebellion.

Title XIII, Chapter V

In those times, while Heraclius was reigning, that Machomet, the firstborn of Satan, began to spread that law of the Saracens—or rather a swinish perfidy more than Epicurean—around the year of the Lord 640.

His pestilential doctrine and disseminated disease occupied many provinces, so that by exhortations, by preaching, and furthermore by sword and violence he compelled peoples, even unwilling ones, into his error.

Nor is it a wonder if that law, full of perfidy, was received by so many peoples, since it teaches things that are full of pleasures, to which men who commonly follow sensuality are inclined and devoted. They devote little or no attention to the sciences or at least to moral philosophy, and they cannot be taught to perceive clearly from reason the errors of their law.

For that accursed Machomet, full of a diabolical spirit, commanded in that very law of his that, if anyone preached or said anything against it, he should be killed without a hearing. Thus they remain in perfidy without anyone preaching against it.

As John of the Column says after Vincent in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, this Machomet was a most wicked magician, full of every deceit, and of the race of Ishmael.

From earliest youth, while he was a merchant, he frequently went with his camels into Egypt and Palestine. In those places, by associating with Jews and Christians, he learned a great part of the Old and New Testaments from them.

While he traveled here and there through diverse mercantile dealings, he set out for the province of Corozania. There he entered into familiarity with a certain very wealthy woman, and at last, through his incantations and magical deceptions, he took that woman as wife. She believed him to be the Messiah whom the Jews await.

Deceived by this opinion, many of the Jews and Saracens adhered to him. He began to fabricate new laws for them, taking some things from the Old Testament and some from the New. By his lies, he asserted that he was a prophet sent by God for the salvation of man, in order to temper the law that had been given to the Jews and the one given to the Christians, because it was excessively rigid.

In order that certain prodigies might seem to attest his commands in the likeness of Moses, he summoned the people who believed him so that he might give them a law sent amid prodigies and signs.

When all had assembled and he addressed the people, a white dove that was nearby, fraudulently trained for this purpose, flew to his shoulder and stood there. According to its usual custom, it took from his ear the grains placed there. Or else this appeared through the work of the devil, so that he might seem to have the Holy Spirit suggesting the law to him.

What is worse, he had ordained that if anyone contradicted or reproved him in these evil deeds and lies, either personally or through another, he should be killed treacherously.

He also did not blush to commit such a disgrace in his writing as to assert that God had given to his loins the power to equal in intercourse fifty men most powerful in the strength of lust.

He placed many other obscene and shameful things in his book. Hence that most wretched writing never pleased any prudent or moderately learned man, but only the most ignorant and wild men.

When this Machomet, given to wine and his belly, contracted the falling sickness, he fell dashed to the ground. His wife, observing this, was exceedingly sorrowful that she had married such a man. Wishing to placate her, he devised deceits and asserted that the angel Gabriel was then speaking to him and that he fell to the ground because he could not endure the angel's splendor.

Others, however, say, as Jacobus de Voragine reports in the legends, that there was a certain monk named Sergius who instructed Machomet concerning that law fabricated by him.

For this monk Sergius, after he had fallen into the error of Nestorius, was expelled by the monks from his monastery because of his error, and he came into Arabia.

Or, according to others, it is said that there was a certain archdeacon dwelling in the regions of Antioch who was a Jacobite. The Jacobites preach circumcision and affirm that Christ was only a man and not God, but that he was just and holy, conceived of the Holy Spirit, and born of a virgin.

The Saracens believe all these things. But they deny that Christ suffered and died, saying that, when the Jews wished to seize him, they seized another man similar to him in his place and fastened that man to the cross, while Christ ascended to heaven.

This Machomet, bereft of both parents, passed the years of his boyhood under his uncle's care. For a long time, together with the whole nation of the Arabs, he served the worship of idols, just as he testifies in his Alcoran that God said to him: “You were an orphan, and I received you. You remained long in the error of idolatry, and afterward I led you out. You were poor, and I enriched you.”

Because the entire nation of the Arabs worshiped Venus as a god together with Machomet, it is from this that the Saracens hold Friday in great veneration, just as the Jews hold the Sabbath and Christians the Lord's Day.

Machomet, therefore, enriched by the wealth of the aforesaid widow whom he took as wife, and having many adherents, sought to usurp the kingdom of the Arabs for himself. Seeing that he could not obtain this by violence, especially because he was despised by his fellow tribesmen, who were more noble than he, he fashioned himself a great prophet of God, so that he might at least attract by simulated holiness those whom he was unable to subject by power.

He therefore adhered to the counsels of the aforesaid Sergius, a very cunning man. Keeping Sergius hidden, he reported to the people what he drew from him and testified that he had received it from the angel Gabriel.

Thus, pretending himself a prophet of God, he obtained the principality of that region. By persuasion or by fear of the sword, he compelled everyone of that country to venerate him and observe his law.

Because that Sergius, his counselor, was a monk, he ordained that the Saracens should use what was, as it were, a monastic habit, namely a cowl without a hood. In the likeness of monks, he commanded in his law that many genuflections be made daily by everyone, establishing that his followers should pray turned toward the south.

He instituted many laws for them that the Saracens still observe, such as their frequent washing in the likeness of the Jews. Especially when they must pray, they wash not only their hands, arms, and mouth, but, what is shameful to say, even their private parts, as though God wished from man only cleanliness of body and not of heart.

When praying, they confess one God who has no equal or like. Hence they also deny the most holy Trinity and assert that Machomet is the distinguished prophet of God.

From this same law of theirs, they have a fast for one entire month. In this fast, throughout the whole day until night, they abstain from food and the use of their wives. But at night, that is, after sunset until the twilight of the following day, it is always lawful for them to use food, drink, and their wives. The sick are excused from that fast.

Once in each year, they are bound to go to the house of God that is at Mecca, where the body of Machomet is said to be, to worship it there, to go around in seamless garments, and to throw stones between their thighs for the purpose of stoning the devil.

They say that Adam built this house and that Abraham and Ishmael held it as a place of prayer.

Although these Saracens should properly be called Hagarenes, because they descended from Hagar, Abraham's handmaid and the mother of Ishmael, they nevertheless name themselves Saracens from Sarah, Abraham's wife.

They observe circumcision, although Machomet, as is said, was not circumcised, nor is this commanded or mentioned to them in his Alcoran. Rather, they do this on the example of Abraham and Ishmael, from whom they descend, deriving it from the Old Testament.

They cast stones naked, though with their loins covered, at the house of Machomet in Mecca. They do this in honor of Venus, deriving this rite from the Indians who, devoted to idolatry, venerated and worshiped Venus. They went naked around the temple of Venus, throwing stones.

They may eat all meats except pork, carrion, and blood. The eating of pork is prohibited for a fabulous reason.

It is lawful for them to have four legitimate wives and to repudiate and receive them again up to a third time, provided that they do not exceed the number four.

They may have as many purchased women and captives as they wish, and may sell them according to their insane law, unless they have made one of them pregnant. It is lawful to take them even from their own kindred, so that the bond of friendship among them may be held more strongly.

Concerning possessions or things to be reclaimed, they observe that the plaintiff proves his case by witnesses and the defendant proves himself innocent by an oath.

One caught with an adulteress is stoned together with her. One who has fornicated with another woman is beaten with eighty strokes.

Machomet says that it was granted to him by the Lord, through the revelation of the angel Gabriel, that he might approach the wives of other men, so that men of virtue and prophets might be begotten from him.

Once, when a husband had repudiated a certain beautiful woman, Machomet received her as a wife, though he had many others. When he feared that a murmuring of the people would be stirred by this, he fashioned a charter brought from heaven to him, in which it was contained that, when a man had repudiated a wife, she belonged to whoever received her. The Saracens observe this today.

A thief is punished with blows for the first and second offense. For the third, his hand is cut off; for the fourth, his foot is cut off.

They are commanded always to abstain from wine.

Vincent reports everything that follows concerning Machomet in book twenty-four, chapter forty and the following chapters of the *Historical Mirror*. He excerpted these things from a book containing a certain disputation conducted between two philosophers, one Christian and the other Saracen, concerning the law of Machomet.

Section I

Concerning the Paradise That Machomet Describes in His Law

“At God's command, the dead will be raised. He will judge them in justice, render good things to the good and evil things to the evil, and make into his people those who obeyed him, confessed his singularity, testified that Machomet is his prophet and messenger, and believed all the things that descended upon him from God by receiving the true law concerning paradise.

“In paradise many good things are prepared for them. They will have bracelets of gold and electrum, and their garments will be of silk. They will say, ‘Thanks be to God, because he has not taken our recompense away from us.’

“No oppression or molestation will touch them. They will have certain nourishment and fruits. They will be in a paradise of delights, exulting and encountering one another with honor. White vessels of silver will pass among them, from each of which they will drink and be delighted.

“There will be neither mourning nor sorrow there. They will have women with lovely eyes. They will have upper rooms and rooms above them, beneath which there will be rivers. God's promise to them will never fail.

“It will be said to them: ‘O worshipers of God, do not fear today, for sadness will not draw near to you. Enter paradise, you and your wives, and be secure.’

“Baskets and golden dishes will be carried among you, and you will have what souls desire and eyes covet, in a secure dwelling among gardens and fountains. There, first, the first death [read: after the first death]; another will not follow. He has made them secure from the torments of hell.

“This is the grace of your God, for it is the great deliverance.

“The glorious and exalted God also said: ‘In the paradise that I have promised to those who fear me, there are rivers of waters in which there is nothing harmful. There are rivers of milk whose taste never fails, rivers of wine that delight those drinking, and rivers of the purest honey. In it they have all fruits and forgiveness from the Lord.’

“The glorious and exalted one also said: ‘It will be well in the last things for those who fear God. The gates of the garden of Eden will be opened to him. There, reclining together, they will command wine and an abundance of fruits to be brought to them, and they will have wives with most beautiful eyes. Their food will never fail. This is promised to them on the day of judgment.’

“Again, the glorious and exalted God said in the description of paradise: ‘In it are two flowing fountains. In it are trees of fruits, palms, and pomegranates.’”

“They learn in lofty green places [read: recline in lofty green places] upon apple trees and plum trees. Those who fear God will be led into paradise, assembled in troops and companies. When the gatekeepers open the doors for them, they will say: ‘Peace be to you. Enter sweetly, and be here forever.’

“And the glorious and exalted one said: ‘I caused them to encounter joys and delights, and I gave them paradise as a recompense because they had patience. In it they will recline upon cushions, and neither sun nor cold will strike them, and its shadows will remain over them. Silver vessels will also circulate among them, and likewise baskets, and they will be served with small vessels of silver and with boxes. He will cause them to carry a vessel [read: drink from a vessel] as though of a mixture of ginger. In it is a fountain that is called Clarity. They will hear neither guile nor falsehood there. This is the recompense of your Lord.

“‘For God will deliver them from the torment of the lower regions, saying to them: Eat and drink securely, reclining upon arranged couches. We have given them most beautiful wives, and nothing of their evil will be imputed to them; rather, each one will obtain what he desires. We have given them diverse fruits and whatever flesh they desire to eat.’

“This is the description of the paradise that God has prepared for those who believe in him and in his messenger. And like gold they gleamed, fragrant as new wine [read: fragrant as musk]; and there were various kinds of perfumes.”

Section II

Concerning Hell in the Law of Machomet, Accursed by God

“The unbelievers,” he says, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, “who make partners with God and attribute equals to him, who do not believe in the prophet of God, namely Machomet, who do not receive his epistle, and who have become rebels against the commandments of God in opposition to his prophet, will be assigned to the burning of Gehenna. They will be in torment and ineffable gnashing, and in an unquenchable fire without end. As often as their skin is consumed by the burning, so often it is renewed for new punishments.

“Their dwelling is the pit of the abyss. Their drink is more bitter than every gall. Their food is from the tree that is called Azachimi, and it is worse in taste than every most evil thing. They will be under the wrath of God with the devil and his angels.”

The glorious and exalted God also said: “Those who do not believe in the wonders of God, and the prophets, and those who preach the truth, will be in horrible torment. Their evil works, with no one helping them, will overflow upon their heads. They will die, and yet they will not be delivered from torment.”

And he said: “The tree Azachimi has been given for the delight of the impious. For it is the tree that grows in the depth of the abyss. Its fruit is like the heads of demons, and those eating from it will fill their belly. Finally, they will be subjected to all evils and will always be rolled back to the punishments of hell. Above and below are the gloom of fire and darkness.”

And he said: “On the day of resurrection, the faces of those who do not believe in God will be horrible and very black. For is not Gehenna the dwelling of the impious and of those who do not believe in our signs and are to be condemned?”

And he said: “Those who do not believe will be thrust together into hell. When they have come to it and the ministers have opened the gates, they will say to them: ‘Were not messengers from among you sent by God to you, who, announcing the commandments of God to you, made known to you the coming of this day? Enter, therefore, the gates of Gehenna to dwell there without end. These dwellings have been prepared for the proud.’

“Those who are submerged in the fire will say to the ministers: ‘We beseech you: pray to God for us, that he may lessen for us the torment of this day.’ The ministers will answer: ‘Pray for yourselves.’ But what is their prayer except error?

“From this time they will feel the weight of chains and bonds. They will be singing psalms in the fire [read: leaping in the fire] and again wearied in the fire. Then he will see them oppressed by affliction and looking furtively with swollen eyes.”

Again the blessed and exalted one said: “The impious will remain in the torment of Gehenna, where, once thrust down, they will no longer breathe. We have done nothing unjust to them, but they have shown themselves impious toward themselves.”

Then the impious will cry out: “How long are we to be condemned, O king?” Machomet said: “Thus you will remain without end.”

And again he said: “The tree Azachimi is the food of sinners. It boils in the belly like sulphur. Take him, and lead him to the horrible places of hell, and pour pains and torments upon his head. For these are the works that you used to do.”

And the glorious and exalted one said: “Bring bitter water that may burst their bonds [read: burst their bowels]. Woe to the unbelievers on the day when they will not even be permitted to speak so that they might have some excuse.”

Section III

Concerning the Death of Machomet

That which is ridiculous to us is lamentable to his people. As Vincent reports in the place cited above, Machomet had commanded them not to bury him when he was dead, because on the third day he was going to ascend into heaven. They observed the command and awaited this with great desire. Already wearied by a long wait from Monday, on which he died, until the evening of Wednesday, when they saw nothing else grow upon him except the magnitude of his stench, they finally cast him far from their dwellings.

Gumembra, the son of Hebazam, nevertheless says that he was washed, clothed in three garments, and buried by the hands of Hay, the son of Abitalib, and Alphadi, the son of Halahabet.

For it is reported that he was ill with a pleuritic disease for seven days and lost his senses. On the seventh day, however, he recovered. Hay, the son of Abitalib, was angry because he had lost his senses, and said this to him. But Machomet ordered that no one remain with him any longer in the house except Halahabet.

On the next day he died, his belly swelled, and his smallest finger was bent backward. His death was on Monday, the twelfth day of the month Rabeg, in the sixty-third year of his life, on the fourteenth day after he began to be ill.

His life, therefore, extended to sixty-three years, of which he spent twenty-three in prophecy: ten in Mecca and thirteen in the city.

When Machomet had died, all who had been deceived by him immediately returned, each one to the sect that he had previously held, whether idolatry or any other, except for a few of his kindred who expected that they would be his successors in the kingdom.

At that time there was a cunning man, Ebubeber, the son of Amichaath, who not long afterward obtained the kingdom. This greatly displeased Hay, the son of Abitalib, until the king so mollified him with deference and flatteries that he even designated the kingdom to him after himself.

By every art he also recalled those who had dared to withdraw from the sect of Machomet, and again subjected them to the same folly: some by fear, some by hope of honors and riches, and others for the sake of some other gain. All, however, returned feignedly and not from the heart.

On a certain day, when some persons complained before their lord about someone who appeared to be a Saracen but was not, that lord answered before everyone:

“I know that not only this man, but many others more noble than he, are Saracens in my palace as they outwardly show, and are not Saracens. But concerning this, what else ought I or can I do except what my lord Machomet used to do? For it happened even to him that almost all who appeared to be closest and most familiar to him held his law only feignedly and deceitfully. For he was so thoroughly despised by them, and they regarded whatever he said as nothing, hating him in their hearts.

“On a certain day, wishing to kill him, they awaited him in a certain valley so that, when he passed through, they might suddenly frighten his mule and he might die by falling headlong. Yet because of this he never showed himself angry.

“Therefore, after his example, I shall compel nothing else from all those in my kingdom who say that they are Saracens, whether they are from the Christians, the Jews, or the pagans, and are not Saracens. For I know that no Christian who became a Saracen through fear will remain in Saracenism. I think similarly concerning the others. What more, therefore, can I do? Let God see and judge. I shall do this alone: I shall always curse them.”

Section IV

Against the Defenders of Machomet

Vincent, in the place cited above, says: If perhaps someone says that Machomet ought not to have been reproved if he sometimes avenged himself, since this is found in Joshua, Elijah, Elisha, and others, know that one thing is what is done at God's command and another what a man presumes to do.

For God commanded this to them, and concerning his command—whatever it may be, whenever it may be, and wherever it may be—it is not lawful for a man to judge.

“Therefore,” someone will say, “Machomet ought not to be reproved in these things either, provided that God commanded such things to him.”

But whence do you prove that God commanded such things to him? For that god, if he was God, ought in some matter to have shown himself to be God. But if he gave those things that we showed above neither by signs nor by miracles, we therefore believe that he was not God. For if he were God, would he ever give a law without miracles?

For what we believe concerning God in both the Old and the New Testament has been commended to us by signs and miracles. Nor will we ever hold another as God except that one and true God who, whenever he wished to give a law, confirmed it by divine signs and miracles.

As for the prophet Machomet, as he is called by the Saracens, I do not know who he was or whence he came, since it is said to us by the Lord Jesus Christ that the end of all the prophets is in John the Baptist.

By no means, moreover, are the sacrosanct and spiritual commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ to be abandoned. Through them he promises us, not that most filthy paradise which Machomet described, but the eternal life of the angels in the heavens.

Nor are we to approach the most unclean and bestial rites, urged not by God—far be it—but by the spirit of fornication and gluttony upon the most wretched and most unhappy slaves of carnal wantonness. Concerning persons like them the apostle Paul says: “Their god is the belly, and their glory is in their confusion.” They savor nothing except earthly and perishable things suited to the belly and lust, nor can they savor anything else.

For the spirit of uncleanness has blinded them. They will inherit eternal rottenness and immortal worms because, after the manner of swine, they always roll about in the dung and stench of lust.

For I cannot cease to wonder how anyone could have been persuaded—not, I say, any wise man, but even someone who thought that in a dream he possessed something of a human heart—that this man was a prophet, since both his life and his doctrine were contrary not only to divine religion but also to human honor, so that even brute animals themselves could almost understand this.

But, to say something milder again, who among the holy and divine messengers whom we know to have been sent by God ever asserted that he had been sent amid the terror of the sword? Who lived so criminally? Or who so prostituted the human race to the belly and lust?

Nevertheless, let us return again to examining his precepts carefully, which I do not know to what law they seem to belong. For we have received two laws from God, one of grace and the other of justice. The law of grace was given by Christ; the law of justice by Moses.

The law of grace commands such things as these: “Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you,” and so forth. The law of justice, however, says: “An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,” and things of this kind, which seem to belong to the penalty of retaliation.

It is evident that the law of Machomet is neither of these two. For before he emerged, one was given by Christ and the other by Moses. Since, therefore, these two laws alone were given to men, one of which appears more human and the other divine, what else will this third law invented by Machomet be except diabolical?

For we recognize that, especially by the devil's inspiration, it suddenly emerged from I know not where. It is proved to be neither divine nor human, but, with a monstrous face between the two, it wishes now to appear this, now that, and feigns itself to be now the one and now the other. It imitates none other than the devil, who appeared to make himself a mediator between God and men.

But perhaps someone will say that the law of Machomet is thereby proved to be divine: because, since Machomet was an unlearned man without letters, he could in no way have written it or announced it to men except by divine power, especially since he himself says there that neither men nor demons could make it.

And again: “If we had made this law descend upon a mountain, the mountain itself would incline itself and adore it for fear of God”; and many other frivolous things possessing no reason, which the Saracens say are open and manifest signs of prophecy, so that it may be proved true.

O the signs and miracles in these things, says Machomet! O signs to be compared with the Red Sea, with the sun standing still at Joshua's command, and with Christ's command when he ruled over the dead! Indeed, there is truly a great dearth of both truth and power, which left there as its sole arguments—or rather ravings—things empty of all reason and power.

Section V

For thus was composed the book of the Alcoran, which is the law of the Saracens given by Machomet.

A certain monk Sergius, when he had sinned gravely in the monastery and had been excommunicated and expelled because of this, came to the region of Cuhene and, descending from there as far as Mecca, found two peoples there: one idolatrous, the other Jewish.

There he found Machomet, who worshiped idols. Wishing to do something whereby he might please those monks who had expelled him and deserve to be reconciled, for those monks were Nestorians who say that Mary gave birth not to God but only to a man, he strove with every effort and exertion to persuade Machomet, who already held dominion there, to withdraw from idols and become a Nestorian Christian.

When he had accomplished this, Machomet became a disciple in his doctrine. Thus it happened that, having been taught some things from the Old Testament and some from the New by that Nestorian monk, Machomet himself wove them into his Alcoran fabulously and mendaciously.

That monk also persuaded him to place in the Alcoran a saying from the Lord that Christian monks and priests ought to be more familiar to him because they are not proud.

But when the Jews learned that many people, and even Machomet himself, were following that monk toward some sort of shadow of Christianity, and that what was afterward accomplished by Machomet had already almost been brought to completion by that Nestorian, three Jews came forward. Fearing lest Machomet ever fall into true Christianity, they approached him and, with malicious cunning, said that they were his companions or disciples in this sect.

Persuading him to write all the things that are more shameful and wicked in the Alcoran, they always remained with him to the end of his life.

After Machomet's death, however, when each one, as was said, had returned to his own sect, Ebuber succeeded him in the kingdom. Although Hay was more noble than he, nevertheless by persuasions and promises Ebuber brought it about that Hay should be under him.

At the instigation of the Jews, this Hay mixed many fabulous things into the Alcoran. Hence that writing of the Alcoran, variously begun not only by the Jews but also by many others, understood in diverse ways, and expounded in manifold ways, was at last almost entirely torn apart.

Thus, some adding, some diminishing, some changing, and others corrupting, that book was made unworthy of all faith.

But afterward also, in the course of time, many contentions and quarrels, seditions and divisions, arose in that kingdom because of the diversity in the writing of this law of Machomet. Therefore, in order to remove the divisions, certain persons were commissioned to collect all the copies that were held and make one concordant volume from them wherever contradictions were found in the other books.

Again, after much time, when Elehegehi, the son of Vizes, had begun to reign in those regions, he ordered all the books, charters, and volumes of that law to be gathered. After one codex had been composed from them according to his own pleasure, and after he had added many things, removed many things, and also changed many things, he ordered all the rest, wherever they might be found, to be burned.

He made six copies of his own book. Of these he sent one to Egypt, another to Syria, another to the city, another to Mecca, a fifth to Mesopotamia, and a sixth to Albazara.

Even if no other cause for the variation of this writing were seen to have existed than that those from whom it was received—namely Hay, Ebuber, Orimen, and Gomar—were always discordant and enemies, this would suffice, since it is certain that each of them, according to his own intention and his own will, added, diminished, or varied whatever he pleased in that book for the advantage of his own cause.

Indeed, upright Saracens have often said that the whole writing of the Alcoran is so mixed and confused that everything in it appears to be without continuity, without composition, without any order of words, and finally without any meaning or reason.

Section VI

Against the Doctrine of the Alcoran

It is a wonder that there should be anything there that can please a man, namely, one who uses reason. For if eloquence is considered, no one has written anything so shamefully in Arabic. For, in comparison with learned Arabic writers, what is the whole Alcoran but a barbarism unworthy of laughter?

But if its opinions are weighed, I see nothing good there, if indeed it is possible for anything good to be there. For there is no doubt that many evil things are found there, which any fool could fashion similarly, or certainly much more elegantly.

Suppose, nevertheless, that some things appear to be good there, such as, for example, that one should fast, pray, and give some alms. Were such things first invented by Machomet, things that no one had heard before him?

O how much more holily, how much more honorably, how much more reasonably did Moses and Elijah and many other prophets, and also John the Baptist, act! But even the Lord of all, Jesus Christ himself, fasted and prayed and bestowed alms. They also taught us to fast, pray, and give alms through innumerable ages before the monstrous prophecy of Machomet.

Let Machomet cease, let him cease, to wish to appear the first master of those things of which he was not worthy to be even the last disciple in any respect.

Far from us, far from us, be such a preacher of fasting, who commanded that after a monstrous fast such service be given to every lust and gluttony that he seems to have instituted the fast for no other purpose than that afterward the shamefulness of all lusts might be stirred up more pleasurably and more eagerly.

Now as for what he himself proclaimed in his writing, as was said above—that this writing is of such a kind that it could be made neither by men nor by demons—he certainly chose well those to whom he would say this: the most uncultivated and rustic men, who had also newly come from diverse sects and were ignorant even of the Arabic language itself.

But if we are permitted to expound this, we concede it to him entirely in this way: that it is truly so foolish, so dishonorable, so irrational a doctrine or writing that it could be made neither by demons nor by men. For I think that even demons would blush to write this.

Nevertheless, if Machomet wishes to glory so greatly in his Alcoran, many others also, who at the same time made their own Alcoran in accumulation of him [read: in emulation of him] so that they too might procure a name for themselves, wrote things much more honorable and at least plausible in some respect.

But because they did not entirely loosen the reins for the belly and lust, they were not able to draw such great asinine herds of bestial men after themselves.

Therefore, if anyone wonders why this writing pleased certain persons so greatly, hold it as certain that it never pleased any noble or wise man, but only the most wretched and most unlearned kind of common men. Gathered by him from woodland places, when they had heard these first writings, they were astounded by the novelty of the thing and believed sacrilegious fables to be the oracles of God.

Finally, when they had been worn out by poverty and the continual labor of rural works, they heard of the blessedness of food, drink, precious garments, shady pleasantness, splendid vessels, infinite intercourse with most beautiful wives, and the other most filthy delights of paradise. Hoping that by Machomet's promise they themselves would there now, even now, be blessed, those bestial men rushed to all things whatsoever he willed.

Hence it is that, when he went forth against the king of Persia, he was so aided by them that he conquered. For he had promised the delights of his paradise to all who chose to die for him in battle.

Some, however, are said to have fought more in order to obtain the excellent gardens that they had seen in Persia. For he had promised that after the victory he would give those gardens to them, so that both in this age and in the future they might always be in gardens. For the Arabs are said to be greatly delighted by the beauty of gardens.

And if it is said that not only rustics but many others afterward followed him: truly many others did, but they were the worst men and gluttons, men who, burdened by debt or about to die for their crimes, had found this as the sole way of escape.

For tell me, I beg you: what wise or noble or honorable man have you ever seen come to him?

As for those who pass from the Jews or Christians to the Saracens, far be it that they do this because they have been summoned by any honorable motive. Rather, because they are wretched and unchaste and cannot bear the rules of their own law, they turn themselves to the broad and spacious way taught by that most wicked Machomet, which leads to perdition.

This happens especially to Christians, whose spiritual and heavenly law commands that all things in the world be despised in the hope and love of the eternal vision of God. When it restrains the carnal and fluid minds of the unhappy, they immediately flee from it, because they neglect to fight against their concupiscences.

This, however, is known most certainly: neither Jews, pagans, nor Christians, however they may conduct themselves outwardly, if they pass over to the Saracens and assert, to whatever degree, that they belong to that sect and its law, are what they pretend themselves to be. They pretend to be what they are not so that they may escape some bodily adversity, such as captivity and things of that sort, or so that they may enjoy swinish pleasures, of which there is abundance among them.

Indeed, they regard whatever they do of their rites as nothing, to such a degree that, when speaking among themselves, they often curse Machomet and his law. Nor do they affirm that he was ever worthy of prophecy or of the law of God.

Section VII

That way which Machomet lays down is rejected as being the way of God; rather, that way is the devil's.

For that accursed man says that the way of God to which he exhorts his followers is made more unimpeded against the adversaries and unbelievers of his doctrine and those who share in it by the stroke of the sword, plunder, and devastation, until they enter into the faith of God and testify that there is no God except their God and that Machomet is his servant and messenger, or until they, made subject, pay tribute.

But, O imprudent and foolish man, how can these words be continuous and agree? For they greatly disagree and are contrary to your writing, which you say is from God. It says that Machomet was sent by God equally to all men in piety and mercy; yet there is an outpouring of blood, robbery, and plunder.

Certainly, either a statement of this kind is contrary to itself, or he lies that those things which he continually alleges were said to him were spoken by God. For what way is not God's but the devil's, if not murders, thefts, and plunder?

But if Moses is brought against us, because he himself fought against the worshipers of idols, let those prodigies and miracles which are read to have been done by him under the law be brought forward, and it will appear manifestly that it is just to believe that he did those things at God's command.

It is likewise with Joshua, the son of Nun, at whose word the sun and moon stood still. Since these miracles cannot be done except by God's elect, we believe that whatever he did, he did at God's command.

But what sign or miracle is Machomet shown to have done, from which we may believe him, when nothing was proper to him except to kill men, commit robbery, seize the property of others, and take parents captive together with their children? This is always evil, but much more so when it is done against the people of God, who have no other divinity except the worship of God.

Or is it not enough for you unless you call it the way of God? Far be this from God, that such should be the way of God, or that anyone who has commanded such things should belong to the people of God or to his elect, much less to the prophets.

Finally, he invites his followers to strike men with the sword, to seize their possessions, and to ruin everything, until men come violently to his faith, are subjected unwillingly to his laws and compelled, and, being coerced, testify to his testimony.

This is never read in divine Scripture: namely, that some were violently converted to God, or that men were seized by commands, the sword, plunder, and captivity, as that accursed Machomet did and commanded the coerced to obey.

Certainly there were many heretics in former times. Yet none of them tried to drag anyone to his sect by the sword or by any coercion, but by deceits. Whoever wished to lead a man into falsehood could not do this without some true, or at least plausible, preaching.

All are known to have acted in this way, namely, through teaching, except for that accursed Machomet. For he compelled men to his sect not only by the art of cunning or by ingenious eloquence, but by the sword, violence, oppression, and depopulation.

Has it ever been heard from anyone what that man said to men: “Whoever will not confess that I am a prophet of the Lord, I will strike him with the sword of the ages. All who are of my progeny will do likewise; I will plunder his house and afflict his entire household with captivity”?

It is also ridiculous that the Saracens say that before the ages were created God had written upon God's throne: “There is no God except God; Machomet is his messenger,” although this is not found written in the Alcoran.

But it is asked who wrote it. Not a creature, which did not yet exist. If God wrote it, it is asked for whom he wrote it. Not for himself, as though he feared that he would lose his name unless it had been written. If he wrote it for the angels so that they might afterward read it, this is false, since God speaks to the angels not through letters but through the illumination of his presence.

Section VIII

That Machomet Was a False Prophet, Not a True One, Is Proved

If one wife alone impedes a man from the love of God, how could one who had so many wives fittingly fulfill the office of a prophet?

For the office of a prophet is nothing other than to fast, pray, preach, and do good things similar to these. I wonder whether a man devoted to such great crimes could ever have leisure for God.

But if someone objects that many have lived badly and nevertheless taught well, let us also see how this man taught.

A prophet is one who proclaims things unknown, whether concerning the past or the future. We know, however, that in former times, when there were prophets, not everyone who usurped this name at once possessed authority. Rather, after he had been approved by the rulers and chief men of God's people through long and enduring holiness of life and also by signs and miracles, he obtained the glory of this name.

If it is said that Machomet narrated many past things, such as those concerning Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ, would that he had proclaimed them truthfully just as they stood among us, and had not, by raving through many lies, overthrown almost the whole truth of sacred Scripture.

Therefore, as regards the past, he has already fallen from the order of the prophets, because he corrupted the truth with so many lies. Certainly, if he composed at his pleasure some fables that had never been heard, he is by no means to be believed, both because this can easily be done by anyone and because he himself has already been found a liar in other matters.

As for the future, it is evident that he said nothing, since nothing of that kind is found in his whole writing. Hence, as regards the future also, he is excluded from prophetic grace. Now he will deserve to be counted among the prophets neither by signs, nor by miracles, nor by prophecy, nor by his life.

For that whole thing concerning paradise which he appears to have foretold compels us to nothing else except to say that he lies about future things just as he has been proved to have lied about past things.

Concerning signs and miracles, he himself is witness that they were not given to him by God, for he says that God spoke thus to him: “Unless we knew that they would not believe you, just as they did not believe others, we would give you signs and prodigies.”

Again, perhaps someone will say that, unless he had been a prophet, he would never have come to such power, especially since his companions were few in number when he fought against the king of the Persians, who was very strong and very powerful, and obtained a triumph.

For who would infer that those who overcome their enemies are worshipers of the true God, when it is found in sacred Scripture that a few idolaters routed many Israelites? Those who conquer do not always conquer because of their own merits, but because those against whom they fight are worthy of such a punishment.

For it is no wonder that the idolatrous and most filthy nation of the Persians was conquered by Machomet, not because he was better than they, but because they had deserved this: that they should be punished by a similar devil.

Finally, what he says God spoke to him—“Unless we knew that they would not believe you,” and so forth—what did this have to do with the Arabs, who had not seen a prophet and therefore could never have despised prophetic signs?

But what shamelessness it is to say that they would not believe his signs, when they believed a man of the worst life not only without signs but also without any evidence of any good—a thing than which they could not have done worse.

Since, therefore, we have proved by philosophical arguments, by divine authorities, and also by his own confession that he was a stranger to all prophetic grace, it remains for us to see what sort of fables there are in which, contrary to what he had said above, he asserts that he performed signs.

It is said there that once, when he heard a wolf howling, he told his companions that he understood from its voice that this wolf was greater than all the others and was the prince of wolves. O prophetic sign! Could he not likewise have said that the wolf, in that voice, signified that he was a prophet? For who could have composed from it whether he understood anything?

It is also reported there concerning another wolf that, when it had addressed Veheben, the son of Heu, he immediately became a Saracen. If that composer of fables had put a lion there in place of a wolf, the fable would have been much more elegant. But not without reason did he weave wolves into his fables, since, after the manner of a wolf, he always proceeded rapaciously and bloodily.

He also said that the ox of Zozai spoke to its lord and that he placed his hand upon the breasts of a woman named Humemabeth.

Likewise, he says that he gave an order to a certain tree and it immediately adored him, although the Saracens themselves testify that this is false.

Likewise, he says that when Zameth, the Jewish wife of Zeheninove, had placed poison for him in a roasted sheep, the shoulder of the sheep spoke to him, saying: “Do not eat me, because I have been prepared with poison.” For this reason he did not eat from it, but another of his companions who ate it died.

It is also narrated there that once he put his hand into a cavern, from which waters came forth. He himself, his companions, and his livestock drank from them. This, however, is held to be frivolous among the Saracens.

He himself also testifies that all these things are most false, since in his greater writing he says that signs were not given to him by God, namely, to perform them. And again he says: “I have not been sent except in the power of the sword. Let the one who does not receive my prophecy be killed, or let him pay tribute for his unbelief and be released.”

Whence, therefore, are all the aforesaid signs more openly and manifestly proved false than from his own words, in which he speaks thus in the Alcoran: “Whatever you find written by me, compare it with the Alcoran. If it does not agree with it, know that I am innocent of that writing and that it is not mine.”

Therefore, according to this rule of his, all things that are not found written in the Alcoran are to be rejected. Thus it is evident that he performed no miracles but was a thief and a robber.

After he had been strengthened by the counsel of a certain man and had become rich from the resources of a certain lady whom he took as wife, as was said above, he gathered to himself pestilential men, ambushers of roads, fugitives, and murderers. He sent such accomplices of his to hidden paths in the woods, to the summits of mountains, and to places near springs, to lie in wait for merchants and others making journeys, to despoil and kill them and seize their goods.

He also made as many expeditions as possible against diverse persons for killing and plundering.

It must therefore be considered whether expeditions of this kind ought to pertain to a prophet of God, in which there is nothing except fraud, violence, and the shedding of human blood.

He is, therefore, not a prophet but a son of perdition and a prince of demons; and his sect and law are most evil and full of all falsehood and filthiness.

Title XIII, Chapter VI

Concerning the Many Saints of Both Sexes Who Shone with Virtues and Miracles in the Times of the Aforesaid Emperors; and First Concerning the Holy Virgin Phara and Her Brothers, Saint Pharaon and the Other Two

In the time of the emperor Heraclius, Phara, a virgin of Christ, shone in Francia. Her brother Pharaon imitated her holiness, becoming a cleric from a count and, from a cleric, bishop of the people of Meaux, as Sigebert says.

But Vincent, in book twenty-four, chapter fifteen, of the *Historical Mirror*, records the following from their deeds.

Haguericus, their father, drew his lineage from the nation of the Burgundians and shone in no small degree among the foremost men and chief nobles in the court of King Theodobert. For he was known in royal counsels and fortified by nobility of wisdom.

He was devoted to hospitality and was a most devout receiver of holy men. By a penetrating inspection of eyes and mind, he recognized Christ in their minds.

He received as wife a woman not unequal to his own lineage, named Leodegunda, by whom he begot three sons—Pharaon, a most holy man, Walbert, and Calnoald—and a daughter of wondrous uprightness, Phara.

Calnoald was delivered by his father to the blessed Columbanus to be instructed, and became his devoted minister. While he dwelt in the vast solitude of the hermitage, a wild beast once obeyed him at the command of his master Columbanus.

This Calnoald, the brother of blessed Pharaon, afterward became a prelate and shone in the city of Lugdunum.

Blessed Walbert, however, together with his brother Calnoald and blessed Agilius, son of Agnoald, the brother of the above-mentioned Harguerich, was committed by Saint Columbanus in the monastery of Luxeuil to be instructed by Eustasius, a man of great learning, together with many others who afterward shone as distinguished prelates of the churches of God.

While Eustasius, the worshiper of God, was staying at the villa Papimisium, having been received most dutifully by the father of the aforesaid siblings, he learned that their sister Phara, consecrated by the blessing of blessed Columbanus, was afflicted by a grave blindness of the eyes. She had contracted it from the sorrow of continual weeping because her father intended that she should serve in the work of marriage and that the vows of holy life which she had lately resolved upon should be frustrated.

The father was rebuked with harsh words [read: Eustasius rebuked the father with harsh words], saying that this was his doing, because the virgin was afflicted by so great a crisis of danger.

To this the father, with a feigned statement, said that he would postpone the union of marriage for his daughter, but only so that she might deserve to be gladdened by bodily health.

Therefore the man of God, believing these words, went to the place in which the sick girl lay and asked whether she wished to live in the habit of a holy woman. Sighing, she said that she desired chastity, the companion of angels, and that she longed for a heavenly spouse rather than lamentably to cling to an earthly one.

In the morning, she saw standing before her a man of reverent countenance and burning eyes, saying: “Be certain, handmaid of God, and firm in my promises. Today a man will come to you who will restore you to health.”

When this vision had ended, blessed Eustasius entered to her a short time later. The virgin Phara narrated the order of the vision and said that she believed him to be the one through whom she had heard that sight was to be restored to her.

Then, after prayer had been made, Eustasius bestowed upon the virgin the promised help.

Seeing this, her father pursued the will of his heart in deeds. He summoned the bridegroom, confirmed the betrothal, and established the time of the wedding.

But she took flight. Entering the church of Blessed Peter with a fearful course and prostrating herself upon the ground, she struck her tender breast with her fists. Watering the earth abundantly with tears, she prayed with these words:

“O Peter, who opens the heavenly kingdoms to the just and closes them to the unjust, I have fled here to your thresholds, wishing to be your little virgin. And you, O Christ, who always bends to the prayers of the humble by remitting stains, preserve my virginity, offered to you for eternal ages.”

When her father learned this, he directed servants there, commanding that she be killed in that place. But the servants, with prudent counsel, stopped for a little while on the journey so that the father's savagery might be mitigated by the very interval of delay.

At length, when he came and raged fiercely, the ministers artfully held out the threat of death.

She said to them: “Such gifts are not owed to a daughter by her father. But it is more joyful for me to seek a beautiful death in this place than to lose the flower of youth. Moreover, let my father know this most certainly: that this resolve will never in this life be submitted to a marriage bond.”

When the servants therefore reported this to their lord, he was wholly unwilling to mitigate the fury of his mind without harm to his daughter. Assigning her to custody, he kept her for those things which he intended to do.

While these things were being done, by God's mercy it happened that blessed Eustasius returned from completing an embassy of King Lothair.

Learning that the father's so dire chastisement raged irrevocably against his daughter, he strove to darken the savagery of his mind with the hard goads of words [read: to temper the savagery of his mind with the hard goads of words] and to prick him into repentance.

He did not withdraw from there until he had adorned the girl with the desired habit of a holy woman through Gondoesenus, bishop of Meaux, and until the same Haugueric us, the girl's father, had constructed upon his own soil a monastery suitable as a dwelling for the handmaids of God.

Moreover, the holy man Walbert, shining with merits of life, succeeded Gondoald as the distinguished bishop of the people of Meaux.

Section I

The most distinguished Haugueric us therefore nourished his beloved son Pharaon during the time of his military training so that he might be exercised in the court of King Theodebert and succeed him in holding the dignity of honor that he possessed in the king's palace. We know that this was so accomplished with the favor of the omnipotence of the Deity.

For as long as Theodebert was elevated with royal honor, the holy youth Pharaon, clothed in a military toga, obtained with him a very great place of familiarity among the chief nobles of the palace.

Afterward, Clotharius, having been defeated by Cleodarius and Theodoric, when he had obtained the monarchy of three kingdoms, sublimely ennobled blessed Pharaon among the other chief nobles of his kingdom through familiarity with his friendship.

Relying upon this confidence, Pharaon personally admonished the king to trample the vain favors of this life under heavenly desires, to show himself lovable to all, and to have all his acts and morals well ordered.

He also most prudently ordered royal counsels, both public and private, with the munificence of the love of God. Since he persisted in works of mercy and delivered the guilty from death, he also persuaded King Clotharius to many good things.

He learned that his holy sister Phara was gravely afflicted by a desire to see him. When he came to her, her familiar conversation so moved the mind of blessed Pharaon that he despised the glory of palatine principality and royal friendship, restrained lawful marriages although placed in the flower of youth, joined himself to the ecclesiastical order, and consecrated his wife Blidechild with the sacred veil.

He endowed the church of Saint Stephen of Meaux, which great poverty oppressed, with the richest resources of estates. He afterward magnificently exalted by an addition the place of the virgin Phara.

He supported fellow citizens, strangers, and exiles from his resources, and the fragrant report of him, spread far and wide, resounded.

Therefore the nation of the English, ensnared by love of him, committed their own virgins to him to serve God in two monasteries, namely Cale and Phara.

The same man sent Saint Gillenus the Scot to the province of Arras, which Gillenus acquired for Christ by sound doctrine and drew there by illustrious miracles.

On a certain day, when this same Saint Gillenus took bodily refreshment with Saint Pharaon, the glass vessel from which wine was offered fell by chance while the cupbearer held it and was broken.

When blessed Gillenus saw the minister's face turned pale, he secretly indicated to him that the fragments of the broken cup should be given to him. After he had prayed over them, the glass vessel was made whole again.

Meanwhile, after the falling asleep of Walbert, bishop of Meaux, his brother Saint Pharaon was sought for the same episcopate, and the assent of King Clotharius, whom Pharaon had received from the sacred font, was requested.

With great gladness of heart, the king not only commanded that it be done but also judged that it should be done without any hesitation.

Truly admirable is the divine wisdom which, under the sacred number of the Trinity, proclaimed three siblings adorned with pontifical dignity and adorned their sister Phara with great merits of life.

After Saint Pharaon had been raised to the episcopal chair, the virtues which Christ deigned to work for the declaration of his merit testify how wondrously the works of holiness shone in him.

On Easter Day, when blessed Pharaon sanctified very many by the imposition of hands and, as is customary, a multitude of both sexes pressed closely upon him, a certain boy, deprived of the sight of his eyes, was brought among the others to be confirmed.

When the man full of God anointed his forehead with oil, he visibly merited to receive upon his forehead both the gift of the Holy Spirit and the light of his eyes.

Likewise, when the holy prelate, passing through the city, bestowed the piety of visitation upon those to whom it was fitting, it happened that he passed before the prison of the bound.

When many of them learned that he was present, they began to ask pardon for their crimes and release from their bonds.

The man of God said to them: “Go forth free, because you repent.” Immediately the bonds were loosed.

Nor must it be omitted with how great strength of mind his wife, named Blidechild, who had been committed to the sacred veil, repelled the temptations of the ancient enemy cast against her by his malice concerning the holy pontiff.

For while this holy woman served God in the pursuits of holy life, residing in a villa, the prelate Pharaon, remembering her love and beauty, was led even to this point: that he ordered her to come to him.

When the handmaid of God refused to do this at the first hearing, the prelate did not delay in repeating the command. But she added a second neglect to the first. When he had added a third to these two commands, she, understanding his obstinate mind, devised an ingenious counsel by which she might draw the pontiff away from his purpose and preserve her own chastity.

For, casting aside the adornment of her garments, she cut the hair of her head, clothed herself in a hair-shirt, and presented herself to be viewed by him.

When he gazed intently upon her, he recoiled from the unlawful crime that he had resolved in his mind. He marveled that he had been drawn away from the intended deed by the sagacious counsel of a prudent woman, who cast the scandal of her beauty away from herself lest a minister prepared for God be captured through the eyes of the body and violate a temple sanctified for the Holy Spirit.

On a certain day, this same holy pontiff went out from the city for the sake of praying at the oratory of Saint Remigius. As he rose from prayer, suddenly a lamentable cry was heard, with the roaring of mourners and of those repeatedly saying, “Alas!”

It was reported to him that a ship filled with a great multitude had sunk amid the waves. The bishop mounted the bridge, bent prone upon the cold ground, and cast his humble face down to the cold earth.

He had scarcely prayed for half an hour when he touched the river with the staff that he held in his right hand. Wondrous to relate: behold, he saw the driven ship return to the surface, without any rope creaking or oar cutting the water, and all who had sunk were brought back.

Section II

In the tenth year of the emperor Heraclius, Saint Columbanus died. He had many disciples who were holy men, and among the others was Saint Gall, who shone in Germany and was wondrous in the expulsion of demons from the possessed, as was said above.

Saint Eustasius, who gave sight to Phara as was evident in the preceding section, was also among his disciples. Sent to Italy by blessed Columbanus with paternal affection, he ruled the companies of monks subject to him with equal justice in the time of King Clothair.

Saint Attalus also, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, succeeded Saint Columbanus in the government of the monastery of Luxeuil. After Columbanus's death, while Attalus governed that monastery excellently, the devil stirred up against him the

hearts of some of his subjects, who said that they could not bear the austerity of so great a fervor and the burdens of arduous discipline.

But he sagaciously strove to apply pious fomentations and soften their swollen hearts, persuading them to remember that the fathers possess kingdoms through contempt for the present life and mortification.

When he saw that he now profited nothing, he permitted the obstinate men to depart. After they had separated from him, while they lacerated the man of God with their disparagements, one of them was suddenly kindled by the fire of fevers. Amid the pains of the burning, he began to cry that, if he could come to blessed Attalus, he wished to anoint the damage of the crime he had committed with the medicine of repentance.

Scarcely was he permitted to say this when he became mute and in this way gave up his last breath.

Those who were present, seeing the injury to the man of God avenged by God, returned to him with repentance. He received them again with wondrous joy and restored them to their places when they acknowledged their faults.

But others, who despised the place of repentance that had been given them by not returning, were carried off by diverse deaths. One of them died when struck by an axe. Another, while crossing the bed of a small river, was drowned by the little wave when his toes became entangled [read: after his knees gave way]. A third was drowned after entrusting himself to a ship at sea.

At a certain time, when the little river Boblius, flowing violently and rapaciously with swollen masses of waters, strove to undermine the monastery's mill and submerge the entire workshop and its burden, the man of God, hearing this, caused the deacon Synoald to be summoned to him.

He said to him: “Take the staff by which I am supported, go to the Boblius, and, with the sign of the Lord's cross set forth, say in a commanding voice that it is to cease digging these banks and is not to fulfill the measure of its presumed audacity, but, proceeding through other places, is to permit these to remain unharmed. Let it know that it must withdraw at the Lord's command.”

When it had obeyed the man of God's command, the river immediately left its bed and gave way toward the sides of the hill. Its waters, proceeding through the steep sides of the hill, held their restrained streams like a living creature until the hollows of the channel lay open, through which they might flow liquidly when that which sustained them ceased.

One of the monks also, while working in the field, cut off the thumb of his left hand with an unexpected stroke of a tool. Placing a clod over it, he buried it as though it were a corpse. Continuing to the monastery, he disclosed the matter to the father.

When the man of God had ordered the portion of the severed thumb, hidden in the earth and buried in a furrow, to be brought to him, he joined it to the injured hand with his own spittle. The reunited thumb adhered by the glue of the flesh as it had before, and he commanded the monk to depart in silent secrecy.

When, in the final moments of the present life, Attalus discharged his last hour, he suppressed the roaring of his heart amid sorrowful sighs. Then, giving thanks and comforting the brothers in the Lord, he rendered his soul to heaven.

Section III

Another saint from among the disciples of Saint Columbanus was named Walaricus. Born formerly in the region of Alvernica, he pastured his father's sheep while still a little boy.

When he heard how the sons of nobles were customarily instructed in schools, he was moved by the same desire and made a tablet for himself. With the greatest reverence and most urgent prayer, he obtained from the teacher of the children that he should write the alphabet for him and show him the first elements.

When this had been done, he joyfully returned to the work enjoined upon him. Thus, in a short time, supported by God's help and without his father's knowledge, he commanded the whole Psalter [read: he learned the whole Psalter].

Then he began to frequent the church, and not long afterward followed his maternal uncle to a monastery named Autimium. His father followed him, but could not recall him by threats and terrors or by flatteries, although the abbot and brothers entreated him to return with his father and imposed fasts of two and three days upon him if he did not do so.

When he persisted firmly in his purpose, the abbot said to the brothers: “Let us not cast away what the Lord has sent to us.”

After this he began always to hasten toward higher things and to seek pilgrimage for the love of God. Then he proceeded to a monastery of a certain Macharius, bishop of Auxerre, where he was kindly received by the blessed pontiff. Living there also with the greatest strictness, he began to be praised by many.

When a certain rich and noble man named Bobo came to him and heard the word of God from him, he remained with him and did not return to the world thereafter.

These two proceeded together to Luxeuil, to Saint Columbanus. Under Saint Columbanus's instruction, Walaricus was made gardener. This office was enjoined upon him for the sake of proving his humility.

His vegetables could be harmed neither by worms nor by anything else, while the other vegetables round about were devastated. Walaricus attributed this to the merits of the brothers.

Then Saint Columbanus began to reckon him among the proven monks, while others still judged that he should be placed among those knocking at the door as though a novice.

When the brothers entered eagerly to hear the word of God from Saint Columbanus, and Saint Walaricus entered with the others at the very threshold, Saint Columbanus perceived an odor of great fragrance and sweetness coming to him.

After this, a certain brother named Wandolenus, inflamed with a holy desire, asked Saint Columbanus to grant him permission to preach among the nations and to permit Walaricus to depart with him for the consolation of fostering religion. He did so.

When they came together into Neustria, they requested from King Clothair a remote place in which to reside. When they came to a certain place of the people of Amiens called Gualimacus, it happened that a certain man had been suspended upon the rack because of the guilt he had incurred and had died.

When blessed Walaricus saw him from afar, moved in the bowels of piety, he came with swift course to the post. Although the executioners forbade him to touch the dead corpse, he fearlessly loosed the bond, placed the dead man's body upon the earth with his own hands, and prostrated himself with tears and prayer upon the man's supine limbs, so that he pressed his own face upon the other's face.

Thus, while all who stood by marveled, and while his limbs gradually grew warm as though from a deep sleep, the dead man revived unharmed.

The aforesaid king granted them the secluded place that they had requested. There blessed Walaricus shut himself in a certain little cell separated from the brothers so that, all care of the world set aside, he might persist in divine meditation alone in his customary manner. The other brothers, constructing a cell for themselves from the king's alms, appeared to possess sustenance there.

When a certain matron sent bread and flasks to the man of God through a boy, the boy, led by greed for food and drink, retained a part for himself and presented a part.

When the man of God knew this in the spirit, he said: “For what has been brought, we give thanks to God. But you, son, take care that you do not incautiously consume anything from that bread or flask which you hid for yourself, because there is a serpent in the flask and poison in the bread.”

Seeing that he had been discovered, the boy was astounded. Returning to the things he had hidden, he found them so. Returning from there to the servant of God, he sought pardon with repentance.

When the same servant of God was returning to the monastery from a certain place in wintertime, it happened that, because of the harshness of the cold, he turned aside with his companions into the house of a certain priest to warm himself.

Those men ought to have venerated so great a guest with distinguished honor so that they might be instructed, as was his custom, by the discourse of this holy man. Instead, together with the judge of that place, they spoke filthy, luxurious, and dishonorable words before him boldly and insolently.

As he had always been accustomed to do, he applied the healing medicines of God's word to the putrid wounds of men, saying: “Have you not heard in the Gospel that we shall render an account to God for every idle word on the day of judgment?”

But, despising his command more and more, they boiled over with the most unchaste speeches.

Then he said: “I wished to refresh my little body a little from the rigor of the cold by the fire, but I am prevented by your most criminal words, and now I am compelled to depart from you unheated.”

Going out of the house, he shook the dust from his feet there, and divine vengeance followed upon those unhappy and insolent men. The priest who had neglected to provide rightly for himself or others suddenly lost the light of his eyes, and the virile members of the aforesaid judge of that place suddenly withered.

Then, led by late repentance, they humbly entreated that the servant of God would enter that house again. But he did not consent. The priest remained in his blindness, and the other died with his genital members rotting.

Deservedly did the holy man stand out by such great virtues: he had remained a virgin from his mother's womb. His humility and kindness exceeded the human measure, and he was so full of divine grace and compunction that, as often as he preached to his disciples or looked toward heaven while singing psalms to God, he was accustomed to pour out tears.

So great was the gentleness in him that little birds took food from his hand without fear, and whenever he wished, he stroked them with his fingers, forgetful of their wildness and as though they were domesticated.

His little bed, woven from twigs, was covered with a cheap pallet. His face was very pale and wasted with leanness, because frequently throughout an entire week he took nothing as food except on the Lord's Day.

He drank neither wine nor strong drink. Nevertheless, at the coming of guests and in charity, he tasted beforehand from all these cups.

When the Lord through him conferred the grace of cures upon the sick, or when he announced future or hidden things, then his cheeks shone with a rosy color and excessive brilliance, so that all might understand openly that the things done or said through him were done with the Holy Spirit cooperating.

He very often spent the night in vigils and frequently made secret prayers amid dense thorn-bushes and through the enclosed places of valleys. He used only a tunic with a cowl.

After he had ordered some offender among the younger brothers to be flogged, he often prohibited this from being done. Instead, summoning him to himself, he gently admonished him, so that this shame alone might suffice for him, in order that he should not repeat that vice thereafter.

Section IV

In the same time Hildeuntus flourished. As Vincent reports from his deeds in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, he was born in the city of Meaux and afterward was made bishop there.

When he was five years old, he was delivered to Saint Pharaon to be imbued with sacred letters. He bore the reproaches of his companions with the greatest patience. From the time when he was made a priest by Saint Pharaon, he always used a hair-shirt next to his flesh.

At Saint Pharaon's admonition he sought a monastery, and after Pharaon he was made bishop.

Near the city of Meaux there was a church of the Holy Cross in which the body of Saint Pharaon had once been buried. In the courtyard of this church the people of Meaux buried their dead.

It happened that certain malicious men asked blessed Hildeuntus that they might be permitted to build another church for themselves in that courtyard. This was done. But that same temple, constructed from the pursuit of avarice, collapsed to the ground on the night preceding the day on which it was to be dedicated.

Terrified by this fear and led by repentance, blessed Bildeuntus [read: Hildeuntus] went to Rome to Pope Boniface so that he might impose penance upon him for this sin.

After satisfaction had been made, he was sent to preach. Entering each house, he said: “Peace to this house, to those entering and to those departing.” Beginning the discourse in this way, he continued it to the end.

He did this as he journeyed to Jerusalem and returned. In the seventh year of his return he reported to the pope what he had done.

Returning to Gaul with the authority of the lord pope, at a place called Latimacus he found a monk named Fulseus, distinguished in holiness.

An angel of the Lord stood before this monk in a vision, saying: “Bishop Hildeuntus will come to you in the morning. Know that his sins have been remitted by the Lord. See, therefore, that you receive him with honor.”

When Saint Hildeuntus came to him, he cast himself at his feet. When Fulseus saw this, he fell upon his face.

Then Hildeuntus came to a place seven miles from the city of Meaux, where he had constructed a church and dedicated it in honor of Blessed Mary.

There, when he was about to celebrate Mass, he drew the gloves from his hands and placed them upon a ray of the sun, and they were sustained there for the space of three hours.

Then he raised a certain boy who had died without baptism. Baptizing him, he called him Aldebert after the name of his own father, and ordered that he should be buried beside him, since he himself was to die seven years after him.

Blessed Maviolus the abbot afterward raised the bodies of these two from the earth by an angelic revelation, with very many bishops accompanying him.

Section V

Around the same time Austregisillus also flourished, as Vincent reports in the place cited above. After Sigebert, he was archbishop of Bourges in Gaul. Under him were Sulpitius, Cuthbert of Cologne, and John of Tongeren.

Among the other wondrous virtues by which he shone in his life, this Austregisillus cured a certain miller. On the Lord's Day, with a rash spirit, the miller wished to repair the mill. Taking a double-edged iron tool, which in the common tongue they call a *scoton*, he began to work the millstone.

Because of this sin, the handle of that iron tool adhered to his hand, and no one could remove it from his hand. He was compressed by so great a constriction that blood had already begun to flow between his fingers and to cause disgust to those looking on because of the stench.

He came to the aforesaid man of God and sought God's help. Austregisillus took the hand to which the hammer adhered, first extended the fingers, removed that iron tool, and, drawing out the man's hand, expelled all pain. Thus the healed man departed.

After the death of this saint, when Pippin, prince of the Franks, wishing to fight against Eudo, prince of Aquitaine, came to the city of Bourges, barbarians from his army, against the opposition of the neighbors, surrounded completely with fire a certain house in the villa Carobria. It had belonged to the aforesaid saint, who had often come to it.

Immediately seized by a demon, one of them tore the door from that very house which was burning, cast himself into the flame, and ended his life there. Others also lacerated themselves with their teeth, and some cut off one another's limbs.

Not long afterward, when the aforesaid Eudo had ordered one of his chief men, named Aginus, to remain in the monastery of Saint Austrigillus [i.e., Austregisillus], Aginus delivered whatever he could find in that monastery to be distributed to his companions, so that no sustenance remained for the brothers.

When the abbot entreated him, saying, “Have mercy upon your servants, so that they may be able to live and pray for you,” the proud man despised his prayers. The monks approached the saint's sepulcher and began with tears to pray that the Lord would rescue them from the enemy.

But the unhappy Aginus, plundering all the estates of the holy man Austregisillus, led away with him the livestock and whatever else he found.

While he was making his journey, Saint Austregisillus appeared to him in a dream, saying: “Why have you plundered me so grievously and left those serving me so sorrowful?” Saying this, he struck him in the brain.

Awakening, Aginus cried out that he had been struck by Saint Austregisillus, and a little afterward expired.

Section VI

Concerning Saint Sulpitius

This most illustrious man, as Vincent narrates from his deeds in the place cited above, was born of noble parents. In the flower of early youth, having broken the snares of the world, he undertook the service of Christ so ardently that, if the time of persecution had not been lacking, he would have cast himself voluntarily into dangers.

While still placed in a secular habit, he was seen to do nothing other than construct monasteries, restore churches, and bring help to the wretched.

In churches located far from his parents' home, secretly in the silence of night, clothed in the garments of penance, he was accustomed to spend the night in holy prayers. At dawn, adorned again in secular clothing, he concealed his holy purpose.

This was the sport of his childhood; such an affection toward God grew strong in him.

On a certain night, while he remained for a rather long time in contemplation in one church with two boys, two most hideous Ethiopians each seized one of the boys and strove to drag them from the church.

The man of God heard the boys behind his back wailing with great cries. He looked upon those black figures and, raising his hand against them, restrained them with the standard of the cross. The boys, suddenly released from them, remained unharmed.

From that time the cunning enemy, turning every effort against the servant of God, strove to terrify with fantastic threats the man whom he was unable to corrupt in mind.

When the report concerning him had spread far and wide and this had been urged upon Clothair by the faithful, the king asked Austregisillus, bishop of the city of Bourges, that the holy man, who had already attained the grade of the Levitical lot, should obtain the office of abbot in his camp.

Afterward, when that holy bishop migrated from this life, the same holy man Sulpitius, by the Lord's provision, merited the episcopal primacy of the see of Aquitaine.

Having obtained the pontifical dignity, he submitted to the burden, not to the honor. Made all things to all men, he delivered himself to incessant fasts and almost continual vigils.

Thus, if at any time natural necessity required a little sleep, he was found not upon the softness of a bed, which he had never been accustomed to use, but upon the surface of a mat and hair-shirt alone.

So great a grace of virtues increased in him that signs were wrought no less through him than formerly through the apostles. He drove away demons by a word, cured the sick by prayer, and even raised a dead man.

When certain chief men came to him for the sake of seeing him, and he showed them the kindness that he knew how to impart to everyone, while the servants were occupied elsewhere, a flame of fire began quickly to devour the roofs.

The entire structure, now scattered with sparks, began to shake, and, with collapse threatening, everyone despaired of help and took flight. The priest of God strove to resist the flames with his hand together with the standard of the cross.

While all marveled, the masses of flame were immediately restrained before the servant of God withdrew his hand, as though they had been surrounded on every side by the force of a great river of waters.

A certain illustrious woman had filled a great barn with ears of grain. In the dead of night, a wicked man entered, cast in fire, and stirred up tumult while the flame crackled.

The man of God, after the cause had been disclosed, ran there, went around the burning pile with spiritual canticles, and in a wondrous manner fixed with his staff a boundary that the fiery mound could not cross.

Therefore, although the flames touched all the neighboring houses, they turned back upon themselves from every side and fled the void that they did not dare to cross.

Far from the city he ordered an immense tree to be cut down. While it was being cut, it fell swiftly. One of the boys, intent and absorbed in something else, stood still and did not flee death. Immediately the priest, raising his hand with the sign of the cross, turned the tree toward the other side, and thus drew the boy away from the peril of death.

One of the wicked men forced himself by night into the holy man's storeroom. Striving to carry away what he had conceived in the crime of theft, when he hastened to depart no exit lay open to him; rather, as though enclosed by a prison, he was bound on every side. Thus, when the course of the whole night had been spent, in the morning the man of God summoned one of the guards and, sending him to a companion, commanded him to drag out the man whom he should find in the storeroom, wearied by wandering, confined as though by certain bonds, and thus discovered in the crime.

Without delay the servant went to his companion and called him. They found the wicked man inside and seized him in order to drag him out. But, slipping from between their hands, fearing that he had been caught in the crime and was surrounded on every side by crowds, and preferring to undergo a swift death rather than endure long torments, he cast himself into a very deep well. Yet, while the devouring earth received him, he was asking the saint's intercession.

Then the man of God ran swiftly to the place and ordered a certain boy to descend, bound with a rope, and to draw the wicked man out in his embrace. Although all cried out that he could not be alive and believed that he had already died, he was drawn unharmed from the well. Prostrate at the saint's feet, he sought pardon for his crime. The saint, full of compassion, forgave him and supplied the necessities for his use, often admonishing him to ask rather than seize.

When one of his disciples, who had now been made a deacon, had sought permission to return to his own country, Sulpitius refused to give it, lest something adverse happen to him on the way. At length he departed without permission on horseback; but after traveling throughout the whole night, in the morning he found himself at the place from which he had begun the journey. He sought and received pardon from Sulpitius.

When the same man on a certain night had completed the singing of psalms in the baptistery, he proceeded to the basilica of blessed Martin so that he might spend the remainder of the night until matins in divine praises. A demon, intruding in the shape of a most hideous bird, first tried to extinguish the light that the boy carried before him; then, rushing violently against the face and eyes of the holy man and flying around him at a distance this way and that, it made itself violent and troublesome.

The man of God, weighing what it did, said to it: “I know who you are, minister of the ancient serpent.” When he had made the sign of the cross, it vanished; but thereafter, from envy, it kindled its goads against the holy man.

When Sulpitius had commanded one of the boys to go to a certain place to furnish aid to the poor, the demon presented itself in his way, cast him from the vehicle, and, after grievously punishing him with blows, left him senseless. He was therefore carried home by those nearby, and no one reported it to the holy man.

At length Sulpitius himself perceived by the spirit of prophecy that the boy had remained mute and blind for ten continuous days; all his limbs were half-dead, and his teeth and mouth were so tightly closed that no one could pour even a drop of water inside. Then the holy man, shedding tears from affection and prostrating himself in prayer, ordered a morsel of bread with wine to be brought. As soon as those nearby, after forcing his teeth open with iron, poured in the drop of wine that Sulpitius had sent, the lost senses were restored and the limbs returned to their former vigor.

One of his companions also, when he was once proceeding to the church to spend the night, encountered the devil, who strove to hinder the good work. The devil afflicted him with blows and left him senseless; the man of God made him whole by prayer.

Not long afterward, when a certain peasant took an axe in hand and worked on the Lord's Day, his hand immediately withered and, adhering to the axe by its sinews, was opened [read: could not be opened]. Coming to the servant of God, he was restored to health by his prayer.

At last the holy man, full of days, rested in peace; and after his death he also shone through many miracles.

Section VII

At the same time there was Saint Saleberga the abbess, as Vincent writes in the place cited above from her deeds. She was born of noble and religious parents in a suburban town of the Leuci bordering upon the territory of Langres.

When blessed Eustasius, abbot and successor of Saint Columbanus, had hastened into Germany to eliminate the Bonosiac heresy, and on his return had come to Godonius, the father of the aforesaid girl, Godonius received him as a most welcome gift. Amid the most sacred words of exhortation, Eustasius caused inquiry to be made whether he had offspring.

Godonius presented two young sons to him to receive the grace of blessing. But the holy man asked whether any child still remained. The parents confessed to him that they also had a girl who had long been deprived of sight. “Let her too come,” he said.

Having therefore completed a fast of three days by himself, he poured the oil of blessing over the girl's eyes, and immediately she recovered her health.

Afterward her parents, thinking about the succession of children, joined her against her will in marriage to a certain nobleman. After possessing her for scarcely two months, he died.

Blessed Eustasius also, after many crises of affairs, after the storms of heretics and the deceits of schismatics, powerful in the greatest miracles, migrated to the Lord. In his place Saint Walbert was appointed over the brothers in their governance.

Therefore Saint Saleberga, widowed and under a lay habit, intent upon vigils, fasts, and alms, pondered in her mind the teaching that she had received from blessed Eustasius. But by command of King Dagobert, for the procreation of children, she was joined in marriage to a certain man named Baldwin, who lived at the royal court; she had five sons.

At length, when her husband had been converted and her children consecrated to God, with “your religion” accepted [read: after receiving the religious habit], and after taking counsel with Saint Walbert, with her husband's consent she built a monastery of girls in the suburb of Langres upon her paternal inheritance.

After these things, when civil war had arisen among the kings of the Franks around those borders, the neighboring places were depopulated and the bodies of the saints were also burned with fire. Then, after taking counsel with Saint Walbert—whom she afterward had both as a companion on the journey and as a partner in the labor—she left her paternal soil and proceeded to the city of Lugdunum with a very great company [read: proceeded to the city of Laudunum (Laon) with a very great company] and with the souls entrusted to her by God. A monastery was built there, and within a short time about three hundred handmaids of Christ were gathered to her.

On a certain day, while she awaited the arrival of the blessed man and Walbert [read: blessed man Walbert] and a supply of Falernian wine was lacking, she ordered beer to be made and placed in a barrel. But because the vessel had not been filled, the sister who guarded the cellar reported this to Saleberga, namely, that if it thus remained unfilled it would quickly turn sour. But by the merits of the saint the vessel was found full.

After a certain wondrous vision, it was revealed to her that one hundred days from then she would migrate from the body. Consequently, on each of those days she recited one Psalter; and at the term appointed for her she proceeded to the Lord.

Section VIII

When Lothair, king of the Franks, had died, his son Dagobert reigned, in the twentieth year of the empire of Heraclius.

This Dagobert, as Vincent narrates in the *Historical Mirror*, received the monarchy of three kingdoms. He was a nurturer of orphans, most kindly toward the Franks, just in judgment, and generous toward churches. He was the first who ordered an abundance of alms from the treasury of the palace to be distributed throughout his whole kingdom among the churches of the saints.

His reputation among the good, and at the same time dread and fear of him, reached every region round about. He established peace throughout his whole kingdom and, like the peaceful Solomon, quietly possessed the kingdom of the Franks.

This same Dagobert, once fearing the anger of his father Lothair because he had dishonored one of his counselors by having him beaten and shorn, fled at Paris to the church of Saint Dionysius. Because he could in no way be drawn from there, he always held that place in his heart.

When the day of the dedication of that church was approaching, namely the sixth day before the Kalends of March, on the night that preceded that day, the people were excluded from the church according to custom so that freer entry might be prepared for the bishops on the following day. A matter most worthy of remembrance occurred, which should become known to future ages by faithful report.

Whether this happened through the ignorance of the gatekeepers or through deliberate care, we do not know. A certain leper, however, not unknown to the chamber attendants, spent the night in the church of the aforesaid martyrs, full of faith, and alone occupied a secluded place for the sake of vigils. The rest of the people, as has been said, and the guardians of the church itself waited outside.

In the very silence of the night, so great a radiance illuminated that entire church that the brilliance of many wax candles yielded to that radiance, for the divine sun had illuminated it with his own radiance. The leper was passing that night without sleep. He was astounded by the ineffable brightness and began to wait most attentively to see whether anything would follow that light.

Behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus, pontiff of pontiffs, appeared with those intimate companions of his, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul; and he had joined to that holy company the glorious martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius. The leper did not see this vision in the manner of a dreamer, as frequently tends to happen; rather, with wakeful eyes he discerned every person and every thing.

For he saw the Lord Jesus himself, clothed in snow-white garments, going before them, plainly impressing upon those walls the signs of his dedication, and carrying out the episcopal office in due sequence. He saw that venerable procession of his faithful following him, among whom he observed especially those apostles and the aforesaid martyrs.

When the office of dedication had been completed according to custom, the Savior approached the leper and said to him in a voice that he could understand: “Hear without fear, and reveal to our bishops waiting outside what you have seen and what I shall command you. Let them no longer concern themselves with the office of dedicating the church, because we have applied our hands and, as you have seen, have completed the whole office of consecration.”

The leper, now more assured because of the order of the long-awaited vision, and now more joyful because the Savior had addressed him, said: “And who, my Lord, will lend a believing ear to my words? For I am the most wretched of all men and have been made the refuse of the people. I have no standing among men for giving testimony, since, as you see, I am hideously afflicted by the elephantine disease.”

Why say more? The Savior approached the man afflicted with elephantiasis and admonished his hand toward the man's face with a light touch [read: moved his hand lightly over the man's face], and passed his touch around his head. In a wondrous manner, after the skin had been removed together with those very horrible pustules and with the hair itself, the powerful physician restored the leper to health. He placed upon the nearest stone the very fleshy tunic that he had drawn from the man's head and caused it to remain fashioned just as it had been yesterday and the day before, together with those ulcers, so that one would think the flayed face itself to be a true face and would have no doubt concerning its leprous appearance.

He added: “Go. If they do not believe you, they will by no means disbelieve at least these signs.” When he had said these things, both that light which had obscured the radiance of many lamps departed and the blessed vision disappeared from the eyes of the beholder.

Day dawned, and certain of the matricularii entered the church and found the leper giving thanks. He asked to be brought to the king, saying, “For I have a secret matter for him.”

He was brought to Dagobert and recounted the course of the divine oracle: “I truly saw and heard that the dedication of this church was performed by the Lord God this night, and afterward I was restored to health in this manner.” Extending his finger, he said, “This is the window through which the Lord entered this hall. If you do not believe me, at least come and believe the works themselves.” He led them to the stone distinguished by the remarkable evidence.

The king marveled, because he was still doubtful concerning the truth. He saw that the man was a stranger and despised him as a mendicant and a pauper. At length the hair and scalp that had been drawn off satisfied the unbelieving man, and the leprous likeness placed upon the stone was the witness of the miracle.

For, to confess the truth, the outlines of the members of the head—I mean the ears, eyelids, mouth, and nostrils—remained shriveled in their places. Thus, with all uncertainty driven far away, stubborn unbelievers, if any had existed, were amazed, confounded, and believed concerning the truth of the miracle.

The report, spread abroad and confirmed, invited the bishops to wonder and thanksgiving and compelled the peoples gathered in a body to the dedication and praise. The walls, marked by divine hands, bore testimony to the deed performed.

That scalp was laid away in a suitable little casket, which the reliquaries of that church preserve among the relics even to the present day, since God's hand had touched it.

Dagobert, rejoicing not a little over this, considered how that church should be honored. Lest it thereafter be subjected to anyone except the Roman pontiff, he caused it to be protected by the privilege of blessed Peter and adorned it with royal gifts. Whatever he contributed to it from his royal treasuries was too little in his estimation.

Section IX

In the times of this Dagobert, Saint Magnobodus, bishop of Angers, flourished. When King Dagobert learned the report of his goodness, he caused Magnobodus to be summoned to him at Paris.

When Magnobodus, entering the city, passed through the gates, the accused men who were being held in prisons, learning of his arrival, sought his assistance with insistent cries. Therefore, going to the judge, he began to ask him to grant pardon to the condemned men. But the judge, opposing his will, caused him to depart without effect.

Magnobodus entered the church that he occupied and prayed to Christ that the guilty men might be freed from their bonds. Immediately the fetters were worn away, and, when the manacles had been shattered, the entrance of the prison lay freely open to the bound men. Springing forth and casting themselves at the holy man's feet, they gave thanks.

The same man, going around and illuminating the diocese entrusted to him, came to an estate called Quartiniacus. Talkative boys were casting out unspeakable insults in play. When he looked upon them, one of them, suddenly mingled with the dust, was snatched up with such complete swiftness that he was carried this way and that through the vast spaces of the air like a ball.

Then his companions and parents, sorrowful and terrified, searched through every trackless place and the broken recesses of cliffs and valleys, but accomplished nothing. Already driven to despair, at last, growing weary through pathless places and divided tracks, they found the boy among dense thorn-bushes, half-dead and scarcely drawing a faint breath.

With great lamentation, the parents wrapped him in a cloak, nearly torn apart in all his limbs, and presented him in the holy man's presence. Taking him by the hand, Magnobodus raised him up and restored him to his parents alive and strong.

At a certain time, while making a journey, he required the aid of a boat to cross a river. A little boat was seen stationed on this side of the stream [read: on the other side of the stream], but no one was there who might attempt to bring it to him. When, according to his custom, he had recourse to prayer, suddenly its prow sprang from the place where it was held fast and, without a rower, the boat was carried floating to the bank where he stood waiting.

Giving thanks to God, he embarked in it with his whole company and arrived by a prosperous passage at the place toward which he was going.

At a certain time, when a multitude of the poor, deprived by hunger, flowed to the man of God from every side, as was customary, he, like a lavish giver, made an *agape* and refreshed them all to satiety. When his attendants investigated the sum of the coins that had been distributed for the food of the poor, they found doubled what they had used up in spending.

A certain abbot named Heraclius, envying his virtues, ordered through men who shared his malice that a cup of death be presented to him secretly. When Magnobodus saw them coming to him, he understood by divine aid their death-bearing deceits.

But, mindful of the evangelical command, he showed them every kindness in food and drink. Then, applying admonitions of salvation, he persuaded them to withdraw from so unspeakable a stratagem, lest they be punished more severely with a penalty in the abyss. Giving them the kiss of peace, he permitted them to depart unharmed.

Around the same time, Aldan, a bishop and disciple of Saint Columbanus, coming from Scotia, shone among the English in holiness and learning, as Vincent reports in the place cited above. When he delivered the word to the people in the Scottish tongue, if an interpreter was lacking, Odoaldus, king of England [i.e., Oswald, king of England], clothed in his royal garment, performed the office of interpreter. The king himself withheld food from himself for the sake of the poor.

At this time three brothers flourished in Francia: Ado, Indo, and Dado, who was also called Andoenus. They showed their devotion toward God by each founding a monastery of his own.

Of these, Dado was the referendary of King Dagobert. He was called the referendary to whom public writings were referred so that through him they might be confirmed by the king's ring or seal.

Eligius, already long distinguished in the court of King Lothair, had encouraged them toward this.

Section X

Then Saint Aurea the abbess also flourished. Saint Eligius placed her over a monastery of virgins that he had constructed at Paris.

This Saint Aurea, as Vincent notes in the place cited above, was placed over three hundred girls in the monastery at Paris. She was of the most noble birth and endowed with so great a virtue of patience that she returned evil for evil to no one, but loved even those who envied her all the more.

While the holy mother was once on the estates of the sisters, it was reported to her from the monastery that the cellarer and key-bearer of this holy mother, beloved by her and named Deda, had died. Aurea returned to the monastery only when the third dawn after Deda's death had already passed.

The sisters had not dared to bury Deda without the abbess, nor could they wrench the keys of the workrooms from her as she was now departing, for she asserted that she would give them to none of the sisters before the arrival of the exalted virgin Aurea.

Then Aurea approached her as she lay upon the bier, looked upon her, and called her by her own name. Immediately Deda sat up alive.

“What,” Aurea said, “have you done concerning the goods of the monastery entrusted to you and concerning the keys?” Immediately Deda rendered an account concerning all the goods and, after setting forth the keys, migrated to the Lord with the holy abbess's permission.

On a certain occasion, when the loaves with which the sisters were to be refreshed at the proper hour were lacking, Aurea, very sorrowful and fearing their murmurings, went around to find the monastery's ovens. Hurrying to one, she asked the baker whether he had bread prepared.

When he answered that it was ready if someone would make the oven clean with brooms, she immediately entered the oven and, thrusting the still-burning coals out together with the ashes by her own hands, made the furnace completely clean.

So that the miracle might be doubled and the praise of the holy virgin increased, the sisters and all the citizens dwelling round about heard the bells in the little tower ringing without hands, and all proclaimed God with exalted praises, singing, “We praise you, God.”

On a certain day, while she heard Mass and the deacon pronounced the Gospel incorrectly, because she was unwilling to hear falsehood in the Lord's words, she removed the stole from the deacon's shoulder, placed it upon her own shoulder, and read through the Gospel lesson.

For this she was reproved by an angelic rebuke. She shut herself in a certain oratory of Saint Quentin and removed herself from the sight of every human being for the course of seven years, leading a most severe penance there.

She continually sat in a chair that she had caused to be wondrously prepared for herself, having fifty nails on the right, fifty on the left, and fifty at the back. Thus she sang the Psalter daily—one hundred and fifty psalms—leaning against fifty nails on the right, another fifty on the left, and a third fifty at the back.

She never ate meat or drank wine or strong drink; instead of wine she drank liquid expressed drop by drop from ashes.

Certain of the sisters nevertheless thought that she drank something else. Consequently, one rash sister, wishing to test and disclose to the others what she drank, secretly entered the chamber where her drink was filtered through ashes.

When the temptress put it to her mouth, she was immediately struck with paralysis in the face, so that her cheek was joined to her little ear. Thus, recognizing herself as guilty, she sought pardon before the feet of the sacred virgin, and obtained both pardon and a cure.

At length blessed Eligius appeared in the church to a certain young man and summoned the holy virgin to himself. When the young man had announced this to her, she hastened there; but when she arrived, the vision had already vanished. From this she understood that she was being called from this world. Migrating to the Lord, she was buried honorably in the church of Paul the Apostle.

An angel of the Lord appeared in a vision to a certain abbess in Syria, in a city across the sea. She had eyes but could not see at all. He told her to cross the expanses of the sea and, going to Paris, to seek the basilica of blessed Paul, because if she raised from the earth the virgin Aurea—a pilgrim from those regions who had gone there and been buried there—and placed her in a more honorable place, she would immediately recover her sight through Aurea's merits.

When she had related this vision to the bishop of the city, she began the journey with him. But, exhausted on the way, she remained behind. The prelate said to her: “Remain in this place for the sake of constructing a shrine that will receive the holy virgin's body.”

He then went to Francia and narrated the vision to the bishop of Paris. Thus the two prelates, coming to the basilica with the clergy and people, found the holy body and, upon its breast, the book that she had brought with her from Syria. In the sepulcher they also found an epitaph of this kind: “Here lies Aurea the pilgrim.”

When the body had been raised, they gave one arm to the bishop of Syria. Blood began to flow from its veins when they separated it from the body. The bishop of Paris deposited the body with great honor in the monastery of Saint Eligius. The Syrian, rejoicing, carried the arm to the abbess and placed it in a most fittingly constructed shrine; immediately the woman recovered her sight. He too built a noble monastery in his homeland in honor of the virgin.

Section XI

Concerning Saint Romaricus

As Vincent reports from his deeds in book twenty-four, chapter seventy-two, of the *Historical Mirror*, Romaricus was once placed in the court of Theodebert, king of the Austrasians. He rendered to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's, and was lovable to everyone in the fellowship of the court.

While he abounded in many goods in the palace, he was joined in friendship to a certain most illustrious man named Arnulph. When they began to open their hearts to one another, they mutually confessed that the Lord's command, “Go and sell all that you have,” and so forth, had touched the ears of their hearts.

They therefore considered abandoning the mortal king and serving the eternal King. Accordingly, they thought of seeking the monastery of Limirense, but, because God disposed otherwise, they fulfilled their purpose differently. For blessed Arnulph, although he resisted with tears, was appointed bishop of Metz.

Romaricus, however, despised all things, granted liberty to many of his servants, and led very many with him. Under the guidance of Amatus, he sought the monastery of Luxeuil, then famous throughout the whole world. Devoutly receiving the habit of holy religion with those whom he had brought, he began to pursue humility and obedience to such a degree that, for the love of Christ, he strove to subject himself even to those by whose most dutiful service he had formerly been accustomed to be supported.

He not only showed himself to be more abject than everyone in the monastery but also believed himself to be so. He feared the reverence offered to him by others, loved secret prayers, and preceded the others to the work of God.

When the Lord had raised blessed Amatus to blessed rest, Saint Romaricus undertook the governance of the holy congregation. After this the man of God began to abound in the grace of signs, which he strove to conceal just as rich men are accustomed to hide their treasures.

When he was sometimes outside for the monastery's benefit, he often turned aside for lodging to the house of a certain man in the region of the Vosges. When he entered it according to custom on a certain day, the man's wife looked upon him and said: “O my lord, why have you come so late? Your maidservant had strong drink, which yesterday our godparents and neighbors drank when they came.”

When the man of God saw that she was anxious on his account, he said: “Do not fear, but, trusting in God, enter your chamber.” Therefore, when the holy man prayed, a certain vessel was found full of strong drink. This drink also benefited the infirmities of many.

Certain girls in the monastery were stricken with leprosy. One of them secretly took water from the bath in which the man of God had washed and poured it over her whole body. Having obtained a cure, the leprosy gradually withdrew from her.

On the Lord's Day, the Lord introduced him into the heavenly kingdoms. On that same night they suddenly saw a very dense cloud cover the whole mountain together with his cell. As the brothers sang psalms at the man of God's departure, a radiance of wondrous brilliance immediately shone forth and filled the mountain and the cell. They saw a globe of the whitest splendor ascend through the middle of the aforesaid cloud and penetrate the heavens; they understood this to be the holy man's soul.

Section XII

At the same time Saint Goericus, bishop of Metz, shone in Francia. At first, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, he was an excellent soldier from Aquitaine. Serving secular pursuits in body but not in intention, he flourished in great honor before God and men.

Although he pursued the things that belong to peace, whenever an assault of the pagans arose, he placed himself first before the battle line and, relying upon God's aid, most powerfully overcame the barbarian fury and carried back the most abundant spoils.

At length he was struck by the sudden loss of his eyes. Nevertheless, fortified on every side by the virtue of patience and giving thanks to God, he said: “As it pleased the Lord, so it has been done. Blessed be the name of the Lord.”

At that time Theodebert reigned in Gaul, and blessed Arnulph presided as pontiff in the city of Metz.

Then, while the holy man Goericus rested in the silence of night, an angel of the Lord appeared and said: “The time has come, exalted servant of God, when your grief is to be changed into joy and the light you lost is to be restored more brightly. Therefore, go to the city of Metz, devoutly enter the threshold of blessed Stephen the protomartyr, pour out prayers to God there, and hold most certain faith. Know that you will recover your sight and the health of your whole body.

“Moreover, Arnulph, who is related to you by flesh, presides there as pontiff. He will immediately foretell that you are about to be present [read: to him the Holy Spirit will foretell that you are about to arrive], and he will reveal whatever God's goodness in piety and mercy is to bestow upon you.”

Therefore, when the holy man had awakened, he summoned his soldiers and began the journey from Aquitaine to the aforesaid city. Saint Arnulph met him as he approached and, after offering holy prayer and giving a blessing, led him into the house. Through the favor of Saint Stephen, Goericus recovered his sight and bodily health.

After this, Arnulph, seeing by the spiritual perception of his mind that Goericus would be a most worthy successor to him, appointed him with the consent of the clergy and people; and he himself sought the hermitage that he had long desired.

Thus blessed Goericus, who was also called Albo, bound by pastoral care, formed others by his words and conduct. Before the episcopate he had worn away his body with the strictest fasts; it is not lawful to relate how much harsher he made the fasts, for he also passed a whole day and night in prayers and observed fasts of two and three days with joyful countenance and mind.

After the death of Saint Arnulph, when a year had been completed, Saint Goericus, to whom Arnulph himself had left the episcopate, chose solitude and diligently considered the translation of Arnulph's body to the very see over which he had presided.

After the bishops of Toul and Verdun had been summoned, the holy body was carried honorably with praises. As the sun inclined toward its setting, they encountered the estate of a wicked and incestuous man. When they desired to enter it and the bearers of the holy relics had almost gone in, they halted, fixed in place by divine power, and recognized the heavenly force upon them because they were compelled to do so.

For while blessed Arnulph still remained in life, by his pastoral authority he had often admonished the man whose estate it was to recover from his wickedness, but he had been unable to bring this about. For that reason Arnulph now disdained to enter his wicked lodging.

Because night was at hand and no other estate suitable for so great a multitude was available, Saint Goericus prayed to God to provide them a lodging for rest. A certain wise and rich man who was taking part in this journey came forward and said: “I have an estate in this country, although it is not sufficiently near to you. But I know that your God is present for every necessity; he can both shorten the long journey and bring us swiftly to the place toward which we are going.”

Hearing this, the saint, filled with faith and joy, ordered the holy body to be turned in that direction and everyone to follow. One could perceive so great a swiftness in their going that one would think them not to be running but flying like birds. One would believe that the journey could scarcely be completed in the space of one whole day, and would marvel that it was accomplished in two or three hours.

When they had come to the estate, because that country was not productive of wine, the man learned from the report of his servants that he had little beer. But, filled with faith once more, he committed himself to the merits and prayers of Saint Goericus. Goericus sought the accustomed aids and asked God to provide for their necessities. From the small quantity of drink, so great a multitude of people was most abundantly satisfied, a thing scarcely credible.

Section XIII

The aforesaid Saint Arnulph, who from being mayor of the household of Francia was made bishop of Metz, after he abandoned the world and, leaving the episcopate, became a solitary, migrated to the Lord in the twenty-eighth year of Heraclius.

As Peter Damian says, he was the father of Pippin and the grandfather of Charlemagne. He held a duchy in Lotharingia not far from Flanders.

When, setting aside affection for his wife and sons, he sought the hermitage, it happened that he made his crossing by the river Moselle. Coming to the middle of its bridge, where the river was deeper, he cast his ring beneath it upon this condition of a covenant: “When I recover this ring,” he said, “then I shall trust without doubt that I have been absolved from the bonds of my sins.”

When this had been done, he sought the hermitage, where for no short time he lived to God, dead to the world. Meanwhile, when the bishop of Metz died, he was elected.

Because he abstained from the use of meat, as he had been accustomed to do in the hermitage, a fish was presented to him. When the cook gutted it, he found the ring and joyfully offered it to his lord. Arnulph recognized it immediately. The journey from the bridge at which the ring had been cast to the place where it was presented was two days.

When, therefore, he recognized the ring, now giving thanks to God in faith for the release of his sins, he thereafter conducted his life better and constrained himself still more by fasts, vigils, and prayers. That ring is still kept in the palace.

In these things God can be wondered at and magnificently praised: how, by a present effect, the holy man merited to be certified concerning the remission of his sins while he was still subject to vicissitudes. This doubtless would not have happened unless he had been most worthy before God.

Immediately after he undertook the episcopate, so great and so profuse a munificence in alms to the poor increased in him that, because his fame traveled even from distant regions and cities, an innumerable throng of the poor hastened to Saint Arnulph to be refreshed.

He was continually solicitous and intent upon every good work, and most devoutly kept watch especially in the reception of monks or pilgrims. He washed with his own hands the feet of those whom he had received as guests; and, after clothing and refreshing them, he conducted them away and immediately received others to be refreshed.

Moreover, who can relate the rule of his abstinence, especially since sometimes, after fasts of three and four days, he sustained himself on barley bread or a cup of water? He continually wore a hair-shirt secretly beneath his garments, and thus inflicted a double torment upon his limbs already exhausted by vigils and fasts.

While he continually kept watch in these good works, at the time when the universal Church is accustomed to observe the fast of three days, the holy man went out from the church beyond the city with crosses and a mixed multitude of people to pray according to custom. Behold, in the midst of the crowds a woman seized by a demon began to cry out. When he saw her, he set the standard of the cross against her and immediately healed her, rescued from the adversary.

In the times of King Dagobert, when Arnulph was in the palace, a certain leper began to cry out to him, demanding food or clothing. Arnulph ordered him to be led immediately into the lodging. While he bestowed his customary compassion upon him according to his custom, he wished to inquire, because the man was a barbarian, whether he had been washed with the water of sacred baptism.

The man suddenly replied: “By no means, my lord. For I am an unhappy man, rejected among the people. Who would grant me the grace of baptism?”

Therefore, when he had received the sacrament of baptism from the holy man, the leprosy suddenly departed from his body. Thereafter he who had previously been a sinner and stained was made sound in both body and soul.

A certain wicked man named Vodeo, heated with wine, dared with his accomplices to disparage the holy man, saying that he was not a worshiper of God but rather a man given to pleasure. For, as though demanding counsel, not only the king but even the queen perpetrated his bed at the hours of night [read: hastened to his bed at the hours of night].

Therefore, when Vodeo had sought a bed together with his companion in disparagement, at the Lord's command it happened that a flame surrounding their garments enclosed them. Immediately leaping up, they demanded water for the flame with loud cries. But even water thrown upon it did not extinguish the flame sent by God.

Their shirts burned wickedly around their buttocks and genitals, and they could not strip the burning garments from themselves. Why say more? Unable to do anything else, they leapt about and, crying out, rolled themselves in mud after the manner of pigs; but the fire sent against them burned their genitals more and more.

Then, I believe, there was fulfilled upon them what is written: “Him who secretly disparaged his neighbor, I persecuted.” For not much later, the aforesaid Vodeo was caught in such great transgressions that the royal sword, as was just, cut off his crimes together with his life. Lest he die alone, his son soon perished, struck by the same sentence.

When these and very many virtues began to become frequent through him among the people, Arnulph immediately sought places more distant from the tumult of the crowd. For some time he used a cell not very far from the city, striking heaven with prayers by day and night.

It happened by chance that a devouring fire assailed the king's storeroom. Belching forth, the most towering flame threateningly licked the adjoining houses all around. The whole city suddenly arose and, seeing its own destruction, was turned to wailing and clamor.

When we heard this, we went with swift step to the holy man's house and found him sounding forth the melody of psalmody, as was his custom. Romaricus immediately took him by the hand and said: “Come out, lest, which God forbid, this fire consume you in this city.”

But he said: “By no means, most beloved. Rather, lead me there and place me near it. If God thus wills that I should burn, behold, I am in his hand.”

Then, holding his holy hands, we came to the fire. At his command, after we had prostrated ourselves in prayer and a chapter had been recited, we all arose. Raising his hands against the immense flames, he set against them the standard of the cross. Immediately, in a wondrous manner, as though struck from heaven and doing harm nowhere else, the whole fire turned backward upon itself and died within the walls.

Immediately a vision of this kind appeared to one of the brothers. Looking into heaven, he saw a flame of fire fashioned like the sign of a cross. At once a voice came from heaven, saying: “Do you perceive this sign? This night Bishop Arnulph, through it, freed the whole city from the fire.”

After these things blessed Arnulph, abandoning all the things of the world, hastened to the hermitage like a new Elijah. Leaving the pontificate, as was said above, and dwelling among beasts and wild animals of the forest, he sounded forth daily praises to God.

There he served in every matter the lepers and other infirm persons who came to him; and after his death he also shone through miracles. Clodulf, the son of the aforesaid Arnulph and bishop of Metz, imitated his father's holiness. Doda also, the mother of Clodulf himself, was enclosed at Trier and served Christ.

Section XIV

In the year of the Lord six hundred forty-three, and in the first year of the empire of Constantine II, son of Heraclius, Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, was killed by Penda, king of the Mercians.

As Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* after Helinand, Oswald's right hand, the dispenser of many alms, lies even today incorrupt with its arm, skin, and sinews, although his whole body was dissolved into ashes.

When rebellion had been stirred up by Penda, king of the Mercians, Oswald himself, bearing a forest of iron in his breast, entreated God for the souls of his faithful men. After his death, the arms with the hands and the head were cut off by the insatiable wrath of the victor and hung upon a stake.

The arms with the hands, which were placed at the city of Lamburch by his brother Oswin, still endure inviolate and are displayed as a miracle. His head, buried at Lindisfarne by his brother, is now said to be at Durelin between the arms of Saint Cuthbert.

Queen Ostricula, the wife of Chelred, king of the Mercians, and the daughter of King Osum, led by affection for her paternal uncle, wished to carry the remaining bones of the king's body into her monastery of Hordonium, which is in the region of the Mercians. The monks repelled her, begrudging repose to the dead man's bones because he had received rule over them by right of war. But in the depth of night, because a lamp from heaven was sent forth over the relics, they voluntarily sought what they had previously rejected.

There the turf grew green again from the blood that fell, and by it a horse was healed. A little dust from the washing of his relics heals those powerless in mind. The stake that had received his fresh blood bestowed health upon those without hope through the water with which it was washed. His son Osum reigned after him for twenty-seven years.

Sigibert. At that time Judachail, king of the Britons, purchased Dagobert's favor for himself. Reginulpha, a virgin of Christ, shone in holiness in Gaul.

Haudmar the emir built a temple for himself at Jerusalem. Because the structure could in no way remain standing, at the suggestion of the Jews he ordered the cross to be removed from above the Mount of Olives, and thus the structure of the temple was able to stand.

In the year of this Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, Dagobert, king of the Franks, died. It was revealed to someone through a vision that his soul was carried off to judgment. While many cried out against it because of the plundering of their churches, when evil angels already wished to seize it for the punishments of hell, it was freed from the punishments through the intervention of the holy martyr Dionysius, to whom Dagobert had been especially devoted.

In the following year Saint Remaclus was ordained bishop of Traiectum. Rodoald, the uterine brother [read: Modoald, the brother of Itta] and maternal uncle of Saint Gertrude, illuminated the archbishopric of Trier by his learning and holiness. His sister Severa, an abbess in the same city, did not fall away from her brother's holiness.

Around the same time, a certain Persian, pretending that he was worshiping Haumar, the emir of the Saracens, killed him with a sword thrust into his belly.

In the fifth year Saint Furceus shone in Hibernia. Undertaking pilgrimage for Christ, he came as far as Gaul and, honorably received by King Clodoveus, founded the monastery of Latiniacum. Not long afterward, his brothers Foillanus and Ulcanus followed him through Gaul with an equal resolve to make pilgrimage, and shone there.

Of these, Foillanus afterward founded the monastery of Fossae by the gift of the virgin Gertrude; there also, crowned with martyrdom, he rests.

In the following year Eligius at Novionium and Andoenus, who was also called Dado, at Rothomagus, shone as bishops; Philibert of the island of Herium, and Recharius of Portus and Geremarus of Flamacum, shone as abbots. Augaridrisina, a sacred virgin, shone near Belvacum. Augesilus also shone, to whom Begga, the sister of Grimoald, had been married.

Saint Andoenus wrote the life of blessed Eligius. Vincent sets forth at length the deeds of each of these in book twenty-four, chapter eighty-five, of the *Historical Mirror*.

Section XV

This Saint Eligius, therefore, according to Vincent in the place cited above, was born in the territory of the city of Limovica. His father was Eucherius and his mother Terrigia.

While his mother still carried him in her womb, she saw in a dream an eagle flying above her bed, calling to her three times and promising her something she did not understand. When she awoke at the eagle's cry, greatly terrified, she began to consider what the dream might be.

When she afterward came into peril in childbirth, they sent for a certain holy man so that he might come and pray for her. When he came, he said to her: “Do not fear, mother, because this boy will be holy and great in the Church.”

When Eligius was a young man, his father caused him to be instructed by goldsmiths. When he now knew that entire art, he came into Francia and joined himself to a certain goldsmith who made the king's works.

At a certain time, when the king inquired who might make for him a most beautiful saddle of gold and silver, Saint Eligius's master answered that he had found an artisan who would make for the king in the best manner whatever he wished. Receiving a great mass of gold from the king, he delivered it to Eligius.

From the same weight Eligius made two most beautiful saddles. Bringing one to the king, he retained the other with himself. When everyone marveled at the first, the king rewarded him abundantly.

Then Eligius brought forth the other and presented it to the king, saying that he had made it from the gold that remained. The king, still more astounded, asked him how he had been able to make both from the same weight. “Well done,” he said. And Eligius's fame increased in the king's court.

Blessed Eligius loved the poor to such a degree that he bestowed upon them whatever he could, even to his own nakedness. They loved and followed him to such a degree that, if anyone sought Saint Eligius, he would be directed to the house surrounded by the poor.

On a certain day, while he was giving alms with his own hand, one of them, having a contracted hand, extended the other for alms. Eligius said to him, “Extend the other.” When the man had extended it as far as he was able, Eligius began to feel it and stretch it; and thus, anointing it with oil, he healed it.

On another day, when he had bestowed all his gold and silver upon the poor, and other poor men came while he had nothing to give them, he bestowed one mark of gold that he had borrowed from a certain neighbor. Afterward, when still others came, not remembering what he had done before, he went to his purse, which he had previously searched carefully. He then found one mark of gold and, giving thanks to God, bestowed it upon the poor.

He was tall in stature, ruddy in face, beautiful in his head of hair, and curled in his locks. He had an angelic countenance and an appearance both simple and prudent.

Formerly he shone in a golden and jeweled habit, having belts adorned with gold and gems, linen garments gleaming with metal, the borders of his outer garments covered with gold, all his clothing costly, and several garments wholly of silk; to avoid ostentation, however, he wore a hair-shirt inwardly. He afterward spent all these things upon the necessities of the poor.

Thereafter he used cheap garments and was girded with a cord; very often he was even stripped for the sake of the poor. The king then gave him his own belt and garment, because he loved him as his own soul. Consequently, he had made his residence subject to Eligius. Whatever Eligius asked from him, he obtained without delay, and he spent everything upon the needy, captives, and disabled.

From the time of Queen Brunichild down to the times of Dagobert, the plague of simony flourished in Gaul. Eligius and Andoenus kept solicitous watch to remove it.

Eligius was then elected to the church of Noviomagus after Acharius, bishop of that city. Together with him, his companion Andoenus was elected to the church of Rothomagus. Eligius presided over the metropolis of Viromandensis, the former royal city of Tornacum, Noviomagus, Flanders, Gandavum, and Corturiacum.

He had an appointed place into which, on certain fixed days, he admitted the needy and disabled and devoutly served them. He washed their filthy heads and shaved their misshapen hair with his own hand, supplied drink and food to each, and sent the naked away clothed.

If others were present when these departed, he admitted them and refreshed them in like manner. If a very great crowd gathered, he sometimes did the same for them all. On each day, however, he refreshed twelve in this manner, eating with them at the proper hour, yet in such a way that he himself first poured water upon the hands of each and supplied wine and bread with his own hand.

In addition, he obtained from the king the right to take down and bury the bodies of all condemned men wherever he could find them throughout estates or cities, whether from gibbets, wheels, or nooses. From among his companions he appointed corpse-bearers who would devote themselves to this care.

Thus, when he was in the king's company in the regions of Austria at the city of Strasbourg, he found that a man had ended his life by the noose that very day. When burial was being prepared for him by his companions, Eligius approached more closely and began to feel the body from its highest parts to its lowest, stroking it.

When he perceived that the soul was present, courteously repelling from himself the glory of the deed, he said: “O what a great crime we could now have committed unless the Lord had assisted us: we would have covered this body with earth while his soul was in it.” He ordered the revived man to be clothed and allowed to rest.

When they heard this, the man's pursuers sought to put him to death again. Eligius scarcely rescued him from their hands. He withdrew himself from the man's company to avoid glory and obtained from the king a charter of security for him.

In his diocese there was a certain exceedingly infamous priest. Although Saint Eligius frequently rebuked him and invited him in every way to confession, the priest always concealed his crime.

Then Saint Eligius, seeing that he accomplished nothing, excommunicated him, so that he should by no means presume to celebrate until he publicly performed penance. The negligent priest, making little of the bishop's sentence, wished to celebrate after some days and stood at the altar; immediately he fell to the ground and expired.

Eligius performed many other miracles in his life and still performs them.

Section XVI

The same man built a monastery of the handmaids of Christ at Noviomagus. Through him the Lord revealed the body of Saint Quentin.

At Soissons he also found the holy martyrs Crispin and Crispinian. Bringing them forth from a certain crypt, he arranged them magnificently. Likewise, in the municipality of Belvacum, he found blessed Lucian, the martyr and former companion of Saint Quentin, translated him in like manner, and arranged his body. At Paris he gave sight to a blind man upon the bridge.

Again at Paris, the guardian of the church of Saint Columba reported to him that his church had been despoiled by thieves of all its ornaments during the night. Then Eligius proceeded to Saint Columba's oratory and said: “Hear, Saint Columba, what I say. My Redeemer knows that, unless you quickly bring back the ornaments stolen from this tabernacle, I shall have thorns brought and cause the door to be closed so firmly that no veneration will ever be offered to you in this place from this day forward.”

Having said this, he departed. On the following night, the guardian Mauricius arose and found all the veils restored as they had been before, down to the smallest pall.

These, moreover, are the sepulchers that he fashioned from gold, silver, and gems: those of Germanus, Severinus, Piato, Quentin, Lucian, Genovefa, Columba, Maximianus, and Julian, and especially that of blessed Martin of Tours, King Dagobert providing the expenses. He also fashioned the tomb of Saint Brictio and another in which the body of blessed Martin had formerly lain, as well as the mausoleum of blessed Dionysius the martyr in the city of Paris and, above it, a marble canopy decorated with gold and gems in wondrous workmanship.

He died in the seventieth year of his life. When, after the completion of a year, he was translated from his place, he was found so beautiful and incorrupt that he was thought always to have lived in the tomb. What is more wondrous, his beard and hair, which had been shaved at the time of his death, were seen to have grown wondrously in the tomb.

How the body of blessed Quentin was found through him will now be set forth.

A certain cleric named Maurinus was frequently accustomed to boast that he knew the martyr's location and could find it without hesitation. When, wishing to prove this to his hearers, he undertook the perilous test of his claim, he took a mattock and presumed to violate the pavement of the martyr's basilica. The mattock's handle, fixed in place, adhered to his hands. Because it could neither be released nor removed, his hands began to rot and swarm with worms. Punished by this penalty, he miserably ended his life on the following day.

From this so great a dread increased among everyone that no one thereafter, however proven his life might be, presumed to attempt a matter of this kind except Saint Eligius, bishop of Noviomagus.

This holy pontiff began to frequent the aforesaid martyr's place. Instructed by a divine revelation, he completed a three-day fast with tears and prayed attentively. In a place where there could be no suspicion that the body would be found, he began to dig with a hoe in his holy hands and, uncovering a most ancient tomb there, found the martyr's body.

When the tomb was pierced, so great an odor of paradise came forth from it with an immense light that the pontiff himself, dazed by the light's brilliance and the fragrance of the odor, was scarcely able to remain standing. For the globe of light that came forth from the mausoleum at the blow of the striker emitted so immense a brilliance that it turned that very dark night, of which half had already passed, into day throughout a very great part of the province. Consequently, many arose from their beds and hastened to servile work according to custom, as though it were day.

But as time advanced, the brightness that had shone for the sake of this sign withdrew after giving its sign. Then Saint Eligius, kissing the sacred body with tearful joy, separated for himself relics from whatever parts he wished. From these relics he also consecrated many places and, by distributing them, provided healing for various diseases.

For the healing of the sick he also removed teeth from the jaw. While he did this, a drop of blood came forth from the root of one tooth. Then, wrapping the holy body with the greatest care in cloth wholly of silk, he transferred it behind the altar and fashioned above it a tomb of silver, gold, and gems in wondrous workmanship. He also enlarged and adorned the church, which had been small.

A certain thief secretly stole a priest's horse. When found by the priest, he was reported to the judge; apprehended and bound, confessing his deed, he was condemned to the gallows.

But the priest, fearing that a man's soul might be taken away because of the loss he himself had suffered, entreated the judge to release the guilty man and grant him life. He said that satisfaction had now been made to him because, through so many kinds of torments, the thief had disclosed what he had done. The judge's severity, however, could be bent by no prayers; he sentenced the guilty man to the gallows.

Then the priest, prostrate at the blessed martyr's tomb, prayed suppliantly that the martyr would mercifully snatch from death the poor man whom the harshness of human wickedness had refused to absolve, lest it become a reproach to the priest if a man died through his accusation.

While he entreated these things with tears, the bonds of the gallows broke apart and the guilty man fell to the ground. Hearing this, the judge, terrified by fear and marveling at the divine power, presumed to harm him no further. Gregory of Tours narrates these things.

There was also a certain noble and rich man named Mulericus. Through pride and intemperance of conduct he offended God, but Saint Quentin, frequently admonishing him in dreams, rebuked his obstinacy. When he refused to heed his admonisher, Quentin afflicted him with blows on a certain night and commanded him to show the beating itself to all the people.

Then the man, although compelled, openly showed his wounds to everyone. Afterward, converted from his error, he bestowed many gifts upon that church.

Another false witness, named Bernuinus, gave false testimony concerning the property of that church of the blessed martyr, wishing entirely to take away a certain woodland from the estate of Nogaridum. The holy martyr rebuked him in dreams and, seizing his nose, proclaimed that he was a falsifier.

Awakened at this utterance, the man put on his shoes. When he was about to wash his face with water, his wife was summoned, and he began to cry out to her what he had seen in the dream. When he came to the point where the martyr himself, holding his nose, had called him a falsifier, he extended his hand and received his severed nose; it immediately fell into the vessel into which the water from his hands was flowing.

Greatly terrified, he postponed going to the palace that day concerning the aforesaid woodland. Nevertheless, not corrected by this punishment, because of the ostentation of pride he furthermore attempted to have a golden nose fashioned for himself and fitted with little golden chains.

The same saint admonished him again in a vision, saying: “Did I not remove your natural nose so that I might show everyone that you had given false testimony? And now through pride you have dared to place a golden one over it. Go now, cast it away from yourself, and strive to make known to everyone that you gave false testimony.”

Therefore, as a testimony to the judgment of faith, that nose of gold remained there for many days as a memorial for future generations.

Section XVII

Saint Andoenus, with his two brothers Ado and Rado, was offered by his mother to Saint Columbanus to be blessed. Columbanus, foreknowing the future, blessed the little children and predicted by a prophetic spirit that they would be distinguished by the virtues of the Christian religion and illustrious through the honors of the age.

Nor was this in vain. For as soon as they began to reach puberty, they were found most pleasing in every respect, first to King Lothair and then to Dagobert.

At length Ado, the firstborn, despising the world, sought the monastic life. Rado, however, was made procurator of the royal treasuries and distributed and guarded them in due order. Saint Andoenus, who was also called Dado, guarded the king's seal or ring; all the affairs of the palace were conducted at his direction.

He continually exhorted the king devoutly to worship Christ, the King of all, without whom no one reigns; to consider himself a companion rather than the lord of the subjected peoples; to spare his subjects; and to subdue the proud.

At that time Saint Eligius also shone with great virtues in the king's court. These two had one heart and one soul. From them all the chief men of the Franks took examples of the Christian religion and drew admonitions of saving doctrine. Beneath a secular habit they served the eternal King.

Thus Saint Andoenus very often outwardly used costly garments and was girded with a golden belt, while beneath he was covered with a hair-shirt. He persisted tirelessly in fasts, prayers, and divine reading; in the ministry of the poor and infirm; and in the reception of guests.

On his own patrimony he also constructed a monastery, which he devoutly filled with rich possessions, ecclesiastical ornaments, books, and various things pertaining to God's service. There he gathered a multitude of holy monks and appointed over them as abbot Saint Agilus, one of Saint Columbanus's disciples, concerning whom more appears below.

When Andoenus himself wished, after casting aside the dignities of the age, to serve God alone, the king and the chief men resisted, saying that he ought to take thought for the benefit of very many rather than satisfy only his own singular desire. Then,

by royal command and with many religious men urging it, he received the clerical tonsure at the very same time that Eligius laid aside his hair.

Meanwhile, when the bishop of Rothomagus died, Saint Andoenus was elected by everyone's consent. Although he humbly refused, he was established upon the cathedra.

Knowing also under what great danger a neophyte is ordained, he did not presume to receive holy order immediately. Rather, leaving the see, he became an exile in order to preach the word to nations situated far away.

When he found in the regions of Spain that the peoples had already labored under excessive drought—for seven years had now passed without rain—he prostrated himself in prayer. Immediately so great an abundance of rain followed that it seemed to compensate for the earlier scarcity.

Therefore, having strengthened the people of Spain in faith by word and miracle, he returned to his own region. In the region of Andegavum he encountered a certain poor man who, contrary to ecclesiastical usage, was performing servile work on the Lord's Day. The hand with which he turned a mill suddenly became withered and useless.

Falling at the holy man's knees, he lamented his misery and confessed his guilt. Andoenus impressed the sign of the cross upon his hand and commanded it to serve its former use. He admonished the man to abstain from servile works on the Lord's Days and feast days and to visit the church.

When Andoenus had therefore come to Rothomagus, on one and the same day Andoenus was ordained bishop of that city and Saint Eligius bishop of Noviomagus.

Having undertaken the episcopate, Andoenus shone through many virtues: humble in heart, grave in speech, eminent in learning, armed with devotion, wise in conversation, prudent in counsel, vehement in correction, ardent in loving, and patient in adversities.

His pale face demonstrated the rigor of his abstinence. His cheeks, moistened with tears, indicated the contrition of his heart. Iron rings pressed his milk-white neck, and iron likewise bound his belly and arms. The pile of his bed was constructed not from soft feathers or embroidered tapestries but from rough branches.

His disciples very often saw an immense light sent from heaven in his chamber. They also heard angelic voices speaking with him.

Meanwhile, a certain man abounding in riches and secular dignity, struck by God's judgment with a bitter disease, was carried away in an ecstasy of mind, now nearly dead, and contemplated many torments of infernal punishment.

He was visited by blessed Andoenus, who poured out prayer over him and restored him to his former health. Andoenus commanded him to consecrate to God the place in which he lay. Lest the admonition of so great a pontiff be in vain, Saint Eulalia admonished him again to cause a monastery to be built on that same estate where he had formerly lain, in accordance with the pontiff's command. He merited to hear that he ought still to have twenty years in this world.

At a certain time, while the holy man was illuminating his parish by preaching and was journeying through the place now called the Cross of Saint Andoenus, he sat in a cart, for, wearied by extreme old age, he could not be carried on horseback. Those animals that drew the cart suddenly halted. Although the driver struck them, he could in no way move them from the place.

Perceiving that the animals remained immovable at a divine nod, the man of God immediately turned his eyes toward heaven and beheld a standard of the cross shining with great splendor. When, by the Spirit revealing it to him, he understood that the Lord had chosen that same place for his service, he suddenly found a certain man plowing, took his goad, and marked the sign of the cross. Fixing it in the earth, and placing relics of the saints upon it, he departed.

When the sun set, a fiery column was seen throughout the whole night in that same place. Its brilliance seemed to surpass the brightness of the sun, and it was perceived by the people of the whole province.

A multitude of peoples flowed there, offering their vows to the Lord; those held by various illnesses were healed there. Therefore blessed Leufredus constructed a church there, dedicated in honor of the Holy Cross and Saint Andoenus, where a multitude of monks living according to the rule serves God to this day.

When Andoenus visited the thresholds of the apostles at Rome, he prostrated himself at every memorial of the apostles and martyrs and offered prayers both for himself and for the peace of the Church. Yet he poured forth tears more than words.

Then, when he began the verse, “The saints shall rejoice in glory,” at the confession of blessed Peter, a response was made to him by divine power: “And they shall be joyful in their beds.”

He encountered a man who had been mute for eleven years and, impressing the sign of the cross upon his head, fully restored speech to him. Thereafter, having joined peoples who had formerly disagreed in a covenant of peace, he came to the city of Virdunum.

There, as he entered the church, a certain woman vexed by an unclean spirit, gnashing her teeth, strove with swift course to attack the man of God. He gripped her head with his hand and immediately put the demon to flight.

He governed the church of Rothomagus for forty-four years and migrated to the Lord as a man of ninety years.

Section XVIII

Saint Philibert also, as Vincent writes in book twenty-four, chapter ninety-four, was a youth of good character. When he was reported to King Dagobert, he was summoned to the palace; received into the rank of the nobles, he obtained the fellowship of Andoenus. Andoenus, loving God greatly beneath a golden belt, afterward, through the resplendent merits of his life, ascended the cathedra of the church of Rothomagus.

When Philibert was twenty years old, hearing the divine commands, he chose to become Christ's disciple. Having learned of Agilus, a soldier of God who presided over the monastery of Resbacum, he came there and disposed of his hair [read: laid aside his hair, receiving the tonsure]. After distributing all his possessions in alms, he undertook Christ's sweet yoke.

While he grew there to so great a summit of religion and abstinence that he became worthy of imitation by more perfect men, the ancient enemy, envying him, began to assail his mind so that he would take more ample foods. But, by God's providence, the enemy was disclosed and shown to the man of God through a dream. For when Philibert had been refreshed with food on a certain night, the enemy began to feel his belly and say, “Now it is well here.”

Then Philibert, recognizing the enemy's darts, began to triple the rigor of his abstinence and to implore God's aid against the tyrant's weapons.

When he frequented the church every night, the savage serpent burned against him in three temptations. First, in the shape of a bear, it tried to terrify him within the church. On another night it was seen to pierce him with the iron of a candlestick. On the third night, with arms spread out, it wished to bar the church door. But Philibert expelled all its devices by divine power through the protection of the Holy Cross.

When blessed Agilus died in Christ, Philibert undertook the care of governance with the brothers' consent. He began to govern vigorously the house entrusted to him, to show partiality toward no person, and to uproot completely the vices he found.

Then certain of the brothers, taking up rebellion, presumed to drag the saint of God from the church. But the avenging hand of the Lord did not allow this to go unpunished. One of them died from a lightning strike. Another, after the manner of Arius, deposited all his intestines in a dung heap and ended an unworthy life by an unworthy death.

The others, struck by fear, sought pardon, strove to recall him, and thereafter to serve with the zeal of charity.

When God had placed in his heart the desire to build the Lord's temple from his own labor, by humble entreaty he obtained from Clodoveus, king of the Franks, and Queen Bathild a place in the district of Rothomagus called Gemeticum, where he constructed a noble monastery.

When, for the monastery's business, he wished to send a certain monk to Ebroin, prince of the Franks, he found the monk prostrate with a severe fever. He enjoined the duty of obedience upon him in the power of Christ, saying: “Go and return, and do not be feverish any longer.” Immediately made well, the monk fulfilled the commands.

At another time Philibert proceeded to Paris, compelled by the cause of discord, in order to restore peace. Having obtained what he wished, he discovered the next day that a certain thief had presumed to steal his gloves. He bore this patiently.

But that unhappy man, struck by the Lord, revealed the theft he had committed. Crying out that he was burning, he shouted and could say nothing else; with arms extended, he displayed the fold in which the theft was hidden.

After that man had been punished with death, the citizens carried the stolen objects to the holy monastery.

The grace of an abundance of tears had been granted to Philibert. It was his greatest care not to take food before the Lord visited him through the grace of compunction.

When one of the monks had come to the extremity of life, he became mute in his lips. The man of God entered his presence and began gently to urge him that, if he had some hidden crime for which he had not done penance, he should squeeze his hand. When the monk had done this, the man of God entered the church of Saint Mary and began to beseech the Lord to restore a tongue to the sick man, lest the enemy submerge his soul in the abyss on account of a concealed crime.

When Philibert arose from prayer, another brother announced to him that the sick man could speak and was striving to make his confession. This also was done. For, after making his confession and receiving penance, he delivered his soul to God.

On a certain day, while the brothers were cutting the harvest and the sheaves lay scattered through the fields, a storm suddenly thundered with a roar. But, lest the brothers lose their labors, the man of God made prayer and removed the storm.

At another time, when he turned aside with his companions into the house of a certain religious woman, he blessed wine at that lady's request. Although many drank from it, the vessel was afterward found full.

He also constructed a monastery of nuns, which was nevertheless ten miles distant from his own. At length, after enduring many labors for the Lord, he rested in peace.

Section XIX

There was also another saint named Richarius in the province of Pontina, who from being a peasant became a most renowned religious man. He fed upon barley bread mixed with ashes and upon water tempered with tears.

He warmed lepers in baths and afterward entered those baths himself. He preached in Britain.

King Dagobert, while visiting him, commended himself to his prayers. Richarius strengthened him by the blessing of his holiness and, with priestly authority, chastised him in a free voice. He warned him not to grow proud in secular power, not to place hope in fugitive riches, and not to be exalted by the vain reports of flatterers, but rather to fear the power of God, to praise his immense glory, and to reckon human power as nothing, because it suddenly vanishes like foam upon water when the wind of elation blows.

But he warned him to consider this all the more fearfully: that the powerful shall powerfully suffer torments; that from him to whom more is given, more shall be required; and that one for whom it scarcely suffices to render an account for himself alone—how shall he be able to render one for so many thousands of the people committed to him?

Having received this chastisement most benignly, as a most prudent man, and rejoicing in Richarius's free confidence in the truth, the king asked Christ's priest to come with him to the banquet. In order that he might obtain an opportunity for preaching, Richarius came to table with the king. Throughout that whole day and night, amid the banquets of gladness, he ministered to the banqueters the saving feasts of the word of God.

Thereafter the saint of God, who was venerated by men, meditated upon fleeing men. Hence he also chose a solitary place in the forest. Content with a small little hut made by the cheapest workmanship, he caused his habitation to accord with his life.

There he chastised himself by so great a mortification of the flesh that the bones, with their joints loosened, scarcely held together, and he moved his trembling steps with difficulty while a staff directed them. Greater than the world in mind, he continually considered heavenly things alone, daily conquering in the wilderness him by whom Adam was formerly conquered in paradise.

People wearied by various infirmities flowed to the man from every direction, and he consoled them with the holy medicines of prayers.

At length, knowing beforehand the day of his calling, he fortified his journey with the saving viaticum of the body and blood of Christ; amid acts of thanksgiving and words of prayer, he breathed forth his spirit.

But, wondrous to tell, during his father's funeral rites a disciple, suddenly oppressed by sleep, saw in a vision that he had been carried away into a most splendid hall, most beautiful with every adornment. There he saw blessed Richarius dwelling with a glorious and joyful countenance and saying to him: “Behold, Brother Sigobardus, what a dwelling God has prepared for me: in place of the vile one that I had on earth, a most beautiful one in heaven; in place of a contemptible one, a glorious one; in place of a most obscure one, a most luminous one; in place of a smoky one, one resplendent with every sweetness.”

Awakening more joyful, the disciple completed the work of the funeral rites.

Many miracles take place at Richarius's tomb. On a certain day, some men in bonds and chains were being led along a road that was near the church in which his body rested. As they approached, they began to cry out: “Saint Richarius, release us.” Immediately, when their bonds broke, they were released.

Section XX

Saint Augadrisma was the daughter of the illustrious Robert, who, sprung from noble stock, was the bearer of King Lothair's ring. The illustrious Siminus sought this most religious virgin from the aforesaid Robert, wishing her to be joined to his son Ausbert. When Robert gave his consent, therefore, the chaste maiden was betrothed to the chaste youth.

Then both, desiring chastely to preserve integrity of mind and body, entreated the Lord that he would deign to expel the poisons of pleasures from their hearts.

Thereafter, when the blessed virgin Augadrisma prayed that her beauty might be turned into deformity, the Lord immediately heard her prayers. For her face at once appeared so ulcerated and covered with the most unclean leprosy that whoever saw her judged that she should immediately be separated from human company.

A multitude of physicians then hurried to her; but the more insistently they applied their treatment, the more ulcerated and deformed Christ's bride appeared.

Then her father, understanding that this happened by divine action, asked her whether she had chosen to determine the course of her life by a vow of virginity. She said: “I desire it, my father, and pray for it with all my efforts. For Christ, whom I have desired as my bridegroom, inflicts this affliction of the body upon me so that he may grant brightness to my soul. This present life gives delight, pious father, but it deceives, because everything that is in the world is vanity.”

On hearing this, Robert summoned the illustrious Siminus and clearly disclosed what had happened concerning his daughter. To this Siminus replied: “One ought to follow the Lord's will in all things and not to wish in any way to oppose his nod.”

Blessed Ausbert also came when summoned. There he drew up a deed of separation, so that the holy virgin Augadrisma would be called not his bride but Christ's.

When this had been done, she was sent to the city of Rothomagus, to Bishop Andoenus, so that, after receiving his blessing and being covered with the sacred veil, she might merit to be consecrated in the profession of virginity.

When this had been accomplished, she was restored to her former beauty and graceful appearance, so that all who heard of it said that Christ had chosen her for himself as bride and handmaid.

She was then made governor of the monastery that is outside the walls of Belvacum. As she was placed over the others, so she was humbler than all: cheap in clothing, moderate in food, devoted from infancy to continual prayer, most adorned with chastity, radiant with gladness of heart and body, and most abundantly heaped with the virtue of patience, the service of charity, and distributions of alms. Adorned with these virtues, she shone like a lamp that had been kindled.

Section XXI

After these things the man of the Lord Ausbert, although brought unwillingly by his father into the king's court, began—since he was distinguished by keenness of intellect—to be a learned court scribe, a composer of royal privileges, and the bearer of the royal ring with which those same privileges were sealed.

When, in the customary manner before the king and the chief men, he heard various instruments of the musical art resounding upon strings and pipes, he said to himself: “O good Creator, what will it be for those who love you to hear in the heavens the unfailing song of the angels, if you grant even to mortals so great a skill that, by expertise in the art and by the sweetness of song, they stir the minds of their hearers?”

After these things he became a monk at Fontanella, where blessed Wandregisilus then presided, and was consecrated a priest by blessed Andoenus.

He foretold to the youth Theodoric that he would become king. As proof of this prophecy, the field in which he then stood produced green grass in the winter season, perpetually greener than the other parts of the field.

After blessed Andregisilus [read: Wandregisilus], who was abbot for nearly twenty years, Lambertus of Taverna was elected. He was afterward made bishop of Lugdunum after blessed Genesius. Blessed Ausbert was then made abbot of Fontanella. After blessed Andoenus, moreover, he was made bishop.

On a certain day, after the solemnities of the Masses had been completed, he ordered all the people of Rothomagus, both noble and ignoble, to be brought in to the anticipated banquets. When everyone had reclined in due order, the bishop sat down at the table of the poor.

The dues from public estates that, in canonical order, were customarily paid canonically to the bishop's portion, he remitted to the priests for the restoration of churches.

He gave the monks of Fontanella a privilege that they should always elect an abbot from among themselves. In that privilege, however, he bound them under the bond of excommunication if either they or their posterity departed from the Rule of Saint Benedict.

That privilege was made in the year of the Lord six hundred eighty-two, in the sixteenth year of King Theodoric and the fifth year of the episcopate of the said Ausbert, in a synod in the city of Rothomagus.

Accused before Prince Pippin, Ausbert was carried into exile at Altus Mons by that same prince's order. He bore this humbly, although no crime stood against him.

When he died and a waxed shroud was being placed upon his head, he appeared to open his eyes.

A lamp kindled before his tomb not only burned unceasingly but also overflowed, so that a vessel was placed beneath it into which its overflow might be poured back.

Section XXII

There was also in his time Saint Agilus, the son of Agnoald, a most noble man and counselor of King Sigibert. He was a boy of good disposition, whom his parents named Agilus because of the swift movements of his infancy, and they offered him to Saint Columbanus to be blessed.

After receiving his blessing, the boy was entrusted to Saint Eustasius, of whom mention was made above, a man of good religious life, to be instructed in sacred letters together with other sons of nobles who afterward became prelates in various places. Progressing from virtue to virtue, he was made abbot in the monastery of Resbacum.

Now when blessed Abbot Columbanus had been expelled from his monastery by King Theodoric through the counsel of the most wicked Queen Brunichild, and blessed Eustasius had been substituted in his place, it was decreed at that time, by the prudent consent of the brothers, that the upright Agilus should be sent to her. She had been especially hostile to blessed Columbanus because he kept women from gaining access to the monastery and had opposed her in this same matter, although she was queen.

Accordingly Agilus set out. While he was still far from the monastery, a nephew of Duke Wandelenus suddenly appeared with retainers who, under the pretext of hunting, were watching the monastery's exits after the manner of robbers.

Stretching out his arm, this man attempted to strike the most gentle man Agilus. But Agilus, fear cast aside, opposed to him the sign of the cross. Immediately the man's arm became rigid and, just as it had been extended, remained inflexible by God's power, so that no one was able to remove the sword from his fist, nor could he himself move a foot from the place.

While everyone stood astonished, that unhappy man, with head bowed, sought pardon and mercy from the holy man. Agilus made prayer; as soon as he touched the man's arm, its former strength returned. And although the sword's hilt still remained joined to the flesh of his hand, Agilus freed him even from this by prayer. The man was so greatly pierced by compunction that, abandoning the military cloak, he assumed the habit of religion.

When the fame of this miracle had filled the royal walls, Saint Agilus came and presented himself before the eyes of the king and queen. They received him with great honor. Both the king and the queen, pierced by compunction and prostrate at his feet, sought forgiveness for the rashness and the trouble they had inflicted upon the holy men.

After these things Lothair, raised to the throne of three kingdoms, decreed by synodal determination that learned men should be sent to recall the neighboring nations from error. From the assembly of many bishops and priests, therefore, the most prudent Agilus and Abbot Eustasius together were chosen for the aforesaid work. Going forth, they converted many to the faith of Christ.

On this very journey Saint Agilus shone through miracles. He healed a demoniac woman by a word and healed the virgin Sadaberga, of whom mention was made above, when she had been deprived of sight. He himself also, seized by a most violent fever, was freed in an angelic vision.

On a certain day, while the saint was traversing the boundaries of the wilderness, they came to a certain place beside a torrent. There the saint and his companions rested beneath the shade of an apple tree. When he had prayed there for a long time, he saw in the air a splendid cloud, flashing with rays and displaying the figure of a cross.

From its brightness so great a continuous light flashed for three days and nights that one could see everything there clearly, as at midday. For three days dew was also seen there in the form of a cross from morning until evening. From this it was revealed that a monastery was to be constructed there. When it had been built with the king's consent, the aforesaid Agilus was made abbot there.

On a certain evening, while he was going around the monastery's workshops and proceeding toward the guest-house that Saint Andoenus had established there by his ordinance, he heard at the monastery's gate a faint voice, as of a man lamenting.

Opening the window that was attached to the gate, he saw before the doors a poor man full of ulcers who asked to be received into the guest-house. Saint Agilus turned to his companion, Brother Brandolinus, and said: “Behold how, occupied with other useful affairs, we have neglected things of such importance. Go, therefore, more swiftly, and prepare refreshment for him.”

When Brandolinus had gone away, Agilus himself opened the door and said to the poor man: “Come, brother. Behold, we shall do for you what is fitting.”

When the man answered that he could not walk because of the pain of his ulcers, Agilus placed him upon his own shoulders and carried him into the house without feeling any weight. He placed him upon a seat beside the fire, for it was winter. Taking a pitcher and linen so that he might pour water upon the man's hands, he saw him suddenly disappear.

A great fragrance of pleasant odor filled that same house as though with perfumes.

The devil, envying this hospitality, came to him after Matins while he was praying according to custom, in the form of an enormous dragon, raising its head and emitting venom against him. But Agilus, fortifying himself with the shield of the cross, dispersed all these things.

At length, when he was ninety-eight years old and was beseeching the Lord to lead him out of the sojourn of this misery and perpetually guard the flock committed to him, a glorious young man appeared to him when his prayer was completed and said: “My dear Agilus, when two years have been completed, I shall receive you. Do what you are doing, and I shall not abandon you, but shall be with you.”

Accordingly, afterward completing his hundredth year, he happily migrated to Christ. At his passing, voices were heard of a choir of virgins singing: “Today Saint Agilus proceeds with the highest praises to his reward. He is exceedingly happy, because he preserved chastity, and as a hundred-year-old virgin he ascends to heaven.”

At his burial, some sick persons were healed.

In the place cited above, the same Vincent also narrates concerning a certain saint named Videbotus. While he was living alone in a certain cell with his disciple Miriuarus, and while he was praying in the church that stood beside his cell, a poor man at the door asked that alms be given to him.

When the man of God heard this, he commanded his disciple Miriuarus to cut into two parts the one loaf that alone remained to them for sustenance and to give half to the poor man.

When this had been done, another poor man came a little afterward, likewise seeking alms. The holy man commanded another quarter of the bread to be given to him.

A third poor man arrived, and he commanded a third part to be given to him. The disciple bore this resentfully and said: “Do you not wish at least half a loaf to be preserved for us?”

“Do not,” the saint said, “be anxious about food and drink, but remember the Lord's promise, which says, ‘Give, and it shall be given to you.’”

The poor man had scarcely departed from there when a fourth poor man arrived. The saint ordered the remainder of the bread to be given to him. When the disciple again murmured, he strengthened him in faith. He had scarcely finished his speech of exhortation when, behold, four little boats—according to the number of the poor men among whom he had divided all his sustenance—were sent to him, full of food and drink.

He shone through many miracles. When, after his death, his body had remained incorrupt for a long time, a certain man, insolently wishing to investigate whether it was true that his body was whole, caused the tomb to be opened by force.

When he had looked upon it without any reverence, he suddenly cried out in terror, “Ah, Saint Videbotus!” Immediately he became both mute and deaf and was weakened in his whole body. He remained so until the end of his life.

Section XXIII

Concerning Saint Forseus.

This saint was noble by birth but nobler in faith. Entrusted from infancy to priests through divine grace and instructed in sacred letters and monastic disciplines, he sowed the saving seeds of the sacred word among his relatives.

On a certain day, seized by the affliction of sickness, he moved to his paternal home. While he had begun the evening psalmody and was intent upon prayer not far from the house, he suddenly stood surrounded by darkness and, as though already dead, was carried to the nearest house.

Then he beheld four hands stretched down above him. They held him by the arms, raised him with their wings, and supported him on either side. He himself perceived the angelic bodies as though through a mist. He also saw a third angel, armed with a white shield and sword, going before him.

These three, shining with equal splendor, sang as one of them began: “The saints shall go from virtue to virtue; the God of gods shall be seen in Zion.”

He also heard another, unknown song of many thousands of angels, of which he could understand scarcely a few words, including these: “And they went forth to meet Christ.”

Then one from the heavenly hosts commanded the armed angel who went before him to return the soul to the body. The holy man, recognizing that he had been stripped from the body and being afflicted with aversion to separation from the angelic fellowship, said that he did not wish to be separated from them.

The angel answered him: “When your care has been completed, we shall return to take you up.”

Then they sang this half of the verse: “The God of gods shall be seen in Zion.” Gladdened by the sweetness of that song, his soul was unable to understand how it entered the body.

Then, around cockcrow, he heard the words of those who stood around him in amazement and said to them: “Why do you, standing astonished, utter troubled sounds?”

They related the sequence to him: how, from his passing that evening until cockcrow, they had kept his lifeless body in their midst.

He sat up, turning over in his mind the angelic brightness and sweetness. Reflecting upon the nature of the care about which he had been admonished, he was sorrowful because there was no one who might explain it clearly to him, and he feared lest the returning angels find him unprepared.

He sought and received communion of the sacred body and blood, and he lived in sickness on that day and the next. At midnight on Tuesday, however, his feet having been stiffened by cold and his hands extended in prayer, he recalled the most joyful vision and received death with gladness.

He saw two angels coming to him and carrying away his soul. He also beheld a third angel, armed with a white shield and flashing sword, going before him.

Then he heard demons crying out: “Let us advance and stir up battles before his face.”

When they had advanced, they hurled unknown missiles against him. The angel who went before him received them upon his shield and immediately extinguished them.

Then the demons, setting themselves against the angels, said: “He often spoke idle words, and therefore he ought not to enjoy the blessed life unharmed.”

The angels said to them: “Unless you bring forth principal vices against him, he shall not perish on account of the least ones.”

Then the devil said: “Just as he received evil from customary practice, so let him receive vengeance from the judge above.”

The holy angel said: “Let us be judged before God.” As the adversaries battled, they were crushed.

The devil said: “The servant who knows the will of his lord and does not do it shall be beaten with many blows.”

The angel answered him: “What did this man know concerning the will of his Lord and not do?”

The devil said: “He received the gifts of the wicked.”

The angel said: “He believed that each one had done penance.”

The devil said: “At times he ought to have proved the perseverance of their penance and whether they bore fruits.”

The angel said: “Let us be judged before God.” But the demon succumbed.

A third time the devil arose to fight against him. He said: “Until now we believed God to be truthful, who promised that he would eternally punish every offense that is not purged on earth. This man, therefore, once received a garment from a usurer and was not punished for it. Where, then, is the justice of God?”

The angel said to him: “Be silent, because you are ignorant of God's hidden judgments. As long as repentance is hoped for, divine mercy accompanies a man.”

The demon answered: “But here there is no place for repentance.”

The angel said to him: “You are ignorant of the depth of God's judgments.”

Then the devil struck him so severely that, after he was afterward restored to life, he always retained the mark of the blow. With God permitting it, he received this blow for having accepted that garment.

Another demon said: “There still remains that narrow gate at which we shall be able to overcome him, namely that commandment: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’”

The angel said to him: “This man assuredly performed good works toward his neighbors.”

The adversary answered: “This does not suffice unless he also loves himself.”

The angel said to him: “The fruit of love is to do good, because God shall render to each one according to his works.”

The demon said: “But because he did not fulfill the word concerning the love of God, he shall be damned.”

When the wicked crowd had fought against him, the holy angels were at length the victors.

Again the demon said: “If God is not unjust, and if the transgression of his word displeases him, this man shall not be free from punishments. He promised to renounce the world and its pomps, and, on the contrary, he loved the world, against that which is written: ‘Do not love the world, nor the things that are in the world.’”

The angels said to him: “He did not love the things that are of the world for himself, but loved them in order to distribute them to needy men.”

The devil said: “In whatever manner they are loved, it is contrary to the divine commandment.” In this accusation the adversaries were defeated.

Again the devil turned to crafty accusations, saying: “It is written, ‘If you do not announce his iniquity to the wicked man, I shall require his blood from your hand.’ This man did not duly proclaim penance to sinners.”

The holy angel answered: “When hearers despise the word, even the teacher's tongue is impeded when he sees that the preaching which was heard is held in contempt. Hence it belongs to a prudent man to know how to be silent when it is not the proper time.”

Thus there was a battle against every contradiction of the demons until, with the Lord as judge, the angels triumphed and the adversaries were defeated. The holy man was then surrounded by an immense brightness.

One of the angels, as Bede attests, said to him: “Look upon the world.” Looking, he saw a dark valley and four fires in the air, separated from one another by certain spaces.

The angel said: “These are the four fires that set the world ablaze. One is the fire of falsehood, when men do not fulfill what they promised in baptism, namely to renounce the devil and his pomps. The second is the fire of covetousness, when they place the riches of the world before the love of God. The third is the fire of dissension, when they do not fear to offend the minds of their neighbors over superfluous matters. The fourth is the fire of impiety, when they reckon as nothing the despoiling of the weaker and the committing of fraud against them.”

Then those fires approached, were brought together into one, and drew near to him. Being afraid, he said to the angel: “Lord, the fire draws near to me.”

The angel said to him: “What you did not kindle shall not burn within you. This fire examines each person according to the merits of men. For, just as the body burns through unlawful pleasures, so also shall it blaze through the punishment that is its due.”

He also saw choirs of angels holding together [read: amid choirs of holy angels singing]: “No labor should seem hard, nor any time long, through which the glory of eternity is acquired.”

Instructed by these and other words, he stood above the roof of the church among the holy angels. While he considered his own body, he was commanded to recognize and resume it.

Because he feared it as though it were an unknown corpse and was unwilling to approach, the angel said: “Do not fear to receive this body. Although it is feeble, you shall carry it without any resistance from infirmity or vices. For in this tribulation you have overcome unlawful desires, so that your former urges may not prevail against you.”

Then he saw the body opened at the breast and entered it. As though from the profound repose of death, therefore, he arose in the presence of a multitude of relatives, neighbors, and clerics, groaning over the magnitude of human foolishness and marveling at the arduous and difficult passage.

In a wondrous manner, his flesh displayed the burning that the soul alone had endured, namely upon the shoulders and face because of the garment that he had received from that usurer, concerning whom mention was made above.

Going forth from there, he preached the word of the Lord and announced to all the peoples of the Goths those things that he had seen and heard.

When, illustrious through divine powers and instructed again by the holy angel concerning those things that are suitable for the work of preaching, he had preached for a long time, he was unable to endure the multitude of the peoples rushing upon him. Perceiving also that certain men had been moved against him by envy, he departed.

He crossed foreign shores through Britain into Saxony. There he was received honorably by King Sigibert and hastened to construct a monastery in the place delivered to him by the king.

When this had been done, desiring to estrange himself from every care of the world and of the monastery itself, he left its care to his brother Foillanus and himself sought the wilderness, where he pursued wisdom with his other brother Ulcanus.

When, because certain circumstances arose, he had been summoned—indeed, compelled—by the people or the king to give counsel, he left the wilderness he desired for himself. Treating all matters with a vigilant mind, he sailed to the shores of Gaul.

There he was received honorably by Clodoveus, king of the Franks, and constructed a monastery in the place called Latiniacum.

Not long afterward, when the brothers had been set in order, he was seized by illness while journeying with the king and migrated to the heavenly kingdoms.

After four years, however, his immaculate body, without any decay, was translated by the reverend bishops Eligius and Ausbert.

His feast is celebrated on the fourth day before the Nones of March. Some say that this legend of Forseus was written by the venerable Bede.

Section XXIV

Saint Andomarus was born of noble and religious parents. As Vincent relates in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, from the accounts of his deeds, he was born in the Golden Valley, not far from the city of Constantia.

Religiously educated from his cradle, when his mother died, he and his father Fruilphus—different in age but alike in mind—left all things for Christ and proceeded together to the monastery of Luxovium, founded by blessed Columbanus in Burgundy.

There, under Abbot Eustasius, they devoted themselves to the sacred rule. Fruilphus persevered there laudably until the end of his life.

Thereafter, when Andomarus's fame had become widely known, he was called to episcopal honor to govern and teach the people of the city of Toruanum, and he received it with great humility of mind.

In this rank, sowing the word of God, curing the sicknesses of souls and bodies, and applying himself to works of mercy, he duly governed the people entrusted to him.

He again illuminated with the light of the Gospel those very people of Toruanum who had returned to idolatry after Christianity, and he entirely overthrew the worship of idols there.

When, on a certain night, he was beseeching the Lord according to his custom, the devil sent into him so inflammatory a temptation of the flesh that he did not remember ever having experienced its like. Calling to mind the example of blessed Benedict, he went outside stripped of every garment and immediately cast himself into the stings of nettles and thorns.

Having rolled there for a long time, he came out wounded in his whole body. When he burned painfully enough outwardly, he extinguished that which was burning unlawfully within.

Likewise, while proceeding to visit the places neighboring the city, he lay beneath a certain tree at one place, wishing to rest at midday. When he arose there from sleep, he fixed in that same tree a cross of the Lord fashioned from pieces of wood.

On the following night many lights appeared there. From that time Christ healed many infirmities there for the sake of his soldier, and displayed innumerable miracles there to increase the accumulation of his merits.

For very many years before his death he lost the light of his eyes. Thus, blind outwardly but illuminated inwardly, he beheld God as a true Israelite.

As was said above, when the body of Saint Vedastus was translated together with many bishops, among whom Andomarus himself was one, he, though blind, was illuminated by the merits of that saint.

Bearing this reluctantly, he asked to be returned to his former blindness for a greater exercise of his patience. This also was done.

When he recognized that his death was imminent, on that final day he arose from the bed upon which he lay seized by fever. Entering the church, he prayed at length with tears.

After delivering a divine exhortation to the clergy and people, he returned to his bed. Stretched out in his whole body after the customary manner of the dead, amid words of thanksgiving and divine praise, he breathed forth his spirit with joy and a glorious countenance.

Those who were present testified that at the passing of his holy soul so great a fragrance of odor was diffused through that house that the house seemed to have been filled with every perfume.

After his death, oil was seen by God's power to drip wondrously from the lamps hanging at his tomb. Through him the Lord also deigned to display many healings and other miracles there.

A certain wicked man had borrowed a silver solidus from his co-sponsor. Afterward, breaking faith, he denied with an oath that he had received the said money from him.

Then the man who had lent it said: “Swear to me upon the body of Andomarus, through his powers and merits, that you did not receive from me that which I require from you; and I shall acquiesce in your denial of the matter.”

When the other man raised his hands to swear with an audacious heart, divine vengeance followed immediately. For, in the place where he stood, both his eyes burst in a single moment; afterward, on the third day, he died a most miserable death.

When a certain shepherd entered during the vintage into a vineyard bestowed upon the glorious man and secretly filled the fold of his garment, he returned to his companions with the plunder.

His companions asked him to share with them some of the stolen grapes. When he put his right hand into the fold to supply them, both hands adhered so immovably that neither could his left hand, with which the fold was held enclosed, be withdrawn, nor could his right hand, thrust into the fold, be brought back out. His mouth also twisted backward, and he lost the use of his tongue.

At length his master, having compassion upon him, proceeded with him to the church while all who saw them stood astonished. Prostrate in prayer with tears, they obtained from the saint the grace of his former health.

Section XXV

Saint Praeiectus, bishop of the people of Arverna and illustrious martyr.

While he was still in his mother's womb, his mother saw in a dream that a son reddened with blood came forth through her side. When the mother told this to a certain servant of God, he disclosed to her that this boy would obtain the palm of martyrdom.

When the boy was born in the city of Arverna, he was instructed in letters. Because he was gracious in all things, he was entrusted to the archdeacon of the city to be raised.

Intent upon every virtue, when many poor people came to him on a certain day and sought alms, he learned through his servant that he possessed no more than two denarii. When he ordered the purse to be brought and invoked the Lord, as much money was found in it as the crowd of poor people standing before the doors required.

On a certain Easter day, while he sat at table with others, three among them abstained from meat. When the others mocked them, Saint Praeiectus admonished the mockers not to rebuke by ridicule those whom they ought to venerate.

But when they did not desist, the pavement of the upper room fell with the mockers. Praeiectus alone, remaining with those who abstained, remained at the table.

When, therefore, the blessed bishop of the city migrated to the Lord and the clergy and people chose Praeiectus, a certain archdeacon of the city usurped the episcopate for himself through payment. But he did not live beyond the limit of forty days.

When they wished, therefore, to elect another illustrious man, he resisted the election with all his ability and gave counsel and admonition that they should raise Praeiectus to the cathedra.

Praeiectus, therefore, having been elected, excelled in holiness and grace in all things.

At a certain time, when he wished to approach the king of Francia, he passed through a certain abbey where Saint Marinus was gravely ill. He immediately healed him by his prayer.

He then approached the king and obtained what he desired. When Praeiectus was returning, Abbot Marinus followed him, so that, just as they loved one another, they might together consummate martyrdom.

While they were praying together in a certain place, the chief men of the city who were pursuing them suddenly rushed upon them. After beheading Saint Marinus, they believed that they had killed Saint Praeiectus and began to return to their companions.

Saint Praeiectus called to them from the place in which he was praying, saying: “Behold, I am the one whom you seek. Do what you desire.”

Then one of them struck him in the breast with a sword. While Praeiectus still lived and prayed for his killer, the man struck his head with the sword and cast out his brain.

Certain men who had consented to the death, standing nearby, saw three stars shining above the house in which those saints lay slain together with one of their attendants.

Radebertus, who killed the saint, not long afterward expired while still alive, consumed by worms.

Another man, while hunting on a certain day, fell from his horse. His right arm was broken, and he incurred weakness in his other limbs.

When he could be cured by no medicine, he returned to himself and went with his wife to Saint Praeiectus. Seeking pardon, he repeatedly anointed himself at the saint's tomb with oil from the lamp.

Thus quickly healed, he presented to the holy martyr's church a certain silver vessel worth ten marks. When the others learned this, they likewise repented and offered a great quantity of gold and silver.

At the same time, as Sigebertus narrates, in the territory of Cameracum the virgin of God Maxcleudis, fleeing her lover Harduinus because of her vow of virginity, was martyred by him. He was immediately blinded and, after three years, was given sight by her.

Around the same time in Francia there were Saint Viuardus, archbishop of Remi, and Reolus his successor. There was also Bertharius the martyr, who was the first abbot of the monastery of Antillare, as Sigebertus notes.

As Vincent relates in the place cited above, this Bertharius, instructed in conduct and wisdom under the aforesaid Viuardus, pontiff of Remi, sought the monastery of Luxovium. There, under blessed Abbot Eustasius, he laudably led the monastic life. Afterward he was abbot of another place, namely the monastery of Antillare.

While this Saint Bertharius was ordering very many matters, he by chance decided that his godson Daguinus, whom he had raised from the sacred font and had determined should become a monk, ought to be struck with the rod of rebuke, as his faults required.

Daguinus, given over by his own desert to Satan with Judas, indignantly bore his father's rebuke. When the weary Bertharius reclined upon his little bed and gave his limbs to sleep, that same son of Satan rushed upon him and attacked him with a mortal wound.

Seizing the iron weapon with which he had struck him, Daguinus cast it into the fishpond that was within the monastery, as quickly as he could, so that it might be hidden. He then saw the liquid shrink from receiving the iron into itself, as though it were aware of so great a crime, and became terrified. For as soon as the weapon touched the water, it floated upon the waters like a feather of the lightest material.

The murderer himself, having become mad, sought the church and began to strike the signal with bloody hands.

The brothers arose in wonder at the unaccustomed hour. Hearing that the holy man had been killed, they ran as quickly as possible to his bed and found breath still in him.

They seized Daguinus and brought him before Bertharius, wishing to know what he judged concerning so great a crime that had been lost [read: so great a crime that had been committed].

But Bertharius, not unmindful of the Lord's commandment, said: “Strive, brother, to make God favorable to you; for, as far as concerns me, I release you free from every act of impiety against me.”

For a long time afterward, oil was seen to well forth and flow from his tomb, bringing health to all who were beset by disease.

Section XXVI

In the second year of Constantine the emperor, grandson of Heraclius, Amatus, bishop of Senomanum, as Sigebertus says, was long afflicted by Theodoric, king of Francia, with a grave and irrevocable exile.

In the fifth year of Constantine, Theodore, having held a synod in England, established many things useful to the Church.

He wrote a penitential book, distinguishing with wondrous and careful discretion the manner of individual faults in the penances to be imposed and the length of time for them.

For example, in distinction twenty-seven Theodore says: “If a man who has a vow of virginity is joined to a wife, he afterward does not dismiss the wife [read: let him not afterward dismiss the wife], but let him do penance for three years.”

The same Theodore says in cause twenty-two, question five: “If anyone, compelled for the redemption of his life or for any cause or necessity, swears falsely, because he loved the body more than the soul, let him do penance for three forty-day periods. Others adjudge three years, and one of these upon bread and water.”

Other similar things are found in various places. But it must certainly be held that, in offenses of this kind and in others, penances in the forum of conscience are discretionary according to all the authorities.

Around those times, as Sigebertus says, a rainbow appeared in the sky in the month of March, and all flesh was afraid, so that everyone said that the consummation of the age had come.

Childeric, king in Gaul, by the levity of his conduct kindled against himself the hatred of the Franks. Saint Leodegarius, bishop of Augustodunum, was shut up by him at Luxovium.

In Italy there were such rains and thunders as no age of men remembers, so that even men and livestock perished by lightning. Unless the Lord had been rendered favorable through the litanies that were performed daily, men would not have been able to thresh or to store grain in granaries. Indeed, the rains were so great that legumes sprang up anew from those same rains and came to maturity.

Lodilo the Frank, whom Hylderic had ordered to be beaten while bound to a stake, caught Hylderic while he was hunting and killed him together with his pregnant wife Blitild, and restored Theodoric to the kingdom.

In the sixteenth year of the empire of the aforesaid Constantine, King Theodoric received the most wicked man Ebroin back into favor. At his counsel he assembled a synod of bishops and, in it, deprived many of them of their episcopates according to Ebroin's judgment. He condemned some of them to irrevocable exile.

Under this stormy tumult of domestic persecution, Saint Lambertus also, removed from the episcopate of Traiectum, sought the harbor of monastic quiet in the monastery of Stabula. He dwelt there for seven years.

At the same time Saint Leodegarius, after being tormented for a long time by Ebroin, after hunger and the filth of prison, after the plucking out of his eyes, after the cutting of the soles of his feet, and after the excision of his tongue and lips, at length consummated his martyrdom by the cutting off of his head. These things are from Sigebertus.

Section XXVII

Vincent, however, sets forth the history of this Leodegarius more fully from the accounts of his deeds in book twenty-four, chapter one hundred twenty-four, of the *Historical Mirror*.

He was once commended by most noble and religious parents to King Clothar. He was instructed by Dido, his maternal uncle and bishop of Pictavum, and was made archdeacon.

He shone with so great a grace of every virtue that, adorning the nobility of his birth with a greater nobility of conduct, he also governed most vigorously a certain abbey of monks at the bishop's entreaties.

After these things, when Clothar died and his younger son Clothar succeeded to the kingdom, because the young king's judgment seemed less than sufficient for ruling, Leodegarius was compelled by the king himself, his chief men, and many bishops to remain in the palace for the counsel and providence of the kingdom.

There he had so great a solicitude for piety according to God that he merited to be promoted as pontiff of the church of Edua.

After ten years of his episcopate, when the younger Lothair died, the holy man was more gravely burdened with affairs. By the will of God and of the venerable chief men who conducted the matter together with the prelate, he made Childeric, the brother of King Clothar and a very suitable youth, king.

But Ebroin, great among the chief men of the kingdom, strove to place over the kingdom Theodoric, the full brother of Childeric himself. He did this not for the good of the kingdom, but because, cast out from power and hateful to everyone, he feared the wrath of the king and the chief men.

Frustrated, therefore, of his hope, Ebroin, from fear of death, sought from the king that, after leaving the world, he might remain in a monastery.

When the king granted this and kept his brother Theodoric in free custody lest he contrive anything against the kingdom, the commonwealth enjoyed so great a peace that all Francia rejoiced together in the bishop's holiness and the king's diligence.

But after one year the devil stirred up a whirlwind of adversity. At the suggestions of wicked men, the king was corrupted from great love for the man into great hatred against him. He assailed him with so concealed a hatred that he inquired most attentively into the opportunity and manner of his death.

But the bishop, bearing this gently and embracing all his enemies as friends, obtained from the king that he might celebrate Easter Day in the city over which he presided.

Behold, on that very day it was announced to him that the king had considered his death during the night and had decreed to accomplish it. Yet he trembled at nothing, but on that very day shared the king's table after the Lord's example.

At length he took refuge in the monastery of Luxovium, serving God. With complete charity he also served Ebroin, who was hiding there in the monastic habit.

Without delay, when the king had died and Theodoric reigned, the joyful citizens approached their bishop with many tears, beseeching him to return to his church, which had now long been left destitute.

Compelled, therefore, by the desire of his citizens and the abbot's command, he returned with honor to his see.

Immediately Ebroin apostatized and obtained from the king the dignity of seneschal. He who had formerly been evil to everyone afterward became worse. With his whole zeal he desired to kill blessed Leodegarius.

He therefore sent soldiers to drag him away from the city. When the man of God learned this, he admonished the people among whom he was then preaching not to be afraid.

Immediately he went forth from the city in pontifical attire and, surrounded by a procession of people weeping, was captured by the soldiers. Because they had not yet been commanded to kill him, they gouged out his eyes and confined him in a certain abbey until the command of the apostate Ebroin.

After two years Saint Leodegarius and his brother Garinus, whom Ebroin had exiled with many others, were brought to the king's palace. When Leodegarius answered Ebroin's mockeries with words of temperance and justice, that perfidious man ordered Garinus to be crushed with stones and the holy bishop to be led for the whole day with bare feet through a certain river that flowed over exceedingly sharp stones.

Hearing that the holy man praised God amid so great a torment, Ebroin caused his tongue to be cut out together with his lips and delivered him to a certain guard so that he might reserve him for new torments.

But the guard, unwilling to treat him indecently, placed him in a certain monastery of holy nuns. After remaining there a little while, Leodegarius recovered the office of teaching and preaching.

Meanwhile King Theodoric convened a council with Ebroin. In it, by God's judgment, those who had presumed to lay a hand upon the bishop first received this: one of them was exiled and at length beheaded; the other, to whom Ebroin had given a pontificate on account of this deed, was convicted of crime, scourged before everyone, and hanged himself with a noose.

After these things Leodegarius was ordered to be summoned. Lest he appear among the bishops, he was detained outside the council. But when, being questioned there concerning future things, he answered truthfully, he foretold concerning both himself and Ebroin when and how each would end this life.

Then Ebroin, seeing him glory in his own martyrdom and in Ebroin's eternal punishment, went forth from the council confounded and commanded a certain soldier to guard the bishop in the meantime.

While the soldier was leading him to his home, which was far away, one of the companions gave a drink to the thirsty bishop. Immediately an immense light in the form of a crown surrounded his head.

When many saw that it had come from heaven, they asked the bishop himself what this was. But, prostrating himself in thanksgiving, after prayer he raised his guides unharmed, who had collapsed half dead from fear, and obtained that they should thereafter conduct themselves religiously.

When Ebroin heard this, he sent four executioners and commanded that Leodegarius be beheaded.

When they had brought him out of custody and led him into the hidden places of the forests, he said: “There is no need, brothers, to be wearied any longer. Fulfill here the desire of the one who sent you.”

At these words three of them, divinely corrected, prostrated themselves and sought pardon from him. The fourth, insulting him, beheaded the saint after his prayer and cast his upright body to the ground with a thrust of his foot. But a little afterward that man himself, raging, was seized by a demon and cast into the fire; thus he ended as he had deserved.

Two years after the saint's passion, Ebroin heard that he was being made illustrious by many miracles. Tormented by envy, he sent a soldier there to report to him the certainty of this matter.

But the envious and proud soldier struck the saint's tomb with his foot and said: “Let him die who believes that a dead man can work miracles.”

Immediately Ebroin was seized by a demon. Raging and wasting away with envy, he desired to extinguish the saint's fame. In those same days, just as the saint had foretold in the council, Ebroin was killed by the sword.

At length, when Leodegarius's body had been raised and was being carried to the monastery of which he had been abbot, it shone through so many and so great miracles on the way that absolutely no one approached with faith who was not immediately cured of every affliction.

Section XXVIII

Around the same time Saint Vigilius, noble by birth and illustrious in holiness, occupied the episcopate of Antisiodorum for twenty-six years.

At his own expense he built a church of blessed Mary outside the city of Antisiodorum and immediately established in it a community of monks. There he also established a hospital for the poor, which is called the House of God.

Because of his holiness, he was hateful to the enemies of justice and was killed in the forest of Scotia by Vuaracho, seneschal of the king of Francia.

This Vuaracho succeeded in the same principate Ebroin, who had caused Saint Leodegarius to be killed. Ebroin himself was seen at his death to be carried into hell by demons.

When Saint Vigilius was being carried from Compendium to his own city, he was borne through the city of Senonica. As those carrying the body passed before a certain house in which prisoners were held, their chains broke and they suddenly came forth from the prison.

Celebrating blessed Vigilius's funeral rites, they carried their chains to the church of blessed Mary that he had constructed, and committed themselves and their posterity to blessed Vigilius in perpetuity.

Hugh of Fleury says that at this time the moon suffered an eclipse during the eighth indiction. The sun also failed at about the tenth hour of the day, on the fifth day before the Nones of May.

In the same year a great pestilence followed at Rome, namely in July, August, and September.

Pavia, which is also called Ticinum, was so greatly depopulated by this pestilence that, when the citizens fled along the mountain ridges, grasses and thickets grew within the aforesaid city.

But certain men in that same city were told by revelation that the pestilence would not cease before an altar of Saint Sebastian the martyr was constructed in the basilica of blessed Peter the Apostle called Saint Peter in Chains.

Thus it was done. For relics of Saint Sebastian the martyr were brought from the city of Rome, and as soon as the altar itself was established in the said church, the pestilence ceased.

At the same time there also flourished Euthbertus, the venerable archbishop of Limpharna, which is now called Londra. After eleven years his body was found incorrupt, as though he had died in that same hour, together with the garment in which it was covered, as Bede relates in his book *On Times*.

Bede also says concerning him that, made a prelate from an anchorite, he led his whole life from infancy to old age illustrious with signs of miracles.

Likewise, in the year of the Lord six hundred ninety-seven, Vuillibrordus was surnamed Clement by Pope Sergius and consecrated bishop to preach to the nations of the Frisians. By the gift of Prince Pippin, he established his episcopal see in the place called Vulthtaburch, which is now called Traiectum, as Sigebertus notes.

The same author says that Saint Kilianus, together with his disciples Colonatus and Totnanus, was secretly martyred. Gehilana, the wife of Gozbert, prince of the people of Würzburg, feared that she would be separated from her husband when Kilianus rebuked him because he had taken as his own wife the woman who had formerly been his brother's wife. Although their death lay hidden from everyone for a long time, it was made public by the confession of Gehilana and of his killers when they were seized by a demon.

Section XXIX

In the same year, as Sigebertus writes, Saint Lambertus dared to rebuke Prince Pippin because he had taken the concubine Alpiada in addition to his lawful wife Plectrude. He was martyred by Dodo, Alpiada's brother, and buried at Traiectum.

This Saint Lambertus, as Vincent relates in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror* from the accounts of his deeds, was born of noble and wealthy parents. Instructed in letters from his earliest age, he was so loved by everyone because of his holiness that he merited to be promoted as bishop of the church of Traiectum after his teacher Theodardus.

But when King Childeric, who had promoted him and, keeping him with himself, loved him above all the bishops and chief men, had been killed by wicked men, malicious men who envied Lambertus deposed him without cause, deprived him of his due honor, and established Pharamund in his place.

Lambertus entered a certain abbey with two boys and conducted himself there most excellently for seven years.

On a certain night, rising for prayer, he unintentionally made a sound upon the pavement. Hearing it, the abbot, not knowing who had done this, said: “Whoever made this sound, let him go to the cross.”

Then Saint Lambertus immediately leapt from his bed in a hair-shirt and with bare feet and ran to the cross. He stood fixed there beneath snow and ice for so long that, while the brothers warmed themselves after Matins, the abbot recognized that he was absent.

Hearing from one of the brothers that Lambertus was persisting beside the cross without shoes, the abbot remembered his order and commanded the brothers to hurry there, prostrate themselves before him, and humbly seek that he return.

Obeying their entreaties, he returned. He was received by the abbot and monks with the greatest humility. When they sought pardon, he not only granted it mercifully but also humbly preached to them concerning the good of patience.

After seven years Pharamund was expelled, and Saint Lambertus, at the entreaties of everyone and by command of King Pippin, was restored with honor to his own see.

Since he excelled, as before, in every holiness and converted many even among the gentiles by word and example, two wicked men rose up against him and began gravely to trouble him and his people. But the pontiff's friends, although already oppressed by many injuries, killed them as they deserved.

Dodo, a blood relative of those who had been killed and a household officer of King Pippin, heard of the death of his relatives and wished to avenge them upon Saint Lambertus.

Entering Leodium with an armed army, he so besieged the bishop's house that a boy from the house came outside and announced to the man of God, who had kept vigil in prayer throughout the whole night, that the house was besieged by enemies.

Trusting in the Lord that he might fight them, Lambertus seized a sword. But immediately returning to himself, he cast the sword from his hand, judging it better to conquer by standing firm and dying than to stain his consecrated hands with the blood of the wicked.

While he considered these things, many gained entry over the walls by planting their spears. But two nephews of the bishop seized clubs, struck them, and compelled them to retreat.

Then the man of God admonished his people to confess their sins and, as penance for them, patiently to bear the burning with which the enemies threatened them and the house.

Thus strengthened in the Lord, they asked Saint Lambertus to pray for them as he had begun to do. Immediately, while he lay prostrate in prayer with tears in the form of a cross, the wicked men rushed upon him and killed him with a spear directed at him.

When they had thus departed, a few of his servants who escaped conveyed his body by a hidden boat to the episcopal church. There, amid the city's great sorrow, after completing the offices they placed him quickly in a tomb because of the enemies.

Afterward the aforesaid Dodo, the killer of Saint Lambertus, as Sigebertus says, was tormented by a most grievous disease and consumed by worms. Because his stench could not be endured, he was submerged in the river Mosa.

All the accomplices in this crime were divinely punished within a year. The striker of the holy martyr met his own brother, and each was killed by the other.

Saint Cumbertus, his successor, admonished from heaven, translated Saint Lambertus's body from Traiectum to Leodium with a great glory of miracles.

In the following year Saint Oda, the wife of Bogis, duke of the Aquitanians, shone in holiness in Gaul.

Section XXX

Saint Leufredus shone around those times. As Vincent relates in the place cited above from the accounts of his deeds, he was born in the district of Ebroica of noble Christian parents. Despising the vain glory of the world, from adolescence he followed as a poor man the naked Christ.

While he dwelt in a certain cell near Ebroica, Desiderius, bishop of Ebroica, heard his fame, because many, kindled by him with the light of truth, followed the apostolic life.

Overcome by the zeal of envy because Leufredus had presumed to do such things in his diocese, the bishop on a certain day mounted his horse, took his officials with him, and proceeded to the man of God's cell. He exasperated him with the injury of words.

But when Leufredus remained immovable at these things, the bishop, still more agitated by fury, commanded that he be lifted upon a horse, although the man of God had determined within himself never to mount a horse.

When, therefore, the bishop led him toward the city so that he might there exercise more freely against him whatever he wished, the horse upon which the man of God sat suddenly collapsed to the ground, and all its entrails were ruptured.

While everyone marveled, the bishop fell at the saint's knees and sought pardon. Leufredus peaceably remitted every injury.

The pontiff caused him to be returned to his cell with the highest honor. There afterward for many years he shone through both word and miracles.

For a long time he governed in peace a company of monks whom he himself had gained for the Lord by examples and saving admonitions.

One of these, named Galeandus, was at one time struck by so great a malice of the demon that he believed he would suddenly breathe forth his soul.

When the man of God learned this, he poured forth prayer for him and blessed him, commanding that he be devoted to fasts. After these things he gave him the staff that he carried in his hand, saying: “Be steadfast, son; you shall not die now.” Immediately he was healed.

At another time during the night, when by chance the flame of a most powerful fire flew through all the dwellings of the monastery, consuming them, the man of God suddenly raised his hands to heaven, invoking the Almighty himself to break the strength of the flames, who caused the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar to avail nothing against the three boys.

When his prayer was completed, he restrained the onset of the fire with so great a command that it could touch nothing farther. Instead, the whole violence of the winds, rolled together into one, at length withered away within itself as though in an inundation of rains.

At length he migrated to God in peace.

When the empire had been recovered by Justinian II and Childebert held the monarchy of the kingdom of the Franks, the archangel Michael appeared to Authbertus, bishop of Abrinca, and admonished him once and again to build a church in his memory in a place in the sea which, because of its height, is called the Tomb. He wished such veneration to be shown to him in the sea as is shown upon Mount Gargano.

Meanwhile, a bull secretly taken by a thief was tethered in that place. Hence, when the bishop was admonished a third time, he was commanded to lay the foundation in the place where he found the tethered bull and to draw the circuit of the church just as he saw that animal had trampled the earth.

He immediately established a church there in honor of Saint Michael. Just as upon Mount Gargano in Apulia, so also in that place called the Tomb, amid the peril of the sea, veneration of the archangel began to be frequented.

Section XXXI

Around those times Saint Wandregisilus also was born in the region of Virdunum of noble and religious parents. His father was Walchisus, the son of Pippin, prince of the Franks.

In his adolescence under King Dagobert, he was nobly educated in military deeds and courtly disciplines. As the practices of a holy life increased within him, he was appointed by that same king as count of the palace.

He exercised the office he had received with a zeal for piety, always treating heavenly things in his mind: free in rebuking, humble in obeying, firm in faith, prompt in good works, most truthful in speech, just in judgment, provident in counsel, and illustrious in charity.

At length, at his parents' urging, although unwilling, he betrothed to himself a certain most noble maiden. But, celebrating a chaste marriage, he persuaded her to preserve her virginity, and she consented. Thus a most salutary consent to chastity was made on both sides.

For he assumed the clerical habit, and he delivered her, covered with the veil of religion, to a monastery of nuns.

But while he still lived in lay clothing and was making a journey surrounded by the services of his attendants, certain barbarians injuriously rushed upon him. He took up prayer in place of a sword. Immediately that crowd of wicked men stood so immovable, restrained by Christ's power, that it could not approach more closely.

At length, leaving all things, he transferred himself to the monastic life. At first he dwelt in the place called Mount Falcon with the holy man Balthfrid.

But the aforesaid king, by the counsel of his men, strove to cause him trouble because, without the king's permission, he had changed his habit and bound himself to the monastic religious life.

Ordered to be summoned by him, Wandregisilus hastened toward the royal buildings. Before the palace doors he suddenly found a certain poor little man with a cart sunk in the mud.

Although everyone passed the wretched man by, and some even oppressed him, the holy man gravely dismounted from the horse upon which he sat. Extending a hand to the poor man, he lifted him together with his cart from the mud.

Immediately an angel clad from heaven in a snow-white cloak appeared. Cleaning Wandregisilus's garment, he rendered it whiter than it had been before.

After these things, while the Lord protected his servant, the king commanded that no one should trouble him, but that, with no one resisting, he should maintain the observance of his purpose.

Thus secure, he returned to the place of his beloved habitation. But not long afterward, having left that place for a certain reason, he migrated into the territory of Helisgangium. There he constructed a monastery upon his own possession.

There also, even when sleep pressed him while he was occupied with divine praises, he prayed with bare feet and content with a simple garment, standing upon the ground with his knees bent.

Seeing this, the devil inflicted many disturbances upon him both in wakefulness and through dreams. He transformed himself into the appearances of beasts, birds, or serpents and presented himself as terrible to Wandregisilus's sight.

But Wandregisilus, with the banner of the Holy Cross, the rigor of abstinence, and continual prayer, manfully rendered the devil's attempts vain.

When, on a certain night, he had slept beyond his custom, the enemy appeared and said mockingly: “I was more vigilant than you this night.”

Wandregisilus said: “I do not doubt that you are vigilant everywhere for the ruin of others and the increase of your own damnation. But the flesh that drove me to this inertia of torpor shall be subdued.”

Rising, therefore, from the idleness of sleep, when there was the harshness of winter, he stood outdoors amid snow and ice, weeping, drawing long sighs, and singing psalms to the Lord with the greatest devotion.

He also applied himself to fasts in such a manner that throughout the whole week, except on the Lord's Day, Thursday, and Saturday, he took no food.

At length, admonished in a vision to revisit the western regions of Gaul, he came to Rothomagus. Saint Andoenus received him reverently and, although he resisted exceedingly, ordained him subdeacon and afterward deacon.

After this, through blessed Andomarus, pontiff of Toruanna, he also caused him to be ordained a priest.

But the holy man, desiring to lead a stricter life and seeking above all the secret places of the wilderness, obtained by the gift of the prefect Ortinoaldus a small portion of land, upon which, as a new inhabitant, he constructed the monastery of Fontanella with his nephew Godo.

Accordingly, he established monks in cells so that they might apply themselves to the divine services. When food failed them entirely, the cellarer disclosed this to him, and he persuaded the cellarer to trust in God.

Divine piety therefore admonished Queen Batild through a vision to minister necessities to Christ's servant in the wilderness. Awaking, she sent loaded carts to the servant of God, and he gave thanks to God.

Having also passed his ninetieth year of age gloriously, he remained so vigorous that he appeared to go before young men in the labor of his hands.

It is certainly known that he frequently foretold future things.

At length, established in extreme old age, he frequently entreated the Lord to snatch him from this vale of weeping and admit him to his presence.

Hearing his prayers, the Lord sent an illness upon him and, while he was carried away in an ecstasy of mind for three days and as many nights, showed him the open gate of heaven.

But the envious enemy, perceiving that the hour of his reward was at hand, stood by cruelly and strove to cast manifold fears upon him.

The brothers standing around him heard him, while placed in such a contest, say that he had been washed for Christ in the font of washing [read: washed in Christ's baptismal font] and that the demon impeding him had been divinely put to flight.

At length, fortifying himself with the sign of the cross, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of August he returned his spirit to heaven. At that same hour the sweetest heavenly song was heard by one of his disciples.

He was buried in the church of Saint Paul. But in the year of the Lord six hundred eighty-four, after many years, his body and also the bodies of Ausbert and Volframus were translated into the church of Saint Peter.

Then, when their tombs were opened amid the praises of hymns, an ineffable fragrant odor came forth. Their bodies, together with the garments in which they had been buried, were found so whole that they appeared to have been delivered to burial on that same day.

After his death Wandregisilus also shone through many miracles.

When a certain woman performed weaving work on his feast in the district of Caletum, although her neighbors forbade her, and in the swelling of her heart reckoned their rebukes as nothing, the hand with which she drew the weft through the web with rash daring immediately became rigid. The weft adhered in the middle of her palm and could in no way be pulled away.

Corrected by this miracle and pierced by compunction in her heart, she approached the saint's church, which was frequented by the people. Commending herself to the saint, she was healed when the weft fell from her hand.

Likewise, when King Charles subdued Germany and Saxony by warring against the gentiles, a soldier of the monastery of Fontanella named Sigemandus, while ravaging the possessions of those gentiles with the other soldiers, was captured by them.

As he was led to the place where he was to be beheaded and frequently invoked the aid of his patron Wandregisilus, a certain soldier of the Saxons named Abbo began diligently to inquire why he so frequently invoked Wandregisilus.

Sigemandus answered: “Because in truth I am his servant, and I believe that through the merits of his holiness I shall be freed from the danger of the present peril.”

Abbo said: “This night Wandregisilus stood beside me, admonishing me to inflict no evil upon you but to permit you to return to your people in peace, threatening that, if I did not do this, I would work against my own salvation. Therefore I permit you to depart unharmed.”

Abbo was afterward baptized.

Section XXXII

During the same time, as Hugh of Fleury narrates, Mimmolus, abbot of Fleury, forewarned by a divine revelation, sent one of his monks, named Argulphus, to Mount Cassinum so that he might bring to him from there the body of blessed Benedict.

For the monastery that Saint Benedict had once constructed there had been devastated by the perfidious Lombards and reduced to solitude. Nevertheless, the body of Saint Benedict was kept buried there in one tomb with the body of his sister Scholastica.

It also happened that certain persons from the Cenomanian city set out at the same time for the aforesaid place in order to bring away the body of Saint Scholastica. After they had come to the place of Fleury, they continually adhered to blessed Argulphus until they reached the thresholds of Saint Peter.

When they had arrived there, blessed Argulphus immediately left their company. He sought Mount Cassinum alone and determined also to spend the night there.

And behold, in the silence of the dead of night, he saw the tomb of the holy father Benedict so illuminated from heaven that it appeared to be surrounded by dense ranks of lamps. When the night had passed, that splendor disappeared.

Then the often-mentioned Argulphus reverently approached that place. Having broken open the tomb from the side, he emptied it and placed whatever he found there within the bosom of a single little basket that he had prepared for this purpose.

When these things had been accomplished, as Argulphus returned to his own country, he met his companions on the road and returned with them to the monastery at Fleury.

Before he reached it, however, he came to a place that they call New Village, which is one mile distant from the said monastery. There the aforesaid abbot Mimmolus, with a crowded throng of the people, reverently met them.

Taking up the little basket with fitting reverence, he drew from it the most sacred bones that lay there confusedly enclosed, separating the smaller from the larger.

When this had been done, behold, two bodies of deceased persons were being carried out for burial. One of them was of the male sex, but the other of the female. It therefore pleased them to apply this test to those bodies.

A wondrous thing: when the larger bones had been placed upon the male body, life was immediately restored to the dead man through the merits of blessed Benedict.

Then it also pleased them to place the smaller bones upon the body of the dead girl. When this had been done, the girl immediately revived.

It therefore became clear that those who had been brought together were brother and sister in merits. No small multitude of the people was present at this spectacle.

The Cenomanian citizens were also standing there. They therefore merited to obtain the body of the holy virgin, lest two great luminaries should be enclosed in one little coffin when separate places could suffice for each one.

Accordingly, the Cenomanian men, returning to their city, carried the body of blessed Scholastica with them. A new church was constructed in her name beside the walls of that city, where the body of blessed Scholastica was reverently brought in and entombed.

Thereafter, as the abundance of miracles increased daily, many women of holy devotion were gathered together there under regular discipline.

Meanwhile the venerable father Mimmolus began to turn over in his mind the place in which the body of the most holy Benedict might worthily be laid.

When, on a certain night beneath the open sky, he prayed to the Lord that this might be shown to him from heaven, behold, a light sent from heaven suddenly appeared to him like lightning and most clearly indicated the place where it ought to be placed.

That place to which he translated it was the oratory of the most blessed Mary, Mother of God.

Many years after this translation of blessed Benedict, namely in the time of Pippin, king of the Franks, when the monastery of Cassinum had been restored and enlarged, monks of that monastery of Cassinum came to Rome at the instigation of Charles the Great [read: Carloman], brother of the aforesaid Pippin, who had assumed the religious habit in the said monastery of Cassinum.

They asked Pope Zacharias to direct letters to Pippin, king of the Franks, so that the body of blessed Benedict might be returned to its tomb.

When this became known to the brothers of Fleury, they celebrated a three-day fast and prayed to blessed Benedict before his tomb with these words: “You are our sole hope after God. Do not abandon us as orphans, you who came here not through our merits but for the salvation of many souls.”

One would have believed that it was raining upon the pavement because of the exceedingly great abundance of their tears.

When they had spent the whole three days in these sobs and tears, behold, the aforesaid bishops arrived, desiring to fulfill the king's commands. They immediately ordered the doors of the church to be opened for them.

Then, having entered the church of Saint Mary, before they approached the tomb of Saint Benedict they were reduced to desolation and fear and were struck with such blindness that they could not recognize one another.

When they saw that they had been blinded by divine vengeance, they began to proceed wandering through the church. When they struck against the bell ropes, they began to pull them with great force, for they could not otherwise make their misfortune known to those who had remained outside.

Stirred by this sound, the brothers came forth from the already-mentioned church of the apostle Peter, expecting that they would see a sorrowful spectacle.

For the sake of investigating, some of them went in. When they saw those men wandering through the church, they came out and said: “The pious father Benedict has heard us and received our letters. Come and see the mighty works of God.”

When they had entered together, they saw and found them blind, crying out and saying: “Woe to us, because we came to violate the repose of the holy father Benedict, and therefore we have incurred blindness. Come, servants of God; deal more mildly with us, and do not repay us with retaliation according to our presumption, but pray for us to God that he may open our eyes. We promise you that we shall never presume such things again.”

At these words, prostrate upon the ground, they prayed more intently that divine piety might deign to restore light to them. As they prayed, their eyes were opened.

Returning to the king, they narrated what they had suffered, adding that Gaul ought not to be despoiled of such holy bones.

Concerning blessed Benedict himself, whose deeds we omitted above for a reason, we shall set them forth at length in the following title, together with the condition of the anchoritic and cenobitic life and the holy fathers who were hermits in Egypt.

Section XXXIII

Egidius, born at Athens from a royal stock and instructed in Latin letters from infancy, while proceeding to church on a certain day, gave his tunic to a certain sick man lying in the street and asking for alms. Clothed with it, the man immediately received complete health.

After these things, when his parents had rested in the Lord, he made Christ the heir of his patrimony.

On a certain day, while he was returning from church, a man who had been struck by a serpent met him. But when the holy man had prayed, the poison immediately fled.

Egidius also freed a certain demoniac who was standing in the church with the faithful and disturbing others with his cries, putting the demon to flight.

Fearing, however, the danger of human favor, he secretly sought the seacoast. Seeing certain sailors in danger at sea, he calmed the tempest by prayer.

When the sailors had come to shore and heard that he was making his way to Rome, they gave thanks on account of his merits and promised to carry him with them without payment.

When, therefore, he had come to Arelate and remained for two years with Saint Caesarius, bishop of that city, where he also cured a certain man who had suffered from fever for three years, he secretly departed, desiring the wilderness.

He remained for a long time with the hermit Veredimius, illustrious in holiness, and by his merits drove away the sterility of the land.

But because each of them shone with miracles, fearing the danger of human praise, he left him and penetrated the deeper wilderness.

Finding there a certain cave that had a little spring, he chose his habitation there. There he also had as his nurse a certain hind divinely prepared, which at fixed hours supplied him with the nourishment of her milk.

On a certain day, when the king's servants came into the said forest and saw the aforesaid hind, they disregarded the other beasts and pursued her with dogs.

When she was exceedingly hard pressed by them, she fled to the feet of the one whom she nourished. Marveling why she lowed in this way contrary to her custom, he went out and saw the hunters. He prayed to the Lord that he would preserve the creature whom he had granted to him as a nurse.

None of the dogs dared to approach within a stone's throw, but with great howling they returned to the hunters.

When night came upon them, they returned home. Returning there on the following day, they again went home after fruitless labor.

When the king heard the matter, suspecting, as was indeed the case, that something divine lay hidden there, he hastened to that place with the bishop and a multitude of hunters.

But when the dogs did not dare to approach, just as before, but all returned howling, they surrounded the place, inaccessible because of the density of the thorn bushes.

One man, however, carelessly directing an arrow so that he might drive the hind out from there, inflicted a grievous wound upon the man of God while he prayed, although he had not yet been seen by any of them.

The soldiers, opening a path with iron, came to the holy man's cave. They marveled when they saw the holy old man clothed in a monastic habit, venerable in gray hair and old age, and the hind also prostrate at his knees.

Of these men, only the king and the bishop approached him; they ordered the others to stand back. They asked him who he was, whence he had come, why he had sought so dense a waste of wilderness, and who had presumed to wound him so gravely.

When he had answered them concerning each matter and they had humbly sought pardon from him, they promised physicians for healing the wound and offered many gifts.

But he was unwilling either to employ medicine, and, scorning the gifts, did not even look at them. Rather, knowing that power is perfected in weakness, he prayed to the Lord that, for as long as he lived, he might not be restored to his former health.

Because the king visited him frequently and received from him the nourishment of salvation, he offered immense riches, which Egidius wholly refused to accept. He admonished him to construct a monastery there in which the discipline of the monastic order might flourish.

When the king had done this, Egidius, conquered by his prayers and tears after he had refused for a very long time, assumed the care of that monastery.

When King Charles heard his fame and had obtained his coming, the king received him reverently.

Among other conversations concerning salvation, he asked him to deign to pray to the Lord for him, because he had perpetrated a certain enormous crime that he never dared to confess to anyone, not even to the saint himself.

On the following Lord's Day, as Saint Egidius prayed for the king, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and placed a little sheet upon the altar. The king's sin was written upon it in order, together with the statement that it had been blotted out by the prayers of Egidius, if, being nevertheless contrite and confessing it, he wished to abstain from it in the future.

It was added at the end that whoever should invoke Saint Egidius for any crime whatsoever, if he nevertheless abstained from it entirely, should in no way doubt that it had been forgiven him.

When the little sheet was presented to the king, he recognized his sin and, humbly confessing it, sought pardon.

At length Egidius returned with honor to the monastery. Near the city of Nemausus he raised to life the son of a prince who had died.

There, after a little time, foretelling that his monastery would be destroyed by enemies not long afterward, he went to Rome and obtained from the pope privileges for his church and two cypress doors upon which images of the apostles were carved.

Sending them into the Tiber, he commended them to divine governance. Returning to the monastery, he restored his gait to a certain cripple at Crebreo.

When he arrived at the monastery and found the aforesaid two doors in the harbor, he gave thanks to God, who had preserved them unharmed amid so many dangers of the sea. He set them up at the entrances of the church and as a memorial of the compact of the Roman See for the memory of posterity.

At length the Lord revealed to him that the day of his death was imminent. Announcing this to his brothers and asking them to pray for him, he commended his spirit to the Lord. Many testified that they heard choirs of angels bearing his soul into heaven.

He shone around the year of the Lord seven hundred.

Section XXXIV

Saint Lupus, born near Aurelianum from a royal lineage, while he shone with all virtues, was elected bishop of Senonica.

Because he distributed almost all things to the poor, when on a certain day he had invited very many to a banquet and they had no wine by the middle of it, he thus answered his servant: “I believe that God, who feeds the birds, will complete our charity.”

Immediately a messenger arrived who announced that one hundred measures of wine were present before the doors.

Likewise, when everyone at the court vigorously disparaged him because he loved too immoderately the virgin of God who was the daughter of his predecessor, seizing the virgin herself in the presence of those who disparaged him, he kissed her, saying: “The words of others do no harm to a man whom his own conscience does not stain.”

For because he had known that she ardently loved God, he loved her with a most pure mind.

Certainly he can be excused here by a private law, namely that he was led to this by the Holy Spirit, for this is prohibited and reprehended by the law of the canons, Distinction thirty-four, *Quorundam*.

When Clothar, king of the Franks, entered Burgundy and directed his seneschal against the people of Senonica so that he might besiege the city, Saint Lupus entered the church of Saint Stephen and caused the bell to be rung.

When the enemies heard it, such terror invaded them that they thought they would not escape death unless they fled.

At length, when the kingdom of Burgundy had been obtained and the king had sent another seneschal to Senonica, blessed Lupus did not meet him with gifts. Greatly indignant, the seneschal so defamed him before the king that the king sent blessed Lupus into exile.

He shone exceedingly there in teaching and miracles.

Meanwhile the people of Senonica killed another man who had invaded the place of Saint Lupus and obtained the return of Saint Lupus from exile.

When the king saw him wasted away in exile, he was so divinely changed that, prostrate before him, he sought pardon. Having enriched him with many gifts, he restored him to his city.

As Lupus returned through Paris, a great crowd of prisoners met him, the doors having been opened and their bonds loosened.

On a certain Lord's Day, as he celebrated Mass, a jewel fell from heaven into his sacred chalice, which the king placed among his relics.

King Clothar, hearing that the bell of Saint Stephen possessed wondrous sweetness in its sound, sent for it to be brought to Paris so that he might hear it more frequently.

But because this displeased Saint Lupus, as soon as it was carried out of the city of Senonica it lost the sweetness of its sound.

When the king heard this, he immediately ordered it to be restored. With its subdued sound restored [read: Its sound being suddenly restored], it rang seven miles from the city, so that Saint Lupus went to meet it and honorably received what he had sorrowfully lost.

On a certain night, while he prayed, thirsting exceedingly at the devil's instigation, he ordered cold water to be brought to him.

Understanding the enemy's deceit, he placed his pillow over the vessel and enclosed the devil there within it. The devil began to howl aloud throughout the whole night.

When morning came, he who had come secretly to tempt him departed confounded in daylight.

On a certain day, when he had gone around the churches of the city according to his custom, returning home he heard his clerics quarreling because they wished to fornicate with women.

Entering the church, he began to pray for them. Immediately every stimulus of temptation departed from them, and, coming before him, they sought pardon.

At length, illustrious through many virtues, he rested in peace around the year of the Lord six hundred ninety.

Around that time, as John of Columna notes, Anastasius, a Persian, having been made a Christian from a magus, became a martyr for Christ with seventy companions.

Title XIV

Title XIV contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors from the time of Pope Gregory II to the time of Pope Leo III, and from the time of the emperor Philippicus through the completed reign of Charles the Great, inclusively, a span of one hundred years.

Within this span the supreme pontiffs were Gregory II; Gregory III; Stephen; Paul, his brother; Constantine the antipope; Stephen; Adrian; and Leo III for part of the time.

The emperors during this time were Philippicus, who was also Barduanus; Anastasius II, who was also called Arthemius; Theodosius III; Leo II; Constantine, his son; Leo III, his son; and Constantine, his brother, with his mother Irene.

Afterward Constantine himself ruled alone. Irene, bearing it reluctantly that she had been deprived of the empire because he ruled alone, imprisoned and blinded her son and ruled alone.

After her came Charles the Great, the empire having been transferred from the Greeks to the Franks.

The period contained in this title therefore extends to the eight-hundredth year.

Chapter I

Gregory II

In the seven-hundred-and-thirteenth year of the Lord's incarnation, the four-thousand-six-hundred-and-seventy-sixth year from the beginning of the world, but according to the more common opinion the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-eleventh year, Gregory II was the ninetieth in the order of the Roman pontiffs.

He is also called Gregory the Younger to distinguish him from Gregory the Great, who was the first of this name.

He was Roman by nation, born of his father Marcellus, and held the See for seventeen years and nine months.

From his very boyhood he was nurtured in the Church. Through the diverse ecclesiastical orders, he merited to be promoted to the rank of the supreme pontificate.

The care of the library had been committed to him by Pope Sergius. Thereafter, having been made a deacon, he departed for Constantinople with Pope Constantine, who had been summoned by the emperor.

Questioned by the emperor Justinian concerning certain questions, he resolved each one exceedingly well. For he was a chaste man, learned in divine Scripture, eloquent and steadfast in mind, a most ardent defender of the faith and a most powerful persecutor of heretics.

He restored very many churches and constructed monasteries.

He held ordinations in the month of September and in the month of June, and consecrated twenty-five priests, five deacons, and one hundred fifty bishops for diverse places.

At the beginning of his pontificate he ordered lime to be burned so that he might repair the walls of the Roman city. Beginning at the gate of Saint Lawrence, he completed some part, but he was afterward hindered from this work by diverse affairs that arose.

While he presided, Theodo, duke of the people of the Bavarians, was the first from that people to come to the thresholds of the apostle Peter for the sake of prayer.

Under him also, a certain citizen of Brixia, a man beloved by God, through divine inspiration and the exhortation of this blessed pontiff, laudably rebuilt the monastery of Saint Benedict at Mount Cassinum.

It had been destroyed by the Lombards one hundred ten complete years earlier. When it had been restored, he gathered many persons there to serve God.

This pontiff also preached the word of life in Germany through blessed Boniface and converted to the faith, by the teaching of light, the people sitting in darkness. Boniface, having been made a bishop there, was at last crowned by martyrdom among that people.

Hence the same Gregory the Younger writes thus to the aforesaid Boniface, Cause sixteen, Question one: “We command that, according to the statutes of the canons, where the multitude of the faithful has increased, by the authority of the Apostolic See you ought to ordain bishops, yet with pious consideration, so that the name of the episcopate may not become cheap.”

When Leo had assumed the empire, he was seduced by a certain apostate from the faith to such an extent that he commanded all images to be removed from the Church and burned with fire, as will be stated below.

By imperial letters he also ordered Gregory himself, the pope, to remove images from the churches of the entire Western Church.

But Gregory not only refused to do this; he also excommunicated him as a heretic on account of that deed.

Moreover, he caused the Roman city itself and all Italy to withdraw from his dominion, and forbade tribute to be rendered to him by the Italian cities.

Moved by the greatest anger on this account, the emperor labored greatly and often to cause Pope Gregory to be killed.

But when the Italians and Lombards resisted the emperor's attempts with one mind, all Italy together with Rome itself then formed a plan to choose an emperor for themselves, hasten to Constantinople with an armed force, cast the heretical Leo down from the summit of the empire, and possess the monarchy of the Roman Empire.

But Pope Gregory restrained such a plan, hoping that the prince's mind would return to better things.

The blessed pontiff himself did not cease to admonish the emperor by his letters to draw back from such execrable madness.

What this Gregory says, however, in Cause thirty-two, Question seven, *What You Have Proposed*, is this: “If a woman, stricken by infirmity, is unable to render the debt, what is her spouse to do? It would be good if he remained thus. But because this belongs to great persons, let him who cannot contain himself marry instead. Nevertheless, let him not withdraw the aid of support from her whom infirmity hinders but detestable fault does not exclude.”

This statement of Gregory is not to be understood as though it were lawful for a man, when his wife has become ill even with an incurable and perpetual disease, to marry another wife. For this is contrary to every divine and human law and to all the doctors.

But, as the gloss says there, this must be restricted to a woman betrothed for the future or to a woman physically too narrow for intercourse, yet only after prior judgment by the Church.

And what is said, that he should not withdraw the aid of support from such a woman, must be understood, namely, by restoring the dowry if he received it; or it speaks of counsel.

Or it can also be understood that Gregory permits this by a comparative permission, by which a lesser evil is permitted lest a greater be committed. I say “is permitted,” not by conceding it as lawful, but by not punishing such an evil temporally, just as repudiation was permitted in the law lest homicide follow.

He did this with respect to the Germans, who had then been newly converted to the faith.

At length, migrating from this world, Gregory was buried in the church of Saint Peter. The episcopate was vacant for thirty-five days.

Section I: Gregory III

When he had died, Gregory III was created pope, the ninety-first in the number of the pontiffs, in the year of the Lord seven hundred thirty-one. He was Syrian by nation, born of his father John, and sat for ten years and eight months.

This man was most mild and exceedingly wise, sufficiently instructed in divine Scripture and learned in the Greek and Latin languages.

He was exceedingly solicitous for the support of the poor and the redemption of captives, and moreover a defender of the Christian faith.

He was loved by the whole people and all the clergy to such an extent that, when he was following his predecessor's funeral procession, the whole people of both sexes, from the least to the greatest, moved by divine inspiration, carried him away by force and elected him pontiff.

After he had been consecrated pope, he immediately turned his mind toward the emendation and correction of the emperors Leo and his son Constantine, who had commanded throughout the whole empire that images of Christ and the saints be removed from the churches.

He wrote to them that they should recover their senses from this nefarious error. He did this not only once, but sent letters of admonition several times.

But when they persisted in their perfidy, he was kindled by ardor for the faith and convoked a council of bishops from all Italy.

In the presence of all the clergy of the city, and also of the nobles and consuls and the whole people, he established that if anyone thereafter should despise Catholic custom and faithful usage, and should become a remover, destroyer, or profaner of the venerable and holy images of God and our Savior Jesus Christ, of blessed Mary, of the apostles, and of the other saints, or should become a blasphemer, he should be deprived of the communion of the Holy Church.

The bishops confirmed this by their subscriptions. He sent this synodal constitution as far as the royal city through a certain man named Constantine.

By the emperor's command, Constantine was captured and committed to chains, was detained in prison custody for one year, and afterward, having been afflicted with many injuries, was permitted to return to Rome.

Concerning these images, Gregory, as I believe this same one, says thus when writing to Serenus, bishop of Massilia, in *It Had Been Reported to Us*, On Consecration, Distinction three:

“It had been reported to us with what inconsiderate zeal, being kindled, you broke the images of the saints under this supposed excuse, that they ought not to be adored. We entirely praised the fact that you prohibited them from being adored, but we reprehend your having broken them.

“Tell me, brother: from what priest have you ever heard that what you did was done? For it is one thing to adore a picture and another to learn, through the history in a picture, what is to be adored.

“For what Scripture supplies to those who read, a picture supplies to the unlearned who behold it, because in it the ignorant see what they ought to follow. In it those who do not know letters read.”

Under this pontiff, Luitprandus, king of the Lombards, desiring to obtain the city, hastened as far as Rome with a great army of his people assembled, and pitched his tents not far from it in the field of Nero.

Having captured many of the Roman nobles, he both tonsured and clothed them after the manner of the Lombards.

Thereafter, sending a part of his armies, he ravaged all Campania. Loaded with spoils, they returned to the king.

When this Luitprandus heard that the Saracens, after ravaging the island of Sardinia, had also defiled those places to which, long ago, because of the incursions of barbarians, the bones of the outstanding doctor Augustine had been translated from the city of Hippo in Africa, he sent his envoys there with all speed.

Having paid much money, they brought those most sacred relics with them to the king. Receiving them with great veneration, the king placed them at Pavia in the church of Saint Peter that he himself had built.

But the man of God Gregory, seeing that he could not resist so many imminent evils, since he was pressed on one side by the Lombards and on the other by the Greek emperors, sent the keys of the Roman city through Anastasius to Charles Martel, prefect of the king of the Franks, so that he might free them from so great an oppression of the Lombards.

Compelled by necessity, Gregory himself restored a very great part of the walls of the Roman city.

Section II: Zacharias

When Gregory III had been taken from this light, Zacharias, a Greek by nation, succeeded him in the See of Peter in the seven-hundred-and-fortieth year of the Lord. He sat in it for ten years and three months.

He was a most mild and gentle man.

At the beginning of his pontificate he found Italy greatly disturbed, and especially the Roman city, on account of the persecutions that Luitprandus, king of the Lombards, was inflicting upon the Romans because they favored Transimundus, duke of the people of Spoleto, and protected him within the walls of the city.

For this reason, the said king, pursuing him with his armies, besieged Rome. He took by siege many cities that were then subject to the city's dominion and, having captured them, removed them from Roman dominion.

But not long afterward, at the petition and admonition of this fostering pontiff, he promised the pope's messengers, whom the pontiff had sent to him concerning this deed so that he might restore those cities to the right of the Romans, that he would restore the cities themselves.

When he delayed restoring them according to his promise, this blessed pontiff did not hesitate to approach the said king in his own person.

Coming therefore to the city of Iteranna, where the said king was then present with his armies, when the king heard of his coming, he sent all the greater dukes of his armies as far as eight miles to meet him. The king himself also went out as far as half a mile to meet the supreme pontiff, and received him within the city with great joy and the highest reverence.

When both sat together in the church of blessed Valentine, the pontiff, filled with divine grace, so softened the king with sweet words and peaceful discourses that he obtained from him all things whatsoever that he sought.

For he first persuaded the king to cease from hostile commotion, abstain from the shedding of human blood, and always pursue those things that belong to peace.

Pierced by these holy persuasions, King Gaisculphus [read: King Luitprandus], at the pontiff's command, restored the cities that he had taken from the Romans.

Likewise he restored the Sabine patrimony, which the kings of the Lombards had taken from the right of the Roman Church and had already possessed for thirty years.

Moreover, he restored Narnia, Assisium, Ancona, and Cumae to the blessed pontiff and made peace with the Romans for thirty years.

He gave to the holy pontiff all the captives from the diverse provinces of the Romans whom he and his predecessors had captured in diverse places throughout all Italy.

Thus the solicitous shepherd, when he had obtained all things that he wished, returned to Rome.

At the time when Pope Zacharias returned to the city, Carlomannus, brother of Pippin, king of the Franks, and son of the renowned leader Charles Martel, was kindled with love for the contemplative life.

Wearied by the burdensome administration of a temporal kingdom, he betook himself to leisure at Rome.

There, through the hands of the supreme prelate Zacharias, his habit having been changed and having become a holy monk, he enjoyed his desired quiet for some time on Mount Syraptis, at the monastery constructed near Saint Sylvester, with religious men who had come together with him from Gaul.

But because many nobles coming from Francia to Rome for the sake of devotion were unwilling to pass him by as their former lord, they interrupted, by frequent visitation and greeting, the leisure in which he especially delighted and compelled him to change his place.

For this reason, leaving Mount Syraptis, he withdrew to the monastery of Saint Benedict at Mount Cassinum, in which place he completed the remainder of his religious life.

When Italy was now enjoying peace, the same beneficent pontiff Zacharias sent messengers to Constantine, the emperor at Constantinople, with a letter and admonition containing the orthodox faith.

The emperor received them kindly and granted two towns that were then under public jurisdiction, namely Nymphae and Norma, to be possessed perpetually by the Roman Church.

In those times also, after the death of Haisculphus [read: Luitprandus], when Rathchis had undertaken to govern the kingdom of the Lombards, he came with a great multitude of his men to occupy the city of Perusia. Surrounding it on every side, he vigorously assaulted it.

Hearing this, the most blessed pope, relying upon divine assistance, approached the city itself as quickly as possible. By his prayers he admonished the king himself and drew him away from assaulting it.

Afterward, remaining with him for some days, the pope so led him toward good works by his holy exhortations that, after a few days, the same King Rathchis abandoned royal dignity and pride and devoutly approached, with his wife and children, both to visit the thresholds of the apostles and to see the holy pontiff.

Having completed his prayer and abandoned worldly pomp, through the hands of the pontiff he assumed the habit of holy religion together with his sons.

Meanwhile Hylderic, king of Francia, who had already reigned for nine years, was so useless and negligent that he devoted himself only to his belly and lust. The administration of the kingdom and the disposition of affairs had at that time remained to Pippin.

This Pippin was the son of Charles Martel, a spirited and prudent man and exceedingly solicitous in the government committed to him.

This mayor of the royal household, therefore, considering the inertia of his king, sent solemn messengers to Pope Zacharias and consulted him as to who ought rather to be and to be called king: the man who undertook all the labors of the kingdom, or the man who, given to leisure and lust, was covered by the royal name alone.

The supreme pontiff is said to have sent back the answer that he deservedly ought to reign who knew how and was able to govern the commonwealth vigorously.

After the messengers had reported these things to the foremost men of the Franks, a council of princes and prelates was convoked. By the common consent and will of all, they deposed Hylderic, king in name alone, from the summit of the kingdom, clothed him in the monastic habit, and enclosed him in a monastery.

With everyone willing and rejoicing, they caused Pippin to reign over the Franks.

Accordingly, the Merovingian kings, who descended from King Mereneus, the first king of the Franks, and reigned successively over the Franks, were twenty-three kings. According to some, their first was Priam, but not that king of Troy; according to others, he was Marchomaris.

They all reigned together for three hundred twenty-four years, down to this Hylderic.

Pippin, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Francia, began to reign in the seven-hundred-and-fiftieth year of the Lord. His distinguished posterity thereafter possessed the kingdom of the Franks for many generations.

After Pippin had been declared king by decree of the nobles and princes, he was anointed and consecrated by apostolic authority by Saint Boniface, archbishop of Maguntinum, concerning whom something will be said below.

Concerning this deposition of Hylderic and institution of Pippin, it is stated in Cause fifteen, Question six: “Another Roman pontiff, Zacharias, deposed the king of the Franks from the kingdom not so much for his iniquities as because he was useless for so great a power, and substituted Pippin, father of the emperor Charles, in his place, and absolved all the Franks from the oath of fidelity.”

What is said, “useless,” the gloss explains as “dissolute in lusts and effeminate.” And what is said, “deposed,” the gloss explains as “he consented to those deposing him.”

Around that time Saint Caesarius, bishop of Arelate, flourished. We find that he published ten moral and useful homilies for monks, from which the spiritual teaching of the holy man is apprehended.

Section III: Stephen II

After Zacharias, Stephen II, a Roman by nation, was placed in the See of Peter in the seven-hundred-and-fiftieth year of the Lord. He sat for five years and twenty-nine days.

This most blessed pope was a lover of churches and especially a supporter and nourisher of Christ's poor.

For their support he constructed several guesthouses or hospitals in the city of Rome for the use of the poor. He gave them many possessions from which they could conveniently be sustained.

In the third month of his pontificate, when Haisculphus, king of the Lombards, inflicted great persecutions upon the Roman city and had taken many cities and fortresses pertaining to its right, the same most blessed pope sent Paul the deacon, his full brother and a most holy man, and Ambrose the primicerius, with many gifts, to Haisculphus to establish covenants of peace.

But the same insolent king, assailed by the cunning of the ancient enemy, spurned the covenants of peace. Inflicting many troubles upon the most holy man Pope Stephen and upon the Roman people, he attempted to subject the city with its adjacent province to his empire.

For this reason the most blessed pope was compelled to seek the aid of Pippin, king of Francia. Hence he undertook the journey into Francia with his clerics.

When King Haisculphus heard this, he feared a little. For he judged that, if the pope obtained the aid of the Frankish king, he himself could not easily possess Rome with the adjacent region.

Therefore, to impede this, he determined that Carlomannus, who had become a monk, should be sent ahead from Mount Cassinum to Pippin, so that, preceding the supreme pontiff, he might act with his brother Pippin to prevent him from furnishing aid to the Roman people and the supreme pontiff against Haisculphus.

But when Pippin heard that the supreme pontiff had come to his kingdom, filled with immense joy, he proceeded with his nobles as far as the boundaries of the kingdom to meet him.

When he saw him approaching, he dismounted from his horse at a distance of three miles and, with great humility, proceeded on foot with his wife and children until he came to the pope himself.

When he had reached him, prostrate upon the ground, he reverently kissed his sacred feet. Thereafter, acting in the capacity of a groom, he led him as far as the palace.

When they had both sat together within the oratory, after many words the supreme pontiff tearfully entreated the king to defend, through covenants of peace, the cause of blessed Peter and of the commonwealth of the Romans as the arm of the Church.

But Carlomannus, who had come there according to what he had been instructed by the wicked King Haisculphus, strove in every way and contended vehemently to subvert the cause of the Holy Roman Church.

Yet, by the favor of the Most High, he was unable to turn the mind of his full brother Pippin, the most Christian king of the Franks, away from the holy purpose. Rather, Pippin promised, and confirmed by his own oath, that he would defend the cause of the Church according to his ability.

Thereafter, at the suggestion of the supreme pontiff, he sent envoys to Haisculphus, asking that he restore those things pertaining to the right of the Roman Church and the Roman commonwealth that either he or his predecessors, the kings of the Lombards, had taken from them.

This was done at the pontiff's suggestion not only once and twice, but even a third time.

But he, persisting in his perfidy, like another Pharaoh, was entirely unwilling to restore them.

When the illustrious King Pippin saw him thus obstinate in his stubbornness, he assembled an army against him.

When he had now completed half the journey, the pious shepherd, lest he appear to be the cause of the shedding of Christian blood, again directed letters of entreaty and admonition to Haisculphus.

Through them he adjured that most impious king by all the divine mysteries and by the future divine examination to restore peacefully and without the shedding of human blood those things that pertained to the Holy Roman Church and the Roman commonwealth.

But, obstinate in his wickedness, he not only refused to desist, but also threatened the holy man and the Franks.

Wherefore Pippin, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, entered Italy with his army.

Haisculphus, trusting in his multitude, did not hesitate to meet him. But, broken by divine power, he was overcome by the Franks, and his army was crushed even to the slaughter of his men. Thus the just judge gave victory to his soldiers.

Fleeing, Haisculphus withdrew into the strongly fortified city of Pavia. Pippin, coming there with the supreme pontiff himself, surrounded it on every side with a siege.

When those who were besieged were now failing from hunger and could no longer resist the attacking Franks, they sent envoys of surrender to the supreme pontiff and King Pippin.

At their arrival, the pious pontiff entreated the king to incline toward peace, lest Christian blood be shed further. Therefore the king assented to the pontiff's prayers.

Coming out of the city, Haisculphus first of all delivered hostages to the king of the Franks. Thereafter, with all his nobles and judges, under a terrible and most binding oath, he promised and confirmed by a written page that he would immediately restore first the city of Ravenna with its dependencies, and moreover whatever he and his predecessors had taken from the right of the Holy Roman Church.

When all these things had been duly completed, the said illustrious king withdrew with his army into his own kingdom, and the most holy pontiff returned to Rome.

But Haisculphus, an adversary and enemy of his own soul, touched inwardly by grief and turning over in his mind the losses he had received from the king of the Franks, fulfilled none of the things he had promised by oath.

Moreover, hastening to Rome with the entire people of his kingdom, he surrounded it on every side with a siege for three months and consumed with fire and iron all things that were outside the walls of the city.

Moreover, digging up the bodies of many saints, he overthrew their cemeteries.

Therefore, when King Pippin heard all these things, filled with great grief, he again assembled an army so that he might aid the Church. Entering Italy and sweeping everything before him like a river, and having taken certain cities by storm, he again besieged Pavia.

While Pippin besieged Pavia, envoys of the emperor Constantine came to his camp. On behalf of the said prince, they entreated him and promised many imperial gifts if he would restore the city of Ravenna or the other cities and fortresses of the same exarchate to imperial jurisdiction.

But the most Christian king in no way inclined his mind toward their gifts and promises. He asserted that by no reasoning did he wish to subject to the dominion of another those same cities that belonged by right to blessed Peter and the Roman Church.

He also asserted that no abundance of treasures could persuade him to take away what he had once recovered for blessed Peter from the hands of the Lombards by his own labor.

Having heard these things, the imperial messengers returned to their own country.

When, therefore, the king of the Franks vigorously attacked Pavia, and those who were besieged were now exhausted by hunger and labor and could no longer resist, Haisculphus sent his envoys to the king so that they might seek pardon in his name.

Thereafter he professed by every means that he now wished to restore to the Roman Church the same cities and fortresses that he had previously promised in the covenant of the agreements.

Assenting to this petition, the king sent his messengers to receive the said cities in the name of the Roman pontiff. When they had been received, he sent their keys to the pope at Rome.

Accordingly, the cities written below, which Haisculphus had taken from the right of the Roman Church, he restored: first Ravenna; Ariminum; Pisaurum; Fanum; Caesenae; Sinigallia; Hesium; Forum Popilii; Forum Olivii with the fortress of Sasibium; Mount Feltrum; Accevagium; Mount Locatus; Serra; the fortress of Saint Martin; Urbinum; Callis; Leuo Oculi; Egubium; Chomachium; and also the city of Narnia.

Thus the illustrious King Pippin and defender of the Roman Church, after he had restored to Peter's right all the things for which he had sustained so many labors, returned to Francia.

While Haisculphus was engaged in hunting on a certain day, however, he was struck by divine will and suddenly died.

When he had died, Desiderius, who among the princes of the Lombards had been directed by Haisculphus into Tuscia, assembled a multitude of his men and constituted himself king of the Lombards.

When the other princes of the Lombards who were beyond the Alps heard this, they were indignant and, assembling infinite forces of their men, set out to fight against him.

Desiderius, therefore, seeing that he could not retain what he had seized unless he used or was assisted by the favor of the Romans and Franks, directed his messengers to the supreme pontiff, promising by oath that he would always fulfill the entire will of the pontiff and would fight for the Roman people and the Roman Church if, by their favor, he could retain the kingdom that he had seized.

Then the prudent shepherd directed messengers to the princes of the Lombards, asking and beseeching them to abstain from the civil shedding of blood.

Softened by his words, the Lombards returned to their own lands. Thus Almighty God disposed that, without any clash of arms, the aforesaid Desiderius obtained the royal dignity.

With God thus disposing, he immediately restored to the same supreme pontiff the cities that he had promised, namely Ferraria with its duchy and Faventia with the fortress of Tiberiacum, that is, Bagna Cavallum.

At length Stephen, after the many good works that he had done and after the condition of the Church had been enlarged, rested in peace.

From a decree of Pope Stephen it is said thus in Cause three, Question eleven: “The license to accuse must be denied to the accused until they have cleared themselves of the crime with which they are charged, because the confession against others of those who are implicated in crimes is not to be believed unless they first prove themselves innocent.” The gloss, however, explains this, and also in the following chapter.

The same pope says in Cause three, Question five: “The accusers and accusations whom the laws of the world do not admit and whom our predecessors prohibited, we also remove.

“Let no foreigner become either their accuser or their judge. Hence it was said to Lot, ‘You entered as a stranger; surely not so that you might judge?’

“Let no servant or freedman be an accuser of our people, nor any suspicious or infamous person.”

The same pope says in Cause three, Question six, chapter *Beyond*: “Let every accusation be heard within the province and be concluded by fellow provincials, unless an appeal has nevertheless been made to the Apostolic See.”

The same pope says in Cause three, Question four: “Let none of the anathematized be received,” namely for making an accusation.

The same pope says in Cause two, Question eight: “Let no accusation of anyone be received in writing, but by his own voice, if the person of the accuser is legitimate and worthy, while the one whom he desires to accuse is, of course, present, because no absent person can accuse or be accused by anyone.”

Section IV: Paul

When Stephen had been taken from this light, Paul, his full brother, undertook to govern the pontifical chair in the year of the Lord seven hundred fifty-five. He sat for ten years and one month.

He was most mild by nature and exceedingly merciful toward the poor, to such an extent that, with a few persons familiar to him, he went around in the silence of the night through the homes of the sick, ministering necessities to them.

He translated to Rome the body of blessed Petronilla, daughter of the apostle Peter, and buried it in the church of the apostles.

Moreover, this man was a most powerful defender of the orthodox faith. Hence, often following the footsteps of his predecessor, he sent messengers with letters of admonition and threat to the emperor Constantine for the restoration of the holy images to their former condition.

But the emperor, persisting in his hardness, was unwilling to listen, and, remaining in his error, persecuted Catholics.

While this pope presided, Pippin, king of the Franks, died and was buried in the church of Saint Dionysius.

His son Charles the Great, fortunate in victories, succeeded him in the kingdom with his brother Carlomannus.

For, when Pippin had died, the Franks, after holding a great council of princes and prelates, declared them both kings, on this condition: that Charles, who from the greatness of his felicity is called the Great, should hold that part of the kingdom that Pippin had held, while Carlomannus should hold that portion of the kingdom that Carlomannus, their paternal uncle, namely Pippin's brother, had once possessed before he became a monk.

Such concord remained between the brothers Charles the Great and Carlomannus, although with great difficulty, to such an extent that some people plotted that the two should settle their dispute by war with each other.

But in this Carlomannus was blamed more than Charles. God so disposed matters that civil wars did not arise in that Catholic kingdom.

After a short time, when Carlomannus died from disease, Charles the Great held the monarchy of the entire kingdom of Francia.

In those days in which Charles obtained the kingdom, Pope Paul migrated from this light.

Constantine the Antipope

When he had died, a certain Dodo, duke of the city of Nepesina, who had accumulated great riches for himself and possessed many Roman supporters in the city, both from the nobles and from the people, assembled a multitude of soldiers and foot soldiers from the city of Nepesina and from other neighboring cities of Tuscia and came into the city.

There, through a diabolical suggestion, with certain persons from the people adhering to him, they elected as pope his brother Constantine, who was still a layman.

With arms and tumult they introduced him into the Lateran church. Having summoned George, bishop of Praenestina, they compelled him to tonsure the said Constantine as a cleric.

When George saw himself constrained by them, he prostrated himself at the feet of that most nefarious Constantine, adjuring him by all the divine mysteries to cease from so impious and nefarious a presumption, lest through him so unheard-of a temerity begin to sprout in the Church of God.

But because the armed men standing around threatened him unless he did this, after prayer he ordained Constantine a cleric.

On the following day Constantine was ordained a deacon by the same man. Afterward, on the next Lord's Day, hastening with a multitude of armed men to the church of blessed Peter, he was ordained and consecrated bishop by the same George, bishop of Praenestina, in the presence of the bishops of Albanum and Portus.

He held the Apostolic See for the space of one year.

Having seized the pseudo-papacy through tyranny, he fell into such madness that he even held ordinations and ordained eight priests and four deacons. During the course of that year he also appointed eight bishops in diverse places.

The aforesaid George, bishop of Praenestina, however, after a few days was seized by a most grievous illness and became wholly immobile, to such an extent that from the day on which he ordained Constantine he was never able to celebrate Mass.

His right hand withered, and thus, languishing, he ended his life.

While Constantine thus held the invaded Apostolic See, everyone, together with those who were moved by zeal for the faith, stirred up a tumult and deposed this Constantine from the episcopal chair.

With one mind and one consent, they all elected before the Roman people a certain Stephen, a Sicilian by nation, a most holy and wise man, in the year of the Lord seven hundred fifty-six.

Section V: Stephen III

When that Constantine, who had usurped the papacy for himself through tyranny, had therefore been deposed and degraded, Stephen himself, elected by all the clergy and people and consecrated in the Lateran church, remained in the supreme pontificate.

He sat for three years, five months, and twenty-eight days.

At the beginning of his ordination, after bishops from both Italy and Gaul had assembled, he celebrated a general council at Rome in the Lateran church.

In it, first, it was decreed under the bond of anathema that no one should ascend to the episcopal dignity unless he came to it through distinct grades.

Concerning the priests and deacons themselves, it was established in the council that those bishops among them who had previously been priests or deacons should return to their former grades in the accustomed manner and, after a decree of their election had been made, seek its confirmation from the Apostolic See.

The priests and deacons ordained by Constantine were in like manner to return to their former habit.

All other things that Constantine had done concerning divine worship were invalidated, except baptism and chrism.

In the same council it was also enacted and confirmed that the sacred images of the Lord Jesus Christ, of blessed Mary, and of the other saints ought to be venerated and honored by all.

They confounded, condemned, and anathematized that synod celebrated in the regions of Greece under the compulsion of the heretical emperor Constantine, which had decreed that the said images were to be removed.

After this sacred council, Pope Stephen, after many good works, rested in peace.

From the council of Pope Stephen it is said thus in Distinction seventy-nine: “It was fitting that this sacrosanct lady, our Roman Church, should be duly ordered according to what was instituted by blessed Peter and his successors, and that one of the cardinal priests or deacons should be consecrated to the summit of the apostolate.”

The same council says in the following chapter: “Let no one from the laity, or even from another order, ever presume to be promoted to the sacred pontifical order unless, ascending through distinct grades, he has been made a cardinal deacon or priest.”

The same council says: “If anyone from among the bishops, monks, or laymen, breaking through contrary to the statutes of the sacred canons and the fathers, should presume to enter the grade of the sons of the Holy Roman Church, that is, of the cardinal priests and deacons, and if anyone from those named above should attempt to invade this Apostolic See and should desire to ascend to the honor of the supreme pontificate, let there be a perpetual anathema upon him and upon those acting on his behalf.”

Likewise Pope Stephen says in Cause two, Question one, concerning a matter manifest and known to very many: “Witnesses are not to be sought for notorious matters.

“Thus Saint Ambrose, in the letter to the Corinthians, says concerning the fornicator, expounding the opinion of the apostle: ‘It is not for a judge to condemn without an accuser, because the Lord did not in the least cast away Judas when he was a thief, since he was not accused.

“‘But when the deed had become known, the apostle judged that he was to be driven from the assembly of the brotherhood. For everyone knew his crime and did not accuse him. He publicly held his stepmother in place of a wife. In this matter neither were witnesses necessary nor could the crime be concealed by any tergiversation, whence he delivered him to Satan.’”

Section VI: Adrian

When Stephen went to his fathers, Adrian succeeded him in the honor of the supreme pontificate. He drew his origin from the most noble princes of the Romans in the year of the Lord seven hundred sixty-nine.

He sat for twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days.

He was exceedingly steadfast in spirit, a most ardent defender of the Catholic faith and of the people committed to him by God, and exercised the most diligent care of the needy poor.

Scarcely two months had elapsed from his ordination when that wicked king of the Lombards took the city of Faventia, which pertained to the right of the Church. Thereafter he transferred Chomachium, with the entire exarchate of Ravenna, into his power.

Afterward, assailing the city of Ravenna itself on every side and taking away its farms and villages, he left nothing from which the people in the said city could live and be sustained.

Hence the archbishop of the city, who was called Leo, was compelled to direct messengers to Adrian at Rome concerning these evils.

Hearing this, like a true shepherd of Christ's sheep and sympathizing from his heart, he immediately directed his own messengers to the same King Desiderius, asking and humbly beseeching him to restore the cities and fortresses that he had taken from the right of blessed Peter.

The insolent king wrote back that, unless the supreme pontiff first approached him personally and held a conversation with him concerning these things, he would by no means restore those cities.

For the most deceitful king desired the pontiff's coming because he wished him to anoint as kings the sons of Carlomannus, who together with their mother had left Gaul after their father's death and had come to him.

He desired to sow discords in the kingdom of the Franks and to separate the holy pontiff himself from the charity and love of Charles the Great, king of the Franks, so that, when this had been done, he might more easily subject the Roman city itself, with all Italy, to his dominion.

But by no art could he lead the most wise pontiff to do this.

King Desiderius, therefore, seeing that he could in no way incline the supreme pontiff to come to him, was kindled with great anger.

Sending a numerous multitude of soldiers, he occupied Sinigallia, Hesium, Mount Feltrum, Urbinum, and Eugubium. In the capture of these cities, many perished by the sword.

Thereafter, having assembled a general army, he undertook the journey toward the Roman city, and on the journey itself he took the fortress of Utriculum and the city of Blera by storm.

When this became known, the supreme prelate, sympathizing with his sons from his heart, sent the abbot of Sabina, a most holy man, with ten of the elders of his monks to the same king.

Approaching him and prostrate before his feet, they entreated him with tears on behalf of Almighty God and of the same supreme prelate to recover his senses from such evils and to restore the aforesaid cities that he had taken from blessed Peter.

But they could in no way soften his iron breast and most hard mind. Hence they returned without effect to the supreme pontiff.

When the same pontiff had directed his messengers to him a second and a third time concerning this affair and accomplished nothing, compelled by necessity he sent solemn messengers to Charles the Great, the illustrious king of the Franks.

He entreated him that, just as his father Pippin of pious memory had once done, he also should assist the Roman Church against the tyranny of the Lombards.

Desiderius, however, since by no reasoning could he induce the pontiff to come to him to anoint the aforesaid sons of Carlomannus, went forth from his palace with a great and numerous army and, without the pontiff's knowledge, undertook the journey toward Rome, leading the aforesaid boys together with their mother.

When the prelate learned that his arrival was approaching, he first fortified the Roman city exceedingly well. Thereafter he wrote a letter of anathema, admonishing him and adjuring him by all the divine mysteries not to enter the territory of the Romans in any way.

When that most proud king had received it, he returned to his own lands with great reverence and did not dare to proceed farther.

After this, envoys of the most illustrious King Charles came to the pope at Rome, asking whether Desiderius had restored the cities taken from the Roman Church.

For the king of the Lombards had caused false letters to be circulated in Francia asserting that he had restored all the cities of the Roman Church to the supreme pontiff Adrian.

But when King Charles learned the truth, that he had not restored the said cities, he immediately sent his own messengers to Desiderius.

Through them he entreated Desiderius to restore the cities he had taken to blessed Peter and Pontiff Adrian, peacefully promising that fourteen thousand solidi would be given to him.

But because he was able to bend his ferocity neither by prayers nor by gifts, Charles assembled a multitude of warriors from his kingdom and moved his army against Desiderius.

When King Charles reached the borders of Italy, desiring, if he were able, to bring the cause of blessed Peter to the effect of justice without the shedding of blood, he again caused Desiderius to be asked through religious men to restore the rights of blessed Peter.

But because he could in no way bend his malicious mind, while Desiderius armed himself most powerfully to resist and, having fortified the passage of the Alps, prohibited passage to the Franks, it appeared that by human strength the king of the Franks could in no way descend with his forces to the plains of Italy.

God, who always resists the proud, humbled his obstinate pride by the right hand of his power.

For when Charles despaired that he and his men could cross the mountains and intended to arrange his return to his own country on the following day, suddenly the Lombards, struck by divine fear, abandoned during that same night the fortifications that could in no way have been captured by human force.

With no one pursuing, they fled and began to fortify themselves in their cities.

When morning came, Charles saw that the fortifications had been deserted by the Lombards. Gathering his army, he descended without opposition to the plains of Italy.

King Desiderius with his Lombards did not hesitate to meet him. But when battle was joined, by God's will he was defeated. After many of his men had been lost, Desiderius was put to flight.

Charles, having obtained victory, pursued Desiderius himself and surrounded on every side with a siege the city of Pavia, which Desiderius had entered while fleeing.

But hearing that the son of Desiderius had withdrawn with the wife and sons of Carlomannus to Verona, he hastened there with the strength of his army.

When he came to the place, the said woman, namely the former wife of Carlomannus, immediately came to the king of her own will with her sons.

Receiving them kindly, he returned to the siege at Pavia.

In those days he reduced into his power all the cities that were beyond the Po.

When he had now besieged Pavia for six months, desiring to visit the thresholds of the apostles, he left the army and departed for Rome.

When he approached the city on Holy Saturday, out of reverence for the apostles and the other saints who rest at Rome, he descended from his horse and entered on foot for one mile with great devotion.

When he came to the steps of the church of blessed Peter, as he ascended he kissed all the steps of the said church with many tears, and came to Pope Adrian, who was awaiting him with the clergy in the atrium of the said church.

Received by him with great solemnity, they both entered the church together.

After he had resided for some days at Rome and visited the thresholds of the apostles and of the other saints, he returned to the army.

At length, in the tenth month, when the Franks pressed fiercely outside the city while famine and pestilence raged within, the city was captured and Desiderius was seized with his wife and children.

By the command of King Charles the Great, they were carried into Gaul.

Thus the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy was ended, two hundred four years after they had begun to reign in Italy.

Agisulphus, however, the son of Desiderius, who was then at Verona, hearing that his father had been captured and thereafter despairing that he could resist Charles's people in Italy, fled with a few of his familiars to the Greeks at Constantinople.

Finally, when all Italy had been subjected, Charles returned to Rome. There he restored in full all things that the kings of the Lombards had taken either from the Church or from the right of the Romans, adding the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum.

The supreme pontiff convoked a council of one hundred fifty bishops. In recompense for such great labors, with the whole synod consenting, he granted to Charles the Great the right of electing the pontiff and of ordaining the Apostolic See, and also granted to King Charles the dignity of the patriciate, as is clear below.

Concerning this Pope Adrian it is stated thus in Distinction sixty-three from the *Ecclesiastical History*:

“Pope Adrian requested King Charles to come to Rome to defend the possessions of the Church. Charles, coming to Rome, besieged Pavia. Leaving his army there, he was honorably received by Pope Adrian on the holy day of the Resurrection.

“After the holy Resurrection, returning to Pavia, he captured King Desiderius. Thereafter, returning to Rome, he established a synod there with Pope Adrian in the Lateran patriarchate, in the church of the Holy Savior.

“That synod was celebrated by one hundred fifty-three religious bishops and abbots.

“Pope Adrian, with the whole synod, delivered to Charles the right and power of electing the pontiff, granted to him the Apostolic See and the dignity of the patriciate, and moreover decreed that archbishops and bishops throughout the individual provinces should receive investiture from him.

“It also decreed that unless a bishop were invested by the king, he should be consecrated by no one. Whoever should act contrary to this decree it bound with the bond of anathema and, unless he recovered his senses, confiscated his goods.”

Under this Pope Adrian, the Felician heresy was condemned and, in Adrian's presence, was abjured by Felix himself, its author.

This heresy asserted that the Son of God was true God in the divine nature but nuncupative God in the human nature. Likewise, it asserted that he was the Son of God in the divine nature but adoptive in the human nature, dividing the one person of God and man into two persons, namely that of a true son and that of an adoptive son.

He also labored exceedingly to repress the madness of the heretics who execrated the images of God and the saints. By books published against them and strengthened by many authorities of the Scriptures, he weakened their errors and made the right faith firm.

Pope Adrian says thus in Cause twenty-five, Question one: “By a general decree we establish that whoever among kings, bishops, or powerful men shall henceforth believe or permit the censure of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs to be violated in any respect shall be under execrable anathema and shall always stand guilty before God as a violator of the Catholic faith.”

The same pope says in Cause six, Question one: “According to the people's deserts, bishops are sometimes depraved,” that is, depraved men are appointed, “so that those who follow them may fall more readily.

“When the head languishes, the other members of the body are infected. Those who corrupt the life and morals of good persons become worse than those who plunder the substance and estates of others.

“Let each person beware lest either his tongue or his ears itch,” that is, lest he disparage others or listen to others disparaging.

“‘Sitting,’ says the prophet, ‘you spoke against your brother by disparaging, and against your mother's son you placed a stumbling block,’ and so forth.

“Let each person spare himself from disparagement of the tongue and guard his own words. Let them know that when they speak concerning others they will be judged by their own sentence.

“No one willingly tells something to an unwilling hearer.

“Most beloved, let it be the duty of each person to preserve not only chaste eyes but also a chaste tongue. Let another house never learn through them whatever is done in anyone's house.

“Let all possess the simplicity of the dove and plot deceits against no one, and let them possess the prudence of the serpent lest they be overthrown by the snares of others.”

The same pope says in Cause five, Question six: “Everyone who brings falsehoods against others shall be punished and shall bear infamy for his falsehood. He who does not prove the calumny he has brought ought to incur the penalty that the accused would have sustained if the accuser had proved it.”

The same pope says in Cause five, Question six: “The tongue of an informer,” that is, of a false accuser, “shall be cut out, or, when he has been convicted, his head shall be cut off.”

Informers are those who betray others from envy, namely by accusing them falsely. And, as the gloss says, this teaches what a judge ought to do in such a case, not that the Church kills or mutilates.

The same pope says in Cause five, Question one: “He who has publicly composed a writing or insulting words to the infamy of another and, having been discovered, has not proved what was written, shall be scourged. And let him who first finds it tear it up if he does not wish to incur liability as the author of the deed.”

The same pope says in Cause five, Question three: “In criminal cases an accuser may accuse someone only in person, and an accused person is not permitted to defend himself through another person.” The gloss sets down certain exceptions.

The same pope says in Cause six, Question one: “We say that all those whom the laws of the world call infamous are infamous, together with all those who, because their faults demand it, cannot be promoted to the priesthood.

“For it is unworthy that they should accuse those who cannot be what they themselves are, because just as superiors are not judged by inferiors, so neither can they be accused by them.”

After Adrian, Leo was created pope, who gave the empire to Charles. But these matters will be discussed in the following title.

Section VII: Boniface

In the times of the aforesaid pontiffs, Boniface, archbishop of Maguntinum, shone.

Sent by Gregory II to preach in Germany, he converted the Teutons to Christ by his teaching and holy works. At length, crowned by martyrdom, he migrated to Christ.

Certain letters of his are found, from which his holiness and zeal for souls are apprehended.

In Distinction forty it is said thus from the deeds of Boniface the martyr:

“If the pope is discovered to be negligent concerning his own and his brethren's salvation, useless and remiss in his works, and moreover silent concerning the good, which harms himself and everyone more, he nevertheless leads innumerable peoples with him in crowds as the first slave of Gehenna, to be beaten with many blows with him for eternity.

“No mortal presumes to reprove his faults here, because he who is to judge everyone is to be judged by no one, unless he is discovered to have strayed from the faith.

“For his perpetual condition, the whole body of the faithful prays all the more earnestly insofar as it more attentively perceives that, after God, its own salvation depends upon his preservation.”

The same Boniface, writing to Pope Zacharias, says thus in Cause eleven, Question three:

“Gregory, the predecessor of your predecessor, of venerable memory, when he ordained me, though unworthy, and sent me to preach the word of God to the Germanic peoples, bound me by an oath that I should become a supporter and helper in word, deed, and consent to canonical and just bishops and priests. With divine grace, I strove to fulfill this.

“But false priests, hypocrites, and seducers of peoples I was either to correct toward the way of salvation, or to avoid and abstain from their communion.

“This I preserved in part and in part was unable to preserve. But I also fulfilled the oath spiritually, because my soul did not enter into their consent and counsel. Corporally, however, I was unable to abstain from them.

“For when I had come to the prince of the Franks, compelled by the necessity of the churches, I did not find there such men as I wished. Nevertheless, I was unwilling to communicate with them in holy communion.”

This chapter is understood concerning heretics, schismatics, and excommunicated persons with respect to avoiding them, as is clear from the following chapter, in which Zacharias answers Boniface himself.

The same Boniface consulted Pope Zacharias as to whether, because he was now old and weak, he could appoint another suitable man in his place in the church of Maguntinum, where he was archbishop.

Zacharias answered him that it would be exceedingly reprehensible for another to be substituted while he lived. But, by a singular grace on account of his holiness, he permitted him to assume a coadjutor for the ministry by ordaining him bishop, whom, when dying, he might appoint as his successor.

By law this is granted to no bishop or prelate, Cause seven, Question one, *You Sought*.

The same Boniface, writing to the king of the English, says thus in Distinction fifty-six:

“If the nation of the English, as has been divulged through these provinces and is cast against us as a reproach in Francia and Italy, and is cast against us in reproach even by the pagans themselves, has scorned lawful marriages and led a foul life by committing adultery and practicing lust after the likeness of the Sodomitic people, it is to be judged that from such a mingling with prostitutes peoples will all be begotten degenerate, ignoble, and raging with lust.

“At length the whole people will incline toward worse and more ignoble things, and finally it will become neither strong in secular war, nor stable in faith, nor honorable to men, nor lovable to God.

“Thus it happened to other peoples of the nation of Hispania, Provincia, and the Burgundians, who, departing in this way from God, committed fornication until the judge of such crimes permitted avenging punishments to come and rage through men ignorant of God's law and through the Saracens.”

But Helinandus also, as Vincent relates in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, says thus concerning this Boniface:

This Boniface, an Englishman by nation, wrote a letter of this kind to Ethobald, king of the English:

“To the most beloved lord Ethobald, Boniface the archbishop, Germanic legate of the Roman Church, sends perpetual salvation of charity in Christ.

“We have heard that, intent upon alms, you prohibit thefts and robberies, love peace, and are a defender of the poor and of widows; and for this we give thanks to God.

“But as to the fact that you scorn lawful marriage: if you did this for the sake of chastity, it would be praiseworthy. But because you take pleasure in lust and adultery and with nuns, it is reprehensible.

“Wherefore, most beloved son, repent, and remember how shameful it is that you, who exercise lordship in the house of God, should, to his injury, be a slave of lust.

“Moreover, we have heard that all the nobles of the people of the Mercians, through your example, abandon their lawful wives and defile adulteresses and nuns.

“Let the custom of a foreign people teach you how alien this is from honor. For in ancient Saxony, where there is no knowledge of Christ, if a virgin in her father's house or a married woman under a husband has committed adultery, they burn her after she has been strangled by their own hand and hang her corrupter over the grave of the buried woman.

“Or chaste matrons, her garments having been cut away as far as the girdle, scourge her and stab her with knives. Sent from village to village, she encounters new women who scourge her, until they kill her.

“The Winidi also, which is a most foul race of men, possess this custom: when her husband has died, the woman casts herself into his funeral pyre, to be burned together with him.

“If, therefore, peoples ignorant of God possess zeal for chastity, what is fitting for you, most beloved son, who are a Christian and a king?

“Spare, therefore, your own soul. Spare also the multitude of your people perishing through your example, concerning whose souls you will render an account.

“Reflect, I ask, how terrible a vengeance God exercised upon the former kings who were companions and sharers in that fault which we reprove in you.

“For an evil spirit seized your predecessor Celred, a debaucher of nuns and a breaker of ecclesiastical privileges, while he feasted splendidly with his soldiers. Without confession and viaticum, while he spoke with the devil and detested God's law, it tore out his soul.

“It likewise made Hosred, king of Deira and Bernicia and guilty of the same faults, so unbridled that by a contemptible death he lost both his kingdom and his young life.

“We therefore call you to witness and beseech you to remember how fugitive the present life is, and how fleeting is the delight of filthy flesh through which eternal torments are purchased, and how ignominious it is that you leave the evil examples of a brief life to posterity in perpetuity.”

“From these things,” says Vincent in the place cited above, “both the prudence of the blessed man and the freedom of his spirit can be weighed, since he publicly reproved the sins of kings and princes. Through this, together with the holiness of his present life, he merited happily to attain the crown and glory of martyrdom.”

Saint Lullus succeeded him, concerning whom there is this verse:

Bishop Lullus, than whom no one is holier,

Mighty in divine medicine granted by God,

Meets diseases, as the whole world proclaims.

The aforesaid Boniface was martyred with his companions in Frisia for the faith of Christ. He was buried in Thuringia in the monastery that he himself had founded.

Section VIII: Leo III

When Adrian had died, Leo, a Roman by nation, was placed in the See of Peter in the seven-hundred-and-ninety-third year of the Lord [read: the seven-hundred-and-ninety-fifth year]. He was the third of this name.

He sat for twenty years and three months.

He was a chaste man, eloquent in speech, steadfast in mind, liberal to the poor, a most fervent zealot for souls, a most severe rebuker of vices, and a defender and guardian of ecclesiastical possessions.

In the seventh year of his pontificate, namely in the eight-hundred-and-first year of the Lord, while he devoutly conducted the solemnity of the litanies through Rome with the clergy, a certain man named Paschalis, with certain sons of the devil adhering to him and a multitude of armed men assembled, suddenly seized the pope.

They stripped him of his sacred habit, cast him to the ground, cruelly cut out his tongue and tore out his eyes, and, after inflicting many wounds, left him rolling in his own blood.

But both his tongue and his eyes were divinely restored to him.

He was led by the faithful to the church of blessed Peter. All who saw and heard the wonders that Christ had worked in his vicar glorified God, saying: “Blessed be God, who alone performs great wonders.”

When the duke of the city of Spoleto heard what wicked men had perpetrated against the supreme pontiff, he came to the city with a multitude of armed men. Taking the blessed pontiff, he led him with him to Spoleto.

After Leo had remained there for some days, he took an honorable company of clerics and departed for Charles the Great, king of the Franks.

The king received him as he arrived, honorably and reverently, with hymns and canticles. Seeing the wonders that God had worked in him, he glorified God with tears poured forth.

Those who had committed so monstrous a sacrilegious crime against him, hearing that the pontiff had approached the king of the Franks, did not dare to follow him. Instead, fabricating many crimes falsely, they transmitted them to the king through their messengers.

Giving them no credence, as was fitting, the king sent the supreme prelate back to his See at Rome, accompanied by many nobles of the Franks.

Received by them as an apostle, he was placed in his own See.

When the pontiff had rested for a few days, so that he might clear himself of the crimes imposed upon him before the king, the nobles, and the whole Roman people, he assembled all the bishops of Italy.

Before the king himself and everyone sitting in the church of blessed Peter, the venerable pontiff, embracing the four Gospels, ascended the ambo and said under oath in the hearing of all: “Concerning those false crimes with which certain wicked men have defamed me, I have no knowledge, nor do I know that I have done such things.”

After examining the case of the conspiracy against Pope Leo, Charles condemned the guilty, some to death and others to exile.

Hence Leo says concerning himself, as is found in Cause two, Question four:

“It has been heard, most beloved brothers, how wicked men fabricated false crimes against me. Wherefore I, Leo, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, purify myself in your sight before God and his angels, because I neither perpetrated nor ordered to be perpetrated those criminal and wicked things that they cast against me.

“In doing this, however, I do not prescribe a law for others that they be compelled to do it.”

Thus far there.

The manner in which Pope Leo crowned Charles himself with the crown of the empire will be stated in the following title.

Title XIV

Chapter II

Philippicus

Philippicus, therefore, who was also Bardianus, after usurping the empire for himself when Justinian and his son had been killed, reigned for two years.

He began to reign in the seven-hundred-and-thirteenth year of the Lord, the four-thousand-six-hundred-and-seventy-sixth year of the world according to one computation, but according to another, which gives a much greater number, in the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-twelfth year.

In his first year Germoardus, praying at Leodium before the altar of Saint Lambert, as Vincent relates after Sigebertus, was killed by Mangarius, a soldier of Rabbodus, duke of the Frisians.

Theobald, son of Dogro, was appointed mayor of the household by his grandfather Pippin.

The aforesaid emperor Philippicus, as Vincent relates after Hugh in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, because he was a heretic, sent Cyrus, bishop of Constantinople, into exile and placed in the same See a certain pseudo-monk of his own persuasion named John.

Philippicus himself also sent to Pope Constantine at Rome letters of depraved dogma.

The holy man rejected them with the counsel of the Roman people and commanded that Philippicus's name not be placed in charters.

When Philippicus had ruled for one year and a half, Anastasius rose against him, deprived him of his eyes, deposed him from the imperial dignity, and claimed his empire for himself.

Section I: Anastasius

Anastasius, therefore, who was also called Arthemius, after usurping the empire for himself from Philippicus, ruled for two years.

He began to rule in the seven-hundred-and-fifteenth year of the Lord, the four-thousand-six-hundred-and-seventy-eighth year of the world, but according to another computation the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-fourteenth year.

Because he was Catholic, he sent letters to Pope Constantine through Scholasticus the patrician, exarch of Italy, in which he declared himself a supporter of the Catholic faith and a preacher of the holy Sixth Council.

At length he directed a fleet to Alexandria against the Saracens.

The army of this fleet, turned toward another plan in the middle of the journey, entered the city of Constantinople, sought Theodosius, an orthodox man, elected him emperor, and placed him upon the imperial throne under compulsion.

This Theodosius overcame Anastasius in a grave battle near the city of Nicaea, according to Vincent after Hugh in the place cited above.

At that time Saint Albinus, bishop of Andegavum, flourished.

He was a native of the Venetic region bordering upon the British Ocean and descended from parents of no mean station.

From his youth he burned with so great a fervor of faith that he voluntarily left his parents for Christ, fled carnal affections as enemies of the soul, and planted his whole mind in the heavenly homeland.

Immediately, in the monastery of Tralacum, he humbly subjected himself to his superiors so that, already in the first training of his youth, he might be an example of old age to the others.

At length, while still a little boy, as he walked through the district in the service of his abbot, he came to a certain place where a tempest thundered with such violence and so great a rainstorm poured forth that even its roof could not protect the house in which he was.

Since the volume of rain left the house as exposed as an open field and drenched everyone lodged there, the rain feared to touch blessed Albinus alone; for where a drop perceived the flame of faith, it turned itself aside lest it inflict injury.

When he was thirty-five years old, he was elected rector and pious shepherd of the monastery, solicitous to cut away vices and circumspect in implanting heavenly goods.

Thus he happily governed the congregation committed to him in the office of abbot for twenty-five years.

Thereafter, when Andegavum had been deprived of a shepherd, although he humbly resisted, he was called to the pontificate by the whole people.

Having obtained the honor of the priesthood that was owed to him, he showed himself merciful in alms to the poor, in the defense of citizens, in the visitation of the sick, and in the redemption of captives.

Hearing that a deceased young man was being lamented by his parents, he came running. So that he might draw out the dead man alive, he prostrated himself in prayer and, bending over him, prayed for a long time.

While the priest lying in the dust grew pale, the vitality of the soul grew red in the body, until, heaven having been struck and Tartarus laid open, the young man was called back from the funeral and the priest from prayer.

Likewise, he illuminated a certain blind man with the sign of the cross.

Likewise, when this apostolic man had come to the Venetic city, one of the young men who served him, whom he loved especially because of the quality of his character, died and was buried in that place.

After a year he called for the young man's little body to be taken from there to his own country.

While Albinus was delayed for a useful reason, the servants wished to move the body before the priest arrived. But it was made so heavy that they could have weighed gigantic limbs sooner than carry forth the boy's body, until the prelate came and loosened by prayer what those gathered together could not move.

In the city of Andegavum, a tower adjoining the gate had been made a prison for condemned persons. As blessed Albinus passed by, a commotion arose from the voices of those enclosed.

Then he approached the judge as an intercessor, asking that he release them from custody for the sake of piety.

When the judge postponed the matter with a deaf ear, the pontiff immediately turned himself to God with a faithful petition and uttered such familiar words that, in the place where Saint Albinus poured forth his prayer, a square stone of wondrous size sprang forth and made an entrance through the gate for those in chains, because before his prayer the stone could not preserve its solidity.

Coming forth from there as living persons from a tomb, they prostrated themselves at his footsteps in the basilica of blessed Maurilio, rendering thanks to the Lord and to Albinus because he had caused those facing death to return to safety.

Making the sign of the cross over a certain demoniac woman, he also drove the demon away from her.

Indeed, he desired to become a martyr of God, if the right hand of a striker had not been lacking.

At length this holy man, adorned with the flowers of virtues, having governed the summit of the pontificate for twenty years and six months and happily completed the eightieth year of his age, migrated to the Lord on the Kalends of March.

Section II: Theodosius

Thereafter Theodosius deposed Anastasius from the empire, ordained him a priest, and ruled for one year.

He began to rule in the seven-hundred-and-seventeenth year of the Lord, according to Vincent after Sigebertus in the place cited above.

Because he was inactive and unlearned and a collector of public revenues, he was compelled by force by the army to assume the empire.

At that time Rathbodus, duke of the Frisians, was led by the preaching of Bishop Wolframus to seek to be baptized.

When he had dipped one foot into the font, withdrawing the other foot, he asked where the greater number of his ancestors were, in paradise or in hell.

Hearing that the greater number were in hell, he withdrew the foot that had been dipped and said: “It is safer that I follow the greater number rather than the fewer.”

Thus he was mocked by a demon, who promised him that three days from then he would give him incomparable goods. But on that third day he perished by a sudden and eternal death.

This Wolframus, as Vincent relates from his deeds in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, was bishop of Senonica and was from the territory of Vasconia.

His father Wulbert served in the court of King Dagobert.

Wolframus was admonished by a vision to preach the word of God to the nation of the Frisians.

In order to do this, he then went to the monastery of Fontanella, whose abbot was Ausbert, later bishop of Rothomagus. From this monastery he took fellow laborers with him for preaching.

While they sailed to Frisia and were in the middle of the sea adjoining the region of the Normans, the hour arrived at which Saint Wolframus was to sing Mass.

The ship remained immovable with its anchors cast.

At length, when the place in the Mass had come at which the minister ought to offer the paten to the holy prelate, the prelate awaited it with his hand extended.

But while the minister wished to wash it, it fell into the sea. Prostrate at the holy man's feet, he sought pardon.

Sending him to the place from which it had fallen, Wolframus brought it about that the paten, carried back from the bottom of the sea, adhered to the minister's hand.

After these things, a son of Duke Rathbodus, having been baptized by the blessed man, expired while clothed in white.

It was a custom among the Frisians that whoever was touched by the lot should be offered to the demons to be sacrificed.

A certain boy named Ouo was chosen by lot for such a thing.

When the holy man sought him, the duke answered: “If your Christ shall rescue this man from death, let him be yours.”

The boy was hanged upon a gallows. But while Saint Wolframus prayed, the bonds that constricted his throat were broken, and he fell unharmed to the earth.

Being held by the saint, he arose unharmed. Having been baptized, he was afterward, at a fitting time, ordained a priest.

After this, when Duke Rathbodus, as was said above, was to be baptized and was in great doubt whether he ought to do this, he sent to blessed Villibrordus, bishop of that people, consulting him as to whether he ought to be baptized.

Villibrordus answered him: “How will he believe me who does not believe our holy brother? I saw him this night bound with a fiery chain, whence it is established that he has already assumed eternal damnation.”

As he went to the prince's house, it was announced to him that the prince was already dead, and immediately he returned to his own place.

The manner in which this Rathbodus had been deceived by the devil, the aforesaid Ouo narrated, saying that the devil had appeared to him transformed into an angel, having his head covered with a golden diadem set with gems and wearing a garment woven with gold.

When Rathbodus gazed upon it, that angel, though an evil one, said: “Most powerful of men, who has so seduced you that you wish to withdraw from the worship of the gods?

“Do not do this. Remain in those things that you have learned, and you will come to the golden houses that I am going to give you eternally in the immediate future.

“Tomorrow, therefore, summon Wolframus, the teacher of the Christians, and ask him what that dwelling of eternal brightness is that is promised to you.

“When he is unable to show it to you, let envoys be sent from each party, and I shall be the guide of the journey and shall show them the golden house and the most beautiful dwelling that I promise you.”

Awakening, Rathbodus narrated all things to Saint Wolframus.

Wolframus told him that the deceitful devil wished to mock him.

Rathbodus answered that he wished to become a Christian if that beautiful dwelling were not shown to him by his god.

Immediately, therefore, a certain Frisian was sent on behalf of the duke, and a certain deacon on behalf of Saint Wolframus.

When they had proceeded a little way from the town, they met a certain companion for the journey.

He said to them: “Hasten quickly, for I shall show you the most beautiful dwelling prepared for Duke Rathbodus.”

Proceeding, therefore, along a very broad road and through unknown places, they saw a certain road adorned with polished work from diverse kinds of marble.

From afar they saw a house as though of gold and came to the square that was before that house, laid as though with gold and gems.

Entering the house, they saw that it was of wondrous beauty and incredible splendor, and in it was a throne of wondrous size.

Then the guide of the journey said to them: “This is the dwelling prepared for Duke Rathbodus.”

At this the astonished deacon said: “If these things have been made by God, let them remain forever; if by the devil, let them quickly disappear.”

And when he signed himself with the sign of the holy cross, that guide changed into a devil, and the golden house into mud.

The deacon and the Frisian remained in the midst of marshy places that were full of exceedingly long burned brushwood. [read: exceedingly long buckthorn thickets]

After completing for three days a journey of immense labor, they returned to the town and found the duke dead.

They narrated to Saint Wolframus what they had seen. The Frisian, moreover, having been baptized, followed blessed Wolframus to the monastery.

Saint Wolframus was also among the Frisians for five years. Afterward he returned to Fontanella and assumed the monastic habit, a bishop having been ordained in the city of Senonica.

Section III: Leo

According to Vincent in the place cited above, after Hugo, a most powerful man named Leo rose against the aforesaid emperor Theodosius. He indeed deposed him from the imperial summit, but permitted him to depart unharmed. Theodosius himself, having become a cleric, passed the remainder of his life in peace.

Leo began to rule in the seven-hundred-and-eighteenth year of the Lord, and in the four-thousand-seven-hundred-and-eighty-first year of the world, but according to another computation in the five-thousand-and-first year. He ruled for twenty-four years.

In the second year of this Leo, the Constantinopolitans strongly resisted the Saracens by assiduity in praying and constancy in fighting. Saracens without number perished by hunger, cold, war, and pestilence.

It is related, as Vincent writes in the place cited above, that they perished miraculously in this manner.

At Constantinople, in the monastery of the holy Mother of God beside the palace in the sea, near Saint Sophia, there was an image of blessed Mary who held the infant Jesus in her arm. Saint Luke, it is said, painted him on a panel while Saint Mary was still living.

This image is called *Odigitria*, that is, “Guide,” because Saint Mary appeared to two blind men, led them to her church, and gave them sight.

With this image they make a procession through the whole city every Tuesday.

Therefore, when the city was under siege, as was said above, and the citizens were fasting and praying and fighting at the same time, a certain citizen advised that the image be brought and that prayer be made to it by everyone in this manner: “Holy Mother of God, who have delivered us so many times, deliver us now from the enemies of your Son. And if you wish us not to sink your image in the sea, sink them.”

When he had said these things, he secretly held the image beneath the waves. Immediately a storm arose, and it either sank or shattered all the ships of the Saracens.

At that time, as Helinand writes, a certain wondrous vision was shown by an angel to a hermit in Britain concerning Saint Joseph, that noble decurion who took down the Lord’s body from the cross, and concerning that bowl or dish in which the Lord supped and dipped the morsel that he gave to Judas.

In the second year of this same Leo, Sigebertus says, Constantine, the son of this emperor, while being baptized by Patriarch Germanus, defecated in the holy font, giving a great presage that he would be a scandal to the Church of God, as indeed he was.

In Leo's third year the Saracens, confounded, abandoned the siege of Constantinople, their ships having been partly consumed by sea-fire, partly submerged, and partly devastated by a storm of hail, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*.

And when scarcely five ships remained from so great a multitude of ships, the power of God became known to all peoples.

Within the city, however, three hundred thousand persons perished from pestilence.

Haumar, persecuting the Christians, made many of them martyrs of Christ.

The Saracens crossed over from Africa into Spain under their leader Abdirama and claimed it for themselves.

Thus the kingdom of the Visigoths and Suevi was destroyed and brought under the Saracens after more or less three hundred and forty-six years had elapsed from the time when they were expelled from Scythia by the Huns.

But from the time when, after the Vandals withdrew and the Suevi were defeated, they began to rule in the Spains, about two hundred and fifty-six years had elapsed.

The kingdom of the third part of the Spains, however, which is called that of the Galicians, which neither the Visigoths at that time nor the Saracens afterward were able to subjugate, still flourishes unharmed and, with the faith of Christ protecting it, remains unconquerable.

After blessed Wolframus, Guericus, a man most resplendent in sanctity and learning and glorious for many miracles, presided over the church of Senonica.

Saint Ebbo, the nephew of this same Guericus, succeeded him. When he had formerly been orphaned of his parents and the castle of Tornodorum belonged to him by hereditary right, he fled secretly to Senonica.

There, in the monastery of Saint Peter, he long served Christ under the rule of the abbot.

Afterward, having been made abbot of that place and then promoted to bishop, he shone as greatly in signs as in merits.

In Leo's fourth year, Luitprand, king of the Lombards, who was very devoted to Saint Augustine, heard that the Saracens, after depopulating Sardinia, had also defiled those places where the bones of blessed Augustine had been translated and deposited because of the devastation of the barbarians. They had been brought from Hippo, where Augustine had been bishop and had first been buried.

He sent envoys there, namely to Sardinia, and, after much gold had been given, caused those relics to be carried away from there.

The aforesaid king of the Lombards went a long distance to meet these relics and, having seen miracles manifesting the saint's merit, devoutly adored them.

But when they came to a certain village situated in the diocese of Thordona and wished to lift the body from there, that body remained so immovable that no force and no human art could move it.

Seeing this, the king made a vow that, if the blessed confessor permitted his body to be lifted from there and conveyed to Papia, he would grant that village, with all its appurtenances, to the servants of the church of blessed Augustine to be possessed forever.

When the vow had been made, the most holy body was lifted with inestimable ease, was conveyed as far as Ticinum, and was placed in the basilica of Saint Peter called the Golden Heaven, which had been constructed by that king.

In the fifth year of this Leo, Leo himself labored greatly to have Pope Gregory killed, but he was frustrated in his desire because the Italians and Lombards defended the pope.

In Campania of Italy, burned wheat, barley, and legumes fell from heaven as though in rain.

In Leo's sixth year, Charles Martel defeated the Saxons.

Rogobert, bishop of Remi, was deposed from the episcopate by the aforesaid Charles, his son in baptism (that is, his godson), because, when Charles was going against Reginfredus, Rogobert, through fear of Reginfredus, refused to open the city of Remi to him.

Eucherius, bishop of Aurelianum, was likewise deprived of the episcopate for a similar reason and, exiled in the monastery of Saint Trudo, was consummated in sanctity.

In Leo's seventh year, a certain divining sorcerer, promising Gisitheus that he would rule for forty years, persuaded him to decree that the images of God and the saints be taken down throughout his whole kingdom.

Seduced by the hope of ruling for a long time, he issued the edict. Nevertheless, he himself died suddenly.

After him Eluelid ruled over the Saracens for twenty years.

In Leo's eighth year, Leo himself, seduced by a certain Bessoth, an apostate from the faith, declared war against the images of Christ and his saints and decreed that they be taken down and burned everywhere.

Concerning this he was reproved by Pope Gregory, as is clear in the preceding chapter.

In Leo's ninth year, Chilperic having died, Theodoric was substituted by Charles Martel in the kingdom. He ruled for fifteen years.

At this time, according to Vincent's *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-four, chapter one hundred and forty-nine, this same Charles, a most warlike prince, subjugated the Saxons by arms and, having defeated Lanfrid, duke of the Alamanni, made Alamannia tributary to himself.

He also defeated the Suevi and the Bavarians.

He routed Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, after defeating him in war, and gravely devastated Aquitaine.

But Duke Eudo, seeing that he was inferior to Charles in all things, invited the Saracens from Spain against him.

Eudo, nevertheless, having been reconciled to Charles, destroyed the camps of the Saracens and crushed their remnants.

Not long afterward this same Eudo rebelled, but Charles defeated him while he was rebelling in Vasconia and deprived him both of his principality and of his life.

He also fought against Eudo's sons Waifred and Waldo, defeated them, and subjected all Aquitaine to himself.

He also captured Lugdunum and other cities and subjected Burgundy.

Therefore, when a multitude of enemies and the constancy of wars pressed upon him, he granted ecclesiastical property, that is, tithes, to his soldiers to possess.

For this reason his soul was afterward seen by Saint Eucherius, bishop of Aurelianum, to be detained in the punishment of hell.

In Leo's tenth year the Constantinopolitans rioted because of the removal of images, and some were even crowned with martyrdom because of this.

In his eleventh year, because Pope Gregory saw that he was incorrigible, he caused Rome, Italy, and all Hesperia to withdraw from Leo's jurisdiction and prohibited the payment of tribute.

In his twelfth year Saint Germanus, because he opposed Emperor Leo on account of his impiety, was cast down from the episcopal see.

In his thirteenth year the Saracens, with all their households, crossed the Garonne as though intending to dwell in Gaul. They devastated everything and burned the churches of God.

Charles Martel, relying upon God's aid, met them and killed three hundred and seventy thousand of them together with their king Abdirama, while he lost one thousand five hundred of his own men.

In Leo's fifteenth year, Constantine, his son, took as wife Irene, daughter of Kaian, king of the Avars. Having been baptized, she held the right faith while her husband apostatized.

Not long afterward Theodoric, king of the Franks, died, as Vincent relates from the chronicles in the place cited above.

After him Childeric ruled for nine years, a useless and indolent man who possessed nothing of the kingdom's entire power except the name of king.

The king of the Saracens invaded Arelate with his men and devastated the province.

Charles Martel met him, captured Avignon, besieged Narbonne, destroyed Magalona and Nemausus after the Saracens had been defeated, and took hostages from the said cities into Francia.

Finally Charles Martel, a most victorious prince, died after the kingdom of the Franks had been pacified and enlarged.

His body was buried in the church of Saint Dionysius outside Paris. In his tomb, after some years, not his body but an immense serpent was found.

The Franks received Narbonne, long besieged, from the Goths, after the Saracens had been slain and Waiferius, who led them, had been put to flight. Nevertheless, an agreement was made with the Franks that the Goths should live there according to their ancestral customs and laws.

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign Leo was taken from this world.

Section IV: Constantine

His son Constantine succeeded him.

He began to rule in the seven-hundred-and-forty-second year of the Lord and in the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-forty-first year of the world. He ruled for thirty-five years.

This Constantine, the successor alike of his father's empire and impiety, as Vincent notes after Hugo in the place cited above, was a persecutor of the laws handed down by the fathers.

Throughout the whole time of his life he always devoted himself to magical arts, sorceries, even bloody sacrifices, and lusts.

Many clerics, monks, and religious laypersons were also endangered under him for the right faith.

He likewise had the aforementioned Anastasius, the falsely named patriarch of Constantinople, consenting with him in all things because of love for earthly principality.

Consequently divine indignation came upon the citizens of that city, admonishing the impious emperor to restrain himself from the madness with which he burned. But he, like Pharaoh of old, remained uncorrected.

For a pestilential disease came, beginning from Sicily and Calabria and extending as far as the royal city, and so devastated it that even within the city many houses were shut up entirely because there was no one to inhabit them.

The corpses of the dead were also carried into the marshes.

The aforesaid patriarch Anastasius, moreover, exhausted by excessive suffering, miserably died while vomiting the excrement of his bowels, as he deserved.

A certain heretical monk named Constantine succeeded him.

In Emperor Constantine's third year, according to Sigebertus, ash fell from heaven.

In his fourth year Peter, bishop of Damascus, and Peter Mavimenus were martyred in Syria.

After the city of Aquae had been laid waste by the Saracens, the body of blessed Mary Magdalene was translated by Gerard, count of Burgundy, to the monastery of Vincelliacum that he had constructed, although some write that it rests at Ephesus, a claim having no supporting evidence.

Moreover, according to Vincent's *Historical Mirror*, when the holy body was translated from the city of Aquae, it was found in its tomb wholly intact in every part, covered with skin that was also wholly intact, lying extended in the customary manner with the hands placed upon the breast.

Afterward an odor of ineffable sweetness poured forth from it.

They placed it in the said monastery, in the church of the holy Mother of God. There, from that time, with the Lord cooperating, it became illustrious through the powers of diverse signs.

For near the city of Nivernum, a certain knight who had been imprisoned and bound with iron chains commended himself to the saint and came out unharmed after his chains had been loosed.

Likewise, in another place, another man bound with many chains went forth free by the merits of the saint to whom he had commended himself.

When certain persons were sailing on the sea and were being buffeted by a storm, and when the ship began to sink, they invoked the saint and were delivered from the danger of death.

A certain blind man also commended himself to her and received sight.

In Emperor Constantine's fifth year, Carloman, brother of King Pippin, pierced by divine fear after some years of his principality, went to Rome, sought and received the monastic habit from Pope Zacharias, and served God on Mount Siraptus and afterward in the monastery of Monte Cassino until the end of his life, as was said in the preceding chapter.

Attalongus the priest, admonished by the blindness inflicted upon him to seek the bodies of Saints Kilianus and his companions, recovered his sight when the bodies of the saints had been found.

When this matter had been reported to Saint Boniface, bishop of Maguntia, by Attalongus, Boniface decreed that the castle of Wirtzbugk be distinguished with the dignity of an episcopal see in honor of Kilianus the martyr, who had been ordained bishop by Pope Conon to preach there and there had received the place of his death and rest. He ordained Saint Burchardus as the first bishop there, as Vincent writes after Sigebertus in the place cited above.

In Constantine's seventh year there was an excessive pestilence and mortality of persons in Calabria and Sicily.

On people's garments and on the veils of churches there appeared little crosses marked as though with oil.

Pippin, mayor of the palace of Francia, who governed the kingdom, was created king of Francia by the will and assent of the magnates of the kingdom.

By the ordinance of Pope Zacharias, this Pippin was anointed king by Boniface, archbishop of Maguntia and afterward a martyr.

The man who had been king, namely Ilderic, because he was useless and effeminate, was deprived of the kingdom and tonsured as a monk. Concerning this, see above in the preceding chapter.

Pippin ruled in Francia for eighteen years. After him the mayors of the palace began to exercise principality over the kings of Francia.

In the tenth year, King Pippin improved the churches of the Gauls with chants of Roman authority under careful study.

When Haisculphus, king of the Lombards, rose against the Romans in order to subject Rome to himself, Pope Stephen, who had succeeded Zacharias, went personally into Francia to King Pippin and led him into Italy to defend the Church against the Lombards, which he also did, as was said above in the preceding chapter.

This Pippin also, as Sigebertus says, was anointed king by this Pope Stephen together with his sons Carloman and Charles, who was afterward called Charlemagne because of his virtues, and through them their generation was blessed forever into the inheritance of royal succession.

Anselm, an illustrious man whose sister was the wife of King Haisculphus, translated the body of Saint Sylvester the pope to the monastery of Monnatula that he had founded.

In Emperor Constantine's twelfth year there occurred a terrible earthquake in which some cities were overturned entirely and others in part, while other cities migrated more than six miles from mountainous places to the plains below, whole and unharmed, together with their walls and dwellings.

In Mesopotamia the earth was likewise rent for a distance of two miles.

Another earth, exceedingly white and sandy, rose from the depth, and from it came forth an undefiled mule-like animal speaking with a human voice and proclaiming an incursion of a nation from the desert against the Arabs.

These things are related by Sigebertus and Vincent in the place cited above.

In Emperor Constantine's thirteenth year, Carloman, Pippin's brother, who had become a monk and had gone into Francia to Pippin in favor of the king of the Lombards, died at Vienna.

In the fourteenth year of his reign, Constantine assembled at Constantinople a synod of three hundred and thirty bishops. In it the Church of God was greatly scandalized by an edict promulgated concerning the removal of the images of God and his saints, and the emperor tyrannized against the orthodox, as Vincent relates after Sigebertus.

King Pippin, having returned to Italy, confined and defeated at Papia Haisculphus, king of the Lombards, who, after breaking the covenant of peace, had besieged Rome, and compelled him to restore the lands and rights that he had taken from the Church.

Breaking forcefully through the fortifications of the Saxons, after great slaughter he brought them under tribute.

Then he destroyed the district of Auernicum, captured many castles and the city itself, and brought away Count Blandinus with many others.

He also captured Biturica and fortified it after its capture.

He devastated the Aquitanian cities of Agennum, Petragoricae, and Engolisma and subjected a great part of Aquitaine to himself.

In Constantine's fifteenth year, by divine will the head of John the Baptist was brought into Aquitaine under King Pippin and was received with honor. Afterward, when a noble church had been constructed in those same territories, it was deposited with fitting honor, as Vincent writes after Sigebertus in the place cited above.

Nevertheless, it must be known that at Rome, in the monastery of Saint Sylvester, which belongs to nuns, the head of John the Baptist is shown and is commonly held to be there.

Therefore God knows which is the truer, unless it be said that it was afterward translated from Aquitaine to Rome, which nevertheless is not found written.

In Emperor Constantine's twenty-first year the Turks, breaking forth from the Caspian Gates, harassed Armenia.

When in ancient times there had been a pestilence in their country, at the persuasion of Christians they shaved themselves in the form of a cross, and by this sign of salvation health was restored to the country. They retained this rite of shaving.

In Constantine's twenty-second year there was a great frost from the Kalends of October until February.

Thus the Pontic Sea, according to Sigebertus, for a distance of one hundred miles was turned by the severity of the ice into the hardness of stone, having thirty-one cubits from the surface to the depth.

Snow also covered it to a depth of twenty cubits, so that the sea was made firm by it and was trodden by feet.

But within the month of February, by the power of God, the ice was broken into diverse shapes in the likeness of mountains.

Stars also seen to fall from heaven so terrified everyone that they thought the end of the world was imminent.

In the twenty-third year of the aforesaid emperor, Bishop Chrodegangus translated from Rome into Gaul the bodies of the martyrs Gorgonius, Nabor, and Nazarius and placed them in diverse churches.

In Constantine's twenty-sixth year, the emperor Constantine, when he was about to fight against the Bulgars in a naval battle, lost almost his whole army when nearly two thousand of his ships were shattered by the force of the north wind.

In Constantine's twenty-seventh year, Constantine, who had usurped the papacy for himself while a layman, having been made a cleric, was deposed and deprived of his eyes.

Stephen was created bishop of the city. Pope Adrian succeeded him in the thirty-first year of Constantine's reign, as was said above.

He called Charlemagne into Italy to defend the Church from the hands of the Lombards, which he also did.

Finally, Emperor Constantine was divinely struck by the plague of a most dreadful burning and, crying out while still alive that he had been delivered to unquenchable fire, died.

Section V: Leo

Leo, his son, began his reign in the seven-hundred-and-seventy-seventh year of the Lord and in the four-thousand-seven-hundred-and-fortieth year from the beginning of the world, but according to another computation in the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-seventy-sixth year. He ruled for five years.

In his first year, when certain persons were meditating rebellion in Italy, the powerful King Charles returned to Italy, captured the city of Forum Julii, and commanded its duke Irolandus, the instigator of the rebellion, to be beheaded.

Having captured the city of Trivisium, by the majesty of his name he struck fear into the others.

In the same year, Witigundus, duke of the Saxons, fled into Normandy.

The baptized Saxons agreed that they would lose their freedom and all their possessions if they should ever withdraw from fidelity to Christ and to the king.

In the second year, King Charles destroyed Caesaraugusta in Spain by ravaging it, besieged Pampilona, and, after the walls of the captured city had been destroyed, subjected the Vascones and two petty kings to himself.

He received other cities in surrender.

In the fourth year, Charles crossed the river Albia. There the Bardaganenses and Norditi were baptized in his honor.

In the fifth year, Madiamiras made many martyrs of both sexes.

King Charles went to Rome with his army. There his sons were anointed as kings: Pippin over Italy and Ludovicus over Aquitaine.

When Emperor Leo was raging with desire for precious stones, as he passed through a certain church and saw a certain crown adorned with its precious stones, he commanded it to be taken away.

When he had worn it upon his head for some days, carbuncles in the form of a crown came forth from his head, and, seized by fever, he died.

Around that time, after Charlemagne had put an end to the Italian war, as Jacobus de Columna relates, the Saxon war immediately followed.

No war was undertaken that was longer, more atrocious, or more laborious for the Frankish people.

For at that time the Saxons, like all the nations then inhabiting Germany, were devoted to the worship of demons and opposed to the Christian religion. Consequently they did not judge it dishonorable to transgress either divine or human laws.

This war was undertaken with great animosity on each side and, with greater loss to the Saxons than to the Franks, continued for thirty-three successive years, which is difficult to tell.

Frequently defeated, they gave themselves to the king as suppliants. They promised that they would do what was commanded. They frequently gave without delay the hostages who were demanded.

Sometimes they were so subdued and softened that they even promised to abandon the worship of demons and to be willing to surrender themselves to the Christian religion.

But just as at times they were inclined to do these things, so they were always headlong in overturning those same things.

Nevertheless, the magnanimity and perpetual constancy of King Charles could neither be overcome by any mutability on their part nor be wearied from those things that he had begun to do.

For he never permitted them to perpetrate any such thing with impunity without either avenging their perfidy himself or sending an army through his counts and exacting a fitting penalty from them.

At last the war was ended on this condition: that, casting aside the worship of demons and abandoning their ancestral ceremonies, they should receive the sacraments of the Christian religion.

Although this war was drawn out over a great length of time, Charles himself nevertheless engaged the enemy in a battle line no more than twice.

The Saxons were so routed in these two battles that they did not afterward dare either to provoke the king or to resist him when he came, unless they were defended by some fortification of a place.

Nevertheless, many men from the nobility of both the Franks and the Saxons, who had enjoyed the highest honors among their own people, met their end in that war. At length it was finished.

While this war endured, so many wars arose against the Franks from diverse parts of the lands, and were conducted by the skill of the prudent king, that it could rightly come into doubt for those who consider them whether it is proper to marvel at his patience in labors or rather at his good fortune.

For among all who ruled in his age, the king was the greatest in prudence and the most outstanding in greatness of spirit.

Indeed, in those things that either had to be undertaken or executed, he neither drew back because of labor nor recoiled because of danger.

For while he was fighting assiduously and almost continuously against the Saxons, after garrisons had been placed at suitable points along the frontiers, he also attacked Spain with the greatest preparation.

Having crossed the pass of the Pyrenean mountain and received into surrender all the towns and castles that he had approached, he returned with his army safe and unharmed, except that on the very ridge of the Pyrenees it befell him briefly on his return to experience the perfidy of the Vascones.

For when the army was proceeding extended in a long column, as the nature of the place and of the narrow ways permitted, the Vascones, stationed upon the summit of the mountain’s peak, rushed down from above upon the last part of the baggage train and upon those who, marching at the very rear of the column, guarded those proceeding before them, and cast them down into the valley beneath.

Joining battle with them, they killed them all to the last man. After plundering the baggage, protected by the benefit of the night that was now approaching, they fled with the greatest speed, fearing the main body of the king's army that had gone ahead, and dispersed in different directions.

The lightness of the Vascones' arms and the nature of the place where the battle was fought aided them greatly in this deed, for these things rendered the Franks unequal to the Vascones in every respect.

In this battle many of the Frankish nobles fell. Among them were Rothlandus, a most daring knight and prefect of the British frontier; Anselm, count of the palace; and Cagibardus, provost of the royal table.

He also subdued the Britons who inhabited the extreme part of Gaul toward the west upon the shore of the Ocean Sea.

Thereafter the Barbaric, or Bavarian, war suddenly arose but was completed with a swift end.

This war was stirred up by the pride and likewise the indolence of Duke Tassalio. At the urging of his wife, who was the daughter of Desiderius and thought that her father's exile should be avenged through her husband, he entered into an alliance with the Huns, that is, the Hungarians, who border the Bavarians on the east. They attempted not only to refuse to do what was commanded but also to provoke war.

The king's spiritedness could not endure his obstinacy, because it appeared excessive.

Therefore, having gathered forces from every quarter, before he entered the province the king determined to test the duke's disposition through envoys.

Considering the king's benevolent disposition, the duke surrendered himself to the king as a suppliant and furnished the hostages that were demanded, among whom he gave his son Theodo.

Thus the war that had been feared as though it would be the greatest obtained a very swift end.

The greatest of all the wars that he waged, apart from the Saxon war, was the one that followed the Bavarian war, which was against the Huns who inhabit Hungary. He conducted it with more spirit than the others and with greater preparation.

But in this war he personally made only one expedition; he entrusted the others to his son Pippin and to the governors of the provinces to complete.

Although it was conducted by them, it was nevertheless ended in its eighth year.

How many battles were waged in it and how much blood was shed is attested by Pannonia, emptied of every inhabitant.

The whole nobility of the Huns perished in this war, their whole glory fell, and all their treasures were plundered.

Indeed, human memory cannot recall any war that arose against the Franks by which they were enriched with greater resources, for until that time they seemed poor.

For the Franks justly took away from the Huns so many spoils and so many weights of gold and silver as the Huns in past times had unjustly taken from other nations.

What is greater than these things, this war was bloodless for the Franks. Only two of the leaders of the Franks died in this war, namely Henry, duke of Forum Julii, and Gerold, prefect of Bavaria.

He also fought against the Slavs, who had rebelled with the Saxons assisting them. He so subdued them in the single expedition that he personally conducted that they did not afterward refuse to do what was commanded.

He also subdued the Normans and Bohemians.

The Normans, first practicing piracy and afterward with a larger fleet, then began for the first time to devastate the shores of Gaul and Germany. Concerning them, namely the Normans, more will be said below.

Section VI: Irene and Constantine

While Leo was still a youth, he died without offspring. Irene, his mother, ruled with her other son, named Constantine. [read: When Leo died while still young, Irene, his wife, ruled with their son Constantine]

These two, namely the mother with her son, began to rule in the seven-hundred-and-eighty-second year of the Lord and in the four-thousand-seven-hundred-and-forty-fifth year of the world, but according to another computation in the five-thousand-nine-hundred-and-seventy-sixth year. They ruled for ten years.

In the first year of their rule, a certain person digging at Constantinople found beneath the earth a most ancient monument in which he discovered a dead body. Upon its breast was a golden plate on which he found this written in Greek letters: “Christ will be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in him. Under the emperors Constantine and Irene, O sun, you will see me again.”

In the sixth year a war arose between the Franks and the Avars.

In the following year Adelgisus, the son of Desiderius, who had fled to the Greeks after his father had been captured, came into Italy supported by the great assistance of the Greeks, either to recover the kingdom from which he had been expelled or to engage the Franks in war.

He was immediately met in battle by the leaders of the Gauls, and almost all his men were either captured or killed in the battle.

After a few days, while he was fleeing, he himself also was captured and killed.

In the fifth year of Constantine and the tenth of Irene, Constantine himself deprived his mother Irene of the empire and, after his mother had been cast down, ruled alone for seven years.

In the first year of his rule he was defeated by the Bulgars in a grave battle and was put to flight after many of his men had been lost. In this battle he lost almost all the treasures of the empire.

This same Emperor Constantine, holding many of his own leaders in suspicion, deprived them of their eyes.

In the same year Pippin, Charlemagne’s son by a concubine, who was deformed by a hump, was enticed by a promise from certain leading men of the Franks and conspired against his father.

Convicted of this conspiracy, he was tonsured as a monk at his father’s command and, after assuming the religious habit, served the Lord until the end of his life.

Of the accomplices in the same conspiracy, some were sent into exile, while some, though few, were killed by the sword.

At this time Pope Adrian died and Leo succeeded him, as is clear above.

In Constantine’s seventh year, Empress Irene, grieving greatly because her son had taken from her the power to rule, was filled with womanly fury. With many adhering to her in this deed, she first captured her son Constantine and then, after he had been thrust into prison, cruelly tore out his eyes. Thus she ruled alone.

In the first year of her rule, the sun was so darkened that even ships wandered at sea.

It was publicly said that, because of the cruelty that the mother had exercised upon Constantine, the sun had withdrawn its light from the lands.

This Irene ruled alone for four years.

Around that time King Charles of the Franks attacked the country of the Avars by land and sea and left them hope of escape only in flight.

Then, while there was war between the Franks and the Avars, blood flowed from heaven to the earth.

Cassilo, duke of Bavaria, was adjudged guilty of treason against King Charles. Consequently Charles had him shorn and banished him to a monastery with his son Theodo.

Tuelim, prince of the Avars, also surrendered himself and his country to Charles and received the grace of baptism.

Henry, duke of the people of Forum Julii, despoiled Yringus, prince of the Avars, in Pannonia and sent his inestimable treasure to King Charles.

King Charles, however, cultivating the Christian religion in a holy and pious manner, as Sigebertus says, honored the churches of God in every way and adorned them with sacred vessels and vestments, decreeing that not even doorkeepers were permitted to minister in church in common clothing.

He built at Aquaegrani a church of very great beauty. For its construction he caused columns and marbles to be brought from Rome and Ravenna.

King Charles himself, wholly intent upon ecclesiastical propriety, also corrected the law of God and the discipline of psalmody.

For, perceiving that the Gauls again differed from the Romans in singing, while the people of Metis differed somewhat only through the lightness of nature, he corrected the discordance of the chant through singers sent once more by Pope Adrian.

Solicitous also for the poor, he comforted Christian paupers by the liberality of alms not only in his own kingdom but also in Egypt, Syria, and Africa.

For this reason he sought the friendships of kings across the sea, especially so that there might be relief for the Christians dwelling under them.

When a powerful conspiracy had been formed by the Austrasians against King Charles under the leadership of Hardericus, it was uncovered, and many were either mutilated in their limbs or exiled.

Charles also constructed and fortified two bridges over the Rhine at Colonia, and, entering Slavia, subdued it.

At the urging of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Pope Adrian, the second universal synod was assembled at Nicaea from three hundred and fifty bishops.

In it the Catholic faith, in the presence of Irene and her son Constantine, was strengthened by the subscription of all, and the heresy of those who execrated the images of God and his saints was abjured forever.

Likewise, in the times of Constantine IV and Irene his wife, as Vincent relates in book twenty-four of the *Historical Mirror*, in the city of Derichum, which lay under Antioch, Jews found in the house of a certain Jew an image of our Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, which had been left there by a certain Christian who had stayed there.

They dishonorably took it down and inflicted upon the image itself all the reproaches that the Jews had inflicted upon Christ while he dwelt in the world.

They mocked it, spat in its face, accused it with insults, struck it, fastened its hands and feet with nails, and offered it vinegar and gall.

At length they opened its side, from which blood and water suddenly came forth.

Receiving these in a flask placed beneath it, in order to test whether the miracles that they had heard Jesus performed were true, they gathered all the sick into their synagogue and sprinkled them with this blood. All were healed from whatever sickness held them.

Consequently all the Jews at last ran to Deodatus, bishop of the city. After narrating the matter, they gave him the image together with the blood that had issued from it.

After they had been baptized, the bishop divided the blood among flasks and sent it far and wide, proclaiming the great works of God.

He adjured everyone that each year, on the fifth day before the Ides of November, the passion of the Lord’s image should be celebrated.

Section VII: Saint Gangolfus

Around the times of the said Constantine, Saint Gangolfus was illustrious in Burgundy.

This saint, as Vincent relates from his deeds in the place cited above, bought a certain spring in Gaul and caused it to rise in Burgundy.

When this same Gangolfus, hearing that his wife was an adulteress, reproved her for the infamy and crime of her adultery, she vehemently denied it.

But the saint proposed a very easy purgation to her, saying: “If you wish me to believe that you suffer falsely under this infamy, bare your arm and bring me a little stone from the bottom of that little spring. If you draw your arm back unharmed, I shall believe that you are innocent.”

Hearing this, she confidently immersed her arm in the spring and immediately drew it back burned.

Then the saint said to her: “Behold, the truth of your disgrace appears. Therefore, have what is yours and remain by yourself, or depart with your adulterer, for you will no longer be my companion.”

After giving her half of his substance, he remained by himself.

Not long afterward he was killed in his house by a certain cleric who was accustomed to commit adultery with her.

When his body was being carried on a bier to the tomb, many sick persons were healed by touching it.

When this was announced to his wife by her maid, namely that her lord, as a martyr, was working miracles, she laughed and said mockingly: “Gangolfus performs miracles just as my anus sings.”

Immediately her anus, whether she wished it or not, began to emit shameful and numerous sounds.

This afterward befell her throughout her whole life on the sixth day of the week: whenever on that day, on which her husband had been made a martyr, she brought forth any word from her mouth, she made a shameful sound from her anus.

King Pippin deigned to test this.

Title XIV, Chapter III

Vincent relates in book twenty-four, chapter one hundred and sixty-two, of the *Historical Mirror*, from their deeds, wondrous things concerning two boys, namely Amelius and Amicus.

Born in the times of Pippin, king of the Franks, they were in a wondrous manner alike to one another, one being the son of the count of Aluernum and the other the son of a certain knight of Berichanum.

When they were being carried to Rome by their parents for the grace of baptism, they found one another in the city of Luca. After a fellowship had been established between them, they entered Rome.

So great was the fellowship and identity of will between the little children that one would not take food without the other or rest in a different chamber.

When they had been presented to the supreme pontiff, they were baptized by him. He imposed the name Amelius upon the count's son, but Amicus upon the knight's son.

Many Roman knights received them with joy from the sacred font.

After this the pope himself gave them two wooden cups fashioned with equal capacity and adorned with gold, saying: "Receive this gift, which shall always be a sign to you that I baptized you."

Having received them gratuitously, they returned to their own homes.

The Lord adorned Amicus, the boy of Berichanum, with great wisdom, like another Solomon.

When he was thirty years old, his aged father, a noble and holy man, was seized by illness. He admonished him to practice the warfare of Christ, to preserve the faith of the Lord, to bring aid to companions and friends, to perform works of mercy, and, beyond all this, by no means to consign to oblivion his fellowship and friendship with the son of the count of Aluernum.

When he had finished these words, he migrated to the Lord. His son fittingly rendered him the honor of burial.

Soon, however, wicked men began to envy the young man and secretly to prepare snares and deceits for him.

But he loved everyone and patiently bore the injuries inflicted upon him.

Nevertheless, the malice of the wicked grew so great against him that it expelled him from the castle of his paternal inheritance together with his whole household.

Taking ten servants, he said to them: "Let us hasten to the court of Count Amelius, who is joined to me by fellowship and friendship. Perhaps he will enrich us from his goods. But if not, we shall go to Hildegardis, the wife of Charles, king of the Franks, who has always been accustomed to aid those who have been cast out."

Therefore, when they came to the count's court, they did not find Amelius.

For he had gone to Berichum to visit Amicus himself, whose father he had heard was dead.

Not finding him, he departed sorrowful and resolved that he would not return to his own country unless he first found him.

Amicus likewise did not cease to seek the count with his men, until he was received as a guest by a certain nobleman who, after hearing of the misfortune that had befallen them, willingly gave him his daughter in marriage.

After a year and a half had passed there, Amicus hastened to Paris with his servants to seek Count Amelius.

Amelius himself had now sought Amicus for two years.

When Amelius drew near to Paris, he found a certain pilgrim and asked whether he had seen Amicus, a knight of Berichanum who had been expelled from his country.

When the pilgrim answered that he had never seen him, the count took off his tunic and gave it to him, asking him to pray to the Lord for him, so that the Lord might put an end to the labor that he had now endured for two years.

Therefore, as the pilgrim continued his journey, he found Amicus around evening.

Amicus asked him whether he had heard anything concerning Amelius, the son of the count of Aluernum.

He answered: "Why do you mock me, a pilgrim? Are you not Amelius, who asked me today whether I had seen Amicus of Berichanum and gave me this tunic? But now I do not know why you have changed your clothing, your companions, your horses, and your arms."

Amicus said to him: “I am not Amelius but Amicus, and I do not cease to seek him.”

When the pilgrim had received coins as alms from him after being asked to pray for him, he said to him: “Hasten to Paris, knight. There I hope you will find the one whom you seek.”

Hastening, therefore, Amicus found him outside Paris beside Secharia, seated with his knights in a flowering meadow.

When they saw the armed men of Berichanum coming, they quickly arose, seized their weapons, and ran to meet them.

Amicus likewise roused the spirits of his men to fight, thinking that they were Parisian knights who wished to attack them.

Therefore, each party charged with loosened reins. They raised their spears and drew their swords, so that you would have believed that none of them would escape.

But God, who disposes all things well, caused both parties to stop unharmed.

Then Amicus said: “Where do you come from, most valiant knights, who wish to kill the exile Amicus with his companions?”

At this voice Amelius, turning pale, was astounded and recognized Amicus.

Immediately they dismounted from their horses, clasped one another in embraces, fastened kisses upon one another, gave thanks to God for such unforeseen joy, pledged faith to one another, and came together to Charles’s court.

Amicus was made the king’s treasurer, and Amelius his steward.

You would have seen moderate, wise, and most beautiful young men, equal in one manner of dress and in the same countenance, loved and honored by everyone.

Section I

Thus, after three years had passed, Amicus said to Amelius: “I desire to see my wife, and I shall return as quickly as I can. But while you remain in the king’s court, especially guard yourself against his daughter, because she is joined in deceitful friendship to the most wicked Count Hardericus.”

When Amelius had assented to his words, Amicus departed.

Amelius, however, cast his eyes upon the king’s daughter and violated her as quickly as he could.

Meanwhile the informer Hardericus, who rejoiced in wickedness and envied every upright person, addressed Amelius in this manner: “I do not know, dearest count, that Amicus stole the king’s treasure and thus fled. [read: Do you not know, dearest count, that Amicus stole the king’s treasure and therefore fled?] Therefore, now enter into a covenant of friendship with me and receive my pledge upon the relics of the saints.”

When this had been done, Amelius did not fear to reveal his secrets faithfully.

Therefore, while Amelius was standing before the king on a certain day to give him water for his hands, Hardericus said to the king: “Do not, O king, receive water from the hands of a criminal who is more worthy of death than of honor, because he has taken away the flower of your daughter’s virginity.”

At this Amelius fell trembling and, stupefied, did not answer.

The benevolent king raised him and said: “Do not fear, Amelius. Rise manfully and defend yourself against this infamy.”

Rising, he said: “Most just king, do not believe the lying words of the informer Hardericus, but grant me time for counsel, so that before you I may enter a duel with him concerning this infamy and, while the court stands by, convict him of falsehood.”

When the king had assented to this, Queen Hildegardis undertook to defend Amelius’s cause.

While he was seeking counsel, he found Amicus returning to the king’s court. Prostrate at his feet, he said: “O sole hope of my salvation, alas, I have badly preserved my pledge, because I have incurred a charge concerning the king’s daughter and, before the king’s sight, have appointed a duel with the false Hardericus.”

After Amicus had harshly rebuked him, he said: “Let us exchange clothing and horses, and go to my house. With God’s aid I shall fight the traitorous count for you. But take care not to touch my wife.”

When they had departed weeping, Amicus went to the king’s court under the appearance of Amelius, and Amelius went to his companion’s house under the appearance of Amicus.

When the wife of Amicus saw Amelius and believed him to be her husband, she wished to embrace him and give him a kiss.

But he answered: “Withdraw from me, because for me the time for weeping, and not for rejoicing, is at hand.”

At night, when they had entered the bed, he placed a sword between himself and her.

“See,” he said, “that you do not approach me, because you will die immediately.”

Thus they passed the remaining nights until Amicus returned.

Meanwhile Amicus, clothed in his companion’s garments, entered before the king and offered himself to fight against Hardericus concerning the infamy.

The king said to him: “Do not fear, count, because, if you are victorious, I shall give you this same daughter of mine, Bellixenda, as your wife.”

Therefore in the morning at the first hour, Hardericus and Amicus went armed into the field, while the king and the whole people of Paris stood by.

Then Amicus, fearing for his own conscience, addressed Hardericus in this manner: “O count, you have accepted exceedingly foolish counsel, because you so ardently desire my death and so imprudently commit yourself to the danger of death. But if you were willing to retract the false charge that you lay upon me and to abandon the deadly duel, you could always possess my friendship and service.”

At this the furious man answered that he did not care for his friendship and service but wished to take away his head.

Hardericus therefore swore that Amelius had violated the king’s daughter, while Amicus swore that Hardericus was lying.

Therefore, as they fought, Hardericus was defeated, and Amicus cut off his head.

The king, giving to him as wife his daughter who had been freed from infamy, according to custom gave them a certain city to inhabit.

Having received her, Amicus joyfully hastened to his own house, where Amelius was, and said to him: “Behold, I have vindicated you against the traitor Hardericus and have betrothed the king’s daughter.”

Amelius returned, received her, and lived with her in the aforesaid city.

Section II

Afterward God struck Amicus, who had remained there for a time with his wife, with the disease of leprosy, so that he could not rise from his bed.

His wife, named Obias, held him in such hatred that she often wished to suffocate him.

Calling two of his servants, he said: “Take me from the hands of my wife, secretly take my cup, and carry me to the castle of Berichanum.”

When they had done this, a crowd coming to meet them asked who the sick man was whom they were carrying there.

They said: “This is Amicus, our lord, struck with leprosy, who comes to you asking that you have mercy upon him.”

Immediately those impious men beat the servants and cast Amicus himself from the cart, threatening them with death if they repeated this statement.

Then Amicus burst into tears and said: “Most merciful God, either grant me death or now extend aid to a wretched man.”

After these things he caused himself to be carried to Rome, where Pope Constantine met him with many Roman knights who had washed him at the baptismal font, and they provided ample charitable support to him and his men.

But after three years so grave a famine arose in the city that even a father cast his son away from himself.

Then, at the urging of his servants, he departed from there and caused himself to be carried to the court of Count Amelius.

Before the count’s court he struck clappers after the custom of such sick persons.

Hearing him, the count said to a certain servant: “Take bread and meat, fill my cup with the best wine, and carry it to that sick man.”

When the minister had fulfilled the command, he returned and said: “By my faith, lord, if I were not holding the cup, I would believe it to be the one that the sick man possesses, because both appear to be of one beauty and size.”

Then the count caused the sick man to be brought to him and asked whence he was and how he had acquired such a cup.

He answered that he was born in the castle of Berichanum and at Rome had received both the cup and baptism from Pope Deusdedit.

Immediately the count therefore recognized that he was his companion, who had drawn him back from death and had given him the king's daughter as wife.

He therefore threw himself upon him, crying and weeping, kissing and embracing him.

His wife also ran to him and poured out tears over him, recalling how he had bravely overcome the informer Hardericus.

Finally they brought him into the house, placed him in an honored place, and shared all their goods with him.

One night Raphael, the angel of the Lord, appeared, and Amicus was called by Raphael. [read: One night Raphael, the angel of the Lord, appeared to call Amicus] Raphael commanded him to tell Count Amelius to kill his two sons and wash Amicus himself in their blood, and that in this manner he would recover health.

When he related this with great trembling, the count at first took it very hard.

But, remembering the benefits of the one who had offered himself to the king for him at the danger of death, he took a sword and went to the bed of his sleeping sons.

Bending over them, he wept most bitterly, saying: "Who has heard of a father willingly killing his sons? Alas, my sons, from now on I shall not be a father to you but a bloodstained butcher."

When his tears fell upon them, they awoke and, looking upon their father's face, began to laugh.

They were three years old, and he said to them: "Alas, your laughter shall be turned into mourning, because your innocent blood will now be poured out by your impious father."

Having said these things, he beheaded them and laid down their bodies covered together with their heads, as though they were sleeping.

With the blood that he had collected from them he sprinkled the sick Amicus, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, who commanded that faith be kept with enemies and healed a leper by your word, deign to cleanse this companion of mine, for love of whom I did not fear to pour out the blood of my sons."

Immediately Amicus was healed and was clothed by him in his best garments.

While they ran to the church to give thanks to God, immediately, by the Lord's will, the bells sounded by themselves. When the people heard this, they ran from every quarter in wonder.

But when the countess saw both of them walking together, she began to ask which of them was her husband.

"I recognize the garments of both," she said, "but I am altogether ignorant which of them is the count."

The count said to her: "I am Amelius, and this is my companion Amicus, who has been made well."

Nevertheless, the count frequently drew sighs and revolved the death of his sons in his mind.

When the countess commanded the sons to be brought so that they might rejoice together, the count said: "Permit them to rest in pleasant sleep."

After this he entered the bedchamber alone to weep over them, and he found them playing in the little bed. Around their necks scars in the manner of a red thread appeared until their death.

Taking them up in his arms, the count carried them into the bosom of his wife and said: "Rejoice, wife, because your sons live, whom I killed through an angelic vision, and their friend has been cleansed by their blood."

From that time, therefore, the count and countess devoted themselves piously to God's service, preserving chastity until the end of life.

The wicked wife of Amicus, however, was seized by a demon and, falling over a precipice, expired.

Amicus therefore moved an army against the people of Berichanum and besieged them until they surrendered themselves as defeated.

He received them benignly, forgave them every fault of their offense, and, serving God thereafter, lived peacefully with them.

Section III

When Charlemagne came into Italy against Desiderius, king of the Lombards, having been summoned by Pope Adrian, Count Amelius and Amicus were with King Charles. They exercised their proper offices in the king's court and daily applied themselves to the works of Christ by fasting, praying, and giving alms.

When the army of the king of the Franks engaged Desiderius and his Lombard peoples at the entrance to Italy, in a place called the Beautiful Wood because it was delightful, no small multitude from each army, both Charles's and Desiderius's, died there.

Because of this slaughter that place was afterward called, even to the present day, Mortalis or Mortaria.

There also the king's son-in-law Count Amelius and his companion Amicus were killed.

God, who joined them in life by unanimous concord and discretion, did not will them to be separated in death.

After King Charles had defeated Desiderius, because he had greatly loved his son-in-law, namely Amelius, and his companion Amicus, he sent to Mediolanum and commanded two stone chests to be brought.

Amelius was placed in one of them at the church of blessed Eusebius, and Amicus in the other in the royal church, while the remaining bodies were buried here and there.

But when morning came, by divine disposition the body of Amelius was found with its sarcophagus beside the sarcophagus of Amicus in the royal church.

Concerning these things that have been said and written about Amicus and Amelius, it can be doubted whether this is a true history or a fiction composed to show the powerful vigor of friendship.

If it is a fiction, this is shown from the things that have been said: from the complete likeness of their bodies; their approach to identity of name, because they are Amicus and Amelius; and their delightful and constant life together.

This is according to that saying of the wise man, "A friend is another self," which a living faith coming upon it accomplishes most greatly and most perfectly, because these two were baptized together.

For, as is said in Acts 4, "The multitude of believers had one heart and one soul in the Lord." This faith also makes all things common, does not abandon one's neighbor in adversity, and contends for the justice of faith even to death.

But if it was a true history, although other historians do not include it, it is greatly to be marveled at and venerated, yet it is not impossible for him who can do all things when he wills.

Because in some things it is contrary to the common and public law of God and the private law of the canons, however, those things are not to be imitated.

For the law of God prohibits homicide, still more parricide, which Amelius perpetrated, even if for the healing of Amicus.

The law of the canons also forbids the duel that Amicus undertook for Amelius concerning the rape perpetrated by him.

The other things, however, are worthy of praise and imitation, such as assistance in sickness.

And these things could lawfully have been done outside all laws through the familiar counsel of the Holy Spirit, as with Goliath and David in the duel.

Certain histories hand down that this same Charlemagne, king of the Franks and afterward made emperor, repaired the city of Florence, which they relate had previously been wholly destroyed and demolished by Totila, king of the Goths, and thereafter had been desolate and scarcely inhabited for many years.

But Leonardus in his *Florentine History* opines that it was not thus wholly demolished and abandoned by its inhabitants. Rather, after great slaughter and plundering within it, only its walls were overthrown by Totila in vengeance for Radigasius, who, with a very great army of Goths, had been killed in those neighboring places, namely the hills of Faesulae, at a time long past.

This was nearly two hundred years before. Totila, in turn, was around another two hundred years before Charlemagne, namely before he was created emperor.

Therefore Charles himself did this at Florence: he caused the walls to be rebuilt and the ruined buildings to be repaired, and, exalting it in many ways, enlarged it and restored it as a city.

Title XIV, Chapter IV

Therefore Charlemagne, when he had now ruled over the Franks for thirty-three years, was the first of the Franks to receive the Roman Empire, Pope Leo conferring it upon him or confirming it.

He began to rule as emperor in the eight-hundred-and-second year of the Lord and in the six-thousandth year from the beginning of the world according to the greater computation of the ancients, but according to the lesser computation followed by Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, in the four-thousand-seven-hundred-and-sixty-fifth year.

About four hundred and sixty-eight years had elapsed since the Constantinopolitan Empire was divided from the Roman Empire, from the time when Byzantium, a city of Thrace, was enlarged anew by the first emperor Constantine, raised up as the royal city, dedicated to it after all the glory of Roman dignity and of the empire had been transferred there, and called New Rome.

Concerning this Charlemagne, with respect to his bodily disposition, character, and strength, Turpinus, archbishop of Remi, speaks in this manner, as Vincent relates in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror*.

This Charles was comely in body, fierce in appearance, and eight of his own exceedingly long feet in stature.

He was exceedingly broad in the loins, proportionate in the belly, and thick in the arms and legs.

He was a most skilled and fierce knight and most powerful in all his limbs.

His face was one and a half palms in length, his beard one foot, his nose about half a foot, and his forehead one foot.

His leonine eyes flashed like carbuncles. His eyebrows measured half a palm.

Whomever he looked upon in anger with opened eyes was immediately terrified.

The belt with which he was girded extended eight feet, apart from the part that hung down.

He ate little bread, but he ate a quarter of a ram, or two hens, or one goose, or a shoulder of pork, or a peacock, or a crane, or one whole hare.

He soberly drank a little wine diluted with water.

He was of such strength that with one stroke of his own sword he cut an armed knight sitting upon a horse, together with the horse, from the crown of the head to the feet.

He easily stretched four horseshoes at once with his hands.

With one hand he swiftly raised an armed knight standing upright upon his palm from the ground as far as his own head.

He was exceedingly liberal in gifts, most certain in judgments, and lucid in speech.

According to the chronicler, his mother, Lady Bertrada, grew old in great honor with him.

He likewise determined that his children should be instructed in this manner: first, both the sons and daughters were to be educated in the liberal studies to which he himself also gave his labor.

As soon as their age permitted, he caused the sons to ride after the custom of the Franks and to be exercised in arms and hunting.

He commanded the daughters to become accustomed to working wool, to apply themselves to distaff and spindle lest they grow sluggish through idleness, and to be trained in every honorable practice.

Because he had always loved the study of letters, he himself also attempted to write and carried tablets, so that, when there was free time, he might accustom his hand to forming letters.

In his palace at Aquaegrani he built a basilica of wondrous beauty in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary, which he also exalted with riches and honors.

When after his father Pippin he had received the kingdom of the Franks, already strong and great, he so nobly enlarged and extended it that he added to it twice as much.

Section I

This Charles, as Vincent relates from the words of book six of Hugo's history in the place cited above, had Peter of Pisa as his helper in learning grammar and, in the other disciplines, Albinus, surnamed Alcuinus.

He cultivated the Christian religion with the highest piety and diligently frequented the church in the morning and evening, as well as during the night hours and at the time of the sacrifice.

He was also endowed with the greatest liberality toward the poor, so that he strove not only to assist them in his own kingdom but also to send much money into the regions across the sea—to Syria, Egypt, Africa, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Carthage.

For this reason he especially sought the friendships of kings across the sea, so that some relief might come to the Christians under those kings.

He was of a large and robust body, of eminent stature, with the crown of his head rounded, his nose exceeding the mean a little, beautiful eyes, venerable gray hair, a joyful face, a clear voice, and prosperous health.

He very rarely held banquets, and his daily supper was supplied with only four courses, apart from roasted meat that hunters customarily brought in on spits, which he ate more willingly than any other food.

During supper he heard something from an entertainer or a reader. Histories and the deeds of the ancients were also read before him.

He delighted in the books of Saint Augustine, especially those entitled *The City of God*.

He was so sparing in drinking wine and every drink that at supper he rarely drank more than three times.

In summer, after the midday meal, he took some fruit and drank once. Having taken off his clothing and shoes, as he was accustomed to do at night, he rested for two or three hours.

At night he slept in such a manner that he interrupted his sleep four or five times, not only by waking but also by rising.

As Sigebertus says, in the first year of his empire Charles sent envoys throughout his whole empire to execute judgment and justice, and established twenty-three chapters of law.

In the Decrees, distinction nineteen, it is said in this manner from a chapter of Emperor Charles:

"In memory of blessed Peter the Apostle, let us honor the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, so that she who is for us the mother of priestly dignity ought to be the mother of ecclesiastical reason [read: ought to be the teacher of ecclesiastical discipline].

"Therefore humility must be observed by us with meekness, and although a yoke scarcely to be borne should be imposed by that holy see, nevertheless let us bear it and endure it with pious devotion.

"But if—which is unfitting—anyone, whether priest or deacon, should be convicted of having falsely presented a letter from the Apostolic See, or something else that did not come from there, by devising some disturbance and laying snares for our ministry, then, with faith preserved and humility toward the apostolic lord unimpaired, let it be within the bishop's power whether he confines him in prison or in another place, until through a letter or through suitable envoys of his own party he petitions the apostolic sublimity, so that it may deign to decide the matter especially by its holy legation and to define what Roman law establishes concerning such persons, so that he may be corrected and a measure imposed upon others."

There is a notable gloss there concerning forgers.

According to the chronicler, this same Charles sent messengers throughout the whole world to investigate the names, deeds, and deaths of the saints, and caused these things to be compiled into one volume by the monk Isuardus.

For Jerome, Bede, and Florus had done this before, but not completely.

Charles assigned them to the individual days.

It was found, however, that more than three hundred feasts occurred on individual days.

Therefore it was established that, when those who are placed there have been read in the martyrologies, there should be added: "And of very many other holy martyrs, confessors, and virgins."

He also had such concord in friendship with Aaron, king of the Persians, who held almost the whole East except India, that Aaron preferred his favor to the friendship of all the kings and princes who were in the whole world and judged that he alone should be cultivated with honor and magnificence.

Aaron, king of the Persians, sent Charles the only elephant that he possessed and, besides it, many gifts.

Section II

When Emperor Charles was leaving Spoletum, as Vincent relates after Helinand in the place cited above, on the day before the Kalends of May, at the second hour of the night, a very great earthquake occurred that shook all Italy.

In this earthquake the roof of the basilica of blessed Paul the Apostle fell in great part together with its beams, and in certain places cities and mountains collapsed.

In the same year certain places in Germany and Gaul trembled.

A pestilence also occurred because of the mildness of the winter season.

Envoys of Charles coming from the emir Aaron brought into Francia, among other gifts, the bodies of Saint Cyprian the martyr, bishop of Carthage, and of Speratus, the first of the Scillitan martyrs, and the head of the martyr Pantaleon. They were placed in the monastery of Compendium.

The patriarch of Jerusalem sent Charles as a blessing the keys of the Lord's sepulcher and of the place of Calvary, and the keys of the city and the mountain, together with a banner.

In the same year in which Charles assumed the Roman Empire, Empress Irene, concerning whom something was said in the preceding title, after she had held the Constantinopolitan Empire alone for many years, was deposed from the empire by Nicephorus, sent into exile, and died there.

Nicephorus himself assumed the Constantinopolitan Empire and ruled for eight years.

At length, after he had been killed by the Bulgars together with many of the senatorial order, his son Stauracius ruled for one year.

When he had been deposed, Michael ruled for two years, thereafter Leo for eight years, another Michael for nine, Theophilus for fifteen, Michael III and Theodora for eleven years, and then Michael alone for thirteen years.

When Michael had been killed by Basil, this same Basil ruled for seventeen years, and after him his son Leo for eighteen.

Then Constantine, Leo's son, ruled for one year with his paternal uncle Alexander, namely the brother of this same Leo.

After Alexander had died, Constantine ruled for thirty-nine years.

After these things Stephen and Constantine, taking it badly that they were restrained from youthful levity by their father's just severity, arranged an ambush in the palace, deposed their father from the throne of the palace, and, after his head had been shorn as was customary, sent him to a neighboring island in which cenobites practiced philosophy.

Not long afterward, when they had sat down together at a banquet by agreement and deliberately contended with one another concerning priority in sitting, a signal was given by the men of Constantine, the son of Emperor Leo. Both brothers were cast down from the throne and, after their heads had been shorn, were themselves also sent to the same monastery to which they had sent their father, to practice philosophy with the monks.

Thus, after the palace had been emptied of the usurping emperors, Constantine himself and his son Romanus ruled for sixteen years.

When he had died, Nicephorus ruled for ten years.

Because he was old, he feared that his sons would expel him from the empire, and he wished them to be made eunuchs.

Their mother persuaded John to kill him and to rule, and so it was done; and John ruled for six years.

From that point onward the Constantinopolitan Empire is passed over in silence, namely, from the nine-hundred-and-seventy-seventh year of the Lord.

The Constantinopolitan emperors, however, were indignant against Charles, according to the chronicler, because of their envy of the imperial title imposed upon him by the Romans. He bore with them with great magnanimity and patience.

And because they regarded his power with suspicion, through frequent embassies he reconciled them to himself by a most firm treaty.

How extensive a dominion he possessed, and with how great a devotion he honored bishops, is evident from what is contained in cause eleven, question one, where it says:

“We will and command,” says Charles, “that all who are under our rule—Romans as well as Franks, Alamanni, Bavarians, Saxons, Thuringians, Frisians, Gauls, Burgundians, Britons, Lombards, Vascones, Beneventans, Goths, Spaniards, and all the others subject to us—by whatever bond of law they may seem to be bound or joined by customary practice, shall all perpetually observe as law this judgment, which we have taken from the book of Emperor Theodosius and, with the counsel of all the faithful, have placed among our capitularies to be held as law.

“That law is as follows. Whoever has a lawsuit, whether he is the claimant, if either at the beginning of the suit or after the courses of time have elapsed, whether while the matters are being pleaded or when the judgment has already begun to be pronounced, chooses the tribunal of the prelate of the sacrosanct see, immediately and without any hesitation, even if the other party resists, let the matter be directed, together with the argument of the litigants, to the judgment of the bishops.

“And let all causes that are conducted by praetorian or civil law, when concluded by the judgments of bishops, be confirmed by the perpetual right of stability.

“Nor may the matter that is decided by the judgment of bishops afterward be reconsidered, namely through an appeal.

“Let all judges also receive without doubt testimony offered even by one bishop, and let no other person be heard,” and so forth.

The gloss there says, “And rightly,” because although the things said here have been abrogated by other contrary laws, nevertheless Innocent, in the title *On Judgments*, chapter *Novit*, argues from this law—not indeed in order that he may approve it, but in order that he may show how great an affection and devotion these emperors, Theodosius and Charles, had toward the priesthood.

Section III

Helinand relates, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, that at the time when the Roman Empire was given to Charles, the patriarch of Jerusalem, having been expelled from the city by the pagans, came to Constantinople to the emperor.

With him were John, a priest of Naples, and David, the archpriest of Jerusalem. The emperor sent them to Charles with a letter of John the patriarch written by the emperor’s own hand; and with the two aforementioned men there were also the Hebrew envoys Isaac and Samuel.

In the final part of that letter it was written:

“One night, having been placed in ecstasy, I saw a certain young man standing before my bed. Calling me gently, he touched me a little and said, ‘Emperor Constantine, you have asked for divine aid in this affair. Behold, receive Charlemagne, king of Gaul, for this undertaking; behold in the Lord a champion.’

“And he showed me a certain knight armed, greaved, and clad in mail. He had a red shield and was girded with a sword whose hilt was purple; he held a very tall spear whose point often emitted flames, and in his hand he held a golden helmet.

“He himself was an old man with a long beard, handsome in face and tall in stature. His eyes shone like stars, and his head was white with gray hair.

“Act now, Augustus. He who refuses to obey the commands of God will not be able to escape blame. Emmanuel, gem, Jesus, rejoice in the Lord; mindful of him, perform praise. Let the belt of justice and the crown gird your loins and head. Let Christ gird you perpetually and bind you with honor,” and so forth.

This same Constantine had seven times expelled the pagans from Jerusalem, but nevertheless at last they had prevailed.

These envoys found the king at Paris and delivered the letters. When they had been read, he began to weep for the sepulcher of the Lord.

The king commanded Turpinus the archbishop to read and expound these letters before all the people. When they had heard them, everyone entreated the king to set out.

Upon hearing this, the king at once promulgated an edict that all who were able to bear arms should go with him against the pagans, and that those who did not go, both they and their sons, should be slaves worth four nummi.

And so they gathered a greater army than he had ever had, and they set out.

When they had come to Jerusalem, they entered a certain forest that can scarcely be crossed in the space of two days and in which there were griffins, bears, lions, tigers, and various other wild beasts, for Charles thought that he could cross it in one day with the army.

When night came and the army was wandering, Charles began to establish a camp.

After the beginning of the night had passed, the king, reclining upon his bed, began the psalms. When he said this verse, “Lead me, O Lord, into the path of your commandments, because I have desired it,” behold, the clearly audible voice of a certain bird crying near his bed was heard at his ears. Those who were present, hearing it, awoke.

The king continued as far as that place, “Bring my soul out of prison.” When he said this, the bird cried out again, “Rise. What do you say, Frank? What do you say?”

The king followed this bird along a very small path until they recognized the track that they had lost on the preceding day.

When the pagans had been put to flight and the Holy Land recovered, the king sought permission to return from the Constantinopolitan emperor and the patriarch of Jerusalem.

The emperor retained him for one day at Constantinople, and meanwhile caused animals of diverse kinds and colors, and gold and gems, to be prepared before the gates of the city.

But Charles, lest he appear discourteous if he accepted nothing, sought counsel from his nobles as to what he ought to do. They answered that he ought to accept no gift from anyone for the labor that he had undertaken solely for the love of God.

Praising their counsel, he commanded all his men not to deign even to look upon any of the things placed before them.

At last, when he had been adjured and compelled to accept some gift for the love of God, he asked for some of the relics of the Lord’s Passion.

Therefore, when counsel had been taken, a three-day fast was proclaimed for all our men and for twelve Greeks who were chosen to divide the sacred relics.

On the third day Charles confessed his sins to Archbishop Ebronius. Then the clergy of both sides began psalms with a litany.

When Daniel, the bishop of Naples, had opened the chest in which was the crown of thorns, so great an odor came forth from it that everyone thought himself to be in paradise.

Then Charles, prostrate upon the pavement and full of faith, prayed to the Lord that for the glory of his name he would renew the miracles of his Passion and Resurrection.

When he had prayed, dew from heaven infused and soaked the wood, and caused it to put forth flowers; and so great a light was present together with the odor that everyone thought his garments to be heavenly.

When Daniel began to cut the hard wood with hooked forceps, it then began to flower more and more.

When these things had thus been done, behold, an infinite multitude entered the church violently and began to cry out, “Truly today is the day of the Resurrection.”

For the odor issuing from those flowers had filled the whole city and had healed three hundred sick persons.

After these things the aforementioned Daniel, with hands raised, gave the nail to the king.

There were given besides to King Charles a fragment of the Lord’s cross, the Lord’s sudarium, a shirt of the Blessed Mary, the band that wrapped the Lord Jesus in the cradle, and an arm of Saint Simeon.

He honorably laid up all these things and guarded them carefully.

Departing from there, when he was returning into Francia, he remained for some time in a certain castle. At the touch of the most holy relics a dead boy was raised and fifty sick persons were healed.

Finally, coming to Aquaegrani, he placed them there, where very many sick persons were also cured of various illnesses by the power of those relics, and a dead man was raised.

It was proclaimed throughout the world that the said relics had then first been brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople and afterward carried from Constantinople to that place.

What has been said, however, concerning the capture of Jerusalem by Charles and the said relics given by Emperor Constantine appears to have been done before Charles assumed the empire, and under Constantine the fifth of that name, who ruled with his mother Irene and afterward by himself alone.

Section IV

After Charles had acquired many kingdoms, as Vincent relates in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror* from the words of Archbishop Turpinus, he determined to rest from battles.

Immediately he beheld in the sky a certain road of stars beginning at the Frisian Sea and extending between Teutonia and Italy, between Gaul and Aquitania, and passing directly through Gascony, Bascla, Navarre, and Spain as far as Galicia, in which the body of blessed James then lay hidden and unknown.

Charles beheld this road every night and considered what it signified.

While he was considering this, a certain man of the best and most beautiful form beyond what it is lawful to tell appeared to him by night in ecstasy and said, “What are you doing, my son?”

Charles said to him, “Who are you, lord?”

He said, “I am the apostle James, a disciple of the Lord, son of Zebedee, brother of John the Evangelist, whom Herod killed with the sword. My body rests unknown in Galicia, which is still shamefully oppressed by the Saracens. Hence I wonder why you, who have acquired so many and such great cities, have not yet liberated my land.

“Therefore I make known to you that, just as the Lord has made you more powerful than all earthly kings, so he has chosen you to prepare my road and to liberate my land from the hands of the Moabites, in order that he might thereby prepare for you the crown of eternal recompense.

“The road of stars that you saw in the sky signifies that you shall go with a great army from these regions as far as Galicia to attack the land of the perfidious pagans, to liberate my road, and to visit my sarcophagus; and after you all peoples shall go there from the present time until the end of the age.”

In this manner the apostle appeared to Charles three times.

Afterward Charles proceeded there with a great army. When he had besieged Pamplona for three months and could not take it because of its impregnable walls, he prayed to Saint James that, for the honor of his name, he would grant him to take the city.

And so it was done, for its walls fell down after the likeness of Jericho.

Those of the Saracens who wished to be baptized were preserved alive, but those who refused were killed.

When they heard of these wonders, all the cities surrendered themselves to him, and the whole land was made tributary.

Therefore the whole land of the Spaniards was then subjected to Charles: the land of Landaluf, the land of the Pardorum, the land of the Castellani, the land of the Moors, the land of the Navarri, the land of the Portuguese, the land of the Saracens, the land of the Alani, the land of the Biscaii, and the land of the Palargi.

Charles took some of their cities without battle and some with war and the greatest skill. He utterly destroyed all the idols that he then found in Spain.

From the gold that the kings and princes gave to Charles, Charles, while then dwelling in those regions, enlarged the church of blessed James. He established there a bishop and canons according to the rule of blessed Isidore, and fittingly adorned the church with bells, hangings, and books.

From the immense remainder of the gold and silver that he brought from Spain he built these churches: that of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Aquaegrani; that of blessed James in the same town; likewise another church of blessed James at the city of Biterrensis; another at Tolosa; another in Gascony; and that of blessed James at Paris; and besides these, innumerable abbeys throughout the world in diverse places.

When Charles had returned to Francia, a certain pagan king of Africa gathered armies and acquired Spain, after expelling and killing the guards of the strongholds whom Charles had left behind.

When Charles heard these things, he returned into Spain with great forces, and the leader of the armies was Milo of Angleris, the father of Roland.

When Charles’s army was quartered at Baiona, a city of the Blasci, a certain knight named Romaricus became sick and was near death. After receiving penance and the Eucharist, he commanded a certain kinsman of his to sell the horse that he possessed and to distribute the price to clerics and the poor.

When he had died, that kinsman sold the horse for one hundred solidi and quickly spent the price, not upon the needy, but upon food, drink, and clothing.

After thirty days had passed, the dead man appeared to him by night in an ecstasy, saying, “Because I entrusted my possessions to you for the redemption of my soul, to be given as alms, know that my sins were forgiven me by God, supported by penance.

“But because you retained for yourself the alms from my possessions, know that I have been for thirty days in the punishments of Tartarus. Tomorrow you are to be placed in the same infernal place from which I have departed, and I shall be in paradise.”

When he had said these things, he disappeared, and the terrified man awoke.

While on that same day he was recounting his dream to his companions, a sudden cry arose in the air like that of lions, wolves, and bears. And behold, he was suddenly seized by demons and carried to the place appointed for him by divine judgment.

After his companions had searched for him, only after twelve days was he found lying dead upon a very high mountain, his whole body crushed. That mountain is four days' journey distant from the place where he was seized; the demons had cast him there.

Section V

After these things Aygoland sent word to Charles that he wished to wage war according to his own will: either twenty against twenty, forty against forty, one hundred against one hundred, one thousand against one thousand, two against two, or one against one.

Therefore one hundred were sent by Charles against one hundred, and the Saracens were killed.

Then another one hundred were sent by Aygoland against one hundred, and all of them were slain.

Then he sent two hundred against two hundred, who were immediately killed.

Then Aygoland sent two thousand, of whom some were killed and others put to flight.

On the third day Aygoland cast his lots and learned of Charles's loss. He sent word to him that, if he wished, he should fight a full battle on the following day. This was agreed to by both sides.

Then certain Christians who, on the evening before the day of battle, were most diligently preparing their instruments of war, planted their spears upright in the earth before the camps, in the meadows beside the river that is called Ceya. In that place afterward, by the command and assistance of Charles, a great and excellent basilica of the blessed martyrs Facundus and Primitivus was built, together with a great and exceedingly rich town.

Early in the morning they found these spears adorned with bark and leaves—those men, namely, who in the coming battle were to obtain the palm of martyrdom in the faith of God.

Wondering greatly, they cut the spears near the ground; and the roots that remained in the earth afterward generated from themselves great thickets like poles, which still appear in the said place.

A wondrous thing, and a great joy to the souls, but an immense loss to the bodies.

What more is there to say? On the following day forty thousand Christians were killed. Duke Milo, the father of Roland, and Charles's horse were slain.

Then Charles, standing on foot with two thousand Christian foot soldiers, drew his sword named Joyeuse and cut many Saracens through the middle.

As evening approached, the Saracens and Christians returned to their camps.

On the next day four marquises came to Charles's aid from places in Italy with four thousand armed men. When Aygoland learned this, he turned in flight; and Charles then returned into Gaul with his forces.

In the third year of Charles's empire, as the chronicler attests, the Anares [read: Avars], who are also Huns, having been subdued in a long war against the Franks, were diminished so greatly in their strength and power that those who had been accustomed to assail others were now unable even to defend themselves from others.

For all their nobility and glory perished in this war, and whatever money and treasure they had amassed for themselves over so many ages by conquering the world now passed wholly to the victory of the Franks.

Never in any war was Francia enriched with so great a quantity of spoils.

In that same year the moon was darkened three times and the sun once, and battle lines of wondrous magnitude were seen in the air.

At the same time Thiomeith, the emir sent by Aaron to destroy Lycia, when he came to Myra, attempted to break apart the chest of Saint Nicholas, but instead of it he broke apart another. For his presumptuous rashness he lost his entire fleet when an unavoidable tempest pursued it.

Abdella, the envoy of the king of the Persians, brought gifts to Emperor Charles: a pavilion and tents of various colors and of wondrous size and beauty; many byssine cloths and silks; fragrances of spices, ointments, and balsam; a clock made of brass and wondrously constructed by mechanical art; and also two brass candlesticks of wondrous size.

In the sixth year of Charles's empire, which was the eight-hundred-and-sixth year from the Lord's Incarnation, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, the translation of the body of blessed Bartholomew the Apostle from the island of Lipari to Benevento is read to have been accomplished in the following manner.

When the Saracens came upon the said island of Lipari, where the body of the Apostle rested, they laid waste that island. Approaching the sepulcher of blessed Bartholomew, which was held there in great veneration, they broke it open and scattered his bones here and there.

After they had departed, blessed Bartholomew appeared to a certain Greek monk who had been custodian of that church, saying, "Rise and gather my bones."

The monk said to him, "Why ought we to gather your bones or devote any honor to you, when you have permitted us and your sepulcher to be destroyed by the pagans?"

He answered, "Through a long course of years this place has until now stood secure by my prayers. But its evils have now multiplied so greatly that I was no longer able to obtain protection for it by prayers. Nevertheless, arise and do as I have said."

The monk said, "How shall I be able to do this, when I do not know where they have been scattered?"

The Apostle said to him, "Go by night to gather them, and pick up those that you see shining like fire, because those truly are my bones."

Immediately and diligently fulfilling the commands, he laid them up in a small chest and departed, leaving his companion behind.

When ships of the Lombards came there in search of Saracens, by the will of God they found the monk there, took the holy body of God's Apostle, and departed.

The Saracens, coming upon them, surrounded the ship in which the holy body was, so that they could not escape. But suddenly the densest darkness arose before the Saracens' ships, so that they did not know where they were going; and thus the others were freed, unseen by them.

Going out upon land in the regions of the kingdom, they carried the holy body to Benevento and honorably laid it up there in an altar in the year of the Lord 809, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of October.

The Romans nevertheless assert that they possess the said body in the City, which may be true concerning some part of it.

Section VI

Concerning the Battles between Aygoland, the Pagan Prince of the Army of the Infidels, and Charles, King of the Franks

Aygoland therefore gathered innumerable peoples: Saracens, Moors, Moabites, Ethiopians, Parthians, Africans, Persians, the king of the Arabs, the king of Alexandria, the king of Bugia, the king of Agabia, the king of Barbary, the king of Malcloch, the king of Majorca, the king of Mecca, the king of Seville, and the king of Cordoba.

He came as far as Agennium, a city of Gascony, and took it.

He sent word to Charles that he should come to him peacefully with a small band of knights, promising him nine horses laden with gold, silver, and other treasures if he would submit to his rule.

He said these things because he wished to recognize him, so that he might afterward be able to kill him in battle.

Perceiving this, Charles came with only two thousand brave men as far as four miles from the city of Agennium, and left them there in secret.

He came with only sixty knights as far as the mountain that is near the city, from which the city can be seen, and left them there.

Having changed his excellent garments, without a lance and with his shield placed crosswise behind his back, as is the custom for messengers in time of war, he came to the city with only one knight.

They were conducted to Aygoland. When they had come to him, they said, “Charles sent us to you. He has come as you commanded with sixty knights, and he wishes to serve you as a knight and become yours. Therefore come to him peacefully with sixty of your men, if you wish to give him what you promised.”

He answered that they should return to Charles and tell him to wait for him.

Charles then became acquainted with Aygoland, explored the city of Agennium to learn on which side it would be easier to take it, and observed the kings who were in it.

He returned to the sixty knights and afterward with them to his own two thousand.

Aygoland suddenly followed them with seven thousand knights. But when they perceived this, they fled.

Charles, however, returned into Gaul and, having united his armies, returned to the city of Agennium and besieged it for six months.

In the seventh month, when engines and wooden castles had been fitted around the city, Aygoland with his possessions and his barons secretly went out through privies and caverns; and thus, crossing the river Garonne, which was beside the city, they escaped.

On the following day Charles entered the city with great triumph and killed ten thousand Saracens. The rest fled across the Garonne.

Aygoland came to Saintes. Charles, pursuing him, commanded him to surrender the city. He refused, but went out against him in battle under this condition: that the city should belong to the one who conquered.

In the evening before the day of battle, between the castle of Talaburgum and the city, beside the river named Caranta, the Christians planted their spears in the earth before their camps. On the next day they found their spears adorned with bark and leaves.

These, namely, were those who were to die in the battle and to become martyrs by falling for the faith of Christ.

Rejoicing at so great a miracle, after cutting down their spears, they were crowned with martyrdom for the faith of Christ. Charles’s horse was also killed.

There afterward the king of Agabia and the king of Bugia, while fleeing, were killed by Charles.

Aygoland, however, fled to Pamplona and sent word to Charles that he would await him there for battle.

When this had been heard, Charles returned into Gaul and commanded throughout all Gaul that all serfs who were held under the evil customs of clerics, after the servitude of their own persons had been released and their liability to sale laid aside, should remain free together with all their present and future progeny.

He also released all whom he found captive in workhouses; those whom he found poor he enriched; the naked he clothed; those at discord he reconciled; and the disinherited he restored to their proper honors.

All who were trained in arms, and the shield-bearers, he made knights.

Those also whom he had justly separated from his affection he recalled to friendship, having been moved to compunction.

Then, therefore, after gathering one hundred and twenty-four thousand fighting men, besides armor-bearers and foot soldiers of whom there was no number, he set out into Spain against Aygoland.

These are the names of Charles’s princes:

I, Turpinus, archbishop of Remi, who armed the faithful people with worthy admonitions and often fought the Saracens with my own hands and weapons;

Roland, count of Cenomanensis, Charles’s nephew, son of Bertha his sister and of Duke Milo, with four thousand armed men;

Oliver, count of Gebennensis, son of Count Rayner, with three thousand fighting men;

Arastagnus, king of the Britons, with six thousand, although there was then another king in Britain;

Engelerius, duke of the city of Aquitania, which Caesar Augustus first established in those regions, to which city he subjected Biturica, Lemovica, Pictavis, Saintes, and Engolisma with their provinces, whence that whole country is called Aquitania. This city, however, was reduced to desolation after the death of Eulegerius, because all its citizens were killed at Roncevaux, nor did it afterward have any other colonists;

Gaiferus, king of Bordeaux;

Gundebold, king of Frisia;

Oellus, count of Nantes;

Arnald of Bellanda, who afterward killed Aygoland in battle;

Naaman, duke of Bavaria;

Othgerus, king of Dacia;

Lambert, prince of Bituricensis;

Samson, duke of Burgundy;

Constantine, prefect of Rome;

and Garius, duke of Lotharingia.

Charles's army covered the whole land in length and breadth for two days' journeys.

Section VII

Concerning the Colloquy and Pact Made between Charles and Aygoland, and Aygoland's Promise to Receive Baptism, Which He Nevertheless Did Not Keep

Charles, therefore, as Vincent relates in the place cited above from the words of Turpinus, having learned the Saracen language at Toledo while still a young man, came to a colloquy with Aygoland after truces had been mutually granted.

They also entered into a pact that those whose knights were conquered should follow the law of the victors as the better law.

Therefore, under this pact, twenty Christian knights were sent against twenty Saracens, and the Saracens were killed.

Then forty were sent against forty, and the Saracens were conquered.

Then one hundred against one hundred, and the Christians fled.

Afterward two hundred were sent against two hundred, and all the Saracens were killed.

Finally one thousand were sent against one thousand Saracens, and all one thousand Saracens were killed.

Then Aygoland, affirming that the law of the Christians was better than his own, namely that of Machomet, determined to be baptized on the following day.

Therefore, on the next day, after security for going and returning had been given to both parties, Aygoland came to be baptized.

He saw Charles sitting at table and inspected the ranks of those sitting there. Among them were some in military garb, some in canonical garb, and some in monastic garb, and he asked about each rank.

Seeing, however, in a certain place twelve poor men sitting on the ground in the most wretched clothing, without a table or linens and using little food and drink, he asked who they were.

Charles answered, "This is the people of God, the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we feed daily under the number of the twelve apostles."

To this Aygoland said, "He serves his lord badly who receives the messengers of his lord in this manner.

"Those who sit around you are happy and happily eat, drink, and are clothed, while the messengers of your God continually perish from thirst and cold and have been shamefully cast far from you.

"He does a great shame to his lord who serves his servants in this manner.

"You therefore said that your law was good; now you have shown it to be false."

Having received permission, he returned scandalized to his own men and, refusing to be baptized, announced battle to Charles for the following day.

Then Charles, understanding why he had refused to be baptized, diligently cared for all the poor whom he found in the army, clothed them very well, and abundantly provided them with food and drink.

On the following day, therefore, battle was joined between Charles's army on the one side and Aygoland's army on the other. So great was the slaughter of the pagans killed by the Christians, among whom their prince Aygoland himself also fell in death, that the Christians were swimming up to the soles of their feet in the blood of the slain.

Whoever was found in the city of Pamplona was killed. The king of Seville and the king of Cordoba fled with a few men.

Certain Christians, however, led by greed, returned to take the spoils of the slain. While they were returning laden with gold and silver, they were all killed, up to one thousand, by the king of Seville and the king of Cordoba, who were concealed in ambush.

On the following day the king of the Navarri, named Furra, announced battle to Charles.

Charles asked God to show who were to die in the battle; and on the next day the sign of the Lord's red cross appeared behind upon the shoulders of those who were to die, over their coats of mail.

Section VIII

Vincent relates in the place cited above, namely in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror*, concerning a certain giant named Ferracutus, whom the admiral of Babylon had sent with twenty thousand Turks to fight Charles, and who was said to possess the strength of forty strong men.

This giant, therefore, going out from the city of Nagera, sought single combat against anyone whatsoever.

When many strong men from Charles's army had been sent successively, and that giant easily captured them all and sent them into prison, at last Roland, the prince of the army, was scarcely able to obtain permission from King Charles.

When permission had at length been obtained, he went against him. The giant immediately seized him with his right hand, as he had done the former men, and placed him before himself upon his horse.

But while Roland was being carried away captive upon the horse, he seized the giant by the chin and overthrew him forcefully, and they both fell to the earth.

After they had fought together many times in single combat, both as horsemen and as foot soldiers, an interval was made and Ferracutus began to question Roland concerning the Christian law.

When Roland had explained it to him very well, the giant said, "I shall fight with you under this pact: that this faith which you assert shall be true if I am conquered by you, but false if you are conquered by me; and the reproach of the vanquished shall continually adhere to his nation, while praise and honor shall belong to the victor forever."

Therefore, when they joined battle, the giant, wounded in the navel by Roland, died. Roland returned unharmed to his own men.

Thus the Christians entered the city and took it; and, after the giant had been killed, they rescued from prison the warriors who had been conquered and imprisoned by him.

After this Charles went to Cordoba, where the king of Seville and the king of Cordoba awaited him in order to fight him.

When, at Charles's command, the first troop of our knights advanced against the first troop of pagans, before each of their horses there was a foot soldier holding a bearded and horned mask like those of demons, and each one held a drum that he beat forcefully with his hands.

As soon as our horses heard the sound of these and saw their terrifying likenesses, they fled in terror and could in no way be restrained.

When this had been done, Charles commanded that the heads of all the horses be covered with linens and cloths and that their ears be stopped.

Thus, advancing to battle, they killed their adversaries until midday, but not to the point of annihilation.

For all the Saracens had gathered around a wagon drawn by eight oxen, upon which their banner had been raised. It was their custom that none of them should flee from battle so long as the standard was seen standing upright.

When Charles learned this, he entered the midst of the battle lines as far as the banner, which he cut down with his sword. Immediately they fled, and eight thousand of them were slain.

On the following day the high mayor of Cordoba surrendered the city to Charles under this pact: that he himself should be baptized and should hold the city from Charles.

Then Charles left the lands of Spain to his warriors.

Afterward, having left his larger armies in Spain, he went to Saint James. He edified those whom he found to be Christians in that country, but he either killed the apostates or sent them into exile in Gaul.

He appointed bishops and priests throughout the cities, and I, Turpinus, with nine bishops, dedicated the church and altar of blessed James at Charles's request.

Section IX

Concerning the Betrayal of Ganelon, the Very Great Slaughter of Christians in the Battle of Roncevaux, and the Passing of Roland

There were therefore at Caesaraugusta two Saracen kings, Marsirius and his brother Beligandus, sent by the admiral of Babylon from Persia into Spain. They were subject to Charles's empire and served him, but with feigned charity.

Charles commanded them through Ganelon either to receive baptism or to pay him tribute.

They sent him thirty horses laden with gold, silver, and other Spanish treasures; four hundred horses laden with the sweetest and purest wine for the warriors to drink; and one thousand beautiful Saracen women.

To Ganelon, however, they fraudulently offered twenty horses laden with gold, silver, and hangings, so that he would deliver Charles's warriors into their hands.

He accepted the money, consented, and confirmed with them a pact of betrayal.

The greater warriors accepted only the wine and no women at all, but the lesser men took the women.

Then, on Ganelon's advice, Charles crossed the Ciserian passes and formed the rearmost guard from his dearest princes, Roland and Oliver, with the greater warriors at Roncevaux, together with twenty thousand other Christians.

Then Marsirius and Beligandus, with fifty thousand Saracens, assembled at earliest morning from the woods and hills where, on Ganelon's advice, they had lain hidden for two days and two nights.

They formed two troops, one of twenty thousand and the other of thirty thousand.

The first, of twenty thousand, began first to strike our men. Turning upon them, our men killed them from morning until the third hour, and not one of the twenty thousand escaped.

Immediately, however, the other thirty thousand attacked our men, who were exhausted by so great a slaughter, and struck down our men from the greatest to the least.

This therefore befell them because on the preceding nights, drunk with Saracen wine, many of them had fornicated with the pagan women and also with Christian women whom many had brought with them from Gaul.

All the warriors were therefore killed there except Roland, Baldwin, and Theodric. Turpinus and Ganelon, however, were with King Charles.

After that battle had been fought, as Roland was returning, he found a certain Saracen hiding in a wood. He bound him firmly to a tree and ascended a certain mountain in order to reconnoiter them.

He saw that they were many, returned to the road of Roncevaux, and sounded his ivory trumpet. At its sound about one hundred Christians returned to him.

Returning to the Saracen whom he had bound, when he had released him Roland drew his sword and threatened him with death unless he showed him Marsirius.

Therefore he led this man with him as far as the battle lines of the pagans, and the man showed him Marsirius from afar upon a red horse and with a round shield.

Then Roland, having recovered his strength and been animated for the battle of God, rushed upon them. He saw there one man taller than the others, whom with one stroke he cut through the middle together with his horse, so that one part of the horse and knight fell to the right and the other to the left.

When the Saracens saw this, they immediately fled, leaving Marsirius in the field with a few men. Roland pursued Marsirius as he fled among the others and struck him down.

There one hundred companions of Roland were cut down. Roland, however, escaped after being struck by four thick lances and by stones.

Beligandus, the brother of Marsirius, withdrew with his men from those regions. Theodric and Baldwin were hiding among the woods.

Charles, however, had crossed the mountain with his armies and did not know what had been done.

Roland, greatly wearied and grieving greatly over the death of his men, came as far as the foot of the Ciserian pass. There, beneath a certain tree beside a marble stone that stood above Roncevaux, he dismounted from his excellent horse in a meadow.

He then had with him his sword called Durenda, which is interpreted “hard blow.”

Having drawn it because he wished to break it, he struck the stone three times; dividing the stone itself from top to bottom, he drew out the sword unharmed.

Then he sounded his trumpet so forcefully that its voice, by angelic conveyance, reached Charles’s ears, although Charles was eight miles distant from Roland.

Immediately Ganelon dissuaded the king, who wished to return to Roland, saying that Roland was blowing his trumpet for the purpose of hunting.

While Roland therefore lay upon the grass of the meadow, his brother Baldwin came upon him. Roland signaled to him to provide him water, because he was exceedingly thirsty.

When Baldwin sought it and could not find it, seeing Roland to be near death, he mounted his horse and went after Charles.

Soon Theodric arrived. Grieving greatly over him, he signaled that Roland should fortify himself with confession.

Roland, however, had received the Eucharist on that same day and had made confession of his sins before he went to battle, because this was always the custom among us for those about to fight: that they first confess and receive communion.

Therefore Roland, among the other words of his most sweet confession, holding the skin and flesh around his breasts and heart, said three times, “In this flesh I shall see God my Savior.”

Placing his hands over his eyes, he likewise said three times, “And these eyes shall behold him.”

Thus, surrendering his spirit, he said, “Now, by Christ’s gift, I behold what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has ascended into the heart of man, which God has prepared for those who love him.”

He poured forth a prayer for all who had died in the battle.

Jacob of Columna asserts in his history that King Charles, after invading the regions of Spain, subdued many lands and subjected them to himself, and that, as he was returning victorious with his army, he suffered an ambush by the Vascones in the mountains.

Rising unexpectedly against Charles’s forces from the opposite side, they killed many of them, and especially Roland, a most daring knight and prefect of the British frontier; Anselm, count of the palace; and Engibard, overseer of the royal table.

Hence, because of this, that history of Roland appears doubtful.

Section X

On that same day, while I, Turpinus, was singing a Mass for the dead before the king in the valley of Charles, I was carried away in ecstasy and heard choirs singing in the heavens, not knowing what this was.

When they had passed on to the heights, behold, a crowd of hideous soldiers, coming as though from plunder and bearing spoil, passed before me.

I said to them, “What are you carrying?”

They said, “We are carrying Marsirius to hell. Michael your trumpeter, with many others, is carrying him to the heights. [read: The angel Michael is carrying your trumpeter, together with many others, to heaven]”

While I was relating this vision to Charles after Mass, behold, Baldwin came riding Roland’s horse and related everything and how he had left Roland.

Then, while everyone cried out and returned, Charles first found Roland lying lifeless upon his back, with his arms laid across his breast in the form of a cross.

Falling upon him, he roared with a great cry. He pitched his tents there that night, embalmed Roland's body with myrrh, aloe, and balsam, and throughout that whole night they all conducted great funeral rites with prayers, lamps, and fires kindled throughout the woods.

At earliest dawn on the following day they proceeded to our other slain brethren.

Oliver was found lying upon his back, extended in the form of a cross, firmly bound with four twisted cords to four stakes fixed in the earth, flayed with the sharpest knives from his neck as far as the nails of his feet and hands, pierced with javelins, arrows, lances, and swords, and crushed by great blows of clubs.

Then, while everyone wept, the king swore by the almighty King that he would not cease running after the pagans until he found them.

As he immediately ran after them with his men, he found them beside the river Ebro near Caesaraugusta, lying down and eating. Rushing upon them, he killed about four thousand and returned to Roncevaux.

Then the king began to investigate whether what was being said was true, namely that Ganelon had committed betrayal; Theodric accused him.

Against Theodric the king appointed Pinabellum on Ganelon's behalf. Theodric immediately joined battle with him and killed him.

Thereupon the king commanded Ganelon to be bound to four exceedingly fierce horses and four riders to sit upon them, driving them toward the four regions of the sky; and thus, torn apart, he perished.

At that time there were two principal sacrosanct cemeteries, one at Arelate and the other at Bordeaux, in which the greater part of the dead were buried.

Charles caused Roland, covered with hangings, to be carried as far as Blavium and buried him in the church of blessed Romanus, which he himself had built long before, placing Roland's sword point at his head and his ivory trumpet at his feet.

For the souls of those killed in the said battle, Charles gave as alms twelve ounces of silver, the same number of talents of gold, clothing, and food to the needy.

For love of Roland, who was buried there, he gave the entire town of Blavium, with everything pertaining to it, and also the sea that lies beneath it and the whole land around the basilica of Saint Romanus, in allodium for the uses of the said church.

He commanded the canons of that church each year to feed and clothe thirty poor persons and to say the same number of psalters and Masses for all who had died in Spain.

Constantine the prefect, with many other Romans and Apulians, was carried by sea; abundant alms were also given for them.

Section XI

Concerning the Revelation of the Body of Saint Salvius and His Deeds

At the same time the body of Saint Salvius was found; not long before, he had been martyred by Winegard.

In the time of King Hilperic, he occupied the episcopal chair of the city of the Ambianenses and was powerful in many virtues, so that, by the Lord's working, he restored sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and walking to the lame.

During the same time the aforementioned king, inclining toward the Arian doctrine, wrote that the Holy Trinity should not be named in a distinction of persons, but should be named only God.

Hence he commanded this writing to be read to Saint Salvius, entreating him to become of one mind with him.

When Salvius heard it, he was so horrified that, if he could have touched the sheet that had been brought and upon which those things were written, he would have torn it into pieces.

Finally, in the time of Charles, he came into the territory of the fiscal estate of Haymonensis, which is called Valentiana, and began to preach there.

On a certain Sunday of the Resurrection, when he had celebrated Mass in the church of Saint Martin and had also instructed the people there, a certain Gonard, who administered the fiscal estate under his lord Abbo, invited him to a meal after Mass.

Saint Salvius possessed a set of golden liturgical vessels, vestments adorned with gold and gems, and a golden belt interwoven with gems and pearls. He knowingly carried all these things with him everywhere before everyone, so that in this manner he might attain the palm of martyrdom.

It appears, however, that this must be understood of the sacred vestments in which he celebrated.

Winegard, son of Genard, a frivolous and insolent man, coveted these things and caused them all to be taken away from Salvius. From the chalice and paten he caused a golden saddle to be made for himself.

He sent the man of God into prison, and, sending his servant, caused him and his disciple to be killed.

The servant nevertheless did not dare to do this until the saint commanded him.

These two saints were natives of the territory of the Arverni.

Winegard, who had commanded them to be killed, ordered both their bodies to be carried secretly to the enclosure of his herd and hidden there in excavated earth.

There was, however, a very great bull in the herd, which always kept the other animals from touching the place where the bodies of the saints had been placed.

If it happened that any dung had fallen there, the bull did not cease throughout the entire night until it had cleansed the place with its feet.

A certain woman keeping vigil by night saw an immense brightness around the place where the herd was, and, approaching the entrance, she saw two lighted lamps illuminating that whole place.

Showing this to the neighbors, and when this had occurred for several nights, they made it known to the priests.

It was also revealed to King Charles by an angel of the Lord that he should send to Valentiana and seek the bodies of Saint Salvius and his disciple.

When this revelation had occurred for three successive nights, he sent men there to search. The bodies of the saints were found through the disclosure of Gonard himself.

Gonard, his son Winegard, and Winegarius, the servant who had killed them, were brought to the king.

The king commanded the genitals of Genard and Winegard to be amputated and their eyes to be torn out, but only the eyes of Winegarius, the servant, to be torn out.

The bodies of the saints were placed upon a wagon so that they might be brought to the church of Saint Vedast, but they could not be moved even when a multitude of oxen had been brought.

Leaving only two oxen with the wagon, they allowed them to go wherever they wished. With the greatest speed those two oxen brought the bodies to the church of Saint Martin in which Saint Salvius had been accustomed to pray, and there they were honorably placed.

At the same time two sisters of a certain duke of the Franks came to King Charles, complaining of their brother because he was taking away their inheritance.

When the duke was summoned by the king concerning this, he answered that he was taking nothing from them.

The king caused him to swear upon the body of Saint Salvius that he owed his sisters nothing of the things they sought.

When he had sworn joyfully, he immediately burst through the middle; blood came out of his eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth, and after two hours he expired.

Genard the father, although blinded bodily, received spiritual eyes. Giving whatever he possessed to Saint Salvius, he remained in his house and performed penance.

When Winegard his son came to the church in which the saint rested and prayed that sight might be given to him, the whole church was shaken.

Going out and turning in flight, he came to the monastery of Saint Amand and remained there, mourning his sin all the days of his life.

Winegarius the servant, however, prostrate before the body of Saint Salvius with a great shower of tears, received sight in one eye; and until the end of his life he tended the flocks in the service of Saint Salvius.

Section XII

Concerning the Parisian School and How It Was Established at Paris

Jacob of Columna relates in his history that in the time of Charlemagne, Alcuin, an Englishman by nation, was sent by the kings of England to Charles, king of the Franks, for the sake of peace. He was kindly received by him and remained with him in Gaul, a man most learned in every respect.

Chiefly through his teaching the king learned all the liberal arts, especially astronomy, in which he greatly delighted.

Therefore Alcuin, illustrious in knowledge, life, and the wisdom of letters, transferred the school from Rome to Paris; it had formerly been transferred from Greece to Rome by the Romans.

The founders of this school at Paris were four monks, disciples of Bede: Rabanus, Alcuin, Claudius, and John Scotus.

In the chronicles of the metropolis of Arelate it is read thus:

“The almighty disposer of affairs and ordainer of kingdoms and times, when he had crushed among the Romans the iron or earthen feet of that wondrous statue, raised among the Franks the golden head of another statue no less wondrous through the illustrious Charlemagne.

“When he alone had begun to reign in the western regions and the studies of letters were already everywhere in oblivion, and consequently the worship of the true divinity was growing cold, it happened that two Scottish monks from Hibernia landed with British merchants upon the shore of Gaul, men incomparably learned both in secular letters and in Holy Scriptures.

“Every day, although they displayed nothing for sale, they cried loudly to the crowds coming to buy: ‘If anyone desires wisdom, let him come to us and receive it, for with us wisdom is for sale.’

“These things were cried out for so long that, while people wondered at them or thought them insane, the matter was brought to the ears of King Charles, who was always a lover of wisdom.

“He quickly summoned them into his presence and asked whether they truly possessed wisdom for sale.

“They said, ‘We both possess wisdom and are prepared in the name of the Lord to give it to those who seek it.’

“When the king asked what they sought for it, they answered, ‘Only suitable places, ingenious souls, and the sustenance without which this pilgrimage cannot be passed.’”

When he heard these things, he was filled with immense joy. At first he kept both of them with himself for a short time.

Afterward, when he was pressed by military expeditions, he caused one of them, named Clement, to reside in Gaul, namely at Paris. He entrusted the noblest boys to him and commanded that provisions be supplied to them as was necessary.

He sent the other into Italy and assigned to him the monastery of Saint Augustine near the city of Ticinum, so that those who wished might assemble there for learning.

When Albinus, who is also called Alcuin, heard that Charles gladly received wise and religious men, he boarded a ship and came into Gaul. The king kept him with himself until the end of his life.

His teaching bore fruit to such an extent that the Franks have until now equaled the Romans in every branch of knowledge. More will be said below concerning Alcuin and his books.

Moreover, as the aforementioned Jacob attests, he was abundant in eloquence, for whatever he wished he could express very easily and elegantly.

Not content with his native language, he long devoted labor to learning foreign languages. Among these he learned Latin, or Roman, so well that one would think him a Roman. He could understand Greek better than he could speak it.

He cultivated the liberal arts most diligently. He also greatly revered their teachers, whom he pursued with great honors.

He cultivated the Christian religion most holily and with the highest piety, as has been said.

He built very many churches, enriched them with possessions, and adorned them with the richest ornaments. He wished the divine office to be celebrated perpetually in them.

Among the other sacred and venerable places, however, he especially cultivated the church of Peter the Apostle at the city of Rome, where he gave great gifts of gold, silver, and precious stones.

The illustrious emperor omitted nothing that was to be done so that the Roman city through his work and labor, and the church of blessed Peter through him, should not only be safe and defended but should also, through his zeal and diligence, be adorned and enriched before all others as the mother and mistress of all churches.

Besides those things that this most glorious emperor did with the greatest magnificence for the kingdom of Francia, after he attained the imperial dignity he accomplished so many magnificent deeds that they alone would require a special book.

For through his zeal and industry he restored to its ancient boundaries the Roman Empire, which had almost collapsed in the western regions.

He subdued Aquitania, Gascony, and everything from the ridge of the Pyrenean mountain as far as the river Ebro; then both Pannonias, Dacia, Histria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, except for the maritime cities that, because of friendship and treaty, he had permitted the emperor of the Greeks to possess.

Afterward he subjected to the Roman Empire all those barbarous nations situated between the river Rhine, the river Musula, the Ocean, and the Danube, which were indeed nearly alike in language but very unlike in customs and dress.

Moreover, he subjected to the Roman Empire all Italy from Augusta Praetoria as far as lower Calabria, which touches the Sicilian Sea, in which it is agreed that the boundaries of the Greeks lie.

The remaining matters that pertain to his domestic and interior life were these, says Jacob of Columna.

After the death of his father Pippin, when the kingdom had been divided with his brother Carloman, Charles bore his brother's hostility with such patience that it appeared wondrous to everyone.

When Carloman died, the whole kingdom devolved upon Charles himself.

At his mother's urging, Charlemagne took the daughter of the king of the Lombards as wife, but repudiated her after a year. It is uncertain for what reason he did this.

He afterward took as wife Hildegard, born from the nation of the Suevi, a woman distinguished by the highest nobility.

By her he had three sons, namely Charles, Pippin, and Louis, and three daughters by the same wife, namely Rotrud, Bertha, and Gisla.

He also had concubines by whom he had children of both sexes.

He continually cultivated his mother with the highest honor, so that no discord ever arose between them except in the divorce of the daughter of King Desiderius.

Moreover, he governed the empire with such great kindness and clemency that discord against him never arose in the kingdom.

Only once was a conspiracy made against him in Germany. Of its authors, some were deprived of their eyes and some were sent into exile, yet none of them was killed by the sword except three.

Because they defended themselves with drawn swords against the king's attendants so that they might not be captured, they were killed, since they could not otherwise be taken.

The cause and origin of their conspiracy was the queen herself, his wife; for, conquered by love for her, he was excessively credulous toward her, to such an extent that he was believed to deviate from the kindness of his nature and his customary gentleness.

For the remainder of the whole time of his life, however, he conducted himself at home and abroad with the highest love and favor toward everyone, so that not even the smallest mark of unjust cruelty could ever be detected in him.

Section XIII

In the thirteenth year of his empire, says Jacob, the glorious Emperor Charles, when his kingdom and empire had been pacified and enlarged and the condition of the Church religiously ordered, also used his authority to cause the Gregorian office to be observed throughout the universal Church, leaving the Ambrosian office to the Milanese alone.

When he was already oppressed by disease and old age, he summoned to himself his firstborn Louis, whom he had established as king of Aquitania.

Having assembled the nobles from the whole empire, by their counsel and assent he declared Louis a partner in the imperial name, the future Augustus, and emperor of the Romans.

For he alone survived of Hildegard's sons, the other two having already died.

When this had been done, Charles returned to Aquaegrani, and there, although worn out by old age, he nevertheless exercised himself daily in hunting.

But while he was wintering there, he lay down in the month of January with a severe fever.

As soon as he was burdened with fever, as he was accustomed to do, he prescribed for himself abstinence from foods, thinking that the illness could be driven away or at least mitigated by this abstinence.

But when pain in his side was added to the fever, on the seventh day after he took to his bed, having devoutly received holy communion, he departed to the Lord.

He was in the seventy-second year of his age, and in the thirteenth from the time when he had begun to reign, from when at Rome under Pope Leo he had received the imperial dignity. [read: he died in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-seventh year since he began to reign]

He died on the second day before the Kalends of February. [read: on the fifth day before the Kalends of February, 28 January]

He was buried at Aquaegrani in the most beautiful chapel in the whole world, which he had built for himself and wondrously adorned.

Above his tomb a gilded arch was erected with an inscription of this kind:

“Under this tomb is placed the body of Charlemagne, who nobly enlarged the kingdom of the Franks and happily ruled it for forty-seven years. He departed in the eight-hundred-and-fourteenth year from the Lord’s Incarnation.”

Pope Leo with the Roman princes was present at his burial. Many archbishops and bishops were also present, and very many dukes and counts were present.

They clothed the dead man’s body in imperial garments, placed a golden crown upon his head, and caused him to sit upon a golden chair as though alive.

They placed the codex of the four Gospels upon his knees, so that his right hand held the codex and his left hand held the scepter.

They also joined a small golden chain to the diadem, lest the dead man’s head incline to either side.

Moreover, they placed at his left the golden shield that the Romans had made for him.

At his death, however, as Archbishop Turpinus says and Vincent relates in the place cited above, I was at Vienna, praying in a church before the altar.

When I was carried into ecstasy while singing the psalm “O God, come to my assistance,” I saw infinite ranks of hideous spirits pass by and hasten toward Lotharingia.

A certain one resembling an Ethiopian followed all of them at a slow pace.

I said to him, “Where are you going?”

They said, “To Aquaegrani, to the death of Charles, so that we may carry his soul away to Tartarus.”

Then I said, “I adjure you by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that, when the journey has been completed, you return to me.”

After a short delay they returned to me in the same order, scarcely when the psalm had been completed.

I said to the last one, to whom I had spoken before, “What did you accomplish?”

He said, “The Galician without a head placed so many stones and the innumerable timbers of his basilicas in his balance that his good deeds weighed more than his evil deeds, and therefore he took his soul away from us.”

When he had said these things, he vanished.

From that time when Charles departed from Spain until the day of his death, he was continually ill.

His son Louis succeeded him, as has been said.

Title XIV, Chapter V

As has been said, at the same time two singular men flourished: Albinus, who was also called Alcuin, a most learned man born in England and Charles's teacher in the liberal arts and Holy Scriptures; and Rabanus, first an abbot and afterward archbishop of Mainz.

Alcuin composed several books: three books *On the Holy Trinity*; one book *To His Disciples*; one book *On the Epistle to the Hebrews*; one book *On Ecclesiastes*; seven books *On John*; one book *On the Nature of the Soul, to the Virgin Eulalia*; and one book of dialogues *On the Trinity, to Fredegisus*.

He is also said to have produced the Ordinary Glosses upon all Holy Scripture, excerpted from the sayings or judgments of various doctors.

In the Decrees, distinction forty-five, Albinus says:

"There are three kinds of alms. One is bodily: to give the hungry whatever you can. The second is spiritual: namely, to forgive the one by whom you have been injured. The third is to correct one who errs and to bring delinquents back into the way of truth."

The same man says in cause twenty-three, question eight:

"At the exhortation and prayers of Adrian, bishop of the city of Rome, King Charles was entreated to undertake war against the Lombards. This war had indeed previously been undertaken with great difficulty by his father Pippin, when the pope, namely Stephen, entreated him."

The same Albinus, or Alcuin, says thus in a certain sermon on the feast of All Saints:

"The ineffable and immense goodness of God provided that he should not extend the time of labor and struggle, nor make it long or eternal, but brief and, so to speak, momentary, so that in this brief and little life there should be struggles and labors, but in that heavenly life the rewards of merits should be eternal.

"He provided that the labors should quickly end, but the rewards of merits should endure without end; that after the darkness of this world they should see the brightest light and should receive a beatitude greater than the bitterness of all sufferings, as the Apostle testifies: 'The sufferings of this time are not worthy of comparison with the future glory that shall be revealed in us.'

"Heavenly joy received with an open bosom those returning from battle and went forth to meet those bearing a trophy from the prostrated enemy.

"Women who overcame both the world and their sex come with the triumphant men; virgins together with boys, passing their tender years in virtues, come with the doubled glory of warfare; and the remaining multitude of the faithful entered the kingdoms of the perpetual court, who preserved the sincerity of faith in the unshaken disciplines of the heavenly precepts, in united peace.

"Therefore act, brothers: let us enter upon the road of life, and let us return to the heavenly city in which we are enrolled and ordained as citizens.

"For we are not strangers but fellow citizens of the saints and members of God's household, and his heirs, but coheirs of Christ.

"Fortitude will open for us the gate of this city, and confidence will provide a broad entrance.

"What is more blessed than that life, where there is no fear of poverty and no weakness of illness? No one is injured there; no one becomes angry, and no one envies.

"No cupidity burns; no ambition for honor presses; there is no fear of the devil there, no snares of demons; the terror of Gehenna is far away.

"There is death neither of body nor of soul, but a joyful life by the gift of immortality.

"There shall then be no discord anywhere, but all things are harmonious, all things tranquil, and the splendor perpetual.

"Yet above all is to be joined to the companies of angels and archangels and to enjoy the fellowship of all the heavenly and supernal powers;

"and to behold the battle lines of the saints shining more brightly than the stars, the patriarchs gleaming with faith, the prophets rejoicing in hope, the apostles judging the twelve tribes of Israel, the martyrs shining with the purple crowns of victory, and the choirs of virgins bearing gleaming garlands.

“But no voice would suffice to speak of the King who sits in their midst.

“For if it were necessary for us to suffer torments every day, if it were necessary to endure Gehenna itself for a short time, so that we might behold Christ in glory and be joined to the number of his saints, would it not be worthy to suffer everything that is grievous so that we might be accounted participants in so great a good and so great a glory?

“What shall be, dearest brothers, the glory of those just men, what the great joy of the saints, when the Lord shall begin to provide heavenly things for earthly, eternal things for temporal, and great things for small; to lead the saints with him into the vision of the Father’s glory and cause them to sit with him in the heavenly places; and to bestow upon his own the immortality to which he restored them by the vivification of his blood?”

It is also said of this Alcuin in the *Martiniana* that he was English by origin and most excellent in philosophy; he transferred the school from the City to Paris, which school had been transferred from Greece to the city of Rome by the Romans.

Charlemagne entrusted to this Alcuin the monastery of Saint Martin at Tours to govern.

For the monks, forgetful of their former religious observance, had declined so greatly that they walked about clothed in silken garments and gilded shoes, giving themselves to the delights of the flesh.

Hence, while one monk watched, two angels entered the dormitory and killed all the monks except the one who saw these things.

That monk scarcely obtained from those angels that he should not be killed but should be preserved to perform penance.

Therefore, after this deed, Alcuin was made abbot and governor of this monastery and an instructor in all holiness. After a praiseworthy life, the excellent doctor was buried there.

Section I

Rabanus, a philosopher and second to none of the poets of his time, says Vincent in the place cited above following Sigebertus, was abbot of Fulda.

He expounded many things from Holy Scripture and also composed, in a difficult and wondrous poem, a book *On the Praise of the Holy Cross*, distinguished by a variety of figures, and sent it to Pope Sergius.

At last, from abbot of Fulda he was ordained archbishop of Mainz, where, after a synod had been celebrated, at the command of King Louis he decreed many things useful to the Church.

At that time a certain false prophetess arose, saying that the day of judgment was imminent. She disturbed Mainz to such an extent that she even inclined some men of sacred order toward herself.

Corrected by the archbishop, she confessed that she had done this for gain at the suggestion of a certain priest.

When a severe famine had afflicted Germany so greatly that a father wished to devour his son, Archbishop Rabanus at that time showed much benevolence to the poor by giving many alms to the needy.

As Vincent says in the place cited above, he wrote many books: two books *On the Praise of the Cross*, partly metrical and partly in prose; one book *On the Institution of Clerics*; four books *On Genesis*; four books *On Exodus*; one book *On Numbers*; four books *On the Book of Kings*; four books *On Paralipomenon*; seven books *On Judith*; one book *On Esther*; three books *On the Book of Wisdom*; ten books *On Ecclesiasticus*; one book *On Jeremiah*; three books *On the Books of the Maccabees*; eight books *On Matthew*; and one book *On the Acts of the Apostles*.

Besides these things he wrote *On the Natures of Things* and several other works, as well as certain letters. One of these is the prologue placed before the Book of Maccabees.

Strabus was his disciple. He took down very many things while Rabanus dictated, produced certain short commentaries upon some books of the Pentateuch, and certain mystical expositions upon the Bible are ascribed to him.

The following things are contained in the Decrees from the books of Rabanus.

Rabanus says in *On the Institution of Clerics*, in *On Consecration*, distinction four:

“The office of catechizing ought to precede a person’s baptism, so that as a catechumen he may first receive the sacrament of faith.

“Christ himself first anointed the eyes of the man born blind with mud made from spittle and thus sent him to the waters of Siloam, because the one to be baptized must first be instructed in the faith of Christ’s Incarnation and thus, believing, be admitted to baptism, so that he may know of whose grace he is a participant and to whom he thereafter becomes a debtor.”

The same man says in the same work, *On Consecration*, distinction three:

“After the one to be baptized has entrusted himself through the confession of true faith to the dominion of another and has alienated himself through renunciation from the service of his former possessor, the savage power is blown out from him, so that through the pure ministry of the priest the evil spirit may flee, yielding to the Holy Spirit.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“Afterward the one to be baptized is marked with the sign of the holy cross both upon the forehead and upon the heart, so that from that time the apostate devil, recognizing in his former vessel the sign of his own destruction, may know that it is thereafter alien to him.

“After this the prayers are now said so that he may become a catechumen.

“Then blessed salt is given into the mouth of the one to be baptized, so that through the typological salt he may be seasoned with the salt of wisdom, lack the stench of iniquity, and no longer putrefy from the worms of sins, but rather be preserved unharmed to receive greater grace.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“Then the devil is exorcized again, so that, recognizing his own wickedness and fearing the just judgment of God upon him, he may withdraw from the person and no longer strive by his art to overthrow him lest he obtain baptism, but rather, showing honor to God his Creator, may return the work to its Maker.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“Afterward his nostrils and ears are touched with saliva, and the Gospel saying is spoken to him that, when Christ healed the deaf and mute man, touching his tongue with spittle and placing his fingers in his ear, he said, ‘Ephphatha,’ which means, ‘Be opened.’

“For this sacrament is performed here so that, through the typological saliva and the priest’s touch, divine wisdom and power may effect the salvation of that catechumen; that his nostrils may be opened to receive the odor of the knowledge of God; that his ears may be opened to hear the commandments of God; and that his senses may be opened in his innermost heart to respond.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“Then he is anointed by the priest so that he may preserve the sacred baptism received with faith.

“His breast is therefore then anointed with sanctified oil, with the invocation of the Holy Trinity, so that no remnants of the hidden enemy may reside in him, but that his mind may be strengthened in the faith of the Holy Trinity.

“He is also anointed between the shoulders with the same oil so that he may be fortified on every side and strengthened by the grace of God to perform good works.

“The font is consecrated so that the catechumen may approach it for baptism.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“After the baptized person ascends from the font, he is immediately signed upon the brain, that is, upon the crown of the head, by the priest with sacred chrism, with the following sign and prayer, so that he may become a participant in Christ’s kingdom and may be called a Christian from Christ.”

The same man says in the same distinction:

“First let the pagan be asked whether he renounces the devil and all his damnable works, so that he may first cast away error and thus be able to approach truth; so that, according to the Apostle, he may put off the old man according to his former manner of life and, denying impiety and worldly desires, may live justly and piously in this world.”

The same Rabanus, writing to Heribaldus concerning the fallen, whether they ought to be promoted or to minister in the orders they had received, says thus in distinction fifty:

“Concerning those who possess sacred orders and confess themselves to have been contaminated by capital crimes either before or after ordination, it has seemed to us that this distinction ought to be written.

“As it appears to me, those who have been publicly detected or caught in theft, perjury, fornication, and other crimes of this kind should fall from their own grade according to the statutes of the sacred canons, because it is a scandal to the people to have such persons set over them when they are known to be vicious beyond measure.

“For on this account men disparage the sacrifice of God, as we read they formerly did when the sons of Eli sinned; and those who are rebellious and contrary become worse each day through their depraved examples.

“But those who confess before the angels of God through a secret confession, with the priest also present who is to impose penance upon them, that they have secretly committed the aforementioned sins, and complain that they themselves have sinned gravely—if they strive to purify themselves through fasts, alms, and vigils, the hope of pardon from God’s mercy is to be promised even to these while their grade is preserved.”

Thus he speaks. See, however, the gloss there explaining the matter.

The same man, upon Matthew and upon the words “He delivered him to the torturers,” says thus in *On Penance*, distinction four:

“It must be considered that he says ‘the whole debt,’ because not only the sins that a person committed after baptism will be imputed to him for punishment, but also the original sins that had been forgiven him in baptism.

“What he says in the plural, ‘original sins,’ refers to the several effects of original sin, although in itself it is one.

“Such forgiven things are imputed not through their return, but through a certain aggravating effect,” according to Thomas in book four.

The same man says in the book *On Ecclesiastical Pressures*, and in distinction thirty-seven:

“We read of blessed Jerome that, when he read a book of Cicero, he was rebuked by an angel because, although a Christian man, he attended to the inventions of pagans.”

The same man says in the same book, and it is contained in cause twenty-four, question three:

“We are not condemned forever when we are judged unjustly, for the Psalmist says, ‘Nor shall he condemn him when judgment is made against him.’

“Many profess that they pursue the faults of priests from zeal for God, but while this is done indiscreetly they incur the crime of sacrilege.

“And while, as though for correction, they rush headlong, they themselves fall much more grievously and much worse.”

Section II

The same Rabanus speaks excellently, skillfully, and devoutly in metrical verses in the book *On the Praises of the Cross*:

“O Cross, you who are dedicated by vow to the supreme trophy.

“O Cross, you who are blessed by Christ’s bright triumph.

“O Cross, you who excel and rule over all Olympus.

“O Cross, leader to the wretched and redemption for the broad world.

“The laudable action of the patriarchs signifies you, and the people of the prophets, commanded by divine utterance.

“The apostolic band duly extends your trophies, and the choir of martyrs itself by blood poured out with justice.

“Behold the nourishing citadel of the Cross; behold the structure made for salvation; behold here the throne of the King, this reconciliation of the world.

“The celestial seraphim display the signs of Christ’s Cross and, with wings extended, signify its outstretched arms.

“The sacred form of the Cross gleams in venerable raiment. A great honor clothes it; rejoicing, I speak this to the nation.

“Holy Cross, you are the victory of Christ, the eternal King. The Lord’s Passion is life for the whole world.

“Upon the Cross the law of the Lord is adorned with gleaming light; peoples and tongues are joined in sacred praise.

“Eternal Cross, you are the praise of God; you live in the citadel of the poles. Cross, you are pleasing to the heavenly beings; Cross, hence you are a navigator for the world.

“Merciful Christ, I pray, guard me, Rabanus. O pious one in judgment.”

The same man says:

“The Passion of Christ sustains heaven, rules the world, and pierces Tartarus.

“In it the angels are strengthened, the peoples are redeemed, and the enemies are crushed.

“The fear drawn from it frees the faithful from punishment. Salutary sorrow cleanses penitents from sin. Desire for the good germinates the fruits of virtues. Joy in the hope of life gladdens those who trust.

“The Creator of all things devised this instrument for himself and wished it to be constructed so that in it he might restore all things completely and unite all things through Jesus Christ our Lord.

“O truly good and holy Cross of Christ, who can duly describe you completely or praise you worthily? You are the pious revealer of heavenly secrets, the sacred guardian of God’s mysteries, and the suitable dispenser of Christ’s sacraments.

“In you the angels behold their accumulated joys. In you men recognize the laws of their salvation. In you those below receive the just recompense of their fraud.

“You renew things past, illuminate things present, and foretell things future. You seek things lost, guard things found, restore things fallen, and direct them into the way of peace.

“You are the victory of the eternal King, the joy of the heavenly host, and the power of earthborn men.

“You are the remission of sins, the exhibition of piety, and the increase of merits.

“You are the remedy of the infirm, the help of those who labor, and the refreshment of the weary.

“You are the care that heals the sick, the joy that consoles the sorrowful, and the health that gladdens those in pain.

“You are the state of those who believe rightly, the firmness of those who work well, and the disposition of those who persevere properly.

“Whatever can worthily be thought concerning the redemption of the world, whatever the tongue can rightly speak, can most fittingly be adapted to your praise, because whatever is praised in you is reckoned to Christ the King crucified upon you.

“To you, Lord Jesus Christ, I offer humble prayers and discharge the vows of my mouth, because you have deigned to inspire me, a sinner, to sing however little of the honor of your Holy Cross and to preach our common salvation to my fellow servants.

“The consciousness of my own offenses did not delay me from what I began, but rather gave me confidence, because I celebrate in this song that upon which you destroyed the reign of sin and gave pardon for all offenses to the whole world.

“Hail, venerable Cross of God, you who are the light of wisdom and teacher of the world; you who are also true praise, the friend of virtues, and illustrious philosophy, flourishing unceasingly among those who dwell in heaven and those born upon earth.

“You are more fittingly called an imperial throne than a servile instrument of torture, because Christ our Emperor and King acquired for himself upon you a kingdom and power in heaven and on earth. He overcame the enemies and reconciled the world to God.

“O standard of the Christian people, sword with which we undertake battle against the enemy, I beseech you to bless my infirm breast by your power, so that with worthy praises I may be able to sing the triumph of the eternal King upon you, by which you join heavenly and earthly things together in one treaty, confirm the pact, and dissolve the bonds of death.

“The chariot of the four cardinal virtues, by the four arms of the Holy Cross, fittingly displays the desired sacred series of forms proceeding from it, consecrated in the triumph of the victory of Christ the King and, through his Passion, profitable to the whole world for obtaining the fruit of piety and attaining eternal beatitude.

“For virtue is a disposition of the soul, the adornment of nature, the reason of life, the nobility of morals, and the moderation of life.

“O Holy Cross, you hand down all these things to religious persons, and together bring forth all things pleasing to God and salutary: a tree of sweetest odor, most broad in the spreading of its beautiful leaves; an incomparable garden of delights, overflowing with the most abundant fertility of the flowers of virtues and most pleasant in the leaves of words.

“The hope of the Holy Cross is a great consolation to the faithful; it supplies material for praise and causes us to know the goodness of the Creator.

“The Cross of Christ is the way of the just, the ascent to heaven, the wheel drawing us from the lowest things to the higher, the leader and gate of the kingdom.

“Its upright part commends divine love and its transverse part fraternal love. Christ showed us the integrity of this love and instructed us by his example: dying upon the Cross, he laid down his beloved soul for his friends and enemies, and taught us to do the same.”

Title XV: Entirely Concerning Religious Persons

First are excerpts from the twenty-four *Conferences of the Fathers*.

Then concerning anchorites and cenobites, namely Paul the first hermit, Antony, Hilarion, Paul the Simple, Macarius, Pastor, John the hermit, Moses the Ethiopian, Apollonius, Pachomius, and the sayings of the holy fathers.

Afterward concerning blessed Benedict, Maurus, Placidus, Romuald and the order of the Camaldolese; concerning Odo and the order of Cluny; concerning the order of Vallis Umbrosa and John Gualbert; concerning the order of the Cistercians and Carthusians; and concerning many other religious orders of monks.

Chapter I

We have treated above, as best we could, the deeds of our God and Savior Jesus Christ, just as the holy evangelists described them, although very briefly, since his works and signs are an immense sea that the whole world could not contain.

All who preceded him from the beginning of the world and all who follow him cry out, “Hosanna to the son of David.”

For he himself, and he alone, saves his people from their sins, and no others except his own people, namely those believing in him implicitly or explicitly.

For there is no other name given under heaven to men in which we must be saved.

And although he himself is the cornerstone placed in the foundation of the Church, thus joining both walls, of the Jewish and the Gentile people, nevertheless he asserted that he had been sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, because in his bodily presence he dwelt among them, leading the wandering sheep back to the fold by his wondrous teaching and immense prodigies.

But finally, having returned to the Father and sent the Paraclete from heaven, he sent his apostles into the whole world so that they might fill the face of the earth with the seed of the divine word, preaching the Gospel to every creature, in order that he might gather into the one fold of the Church the children who had been dispersed among the various rites of idolatry.

And they, as princes of the peoples and true lights of the world, founded the Church after Christ their teacher, with the mortar of doctrine moistened by their own blood.

Following them, the most unconquered martyrs of Christ, whose number cannot be counted because of their multitude, especially until the time of Constantine the Great, namely to the three-hundredth year of the Lord or thereabouts, defended the Catholic faith of the Church against kings and princes who strove with all their might to extinguish it and utterly destroy it.

They approved its truth and demonstrated it effectively not only by words but also by deeds, not only enduring every kind of torture most patiently but also desiring it joyfully and most eagerly.

Such were the words of Lawrence and Vincent to the tyrant: “Unhappy man, I have always desired these feasts and sought them with all my vows.”

When exterior peace had been granted to the Church, however, perfidious heretics arose with various errors. The chief of them, the one that infected the world most widely and lasted longest, was Arius.

Although they labored sufficiently with the devil their author to assault and cast down the truth of the orthodox faith, they were unable to do so; but the Lord cut down the necks of their pride through the most sacred doctors.

These doctors, exceedingly acute in intellect and excelling in every wisdom, divine as well as human, and most learned in Greek and Latin eloquence as well as Hebrew, refuted them by disputations and public sermons and reduced their cunning and fallacies to nothing by the strongest arguments, leaving most abundant writings on these matters to their successors, so that scarcely anything of those errors remained in the minds of men.

After them, in the succession of times, holy pontiffs and other clerics of lower grade illuminated the Church in many ways, governing the churches entrusted to them with the greatest solicitude in the fear of the Lord, having more care for the soul than for the wool.

Laypersons of both sexes also gave wondrous examples of uprightness.

Some of both these clerics and laypersons became illustrious through glorious prodigies, in order to confirm more and more the truth of the faith of Jesus Christ that they held and by whose power they did those things.

For the power of miracles has never been absent from the Church of God, although miracles have not been performed as abundantly as in the primitive Church, because then, as a new plant, it had to be watered more frequently by such things until its root was more firmly established and spread abroad.

But no sect or perfidy of Jews, Saracens, heretics, or pagans possessed this.

Nevertheless there was, and still exists, a certain kind of Christians cut off from the world that also greatly adorned the Church and sustained and assisted it by their merits and prayers: namely those who, leaving behind everything that belongs to the world, crucifying their flesh with its vices and desires, and renouncing their own will, dedicated themselves wholly to God.

There are three kinds of these, as John Cassian sets forth in the conference of Piamon.

The first, therefore, is that of the anchorites, who dwell alone in solitude. Concerning them it is said in cause sixteen, question one: “Those who truly and purely choose the solitary life are worthy of every honor.”

And in Lamentations three: “He shall sit alone and be silent and shall raise himself above himself,” namely through contemplation.

The second is that of the cenobites, that is, those living together in a congregation with others. Augustine expounds concerning them upon this psalm: “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in unity.”

And in cause thirty-three, question two, it is said in an admonition to a certain person: “Enter a monastery; humble yourself under the hand of an abbot; do with a simple spirit everything that is commanded you, so that you may be assisted by the prayers of many,” and so forth.

And in cause twelve, question one: “Do not call anything your own, but let all things be common among you.”

And below: “Since the brothers of this congregation of ours have renounced not only temporal possessions but also their own wills, it is evident that they possess nothing.”

The third kind is said to be that of the Sarabaites, which is called a reprobate kind.

These, established under no rule and under obedience to no one, run about through cities and castles beneath sheepskin, with religious dress and devout speech; they bear a wolfish heart, devouring the houses of widows and leading captive little women burdened with sins.

They are false prophets and apostles, divining concerning hidden matters; and through sweet words and blessings they deceive the hearts of the simple.

The Apostle speaks of them in his epistles. They are also reproved in the law in cause sixteen, question one, chapter *Quidam*, and the following chapter.

John Cassian asserts in the said conference that to this kind belong those who, dwelling either in solitude or in a congregation with others and under prelates, live carnally.

Section I

Leaving aside the Sarabaites, therefore, we shall now resume and repeat from higher up those things concerning anchorites and cenobites that we omitted for a reason in the preceding books, and shall discuss their origin, those who shone most brightly among them, and doctrines suitable to such a state.

Just as no degree of the faithful of the New Testament lacked a figure in the Old, so also there was a shadow there of this kind of persons most devoted to God.

For that Elijah, whose word burned like a torch and who was taken up into heaven in a fiery chariot, appears to have led the anchoritic life, dwelling alone upon Mount Carmel and being visited frequently by divine revelations.

His disciple Elisha appears to have embraced the cenobitic life, dwelling with the sons of the prophets. With them he also went to cut wood for constructing cells or huts, and he sweetened the exceedingly bitter colocynths cooked in error for those dining with him by mixing flour into them.

The company of prophets also, upon which Saul came and prophesied together with them as Samuel had foretold, is explained by glossators as having been a congregation of religious persons.

The glorious Baptist, the boundary of both Testaments, was the first and chief of the anchorites. From his tender years he fled the crowds of citizens and sought the caves of the desert, lest he be able to stain his life even with the slightest breath.

The camel supplied a hairy covering for his sacred limbs, a sheep supplied a girdle, water supplied his drink, and locusts supplied food joined with honey.

But because, while baptizing at the Jordan, he gathered disciples whom he also taught to fast and pray, he appears to have participated in the cenobitic state.

The Savior himself, the Lord Jesus, Lord and master of all perfection, both possessed and taught both forms of life.

He was as an anchorite when in his youth, until the thirtieth year of his age, he was unknown to men; and afterward, when baptized, he was led by the Spirit into the desert, where, dwelling with wild beasts, after a long fast he was tempted by Satan.

Later also he ascended a mountain alone to pray and passed the night in prayer to God.

He offered cenobites the form and example of every perfection when, calling the disciples whom he wished and leading them onto the mountain, he delivered a long sermon to them, opening his mouth and taking his beginning from the beatitude of poverty of spirit.

Afterward, advancing them from the cenobitic state to higher things, he himself maintained with them the mixed life, equally active and contemplative: by preaching, visiting the sick, and leading them to solitary places so that after the tumult of the crowds they might rest and have leisure for themselves; and upon Mount Tabor he caused the foremost of them to ascend to see him transfigured in glory.

True mendicants from their beginning embraced this state, namely the mixed life. Concerning them much will be said later.

Those newly converted to the faith in the primitive Church, gathered at Jerusalem under the holy apostles, are considered to have assumed the state of cenobites. The heart and soul of their multitude were one in the Lord, and no one said that anything was his own, but all things were held in common, as Luke relates in the Acts of the Apostles.

They were followed by the Bucholini, who, having been converted to the faith at Alexandria by Mark the Evangelist, soon attained, as it were, the perfection of monastic perfection. They dwelt by hundreds in caves and caverns, applying themselves together to prayers and vigils and living from the labor of their hands.

Section II

Jerome describes three kinds of monks as being in Egypt, as has been said, touching upon certain things concerning their customs.

First he sets down the kind of cenobites, that is, those living in common. I believe this should be preferred to the anchorites because it is the safer state, which he himself also counsels more strongly, especially for beginners.

In cause sixteen, question one, chapter *Si clericatus*, he says:

“First it must be considered whether you ought to live alone or with others in a monastery.

“It pleases me that you should have the fellowship of holy persons, that you should not teach yourself, and that without a teacher you should not enter a road that no one has ever entered.”

“The first agreement among them,” he says, “is to obey their superiors.

“They are divided into groups of ten and one hundred, so that a tenth man presides over nine men and a centenary has ten superiors beneath him.

“They remain in separate cells until the ninth hour.

“It is established that no one should go to another except the dean, so that if anyone is perhaps wavering in his thoughts, he may be consoled by the dean’s conversations.

“After the ninth hour they assemble in common. Psalms resound, Scriptures are recited, and, when the prayers have been completed and everyone is seated, the father in their midst begins to discourse.

“While he speaks, such silence is made that no one dares to look at another and no one dares to clear his throat. The praise of the speaker is in the weeping of the hearers.

“Tears roll down their cheeks for an hour, yet grief does not break forth into sobbing. [read: Tears roll silently over their faces, yet grief does not break forth even into sobbing]

“But when he begins to announce the kingdom of Christ and future glory, you may see them all, with controlled sighing and eyes raised to heaven, say within themselves, ‘Who will give me wings like a dove, and I shall fly and be at rest?’

“After this each group of ten proceeds with its parent to the tables, at which they serve by turns.

“They live upon bread, legumes, and vegetables, which they season with salt alone. Only the old receive wine; for them and for little children a meal is also often provided, so that the wearied age of the former may be sustained and the beginning age of the latter may not be broken.”

The fathers themselves, however, go around the cells of the individual monks at night and, placing an ear to them, diligently investigate what they are doing. The one whom they discover to be rather slow they do not immediately rebuke; but, concealing what they know, they visit him more frequently and, beginning first themselves, provoke him to pray rather than compel him.

And because it is not permitted for anyone to say, “I do not have a tunic or a cloak,” the steward regulates everything in such a manner that no one is found to ask for something that is necessary. But if anyone begins to be ill, he is transferred to a more spacious chamber and is cherished by the ministry of the old men with such care that he misses neither the delights of cities nor a mother’s affection.

The second kind is that of the anchorites, that is, solitaries, who, departing from cenobitic communities, carry nothing into the deserts except bread and salt. Paul was the author of this life, Anthony its illustrious practitioner, and—to ascend higher—John the Baptist was its prince.

The third kind is most foul and neglected. These dwell by twos or threes, and not many more, living according to their own judgment and authority. They contribute portions of what they have labored for into a common stock so that they may have common provisions. They dwell for the most part in castles and cities, and whatever they sell is of a higher price, as though their craft, and not their life, were holy.

Quarrels frequently arise among them, because, living from their own food, they do not permit themselves to be subject to anyone. Indeed, they are accustomed to compete in fasting and to turn what should be private into an occasion for triumph. Among them everything is affected: loose boots, puffed-out sleeves, coarser clothing, frequent sighs, the visitation of virgins, and disparagement of clerics. And if ever a feast day comes, they eat their fill even to vomiting.” Thus Jerome.

Modern religious, except for a few imitators of their earliest fathers, seem to belong to this most foul manner of living.

The same Jerome says in *On Consecration*, distinction five, chapter *Never*: “The monasteries of the Egyptians maintain this order: that they receive no one without work and labor, not so much because of the necessity of obtaining food as for the salvation of the soul, lest they wander through ruinous thoughts and, after the likeness of fornicating Israel, spread their feet to everyone who passes by.” And by examples in the said chapter *Never* he declares what works are fitting for monks.

And note that, as Gratian says in cause sixteen, question one, section *By the Authority of the Superior*, at the end, ecclesiastical history relates that down to the times of Eusebius, Zosimus, and Siricius monks were simply monks and not clerics. Hence Jerome also says that the monks in Scetis assembled together in order to find for themselves a priest who would celebrate for them the solemnities of Masses.

Therefore, when Jerome says in cause sixteen, question one, “A monk does not have the office of one teaching, but of one lamenting, who should mourn either himself or the world and await the coming of the Lord in fear”; and, “So live in the monastery that you may merit to be a cleric, and learn for a long time what you may afterward teach. But if the people or the bishop elects you to the clergy, do the things that belong to clerics,” this is not to be understood so generally that no monk is permitted to assume the office of teaching, since Gregory and Augustine, bishop of the English, and many men assumed to the episcopate did this.

Rather, Jerome wished to distinguish between the state of a monk and that of a cleric, showing what is fitting to each one. For one thing is fitting to him from the fact that he is a monk, and another from the fact that he is a cleric. For a monk, insofar as he is a monk, ought to lament, as has been said, not to teach; but a cleric, insofar as he is a cleric, ought to teach the people. Therefore, if a monk becomes a cleric and is lawfully appointed by his superior to the care of a church, he will be able to teach just as other clerics do. This is commonly done today.

Section III

Here, however, there will briefly be noted sayings and teachings of the fathers that are fitting for religious, so that they may advance perfectly in their calling; and afterward, because examples move more than words, there will also be examples of very many who illuminated the Church like great luminaries.

And because Vincent, in book twenty of the *Historical Mirror*, asserts that among the many little works of the ancients he found nothing of all that he read to be so powerful and helpful to one tending toward spiritual advancement and the summit of perfection as the teaching of John Cassian in the *Conferences of the Fathers*—a work that Benedict, the life-giving father of

monks in the West, also directs one to examine and observe at the end of his Rule—we shall treat first of the clothing or habit of the monk.

From the book *On the Institutes of the Cenobites*, Cassian says thus:

“Let the monk’s clothing be that which merely covers the body, removes the shame of nakedness, and wards off injury from the cold—not that which nourishes seeds of vanity or pride—according to the Apostle’s proclamation: ‘Having food and coverings,’ that is, things that merely cover the body, not things that flatter through the glory of dress.

“Let these things be so cheap that they possess no distinction among the other men of this profession through any novelty of color or habit. Let them be so foreign to painstaking refinements that, on the other hand, they are not discolored by stains affected through negligence. Finally, let them be so separated from the adornment of this world that in all respects they continue to be common to the manner of dress of God’s servants.

“For whatever is presumed among the servants of God by one or by a few and is not held universally throughout the whole body of the brotherhood must be judged either superfluous or ostentatious and, for this reason, harmful.

“They therefore rejected a garment of haircloth as conspicuous and remarkable to everyone, as one that by this very fact can conceive vanity of spiritual elation and that is unfit and unsuitable for the performance of necessary work, in which the monk ought always to proceed vigorously and unencumbered.

“But if we read that certain persons clothed in this dress proved praiseworthy, a rule for monasteries is not therefore to be sanctioned by us from it, nor are the ancient decrees of the holy fathers to be disturbed. For the opinion of a few ought neither to be preferred nor to prejudice the general constitution of all.

“And although Joram, king of Israel, was seen in haircloth, he nevertheless had it concealed. The Ninevites also used it praiseworthily because everyone did so together and for the purpose of appeasing God’s wrath.”

Section IV

Concerning the manner of chanting psalms and praying, the same author says in book two of *The Institutes of Monks*:

“Throughout all Egypt and the Thebaid we have seen the lawful manner of prayer retained in the evening assemblies or nocturnal vigils.

“For in the beginnings of the faith, when certain few but most approved men were reckoned by the name of monks, who received from blessed Mark, the first to preside over Alexandria, their norm of living, they applied themselves with such fervor to reading, prayer, and the work of their hands by day and night that neither the appetite nor even the remembrance of food interrupted the body except at intervals of two or three days.

“And since, according to his own fervor and forgetful of another’s weakness, each man thought that the thing which he judged easiest through contemplation of his own faith and strength ought at once to be decreed—giving too little consideration to what was generally possible for the whole body, among whom it is necessary that the weak be found in the greatest part—they strove with diverse and extraordinary contention to establish the number of psalms according to the power of their own soul.

“And when there was among them, because of the rule of religion and a holy diversity of pious contention, a desire to celebrate the daily rites of prayers, one man rose in their midst to chant psalms to the Lord. While all were sitting, with the whole intention of the heart fixed upon the words of the psalmist, he chanted eleven psalms, separated by the interjection of prayers, in a continuous recitation of the verses; and, completing the twelfth under an *Alleluia* response, he was suddenly taken away from the eyes of all. By the manner of his departure he likewise imposed an end upon the ceremony.

“Hence the senate of the fathers, understanding that a general canon had been established for the congregations of brothers by the teaching of an angel, decreed that it should be observed in evening as well as nocturnal assemblies. To these psalms they added two lessons, that is, one from the Old Testament and another from the New.

“When a psalm has been finished, they do not immediately fall down upon a bending of the knees, as some among us do who think more about refreshing their weary bodies than seeking the benefit and advantages of prayer; but, standing in supplication, they spend the greater part of the time.

“But when they assemble to celebrate the solemnities that they call the synaxis, such silence is maintained by all that, except for the one who chants the psalm in their midst, no one would believe anyone to be present. This is especially so when the prayer is being completed: no spitting is emitted, no clearing of the throat makes a noise, no cough sounds among them, and no sleepy yawn is drawn through loosened jaws and gaping mouths.

“No groan or sigh that might hinder those standing by is uttered. No voice is heard apart from that of the priest concluding the prayer, unless perhaps one that has escaped the confinement of the mouth through an ecstasy of mind and has crept upon the heart insensibly, when the uncontrollable, namely intolerable, fervor of the spirit has been kindled, while it endeavors to exhale through a certain ineffable groan from the innermost chambers of its heart those things that the inflamed mind cannot contain within itself.

“But they pronounce that the one who, while his mind is in its ordinary state, supplicates with a cry, emits from his throat any of the things that we have mentioned above, or especially is overcome by yawning, sins doubly: first, because he is guilty in respect of his own prayer, in that he offers it negligently to God; second, because by his undisciplined noise he interrupts the attention of another who perhaps could have prayed more attentively.

“Therefore they command the prayer to be concluded with a swift ending and to be snatched rapidly, while it is still fervent, as it were, from the jaws of the enemy. Since he is always hostile to us, he then stands by most of all when he has foreseen that we wish to offer prayers against him to the Lord. Therefore they consider it more useful that prayers should indeed be brief, but very frequent.”

From book three: “It is fitting to preserve this observance in every way, lest the sleep that we have withdrawn from the night appear to be taken back during the day, when we have been driven by the weariness of the vigils and by emptiness; and lest we appear not so much to have withdrawn the body’s rest as to have changed the time of repose and nocturnal refreshment.”

Section V

Concerning the manner of receiving and instructing a novice, John Cassian says from book four:

“In the Thebaid there is a cenobitic community in which more than five thousand brothers are governed under one abbot. Such obedience is rendered by the whole multitude as one man among us cannot offer to one superior, nor can he preside over it even for a short time.

“Anyone desiring to be received within the cenobitic community is not admitted before, by lying at the doors for ten days or more, he has shown proof of his perseverance and desire, and likewise of humility and patience. Prostrate at the knees of all the brothers passing by, and deliberately rejected and despised by all as one who seeks to enter the monastery not from religious devotion but under the pretext of necessity, and also afflicted with many injuries and reproaches, he must give a trial of what manner of constancy he will possess in temptations, declaring it by his endurance of reproaches.

“And for this reason they do not consent to receive from him the money that he has for the uses of the cenobitic community: first, lest, puffed up by confidence in this offering, he should by no means deign to make himself equal to poorer brothers; then, lest, if afterward he should grow lukewarm in respect of those things which, inflamed by spiritual fervor, he had offered, he should attempt, with a sacrilegious spirit and not without injury to the monastery, to demand them back.

“Therefore, when anyone has been received, he is so stripped of all his former property that he is not permitted any longer to possess even the garment with which he is covered. Rather, by the hands of the abbot he is clothed in the monastery’s garments, so that he may know that he is now to be sustained not from resources maintained by himself, nor from resources criminally acquired or reserved from his former unbelief, but that from the holy and pious grants of the monastery he is to receive the wages of his righteousness [read: the wages of his service]; that from that time onward he is to possess nothing and, nonetheless, is not to be anxious about tomorrow; and that he is to be clothed and fed.

“Nor is he immediately permitted to mingle with the congregation of brothers. Instead, he is assigned to an elder who, dwelling apart, has care of pilgrims and devotes care and diligence to them with humility. When he has been imbued through this first instruction in humility and patience, he is handed over to another elder who presides over ten juniors, whom he instructs and governs because they have been entrusted to him by the abbot.

“This, however, will be his concern: first to teach him to conquer his own wills, by deliberately commanding him those things which he perceives to be contrary to his disposition. For, taught by many trials, they hand down that a monk, especially a younger one, is unable even to restrain the will of his own concupiscence unless he has first learned to mortify his own wills through obedience.

“Therefore they pronounce that one who has not learned to overcome his own wills is by no means able to extinguish anger or sadness, nor to retain true humility of heart, unity with the brothers, or firm and lasting concord; nor, indeed, can he long persevere in the cenobitic community.

“Consequently they are instructed to conceal absolutely no thoughts itching in the heart through harmful confusion, but, immediately when they arise, to disclose them to their elder; and to entrust nothing concerning the judgment of them to their

own discretion, but to believe that to be evil or good which the elder's examination has determined. For they pronounce it to be a general and evident sign of a diabolical thought if men are ashamed to disclose it to an elder.

"After this, the observance of obedience is maintained by so great a rule that the juniors, without the license or permission of their superior, not only do not dare to go out of their cell, but do not presume on their own authority even to satisfy a natural necessity.

"And they hasten to fulfill everything that has been commanded as though it had been delivered from heaven by God, without any discussion. Out of reverence for the elder, they do not even measure the impossibility of a command.

"It is regarded as the highest delicacy if an herb seasoned with salt, which they call *lapsana*, and diluted with water is placed before the brothers for refreshment.

"When they hear a sound inviting them to prayers or to some work, they burst from their beds in eager rivalry, so that he who practices the work of a scribe does not dare to finish the letter that he is found to have begun, but leaves it incomplete. He pursues not so much the advantageous gains of the work as the virtue of obedience, which they prefer not only to manual work, reading, silence, and the quiet of the cell, but even to all virtues, in such a manner that they judge everything to be placed after it and are content to undergo every disadvantage, provided that they appear to violate this good in nothing.

"Among them no one pursues any private work—not merely in deed, but not even in thought.

"If anyone has by some accident broken or lost a little earthenware vessel, that is, a jar, or some other object of this sort, he wipes away his negligence in no other manner than by public penance. Likewise, if he has answered superfluously, harshly, or contumaciously; if, preferring reading to work or obedience, he has carried out the appointed duties rather sluggishly; if, after the synaxis has ended, he has not returned swiftly to his cell; if he has held another's hand; if he has presumed to converse, however briefly, with one who is not the cohabitant of his cell; if he has seen any of his parents or friends or has spoken with them without his elder; if he has received another's letter or attempted to write back without his abbot—in these and similar transgressions, I say, spiritual correction follows.

"But the remaining faults that are indiscriminately committed among us and are endured by us still more reprehensibly—namely, open insults, manifest contempt, familiarity with women, feuds and quarrels, the presumption of private work, the infection of avarice, attachment to and possession of superfluous things that the other brothers do not have, an extraordinary and furtive taking of food, and things similar to these—are corrected with blows or purged by expulsion.

"But the fathers established that sacred readings should be recited in cenobitic communities while the brothers are taking refreshment, not so much for the sake of spiritual exercise as for restraining superfluous and idle conversation, and especially contentions, which are generally accustomed to be generated at banquets.

"So great a discipline of silence is observed while they are eating that, with their cowls lowered beyond the eyelids of their eyes, lest, namely, their free gaze have the means of wandering more curiously, they look upon nothing more than the table and the food placed before them, so that no one observes in turn how or how much another takes for refreshment.

"With the utmost caution it is observed that no one presume to indulge his mouth with any food at all outside the table. Thus, when men walk through gardens and orchards, though fruits hanging abundantly and invitingly on the trees not only offer themselves to the breasts of those passing by, but even, strewn upon the ground, offer themselves to be trampled beneath their feet, it is considered sacrilege not only to taste anything from them, but even to touch it with the hand, except for that which is presented openly to all while they are taking their common refreshment and is publicly served for their consumption through the attendance of the brothers according to the steward's distribution.

"During a certain brother's week of service, when the steward, passing through, had seen three lentil grains lying upon the ground, which had slipped from the hands of the weekly server together with the water in which they were washed while he was hastening to prepare them for cooking, he immediately consulted the abbot concerning this. Judged by him as a squanderer and neglecter of sacred property, the server was suspended from prayer. The guilt of his negligence was remitted only when he had washed it away by public penance. For they believe not only that they do not belong to themselves, but also that all things that are theirs have been consecrated to the Lord."

There are added examples concerning the obedience of John. When commanded by his abbot to roll a very large stone that many men would not have been able to move, he attempted with all his strength and the excessive labor of his whole body, so that he was wholly drenched in sweat, to carry this out.

Likewise there is the example of Pafuntius, who, together with his little son eight years of age, had assumed the religious habit. In order to test his affection for his son and the sincerity of his obedience, the abbot had commanded the monks frequently to strike the innocent child without cause before his father, on account of which the boy's cheeks were stained with tears; yet his father was not moved in any respect.

Finally, on one of the days when the child was weeping, the abbot commanded the father to take him, proceed to a nearby river, and submerge him there. The father did this without delay. But the brothers whom the abbot had deliberately sent ahead to the river to draw him back did not permit him to perform this deed.

There is also the example of Abbot Pinufius's humility. Although he was abbot of a great cenobitic community and held in the greatest veneration, he secretly fled in altered, namely secular, clothing and went to unknown and remote places. At a monastery where a more rigorous life was being led, he asked to be received as an unknown layman. He was received with difficulty and, when tested by many reproaches, was accepted. At length he was made a gardener and applied himself to the most menial exercises. Finally, he was discovered by certain monks from his former monastery who came there to seek him, and by their entreaties he was compelled to return to his former monastery.

John Cassian says: "When afterward we sought this old man, namely Pinufius, most diligently in Egypt, he delivered the following exhortation to a brother whom he was receiving in his cenobitic community in our presence:

"'You know,' he said, 'after how many days of lying at the doors you are received today. First, you ought to recognize the cause of this difficulty. For just as in the future immeasurable glory is promised to those who faithfully serve God and adhere to the institution of this rule, so the most grievous punishments are prepared for those who execute it lukewarmly and negligently and who neglect to present to God fruits of holiness fitting both what they professed and what men believe them to be; for "cursed is he who does the work of God negligently," as Jeremiah says.

"'Therefore you were rejected by us for a long time, not because we do not desire with our whole heart your salvation and that of all, or because we do not wish even to run from afar to meet those who desire to come to Christ, but lest, by receiving you rashly, we make ourselves guilty of levity before God and make you yourself guilty of a more grievous punishment, if, after being easily received at present and understanding neither the weight of this profession, you should later prove either a deserter or lukewarm.

"'Take care, therefore, lest at any time you take up again any of those things which you cast away when you renounced them, and lest, contrary to the Lord's prohibition, you be found returning from the field of the Lord's evangelical work to be clothed again with your tunic, of which you had stripped yourself.

"'Take care lest you remember your parents or your former affection. Take care lest you ever contrive to revive pride—which now, as a beginner, you have trodden down by the ardor of faith and pious humility—when, after you have begun to taste a certain knowledge of the psalms or of your profession, you have gradually become elated.

"'In this humility and patience, likewise, in which you persevered for ten days before the doors in order to be received into the monastery, and which you implored with many tears, you must not only persist but also advance and increase. For it is pitiable enough that, when you ought to be carried forward from your rudiments and beginnings and to tend toward perfection, you should instead begin from those very beginnings to descend to lower things.

"'Narrow is the life that leads to life. [read: Narrow is the way that leads to life] Consider, therefore, that you have been made one of the few and the elect, and do not grow cold through the example and tepidity of the multitude. Rather, live as the few do, so that you may merit to be found with the few in the kingdom of God. For many are called, but few are chosen; and little is the flock to which it pleased the Father to give the inheritance.

"'Therefore know that it is no slight sin for one who professes perfection to pursue those things that are imperfect. The state of perfection is reached by these degrees and in this order.

"'The beginning of our salvation and likewise its guardian is the fear of the Lord. For through this both the beginning of conversion and the purgation of vices and the guardianship of virtues are acquired by those who are instructed for the road of perfection.

"'When it penetrates the mind of a man, it produces in him contempt for all things and begets forgetfulness of parents and horror of the world itself. By contempt for and deprivation of all possessions humility is acquired.

"'Humility is proved by these signs. First, if he keeps all his wills mortified within himself. Second, if he conceals nothing from his elder, not only of his deeds but also of his thoughts. Third, if he commits nothing to his own discretion, but all things to the elder's judgment, and listens to his admonitions eagerly and willingly. Fourth, if in all things he preserves obedience, gentleness, and constancy of patience. Fifth, if he not only inflicts no injury upon anyone, but also does not grieve or become sorrowful over one inflicted upon him by another.'"

"'Sixth, if he does nothing and presumes nothing which the common rule or the examples of the elders do not encourage. Seventh, if he is content with every lowliness and judges himself a bad and unworthy laborer in respect of everything commanded him. Eighth, if he declares himself inferior to everyone not by the surface of his lips, but believes it with the

innermost affection of his heart. Ninth, if he restrains his tongue and is not clamorous in voice. Tenth, if he is not readily and quickly moved to laughter.'"

The same author says from book five:

"It is impossible to extinguish the burning fires of the body before the tinder of the other principal vices has also been cut out by the roots.

"The concupiscence of gluttony must first be trodden down by us, and the mind must be attenuated not only by fasts but also by vigils, reading, and frequent compunction, until, occupied and equally possessed by meditations of this kind, it recognizes the refreshment of food itself as something imposed upon it as a burden of life rather than granted for pleasure.

"For this is the foundation of all contests: that the incitements of carnal desires are first suppressed. For we do not merit, after the strength of mind has been acquired, to experience the more grievous struggles against celestial wickedness if we are unable to subject our frail flesh, which resists our spirit.

"For he who has not been able to restrain the superfluous appetites of gluttony, how will he be able to extinguish the heat of carnal concupiscence? And he who has been unable to restrain the passions placed in the open, and those which are small, how will he be able to defeat the hidden passions that itch without any human witness?

"For we have no adversary outside us who must be feared. The enemy is enclosed within us. An internal war is daily waged against us. When this enemy has been conquered, all the things outside will be rendered weak, and all things will be peaceful and subject to the soldier of Christ.

"Nor should we believe that fasting from visible foods alone can suffice for us unto perfection of heart and purification of body unless a fast of the soul has also been joined to it. For the soul has its own harmful foods, by which, when assaulted, it rolls down headlong into the precipices of lust.

"Disparagement is indeed a food, and a very sweet one. Anger is its food, although by no means light. Envy is a food of the mind, corrupting it with poisonous juices and not ceasing continually to torture it over the successes of another's prosperity. Vainglory caresses it with delightful food, but afterward renders it empty and stripped of every virtue. The nourishment and drink of avarice render it insatiable; and so it is with the other vices.

"Therefore one must always abstain from foods of this kind, and that food must be sought with every effort concerning which the Savior says, 'My food is that I should do the will of him who sent me.'"

Title XV, Chapter II

Now there follow in order the things excerpted from the twenty-four *Conferences of the Fathers*.

In the first conference, which is that of Abbot Moses concerning purity of heart, John Cassian says:

“When we sought out Abbot Moses in the desert of Scetis and likewise asked from him, with flowing tears, a discourse of edification—for we knew the rigor of his mind to be such that he by no means agreed to open the gate of perfection except to those who faithfully desired it and sought it with all contrition of heart, lest, namely, by disclosing it to the unworthy and to those receiving it with distaste, he should appear to incur either the vice of vainglory or the crime of betrayal—at length, wearied by our entreaties, he began thus:

“‘All arts and disciplines have a certain *scopos*, that is, an objective, and a *telos*, that is, a proper end. Looking toward it, the diligent pursuer of any art sustains all labors, dangers, and expenditures evenly and willingly.

“‘The end of our profession is indeed the kingdom of God, but its objective is purity of heart. If this is not continually set before our eyes, it will not only render all our labors various and unstable, but will also arouse thoughts diverse and mutually contrary.

“‘For a mind that does not possess something to which it may return and principally adhere must necessarily be altered at every moment by the variety of the things rushing upon it, and, because of the things that happen outwardly, be continually transformed into the state of the first thing that encounters it.

“‘Hence it is that we see certain persons who have despised the greatest riches of this world and the magnificence of estates afterward become agitated over a carving tool, a stylus, a needle, or a pen. Some guard a book with such zeal that they do not permit it even to be lightly read or touched by another, and from this incur occasions of impatience and death where they are moved to acquire the rewards of patience and charity.

“‘Although they have dispersed all their riches for the love of Christ, nevertheless, by retaining their former affection of heart in the smallest things, they are rendered unfruitful and barren in all respects. “If I distribute all my goods as food for the poor,” says the Apostle, “but do not have charity,” and so forth.

“‘From this it is clearly proved that perfection is not immediately attained by nakedness or by the casting away of dignities unless that charity whose members the Apostle describes is truly possessed, which consists in purity of heart alone. For what else is it not to envy, not to be puffed up, not to be provoked, and the rest, except always to offer a perfect and most pure heart to God and to preserve it untouched by all disturbances?

“‘Therefore all things must be performed and desired by us for the sake of this purity. For its sake solitude must be observed. For its sake we know that we must undertake fasts, vigils, and labors. We must not, because we are perhaps unable to fulfill these observances, fall into sadness, anger, or indignation. For the gain from fasting is not so great as the loss from anger, nor is the fruit received from reading so great as the harm incurred from contempt for a brother.

“‘It is therefore fitting for us to practice the things that are consequent—that is, fasts, vigils, readings, and so forth—for the sake of the principal objective, that is, purity of heart, which is charity, and not to disturb this principal virtue for the sake of those things. While it endures intact in us, it will do no harm if any one of them has been omitted through necessity; nor will it profit us to have done them all after this principal cause, for the sake of which all things must be performed, has been taken away.

“‘For these are not perfection, but the instruments of perfection. Therefore whatever can disturb this purity and tranquility of mind, however useful and necessary it may appear, must be avoided as harmful.

“‘It is indeed impossible for a man surrounded by the frailty of the flesh to adhere continually to God and to be inseparably joined to contemplation of him. Yet we ought to know where we must keep the intention of our mind fixed, to what objective we must always recall the gaze of our soul. When the mind has been able to obtain this, let it rejoice; but when distracted from it, let it grieve and sigh, judging even a momentary withdrawal from contemplation of Christ to be, as it were, fornication. Whenever our attention has wandered from him even a little, let us turn the point of the mind back to him again.

“‘For contemplation of God is conceived in many ways. God is known not only through admiration of his incomprehensible substance, which is still concealed in the hope of promise, but he is also perceived through the greatness of his creatures, through consideration of his equity or equality, or through the assistance of his daily dispensation.

“‘This occurs when, with the purest mind, we examine what things he has done with his saints throughout the individual generations; when with a trembling heart we marvel at his power, by which he governs, orders, and rules all things; when we marvel at the immensity of his knowledge and at the eye from which the secrets of the heart cannot be hidden; when we consider that the sand of the sea and the number of its waves have been measured and are known to him; when we consider the

drops of rain and the days and hours of the ages; when, astonished, we contemplate that all past and future things stand before his knowledge.

"'It occurs when we consider his ineffable clemency, which with unwearied long-suffering endures the innumerable crimes committed by every person at every moment beneath his gaze; when we behold the calling by which the grace of his mercy adopted us without any preceding merits; and finally when, with a certain rapture of wonder, we behold how many occasions of salvation he granted to those who were to be adopted.

"'It occurs when we consider that he commanded us to be born in such a manner that from our very cradles the grace and knowledge of his law should be imparted to us; that he himself, overcoming the adversary in us, rewards us with eternal beatitude and perpetual prizes merely for the assent of a good will; and that, finally, he undertook the dispensation of his incarnation for our salvation and spread the wonders of his mysteries among all nations.

"'There are also other innumerable contemplations of this kind which arise in our senses according to the quality of our life and the purity of our heart, by which God is either seen or held with pure gazes. Certainly no one in whom any carnal affection still lives will retain them perpetually, according to that saying of Moses, "Man shall not see me and live," namely, while living sensually.

"'It is indeed impossible for the mind not to be interrupted by thoughts; but, by the grace of God, it is possible for everyone who is diligent either to receive or to reject them. Frequent reading and continual meditation upon the Scriptures are therefore employed so that an occasion of spiritual memory may thereby be afforded to us. For this reason there is frequent chanting of psalms, so that continual compunction may thereby be supplied to us. For this reason diligence in vigils, prayers, and fasts is employed, so that the attenuated mind may not savor earthly things but may contemplate heavenly things.

"'When these exercises in turn cease because negligence has crept in, the mind, hardened by the filth of the vices, must necessarily incline and soon fall toward the carnal part.

"'This exercise of the heart is not inappropriately compared to the likeness of mills, which a rushing course of waters turns with a violent impulse. Although they are whirled about by the pressure of the water and are by no means able to cease from their work, it lies in the power of the one who presides over them whether he prefers wheat, barley, or darnel to be ground. Without doubt, that which has been put into them by him will be ground.

"'So also the mind, whirled about by the torrents of temptations rushing upon it from every side through the assaults of the present life, will not be able to be empty of the surges of thoughts. But what sort it ought either to admit or to prepare for itself will be provided by the industry of its own diligence and effort.

"'We ought certainly to know that there are three origins of our thoughts: from God, from the devil, and from ourselves.

"'They are from God when the illumination of the Holy Spirit visits us and, by salutary compunction, chastises us concerning the things in which we have either made too little progress or have been overcome while acting slothfully; or when it reveals heavenly mysteries to us and turns our purpose and will toward better deeds.

"'They are from the devil when he strives to overthrow us both by delight in the vices and by hidden snares, transforming himself even into an angel of light.

"'They are from ourselves when we naturally remember the things that we have done, are doing, or have seen.

"'Therefore we must examine all the thoughts that arise in our heart with sagacious discernment, first investigating their origins, causes, and authors, so that from the character of those who suggest them we may be able to consider what reception we ought to give them. Thus we may be made approved money changers according to the command of the Lord.

"'The highest skill of such men is to test what is purest gold and what is less purified; whether, with a copper and base coin, it imitates a precious coin under the color or covering of shining gold; to distinguish not only coins bearing the faces of tyrants but also those that bear the image of the true king but are not lawfully formed; and then, by the judgment of the balance, diligently to inquire lest anything in them have been diminished from the lawful weight.

"'For the devil deceives when he has been concealed beneath the appearance of holiness. He hates the sound of caution, that is, the power of discernment. In this matter we know that even the blessed Abbot John was deceived, namely, concerning an excessive degree of abstinence.

"'Discernment will therefore be necessary for us in this fourfold manner. First, the material of true or gilded gold must not deceive us, that is, whether the thought is, in its general subject matter, evil or good. Second, we must reject, like counterfeit coins, those thoughts that imitate works of piety but contain an image of the king stamped unlawfully and falsely, as when, although something is pious in itself, it is nevertheless not truly good because of some circumstance.

“‘Third, we must be able to reject those things which, in the purest gold of the Scriptures, bear through a vicious and heretical sense the face not of the true king but of a tyrant. Fourth, we must reject those things whose weight and value, eaten away by the rust of vanity, are not equal in the judgment of the elders, namely, things not of just weight.’”

Section I

The second conference, which is likewise that of Abbot Moses, treats of discernment. This is the begetter, guardian, and moderator of all the virtues. According to John Cassian, it is called in the Gospel the lamp of the body and the eye; by the Apostle, the sun, when he says, “Let not the sun go down upon your anger”; and by Solomon, counsel, when he says, “Do all things with counsel.”

Cassian shows from the judgment of blessed Anthony that this is the principal virtue. For one day, when the fathers had assembled with blessed Anthony and were conferring with one another as to which virtue above the others would render one serving God safer from the devil’s snares and deceptions and lead him more unerringly to the summit of perfection, different men offered different opinions in their midst.

Some proposed a complete stripping away of possessions; others, abstinence and mortification; others, solitude and withdrawal; others, the largesse of alms.

At length blessed Anthony concluded that all the aforesaid things were indeed useful and necessary, yet none of them was what was being sought; rather, it was discernment. The Apostle teaches that true discernment can be possessed only from the Holy Spirit, saying, “To another is given through the Spirit the discernment of spirits.”

For by many examples Anthony proved that the things mentioned by the aforesaid fathers were not sufficient. There was Heron, who was of the greatest abstinence and was very solitary for a very long time. Because he lacked discernment, he was deceived by the devil to such a degree that, at the devil’s instigation and command when he had transformed himself into an angel of light, Heron cast himself into a very deep well. That spirit declared to him that he would receive no injury from it, as a sign of his perfection.

When the brothers learned this, he was drawn from the well as if by violence; yet not even in the three days for which he survived did he acknowledge his deception. Although the brothers exhorted him to penance, he believed that the thing which had come from the devil had been revealed by God.

There is another example concerning a man accustomed to visions, whose cell Lucifer frequently illuminated with his light. At his persuasion, the man undertook to kill a little son who dwelt with him in solitude and to offer him to God, so that he might please God after the manner of the patriarch Abraham. He would have done this had the boy not perceived it and fled from him.

Moreover, another man circumcised himself when the devil, under the appearance of an angel of light, commanded it on God’s behalf.

John Cassian himself declares from Moses’s words how this discernment is acquired on our part and how it is demonstrated, saying:

“True discernment is acquired only through true humility. Its first proof will be this: if all things, not only those that are to be done but also those that are thought, are reserved for the examination of the elders.

“For no one will be able to be deceived in any way if he lives not by his own judgment but by the example of his elders. And the most foul serpent, drawn by the power of confession from a dark and subterranean cave into the light and brought forth, as it were, dishonored, withdraws.

“Finally, this teaching is proved to be so pleasing to God that he would not instruct by himself the boy Samuel, whom he had chosen by his own judgment, but suffered him to run once and again to the old Eli, even though he had offended God, so that the humility of the one called to the divine ministry might be proved and, by this example, a form of subjection might be set before younger men.

“Christ also called and addressed Paul by himself. Although he was able to reveal to him the road of perfection, he preferred immediately to direct him to Ananias, and decreed that Paul should be instructed by Ananias’s teaching rather than his own.

“Therefore the good of discernment must be acquired with every effort through the virtue of humility, which can preserve us unharmed from both excesses, namely excess and defect, so that there may be neither excessive abstinence nor an excessive relaxation of abstinence; and so in the other things which we use.

“‘Question your father,’ says Moses, ‘and he will announce it to you; question your elders, and they will tell you,’ and so forth.”

Cassian adduces the example of Abbot Serapion. When he was a youth under the instruction of Abbot Theonas, instigated by the devil, he showed that he was fasting with the others while they fasted, but secretly took one loaf every day and ate it covertly in the evening. Yet afterward he was greatly tormented in conscience concerning this deed.

But on a certain occasion, when some men had come to blessed Theonas for the sake of edification and the old man had discoursed at length on how harmful to the soul the concealment of a thought is, Serapion, who was present, was pierced with compunction by his words. He disclosed his fraud publicly, casting into their midst with tears the loaf that he had already taken and was holding in his bosom.

Thereupon Theonas comforted him concerning the victory over the devil obtained by this disclosure. Hence also a sulfurous flame was seen to come forth from his bosom, leaving a stench behind, and he was freed from that temptation.

But we are not to follow the footsteps, receive the traditions, or accept the admonitions of all old men whose heads are covered by gray hair and whom length of life alone commends. We must accept those of the men whom we have learned to have marked their lives praiseworthily and most approvingly in virtue and to have been instructed not by their own presumptions but by the traditions of their elders.

For those who in their old age continue in the practice and sloth which they began in youth, and who as they grow old acquire authority for themselves not by maturity of conduct but by number of years, are not to be imitated, because discernment is not in them.

Cassian gives the example of a certain old man to whom a young man tempted by fornication had come to take counsel and receive aid. That old man rebuked him so harshly concerning such shameful thoughts that he drove him to despair.

When the young man, returning to the world, had set out upon the road, Abbot Apollo met him. Seeing him sad, Apollo asked where he was going and the cause of his sadness. After hearing these things from him, Apollo comforted and encouraged him to persevere and fight.

Going to that old man, Apollo asked God to send this temptation into his mind. When this had been done, the old man was so grievously tormented that, like a madman, he prepared to return to the world.

Pambo [read: Abbot Apollo], visiting him and understanding what had happened, rebuked him for his indiscreet speech to that young man, explaining that God had therefore permitted him to be so harshly tempted, so that he might learn to have compassion upon others. And when Apollo prayed for him, the temptation ceased.

Section II

The third conference is that of Pafuntius concerning the threefold calling and renunciation. He was priest of the congregation that dwelt in the desert of Scetis, in which he persevered to the end of extreme old age. He never moved, even to a nearer place, from the cell five miles from the church in which he had begun to dwell as a young man; nor, exhausted by his years, did he regard the distance of such a journey as burdensome when coming to the church on the Sabbath or the Lord's day.

But he was not content to return empty from there. Placing upon his shoulders a vessel of the water which he was to consume throughout the whole week, he carried it back to his cell, even when he had exceeded his ninetieth year.

He says that there are three orders of callings and three renunciations.

The first order of calling is from God: namely, whenever a certain inspiration sent into our heart sometimes arouses us even while sleeping to the desire for eternal life and salvation, and we are urged by a most salutary compunction to follow God and adhere to his precepts.

Such was the calling of Abraham, when it was said to him, "Go forth from your land." We know that blessed Anthony was also summoned in this manner when, hearing in the church that saying of the Gospel, "If you wish to be perfect, go, sell all that you have," and so forth, he left everything.

The second manner, which occurs through a human being, takes place when, instigated by the examples or admonitions of certain saints, we are kindled to desire salvation. By this order we read in the Holy Scriptures that the children of Israel were liberated by Moses from the affliction of Egypt.

The third is that which descends from necessity, when, bound to the riches or pleasures of this world, we are compelled—by temptations continually rushing upon us, which threaten the dangers of death, strike us with loss and confiscation of goods, or pierce us through the death of dear ones—to hasten, at least unwillingly, to the God whom we scorned to follow amid the prosperity of affairs.

This is according to the saying of the psalm: “When he killed them, they sought him and returned.” This is evident through the examples in the Book of Judges concerning the liberation of the people of Israel from the hands of tyrants, to whom the Lord had permitted them to be subjected because of their sins; but when they repented he liberated them through Daniel [read: he liberated them through Othniel], Ehud, Gideon, and others.

Although the first two of these three appear to begin from better principles, nevertheless we sometimes find that perfect and most fervent men have arisen even from the third and lowest degree. And again we find that very many have grown lukewarm from that higher degree and fallen back to a blameworthy end.

We perceive this in the very calling of the apostles. For it did not profit Judas to have voluntarily assumed the most sublime degree of the apostolate in the same order as Peter and the others through Christ’s teaching, since he consumed his glorious beginnings with the pestilential end of avarice.

Nor did it harm Paul that, when he was suddenly blinded, he appeared to be drawn as though unwillingly. The whole matter therefore consists in the end, according to whether a man has conducted himself more fervently or more negligently after his calling.

Now there must be a discussion of the renunciations, which the authority of the Scriptures and the fathers hands down as being three.

The first is that by which we despise all bodily possessions. The second is that by which we reject our former conduct and vices, and the former affections of soul and flesh. The third is that by which, summoning our mind away from all present and visible things, we contemplate only future things and desire the things that are invisible.

We read that God commanded Abraham that these three should be accomplished together: “Go forth from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father’s house.”

First he said, “from your land,” that is, from the possessions of this world and earthly resources. Second, “from your kindred,” that is, from one’s former manner of life, conduct, and vices, which, adhering to us from birth, are related to us, as it were, by a certain affinity and consanguinity. Third, “from your father’s house,” that is, from every memory of this world that meets the gaze of the eyes.

This occurs when our mind, dulled by no contact with carnal grossness but polished by the most thorough refinements from every earthly affection and quality, passes through unceasing meditation upon divine things and spiritual contemplations to the things that are invisible, to such a degree that, intent upon heavenly and incorporeal things, it does not perceive itself to be surrounded by the frailty of the flesh; and so that it regards all present things not as things that will pass away but as things already past, and beholds them as empty smoke dissolved into nothing.

The three books of Solomon are appropriately fitted to these three renunciations. Proverbs corresponds to the first renunciation, for in it the concupiscence of carnal things and earthly vices are cut away. Ecclesiastes corresponds to the second, where all things that are done beneath the sun are declared to be vanity. The Song of Songs corresponds to the third, in which the mind, transcending all invisible things [read: all visible things], is joined to the Word of God through contemplation of heavenly things.

Therefore those who renounce the world must take care lest they become like those of whom it is said, “In their heart they returned to Egypt,” and lest we be condemned with those Israelites who, while dwelling in the desert, desired after the food of the heavenly manna the fetid and filthy foods of the vices, saying: “It was well with us in Egypt, where we sat over the pots of meat and ate onions, garlic, cucumbers, and melons.”

Of these, very few entered the land of promise, namely only two, possessing, that is, the love of God and of neighbor, which embraces all virtues, as the Apostle shows to the Corinthians. No king and no enemy can confer or take away these riches of virtues.

For in the Scriptures riches are set down under a threefold kind. There are good riches, namely the merits of men acquired from acts of virtues, of which the psalm says, “Glory and riches are in his house,” and so forth. There are evil riches, namely sins, of which it is said in the Gospel, “Woe to you who are rich, who have your consolation.” There are intermediate riches, which a man can use well or badly, of which the Apostle says to Timothy, “Command the rich to do good, not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches.” True riches are acquired principally from grace and from free choice. Cassian treats extensively throughout the Scriptures concerning this free choice.

Section III

The fourth conference is that of Daniel concerning the concupiscence of the flesh and of the spirit. Among those who dwelt together in the desert of Scetis he was adorned with every kind of virtue, but especially with the virtue of humility.

Because of his purity and gentleness, he was ordained priest by Pafuntius, the priest of that solitude, at his command and with the intention that Daniel should preside over the congregation after him; yet Daniel died before Pafuntius.

John Cassian says:

“When we asked why, while remaining in our cell, we were sometimes filled with such ineffable joy and an abundance of sacred perceptions that a pure and ready prayer was poured forth and the mind, filled with spiritual fruits, perceived that its efficacious supplications reached God even through sleep; and why, on the other hand, when no causes existed, we were suddenly filled with so great an anguish and oppressed by a certain irrational sadness that we not only felt ourselves dry in respect of perceptions of this kind, but even the cell became abhorrent, reading became distasteful, and prayer itself was poured forth unstable and wavering, Daniel answered these things thus:

“‘A threefold account concerning this barrenness of mind of which you speak has been handed down to us by our elders. It descends either from our negligence, from the devil’s assault, or from the Lord’s dispensation and testing.

“‘It comes from negligence when, through our own fault, having behaved incautiously at an earlier time and, through sloth, having been fed with idle thoughts, we make the earth of our heart germinate thorns and thistles. When these sprout in it, we are consequently rendered barren and fasting from every spiritual fruit and contemplation.

“‘It comes from the assault of the devil when, although we are sometimes devoted to good pursuits, the adversary, penetrating our mind by cunning subtlety, draws us—either without our knowledge or against our will—from the best intentions to the lowest things.

“‘But there is a twofold cause of dispensation or testing. The first is that, when we have been left by the Lord for a little while and humbly behold the weakness of our mind, we may by no means be exalted over the preceding purity of heart that was granted to us by his visitation; and so that, when he tests us, after we have been abandoned by him, and we cannot by our groans and effort recover that state of joy and purity, we may understand that the former alacrity of heart was conferred upon us not by our own effort but by his gracious favor.

“‘The second cause of testing is that our perseverance or the desire for constancy of mind may be proved, and that it may be manifested in us with what intention of heart and insistence of prayers we seek the visitation of the Holy Spirit when it abandons us. And likewise, recognizing with how much labor that lost joy and gladness of purity is recovered, we may endeavor more anxiously to guard it when it has been found and to hold it more attentively. For whatever is believed able to be recovered easily is in a certain manner guarded more negligently. This appears to belong to the third cause of this divine dispensation.

“‘As has been said, this can also proceed from the devil’s temptation. Hence the psalmist says to the Lord, “Do not abandon me utterly,” as if he were to say in other words: “I know that you are accustomed usefully to abandon your saints so that you may prove them. For otherwise they cannot be tempted by the adversary unless they have been abandoned by you for a little while.

“‘“Therefore I do not ask that you never abandon me, because it is not expedient for me either never to perceive my weakness, so that I might say, ‘It is good for me, Lord, that you humbled me,’ or not to have the exercise of fighting. For the devil will not dare to tempt me unless you permit it, just as he was unable to tempt and afflict Job unless permitted by God.

“‘“Rather, I ask that you do not abandon me utterly, that is, unto excess. For just as it is useful to me if you abandon me a little, so that the constancy of my desire may be proved, so it is harmful if, on account of my merits and offenses, you permit me to be abandoned excessively. For no human strength, if deprived for too long of your help in temptation, will be able to persevere by its own constancy and not immediately succumb to the adversary’s power or action, unless you yourself do not permit us to be tempted beyond what we are able.”

“‘A figure of this is read in the Book of Judges: “Therefore the Lord did not destroy these nations,” namely, those hostile to the people of God, “but left them so that he might train Israel through them and they might possess experience of fighting with enemies.” Thus the occasion of harmful security and, arising from it, of negligence and sloth would be taken away from us.’”

This negligence and sloth of ours is the cause placed first of the barrenness of our mind. Hence Daniel himself afterward sets down a threefold state of souls: carnal, animal, and spiritual, which the Apostle identifies in the Epistle to the Corinthians.

For concerning the carnal person he says, “I gave you milk to drink, not food; for you were not yet able. For you are carnal.” And again: “While there are jealousy and contentions among you, are you not carnal?”

Concerning the animal person he says, “The animal man does not perceive the things that are of God, for it is foolishness to him.” Concerning the spiritual person he says, “The spiritual man examines all things.”

A man is called carnal who is devoted to pleasures and the other vices of secular persons. He is called animal who, having left the world and been withdrawn from carnal commingling, gives himself over to sloth and negligence, subject to various passions and to affections even for worthless things, and does not tend toward perfection. He is spiritual who, fervently exercising himself

in advancement in every virtue and fervently panting toward the summit of perfection, subjects his passions and disordered affections.

Daniel therefore says that, when through renunciation we have ceased to be carnal—that is, have begun to be separated from the manner of life of secular persons and have ceased from that manifest pollution of the flesh—we must hasten and strive with all our strength immediately to apprehend the spiritual state.

Otherwise, perhaps, flattering ourselves because we seem to have renounced this world according to the outward man, or to have left the contagions of carnal fornications, as though for this reason we had apprehended the summit of perfection, we may thereafter be rendered more remiss and sluggish toward cleansing the other passions; and, detained between the two states, we may be unable to attain the degree of spiritual advancement, thinking it abundantly sufficient for us that in respect of the outward man we appear to be separated from the conduct and pleasures of this world.

Thus we shall know that in that lukewarm state, which is judged the worst, we are to be vomited from the Lord's mouth according to his sentence: "Would that you were hot or cold. But because you are neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm, I shall begin to vomit you from my mouth."

He is called cold who is carnal, namely, devoted to secular vices, or a gentile. He is called hot who, kindled by the ardor of the Spirit, tends as a spiritual man toward the summit of perfection. He is lukewarm who, having entered the road of perfection as one who has professed the monastic state according to the rule of discipline, has once withdrawn from that fire of spiritual fervor.

The danger of such a man is shown by this comparison. Whatever is cold, when taken even into our mouth, is changed into warmth and is received with salutary sweetness. But that which has once been cast out because of the vice of a harmful lukewarmness we are unable—not only to apply to our lips, but even to behold from afar—without immense horror.

Therefore it is most correctly declared that the lukewarm man is worse than the cold, because a carnal man, namely a secular person or a gentile, approaches salutary conversion more easily. But the lukewarm man, who entered upon the road of religious profession and has once been infected by his negligence and torpor and in a certain way dissolved in them, neither afterward savors perfect things nor will he thereafter be able to be instructed by admonition.

For he says in his heart, "I am rich and need no one." To him that which follows is applied: "And you do not know that you are wretched and pitiable, poor, blind, and naked."

John Cassian also sets down from Daniel's sayings the conflict of the flesh and the spirit from those words of the Apostle: "The flesh desires against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, so that you do not do whatever things you wish." He declares three things: what the concupiscence of the flesh is, what the concupiscence of the spirit is, and what the will placed between them is.

He says that by "flesh" is understood not man or the substance of man, but the will or appetite of the flesh and its worst desires; just as by "spirit" is understood not a substantial thing, but the good and spiritual desires of the soul.

Since both, that is, the desires of the flesh and of the spirit, are in one and the same man, an internal war is waged within us daily. The concupiscence of the flesh is carried headlong toward the vices and rejoices in the delights that pertain to present repose. The concupiscence of the spirit so opposes these things that it desires to adhere wholly to spiritual pursuits and wishes to exclude even the necessary uses of the flesh; thus it continually desires to be occupied with them and wishes to bestow no care at all upon the flesh's frailty.

The flesh delights in wantonness and lust; the spirit does not acquiesce even in natural desires. The flesh desires to be satiated with sleep and filled with food; the spirit is so fattened upon vigils and fasts that it would not wish to admit sleep and food even for the necessary use of life. The flesh desires to abound in all supplies; the spirit desires to be constricted by the daily sustenance of a little bread. The spirit rejoices in solitude and flees men; the flesh is cherished by the glory and honor of men.

Between both these concupiscences the will of the soul stands in a certain more blameworthy middle place, neither delighted by the disgraceful acts of the vices nor acquiescing in the pains of virtues. It seeks to be so restrained from carnal passions that it by no means wishes to sustain the necessary pains without which the desires of the spirit cannot be possessed.

It desires to obtain chastity of body without chastisement of the flesh; purity of heart without the labor of vigils; to abound in spiritual virtues together with the repose of the flesh; to possess patience without insults and humility without loss of honor. Finally, it so prefers to obtain future goods that it does not lose present ones.

This will would never cause us to come to true perfection, but would place us in a certain worst lukewarmness. For when, serving this will of ours, we wish gradually to relax ourselves into this remissness, immediately the goads of the flesh rise up

and, wounding us with their vices and passions, by no means permit us to stand in that quality of purity in which we delight, but drag us onto a cold road of pleasures, full of thorns.

Again, if, kindled by fervor of spirit and wishing to extinguish the works of the flesh, we attempt to bear our whole selves away into immoderate pursuits of the virtues through elation of heart, without any consideration for human frailty, the weakness of the flesh intervenes and recalls and restrains us from that blameworthy excess of spirit.

This contention between the two excludes that more harmful will of the soul and places, as it were, a balance of equity in the scales of our body, which distinguishes the boundaries of spirit and flesh by a just examination.

While this conflict is usefully stirred up in us every day, we are compelled to come salutarily to a fourth thing that we do not wish: namely, that we should seek purity of heart not through leisure, security, and repose, but through continual sweat and contrition of spirit. Thus, when this slothful security that we desire has been drawn away from us and the labors and pursuits of virtues have been called forth, the best middle balance is maintained; and so, with a suitable moderation joined to diligent labor, one advances along the road of perfection, so that one may be truly spiritually hot, not carnally cold nor animally lukewarm.

Section IV

The fifth conference is that of Serapion concerning the assault of the eight vices.

John Cassian says:

“In that gathering of elders there was a man named Serapion, adorned from his earliest age with the grace of discernment. When we entreated him to discuss something concerning the assault of the vices, whereby their origins and causes might be disclosed more clearly, he began thus:

“‘There are eight principal vices that assail the human race. These, as he says below, are figured by the eight nations that the children of Israel defeated in the land of promise: the Hittite, the Hivite, the Amorite, the Girgashite, the Perizzite, the Jebusite, the Canaanite, and Egypt; and by the seven spirits which the unclean spirit takes with him when entering the empty house, according to the Gospel.

“‘The operation of these vices is fourfold. Certain of them cannot be consummated without carnal action, such as gluttony and lust. Certain others are fulfilled without any action of the body, such as pride and vainglory, that is, empty glory. Some receive the causes of their agitation from outside, such as avarice and anger. Others are aroused by internal movements, such as sadness and acedia.

“‘Although these eight vices have diverse origins and dissimilar operations, they are nevertheless joined to one another by a certain kinship and chaining together, so that the abundance of the preceding vice becomes the beginning of the one that follows. For fornication must spring from an abundance of *castrimargia*, that is, gluttony; *philargyria*, that is, avarice, from fornication; anger from avarice; sadness from anger; and acedia from sadness.

“‘Therefore one must fight against them in a similar manner and by the same reasoning, and we must always enter the contests against those that follow by beginning with those that precede. For the harmful breadth or height of any tree dries up more easily if the roots upon which it rests have first been exposed or cut away.

“‘Therefore, for acedia to be conquered, sadness must be cut away; for sadness to be expelled, anger must be excluded; and so with the others.

“‘The remaining two are indeed joined to one another by a similar account, for an abundance of vainglory produces the tinder of pride. But they are completely separated from the seven preceding vices [read: the six preceding vices] and are not allied with them in a similar association. For when those vices have been plucked out, these two bear fruit more violently and, upon their death, sprout and grow more vigorously. For pride and empty glory assail the mind because of its victory over the vices and because of its good works.

“‘The manner of overcoming is also different in its method. For, in regard to the carnal vices, it is very helpful to those pursuing purity that they first remove from themselves the very materials of the carnal passions, by which either the occasion or the recollection of the same passions can be generated in a soul that is still sick.

“‘For a twofold cure must be applied to a twofold sickness. So that concupiscence may not break forth into effect in the body, the enticing appearance and material must necessarily be removed. And, likewise, so that the soul may not conceive it even in thought, more attentive meditation upon the Scriptures, vigilant solicitude, and the seclusion of solitude must usefully be applied.

“‘In the other vices, however, human companionship is no hindrance; indeed, it contributes very much to those who truly desire to be without them, because in the frequent company of men they are more greatly reproved and, while they are manifested more frequently when provoked, they arrive more swiftly at health through medicine.’”

Now the individual vices must be discussed.

There are three kinds of *castrimargia*. The first is that which presses a monk to hasten to food before the appointed hour. The second is that which rejoices in filling the belly and in voracity for any foods whatsoever. The third is that which desires more carefully prepared and more delicate foods.

There are three kinds of fornication or lust. The first is that which is accomplished through the mingling of both sexes. The second is that which occurs without the touch of a woman, on account of which Er [read: Onan], son of the patriarch Judah, is read to have been struck by the Lord; this is called uncleanness. The third is that which is conceived in soul and mind, according to the saying, “Whoever looks upon a woman to desire her has already committed adultery in his heart.”

There are three kinds of *philargyria*. The first does not permit those renouncing the world to be stripped of riches and possessions. The second persuades us to take back, with greater desire, the things that have been dispersed and given to the poor. The third compels us to desire and acquire the things we do not possess.

There are three kinds of anger. One blazes inwardly. Another breaks forth into word, deed, and effect. The third is not merely hot for an hour but is preserved for days and periods of time.

There are two kinds of sadness. One is generated when anger has ceased, or from a loss inflicted, or from a desire that has been impeded. The other descends from an irrational anxiety of mind or from despair.

There are two kinds of acedia. One casts those who are fevered headlong into sleep. The other encourages one to abandon and flee the cell.

Although vainglory is divided into diverse species, there are nevertheless two kinds of it. The first is that by which we are exalted over manifest carnal things. The second is that by which we are inflamed with the desire of empty glory over spiritual and hidden things.

Yet vainglory is usefully assumed by beginners in one matter: when a man is tempted by the vice of lust, since that vice takes away a man’s reputation, vainglory especially urges him to overcome that vice, lest by committing it he lose the praises of men.

There are two kinds of pride. One is carnal, by which a man exalts himself over riches, parentage, or some external thing. The second is spiritual and more harmful, when a person is exalted over his virtues and merits. This attacks especially those who appear to have advanced in virtues.

Daniel speaks [read: Serapion speaks] concerning the manner of defeating these vices:

“Therefore battles against them must be undertaken by us in such a manner that each person, examining the vice by which he is most greatly assailed, undertakes a special contest against it; fixes every care and solicitude of his mind upon assaulting and observing it; directs against it the daily darts of fasts; at every moment hurls against it the weapons of sighs of the heart and frequent groans; expends against it the labors of vigils and the meditation of his heart; and pours forth to God continual weeping in prayers, continually asking for its extinction.

“For it is impossible for anyone to obtain any triumph over any passion before he has understood that he cannot possess victory in the contest by his own effort or labor; although, in order that he may be cleansed, it is necessary for him to remain day and night in every care and solicitude.

“And when he perceives that he has been freed from that vice, let him again search the recesses of his heart for the passion which he perceives to be more savage than the others; and let him bring together against it all his spiritual arms, as has been said. Thus, when the stronger enemies have been overcome, he will have a swift and easy victory over those that remain, just as happens in bodily wars.”

Nevertheless, it must not be thought that someone who fights principally against one vice, and who, as though incautious, watches the darts of the others, can be wounded more easily by an unexpected blow. This will by no means happen. For it is impossible that one who, solicitous for the cleansing of his heart, has armed himself with focused attention against the assault of any one vice should not also possess a certain general horror and similar vigilance against the other vices. Nevertheless, let him never trust in his own strength.

Cassian also declares in the said conference that Christ, as the Apostle says, was tempted without sin, that is, without the carnal assault of lust.

Just as the first and earthly Adam was tempted in paradise by the ancient serpent concerning gluttony, when it said, “On whatever day you eat from it”; concerning pride, when it added, “You shall be as gods”; and concerning avarice, when it joined, “Knowing good and evil,” because avarice in a broad sense also includes a disordered appetite for knowing; so also the second and heavenly Adam, Christ, was tempted in the desert by the devil.

But Christ conquered concerning gluttony when the devil said, “Command that these stones become bread”; concerning pride, when it said, “Cast yourself down”; and concerning avarice, when it said, “All these things I will give you,” and so forth.

Those seven nations signifying the capital vices are said to be more numerous than the children of Israel because there are more vices than virtues, since the virtues have two extremes through excess and defect; whence also many other vices can proceed from them, which are called their daughters.

Those nations are also called stronger because, after the Fall, the delight of the carnal passions fights more powerfully in our members than the pursuits of spiritual virtues, which are acquired only through the greatest contrition of heart and body. These matters, however, are treated more fully and perfectly in the second part.

Section V

The sixth conference is that of Theodore. It treats of the prosperous and adverse things of this world and of the causes of God’s scourges.

John Cassian says:

“In the regions of Palestine near Tekoa there is an exceedingly vast solitude. In it monks of the highest sanctity, who had dwelt there for a very long time, were suddenly killed by bands of Saracen brigands running about. Their bodies were afterward eagerly taken up with great veneration by people from neighboring cities.

“Saddened by this, therefore, we went to Saint Theodore. When we poured out a complaint to him concerning the slaughter of the aforesaid men, wondering why God had permitted so great a crime against his saints, he answered:

“‘This question is accustomed to move the minds of those who, possessing little faith or knowledge, believe that the merits of the saints, or the rewards that are stored up for the future, are repaid in the brevity of this life.

“‘Therefore it must be known that all the things which exist in this world are three: good, evil, and intermediate. In human affairs nothing is principally good except virtue of the soul, and nothing is evil except sin.

“‘Intermediate things are those which can be directed toward either side according to the affection and judgment of the one using them: such as riches, power, honor, strength, health, beauty, life, death, poverty, sickness, injuries, and things similar to these. According to the quality and affection of the one using them, they can contribute either to the good side or to the evil.

“‘Therefore, when death has been inflicted upon a holy man, it must not be believed that evil has been inflicted upon him, but a certain intermediate thing, which, although evil for a sinner, becomes rest and release from evils for a just man.

“‘Nor will any impious or unjust person therefore be unpunished because his malice was unable to harm the just man. For the endurance and virtue of the just man does not profit unto reward the one who inflicted death or punishments, but the one who patiently received the things inflicted upon him.

“‘The patience of Job did not bring a reward to the devil; nor will Judas be given immunity from punishment because his betrayal contributed to the salvation of the human race. For the outcome of the work must not be considered, but the affection of the one doing it.

“‘We know that for those who love God all things work together unto good: not only things that are prosperous but also those that are thought adverse. For it belongs to the same virtue both to endure sadness bravely and to moderate favorable things. It is most certain that one who is overcome in either of these can bear neither of them.

“‘Nevertheless, one can be crushed more easily by prosperity than by adversity. For adversities sometimes restrain and humble even the unwilling and, through most salutary compunction, cause them either to sin less or to be amended. Prosperous things, however, through soft and harmful flatteries that exalt the mind, cast down those who are secure in the outcomes of their happiness with a greater fall.

“‘These, therefore, are ambidextrous persons, like that Ehud in the Book of Judges who used each hand as a right hand. We too shall be able to possess this virtue intellectually if we cause both the things considered prosperous and right-handed and the things that are adverse and called left-handed to incline, through good and right use, toward the right-hand side, so that whatever things are inflicted upon us may become weapons of justice, according to the Apostle.

“‘I would rightly call Joseph ambidextrous. In prosperity he is found more pleasing to his father, more dutiful to his brothers, and more acceptable to God; in adversity, chaste, faithful to the Lord, most gentle to his fellow prisoners, forgetful of injuries, and beneficent to his enemies.’”

When Germanus asked whether our mind can continually retain one state and always persist in the same quality, Theodore answered:

“According to the Apostle it is necessary that a person either advance each day, renewed in the spirit of his mind and always stretching himself toward the things that are before him, or, if he has been negligent, it follows that he goes backward and slips again into a worse condition.

“Therefore this will be an evident indication of loss in us: if we understand that we have acquired nothing more. Let us not doubt that we have been recalled backward in every respect on the day when we have not perceived that we advanced to higher things, because the human mind cannot continually remain in the same state. It is necessary either that something be added to the virtues or that something be diminished.

“In no creature can there be such perfection that it is not subject to mutability or suffering. For we confess that God alone is immutable.

“Therefore no virtue can be immovably possessed by a human being. Rather, for an acquired virtue to be retained, it must continually be guarded with the same diligence and effort by which it was acquired.

“A person who has fallen must by no means be believed to have collapsed through a sudden ruin. He was either deceived from the beginning by an evil formation or, through prolonged negligence of mind, gradually declined as the virtue of his soul diminished, according to the saying, ‘He who neglects the smallest things gradually falls away.’”

Concerning the causes of scourges he says thus:

“Although we said that temptation in affairs is twofold, namely, in prosperous and adverse things, nevertheless it must be known that all men are tempted or afflicted for three reasons.” To these three he afterward adds three other reasons, as is evident.

For this often occurs because of testing, sometimes because of correction, and at other times because of the deserts of offenses.

As regards the first, namely, testing, there are examples in Job, Tobias, Abraham, and many others, according to that saying of Deuteronomy: “You shall remember all your journey by which he led you for forty years, so that he might afflict and test you,” and so forth.

As regards the second, namely, cleansing, this occurs when God, humbling his just ones for slight and trivial sins or for pride in their purity, hands them over to various temptations in the present so that he may transmit pure, true gold to the future examination, according to the saying, “Like gold the Lord tested them”; and in the psalm, “Many are the tribulations of the just”; and the saying, “Do not neglect the discipline of the Lord, nor fail when you are corrected by him. For the Lord corrects the one whom he loves”; and the Apostle, “If you are outside discipline, then you are adulterers and not sons.” There is an example in Paul, who was struck by the devil.

As regards the third, for the deserts of sins, there is the saying of the psalm, “Many are the scourges of the sinner”; and the Lord says to the infirm man healed at the pool, “Behold, you have been made well; sin no more, lest something worse happen to you.”

We also find a fourth reason, which exists solely for manifesting the glory of God. We know that certain sufferings have been sent upon some persons for this purpose, as in the man born blind, concerning whom Christ, when asked the cause of his blindness, said, “That the works of God may be manifested in him”; and concerning the dead Lazarus he said, “This infirmity is not unto death, but for the glory of God.”

There are also other kinds of vengeance by which certain persons who have passed beyond the fullness of malice are struck in the present, namely, to begin here the commencement of their damnation, as Antiochus and Herod were struck, and Dathan and Abiram were swallowed by the earth. This accords with the saying of Jeremiah: “I struck them, and they did not grieve; I ground them down, and they refused to receive discipline”; and with that saying of Deuteronomy: “A fire has been kindled in my fury and will burn unto the lowest depths of hell.”

We are not ignorant of other causes of corrections, that is, punishments: when these are inflicted not to expiate the sins of those punished, but for the amendment and fear of the living. Examples are evident in Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezebel, and men of this kind, so that by the example of their punishment fear might be instilled and, through this lesson of severity, it might be recognized that the divine majesty is not careless of human affairs and daily dispensation.

Section VI

The seventh conference is that of Serenus concerning the nobility of the soul and spiritual wickednesses, that is, demons.

John Cassian says:

“Above all others we admired with singular veneration Abbot Serenus, a man of the highest sanctity and continence and a mirror of his own name. In addition to all the virtues which, by God’s grace, shone forth not only in his acts and conduct but even in his countenance, the gift of chastity had been infused into him by a particular benefit.

“Thus he perceived that he was no longer troubled even by the natural incitements themselves in repose or in sleep, nor was he thereafter struck by that simple and natural movement that is aroused even in little children. He obtained this through the internal chastity of the heart, prayers, and fasts, by the spiritual grace of God.

“For an angel came in a nocturnal vision and, as though opening his abdomen, tore a certain fiery swelling of the flesh from his entrails and cast it away, restoring all his internal organs to their places as they had been. ‘Behold,’ he said, ‘the incitements of your flesh have been cut away, and know that on this day you have obtained the perpetual purity of heart that you faithfully sought.’

“When he asked us concerning the quality of our thoughts and the state of the interior man, or what the habitation of the desert for so long a time had contributed to their purity, we addressed him with these complaints:

“‘The calculation of the times and the habitation of solitude have contributed this alone to us: that we have learned what we are unable to be. And what has it profited to learn what is highest if, after it is known, it cannot be apprehended?

“‘For when we have perceived the direction of the heart to extend toward its destined contemplation, our mind, having insensibly rolled back to its former wanderings, slides down with a more violent impulse.

“‘We are consequently led to this opinion of despair: that we believe these wanderings of the soul to belong to the human race not now through our own fault but through a defect of nature.’”

To these things Serenus answered:

“‘It belongs to dangerous presumption to define precipitately the nature of any matter when the issues have not yet been rightly examined, and to draw a conjecture from the consideration of one’s own weakness rather than to offer a judgment concerning the state and quality of the discipline itself or from the experience of others.

“‘For if someone ignorant of swimming, knowing that the liquid of the waters cannot bear the weight of his body, wished from the experience of his own lack of skill to define that no one surrounded by solid flesh can be sustained at all upon the liquid element, his opinion must not therefore be judged true because it appeared to him to have been derived according to his own experience.

“‘Accordingly, the mind is defined by the Greeks as “always mobile” and “very mobile.” By the condition of its nature, therefore, it can never stand idle. Unless it has something provided in which it may exercise its movements and with which it may continually be occupied, it must range about by its own mobility and fly through all things, until, made accustomed by long exercise and use, it learns around what materials it should circle in flight.

“‘Thus it may prevail to exclude the suggestions of the enemy by which it was being drawn away and to endure in the state and quality it desires.

“‘If, therefore, fighting manfully against disturbances and vices, we shall have been able to subject them to our authority and discernment, or to subjugate the unstable cohort of our thoughts beneath the command of reason, we shall be raised, by the merit of so many triumphs, to the rank of the spiritual centurion of the Gospel.

“‘Commanding evil suggestions to go, they will go; commanding good suggestions to come, they will come. To our servant also, that is, the body, we shall enjoin the things that pertain to chastity, and it will serve without contradiction, displaying every service to the spirit.

“‘Let us not be broken from the intention of this observance by harmful despair, because the kingdom of heaven suffers violence. For no virtue is perfected without labor, nor is it possible for anyone to ascend without immense exercise to that stability of mind which we desire, so that he may arrive at a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ.

“‘The Apostle describes the weapons of this spiritual centurion as not carnal: “In all things taking up the shield of faith, with which you can extinguish all the fiery darts of the enemy”; “put on the breastplate of justice,” which joins all the virtues to one another and is formed by charity; “and take up the helmet of salvation,” namely, of hope; “and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.”

“‘Thus, desiring only one thing, doing one thing, and always directing toward one thing not only all his acts but also his thoughts, he may already hold in the present as a pledge that which is said concerning the blessed manner of life of the saints in the future: that God may be all in all.

“‘Those who have experienced the conflict of the interior man cannot doubt that our adversaries continually lie in wait for us. But we say that they oppose our advancement in such a manner that we believe them to be only inciters of evils, not also impellers. Otherwise no human being could entirely avoid sin if they had the power to compel just as they have the power to suggest.

“‘Therefore, just as the opportunity of instigation is in them, so the strength of rejection or the freedom of consent has been attributed to us.

“‘Although we fear their assaults and power, let us also set against them, on the contrary, the protections and assistance of God. For “greater is he who is in us than he who is in the world,” says John. His assistance fights for us with a power much more vehement than that with which their multitude contends against us.

“‘For God is not merely the suggester of good things, but also their maker and impeller, to such a degree that sometimes he draws even us who are unwilling and ignorant to salvation.

“‘It is therefore established that no one can be deceived by the devil except the person who gives assent to him. Hence Solomon in Ecclesiastes says: “For because a contradiction”—our translation says “sentence”—“is not quickly pronounced against the wicked, the hearts of the children of men are filled with evils,” that is, with sins.’”

Germanus said: “What, I ask, is this indiscriminate and intermingled fellowship of the soul with these wicked spirits, such that they are able not only to be joined, but united to it; to address it insensibly; to insert and inspire into it whatever things they wish; to have power to instigate it toward the things that please them; and to see and examine its thoughts and movements?”

To these things Serenus answered:

“It is not wonderful that spirit can be joined insensibly to spirit and exercise a hidden power of persuasion toward whatever things it pleases. For between them, as between human beings, there is a certain likeness and kinship of substance.

“But that they should be inserted into or united with one another in such a manner that one could be wholly capable of containing the other is utterly impossible. For this is most rightly attributed only to the deity, which alone is an incorporeal and simple nature.

“Nor is that which we see occur in demoniacs contrary to this definition, when those seized by unclean spirits speak or do the things they do not wish, or when they are compelled to utter things they do not know; although some who are thus inspired know and afterward remember them.

“It must not be thought that this occurs through an infusion of the unclean spirit in such a manner that it penetrates the substance of the soul itself and, united with it and somehow clothed in it, emits speech and words through the sufferer’s mouth. It must by no means be believed that this can be done by them.

“For it is manifestly understood that this happens not through any diminution of the soul but through weakness of the body. The unclean spirit settles in those members in which the vigor of the soul is contained and, imposing an unbearable and immense weight upon them with the foulest darkness, overwhelms and intercepts its intellectual senses. We see that this also sometimes happens through the supervening disorder of wine or fever.

“For even if a spirit is mingled with this gross and solid matter, that is, the flesh—which can happen very easily—it is not therefore to be believed that it can be so united to the soul, which is likewise spirit, as to render the soul similarly capable of containing its nature. This is possible to God alone.

“The Trinity, which is thus the penetrator of every intellectual nature, is of such a kind that it is able not only to encompass and encircle such natures but also to enter into them and to be infused into an incorporeal nature as though into a body.

“For although we declare that certain natures are spiritual, such as angels, archangels, and the other powers, and also our own soul or indeed this subtle air, they must nevertheless by no means be considered incorporeal. For, according to themselves, they possess a body in which they subsist, although it is much subtler than our bodies, according to that saying of the Apostle: ‘There are heavenly bodies and earthly bodies.’

“From these things it is evident that nothing is incorporeal except God. The divine nature alone can penetrate all spiritual and intellectual substances, because it alone, and wholly, is everywhere and in all things. Thus it views and examines the thoughts of men, their interior movements, and all the hidden things of the mind.”

Concerning how demons know the thoughts of men, Serenus says:

“No one doubts that unclean spirits can touch the qualities of our thoughts, but they gather them from perceptible indications outside: either from our dispositions, from our words, or from the pursuits toward which they have observed that we are more strongly inclined.

“But they are entirely unable to enter the thoughts that have not yet come forth from the interior of the soul. And whether the thoughts that they suggest have been received, or in what manner they have been received, they understand not through the soul’s own nature or through that interior movement lying hidden in its marrow, so to speak, but from the movements and indications of the outward man.

“For example, if they have suggested *castrimargia*, and if they see that a monk has raised his eyes more curiously toward a window or toward the sun, or has anxiously inquired concerning the hour; if the demon suggesting lust sees that he has been moved in the flesh or has gazed fixedly upon a woman; or if the one suggesting sadness or anger sees that he has sighed with a certain indignation or has changed his countenance to pallor or redness, they understand from these and similar indications.”

Different demons tempt concerning different passions and vices: one concerning lust, another concerning avarice; some punish with blasphemies, others with vainglory and pride.

And although it is a settled definition that among the evil there is no perpetual agreement in all things, nor can perfect concord stand even in the very vices in which they delight, nevertheless in certain matters, when either a partnership in the work or necessity demands it, or the fellowship of some gain invites it, they must lend one another temporary agreement.

We must by no means be ignorant that they are not all of the same ferocity and desire, nor indeed of one strength and wickedness. With beginners and the weak, only weaker spirits cooperate in the contest. When these spiritual wickednesses have been overcome, a stronger contest against the soldier of Christ always follows by degrees.

We believe, however, that they do not accomplish this struggle without their own labor. For in their own conflict they possess a certain anxiety and sadness, especially when they encounter stronger rivals, that is, perfect men. Hence the Apostle also calls it a wrestling. Elsewhere he says, “Thus I fight, not as one beating the air.”

As they rejoice when they overthrow us, according to that saying of the psalm, “Those who afflict me will exult if I am moved,” so they grieve when they are overthrown by us. Nor do they depart defeated without confusion, according to the saying, “Let those who seek my soul be confounded and put to shame.”

Demons do not tempt as grievously as formerly, and this for a twofold cause: either because of the power of the Cross, spread abroad and restraining them, or because human negligence has made them slower to attack, since otherwise they would not be able to conquer. As for persons who are handed over to Satan to be afflicted bodily by him, this occurs for the purgation of some sin, even a small one, as in Paul, a certain anchorite of great virtue.

From these things it is manifestly understood that we ought not to abhor or despise those whom we see handed over to various temptations or to these spirits of wickedness.

For we must believe these two things immovably. First, that without God’s permission no one is tempted or afflicted by them at all; there is an example in Job. Second, that all things which are brought upon us by God—whether they appear sad for the present or joyful—are brought by a most devoted father and most merciful physician for our benefit.

Finally, Serenus also says that sacred communion is not to be denied to those afflicted by unclean spirits or to demoniacs.

Section VII

The eighth conference, which is also in the name of the aforesaid elder Serenus, follows. After the completion of a certain solemnity, Serenus received the aforesaid John Cassian and Germanus as they returned to him from the religious men of that region, and refreshed them very sparingly, but most lavishly in relation to their custom. When the refreshment was finished, he began thus:

“Divine Scripture is very appropriately compared to a rich and fertile field. Although it generates and brings forth many things which are suitable for human food without any cooking by fire, yet there are some things which, unless they have first been tempered by the heat of flame and softened, and have laid aside all the harshness of their rawness, are found either unsuitable for human uses or harmful.

“Some things, however, are known to be suited to either use, so that neither do they displease or harm when uncooked because of their rawness, and yet, when cooked by the heat of fire, they are rendered more wholesome. But many things are brought forth only for the food of beasts of burden, wild beasts, or birds, and will be of no profit for the food of men.

“We perceive quite plainly that this principle is contained in the most abundant paradise of the Scriptures. In it certain things shine forth with so plain and clear a meaning of the letter that they do not need a more sublime interpretation, but abundantly

feed and nourish their hearers by the simple sound of the letter alone, as in this saying: ‘Hear, O Israel: the Lord your God is one,’ and so forth; and this saying: ‘You shall love the Lord your God,’ and so forth.

“But there are certain things from whose apprehension harm rather than any benefit will follow unless they have been attenuated by allegorical explanation and softened by the testing of spiritual fire, as, for example, this saying: ‘He who does not have a sword, let him sell his tunic and buy one’; and this saying: ‘He who does not take up his cross is not worthy of me.’ Certain most rigorous monks, who indeed had zeal for God but not according to knowledge, understood this simply and made wooden crosses for themselves. By carrying these about continually, they occasioned not edification but laughter in those who saw them.

“There are also certain things that are taken so suitably according to both apprehensions—that is, both the historical and the allegorical—that either explanation supplies vital juices to the soul, as in this saying: ‘If anyone strikes you on the right cheek,’ and so forth.

“It also certainly produces hay for beasts of burden, namely, the simple and pure narration of history, by which all the more simple are rendered more vigorous and robust for the labor of the active life.”

No one among the faithful doubts that, before the creation of this visible creation, God made the spiritual and heavenly powers, that is, the angels, who, because they knew that by the beneficence of the Creator they had been brought from nothing to so great a glory of beatitude, rendered perpetual thanks to him and adhered unceasingly to his praises.

The lamentation of Ezekiel or Isaiah teaches that some princes from their number were fallen. From the indications by which it is gathered that the adverse powers are said to possess these distinctions after the likeness of the holy and heavenly powers, it must be held either that they still retain them from the rank of that order in which each one had been created, or certainly that, after they had been cast down from the heavens, they claimed among themselves, on the contrary side and in the likeness of those powers which persevered there, these ranks and the names of orders according to the degree of their wickedness, in which each one grew in evil.

For they do not cease likewise to exercise, in an unwearied contest, discords and conflicts over certain nations which they have assumed for themselves through a certain native affinity of wickedness. This also we read to have been figured in Daniel’s vision concerning the prince of the Persians and the prince of the Greeks opposing one another.

From these things it is clearly foreseen that the adverse powers also exercise against one another the discords, conflicts, and rivalries of nations which the nations conduct among themselves at their instigation; that they either rejoice in the victory of those nations or are tormented by their diminution; and that for this reason they cannot be concordant among themselves, while each one, with ever-restless rivalry, contends on behalf of those over whom he presides against the ruler of another nation.

That unclean spirits are ruled by more wicked powers and are subject to them is taught to us not only by that authority of the Lord, ‘If I cast out demons in Beelzebub, the prince of demons,’ and so forth, but also by many clear visions and experiences of the saints.

Serenus gives the example of a certain hermit who saw troops of demons, some going before and others following their prince, who was taller and more terrible than the rest. When they had assembled, that prince required from each one an account of the vices to which he had led men. He harshly rebuked those who had accomplished little evil, but extolled those who had accomplished much.

One of them reported that, after fifteen years during which he had tempted a certain holy hermit, he had at last led him into fornication. All praised him greatly and rejoiced.

There is another example concerning blessed Anthony. Certain persons, by magical arts, summoned stronger demons to induce him to depart from his place. Although he was much tempted, they nevertheless could not prevail.

That two angels adhere to each one of us, one good angel instigating us to good works and another evil angel inviting us to evil works, Serenus proves from the book of the *Shepherd*.

After the slaying of Abel, the descendants from the generation of Seth, who were sons of Adam, are called sons of God; and the descendants from Cain are called sons of men in Genesis. While they remained separated from one another, the sons of God, that is, the descendants from Seth, remained good. But when, conquered by lust, they mingled with the daughters of men, that is, with the descendants from Cain, they became evil; and those born from such a mingling were called giants, either because of the magnitude and strength of their bodies or because of the excellence of their wickedness and tyranny.

This is not to be understood in the manner in which certain persons have said that the angels who mingled with women are called the sons of God. For although demons are found as incubi, they nevertheless do not have semen from themselves. Rather,

having first become succubi, they can receive the semen of a human man to whom they become succubi, and then, having become incubi, they transmit the man's semen to a woman to whom they become incubi.

Indeed, the Lord God gave to the first parent, Adam, the fullness of wisdom not only for knowing divine things but also for the knowledge of natural things. Hence he himself also imposed names upon all things, not only animals but also trees and herbs, so that he could say that saying of Wisdom: 'The Lord gave me knowledge of the things that are.' Through the successions of generations, the seed of Seth received this knowledge by paternal tradition.

But when, in the course of time, the seed of Seth had been mingled with the impious generation of Cain, by the instigation of demons it diverted the things which it had piously learned from divine and lawful matters to profane and harmful matters. That generation boldly instituted curious and harmful arts of sorceries, divinations, and magical superstitions, teaching its descendants that, after abandoning that sacred worship of the divine name, they should venerate and worship either the elements, such as fire, or aerial demons.

Moreover, as ancient traditions relate, Ham the son of Noah was instructed in these superstitions, sacrileges, and magical arts. Knowing that he could by no means bring into the ark, in which he was to remain with his father Noah and his other brothers, any book preserving such arts and profane inventions, he engraved them upon plates of various metals, which the inundation of the waters could not corrupt, and upon the hardest stones. When the flood was past, seeking with the same curiosity the things that he had concealed, he transmitted to his descendants a seedbed of sacrileges and perpetual wickedness.

Thus the sons of Seth, at the instigation of lust and because of the beauty of the daughters of men—that is, of those descending from Cain—transgressed that commandment which the Lord afterward commanded in the Law, saying: 'You shall not give your daughter as a wife to his son, nor shall you take from their daughters for your son, because they will seduce your hearts so that you depart from your God,' and so forth.

For although the Mosaic Law, which expressly prohibits this—namely, marriages with unbelieving nations—had not yet been given, they nevertheless possessed this from natural law. But because that natural law had been obscured in their hearts by the sins that supervened, so that they did not know how to read in it, God afterward gave the written Law through Moses, so that by it, as it were, they might recall the natural law, which contains at least all moral precepts.

When God says concerning the devil, 'He is a liar and the father of it,' this is not understood to mean that the devil has a father, but that the devil is not only a liar but also the father of lying, because he was the first creature to speak a lie: in his heart, when he said, 'I shall be like the Most High'; and to the first parents, when, speaking in the serpent with a human voice, he said, 'You shall be as gods.'

Section VIII

The ninth conference is that of Abbot Isaac, concerning prayer and its kinds. John Cassian says from the words of Isaac:

"The end of every monk and the perfection of his heart tends toward continual and uninterrupted perseverance in prayer. Insofar as it is granted to human frailty, it strives toward an immovable tranquility of mind and perfect purity. For the possession of this we unweariedly seek and continually exercise both the labor of the body and the contrition of the spirit. Between the two there is a certain reciprocal and inseparable conjunction.

"Therefore, so that prayer may be emitted with the fervor and purity with which it ought to be, first the solicitude for carnal things must be cut off generally. Then no care for any business or cause whatsoever—not even its memory—is to be admitted at all. Once the vices have been expelled and wholly cut away, the unshaken foundations of profound humility must first be laid, so that they may be able to sustain the tower that is to strike the heavens. Next, the spiritual structure of the virtues must be placed upon them, and the soul must be restrained from every wandering course and slippery roaming.

"For whatever our soul has conceived before the hour of prayer must necessarily occur to us as we pray through the instigation of recollection. Therefore we must prepare ourselves before the time of prayer to be such as we wish to be found when praying. For the mind is formed in supplication from its preceding state.

"Thus our mind will not be able to fulfill that apostolic command, namely, 'Pray without interruption,' and, 'In every place lifting up pure hands without anger and dispute,' unless our mind, purified from every contagion of the vices and devoted to the virtues alone as though to its natural goods, is fed by the continual contemplation of almighty God.

"For the quality of the soul is not inappropriately compared to a very fine feather or the lightest plume. If these have not been damaged or soaked by the corruption of some moisture falling upon them from without, then, by the mobility of their substance and with the aid of the slightest breath, they are naturally borne up to the heights and the heavens. But if they have been weighed down by an infusion of any moisture, they will not be able to fly, but will be pressed down to the lowest parts of the earth by the weight of that moisture.

“So also our mind, if it has not been burdened by vices and worldly cares, is raised up, as though by the benefit of its natural purity, and is borne aloft to the things above by the lightest breath of spiritual meditation. Hence the Lord also says in the Gospel: ‘Take heed lest your hearts be weighed down with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this world,’ and so forth; ‘but pray,’ and so forth.

“Although these three things burden the soul, separate it from God, and press it down toward earthly things, nevertheless their avoidance is easy for those who dwell in the desert. But there is another spiritual surfeiting, drunkenness, and secular solicitude, concerning which the Lord says through the prophet: ‘Awaken, you who are drunk, and not from wine.’ Spiritual surfeiting is the abundance of vices, and drunkenness is the dominion of the passions within us.

“According to the rule of the elders, they defined as worldly care and solicitude whatever exceeds the necessity of daily sustenance and the unavoidable use of the flesh. For example, if the earning of one solidus can satisfy the necessity of our body, and someone wishes to labor for the acquisition of two or three solidi; if two tunics suffice, and he wishes to have three or four; if one cell suffices, and yet he builds several: this occurs at the instigation of demons.

“Hence Isaac gives the example of a certain hermit whom another man saw the devil helping to break a rock so that he might make a larger cell for himself.

“I judge that all the kinds of prayers cannot be comprehended without immense purity of heart and soul and illumination by the Holy Spirit. For they are as many as the states and qualities that can be generated in one soul, or rather in all souls.

“It is most certain that prayers of one uniform kind cannot always be emitted by anyone. For a person supplicates in one way when he is cheerful; in another when sad or weighed down by the weight of despair; in another when he flourishes in spiritual successes; in another when he is pressed down by the mass of assaults; in another when he asks pardon for sins; in another when he requests the acquisition of grace or of any virtue, or entreats for the extinction of a vice; in another when he is pierced by consideration of Gehenna and fear of the future judgment; in another when he is inflamed by hope of future goods and rewards; in another when he is in necessity or dangers; and in another when he is in tranquility.

“Now, however, a difficulty lies before us: that we should expound one by one the very kinds of prayers which the Apostle distinguished in a fourfold division, saying, ‘I entreat first of all that supplications, prayers, petitions, and thanksgivings be made.’

“First it must be investigated what is signified by these. Second, it must be investigated whether one praying ought to observe all these things in one and the same prayer, or should take up the several different kinds in different prayers of that same person, or whether these various kinds are to be adopted by the different states of men—namely, supplication by one, prayer by another state, and so with the others. Third, it must be investigated whether the very order handed down successively by the Apostle is to be observed in these things.

“As to the first: supplication is an imploration for sins or a petition by which each person, pierced by compunction, entreats pardon either for present or for past offenses.

“Prayers are those by which we offer or vow something to God. Hence also what is said in Latin in the Psalm, ‘I shall render my vows to the Lord,’ is said in Greek, ‘I shall render my prayers to the Lord.’ Therefore we pray when, renouncing this world, we promise that, mortified to all the acts of the world, we shall serve the Lord with the whole intention of the heart. We pray when we promise that we shall perpetually exhibit the purest chastity of body and immovable patience.

“In the third place are set petitions, which, while we are established in fervor of spirit, we are also accustomed to emit for others, either for those dear to us or when asking for the peace of the whole world, when, according to the Apostle, we supplicate for all men, for kings, and for those who are established in high rank.

“In the fourth place are set thanksgivings. The mind is instigated to pour forth ineffable thanks to God with immense joy of spirit when it recalls the past benefits of God, when it contemplates present benefits, or when it contemplates for the future what things and how great God has prepared for those who love him.

“From these four kinds, occasions of abundant supplications are sometimes customarily generated. For from the kind of supplication which is born from compunction for sins; from the state of prayer which, because of purity of conscience, flows from confidence in one’s offerings and the completion of vices [read: the fulfillment of vows]; from the petition which proceeds from the ardor of charity; and from the thanksgiving which is generated by consideration of God’s benefits and his loving-kindness, we know that most fervent and fiery prayers are very often found.

“And all these kinds are found necessary and useful for all men, so that in one and the same man now a supplication, now a prayer, now a petition, and now a thanksgiving is emitted.

“Nevertheless, the first appears to pertain more particularly to beginners, who are still stung by the pricks and memory of their vices. The second pertains to those who, through spiritual progress and an appetite for the virtues, already stand in a certain sublimity of mind. The third pertains to those who, fulfilling the perfection of their vows, are provoked to intercede for others by consideration of their frailty and by the zeal of charity. The fourth pertains to those who, once the penal thorn of conscience has been torn from their hearts, now securely consider the munificence of the Lord and the mercies of the Lord which he bestows in the present, granted in the past, or prepares in the future, and are carried away with a most fervent heart into that fiery prayer.

“Christ leads us to this by his own example. For he made a supplication when he said, ‘Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me’; or that saying of the Psalm, ‘God, my God, look upon me.’ He made a prayer when he said, ‘I have glorified you upon the earth. I have consummated the work which you gave me to do.’ He made a petition when he said, ‘Father, forgive them,’ and so forth. He made a thanksgiving when he said, ‘I confess to you, Lord, Father of heaven and earth,’ and so forth.”

Thereafter Isaac expounds the seven petitions of the Lord’s Prayer, or the *Our Father*.

He also sets forth several origins of compunction by which the inflamed mind is incited to pure and most fervent prayers. For example, sometimes a verse of some psalm has provided us, as we chant, an occasion for fiery prayer; at other times, the melodious modulation of a brother’s voice; no less, the measured phrasing and gravity of the one chanting. Moreover, the exhortation of a perfect man and a spiritual conference have frequently raised the affection of those who lay prostrate to most abundant prayers. We know that by the death of a brother or of any dear person they were no less carried away to full compunction. The recollection of our torpor and negligence also sometimes induced a salutary ardor of spirit.

And there, subsequently, Isaac sets forth the manifold kind of tears or of compunction.

Concerning the causes assisting the hearing of prayer according to the diverse state of souls, Isaac says:

“You have the fruit of being heard in the agreement of two, in that saying of the Gospel: ‘If two of you agree,’ and so forth. You have another in the fullness of faith, in this saying: ‘If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed,’ and so forth. You also have it in the assiduity and perseverance of prayers, in this saying: ‘And if he shall persevere in knocking,’ and so forth. You have it also in the fruit of almsgiving, in this saying: ‘Enclose alms in the bosom of the poor, and it shall pray for you.’ You have it in the amendment of life, as in this saying: ‘Loose the bonds of impiety,’ and so forth. Sometimes an excess of tribulations causes a man to be heard. Nevertheless, we must not cease if we have not been heard immediately, but must persevere.”

Section IX

The tenth conference is that of the aforesaid Isaac, likewise concerning prayer.

First John Cassian recounts the custom that was observed in Egypt, namely, that on the feast of Epiphany the feast of the Nativity of Christ and of his Baptism was celebrated. On that day the beginning of Lent and Easter—that is, on what day it would be—was then announced throughout all the churches.

Because there had arisen in the minds of simple persons an error that God possessed a body and bodily members like a man, from that authority of Genesis badly understood—namely, ‘Let us make man according to our image and likeness’—and because in diverse places of Scripture one also reads concerning the eyes, ears, feet, and face of the Lord, Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, refuted that error by many arguments, since God is wholly incorporeal and incomprehensible. He anathematized as heretics those who held that opinion, who are called Anthropomorphites.

Many of those hermits were held by that error because of their simplicity and rusticity, and especially a certain man of great reputation named Serapion, who had lived in the desert for fifty years with great rigor.

At last, when through the arguments of certain persons who had visited him he had been led out of the error, it was declared that the members of the Lord which sacred Scripture describes are understood spiritually, not materially. When they went together to the church to give thanks that he had abandoned that error, the elder was confounded in mind because he perceived that the bodily image of the deity which he had been accustomed to set before himself in prayer was being abolished from his heart. Prostrate upon the ground in most bitter weeping and repeated sobs, he cried out with a great wail: ‘Woe is me, wretched man! They have taken my Lord from me, and I now have no one whom I may hold; or whom I should adore or address, I do not know.’

Concerning this, John Cassian asks how that man had been held in such an error for so long. Isaac responds:

“It is not to be wondered at that a most simple man, who had never been at all instructed concerning the substance and nature of the deity, could until now have been held or deceived by the fault of rusticity and the custom of ancient error, and—to speak more truly—could have persisted in his former error. This is introduced not, as you think, by a recent illusion of demons, but by the ignorance of former paganism, when, according to the custom of that error by which it worshiped demons composed in human form, he now also judges that incomprehensible and ineffable majesty of the true light to be adored within the

circumscription of some image, according to that saying of the Apostle: ‘They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man.’

“Through lack of skill and rusticity, under the appearance of that testimony which says, ‘Let us make man according to our image and likeness,’ this error has also been contracted in the souls of those who were never polluted by pagan superstition. This error must be avoided as heresy and blasphemy.

“But each mind is elevated or formed in its prayer according to the measure of its purity: namely, it withdraws from contemplation of earthly and material things only to the degree that the state of its purity has advanced it, and has caused Jesus to be perceived by the inner gazes of the soul either as still humble and in the flesh or as glorified and coming in the glory of his majesty.”

Only those who ascend from humble and earthly works and thoughts and withdraw with him upon that lofty mountain of solitude contemplate his divinity with the purest eyes. That mountain, free from the tumult of all earthly thoughts and separated from the mingling of all vices, sublimated by the purest faith and the eminence of virtues, reveals the glory of his countenance and the image of his brightness to those who merit to behold him with the pure gazes of the soul.

Jesus is also seen by those who dwell in cities, fortified places, and villages—that is, those who are established in active conduct without works [read: and engaged in works]—but not in the brightness in which he appeared to those who are able to ascend with him upon the aforesaid mountain of virtues, namely, Peter, James, and John. Thus he also appeared to Moses in solitude and spoke to Elijah. The Lord himself also taught us by this example of his when he ascended the mountain alone to pray.

This, therefore, is the purpose of the solitary; this is the end of all perfection: that the mind, attenuated from every carnal disposition, should daily be elevated to spiritual things until all its conduct and every turning of its heart becomes one continual prayer.

For possessing the perpetual memory of God, this formula of piety must be inseparably set before us: ‘O God, incline unto my aid; O Lord, make haste to help me.’

This verse, excerpted from the instrument of the Scriptures, receives all the affections whatsoever that can be brought upon human nature, and it is quite properly and suitably adapted to every condition and to all assaults. Against all dangers it possesses an invocation of God; it possesses the humility of a pious confession; it possesses the vigilance of solicitude and perpetual fear; it possesses consideration of one’s frailty, confidence of being heard, and trust in assistance ever standing by; it possesses the ardor of love and charity; it possesses contemplation of miseries and fear of enemies.

“This verse,” Isaac says, “is found necessary and useful for each of us living in any age.” He then descends to the particular circumstances in which the prayer of this verse is to be spoken. Let its chanting and meditation be with you in prosperity, in adversity, in any work, when established upon a journey, when sleeping, when awakening from sleep, and when taking refreshment. This formula, made salutary for you, will not only preserve you unharmed from every assault of demons, but, purging you of all the vices of earthly contagion, will also conduct you to those invisible and heavenly contemplations and to the ineffable ardor of prayer.

Isaac also sets forth three things which make the wandering mind stable, namely, vigils, meditation, and prayer. Assiduity and continual intention in these things confer stable firmness upon the soul. This prayer, however, ought to be brief, although frequent, lest through more prolonged delays attention be dulled and vanish.

Section X

The eleventh conference treats of charity. John Cassian dedicated this and the six conferences following it, written together in one volume, to the bishops Honoratus and Eucherius. He entitled them to three fathers who dwelt in the Thebaid desert of Egypt, namely, Chaeremon, Nesteros, and Joseph, whom he asserts that he visited and with whom he conferred.

When John Cassian himself and the companion whom he calls Germanus came to a certain Egyptian town named Panephysis, Archebius, the bishop of that place, met them and, receiving them with much humanity, led them to the aforesaid fathers.

This Archebius had been made bishop there from the anchoritic company because of the sanctity which he had displayed for thirty-seven years. He relaxed nothing of the purpose and humility of his former life, asserting that, as though unworthy, he had been expelled from that discipline of the anchoritic life.

First he led them to Chaeremon, who was already a hundred years old and held his back so bent by the antiquity of time and the continuance of his prayers that, as though reduced to earliest infancy, he walked with his hands lowered and extended as far as the ground. Nevertheless, although all his members were now exhausted and mortified, he had not lost the rigor of his former strictness.

When asked by us to bring forth a discourse of edification, Chaeremon said thus:

“There are three things which cause men to restrain themselves from the vices: either fear of Gehenna or of the present laws; hope and desire for the kingdom of heaven; or affection for the good itself and love of the virtues.

“For fear is read to execrate the contagion of evil in this manner: ‘The fear of the Lord hates evil,’ says Scripture. Hope also excludes the assault of all vices: ‘For all who hope in him shall not sin,’ says the Psalmist. But love fears no ruin from vices, because ‘charity never falls,’ and ‘charity covers a multitude of sins.’

“Therefore the Apostle, enclosing the consummation of all the virtues, says, ‘Now there remain faith, hope, charity, these three.’ For faith is that which causes us, through fear of the future judgment and punishments, to decline the contagions of the vices. Hope, withdrawing our mind from present things, contemns all the pleasures of the body through expectation of heavenly rewards. Charity, which kindles us toward the love of Christ and the fruit of spiritual virtues with ardor of mind, causes us to detest with a complete hatred whatever is contrary to them.

“Although these three appear to tend toward one end, since they provoke us to abstain from unlawful things, they nevertheless are separated from one another by great degrees of their excellence. For the first two properly belong to those men who, tending toward perfection, have not yet conceived affection for the virtues. The third belongs especially to God and to those who have conceived within themselves the image and likeness of God.

“For he alone performs the things that are good when no fear and no favor of remuneration provokes him, but solely from affection for the good operation. ‘For God,’ says Solomon, ‘has wrought all things for himself.’ For with regard to his own goodness he bestows every abundance of good things upon the worthy and the unworthy, because he can neither be wearied by injuries nor be moved passibly by the iniquities of men, always remaining perfect goodness and an immutable nature.

“Therefore, if anyone tends toward perfection, he will ascend from that first degree of fear, which we have properly called servile, by a progressing step to the higher path of hope. This is now compared not to a servant but to a hireling, who awaits the wages of recompense. As though secure concerning absolution from sins and servile fear, and conscious of his own good works, he appears indeed to seek the reward of approval; nevertheless he has not been able to arrive at the affection of that son who, trusting in the freedom of paternal indulgence, does not doubt that all things which are his father’s are his own.

“The prodigal who had now lost the name of son together with his father’s substance does not dare to aspire to this degree, saying, ‘I am now no longer worthy to be called your son.’ For after those husks of swine, of which even satiety was denied him—that is, the filthy foods of the vices—because, returning to himself and pierced by salutary fear, he began to abhor the uncleanness of swine and feared to undergo the punishments of hunger, he was made as it were a servant. Now thinking also upon the condition of a hireling and desiring the wage, he said, ‘How many hirelings in my father’s house abound in bread, while I perish here with hunger. I shall therefore return to my father and say, Father, I have sinned against heaven,’ and so forth.

“But when he spoke this humble utterance of penitence, the father, springing forward to meet him and traversing both degrees without delay, restored him to his former dignity of sons.

“There is a great difference between him who extinguishes the incentives of the vices through fear of Gehenna or hope of recompense, and him who, through affection for divine charity, abhors wickedness and uncleanness themselves and possesses the good of purity only through the love and desire of charity. No longer looking toward the promise of future remuneration, but delighted by the consciousness of present goods, he performs all things not from contemplation of punishments but from delight in the virtues.

“Through this charity, whoever has arrived at the image and likeness of God will now delight in the good will for the sake of the good itself. Possessing a similar affection of patience and gentleness, he will thereafter be angered by none of the vices of sinners, but rather, grieving with their infirmities, will implore pardon for them. He will remember that he himself was assaulted for so long by the stings of similar passions and was delivered from the assault not by his own zeal. He will be able to fulfill that commandment, ‘Love your enemies,’ and so forth, and he will arrive at that true adoption of the sons of God concerning which John says, ‘Everyone who is born of God does not sin.’

“This is to be understood not of every kind of sins, but of capital sins. For however greatly those who serve God guard themselves with circumspection, they cannot be immune from those sins which are declared not to be unto death, according to that saying: ‘If we say that we do not have sin, we deceive ourselves.’

“Why, then, is it said in the Psalm, ‘Fear the Lord, all his saints,’ and, ‘I have inclined my heart to perform your justifications because of the recompense’? It must be known that there are various degrees in these things, as in the other virtues. For the things said above concerning fear or hope are understood of these insofar as they are imperfect or without grace. But in the aforesaid authorities of the Psalmist they are understood of the perfect virtues which exist with perfect charity. For there is a

servile fear, and there is also an unformed hope, which exist even without charity. And again there are a formed fear and hope, yet imperfect, which exist with imperfect charity."

Section XI

The twelfth conference is by the same Chaeremon concerning the perfection of chastity. When they asked him concerning it, he answered:

"The order of questioning has truly been observed rationally by you. For it is necessary that those immense rewards of perpetual chastity accompany so exalted a fullness of charity, and that there be equal joy in so great an equality of palms. For they are bound to one another by so great a fellowship that the one cannot be possessed without the other.

"This proposition of yours, therefore, has been completed: whether that fire of concupiscence, whose odor [read: heat] this flesh senses as though implanted within it, can be extinguished in full. Concerning this, let us first inquire more diligently what the blessed Apostle understood when he said, 'Mortify your members which are upon the earth.'

"It is certain that he speaks not of the material members of the body, such as hands, feet, and things of this kind, but of the members of the body of sin, concerning which the same Apostle says, 'That the body of sin may be destroyed.' It is its genus, whose members are the species of sin itself. These members are said to be upon the earth because they concern earthly things, not heavenly things.

"Distinguishing and touching upon those very members, he says: 'fornication, uncleanness, lust, and evil concupiscence.' Fornication is to be understood as that which is committed by carnal intercourse. Uncleanness is that which sometimes creeps upon those sleeping or waking, through lack of care, without any contact with a woman. Lust, growing strong in the recesses of the soul, can occur to anyone without a passion of the body. There is no doubt that lust is so called because it pleases, and it appears to consist in the consent of the mind or in lingering delight.

"Then as the fourth member he sets down evil concupiscence, which can be referred generally to all evil desires. For these things are contrary to chastity and exclude from the kingdom of God, as the same Apostle says: 'Neither fornicators, nor those serving idols, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor those who lie with males,' and so forth, 'shall possess the kingdom of God.'

"Nevertheless, we ought to be certain that, although we undergo every rigor of continence—namely, hunger and thirst, vigils and continuity of labor, and the incessant pursuit of reading—we cannot attain the perpetual purity of chastity by the merit of these labors unless, while continually sweating in them, we are taught by the mastery of experience that its incorruption is granted by the largesse of divine grace.

"For this purpose alone, let each one know that he ought to persevere unweariedly in these exercises: so that, by obtaining the mercy of the Lord through their affliction, he may merit to be freed by a divine gift from the assault of the flesh and the dominion of the vices, not because he is to obtain through those exercises that inviolate chastity of body which he desires.

"Let him burn with as great a desire and love for acquiring chastity as the most covetous seeker of money, or as one who is carried away by an intolerable love of a beautiful woman desires with most impatient ardor that his desire be fulfilled.

"The farther he has driven away the passion of anger, the more tenaciously he will obtain chastity. For the heat of the body will not subside unless he has first restrained the movement of the soul. The Savior shows this when he says, 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth,' namely, the earth of the body.

"There are many degrees of chastity by which one ascends to that inviolate purity. For according to the likeness of earthly bodies, which on individual days insensibly receive their increments and thus, while they are unaware, advance to the perfect habit, strength and maturity of chastity are also acquired by the soul.

"The first degree of modesty, therefore, is that the monk, while awake, should not be struck down by a carnal assault. The second is that his mind should not linger upon voluptuous thoughts. The third is that he should not be moved even lightly toward concupiscence by the sight of a woman. The fourth is that, while awake, he should not undergo even a simple movement of the flesh.

"The fifth is that, when reason, being about to discuss human generation, or the necessity of reading introduces its memory, the most subtle assent to a pleasurable act should not touch the mind. Rather, with a tranquil and pure gaze of the heart he should contemplate it as some simple work and as a ministry necessarily bestowed upon the human race, and should conceive nothing more from its remembrance than if he were considering in his mind the making of bricks or the work of any other workshop.

"The sixth degree of chastity is that, even while sleeping, he should not be mocked by seductive phantasms of women. For although we do not believe this deception to be subject to sin, it is nevertheless an indication of concupiscence still lurking in

the marrow. It is established that this deception occurs in different ways. Those who do not know carnal union [read: those who have known carnal union] are deceived in one way, and those who are without experience of union with a woman in another."

Concerning the difference between continence and chastity, Chaeremon says:

"This is the consummation of true chastity: not that it struggles against a movement of carnal concupiscence, but that, detesting it with complete horror, it retains its continual and inviolate purity. This will occur when the flesh, now ceasing to lust against the spirit, consents to its desires and virtue, and they begin to be bound to each other in the firmest peace.

"Continence, however, is said to exist when someone suffers passions and strong temptations, but nevertheless neither assents nor is conquered."

When Germanus asked how or in how much time chastity could be acquired and perfected, Chaeremon answered:

"It is quite rash to define a certain measure of time for the consummation of this chastity, especially amid so great a diversity either of pleasures or of strength. Nevertheless, I can most confidently define an observance and a measure of time by which its possibility may be recognized.

"Whoever, withdrawn from all idle conversations and mortified to every anger and to worldly solicitude and care, is content with only two *paximacia* for his daily refreshment, abstains from satiety with water, and limits the repose of sleep to the space of three—or, as others have determined, four—hours, yet believes that he will obtain it not by the merit of these labors or of this continence but by the mercy of the Lord, should know within no more than six months that its perfection is not impossible for him.

"This is the consummation of chastity: that no delight of lust should touch the monk while he is awake, and no deception of dreams should delude him while he rests. But if, only through the heedlessness of the sleeping mind, a movement of the flesh creeps upon him as he sleeps, just as it was aroused without any titillation of pleasure, so also it should subside without any itching of the body.

"Accordingly, for each person sweating with all his strength against the spirit of fornication, the singular victory is not to hope for the remedy from the merit of his own effort."

Section XII

The thirteenth conference is by the same Chaeremon, concerning the protection and grace of God and free choice. On this matter Prosper censures John Cassian, as is said in certain places. Cassian says that the industry of the one laboring can profit nothing without God's assistance. Chaeremon declares this by the following example:

"When a farmer has expended all his efforts in cultivating the lands, he will not be able immediately to attribute the produce of the crops and the abundance of the fruits to his own industry. He has frequently experienced that industry to be ineffectual unless the seasonableness of the rains and the tranquil serenity of winter follow it. Thus we have very often seen fruits which had already grown and had been made solid by perfect maturity snatched, as it were, from the hands of those holding them, and that continual application of sweat conferred nothing upon those laboring because it was not directed by the assistance of the Lord.

"Therefore, just as divine loving-kindness does not confer this abundance of crops upon slothful farmers who do not subdue their fields with the frequent plow, so all-night solicitude will not profit those who labor unless the mercy of the Lord has prospered it.

"In this matter, however, let human pride in no way contend either to equal or to mingle itself with grace, and let it not strive to insert itself as a participant in the gifts of God by judging its own labor to be the author of divine largesse and boasting that the produce of the most abundant fruits has answered to the merits of its own industry.

"For let it consider, and weigh with the truest examination, that it could not have expended by its own powers those very efforts which it exercised with an intent desire for abundance unless the protection and mercy of the Lord had strengthened it for performing all the work of the countryside. Its will and strength would have been ineffectual unless divine clemency had also furnished the ability to accomplish the work, an ability which is sometimes thwarted either by drought or by excessive rains.

"For even when the strength of the oxen, health of the body, the inclination toward every work, and success in one's actions have been granted by the Lord, one must pray lest, as it is written, the heaven become iron and the earth bronze, and lest the cankerworm consume what the locust has left, and so forth.

"Nor does the industry of a laboring farmer need divine assistance in this alone, unless it also averts unexpected events. From these things it is plainly gathered that the beginning not only of good acts but also of good thoughts is from God, who both inspires in us the beginnings of holy will and bestows the power and opportunity to accomplish the things which we rightly

desire. For ‘every best gift,’ and so forth, ‘is from above, descending.’ He begins, executes, and consummates within us the things that are good.

“Thus, if we are drawn, it is not ours that we follow, but his by whom we are drawn. But to resist and to refuse to follow is ours.

“As to the fact that certain pagan philosophers who lacked the grace of God appeared to maintain perfect chastity or even virginity, it must be believed,” Chaeremon says, “that the philosophers by no means attained such chastity of soul as is required from us, namely, even the exclusion of shameful thoughts and affections, but only abstinence from carnal acts.

“Hence, when a certain physiognomist, after he had gazed upon the face of Socrates, the greatest philosopher, was asked what his morals were, he answered: ‘The eyes are those of one who lies with boys.’ When the disciples of Socrates heard this response and reckoned it an insult, since they knew him to be continent, they wished to rise up against the man. But Socrates restrained them, saying, ‘Be quiet, O companions. For I am, but I fear myself.’ Here it is shown that he abstained from outward acts, but the desire and delight of that passion had not been excluded from his heart.

“God’s purpose—that he had made man not so that he might perish, but that he might live perpetually—remains immovable. When his kindness perceives that the smallest spark of good will has shone forth in us, or when he himself has struck it, as it were, from the hard flint of our heart, he nurtures and arouses it and strengthens it by his inspiration, ‘willing all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.’

“Therefore divine protection always adheres to us inseparably. So great is the loving-kindness of the Creator toward his creature that his providence not only accompanies it but also continually precedes it. The prophet, having experienced this, confesses it, saying, ‘His mercy shall precede me.’

“When he has beheld in us a certain birth of good will, he immediately illuminates, strengthens, and incites it toward salvation, bestowing an increase upon that which either he himself planted or saw to have emerged through our effort. He not only benignly inspires holy desires, but also furnishes the occasions of life and the opportunity for a good affection or effect, and shows to those who wander the direction of a more salutary way.”

Chaeremon sets forth many authorities which appear contrary to one another, but are not so, concerning the matter of grace and free choice. For example: ‘If you are willing and listen, you shall eat the good things of the earth’; but, as though to the contrary, that saying of the Apostle: ‘It is not of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but of God who shows mercy.’ Likewise that saying of the Gospel: ‘He will render to each according to his works’; and, as though to the contrary, the Apostle: ‘Who works in us both to will and to accomplish according to good will.’

Likewise there is this saying: ‘Draw near to God, and he will draw near to you’; and, as though to the contrary, this saying: ‘No one comes to me unless he who sent me draws him.’ Likewise there is this saying of Proverbs: ‘Make straight steps with your feet and direct your ways’; and, as though to the contrary, the Psalmist prays: ‘Direct my way in your sight.’ Likewise: ‘Make for yourselves a new heart and a new spirit’; and, as though to the contrary, the Lord says: ‘I shall give you a new heart and a new spirit.’ There are many such sayings.

In all these both the grace of God and our freedom of choice are declared, and it is declared that a man can sometimes extend himself toward the appetite for the virtues even by his own movements, but always needs to be assisted by the Lord.

For a person does not enjoy health as soon as he has willed it, so as to be freed from the disease of sickness according to the desire of his own choice. What profit is there in desiring the grace of health unless the Lord, who grants the use of life itself, also imparts the vigor of soundness?

So that it may be plainly apparent that the beginnings of good wills sometimes proceed even through the good of nature, which was granted by the beneficence of the Creator, but nevertheless cannot arrive at the consummation of the virtues unless they are directed by the Lord, the Apostle is a witness, saying: ‘To will is present with me, but to accomplish I do not find.’

For Scripture confirms freedom when it says, ‘With every watchfulness guard your heart.’ But the Apostle manifests weakness when he says, ‘May the Lord guard your hearts and your understandings.’ The Psalmist displays freedom of choice when he says, ‘I have inclined my heart to perform your justifications,’ but its weakness when he says elsewhere, ‘Incline my heart, O God, unto your testimonies.’ We are also commanded solicitously to guard our souls, the prophet saying, ‘Guard your souls’; but in the same spirit another prophet says, ‘Unless the Lord guards the city, he who guards it watches in vain.’

Thus these things are mingled and in some manner confused without discrimination—that is, without distinction—so that a great question is discussed among many concerning which of them depends upon which: whether God has mercy upon us because we have supplied the beginning of good will, or whether we attain the beginning of good will because God has mercy.

For many, believing each one of these things and asserting it more than is just, have been enveloped in various errors contrary to one another. For if we say that the beginning of good will is ours, what occurred in Paul the persecutor or in the publican? One

of them, intent upon the blood and punishments of the innocent, and the other violently intent upon public robberies, are drawn to salvation.

But if we say that the beginnings of good will are always inspired by the grace of God, what shall we say concerning the faith of Zacchaeus? What shall we say concerning the piety of that thief upon the cross? By their own desire, bringing a certain violence upon the heavenly kingdoms, they preceded the special admonitions of their calling.

But if we assign the consummation of the virtues and the execution of the commandments to our own choice, why do we pray, 'Confirm, O God, that which you have wrought in us,' and again, 'Direct the works of our hands'?

Joseph also says to his brothers: 'I was sent not by your counsel but by the will of God, who made me as a father to Pharaoh,' and so forth. And when his brothers feared after the death of their father, he said: 'Do not fear. Can we resist the will of God? You did that for evil, and God turned it to good, so that he might exalt me and save you and many peoples.'

It is as though both are to be received in this manner: that in some men the will precedes grace, while in others grace precedes the will, and not in such a way that in all men the will follows grace. For, according to those men, free choice is taken away if grace precedes it, and grace also is taken away if it is preceded by free choice.

Therefore these two things, namely grace and free choice, appear contrary to one another, yet both accord. We gather from the rule of piety that both alike must be received, lest, by subtracting one of them from the other, we should appear to have departed from the rule of ecclesiastical faith.

For when God sees that we will to turn toward the good, he meets, directs, and strengthens us. 'At the voice of your cry, as soon as he hears, he will answer you,' says the prophet. And again, if he has perceived that we are unwilling or have grown lukewarm, he admonishes our hearts with salutary exhortations, by which a good will may be restored in us.

For it must not be believed that he made man such that he could neither ever will nor be capable of good. Otherwise he would not have permitted him free choice if he had granted him only to will and be capable of evil, but had conceded that of himself he could neither will nor be capable of good.

It cannot therefore be doubted that the seeds of the virtues have indeed been inserted naturally into every soul by the beneficence of the Creator. Nevertheless, unless they are aroused by the assistance of God, they will not be able to arrive at an increase of perfection, because, according to the Apostle, 'Neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters, but God, who gives the increase.'

The book of the *Shepherd* also teaches that the freedom of choice lies with man toward either side, because each person has two angels: a good one instigating him to the virtues, and an evil one inciting him toward the vices. It lies with the man to choose which one he follows. Therefore free choice always remains in man, by which he can either neglect or love the grace of God.

Therefore God precedes man's will, because it is said, 'My God, his mercy shall precede me.' And again, when God delays and in some manner beneficially stands still so that our choice may be tested, our will precedes him when it says, 'In the morning my prayer shall precede you.' But this can be understood insofar as prayer belongs to the genus of good things which can also be performed without grace that makes one pleasing.

After very many authorities of sacred Scripture, in which the exercise of good works is sometimes attributed to the grace of God and sometimes to man's free choice, Chaeremon says thus:

"Through these things it is plainly shown that the judgments of God are unsearchable and his ways uninvestigable, by which he draws the human race toward salvation. We can also prove this from the examples of the evangelical callings.

"For Andrew, Peter, and their companions, while thinking nothing concerning the remedy of their salvation, he chose beforehand by the spontaneous favor of his grace. Zacchaeus, who faithfully stretched himself toward the sight of the Lord, he not only received but also illuminated with the blessing of his dwelling with him. He draws Paul when unwilling and resisting. To another who requests a very brief delay for the burial of his father he grants no respite. To Cornelius, who continually persisted in prayers and almsgiving, the way of salvation is shown as though in return for a recompense.

"Thus that multiform wisdom of God dispenses the salvation of men with a manifold and unsearchable loving-kindness. He also preferred to exercise the very healings of bodies not according to one uniform power of his majesty, but according to the measure of faith in which he found each person, or according as he himself distributed to each. This is apparent throughout the Gospels in the diverse infirm persons who were healed.

"The Apostle, considering in his mind this manifold largesse of the divine dispensation and perceiving that he had fallen into a certain sea of God's loving-kindness, exclaimed: 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments,' and so forth.

“Finally, three things are to be held concerning this matter. The first is that each person should attend to desiring everything that is good, yet in such a way that the judgment of free will is not complete toward either part. The second is that it belongs to divine grace that he be able to accomplish the aforesaid exercises of the virtues, yet in such a way that the capability of choice is not extinguished. The third also pertains to the gifts of God: that the virtues acquired should be retained by perseverance, yet in such a way that freedom does not experience captivity with respect to those things.

“For thus the God of the universe is to be believed to work all things in all: that he incites, protects, and strengthens, not that he himself takes away the freedom of choice which he once granted.”

Section XIII

The fourteenth conference, which is called that of Nesteros, concerns the active and contemplative life. John Cassian says that when Nesteros perceived that we had committed some portions of the sacred Scriptures to memory and desired their understanding, he addressed us with these words:

“Since all arts, whether they are entirely useless or profit only the advantages of the present life, possess their proper order and method of teaching through which they can be attained by those who experience them, and are directed by their own certain and proper lines, how much more does the discipline and profession of our religion—which tends toward contemplating the hidden things of the invisible mysteries and seeks not present gain but the recompense of eternal rewards—subsist in a certain order and method?

“Its knowledge is twofold. The first is active, which is perfected by the amendment of morals and the purgation of the vices. The other consists in contemplation of divine things and consideration of the most sacred senses.

“Therefore, whoever wishes to arrive at the intention of heavenly things must first attain active knowledge with every zeal and virtue. For these degrees are so ordered and distinguished that human humility can ascend to the sublime. If they succeed one another in the manner that we have stated, one can arrive at a height to which one cannot fly over after the first degree has been removed.

“Therefore he strives in vain toward the sight of God who does not decline the contagions of the vices. For the Holy Spirit hates what is feigned and does not dwell in a body subjected to sins.

“This active perfection subsists in a twofold manner. Its first mode is that the nature of all the vices and the method of their cure should be known. The second is that the order of the virtues and their perfection should be so discerned, and our mind so formed by them, that it should serve them no longer as though compelled and subjected to a violent command, but should delight and be fed by them as by a natural good, and ascend that arduous and narrow way with delight.

“For how will he be able to attain either the account of the virtues, which is the second degree in the active life, or the mysteries of spiritual or heavenly things, which consist in the more sublime degree of contemplation, who was not able to understand the nature of his own vices and has not been seen to extirpate them?

“It must nevertheless be known that we must sweat with the intention of a twofold labor, both in expelling the vices and in acquiring the virtues. We receive this not by our own conjecture, but are thoroughly taught it by the knowledge of him who alone knows the powers and method of his own workmanship. ‘Behold,’ he says, ‘I have established you this day over the nations and kingdoms, that you may root out, destroy, dissipate, and scatter, and build and plant.’

“In the expulsion of harmful things, he indicated that four things were necessary, namely, to root out, and so forth. In perfecting the virtues, he indicated only two, namely, to build and to plant.

“This, therefore, which is called the active life and which subsists, as has been said, in two modes, is divided among many professions and pursuits. Certain persons establish the sum of their intention in the secrets of the desert and purity of heart, as Elijah and Elisha among those of the past. In our times we know that blessed Anthony and other followers of the same purpose have adhered to God most intimately through the silence of solitude.

“Certain persons have given every solicitude of their pursuit to the instruction of brothers in monasteries and to vigilant care, as did Abbot John. We have known some men of the same merit also to have shone with apostolic signs.

“Certain men delight in the pious service in hospitals and the reception of strangers, as Abraham and Lot, and now blessed Macarius. Certain men choose the care of the infirm; others execute the intercession which is expended for the miserable and oppressed; others devote themselves to teaching or give alms to the poor. By their affection they have flourished in this loving-kindness among great and eminent men.

“Therefore it is useful and fitting for each person, according to the purpose which he chose or the grace which he received, to hasten with the highest zeal and diligence to arrive at the perfection of the work undertaken. Although praising and admiring

the virtues of others, let him by no means depart from the profession which he once chose, knowing, according to the Apostle, that there is one body of the Church but many members, and this saying: ‘Having gifts differing according to grace, whether prophecy,’ and so forth.

“Those who are not yet established in the profession which they undertook are customarily so inflamed by the praise of certain persons whom they have heard proclaimed in diverse pursuits and virtues that they immediately desire to imitate their discipline. In this matter human frailty necessarily renders their efforts ineffectual.

“For it is impossible for one and the same man to shine simultaneously with all the virtues which we have comprehended above. If anyone wishes to pursue them equally, he must fall into this: that, while he follows all, he attains none completely, and from this change and variety receives loss rather than progress.”

Nesteros introduces the example of a certain married countryman, at whose presence the devil departed from a possessed man, although he had been unable to be cast out by the adjurations of the holy Abbot John. Wondering at this, John questioned him concerning his manner of life. At length the man confessed that for twelve years he and his wife had remained in virginity. Certainly, whoever wished to imitate him in this would prepare ruin for himself.

Contemplation, or the theoretical life, insofar as it pertains to the understanding of the Scriptures, is divided into two parts: historical interpretation and spiritual understanding. The spiritual is divided into three: tropology, allegory, and anagoge. Concerning these it is said in Proverbs: ‘But you, describe these things for yourself threefold according to the breadth of your heart.’

History therefore embraces knowledge of past and visible things, as in this saying: ‘It is written that Abraham had two sons,’ and so forth. What follows pertains to allegory: ‘These are the two testaments.’ Anagoge ascends from spiritual mysteries to certain more sublime secrets of the heavens, as in this saying: ‘But the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our mother.’ Tropology is a moral explanation pertaining to the amendment of life and active instruction.

Therefore, the aforesaid four explanations sometimes flow together into one, so that one and the same Jerusalem can be understood fourfold. According to history, it is the city of the Jews; according to allegory, the Church of Christ; according to anagoge, that heavenly city; according to tropology, the soul of man.

“Therefore, if you wish to prepare in your heart a sacred tabernacle of spiritual knowledge, purge yourselves from every contagion of the vices and strip yourselves of the torments of the present age. For it is impossible for a soul which is occupied even lightly by worldly distractions to merit the gift of spiritual knowledge, to become the begetter of spiritual senses, or to become retentive of the sacred readings.

“Observe first of all, especially you, John, whom youth still favors, lest the zeal of reading or the labor of your desire be made void by vain elation: impose the greatest silence upon your mouth. Receive the institutions and sayings of the elders with an attentive heart and, as it were, with a mute mouth; storing them diligently within your breast, hasten rather to perform them than to teach them.

“Dare to bring forth nothing in the conference of the elders unless either harmful ignorance or the reason of necessary knowledge has impelled you to ask it. Do not presume to teach anyone in words what you have not first done in deed, nor imitate those who have attained only skill in disputing and abundance of speech.

“For it is one thing to have facility of mouth and elegance of speech, and another to enter into the veins and marrow of heavenly sayings and to contemplate profound and hidden mysteries with the purest eye of the heart. This will be obtained in no way by human teaching or secular learning, but by purity of mind alone through the illumination of the Holy Spirit.

“Pursue humility of heart immovably. Once every earthly thought has been expelled, devote yourself to assiduous, or rather continual, sacred reading.”

Nesteros gives an example of the diverse manner of expounding the Scriptures from this saying: ‘You shall not commit fornication.’ In one exposition, bodily lust is prohibited according to the letter. In another exposition, one is to beware of every idolatry, the superstition of pagans, and divination, which are spiritual fornication. In a third, fornication in the observance of the legal practices of the Jews is prohibited. A fourth fornication is in heretical teaching. A fifth fornication, as reckoned by pure minds, is every thought that is not only shameful and without consent, but even an idle thought.

It is impossible for an unclean soul, however greatly it may have sweated in the application of reading, to acquire the spiritual knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, through taste; but unclean men devoted to the Scriptures appear to possess a certain image of knowledge.

Section XIV

The fifteenth conference is by the same Nesteros concerning spiritual charisms, that is, the grace of miracles. The order of the preceding disputation had reached the point at which Nesteros would bring forth an account of the spiritual charisms. We have learned by the tradition of the elders that it is threefold.

The first cause of healings is when the grace of signs accompanies certain elect and just men because of the merit of sanctity. Thus it is manifest, according to the authority of the Lord, that the apostles and many of the saints performed signs and wonders, for he said: ‘Heal the infirm, raise the dead, cleanse lepers,’ and so forth.

The second cause is when, for the edification of the Church, or for the faith of those who bring forward their infirm persons, or for the faith of those who are to be cured, the power of healings proceeds even from sinners and the unworthy. Concerning them the Savior says in the Gospel: ‘Many on that day,’ namely, the day of judgment, ‘will say to me: Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and perform many mighty works? Then I shall confess to them: I never knew you. Depart from me, all workers of iniquity.’

And, to the contrary, if faith is lacking in those who offer the infirm or in the infirm themselves, it does not permit even those upon whom gifts of healings have been conferred to exercise the power of healing. Concerning this the evangelist Luke says: ‘Jesus was not able to perform mighty works among them,’ namely, those of Nazareth, ‘because of their unbelief.’ Likewise: ‘There were many lepers under Elisha the prophet in Israel, and none was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian.’

The third mode of healings is also simulated by the collusion and contrivance of demons, so that, when a man bound by manifest crimes is believed to be a saint and servant of God because of admiration for the signs, the imitation of his vices is also commended; and through this, once an entrance of disparagement has been opened, even the sanctity of religion is defamed. Or certainly it occurs so that the man who believes that he possesses the grace of healings, elevated by pride of heart, may be cast down more grievously.

Hence it is that demons, when the names of those whom they know to possess no merit of sanctity and no spiritual fruits are invoked, pretend that they are being burned by their merits and are fleeing from the bodies they have possessed. Concerning these things it is read thus in Deuteronomy: ‘If a prophet arises in your midst, or one who says that he has seen a dream, and predicts a sign and a wonder, and whatever he predicted happens, and he says to you, Let us go and follow foreign gods whom you do not know and serve them, you shall not hear the words of that prophet or dreamer, because the Lord your God tests you, so that it may become manifest whether you love him.’

Therefore we must never admire those who seek these powers, but rather consider whether they have been perfected by the expulsion of all the vices and the amendment of morals. This is granted by the dispensing grace of God not through the faith of another or through the diversity of causes, but through the zeal of each individual.

For this is active knowledge, which is also called charity by another name by the Apostle. It is preferred by the Apostle to all the tongues of men and angels, to the fullness of faith which even moves mountains, to all prophecy and knowledge, to the distribution of all one’s means, and finally to glorious martyrdom. For when he had enumerated all the kinds of charisms—namely, the word of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy, the grace of powers—he afterward added: ‘I show you a still more excellent way,’ namely, charity, concerning which he immediately adds: ‘If with tongues,’ and so forth.

Therefore we have by no means seen these works of signs sought by our fathers. On the contrary, although they possessed them through the grace of the Holy Spirit, they never wished to exercise them unless perhaps an extreme and unavoidable necessity constrained them.

To this Nesteros adds an example concerning blessed Abbot Macarius, who raised a dead man to confound the errors which a certain heretic was disseminating in Egypt through dialectical art. After mutual conversations and a disputation of words, blessed Macarius said to the heretic: ‘Let us demonstrate the truth of faith from our works. Let us go to the tombs of the dead, and let the doctrine of the faith of whichever one raises a dead man be believed true.’

The heretic offered himself for this, led by shame, but agreed that it should be carried out on the following day. On the following day Macarius stood ready, but the heretic did not appear, knowing that he could not do this, just as his faith was not true.

Nevertheless, Macarius spoke to the corpse of a certain pagan man and asked him whether that heretic had come and whether he would have raised the dead man. He answered that he had not, and that, while he lived, he had heard nothing concerning Christ in the world.

Finally, the very author of all signs and powers, when he called his disciples to the mastery of his teaching, said: ‘Learn from me, because I am meek and humble of heart.’ He did not say, ‘Perform miracles,’ and so forth.

Section XV

The sixteenth conference is that of Abbot Joseph concerning true friendship. When blessed Joseph perceived that we desired his instruction, he first asked one thing: whether we were natural brothers, namely, John Cassian himself and his companion who in the conferences is called Germanus.

Hearing from us that we were joined not by carnal but by spiritual brotherhood, he used the following salutary beginning:

“There are many kinds of friendships and companionship. For a preceding commendation first caused some persons to enter into dealings of acquaintance and afterward also of friendship. A certain contract, or an agreement concerning something given and received, joined others. Similarity and community in business, military service, an art, or study joined others; through this even savage hearts grow so gentle toward one another that even those who rejoice in robberies in forests and mountains and delight in the shedding of human blood embrace and cherish the partners of their crimes.

“There is also another kind of affection by which those of the same tribe, spouses, parents, brothers, or children are naturally preferred to others. This is also found to be present in all birds and living creatures, so that they frequently do not fear to expose themselves to dangers and death for their offspring.

“But just as we see all these kinds of friendship to be common to the good and the evil, and even to beasts and serpents, so it is certain that they cannot persevere until the end. For separation of places, temporal oblivion, an utterance, a cause, or the contracting of business frequently interrupts and divides them.

“There is one indissoluble kind of charity, which neither the favor of a commendation, nor the greatness of a service or of gifts, nor the account of any contract, nor the necessity of nature joins, but similarity of virtues alone. This is the friendship which is never sundered by any accidents, which intervals of places or times do not have power to separate or destroy, and which not even death itself tears apart. Once its covenant has been entered upon, neither diversity of desires nor contentious contrariety of will breaks it.

“Therefore this is the faithful and indissoluble union of friendship which is bound together solely by equality of virtues, concerning which the Lord says: ‘He makes those of one manner dwell in a house.’ Accordingly, affection can remain unbroken only in those in whom there subsist one purpose and will, one willing and one refusing.

“If you desire to retain this inviolate, you must hasten first to expel the vices and mortify your own wills, and, with one pursuit and purpose, fulfill this saying: ‘Behold, how good and how pleasant,’ and so forth. This must be understood not locally but spiritually.

“Therefore the perfection of this friendship is reached by six degrees. The first foundations of true friendship are established in contempt for worldly substance and disdain for all the things which we possess. For it is unjust and impious if, after renunciation of the world, the most worthless superfluous chattel is preferred to the affection of a most precious brother.

“The second is that each person should so cut away his own wills that, judging himself to be wise or well advised, he does not prefer to obey his own determinations rather than those of his neighbor.

“The third is that he should know that all things, even those which he judges useful and necessary, must be placed after the good of charity and peace.

“The fourth is that he should believe that he must never become angry at all, whether for just or unjust causes.

“The fifth is that he should desire to cure a brother’s anger conceived against him, even without reason, in the same manner in which he would cure his own, knowing that another’s sadness is equally destructive to him as if he himself were moved against another, unless, insofar as it lies in him, he expels it also from his brother’s mind.

“The last is that which without doubt is the general slayer of all the vices: that he should believe that he is going to depart from this world every day. Whoever has retained these things will be able neither to suffer nor to inflict the bitterness of anger and discord.

“But when these things cease, and that first rival of charity has gradually poured the poison of sadness into the hearts of friends, it is necessary that, through frequent quarrels and with affection gradually cooled, the hearts of those who love, ulcerated for a long time, should at some point be separated.

“For it will profit nothing if you assert that you are not angry, but with a stubborn heart despise the sadness of another which you could have soothed by your gentleness.

“Therefore, for preserving perpetual and indivisible charity, it does not profit to have cut off the first cause of dissension, which is accustomed to arise from perishable and earthly things, unless, by similarly cutting off also the second, which is accustomed

to arise under the appearance of spiritual meanings, we have acquired in all things a humble understanding and harmonious wills. Preferring one another in honor, each should ascribe more knowledge and sanctity to his companion and should believe that the summit of true discretion stands in the judgment of the other rather than in his own.

“For it often happens, either by an illusion of the devil or by the intervention of human error—because there is no one in this flesh who, as a man, cannot be deceived—that he who is of sharper intellect and greater knowledge sometimes conceives something false in his mind, while he who is of slower intellect and lesser merit perceives something more correctly and truly.

“Therefore, however endowed with knowledge he may be, let no one persuade himself with vain swelling that he can have no need of another’s conference. For even if diabolical illusion does not deceive his judgment, nevertheless he will not escape the more grievous snares of elation and pride.

“It must also be known that he plays the stronger part who subjects his own will to the will of his brother, rather than he who is found more obstinate in defending and retaining his own determinations.

“Nevertheless, concerning observance of those principal commandments, one must determine most steadfastly, and death itself, if it should be necessary, must not be avoided for them; concerning these David ‘swore and determined,’ and so forth.

“But concerning those bodily exercises which are said to be useful for a little, such as fasts, silences, and things of this sort, one must determine in such a way that, if some occasion of piety should supervene which more certainly persuades that they be relaxed, we are held by no law concerning them, but, leaving them aside, pass freely to more useful things.

“For each person who establishes a law for himself while placed under the grace of liberty binds himself with a destructive servitude, so that, if necessity compels, he establishes himself as a transgressor in relation to those things which he could otherwise have undertaken licitly and laudably. For ‘where there is no law, neither is there transgression,’ says the Apostle.”

Section XVI

The seventeenth conference, which is the second of Abbot Joseph, concerns determinations, that is, promises, and whether they must always be kept.

When John and Germanus, seeking permission from the fathers and brothers of their monastery to visit those saints of Egypt so that, after seeing their manner of life and hearing their teaching, they might bring back from there a greater spiritual advancement for themselves and for their brothers of that monastery, had obtained the permission under this promise, that they would return within a certain time established for them, and when the time for returning was now approaching, they saw that they could not bring back that spiritual advancement which they intended and which they believed they would certainly obtain if they remained for a longer time in those regions in order to see and confer with those fathers. Doubtful and perplexed concerning which of these they ought rather to choose—either to return in order to discharge the promise and without that advancement for which they hoped, or, for the sake of that greater advancement, to break the pledge—they sought Joseph’s counsel and decision in this matter. He answered them thus:

“It is indeed sound and perfect and entirely fitting to our profession that we should efficaciously fulfill those things which we determine under some pledge. For this reason a monk ought to determine nothing abruptly, lest either he be compelled to fulfill what he incautiously promised, or, when it is revoked in consideration of something more honorable, he become a transgressor of his own pledge.

“But because our present purpose is to treat not so much the condition of health as the cure of infirmity, salutary counsel must be sought concerning how you can escape the dangerous shipwreck of this scruple.

“Therefore, when no bond constrains us and no condition restricts us, when a choice is proposed in a comparison between things of secondary rank, that which is of greater advantage should be chosen beforehand. But when some adversity of losses stands in the way, in a comparison of the damages that which is subject to lighter detriments must be sought, as it was said by someone: ‘Of the greatest evils choose the least.’

“Therefore, if you believe that greater gains are conferred upon your spirit by this delay than are those which arose for you from the manner of life of that monastery, and the condition of your pledge cannot be fulfilled without the loss of great advantages, it is better that you undergo this loss of a lie or of an unfulfilled promise—which, once past, will neither itself be repeated thereafter nor be able of itself to generate other sins—than that you fall into that through which, as you say, the daily condition of a more tepid life may pierce you and afflict you with interminable loss.

“For an incautious determination will be changed venially, indeed even laudably, if it passes to the more salutary side. Nor must it be believed a transgression of constancy, but an amendment of rashness, whenever a faulty pledge is corrected.

“In all causes one must consider not the outcome of the work but the will of the one working. It must not immediately be asked what each person did, but with what intention he did it, so that we find some condemned for deeds from which good things arose, and, to the contrary, some to have arrived at the summit of justice through blameworthy acts.

“Examples: what was more salutary than the Lord’s Passion? And nevertheless it harmed Judas the betrayer most greatly, who procured it. To the contrary, the patriarch Jacob brought back a blessing from a lie to his father.”

Because the breaking of a promise appears to pertain to a lie, and concerning a lie it is said in the Psalm, “You will destroy all who speak a lie,” namely, by eternal death, Germanus asks how it may be lawful to break a promise, since this is contrary to sacred Scripture. Joseph answers him, saying:

“Occasions and causes of perdition cannot be lacking to those who are going to perish, or rather to those who desire to perish. For the testimonies of the Scriptures must not therefore be cast away and altogether torn from their body, because the perversity of heretics is encouraged by them, or the unbelief of the Jews is hardened, or the swelling of pagan wisdom is offended. Rather, they must both be piously believed and immovably retained, and preached according to the rule of truth.

“Therefore one must think about a lie and use it in the same way as is natural to hellebore. If it is taken when a fatal disease is imminent, it becomes salutary; otherwise, if it is received without the necessity of extreme danger, it is of present destruction.

“Therefore, when some grave danger is imminent from the confession of truth, then refuge in lies must be received, yet in such a way that we are salutarily stung by the guilt of a humble conscience. But where no condition of supreme necessity presses, a lie must be avoided with every caution as something death-bearing.”

For this he introduces many examples in which holy men are found to have used a lie: David before Abimelech, Jacob before his father Isaac, Rahab of Jericho, and Hushai before Absalom.

He also introduces examples of simulations performed which appear to pertain to a lie: David, when he pretended to be a fool before Achish; and Paul, when, by the counsel of James in Jerusalem, he took part in the observance of legal rites, offering a sacrifice with his head shaved and entering the temple with others as though observing the law. And when he says, “I became to the Jews as a Jew; to those who are without the law, as though I were without the law. I became all things to all men, that I might gain all,” namely, conforming himself to their customs. Joseph the patriarch also told his brothers that they were spies, and Solomon pretended that he decreed that the infant should be divided.

He adds also that God, angels, and saints changed promises and did not fulfill them, as first in Nineveh, when he says, “Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overturned”; and concerning the proclamation of the death of King Hezekiah; concerning the angels who, when invited by Lot, said that they wished to remain in the street and nevertheless entered his house; and concerning Peter, who said, “You shall never wash my feet”; and concerning Paul, who promised the Corinthians that he would come to them and did not do so. From these things it appears that we also can fail to keep promises without sin.

Finally Joseph concludes that what was said above, namely, that a monk ought to determine nothing—that is, firmly to purpose—is not decreed concerning the principal commandments, without which our salvation cannot subsist, but concerning those things which we can relax or retain without danger to our condition: for example, concerning the relaxed rigor of a fast; concerning perpetual abstinence from wine or oil; concerning completely restraining departure from the cell; concerning the unceasing continuance of reading or meditation. These can both be practiced, when one pleases, without loss to our profession and purpose, and, when it should be necessary, be omitted without blame.

But concerning observance of those principal commandments one must determine most steadfastly, and death, if it should be necessary, must not be avoided for them. This must be done for the keeping of charity, likewise for purity of chastity, for faith, for sobriety, and for justice.

It must be noted that the conclusion is excellent. But certain things said above are not true according to the opinion of the saints; certain things were said defectively and confusedly.

For what he said, that sometimes because of great utility or necessity it is lawful to tell a lie, is not true. For it is always a sin according to Augustine, in *The First*, at the end, Cause XXII, Question II.

Nor can anyone truly be perplexed so that he is compelled to tell a lie, in *Let Him Do*, Cause XXII, Question II, and in the gloss on *The Sinews*, Distinction XIII.

Likewise Jacob, by saying that he was Esau, is excused of a lie in Cause XXII, Question II, in the section “Likewise, it is objected”; but this man says that it was a lie.

Likewise he appears to say that outside necessity a lie is a mortal sin. This is not always true, but only when it is pernicious, as in *The First*, Cause XXII, Question II.

Likewise, because he equates simulation with a lie, although these are diverse. For because simulation is in deeds, it can sometimes be without sin, namely, when it is done for some just utility, not for injury. But a lie is never without sin.

Among the examples which are set down, some were with sin; some were with sin [read: without sin] among the simulations and utterances which appear to be lies.

Section XVII

The eighteenth conference is that of Abbot Piamun, which treats the diverse kinds of monks. It must be known that John Cassian assigned and dedicated this conference together with the following six to Jovinian, Leontius, and Theodore.

Therefore, after that venerable father Piamun had humanely received John Cassian and Germanus, and the cause of their coming to visit those places had been perceived by him, namely, the desire for perfection, he began thus:

“Sons, whoever desires to attain mastery of any art, unless he subjects himself with all care and vigilance to the studies of that discipline which he desires to know, and observes the precepts and institutions of the most perfect masters of every craft or knowledge, vainly desires with empty wishes to attain the likeness of those whose care and industry he refuses to emulate.

“Therefore, if, as I believe, the cause of God drew you to emulation of our knowledge, entirely renounce all the institutions by which your beginnings there were formed. Follow with the greatest humility whatever you see our elders do or hand down.

“Nor should it move you, or turn, divert, and draw you back from imitation, even if the rationale or cause of some thing or deed is not clear to you at present. For those who think well and simply about all things, and who strive faithfully to imitate rather than to discuss everything which they have perceived to have been handed down or done by the elders, will consequently, through the experience of the work, attain even the knowledge of all things.

“But whoever begins to be instructed by discussion will penetrate the rationale of the truth [read: But whoever begins to be instructed by discussion will never penetrate the rationale of the truth], because the enemy, seeing that he trusts his own judgment rather than that of the fathers, will easily impel him to the point that even those things which are most useful and most salutary seem superfluous and harmful to him.

“Therefore, you must first know the order and beginning of our profession, how or whence it descended. There are three kinds of monks in Egypt. Two of them are excellent; the third is lukewarm and to be avoided in every way.

“The first is that of the cenobites, namely, those remaining in a congregation, who are governed under the judgment of one elder. The second is that of the anchorites, who, first established in cenobies and perfected in the active manner of life, chose the secret places of solitude. The third, which is blameworthy, is that of the Sarabaites.

“Thus the discipline of the cenobites took its beginning from the time of apostolic preaching. For such was that entire multitude of believers at Jerusalem, concerning whom it is said that ‘there was in them one heart and one soul in the Lord.’ ‘And all things were common to them,’ nor did anyone possess anything as his own.

“The anchorites had their origin from Elijah, afterward from John the Baptist, and then from Paul the first hermit and Anthony. But the Sarabaites had their origin from Ananias and Sapphira, whom Peter the Apostle punished with death.

“And because something was said about these three kinds in the preceding chapter, namely, concerning their morals, there is therefore nothing further here.”

When Germanus asks how patience and tranquility of mind can be acquired, Piamun answers:

“Patience and tranquility of mind are neither acquired nor retained without profound humility of heart. If patience descends from this fountain, it will need neither the benefit of a cell nor the refuge of solitude. But if we are moved when provoked in some matter, it is certain that humility is not firmly established in us.

“For no one is ignorant that those who endure are called patient from sufferings and endurance. Therefore, it is established that no one can be pronounced patient except him who has tolerated without indignation all things which have been inflicted upon him.”

He sets down two notable examples of this perfect patience.

The first concerns a certain noble matron who, greatly desiring to attain the perfection of patience, approached the blessed pontiff of that city, Athanasius, asking him to grant her one of the widows who at that time were supported by the Church as religious women, so that she might sustain her.

The bishop, assenting to her, caused one of them, who was more religious and humble than the others, to be granted to her. Finally, after the matron had taken this woman in and found her most obedient and humble in all things, she brought her back

to the bishop, saying: “Holy father, I asked that one be granted to me whom I might sustain and whose needs I might serve. But I do not serve the woman whom you gave me.”

The bishop, understanding her holy purpose, caused a turbulent, proud, and undisciplined woman to be given to her. When this woman had been brought into her house, she did the contrary of what was commanded her, sometimes attacking that matron with reproaches and insults. The matron patiently, indeed joyfully, tolerated all things, giving thanks to the bishop because he had given her such a woman, by sustaining whom she might learn patience.

He sets down another example concerning Pannutius. While in his youth he was held in celebrated estimation among the elders because of his virtues, a certain man, led by the goads of envy so that he might blacken Pannutius’s reputation, entered his cell secretly after he had gone to the church and placed his own book among the palm leaves from which Pannutius made woven work, as though Pannutius had stolen it from him.

Thereafter that envious man went to the church, where all the fathers were gathered for the divine offices. When these had been completed, he brought a complaint concerning the book taken from him before the elders in judgment.

Because of this, when all held in horror that so great a crime had been committed, that malignant man urged that certain trustworthy men be sent to search in the cells of each person. When this had been done, the book was found where he had placed it and was brought before everyone in the church.

But Pannutius, seeing that a defense of his innocence would not be admitted, since the book had been found in his cell, sought pardon; and after a harsh rebuke, penance was imposed upon him by the abbot. He accepted it humbly, nevertheless asking the Lord, for the sake of removing the scandal from the minds of the others concerning so great a crime charged against him, that he would show his innocence.

This also was done. For within fifteen days that malignant man, seized by the devil, cried out that he had done it maliciously. Nor could he be freed from the demon through blessed Abbot Isidore, who had the grace of all men in this matter, namely, of expelling demons, nor through another saint, but only through the prayer of Pannutius. Thus Pannutius recovered his reputation.

Section XVIII

The nineteenth conference is that of Abbot John concerning comparison of the cenobitic life with the anchoritic life.

John Cassian says: After a few days, the desire for greater teaching drew us to the cenobium of Abbot Paul, and we proceeded with the greatest eagerness of spirit. Although a number of more than two hundred brothers dwelt there, we found a most ancient old man named John, whose words and humility, in which he excelled all the saints, we judge ought by no means to be passed over in silence. We knew that he flourished especially in this perfection, and that we cannot ascend to that sublimity, since we, content to sustain the yoke of subjection scarcely for two years—not to say until old age—immediately fly away to the presumption of a harmful liberty, so that we appear not to learn the fruit of patience but to await the time for acquiring license.

First admiring the man’s age and the grace with which he was endowed, with our faces cast down to the ground we began to entreat that he would deign to disclose to us for what cause, after abandoning the freedom of the desert and that sublime profession which had made him celebrated by fame above other men of the same life, he had wished to undergo the yoke of a cenobium.

As though unequal to the anchoritic discipline and unworthy of the sublimity of so great a perfection, he said that he had returned to the schools of the novices. When the humility of this response, by resisting us, attempted to exclude our entreaty, at last he began thus:

“I not only do not reject or flee from the anchoritic discipline which you marvel that I abandoned; rather, I embrace and receive it with complete devotion. I rejoice that I fulfilled another twenty years in it after the thirty years which I had also passed in the congregation of a cenobium, so that among those who pursued it even moderately I was not marked by the fault of complete sloth.

“But because the purity of that life, once tasted, was sometimes interrupted in solitude by carnal matters and became sullied [read: was sometimes impaired by concern for carnal matters and became sullied], it seemed more advantageous to return to the cenobium, both so that a readier completion of the more level purpose undertaken might follow, and so that there might be less danger to humility from not having presumed upon the more sublime profession. For it is better to be found devoted in lesser things than undevoted in greater promises.

“Accordingly, if perhaps I bring forth anything rather lofty, indeed rather free, I ask that you judge it to have been produced not by the vice of boasting but by zeal for your edification.

“Therefore, if anyone else, delighted by the secret places of the desert, was able to consign human fellowship to oblivion, I too confess that I attained it in the Lord, with his own teacher granting it [read: I too confess that, with the Lord granting it by his grace, I attained it], or certainly strove to attain it.

“Thus, by the pious gift of our Lord Jesus Christ, I remember that I was frequently rapt into ecstasies of this kind, so that I forgot that I was clothed with the burden of bodily frailty. My mind so suddenly rejected all the exterior senses and in every way became so exiled from all material things that neither my eyes nor my ears performed their proper office. I was so filled with divine meditations that frequently toward evening I did not know whether I had taken food, and on the following day I was entirely uncertain whether yesterday’s fast had been broken.

“But I shall encompass in a brief discourse the causes why I preferred to abandon that solitary life. For as long as, removed into more distant secret places, we were most frequently rapt into those heavenly ecstasies, and so great an invading multitude of visiting brothers did not, by the necessity of providing hospitality, burden our senses with the distractions of immense cares, I pursued the tranquil silences of solitude and that manner of life comparable to angelic blessedness with insatiable desire and with the whole ardor of my soul.

“But when, as I have said, a greater number of brothers began to fill the habitation of that solitude, and the freedom of the more extensive desert had been narrowed, not only did that fire of divine contemplation begin to grow cold, but it also hindered my mind in many ways with the bonds of carnal things. I chose to fulfill in some manner the purpose of this discipline rather than to grow torpid in that so sublime profession through provision for carnal necessities, so that, if liberty and spiritual eagerness for ecstasy are denied in it, nevertheless, once care for the following day has been entirely cast away, the fulfillment of the evangelical precept may console me. And may that which is withdrawn from me of that theoretical sublimity be compensated by this subjection of obedience. For it is miserable for anyone to profess the discipline of any art or study and never to arrive at its perfection.

“Therefore, I shall explain briefly what advantages I now enjoy in this manner of life. In this manner of life there is no provision for divine work [read: daily work], no distraction of selling or buying, no unavoidable care for the year’s bread, no solicitude for bodily things, because necessities are prepared not only for one’s own uses but also for those of many who come.

“There is no arrogance of human praise, which, being more unclean in the sight of God than all these things, is sometimes accustomed to empty even the great labors of the desert.

“A relaxation also of austerity in food, the concourse of brothers, the duties of receiving and escorting them, mutual visits, and the interminable care of diverse conversations and occupations cooled that liberty and eagerness of spirit belonging to the anchoritic life.

“Finally, although, while I am established in the cenobium, something of that anchoritic purity of heart has been diminished for me, I shall be content with the compensation of the one evangelical precept, namely, that I think nothing about tomorrow; and, subjected to the abbot until the end, I may be seen in some manner to emulate him of whom it is said, ‘He became obedient unto death,’ and may merit humbly to speak his words: ‘For I came not to do my own will, but that of the Father who sent me.’”

When he is asked what is the end of the cenobitic life and what is that of the eremitic life, John answers:

“We could have pronounced absolutely that one and the same man cannot be perfect in both professions, if the example of a very few did not restrain us. Indeed, it is a great thing to find anyone consummate in either one; how much more arduous, and I would say almost impossible, it is to perfect both to the full is manifest.

“Nevertheless, if anyone at any time has arrived at this, he cannot immediately be referred to a general formula. For a universal rule must not be proposed from consideration of a few, but from those things which are subject to the capacity of many, indeed of all.

“But if something is obtained very rarely and by very few, as though above the condition of human frailty and the nature granted to it, such things must be separated from general precepts and brought forward not so much as an example as a miracle.

“Therefore the end of the cenobite is to mortify and crucify all his wills and, according to the salutary commandment of evangelical perfection, to think nothing about tomorrow. Isaiah describes and praises this man when he says: ‘If you turn away your foot from the Sabbath, from doing your own will,’ and so forth.

“But the perfection of the hermit is to have a mind stripped of all earthly things and to retain it united with Christ insofar as human weakness permits. Jeremiah designates this man when he says: ‘Blessed is he who has borne the yoke from his youth; he shall sit solitary and be silent, and he shall raise himself above himself.’

“Nevertheless, we knew Abbot Moses, Pafuntius, and both men named Macarius to have possessed perfectly both lives, the cenobitic and the eremitic.

“But certain persons are accustomed to grow so savage through the long silence of solitude that they thoroughly dread the companionship of men. And when, with the visit of brothers intervening, they have departed even a little from the custom of their seclusion, they seethe with notable anguish of mind and evident indications of faintheartedness.

“This is especially accustomed to happen to those who, not perfectly instructed in cenobies and without their former vices having been thoroughly purged, transferred themselves to the solitary life with immature desire. Always imperfect and frail in either part, they are inclined in whatever direction a breeze of disturbance impels them.”

When Germanus asks how those dwelling in solitude may acquire the perfection of long-suffering and patience, and how it may be discerned whether these virtues are present or absent in us, John answers:

“To those truly seeking medicine, the remedies of cures cannot be lacking from that most true physician of souls, especially to those who have neither despised their infirmities through despair or negligence, nor concealed the dangers of their wounds, nor rejected the medicine with an insolent mind, but, for infirmities contracted through ignorance, error, or necessity, have at last fled humbly and with a cautious mind to the heavenly physician.

“Accordingly, we ought to know that, if we withdraw to solitude or other hidden places while our vices have not yet been cured, only their effect is restrained; their disposition is not extinguished. For the root of all sins which have not been extirpated lies hidden within us, indeed creeps within us. We perceive that it is still alive in us by these indications.

“For example, when, established in solitude, we receive the arrival of brothers or even their very brief stay with a certain anxiety of a seething mind, we should know that the most vigorous tinder of impatience is still present in us.

“Likewise, if, when a brother asks for a book to read or any other object to use, either his request saddens us or our refusal drives him away, there is no doubt that we are still fettered by the vice of avarice or by the snares of love of money.

“If either a sudden thought or the course of sacred reading has brought us the remembrance of a woman, and we sense ourselves struck by a certain titillation in it, we should know that the ardor of fornication is not yet extinguished in us.

“But if even the slightest elation tempts our mind at the comparison of our strictness with another’s laxity, it is certain that we are corrupted by the dreadful pestilence of pride.

“And thus each solitary who has striven to exhibit his purity not to men but to the sight of God will perceive by sure indications that the roots of each vice have been fixed within himself.”

When Germanus asks concerning the remedies of these passions, John answers, saying:

“When anyone perceives by those indications which we have stated above that he is attacked by disturbances of impatience or anger, let him always exercise himself by setting contrary things before himself. Let him propose to himself many kinds of injuries and losses as though inflicted upon him by another, and accustom his mind to submit with perfect humility to all things which depravity can inflict.

“Frequently setting harsh and intolerable things before himself, let him meditate with continual contrition of the whole heart upon how much gentleness he ought to meet them with. And thus, looking to those sufferings of all the saints or of the Lord himself, and pronouncing all kinds not only of insults but even of punishments to be less than his merits, he will prepare himself for endurance of every pain.”

When Germanus asks whether, just as the cure for anger and sadness was shown through setting contrary things before oneself, one must fight similarly against the spirit of fornication, John answers that one must not:

“For human fellowship not only does no harm to the remedies for the other vices but indeed contributes much. Hence, even when established in solitude, although the tinder and material of provocations cannot arise from men, nevertheless we ought deliberately to call back even their incitements, so that a readier cure may be conferred upon us as we fight against them in a continual struggle of thoughts.

“But against the spirit of fornication the account is diverse and the cause unlike. For just as the use of the body and the proximity of lust and flesh must be entirely withdrawn, so also must its memory be withdrawn from the mind.

“For it is sufficiently destructive for hearts still infirm and sick to admit even the slightest remembrance of this passion, so that sometimes even under remembrance of holy women, as though under the history of sacred reading, the goad of a harmful titillation is excited in them. For this reason our elders are accustomed most prudently to pass over readings of this sort in the presence of younger men.

“Therefore, for the perfect and those now consummate in the disposition of chastity, there will be a test concerning this passion of lust: so that he who knows that he has entirely extirpated the roots of this disease should, for the sake of testing his chastity, conceive in his mind some alluring image; and if, by thinking, he should fasten upon the enticement of the most flattering

touches and perceive neither any assent of the mind nor any movement of the flesh excited in himself, he will receive most certain proofs of his purity.

“But it is not fitting for those who are still infirm to attempt this examination.” These are John’s words.

But it does not appear that the aforesaid test should be sought even by the perfect, for this would be to tempt oneself and seek for oneself an occasion of sin. Rather, when an occasion is offered to him—for example, because he must read or hear such things—or when such thoughts occur without his deliberately procuring them, then he will be able to make an experiment concerning himself.

Section XIX

The twentieth conference is that of Abbot Pinufius, which concerns penance and satisfaction and the many ways of procuring remission of sins.

This Pinufius was of such humility that, although he was a priest and presided over a great monastery in Egypt, most celebrated by reputation for perfection of virtues and for the grace of signs, lest the breeze of human favor empty for him the fruit of his labor, he secretly withdrew from his monastery. Putting on lay clothing, he approached a monastery of the strictest life situated in distant regions and asked to be received there as a monk.

There, after much rejection had been inflicted upon him at the gate, he was at last received and became the gardener’s servant. He not only diligently did all things enjoined upon him, but also secretly performed by night certain necessary works which the others avoided because of their loathsomeness.

Thus, after three years had passed, he was recognized and made manifest by a certain man of his former monastery who came there, and he was compelled to return to govern his own monastery. But not long afterward the same man went secretly to another monastery. There also, when he was finally recognized, he was brought back to his own.

Pinufius answers Germanus’s question thus:

“Because you inquire not about the quality of penance, but, being solicitous concerning its end and the judgment of satisfaction, investigate that which was passed over by others, so that the desire of your purpose may be satisfied with every brevity and compendium, the full and perfect definition of penance is that we by no means admit thereafter the sins for which we perform penance; that is, that we purpose not to commit them.

“But an indication of true satisfaction and indulgence is also to have expelled affection for them from our hearts. For each person should know that he has not yet been absolved from his former sins for as long as, while he applies himself to satisfaction and groans, an image either of those crimes which he committed or of similar crimes plays before his eyes, and not merely delight in them but even their remembrance assails the secret places of his mind.

“Accordingly, he who keeps vigil for satisfaction should know that he has then been absolved from his crimes and has received pardon for his past offenses when he senses that his heart is by no means struck either by the enticements or by the imagination of those vices.

“And, so that these same things which have been said may be expressed more meaningfully: only then must we believe that the past contagions of the vices have been remitted to us, when the desires and passions for present pleasures have been driven from our heart.”

Germanus raises a question and, as though objecting it against the foregoing, says:

“Whence will so salutary a compunction of humiliation be able to arise in us, which is thus described from the person of the penitent: ‘I have made my sin known to you’; and this: ‘Every night I shall wash my bed,’ and so forth, if we exclude the memory of our sins from our hearts, when, to the contrary, we are commanded to retain it tenaciously, the Lord saying: ‘I will not remember your iniquities; but you, remember’?”

Pinufius answers:

“Your question was proposed not concerning the quality of penance but concerning its end and the indication of satisfaction, and to this, as I judge, a fitting answer has been made.

“But what you have said concerning remembrance of sins is sufficiently useful and necessary to those still performing penance, so that with the continual bruising of their breast they may proclaim: ‘For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always against me,’ that is, before me.

“Therefore, while we are performing penance and are still bitten by remembrance of the acts of the vices, it is necessary that a rain of tears in us extinguish the fire of our conscience which arose from confession of faults.

“But when, in the case of anyone fixed in this humility of heart and contrition of spirit and persevering in this labor and groaning, their remembrance has been quieted and the thorn of conscience has been plucked from the marrow of his soul by the grace of the merciful God, it is certain that he has arrived at the end of satisfaction and the merit of indulgence and has been purged from the stain of the crimes committed.

“Nevertheless, this oblivion is not otherwise reached except through oblivion of the vices and former dispositions and through perfect and entire purity of heart. Without doubt, no one of those who through sloth or contempt has neglected to purge his vices will attain this, but only he who, continuing groans and sighs with such constancy, has thoroughly purged every stain of former defilements.”

Concerning the fact that sins are forgiven through many ways and means, Pinufius speaks thus:

“After that general grace of baptism and that gift of most precious martyrdom which is acquired by washing in blood, there are many fruits of penance through which one arrives at expiation of crimes.

“For eternal salvation is not promised only under that simple name of penance concerning which Peter says, ‘Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.’ Rather, the mass of sins is also covered through the disposition of charity, for ‘charity covers a multitude of sins,’ says Peter.

“Similarly, medicine is applied to our wounds through the fruit of alms, because, ‘as water extinguishes fire, so alms extinguishes sin,’ says the Wise Man.

“It is also applied through the outpouring of tears, according to this: ‘Every night I shall wash my bed,’ and so forth.

“Also, through confession of crimes, their abolition is granted, according to this: ‘I said: I will confess my injustice against myself to the Lord.’

“Through affliction of heart and body also, remission of crimes committed is obtained; hence the Psalmist says, ‘See my humiliation and my labor, and forgive all my sins.’

“And especially through amendment of morals: ‘Remove,’ says the Lord through Isaiah, ‘the evil of your thoughts from before my eyes; cease to act perversely; learn to do good,’ and so forth. And it is added: ‘If your sins are as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow.’

“Sometimes pardon for offenses is obtained by the intercession of the saints. ‘For he who knows,’ says John in the epistle, ‘that his brother sins a sin which is not unto death, let him ask, and the Lord will give life to him who sins.’

“Sometimes it is obtained by the merit of mercy and faith, according to this: ‘Through mercy and faith sins are purged.’

“It is obtained also through the salvation and conversion of those who are saved by our merits and preaching. ‘For those who cause a sinner to be converted from the error of his way,’ says James, ‘save his soul from death and cover a multitude of sins.’

“It is obtained also through forgiveness of offenses committed against a man. ‘If you forgive men their sins,’ says the Savior, ‘your Father also will forgive you your sins.’

“You see, therefore, how many approaches of mercy divine clemency has opened, so that no one desiring salvation may be broken by despair when he sees himself invited to life by so many remedies.” These are Pinufius’s words.

But these things must be understood soundly. For “sin” sometimes signifies the fault or offense itself, and sometimes the penalty owed for that sin.

With respect to the fault, principally and effectively God alone pardons: “I alone,” he says through Isaiah, “blot out your iniquities.” And Augustine says: “No one forgives sins except Christ, who is the Lamb of God,” and so forth, in *No One*, On Consecration, Distinction IV.

But on the part of the sinner, contrition alone does so through the mediation of grace, according to this saying of Ezekiel: “On whatever day the sinner is converted and groans, I will not remember all his iniquities,” says the Lord.

But with respect to the temporal penalty owed for sins, all the foregoing avail in this manner toward remission of sins, that is, of the penalties owed for sins. This must be understood if they are done in the state of grace. For deeds performed while in mortal sin do not avail toward this, but dispositively toward remission of mortal sins; that is, so that through them someone may be disposed and rendered fit for grace and true contrition, as is said in *False*, On Penance, Distinction V.

And below Pinufius says:

“If shame restrains you and you blush to reveal these things before men, do not cease to confess them in continual supplication to him from whom they cannot be hidden and to say to him, ‘For I know my iniquity.’”

This also must be understood soundly. For after that decretal *Everyone of Either Sex*, On Penance and Remission, was issued, it is necessary to confess if one has opportunity and is able. But in the time of John Cassian such a matter was a subject of opinion, namely, whether confession must necessarily be made to a priest. Or this can be understood concerning public confession, which used to be made by religious for mortification.

And Pinufius adds:

“Therefore, deliberately to call back the memory of past sins ought by no means to be done. Indeed, even if it should creep upon one violently, it should immediately be driven away.

“For while you recall those things which, according to the prince of this world, you committed either through ignorance or through wantonness, although I grant you that, while you are placed in this thought, no delight creeps upon you, nevertheless it is necessary that the mere thought of the ancient putrefaction should corrupt the mind with a foul stench and should corrupt the spiritual fragrance of the virtues, that is, the sweetness of a good odor.

“Therefore, when the memory of past vices strikes the sense, one must recoil from it just as an honest and serious man flees if he is accosted publicly with conversations or embraces by an immodest and insolent woman.

“For it is accustomed to happen frequently that, while someone inexperienced treats his own falls or those of others with the disposition of one who pities, he himself also is struck by the voluptuous assent of a most subtle dart; and the beginning which arose under the appearance of piety is concluded with an obscene and harmful end.

“For this reason we must strive to provoke ourselves to laudable compunction through appetite for the virtues and desire for the kingdom of heaven rather than through harmful remembrances of the vices.

“Nevertheless, let no one believe that he can obtain the cutting away of the movements and dispositions of sins from his heart unless with every fervor of his spirit he has cut away the causes, materials, or occasions because of which he fell into crimes. For example, if he fell into fornication through familiarity with women, let him avoid even the sight of them; and so concerning the others.”

But that aforesaid definition of oblivion is established only concerning capital crimes, and especially concerning carnal vices, because when such things are considered particularly, they excite the sensitive power toward concupiscence.

But there will never be a lack of repentance for these lesser things in which, as Solomon says in Proverbs, “the just man falls seven times in the day and rises.” “Seven times” is said because every day, either unwillingly or willingly, we frequently fall through ignorance, through oblivion, through thought, through speech, through sudden surreption, through necessity, or through the frailty of the flesh. For we fall into these things with so great a facility, as though by a natural law, that however great the circumspection and vigilance with which they are guarded against, they cannot be avoided.

Section XX

The twenty-first conference is that of Abbot Theonas concerning the fast of Lent and the remission of fasting in the fifty days after Easter.

This Theonas, as John Cassian says, while he was established in adolescence, took a wife by arrangement of his parents and remained with her for five years.

But on a certain day, when he together with other laymen had offered the tithes and firstfruits of their produce to Abbot John the deacon, the said abbot gave them many admonitions of salvation, showing that by offering or paying temporal tithes alone a person did not attain evangelical perfection. Among other things he said:

“Therefore, if even those who faithfully offer the tithes of their produce serve the more ancient commandments of the Lord, and still cannot ascend to the evangelical summit, you perceive most manifestly how far from it are those who do not even do these things. For how will those who scorn to fulfill even the light commandments of the law be able to be participants in evangelical grace, since those who do not fulfill them are declared accursed?

“Therefore, he who exhibits fruits worthy of the calling and grace of Christ, namely, of evangelical perfection, fulfills this: ‘Go, sell what you possess, and follow me.’”

These words so penetrated the heart of Theonas that, kindled by an inextinguishable desire for evangelical perfection, he thenceforth purposed to abandon the world. Returning home, therefore, he began to exhort his wife to a religious manner of life

and to contempt of the world. But when, after many invitations to this, she in no way assented, he finally left her and flew to a monastery, although she was unwilling, and took up the religious habit.

John Cassian prudently adds:

“Let no one suppose that we composed these things to provoke divorces between spouses. We not only do not condemn marriage in the least; rather, following the Apostle’s opinion, we say, ‘Marriage is honorable among all, and the bed undefiled.’ But I have related them so that I might faithfully disclose to the reader the beginning of the conversion by which so great a man was dedicated to God. Therefore, let each person have his own judgment concerning him.”

According to that common evangelical law, “What God has joined, let man not separate,” and the canonical law, in *Agatho*, Cause XXVII, Question II, this was not lawful. But according to the private law of the Holy Spirit, which is more powerful than the common law, it was lawful. “For those who are led by the Holy Spirit are not under the law.”

But no one ought to follow such a private law of the Holy Spirit outside the common law unless he is certain concerning the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; otherwise he will frequently be deceived by the devil.

That what this man did was through the spiritual prompting of the Holy Spirit is evident from the fact that God afterward worked miracles through him, and what followed upon his perfection, which had not been attempted by any of the fathers, was not reproved. John Cassian also holds this opinion.

When Germanus asks why during those fifty days after the Resurrection they did not fast in those regions or bend their knees in prayer, although these things were done in other places, Theonas answers:

“It is fitting that we prolong the authority of the fathers and the custom of our elders down to our own time through so long a series of years, and now defer to them without having understood their rationale [read: defer to the authority of the fathers and the custom of our elders, prolonged down to our own time through so long a series of years, even when their rationale has not been understood], and guard that tradition with continual observance and reverence as handed down from antiquity.

“But because you desire to know the causes and rationales of this practice, receive briefly what we have learned was handed down by our elders. Nevertheless, first let us say a few things concerning the nature and quality of fasting.

“Divine Wisdom, through Ecclesiastes, designated that all things have their proper time, saying: ‘All things have a time: a time to be born and a time to die,’ and so forth in what follows, finally concluding that ‘for every matter there is a time and opportunity.’

“Therefore, it must be known that certain things are principally good or evil in themselves and can never be changed into the contrary, such as justice, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and the other virtues; or, conversely, the vices, whose definitions can by no means fall or be changed into the other part.

“But if certain things can sometimes pass to either disposition, so that, according to the quality of those using them, they are found to appear either good or evil, these are understood to be useful at one time or harmful at another, not absolutely through their nature, but through the disposition of the one performing them and the opportunity of the time.

“Therefore he determines well that fasting is not in the number of those things which are always good, as are the virtues, or evil in themselves, as are the vices, but that it possesses itself in an intermediate manner, because it is at one time laudable and at another blameworthy.

“For fasting is laudable and virtuous for restraining the vices of the flesh, making satisfaction for sins, and obeying the commandment concerning fasts. But through fasting to deprive oneself of the necessities of life, or for its sake to omit the duties of charity, is blameworthy and vicious.

“Just as a discreet fast, when kept, justifies, so it does not condemn when broken, unless perhaps transgression of a commandment rather than the taking of food is punished.

“But there ought to be no time empty of a principal good, namely, of the virtues, so that it is lawful for anyone to exist without it, because through ceasing from it the negligent person necessarily falls into evil. Nor, conversely, is any time granted to a principal evil, namely, to the vices, because it is always harmful and, if admitted, will never be able not to harm.

“And accordingly it is manifest that those things whose qualities and times we see to be established, and which, although observed, sanctify, yet when omitted do not defile, are intermediate things—for example, marriages, agriculture, riches, solitudes, withdrawal [read: withdrawal into solitude], vigils, meditation upon sacred things, reading of books, and the fasts themselves concerning which the discourse treats.

“Divine command or the authority of the sacred Scriptures did not decree that all these things must be obtained unceasingly or continually observed in such a way that to have interrupted them for a little while is wicked. For whatever is decreed by way of

command denotes death if it is not fulfilled. But those things which are counseled rather than commanded profit when done; when not done, they are not punished.

“For this reason our elders commanded us to do either all these things, or certainly certain of them, circumspectly according to cause, place, measure, and time, and to observe them providently.

“Thus, if anyone who needs refreshment because of failure of the body does not consent to relax the rigor of abstinence, he will be judged cruel and the murderer of his own body.

“Likewise, when the season of festivity grants a fitting support of foods and indulgence of necessary refreshment, if anyone desires to retain the rigid observance of fasts without interruption, he must be regarded not so much as religious as uncultivated and irrational.

“Therefore, one must labor so that those virtues which are truly good may be acquired through fasts and their other means, not so that those exercises of virtues tend toward fasting as their end. Bodily affliction and other things of this kind are useful for this reason: that through them we may arrive at charity.

“That, therefore, is principally the best thing for the sake of which those things which are intermediate are done. But the chief good itself, because it is good through itself and not for the sake of another, is pursued not for another cause but only for the sake of its own goodness.

“Therefore the fathers instituted relaxation of fasts during the fifty days after the Resurrection so that they might fittingly conform themselves to the season. For the joyful feast of the Resurrection is celebrated, through which the Lord Jesus, rising and dwelling with his disciples, gladdened them by his presence. Hence he himself, while still mortal, had said: ‘The sons of the bridegroom,’ that is, the disciples, ‘cannot fast for as long as the bridegroom is with them.’ Therefore fasts were relaxed at that time.

“Ten days are added to the forty days extending to the Lord’s Ascension, because during those days the apostles joyfully awaited the coming of the Holy Spirit, so that there might be the number fifty of the jubilee, which is solemnly and joyfully celebrated in years under the Old Law, and Pentecost in days, when they offered the loaves of the firstfruits to the Lord in a figure. For on the fiftieth day the new bread, namely, of evangelical teaching, was offered to the people at the coming of the Holy Spirit for the glory of God, and through it five thousand men were refreshed when conversion had taken place.

“For this reason, therefore, because of the joy of the Lord’s Resurrection, fasting and bending of the knees are omitted during those fifty days and on all the Lord’s days, because these things pertain to humiliation and mourning, not to joy and festivity.

“But if we weigh all the things which we do by the rational examination of the mind, and concerning the purity of our heart consult not the judgment of others but always our own conscience, it is certain that this inward interval of refreshment cannot obstruct just strictness, provided that, as has been said, an equitable measure of indulgence and continence is weighed in an equal balance, that an uncorrupted mind similarly chastises excess in either direction, and that the weight of delights does not oppress our spirit.

“For our God wills nothing to be done for his worship and honor without moderation of judgment, because ‘the honor of the king loves judgment,’ says the Psalmist.

“Therefore, with every caution and skill, let the intention of a continually circumspect heart be examined, lest in any manner, with the judgment of discretion erring, either kindled by desire for inconsiderate abstinence or enticed by desire for excessive relaxation, we weigh the substance of our strength by the test of an unequal balance.

“But, placing purity of soul in one scale and strength in the other, let us so weigh both by the judgment of a true conscience that, with affection for one thing preponderating, we incline the balance of equity too far to neither side, either toward immoderate strictness or toward excessive relaxation, and this be said to us because of excessive relaxation or strictness: ‘If you offer rightly but do not divide rightly, you have sinned.’

“And this of the Psalmist: ‘The sons of men are liars in balances, that they may deceive.’ And this of Proverbs: ‘You shall not have diverse weights in your bag, a greater and a lesser. Let the scale be just and the weights equal.’

“These words can be understood not only with respect to our own works, namely, that we exercise ourselves neither more strictly nor more laxly in fasts and other exercises, but also with respect to others, namely, that we impose heavy burdens of commandments upon others and take up light ones ourselves. Or again, that we do not display to others works of greater sanctity from ourselves while secretly doing lesser works.

“Therefore, it must be provided most vigilantly that the vigor of our mind is never enervated by flattering seductions, lest through the repose and security of the fifty days we lose the purity of chastity sought by continual labor during Lent.”

When Germanus afterward asks why Lent is celebrated in six weeks, although in some places it is observed in seven weeks so that, when the Lord's days have been subtracted, the sum of forty days is fulfilled, Theonas answers that through this fast that commandment of the Lord is fulfilled: "You shall offer tithes and firstfruits to the Lord your God."

For since the year consists of three hundred and sixty-five days, the tenth part of the number three hundred and sixty is the number thirty-six. But from the six weeks of Lent, when the six Lord's days on which no fasting is done have been subtracted, thirty-six days remain.

For the number five which remains from the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, the night of the Lord's Resurrection, as though half of a natural day, makes satisfaction.

But those who fast for seven weeks interrupt the fast not only on the Lord's day but also on the Sabbath; hence they also fast for only thirty-six days.

This fast received the name "Lent" because our Savior fasted for forty days, and Moses and Elijah in the Old Testament, and in a figure of the people of Israel, who walked through the desert for forty years while proceeding to the promised land and made forty stopping places there.

Add that afterward Gregory I added four days to the fast of the six weeks, so that by fasting for forty days we might thus imitate the fast of Christ, namely, of forty days.

But we offer firstfruits to the Lord every day when, scarcely awakened from sleep and rising with an eagerness as though restored to life after slumber, before they conceive in the heart a movement of any sense or admit memory or care of a household matter, men consecrate the origins and beginnings of their thoughts in divine whole burnt offerings.

What else, therefore, do these persons discharge except the true firstfruits of their produce through the high priest Jesus Christ for the use of this life and the image of the daily resurrection? And, awakened from sleep, similarly offering to God the sacrifice of their rejoicing, they sacrifice to their God the offices of their mouth by invoking him with the first movement of their tongue.

But when Theonas asserts that sin cannot exercise true dominion over him who faithfully subsists under the liberty of grace, the Apostle saying, "Sin shall not have dominion over you, for you are not under the law but under grace," Germanus asks how this is true when sin appears to have dominion in almost all the baptized.

Theonas answers:

"I judge it necessary that we first inquire what is the purpose or will of the law, or what is the discipline and perfection of grace, so that consequently from these things we may be able to recognize either the dominion of sin or its expulsion."

After he has set down many differences between the Mosaic law and grace—for example, that the law commands marriages while grace invites to virginity; the law commands that tithes be given, while grace commands that all things be distributed to the poor for Christ's sake; the law commands that an eye be rendered for an eye, while grace commands that enemies be loved and good done to them—he says:

"Therefore, whoever has ascended to this summit of evangelical perfection, elevated above every law by the merits of such great virtues, and not omitting all the things which were commanded through Moses but judging them as though small, knows that he exists only under the grace of the Savior.

"Therefore sin does not have dominion in him, because the charity of God which has been poured out in his heart excludes every affection for any other thing. Nor can he either desire forbidden things or despise things commanded, for his pursuit and desire, always intent upon divine love, is so little seized by delight in worthless things that he does not use even those things which have been permitted.

"But under the law in which the rights of marriages are observed, although the wandering of lust, having been restrained, is enslaved to one woman alone, nevertheless the goads of carnal concupiscence cannot fail to flourish.

"And it is difficult for the fire to which fuels are even deliberately supplied to be confined within the boundaries established for it in such a way that, when it wanders outside them, it does not also burn whatever it touches. Although its own object always meets it so that it is not permitted to seethe inwardly, nevertheless it also burns while it is restrained, because the will itself is culpable, and the custom of intercourse is swiftly carried away into the excesses of adulteries.

"But the grace of the Savior consumes with the fire of charity all the thorns of carnal desires in those whom it has inflamed.

"Therefore, whoever has retained the perfection of evangelical teaching, established under grace, is not oppressed by the dominion of sin. For to be under grace is this: to fulfill those things which are commanded by grace.

“But whoever is unwilling to be subjected to the fullness of evangelical perfection should not be ignorant that, although he may appear to himself to have been baptized and to be a monk, he is not under grace but is still fettered by the bonds of the law and weighed down by the burden of sin.

“The purpose of him who is under grace is also not to empty or destroy the Mosaic enactments, but to fulfill them. This must be understood with respect to moral matters.

“Certain persons, entirely ignorant of this and neglecting the magnificence of Christ’s counsels and exhortations, are so unrestrained by presumptuous security in liberty that they not only fail to attain Christ’s commandments as though they were arduous, but even scorn as antiquated those things which, as small commands for beginners, were commanded by the Mosaic law. They say with a harmful liberty what the Apostle execrates: that ‘we are not under the law but under grace.’ Thus, neither ascending to the summit of evangelical teaching nor fulfilling the small commandments of the law, they are oppressed by the double dominion of sins. Hence Peter says: ‘As free, and not as having liberty for a cloak of malice.’”

Section XXI

The twenty-second conference, which is also the second of Theonas, concerns pollution which occurs in sleep, proceeding from a threefold cause; when communion must be abstained from because of it; and the fact that no one except Christ is without sin.

When John Cassian and Germanus therefore returned to Theonas and asked why, when they sometimes fasted more laxly, they were titillated by lighter goads of the flesh, but sometimes, when they abstained more strictly and their body was afflicted and exhausted, they were driven by more grievous incitements, so that upon awakening they found themselves polluted in the flesh, Theonas answered, assigning the following rationale in this matter:

“Our elders handed down a threefold cause of this infestation, just as it breaks forth in untimely emissions at the appointed time [read: which breaks beyond the measure of the appointed time through untimely emissions]. For it is either accumulated through the excessive abundance of superfluous food, or discharged through carelessness of the mind, or provoked by the snares of the mocking enemy.

“Therefore, first, the vice of voracity or gluttony expels this superabundance of obscene humor. For even when it pollutes the condition of purity during a time of stricter abstinence, it is poured forth not from the present want of food, as you think, but from the abundance of former satiety.

“For that which had been congealed in the marrow through the voracity of gluttony must be discharged through itching, or certainly through ignorance, although the body has wasted away by a great fast.

“Therefore, one must abstain not only from richer foods, but even the cheaper foods must be moderated by equal continence. Indeed, satiety even from bread and water must be avoided.

“For although it must necessarily be confessed that certain persons, even without any exertion of the mind, either through the temperament of their bodies or because of the maturity of past age, are more rarely defiled or certainly are not polluted by the discharge of this flux, nevertheless he who obtains peace by an inert facility is of one merit, and he who merits triumph by glorious virtues is of another.

“The second cause of this impure discharge exists if the mind, made empty of spiritual studies and exercises and not instructed in the disciplines of the inner man, has contracted for itself through the habit of the continual body [read: continual sloth] a certain mold of sluggishness; or when, by failing to guard against the minutiae of defiled thoughts, it so sluggishly desires that most sublime purity of heart that it believes all perfection and the summit of chastity to consist in chastisement of the body alone.

“Although the body of such a person may be chastised by rigid fasting, nevertheless thoughts and passions disturb him while sleeping with alluring phantasms. Through their disturbance, before the course of the lawful time, obscene humors are elicited, not now from necessity of nature but from the deceit of wickedness. Therefore, first of all, the wanderings of the senses must be restrained.

“The third cause exists when, through an ordered and solicitous discipline of continence together with contrition of heart and body, we desire to acquire perpetual purity of chastity, but the most deceitful enemy, while we are excellently consulting the utility of flesh and spirit, so attacks us through envy that he attempts to cast down the confidence of our conscience and to humble us as though by some guilt.

“This occurs especially on the days on which we apply ourselves more to chastity, when, without any itching of the flesh or consent of the mind and without the illusion of any phantasm, he nevertheless pollutes us by the simple discharge of that flux, so that he may deter us from holy communion.

“Although in certain beginners this illusion is believed to occur by a diabolical operation for this reason: that, when he knows them to apply themselves to more intense fasts, he may overturn them in this respect, so that, when they see that, while devoted to stricter fasts, they are more disturbed by illusions of this kind, they relax the fasts from which they judge that they receive no help.”

When they afterward ask whether communion must be omitted because of this pollution, he answers:

“If that most wicked enemy has mocked the vigilance of a sleeping mind so that he may withdraw from us the medicine of the heavenly remedy—only provided that no blameworthy itching has intervened and it is contaminated by no assent of delight, but is driven forth by discharge, natural necessity, or certainly an assault of the devil without a sensation of pleasure, and he has done this to impede our sanctification—we can and ought confidently to approach the grace of the salutary food.”

“But if this congealed matter has been discharged through our own fault, let us address our conscience and fear that apostolic saying: ‘Whoever shall eat the bread and drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.’”

To show that this impurity is sometimes elicited by the operation of the enemy, he introduces the example of a certain man who fervently exercised himself in divine service and diligently applied himself to chastity. On those days on which communion was customarily made, such pollution happened to him by night.

When the fathers, investigating the matter subtly, perceived that this happened without his fault, they counseled him not to omit communion because of it. When this was done, the illusion ceased; whence it appeared that this proceeded from the operation of the devil so that he might remove from the man the benefit of communion.

“For those are the true and incorrupt virgins of Christ. Those are considered admirable and excellent eunuchs—not those who are afraid, but those who have no desire to fornicate; not those who restrain the reins of immodesty, but those who have overcome even the excessive titillation of the mind and the slightest incitements of lust.

“And they have attenuated that sense of the flesh, so to speak, to such an extent that not only is it touched by no delight arising from its disturbance, but not even by a slight titillation.

“But we ought to fortify our heart with so great a guard of humility that we hold this determination with perfect stability of the senses: that we can by no means arrive at so great a merit of purification. For even those who are slightly elated concerning the purity of their body are, by God’s permission, polluted through pride for their humiliation.

“And although through the grace of God we may obtain that perfect purity of heart and body, nevertheless let us believe ourselves unworthy of sacred communion.

“First, because the majesty of that heavenly manna is so great that no one here, surrounded by clayey flesh, receives that food by his own merit and not from the gratuitous largesse of the Lord.

“Second, because no one can be so circumspect in the conflict of this world that at least rare or light darts of sins do not strike him, for it is impossible that he does not sin either through ignorance, negligence, sudden surreption, thought, necessity, or oblivion. Hence the Apostle, after he had said, ‘I am conscious of nothing in myself,’ added, ‘But I am not justified in this.’

“Although we can call many men holy—for that which is dedicated to God is called holy, whence even the vessels of the Church are called holy—nevertheless no one can be called immaculate, that is, existing without the stain of any sin, except the Lord Jesus Christ. Concerning him the Apostle says to the Hebrews: ‘For we do not have such a high priest who cannot have compassion upon our infirmities, tempted in all things according to likeness, without sin.’

“By this sole exception he is distinguished from us all: because we are not without sin, but it is established that he was tempted without sin.

“For what man, however strong and warlike he may be, is nevertheless not generally shaken by hostile darts? But he alone, receiving the condition of human mortality together with all the frailty of the flesh, was never touched by the stains of any defilement.

“He was tempted in the desert concerning gluttony, avarice, and pride or vainglory, according to our likeness, namely, because we are tempted by these things, but without sin. For although in the temptations of these and other vices we do not succumb by consenting, nevertheless we are very frequently detained by some complacency of sensuality. But no delight of sin bit the Lord Jesus in his temptations.”

Section XXII

The twenty-third conference, which is the third of Theonas, extensively discusses and explains that authority of the Apostle to the Romans: “For I do not do the good which I will, but the evil which I hate, that I do”; or this: “But if I do what I will, now it is not I who work it, but the sin which dwells in me”; or this: “For I delight in the law of God according to the inner man, but I see another law in my members fighting against the law of my mind,” and so forth.

When Germanus said that these words of the Apostle were spoken by the Apostle not from his own person but from that of sinners, Theonas refutes such an exposition, saying:

“To the contrary, it is shown evidently that these words can in no way fit the person of sinners, but pertain only to those who have been pronounced perfect and fittingly to the sanctity of those who follow after the merits of the apostles.

“For in what way,” he says, “can that which is said, ‘For I do not do the good which I will, but the evil which I hate, that I do,’ fit the person of sinners?

“For who among offenders is unwillingly entangled in fornications, adulteries, thefts, homicides, and other evils? Rather, they desire so greatly to fulfill the evil desires of sins that with vigilant care they even hunt for an opportunity to commit the crimes conceived. And, as Jeremiah says, ‘They have labored that they might act unjustly.’

“Since, therefore, sinners do not hate but love evil things, it remains that the force of the sense of the Apostle’s words should be measured from the inward disposition of the speaker. Let us discuss what the Apostle called good, and what in comparison with it he pronounced evil, not by the bare signification of the words but with the same intention which he possessed.

“Let us also scrutinize his understanding according to the dignity and merit of the one pronouncing it. For then, with God inspiring, we will be able to comprehend the statements brought forth according to his purpose and will, when, weighing the condition and merit of those by whom they were promulgated, we put on an equal disposition not in word but through experience. According to the quality of this disposition, without doubt all meanings are conceived and opinions are brought forth.

“Therefore, let us diligently investigate what is the principal good which the Apostle was unable to perfect when he willed it.

“We know many good things which we cannot deny that the blessed Apostle and all men of the same merit both possessed through nature and acquired through grace. For chastity is good, continence laudable, prudence admirable, humanity generous, sobriety circumspect, temperance modest, mercy pious, and justice holy.

“We do not doubt that all these were so full and perfect in the Apostle Paul and his companions that religion was taught by them through mastery of virtues rather than through words.

“Since, therefore, Paul abounded in such great goods, we will not be able to recognize what was that good whose perfection he lacked unless we have advanced into that disposition in which he himself spoke.

“Indeed, all his aforesaid virtues, like precious gems, if compared with that evangelical pearl for the purchase of which that merchant sold all his possessions, become of little value and are despised before its excellence.

“Therefore we must see what is that one thing which is preferred to such great and innumerable goods as though the others had been despised. Certainly it is that best part, whose magnificence and perpetuity Mary preferred after the duty of receiving and providing hospitality had been abandoned, concerning which it was said by the Lord: ‘Mary has chosen the best part.’

“Therefore there is one and only contemplation, that is, contemplation of God, after which all merits of justifications and all pursuits of the virtues are deservedly placed.

“Indeed, all those things which we said were in the Apostle are not only good and useful, but also great and precious. But just as tin, a metal good in itself, appears most worthless when compared with silver; silver vanishes by comparison with gold; and gold by comparison with gems; so those merits of the virtues, good and useful at present and to be carried into eternity in the future, if compared with the merits of divine contemplation, will be judged worthless and, so to speak, things to be sold in order to possess it.

“The authority of the Scriptures also confirms this comparison. For Scripture says: ‘God saw all things which he had made, and they were very good.’ And Solomon says: ‘All things which God has made are good in their time.’

“Therefore, these things are not called good simply, but are pronounced ‘very good’ with an addition. For, while we dwell in this world, they are truly suitable to us either for the use of life, for medicine of the body, or for some cause of utility unknown to us. Or certainly they are very good in that through the things which have been made they cause us to behold, understood, the

invisible things of God from the creation of the world, and to contemplate also his eternal power and divinity from so great an ordered construction of the fabric of the world and the subsistence of all things which are in it.

“Nevertheless, all these things will not retain even the name of good if they are compared with that future age, where there is no change of good things and no corruption of true blessedness to be feared. The blessedness of that world is thus described: ‘The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun sevenfold.’

“Therefore, these things, great and excellent to sight and marvelous, if compared with future promises, will immediately appear vanity, David saying: ‘All shall grow old as a garment, and as a covering you shall change them, and they shall be changed; but you are the same.’

“Therefore, because nothing is stable through itself, nothing is good except the Deity alone. But all creatures, so that they may obtain the blessedness of eternity or immutability, attain it not through their nature but through participation in and the grace of their Creator; they cannot retain the merit of goodness conferred by their Creator.

“In the Gospel also many things are pronounced good, such as a good tree, a good treasure, a good man, or a good servant. And nevertheless, if we look to the goodness of God, none of them will be pronounced good, Christ saying: ‘No one is good except God alone.’

“Finally, just as our good things, compared with divine goodness, are turned into wickedness, so also our justice, compared with divine justice, is reckoned similar to a menstrual cloth.

“Therefore, although all the aforesaid merits of the virtues are good and precious in themselves, they are nevertheless darkened by comparison with the clarity of contemplation.

“For although saints are occupied by good works, those works nevertheless greatly draw them away from contemplation of that highest good by earthly pursuits. Hence, although great rewards of merit were prepared for the Apostle from preachings and other labors, nevertheless his mind, although holy and sublime, could not but sometimes be torn away from the intention of that heavenly contemplation by an earthly work.

“Finally, when he saw that he was enriched by such and so great fruits, and, to the contrary, weighed the good of contemplation in his heart, and placed, as though in one scale, the advancement of so many good things and, in the other, the delight of divine contemplation, here the immense rewards of labors delighted him; there the desire for unity and the inseparable fellowship of Christ invited him even to dissolution of the flesh. Anxious at last, he proclaims and says: ‘What I shall choose, I do not know. For I am constrained between two, having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, for this is much better; but to remain in the flesh is more necessary for your sake.’

“Therefore, when he had preferred the excellence of this good even to all the fruits of his preaching, he nevertheless submits himself in contemplation of charity and, for the sake of his neighbors, does not refuse a separation from Christ harmful to himself but necessary to others.

“Those who cover the eyes of their heart with a thick veil of vices and, according to Christ’s saying, ‘seeing, do not see,’ believe that they can contract no fault from these idle and slippery excursions of thoughts; and, contemplating nothing except capital crimes, they believe that only those must be avoided.

“To the contrary, those who establish the sum of all their will, joy, and blessedness in contemplation of divine and spiritual things, when they are drawn from it even slightly and unwillingly by violent thoughts, punish it in themselves as a certain kind of sacrilege by the vengeance of present penance. Lamenting that they preferred to their Creator the most worthless creature toward which the gaze of the mind was deflected, they ascribe to themselves, I would almost say, a crime of impiety.

“And although they turn the eyes of their heart toward beholding the clarity of divine glory with the highest eagerness, nevertheless, not enduring the briefest darkness of carnal thoughts, they execrate whatever draws the gaze of the mind away from that true light.

“Although the saints disdain all things in which this world is occupied, nevertheless it is impossible that they are not carried away to them even by a brief excess of thoughts. No man except our Savior has continually retained the natural wandering of the mind so fixed in contemplation of God while dwelling in the present life that, being carried away from it, he never sinned by delight in any worldly thing, Scripture saying: ‘The stars are not clean in his sight.’

“Therefore, the saints, having experienced that they were unable by human strength to attain their desired end while the burden of the flesh resisted them, and that according to the desire of their heart they could not be joined to that chief and highest good but were led captive from its sight to worldly things, fly to the grace of God which justifies and declare with the Apostle: ‘Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ.’

“For they sense that they cannot perfect that good which they will, but fall into that evil which they do not will and which they hate, that is, the movements of thoughts and the care of bodily things.

“Indeed, they delight in the law of God according to the inner man, who, transcending all visible things, strives always to be united with God alone. But they see another law in their members, that is, implanted in the nature of the human condition, which fights against the law of their mind and carries their sense captive by the violent law of sin, compelling it, namely, to abandon that principal good and submit to earthly thought.

“Although this may appear necessary and useful when some necessity is expended upon the administration of a religious matter, nevertheless, by comparison with that good in which the gaze of all the saints delights, it is certainly judged by them evil and to be fled, because through it they are in some manner withdrawn for a time from the joy of that perfect blessedness.”

The more the human mind advances and arrives at a more sincere purity of contemplation, the more unclean it will inspect itself as though through the mirror of its purity. For no one can be content in that degree to which he has advanced. The more purified anyone is in mind, the more, seeing himself to be defiled, he will find causes of humility rather than of elation. And the more persistently he ascends to more sublime things, the more clearly he sees that more remains toward which he should strive.

Nevertheless, we ought not for this reason to suspend ourselves from the Lord’s communion because we recognize that we are sinners, but we must hasten toward it more and more eagerly for the medicine of the soul and purification of the spirit, yet with that humility of mind and faith by which we judge ourselves unworthy of so great a grace.

And it is much more just, while judging ourselves unworthy, to receive communion on each Lord’s day for a remedy than only once in the year, as certain persons do. They certainly incur a greater presumption of arrogance than they appear to avoid, because, even then when they receive it, from that delay they judge themselves worthy of receiving it.

Note that this authority of the Apostle, “For I do not do the good which I will,” and so forth, according to Thomas and the continuous gloss, can also be understood of the sinner who exists outside grace: namely, that what he wills to do as good according to the prompting of reason, yet with only a certain ineffectual wish, he does not do because the passion of sensuality overcomes him.

It can also be understood of one who has grace but is imperfect: because he would will to do good perfectly without the delight of sensuality in temptations, but cannot because sensuality attacks him.

Section XXIII

The twenty-fourth and final conference is that of Abraham concerning the dwelling of a religious near his relatives.

When John Cassian and Germanus ask what would be more advantageous for them—whether to dwell near parents and acquaintances whom they could frequently instruct in the way of salvation, and, being provided by them with necessities, could more freely devote themselves to reading and prayer; or to remain in solitude, removed from men—Abraham answers:

“Sometimes it is seen that examples of evil are taken from good things. For if anyone presumes to do the same things without the same disposition and purpose, or with dissimilar virtue, he certainly therefrom falls into a snare of deception and death whence for others the fruit of eternal life is acquired.

“For this reason it is fitting that each one of us consider the measure of his own strength. For because the anchoritic life is good, we do not prove that it is fitting for everyone. Nor, because we deservedly profess that the institution of cenobies and the care of brothers is holy and laudable, do we therefore judge that it must be sought by everyone.

“Accordingly, first the institutions of our region and of this one must be weighed against each other. Then the diverse strengths of men, gathered by continual assiduity either in virtues or in vices, must be weighed against each other in the balance. For it can happen that implanted custom has in some manner turned into nature for some what is arduous and impossible for another nation.

“Therefore, now search the secret places of your heart and prudently conjecture whether even near your parents you are able continually to retain such strictness of mind. And when you perceive that you are consistent in this mortification of the soul, then know that the proximity of parents and brothers will likewise not be harmful to you, namely, if, although placed as though in the neighboring house, you believe that you are dead to them.”

Nevertheless, it scarcely ever happens that religious, especially when their relatives themselves provide necessities, are not affected toward them beyond what is due.

Hence, when a certain anchorite had approached blessed Anthony and, when questioned by him, made known that he dwelt near his blood relatives, who provided him with necessities, from which he more freely devoted himself to God, blessed Anthony said:

“Tell me, son, whether you are saddened by their losses and adverse events and rejoice together concerning their prosperity.”

The man confessed that he participated in both. The old man said to him:

“Know that in the future you are to be reckoned in the lot of those with whom in this life, in fellowship of profit and loss, you are shaken either by joy or by sorrow.

“This manner of life and this most tepid condition strike you not only with this loss which I have mentioned—although you yourself do not now perceive it—namely, that, changing your mind each day according to the variety of events, they unceasingly submerge it in earthly things; but also because they deprive you of the fruit of your hands and the just reward of your own labor, not permitting you to prepare your daily food with your hands.”

“Now concerning the fact that you trust that you can also save others, and hasten to revisit your homeland in hope of greater gain, hear concerning this a certain fable of Abbot Macarius, most delightfully and most suitably fashioned, which he also presented to a certain man seething with similar desires.

“There was,” he says, “in a certain city a most skillful barber who, shaving each person for three denarii, after purchasing the necessities of life, laid aside one hundred denarii each day.

“But hearing that in another city one solidus, that is, twelve denarii, was given for a shave or haircut, he thought that, if he went there to practice his art, he would become rich in a short time. He therefore put that thought into execution.

“Going there and beginning his craft, when he had earned many solidi during the day, in the evening he expended all those solidi to prepare the necessities of life for himself, because all things there were in an expensive market. Thus the same thing happened for many days.

“Hence he said to himself: ‘I shall return to my city. For that number of denarii was more profitable to me than this number of solidi, from which not only does nothing remain for me to store away, but scarcely are the necessities of daily sustenance themselves maintained.’

“Therefore, ‘a little with justice’ is better than to desire those greater gains which, even if they should have been acquired by the most profitable conversion of many, are nevertheless consumed by the necessities of worldly conversation and the diminutions of daily distraction.

“Just as one and the same origin of harmful humor is distinguished by as many names as the parts of the members which it seizes, so that it is called gout, disease of the joints, or otherwise, in the same manner let us believe the force of each vice to be present in the parts of our soul.

“For if the pestilence of the vices infects its rational part, it will produce the vices of vainglory, elation, envy, presumption, pride, contention, and heresy.

“If it wounds the irascible part, it will give birth to fury, impatience, sadness, accidie, faintheartedness, and cruelty.

“If it wounds the concupiscible part, it will generate gluttony, fornication, love of money, and other harmful and earthly desires.

“Accordingly, if you desire to recognize the fountain of this vice, know that the rational portion of your mind is corrupted. From this the vices of presumption or vainglory are accustomed to spring, while you believe that you have not only arrived at the summit of perfection, but are also able to teach others.

“But you will be able to cut these things away without difficulty if, by contrition of your mind, you learn how difficult it is for each one of you to save his own soul, and, not only removed from that presumption of teaching others, recognize that you still need the aid of a teacher. Therefore, apply to this disease the medicine of true humility.”

Title XV

Chapter III

After the very useful teaching of the conferences which direct the religious life toward perfection, certain holy fathers who were more celebrated than others among the anchorites or cenobites by the reputation of their virtues must be noted, namely, concerning their manner of life and sayings.

Anthony surpassed the ascent of sanctity of them all and was most gloriously celebrated. He was filled with so great a wisdom concerning divine things and prudence of morals—not through human study, for he was ignorant of letters, but by a divine gift—that many persons flowed together to him from diverse parts of the world as though to a heavenly oracle, for counsel concerning things to be done, and the infirm returned with most complete health from various illnesses.

The magnificent emperor Constantine himself, in whose time Anthony flourished, when he earnestly sought letters from him, received them with much devotion and reverence, for they exhorted him to divine worship and to the exercise of justice.

It is read that Anthony sent seven letters to the churches of Egypt. At that time they were read in the churches like the epistles of Paul.

When a certain friend of Augustine came from Carthage, which is in Africa, and visited Augustine himself, then dwelling at Milan and teaching in the rhetorical art, he related the marvelous things which were told in those regions concerning Saint Anthony, who was then dead: concerning his miracles, the perfection of his life, and his divine wisdom.

Augustine, not yet converted to the faith, burned to imitate Anthony's examples; and, turning to Alypius his companion, he said:

"What do we suffer? What do we hear? The unlearned arise and violently seize heaven, while we with our learning are submerged in the abyss. Is it because they have gone before us that we are ashamed to follow, and are we not rather ashamed that, because they have gone before us, we do not imitate them?"

And, greatly pierced by compunction from this, he purposed to become a Christian.

Anthony was of such fervor in his youth that he followed the martyrs when, by command of Emperor Maximian, they were led to torments, and he was greatly saddened because martyrdom was not granted to him.

Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote his life and manner of living in a lucid and extensive discourse, and Jerome in a briefer one.

His name was consonant with the reality, for it is said to derive from *ana*, which is "above," and "holding," as though "holding things above and despising earthly things."

Therefore, when he was twenty years old and in church heard that evangelical saying being read, "If you wish to be perfect, go, sell all that you possess, give to the poor, and follow me," he was not a deaf hearer of it. Selling all that he possessed, and giving part to his needy blood relatives and part to the poor, he took up the eremitic life.

And although in time he was an anchorite after Paul the first hermit, he nevertheless maintained a more cenobitic life, having been made the father of many monks and the first of those named in the Church whom not only religious persons but also laypeople, even the wicked, greatly venerate and honor.

When he first thought himself to be the hermit among monks, it was revealed to him in sleep that another man, much better than he, inhabited the desert. Taking up his journey, he inquired through forests and desert places who this man was.

He encountered a hypocentaur, a man mixed with a horse, to whom the opinion of the poets gave the name "centaur." This creature showed him that way with its right hand.

Afterward he encountered an animal bearing the fruit of palms, distinguished above by the form of a man and below by that of a goat. When Anthony adjured it by God to state what it was, it answered that it was a satyr, a god of the forests according to the error of the pagans.

At last he found a wolf which led him to the cell of Saint Paul. But Paul, sensing Anthony, locked the door with a bar. Anthony begged him to open to him, affirming that he would never withdraw from there but would even die there. Overcome, Paul opened the door, and immediately they rushed into one another's embraces.

When, after mutual divine conversations, the hour of the meal arrived, a raven which was accustomed to bring Paul food from heaven placed a doubled portion of bread in their midst. When Anthony marveled at this, Paul said that every day God supplied him with food in this manner, but that on that occasion he had doubled the allowance because of the guest.

A pious dispute arose between them as to which was more worthy to divide the bread. Paul deferred to the guest, and Anthony to the elder. At last both put their hands upon it and divided the bread into equal parts.

Thereafter Anthony departed from him. When on his return he approached his cell, he saw angels bearing Paul's soul into heaven and placing it among the prophets and apostles.

Returning swiftly, he found Paul's body erect with bent knees in the manner of one praying, so that he thought that he was alive. But when he learned that he was dead, he said: "O holy soul, what you performed in life you have shown in death."

But when he had no implement with which to make a grave, behold, two lions came and made a pit; and after Paul was buried, they returned to the forest.

Anthony took up Paul's tunic, which was woven from palms. Afterward he used it on solemnities.

Paul died around the year of the Lord 287. When the persecution of Decius against the Christians was raging, he, fearing that he would not be able to sustain the torments, withdrew into a most extensive desert. Remaining unknown to men there for forty years, he most devoutly served God in the wilderness.

Section I

On a certain occasion, when Anthony had overcome the spirit of fornication by the virtue of faith, the devil appeared prostrate before him in the form of a black boy and confessed that he had been overcome by Anthony. For Anthony had also obtained by prayers that he might see the demon which is the spirit of fornication, lying in wait for young men.

When he saw him in the aforesaid form, he said: "You have appeared to me in a most worthless form; I desire to see you no more."

Likewise, when Anthony was hiding in a certain tomb so that, secluded, he could more freely devote himself to God, a multitude of demons lacerated him so severely that his servant, coming and judging him to be as though dead, carried him on his own shoulders to the place where the brothers were assembled.

When all who had assembled were mourning him as though dead, and while all were sleeping, Anthony revived and caused himself to be carried by the servant to the aforesaid tomb.

While he lay there prostrate because of the pain of the wounds, through strength of soul he challenged the demons to conflict. Then they appeared in the various forms of wild beasts and again lacerated him most cruelly with teeth, horns, and claws.

Then a marvelous splendor appeared there and put all the demons to flight. Anthony was immediately healed. Understanding that Christ was present there, he said:

"Where were you, good Jesus? Where were you? Why were you not present from the beginning, that you might help me and heal my wounds?"

The Lord said to him: "Anthony, I was here, but I waited to see your contest. Now, because you have fought manfully, I shall cause you to be named throughout the whole world."

How truly this was fulfilled concerning him is evident in itself.

Likewise, when he was thirty-five years old and was proceeding into another desert, he found a silver dish and began to say within himself:

"Whence is this silver dish here, where no traces of men are seen? If it had fallen from a traveler, it could not have lain hidden because of its size. This is your artifice, devil; nevertheless, you will not be able to change my will."

As he said this, the dish vanished like smoke.

Afterward he found an immense mass of true gold, but he fled from the gold as from a conflagration. Thus, proceeding to a mountain, he remained there for twenty years, shining with innumerable miracles.

The devil once appeared to him with so great a height that he seemed as though to touch heaven with his head. When Anthony asked who he was, he answered that he was Satan, and added:

"Why do the monks thus attack me in vain? Why do all Christians curse me?"

Anthony answered: “They do this justly, for they are frequented by your molestations.”

But he said: “I do nothing. They trouble one another themselves. For I too have been reduced to nothing: Christ reigns everywhere; the name of Christ resounds everywhere.”

Anthony gave thanks to God, and the devil vanished like smoke.

Afflicting his body in many ways and shining with the glory of miracles, Anthony departed to a more unknown place as a precaution against glory. There, when he had sustained diverse snares of the demons, he was asked by the brothers to visit them. When his companions failed from thirst, he produced a spring by prayer. Thus, after his companions had been refreshed, he came joyfully to the monks who had invited him.

On the next day, when the brothers asked about the condition of souls, during the following night a voice came to him, saying: “Arise, go out, and see.”

Going out, he saw a certain tall and terrible figure raising its head as far as the clouds. Extending its hands, it hindered certain winged beings who desired to fly to heaven, but was unable to restrain others who flew through freely. Anthony perceived the greatest joy together with excessive sorrow from those overcome and those victorious.

He understood that the ascent of souls was shown to him, and that the devil was attempting to hinder it: that he retained with joy those who were liable to him and sorrowed over the flight of the saints whom he could not retain.

Section II

As Athanasius writes concerning him in his legend, Anthony was marvelous in the piety of the faith. He never mingled himself with the communion of schismatics, knowing their ancient perversity. He never granted even friendly words to Manichaeans or other heretics, except only such words as could call them back from error, declaring that the friendships and conversations of such persons were the perdition of the soul.

He so detested the Arians that he told everyone that one should not even approach near them.

When at one time Arians lied to Anthony so that they promised that they themselves believed, marveling at their boldness and moved to anger by just sorrow, he expelled them from the mountain to which they had come to him, affirming that they were worse than serpents.

Asked by the bishops and all the brothers, he descended to Alexandria and there condemned Arianism in a public discourse, affirming that this was the last heresy and a precursor of Antichrist.

He preached among the people that the Son of God was not a creature, not made from any things which existed, but proper to and of one essence with the Father. Nor should he be regarded as a creature, an adoption, or a mere designation. He said that it was impious even to conceive in the mind, “There was a time when he was not,” since the Word of God is God, always coeternal with the Father, because he was born from God the Father, who always is.

Hence he said:

“Let there be no association for you with the Arians. You who believe faithfully are Christians. But those who teach that the Son who was born from God the Father is a creature are separated by no interval from the pagans, who serve the creature rather than the Creator.

“Believe me, the elements themselves are angry, and all creatures groan together against the Arian madness, because they see their God, through whom all things and in whom all things were made, reckoned among themselves.”

It cannot be expressed how greatly the preaching of so great a man strengthened the people in the faith. All rejoiced that the hostile heresy which was the enemy of Christ was anathematized by Anthony, the column of the Church.

At that time no age and no sex remained at home. I pass over the Christians. Pagans and even the priests of idols flew together to the Lord’s sheepfold, saying: “We entreat that we may see the man of God,” for the name of Anthony was manifest among all.

They also desired at least to touch the fringe of his garment, believing that they would profit much even from the touch. How many were then freed from diabolical possession and various illnesses? How many spoils were taken away from images? How many, called back from the error of the pagans, were joined to our flock?

Moreover, when his companions repelled the invading multitude because they thought that the assembly of the people would be wearisome to him, he himself said with a tranquil spirit: “Is this gathering greater than the crowds of demons?”

He had also received this gift from the Savior: if someone ignorant of him desired to see him among a multitude of monks, with no one pointing him out, he would run past the others to Anthony. Anthony recognized the purity of a soul from the countenance, and through the mirror of the body beheld the grace of the holy mind. For, always bearing a cheerful face, he showed clearly that he thought about heavenly things. His eyes were gladdening and his teeth bright as milk. These things are from Athanasius.

Section III

Once, when he was working with the brothers, he looked up into heaven. When he had seen a sorrowful vision, he turned toward God and prayed that he would avert the future crime.

Hence, when all who stood by trembled and asked him to explain the vision, prevented by sobs and tears he told them that a great wickedness and unheard-of crime threatened the age:

“I saw,” he said, “the altar of God surrounded by a multitude of mules, which dispersed all things with their heels. By a very great whirlwind the Catholic faith will be overturned, and men similar to beasts of burden will seize the sacred things of Christ. This is the cause of my groans.”

When these things had been heard, the holy voice of the Lord came to him, saying: “My altar will be abominated.” This also came to pass. For two years later, when the Arians broke forth, the Church was subjected to so great a plundering that, after all things had been polluted, not only virgins and matrons and the baptistery itself were defiled, but Christians were also slaughtered like sheep beside the altars.

A certain Arian named Balachius, a commander of Egypt, so harassed the Church that he publicly beat stripped virgins and monks. Anthony wrote thus to him:

“I see the wrath of God coming upon you. Now cease to persecute Christians, lest the wrath of God seize you, which threatens your very near destruction.”

The unhappy man read the letter and laughed; and, spitting upon it, he threw it to the ground. Afflicting the bearers with many injuries, he sent back these words to Anthony: “Because you have such care for monks, our discipline will also come to you.”

But punishment so overwhelmed the threatener that within five days, while he rode with others upon a most gentle horse, he was cast to the ground by the bite of his own horse; and, with his legs gnawed and lacerated, he was carried to the city and died.

At another time, when Anthony was raised into the air by angels, demons came to prevent his passage, objecting against him his sins from the beginning of his birth.

The angels said to them: “You ought not to recount those things which have been blotted out by the mercy of Christ. But if you know anything from the time when he became a monk, bring those things forward.”

When they failed in their proof, Anthony was freely raised on high and freely set down.

Anthony related something concerning himself, saying:

“I once saw a devil lofty in body who dared to call himself the providence and power of God. He said: ‘What do you wish me to give you, Anthony?’ But I, repeatedly spitting into his face, hurled my whole self against him, armed in the name of Christ, and immediately he vanished.”

Once, when Anthony, rapt in spirit, saw the whole world filled with snares connected to one another, he exclaimed: “O who will escape these snares?” And a voice came from heaven: “Humility itself.”

Certain philosophers, hearing the reputation of his wisdom, and knowing that he had not devoted himself to the study of letters in the world, approached him in the desert to tempt him and test his wisdom. Finding him at leisure, they asked what he was doing. He answered that he was then reading.

When they asked in what book he was reading, he answered: “In the books which taught your teachers Aristotle, Plato, and the others: namely, in the creatures whose powers and properties they considered and left behind in their writings.”

But in the creatures Anthony contemplated their Creator by knowing and loving him, whereas the philosophers did so by inquiring curiously and thereby commending themselves. Marveling at this response, they recognized his true wisdom.

Other men skilled in magical art used their customary diabolical art, sending demons to harass him who, by their vehement suggestion, would cause him to withdraw from his cell. When they had repeatedly sent diverse princes of demons by conjuring them and had never overcome him so that they made him abandon that place, they came to him in wonder, asking whether beyond his custom he had been incited during those days to withdraw from that cell.

He indeed confessed that during those days he had been greatly vexed concerning this, but that he had overcome the temptation by the virtue of Christ. Confessing their sin, they were converted to God.

When a certain archer, who had heard the reputation of Anthony's sanctity, saw Anthony rejoicing with his monks, he was scandalized, imputing this to levity and dissolution, not to discretion.

Understanding this, Anthony said to him: "Place an arrow upon the bow and draw." He did so. When Anthony commanded this of him immediately a second and a third time, the archer said: "I shall be able to draw so much that I will grieve over its breaking."

Then Anthony said: "So it is in the work of God. If we wished always to stretch beyond measure, persisting in rigor of spirit and body, we would quickly be broken. It is therefore expedient that rigor be relaxed somewhat so that we may be able to persevere."

Edified by these words, the archer departed. Hence also, in the second conference of Moses, as was said above, when the hermit fathers similarly conferred with blessed Anthony concerning which virtue might conduct a monk more expeditiously and securely to perfection, when diverse persons said diverse things, Anthony concluded and proved by examples that it was the virtue of discretion.

Section IV

When at one time Anthony was afflicted by weariness in the desert, he cried out to God, saying: "Lord, I wish to be saved, but my thoughts do not permit me."

Rising, he left the cell and saw a certain young man—this was an angel of the Lord—standing and working. After a little while he rose and sat down for prayer. After a short while he returned to the work, and, rising again, he prayed.

When he had done this repeatedly in alternating turns, the angel said: "Do this and you will be saved," and suddenly disappeared.

A certain man had renounced the world, but not perfectly, because he still retained certain things for himself. When he therefore came to Anthony for instruction concerning his salvation, Anthony said to him: "Go and buy meat, and when you have it, return to me."

When he had done this and carried it with him, dogs on the way greatly harassed and lacerated him because of the meat. When he came to Anthony, he related the molestation which he had suffered from the dogs on the way because of the meat.

Then Anthony said: "Thus those who renounce the world and retain money for themselves are torn apart by attacking demons."

A certain man questioned Anthony, saying: "What shall I observe so that I may please God?"

He said: "Wherever you go, always have God before your eyes. In the things which you think, always employ the testimony of the Scriptures, so that according to their teaching you may follow the thoughts if they are good or cast them away if they are evil. In whatever place you sit, do not move quickly from there, namely, without an urgent cause. Observing these things, you will be saved."

Another asked him what he should do to attain salvation. Anthony answered:

"Never trust in your own justice. Let there be continence for you concerning the belly and tongue. And do not repent concerning a matter that has passed: namely, if you did good; or, if it was evil, in such a way that you are swallowed up by sadness and desist from good things."

Likewise he said: "He who sits in solitude is rescued from three wars, namely, hearing, speech, and sight. He will have only one battle, but that of the heart through thoughts. Hence one must also keep watch concerning these things, lest they be received badly.

"Just as fish die if they remain for long upon dry ground, so monks who dwell outside the cell and converse with secular persons are dissolved from the purpose of quiet."

When certain brothers had sought a word of salvation from Anthony, he answered: "You have heard the Lord saying in the Gospel: 'If anyone strikes you upon the right cheek, offer him the other.'"

They said: "We can in no way do this."

Anthony said: "At least endure one blow patiently."

They said: "We cannot even do this."

Blessed Anthony said: “At least do not desire to strike more than to be struck.”

They said: “We cannot do even this.”

At last Anthony said to his disciple: “Prepare broths for these men, because they are exceedingly delicate.”

Section V

Athanasius also writes concerning blessed Anthony that, when several philosophers had already twice come to blessed Anthony to tempt and mock him because he was ignorant of letters, he nevertheless refuted them when they questioned him.

A third time, men blinded by the cloud of all secular prudence, and most learned in their estimation of all the arts of philosophy, came. When they demanded from him an account of the faith which we have in Christ, and endeavored by the argumentative questioning of sophisms to mock him concerning the divine cross, after he had for a little while restrained his voice within himself, first pitying their error, then through an interpreter who was accustomed diligently to express his words in the Greek language, he began thus, saying:

“What is more beautiful or more honorable than to worship the cross?”

“Or to assign adultery, homicide, and incest to those whom you worship, since in the one the contempt of death is a distinguished mark of virtue, while in the other a shameful religion is the mistress of obscenity?

“Which is it better to say: that the Word of God, remaining what he was, assumed a human body for our salvation, so that by fellowship in mortality he might carry us up to the heavens and make us participants in the heavenly nature; or, as you yourselves assert, that something drawn from the divine Mind submits its head to earthly things that are to be worshiped and encloses a heavenly gift within the forms of cattle and serpents?

“With what face do you dare to ridicule the belief of Christians, who say that Christ the Son of God, without loss to himself, both began to be what he was not and remained what he had been, when you yourselves, dragging the soul down from heavenly things, are accustomed to enclose it within the bodies not only of human beings but also of cattle?

“Christian belief testifies that its God came for the salvation of the world. But you, proclaiming the soul to be unbegotten, transfer it hither and thither. The Christian faith, which reveres the clemency and omnipotence of God, says that this was possible for God, yet in such a way that his condescension did not empty his dignity. You boast that the soul, flowing from the most splendid fountain of God, fell shamefully; after its diminution you dare to assert that it is mutable and convertible.

“And now, with an impious tongue, through your insults against the soul you profane that sovereign nature. For the image which, according to you, retains a natural likeness of its author, with whom it possesses one and the same substance from which it flows, consequently refers the condition and injury of its humiliation back to its own origin. Therefore observe that, because of your blasphemy, insults against souls overflow to their Father, as you call him.

“The cross of Jesus Christ our Lord is brought forward against us. I ask: what obscenity of religion is here? Is it not better patiently to endure the cross, or death of any kind inflicted by wicked men, than to lament Isis and to wander after Osiris in uncertain and errant courses?

“Be ashamed, I beg you, of the snares of Typhon. Be ashamed of the flight of Saturn and his most cruel devouring of his children. Blush at the parricide and incest of Jupiter. Blush at his rape and intercourse with women and boys. He, as your poets invent, in order to fulfill the fury of his most monstrous lust, uttered tender lowings in love. He flowed into the bosom of Danaë. He was both lover and price. He, made a tuneful bird, sought the embraces of Leda. He, raging against his own sex, polluted a royal boy, with birds as his ministers. These things you believe; these things you worship; these are the ornaments of your temples.

“Weigh all our sayings, I beseech you for your salvation, with an equal judgment. Are all the books of the Christians to be believed, or none? If none, then you do not even acknowledge the name of the cross which you disparage. If all are to be believed, why, when in the same books the resurrection of the Crucified is joined to his crucifixion, do you rend the divine Passion with foolish speech and not immediately join to it the sight of the blind, the hearing of the deaf, the running of the lame, the cleansing of leprosy, the sea serving its God as he walked, the flights of demons, the resurrections of the dead, and the returns of the departed from the lower regions?

“All these things are inserted in the Scriptures which you attack, and the proclamations of majesty and of a dishonorable death are contained in the same volumes. Therefore, having cast aside the hatred with which you are imbued, you will immediately discover both that Jesus is true God and that, for the sake of human salvation, he assumed a fragile nature.

“Nevertheless, if it does not shame you, recount your religion to us. But what unhappy error could relate rites drawn from such great foulness and madness? Unless perhaps, as I hear, you assert that the obscenities, cruelties, and deaths of your gods are

fables, and cover them with allegorical veils, interpreting the rape of Libera as earth; half-lame Vulcan as feeble fire; Juno as air; Apollo as the sun; Diana as the moon; Neptune as the seas; and Jupiter, the prince of lusts, as the ether.

“For even after this shameless excuse, you receive not God but creatures, the Creator having been despised. But if the beauty of the elements drew you to veneration of them, it was right to preserve a measure, and you ought only to admire them, not worship them, lest the veneration of the creature become an injury to the Creator. For, according to the inverted reasoning of this kind which you follow, the honor of the architect would migrate to the house, the physician's remedies would be referred to his science, and the merits or praises of all artisans would be transferred to their works.

“What do you say to these things, so that you may recognize how disgraceful your ridiculous confession concerning the cross is?”

At this disputation the philosophers turned their eyes toward one another and muttered together. Smiling, Anthony again said through the interpreter:

“It certainly appears difficult to every work when the just tenor of the whole matter has been trampled underfoot, and the merits of the labor are fastened to the things made rather than to their makers. The elements, indeed, as I have recalled, prove their servitude from their very appearance.

“But because by dialectical observation you draw together each necessary conclusion, as you suppose, and by this same art compel us to affirm our religion, answer me: in what way is knowledge of God more manifestly proved—through arguments of words, or through the operation of faith? And which is prior: the operation of faith, or disputation proceeding through arguments?”

They answered that operation was firmer than words and that it was a clear knowledge of God. Anthony agreed that they had spoken well, because an operation descending from faith generates dispositions of the soul, whereas dialectic received its beginning from an opposition, or from the artifice of those who compose the opposition.

He said: “Therefore, when anyone has the operation of faith established in him in every respect, a composition of words will be superfluous. Through such a composition you attempt to tear out the belief conceived in our understanding, and yet you are often unable to explain even our understandings. Thus the works of the mind are more solid than the deceitful conclusion of sophisms.

“We Christians have the mystery of our life placed not in the wisdom of the world but in the power of the faith which has been bestowed upon us by God through Christ. The order of the things which take place each day commends the truth of my speech. For us, who are unlearned and ignorant of the study of your letters, the words of God alone suffice for knowledge of him.

“Behold, although drawn away from so many flocks of paganism, we are extended daily throughout the whole world; but after the advent of our Lord the knotted subtleties of your sophisms have failed. Behold, by teaching the simple faith of Christ we conquer idolatry, and through the preaching of the dishonorable cross the gilded temples have fallen. If you can, show by what composition of words you have persuaded paganism to prefer Christ to itself.

“Throughout the whole earth Christ has now been acknowledged as the true Son of God. Neither the eloquence of the sophists nor the disputation of philosophy is able to impede the multitude of believers. We name the Crucified, and all the demons whom you worship as gods take flight and are driven from possessed bodies at the first sign of the Lord's cross.

“Where are those fabulous oracles? Where are the incantations of the Egyptians? What have the chants of the magicians accomplished? Certainly all these things were laid waste when Christ thundered forth to the world with his cross. Nevertheless, passing over the crowds of the debilitated who were healed, you endeavor to ridicule the glorious death of Jesus.

“And what of the fact that paganism, although never shaken by legal attack but rather upheld and sustained by secular care and the defenses of men, has now fallen? We servants of Christ rise up and flourish the more we are oppressed. Your images, once ornamented and enclosed by walls, have now collapsed from age. But although the doctrine of Christ, which appears to you folly and sport, has endured the assaults of tyrannical persecuting princes, although it has been attacked by various terrors, it is confined by no region of the earth and prohibited by no boundary of pagan barbarians.

“For when has so great a splendor of divine knowledge shone forth? When have so many virtues come together at once? Continence flourishes in marriage; virginity flourishes in the Church; and the glorious constancy of the martyrs for their Lord is strong. The cross of Christ is the beginning of all these things.

“Meanwhile, amid so many choirs of virtues, you spread the nets of syllogisms and endeavor to wrap the true light in dark arguments. Behold, as our teacher said, we persuade not by pagan persuasion but by most manifest faith, because faith is accustomed to precede the affirmation of words.

“Here, indeed, are persons suffering because they are vexed by demons.”

When he had brought them into the midst, he repeated these words, saying:

“Now expel these demons with your conjectures and with whatever maleficent chant you wish, by the gods whom you believe in. But if you are unable, submit your conquered hands. Flee for refuge to the trophies of Christ, and immediately embrace belief in the Crucified through the power of his majesty.”

He spoke, and, having invoked the name of Jesus, he impressed the life-giving sign upon their foreheads in the sacred number of the Trinity. Together with the expulsion of the demons, the vain wisdom of the philosophers who were present was confounded. They were terrified, being astonished at so great a man, to whom, after such great natural capacity, so great a liberality of signs abounded.

But he, ascribing to Christ all the things which he had cured, employed a reciprocal address and said:

“Do not think that I gave health to these men, but Christ does these miracles through his servants. Believe, and you also will see that faith devoted to God, not the vain swelling of eloquence, merits such signs. Flee to the law of the Crucified. Imitate his servants, and, content with this limit of knowledge, henceforth put away the arguments of secular imprudence.”

When Anthony had spoken thus far, the philosophers were struck with marvelous astonishment. Departing after he had saluted them honorably, they acknowledged among themselves that the sight of him had profited them greatly.

This also is marvelous: although the man had been placed at the farthest boundary of the world, both the favor of princes and every royal court celebrated him. For Emperor Constantine and his sons Constans and Constantius, knowing such things, often sent letters to him as to a father, entreating that he in turn would gladden them with letters.

Concerning this he was asked by all the brothers to illumine the Christian kings with his letters, lest they should be embittered by his silence. Although he responded with difficulty, saying, “What business do monks have with the letters of kings?” nevertheless, after receiving the letters, he answered what was fitting.

First he praised them because they worshiped Christ. Then he offered salutary counsel: that they should not think royal power great; that, being swollen by command over present flesh, they should not fail to know themselves to be men; and that they should not forget that they were to be judged by Christ. Finally, he also admonished them to have clemency toward their subjects and concern for justice toward the needy, and testified that the Lord Jesus Christ alone is the eternal King of the ages.

When the princes received these letters, they rejoiced exceedingly. Athanasius records all these things where cited above.

Blessed Anthony died in the year 360 from the incarnation of the Lord, in the one hundred and fifth year of his age.

Section VI

Because what is contained in the following noteworthy history pertains to blessed Anthony, it is inserted here.

Cronius, a priest of Nitria, related, as Vincent writes in the *Mirror of History*, book XVIII, that a certain Eulogius, a scholar seized by desire for immortality, renounced this world. After distributing his possessions, he nevertheless left for himself the few things which he might use, because he was unable to work by himself.

Therefore, since he could neither dwell with many persons in a monastery nor patiently endure solitude, he found a certain sick man lying in a public square, so filled with elephantiasis that he appeared to be without hands and feet. His tongue was immune from such great torments.

Then Eulogius, praying and solemnly making a certain covenant with the Lord, said: “Lord God, I shall take this man up and sustain him until the day of his death, so that I also may be able to be saved because of him.”

Thereafter, carrying him upon an ass to his lodging, he diligently served him for fifteen years. With his own hands he cared for him with medicines, foods, and baths, and the man bore all things with great patience.

But after these things, at the instigation of a demon and forgetful of Eulogius's benefits, he began to wish to depart from him. He assailed him with many insults and reproaches, saying:

“Runaway, who devoured your own house and stole another's substance, do you believe that in me you have found an occasion for your salvation?”

Eulogius, however, entreated him, saying: “Do not say such things, my lord. Instead, tell me, and I shall make amends if in anything I have saddened you.”

But the man said with fury: “Go away. I do not want those flatteries of yours. Cast me out into the public square. I do not need your refreshment.”

When Eulogius again entreated him, the sick man said: “I no longer endure your deceitful mockeries. Nor is this dry and meager life pleasing to me. I wish to be filled with meats.”

When Eulogius had supplied these, the sick man cried out: “You cannot satisfy my will, nor am I able to live alone with you. I desire to go into public and see the people.”

Eulogius said: “I shall bring you a multitude of brothers.”

“Woe is me, miserable man,” said the sick man. “I do not wish to see your face, and you bring me men like yourself, devourers of bread alone!”

Shaking himself and crying out with a restless voice, he said: “I do not wish it! I do not wish it! But I desire to go into public. O violence! Cast me there whence you took me up.”

So great was his insanity, and so thoroughly had the demon turned his understanding into bestial cries, that he might perhaps have hanged himself if he had possessed hands with which he could do it.

Therefore Eulogius, not daring to cast him out because of his preceding covenant with God, took counsel with the neighboring monks that he should bring him by ship to Saint Anthony. Thus, overcoming him with gentle words, he brought him to the habitation of Anthony's disciples. On the next day Anthony arrived there.

When Anthony came, he was accustomed to call Macarius and question him with these words: “Have any brothers come here?”

When Macarius answered that they had come, Anthony would say: “From Egypt, or from Jerusalem?” For Anthony had given him this sign: if any men came who were not sufficiently worthy of his conversation, they had come from Egypt. When Anthony said to him, “Make lentils for them, and let them eat,” he commanded them to depart after prayer had been completed three times. But spiritual and holy men were said to have come from Jerusalem, and, sitting with them throughout the whole night, he spoke things profitable for their salvation.

Therefore that night, as he sat with the brothers, a revelation having been made to him concerning Eulogius's deed, Anthony called Eulogius three times by his own name and commanded him to state before the brothers the cause of his coming.

When he had done so and said that he had wished to cast out the man with elephantiasis, Anthony answered in a stern voice:

“Will you cast him away from you, Eulogius? But he does not cast him away, because he knows himself to be holy [read: But He who knows that the man was made by Him does not cast him away]. Will you cast him away? God will find one better than you and will choose one who will gather up the destitute man.”

When Eulogius, terrified by these words, had fallen silent, Anthony also began to lash the sick man with words, saying:

“You man with elephantiasis, horrible with filth and mud, worthy neither of heaven nor earth, do you not cease to shout injury against God? Do you not know that it is Christ who ministers to you? This man has subjected himself to such service for the sake of Christ.”

After this, turning to them both, he said:

“My sons, do not be separated from one another, but return in peace to the cell in which you have lived so long, lest you be defrauded of your crowns; for now each of you will merit to be crowned. This temptation therefore befell you because you both have come to the end of life.”

When they had returned with peace restored, Eulogius died within fifteen days. After another three days the sick man also died, exceedingly sound in mind.

Cronius said: “I was the interpreter of these words, because Anthony did not know the Greek language, while I knew both Greek and Egyptian.”

Chapter IV

Anthony had many disciples who shone with sanctity and miracles, such as Paul the Simple, Hilarion, Macarius, and others, concerning whom something will now be said.

First, concerning Paul.

As Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History*, book XVIII, Paul was a simple rustic and a married man. When he found his wife in adultery, he simply said to himself, without any vengeance or rage, “From now on she will not be with me.”

Therefore, leaving the adulteress and going to the desert, he knocked at the door of Anthony's cell. When Anthony came out and asked what he wanted, Paul answered that he wished to become a monk.

Anthony said: “Since you are an old and feeble man, and are now sixty years old, you cannot become a monk here. Go instead to less rigorous monasteries. For I dwell here alone, and even after five days I take food in the greatest want.”

But Paul did not acquiesce and said, “Whatever you teach me, I shall do.”

Anthony shut himself within the cell for the whole of three days, yet Paul, although excluded from the doors, did not depart. After this, compelled by the necessity of nature, Anthony went out and said: “Depart, old man. You cannot remain here with me.”

But Paul said: “Certainly I shall either live or die here.”

Anthony observed that Paul had brought absolutely no food with him and had now remained in continual fasting for the fourth day. Fearing that Paul's death might leave a stain upon him, he at last received him and began to conduct himself more harshly and laboriously than usual.

He therefore offered Paul soaked date-palm fibers, saying: “Take these and weave ropes as you see me doing.”

When Paul had most laboriously woven fifteen fathoms by the ninth hour, Anthony said: “You have woven these badly. Undo what has been done and weave it again.” Thus he imposed so heavy a burden upon the old man during four days of fasting that, when he perceived himself unequal to so great a labor, he might be compelled by this necessity to depart from him.

Paul, however, fulfilled all things patiently and willingly, and by murmuring within himself he did not show a sorrowful countenance.

Then Anthony, pierced with compunction, said to him when the sun was already setting: “Come, old man, let us eat a portion of bread.”

Paul answered: “As it pleases you, abba.”

This reply again bent Anthony, because at the mention of food Paul did not immediately hurry toward it, but placed everything in the will of the one commanding.

Anthony said: “Set the table and bring the bread.”

When Paul had done so, Anthony moistened with water one of his hard biscuits, because they were dry, and placed three portions before him. But after saying the customary psalm, he made forty prayers in order still to test him in this way. Paul again prayed with him patiently and willingly.

Finally, deep in the night, Anthony took one biscuit and waited for the old man, who was eating more slowly, until he had consumed one whole biscuit. Then he said: “Eat another, old man.”

Paul answered: “I shall not eat unless I see you do the same.”

Anthony said: “This is enough for me, because I am a monk.”

Paul replied: “And this is enough for me, because I desire to be a monk.”

After these things Anthony rose, and, when twelve psalms had been said and the same number of prayers made, he rested for a little while. Rising again, he kept vigil from midnight until daylight, singing psalms and praying.

Seeing, therefore, that the old man was so ready for all things, he said to him: “Behold, brother: if you are able to live this life every day, you will remain with me.”

Paul answered: “If perhaps you command anything more, I do not know about it. For I am confident that I shall easily fulfill the things which I have seen.”

After some months, because Anthony had now proved Paul's soul to be perfect, he made a cell for him at the distance of the third or fourth milestone and said: “Because you have become a monk, you will now remain alone, so that you may also experience demons.”

There, therefore, within a year Paul merited divine grace both against the infirmities of human beings and against the powers of demons.

Accordingly, when a certain raging man, vexed by the prince of a legion of demons, was brought to Saint Anthony to be cured, Anthony answered that this work belonged to Paul the Simple, not to himself. For the most wretched and vilest of demons are accustomed to be expelled by great men through the strength of faith alone, but great demons flee from simple and humble men.

Therefore Anthony went with them to Paul and said: “Expel this demon from the man, so that he may bless God, for I have no leisure.”

When Anthony had left them and returned to his cell, Paul arose, prayed with the greatest concentration, and said to the demon: “Abba Anthony has said that you are to depart from this man.”

But the demon, shouting an injury against God, said: “I shall not go out, detestable old man.”

Therefore Paul took up the skin which covered his shoulders and struck him with it, repeating and saying: “Go out, because Abba Anthony has said this.”

Then the demon began to bring insults against them both, crying: “Detestable old men, whom your forgetfulness has passed over [read: whom our forgetfulness overlooked], insatiable men who are not content with your own things, why do you exercise your tyranny against us?”

At last Paul said: “If you are unwilling to depart from this man, surely woe will be yours, because I shall go and speak of this to Christ.”

When the demon again contradicted him with blasphemy, Paul, angered, left the cell in the midst of the day's heat, which in Egypt is compared in burning to the furnaces of Babylon. There upon the very rock of the mountain he stood immovable like a column and prayed with these words:

“You see, Jesus Christ, that I shall not descend from this rock or take food or drink; thus certainly he dies [read: thus certainly I shall die] unless you first free this man from the demon.”

He had not yet completed the words when the demon cried with a very loud voice: “Go, go! I suffer violence and am departing, nor shall I approach any further.”

“The simplicity of Paul presses and pursues me, and I do not know where I shall go.”

Thus, having gone out and been changed into an immense dragon seventy cubits long, he was immediately cast down into the Red Sea.

On one occasion, when a certain man had come to blessed Anthony for the sake of edification and was conferring with him concerning the Scriptures—namely, concerning Christ and the prophets—in the presence of Paul the Simple, Paul asked: “Father, which existed first, Christ or the prophets?”

As though blushing at this question, Anthony rebuked him, saying: “Be silent and go to your cell.”

Receiving this command, Paul went to his cell and did not come out from it for several days. When Anthony saw that Paul had not come to him as usual, and wondered whether he had fallen into excessive sorrow, he went to him. Paul opened the door of the cell to him but remained silent.

Anthony said to him: “Why do you not speak, and why have you not come to me according to your custom?”

Without any anxiety, Paul simply replied: “Father, you commanded me to go to my cell and be silent. I therefore wished to fulfill your command.”

Then, sighing, Anthony said to his companions: “The simplicity of this man condemns our sloth and disobedience. He observes the commands of men most fully, and we scarcely obey the commands of God.”

When a certain dead boy had been brought to blessed Anthony so that he might raise him, blessed Anthony, knowing that this had been reserved for Paul, ordered him to be carried to Paul. Going with them, Anthony told Paul to raise him.

But Paul, deferring to his teacher, said: “You, father, are more capable of accomplishing this.”

Anthony answered: “I am occupied with other matters; you perform this.”

Paul placed himself in prayer, asking for the raising of the boy. When the ninth hour, his customary time for taking food, had now passed and the boy still lay dead, Paul said to the Lord:

“Lord Jesus Christ, certainly I shall not eat until you raise this boy, just as Anthony commanded me.”

The Lord, unwilling to sadden his delight and satisfying Paul's simplicity, raised him.

The same Paul cut horned vipers and scorpions in two, saying: “If anyone possesses purity, all things will be subjected to him, as they were to Adam in paradise before sin.”

Likewise he saw of what sort of soul each person was, just as we see the faces of human beings. Thus, when certain brothers were entering the church with joyful and shining faces, and the angel of each one was rejoicing, he saw among them one man who was black and dark. Demons on either side held him and drew him toward themselves, putting a halter in his nostrils, while his holy angel followed far behind him in mourning.

Seeing this, Paul stood sorrowful and weeping and struck his breast. He was unwilling to enter the church, but sat at the door and waited for the brothers until they returned.

When they came out, he saw the same brother emerge with a bright countenance, his angel walking beside him and greatly rejoicing, while the demons followed at a distance in sorrow.

Paul therefore leapt up with joy, crying and saying: “O ineffable mercy and goodness of God! Come and see the works of the Lord, who wills all human beings to be saved and to come to acknowledgment of the truth.”

That brother was compelled to recount his life, and he said:

“I am a great sinner and have lived in fornication for a long time, even until now. But when I entered the church just now, I heard the Lord saying through Isaiah: ‘Wash yourselves; be clean,’ and so forth, as far as, ‘If you are willing and will listen, you shall eat the good things of the land.’

“Pierced with compunction by this discourse, I said with groaning: ‘Lord, who came to save sinners, fulfill these words in me, a sinner. Behold, I promise you that from now on I shall renounce every sin and serve you with a clean conscience. Therefore receive me, repenting in this hour, entreating you, and renouncing every sin.’

“Therefore I came out of the church with these promises.”

All who heard these things glorified God.

Chapter V

There was also another most holy disciple of blessed Anthony named Hilarion, whose life Jerome described. Vincent, however, thus abbreviates it in the *Mirror of History*, book XV.

Hilarion, born near Gaza in Palestine to parents devoted to idolatry, flourished like a rose from thorns. Entrusted by them to the study of grammar at Alexandria, he delighted neither in the frenzy of the circus nor in the luxury of the theater, but his entire pleasure was in the congregation of the Church.

Hearing the name of Anthony, which was then celebrated throughout all the peoples of Egypt, and inflamed with zeal to see him, he went into the desert. As soon as he saw Anthony, he changed his clothing and remained beside him for almost two months, contemplating the order of his life and the gravity of his conduct.

But no longer enduring the frequency of those who ran to Anthony because of various infirmities and assaults of demons, he returned to his homeland. When his parents had died, he bestowed part of his substance upon his brothers and part upon the poor, reserving absolutely nothing for himself. He was fifteen years old.

Thus, naked and armed in Christ, he entered a solitude not far from Gaza which turns to the left for those traveling along the shore toward Egypt. Therefore, covering his limbs only with sackcloth, having a leather upper garment which blessed Anthony had given him when he departed, and wearing a rustic cloak, he enjoyed the vast and terrible solitude between the sea and the marshes, eating only fifteen dried figs after sunset.

Because the region was infamous for robberies, he sometimes remained in the same place [read: he never remained in the same place]. But the devil, seeing himself conquered by a boy, and before Hilarion had been able to sin, titillated his sense, which had been restrained through age, and suggested to his adolescent body the customary fires of pleasures.

The novice soldier of Christ was compelled to think about what he did not know. Angry with himself and beating his breast with his fists, as though striking his thoughts and as though he could exclude them with his hands, he said:

“I shall make you, little ass, so that you will not kick. I shall feed you not with barley but with chaff. I shall burden your back with a heavy weight through heat and cold, so that you may think of food rather than wantonness.”

He suffered many snares of demons. Often naked women appeared to him as he lay down. Often, when he was hungry, most abundant feasts appeared to him. Sometimes, while he prayed, a howling wolf and a yelping little fox leapt across him. While he sang psalms, the contest of gladiators offered him a spectacle, and one of them, as though slain, fell before his feet and asked for burial.

Once he prayed with his head fixed upon the ground and, as the nature of human beings bears, his mind was drawn away from prayer and he was thinking about some other thing. A swift charioteer leapt upon his back, struck his sides with his heels and his neck with a whip, and said: “Ho! Why are you sleeping?” Laughing above him, he asked whether he had failed and whether he wished to receive barley.

Thereafter a small, narrow cell was constructed for him which remains to this day, four feet in width and five in height—that is, lower than his own stature—and in length only somewhat greater than his little body permitted, so that you would judge it to be a tomb rather than a house.

He cut his hair only on the day of Easter. Until death he slept upon a bed of rushes. He never washed the sackcloth garment with which he had been clothed, saying that it was superfluous to seek delicacies in haircloth.

When robbers came to him in the middle of the night, running about between the sea and the marsh from evening until morning, they were never able to find the place of his bedchamber. When the boy was found in clear daylight, they said to him as though in jest: “What would you do if robbers came to you?”

He answered: “A naked man does not fear robbers.”

They said: “Certainly you could be killed.”

“I could,” he said, “but therefore I do not fear robbers, because I am prepared to die.”

Then, marveling at his constancy and faith, they confessed their error of the night and promised him a more corrected life.

It happened that a certain possessed man was brought to him whose hands, neck, sides, and feet were laden with iron, and whose twisted eyes threatened the savagery of madness.

While the saint was walking with the brothers and interpreting some passage of Scripture, the man broke from the hands of those holding him, embraced Hilarion from behind, and lifted him into the air. A cry arose from everyone, lest he dash together limbs wasted by fasting.

But the saint smiled and said: “Permit me, and release my wrestler to me.”

Reaching his hand back over his shoulders, he touched the man's head. Grasping him by the hair, he brought him before his feet, bound his hands, and trod upon the soles of his feet. Repeatedly he began to say: “Be tormented, crowd of demons! Be tormented!”

He said: “Lord Jesus, release the wretched man; release the captive. It belongs to you to conquer both one and many.”

Thus cured, after a few days the man returned with his wife and children to the monastery, offering many gifts as though to render thanks.

The saint said to him: “Have you not read what Gehazi and what Simon suffered, of whom the one offered a price and the other received it?”

But the man, weeping, said: “Accept it and give it to the poor.”

The saint replied: “I, who left my own things behind, why should I seek the things of another? For many, the name of the poor is an occasion of avarice. Mercy does not possess artifices. No one distributes better than he who reserves nothing for himself.”

Hilarion used to say that the devil burned with so great a hatred of human beings that he desired not only that they themselves should perish, but also their possessions, such as draft animals and cattle. A sign of this is that, before he was permitted to tempt blessed Job, he had destroyed all Job's substance.

Hilarion especially detested monks who, through a certain faithlessness of their own, reserved things for the future. Hence a certain avaricious brother who lived nearby brought the brothers a bundle of green chickpea plants just as they were in the field.

When Hesychius placed them on the table toward evening, the old man cried out that he could not bear their stench and asked whence they came. Hesychius answered that a certain brother had brought the first fruits of his little field.

“Do you not perceive,” he said, “the most foul stench, and that avarice stinks in the chickpea? Send them to the oxen and see whether they will eat them.”

When he had placed them in the manger, the terrified oxen, lowing more than usual, broke their bonds and fled. For Hilarion possessed this grace, which God had granted him: from the odor of bodies and of things which anyone had touched, he knew whether the person was subject to a demon or to some vice.

Section I

When Hilarion, in the sixty-third year of his life, saw the great monastery and the multitude of brothers dwelling with him, and the crowds of those who brought to him persons occupied by various illnesses and unclean spirits, so that the solitude round about was filled with every kind of human being, he wept daily and recalled with incredible desire his former manner of life.

When the brothers asked what was wrong with him and why he afflicted himself, he said:

“I have returned again to the world and receive my reward in my life. The people of Palestine and the neighboring province think that I am of some importance, and under the pretext of a monastery and the administration of the brothers I possess paltry household goods.”

He was therefore guarded by the brothers, and especially by Hesychius, who was marvelously devoted to reverence for him.

When he had passed two years lamenting in this way, a certain woman came to him wishing also to go to Anthony. Weeping, he said to her: “I too would wish to go, if I were not held in the prison of this monastery and if there were any profit in going. For today it is two days since the whole world was deprived of such a father.”

She believed him and remained. A few days later, when a messenger came, she heard of Anthony's falling asleep.

Bishops ran together from one place, clerics, monks, and every kind of human being from another, so that they might receive bread or oil blessed by him. But he meditated upon nothing other than solitude, so much so that one day, when a little ass had been brought—for his body, consumed by excessive fasting, was scarcely able to walk—he endeavored to undertake a journey.

When this became known, as though devastation were being proclaimed for Palestine, more than ten thousand people of diverse sex and age were gathered to retain him.

Immovable before their entreaties and stirring the sand with his staff, he said: “I do not make my God false. I cannot see churches overturned, Christ's altars trampled, and the blood of my sons.”

Then all who were present understood that some secret had been revealed to him which he did not wish to confess, and nevertheless they guarded him lest he depart. Therefore he resolved, publicly declaring to everyone, that he would take neither food nor drink unless he were released.

After seven days of fasting, he was at last released. With an infinite multitude following him, he came to Betulium. There, after persuading the crowds to return, he selected forty monks who possessed provisions and were able to travel fasting and to take food after sunset.

Proceeding to the fortress of Tobaston, he visited Zachonas the bishop, who was in exile there. When Zachonas had been incredibly consoled by the presence of so great a man, Hilarion proceeded to Babylon in order also to visit Philo the bishop. For King Constantius, favoring the heresy of the Arians, had caused both to be deported to those places.

Then, after visiting the habitation of Saint Anthony, he returned from Aphroditon. Retaining with him only two brothers, he remained in the neighboring desert with such abstinence and silence that he said he had then first begun to serve Christ.

Now for three years the closed heaven had dried those lands, so that the people commonly said that even the elements mourned Anthony's death. Nor did Hilarion's reputation escape the inhabitants of that place. Men and women alike, with faces discolored and attenuated by hunger, competed in entreating for rain from the servant of Christ—that is, from Anthony's successor.

When he saw them, he grieved marvelously. Raising his eyes and his palms to heaven, he immediately obtained what they had requested.

But after that region had been watered by rains, it suddenly boiled forth such a multitude of serpents and venomous animals that innumerable persons who were struck would have perished unless they had immediately run to the holy man. Therefore, by touching their wounds with blessed oil, all the farmers and shepherds confidently recovered health.

Seeing, therefore, that he was being honored there also with marvelous honors, he departed from that place.

Section II

But the more he fled the glory of the world, the more it pursued him by reason of his very great miracles. Hence, when he came to Sicily so that he might remain hidden, a certain shield-bearer who was being tormented in the basilica of blessed Peter at Rome cried out, the unclean spirit within him saying:

“A few days ago Hilarion, the servant of God, entered Sicily. No one knows him, and he thinks himself hidden, but I shall go and betray him.”

Immediately, boarding a ship with his servants, the man landed at Pachynum in Sicily. With the demon leading him before Hilarion's hut, he prostrated himself and was at once cured. This was the beginning of Hilarion's signs in Sicily.

Thereafter it brought to him an innumerable multitude of sick persons. Among them, a certain man of the foremost rank who was swollen was brought and healed by him.

But Hesychius his disciple was seeking him throughout the whole world. When he heard that a prophet of the Christians had appeared in Sicily and was performing such great miracles that he was believed to be one of the ancient saints, he came to him. But he heard that Hilarion was now unwilling to dwell in those regions and wished to proceed to barbarous nations where both his name and report would be unknown.

Therefore Hesychius brought him to the town of Epidaurus in Dalmatia. Although Hilarion remained for a few days in a certain little field, he could not be hidden.

For there was a dragon of immense size which they call a boa because it devours oxen, and which swallowed not only beasts but also human beings. After prayer, Hilarion burned the said dragon upon a pyre of wood which he had ordered to be prepared and kindled.

Afterward, when the sea left its bounds, the people of Epidaurus, fearing that their city might be utterly crushed by the waters, took the old man and, as though going out to battle, placed him on the shore.

When he had drawn three signs of the cross in the sand and stretched his hands against the sea, the sea stood before him as though at a barrier, and, recoiling indignantly into itself, advanced no farther.

When the whole city marveled, he boarded a little ship and fled to Cyprus. When certain pirates who met them sought to seize the little ship, the holy man obtained by his prayer that they could not reach them but were unwillingly carried backward to the shore.

When he entered Paphos, a city of Cyprus, throughout that entire island all who had unclean spirits began to cry that Hilarion, the servant of Christ, had come and that they must hasten to him.

Within thirty days nearly two hundred sick men and women were gathered to him. Seeing them and grieving that they did not permit him to rest, and raging in some manner as though in vengeance upon himself, he scourged them with so great an insistence of prayer that all were cured within one week.

He remained there for two years, always thinking about flight in order to avoid the reputation of the world. Afterward he went to a certain island near the regions of Egypt, to a place almost inaccessible, which he could scarcely ascend by crawling with his hands and feet.

There he found a remote place surrounded by trees, possessing waters, a very pleasant little garden, and many fruit trees, though he never ate of their fruits. He lived there for five years. By day and night the voices of innumerable demons resounded there, so that you would have believed them to be an army. Hilarion was greatly delighted by this, namely because he had antagonists nearby with whom he might contend.

There he healed in the name of Christ a paralytic who had been brought to him.

Section III

Therefore, in the eightieth year of his age, while Hesychius his disciple and guardian was absent, Hilarion wrote with his own hand a short letter in the manner of a testament, leaving all his riches to him: namely, the Gospel book, the sackcloth tunic, the hood, and the little cloak.

Many religious men therefore came to him from Paphos, especially because they had heard him say that he was now about to migrate to God. There also came a certain holy woman named Constantia, whose son-in-law and daughter he had delivered from death by anointing with oil.

He adjured them all that he should not be kept for even a point of an hour after death, but that they should immediately cover him with earth in the same little garden, just as he was clothed in his haircloth tunic, hood, and rustic cloak.

Now only a little warmth was tepid in his breast, and nothing of a living human being remained except consciousness. Nevertheless, he spoke with open eyes:

“Go forth, my soul; why are you afraid? Go forth; why do you hesitate, O my soul? You have served Christ for seventy years, and do you fear death?”

Among these words he breathed out his spirit. Immediately those who had covered him with earth announced to the city that he had been buried before they announced that he had died.

When the holy man Hesychius learned this in Palestine, he went to Cyprus. Pretending that he wished to live in the same little garden, after almost ten months he stole Hilarion's body. The body was found whole, just as it had been on the first day when it was buried, and fragrant with marvelous odors.

Chapter VI

Concerning the two Macarii, disciples of blessed Anthony.

Vincent relates in books XV and XVIII of the *Mirror of History* that when the most wicked Lucius, an Arian, had intruded himself into the bishopric of Alexandria and had made a great persecution against the true faithful, he also pursued with an armed band three thousand monks scattered throughout the desert, killed many, and, among the others, delivered those two Macarii into exile.

On a certain day a man dried up in all his limbs, especially his feet, was carried before them. Having been anointed with oil by them, while they said, “In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom Lucius persecutes, stand upon your feet,” he was perfectly healed. On another occasion a blind man was given sight.

Although Lucius heard of the aforesaid miracles and others, that most wicked man nevertheless caused the two Macarii to be transported at night with two attendants to a certain marshy island of Egypt, on which he knew there to be no Christian.

On that island was a certain temple held in the highest veneration by the inhabitants. When the old men's little boat first touched the shore of that soil, behold, suddenly the daughter of the priest of that temple was seized by an unclean spirit. With an immense cry she began to be driven through the midst of the people and up into the air. Uttering repeated howls, she gnashed and tossed her raging face this way and that.

The people ran together to the spectacle of so great a monster, especially because she was the daughter of the priest, who was held there in great honor. Following her as she was snatched through the air, they came as far as the old men's little boat.

There, cast at their feet and prostrate, she began to cry:

“Why have you come here, O servants of the Most High, to roll us out of our ancient and moldy dwellings? Driven from every place, we lay hidden in this place, but now we have been wholly unable to remain hidden. We yield our ancient seats. Receive your peoples and lands.”

As she said these things, the spirit, rebuked by them, was driven out. The girl, restored to health, lay together with her parents at the feet of the apostles of our time.

Preaching to them from such beginnings the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Macarii suddenly led them to so great a conversion that they immediately destroyed with their own hands that most ancient temple which had been held in the highest veneration, and built a church.

When Lucius feared this, lest perhaps even the just hatred of his own followers should rise against him, since he was now openly declaring war not upon human beings but upon God, he secretly ordered that the two men be returned to the desert.

Section I

These two Macarii were abbots distinguished by sanctity and miracles. One of them was a priest of Alexandria, with whom, Heraclides says in the *Book of Paradise*, he lived for three years. This Macarius performed certain miracles before his eyes. He held it as the purpose of his life that, if he learned of anything great being done in abstinence by any saints, he would fervently fulfill it.

Thus, learning that the Tabennesiots ate nothing cooked throughout the whole of Lent, he resolved for seven years to taste nothing cooked by fire but to be content with raw vegetables alone.

He used to say that on one occasion he had remained in the open air for twenty days, burning in the heat of the day and trembling in the cold of the night, so that in this way he might conquer sleep.

One morning, while he sat in his cell, he was wounded in the foot by a mosquito. In pain, he killed it in his hand, and even as it died it poured out much blood. Reproaching himself because he had avenged an injury to himself, he condemned himself to sit naked for six months in the marshes of Scetis, where mosquitoes resembling hornets pierce even the hides of boars. Thus he was wholly covered there with sores, so that, with swellings rising throughout all his limbs, he appeared like a man afflicted with elephantiasis. After these things he returned to his cell, and it was disclosed by his voice alone that he was Macarius.

At one time, as he was accustomed to relate, he desired to see the garden in which Jannes and Mambres, the magicians of Pharaoh, had been buried. Over a long period they had constructed that work from squared stones; they had hidden gold there, filled the place with various little trees, and also made a well, because they believed that after death they would remain there as though in paradise.

Because Macarius did not know the way, by a certain conjecture of mind he followed only the stars of heaven, as sailors are accustomed to do at sea, and walked through the desert. He also carried with him a bundle of reeds, so that he might plant one at every thousand paces and, recognizing these signs, be able to return more easily.

After completing a journey of nine days, he approached the aforesaid place. While he rested, a most savage demon collected all the reeds from their places and put them beside his head. Rising from sleep, he recognized there those which he had left elsewhere. I believe this happened with God's permission for the testing of the blessed man, lest he place any hope in the reeds, but rather in the grace of God, who in the cloud showed the people of Israel the way through the desert for forty years.

He used to say concerning the aforesaid garden that at his coming seventy demons leapt forth, crying out, flying around his face and eyes in the manner of ravens, and saying:

“What do you want, Macarius? Why do you enter our regions? Let your solitude suffice for you. Why do you seek to break into this possession, into which no living human being has entered since it was handed over to us by the brothers buried here by our own hand?”

Macarius answered: “I shall enter only to see it, and immediately I shall depart.”

At once the demons withdrew from his eyes. Therefore, after entering and seeing the place, he returned to his cell over twenty days.

When the water which he carried with the bread began to fail him and he was already almost overcome by the distress of want, someone covered in linen appeared to him, carrying a flask dripping with water. She remained separated from him by one stadium, so that he thought he was able to overtake her, but could not. Thus, he used to say, through hope of drinking he patiently sustained a journey of three days.

Then a multitude of buffaloes appeared, among which one female buffalo suddenly stood before him with her calf, and milk flowed from her udder to the earth.

He said: “Therefore I placed myself beneath her and put my lips to her teats as she pressed them into my mouth, until I was refreshed to satiety.”

The beast herself also followed him and offered him her udders, nor, out of contemplation for that saint, did she receive her own offspring.

On another occasion, while he was making a well for the refreshment of the monks, he was struck by the deadly tooth of an asp. Seizing it with both hands, he tore it in two lengthwise from its mouth, saying to it: “Since my God did not send you, why did you dare to come here?”

Section II

Macarius had diverse cells in diverse places, in which the distinguished works of his virtues were performed. One was without windows, in which he was said to sit throughout the whole of Lent. Another was narrower, in which he was unable to extend his feet. The third was broader, in which he was accustomed to receive those who came to him.

When he heard that the Tabennesiots possessed a great manner of life, he put on secular clothing and traveled as far as the Thebaid. Approaching the monastery of the aforesaid men, he first sought out Pachomius the archimandrite, who indeed possessed the grace of prophecy, although nothing concerning Macarius had been revealed to him.

When Macarius asked him to receive him as a monk, Pachomius said: “Burdened with old age, you are no longer able to be a monk or to live among brothers who have learned labors and abstinence from youth. Otherwise, not enduring the temptations, you will depart with an injured spirit and will begin to curse those whom you cannot imitate.”

He was unwilling to receive him throughout the whole week. When Macarius continually persisted in asking while fasting, at last he said: “Receive me, abba; and if you find me inferior to them in fasting or in work, immediately expel me from your monastery.”

Then Pachomius persuaded the brothers that he should be received. The number in one dwelling there comprised as many as one thousand four hundred men.

When Lent came after Macarius had entered this dwelling, he saw diverse men living in diverse ways: one took food in the evening hours, another after two days, others after five days; another stood throughout the nights and sat and worked during the day.

Macarius stood in a certain corner until the end of Lent, tasting neither bread nor water, neither bending his knees nor lying upon the ground, but taking only a few raw cabbage leaves on the Lord's day. He spoke nothing to anyone, but remained in the greatest silence, continually praying in his heart, holding soaked palm leaves and doing this work alone.

When the others observed him in so harsh and inimitable a life, they were moved as though by a certain sedition against their superior and said: “Whence did you bring us this man, who lives in this manner for the condemnation of us all, as though he were not in human flesh? Either remove him from us, or know that all of us will depart from this monastery today.”

Pachomius, however, prayed to God that it might be revealed to him who Macarius was. When this was immediately done, he seized him and led him to his oratory. Kissing him, he said:

“You are that Macarius, and you attempted to conceal yourself from me. I give thanks to you because you have struck blows upon our infants, lest they think themselves to be doing something great in the conduct of their life. Return, therefore, to the place whence you came, because you have sufficiently edified us all, and pray for us.”

Asked with these words by everyone, Macarius departed from there.

The same man also related to us, saying: “Whatever kind of life and abstinence I desired, I imitated and accomplished. But at one time a desire for a certain new thought occupied my mind: that for five continuous days I wished to make the awareness of my heart inseparable from God.

“Therefore, closing the doors so that no one could receive a response from me, I began to press on from the beginning of the week, saying to my understanding: ‘See that you do not wish to descend from heaven to earth. You have the angels there; above all, continually behold there God, the Creator of all.’

“Persevering in this manner for two days and nights, I perceived that I had so provoked and incited the demon that, suddenly changed into a flame of fire, he appeared to burn all things which I seemed to possess within the cell, even the mat upon which I was accustomed to stand, so that I believed that I was now entirely about to be burned.

“At last, struck by so great a fear, on the third day I departed from this purpose and descended again to secular thoughts, lest from the perpetual contemplation of divinity some kind of arrogance should arise in me.”

When I came to this Macarius on one occasion, I found a priest before the doors of his church who had come to be cured. His whole head had been eaten away by cancer, so that even the bones of the crown were exposed, and he had not yet been received or seen by Saint Macarius.

When I asked Macarius on his behalf to have mercy upon him, he answered: “This man is not worthy to be cured, for he received this punishment divinely because, polluted by fornication, he was accustomed to violate the mysteries of the Lord. Nevertheless, persuade him to suspend himself forever from the offering of the holy sacrifice, and thus, with God's aid, he will be able to receive a cure.” This was done.

On one occasion, while Macarius walked through the desert, he found the skull of a certain dead man. After he had prayed, he asked whose person that head had belonged to.

It answered that it had belonged to a pagan.

Macarius said to it: “Where is your soul?”

It answered: “In hell.”

When he asked whether it was very far in the depths, it answered: “As far as heaven is distant from earth.”

He asked further whether others were deeper than it.

It answered: “The Jews also.”

Macarius asked: “Are there others deeper?”

It answered: “Beyond the Jews are wicked and false Christians, who were redeemed by Christ's blood.”

At one time thoughts of vainglory incited this same Macarius, setting before him, as though it were a hope of a good work, that he should go to Rome to cure those vexed by demons.

When he was forcefully pressed, he suddenly cast himself upon the threshold of his cell, so that he put his feet outside the cell, and said: “Lead me, demons, if you can, and drag me, for I shall not go upon my feet where you wish.”

Thus he lay immovable for a long time and arose toward evening. When the demons harassed him again during the following night, he placed upon his shoulders a basket filled with sand and walked through the desert.

Theosebius of Antioch met him and said: “Abba, why do you carry so great a burden? Transfer to me instead what you are carrying.”

But he answered: “I vex the one who vexes me. For while I enjoy leisure, he compels me to make some journey.”

After he had thus walked laden for a considerable time and had worn down his body with that weight, he returned to his cell.

Likewise, when someone once complained to him with sorrow that various thoughts disturbed his mind, saying, “Depart from here, because you see that you are doing nothing,” Macarius answered: “Say to your thoughts: ‘For Christ's sake I guard the walls of this cell.’”

The same man also related this to me:

“I observed, when I was giving the holy mysteries to the brothers, that I never gave them to Marcus the monk, but an angel always gave him the holy things from the altar. I saw only the hand of the one giving them.”

Pafuntius related concerning this Marcus that a certain beast struck the door of his cell with its head and, after entering, cast its blind cub before his feet. Taking it, he spat into its eyes and prayed, and gave it sight. Its mother led it away, and on the following day presented the holy man with a sheepskin. He left it to blessed Athanasius, from whom Saint Melania afterward said that she received the same skin.

Section III

There was also another Macarius, an Egyptian by birth, who completed sixty years in the deserts, which he had entered when he was thirty years old. Against aerial spirits, in the curing of human beings, and in declarations of future things, he merited divine grace; and at last he also received the name of priest.

A certain Egyptian burned with a mad love for another man's wife, yet was unable to attain the effect of his concupiscence because she loved the companion of her virginity very greatly. He besought a sorcerer either to cause her to love him or to cause her to be repudiated by her husband.

The sorcerer, enticed by many gifts, by the customary artifice of his art caused her to appear to be a mare. Therefore her husband, distressed because he saw a mare lying in his bed, lamented and wept because, when he spoke to her, he could hear no response.

Having brought priests, he showed them what had befallen her, and not even in this way did he recognize the cause of the calamity. Therefore, having tied her in the manner of a beast of burden, he brought her to the desert.

When he was now approaching Saint Macarius's cell, the monks reproached him, asking why he came to the monastery with a mare.

He said: “This was my wife, but she has been changed into a mare. Today is the third day since she took food.”

When they related this to Saint Macarius, to whom the Lord had already made it known, he said: “You are horses and have the eyes of horses. For she is a woman. She has not been transformed into the nature of a mare, but appears so only in the eyes of those who are deceived by the emptiness of the illusion.”

At once, pouring blessed water upon her, after prayer had been completed he suddenly made her appear as a woman to everyone. He ordered that she be given food and return with her husband, saying: “Never withdraw from the communion of the holy mysteries or from the communion of the Church. For she suffered this because for five weeks she had not touched the divine mysteries.”

Concerning this holy man a report was also current in those deserts, and continued as true, that, when he wished to teach a certain heretic who denied that there would be a resurrection of bodies, he raised a dead man.

It is also read concerning Macarius that, while he was once walking through the desert, the devil appeared to him in the form of a physician. He had in his perforated garment many flasks of syrup and medicines, where the flasks were held.

When Macarius asked where he was going and what those flasks were intended for, he answered: “I am going to your monastery to administer potions to the monks, and to anyone whom one does not please, I shall offer another pleasing to him.”

Understanding this, blessed Macarius adjured him to return to him after his visit. When he returned, Macarius asked what he had accomplished and to whom he had given from the potions.

He answered: “I found one whom I gave a drink. While the others manfully resisted my malignant suggestions, I found one frail man whom I conquered by my temptation.”

Going to the monastery, therefore, Macarius called together the brothers and admonished them not to acquiesce in the devil's temptations, because no one is conquered by him unless willing. He recounted what he had seen, drew aside privately the brother who had been deceived, and admonished and encouraged him to resist temptations.

After a few days the devil again appeared to Macarius in a similar form with flasks as he approached the monastery. Macarius adjured him to return to him after his work, which he did.

When Macarius asked what he had done, he answered: “Badly, because I was unable to give any of my potions to anyone. Even the man whom I had made friendly toward me on the former occasion I found resisting me more greatly and so hard that he repelled me.”

Abba Macarius descended from Scetis and entered a tomb to sleep, where the bodies of pagans were buried. He took one of the corpses and placed it beneath his head as a pillow.

The demons, wishing to terrify him, called to one another as though calling a woman, saying: “Rise; come with us to the bath.”

Another demon, beneath him, answered as though from that dead man: “I have a certain stranger upon me and cannot come.”

Macarius was not frightened, but struck that body, saying: “Rise; go, if you can.”

Hearing this, the demons fled, crying: “You have conquered us.”

Once, while Macarius was returning from the marsh to his cell, the devil met him with a reaping sickle and wished to strike him, but was unable.

He said to him: “I suffer much violence from you, Macarius, because I cannot prevail against you. For behold, what you do I also do. You fast, and I eat absolutely nothing. You keep vigil, and I do not sleep. You sustain labors, and I sustain the burning of fire. There is only one thing in which you surpass me.”

Macarius asked: “What is it?”

The devil answered: “It is your humility, through which I cannot prevail against you.”

Chapter VII

There were also other holy fathers filled with the perfection of all the virtues and most celebrated for spiritual teaching. Among them was one called Pastor. Afflicting himself for many years with great abstinence in the desert, he was strong in great religious observance.

When his mother desired to see him and his brothers, who were serving God together with him, but could not, she watched for a day when she might meet them directly as they went to church. But when they saw her, they fled and entered the cell, shutting the door in her face.

Standing before the door with excessive weeping, she cried out. Pastor came to the door and said to her: “Why are you crying, old woman?”

Hearing his voice, she cried even more, weeping and saying: “I wish to see you, my sons. What harm is there if I see you? Are you not my sons, and am I not your mother, who suckled you? Now I am altogether full of gray hairs.”

Pastor said to her: “Do you wish to see us here, or in the other world?”

She answered: “If I do not see you here, shall I see you there, my sons?”

He said: “If you are able to bear with an equal mind that you do not see us here, without doubt you will see us there.”

She departed rejoicing and saying: “If I am to see you there, I do not care to see you here.”

When the judge of the province wished to see Abba Pastor but was unable, he seized the son of Pastor's sister as though he were a criminal and put him in prison, saying: “If Pastor comes and intercedes for him, I shall release him.”

Therefore the boy's mother approached the old man's door, weeping. When he answered nothing, she said: “Even if you have iron entrails and are moved by no compassion, nevertheless let the compassion of your own blood move you, and the fact that he is my only son.”

Pastor sent word to her: “Pastor has begotten no sons.”

When she departed in sorrow, the judge said to him: “At least let him command it, and I shall release him.”

Pastor sent word back to him, saying: “Examine the case diligently according to the law. If he is held worthy of death, let him die; but if not, do what pleases you.”

He taught the brothers, saying: “To guard oneself, to consider oneself, and to possess discretion are operations of the soul. Poverty, tribulation, and discretion are operations of the solitary life.

“For it is written: ‘If these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, should be in its midst, they themselves will save their souls.’ Noah bears the person of those possessing nothing; Job, of those in tribulation; and Daniel, of those possessing discretion.

“If a monk does these two things [read: hates these two things], he will be able to be free from this world: namely, carnal repose and vainglory.”

The same man said: “If you wish to find rest in this world and in the future, say, ‘What am I?’ and judge no one.”

When a certain brother from a congregation had offended, his abbot, upon the counsel of a certain solitary, expelled him. When the brother wept as though despairing, Abba Pastor caused him to be brought to himself. Comforting him kindly, he sent for that solitary, saying: “Hearing about you, I desire to see you. Exert yourself, therefore, to come to me.”

When he came, Pastor said: “There were two men who both had dead persons belonging to them. One left his own dead man and went away to mourn the dead man belonging to the other.”

Hearing this and understanding Pastor's discourse, the solitary was pierced with compunction.

When a certain man said to Pastor that he was disturbed and wished to leave the place because he had heard certain words concerning someone which had not edified him, Abba Pastor told him not to believe those words because they were not true.

But the man asserted that they were true, because a faithful brother had related them to him.

Pastor said to him: “He who told you these things is not faithful, for if he were faithful he would not have told you such things.”

The man said: “I saw it with my own eyes.”

Pastor asked him concerning the mote and the beam of which the Gospel speaks, what the mote was and what the beam was.

Then Pastor said: “Place it in your heart that your sins are the beam and that the sins of that man are the mote.”

A certain brother who had committed a great sin, wishing to repent, asked Pastor whether three years would be much.

He answered: “It is much.”

Then the brother asked whether he would command a year.

He answered: “It is much.”

Those standing by said: “Surely as many as forty days?”

He answered: “It is much,” and added: “I think that if with his whole heart a sinner repents for three days, does not enter again into the sin, and performs a penance of three days, the Lord will forgive him.”

Asked concerning the saying, “He who is angry with his brother,” he said: “In every matter with which your brother may wish to burden you, do not be angry against him, even until he plucks out your right eye. If you act otherwise, you are angry without cause. But if anyone wishes to separate you from God, be angry over this.”

The same man said: “If there are three men, and one rests well, another is ill and gives thanks, while the third ministers to him from sincere charity, these three are alike, as though they were engaged in one work.”

When a certain brother complained that, having many thoughts, he was endangered among them, Pastor led him out under the open sky and said: “Spread out your lap and catch the wind.”

He answered: “I cannot.”

Pastor said: “Neither can you keep thoughts from entering, but it is yours to resist them.”

When the same man was asked by someone what he should do with an inheritance left to him, he told him to return after three days. When the man returned, Pastor said:

“If I say, ‘Give it to the church,’ they will make banquets from it. If I say, ‘Give it to your relatives,’ there is no reward for you. If I say, ‘Give it to the poor,’ you are secure. Therefore do whatever you wish; I have no case in the matter.”

The same man said: “He who is querulous is not a monk. Likewise, neither is he who is irascible, or proud and talkative, or vindictive. But the true monk is humble and gentle, full of charity, and fearful lest he sin.”

Section I

Malchus by name, as Jerome writes, when he was being compelled by his parents to take a wife, did not consent, saying that he wished to become a monk. Therefore, as a fugitive from his parents, he came to the desert. There he found many brothers, with whom he remained, having now become a monk.

After some time, however, a thought occurred to him that he should go to his homeland so that, since his father had died, as he had heard, he might console his widowed mother. But when the abbot heard this, he said that it was a temptation of the devil and forbade his departure. Malchus, however, persistently asserted that he would set out. At last the abbot dismissed him with tears.

As he went, he saw a multitude of about seventy men and women, and accompanied them. But it happened that, while they were traveling, Saracen robbers on horses and camels encountered them, attacked them, and overcame them.

Malchus was led away captive together with the Christian wife of another captive. At last, when they had been led before a certain mistress, they were compelled to bow before her. What need is there of many words? He was made a keeper of sheep. And so that he might carry on the life or duty of a shepherd more safely and better, the gentiles compelled the captives to be joined carnally.

But Malchus, when the threat of death was imminent, led her into a cave, with sadness acting as his bridesmaid. There, taking up a sword, he said that he wished to kill himself before committing adultery with another man’s wife.

She said to him: “Do not kill yourself, because even if you wished to sin with me, I would die first. But hold me as the partner of your chastity rather than of your body. Let our masters believe you to be my husband; let Christ know you to be my brother. We shall easily persuade them that there is a marriage when they see us love one another in this way.”

And thus Malchus, hearing the woman’s virtue, consented to her and loved her more as a spouse.

But Malchus said: “Many days passed in such a marriage. I never saw her flesh, nor she mine. Likewise, we never touched one another.

“And when there was now no suspicion of flight, as I sat alone in the desert, I considered the sweetness of the hermits’ life. Turning my soul over in this thought, I could not conceal what I had conceived even in my countenance.

“While thus reflecting, I beheld a swarm of ants seething along a narrow path. I saw burdens greater than their bodies. Some dragged certain seeds of plants with the pincers of their mouths; others dug earth out of pits and shut off the channels of streams of water with embankments. Mindful of the coming winter, they cut apart the seeds they had carried in, lest the moistened earth turn the grain into shoots. These carried the bodies of the dead with solemn mourning. And, what was more marvelous, among so great a throng those going out did not obstruct those entering; rather, if they saw that one had fallen beneath its load and burden, they put their shoulders beneath it and helped.

“What need is there of many words? That day furnished me with a beautiful spectacle. From it, remembering Solomon, who sends us to the diligence of the ant, I began to grow weary of captivity, to seek the monastery’s cell, and to desire the likeness of those ants, among whom they labor for the common stock and, since nothing belongs to any one, all things belong to all.

“When I returned to the lodging, the woman met me. Unable to conceal my sadness, I asked why I was so dispirited. She heard the reasons; I exhorted her to flight; she did not reject it. I asked for silence; she pledged her faith. With continual whispering we fluctuated midway between fear and hope.

“What more? That same night, while the others were sleeping, we took two goats, cooked their flesh as provision for the journey, made little sacks for ourselves from their skins, and carried them. We ran; we always looked behind our backs.

“After the third day, behold, we saw two men following us, seated upon camels. Immediately, fearing, we understood that we had been betrayed by our tracks through the sand. But a cave presented itself on the right, and we put ourselves into it, although we feared within it the dangers of venomous animals.

“When those pursuing us, the master and his servant, called for us to come out, a lioness that was in the cave went forth and, suffocating first one and then the other by the throat, dragged them inside.

“Then we were placed between joy and fear, for we feared the lioness. But at the following morning hour the lioness carried her cub outside and yielded the lodging to us.

“We went out at evening and took the camels which they call dromedaries on account of their speed. Seated upon them, at last, on the tenth day, we came through the deserts to the Roman camp. Having been presented to the tribune, we related the course of events.

“At last, having received the price of the camels, I wished to return to my former abbey. But because the abbot was now dead, I gave myself over as a monk in Mesopotamia. I commended that beloved woman to the virgins as a sister, although I did not entrust myself to her as to a sister.”

Chapter VIII

John the hermit, as Vincent writes in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, chapter 4, after Jerome, remained upon the rock of a high mountain, enclosed and shut up in a monastery, and showed himself through a window to those who came so that he might be seen. No woman, however, came into his sight, but only men, and these rarely.

Thus no one had entered this man’s monastery from the fortieth year of his age until the one hundred and tenth, when he was seen by Jerome. But, as has been said, he showed himself through a window so that those who came might see him.

When a certain tribune had come to him, he entreated him to permit his wife to enter to see him. For he said that she had endured many dangers so that she might see his face. When John refused, saying that it had never been his custom in the monastery to see women, the tribune persisted in entreating, affirming that unless she saw him she would without doubt die from excessive sadness.

He said to him: “Go. Your wife will see me this night. She will not, however, come here, but, while remaining in your house and in her own bed, she will see me there.”

Then the man departed, turning the ambiguity of the response in his breast. When he had announced this to his wife, she likewise was wearied by the uncertain utterance. But after the time of sleep came, the man of God was present in a vision, standing beside the woman.

He said: “Great is your faith, O woman, and therefore I have come to satisfy your desire. Nevertheless, I admonish you not to desire the bodily face of God’s servants, but to contemplate their acts and deeds through the spirit. For it is the spirit that gives life; the flesh profits nothing.”

When a certain cleric came to him and, being questioned by him concerning his order, lied by saying that he was not a cleric for the sake of humility, although he was a deacon, John kissed him and said: “My son, do not deny the grace of God, lest you tell a lie for the sake of humility; for whether it is uttered for good or for evil, it is a sin.”

He also did not permit the infirm to be carried to him, but, blessing oil, he gave it to them, and those anointed from it were healed.

To one of the brothers who suffered from a tertian fever and wished to be cured, he said: “You desire to cast away a thing necessary for you. Just as bodies are cleansed of filth by natron or other things of this kind, so souls are purified by sicknesses and other chastisements of this kind.” Nevertheless, blessing oil, he gave it to him and healed him.

He ate no food prepared by fire. His body was thin and dry because of abstinence. His hair and beard were sparse and slender as though from excessive illness. He lived in the year of the Lord 387.

When the brothers had assembled before him, he said in instructing them: “The vice of vainglory is grievous and exceedingly dangerous, and it casts souls down even from the very summit of perfection. It has two species.

“For it happens to certain persons that immediately at the beginning of their conversion, when they have expended some small amount of abstinence or distributed some money, they think of themselves as though they were more eminent than those upon whom they have bestowed something.

“Others, when they have arrived at the summit of virtue, attribute the whole not to God but to their own filth [read: their own exertions]. And while they seek glory from human beings, they lose that which is from God.

“But if we stand before God clean of heart, we shall be able to see God insofar as it is possible to see him. For we shall see him who is invisible with the mind, not with the body; with the understanding of knowledge, not with the sight of the flesh.

“For let no one think that he can behold the divine substance itself as it is, so that he should fix for himself some shape or bodily image in his heart. For in God there is no form and no circumscription, but sense and mind, so that he can indeed be perceived and touched by the mind’s affection, yet cannot be comprehended, described, or narrated.

“And therefore it is necessary to approach God with all reverence and fear, and we ought so to pour out the mind’s gaze upon him that, whatever of brilliance, splendor, and majesty the human mind is able to behold, it may always perceive him to be above all these things.

“But it is necessary to be at leisure, whence the Psalmist says: ‘Be at leisure and see that I am God,’ and so forth. And the purer the mind has been in him, the more things he will reveal to it, and it will recognize his mysteries.

“Even water or bread, if they are taken with craving—that is, to satisfy not the body’s necessity but the mind’s desire—constitute, within abstinence, the vice of delicacies. And therefore the Lord, wishing the soul to resist pleasures, said: ‘Enter through the narrow gate.’ The soul’s way is broad when it satisfies any desire of its own, but narrow when it fights against its pleasures.

“For obtaining these things, a more secluded habitation profits greatly, because sometimes, through the occasion furnished by brothers coming, going, and returning, the reins of abstinence are loosened. And thus even perfect men are sometimes taken captive. Therefore David said: ‘Behold, fleeing, I have gone far away.’”

The same John spoke against the presumptuous. There was a certain monk in a cave, a man of the highest abstinence and flourishing in all the virtues of the soul. Since, trusting in his advances, he attributed the whole not to God but to himself, the tempter, observing this presumption, transformed himself one evening into the appearance of a woman wandering through the desert.

As though weary, she cast herself inside the entrance of the cave, feigning exhaustion, and, clasping his knees, entreated him to have mercy upon her. She said: “Night has overtaken me. Order me to rest in a corner of your cell, lest perhaps I become prey to beasts.”

At first he received her into the cave under the pretext of mercy and asked the reason why she was wandering through the desert. She carefully invented a reason and meanwhile inserted the poisons of blandishments throughout the course of her narrative. Showing herself now as pitiable, now as worthy of protection, with the elegant sweetness of her speech she bent the man’s disposition toward enticing love.

Thereafter more flattering conversations were mingled with jokes and laughter. Her wanton hand was even extended toward his chin and beard as though venerating him, and then to stroke his neck and caress his shoulders more softly.

What more? At last the woman led captive the soldier of Christ. For immediately, burning with waves of lust, forgetful even of his former labors and of his profession, he now attempted to enter into obscene embraces.

But she, emitting a most hideous howl, because she was a thin shadow, slipped through the hands of the one embracing her. She abandoned him as he pursued empty ears [read: empty air] with disgraceful motions, mocking him with the foulest derision.

Then a multitude of demons, gathered in the air for this spectacle, said with a mighty shout: “O you who raised yourself as far as heaven, how have you been submerged in hell? Learn, therefore, that he who exalts himself shall be humbled.”

Then he became like a madman and, unable to bear the grave shame of his deception, was more grievously deceived by himself than he had been deceived by the demons. For when he ought to have repaired himself with all his strength and renewed the contest, despairing, he handed himself over to every kind of shamelessness and impiety.

Section I

There was a certain man leading a most wicked life who, pierced by God’s compassion, enclosed himself within a certain tomb and washed away the pollutions of his former crimes with fountains of tears. Always prostrate, he refused to lift his eyes to heaven or even to name the name of God, but persisted in groans alone.

At night the demons came to him, crying: “What is this that you are doing, O most impious and most criminal man? After you have been sated with every filth and impurity, and your strength is now insufficient for crimes, do you wish to appear a Christian, prudent, and patient, as though any place could now be given to one sated with evil other than that which is owed to you with us?

“You are one of us and cannot be another. Return to us, and do not lose what remains for you in the enjoyment of pleasure. Why do you hand yourself over to punishments before the time? For what else will you suffer in hell than what you now procure for yourself? If punishment delights you, wait a little and you will find it prepared. Meanwhile, now enjoy our gifts, which you have always considered welcome and sweet.”

But he lay silent. Although they often repeated the same and harsher things and he was not moved, the demons, seeing their words despised, fell into fury and began to cut him with blows, so that they left him half-dead. Nevertheless, he could not be moved from the place in which he lay for the sake of prayer.

On the next night they suddenly tortured him with heavier blows. Not even then could he be moved, saying that it was better to die than to obey the demons.

On the third night, without any mercy, they rushed upon him and afflicted him with every punishment and torment. Although his body now failed under the tortures, nevertheless his last breath resisted the demons' command.

After the impious ones saw this, they cried with a great voice, saying, "You have conquered, you have conquered," and departed, driven away as though by some power from heaven.

There was also a certain monk in the desert, adorned with every flower of the virtues. Since in the body he performed the duties of a life like that of the angels, the Lord displayed care for his daily sustenance. For every day, upon entering his cave, he found a table prepared and bread placed upon it, of marvelous sweetness and marvelous whiteness. Refreshed from it, he gave thanks to God and turned to prayers and hymns.

When he began to glory in his merits, immediately a certain sloth of soul entered him, so slight that he could not perceive it. After this, a greater negligence grew, so that he became slower for prayer. When he had performed a small service of psalmody, his soul, as though wearied by excessive labor, hastened to rest, because his understanding had become reprobate. For a certain secret, shameful, and unspeakable thought was now in his heart.

When after prayer he sought food as usual, he found bread darker than usual placed upon the table. He was refreshed from it, but took no care to amend anything that was turning within his heart, and did not understand that, by scorning the least things, he would fall little by little.

When he was now being incited by the fire of grievous lust, after prayer he entered to take food and found bread, but somewhat filthier. Becoming astonished and sad, he understood that this very thing had regard to that kind of monstrosity; nevertheless, after taking the food, he was refreshed.

After the third day he began to be pressed by goads tripled in force. For his thoughts had taken possession of him as though the image of a woman were now present and reclining with him, whom he seemed to embrace and to have laid beneath him for shameful uses.

Nevertheless, on another day he went forward to the customary offices of psalmody. But he stood with wandering eyes and a captive mind. When at evening he was about to receive food as usual, he found bread most filthy and dry, and as though gnawed on every side by mice or dogs.

Then he groaned and poured out tears, but not so copious that they could extinguish the flame of so great a conflagration. Nevertheless, he took the food, but not as much as he was accustomed to take.

Therefore, when thoughts surrounded him on every side like a barbarian cohort, rising at night, he took up a journey through the desert, making his way toward the city. When day came, he saw a certain cell of brothers, where he rested in his weariness.

When he had been refreshed and had rested a little, in the customary manner they began to seek a word of edification from him as though from a most learned and prudent father, and to ask how someone might escape the snares of the devil and expel the shameful thoughts sent by him. He taught this sufficiently.

Then, turning upon himself, he said: "How do I admonish others while I myself am deceived? Therefore first do, wretch, what you admonish others to do." Understanding that he had been wretchedly tripped, he bade farewell to the brothers and returned at a most rapid run to his cave.

Prostrating himself in prayer, he said: "Unless the Lord had aided me, my soul would little by little have dwelt in hell." He enclosed himself in the cave and lay in sackcloth and ashes with tears, until an angel of the Lord stood by him and said to him: "The Lord has received your penance and has again been made propitious to you. But take care that you are not deceived by pride hereafter."

The things that have been said concerning this John the hermit are attributed to Jerome in the *Lives of the Fathers*.

Section II

At that time, says Sigebert, it is believed that there were two praiseworthy abbesses, namely Sarah and Syncletica.

Of these, Sarah was forcefully attacked for thirteen years by the spirit of fornication. She prayed to God that a struggle of this kind would not withdraw from her, but said: “Lord, give me fortitude.”

While she prayed upon her little bed, that spirit appeared to her, saying: “You have conquered me, Sarah.”

She said: “I have not conquered you, but my Lord Jesus Christ has.”

She lived above the channel of a river for sixty years and never bent down to look at the river.

But I do not remember having read who that Syncletica was or where she lived. Yet many things wisely said by her are found, among which are these:

“Just as those who wish to kindle a fire are first smoked, so we also ought to kindle the divine fire within us by tears.

“Foolish is the chastity that looks indecently or laughs inordinately.

“Just as sharper medicines expel poisons, so prayer with fasting expels filthy thoughts.

“Just as strong garments, trampled underfoot and turned over repeatedly, are made white, so a strong soul is more greatly strengthened through voluntary poverty.

“Our adversary is more easily overcome by those possessing nothing, for he has nothing with which to wound them.

“Just as a hen deserting her nest causes her eggs to come forth without chicks, so also a virgin passing from place to place grows cold and is put to death.

“When placed in tribulation, if you are iron, expect fire to be applied to you to remove the rust. But if you are gold, expect it for the increase of your brightness.

“Those who sin in the world are cast into prison and punished even against their will; therefore let us voluntarily reduce ourselves to custody so that we may escape eternal punishments.

“Those who begin to sail first have a prosperous wind, but afterward often a contrary one. Yet just as sailors do not immediately unload the ship, but endure the storm and fight and afterward find a straight course, so also, when adversities overtake us, let us raise the cross as a sail in our purpose, and through patience we shall swiftly overcome.

“Treasure that is exposed is quickly lost; so also is virtue that is known and published.

“Do not expend your weapons suddenly and all at once, lest, naked in battle, you be easily taken captive.

“Our soul is a soldier; our body is our weapons.

“We sail upon a tranquil sea, secular persons upon a stormy one; we sail by day, they by night. Nevertheless, we for the most part are endangered through negligence, while they, fearing and solicitous, are saved.”

Section III

Abba Arsenius, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, while he was still a great man in the palace, asked the Lord to direct him into the way of salvation. And a voice came to him: “Arsenius, flee human beings, and you will be saved.”

Descending to the monastic life, he again prayed to God as before. He heard in turn: “Arsenius, flee, be silent, and be at rest, for these are the roots of not sinning.”

When this man was renowned at Rome, serving gloriously in the emperor’s court until the fortieth year of his age, from a senator he became a monk; and, remaining in the desert for fifty-five years, he shone before all by the example of his sanctity.

When a certain brother, wishing to see him, had come to visit him, he knocked at his door. Arsenius, thinking that it was his disciple, opened it to him. But after he saw that it was another, he immediately cast himself upon his face on the ground.

When the man asked him to rise, Arsenius answered, saying: “I shall not rise from here unless you depart.” For some hours he did not consent to rise, until the man departed.

Abba Daniel used to relate concerning him that on the evening of Saturdays he left the sun shining behind his back and, extending his hands toward heaven, did not cease to pray until on the following day the sun, rising again, filled his eyes with light. But he passed the other nights entirely awake; and near dawn, when on account of the frailty of nature he wished to rest a little, he said to sleep: “Come, wicked servant.” Then, closing his eyes, he snatched a little sleep while seated and immediately arose.

Arsenius used to say: “We who have been occupied with the disciplines of worldly learning possess nothing. But these rustic Egyptians have acquired virtues for themselves from their own labors.”

One of the brothers said to Arsenius: “Behold, father, I hasten to meditate upon the sacred Scriptures which I have learned, and I do not feel compunction in my heart, because I do not understand the power of Scripture.”

He answered: “Those who are accustomed to charm serpents do not understand the words which are spoken; but the serpents, hearing them, understand their powers, acquiesce, and are subjected to them. Therefore let us also do thus. For although we are unable to understand the power of the divine Scriptures, nevertheless the demons are terrified and flee away from us, being unable to endure the utterances of the Holy Spirit.”

A certain matron sent word to Arsenius that she wished to see him. When he refused, she said: “I believe in God that I shall see him.”

When she came to his cell, she found him outside the cell and prostrated herself at his feet. But he raised her with indignation and, looking at her, said: “If you wish to see my face, behold, see it.”

Because of shame, however, she did not look upon his face. He said: “Do you not know that you are a woman and that perfect men are seduced through women? Is it not enough for you to have heard of my works?”

She said: “I do not wish to see your face, but pray for me.”

He said: “I pray God that the memory of you may be erased from my heart.”

But she departed groaning and was so saddened that, after returning home, she became feverish. Hearing this, the bishop came to console her. She said to him: “Behold, I am saddened because of such words of Arsenius the elder.”

The bishop said to her: “Do you not know that you are a woman and that the enemy attacks holy men through women? For this reason the elder said those things. For he always prays for your soul.” And thus she was consoled concerning the matter.

When the time of Arsenius’s death approached, his disciples said: “What shall we do, father? For we do not know how to bury a man.”

He answered: “Do you not know how to put a rope around my feet and thus drag me to the mountain?”

Therefore, while he was dying, he began to weep. When the brothers questioned him, saying, “Why are you weeping, father? Surely you too are afraid?” he answered: “In truth, I am afraid. And this fear which is now with me has always been with me from the time when I became a monk.”

When Abba Poemen heard that he had passed away, he said: “Blessed are you, Arsenius, because you have wept for yourself so greatly in this world. For he who has not wept for himself here will mourn there perpetually.”

On one occasion a voice came to him, saying: “Come, and I shall show you the works of human beings.”

It led him to a certain place and showed him an Ethiopian cutting wood and making a great bundle which he could not carry. Thereafter he cut other pieces of wood and added them to the bundle, and he did this for a long time.

Again it showed him a man drawing water from a lake and pouring the water into a perforated cistern. The water flowed back into the lake, and in this manner he wished to fill the cistern.

Again it showed him a temple and two men on horses carrying a piece of wood crosswise. They wished to enter the temple but could not, because they were carrying the wood crosswise.

It explained these things to him, saying: “These are those who carry what is, as it were, the yoke of justice with pride and do not humble themselves. Therefore they remain outside the kingdom of God.

“But he who cuts the wood is a man in many sins, and instead of doing penance he does not withdraw from his sins but adds iniquities to iniquities.

“He who draws the water is a man who possesses good works; but because he has grave evil works mingled with them, he loses those good works of his.”

Throughout the entire time of his life, Arsenius held a cloth in his bosom because of the tears which frequently flowed from his eyes.

When the father of Saint Arsenius, a most noble senator at Rome, ended his life and, making a testament, left a great inheritance to Arsenius, an imperial official brought the testament to him in the desert. Receiving it, Arsenius wished to tear it apart, but the official, prostrate at his feet, asked him not to do this, because his head would be cut off.

Arsenius said to him: “I died before he did. Therefore, since he has only now died, how has he made me his heir?” And he sent back the testament, wishing to receive nothing.

Section IV

Abba Isidore related concerning a certain virgin who was another man’s servant, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, that her master, frequently attempting by various promises to violate her, was unable to do so. Because of this, he handed her over to the prefect of Alexandria, a persecutor of Christians.

Preparing diverse tortures before her and also heating a bronze vessel filled with pitch, the prefect said: “Either go and obey your master, or know that you will be cast into this vessel.”

She answered: “Let there never be another such judge who orders chastity to be added to lust.”

She said: “By the head of your emperor, whom you revere, I adjure you that, if you have resolved to kill me with these tortures, you order me to be put into them not all at once but little by little, so that you may see how great a patience Christ, who is unknown to you, has given me.”

After she had been lowered into the glowing bronze vessel over the space of one hour, she expired when the boiling pitch first reached her neck.

Vincent also relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, concerning a certain girl whose name was Alexandra, that, having left the city, she settled beside a certain tomb, receiving the necessities of life through a small opening and seeing neither men nor women for ten years.

Concerning her, blessed Melania the Roman used to say that she was indeed unable to see her face, but, standing at the opening, asked her the cause of her enclosure.

She answered: “The mind of a certain man had once been wounded on account of me. When I saw him saddened, I preferred to enclose myself in a tomb for as long as I live rather than to harm a soul made in the likeness of God.”

When Melania again asked her, “How are you able in such solitude to maintain so continual a struggle against weariness or thoughts?” she answered: “From the beginning of the day I am at leisure for prayer while making a work from linen. Afterward, in thought, I pass through the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs. During the remaining hours I take bread as food. As evening approaches, with the greatest quiet I glorify my Lord and patiently await the end of my life with good hope.”

Concerning blessed Ammon, the same author relates that, when he had been left as a boy by his parents and had reached twenty-two years of age, he was compelled against his will by his uncle to undergo the solemnities of marriage.

But after everyone had withdrawn from the bridal chamber, he rose from the bed, closed the door, brought forth a little book from his bosom, and read it to the girl. He also expounded the manner of life of chastity and virginity, so that she, filled in an instant with the grace of God, said that she willingly embraced a chaste life.

Thus, therefore, he lived with her in the same little cell, upon a separate bed, for eighteen years, and afterward in solitude for another twenty-two years. At his death blessed Anthony saw his soul being borne into heaven by angels.

Concerning Saint Pambo, holy Melania related, as the same Vincent narrates above, that Saint Melania herself offered him three hundred pounds of silver. While he sat weaving wicker, he said only this: “May God give you your reward.”

Then he said to his steward: “Receive these things and divide them among the needy brothers.”

When she stood there expecting a blessing or praise for the gift she had given, and heard nothing further from him, she said: “Know, lord, that there are three hundred pounds in this silver vessel.”

Again, without even looking upward, he said: “If you were offering it to me, O daughter, you would appropriately say this. But since you offer it to him whom we know not to have despised but rather to have honored the woman who gave two small coins, be silent and be at rest. For he who weighed the mountains in a balance has no need to learn the measure from you.”

A little afterward, wearied by a certain fever, he called her while sewing a little basket and, when he was soon about to rest, said: “Receive this little basket from my hands, because I have nothing else to leave you by which you may remember me.” After his body was buried, she kept it with her until her own end.

Section V

His disciple Ammonius, when he was sought for the episcopate and seized by a multitude of citizens so that he might be led to a certain Dorotheus to receive the blessing, said that he was wholly unable to consent to leave the desert.

When he saw that he could not escape, in everyone's sight he cut off his left ear at the root with an iron blade, saying: "At least now prove that what you desire cannot be accomplished, because no one whose ear has been cut off can be ordained."

To this Bishop Dorotheus answered: "That law is observed by the Jews. But if you give me someone mutilated in his nostrils yet upright in morals, I do not doubt that I shall make him a bishop."

Therefore, when they still attempted to use force against him, he answered in anger: "If you compel me further, I shall also cut off my tongue, on account of which you are troubling me." Then they released him.

Concerning this man, blessed Evagrius also said that he had seen no one who so conquered the bodily passions. Thus, when a certain carnal delight vexed his little body without any interruption, he lacerated his own members with a glowing iron so that he was full of ulcers on every part.

Concerning this Ammonius, Jerome says thus in the *Lives of the Fathers*: "Among those fathers we saw Ammonius, a most wise man. His monastery was surrounded by a wall, which in those places is easily made from unbaked bricks."

This man, as Socrates says in the *Tripartite History*, was most learned, a disciple of Origen and Didymus, and from youth until death he ate nothing except roasted bread.

He was so free from curiosity that, when he came to Rome with Athanasius, he viewed none of the works of the city, but sought only the church of Peter and Paul.

He was seen by no one to be angry, to swear, to lie, or to utter a vain, harsh, or weak word.

There was also upon the same mountain Saint Benjamin, who, having attained the highest grace through eighty years in the virtues of abstinence, healed from every illness anyone upon whom he laid his hands or to whom he gave a blessing of oil.

We saw this man distended by so great a swelling of his body that the joined fingers of both our hands were unable to encircle the smallest finger of his hand.

He himself said: "Pray, sons, that my inner man may be free from that sickness. For this body neither raises me up by its health nor casts me down by its pain."

Thus for eight months a very broad chair was made for him, in which he sat continually because he was unable to rest in a bed. Nevertheless, he healed any others who were vexed by illness.

Section VI

"When I first reached the city of Alexandria," says Heraclides in the book called *Paradise*, as Vincent relates above, "in the second consulship of the elder emperor Theodosius, I found Saint Isidore, a priest, the receiver and provider of poor brothers.

"He was seventy years of age and used neither linen nor meat, nor was he filled with bread. Yet, through the grace of spiritual nourishment, his little body was so stout that all who did not know his life attributed this to feasting and pleasures.

"He was so humble and so peaceful that even his enemies were ashamed before his shadow.

"He is also said to have possessed so great a knowledge of divine doctrine that even during the brothers' meals he became entranced, his mind being changed and his senses also being spiritually occupied.

"I also knew him to have wept while he took food. When I wondered why he wept, he said: 'I am ashamed to take irrational food, since, having been made rational by the Lord, I ought to dwell in the delight of paradise and to be filled with divine food.'

"When I, a young man, came to him and asked him to instruct me in the life and conduct of monks, for which there was necessary not so much teaching in words as continual labor and fatigue of the body, like a good tamer of horses he led me out to the places of solitude and commended me to a certain Dorotheus, a Theban monk sixty years old living in a cave, who was of the harshest manner of life.

"For every day, amid the greatest heat, he gathered stones around the shores of the sea and, constructing one cell each year, offered it to those who were unable to build.

"When I said, 'Why, father, do you, so old a man, kill your little body in the cruel heat?' he answered: 'It kills me; I kill it.'

"He ate a little bread and the cheapest vegetable and also drank a little water. I never saw him extend his feet or rest upon a mat or in a bed. But, sitting throughout the whole night, he wove rope from the date-palm tree, by whose price he was accustomed to obtain food. And, as I learned from his other disciples, he had lived in this way even from his earliest age.

“He never slept voluntarily, unless he was overcome by labor or while taking food. For frequently, while he ate, the excessive force of sleep caused his head to nod and bread fell from his lips.

“When he was compelled by me to lie upon a mat for a moment, he said: ‘If you can persuade the angels to rest, you will also persuade him who hastens to please God.’

“On a certain day I was sent by him to the well to draw water. When I was greatly horrified upon seeing an asp at the bottom, I brought back the vessel empty and explained the cause of my fear.

“But, smiling, he said: ‘If it pleased the devil to make himself a serpent in every well, would you never be able to obtain drink?’

“Immediately going out, he drew water from the well, and, being the first to drink it after making the sign over it, he said: ‘Where the cross is present, there the enemy’s malice has no power.’”

Apelles the Egyptian was converted from being a smith. One day, while he practiced this work, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XV, he struck in the face with glowing tongs a demon who was tempting him in the appearance of a woman. Shrieking and groaning, the demon fled far away.

But Jerome says that with his bare hand he struck the devil with a piece of glowing iron when it had been transformed into the appearance of a beautiful woman. From that time he held it as a practice to grasp glowing iron with his bare hand and not be injured.

This man used to relate concerning a certain John who prayed standing beneath the overhanging rock of a certain crag for three continuous years, never sitting down or lying down, taking only as much sleep as he could take while standing.

He never took food except on the Lord’s day, when a priest came to him and offered the sacrifice for him. This was both sacrament and sustenance for him.

His feet split apart, and pus came forth from them. When the three years had been completed, he was healed by an angel, was filled with knowledge and teaching, and edified many.

The priest always returned to that place on the Lord’s day for the sake of the sacraments. On the other days, John worked with his hands, weaving the harness-straps of beasts of burden from palm leaves, as is the custom in those places. By these straps the illnesses of beasts of burden were healed.

He also possessed this grace: he wrote to each of the brothers concerning the sin or work of virtue in which each surpassed the others.

Chapter IX

Moses, an Ethiopian by race, black in color, was said to have been a public robber and murderer, according to the *Tripartite History*. When he was a slave, he was said to have been a murderer; and, as it is said, he was expelled by his master on account of his offenses. Devoted to robbery, he committed many murders.

Once, when he had crossed a certain river so that he might carry off something from a certain flock of sheep, he took from it a certain ram or castrated sheep, killed it, tied his garments about his loins, and crossed the river by swimming. After he cooked and ate it, because he was being sought unto death for his thefts, he became a monk from that fear. In the course of time his servile or human fear was changed into filial fear, and he served God with great fervor.

On one occasion he seized four robbers together, bound them, placed them upon his shoulders, and brought them to the church, leaving it to the will of the monks what they wished to do with them.

Having been made a priest in Scetis, he lived for almost seventy-two years, terrible to demons.

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, once, pierced by the danger of some necessity, he betook himself to the brothers’ monastery and vigorously embraced the life of penance. By his example he converted many of the robbers.

As he himself used to relate, when the demons urged him to return to his former fornication, he was tempted in so many and such great ways that he almost withdrew from his purpose.

When he related these attacks to Saint Isidore, Isidore answered: “Do not be saddened, because these are still your beginnings. Therefore thoughts of this kind rise vehemently against you, seeking the old habit.

“For just as a dog does not withdraw from the meat-market in which it is accustomed to be fed, but departs if it is closed and no one remains in it from whom it may hope for something, so also, if you persist in abstinence, you exclude the entrance of gluttony, which is the incentive of fornication.

“For the demon, wearied and conquered because you do not furnish him the fuel of foods, will cease to be troublesome to you hereafter.”

From that time Moses, vigorously taking care of himself, abstained above all from food, eating nothing except bread. Nevertheless, devoting himself to the greatest labor, he consumed his little body in this manner. Yet not even thus did the vanity of dreams concerning him cease.

Again he consulted another most tested man about this. He answered: “You still suffer these things because you have not yet separated your mind from thoughts of this kind. Therefore, if you are willing to occupy yourself a little with vigils and to persist in pure prayers, you will easily be able to be freed.”

Then he resolved to pray standing in the middle of his cell, neither bending his knees nor closing his eyes. He fulfilled this there for six years, and not even thus could he be free from that evil.

Again he embraced another kind of life. For throughout entire nights he went around the dwellings of old monks who carried water for themselves from distant places, filled their flasks, and brought them back without anyone perceiving it.

Therefore, when the demon could no longer endure his contests, one night, while Moses was bent forward drawing water from the well, he struck his loins from above with a heavy club and left him half-dead, while Moses did not perceive what he had suffered or by whom.

Found on the next day and carried to the monastery, he labored under that sickness for an entire year.

Then Saint Isidore said to him: “Cease, Moses, to provoke the demons to such an extent and to contend against them so obstinately. For there is also a fixed measure of the monastic life, within which it is fitting that we exercise our strength.”

He answered: “I shall not withdraw from the intention of this purpose until I see dreams and vain thoughts separated from me.”

Then Isidore said to him: “In the name of Jesus Christ they have now withdrawn from you. Therefore approach faithfully the communion of the holy mysteries. But know that the demon appeared stronger than you for a time for this reason: lest you be able to boast that you had easily overcome so great a temptation.”

Thus, returning to his own cell, Moses said that from that hour when the servant of God prayed for him he endured nothing further of this kind. Indeed, he merited so great a grace against demons that we are more greatly frightened by flies than he was by demons.

When a certain old man, having become infirm, wished to go into Egypt so that he would not burden the brothers too greatly, Abba Moses said to him: “Do not go, because you are going to fall into fornication.”

Saddened, he said: “My body is dead, and do you say these things to me?”

Therefore, when he had gone and a certain virgin served him from devotion, upon recovering his health he violated her, and she conceived by him.

When she had borne a boy, the old man, carrying him in his arms on a great feast day which was being celebrated in Scetis, entered the church before the multitude of brothers. When all wept, he said: “Do you see this infant? He is the son of disobedience. Therefore beware for yourselves, brothers, because I did this in old age, and pray for me.” Returning to his cell, through penance he returned to his former state of virtue.

When a certain brother had sinned, the brothers sent for Abba Moses, consulting him about the matter. Taking a basket full of sand, he came to them.

When the brothers asked what this was, he answered: “My sins run behind me, and I do not see them. But today I have come to judge another’s sins.” Hearing this, the brothers spared the man.

When Abba Moses had been made a cleric and the bishop placed the shoulder-cloth upon him, he said to him: “Abba, you have been made white.”

Moses answered: “On the outside, lord pope; but what of the inside?”

Wishing to test him, the bishop said to his clerics that, when Moses approached the altar, they should drive him away with abuse and follow him to hear what he said.

Therefore, casting him outside, they said: “Go outside, Ethiopian.”

As he went out, he said: “They have treated you well, O pot-black man. Since you are not a man, why did you presume to place yourself among human beings?”

Section I

Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XV, concerning the aforesaid Moses that, when at that time Mavia, queen of the nation of the Saracens, began in vehement war to strike the towns and cities of Palestine and the Arabian frontier and at the same time to devastate the neighboring provinces, and had worn down the Roman army in frequent battles, she sought peace and promised that she would embrace it in no other way unless Moses the monk were given to her nation as bishop.

He led a solitary life in the desert near those regions and had become widely known through the merits, virtues, and signs which God performed magnificently through him.

Moses, therefore, was seized so that he might receive the priesthood. By no argument did he permit himself to be ordained by Lucius, because Lucius was a heretic or an intruder; instead, he was ordained bishop by those whom Lucius had sent into exile. Having done this, he both maintained peace with that most ferocious nation and preserved the faith undefiled.

It was said to this Moses: “Go, sit in your cell, and it will teach you all things.”

The same man said: “A man who flees human beings is like a ripe grape, but one who associates with human beings is like a sour grape.”

Before he was a bishop, when he heard that a judge was coming to him, he fled into a marsh. When the judge met him and asked him where Moses was, he said: “Why do you wish to speak with him? He is foolish and a heretic.”

Zacharias, the disciple of Serapion, said to this Moses, having taken off his hood, cast it beneath his feet, and trampled upon it: “Unless a monk has been trampled upon in this way, he cannot be a monk.”

To this Zacharias, when he was dying, Moses said: “What do you see?”

He answered: “Nothing is better than to be silent, father.”

The same Moses said to seven brothers dwelling with him in Scetis: “Today the barbarians are coming here. Flee.”

They said: “And are you not fleeing?”

He answered: “For so many years I have awaited this day, so that the word of the Lord may be fulfilled which says, ‘Everyone who takes the sword will perish by the sword.’ Behold,” he said, “the lamias have drawn near.”

The barbarians immediately entered and killed him. But one of the seven, terrified, hid beneath the beds and saw seven crowns descending and crowning Moses and six brothers.

The same Moses said to Pigmenius: “It is folly for a man, after leaving his own dead man, to mourn another’s.”

The same man said: “To die to your neighbor is to mourn your own sins and to be without thought concerning every person, that this one is good and that one evil.”

The same man said: “Passion is engendered through these four things: through abundance of food and drink, through satiety with sleep, through idleness, and through jesting.”

When, around the beginning of Abba Moses’s conversion, the devil laid upon him so very grave an attack of fornication that he was unable to remain in his cell, he went to Abba Isidore and related to him the violence of the attack.

When Isidore consoled him from the sacred Scriptures and asked him to return to his cell, he refused. Isidore therefore ascended with him to the upper part of his little cell and said to him: “Look toward the west.”

He saw a multitude of demons as though prepared for battle.

Isidore then said: “Look toward the east.”

He saw a glorious multitude of holy angels, shining like the light of the sun.

Isidore said: “Behold, those whom you saw in the west are they who attack God’s holy ones. But those whom you saw in the east are they whom the Lord sends to aid his holy ones. Know, therefore, that more are with us, as the prophet Elisha said, because greater is he who is in us than he who is in the world.”

Therefore, strengthened by these words, Moses returned to his cell.

The monastery of this Isidore, as Jerome says, was near the Thebaid, surrounded by a wall and possessing one thousand monks. An elder sitting at the gate received those entering under this law: that they should not go out again.

From this, Vincent says above, it is shown that stability of place in religion was firmly established even then, although Benedict is afterward said to have invented it, that is, to have been the first to confirm it in writing.

For receiving guests, this Isidore had another cell adjoining his own.

This saying belonged to Isidore: “From the time when I became a monk, I have not permitted anger to ascend as far as my throat.”

Whenever a thought said to this Abba Isidore, “You are great,” he answered within himself: “Surely you are not such as that man,” namely, some great saint.

But when a demon, troubling him, suggested despair to him, he said: “Although I may be cast into torments because of my sins, nevertheless I find you beneath me.”

Abba Pambo, since he was without letters, approached a certain man so that he might learn from him the first verse of the thirty-eighth Psalm, namely: “I said, I shall guard my ways, that I may not offend with my tongue.”

He refused to hear the second verse. He said: “It is enough. If I fulfill this one, it suffices for me.”

When afterward his master asked why he had not returned in six months, he answered: “Because I have not yet been able to fulfill that verse.”

When, after a long time, he was asked again whether he had yet fulfilled it, he said: “I have scarcely been able to fulfill it in forty-nine years.”

Section II

“In the region of Arsinoë,” says Heraclides in the *Lives of the Fathers*, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, “we saw Serapion, father of three thousand monks who lived from their own labors, which they obtained chiefly at harvest time by the payment for their hands.

“This is the custom not only among them but among almost all Egyptian monks: at harvest time they hire themselves out for reaping, and from this payment each obtains about eighty modii of grain. From it they not only feed the needy of that region but also send ships laden with grain to Alexandria for those confined in prison or other needy foreigners. For within Egypt there are not enough poor people able to receive the fruit of their merciful generosity.”

This Serapion was he who, when he was a young man, stole a small loaf each day and secretly ate it. When his Abba Theonas gave a discourse to certain men on the usefulness of revealing their thoughts, Serapion, pierced by compunction, confessed his sin. As he brought into the midst the bread which he had hidden in his bosom, a flame of fire came forth from his bosom, as was said above in the *Conferences*.

The aforesaid Theonas, as Socrates says in the *Tripartite History*, was father of three thousand monks, was most learned in Greek and Latin letters, and is said to have kept silence for thirty years.

Concerning him Jerome also says: “We saw another holy man, Theonas, a solitary enclosed in his cell, concerning whom it was said that he had kept silence for thirty years.”

Vincent says that from this it appears that he did this before he was abbot. For he could not lawfully have maintained silence for so long a time while existing as a prelate.

Dorotheus, a Theban by race, as Socrates says in the *Tripartite History*, gathered stones from the sea each day, and each year built a lodging and gave it to those unable to build. At night, however, he made baskets to sell for their food.

He was never seen sleeping upon a bed or extending his feet for rest. Often, when he fell asleep while eating, food slipped from his mouth. On one occasion, weighed down by sleep, he fell into dung and, waking, said sorrowfully and in silence: “If you persuade the angels to sleep, you will also persuade me to sleep.”

To a man who asked why he wore down his body in such labor, he answered: “Because it kills me.”

His food was wholly without the work of fire.

When robbers, thinking that he possessed gold, once invaded his little cell, they were so fixed to his doors by his prayers that they were utterly unable to move until the customary multitude of people came. When they saw the robbers, they attempted to hand them over to be burned with fire.

Then the holy man, compelled by necessity to speak, said: “Permit them to depart. Otherwise the grace of healings will flee from me.” For by the imposition of his hand alone he conferred health from every infirmity.

When the robbers heard these things, they also became monks and penitents and were permitted to depart.

Whenever this holy man answered people, he wrote upon tablets. It is said that when he went forth into the desert at night, he also used a very great company of beasts, for whom, as the reward for their labor, he drew water from his well.

Piamon the priest, as is contained in the *Tripartite History*, while he sacrificed, saw an angel of God standing opposite the altar, writing in a book the monks who were present and erasing those who were absent.

At the time when the brothers approached to communicate, this Piamon saw an angel of God standing before the altar and writing the names of certain men in a book, but not writing those of others. Examining each of these separately, he found a mortal sin in each; and he wept with them until they were inscribed with the others.

Marcus, called an antiquarian scribe, while he wrote an O, left it incomplete as a C, as is said in the *Lives of the Fathers*. And, as certain persons add, when he returned to the cell because of obedience, he found the completion of that letter made from gold.

This Marcus was clothed in sackcloth that had been torn and sewn back together, his face stained with soot from the roof. Therefore, when at his superior's command he came out before his mother, who had come to see him, he was not recognized, although he was seen by her.

Section III

Abba Silvanus was for a long time placed in an ecstasy of mind. Rising, he wept bitterly. When the brothers asked the cause of his weeping, he said: "I was carried away to judgment, and I saw many from our habit going to torments and many secular persons going to the kingdom."

The elder, mourning, did not wish to leave his cell. But when he was compelled to go out, he covered his face, saying: "What necessity is there to see this bodily light, in which there is nothing useful?"

When Abba Silvanus and his disciple Zacharias came to a certain monastery of theirs, the monks caused them to eat a little. But after they went out, the disciple found water and wished to drink.

The abbot said to him: "Today is a fast."

He answered: "Father, did we not eat today?"

He said to him: "That food was the food of charity, my son. But let us again keep our fast."

A certain foreign brother came to Abba Silvanus on Mount Sinai and, seeing that the brothers were working, said: "Why do you labor for the food which perishes? But Mary chose the best part."

Then the elder said to his disciple Zacharias: "Give him a book to read and put him in a cell which possesses nothing."

At the ninth hour that brother looked about to see whether perhaps the elder would call him to eat. But when the hour had passed, the brother came and said to Silvanus: "Abba, did the brothers not eat today? Why did you not call me?"

The abbot answered: "You are a spiritual man and have no need of this food. But we, being as it were carnal, need to eat, and therefore we work. You, however, have chosen the best part."

When he heard this, he began to repent and to say: "Forgive me, abba."

Then Silvanus answered: "Therefore Martha is necessary for Mary."

The disciple of this Silvanus was Zeno, who said: "Never remain in a celebrated place, nor sit with a man who possesses a great name."

The same man said: "The brothers have abandoned recognition of their sins and pursue heavenly things."

When this same man had a cucumber, he said within himself: "You are a thief; you are going to torments. Test whether you can bear torments." And he stood in the burning heat for five days, scorching himself in the sun.

There was another holy father called Or, near the Thebaid, who, as Jerome says, was ninety years old, had a very long beard, and was most joyful in countenance and appearance.

At first he did not know letters, but grace was divinely given to him; and when a book was offered to him by the brothers, he began to read as though he had long known letters.

It was his custom not to take bodily food before the spiritual communion of Christ.

The same Or said to his disciple: "See that you never bring another person's word into this cell."

When this Or had spent many years in the desert, an angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: “Whomever you convert to salvation while placed in this life, you will receive rule over so many in the future.”

Many thousands of human beings were converted to God through him. Whenever any brother wished to remain in the desert, he prepared a cell for him and gave him furnishings.

On one occasion, as he himself related, demons came to him beneath another appearance, namely, like soldiers of the heavenly army conducting a great king in a chariot. The one who was regarded by the others as the king said to him: “Behold, man, you have fulfilled all things. It remains only that you adore me, and I shall transfer you into heaven like Elijah.”

Hearing this, he thought: “What is this? Do I not adore my Savior and King every day? If this were he, he would not ask from me what he knew me to do without ceasing.”

Then he said: “I have my King, whom I adore every day without interruption. But you are not my king.” Immediately the demon vanished.

This man lived for three years upon the bread of angels.

Chapter X

Jerome narrates concerning Saint Apollonius, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XV, saying: “We also saw Saint Apollonius in the borders of Hermopolis, to which they hand down that the Savior fled with Mary and Joseph.

“There was there a temple in which, when the Savior entered, all the idols fell and were shattered.

“In those borders Apollonius was father of five hundred monks and was almost eighty years old. He was still fifteen years old when he withdrew into the desert. He lived there for forty years.

“When the Lord said to him, ‘Apollonius, through you I shall overthrow all the idols of Egypt; I shall destroy the wisdom of the wise,’ Apollonius said: ‘Lord, take vainglory away from me.’

“The Lord said to him: ‘Put your hand to your neck, and whatever you seize, bind it and bury it beneath the sand.’

“Putting in his hand, he seized what was like a little Ethiopian and plunged it beneath the sand while it cried: ‘I am the demon of pride.’

“Then the divine voice said: ‘Whatever you request hereafter, you shall obtain.’”

These things happened in the time of Julian the Apostate.

When a certain one of Saint Apollonius’s brothers had been seized by Julian, Apollonius went and consoled him so that he might bear patiently the things inflicted upon him.

Then a tribune came and, finding the holy man, was moved with anger against him and ordered him also to be enclosed with the others. This was done.

But at midnight a great light appeared in the prison, and an angel, opening the doors, wished to lead out all the prisoners. Apollonius, however, resolved that there should be a delay until morning.

Then the guards, prostrate at the feet of the holy men, asked them to depart. When morning came, a centurion came and ordered them to depart, because in that same night his house had fallen in an earthquake and the chosen among his servants had died. And thus the saints returned with hymns and praises.

After these things, preaching to the gentiles, Apollonius converted many thousands of people to the faith by infinite signs and miracles.

In a time of persecution he went out to visit Christian captives. While he consoled certain of them, he was found by the judges, seized, and imprisoned.

A certain gentile named Philemon, a very handsome man, afflicted him with reproaches and insults.

Apollonius said to him: “May God have mercy upon you, my son, and may God impute none of the things which you have said to you as sin.”

Hearing this, Philemon was pierced by compunction and immediately confessed himself to be a Christian.

When the judge heard this, he ordered a great fire to be kindled and them to be cast into its midst. This was done.

Meanwhile, while the saint prayed that the fire might be extinguished for the glory of Christ's name, the fire was immediately extinguished when dew was sent from heaven. Seeing this, the judge, pierced by compunction, was converted to the faith.

At last they were led in chains before the prefect. But those who led them were struck with contrition, adhered to the name of Christ, and were also bound for Christ.

At the prefect's command, since he refused to hear them, they were cast into the sea. Thus the water of their passion became for them the water of baptism.

The sea cast the bodies of them all together upon dry land. Buried together, they heal illnesses.

The holy man completed one hundred prayers with bent knees by day and one hundred by night.

His garment was a tow tunic and a linen cloth with which he wrapped his neck and head. These are said to have remained in the desert without ever becoming old.

Near this saint there was a temple and an image which the priests carried around, as though on behalf of rainwater. By praying he caused them all to stand motionless, and not even when oxen were applied could the image be moved. Thus they stood for an entire day and night, burned by the most rapid heat.

At last, knowing that this had happened to them through the saint, they burned the image and believed in the Lord.

In the first days when he had begun to dwell in a cave, the holy day of Easter was at hand. They possessed only a few dry loaves and vegetables of the kind which they customarily stored among themselves after sprinkling them with salt.

Therefore he ordered the brothers each to ask from the Lord whether there was anything which he would gladly have on the feast day. They ordered him also to do this.

When he had completed the prayer and all had answered "Amen," behold, they suddenly saw wholly unknown men standing before the doors of the cave with a great abundance of foods. Among them were certain kinds of fruit never seen at all in the regions of Egypt, grapes of incredible size, nuts, figs, pomegranates, an abundance of honeycomb and milk, very large kernels, and white and clean loaves which nevertheless appeared to belong to a foreign province.

The men who had brought these things, as soon as they handed them over, returned hastily, as though to him by whom they had been sent.

So great was the abundance of these things that it sufficed for daily provision until the day of Pentecost. They were certain that they had been sent to them by God for the sake of the solemnity.

One of the brothers asked him that humility and the grace of gentleness might be given to him. When Apollonius prayed, this was fulfilled.

When a famine arose, all the inhabitants of the place came to him with their wives and little children. He ordered them to be fed until he had nothing except three baskets of bread which ought to have furnished one day's sustenance for the monks. He also ordered these to be brought into the midst and, raising his hands to God, said: "Can the Lord's hand not multiply these things? As the Holy Spirit says, bread shall not fail in these baskets until we are all filled from the new fruits."

Therefore bread did not cease to be distributed from the baskets for four months, nor could it ever fail.

A certain man named Dionysius, moved by this, said to him: "Are you Elijah or another of the prophets or apostles, that you have dared to do these things?"

He answered: "What follows from that? Were not the apostles and prophets, who handed their faith and grace down to us, human beings? Or was God present then, but is he not present now?"

It was the custom among his brothers that they should not take food before receiving the Lord's communion around the ninth hour. After this they sometimes remained thus until evening, hearing the word of God.

After taking food, some withdrew into the desert, recalling the divine Scriptures from memory throughout the whole night. Others, having received Christ's grace, departed immediately, content with this spiritual food alone. They did this for many days.

He ordered the brothers always to rejoice, saying: "Let the gentiles be saddened; let the Jews mourn; let sinners lament without ceasing. But let the just rejoice.

"It is altogether unfitting that there be sadness among those whose salvation is in God and whose hope is in the kingdom of heaven. For those who love earthly things rejoice over fragile and perishable things. But why should we who possess the hope of so great a glory and the expectation of eternity not glory with every exultation?"

He said further: “It has been handed down that brothers who arrive are to be adored, so that it may be certain that in their arrival the arrival of the Lord is possessed. For thus Abraham also received the angels, who appeared to be men, while the Lord was understood in them.

“Sometimes we also ought to compel brothers to bodily rest against their will.”

He admonished that, if it could be done, monks should communicate every day, because he who makes himself far from these things becomes far from God.

He said that the fasts of the fourth and sixth weekdays were not to be relaxed, because on the fourth weekday Judas considered the betrayal of the Lord, and on the sixth weekday the Lord himself was crucified.

Thus he who without any necessity relaxes the prescribed fasts on these days will be seen either to betray the Savior with the betrayer or to crucify him with the one crucifying.

These things are held as canonized in *On Consecration*, distinction III, *The Fasts*. Nevertheless, they are matters of counsel, not of a precept of the Church.

Apollonius adds: “If anyone arrives on these days, a table is to be set for him alone; but if he is unwilling, he is not to be compelled.”

Section I

The holy Abba Copres related, as Vincent reports in Book XV of the *Historical Mirror*, that in that desert there was a certain most holy man, Mutius, who at first had been a very great robber, a violator of tombs, and most notorious in every crime.

One night, when with certain machines he wished to break in through the roof upon a certain virgin consecrated to God, wearied by the difficulty of the work, he was overcome by sleep. In a vision he saw standing beside him someone in royal apparel who said: “Now cease from these crimes, from this shedding of human blood, and from detestable thefts. Turn your vigils toward religious labor and undertake the angelic and heavenly soldiery. I shall make you leader and prince of this army.”

Behold, an army of monks was shown to him, and he was ordered to hold command over them.

Awaking, he saw the virgin standing nearby and asking who he was and why and whence he had come. Made as though senseless, he answered nothing except only that she should show him a church.

She led him to the church and presented him to the priests. Prostrate at their feet, he asked to be made a Christian and to be given a place of penance.

They handed him the first three verses of the first Psalm. He said that these were sufficient for him. Remaining with them for three days, he set out for the desert, where he remained for a very long time, taking food from the roots of plants.

Returning to the priests, he rendered back his verses both in words and in deeds. Remaining with them for one week, he returned to the desert, where, dwelling in every grace for seven continuous years, he attained the fullness of grace, so that he retained almost all the Scriptures in memory.

He took food only on the Lord’s day, brought to him divinely, and it sufficed for him until the next Lord’s day.

When Mutius most diligently prepared garments for burying the dead, a certain young man, his disciple, said to him: “I wish that, when I am dead, you would clothe me in this manner.”

He said: “Certainly I shall do it, and I shall clothe you so abundantly until you say, ‘It is enough.’”

Not long afterward the young man died. When he had been clothed, Mutius said to him before everyone: “Are these things sufficient for your burial, O little son, or do you wish us to add something further?”

But he, his face now wrapped and his countenance bound, said while everyone heard: “It is enough, father. You have fulfilled what you promised.”

On one occasion, while Mutius was going to visit the brothers whom he had instructed, it was revealed to him by the Lord that a certain sick man nearby was about to die. It was already evening. When he saw the sun now sinking, he said to it: “In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, stand for a little while upon your course and wait for me until I reach the village.” This was done.

Entering the house of the brother for whom he had hastened, he found him already dead. Having made a prayer, he approached him, kissed him upon the bed, and said: “What do you desire more: to depart and to be with Christ, or still to remain in the flesh?”

Then, recovering his spirit, the man sat up a little and said: “Why do you recall me, father? It is better for me to depart and to be with Christ. To remain in the flesh is not necessary for me.”

Mutius said: “Sleep in peace, son, and pray for me.” Immediately, reclining upon the little bed, he fell asleep.

When he saw another brother lying ill and accepting death with difficulty, he rebuked him, saying: “Why are you unprepared for your departure?”

The man said: “Father, I ask that you intercede for me, so that the Lord may grant me a little time for penance.”

The saint said to him: “Now, when you have completed the time of life, do you seek a period of penance? What were you doing during this whole time of your life? Were you not able to care for your wounds? Indeed, you were always adding more recent ones.”

When he persisted in entreating, Mutius said to him: “If you add no further evils to your evils, I shall pray to the Lord for you.”

When he had prayed, he said: “Behold, the Lord has granted you three years.” Rising without any delay, the man followed him into the desert.

When the three years had been completed, Mutius led him back to the place from which he had taken him and set him in the midst of the brothers. From him, as from material, he produced for the brothers a discourse concerning the fruits of penance. While Mutius spoke, that brother began as though to sleep a little and immediately rested perpetually.

This Mutius often crossed the Nile upon his feet, with the water reaching only to his knees. He frequently entered among the brothers when the doors were closed. And he was carried in a moment of time to whatever place he wished, however far away it was.

When Abba Copres related these and many other things, one of us began, through disbelief in the things which were being said, to grow weary and from weariness to fall asleep. Behold, in a vision he saw a book written in golden letters in the hands of Copres, from which the elder’s narrative appeared to be drawn, and heard the voice of a certain man venerable with gray hair saying to him: “Why do you not listen attentively to the things recited to you, but sleep in disbelief?”

The people of that region sprinkled through their fields the sand which the saint had trodden and blessed, so that the sterility of the land might be removed. Thus far are the words of Copres concerning Mutius.

This Copres, finding a Manichaean enemy seducing many and being unable to confound him with words, said to the people: “Kindle a very great fire, and then let us both enter the flame. The faith of whichever one is not burned is true.”

When this had been done, the elder seized the Manichaean and began to drag him toward the fire.

But he said: “Not so. Rather, let each of us enter separately. Nevertheless, you who proposed this ought to enter first.”

The elder, signing himself in the name of Christ, entered the flame. Divided this way and that, it did him no harm, and he stood there for almost half an hour.

Seeing this, the people compelled the other man to enter. But he began to resist and withdraw himself. They seized him, cast him into the fire, and afterward drove him away with disgrace.

The same Copres related that in a certain desert in the Thebaid there had been a man named Elias, one hundred and twenty years old, of which he had passed seventy in solitude.

He said: “Whatever vice of your own passion you cast out of yourself, you will also be able to drive the demon of that vice from possessed bodies.”

The same Elias said: “Pallor with humility and leanness is the adornment of a monk.”

The same man said: “I greatly fear three things: one, when my soul is about to depart from my body; another, when I am about to meet the judge; the third, when sentence is pronounced concerning me.”

When this Elias was unwilling to receive a sinner, Anthony said: “A ship suffering shipwreck at sea lost what it was carrying and scarcely reached land empty. Why, therefore, do you wish to sink upon the land one who has been delivered?”

Among the other miracles which he related, blessed Copres also added one concerning blessed Syrus, Paul, and Isaiah. When on one occasion they met one another at the bank of a river so that they might visit a certain brother named Anub, as they entreated the Lord that they might not be hindered upon the way, a little boat appeared to them. Entering it, they completed in one hour a journey which was of three days.

When they landed, blessed Isaiah said: “The Lord has shown me the man to whom we are going meeting us and telling each of us the secrets of our heart.”

Paul said: “The Lord has shown me that after three days this man will die.”

As they made their way from the river to the monastery, Anub met them, blessed them, and afterward disclosed the merits of each one.

Paul said to him: “Since we know that after three days you will depart from the world, relate to us, for the memory and strengthening of the faithful, the deeds by which you have pleased God.”

He said: “I have never done anything great. Nevertheless, I have always preserved this: in persecution I confessed the Savior’s name. I have never lied. I never wished to desire earthly things.

“Christ’s grace has never failed me, but angels brought me every food which I desired. The Lord concealed from me none of the things which happen upon the earth. I never sought sleep, but an angel of God always stood by me and showed me all the things which are done in the world.

“I also saw the companies of the just, of martyrs, and of holy monks, whose work is always to praise God and to bless him in simplicity of heart and faith. On the other hand, I saw Satan and his angels handed over to eternal punishment in fires.”

When he had related these and other things to them, he gave up his spirit into the hands of angels, while they saw it being borne into heaven and praising God with the angels.

Concerning Saint Helenus, Copres says that, when Helenus had lived for a long time in the desert, he wished to visit the brothers and brought them provisions. When in the middle of the journey he was weighed down by the burden, he saw wild asses running through the desert.

He called one of them, saying: “In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, let one of you come and carry this burden.” Immediately one approached and carried him, together with the burden, most swiftly to the brothers.

At another time, when visiting the brothers, he found that they were not celebrating the Lord’s day as solemnly as they ought. He learned the reason, namely, that they had no priest, because the priest lived across a river in which there remained a certain animal on account of which no one could cross, namely, a crocodile which killed people in the midst of the passage.

Then the elder said: “I shall go for the priest.”

Coming to the water, he saw the crocodile approach and place itself beneath him. He mounted it and was quickly carried to the priest’s cell. He led the priest with him to the water so that he might cross.

When the priest objected that no vessel was present, Helenus answered: “Do not fear; it is prepared.” With a great voice he called the crocodile and mounted its back. But the priest, terrified merely by the sight of the beast, fled and refused to mount.

Then the holy man crossed alone. When he descended from the beast, he said: “It is better for you to die than to be entangled in the guilt of so many crimes.” Immediately it expired.

When a certain young man who had followed Helenus into the desert was greatly troubled by demons with shameful thoughts, which he disclosed to the saint, Helenus drew a circle with his finger in the sand around the young man’s cell and forbade the demons, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to cross the appointed boundary. Thus he was delivered.

When brothers came to him and he had nothing to set before them, he was accustomed to see a young man who brought him whatever provisions he desired. When these had been set down before the cell, the young man disappeared.

Section II

“We also saw the monastery of Paphnutius, who was an inhabitant of the uttermost desert in the regions of Heracleos near the city of the Thebaid.

“After he had led the angelic life for a long time, he made a prayer to the Lord that he would show him to which of the saints he was similar. An angel came to him, saying that he was similar to a certain musician who sought his livelihood nearby by the art of singing.

“Then the man of God, having found that man, examined his life. He found that he had first been a robber and, among his other evils, had performed two praiseworthy deeds.

“The man said: ‘Once, when my companions and I had seized a certain virgin and my companions wished to violate her, I snatched her from their hands and restored her untouched to her own home.

“‘At another time I found in the desert a woman of honorable appearance wandering about. When she told me that her husband was imprisoned with her two sons because of a fiscal debt, that she herself was being sought for similar punishments, and that she wandered for this reason, I had compassion, led her to my cave, refreshed her soul after it had collapsed from three days’ hunger, and gave her three hundred solidi, with which she afterward freed her husband and sons.’

“Hearing these things, the holy man said that he himself had never done such a deed, adding: ‘Because, therefore, you will not be held in the least place before God, follow me.’

“Then that man quickly cast the pipes from his hands, followed Paphnutius, and continued for three years in the greatest abstinence. Thus he gave up his spirit into the hands of angels.

“Then Saint Paphnutius prayed as he had done before. The angel answered that he was similar to the chief man of a certain village.

“When the man of God came to him, he was received by him with great reverence. When his manner of life was sought, Paphnutius could scarcely obtain that he reveal it to him.

“At last he said: ‘Because you are a holy man of God, I disclose to you things concealed from all others, although they are very small. I took a wife only for the sake of offspring, from whom I received three sons. Thirty years have now passed since the last was born, and afterward I knew neither her nor another woman. Likewise, she knew no other man.

“‘I have not ceased to receive guests, never dismissing a guest without provisions for the journey. I have never accepted a person in judgment. I have never passed by litigants unless I reconciled them. My flocks have never harmed the crops of others. I have never prohibited anyone wishing to sow in my field, but left the better fallow lands to them.

“‘Insofar as it was in me, I never permitted a more powerful man to oppress an inferior. I always strove to sadden no one. And what more? Insofar as I was able, or insofar as I heard that a person had performed any work of mercy, I fulfilled it insofar as it was in me.’

“Hearing these things, the holy man said: ‘I have done no such thing. Therefore this remains for you: that naked, you imitate the naked Christ.’

“Hearing this, the man immediately departed and wholly abandoned the world.

“Not long afterward the holy man, sitting in his cell, saw that man’s soul being borne by angels. He immediately went to that man’s cell, which was not far from his own, and, finding his body dead, buried it and gave himself to greater exercises.

“A third time the holy man prayed as before. Then an angel showed him a way by which, as he went, he would find one similar to himself.

“Proceeding, the holy man found a merchant possessing two ships, in which he had merchandise worth thirty thousand solidi.

“When the saint saw him, he said: ‘Abandon these things which are of the earth, and join yourself to heavenly things.’

“He immediately consented, abandoning all things. After some time he was consummated and gathered to the company of the saints.

“Not long afterward an angel stood beside Paphnutius, saying: ‘Come, blessed man; enter the eternal tabernacles owed to you.’

“Then, continuing for one further day, when priests came to him, he said: ‘No one, whether thief or merchant, ought to be despised, because in every nation God possesses some souls pleasing to himself.’

“After he had related the powers given to him by God, he ended the present life and entered the eternal one.”

The same Paphnutius, at the request of robbers seeking this contrary to his purpose, drank wine and thus gained them.

Section III

There was at that time a certain girl named Thaïs, exceedingly beautiful, whom her mother placed in a brothel from childhood. She became a most famous prostitute.

Many came to her from distant regions, and many, after selling their possessions, became extremely poor. Her lovers also, contending among themselves in quarrels because of jealousy, filled her thresholds with blood.

When Abba Paphnutius heard this, he put on secular clothing, took one solidus, and went to her. As soon as he saw her, he offered her the solidus.

Having received the price, she said: “Let us enter the house.”

When he had entered, she invited him to ascend the bed spread with costly coverings.

The saint said: “Is there some more secret place here?”

She said: “There is.”

The elder said: “Let us enter it.”

She said: “If you fear a human being, no one can see you in this place. But if you fear God, wherever we enter, God sees us.”

The elder said to her: “Do you know that God exists?”

She answered that she knew God, his future kingdom, and also the torments of sinners.

The elder said: “If, therefore, you know these things, why have you destroyed so many souls? And why are you now to render an account not only for your own perdition but also for theirs and to be condemned?”

Hearing this, she fell at his feet and with tears sought a delay of three days, after which she would do whatever he commanded her.

When he appointed for her a place to which she should come, she collected everything which she had gained from sin, brought it into the middle of the city, and burned it while the people watched. Afterward she went to the place which the abbot had appointed for her.

Having found a monastery of virgins, he enclosed her in a small cell, sealed the door with lead, and left her a small window through which a little food might be brought to her. He ordered that a little dry bread and a very little water be ministered to her each day.

When she asked how she ought to pray to God, he answered: “You are not worthy to name God. But, lying toward the east, look toward it and frequently repeat this utterance: ‘You who formed me, have mercy upon me.’”

When she had been enclosed for three years, Abba Paphnutius had compassion upon her. He went to Anthony, asking whether God had forgiven her sins.

At Anthony’s command, the disciples of Anthony, each separately, prayed without ceasing that night so that God might reveal this matter to one of them.

Soon Abba Paul saw in heaven a bed adorned with precious coverings, which three virgins of bright countenance held while guarding three lamps before it. Upon the bed was an unfading crown.

When Paul said to them, “This glory belongs to none other than my father Anthony,” a divine voice answered: “This does not belong to your father Anthony, but to Thaïs the prostitute.”

When Paul related this in the morning, Paphnutius, recognizing God’s power, departed with joy for the place, broke open the door which he had sealed with lead, and said to the blessed sinner: “Come out, because God has forgiven your sins.”

She said: “I call God to witness that from the time when I entered here, I made for myself, as it were, a bundle from all my sins and set it before my eyes. And just as breath did not withdraw from my nostrils, so not even for one moment until this hour did my sins withdraw from me.”

Section IV

“In a certain city of Egypt,” says Heraclides, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, “there are twelve monasteries of virgins. Among them I saw a certain beloved woman named Amata, an old woman said now to have been eighty years in her monastery.

“With her lived sixty women, living in purity of abstinence beneath her instruction.

“In this monastery there was a certain virgin named Thaor, her disciple, who, having been in the monastery for thirty years, never wished to use a new tunic, head-covering, or shoes, saying that perhaps on account of this she would be compelled to go outside.

“All the others went to church according to custom on the Lord’s day alone, but she, clothed in cheap rags, remained alone at home.

“She was of so elegant a form that even a most chaste and most steadfast man could have been enticed by the beauty of her face, had she not been so adorned in her conduct that she possessed within herself a certain inestimable guardian of her own chastity, who compelled the eyes of anyone desiring shameful things to immeasurable shame and fear.”

Another woman, also dwelling nearby, is said never to have gone out of the monastery. In it she completed forty years with her mother.

At last the blessed martyr Colluthus stood by her, saying: “Today you will go to your Lord. Come, therefore, to the basilica of my martyrdom so that you may dine with me.”

Then, going out in the morning for the first time after the course of so many years, she came to the martyr’s shrine, that is, to that church. She carried bread and vegetables with her.

When the prayers had been completed there and everyone had withdrawn from the place, she sat and invoked the martyr, saying: “Bless my food, Saint Colluthus, and deign through your intercessions to set out with me.”

After taking food and making a prayer, she returned to the monastery around sunset and said to her mother: “I am setting out for my Lord.”

That very night, feeling neither pain of the head nor heat of the body, she arranged herself as she was to be buried and commended her spirit into the hands of God.

Moreover, the younger Melania, granddaughter of the aforesaid Melania, lived with her husband for twenty years, converted that husband of hers to contempt of the world, and renounced the world.

First, indeed, she distributed her silk garments for the adornment of churches. She sent her silver and gold by ship through the priest Paul to the East, and there he distributed it through diverse provinces. But in the western region she herself ministered necessities to all the needy whom she knew.

She set free as many as eight thousand servants of both sexes. She sold all the possessions which she had in Aquitaine, Gaul, Tarragona, and Spain. She reserved for herself only the estates which she possessed in Sicily, Campania, and Africa, so that thereafter she might feed and support monasteries from them.

She was accustomed always to take food after every other day. For in the beginnings themselves she ate even on every fifth day. Observing this, she also performed in turn the daily services of ministry with her maidservants, whom she regarded as sisters. Pinianus, her husband, lived a similar life with thirty monks.

There was a certain virgin in Alexandria, seventy years old, concerning whom all the clerics there said that long ago, when she was a very beautiful young woman, she was accustomed to avoid the sight of everyone, lest because of the extraordinary beauty of her countenance she be marked by suspicion or stain.

At that time, when the Arians under the emperor Constantius stirred up a persecution against blessed Athanasius, Athanasius, avoiding their accusations and a corrupt judgment, entrusted himself neither to friend, relative, nor cleric.

But when officers suddenly entered his house, clothed in a tunic and a cloak, he fled at midnight and came to this virgin. Terrified by the novelty of so unexpected a matter, she heard the holy bishop say: “I am troubled by the Arians and assailed by slanderous charges. Therefore, lest I be disfigured by an irrational mark and those who are unjustly prepared for my punishment fall rather into sin on my account, I believed that I ought to flee.

“God revealed to me this night that I can be saved with no one as with you.”

Then she, rejoicing in the Lord and casting away vain thoughts, secretly concealed that holy man within her cell for six years, for as long as the aforesaid Constantius lived. She washed his feet, prepared and ministered all necessities to him herself, borrowed the books which he sought, and handed them to him to read.

Nevertheless, no one in the city where he remained could find him until, after Constantius died, he was again clothed at night in his own garments and suddenly appeared in the church while all were astonished. For they believed that they saw him as one raised from the dead.

He satisfied his intimate friends, saying: “For this reason I did not betake myself to your hiding places: so that you might safely swear that you did not know where I was staying. And because it was necessary that I be sought everywhere, I lay hidden in the cell of that virgin, where no one would suspect that I was concealed because she appeared young and beautiful. Thus, therefore, I benefited both you and my reputation or glory.”

Section V

At Corinth there was a certain most noble and most beautiful maiden who lived under a vow of virginity. Certain persons brought charges against her before a pagan judge—as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII—as though she had uttered insults against their own gods and the sacrilegious emperors.

But the judge, mad with love for the woman, after he had been unable by various devices and artifices to persuade her to do what he wished, raged against her with a new fury. He did not sentence her to death or to some punishment, but commanded that she be exposed in brothels, which was more grievous and cruel. He enjoined upon the procurer of those shameful acts that he should pay him three solidi each day from intercourse with her. Understanding, namely, that this money was to be demanded from the procurer by himself, he gave her into the power of all who wished to have her.

When those who sought such prey had learned of this perilous circumstance, they went to and watched the workshop of perdition; and, having paid the price, they spoke with her of the beginnings of the pleasures they desired for themselves. But she said that she had a certain wound in her inward parts, whose stench, if those coming to her should perceive it, would make them flee in horror of contagion. She entreated each one piteously to grant her rest for a few days.

Meanwhile, while she offered perpetual and very great prayers to God, God, the guardian of human salvation, so moved the mind of a certain young man, good in countenance and conduct, that, kindled by divine love, he desired to perish for her. Accordingly, entering under the appearance of perpetrating the shameful act, in the depth of night he gave the procurer five solidi, stripped himself of his own garments, clothed the maiden in them, covered her head with his cloak, and sent her uncorrupted out of the brothel.

On the following day, when this deed had become known to all, he was delivered to the judge and torn apart by the savagery of beasts, so that the demon might remain confounded in this respect also when he saw him crowned with a double martyrdom, both for his own salvation and for that of the virgin.

The same Vincent, in the place cited above, relates concerning another virgin, a handmaid of God, that, after preserving great abstinence for nine years, she was solicited and corrupted by a certain singer. Conceiving immediately, after she had completed the birth, her mind was pierced by the excessive sorrow of penance, to such a degree that she wished to kill herself by starvation. She continually importuned God with tearful prayers, saying: “You, great God, who have been accustomed to bear the malice of the whole world, because it is your will that all be saved, show in me also, though lost, whether you will restore me to salvation: cause that which was created from the perdition of my sin to be taken more swiftly from this light, lest I be compelled to resort either to the sword, or to the noose, or to a precipice.”

Immediately, when the offspring had by divine action been removed through death, she delivered herself to the greatest hardships of penance and served women afflicted with elephantiasis for thirty years. God did not reject her humble prayers. For God revealed to a certain holy priest, saying: “That virgin pleased me more in her penance than in her virginity.”

Section VI

At Caesarea of Palestine, as the same Vincent reports in the place cited above, the daughter of a certain priest fell into fornication. Her corrupter persuaded her to transfer her own deed falsely onto a certain lector. When she was now visibly pregnant and her father compelled her to disclose the author of the crime, she laid it upon the lector.

Hearing this, the bishop caused him to be summoned by a priest into the assembly of all the clergy. When questioned by him, he could not confess that he had done any such thing. But when the bishop, exceedingly angry, heaped insults upon him as upon one who shamelessly denied his own sin, he said: “I have indeed said what was in my conscience. But if you wish to hear what is not there, I committed this crime.”

Immediately the bishop deposed him from the rank of lector. Then he said: “Command, therefore, that she be given to me in marriage, because neither is she now a virgin nor can I now be a cleric.” Then the bishop gave her to him, thinking that he loved her and could not be separated from her.

Therefore, after she had been delivered to him by both the bishop and her father, he entrusted her to a monastery of women, asking the abbess to keep her there and support her until she gave birth. He himself, however, enclosed himself in a narrow cell in the aforesaid monastery and undertook exceedingly difficult abstinence. With tears and groans and fasts he approached Christ, saying: “You, Lord, to whom all things are known and to whom nothing unjust is pleasing, manifest my cause also by your judgment.”

While he therefore persevered continually in these things, the woman, when she had fulfilled her days, began to be pressed violently by the pain of childbirth. And when, by God’s judgment, she could not free herself from the anguish of childbirth, and endured so great a torment until the seventh day, the slanderer, now about to die, beheld the infernal regions. Unable any longer to eat, drink, or sleep, she cried out in intolerable pain: “Woe is me, wretched woman, because I have come into this peril in two ways: first, because I lost my virginity; then, because I laid a false charge upon that lector.”

When her father heard these things, fearing that he would be reproved as a slanderer, he kept still and remained silent. But when the bishop heard them, he sent a deacon to the lector and gave him this message: “Pray that your slanderer may give

birth.” But he gave no answer and did not even open his door. Prayers were again made for her in the church, yet not even thus did they perceive any remedy in her.

Then that bishop came to the lector, knocked at the door, and, entering, said: “Rise, Brother Eustace, and loose what you have bound.” At that very moment, when the lector together with the bishop had bent his knees, the woman gave birth. And the continual prayer of such innocence availed so greatly that the slander both perished and the slanderer endured punishments for her correction.

Section VII

“I saw many women,” says Heraclides, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, “who possessed manly and honorable conduct. Among them was Paula of the city, the mother of Doxotius, a prudent and spiritual woman, whose daughter Eustochium, a most chaste virgin, dwells to the present day in her monastery at Bethlehem, having fifty virgins with her.” But this woman was discussed above.

Saint Melania also was a woman of the city of Rome, the daughter of Marcellian the proconsul. Widowed in the twenty-second year of her age and perpetually joined to the eternal bridegroom by the love of divinity, she disclosed to no one the secrets of her mind. She placed the movable goods which she appeared to possess, together with certain boys and girls, on a ship and thus, hastening, sailed to Alexandria.

There, after everything had been sold and reduced to money and gold, she reached Mount Nitria. There she saw the venerable fathers Pambo, Arsisius, Serapion, Paphnutius, Abbot Isidore, and Dioscorus. Remaining with them in desert places for only six months, she went about and visited all the holy men who were there.

After this, however, when the Augustal prefect at Alexandria had condemned Isidore, Pambo, Paphnutius, Ammonius, twelve bishops and priests, and certain others—up to one hundred and twelve in number—to exile around Palestine and Diocaesarea, she followed them and supplied her service to them from her own resources.

When she was prohibited by the guards from doing this, she then took a boy’s clothing and, around the evening hours, carried to them all the necessities of life. When this became known, the consular governor of Palestine, thinking that he could fill his own coffers with her money by means of some terror, ordered her to be seized and thrust into prison.

She then sent him these words through intermediaries: “I was the daughter of such a man and the wife of such a man, but now I am a handmaid of Christ. You have no power to frighten me in any respect, nor to take anything whatever from my possessions. Do not think that I am to be despised on account of the cheapness of my clothing, because, if I wished, I could easily exalt myself. But lest, through ignorance of this, you incur danger or guilt, I have therefore sent you these words.” Thus, certainly, against the proud and imprudent it is sometimes necessary to employ arrogance, if I may call it that.

Terrified by these words, the judge excused his deed, honored her as she deserved, and gave her permission to approach the aforesaid men. When they had been recalled from exile, she made for herself a monastery at Jerusalem, in which she completed a period of twenty-seven years, having fifty virgin sisters with her.

With her also was Rufinus, an Italian citizen from the town of Aquileia, a wise man of noble and courageous conduct, who afterward also merited to attain the priesthood. Therefore, throughout twenty-seven years she was accustomed to receive and cherish at her own expense all the saints at Jerusalem and foreign bishops, monks, and virgins, and she made all who came to her better by such an example.

She also restored to the holy Church four hundred monks who had separated themselves from the Church on account of Paulinus. By continually persuading and teaching the truth, she recalled to the Church many other persons of a perverse sect.

Section VIII

There is also in the city of Panos a monastery containing four hundred men. “Among them,” says Heraclides, “I found blacksmiths, carpenters, saddlers, camel-drivers, and fullers, each laboring in his own craft. From those things which could remain beyond their daily sustenance, they furnished every necessity to monasteries of women and to nearby prisons.”

Among them there is also a monastery of four hundred women living according to the same customs and the same order, with the sole exception of a covering of skins. The women dwell across the river, but the men on the hither side of the river. When any woman has died, the other women carry her, clothed according to custom, and place her upon the bank. The men then carry her across from there in a small boat and, with psalms, lay her in their own tomb. No man crosses over to their monastery except the priest and the deacon, and this only on the Lord’s day.

In that same monastery there was a certain virgin who made herself a fool for Christ, so that she might fulfill her purpose of virtue. Since she humbled and cast herself down beyond measure, she was such an object of horror to all the others that they would not even take food with her. She was shunned by all; she endured the curses of all; she never withdrew from the kitchen, but fulfilled the duty of the entire monastery there as a maidservant, obeying everyone.

She never sat at table, but, wiping away the crumbs from the tables and washing the pots, she lived content with these provisions alone. Never using shoes, she kept her head wrapped in rags, and thus she served everyone. And certainly, although she suffered from everyone, she never did injury to anyone, and no murmuring of hers was heard.

Amid these things an angel of the Lord stood by Piterium, a most proven man who always lived in desert places, and said to him: “Why do you believe yourself to be something great in your way of life? Go to such-and-such a monastery of women, and you will find there one of them who has a torn cloth upon her head; know that she is better than you.”

Immediately he went to the said monastery and, having entered, caused all the sisters to be summoned. But that one alone on whose account he had come was not present. Then the holy man said to them: “Bring everyone, for one is absent whom the angel showed me.”

But they said: “We are all here except one fool who is in the kitchen.”

When he had commanded that she be brought, as she approached, the holy man cast himself at her feet, saying: “Bless me, spiritual mother.” She, in turn, prostrated herself before him, seeking his blessing.

When the sisters marveled, saying, “Do not endure such an insult, Abba, for this woman whom you see is a fool,” he said: “You are the fools, for she is better than both me and you. I beseech God that on the day of judgment I may merit to be found worthy of her crown.”

Then all cast themselves at the feet of holy Piterium, seeking pardon for the injuries inflicted upon her. One said: “I mocked her.” Another: “I despised her abject clothing.” Another: “While washing a dish, I poured the filth over her,” and other things of this kind. They all sought pardon from her and received it.

When she saw that she was held in esteem and veneration among the sisters, fearing human praises and the exaltation arising from them, she secretly withdrew from that monastery; where she went is entirely unknown.

Section IX

There was in Alexandria a virgin named Euphrosyne. When her father Paphnutius wished to give her in marriage, she approached a certain monk and asked to be taught by him those things which belong to God.

He said to her: “If you are able to bear the temptations of the flesh, abandon everything and flee.”

When she asked him to fulfill her desire, namely, for contempt of the world, he made a prayer, cut off her hair, clothed her in an honorable habit, and imposed upon her the name Smaragdus. After praying for her, he departed.

But, thinking within herself, she said: “If I enter a monastery of maidens, my father will seek me; and, finding me, he will drag me from there by force on account of my bridegroom.” For he was a great and powerful citizen.

Therefore, casting away her woman’s clothing, she took that of a man and went to the monastery where her father was very well known. Pretending that she was a eunuch from the emperor’s palace, she sought and received the habit, saying that she was called Smaragdus. The abbot entrusted her to a certain holy man among the monks, named Agapitus, to be instructed, saying: “This is your son and disciple. Instruct him in such a manner that he may surpass his master.”

But when Smaragdus came into the church, the devil stirred many to sin through evil thoughts on account of the beauty of her countenance, so that they all troubled the abbot because he had introduced such beauty into the monastery for the temptation of the brothers.

For this reason the abbot said to Smaragdus: “Son, your face is beautiful and is a ruin to the weak brothers. Therefore, I wish you to remain alone in your cell, to sing psalms there and eat there, and never to go out.” This she also did.

Therefore Smaragdus entered the cell and remained there in solitude, not going out from it but devoting herself to vigils, prayers, and fasts, so that her master Agapitus marveled and reported her constancy to the brothers.

Paphnutius, however, her father, considering what had become of his daughter, was exceedingly sorrowful, because she was his only child, and he had received her from a barren wife through the assistance and prayers of monks. For he had sought this from God: that he should give him an heir who might suitably dispose of his substance.

Likewise her bridegroom, coming to Paphnutius his father-in-law, grieved with him, saying: “Perhaps someone seduced her and departed with her.” Immediately, therefore, servants were sent throughout all Alexandria and Egypt to seek her, searching even the monasteries of maidens and the caves of the desert. Finding her nowhere, the father mourned his daughter and the bridegroom his bride as though she were dead.

The father, unable to bear his grief, came to the monastery where his daughter was, although she was unknown to everyone, and fell at the abbot’s feet, asking and saying: “You must pray to the Lord so that the fruit of your prayers may be found. For I do not know,” he said, “what has become of my daughter Euphrosyne.”

The abbot commanded all the brothers to show charity to Paphnutius in this matter by praying for the discovery of his daughter. Grieved through compassion on this account, they all gave themselves more earnestly to fasts and prayers. She herself, however, prayed that she might not be revealed during her life. Accordingly, since nothing concerning her was revealed to anyone, the abbot said to the father: “I believe that she has chosen the good part, and therefore nothing concerning her is revealed.”

On the next day, when the father came to the monastery, the abbot, seeing him greatly afflicted, said to him: “Do you wish to speak with a very spiritual brother who came from the palace of Theodosius?”

He said: “I do.”

The abbot therefore told Agapitus to conduct him into the cell of Smaragdus. When Euphrosyne saw her father after he had been brought in and recognized him, she was entirely filled with tears. The father, however, did not recognize her, both because of the change of clothing and because of the alteration of her face from abstinence and tears; he thought that this weeping proceeded from compunction. She had also covered her face with a cowl lest she be recognized.

After prayer had been made, therefore, they sat down. Smaragdus began to speak to her father concerning future blessedness and the fact that such glory is not attained except through almsgiving and patience; she also spoke concerning contempt of the world, and that children were not to be loved more than God, nor a father more than him who is the maker of all.

Wishing to console him still more in his affliction, she said: “If your daughter were in perdition, God would have revealed this. Yet God is able even now in this world to manifest her to you. Only give thanks to God, despairing of nothing. For I also, hearing from my master Agapitus of your grief and having great compassion, prayed to God that he grant you endurance and accomplish concerning you and your daughter that which is expedient.”

The father, marvelously consoled by her words, said to the abbot: “My soul has been edified by this brother, and I have been made as joyful as if I had found my daughter.” And he returned home.

But when Smaragdus had completed thirty-eight years in her cell, she finally fell into a grave illness. Hearing this, Paphnutius approached and visited her. He began to kiss her, crying out and saying: “Alas for me! Where are your sweet words by which you promised me that I would see my daughter? Behold, not only shall I not see her, but I am also losing you, by whom I was consoled.”

Smaragdus said to him: “Now set an end to sorrow. Remember that God manifested Joseph, whom he believed dead, to his father Jacob.”

When the day of her falling asleep in the Lord was now at hand, she said to her father: “Because God has fulfilled my desire and has brought me through to the end while I contended manfully, do not, therefore, now be solicitous concerning your daughter Euphrosyne. For I am that wretched woman, and you are my father. Do not permit my body to be stripped and washed by another, but do this yourself. And because at my entrance I promised the abbot that I possessed many properties and would be able to convey them to him if I persevered in this monastery, fulfill what I promised, and pray for me.”

Having said these things, she surrendered her spirit. When Paphnutius heard and saw this, his inward parts were moved, and he fell as though dead. Agapitus ran to him, strengthened him, and raised him from the ground. Rising, he began to lament, saying: “Alas for me, my sweetest daughter! Why did you not reveal yourself to me before, so that I might willingly dwell with you?”

These things were announced to the abbot and the brothers. While all marveled and wept, the abbot said: “Euphrosyne, bride of Christ, do not forget your servants, but pray for us to the Lord Jesus Christ.” Her body was delivered to burial with great honor. One of the monks, who had lost an eye, kissed her face and recovered his sight. The father, having become a convert in the said monastery, bestowed upon it a great part of his substance and survived for ten years in a praiseworthy manner.

Section X

It is read concerning another woman called Marina that her father, having entered a monastery, afterward also introduced her under the name and clothing of a male, calling her the little Marinus. He instructed her to disclose this to no one.

Having become a man in appearance and conducting herself very devoutly and obediently, after her father's death she went outside at the abbot's command on the business of the monastery. On one occasion she lodged in a certain place where there was an innkeeper who had a daughter. When this daughter had conceived through fornication with a certain man, her parents, perceiving this, asked by whom she had conceived. She falsely blamed Brother Marinus.

When they had announced this to the abbot, and she had been questioned by him about it, Marina groaned and said: "I have sinned, father. I do penance; pray for me." But the abbot, after correction, cast her out of the monastery.

Nevertheless, she did not depart from the monastery's gate, but lay there and received a morsel of bread. The girl's mother brought to the monastery the son who had been born from her and weaned, as belonging to them. The virgin Marina nourished him from that which was given to her by the monks.

When the abbot and the monks saw Marina's humility and patience, they granted pardon and brought her into the monastery, nevertheless imposing upon her all the most abject tasks.

But when, not many days afterward, she fell asleep in the Lord, the abbot said: "Wash his body, but bury him far from the monastery." When, in washing the body, they saw that she was a woman, they, together with their abbot, mourned and did penance for the hardships unjustly inflicted upon her.

At that same hour, the girl who had falsely accused her, seized by a demon, came to the monastery, confessing her sin and declaring the man by whom she had conceived. At last, through Marina's merits, she was healed.

Section XI

Concerning Saint Mary the Egyptian, who is called the sinner. She led a most rigorous life in the desert for forty-seven years. This became known as follows.

A certain holy abbot named Zosimas, after he had crossed the Jordan and was traversing the great desert to see whether he might perhaps find some holy man, saw a certain person walking with a naked body, black and burned by the heat of the sun. This was Mary the Egyptian. She immediately took flight, and Zosimas began to run after her.

Then she said: "Abba Zosimas, why do you pursue me? Forgive me, because I cannot turn my face toward you, for I am a woman and naked. But extend your cloak to me, so that I may be able to see you without shame."

When Zosimas heard himself called by name, he was stupefied, gave her the cloak, and, prostrating himself upon the ground, asked her to bless him.

She said to him: "The blessing belongs rather to you, father, whom the dignity of the priesthood adorns."

But when he heard that she knew his name and office, he marveled still more and earnestly entreated that he be blessed.

Then she said: "Blessed is God, the redeemer of our souls."

When she prayed with her hands extended, he saw her raised from the ground by a space of about one cubit. Then the old man began to doubt whether perhaps she was a spirit.

She said to him: "May God forgive you for judging me, a sinful woman, to be an unclean spirit."

Then Zosimas adjured her by God that she ought to recount her condition to him.

She said to him: "Forgive me, Abba, because, if I recount my condition to you, you will flee as one terrified by a serpent, your ears will be contaminated by my words, and the air will be polluted by filth."

When he insisted vehemently, she said: "Father, in the twelfth year of my age I came from Egypt to Alexandria. There for seventeen years I publicly subjected myself to lust; I denied myself utterly to no one.

"But when the people of that region were going up to Jerusalem to adore the holy cross, I asked the sailors to permit me to set out with them. When, however, they required the fare from me, I said: 'Brothers, I have no fare, but in place of the fare have my body.' Thus they received me and had my body as the fare.

"When I had come to Jerusalem and had reached the doors of the church with the others to adore the cross, suddenly and invisibly I suffered myself to be driven back, nor was I permitted to enter within. Again and again I came to the threshold of the door, and suddenly I suffered the injury of being driven back, although everyone else had free entrance and encountered no impediment.

"Therefore, returning to myself and considering that this was happening to me on account of the enormity of my crimes, I began to beat my breast with my hands and to sigh grievously from the depth of my heart. Looking about there, I saw an image of the

Blessed Virgin Mary. Then I began tearfully to entreat her to obtain pardon for my sins and to permit me to enter to adore the holy cross, promising that I would renounce the world and thereafter live chastely.

“When I had prayed this and received confidence in the name of the Virgin, I again approached the doors of the church and entered the church without any impediment. After I had most devoutly adored the holy cross, someone gave me three coins, from which I bought three loaves. I heard a voice saying to me: ‘If you cross the Jordan, you will be saved.’

“Therefore I crossed the Jordan and came into this desert, where I have remained for forty-seven years, seeing no human being at all. Those three loaves which I brought with me hardened like stone over the course of time, and they sufficed me for seventeen years as I ate from them. My garments, however, rotted away long ago.

“For seventeen years in this desert I was troubled by temptations of the flesh, but now by the grace of God I have conquered them all. Behold, I have recounted all my deeds to you, and I ask you to pour out prayers for me to the Lord.”

Then the old man, prostrated upon the ground, blessed the Lord in his handmaid.

She said to him: “I beseech you to return to the Jordan on the day of the Lord’s Supper and to carry the body of the Lord with you. I will meet you there and receive the sacred body of Christ from your hand, for from the day on which I came here I have not received the communion of the Lord.”

The old man therefore returned to the monastery. When the year had passed and the day of the Lord’s Supper was approaching, he took the body of the Lord and, coming to the bank of the Jordan, found the woman standing on the other bank. Making the sign of the cross, she walked upon the waters and came all the way to the old man.

Seeing this, the old man was stupefied and humbly prostrated himself at her feet.

She said to him: “See that you do not do this, since you have the sacraments of the Lord with you and shine with the dignity of a priest. But I beseech you, father, that you deign to return to me in the following year.”

Then, making the sign of the cross, she walked upon the waters of the Jordan and sought the solitude of the desert. The old man, however, returned to his monastery. In the following year he came to the place where he had first spoken with her and found that she had expired there.

He began to weep and did not presume to touch her. He said within himself: “I indeed wished to bury the little body of the holy woman, but I fear that it might displease her.”

While he considered these things, he saw letters written in the earth above the holy woman’s head, containing these words: “Zosimas, bury the little body of Mary. Return her dust to the earth, and pray for me to God. At his command, on such a day of April, I left this world.”

Then the old man knew for certain that, immediately after she had received the Lord’s sacraments from his hand and returned to the desert, she ended her life. And that desert which Zosimas had scarcely traversed by walking for a period of thirty days, she crossed in one hour and happily passed to the Lord.

When the old man wished to dig into the earth but could not, he saw a lion coming toward him, which, and so forth. He said to it: “This holy woman commanded that her body be buried, and I, because I am old, cannot dig, nor do I have a tool suitable for this. You, therefore, dig the earth so that we may be able to bury the most holy body of this woman.”

Then the lion began to dig and prepared a suitable pit. When this had been completed, the lion departed, gentle as a lamb, and the old man returned to his monastery, glorifying God and recounting what he had found.

Section XII

There was also a certain John, a carpenter, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII. Renouncing the world and dwelling for five years in diverse monasteries, he finally betook himself alone to Mount Lycus. When he had now completed his thirtieth year enclosed there, he merited the grace of prophecy.

For he foretold future events to the emperor Theodosius: first, concerning the tyrant Maximus, that he would overcome him and return from the regions of Gaul; afterward, concerning Eugenius, that he would be victorious over him but would end his life in that same place. Therefore there was great fame concerning him among all, on account of which Theodosius was also accustomed to honor him with prophetic honor.

“Therefore, I also, desiring to know his virtue, went there, completing the journey in eighteen days, partly by walking and partly by sailing. After the first greeting, he said to me through an interpreter: ‘From where are you, and why have you come here? I know that you are one of the companions of Evagrius.’ I also assented to this.

“Meanwhile, while we were speaking, the governor of that province, named Alypius, entered. When John, abandoning the conversation which he was having with me, turned to him, I withdrew a little from them and stood fasting. Bearing their prolonged conversation with difficulty, I reproached that old man within myself because, having despised my conversation, he had instead honored the governor.

“When, therefore, I was thinking of departing with that man likewise despised, he called Theodore, his interpreter, and said: ‘Tell that brother: “Do not be fainthearted, because I shall speak with you presently.”’ From this, therefore, I knew that he was a spiritual man and foresaw hidden things, and thus I began all the more to remain.

“But immediately after the governor had departed, he called me and addressed me thus: ‘Why,’ he said, ‘have you injured your soul by reproving me? Why did you think in your thoughts that which I do not recognize in myself and which I know does not befit your conduct? Do you not know that it is written that it is not the healthy but those who are ill who need a physician?

“‘You may indeed be with me whenever you wish, and I am able to find you; and if perhaps you can obtain no consolation from me, you will nevertheless be able to obtain some from the other brothers and fathers. But this man, wholly delivered over through secular affairs to the power of the devil, was scarcely able to breathe for an hour, and now he has come seeking, like a servant fleeing his harsh master, to find here the assistance of salvation.

“‘It would therefore be an ill-considered and importunate thing if, abandoning him, I remained with you, who have been accustomed to devote yourself continually to the advantages of your salvation.’

“Then I earnestly entreated him to deign to pray for me, because he had most certainly persuaded me by this that he was a spiritual man.

“Now more cheerful, he struck me lightly on the left side of the face, saying: ‘Many tribulations await you, and you will become a bishop and will have very many labors. The demon, presenting to you pious and seemingly reasonable occasions, attempts to gnaw at you, suggesting both the longing for your father and the conversion of your brother and sister.

“‘But I announce to you: know that both have been saved. For they have both renounced secular affairs, and your father will live another seven years. Persist, therefore, and live in desert places as you began; do not hasten to return to your native country on account of your relatives, because no one putting his hand to the plow and looking behind is fit for the kingdom of God.’

“Finally, he said that he had dwelt in that cell for forty-eight years, affirming that he had never seen the face of any woman, nor had he been seen by another while eating or drinking.”

Section XIII

Serapion, who was also called the Sindonite because he used no garment other than a linen cloth, was also called impassible, because, through his extreme abstinence from all things, he suffered no desire to possess anything. Because of his continual meditation upon the divine books, his heart could not be content with the quiet of a single cell but was drawn through diverse places.

The holy fathers related concerning him that, in a certain town, he sold himself to pagan mimes for the price of twenty solidi and remained in their servitude, even to the point that he washed their feet, until he made them Christians and separated them from theatrical performances. He was accustomed to take no food except bread and water, nor did he cease to read the divine Scriptures.

When they had been converted to a pious and chaste life, they offered him freedom, saying that through him they had been liberated from shameful servitude. He returned to them the twenty solidi which he had received for himself and had kept with him, saying: “Because God through me has accomplished in you that which I wished, now receive the gold which you gave for me, so that I may find others whom I may also be able to assist.”

When, although entreated, he refused to consent to remain with them as their father and master, they said: “Then give this gold to other poor persons, because we know that we gave it as a kind of pledge for our salvation.”

But he said: “Give it yourselves, for I do not give away the money of others.”

They said: “At least we ask this: that after the course of a year you seek us again at Athens.”

Accordingly, the servant of Christ, frequently journeying as a pilgrim, came to Greece. Remaining at Athens for three days, he received bread to eat from no one. He possessed neither money, nor a bag, nor a skin, nor anything whatever which he carried with him except the linen cloth in which he was wrapped.

When, therefore, he had come fasting to the fourth day, he began to hunger severely. For nothing is worse than that fast which is exacted from one unwilling, from the necessity of which perfidy also often proceeds.

Therefore he stood upon a little hill of the city where the leading men of that same town were accustomed to hold council. There, striking his hands together, he cried out that he was suffering the greatest violence, saying: “Men of Athens, come to my aid!”

Accordingly, all came running, whether dressed in cloaks or in hooded mantles, and asked from where he had come or what he said he was suffering.

He answered: “By race I am an Egyptian; by manner of life, a monk. Since I departed from my true native country, I have fallen into the hands of three moneylenders. From two of them, indeed, I was somehow able to escape by paying the debt, but the third still holds me, and I have no means by which I may satisfy him.”

When they asked who that man was, or where he dwelt who was troubling him, and promised themselves as helpers in every respect if he disclosed this to them, he said: “The love of money, the desire for pleasure, and the voracity of the belly: these three have always troubled me from the beginning of my youth. Of them, I seem now to have satisfied two, and they trouble me no longer. But I cannot bear the third. For, when I now fast by necessity on the fourth day, the most severe moneylender presses me, demanding the debt and threatening death unless I repay it.”

Then certain philosophers offered him one solidus. Having received it, he gave it to a certain man who sold bread, received only one loaf from him, immediately departed from the city, and never afterward returned.

When, however, coming to the region of Lacedaemon, he learned that one of the leading men of the city, a man good in other respects, together with his entire household, was a Manichaean, he sold himself according to the example above. Within two years, having drawn both the man himself, his wife, and his whole family away from the execrable sect, he delivered them to the Church.

Chapter XI

Concerning Saint Pachomius of Scetis

Heraclides speaks as follows, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII:

“When I was once pressed by a severe temptation of the flesh, I disclosed nothing of this either to my neighbors or to Evagrius my master, but secretly went to the interior parts of the desert. Finding Pachomius, a man seventy years old, dwelling among the other monks at Scetis near a palm tree, I related my anxiety to him.

“He said to me: ‘Let this thing which you suffer not be new to you. For the nature of the places, the want of all things, and the absence of women offer you testimony that you have not fallen into it through negligence or sloth of mind. Rather, you labor under this temptation because of your zeal and desire for chastity.

“‘For sometimes our flesh, if it is excessively healthy, becomes wanton. Sometimes this malady proceeds from various thoughts. At other times, however, a demon who envies us fights against us.

“‘For I also, as you see, though very old, dwelling for forty years in this cell and exercising the greatest care for my own salvation, am troubled by this temptation even to the present. Certainly, for twelve years after my fiftieth year, this malady never withdrew from me by day or by night, so that I suspected that I was deprived of God’s assistance. Nevertheless, I preferred then to perish by some irrational death rather than to succumb to such obscenity of the body.

“‘Wandering through solitary places, I cast myself almost naked into a certain cave so that I might be devoured by the beasts coming out from it. When I had lain thus until evening, a male and a female lion came out, were led to me by my scent, and licked me from head to foot with a caressing tongue. Thus they left me unharmed.

“‘Therefore, thinking and believing that God had spared me, I immediately returned to the cell. The demon rested for a few days, but again assailed me more violently than he had been accustomed, so that he almost compelled me to blaspheme.

“‘For he was transfigured into a certain maiden whom I remembered seeing in my youth gathering reeds at harvest-time. Suddenly sitting upon my knees, she moved me so greatly throughout all my members that I thought she had almost lain with me. Therefore, angered, I struck her with my right hand, and immediately she vanished. And certainly, for two whole years I was unable to bear the stench of the hand with which I had struck her.

“‘Therefore, anxious and despairing, I went wandering into desert places. Finding a small asp, I held it in my hand and applied it to my genital members so that at least its bite might bring me death. I also crushed the serpent’s head by rubbing it upon my private parts, as though the cause of temptation proceeded from them. Yet it did not bite me even thus, because divine grace, as I believe, provided otherwise.

“‘Then I heard this voice descending to me: “Go, Pachomius, persist in your contest. For on this account I permitted you to be overcome by the demon’s power, lest you grow proud as though you were stronger than he. But, recognizing your weakness, flee for refuge to divine assistance.”

“‘Thus, therefore, returning to my own secret place, thereafter I sat with confidence and lived with entirely peaceful senses. And when my enemy saw himself despised, he withdrew utterly confounded.’”

Section I

In the province of the Thebaid there is said to be a place called Tabennesis, in which was Pachomius, a just man, as Vincent reports in the place cited above from the sayings of Heraclides. He was wholly devoted to God, to such a degree that by divine grace he both knew future things and enjoyed an angelic vision. He was perfectly merciful and humane, and loved the brothers with an ineffable love.

An angel of the Lord came to him as he sat in a cave, saying: “You are perfect in all things which pertain to your purpose; hence you now sit superfluously in a cave. Come, therefore, and gather all the younger monks, establish them according to the rule of life which you will learn from me.”

The angel gave him bronze tablets upon which it was written: “You shall make diverse cells within the enclosure of the house, and you shall command three men to remain in each one. Nevertheless, let the food of all be made in one place, and you shall prohibit no one either from fasting or from eating. Nevertheless, you shall enjoin heavier work upon the stronger and upon those who eat more.

“They shall not take sleep lying down, but shall rest sitting upon prepared and slightly reclining chairs covered with their cloaks. They shall be covered with goatskins, which they shall remove neither to take food nor to take sleep, but only when they enter for communion. Then each one shall loosen his belt, remove his skin, and approach wearing only his cowl.

“If any pilgrim belonging to another rule arrives, he shall not eat with them, nor drink, nor be brought into their dwelling, unless perhaps he has been joined to them on the road. But you shall not receive into the more secret places of the monastery anyone who wishes to enter to remain with them unless he has fulfilled three entire years while performing laborious and more difficult work.

“While eating, they shall cover their heads with their cowls, lest one look upon another as he eats, but only upon the dish or table; nor shall it be permitted to say anything while they eat.”

Furthermore, he established twenty-four orders of brothers and assigned to each a Greek letter by which it might be distinguished as though by its own sign or designation. He also ordained and commanded that they offer twelve prayers throughout the day, the same number in the evening at the lamp, and the same number of prayers in the nocturnal vigils.

Then Saint Pachomius said to the angel: “These things are few.”

But he said: “I commanded these few to be performed so that even the younger men may be able to fulfill without sadness the rule of life imposed upon them. Those, however, who are stronger and more perfect do not need to be constrained by another’s rule, because they have wholly given their entire life to the vision and worship of God.”

When these things had thus been arranged, the angel departed from him. There are therefore very many monasteries in which more than seven thousand men follow these institutions. But that monastery in which Pachomius himself dwelt is regarded as the greatest and the first, from which the others appear to have proceeded.

He died in the ninth year of Arcadius and Honorius, having one hundred and ten years of life, as Sigebert says.

This Pachomius, however, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XIX, from his deeds, taught the monks the rule of life, as has been said, which he had learned at the angel’s dictation. He commanded the bakers, when they baked the sacred offerings, to meditate upon the Psalter and to speak nothing vain.

When this command was violated on a certain occasion in the monastery of Tabennesis, it was immediately revealed by divine action to Pachomius. He immediately sent Theodore, caused this negligence to be corrected, and treated the transgressor of the divine command as guilty.

The devil appeared to the same Pachomius in the form of a most beautiful woman. Seeing her and knowing her to be a phantasm, he prayed at length that she might vanish.

Standing closer to him, she said: “Why do you labor in vain? I received from the Lord power to tempt those whom I wish.”

The holy man said to her: “Who are you?”

She said: “I am the poison of the devil, and I envelop mortals in the darkness of death-bearing pleasure. But I cannot approach either your followers or you, on account of Christ who became man. Yet it will not always be so. The time will come after your death when I shall sport as I please among those whom you now fortify with your prayers.”

Then the holy man said: “And who knows whether there will then be better men who may strengthen them? For you are entirely unable to foreknow anything, which belongs to God alone.”

But she said: “Nevertheless, I know many future things from those which precede them.”

The holy man said to her: “And how?”

Then she said: “The beginning of every thing tends first toward increase; afterward it inclines toward decrease. So also in this profession of yours will communication occur [read: So also, as I conjecture, will it happen in this profession of yours]. For in its beginnings it increased, strengthened by signs and virtues. But when it begins to grow old, whether failing through length of time or declining through the negligence of the age, it will be diminished from its proper increases.”

After these things Pachomius prayed insistently that the Lord would reveal to him what the condition of the monks would be after him. By a vision made to him, he was taught that the monasteries would indeed be multiplied and enlarged, and that some would live piously and continently. Very many, however, would be negligent and would lose their salvation, especially through the negligence of the superiors, who, holding the primacy, would contend in ambitious strife over which of them should preside. Good superiors would be rejected, and evil ones chosen. Then they would exchange for human allurements almost everything that is supported by divine rules.

Then Pachomius, crying out, said to the Lord: “Woe is me, because I have labored in vain. For if those who are to preside are so perverse, what will their subjects be like?”

Then there appeared to him in marvelous splendor a certain figure bearing a crown of thorns, saying to him: “Take courage, Pachomius, because your posterity will not fail even to the end; and whoever among those who are to come will live piously and continently, amen I say to you, shall obtain rest.”

Section II

Concerning Saint Evagrius, Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XVIII, that he was first ordained lector by Saint Basil and afterward deacon by blessed Gregory Nazianzen. Though tempted while in secular life, at length, through the zeal of blessed Melania, he changed his garment, set out for Egypt and Mount Nitria, and completed two years dwelling there.

In the third year, however, he went to the inner solitary places and lived for fourteen years in abstinence, taking a little bread and oil, though previously amid great abundance he had always maintained a luxurious life.

The spirit of fornication always assailed him violently. Hence, as he himself also related to us, throughout an entire night in winter he stood naked in a well so that the ice also might constrict his flesh.

At another time the spirit of blasphemy began to press him and compel him to utter sacrilegious words against God. On account of this he remained continually without shelter for forty days, so that certain pustules broke out over his entire body. He experienced the demons so violently that he was beaten by them innumerable times.

On a certain day three demons stood before him together in the appearance of clerics, desiring to dispute with him concerning the faith. One of them said that he was an Arian, another a Eunomian, and the third an Apollinarian. By discoursing wisely and briefly, he overcame them all.

When the keys of the church had been lost, invoking the name of Christ he signed that part of the door where the lock was and, striking the doors with his hand, opened them. He also foretold to a certain one of his disciples, by prophesying the individual matters, all the things which would happen to them after eighteen years.

When a certain man announced the death of his father, he answered: “Why do you blaspheme? I know my Father, the immortal God.”

He used to say: “Since I came into solitude, I have not touched lettuce or anything green; I have not touched fruit or meat, and I have not seen baths.”

Finally, in the sixteenth year of such a life, during which he ate nothing that was cooked, when it was necessary on account of weakness of the stomach that he take something of this kind, he never touched bread, but, tasting vegetables, resin, and lentils for two years, he thus departed from the world.

Near the very end of his life, he related that he was in the third year since he understood that he had been freed from carnal desire. After such a life of his, after so many labors, and after those prayers so continual, he knew the differences between good and evil spirits and showed the arts by which demons could be subdued.

A certain priest named Innocentius, with whom I lived for three years, says Heraclides, was the simplest of men. Having formerly served as a soldier under the emperor Constantius, he renounced the world.

He cursed his son Paul because he had corrupted the daughter of a certain priest. He entreated God, saying: “Lord, give him such a spirit that in his flesh he may never find time for sinning.” For he perhaps believed it more right that Paul should struggle with the savagery of a demon than with the impurity of bodily pleasure.

As he said it, so it happened. For even to the present that same Paul remains bound with iron chains on the Mount of Olives, tormented by a demon. These are the words of Heraclides.

Section III

“I knew,” says Heraclides, “a certain brother who lived with me from the beginning of his youth until today, who was conquered by no desire of mind or body and was always accustomed to give thanks to God for his being despised. He desired even to undergo danger for true friends.

“He had experienced the power of demons a thousand times, and perhaps more. Hence on a certain day the devil wished to make a bargain with him, saying: ‘Promise me that you will sin even once, and I will present to you whatever woman you wish in this world.’ But he despised him.

“At another time, while the demon contended with him for fourteen nights, it dragged him from his cell with its feet and said to him in a human voice: ‘Do not adore Christ, and I shall never approach you again.’

“He said to it: ‘For this very reason I adore him and always shall adore him, because you are greatly distressed and tortured by the fact that I do so.’

“He had no experience of any woman, not even in dreams, except in a vision of contest and conflict. I know that he also received food from angels three times. On a certain day, when he did not have even a crumb of bread in a very vast solitude, he found three paximadia in his skin cloak. At another time he found wine and bread together.

“Frequently, when he saw certain people laboring under grave want, he wept greatly and gave them whatever he could possess apart from his own body. Therefore I shall glory especially concerning him, because he lived with me and was such a man.”

“There was also another most noble combatant,” says Heraclides, as Vincent reports in the place cited above, “named Nathanael. Having suffered acedia through the deceit of a demon, he is said to have withdrawn from his former cell and to have built another near a certain village.

“When he had begun to dwell there, a demon approached him by night, fashioned in the form of an executioner. Covered with rags, it was hideously filthy and appeared to make a sound with scourges.

“The holy man said to it: ‘Who, then, are you, who attempt to do such things in my lodging?’

“It answered: ‘I am the one who drove you from your former cell and who have now come to expel you from this one also.’

“Then the holy man, seeing that he had been mocked by the demon, returned to his former dwelling. Completing thirty-seven years there, he never wavered from his purpose. He did not even go out across the threshold, while contending with the demon that wished to overcome him. It vexed him with so many devices, so that by any means whatever he might be compelled to leave the cell, that I cannot relate them individually.

“Among these things, even when the occasion of the arrival of seven bishops presented itself—who came to seek him, whether by the providence of God or by the temptation of demons—after prayer had been made, he did not accompany them even by a single step.

“When the deacons said, ‘Abba, you do an exceedingly proud thing because you do not escort the bishops,’ he said: ‘I venerate the bishops, my lords, but I profess that I am dead to them and to the whole world. God knows my hidden purpose.’

“On another occasion the demon contrived another artifice against him. It suddenly became like a little boy ten years old driving a donkey that carried bread in a basket. When in the depth of night it had come to his cell, it pretended that the donkey had fallen to the ground and cried out, saying: ‘Abba Nathanael, have mercy upon me and extend your hand.’

“Hearing the voice of the boy, he stood inside the door, part of which he had opened, saying: ‘Who are you?’

“He said: ‘I am the boy of that monk, and I am carrying bread to him because tomorrow he is to make an agape. I beseech you, therefore, not to despise me as I lie here and deliver me to the bites of wild beasts.’

“But the holy man stood like a man of bronze and, anxious, made a prayer and said: ‘Boy, I believe in him whom I serve, who rules over every spirit, that, if you need assistance, he himself will furnish it to you. But if this thing is a temptation, may the Lord God see it and not permit me to be injured by it.’

“The demon, therefore, defeated and confounded in this, was dissolved into a whirlwind.”

Chapter XII

Certain Teachings and Moral Sayings from Diverse Holy Fathers

Certain teachings and moral sayings from the words of diverse holy fathers, which Vincent reports near the end of Book XVI of the *Historical Mirror*, for instruction in the spiritual life.

When Abba John was dying, the brothers asked him to tell them something concise as an inheritance. Groaning, he said: “I never did my own will, nor did I teach anyone what I had not first done.”

Abba Sisoes said: “Make yourself contemptible, cast your will and secular cares behind your back, and you will have rest.”

The same man said: “Do not have friendship with a woman, nor with a boy, nor with heretics.”

The old man was asked: “How do I find God: whether in fasting, in labor, in vigils, or in mercy?”

He answered: “In these things and in discretion. For I tell you that many afflicted their flesh and, because they did so without discretion, went away empty. Our mouth stinks from fasting, we have learned all the Scriptures, yet we do not possess that which God seeks, namely humility and charity.”

A certain brother asked Abba Agathon, saying: “I wish to remain in a congregation with the brothers. How shall I conduct myself with them?”

He answered: “As you are on the first day when you enter, so also pass the remaining days in humility.”

A certain old man said: “Every day, morning and evening, a monk ought carefully to inquire within himself what he did throughout the whole day of those things which God wills, or which he did not do.”

Abba Lucius said: “I both labor and pray at the same time, saying while I labor, ‘Have mercy upon me, O God.’ And I sleep and pray at the same time, giving alms from my labor to a poor man who prays for me when I sleep.”

A certain man was conducted to Arsenius, and the old man, according to his custom, remained silent after prayer. Afterward the same man was conducted to Abba Moses, who had been converted from being a robber. Moses received and addressed him kindly.

The brother prayed to the Lord, saying: “Lord, one of these men, on account of your name, flees from seeing all people; the other, however, on account of your name, is familiar with all. Which of them does better?”

Two boats were shown to him upon a river. In one Arsenius sailed with silence and rest; in the other was Moses, into whose mouth and teeth angels poured a honeycomb of honey.

A certain brother who possessed a Gospel sold it, saying: “I sold the very word which commands: ‘Sell everything that you possess and give to the poor.’”

A certain nobleman, renouncing the world but nevertheless reserving a few things for himself, came to Basil. Hearing this, Basil said to him: “You have both ceased to be a senator and have not made yourself a monk.”

A certain man asked an old man to receive money for his necessities. When he refused, the man said to him: “Receive it for the use of the poor.”

The old man said to him: “Then there is a twofold reproach for me: because, although I am not in need, I receive it, and, by giving away the possessions of another, I gather vainglory.”

A certain man offered money to an old man because the old man was leprous and infirm. Refusing it, he said: “After seventy years, do you come to take away my nourisher from me?”

A certain Gelasius possessed a codex worth eighteen solidi, for it contained the New and Old Testaments. It lay openly in the church so that whoever wished might read it.

When a certain man had stolen it, he offered it for sale. The buyer, however, told him to leave it with him so that he might show it to another concerning the quality of the book and whether it was worth so much. By chance he showed it to the said Gelasius, who said: “Buy it, because it is good and is worth so much.”

When the buyer had reported this to the seller, the latter, pierced by compunction, returned the book to Gelasius. Gelasius did not wish to receive it, though he knew that it was his own, but the thief compelled him to receive that which was his.

Arsenius gave his monk gold and coins, and whatever he wished, provided only that he would not steal. But when that man did not restrain himself, the old men commanded that he be expelled, saying: “A brother suffering an infirmity of the flesh must be sustained. But one who steals and does not cease after being admonished must be expelled.”

An old man said to a certain person who was laughing: “Before heaven and earth we are to render an account of our whole life, and you laugh? Just as we carry the shadow of our bodies everywhere with us, so we ought to have weeping and compunction with us wherever we shall be.”

Section I

A certain man related, as Vincent reports in Book XVI of the *Historical Mirror*, that three men who diligently loved one another became monks. One of them chose to restore those who quarreled to peace; the second, to visit the sick; the third, to rest in solitude.

The first, therefore, laboring amid the disputes of people, could not please everyone. Overcome by weariness, he came to the second and found him likewise failing in spirit and unable to fulfill his charge. These two, agreeing together, came to the third, recounted their tribulations, and asked him to say what he himself had accomplished.

Remaining silent for a little, he poured water into a cup and said: “Look into the water.” It was turbid. After a little while he said: “Look at how the water has become clear.” When they looked into the water, they saw their own faces in it as though in a mirror.

Then he said to them: “So it is with one who stands in the midst of people. Because of the crowd he does not see his own sins, but when he has become quiet, and especially in solitude, he then beholds his own offenses.”

Two brothers, assailed by the spirit of fornication, went away and took wives. Afterward one went to the other, saying: “What have we gained in this uncleanness, from which punishment and eternal damnation follow, while we have abandoned the life of angels? Let us therefore return to the desert.”

They therefore returned to the old men, who enclosed them for one entire year, while they received bread by equal weight. When the year had passed, they came out. One of them was seen to have a pale and emaciated face, but the other a beautiful and corpulent face.

When the fathers asked the first the cause of his pallor, he answered: “I believe this to be the cause: during this time I frequently meditated upon the Gehenna owed to me on account of my crimes unless I did penance, and that meditation thus deprived me of color through sadness and fear.”

When they asked the other the cause of so beautiful a color in his face, since the other, by contrast, was so pale and the food of both had been the same, he answered: “During this time I continually remembered the immense benefit of God bestowed upon me and his love toward me, because he drew me from the mire of dregs and from the depth of hell. In this I rejoiced and was glad.”

The fathers declared that their penance had been equal and equally acceptable to God.

At another time very many brothers, sitting together, were discoursing about the holy Scriptures, and then the angels of God stood around them, rejoicing in the word of the Lord. But when they spoke of something else among themselves, immediately the holy angels withdrew farther away, indignant against them, while demons delighted in their vain and superfluous speech.

The blessed elder, seeing these things, went to his cell and throughout the whole night bewailed our miseries with groaning. He admonished the brothers throughout the monasteries, saying: “Restrain yourselves, brothers, from much speaking and from idle words.”

A certain man asked Abba Sisoes, saying: “When I read in the Scriptures, my thought wishes to adorn my discourse so that I may be prepared to answer questions.”

The old man said to him: “There is no need; rather, provide for yourself from purity of mind.”

A certain man asked Abba Theodore for a saying for three days. When Theodore said nothing, the man departed sorrowful. Asked why he had answered him nothing, Theodore said: “Because he is a merchant and glories in the words of others.”

Abba Hyperichius said: “It is better to eat flesh and drink wine than, through detraction, to eat the flesh of brothers.”

A certain old man did not drink for forty years. But whenever burning heat arose, he washed a small bottle, filled it with water, and hung it before his eyes.

When the brothers asked why he did this, he answered: “So that, seeing what I desire, I may endure a greater burning thirst and thus obtain a greater reward from the Lord.”

The brothers related concerning a certain man that the demons assailed him so that immediately at the first hour of the day they caused such hunger and weakness in his body that he was utterly unable to endure it.

Nevertheless, he said in his heart: “In whatever manner, I must wait at least until the third hour.” At the third hour he said the same: “Even now I must forcibly endure until the sixth.” At the sixth hour he put bread into water, saying: “While this is being soaked, I must wait for the ninth.”

When the ninth hour had come, according to custom he completed the prayers and psalmody according to the rule and placed the bread so that he might eat. He therefore sustained this for very many days.

On a certain day, however, when at the ninth hour he had sat down to take food, he saw a great smoke rise from the basket where the bread, that is, the paximadia, had been placed, and go out through the window of his cell. Thus from that day he did not hunger, but his heart was so strengthened that even after two days it did not delight him to take food.

Section II

When Abba Poemen was asked how one ought to fast, he answered: “I wish a monk to eat a little every day in such a way that he is not satiated, for fasts of two or three days are occupied with vainglory.”

Natura, the disciple of Silvanus [read: Netras, the disciple of Silvanus], before he became bishop in Pharan, lived with moderation; but after he became bishop, he lived most rigorously. For he said: “If I now fall into illness, very many will come to my aid; but then no one came to my aid.”

When a certain priest had visited a bishop, the brothers asked him how that city was constituted. He answered: “Believe me, I saw the face of no one there except the bishop alone.”

Theodore, having been made a deacon in Scetis, did not consent to minister. When he was compelled by the old men, he asked that a place and a period for prayer be given to him so that the Lord might show him whether he ought to minister or not.

A pillar of fire extending from earth to heaven was shown to him, and a voice sounded, saying: “If you can become like this pillar, go and minister.” Thereafter he did not consent to minister at the altar.

Mothois and his brother, ordained priests by the bishop of Gebalon, never consented to offer sacrifice. The old man said: “This office belongs to those who live without complaint.”

The same man said: “The nearer a man approaches God, the more he sees himself to be a sinner.”

Abba Sisoes said: “If I possessed one thought of Anthony, I should become as though entirely fire.”

The same man said: “It is not a great thing that your mind should be with God; rather, this is the great thing: that you see yourself beneath every creature.”

The same man said to a dead boy whom his father had cast before his cell, thinking that the boy was doing penance: “Rise, go outside.” Rising, he immediately went out.

The same man, when Abraham his disciple was tormented by the devil, said: “God, whether you will or not, I shall not release you unless you heal him.” Immediately he was healed.

On the day of his death, Sisoes shone in his face like the sun. He said to those standing by: “Behold, Abba Anthony comes.” A little afterward he said: “Behold, the choir of prophets.” Again his face shone still more, and he said: “Behold, the choir of apostles comes.” Again his face shone twice as much.

He spoke with those who stood by and said: “Behold, the angels have come to receive me, and I ask them to permit me still to do a little penance.”

When those standing by said, “Abba, you do not need penance,” he answered: “Truly, I do not know that I have received the beginning of penance.”

Again his face became like the sun, and he said: “Behold, the Lord comes, saying: ‘Bring to me the vessel of election of the desert.’” The whole place was filled with splendor and fragrance as he rendered his spirit to the Lord.

A certain brother who came to the cell of a certain old man used to enter and steal his food. Although the old man saw him, he did not rebuke the one whom he knew to be stealing from him, but labored still more, saying: “I think that brother is necessary to me.”

For the old man endured great tribulation from scarcity of bread. But when he was dying and the brothers surrounded him, seeing the man who used to steal his bread, he took his hands and kissed them, saying: “I give thanks to these hands, brother, because through them I believe that I shall enter the kingdom of heaven.”

Pierced by compunction because of this, that man himself became a strenuous monk through the deeds of the old man which he had seen.

A brother asked Abba Sisoes, saying: “If robbers or barbarians fall upon me wishing to kill me, and if I am able to prevail over them, do you command me to kill them?”

He answered: “Do not do so at all, but commit yourself entirely to God. For whatever adversity happens, profess that this has occurred on account of your sins.”

Section III

Abba Poemen used to say: “If anyone does evil to you, render good to him so that through goodness you may conquer malice.” Hence, when anyone injured or mocked a certain brother, he himself ran to him, saying: “These are those who furnish us an occasion for our advancement, for those who praise and call us blessed themselves deceive us.”

When Abba Hilarion visited a certain bishop, the bishop offered him some birds. The abbot said to him: “Since I received this habit, I have never eaten anything killed.”

The bishop said to him: “Since I was made a bishop, I have not permitted anyone who held anything against me to go to sleep, nor have I slept while holding anything against anyone.”

The abbot said to him: “Forgive me, father, because your manner of life is better than mine.”

A certain old man said: “If anyone speaks with you concerning the Scriptures or any other matter whatever, do not contend with him. If he speaks well, consent to him. If he speaks badly, say to him: ‘You know how you speak.’ By preserving this, you will always know yourself to be in humility and will possess rest.”

When a certain infirm man, on account of excessive abstinence, was coughing up phlegm, some of the phlegm fell unwillingly upon another brother. When that brother was compelled in his thought to say to him, “Stop now, and do not cough upon me,” in order to overcome his thoughts he took what the man had coughed up, put it into his own mouth, and ate it. He said to himself: “Either do not say to the brother that which would grieve him, or eat that which you abhor.”

Abba Theodore said to a brother who complained that he was troubled: “How many years have you been in this order?”

He answered: “Eight.”

The abbot said: “Believe me, I have been in this order for seventy years, and not for one day have I been able to have rest; and you wish to have peace in eight years?”

Another brother asked him: “If the sound of some sudden collapse occurs, do you experience fear, Abba?”

He answered: “If heaven should adhere to the earth, Theodore would not be afraid.” For he had sought from the Lord by prayers that he would take fear away from him.

A certain father related that the ancients did not quickly move from their place except for three causes: either if someone held something against another and, though he made satisfaction to him, could not appease him; or if he was praised by many; or if he had fallen into a temptation of fornication.

A certain old man had water far from his cell. Once, while going to it, he failed on the way and said: “What need have I to labor thus? I shall remain near the water.”

When he had said this, he saw a certain young man following him and counting his footsteps. He said to him: “Who are you?”

The young man said: “I am an angel of God, sent to count your footsteps and render you a reward.”

Then the old man, made strong in spirit, moved his cell five miles farther away.

Section IV

The disciple of a certain old man was accustomed to come to him as to the father of his soul and his master, so that he might receive some teaching from him. On a certain day he found him sleeping. After he had waited a long time, he himself was inclined to sleep or to return to his cell. Nevertheless, he drove sleep from himself and resolved neither to depart nor to awaken the father. Seven times he was assailed concerning this and always resisted such a thought.

At last, when the old man awoke, he recited the office with him. After he had afterward sent him back to his cell, the old man, placed in prayer and carried into an ecstasy of mind, saw a glorious place and, above a seat, seven crowns. When he thought that so glorious a place had been prepared for Anthony, a voice came from heaven, saying: “This has not been prepared for Anthony, but for your disciple, and the seven crowns were acquired for him through seven temptations.”

A certain brother, placed amid the tribulation of temptations, lost the monastic rule, that is, the observance of the rule. Unable through negligence to begin the monastic work again, he was afflicted.

When he explained this to one of the fathers, that father exhorted him to resume vigor of spirit by this example: “A certain man had a fruitful field, but through his negligence that land was filled with thorns and thistles. When afterward he wished to cultivate it, he said to his son: ‘Go and clear that field.’

“When the son had come there, failing in spirit before the multitude of thorns and thistles, he said within himself: ‘When shall I clear all these things?’ Casting himself upon the ground, he began to sleep. He did this many times. For when he had slept and then, awakened, began to wish to clear the field, considering the magnitude of the laborious work, he failed in mind and abandoned what he had begun.

“The father came upon him and found the field uncultivated and uncleared. When he heard the cause from him, the father strengthened him for labor, saying: ‘Son, each day work an area equal to the breadth of the ground upon which you lie and which you occupy. You will gradually advance and clear the whole field.’

“Doing this, in a short time he cultivated the whole field. So also you: work gradually at those things which you were accustomed to do, and God through his grace will restore you to your former condition.”

Section V

When a certain anchorite came to Abba Poemen, the old man received him with joy. The anchorite began to discourse about the holy Scriptures and about heavenly things. Then the old man turned his face toward another brother and gave the anchorite no answer. The anchorite went out sorrowful.

The disciple entered and said to the abbot: “This great man came on account of you, possessing so great a glory among his companions, and you do not wish to speak with him.”

The old man answered: “He belongs to the higher things and speaks of heavenly matters. I, however, belong to the lower things and can scarcely speak of earthly matters.”

The disciple therefore went out and told this to the anchorite. Pierced by compunction at this saying, the anchorite entered to the old man and said: “What shall I do, Abba, because the passions of my heart rule over me?”

Then the old man looked upon him rejoicing and said: “Today you have come well, father. Open, therefore, my mouth [read: I open, therefore, my mouth], and fill it with your good things.”

Assisted by this saying, the anchorite said to him: “In truth, this way which you hold is good and upright.” Giving thanks to the old man, he returned to his own region.

John, short in stature, told his brother that he wished to be secure and free like the angels of God who continually serve him. Taking off his garments, he went away and remained naked in the desert for a week. At last he returned and knocked at the door of the cell.

His brother asked who he was.

He said: “I am John.”

His brother said: “If John has become an angel, he has no need to dwell among human beings.” And he left him to be afflicted for a long time.

At last he opened to him, saying: “If you are a man, it is necessary for you to work again so that you may live. But if you are an angel, why do you seek to enter the cell?”

He said: “Forgive me, brother, because I have sinned.”

A certain monk at Constantinople in the time of Theodosius dwelt in a small cell outside the city. Hearing of him, the emperor went to him alone. The monk did not know that he was the emperor. He put out water, salt, and morsels of bread, and they ate together.

Then he said to him: “I am the emperor Theodosius, and I came here out of devotion to you. Blessed are you who are secure and free from the affairs of the world and enjoy a tranquil and quiet life. Certainly, I was born in a kingdom, and now I dwell in a kingdom, yet I never take food without solicitude.” Thus he returned from him.

That same night, however, the servant of God began to consider within himself, saying: “Not only from the people, but also from the palace, very many, following the emperor’s example, will come to see me, and they will not cease to render honor to me as a servant of God. I fear lest perhaps the evil spirit steal in upon me, I begin willingly to receive them, my heart delight in their praise and honor, and through this I now begin to lose the virtue of humility.”

That same night, therefore, he fled from there and went to Egypt, to the holy fathers in the desert.

A certain old man said: “He who is more highly honored by people suffers no small injury to his soul.”

The same man said: “When a thought of pride or vainglory assails you, examine yourself: whether you preserve all God’s commandments; whether you love your enemies; whether you rejoice in the glory of an enemy or are saddened by his affliction; and whether you hold within yourself that you are a useless servant, knowing that an exalted thought dissolves all good things. As wax melts before the face of fire, so one is emptied by praises and loses the vigor of the virtues.”

Section VI

A certain brother asked Abba Poemen: “How can I consider myself lower than one who is a murderer?”

He answered: “Say within yourself: ‘That man indeed committed this one sin, but I commit murder every hour, killing myself through sins.’ For this alone is the justice of a person: that he reprove himself.”

At one time brothers went out from a monastery to visit the fathers who dwelt in the desert. When they came to a certain hermit, he received them with great joy. Seeing that they were weary from the journey, he caused them to take refreshment before the ninth hour and set before them whatever he had in his cell.

In the evening they completed the prayers and psalms according to custom, and likewise at night. The said elder rested separately and heard them above him speaking and saying to one another: “How much better these hermits eat than those who dwell in monasteries.” Hearing this, he remained silent.

When day dawned, they took the road to another who dwelt nearby. As they departed, the old man said: “Greet him on my behalf and say to him: ‘Observe, and do not water the vegetables.’”

When the brothers turned aside to him and reported the word imposed upon them, he understood the reason for this matter and kept them. He gave them work, weaving baskets, and, sitting with them, he himself did not cease from the work of his hands.

In the evening, after the prayers had been completed, he said to them: “We indeed are not accustomed to eat supper every day, but on account of your arrival we ought to eat supper today.” He set dry bread and salt before them, saying: “On account of you, we ought to eat something more for supper.” He added a little vinegar and a little oil.

When they had risen from the table, he began again to sing psalms until near dawn and said to them: “On account of you we cannot finish the entire canon of psalms; therefore rest a little, because you are weary from the journey.”

When morning had come, at the first hour they wished to depart from him, but the elder did not permit them, saying: “For the sake of charity, I shall keep you another three days.” But they arose at night and secretly departed, unable to bear that austerity.

A certain brother, wishing to cross a river with his mother, took his mother upon his shoulders and wrapped his hands in her cloak as he grasped his mother’s hands.

After the river had been crossed, his mother asked him: “Why did you do this, wrapping your hands in cloth?”

He answered: “Because the body of a woman is fire; and from the very fact that I touched you, remembrance of other women came to me.”

A certain old man kept with him in his cell a son who had been raised in the monastery and did not know what women were like. When he had become a man, demons sent into his mind the appearances and clothing of women through dreams. When he reported this to his father, the father marveled at the malice of the demons.

When he once descended into Egypt with his father and saw women, he said: “Father, these are those who came to me at night in the desert.”

The father, marveling at the deceitfulness of the demons, said: “Son, these are secular monks who use a different habit from the hermits.” And they returned to the desert.

A certain young man, assailed by the spirit of fornication, wished to return to the world. But, assenting to the admonitions of another father, he went to the inner desert. When he had remained for twenty days, resisting the temptation manfully, God had mercy upon him and showed him the work of the demons.

For a certain Ethiopian woman, bearing lust, stood before him. Unable to bear her because of her stench, he cast her away and found himself freed from the temptation, giving thanks to that old man.

Section VII

Certain wicked men induced a certain dishonorable woman to approach the cell of a certain solitary, agreeing to give her a specified sum of money if she induced him to sin. She offered to do this.

Going to the desert, therefore, at a late hour she arrived at his cell. Knocking, she asked the man of God, since she had lost her way, to have mercy upon her and bring her into the cell, lest she become food for wild beasts that night. Moved by mercy, he did so.

When she had been brought in, the devil began violently to inflame him with desire for the woman. But the man of God lit a lamp and began to place one finger against the flame of the lamp so that it might be burned, saying to himself: “He who does such things descends into eternal fire. Test, therefore, whether you are able to endure it.”

So great was the ardor of the temptation of the flesh that he scarcely felt the burning. When one finger had been burned and the temptation did not cease, he placed all the fingers of his hand successively against the flame, and they were burned. Seeing these things, she died from horror.

In the morning, the young men came to whom she had promised that she would cast that old man out of his cell. When they asked whether any woman wandering from the road had turned aside to him, he answered: “Come and see how badly that daughter of the devil has burned all the fingers of my hand. Behold, she sleeps there.”

When they roused her, she answered nothing because she was dead. But by the prayer of the servant of God she was raised, converted to penance, and those men also lamented their guilt.

A certain brother was assailed by the spirit of fornication. Coming into a village of Egypt, he saw the daughter of a certain priest of the pagans and sought her from her father as a wife.

The priest said: “I wish first to consult my gods.” The priest therefore went away, consulted his god the devil, and said: “A monk wishes to have my daughter. Shall I give her to him?”

The devil answered: “Do not give her to him unless he first renounces his God, baptism, and the profession of a monk.”

When the priest reported this to that brother, he consented to everything. Then he saw what was like a dove going out from that monk’s mouth and ascending into heaven.

Again the priest consulted the demon as to whether he ought to give her to him.

The demon answered: “Do not give her to him, because his God still assists him.”

Returning, the priest told all these things to the monk. Then the monk, pierced by compunction, said: “Woe is me! My God has rendered good to me for evil.” Led by the counsel of a certain old man, he did penance and merited to see the dove which he had previously lost—that is, the grace of the Holy Spirit—enter again into his mouth.

A certain old man used to say: “Unless a miller covered the eyes of the animal going around the mill, the animal would turn itself and eat its own labors. Thus we also receive a covering according to the dispensation of God, lest we see our good works and lose our reward through those who call us blessed. Sordid thoughts are a covering for our small good work.”

A certain old man said: “God permits his own to labor so that they may remember the labors of tribulations; hence they guard themselves, fearing lest they lose such great labors. For he also led the children of Israel around through the desert for forty years so that, remembering their tribulations, they would not return backward.”

One of the fathers said: “There is no worse passion than confidence, namely, in oneself.”

A certain old man was asked: “What shall I do? A sordid thought kills me.”

He answered: “When a woman wishes to wean her son, she smears something bitter upon her breasts. When the boy wishes to suck according to custom, he perceives the bitterness and flees. Therefore place in your heart the bitter thought of death and of the future torments which are prepared for sinners in the future, and those thoughts will flee from you.”

Abba Poemen said: “In nothing does the enemy rejoice so much as in this: that someone does not wish to disclose his thoughts to his spiritual father.”

Evagrius said: “Reading, vigils, and prayer make firm a wandering and wavering mind. Hunger, labor, and solitude weaken burning concupiscence. Long-suffering and mercy repress anger.”

There was a certain Greek youth in a cenobium who could extinguish the flame of the flesh by no continence and by no greatness of labor. When his temptation had been brought to the father of the monastery, he preserved him from it by this artifice.

He commanded a certain stern and harsh man to persecute the youth with rods and insults and, after inflicting the injury, to come first to the abbot to lodge complaints against him. When that man carried out the commands, witnesses who had also been summoned spoke on behalf of the one who had done the young man injury.

But the youth began to weep against the falsehood and sat alone, deprived of every assistance; he lay at the feet of Jesus. Why say more? Thus a year was completed.

When it had passed, the abbot asked him about his thoughts.

He answered: “Father, I am not permitted to live, and how should it please me to fornicate?” Thus he was cured of the temptation of the flesh.

The aforesaid venerable fathers, therefore, religious anchorites or cenobites, conspicuous in holiness and most celebrated for miracles, shone forth as worthy of reverence in their sayings from the time of the emperor Diocletian until the time of Chosroes, king of the Persians.

Certainly, in those things which exceed the common rule or the powers of the body, as in abstinences and vigils, they are to be admired rather than imitated. In the interior virtues, however, beyond those named above, very many others, taken from the religious manner of life to govern churches as bishops and to instruct peoples as most excellent teachers, were illustrious in those times: Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, John Damascene, John Cassian, and the most glorious Jerome.

Augustine also, when made a priest, immediately established a monastery of clerics and began to live according to the rule established under the holy apostles, as do the canons regular. Martin, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and many others, concerning whom it was said above in other titles and will be said below, were also illustrious.

It must also be noted that the greatest power of the Christian empire, and the wisdom and eloquence of the word in the sincerity of the faith, existed first from the time of Constantine in the East among the Greeks. But, gradually weakened and diminished through the sloth of their successors and through heresies arising from the patriarchs of Constantinople, they were at length transferred and devolved to the West among the Latins.

For the empire was transferred from Greece into Francia, to Charlemagne, king of the Franks, under Pope Adrian I and Leo; and afterward from Francia into Germany, under Otto I, duke of the Teutons, under Pope John.

The patriarch of Constantinople, with his clergy and the people of the Greeks, withdrew themselves from obedience to the Roman Church and from the truth of the faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and in other matters. They returned several times to the true faith, but afterward relapsed.

Their final return to the faith and to the Roman Church was under Eugene IV, at the general council celebrated at Florence, when the patriarch and the emperor of Constantinople came to Florence for the council.

At length, in the year 1453 from the Lord’s Incarnation, after the city of Constantinople had been besieged and captured by Mehmed, the most savage king of the Turks, the empire of the Greeks failed entirely. Their emperor was killed together with many nobles of that city; the churches were most disgracefully profaned by that most wicked man; the images and remaining relics of the saints were profaned; and the people were taken captive and dispersed.

Thus also the perfection of the regular life of anchorites and cenobites, which once flourished in Greece or the East, as is evident from what was said above, was transferred into the West among the Latins and was variously renewed from time to time, as will be shown, life permitting.

As Basil is called the father of monks in the East, so also the most blessed Benedict is the father of monks in the West. For he himself, as Gregory says, wrote a rule distinguished by discretion, lucid in expression, and directive, as I may say, in each individual matter beyond the others.

For the rule of Basil is rather intricate. The Rule of Augustine is very general and descends little into particulars, but through constitutions added to it by the diverse religious orders which profess it, it is adorned with austerities and ceremonies. The Rule of Saint Francis is brief, and for that reason many precepts there are full of scruples.

But the rule of the most holy Benedict clearly describes each individual thing. It is also cited as approved in the *Decretum*, Cause XVI, Question I. All the monks of the West hold this as their foundation, except the Carthusians. But they are distinguished by habits, added constitutions, and ceremonies.

Gregory the Great wrote his life, full of virtues, throughout the second book of the *Dialogues*. Gregory himself also drew from that rule and, as a monk and an abbot, served under the said rule before he became pope. Because that life is sufficiently well known and widespread, I shall abbreviate it; afterward I shall say some things concerning certain of Benedict's disciples.

Title XV

Chapter XIII

There was a man venerable in life, blessed by grace and by name, says Gregory in the second book of the *Dialogues*, bearing the heart of an old man from the very time of his boyhood. According to Hugh of Fleury, he died in the year of the Lord 536.

Surpassing his age in conduct, he gave his soul to no pleasure; but while he was still upon this earth, where he could have made free use of temporal things, he despised the world with its flower as though it were already withered.

Born of a rather noble family in the province of Nursia, he had been sent by his parents to Rome for the study of the liberal arts. But when he saw many there going over the precipices of vices, he drew back the foot which he had set, as it were, at the entrance of the world, lest, if he attained anything of its knowledge, he himself should afterward go wholly into an immense precipice.

Therefore, despising the study of letters and leaving his father's house and possessions, he sought the habit of holy religious life, desiring to please God alone. Thus he withdrew, knowingly ignorant and wisely untaught.

I did not learn all his deeds, but the few which I narrate I knew through the reports of four of his disciples: Constantine, who succeeded Benedict in the government of his monastery; Simplicius, who succeeded the aforesaid Constantine; Valentinian; and Honoratus.

When this Benedict, having now abandoned the study of letters, had determined to seek desert places, the nurse who loved him more tenderly followed him alone. When he had come to the place called Effide, and many honorable men detained him there by charity, he remained in the church of blessed Peter.

The aforesaid nurse of his asked the neighboring women to lend her a winnowing tray for cleaning wheat. It was carelessly left upon a table and, by an accident, was broken, so that it was found divided into two parts. When his nurse returned to the house and found this, she began to weep most bitterly, because the vessel which had been lent to her was seen to be broken.

But Benedict, a devout and pious boy, when he beheld his nurse weeping, had compassion upon her grief. Taking both parts of the winnowing tray with him, he gave himself to prayer with tears. Rising from prayer, he found the vessel beside him so sound that no traces of the fracture could be found upon it.

Then, gently consoling his nurse, he returned the winnowing tray to her sound. This event became known to everyone in that place and was held in such great wonder that the inhabitants of the place hung that same winnowing tray at the entrance of the church, so that all, both present and future, might know from how great a perfection Benedict the boy had begun the grace of religious life.

But Benedict the boy, desiring rather to suffer the evils of the world than to be raised up by praises, and rather to be wearied by labors than exalted by the favors of this life, secretly fled from his nurse and sought the retirement of a desert place called Subiaco. It is about forty miles distant from the city of Rome and sends forth cold and transparent waters. There the abundance of waters is first gathered into a broad lake and at last is conducted into a river.

While he was proceeding there in flight, a certain monk named Romanus found him and asked where he was going. When Romanus had learned his desire, he both kept the secret and furnished assistance; and, giving him the habit of holy religious life, he ministered to him insofar as he was able.

When the man of God reached that place, he confined himself in a very narrow cave and remained there for three years unknown to men, except for the monk Romanus.

This Romanus lived not far away in a monastery under the rule of the father Adeodatus. But he piously stole hours from this same father of his, and on appointed days he carried to Benedict the bread which he was able to take secretly for him to eat.

There was no path from Romanus's cell to that cave, because a lofty rock rose above it. But Romanus was accustomed to lower the bread from that same rock on a very long rope. He also attached a little bell to the rope, so that at the bell's sound the man of God might know when Romanus was bringing him bread, and, coming out, might receive it.

But the ancient enemy, envying the charity of the one and the refreshment of the other, when on a certain day he beheld the bread being lowered, threw a stone and broke the bell. Romanus nevertheless did not cease to minister in suitable ways.

But when God wished both to give Romanus rest from his labor and to show Benedict's life to men as an example, so that the lamp placed upon the lampstand might shine and give light to all who are in the house, the Lord deigned to appear in a vision to

a certain priest dwelling far away, who had prepared a meal for himself on the feast of Easter, saying: “You prepare delicacies for yourself, and my servant in that place is tormented by hunger.”

He immediately arose and, on that very solemnity of Easter, set out with the food which he had prepared for himself. He sought the man of God through the steep places of the mountains, through the hollows of the valleys, and through the excavations of the earth, and found him hidden in the cave.

When they had prayed and, blessing almighty God, had sat down after sweet conversation concerning life, the priest who had come said: “Arise, and let us take food, because today is the Lord’s Passover.”

The man of God answered and said: “I know that today is the Passover, because I have merited to see you.” Indeed, being placed far from men, he did not know that the solemnity of Easter was on that day.

But the venerable priest affirmed: “Today truly is the solemnity of the Lord’s resurrection, and therefore it is by no means fitting for you to abstain. I also have been sent here by God so that we may take the gifts of God together.”

Therefore, blessing God, they took food; and, when the meal and conversation had been completed, the priest returned to his church.

At that same time shepherds also found him hidden in the cave. When they saw him clothed in skins among the bushes, they thought that he was some beast. But, recognizing the servant of God, many of them were changed from a bestial mind to the grace of piety.

His name, therefore, became known throughout the neighboring places, and from that time he began to be visited by many. He received food from them, while they carried back in their breasts nourishment from his mouth.

Section I: On Benedict’s Temptation by the Devil and the Death Contrived for Him by the Brothers

On a certain day, therefore, while he was alone, the tempter came. For a small black bird, commonly called a blackbird, began to fly around his face and importunately to press upon his countenance, so that it could have been caught by hand if the holy man had wished to hold it. But when the sign of the cross was made, the bird departed.

So great a temptation of the flesh followed upon the departure of that bird that the holy man had never experienced one so great. For at some time he had seen a certain woman, whom the malignant spirit now brought back before the eyes of his mind. He inflamed the soul of God’s servant with so great a fire at the sight of her that the flame of love could scarcely be contained within his breast, and, nearly overcome by pleasure, he was already considering leaving the desert.

But suddenly, regarded by heavenly grace, he returned to himself. Seeing dense thickets of nettles and thorns growing nearby, he stripped off his garment and cast himself naked among the points of those thorns and the fires of the nettles. He rolled there for a long time and came out from them wounded over his whole body.

Through wounds of the skin he drew the wound of the mind out of his body, because he transformed pleasure into pain. When he was burning well in punishment outside, he extinguished what was unlawfully burning inside. Thus he conquered sin, because he changed the burning.

From that time, as he himself afterward testified to his disciples, the temptation of pleasure was so subdued that he felt nothing of this kind in himself. Afterward many began to leave the world and hasten to his instruction. For, being free from the vice of temptation, he had rightly now been made a master of virtues.

Therefore, through the praise of his excellent religious life, his name was celebrated. Not far from his cell there was a monastery. When the father of its congregation died, that entire congregation came to the venerable Benedict and begged him with great entreaties that he ought to preside over them.

He delayed for a long time by refusing, and foretold that his own conduct could not agree with the conduct of those brothers. But, overcome at length by their entreaties, he consented.

When he maintained the observance of the regular life in that monastery and permitted no one, as formerly, to deviate through unlawful acts either to the right or the left from the straight path of religious life, the aforesaid brothers, raging insanely, began first to accuse themselves because they had asked that he preside over them.

When they perceived that unlawful things were not permitted to them and grieved that they had to abandon their accustomed practices—for the life of good men is always grievous to those of depraved conduct—they attempted to devise something concerning his death.

After taking counsel, they mixed poison with wine. When the glass vessel in which that deadly drink was contained was presented, according to the monastery's custom, to the father reclining at table so that it might be blessed, Benedict extended his hand and made the sign of the cross over it. The vessel, which was being held at some distance, was broken by that same sign; and it was so shattered as though, instead of a cross, he had cast a stone into that vessel of death.

The man of God understood that it had contained a drink of death, because it could not bear the sign of life. Immediately rising, with a calm countenance and a tranquil mind, he called the brothers together and addressed them, saying: "May almighty God have mercy upon you, brothers. Why did you wish to do these things to me? Did I not tell you beforehand that your conduct and mine would not agree? Go, and choose a father for yourselves according to your conduct, because thereafter you can by no means have me."

Then he returned to the place of his beloved solitude and dwelt alone with himself beneath the eyes of the heavenly watcher.

I would say that this venerable man dwelt with himself because, always circumspect in guarding himself, always seeing himself before the eyes of the Creator, and always examining himself, he did not scatter the eye of his mind outside himself.

But when Peter asked Gregory whether Benedict ought to have abandoned them in this manner, Gregory answered—and this is also contained in Cause VII, Question I: "The wicked are to be borne with equanimity where some good persons are found who may be helped. For where fruit from the good is wholly lacking, labor over the wicked is sometimes superfluous, especially if causes are available nearby which may render better fruit to God."

Therefore, for whose protection would the holy man have remained, when he saw them all unanimously persecuting him?

And something often occurs in the mind of the perfect which must not be passed over in silence: when they consider that their labor in one place is without fruit, they migrate to labor with fruit in another place. Hence also the Apostle Paul, who desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, when he suffered persecution at Damascus, sought a wall, a basket, and a rope by which he might be lowered, preserving himself for the conversion of others, and not precisely on account of fear and love of his own life.

Section II: On His Construction of Several Monasteries and the Discipline of Correction

When the holy man had grown for a long time in virtues and signs in that same solitude, many were gathered there by him for the service of almighty God, so that he constructed twelve monasteries in that place. Appointing fathers over them, he assigned twelve monks to each; but he retained a few with himself whom he judged still fit to be instructed in his presence.

At that time Roman nobles and devout men also began to come to him and to give him their sons to be reared for almighty God. Then Equitius gave his son of good promise, Maurus, and Tertullus the patrician gave Placidus. Of these, Maurus, being older in age than Placidus and excelling in conduct, began to serve as the master's assistant; Placidus, however, still bore the years of a boyish disposition.

In one of the monasteries which he had constructed round about, there was a certain monk who could not remain standing at prayer. As soon as the brothers had applied themselves to the work of prayer, he went outside and, with a wandering mind, thought about earthly and vain things.

After he had often been admonished by his abbot, he was at last brought to the man of God, who vehemently rebuked his foolishness. After returning to the monastery, he scarcely kept the man of God's admonition for two days.

When this was reported to Benedict by the abbot—namely, that the monk was not corrected—blessed Benedict said: "I shall come and correct him myself."

Therefore, when the man of God came to that monastery and, at the appointed hour, the psalmody had been completed and the brothers had given themselves to prayer, he beheld that a certain little black boy was drawing outside by the fringe of his garment the monk who could not remain at prayer.

Then he said secretly to Pontianus, the father of that monastery, and to Maurus, the servant of God: "Do you not see who it is that draws this monk outside?"

When they answered, "No," he said: "Let us pray that you also may see him."

After they had prayed for two days, Maurus saw that little black boy. Pontianus, the father of the monastery, did not see him.

Therefore, on the following day, when the man of God went out after prayer and found that monk wandering outside, he struck him with a rod because of the blindness of his heart. From that day the monk suffered none of the little black boy's persuasion, but remained immovable at prayer with the others, as though the malignant spirit himself had been struck. Concerning this, see Distinction XLV, section *Solomon*.

When those places were fervent in the love of Jesus Christ and many, abandoning secular life, subjected themselves to him beneath the yoke of obedience, a priest of a neighboring church named Florentius, struck by the ancient enemy's malice, began through envy to emulate the holy man's works, to disparage his religious life, and to restrain as many as he could from visiting him.

When he now perceived that he could not obstruct Benedict's advances and that the reputation of his religious life was increasing, he became worse, kindled more and more by the torches of envy. He was led to such a point that he sent God's servant bread infected with poison, as though for a blessing.

The man of God received it with thanksgiving, but the plague which lay hidden in the bread did not lie hidden from him. At the hour of his meal, a raven was accustomed to come to him from the neighboring forest. The man of God cast before it the bread which had been sent to him and commanded it, saying: "In the name of Jesus Christ, take this and cast it into such a place that it can be found by no one."

Then the raven, with open beak and extended wings, began to run around the bread and to croak, as though openly saying that it wished to obey but was unable to fulfill the commands.

The man of God commanded it again and again, saying: "Take it, take it without fear, and cast it where it cannot be found."

At last the raven bit it, lifted it, and departed. After the space of three hours it returned without the bread and received its allowance from the hand of God's servant, as it was accustomed.

But the venerable man of God, seeing the priest's soul blazing against his life, grieved more for him than for himself.

The aforesaid Florentius, however, seeing that he could not kill the master's body, was inflamed to extinguish the souls of his disciples. Thus he sent seven naked girls into the garden of the cell in which Benedict was, before the disciples' eyes. Holding one another's hands in their presence and playing for a long time, they were to inflame the disciples' minds to the perversity of lust.

When the holy man beheld this from his cell and feared a fall for his still more tender disciples, and when he considered that this was being done solely because of persecution of himself, he yielded place to envy.

He ordered the oratories which he had constructed by setting superiors in his place and joining brothers to them; then, taking a few monks with him, he changed the place of his habitation. Thus the man of God humbly withdrew from that man's hatred.

When Benedict departed, the aforesaid priest stood upon an upper chamber and, learning that Benedict had withdrawn, exulted. Although the whole structure of the house remained standing, that very upper chamber upon which he stood fell, crushing and killing Benedict's enemy.

Maurus, the holy man's disciple, immediately thought that this should be reported to the venerable father Benedict, who was scarcely ten miles distant from that place, saying: "Return, because he who persecuted you is dead."

When Benedict, the man of God, heard this, he gave himself to grievous lamentations, both because his enemy had perished and because his disciple had exulted over the enemy's death. For this reason he imposed a penance upon that same disciple.

A certain monk, sent by him to admonish certain consecrated women, was asked by them to accept a certain small cloth. He took it from them and hid it in his bosom.

When he returned to the monastery, he was reproved with a most bitter rebuke by blessed Benedict, who said: "How has iniquity entered your bosom?"

When the monk did not understand concerning what he was being reproved, the man of God said: "Was I not present when you received the little cloth from the handmaids of God and placed it in your bosom?"

Recognizing his transgression, he fell prostrate, sought pardon for it, and received it.

Two consecrated women, born of a rather noble family, lived a religious life in their own place. A certain devout man provided them service for the use of their exterior life. But in some persons nobility of birth is accustomed to beget ignobility of mind, so that those who remember that they were something more than others despise themselves less in this life.

The aforesaid consecrated women had not yet perfectly restrained their tongues beneath the bridle of their habit, and they often provoked to anger with incautious words that same devout man who provided them service in their exterior necessities.

After he had borne this for a long time, he went to the man of God and related to him their insults against him. The man of God sent them this command: "Correct your tongue, because, if you do not amend it, I shall excommunicate you."

He did not impose that sentence of excommunication by pronouncing it, but by threatening it.

They changed nothing from their former conduct, and within a few days they died and were buried in the church.

When the solemnities of Mass were celebrated in the said church and the deacon, according to custom, cried out, “If anyone does not communicate, let him go outside and give place to others,” their nurse, who was accustomed to carry an offering to the Lord for them, saw them come out of their graves and leave the church.

When she had very often seen them leave the church at the deacon’s words, “Go out,” and so forth, she recalled to memory what the holy man had said while they were still living. When this was reported to God’s servant with grievous sorrow, he immediately gave an offering with his own hand, saying: “Go, and cause this offering to be made for them, and they will no longer be excommunicated.”

When it had been offered for them in sacrifice, they were no longer seen to leave the church when the deacon cried out according to custom.

Section III: On Blessed Benedict’s Preaching on Mount Cassino and Placidus’s Deliverance by Maurus from Submersion in the River

But the holy man, says Gregory in the place cited above, migrating to other places did not change his enemy. He suffered things afterward that were the more grievous, inasmuch as he found the very master of malice openly fighting against him.

For the fortress called Cassino is situated upon the broad side of a high mountain. The mountain receives this same fortress in its extended bosom, but, rising upward for three miles, it stretches its summit as though toward the air.

There was a most ancient temple there in which Apollo was worshiped, according to the ancient custom of the gentiles, by the foolish populace of the rustics. Groves had also grown round about for the worship of demons, in which, even at that time, an insane multitude of unbelievers devoted itself to sacrilegious sacrifices.

Therefore, when the man of God came there, he shattered the idol, overturned the altar, and cut down the groves. In the very temple of Apollo he made an oratory of blessed Martin; and where the altar of Apollo had been, he constructed an oratory of blessed John the Baptist. By continual preaching he called the multitude dwelling round about to the faith.

But the ancient enemy, not bearing these things silently, did not thrust himself before that father’s eyes secretly or through a dream, but in an open vision; and with great cries he complained that violence was being inflicted upon him by Benedict, so that the brothers also heard his voice although they by no means saw his image.

For, as that same venerable father told his disciples, that most foul and inflamed ancient enemy appeared to his bodily eyes, seeming to rage against him with flaming mouth and eyes. All now heard what he was saying. At first he called him by name. When the holy man answered him in no way, he immediately turned to insults against him.

For when he cried out, saying, “Benedict! Benedict!” and perceived that Benedict answered him in no way, he immediately added: “Accursed one, and not blessed one, what have you to do with me? Why do you persecute me?”

Hence Gratian also says this same thing in Cause XVI, Question I, section *This Same Thing*: that blessed Benedict, admonished by divine grace, led the people of Mount Cassino to the faith, namely by preaching. This is said for the reason that monks do not regularly have authority to preach unless it is granted by their superiors.

But now new contests of the ancient enemy against God’s servant must be awaited. He willingly brought battles upon Benedict, but unwillingly supplied occasions of victory.

For on a certain day, while the brothers were constructing the dwellings of that same cell for themselves, a stone lay in the midst which they had determined to lift into the building. When two or three could not move it, more were joined to them, but it remained so immovable that it seemed to be held by roots in the earth. By this it was given to be understood that the ancient enemy sat upon it.

When the difficulty arose, they sent for the man of God. He came, prayed, and gave a blessing, and the stone was lifted with such swiftness as though it had had no weight.

Then it pleased them, in the sight of the man of God, that the earth should be dug in that same place. When the brothers penetrated more deeply by digging, they found a bronze idol there. When by chance it was cast into the kitchen for the moment, it suddenly seemed to burst forth into fire and, in the eyes of all the monks, appeared to consume the whole building of that kitchen.

While they made an uproar by throwing water and, as it were, extinguishing the fire, the man of God, struck by that tumult, came. Considering that the same fire was in the brothers’ eyes but was not in his own, he immediately bowed his head in prayer.

He recalled to their own eyes the brothers whom he found being deluded by the imaginary fire, so that they might perceive the building of the kitchen to be sound and might not see the flames which the ancient enemy had fashioned.

Again, when the brothers were building a wall somewhat higher because the matter so required, the man of God remained within the enclosure of his cell in the work of prayer. The ancient enemy appeared to him, insulting him, and indicated that he was going to the brothers who were working.

The man of God quickly made this known through a messenger, saying: “Brothers, act cautiously, because at this hour the malignant spirit comes to you.”

The one who carried the command had scarcely completed the words when the malignant spirit overturned the wall which was being built. By its fall it crushed and shattered a young monk, the son of a certain court official.

All were saddened, not by the loss of the wall but by the brother’s death, and with grievous lamentation they hastened to report as quickly as possible to the venerable father Benedict what had happened.

Then the venerable father ordered the mangled boy to be carried before him. They could carry him only in a sack, because the stones of the fallen wall had crushed not only his limbs but also his bones.

When the boy had been brought, the father ordered that he be placed in his cell upon the mat in the place where he was accustomed to pray. Sending the brothers outside, he closed the cell and applied himself to prayer more intently than usual.

A marvelous thing: in that same hour he sent him back whole and as strong as before to the same labor, so that the boy himself might also complete the wall with the brothers. The ancient enemy had believed that through his death he might insult Benedict.

Section IV: On the Spirit of Prophecy Which He Possessed Abundantly, Manifesting Hidden Things and Foretelling Uncertain Future Things

One of their customs was that, as often as the brothers went out to do anything, they should by no means take food or drink outside the cell. When this was observed more carefully according to the practice of the rule, on a certain day they went out because a circumstance had arisen and, being compelled by the business to delay until a later hour, took food in the dwelling of a certain devout woman.

Returning rather late, they sought a blessing from the father. When he asked, “Where did you eat?” they denied that they had eaten anywhere.

The holy father said: “Why do you lie? Did you not enter the house of such a woman? Did you not eat such foods and drink so many cups?”

Recognizing that all the things which he had said were true, they fell trembling at his feet and confessed their sin. He spared them, judging that they would not do such things thereafter in his absence, since they perceived him to be present with them in spirit.

It is also related concerning a certain layman who was accustomed each year, out of devotion, to visit the servant of God while fasting. On a certain occasion, when he had undertaken this journey, the devil in human form joined himself to him.

After a little space of the journey, that fellow traveler, the devil, having something with him to eat and drink, began to invite his companion to take some refreshment so that they might be stronger on the journey. In order to observe his customary devotion, the layman did not wish to do this. When they had advanced farther, the devil invited him again, but he refused.

At last, when for the third time they found upon the road a meadow, a spring, and a pleasant place, the devil for the third time persuaded him concerning refreshment. Consenting to his suggestion, the layman refreshed himself with him.

But when he arrived at the monastery and visited the saint, the father disclosed to him what had occurred on the road: that once and again he had resisted the devil when he suggested eating, but, overcome by the tempter on the third occasion, he had broken the fast. Recognizing this in himself, the man fell prostrate, sought pardon, and received it.

Moreover, when Totila, king of the Lombards, had heard that Benedict knew hidden things through the spirit of prophecy, he wished to test the truth of the matter. On a certain day he sent his sword-bearer, dressed in royal ornaments and accompanied by a great retinue, pretending that he was King Totila.

But when he came before Benedict, the saint of God immediately told him that he was not the king. At the sight of Benedict, both the man himself and his companions fell trembling to the ground.

When King Totila learned this, he came to Benedict and, upon seeing him, fell prostrate upon the ground. He was unwilling to rise until the saint raised him from the ground.

Benedict rebuked him concerning his deeds and in a few words foretold the things which were to come upon him: that he would reign for ten years and would die in the tenth year, and other things of which it was said above.

But when the bishop of the church of Canusium, conspicuous in holiness and familiar with blessed Benedict, said to him in conversation, “This city of Rome will be destroyed by that King Totila so that it will no longer be inhabited,” the man of God said: “Rome will not be exterminated by the nations, but, wearied by storms, lightning, whirlwinds, and earthquakes, it will wither away in itself.” The mysteries of this prophecy are shown to have been fulfilled.

He also foretold that it had been revealed to him by God that the entire monastery which he had constructed and all things which he had prepared for it would be handed over to the nations. He had obtained from God, however, that none of the brothers would be taken. This was fulfilled when, after some years, that monastery was captured and destroyed by the Lombards. He disclosed this with many tears to a certain intimate friend of his.

Likewise, when a certain monk who had been noble in the world was holding a lamp before the father as he ate supper, that young man began, through the spirit of pride, to say within himself in thought: “Who is this for whom I stand holding a lamp and to whom I render service? Who am I, who serve this man?”

The blessed father, seeing his thoughts through the Spirit, began to rebuke him, saying: “Sign your heart, brother. What is this that you are saying?” Calling the brothers, he ordered them to take the lamp from him. When that brother was asked by his companions what he had been thinking, they clearly understood that the thought of his pride had not been hidden from the blessed man.

When two flasks of wine were to be offered to the blessed man and had been entrusted to someone as a messenger, that man, overcome by the vice of gluttony, presented only one and hid the other at a certain place on the road.

As he departed, Benedict said to him: “See, son, that you do not drink from that flask which you hid; but tilt it carefully, and you will see what is inside it.”

Confounded because his theft was manifest to Benedict, he departed from him. When he reached the place and tilted the flask, a serpent came out of it.

A certain cleric of the church of Aquinum, possessed by a demon, was brought to the man of God, who freed him after prayer. When the cleric had been healed, Benedict commanded him, saying: “Go, and do not eat meat; and never presume to advance to sacred order. For on whatever day you presume to receive an order, you will again be subject to the devil’s dominion.”

He observed this for many years. But a long time afterward, when he saw clerics inferior to himself placed before him in order, he received sacred order lest he appear contemptible. Immediately the malignant spirit, as the saint had foretold, invaded him and held him until death.

Section V: On His Miracles

In addition to the dead brother raised to life, concerning whom it was said above, he restored life to another also.

On a certain day, as Gregory says in the place cited above, when the holy man had gone out to a field with the brothers, behold, a certain peasant came to the monastery of the man of God, carrying in his arms the body of his dead son and lamenting, and he sought Benedict.

When he was told that Benedict was in the field with the brothers, he left the dead body before the monastery and cast himself into a run to find the father. But when Benedict was already returning from the field with the brothers, the peasant met him and began to cry out: “Give me back my son! Give me back my son!”

The man of God stopped and said to him: “Surely I did not take away your son?”

The peasant said: “He is dead. Come and raise him.”

Hearing this, Benedict was greatly saddened and said: “Withdraw, brothers, withdraw. These things are not ours, but belong to the holy apostles.”

But the peasant persisted in his petition, swearing that he would not withdraw unless Benedict raised his son. “Behold,” he said, “the infant’s body lies at the monastery’s door.”

When Benedict reached him, he bent his knees and lay upon the dead body. Afterward, rising and extending his hands to heaven, he said: “Lord, do not regard my sins, but the faith of this peasant who demands that his son be raised; and restore to the little body the soul which you have taken away.”

The boy immediately rose before them all, as though trembling, and Benedict thus delivered him unharmed into his father’s hand.

On a certain day, when Placidus, a boy monk, had been sent to the river to draw a vessel of water from it, he handled it incautiously and fell into the river. The river’s current had already drawn him a considerable distance beyond its bed.

The father, knowing this in spirit, suddenly called Maurus and told him to go as quickly as possible and draw Placidus, who was submerged in the water, out of the river.

Immediately receiving a blessing, Maurus set out. Reaching the river and seeing that the current had already drawn Placidus far from the land, he attended to the father’s command so that he might lead him out of the water. He proceeded with dry steps upon the river’s water as far as the place to which the boy had already been carried, grasped him with his hand, and led him back to land.

Then, perceiving that he had walked upon the waters, Maurus approached the father Benedict in the monastery with Placidus. He expressly attributed the miracle to Benedict’s blessed holiness, but Benedict attributed it to Maurus’s simple obedience.

At that time, when a lack of food gravely afflicted Campania, the man of God distributed all the possessions of his monastery to the various needy, so that almost nothing remained in the cellar except a little oil in a glass vessel.

Then a certain subdeacon named Agapitus came and earnestly asked that a little oil be given to him. The man of the Lord, who had determined to distribute all things on earth so that he might preserve all things in heaven, ordered that the very little oil which remained be given to him.

The monk who kept the cellar heard the words of the one giving the order, but delayed fulfilling them. When Benedict inquired a little later whether what he had commanded had been given, the monk answered that he had by no means given it, because no oil would remain for the brothers.

The father, angered, commanded others to cast that glass vessel with the oil through the window, lest anything remain in the cell through disobedience. Thus it was done.

Below that window there was a great precipice, rough with a mass of rocks. The glass vessel was cast down and struck the rocks, but it remained unharmed, so that it could neither be broken nor could the oil be spilled from it.

The man of God commanded it to be lifted up and all of it to be given to the subdeacon who sought it. Then, gathering the brothers, he rebuked that brother for unbelief and pride.

When the rebuke had been completed, he gave himself to prayer with the brothers. There was a covered empty vessel for the use of oil. While the saint persisted in prayer, the lid of the vessel began to be lifted, and the oil from it poured out upon the pavement. When Benedict finished the prayer, the oil ceased to pour out.

He then admonished the distrustful and disobedient brother that he should learn faith and humility.

After prayer, blessed Benedict gave a slap to a certain elder among the monks who was possessed by a demon, and immediately shook the malignant spirit out of him. By his prayer he also perfectly cleansed a certain boy brought before him who was struck by the elephantine disease of leprosy.

At another time, when a great famine distressed Campania, wheat was already lacking in Benedict’s monastery, and all the loaves had been consumed, so that no more than five could be found for the brothers at the hour of refreshment.

When the venerable father saw them saddened, he sought to correct their faintheartedness with a moderate rebuke and then to raise them up with a promise, saying: “Why is your spirit saddened by the lack of bread? Today, indeed, there is little; tomorrow you will have an abundance.”

On the following day, two hundred measures of flour were found in sacks before the doors of the cell. It remains unknown through which persons almighty God sent them and who the messenger was. Seeing this, the brothers gave thanks to God.

On a certain day, one of his young monks loved his parents beyond what he ought. Going to their dwelling, he left the monastery without a blessing. On that same day, as soon as he reached them, he died.

After he was buried, his body was found outside on the next day. They took care to give it to burial again, but on the following day they again found it cast outside.

Then, running to the blessed father's feet with great groaning, they begged that he deign to grant the youth his grace. The man of God immediately gave them Communion of the Lord's body with his own hand, saying: "Go, and with great reverence place this body of the Lord upon his breast, and thus commit him to burial."

When this was done, the earth held his received body and cast it out no more.

A certain fickle monk did not wish to remain in the monastery. Although the man of God frequently corrected and admonished him, he assented in no way to remain in the monastery and importunately insisted with entreaties that he be released.

Affected by weariness at the excess of his importunity, the venerable father angrily ordered him to depart. As soon as he went out of the monastery, he found on the road a dragon standing before him with open mouth.

When the dragon which had appeared wished to devour him, he began, trembling and palpitating, to cry out with a loud voice, saying: "Run, run, because a dragon wishes to devour me!"

The brothers ran to him and found no dragon, but they led him back to the monastery trembling and palpitating. He immediately promised that he would never withdraw from the monastery, and he did this. For through the holy man's prayers he saw the dragon standing before him which he had previously followed without seeing it, namely, the devil.

A certain man who owed someone twelve solidi, and was being gravely afflicted by his creditor, came to the man of God asking for them. The saint, consoling him with gentle speech, said that he did not have the solidi, but nevertheless told him to return to him after two days.

The man returned on the third day. After the holy man had prayed for his assistance, thirteen solidi were found upon a chest filled with grain. The man of God gave them to him, saying: "Give twelve to the creditor, but retain one for your own expenses." Thus he departed.

A certain man whose skin had been changed and mottled like leprosy by poison given to him was brought to Benedict and perfectly healed.

Section VI: On His Sister Saint Scholastica, Whose Passing into Heaven He Saw, and Also That of Blessed Germanus, Bishop of Capua

His sister, says Gregory in the place cited above, named Scholastica, dedicated to the almighty Lord from the very time of infancy, was accustomed to come to him once each year. The man of God descended to her not far outside the gate, upon a property of the monastery.

Therefore, on the day when she came according to custom, her venerable brother descended to her with his disciples. Spending the whole day in praises of God and sacred conversations, when the darkness of night was now falling, they took food together.

While they were still sitting at the table and the later hour prolonged itself amid their sacred conversations, that same consecrated woman, his sister, asked him, saying: "I beseech you, do not leave me this night, so that we may speak until morning concerning something of the joys of heavenly life."

He answered her: "What is this that you say, sister? I can in no way remain outside the cell."

There was such serenity in the air that no cloud appeared in the sky. But when the consecrated woman heard her brother's words wholly refusing her, she placed her interlaced fingers upon the table, inclined her head into her hands, and prayed to almighty God.

When she raised her head from the table, so great a force of lightning, so great a thunder, and so great an inundation of rain burst forth that neither Benedict nor the brothers who were present with him could move a foot outside the threshold of the place where they sat.

For the consecrated woman, inclining her head into her hands, had poured forth immense rivers of tears, by which she drew the serenity of the air into rain. That inundation did not follow a little later after the prayer; rather, there was such agreement between prayer and inundation that she raised her head from the table together with the thunder, so that raising the head and bringing down the rain were one and the same moment.

Then the man of God, amid the lightning, thunder, and inundation of the immense rain, seeing that he could not return to the monastery, began sorrowfully to complain, saying: "May almighty God spare you, sister. What is this that you have done?"

She answered him: "Behold, I asked you, and you were unwilling to hear me. I asked my Lord, and he heard me. Go out now, if you can; and, leaving me, return to the monastery."

But he was unable to go out from beneath the roof. He who was unwilling to remain of his own accord remained in that place against his will. Thus it came about that they passed that whole night awake and satisfied one another by mutual narration in sacred conversations concerning the spiritual life.

It is no wonder that the woman who desired for a long time to see her brother was able to do more at that time. For, according to John's saying, God is charity; by a very just judgment, she was able to do more because she loved more.

On the next day, when that same venerable woman returned to her own cell, the man of God returned to the monastery. And behold, after three days, while Father Benedict stood in his cell with his eyes raised into the air, he saw the soul of that same sister of his depart from her body and penetrate the secret places of heaven in the form of a dove.

Rejoicing with her in so great a glory, he rendered thanks to almighty God in hymns and praises and announced her death to the brothers. He also immediately sent them to carry her body to the monastery and place it in the tomb which he had prepared for himself.

When this was done, it came about that the sepulcher did not separate the bodies of those whose mind had always been one in the Lord. Gratian also places this in Cause XIII, Question II, section I, *Sister*.

At another time, while the brothers were still resting in the monastery during the night, the man of the Lord, Benedict, anticipating the hours appointed for the vigils of nocturnal prayer, stood at a window and prayed to almighty God.

Suddenly, looking out in the depth of night, he saw a light poured down from above drive away all the darkness of the night. It shone with such splendor that the light which radiated in the darkness surpassed the day.

A very marvelous thing followed in this contemplation, because, as he himself afterward related, the entire world also was brought before his eyes, gathered as though beneath one ray of the sun.

While the venerable father fixed the intent gaze of his eyes upon the splendor of this shining light, he saw the soul of Germanus, bishop of Capua, carried into heaven by angels in a sphere of fire.

Then, desiring to have a witness for himself to so great a miracle, he called two and three times with a great cry for a certain deacon named Servandus, who had come to visit him. When he ascended, because he had been lying below in the house, he looked and saw a now-small portion of the light.

To the astonished deacon, the man of God related the miracle in order. Sending a monk to Capua, he found that Germanus had departed from this life at that hour at which Benedict had seen this.

When Peter therefore asked how the whole world could be seen by a man beneath one ray, Gregory answered: "Hold firmly what I say: to the soul that sees the Creator, every creature is narrow. For to anyone who has beheld even a small part of the Creator's light, everything that has been created becomes small.

"When the bosom of the inner mind is enlarged by the very light of the vision, it is expanded so greatly in God that it stands above the world. The soul of the one seeing is also made above itself. When it is caught up in God's light above itself, it is enlarged in its inward parts.

"Therefore, the man of God who beheld the fiery globe and the angels returning to heaven could doubtless discern this only in God's light. What wonder is it, then, if he saw the world gathered before him, when, raised in the light of the mind, he was outside the world?

"But when the world is said to have been gathered before his eyes, it was not heaven and earth that were contracted, but the soul of the one seeing that was enlarged. Caught up in God, he was able without difficulty to see everything that is beneath God."

Section VII: On His Happy Passing

Gregory says: In the same year in which he was to depart from this life, he announced the day of his most holy death to certain disciples dwelling with him and to certain others dwelling far away. He commanded those present to conceal what they heard in silence, while he indicated to those absent what sort of sign would be given to them when his soul departed from the body.

Six days before his departure, he ordered his grave to be opened. He was immediately seized by fevers and began to be wearied by a fierce heat. As his weakness grew heavier on each successive day, on the sixth day he caused himself to be carried into the oratory by his disciples. There he fortified his departure by receiving the Lord's body and blood.

Supporting his feeble limbs between the hands of his disciples, he stood with his hands raised to heaven and breathed forth his final spirit amid words of prayer.

On that same day a revelation of a single but dissimilar vision [read: a single and identical vision] appeared to two brothers, one placed rather far away and the other remaining in his cell. They saw a road spread with cloths and shining with innumerable lamps, extending in a straight easterly course from his cell as far as heaven.

A man of venerable appearance, radiant from above, asked them whose road it was which they beheld. They professed that they did not know. He said to them: “This is the road by which Benedict, the man beloved by God, ascends to heaven.”

Thus, just as the disciples present saw the holy man’s death, so also those absent recognized it from the sign which had been foretold to them.

He was buried in the oratory of Saint John the Baptist which he himself had constructed after Apollo’s altar was destroyed. In the cave at Subiaco in which he formerly dwelt, he shines with miracles even now, if the faith of those present requires it.

For the thing which I narrate occurred recently. A certain woman, captive in mind, had wholly lost her senses and wandered through mountains, hills, forests, and fields by day and night, resting only when weariness compelled her to rest.

One day, while wandering too far, she came to the cave of the blessed father Benedict and, not knowing what it was, entered and remained there. When morning came, she departed with a mind so sound as though madness of the head had never held her. Afterward, throughout the whole time of her life, she remained in the health which she had received.

When Peter asked why saints sometimes perform greater miracles in places where their bodies do not lie than in places where they are buried, Gregory answered that this happens because weak minds can doubt whether they are present to hear prayers in places where it is certain that they are not present in their bodies.

It is necessary that greater signs be shown where a weak mind can doubt their presence. But the mind of those fixed in God has so much the greater merit of faith inasmuch as it knows that they do not lie there in the body and yet are not absent from hearing prayers.

Section VIII: On His Rule

This holy man, Gregory says, shone in no small degree by the word of doctrine, for he wrote a rule for monks, distinguished by discretion and lucid in expression. If anyone wishes to know his conduct and life more subtly, he can find in that institution of the rule all the acts of his teaching, because the holy man could in no way teach otherwise than he lived.

Pope Boniface, however, in Cause XVI, Question I, chapter *There Are Some*, rejects the opinion of certain persons, as of the malignant, who assert that monks, because they are dead, can neither grant penance nor Christianity—that is, baptism—nor absolve through the power of the priestly office divinely enjoined upon them.

He adds: “For neither was blessed Benedict, the life-giving teacher of monks, in any way a forbidding authority concerning this matter; but he decreed only that they should be free from secular business.”

From the rule itself, the following is held concerning the ceremonies of life: they are to abstain from eating meat except in infirmity. From the September feast of the Cross until the Resurrection they are to observe a fast, except on Sundays, and also on every Friday. They are not to use linen garments next to the flesh, but woolen ones. They are to sleep clothed, with belt and shoes.

They are to maintain silence at certain hours and places and are to refrain even from good words, for they are always to abstain from idle and vain words. At midnight they are to arise to confess to the Lord, that is, for Matins. In all things they are simply to obey. They are to be clothed in cheap things. They are to preserve modesty in countenance, gait, and all things.

He concludes that perfection is not acquired through the observance of these things, but rather its beginning and a disposition toward it.

He instructs the abbot to be cautious, but not excessively suspicious, for otherwise it will never be well with him, nor will he have rest of mind. He is to preserve the vigor of discipline in observing the rule, not lightly dispensing without a great cause, knowing that he will render an account to God concerning every dispensation of his own, whether it was reasonable.

In receiving persons into religious life, he is not to believe every spirit, but the spirits are to be tested to see whether they are from God. Beyond the things contained in the rule, he is not to compel them to things more austere or more perfect than their condition requires.

He introduces the figure of Jacob, who was unwilling to continue the journey with Esau and his companions as they journeyed vigorously, lest his flocks be wearied or miscarry from excessive labor, but went slowly with them.

He is to exhibit charity toward guests. In all things he is to act with counsel, summoning even the lesser persons in more difficult matters, because God sometimes reveals through such persons what must be done. So that an apostate may not perish while wandering in error, the abbot is to receive him back for pardon with penance, if he returns humbly, up to the third time.

In chapter VII of the Rule, treating that evangelical saying, “He who humbles himself shall be exalted,” he sets down twelve degrees of humility, figured in the steps of the ladder which Jacob saw in a vision.

The first is always to have the fear of God before one’s eyes and to be mindful of all his commandments.

The second is that, if anyone does not love his own will, he is not delighted to fulfill his own desires.

The third is that, for the love of God, one subjects oneself to a superior in all obedience.

The fourth is that, if hard and adverse things, or even injuries of any kind, are inflicted in that obedience, one embraces patience with a silent conscience and, enduring, neither grows weary nor withdraws.

The fifth is that one does not conceal from one’s abbot, through humble confession, all evil thoughts coming to one’s heart or evil deeds secretly committed by oneself.

The sixth is that the monk is content with every lowliness or extremity and, concerning all things enjoined upon him, judges himself an evil and unworthy workman.

The seventh is that he not only pronounces himself lower and more worthless than all with his tongue, but also believes it with the inward affection of his heart.

The eighth is that a monk does nothing except what the common rule of the monastery or the examples of the elders exhort.

The ninth is that he restrains his tongue from speaking and, possessing taciturnity, does not speak until questioned.

The tenth is that he is not easy and ready for laughter.

The eleventh is that, when the monk speaks, he speaks gently and without laughter, humbly and with gravity, says few and reasonable words, and is not loud in voice.

The twelfth and last is that he always indicates his humility to those who see him, not only in heart but also in body: at work, in the garden, in the oratory, on the road, in the field, everywhere, whether sitting, walking, or standing, always with head inclined and eyes fixed upon the ground, judging himself at every hour about to render an account for his sins.

Title XV

Chapter XIV

After Benedict, all the monks of the West serve under the Rule of blessed Benedict and have him as their father, except the Carthusians, who have special constitutions of their own.

But, as blessed Bernard says in a sermon concerning him, Benedict was like a tree planted beside the courses of waters which flow with force from Lebanon, that is, of spiritual graces, which produced fruit in its own time and will produce it manifoldly.

Just as one tree is one in root and trunk but manifold in branches and fruits, which nevertheless have their moisture and vigor from the root and trunk, so the monastic state in the West is one, deriving from one father and possessing vigor from the root of Benedict's Rule.

Nevertheless, in the passage of time it was divided into many branches: the diverse monastic religious orders agreeing in the Rule but differing in the various constitutions added to the Rule and in customs and habits.

Hence came the Order of Cluny, the Order of Prémontré, the Cistercians, the Camaldolese, Vallombrosa, the Humiliati, Monte Oliveto, Saint Justina, Montefano, and others.

But among the others blessed Benedict had two disciples who were holy men, namely Maurus and Placidus, concerning whom it was said above. First, therefore, something will be said concerning Saint Maurus.

He was sent by blessed Benedict into Gaul to construct a new monastery of his religious order. The cause of this was that the blessed man Berticranus, bishop of Le Mans, hearing the fame of the most holy Benedict and of his religious order, sent two venerable men to blessed Benedict—Flodegarius, his archdeacon, and Arderadus, his vicedominus—with great gifts.

He earnestly entreated Benedict to send him perfect men from among his monks who would build a monastery upon the land of his church according to the observance of the regular life. The bishop himself would furnish the expenses for constructing and providing it.

Although blessed Benedict knew that his death, already revealed to him, was approaching, nevertheless, to satisfy the bishop's pious petition for the glory of God and the enlargement of the religious order, he determined to send Maurus for this work, whom he loved beyond the others because of his eminent uprightness.

When all the monks heard this, they were greatly saddened. They intended, after the father's passing, to place Maurus over themselves as abbot so that he might be a rule of holiness for all.

But the venerable father consoled them, exhorting them to have confidence in the Lord and, just as he deprived himself of the consolation of Maurus's presence so that the salvation of others might be provided for, that they also should seek not the things that were their own but those of their neighbors.

Therefore, the holy father sent Maurus with four other monks, over whom he placed him, then thirty-two years old. He gave him the Rule which he had written with his own most holy hand. He also ordered that a pound weight of bread and a bronze vessel holding a fixed measure of wine be carried, to be given to each at dinner or supper.

Therefore, undertaking the journey with the bishop's envoys, Flodegarius and Arderadus, on the first day they arrived at a certain lodging belonging to a monastery, where two of blessed Benedict's monks dwelt. They received them honorably.

While they were there, blessed Benedict sent two other monks to Maurus and his companions so that they might give him, on the father's behalf, a certain ivory casket with relics and also a short letter containing these tender and prophetic words:

"Receive, most beloved, the final gifts of your teacher, which both testify to a long love and provide to you and your fellow soldiers a perpetual protection against all impediments of evils.

"After the whole course of three times twenty years has been completed from the time when you entered monastic perfection, you are to be brought into the joy of your Lord, as was revealed to me yesterday after your departure."

He also foretold that Maurus would have difficulty in constructing the monastery, but that the Lord would assist him.

From there, continuing the journey they had begun, on the fifty-fifth day they arrived at Vercelli. They remained there for two days, exhorted to do this by the clergy, who received them most courteously.

But while the aforesaid Arderadus, one of those sent by the bishop, was walking upon the steps of a certain very high tower, through the devil's working he fell headlong downward. He was so crushed and broken that his life was despaired of. On account of his infirmity, they remained in the aforesaid city for thirteen days.

When Maurus saw Flodegarius the archdeacon greatly afflicted by his companion's fall and was urged by him with tears to obtain health for him from the Lord by his prayers, he was moved by mercy. Touching the broken body with the holy relics which he had brought with him, he restored free and complete health to him.

When this miracle had been performed and made known, the fame of his holiness grew and went forth into the whole region, so that everyone ran to see him. Being perfectly humble, however, he attributed the whole deed to the power of the Cross and to the merits of Father Benedict.

Afterward, while they continued the journey near the ridges of the Alps, one of their servants named Sergius fell from his horse to the ground and broke his foot. Maurus also healed him perfectly.

When they came to the church of blessed Maurice, they entered the church with their companions for the grace of prayer. There a blind man called Linus cried out that Maurus should have mercy upon him. When he persisted with poured-out entreaties, Maurus prayed to God for him and gave him sight.

Proceeding farther from that place, they turned aside to a certain lodging on the road and remained there that night. Adjoining the lodging was the house of a certain widow, who did not cease to mourn her son, sick unto death and awaiting the hour of his departure, and to cry out because of the pain of her dying son.

Hearing this and having compassion, Maurus approached the sick man's bed together with a companion named Simplicius. Praying for the man, who had now been without sense and speech for two days, he restored him unharmed to his mother.

On the Lord's Supper, which is before Easter, they came to a village of Auxerre. It pleased Maurus to approach the monastery of Romanus constructed there, Romanus having gone there by a revelation of the Lord.

This was the Romanus who for a time provided sustenance for Benedict when, as a young man, he sought solitude, as was said above. He received them honorably and with exceeding charity, and they celebrated holy Easter with him.

Maurus disclosed to Romanus and the others that the blessed father Benedict had migrated to the Lord on that day. At his passing they shed pious tears together. Nevertheless, they received great consolation because Maurus showed them the road by which the saint had ascended into heaven.

Section I

After this, when they had reached Orléans and heard of the death of the blessed man Berticranus, bishop of Le Mans, who had sent for them, a most grievous sorrow invaded their guides, the archdeacon and Arderadus. The brothers also were affected by weariness because of this.

Maurus comforted them, recalling the prophecy of Father Benedict, who had foretold that the monastery would be constructed with difficulty.

By common agreement they remained there, waiting until the aforesaid archdeacon and Arderadus went to the bishop who succeeded Berticranus, learned his intention and purpose concerning the construction of the monastery, and reported it to them.

When they came to him in person and questioned him about it, he answered that he had to attend to other things and could not fulfill it.

Therefore, as quickly as possible, Arderadus sent a messenger, namely his nephew, to make these things known to Maurus and his companions. They were not cast down in spirit because of this, since it was being brought about by divine dispensation so that a more suitable place might be provided for them. Arderadus told them to pass into the territory of Anjou, where he himself would meet them.

When these things had been carried out and they had met one another, Arderadus disclosed to Maurus that a certain cousin of his named Florus, one of the foremost among the leading men of the kingdom of Francia, had formed the purpose of constructing and endowing a monastery for God's servants upon his possessions, of which he had an abundance.

He appeared sufficiently to fear God and to act vigorously in matters entrusted to him. For this reason he was very dear to Theoderic, king of Francia. He had an only son by his wife, whom he also desired to offer to God as a monk. Hence Arderadus would make known to him Maurus's arrival with his companions and its cause, and would bring back his responses.

Therefore, when Florus learned these things from Arderadus, he rejoiced greatly that the time had come for fulfilling his desire. He sought from King Theoderic permission to accomplish these things.

The king most kindly granted him authority for a monastery to be built upon his possessions and for the holy monks who had come to be placed there.

Therefore, Florus went to the territory of his possessions to complete this work. Blessed Maurus met him there with his companions and Arderadus.

Before Maurus, Florus leapt down from his horse, prostrated himself upon the ground with great veneration, kissed his right hand, and embraced him. For he had already heard of the holiness of his life and of the mighty works which the Lord had performed through him on the road. Hence he had conceived an extraordinary affection and devotion toward him.

When Florus explained his will and the king's assent, Maurus said: "The observance of our order demands the greatest quiet and security. Therefore, if it is not contrary to the nobility of your generosity, we ought first, riding together in a wagon, to inspect all the properties which you desire to hand over to God and his servants for the remedy of your soul.

"Then, after a testament has been made and you have delivered them to us before witnesses, it is fitting that we receive them into our dominion."

Florus carried out all these things. Moreover, he offered his only son, named Bertulfus, eight years old, to be reared and instructed by the teaching and doctrine of Maurus.

Florus said: "And I promise that I myself also, if life accompanies me, when the work has been completed and all things which are in the world have been abandoned, am to be bound to divine services in this same place."

He committed to execution all the things which he had said.

Therefore, they began to construct a monastery beside the River Loire, making, among the other buildings, an oratory in honor of Saint Martin.

While the work was being done, with many great men skilled in the art hired for the building, on a certain day Florus was sitting with Maurus while inspecting the workmen. Maurus was engaged in reading and at times explained something from it to Florus.

A certain man who was in charge of the mason's art fell backward from the very high place where the building was being raised and fell upon a gathered heap of stones. He was so shattered that everyone believed him dead, while blood flowed copiously through every passage of his body.

Maurus ran there with Florus and caused the man to be carried to the oratory of blessed Martin. Sending everyone out and remaining alone, after prayers he restored the man to complete health by the sign of the cross and sent him to continue the building.

Seeing this, Florus said: "Truly you are a disciple of that Benedict concerning whom we have frequently heard such things." From that hour he held Maurus in such veneration that he scarcely dared to approach him.

When the healed man had returned to the work, certain of the workmen began to disparage blessed Maurus. They said that he had left his monastery, not under the pretext of religion but for the sake of greed, so that he might be held in greater honor in other regions; and that the signs which he performed were worked not by God's power but by certain enchantments.

While they were saying these things among themselves, the malignant spirit suddenly invaded three of them and began to torment them so fiercely that one of them expired and the other two mangled one another with their teeth.

When the man of God heard this, lamenting out of compassion for them, he approached the oratory of blessed Martin. Praying for the space of three hours, after a time he freed those two who were possessed by demons.

He caused the dead body to be carried into the church's portico and passed that night without sleep, entreating God to deign to restore the soul to the body, lest the devil who had torn it away should triumph over it any longer.

In the morning, when he had caused Mass to be celebrated for the man by Simplicius, monk and priest, he went with him to the place where the dead man lay. After prayer was made over him, the man rose, restored to life.

Maurus commanded him, if he wished to live, never to enter that place. He commanded this out of humility, lest by such a deed he should appear to seek the applause and favors of men or to be delighted by them.

Therefore, in the eighth year after their arrival at that place, the monastery was completed in all its construction and dedicated by the bishops of the province.

Florus, not forgetful of his promise, went to King Theoderic and sought permission from him to receive the regular habit, so that he might be able to redeem by fasts, prayers, and other pious works the many sins which he had contracted in the world.

The king could not deny this permission, although he was greatly saddened over it because Florus was being separated from him, for he bore a special affection toward him.

When the king asked him about the life and miracles of Saint Maurus which were being reported, Florus narrated everything in order.

King Theoderic then went with his retinue and Florus to the monastery. Visiting blessed Maurus, the king prostrated himself at his feet, beseeching with tears that he pour forth frequent prayers to the Lord for him, and that among the brothers, who were now forty, he might have both the king as one and his son Theobald. He commanded his son always to be a helper and defender of the congregation of the said monastery.

Going through each of the monastery's offices, the king questioned Maurus about his companions. He bestowed upon him a royal estate called Boscus, with its revenues and villages, and also granted many ornaments in gold, silver, and gems to their church.

He confirmed every donation which Florus had made to the monastery by documents drawn up and sealed with the royal ring.

At last Florus, before the altar in the presence of the king, his leading men, and blessed Maurus, laid aside the belt of military service and received the habit of religion. First blessed Maurus, then the king, and afterward those of the leading men who wished to do so cut the hair of his head. The king himself was unable to contain his pious tears.

When these things had been completed, the blessed man led the king to see the guesthouse. There blessed Maurus, prostrate before the king, earnestly entreated on behalf of everyone that the king with his retinue receive the meal prepared there. When the king refused, one of his wisest counselors persuaded him to accept it, and he did so.

When the meal had been completed and the king was about to depart, he caused the aforesaid Florus, whom he loved greatly, to be called to him and said to him with tears: "We give thanks to God for your conversion. But you must take earnest care that, just as you conducted yourself vigorously in the secular habit, so also in this most holy religious life which you have sought you strive to please God without reproach."

On the following day, however, after the king's departure, Maurus went to inspect and receive the royal estate conferred upon him by the king, and in that villa he healed a paralytic who was presented to him.

Section II

When he had returned to the monastery, carefully examining, after the manner of his master, the character and life of each of those dwelling with him, proclaiming to them publicly and privately the word of life, and uncovering the snares of the ancient enemy, he exhorted them daily to advance toward better things.

Nobles also began to come to him to serve God. Others offered their sons. Hence it came about that, in the twenty-sixth year of its foundation, a congregation of one hundred and forty brothers had been united there.

This number was fixed by the blessed man, both by his authority and with the consent of the congregation, and it was established that thereafter no one should dare either to exceed or to diminish this number.

The aforesaid Florus, however, after he had lived religiously for twelve years in the said monastery, rested in the Lord, his son Bertulfus, a monk, surviving him.

When King Theoderic had migrated from this world, his son Theobald succeeded to his kingdom. He loved both blessed Maurus and his monastery very greatly, sometimes visited it, and also gave it two villas.

When he had shortly afterward been taken from their midst, King Lothair succeeded him. Having heard the fame of the holiness of the man of God, he too loved him greatly and sometimes made use of his most wise counsels.

One day, when the archdeacon of Anjou came with many persons to visit him, after holy conversations Maurus invited him to a collation. There was in that place only a small vessel of wine and one loaf among those brought before the holy man. At his prayer God so multiplied them that seventy men drank from it three times, and the vessel was still full.

From that time blessed Maurus did not readily go out of the monastery. Having appointed provosts and other administrators, he gave himself to God alone, applying himself to prayer and reading.

When he now saw that the end of his life was drawing near, according to the prediction of blessed Father Benedict, he chose for himself a more secluded life in a little house built beside the oratory of blessed Martin.

Because the flock of that congregation could not be without a ruler, he treated with the brothers of the congregation concerning the appointment of an abbot. When they all entrusted the decision of this matter to him, the holy father designated as abbot Bertulfus, formerly the son of Florus, as most noble in birth but still more perfect in conduct in every form of religious life. They all assented to this choice.

When he had completed two and a half years in this austerity, one night, as he wished according to his custom to enter the church of blessed Martin to pray, the great devil, surrounded by a throng of attendants, barred him from the entrance to the basilica, saying: “Ah, Maurus, why do you hope to drive us from our own seats? Now, by seeing and experiencing it, you will endure the devastation of our assault. For, raging as I please, I shall now triumph over your people by inflicting the slaughter of various deaths, so that scarcely any will appear to remain from so great an assembled multitude.”

When the saint answered, “May the Lord rebuke you, Satan, because you are a liar and the father of lies,” he vanished like smoke, making an exceedingly great crash, so that it seemed to the man of God that the whole monastery had collapsed. The brothers were awakened by that sound and struck with fear.

Meanwhile blessed Maurus, grieving with excessive affliction over the things which he had heard, entered the oratory and entreated the Lord that those things which the malignant spirit had told him might be revealed more certainly.

An angel appeared to him, clothed in white, and said to him: “Why, soul most beloved by God, are you afflicted with grief over those things which have been ordained to be done by God? For although the devil is the head of every lie, nevertheless by conjecturing from those things which he frequently experiences he foreknows many things.

“But know this also: the devil disclosed what he revealed to you, not by his own will, but by God’s command. For the greater part of this monastery will within a short time be gathered to the Lord, as it has been appointed by him. But the devil will triumph over none of them, as he lied. When you have sent before you to God all those who will die in this manner, you will follow them, more blessed.”

When morning had come, the holy man expounded the revelation to the entire assembled congregation, exhorting them to prepare themselves for the time when they should be called away by God. At his words they all prepared themselves, awaiting with joy the final hour of their life.

Thereafter it came about that within five months one hundred and sixteen died in that monastery, and no more than twenty-four monks remained.

When that number had been taken from this world, a violent pain in the side assailed blessed Maurus. As his illness grew worse, stretched upon haircloth before the altar of blessed Martin and fortified by the life-giving sacraments, he happily flew to the Lord and was buried there.

Bertulfus, whom he had appointed abbot, survived him by two years. Those who remained, however, endured many persecutions.

Blessed Maurus was twelve years old when he received the habit from blessed Benedict. He lived with him for twenty years. Afterward, having been sent into Francia, he lived for forty years in the monastery constructed by him in the territory of Anjou.

Hence, when the aforesaid numbers are added together, he died in the seventy-second year of his life, as blessed Benedict had foretold, and in the year 576 from the Incarnation of the Lord.

Section III

Placidus was a disciple of Saint Benedict, crowned with martyrdom in Sicily at the port of the city of Messina. Gordianus wrote his history and martyrdom together with that of several others.

Therefore, at the time when Theoderic reigned in Italy in elder Rome, Justin and Justinian held the scepters of the empire in new Rome, and Popes John I and Felix sat in the apostolic see, Tertullius was a most noble and distinguished man. In both courts of the Roman Empire, second to none after the Augusti, most illustrious and exceedingly rich, he held the reins of the patriciate in elder Rome.

Deriving the line of his descent from the blood of the Anicii, he flourished in such wisdom and prudence that he was called Father of the Fatherland by the emperor and the entire Roman Empire.

He took a wife from a family deriving from the stock of the Octavii, a woman most beautiful in body and in conduct, and from her he received good fruits from a good tree. For he had Placidus as his first son, Eutychius as his second, and Victorinus as his third. When she had borne a girl in the fourth place, because she descended from the stock of the Octavii and the Flavii, they named her Flavia.

When she had borne these children with the said patrician Tertullius, she taught them to honor and follow the way of the Lord, patience, humility, sobriety, chastity, and the other virtues.

Although the spirit of the patrician himself was entangled in imperial affairs, he was nevertheless always intent upon churches and monasteries, always seeking the things that are God's.

At that time, when blessed Benedict shone like the morning star among the stars at Subiaco, many began to flow together to him and, beneath the Lord's sweet yoke, to serve Christ in the religious life under his discipline.

While the fame of so great a father flew throughout the Roman Empire and the report, filling the city also, reached the ears of Tertullius the patrician, he was drawn by devotion toward so great a man and resolved to visit blessed Benedict with many nobles.

Approaching the monastery there, as soon as he saw the holy man of God coming to meet him, he descended from his horse, fell upon his knees before him, and with tears begged that pardon for his transgressions be obtained from the Lord on his behalf.

The man of God raised him from the ground, received him most humanely, and instructed him sufficiently concerning the things pertaining to salvation.

After familiar conversations, Tertullius the patrician, greatly delighted by the teaching of the most blessed man, on that day offered and entrusted to God and to the same Father Benedict his seven-year-old son Placidus, to be reared and instructed according to the regular norm of his institution. Having received a blessing, he returned to the city.

Therefore Placidus, although a boy in age, nevertheless bearing the heart of an old man, began to grow under the regular teaching of the most blessed father and in all things to observe a holy life so pleasing to God.

When the man of God saw him ascend from virtue to virtue toward the heights, he loved him uniquely as his own son.

While Placidus was still a boy, he was sent to draw water from the lake. Having fallen into it, he had already been carried by the wave the distance of a bowshot from the land when his companion Maurus, at the command of Father Benedict, who saw this in spirit, drew him out of the water and brought him unharmed back to land, as was made clear above.

When the glorious father ascended Monte Cassino to construct the monastery, he brought with him Maurus and Placidus, now grown and adorned in character.

When it reached the ears of Tertullius that a monastery was being constructed upon his possession of Monte Cassino, he rejoiced greatly. One day, taking with him the most noble men of the city of Rome—namely Boethius, Symmachus, Vitalianus, Gordianus, and Equitius—with a suitable mounted retinue, they set out for Monte Cassino, to the place where the monastery had been begun, which had come to him from his paternal inheritance.

When this had been announced to the blessed man, he met them with Maurus and Placidus before the monastery's gate, raised Tertullius and his companions prostrate upon the ground, and led them into the church.

Having been kindly received with a holy kiss, Tertullius the patrician asked Father Benedict that both he and the other brothers deign to receive him into their fellowship.

When the father had done this, Tertullius thereupon offered to God and to the same Father Benedict the whole of Monte Cassino in its entirety, together with all its appurtenances. Severing it from his own right, he delivered it to the same father to be possessed in perpetuity.

Summoning to himself the primiscrinius of the commonwealth, he caused a testament or instrument to be drawn up according to the Roman custom.

In the same manner he conferred upon the same father the castles, villas, and possessions which belonged to him by hereditary right, together with all their appurtenances, describing their boundaries.

He also granted entirely to Father Benedict the house in the city of Rome on the Caelian Hill in which Placidus had been born, afterward dedicated in the name of blessed Erasmus.

On that same day he offered to God and to his saints one half of Lake Lucrine; the island Capraria, situated in Neapolitan territory; the ports of Traiectum and Vulturnum; and the whole fishery of Lesina with its mouth.

Likewise he granted in the same manner the three islands of Diomedes, and also Parascia, which he possessed in Apulia, at the request of his son, where many possessions and villas are contained.

In the territory of Capua, in the territory of Cassino, in Abruzzo, in Liguria, and in Salo Gadditano, he conferred upon blessed Benedict and his brothers the many possessions and goods which he held there, to be possessed in perpetuity. He also gave them the very many estates which Tertullius possessed in Sicily.

Section IV

At the same time, the procurators of the estates in Sicily which Tertullius the patrician had granted to Benedict and his monks sent messengers to Monte Cassino to the blessed father, because the estates were being devastated by certain persons to such a degree that they could scarcely be defended by the procurators and administrators, nor could the rent due be exacted from their possessors.

When the blessed father had heard these things, he summoned the entire congregation and set forth in order what had been reported to him from Sicily.

Finally, by the counsel of the Cassinese congregation, judging Placidus, his most holy disciple, most suitable for sustaining so great a labor, since he had now become a man—and especially for this reason, that no one could defend and guard those same possessions as he could, since he was the son of so great a man and the goods had belonged to him—he chose, appointed, and sent him for the work, saying:

“To undertake this labor, most beloved, gird your loins like a man. Christ, the King of all, who became obedient unto death for us, now gives it to you through me. Nor let the harshness of the long journey disturb you.

“Remember that apostolic saying: ‘The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us.’ May Christ Jesus always be with you and lead you to fellowship in eternal life.”

He gave Gordianus and Donatus to him as fellow soldiers, kissed him, blessed him, and permitted him to depart from him.

Undertaking the journey, they first came to the city of Capua, where he was kindly received by blessed Germanus, then its bishop.

The primicerius of that city, named Zoffus, was suffering from a most grievous infirmity of the head. Approaching Placidus, he earnestly asked that, after prayer had been made, he touch his head, because he hoped thereby to obtain health.

Terrified by these words, Placidus answered: “Depart, because this is not mine, but belongs to our most blessed Father Benedict and to those who have pleased the Most High God. I am a sinner in need of the intercessions of most perfect men.”

But blessed Germanus the bishop, with his clergy, asked him to satisfy the faith of the man requesting this. Therefore Placidus, judging that the supplication of so great a father ought not to be contemned, raised his eyes to heaven, prayed for the man, and obtained complete health for him. In the same city he also gave light to a blind man.

Departing thence and continuing his journey, near another city he perfectly restored to health the paralytic son of a certain widow, who was already laboring at the point of death.

By his prayers he freed a certain lame and mute man presented to him from lameness and muteness. He made a certain sufferer from quartan fever healthy. After prayer had been offered, he healed a man afflicted with gout entirely by the sign of the cross.

He restored a certain deaf, blind, and mute man to soundness, so that the mute man spoke, the blind man saw, and the deaf man heard. By his prayers he freed another man who was possessed by demons and cruelly tormented.

A dropsical man was so greatly swollen in body that the physicians despaired of his life. When they had presented him before Placidus, the man of God, his garments were removed before him and he was fortified with the sacred sign of the cross. The enclosed fluid, neither remaining within nor issuing outward through any passages of the body, was dried up by divine power.

Afterward, when he approached the Caudine Forks, he caused a blind man who met him and asked for mercy to see heaven, and he did other things. He drove violent fevers from a certain man, so that he rose joyful and sound from his bed. He gave strength to a man who had a withered hand, so that he was able to perform every work with it.

In the city of Benevento, afterward in the city of Venusia, and in the region of Calabria, he performed many miracles.

Section V

At length, boarding a ship and crossing the strait of Messina, he came to a city of Sicily.

When he had disembarked upon the land, he sent his servant Gordianus to the city, commanding him to summon to him Messalinus, a Roman citizen and very close friend of his father Tertullius. This man was exceedingly rich and devout.

When Messalinus came to the harbor and saw Placidus, whose countenance was very like his father's, he recognized him and, having heard the fame of his holiness, fell at his feet.

Placidus raised him from the ground, kissed him, embraced him, and blessed him.

The man of God explained the reason for which Father Benedict had sent him there. Receiving all these things joyfully, Messalinus led him into his house and treated him and his companions with all humility and honor.

At Placidus's request, Messalinus also made his arrival known to all the friends and acquaintances of his father Tertullius. He likewise ordered the procurators whom his father had placed over those estates to be summoned to him, so that they might acknowledge that they possessed and held from his father as tenants those goods which his father had bestowed upon the monastery. This was done without anyone contradicting it.

But Placidus said to Messalinus: "It is not fitting for a monk to have his dwelling in the houses of laymen, because it is contrary to our order. Therefore, if it does not displease you, let us go and provide a place among my father's possessions in which we may construct a monastery. For I have not determined to lay a foundation upon that of another."

Coming with him, with his assent, to the seaport, he found a place suitable for constructing a monastery. With the staff which he carried in his hand he marked out the place in which the oratory of blessed John the Baptist, their dwelling house, and all the workshops of the monastery could be constructed.

Collecting much money from the revenues of the estates and the dues of the ports, they brought the work to completion within a short time.

Blessed Placidus strove in every way to fulfill the things which he had learned from his master, chastising his body with abstinences and vigils and reducing it to servitude, lest his servant, delicately nourished, should grow insolent against the Lord.

He frequently applied himself to prayer and reading. Constant in meditations, he poured forth copious tears from a spirit of compunction.

At every time he led a Lenten life and never drank wine. During Lent, however, he was content with bread and water only on the Lord's Day, Tuesday, and Thursday, taking absolutely nothing on the other days.

He always wore haircloth against his flesh. When wearied by prayer or genuflection, he took sleep sitting rather than lying down.

No one ever saw him disturbed in any action, but always modest, humble, grave, meek, kind, and pious.

He never spoke to anyone unless necessity compelled it or reasonable usefulness in providing for the monastery and others required it.

His discourse to men was scarcely anything other than that they should despise the luxuries of this world, avoid the burdens of vices, and imitate Christ poor and crucified.

Although he increased daily in the perfection of every virtue, he did not esteem himself equal to others, but the servant of all and inferior to them.

Nothing was more pleasing to his mind than not to prefer the powerful to the poor. He bore such compassion toward the needy and furnished them such assistance that he also effectively exhorted the rich to distribute to them the things conferred upon themselves by God.

When the monastery had been constructed and completed within four years, in a short time thirty brothers, dedicated to the service of God, were gathered to him. The church and the monastery were solemnly dedicated by the bishop of Messina.

Nor were miracles lacking which, even if men had been silent, would themselves have made manifest far and wide the holiness of the man of God.

For in Sicily, and especially in the city of Messina, many blind men were given light; demons were driven from possessed bodies; those having withered limbs were restored to health; paralytics were cured; lepers were cleansed; and a straight gait was restored to the lame.

To the mentally deranged or foolish the complete use of reason was restored, something which is read to have been accomplished rarely by saints.

Very many persons occupied by various illnesses were freed by the power of his prayer, so that throughout Sicily, Africa, and Tuscany the fame of his holiness and his power in performing miracles were spread abroad.

Section VI

Meanwhile, when these things also were being proclaimed in the city of Rome, Placidus's brothers, namely Eutychius and Victorinus, together with their sister Flavia, led by a desire to see Placidus and inflamed beyond measure with love for him, departed from the city upon the counsel of their parents and boarded a ship.

Giving their sails to the winds, they sailed to Sicily. Putting in at the port of the city of Messina, they disembarked upon the land and set out for the monastery of Saint John, over which blessed Placidus presided.

When they first saw him, they did not recognize him. For they had not seen him since he had been offered by his father to Benedict the abbot. After so long a period he had become a man, had been clothed in the monastic habit, and, his body almost wasted away by excessive abstinence and vigils, had changed his appearance.

But when he had been made known to them, he received them with great joy.

While they remained with Placidus their brother for several days, at that time among the pagans who inhabited Spain there was a most impious king named Abdala, a persecutor and enemy of Christ, who administered the kingdom in Spain. He sought to eradicate entirely from the land the worship of the Christian religion and to increase the worship of Molachrepham.

Although he inflicted many evils upon the faithful, of whom he dispatched very many to heaven by martyrdom, he nevertheless did not prevail, but the enemy was at last brought to nothing.

He therefore assembled an expedition of one hundred ships and, appointing over them a certain most cruel commander named Mamucha, directed it against the Roman Empire. He commanded him to burn cities and castles with fire, destroy churches, compel Christians to worship the demon Molachrepham, and kill with diverse torments those who did not consent.

When the aforesaid men had therefore entered Sicily with sixteen thousand eight hundred men, Victorinus, Eutychius, and Flavia could not safely depart from Messina.

At length the enemies of God reached that city and approached the monastery of Placidus. Breaking down the doors at night, they ordered everyone found there to be bound in chains.

Of the companions of Placidus who had come with him from Monte Cassino, Donatus, who was now an old man, was immediately beheaded by them. Gordianus, however, being a young man, fled through a rear door of the house and escaped.

Therefore Saint Placidus, with his brothers Eutychius and Victorinus, his sister Flavia, and thirty monks, bound with chains, were presented before Mamucha.

When the tyrant, upon questioning Placidus concerning his name, heard him say that he was a Christian, the impious commander said: "Deny Christ, speak insults against him, and according to the rite of our King Abdala adore our god, and I shall release you."

Placidus answered him: "I shall never deny the Lord Jesus Christ, and I desire to die for his name."

Then the wicked commander said to Eutychius, Victorinus, Flavia, and the thirty monks: "What do you say? Will you obey the commands of our King Abdala, so that, abandoning Christ, you may adore our god?"

The saints answered: "Accomplish what is fixed in your mind. There is one mind among us, one faith, one order of living. Therefore consider what you heard from the first to have been said by all. For the love of Christ we are prepared to lay down our life."

At these words the commander, inflamed with fury, ordered them all to be stripped and beaten most severely with clubs, saying, "Let words yield to blows."

But the saints of God rejoiced because they were accounted worthy to be beaten for the name of Jesus.

When the martyrs said, "You will be able to change us neither by your flatteries nor by the harshness of your threats," the commander, raging again, caused them to be stripped and most cruelly tortured in all their members.

When the judge could not bend Flavia, a most beautiful virgin and Placidus's sister, he also ordered her to be stripped and suspended with her head downward.

The tyrant said to her: "Most foolish of women, are you not ashamed amid the disgrace of your nakedness?"

The virgin answered him: "There is one Creator of male and female. For this reason no injury will be ascribed to me because of my sex, on account of the fact that I am naked. Nor am I prepared to endure only the nakedness of my body, but also the sword and fire for the sake of him who willed for my sake both to be stripped and to be scourged and crucified."

Afterward he ordered her to be scourged most sharply and also her forehead, breasts, and arms to be torn apart.

Again, when he saw them all fixed in the faith of Christ, he commanded that they all be beaten with clubs until they should fail beneath the hands of the torturers.

When the ministers of crime had done this for a long time, they left them, judging them to be dead. But the Lord sent his angel, who immediately healed them of every wound.

When they did not cease to invoke the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the commander, drunk with fury, caused Placidus's mouth to be battered with a stone and then his tongue to be cut out by the roots.

Nevertheless, with his tongue cut out, he cried: "Blessed is the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and his supreme power."

When the tyrant delivered Flavia his sister into the hands of procurers to be violated, the virgin made prayer and remained untouched. For whoever wished to approach her immediately had his limbs become rigid and withered and was afflicted with great pain.

Thereafter the aforesaid Mamucha, son of Satan, turned himself to other cruelties. For he caused the saints of God to be bound tightly, anchors to be placed upon their legs, and great stones to be placed upon the anchors, so that by such torment they might either deny Christ or be consumed. But they remained unharmed.

At last the most wicked commander pronounced sentence that they should be punished by beheading and that their unburied bodies should remain to be devoured by wolves and birds.

Thus the saints of God obtained the palm of martyrdom. They suffered on the third day before the Nones of October at the port of Messina in Sicily. The monastery constructed by them was utterly overthrown by the aforesaid Saracens.

When these things had been accomplished, Mamucha their commander, after the storm of the sea had subsided, commanded them all to board the ships in order to go to the royal court. Boarding, they began to traverse the high seas.

When they were in the midst of the sea, a violent tempest arose, so that they could proceed neither forward nor backward. Their one hundred ships were submerged, and all those Saracens descended into the depth of the sea, drowned by the waters.

The bodies of the saints Placidus, Eutychius, Victorinus, and Flavia their sister, together with the thirty monks, were found unharmed, fragrant with a wondrous odor, and were honorably buried.

The most blessed Placidus suffered with his companions in the year of the Lord 541. He was crowned with martyrdom in the twenty-sixth year of his age. Many miracles were afterward performed at his tomb.

For he was seven years old when he was offered to blessed Benedict, with whom he lived as a monk under his teaching for fourteen years in the monastery at Subiaco and afterward in the Cassinese monastery. Sent into Sicily, he remained for four years, and afterward, as has been said, he was beheaded for the faith of Christ by Mamucha, commander of the Saracens, in the thirteenth year of Justinian's empire.

Title XV

Chapter XV

Saint Romuald is held to have been famous and distinguished in the year of the Lord 1000. He died around the year of the Lord 1030.

He was the founder and institutor of the Order of the Camaldolese, which was extended and enlarged in many monasteries in the regions of Tuscany and Lombardy. Their principal monastery is in the diocese of Arezzo and the dominion of the Florentines.

The most eloquent man Peter Damian, bishop and cardinal, described his life in lucid discourse, which, however, we shall abbreviate. At the beginning, in place of his prologue, he speaks thus:

“Against you, unclean world, we complain. You have an intolerable crowd of fools who are wise, eloquent to you but mute to God, who through vain eloquence and empty philosophy know how arrogantly to exalt themselves upon the horns of pride.

“You have no one who wishes, by careful annotations, to commit to the memory of posterity something profitable for the edification of his neighbors.

“You have, I say, those who in the tribunals of secular judges, as soldiers of affairs, are able to plead the quarrels of causes with continual declamations. You have no one who can describe in the holy Church the virtues or illustrious deeds of even one of the saints.

“For they are wise that they may do evil, but they have not known how to do good.

“Behold, almost three lustra have now passed since blessed Romuald, having laid aside the burden of the flesh, migrated to the ethereal kingdoms, and no one among wise men of this kind has yet arisen who might set out, at least briefly and in historical order, some of the many praises of his marvelous life and, satisfying the devotion of the faithful, write them down to be recited for the common benefit of the Church.

“For us, however, sitting in the narrow corner of a little cell, it would have been more useful, as we had resolved, continually to recall our own sins before the eyes of the mind than to weave the history of another’s virtue.

“But since throughout the year, and especially on his feast, a multitude of the faithful comes from distant regions to his tomb, beholds the miracles divinely performed through him, and eagerly seeks to hear the history of his life, we fear, not without reason, that his most celebrated fame, which is still uttered by the mouth of the whole people, may, as the course of time slips away, be entirely erased from the memory of men.

“Therefore, struck by this fear, overcome by the prayers of many brothers and by brotherly charity, I shall undertake, with God as author, to describe what I learned concerning the aforesaid venerable man from his excellent disciples.

“But I desire my reader to know this one thing first: I shall not collect in this little description the many miracles performed through him, but rather I shall endeavor to relate the order of his manner of life, which pertains in every way to edification.

“For the blessed man guarded himself beneath so great a covering of humility from the wind of vainglory that, by the most studious concealment, he suppressed whatever could in any way make him appear marvelous to men.

“Nevertheless, even if he had not performed those miracles while leading a marvelous life, he would not have been worthy of less veneration. For neither is the Lord’s forerunner read to have performed miracles, yet Truth itself bears witness that no one greater than he arose among those born of women.

“Some indeed think that they are showing honor if, in extolling the virtues of the saints, they invent a lie. Such persons, plainly ignorant that God does not need our lie, abandon the truth, which he himself is, and think that they can please him with a fiction of falsehood.

“For those who could easily have related the material offered to them without passing beyond the simple truth sweat in vain labor in composing things which they do not know.”

Section I

Therefore Romuald, that we may undertake his history, was a native of the city of Ravenna, born from a most illustrious lineage of dukes.

When he had reached adolescence, he began to be inclined toward the sin of the flesh, with which vice that age is accustomed to attack men, especially the rich, more violently.

Nevertheless, devout to God in mind, he frequently proposed some great thing against himself. For even if he sometimes devoted himself to the pursuit of hunting, wherever he could find a pleasant place through the forests, his spirit was immediately kindled toward desire for the hermitage.

He had a father named Sergius, exceedingly intent upon the world. When Sergius was exercising hostilities against a relative of his because of enmities which had arisen over the possession of a meadow, he saw his son Romuald grow hesitant in the conflict and inwardly dread the crime of fratricide. He caused it to be threatened that he would disinherit him if he persisted longer in that purpose, namely, in not persecuting the enemy.

At length each party of the enemies broke forth into the substance of the quarrel. They took up arms and joined a civil battle. While they fought hand to hand on both sides, the enemy was killed by the hand of Sergius.

Although Romuald had inflicted no wound upon the slain man, nevertheless, because he had been present, he accepted penance for so great a guilt. He immediately made ready to remain in mourning for forty days, according to the custom of murderers, at the monastery of blessed Apollinaris at Classe.

There, continually afflicting himself with strict penance, he was frequently admonished by a certain lay brother dwelling there to assume the religious habit.

One day that lay brother promised that he would show blessed Apollinaris to him in bodily form. Romuald bound himself to abandon the world if he did this.

Therefore, while they both passed the night in prayer in the church for this matter, around the cockcrow of the night blessed Apollinaris, as the two of them watched, visibly came out from beneath an altar which is seen to have been constructed in the middle of the church in honor of the Blessed Virgin.

Immediately a marvelous splendor like that of the sun filled the whole church. Then the blessed martyr, marvelously adorned in priestly vestments and carrying a golden thurible in his hand, incensed all the altars of the church. He immediately returned whence he had come, and the splendor ceased.

When the lay brother demanded that Romuald fulfill his promise, Romuald first asked that this be done again. In the same manner they saw it openly a second time.

At length Romuald devoutly sought the habit of holy religion from the monks. When they refused, fearing the savagery of his father and the troubles he would cause, he went to the archbishop of the city. From him he received the habit, and the archbishop commanded him to be numbered among the company of those monks.

But when Romuald saw that some there, walking upon the broad way, lived too laxly, and that he was not permitted to seize the arduous path of perfection for himself, he began to apply himself vehemently to rebuking their vices.

They, however, regarded the words of a younger man and a novice as nothing. At length, unable to bear this reproach, they began to deliberate concerning his death.

They determined that, because he rose by night earlier than the others and hurried to the church, they would cast him down headfirst as he passed through a certain raised gallery sufficiently elevated above the ground. When he learned this from one of those conscious of the conspiracy, he avoided the danger.

Romuald, panting after the more perfect heights of the religious life, heard the fame of a certain holy hermit named Marinus who lived in the region of the Venetians. Having most easily obtained consent from the abbot and monks, because he was burdensome to them even to behold, he departed from there, went to that venerable man, and subjected himself to his discipline.

This Marinus was a man of simple spirit and most sincere purity, taught by no master in the eremitical way of life. He had this manner of living: throughout the continuous course of the year, on three weekdays he ate half a morsel of bread and a handful of beans; on three other days he received wine and cooked food with discreet sobriety.

He sang the whole Psalter each day. Frequently leaving his cell with his disciples, he walked here and there through the breadth of the hermitage while singing psalms, now chanting twenty psalms beneath one tree, and now thirty beneath another.

Romuald, however, because he had left the world an unlettered man, could scarcely make out syllable by syllable the written signs of the verses when the Psalter lay open. This excessive fixing of his eyes gave him an intolerable occasion of listlessness.

Marinus, holding a rod in his right hand and sitting opposite Romuald, very frequently struck the left side of his head.

After many blows Romuald, compelled by grave necessity, humbly said: “Master, if it pleases you, from now on strike me upon the right temple, because I am already losing completely the hearing of my left ear.”

Then Marinus, admiring his great patience, moderated the discipline of his indiscreet severity.

Section II

Concerning the austerity of his life and his temptations.

Romuald thereafter advanced from virtue to virtue with marvelous speed. Surpassing all the brothers, he was brought into such favor with them all that whatever he decided among the brothers, whether concerning spiritual or bodily matters, all willingly allowed his judgment to prevail in every way, and even Marinus himself acquiesced.

For one continuous year he had nothing else as food, but lived each day solely upon one handful of boiled chickpeas.

For three years he and a certain John lived by the labor of their hands, breaking the earth with hoes and sowing wheat. While they practiced agriculture, they plainly doubled the burden of their fast.

Nevertheless, the devil attacked Romuald with these and various assaults of temptations, especially at the beginning of his conversion.

At one time he brought before him what and how much so vigorous a man could have acquired in the world. At another, he recalled how much inheritance Romuald had left to ungrateful relatives. At another, he accused the things which he was doing as too small and of no merit. At another, inspiring horror of so great a labor, he promised him a long life.

Oh, how often, striking his little cell when Romuald had scarcely yet fallen asleep, he awakened him and caused him to spend the whole night in vigil as though the dawn were already imminent.

For almost five continuous years the devil lay upon his feet and legs at night and, lest he easily turn himself this way or that, weighed him down under the appearance of a fantastical weight.

Who can explain how many roaring beasts of the vices he endured, and how frequently he drove away present wicked spirits with most severe rebukes?

It happened that, while he was reading a book concerning the lives of the fathers, he came upon the passage in which it is related that certain brothers, fasting individually throughout the entire week, came together on the Sabbath day. On that day and on the Lord’s Day they interrupted the rigor of the fast and lived more leniently.

Romuald immediately adopted this order of life and remained in it with continual austerity for almost fifteen years or more.

A certain Peter, who had been duke of Dalmatia, had acquired that duchy through a certain betrayal and through the occasion of the death of a certain lord. Therefore, to do penance for so great a crime, he had abandoned the world upon Romuald’s counsel and lived the eremitical life with Romuald, Marinus, and others.

Because he had been accustomed to be reared amid many delicacies in the world, he was sinking beneath the burden of so strict a fast. Hence he humbly prostrated himself at the feet of blessed Romuald and said with shame: “Father, because I have a large body, I am not able to sustain myself upon this half of a dry biscuit.”

Romuald, having compassion upon his frailty, added a quarter to the former measure. Thus he extended the hand of mercy to the failing brother, lest he perish.

To fast altogether is to pass the day without any food. Although Romuald himself did this very frequently, he wholly forbade it to others.

For he said: “This is supremely fitting for one tending toward perfection: that he eat every day and always hunger, so that through custom the flesh may make light that which appears burdensome to novices at the beginning of conversion.”

He counseled that vigils should be performed moderately and with great discretion, lest it perhaps happen to someone that, when the night offices had been completed, he yield to sleep.

Indeed, the holy man held this sleep in such hatred that if anyone confessed to him that he had fallen asleep after the vigil of twelve psalms, especially near daybreak, he could by no means celebrate the solemnities of Mass that day with Romuald’s permission.

He also said that it was better, if possible, to sing one psalm from the heart and with compunction than to run through a hundred with the mind engaged in wandering discourse. But where the intention has been raised to God, a thought coming against the will is not greatly to be feared.

When he was in the regions of Gaul, he had a certain familiar husbandman who sometimes charitably rendered services to him.

It happened that a certain proud count sent his parasites to take away a cow which that rustic possessed and caused meats from the slaughtered cow to be prepared for himself to eat. Concerning this matter that rustic made a complaint before Romuald.

Romuald sent word to the count that he should cause his animal to be restored to the rustic. The count, however, contemned this.

At dinner, while he put into his mouth a morsel from the cooked flesh of the calf prepared for him, the morsel so adhered to his throat that he was able neither to bring it out nor to swallow it, but was suffocated among the hands of his people.

Section III

Meanwhile Sergius, the father of blessed Romuald, became a monk. But a little afterward, persuaded by the devil and repenting of the conversion he had made, he attempted to return to Egypt.

The monks of the monastery of the village of Saint Severus, which is situated not far from the city of Ravenna, where Sergius dwelt in body but not in heart, immediately took care to inform blessed Romuald of this through a messenger.

Struck by the baleful report, Romuald determined that it was necessary for him to come as quickly as possible to the aid of his perishing father. Romuald then dwelt in the regions of Gaul with Abbot Guarinus and John Grandenicus.

When the inhabitants of that region, who had conceived great devotion toward him, heard that Romuald intended to depart, they were disturbed by excessive grief.

Considering among themselves how they might restrain him from this intention, at last it seemed good to them that, sending killers, they should slay him in pious devotion, so that, because they could not retain him alive, they might at least possess his lifeless corpse as a protection for their land.

When these things became known to him, Romuald shaved his head on every side. When the executors of this deed were already approaching his cell, at nearly the first light of dawn he began to eat as though out of greed.

Seeing this, they believed it to be madness and, judging that his mind had been injured, disdained to injure his body.

Thus the prudent spiritual David, by a madness foolish in carnal appearance, overcame the craftiness of those carnally wise.

Therefore, having been permitted to use his freedom, supported by no horse but carrying only a staff in his hand, he came with bare feet from the innermost borders of Gaul to Ravenna.

There, finding his father wishing to return to the world, he tightly bound his feet in the stocks and subdued his body with pious severity until, with God healing him, he brought his mind to the state of salvation.

Afterward Sergius served God in the monastery with great devotion and, after a little time, fell asleep in the Lord.

Marinus, who for some time had been Romuald's master, went toward Apulia a little afterward. Subsequently dwelling there in solitude, he was killed by Hagarenes and brigands.

Romuald established a cell in the marsh of Classe and dwelt in a place called Peter's Bridge, neither fearing bodily sickness nor shrinking from nausea at the stench.

But lest, on the occasion of weakness, he relax even slightly from the rigor of abstinence, he migrated to the estate of Classe, where the church of blessed Martin stands.

One day, while he was singing Compline there, behold, malignant spirits suddenly entered his cell, immediately cast him to the ground, afflicted him with a savage beating, and inflicted most severe blows upon his limbs, which were exhausted by long fasting.

At length, amid the blows of that beating, visited by a regard of divine grace, he broke forth into this cry: "Dear Jesus, beloved Jesus, why have you forsaken me? Have you altogether delivered me into the hands of my enemies?"

At these words all those malignant spirits were driven away, and he immediately rose from the ground sound and strong.

Frequently, while he sat in his cell, wicked spirits seemed to stand beside him like most hideous ravens or vultures. Frequently they showed themselves in the forms of Ethiopians and in the shapes of diverse animals.

The illustrious champion of Christ taunted them, saying: "Behold, I am prepared. If there is any strength in you, show it. Have you now altogether failed?" At these words they were immediately put to flight.

Therefore the devil, seeing that he could not prevail by himself against the servant of God, turned to cunning devices. Wherever the holy man went, he stirred up the spirits of his disciples against him in malice, so that, because the devil could not restrain him from the impetus of his kindled fervor, he might at least hinder him from care for the salvation of others.

At one time he passed to a place called Balneum, situated in the territory of Saxena. Remaining there, he constructed a monastery in honor of the Archangel Michael.

Marquis Hugh sent him a certain sum of money to distribute. But when Romuald heard that the monastery of Palatiolus had been consumed by fire, he assigned part of that money to its repair.

When this became known, the monks of Saint Michael were moved against him with bestial fury, both because he was opposed to their depraved conduct and because he did not spend upon them all the things brought to them, but bestowed some upon others.

Therefore, having formed a conspiracy, they entered his cell unanimously with clubs and poles, afflicted him with blows, dishonored him, and expelled him from those territories.

But divine vengeance did not abandon them. For while they insulted him, rejoiced together over the expulsion of the servant of God, and prepared a banquet, one of them, who was the senior, went to the river for a certain reason and was drowned there.

A building collapsed upon others under the mass of snow then descending. Some were crushed in the head, some in the legs, and some in diverse members, and they were sharply punished.

At another time he stayed in another region called Percum, twelve miles distant from Ravenna. A great fire invaded the cell in which he lived with one companion, but by the power of prayer he extinguished the crackling globes of fire.

At the same time, when the younger Emperor Otto intended to regulate the abbey at Classe, he gave the brothers the choice that they might without hesitation elect whomever they wished. They immediately sought Romuald.

The emperor, however, doubting that the blessed man could be summoned to the royal court, wished to go to him in person and reached his cell at sunset.

Because Romuald had received a great guest in a small cell, he deigned to give him his own little bed for repose.

When morning had come, the king led him with himself to the palace and at last began with many entreaties to press him to undertake the government of the abbey.

When Romuald resisted and entirely denied assent to the king’s petition, the king in response threatened excommunication and anathema from all the bishops and the whole synod. At length, yielding to the necessity pressing upon him, Romuald was compelled to undertake the government of souls.

Therefore he governed the monks under the strict discipline of the Rule, and no one was permitted to deviate from it in any respect with impunity, neither a noble nor one educated in letters.

Indeed, fixing the eyes of his heart upon heaven so that he might obey God in all things, the holy man did not fear to displease men.

Considering this too late, those brothers first accused themselves because they had demanded that he be placed over them. Then they greatly tore him with detractions and whisperings and vexed him with the harsh stings of scandals.

Therefore Romuald, seeing both that his own perfection was in some measure diminished and that their conduct was being turned toward worse things, went promptly to the king. Although the king resisted him not slightly, Romuald, in the presence of both the king and the bishop of Ravenna, cast down the staff and left the monastery.

The king, moreover, was then besieging the city of Tivoli. For its citizens had killed Mazolinus, his renowned commander, and, taking up arms, had driven the king himself away from their walls.

Hence there is no doubt that blessed Romuald was sent by divine providence. By mediating peace, he removed the imminent danger of so many souls.

This agreement was made between them: the Tiburtines were together to demolish the walls of the city in honor of the king, give hostages, and send the killers of the commander in chains to his mother.

Although she had been cruelly offended, she was softened by the holy man’s poured-out prayers, forgave the crime, and permitted them to return unharmed to their own homes.

In the aforesaid city the most blessed man Romuald converted a certain Teuton named Tammus, who was so familiar and dear to the king that one dish often joined the two of them in a common banquet.

For Crescentius, a Roman senator, incurring the king's indignation, sought refuge upon the mountain called Saint Angelo. Because the fortification was impregnable, he confidently prepared to defend it against the besieging king.

At the king's command Tammus gave him an oath guaranteeing safety. Thus deceived, Crescentius, whom Pope Clement opposed, underwent capital sentence as though guilty of treason. Afterward the emperor took his wife as a concubine.

Therefore, because Tammus was both conscious of the fraud and bound by perjury, blessed Romuald commanded him to abandon the world. He immediately sought permission from the king and received it.

The aforesaid Tammus was very favorably disposed toward the monastic order and affected with excessive devotion toward the servants of God.

The emperor himself confessed the same crime to the holy man of God. For the sake of penance he went forth from the city of Rome with bare feet and proceeded as far as Mount Gargano to the church of Saint Michael.

Throughout Lent he remained in the monastery at Classe with a few persons adhering to him. There, intent upon fasting and psalmody, he wore haircloth against his flesh and was covered over it with gilded purple. Beneath himself, upon a mat woven from papyrus, he wore away the tender limbs of his delicately nourished body.

He promised blessed Romuald that he would abandon the empire and assume the monastic habit.

Departing thence with the aforesaid Tammus, with Boniface, who afterward became a martyr, and with other converted Teutonic and Tiburtine nobles, Romuald returned to Percum, where he had already dwelt.

Because he became infirm upon the road, he willingly rode not a horse but an ass, imitating Christ.

There many other brothers were gathered and stationed in individual cells. Romuald maintained the rigor of the eremitical way of life in himself and in others with such fervor that their life was held marvelous by all.

They performed works with their hands: some made spoons, some spun, some wove nets, and some made haircloths.

Section IV

Among the others, however, the manner of life of Boniface surpassed them. He had been a blood relative of the king, whom the king, on account of extraordinary affection, was accustomed to call his own soul.

From his earliest age he had been educated in the teachings of the liberal arts and was especially approved in the studies of musical modulation.

When he saw in the royal chapel the ancient church of the martyr Boniface, immediately, by the example of the one bearing the same name, he was called to martyrdom and said: "I also am called Boniface. Why, therefore, ought I not also to be a martyr?"

After he became a monk, he bound himself by such abstinence that he often ate only on the Lord's Days and on Thursday during the week.

Sometimes, if he saw the toothed growth of nettles and thornbushes, he threw himself upon it and rolled about.

At length, after a long life in the eremitical way, when he intended to go to preach in Sclavonia, or Russia, which was then unbelieving, he first hastened to Rome, not only on foot but also with bare feet. On the journey he was content with bread and water, while on feast days he added apples and the roots of herbs.

When he came to the gentiles, he began to preach with such constancy of fervent heart that no one any longer doubted that he demanded martyrdom.

At length he addressed the king of Russia. After many words, the king, who was a gentile, said to him: "If you wish the things which you assert to be believed to be true, let two high piles of wood be erected, separated from one another by a very small space. When fire has been placed beneath and they have burned so that both piles seem to be one fire, pass through the midst.

"If you are harmed in any part, we shall deliver you to be consumed completely by those same fires. But if, what cannot be believed, you emerge unharmed, we shall all believe in your God without difficulty."

When this covenant had pleased not only Boniface but also all the gentiles who were present, Boniface, clothed as though he were about to celebrate the solemnities of Mass, first sprinkled the fire with sanctified water and incensed it. Entering the crackling globes of flame, he passed through unharmed, so that not even the smallest hair of his head was seen to have been burned.

Then the king and the others who were present at this spectacle threw themselves in troops at his feet, tearfully sought pardon, and most urgently asked to be baptized.

So great a multitude of the nations began to flow together for baptism that the holy man Boniface went to a certain spacious lake and baptized the people in that abundance of waters.

The king determined that he would abandon the kingdom to his son and that, for as long as he lived, he would by no means be separated from Boniface.

The king's brother, however, who lived with him, refused to believe and, while Boniface was absent, was killed by the king himself.

Another brother, who was already separated from the king's dwelling, as soon as the venerable man came to him, refused to hear his words. But, inflamed with excessive anger against him because of his brother's conversion, he immediately seized him.

Then, fearing that if he kept him alive the king would snatch him from his hands, he ordered him to be beheaded in his presence while no small multitude of men stood around.

Immediately he himself was made blind, and so great a stupor oppressed him and all who stood by that they were able neither to speak, nor to perceive, nor to perform any function of humanity in any way, but all remained motionless like stones.

When the king heard this, struck by excessive sorrow, he intended to slaughter with swords not only his brother but also all who had been supporters of so great a guilt.

But when he came there immediately and saw the martyr's body still placed in their midst and his brother standing stupefied, without sense or motion, together with all the others, this course pleased him and all his people: first prayer should be made for them; then, if they consented to believe, they should live with the crime forgiven, but if not, they should perish by the avenger's sword.

When prayer had therefore been made for a long time by the faithful, not only were sense and motion restored to them, but also the counsel to demand true salvation.

Hence, doing penance, they all humbly sought baptism for so great a crime with tears and received it with great joy among them all. They constructed a church over the body of the blessed martyr.

Section V

Meanwhile, while Romuald still dwelt at Percum, King Buscanus directed entreaties to the emperor that he send him spiritual men who would call the people of his kingdom to the faith.

Immediately the emperor approached Romuald and entreated that some of his monks who could profitably be sent there be granted to him.

Romuald, however, did not wish to command this of any of his monks, as though by authority of prelacy, but, placing the choice in their will, he gave to all the option either of remaining or departing.

For he did not know God's will concerning so fearsome a business, and therefore he committed it not to his own judgment but to the will of the brothers.

At length only two were found who voluntarily offered themselves ready to go. One of them was called John and the other Benedict.

Therefore, going to Buscanus, they first took up residence in a hermitage, with the king supporting them. So that they might afterward be able to preach, they learned the Slavonic language.

In the seventh year, when they now knew the speech of the land perfectly, they sent one monk to the Roman See. Through him they earnestly sought from the supreme pontiff permission to preach.

They also enjoined upon the messenger that, if he could obtain any of blessed Romuald's monks, he should lead them there to dwell.

Buscanus, wishing to receive the crown of his kingdom by Roman authority, began with earnest supplication to ask the aforesaid venerable men that they carry his many gifts to the pope and bring back a crown for him from the Apostolic See.

Entirely refusing assent to the royal petition, they said: "We have been constituted in sacred orders. It is not permitted to us to transact secular affairs." Thus, leaving the king, they returned to their cell in the hermitage.

Certain men of the king, however, knowing his plan, judged that they carried with them an abundant weight of gold which was to be sent to the apostolic lord.

Then they agreed among themselves, formed a compact, secretly entered the hermitage at night, killed the monks, and took away the money. They executed the deed, but when the monks had been killed they found no money.

In order to cover the crime of so great a wickedness, they wished to burn the cell with fire and consume the bodies of the saints. But the fires applied, having lost the powers of their nature, could consume absolutely nothing, neither the wood nor the bodies.

Therefore the frustrated thieves attempted to turn in flight. But throughout the whole night they were distressed, seeking a path through the thickets, across the breadth of the woodlands, and through the dark places of the forests, and they did not find it.

Nor were they able to place their daggers in their sheaths, because their arms had withered.

Where the bodies of the saints lay, an abundant light did not cease to shine until day, nor did the sweetness of a most delightful angelic song cease to resound.

When day came, what had been done could not remain hidden from the king. He hastened to the hermitage with a numerous multitude.

Those guilty of the manifest crime were found, still bound to their swords by divine vengeance.

The king, considering and deliberating what he should do with them, at last determined that he would by no means order them to be killed as they deserved, but would send them, bound with iron chains, to the tombs of the martyrs, so that either they might remain there miserably in chains until death, or, if it seemed otherwise to the holy martyrs, the martyrs themselves might free them by their mercy.

When at the king's command they had been dragged to the tomb of the saints, they were immediately released as their bonds broke.

Afterward a basilica was constructed over their bodies. Innumerable prodigies are performed there by divine power, not only then but also now.

While Romuald still remained at Percum, Emperor Otto, at his suggestion, constructed a monastery in honor of Saint Adalbert.

He conferred upon it the adjoining estates of the monastery at Classe and compensated the latter from a fiscal possession in the regions of the March of Fermo.

When an abbot from Romuald's disciples had been established there and brothers had been gathered, Romuald began to hold them under great watchfulness and taught them to live under regular discipline.

He also commanded the abbot that, departing into the hermitage, he should remain in a cell throughout the whole week, but on the Lord's Days should come to the monastery and visit it.

Contemning the holy man's commands, the abbot began to live in a secular manner. Once the foot of his conduct had wandered from the path of rectitude, he now declined still farther.

Therefore, seeing that he could no longer labor there according to the ardor of his desire, Romuald immediately went to the king and, as exactor of the promise he had received—for the king had promised him that he would become a monk—began to press more vehemently that the king become a monk.

The king asserted that he would indeed do what was required, provided that he first attacked Rome, which had rebelled against him, and, after subduing it, returned with victory to Ravenna.

Romuald said to him: "If you go to Rome, you will not see Ravenna again." Because he could not call him back, he announced to him most openly that his death was very near.

Therefore, when the king had set out for Rome and afterward began to return from the city, he was immediately seized by illness and died at Paternum, according to the prophetic saying of the holy man.

Section VI

This glorious saint was adorned with many kinds of virtues, especially the spirit of compunction and the grace of tears.

When he dwelt in the borders of the city of Parentium, in a certain monastery constructed by him in which he remained for three years, one day, while he sang psalms in his cell, he came upon this verse of the Psalter: "I shall give you understanding and instruct you in this way in which you shall walk," and so forth.

So great an outpouring of tears arose in him that from that day onward, for as long as he lived, abundant tears flowed for him most easily whenever he wished.

Frequently so great a contemplation of the divinity seized him that, as though wholly dissolved into tears and seething with an ineffable ardor of divine love, he cried: “Dear Jesus, dear; my sweet honey; my ineffable desire; sweetness of the saints; delight of the angels,” and so forth.

For this reason Romuald never wished to celebrate Mass before many persons, because he could not restrain himself from an inundation of tears.

Judging this grace to be present in others also, he used to say: “Take care not to pour forth many tears, because they both diminish the sight and injure the crown of the head.”

Although he had departed from the world an unlettered man, his mind was nevertheless so illumined for understanding the meanings of divine Scripture that very many mysteries of the Scriptures did not lie hidden from him.

Hence one day, beginning to offer sacrifice, when he had reached the second secret prayer of the Mass, he was seized in ecstasy and remained silent for so long a space of time that all who were present marveled.

When he was afterward asked why, in offering the sacrifice, he had made so great a delay beyond what was customary, he answered: “Seized and carried into heaven, I was presented before God. Immediately I was commanded by a divine voice to expound the Psalms according to this understanding which God imparted to me and, according to the measure of my understanding, to commit them in order to sheets.

“But I, constrained by excessive and ineffable fear, could answer nothing else except only this: ‘Let it be so.’”

He lucidly expounded certain songs of the prophets. Although the rule of grammar was corrupted, he nevertheless preserved a sound meaning everywhere.

Nor was the spirit of prophecy lacking to him. For he openly made known very many things hidden from men and future events which he had foreknown, as was made clear above and in many other ways.

Hence also, on a certain solemn day, while he sat with the brothers in chapter and satisfied them with the foods of saving doctrine, suddenly interrupting his discourse, he began to exclaim with a certain distraction of mind and to say: “Act now, act, and hasten as greatly as possible, because the cell of Brother Gregory is now being broken into.” This Gregory was afterward consecrated archbishop.

They immediately sprang up, ran swiftly to Gregory’s cell, and found a thief already breaking through the walls.

Seizing him, they dragged him to the master and asked what should be done with so sacrilegious a plunderer.

The saint began to say to them cheerfully: “What we ought to do with him I do not know either. If we gouge out his eyes, afterward he will not see. If we cut off his hands, he will not be able to work. But send him inside and first set food before him.”

When this had been done, he permitted the thief, manifestly corrected and admonished with gentle words, to return to his own place.

He also abounded in the grace of miracles. Hence, when he wished to transfer himself by ship from the region of Parentium to the city of Pola, and a certain ship had been brought, as he had prophetically foretold, Romuald and several others entered it and began to sail, Romuald urging them although the sailors, because of fear of the disturbed air, thought the contrary.

Around daybreak, however, the winds suddenly raged, a tempest arose, and the sea was churned from its lowest depth. Furious waves now flew over the rowers on every side and, striking the ship from here and there, loosened nearly all its planks.

When, in so great a crisis, shipwreck now undoubtedly threatened and all had despaired, Romuald ran to his customary armaments of prayer. When he had completed them, he caused it to be announced to the sailors that without any doubt they would escape every danger.

A little after this, behold, beyond the hope of all and without any human effort, the ship righted itself and soon entered swiftly into the port of Capreola. It was manifest to all that by Romuald’s merits they had been snatched from the jaws of death.

Likewise, while he sat in his cell in the Camaldolese hermitage which he himself had built, he ordered a certain large beech standing near his cell to be cut down.

The beech leaned and hung so directly over the cell that, according to human judgment, if it fell it would undoubtedly crush the whole building immediately.

When the workmen wished to fulfill the command but feared the fall of the tree, he pressed them not to fear in any way.

The tree itself, struck by axes, now undoubtedly threatened to fall upon the blessed man. Therefore all began to cry out that, even if he disregarded the cell, he should at least come out from there and preserve himself.

He did not acquiesce. Instead, having made the sign of the cross, when it was about to fall he turned it toward another direction, so that, while all marveled, the cell remained wholly unharmed.

Likewise, a certain man suffered from insanity of the head, so that, having lost the sense of reason, he was wholly ignorant of what he did or said.

Romuald did nothing else to him except give him only a kiss, and immediately restored him to his former soundness.

At another time a demoniac boy was carried to the blessed man. Romuald did nothing else to him except give him a small piece of bread as a blessing. As soon as the boy had been refreshed by it, he was freed.

At another time, when bread was lacking to him and to his companions, and when, because of an inundation of waters, there could be neither access to them nor departure by them from the monastery to other places, three men came laden with bread and wine, asserting that they were from remote regions.

In Istria also, from a certain little stream in which a fish was accustomed to be found, a fish was drawn out by him for eating.

The servant of Christ also thirsted for martyrdom as the hart thirsts for streams of waters. Therefore, when the man of God heard that Boniface, of whom above, had been crowned with martyrdom, he immediately determined to go to Hungary, so that by preaching there he might be able to attain this triumph.

Accordingly, after permission had been received from the Apostolic See and two of his disciples had been consecrated as archbishops, he undertook the journey with twenty-four brothers.

So great an ardor for dying for Christ seethed in them all that the saint could only with difficulty go to so great an undertaking with a few.

Therefore, as they went and had reached the borders of the Pannonians, Romuald was suddenly seized by illness and could not go farther.

When he had suffered this for a rather long time, whenever he determined to return he immediately recovered from his illness. But if he attempted to go farther, immediately his whole face swelled, and, because his stomach was weak, he could not retain food.

Then he said to the brothers: “I perceive that it is not of the divine will that I should proceed farther. Nevertheless, because I am not ignorant of the resolve of your intention, I compel none of you to return. Let it be left to the judgment of each one of you who wishes to go and who wishes to return with me.”

Therefore, fifteen proceeded into Hungary, while seven remained with the master.

Of those who went, however, some were flogged, others were sold, and they underwent several masters; nevertheless, as the saint had foretold, they did not attain martyrdom.

At last he endured very many persecutions, chiefly from his own monks, because he restrained their irreligious conduct.

In Istria, among the others, he had a certain disciple named Romanus, who had indeed been noble in birth but degenerate in conduct.

Because the holy man restrained him for the uncleanness of his flesh, not only with words but also with most severe blows, that diabolical man dared to fasten upon him the charge of the same guilt and shamelessly to bark with sacrilegious mouth against the temple of the Holy Spirit, saying that the holy man had sinned together with him from the same contagion.

Immediately all the disciples, angered against him and all hostile, cried out. Some said that the impious old man ought to be suspended from a noose; others judged that he ought to be burned in the cell itself.

It was exceedingly marvelous, especially that spiritual men could have believed so nefarious a crime to have been committed by a decrepit old man more than a hundred years old.

But it must be believed that so grave a scourge of adversity befell him for the increase of the holy man’s merit. And, as he later asserted, although in the hermitage from which he had recently departed he had truthfully known beforehand that this would happen to him, nevertheless he had come cheerfully to this reproach of dishonor.

Therefore, the disciples imposed penance upon the holy man as though for a crime committed and wholly took away from him permission to celebrate the sacred mysteries.

He willingly embraced this judgment and observed the penance as though liable for the crime. For six months he did not presume to approach the celebration.

But afterward, as he related to his disciples, it was divinely commanded to him that, if he feared to lose divine grace, he should now wholly set aside his undiscerning simplicity and confidently celebrate the sacred mysteries.

That reprobate Sarabaite, however, who had fastened the crime upon the holy man, acquired the bishopric of Nuceria through simony. In the first year he saw his church burned with its books and the other sacred ornaments. In the second year he miserably lost his dignity together with his life.

He also built a monastery in the diocese of Camerino, in the place called Vallis Castri, where he began to dwell.

Who could describe with a pen or utter with a tongue how many fruits of souls the Lord acquired there through him?

For men began to flow together from all sides, taking occasion to do penance. Some distributed their possessions to the poor; others, having wholly abandoned the world, flew to the religious life.

Among the others, he rebuked with especially harsh severity secular clerics who had been ordained for money, and he asserted that they were heretics and damned unless they voluntarily laid aside their order, namely, by not exercising it.

Hearing this new thing, they attempted to kill him. For throughout that entire March, down to Romuald's times, scarcely anyone knew, because of the customary practice made common, that the simoniacal heresy was a sin.

He said to them: "Bring me the book of the canons, and, with your own pages bearing witness, prove whether the things I say are true."

When these had been diligently inspected, they recognized the crime and lamented their errors.

The holy man set in order many canons and clerics who were living secularly after the manner of laymen, and taught them to obey provosts and to live in common.

Some bishops who had invaded sacred sees through simony ran to him for penance and the salvation of the soul. They promised both to abandon the episcopate at the appointed time and to assume the monastic habit. Nevertheless, I do not know whether the holy man was able to convert even one of them during his lifetime.

He also constructed a monastery of maidens in those regions.

Moreover, when the soldier of Christ heard that a certain Venetian had invaded the abbey of Classe through simony and, in addition, was sinning wickedly against his own body, he zealously hastened to go there immediately.

He attempted in diverse ways to purge him from that monastery. But the reprobate man, while he feared to lose the abbey, did not fear to perpetrate homicide.

For in the dead of night, while Romuald rested securely upon his little bed, that man entered secretly and began to constrict his throat with impious fingers, striving cruelly to suffocate him.

But while the holy man, his breath wholly cut off and a gasp scarcely struggling out, made a hoarse sound, Ingelbert, immediately awakened by the master's sobs, suddenly entered and drove the minister of the devil away from the crime he had begun.

But a certain monk of his also, inflamed against him with mad fury, secretly sharpened a javelin and, putting it aside in order to kill the blessed man, began to await the occasion of a suitable time.

At night, however, while he rested oppressed by sleep, he saw a malignant spirit rushing savagely upon him and seeking to strangle him with a certain twisted cord.

Then the monk, placed at his last breath, implored Romuald to succor him. Romuald immediately appeared to him and snatched him from the hands of the ancient enemy.

Afterward, having confessed his sin at the feet of the saint, doing penance, he received pardon.

Section VII

After these things Romuald returned to the monastery of Vallis Castri. Immediately he exhorted the abbot so to rule others that nevertheless he did not neglect himself.

Moreover, he wished that the abbot should not abandon, on account of governance, the cell which he had used.

But that man, made worse instead of better by the venerable man's preaching, went to the countesses who were ladies of the place and suggested to them that they should command the timbers from which Romuald's cells were to be constructed to be cut into small pieces. Thus he was cast out of the place.

For this manner of life of abbots, such as we behold, was so hateful to the blessed man that he would rejoice no less if he could tear an abbey out of anyone's hand than if it were granted him to summon any most powerful man among the laymen to the religious order.

At that time life in the monastery in Istria was such that, from the likeness not only of the name but also of the work, a second Nitria seemed again to be seen.

For all walked with bare feet; all were unkempt and pale and content with the utmost extremity of all things.

Some, indeed, were enclosed with their doors sealed, so dead to the world that they seemed as though already placed in a tomb.

No one there knew wine, not even if anyone suffered a most grievous illness.

But why do I speak about the monks, when even the servants of the monks themselves, and the keepers of the livestock themselves, fasted, kept silence, exercised discipline upon one another, and demanded penance for any idle words whatsoever?

In this Istria the holy man remained enclosed for almost seven years and inviolably preserved continual silence.

With old age now approaching, he lived exceedingly strictly, although all who are perfect are then accustomed to live more leniently.

For throughout the space of one Lent he took nothing else either in food or in drink, but lived by making little soups from a small quantity of flour and a few herbs.

For five weeks he constrained himself, eating nothing else except a small quantity of soaked chickpeas.

He also had three or two hairshirts because of the rising importunity of the body.

He never allowed a razor to ascend upon his head, but he himself was accustomed to cut away with shears the excess growth of his locks and beard.

If at any time the vice of gluttony tickled him with more excellent food, he immediately commanded that it be carefully prepared; he placed it before his mouth and nostrils and, taking in its odor, said: "O gluttony, gluttony, how sweet this prepared food would be to you. But woe to you: you shall not taste of it."

Meanwhile Emperor Henry, coming to Italy from the regions beyond the mountains, sent a letter of entreaty to the blessed man, asking that he deign to come to him and promising that he would do whatever Romuald commanded.

When he had been entreated by the brothers, he acquiesced. Therefore, going to the emperor, he was received by him with great honor.

The whole crowd of Germans ran together eagerly, anxiously plucking the hairs of the fur garment in which he was clothed, to carry them back to their homeland as sacred relics.

The man of God was so saddened by this veneration that, had his disciples not opposed him, he would have returned to his cell.

He admonished the emperor concerning the rights of the Church that were to be restored and concerning the oppression of the poor by powerful men.

Finally, when he sought one monastery for his men, the emperor handed over to him the monastery of Monte Amiata.

Romuald himself cast out the abbot because he was liable to many evils. There too he endured many adversities, both from the one cast out and from the disciple whom he himself made abbot there.

Finally, having fallen ill in Vallis Castri, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his life he migrated to the Lord. He had become a monk in the twentieth year of his age, and his body rests buried in the monastery of Vallis Castri.

Title XV

Chapter XVI

In the eighth year of Emperor Arnulf, around the year of the Lord 900, there lived a certain venerable man called Odo.

As Sigebert writes, although he was a cleric of Tours and a musician, he became a monk under Abbot Berno.

And, as Vincent relates from the chronicles in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror*, this man was of marvelous sanctity, incomparable in monastic discipline, fervent, and almost singular in his age.

By his fervor and industry the tepidity of the monks of that time was turned into ardor and into devotion to the faith and religious life.

For through him and under him monastic devotion, already dried up, flourished again exceedingly, and the praiseworthy institution of blessed Benedict, restored, revived and grew strong in many diverse monasteries.

He also composed antiphons and hymns concerning blessed Martin, and wrote the life of blessed Gerald.

He was first instructed by Remigius of Auxerre in music and dialectic.

Vincent, however, in the place cited above, relates from Odo's deeds that, while he dwelt in the city of Tours, he was asked by the brothers to compress the *Moralia* of blessed Pope Gregory within the compass of one volume.

He declared that he could not do this, adding that, even if the faculty for doing it were present to him, he nevertheless ought not to do it, lest he seem to alter the labor of so great a man or to take anything away from it.

But when they persisted in their petition, one night, while he applied himself to his customary prayer in the church of blessed Martin, sleep suddenly stole upon him.

In a vision he saw a choir of saints coming from above descend into that same church, and, after them all, blessed Pope Gregory, more splendid and adorned in countenance and bearing than all who had preceded him.

Immediately, as he came, all arose and, with necks bent, sought a blessing.

Gregory did not descend all the way among them, but stopped above the ambo of the church and called blessed Odo, who lay prostrate upon the ground, saying: "Rise, Brother Odo; do not fear."

When he had risen, he saw that Gregory had above his ear, after the manner of a scribe, a quill drawn out to a sharp point and split at its tip.

Blessed Gregory took it and, handing it to him, said: "Act securely and complete the work enjoined upon you. The book which you compose will not be destroyed, but mine will stand forever."

Immediately awakening, he at once understood what he had seen.

Then, taking that work, he read it diligently and arranged within one volume the sounder portion which he selected. Thus he restrained their murmuring.

A certain brother named Adegrinus, however, seeking the place of a more secluded monastery in which he could rest, came into the borders of Burgundy, where there was a monastery constructed by Abbot Berno.

Having been received there most dutifully by him, he remained there for some time in the manner of a guest, so that he might be able to learn the conduct of its inhabitants.

The institutes of Father Euticius were observed there. Perceiving this, Adegrinus took care to announce the whole matter to Father Odo.

Odo, taking one hundred volumes of books with him, immediately migrated to that monastery.

There Brother Adegrinus, confining himself within one cell with the permission of Abbot Berno, remained in it for three years.

But because Father Odo, then thirty years old, was a learned man, they imposed upon him the laborious mastership of the school.

Section I

In the year of the Lord 913, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, the Cluniac Order began.

For Abbot Berno, when about to die, appointed Odo, formerly a musician, abbot of the monastery of Cluny, upon this condition: that the church of Cluny should pay annually to the church of Gigny a rent of twelve denarii.

As has been said, in that monastery constructed by Berno the institutes of Father Euticius were observed. He lived in the times of Louis the Great and was a man dear to the king and lovable to all.

For although he was a layman and instructed in foreign studies, he abandoned those things from which human frailty is accustomed to become proud and gave himself wholly to the rules and institutes of the Fathers.

From these he also took diverse customs and bound them together in one volume.

Not long afterward he became a monk, and he was held in so great affection by the king that the king constructed a monastery for him within his palace.

When the course of his zealous life had been run, with the brothers standing around him, he suddenly gave up his spirit.

While his disciples prepared the funeral rites, he returned alive.

To them, astonished and marveling, he said: “Thanks be to God. Know that in these forty years I do not remember a single day on which I took food without first having wept.

“Today, however, sorrow having been taken away, God has consoled me, and the Lord has granted me a place of rest among the choirs of angels.”

Having said these things, he rested forever.

He was the institutor of the customs which were observed in monasteries down to that time.

At length Abbot Berno, lying sick with a deadly disease, summoned the neighboring bishops and, deposing himself from his order, cried with a tearful voice that he was guilty and unworthy to have presided over such a monastery.

Then Brother Odo, seized by the brothers’ hands, was brought by force before his abbot, all crying out that he should be ordained.

When even thus he was unwilling to yield and to assume the place of pastor, he was at length overcome by the bishops’ excommunication.

One night, when the keepers of the horses had fallen asleep and a certain brother named Godfrey kept vigil in prayer, a thief came, mounted a stolen horse, and fled.

The aforesaid brother, however, preferred to lose the horse rather than break silence. He went and awakened one of the keepers by touching him, and showed him by a sign what had happened.

When morning came, however, they saw from afar the thief seated upon the horse, fixed in one place.

They seized him and sent him bound to Father Odo.

Odo immediately commanded that five silver solidi be given to him, saying that it was unjust to dismiss him without a worthy reward, because he had endured much labor throughout the space of the whole night.

At the time when the most savage nation of the Normans was devastating the territories of Poitiers and Tours, two brothers from the said congregation were sent to Tours.

While they undertook the journey and turned aside into a certain place for the sake of resting, they were captured at night by those same Normans.

The Normans were indeed able to seize them, to bind their hands, and then to threaten them, but they were not able to break their silence.

When morning had now come and they had arrived at the appointed place, the brothers, just as they were, bound, withdrew themselves a little from them and prostrated themselves upon the ground, so that, after completing the course of the Psalms, they might impose an end upon their silence.

Before the prayer had been completed, the remainder of the Normans came with much captured booty.

Their leader, seeing the brothers lying upon the ground and hearing that they could in no way make them speak, swollen with barbarous ferocity, rushed upon them with his lance inclined as though to strike, instilling in them the fear of death, while the others also clapped their hands after the barbarous custom.

But they, just as they were steadfast in mind, so remained immovable in body.

This indeed was done by the right and observance of the holy rule, under which they desired both to die and to live.

But the hand of the Almighty turned their joyful spectacle into mourning.

For immediately, when that barbarian drew near them, the caparisoned horse upon which he sat leapt sideways, threw its rider to the ground, and crushed him.

A fatal fever immediately followed that crushing.

All fell silent and, turned to astonishment, began to ask among themselves what they ought to do.

At length, when a plan had been found, they judged it fitting that one of the said brothers should be surrendered for the life of their leader.

Then they began to seek by lot which of them ought to be killed. But the diabolical lot could in no way fall upon men of virtue and those numbered in the lot of Christ, so that the Normans were astonished, saying that they were more than men, since their lot could not fall upon them.

Then they swiftly loosed their hands and began to entreat them most urgently through an interpreter for the life of their leader.

At a certain time, while Odo crossed the channel of the Rhône by boat with many persons, one horse wished to strike another with its hoof.

The plank of the little boat received the blow of the striking hoof, namely at the very place from which a branch had been cut away while the wood was being dressed.

As soon as the piece was torn out, so great an inundation of water entered the ship through that hole that the ship was suddenly filled up to the surface.

Nevertheless, thus full, with God governing, it reached the other bank; and Father Odo remained standing inside until all had gone out.

At last, when he too had gone out, the ship went into the depths.

At the same time he went to Rome for the sake of prayer.

While he returned from the city to his homeland among the Alps, his road was preoccupied and shut off by the immensity of snow.

When they wished to pass that most terrible and dangerous place, the horse upon which Odo sat stretched its foot sideways, and both together were plunged toward a precipice.

Then Father Odo, abandoning the reins, raised both hands toward heaven as he fell, and immediately found a branch of a tree between his arms.

He suspended himself upon it until those who had gone ahead returned at his cries and took him up.

That branch, however, was seen no more, because no tree is ever seen or grows there; and the horse appeared nowhere afterward.

One day, while he journeyed near the borders of Pardonus, a certain most notorious young robber, beholding the affability of his countenance, was immediately pierced in heart with compunction and, falling at his feet, humbly entreated that he take pity upon him.

But Odo said: “Go, and first correct your conduct, and afterward seek the monastic life.”

When the young man persisted, Odo commanded him to precede him to the monastery. This was done.

Therefore, having become a monk, he was subjected to obey the cellarer.

And because he was unlettered, both things were imposed upon him, namely, the yoke of obedience and the study of letters.

He performed this so devoutly that with one hand he applied himself to service, while with the other he carried the Psalter by day.

When he labored at the extremity of life, he called the pious father, humbly requesting a private conversation.

When he sought pardon from him, Odo asked whether he had fallen into any sin after becoming a monk.

He replied: “Without your knowledge, through my fault I gave our tunic to a certain naked man. And I took from the cellar a rope woven from threads.”

When Odo asked what he had done with it, he said: “To restrain the gluttony which I contracted badly long ago, I bound my belly round with it.”

Then the astonished father wished to loosen it from his belly, but the skin which had adhered to it came away together with the rope.

After these things he added and said: “This night, father, I was chosen in heaven through a vision, and a woman of most glorious person met me.

“She said: ‘Do you know me?’

“I answered: ‘Not at all, lady.’

“And she said: ‘I am the Mother of Mercy.’

“I said to her: ‘What do you command me to do, lady?’

“She answered: ‘After three days you will come here at such an hour.’”

This also was done. For on the third day he died at the hour which she had said.

At a certain time, while he was at Saint Paul’s in Rome, Abbot Baldwin asked him to correct for him, and elucidate with little glosses, the book concerning the life of blessed Martin which Gallus and Postumianus had composed in the manner of a dialogue.

He immediately gave assent to his wish and, Brother Othezarius having been summoned, applied his labor to emending it.

Meanwhile, when the signal for the evening hour was struck, they immediately, according to the rule, left everything which they held in their hands and entered the church.

They had left the codex open where they had been sitting and, occupied in prayers, forgot it.

That place, however, was so arranged that the water which slipped down from its own roof, and which was gathered from three other roofs in one convergence, fell like a torrent into that one place.

There the book remained open until morning, and so many inundations of water fell round about it that the margin of the book was washed on every side, but the writing remained untouched.

When morning came, the book was opened before the brothers.

As they marveled in astonishment, the provident father said: “Why do you marvel, brothers? Know that the water feared to touch the life of blessed Martin.”

Thus he turned those things which God did on his account to the praise of Martin.

Section II

This holy Odo also, as Vincent relates from his deeds in the place cited above, while he instructed his disciples in regular disciplines, related the miserable excess and departure of many monks, so that he might restrain youthful impulse in them.

“In these days,” he said, “two brothers were carried off by a most rapid death, not in one place nor on one day.

“One of them, coming into the house of a certain sister of his, said that he was exceedingly hungry and sought refreshment.

“She immediately said to him that she had fish in abundance, so that he might eat whatever kinds he wished and at whatever hour he wished.

“He answered as though indignant that he disdained fish and could no longer bear to see them.

“Then he commanded that the limb of a certain animal be roasted for him. But, not enduring the delay of roasting, he cut off a little portion and threw it upon the coals.

“Then he commanded wine to be brought to him and avidly took a morsel of the flesh.

“But after he took it, it neither passed through his throat nor could he cast it out, but he ended his life together with the food.

“Another brother, coming to the house of a certain relative of his, immediately sought something to eat.

“When they told him that the hour for eating had not yet come, he added with indignation: ‘Alas, I labored by riding throughout the whole night after the obedience enjoined upon me, and now you compel me to fast. Therefore bring me something if you have anything.’

“When they told him that they had fish, he began indignantly to cast his eyes here and there.

“A flock of hens was going about his feet. Then, as though raging, he seized a staff and struck the one which pleased him.

“With a mouth as though furious he said: ‘This is fish for me today.’

“Those who stood by said to him with a kind of blush: ‘It is permitted to you to eat meat, father.’

“But he said: ‘A bird is not meat. For birds and fish have one origin.’

“Therefore, the hen which he had killed, now roasted, was set before him. He tore away its thigh and bit it.

“He could neither vomit nor swallow that bite, but it deprived him of life.

“Nevertheless, before he died, he received blows of the fist and slaps upon the neck, as the reward of his wickedness, unto reproach.”

A certain brother from the congregation of the aforesaid Father Odo applied the treatment of bloodletting to himself at an unlawful time.

Odo’s mind was moved by this deed, because, although necessity had compelled him, nevertheless he ought not to have presumed to do it without his permission.

Immediately the vein through which the blood had previously flowed burst open, and it was restrained by no one until he gave up his soul.

In the monastery of Saint Elias, Father Odo appointed as provost one of his brothers named Theodard.

But because it is difficult to meditate upon new things in an old mind, the monks who were found there could not be withdrawn from eating meat.

Seeing this, Theodard began to buy fish from the neighboring regions, so that at least in this way he might satisfy their wish. In seeking them he had great labor.

When he had announced this to Odo, through Odo’s merits he obtained by the power of God that a lake should be made there, whence they had fish in abundance.

At length blessed Father Odo, the first abbot of the Cluniac Order, died.

Adamar, or Heymard, succeeded him, as Vincent relates in the place cited above, a man who was indeed a son of simplicity and innocence.

He was zealous in the enlargement of estates and the acquisition of temporal advantage, and devoted in regular observance.

He most patiently bore the loss of temporal sight and whatever adversity could befall him, without any murmuring and indignation.

In his time blessed Mayeul, archdeacon of Mâcon, nobly nourished from infancy by noble parents, imbued with spiritual letters, and adorned with the title of virginity, was converted to the love and observance of the monastic habit.

In the sixth year, as is related, of his conversion from the world, Abbot Heymard being now deprived of all bodily strength and deprived of the sight of his eyes, Mayeul, although resisting greatly, was substituted in the place of abbot after counsel had also been held.

He was grave in his gait, elevated in voice, eloquent in speech, angelic in countenance, and honorable in every act or movement of the body.

He was firm in faith, certain in hope, filled with twofold charity, illustrious in wisdom, and robust in fortitude.

There was in him honor in action, sobriety in custom, humility in prosperity, and patience in adversity.

He was affable to the meek, terrible to the proud, sparing when he ought to be, and profuse when it was fitting.

He was not diverse in habit nor confused in action, but, so far as belongs to a man, always one and the same: always a devoted imitator of the saints and an attentive hearer of them.

He thus strove to please men so that he did not displease God.

How manifestly the memory of this man and of his disciples exists in blessing, let the monasteries answer: some constructed by them from the foundations, others brought back from corruption to a better state with an increase of virtues.

Many of the faithful also, as the most faithful report bears witness, constrained by diverse infirmities and even despairing of life, were healed by the grace of God when visited by him.

Some were given light; others were freed from a demon; others, harmed by the venom of serpents and by the bite of wolves and dogs, were restored to health.

Extinguished candles before his bed were divinely kindled.

He died, full of days and sanctity, on the fifth day before the Ides of May. At his tomb also many miracles occur.

Section III

In the year 1000 of the Lord's Incarnation, and in the sixteenth year of the reign of Emperor Otto III, Odilo, abbot of Cluny, began to shine in Burgundy.

From being a cleric of Bernacum, he was professed as a monk and became abbot at Cluny after Mayeul, of whom mention has been made immediately above.

He ruled the monastery for fifty-six years with a marvelous fervor of religious life.

Peter Damian relates concerning this Abbot Odilo, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, that Peter Damian himself, compelled by the command of Hugh, abbot of Cluny, to treat succinctly the life of blessed Odilo, his predecessor, and to pluck out the more useful things in a brief compendium, attempted this, not hunting after the elegance of brilliant eloquence, but serving pure truth.

"For the life of the saints itself," says the same Peter, "when faithfully narrated, so shines by itself that it does not require the splendor of careful discourse in order to illuminate the hearts of the faithful.

"To this is added the fact that the rusticity of uncultivated discourse is accustomed to purge away the suspicion of falsehood.

"For one who is scarcely sufficient to bring forth at least polished eloquence: in what manner does he know how to fabricate a fiction?"

Therefore, this Saint Odilo, sprung from equestrian stock in Auvergne, while he was still an infant, was suddenly constrained by so great an affliction of almost all his limbs that he wholly lost the ability to walk.

It happened that his nurse left him before the door of a certain basilica of the Mother of God, while she, intent upon her own business, went far away through diverse places.

Therefore, the boy, perceiving that he had been left without a keeper and incited by a certain divine prompting, began to attempt whether by any exertion he could reach the doors of the church.

Thus, creeping upon his hands and feet, he scarcely arrived there and, gradually advancing, entered.

Now made stronger by hope conceived, he grasped the cloth of the altar and began thus to raise himself by whatever efforts he could.

At length he felt the aid of divine power and, every weakness having been laid aside, was made whole, and he stirred the minds of those who beheld him to render thanks to God.

When he reached adolescence, he first became a cleric at Saint Julian the Martyr.

Thereafter he became a monk of Cluny under blessed Mayeul. While there he humbly persisted, quiet and simple, in holy conduct, and a certain standard of perfection shone forth in that very beginning, when scarcely four years had elapsed Mayeul rested in the Lord.

Before this, however, with the wishes of all the brothers concurring upon blessed Odilo, Mayeul substituted him for himself in the pastoral care of them all.

The unfailing flame of divine love had now so heated Odilo's heart that the solicitude of so many cares and so many pressing affairs could not restrain him from offering the saving sacrifices daily.

Hence, when he lay upon the bed of death, he commanded his disciple Adrald to collect by a computation of the calculating board what might be the sum of the Masses which he had celebrated throughout the space of the fifty-six years during which he ruled the monastery.

In distributing alms he was so generous that some, when they beheld him dispersing everything, judged him not a steward but a prodigal.

In a time of famine, when the treasuries had now been emptied for the use of the poor, he even broke very many sacred vessels of ministry and sold the distinguished ornaments of the church.

He did not spare even the crown which Emperor Henry had sent to him as a memorial of himself.

He was accustomed not only to attenuate his body with hard fasts and to tame it with most rough hairshirts, but also to constrict it with certain iron bands.

In beginning meals, however, he so moderated himself that, touching each thing set before him and serving, with dispensation, only natural necessity, he both escaped the vanity of superstition and preserved the continence of sobriety.

Moreover, in promulgating judgments and fixing measures of penance, he was so pious and sympathized with offenders with so great a humanity that nowhere did he display the strict command of a father, but rather a maternal affection.

Hence, to those who reproved him, he was accustomed elegantly to reply in words of this kind: “Even if I am to be damned, I prefer nevertheless to be damned for mercy rather than for hardness or cruelty.”

Among the other saints, however, he burned with most ardent devotion toward the blessed Mother of God.

Section IV

Finally, he who was illustrious in uprightness of conduct was also illustrious in the manifestation of signs.

When he was in a certain villa belonging to him which is called Besomacum, he beheld a certain boy beautiful in form but blind from birth. Piously sympathizing with him, he called him to himself.

He traced upon his forehead the health-bearing sign of the cross, and immediately the boy received the sight which nature had denied him.

Once, at the beginning of the fast, as the brothers rose from the table, the holy abbot secretly filled his fist with ashes and reclined when bread had been set before him.

As he ate the ashes as though they were bread, he signaled to a brother to bring him water secretly.

When this had been done and the water was applied to his lips, he perceived the sharpness of wine.

Therefore he drew back his hand, cast away the cup, and commanded the minister to bring him water.

At this the minister was astonished and was terrified with wonder that he was carrying wine back from the table, although he had offered water.

But behold, when the water was sought again for drinking, wine was found entirely in the cup.

Accordingly, when the holy man perceived that God was mercifully granting indulgence to him, he did not refuse to partake with thanksgiving.

Meanwhile, while he was in the city of Ticinum, a certain man secretly stole the covering of his table and offered it for sale in the market.

But the divine disposition so opposed him that the sacred booty could not be sold, for, although it was exposed for sale three times, he could not agree with buyers concerning the price.

Meanwhile divine vengeance seized the author of the crime. Drying up the hands and feet of the sacrilegious man, it constrained him with intolerable pain.

Thus, immediately compelled by his affliction, he was carried by the hands of others to the church of Saint Mayeul, and the stolen tablecloth was displayed before all while the guilty man repented.

Thus, through the merits of blessed Mayeul and the prayers of the brothers, having been made whole he returned the covering that belonged to another and received himself back. He proved what reward one who offended blessed Odilo deserved.

The same holy man, when a cause dictated that he hasten to cross the river Ticinus with his companions, without a boat, which was then lacking, was transported through the water without hindrance to the farther bank of the channel.

Certain men, marveling at this, when they afterward wished to follow, would have been submerged by the gulf of the water had they not been aided.

Turning aside from there to a lodging, he was invited by a certain man out of devotion.

When the lamp had been extinguished in the night, that man implored God that, for love of Odilo, he drive away the darkness. Immediately the splendor of a flashing light shone forth and illuminated the whole house.

When the same saint crossed a river at another time and the water reached the others up to their thighs, not even the strap of the man of God's foot was drenched by the inundation of the waters.

When he was received at the monastery of Saint Martin, although many monks flowed together to him and little fish was available, when that little was divided at the meal, it was multiplied in the hands of those eating through the merits of the saint, so that many pieces of fish even remained.

On another occasion he multiplied a little wine offered to him when ten brothers were present, so that it sufficed for them all.

A feverish man, drinking water in which Odilo's hands had been washed and which had secretly been taken out of devotion, was delivered.

Ascending the precipices of Mount Jovis, when he saw poor men whom he met weary and thirsty, he commanded that whatever wine his companions had in their little vessels be given to them without any reservation.

When this had been done, as he reclined with his companions, the wine was found in the vessels without any diminution.

Emperor Henry, reclining at table, sent to the holy man as a gift a precious little glass vessel fashioned by the art of Alexandrian workmanship, with pounded relishes brought to him in it.

Then, as is the custom of human curiosity, the monks began to handle that vessel with a gaze of admiration and, carefully inspecting it, to pass it from hand to hand.

When the vessel itself slipped carelessly from the hands of those holding it, it was broken.

Odilo, fearing the emperor's indignation against the brothers because of this breakage, entered the church and restored the vessel itself to wholeness by his prayer.

Thus this Saint Odilo, a distinguished governor of twofold stewardship, both shone before the divine gaze in spiritual zeal and was no less illustrious in the industry of earthly labor.

When he was now living his last time, he was tormented by a most grievous affliction for almost five years.

When he had begun to go around his monasteries to visit them for the sake of admonition, he came to Silvinia and there foretold that he would migrate from the world around the feast of the Lord's Circumcision.

Moreover, when he was now placed in the anguish of the agony, he beheld the devil standing by and rebuked him terribly, by the name of the Judge who is to be feared, that he should depart.

Therefore, in the year 1048 of the Lord's Incarnation, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his ordination, after receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist on the night preceding the solemnities of the Circumcision, he rendered his blessed spirit to God.

Section V

A certain religious man, returning from Jerusalem, while he crossed the sea and the terror of the winds drove him with many others, came to a certain island or rock where a certain holy man remained enclosed.

Therefore, while he waited there for some time with the others for tranquillity of the sea and frequently had conversation with that enclosed man, when he was asked, he answered that he was an Aquitanian by homeland.

He was asked further whether he knew the monastery which is called Cluny and Odilo its abbot. He affirmed that he knew them very well.

When he asked why the servant of God inquired this of him, the latter said: "There are places neighboring us from which most grievous conflagrations of flames are vomited forth.

“In these places souls also pay diverse torments according to the quality of their merits.

“Innumerable demons are assigned always to aggravate their punishments. They renew their intolerable penalties daily and restore them without end to punishments reviving again.

“Nevertheless, I have frequently heard them wailing in querulous lamentations because, by the prayers and alms of certain persons, the souls of the damned—namely, those in purgatory—were being snatched from their hands.

“Among other things, they also make a very great complaint concerning the community of the Cluniacs and their abbot, because very often through them they lose the servants of their own jurisdiction.

“Therefore, I adjure you by the name of God that you faithfully relate to those holy brothers these things which I have told you.

“On our part also announce that they should apply themselves more and more to prayers and alms, especially with regard to this intention: that they bring out of the hands of demons those who are tormented there.”

Therefore, when that man had returned to his homeland and had related this to Abbot Odilo and the brothers, Father Odilo established a general decree throughout all his monasteries: just as on the first day of November the feast of all the saints is celebrated, so on the following day, with psalms, alms, and the solemnities of Masses, the memory especially of all who rest in Christ should be celebrated.

Pope Benedict, while he lived, loved this holy man affectionately and often supplied the necessary expenses to him when he frequented the thresholds of the apostles.

When Benedict had died, he appeared to John, bishop of Porto, and to two others in the form of a nocturnal vision, and disclosed to them that he had been placed in penal darknesses.

He added this also: that, because of the merits of blessed Odilo, the heavenly judgment had decreed to free him from the torments.

Immediately that same Bishop John came to Pavia and, through the monks of the monastery of blessed Mayeul, disclosed the whole course of the vision to the holy man Odilo.

Odilo immediately commanded that psalmodies and prayers be made by all in the monastery of Cluny, that alms be distributed, and that the sacrifice of the saving mystery be offered for Benedict.

He also sent edicts of the same ordinance through all the monasteries under his rule.

While the brothers performed this with most urgent devotion, Eldebert, the monk who exercised this office of obedience, namely, that he nourish the needy and minister necessities to them, saw during sleep a certain man beautiful and serene in countenance, surrounded by a great company of those clad in white, enter the cloister.

He entered the chapter where Odilo sat with the brothers, humbly bowed his head to Odilo’s knees, and gave him thanks.

When that Brother Eldebert asked who he was, it was answered to him that he himself was Pope Benedict, who therefore gave thanks to the man of God because through his pious prayers and those of the holy brothers he had escaped the Tartarean torment and had merited to enter the heavenly Jerusalem, there to rest with the blessed citizens.

The same Saint Odilo, as Vincent writes in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above, elegantly produced certain festal sermons which are regularly used by monks of his order.

On the very night on which he migrated to the Lord, he also appeared to a certain simple and innocent man among his monks, named Gregory, as he was beginning to sleep.

When Gregory asked how he fared, he answered that he was well and was in the presence of Christ.

But he said that at the very hour of his death he had seen a certain savage and terrible figure attempting to strike into him the horror of its most hideous appearance; yet, because the power of Christ strengthened him, it could harm him by no assault.

Section VI

After Odilo, a very venerable man, Hugh, succeeded in the governance of the Cluniac Order.

For, as Vincent relates from his deeds in the *Historical Mirror*, he was a native of Augustodunum, of noble stock, his father being Dalmatius, a consular man intent upon military deeds.

When his mother, pregnant with Hugh, labored gravely in childbirth, she caused a certain religious man to celebrate Mass for her deliverance and the safety of the one to be born.

While he most devoutly celebrated the solemnities of the Mass for this, he is related, while suspended in contemplation, to have seen above the chalice the form of an infant radiating marvelously beyond human measure.

In this sign Hugh's future sanctity was shown, because from his adolescence, as an imitator of the Lord's Passion in the austerity of regular life, he took the chalice of salvation.

For, when he was still placed in the years of wardship, avoiding childish trifles and bearing an aged heart, under the habit of religious life he delivered himself as a disciple to blessed Odilo in the monastery of Cluny.

Advancing in every virtue, he was made prior; and, when Odilo died, although resisting, he was made abbot by the will of all.

Thus he was good in knowledge, better in conscience, and best in temperance; angelic in form, ordered in conduct, sweet in speech, and conspicuous in all other graces.

At that time Emperor Henry II most vigorously governed the summit of the kingdom. Because his father Henry had greatly loved the Cluniac monastery and its abbot, he, imitating him, bound Hugh more closely to himself in love.

He invited Hugh, abbot of Cluny, to himself, received him gloriously when he came, and gladly obtained that he should raise his son Henry III from the sacred font.

Hugh's grace did not escape Pope Stephen either.

When the pope lay constrained by illness in the city of Florence, he declared to those standing around that, when Saint Hugh came, the enemy departed, and when Hugh went out, the enemy approached.

Therefore, lest he be pressed by the assaults of the irreconcilable enemy, the pope continually implored Hugh's assiduous attendance, for the ambusher was confounded by his presence.

The father's tears had now driven the malignant assaults far away when the apostolic man breathed forth his soul into the bosom of the one present. Having been worthily composed by Hugh's hands, he was delivered to burial.

It also became most manifest to the most reverend Hildebrand, who, his name and rank afterward changed, was called Gregory, that Father Hugh possessed much spiritual grace.

For Hildebrand, not yet adorned with the cope, declared that in the chapter at Cluny he had seen Hugh beside the Judge of the world himself. Sitting at the Judge's right hand, Hugh promoted regular discipline by his favor.

When made pope, Hildebrand was accustomed gently to call Hugh a tyrant, because he had found him a lion toward the meek and a lamb toward the fierce, not unaware of the saying, "to spare the subjected and to subdue the proud."

In the time of Saint Leo IX, pope, the body of Saint Remigius was translated at Rheims.

The apostolic man was present at so great a translation and especially celebrated a general council against the simoniacs.

Father Hugh, armed with faith, attended, and a great company of illustrious men followed him.

But so great was the multitude of the perverse that the good scarcely dared to reprove the evil; and, if they had dared, the outcry of those living wickedly would have broken forth more readily than the free voice of those who thought more soundly.

Hugh delivered the synodal exhortation laudably at the command of the lord pope and at the persuasion of a certain most renowned Saint Constantius, a canon of Rheims, and of others; and he provedly confuted the tergiversators who were accustomed to stand with falsehood against truth.

Ildefonsus, king of the Spains, also honoring the holy father above all others, obtained with ardent desires that he merited to see him: first, because through Saint Hugh's prayers he escaped from the captivity of his brother Sancho; and then because he intended to bind more strongly the union of his father Ferdinand and the Cluniacs, lest otherwise he should be found disobedient to blessed Peter and ungrateful for the benefit.

For when Ildefonsus was held in most narrow custody and the Cluniacs applied themselves to prayer for him, blessed Peter made known to him through a certain bishop that, moved by the urgency of Saint Hugh's prayers and those of his men, he would shortly restore him to his own power and advance him even to the scepter.

Without delay the key-bearer of heaven, appearing terribly by night to Sancho, who had usurped the kingdom, threatened him with death unless he immediately released his brother.

The thoroughly terrified tyrant arose and, after emancipating him from his chains, returned to bed.

Thus it happened that the liberated king, doubling the paternal tribute, sent two hundred ounces of gold annually to his intercessors and left the day of his liberation celebrated among us.

Saint Hugh, bestowing many things for the uses of the poor and regarding them as though they were worthless burdens, often suffered their plundering without anger.

Moreover, he observed such a measure that neither excessive leniency nor severity appeared to go beyond bounds.

By the spirit of prophecy he was accustomed to discern among the novices which were to be made solid with the firmness of wheat and which were to be winnowed like chaff by a malignant spirit.

At a certain time, while he was at Martiniacum with the illustrious Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, joined to him—Anselm having been removed from his archbishopric on account of justice—Hugh was delighted by the consolation of his company.

Admonished by divine revelation, he foretold the near death of William, king of England, and it happened as he had foretold. For while William, hunting through the woods, strove to shoot the fleeing stags, he suddenly received in his heart the arrow by which his knight was aiming at a stag.

At another time, when the same father slept, he saw in a dream a multitude of serpents and wild beasts lying beneath his head.

Immediately shaking out the pillow and searching what lay beneath it, he found there a book of Maro, placed there by chance. He immediately cast it away and rested in peace.

He knew that the nature of the book's subject agreed with the vision, for, being full of obscenities and rites of the gentiles, it was unworthy to be laid beneath the holy man's little bed.

Section VII

A certain brother named Durranus, formerly appearing unlettered at Predon, afterward a not unsuitable abbot of Moissac, and thence promoted to the bishopric of Toulouse by the prerogative of wisdom, was distinguished among the laborers in the Lord's agriculture by the merit of solicitude and industry.

Although circumspect in other matters, he often rather incautiously uttered words that provoked laughter.

For this reason the venerable Father Hugh frequently reproved him and, not sufficiently profiting, admonished him thus, threatening concerning the future by prophecy: "Behold, dearest brother, unless while living you wholly abandon frivolous words forbidden to a monk, you will appear monstrously after death."

It is established that this prophecy was fulfilled when he died.

For, appearing with a foaming mouth to a certain Singuinus, the father's chaplain, he tearfully sought the aid of Father Hugh, whom he had been unwilling to obey while living.

When Singuinus related these things to the lord abbot, Hugh commanded that seven brothers maintain silence of the mouth for one week for the deceased.

Seven brothers having been chosen for this and the others obeying, one of them, a contemner of the vow, interrupted the silence.

Again Bishop Durranus was revealed anew to that same man, complaining greatly concerning Brother Fido, who, by not keeping silence, had impeded his soundness.

Hearing this, most pious Hugh commanded that the breach of silence which had occurred through one brother be made good by the silence of another seven days.

When this had been done, the bishop's soul, revealed a third time, displayed itself in an apostolic state to its aforesaid purger, giving thanks to the Hugh who is both mentioned and to be remembered.

As the solemnity of the Lord's Nativity approached, the monks prepared themselves and all their things in the customary manner.

The venerable Father Hugh, now old, entered chapter and brought forth these words to all: "Know, brothers, that the benign Jesus has determined to be present at your solemnities. But on the contrary the wicked enemy labors through envy that he may be able to mingle some darkness with so great a splendor.

"For a certain brother"—plainly indicating himself—"this night saw the Mother of Mercy holding in her sweetest bosom the very Son whom she bore on the present night, while a multitude of holy angels stood by him with immense light.

"The same God as a boy exulted, and showed the joy of his heart by a gesture of the body and clapping of the hands.

“Turning to his mother, he said: ‘Do you see, Mother, the night of my Nativity which approaches, to be illuminated with joys, in which both the oracles of the prophets and the proclamations of the angels will be renewed, and all things celestial and terrestrial together will rejoice in my birth from you?

“‘Where now is the perfidy of my damned enemy? Where is his power by which, before this singular joy, he ruled the world?’

“The shameless one, hearing this, came out from his hiding place, presented himself from afar, and, ignominiously cast down, begged with much weeping and howling that he be admitted.

“‘Even if,’ he said, ‘I am admitted into no part of the church, I ought at least to be received in some place among the remaining monastic buildings.’

“But the Virgin’s Son said: ‘Go, Lucifer, and, lest you lament that you are prejudged by my power, attempt what you can.’

“Released, he sought the entrance to the chapter and, attempting to enter, could not. For he found himself so swollen and the entrance to the chapter so narrow that he was in no way able to enter.

“Truly, inflated by the old abscess of pride, he could not pass through the humble entrance.

“From there he directed his progress toward the brothers’ dormitory and, confident that he could disturb them with his customary phantasms, attempted to enter. But, repelled from the door by the same thickness of his body, he withdrew.

“At last he carried his hope of doing harm to the refectory. There, because of some small care for the body, he suspected greater carelessness of mind.

“There also he found so many obstacles from the reading of divine words, so many beams from the devotion of those hearing, and so many bars from the charity of those serving one another that, wholly unable to proceed farther, he was compelled to retreat.

“Thus, rejected from all the buildings of the monastery and from the sight of the most pious Redeemer and of the most glorious Virgin Mary his mother, that pestiferous one departed with the confusion which he deserved.

“Therefore be cautious, O brothers, and give thanks to the omnipotent and most merciful Lord, because he has repelled the most wicked enemy from us and himself remains to celebrate the feast with us.”

A certain man—to whom Saint Dionysius had appeared, admonishing him to go to Cluny because Abbot Hugh was about to migrate suddenly from this world—saw in spirit the beings above mingled with mortals, and, amid the company of monks, the Mother of God, the Star of the Sea, shining more brightly.

Her presence so terrified and put to flight certain figures appearing as archers, as a strong wind is accustomed to cast down autumn leaves.

Among these, Martin, the jewel of priests, and Benedict, the sun of abbots, leading Hugh’s spirit, placed it within a certain beautiful and most fertile vineyard, so that it might rejoice there and remain for a little while.

There Saint Hugh himself repeatedly invited me as I watched: “Eat, dearest one, of the white clusters which abound beyond measure for us, and make a solemn fellowship with me.

“For I shall rest here a little while, until a certain swelling which, as a dusty traveler, I contracted in my feet from a long circuit of lands subsides. But immediately, my steps having been healed and worldly dust shaken off, I shall pass freely to better things.

“Tell my successor Pontius to guard the treasures of humility and innocence, to apply himself to mercy by regarding the necessities of all as his own, and wisely to order the zeal of the monastic order by my example.

“For thus, acting manfully, he will obtain aid from God, who does not abandon those who hope in him.”

On the night on which Hugh died, a certain abbot saw two beds becomingly adorned raised to heaven by the hands of angels, and it was said to him that these were Hugh of Cluny and the archbishop of Canterbury.

Around the year of the Lord 1080, as Vincent relates in book twenty-six, chapter fifty-one of the *Historical Mirror*, after Sigebert, in the time of Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry, the Order of Canons Regular, first regularly instituted by the apostles and afterward by blessed Augustine, bishop and eminent doctor, began to flourish again in the church of blessed Quentin at Beauvais, under Master Ivo, the venerable provost of that same church and afterward bishop of Chartres, who after Isidore made the ancient compilation of decrees.

In diverse regions, however, this order and way of life is found dispersed, concerning which there is also a note in the law, as in *On the State of Monks and Canons*, chapter *That the Fear of God*.

Of this order were those distinguished men and doctors Hugh of Saint Victor, Richard of Saint Victor, and Hugh of Fouilloy, of whom mention will be made below.

Although in the course of time it had greatly collapsed, it flourished again in the regular life around the year of the Lord 1380, as will be said below.

The Order of Premonstratensians, of which mention will also be made below, seems also to belong to this Order of Canons Regular.

Title XV

Chapter XVII

Around the same time, namely in the year of the Lord 1040, blessed John Gualbert was illustrious, the founder and institutor of the Order of Vallombrosa, serving under the Rule of blessed Benedict with certain constitutions of its members added above it and in a gray habit.

This religious order has many monasteries in Tuscany and also in upper Lombardy.

This glorious saint, therefore, was a native of the city of Florence, born of noble parents. His father was called Gualbert, a military man.

When John was a young man placed in the world, his father had mortal enmities with a certain man because that man had unjustly killed his kinsman; on account of this both John and his father sought vengeance.

It happened that one day blessed John Gualbert, together with his armor-bearer, undertook the road toward Florence, and that mortal enemy of his unexpectedly met him on a road so narrow that neither could turn aside to the other side.

Seeing this and, because he was unarmed, awaiting his death as it were, the enemy, suddenly trusting in John's clemency, leapt down from his horse and, prostrate upon the ground, with hands crossed at his breast, humbly asked that pardon be granted him for love of the Crucified.

Therefore John, pierced with compunction when he heard the name of the Crucified, resolved to spare him for love of Christ, who prayed for his crucifiers lest they perish.

He commanded him to rise from the ground and not to fear, because John had now forgiven the offense from his heart, so that God might forgive him his debts; rather, he might go safely wherever he wished.

Proceeding farther, blessed John entered a certain church of monks that he came upon, and, when he was before an image of the Crucified, he saw it incline its head toward him as though giving thanks to him because, out of reverence for it, he had spared his mortal enemy.

To this day that cross, as evidence of so great a miracle, is preserved with great veneration and care in the church of Saint Minias on the mountain near Florence, where there was formerly a monastery of black monks, but now of white monks, namely, those of Mount Olivet.

Therefore, drawn by a divine calling, John resolved to abandon the wicked world and to contemn all that was to perish, so that, naked, he might follow the naked cross of Christ.

Going to that monastery which was called Saint Minias, he humbly asked the abbot and brothers that the habit of holy religious life be granted to him.

When he had been received in the habit of a layman for some experience of religious conduct, as is customary, meanwhile his father Gualbert, hearing that his son was to be made a monk, came to the monastery demanding that his son be sent to him.

When John, questioned about this by the abbot, did not assent, the abbot feared that violence would be brought upon him by his father, who was an austere man, and it did not seem just to him that John should be compelled and exposed to danger.

Carried away by fury because his son was not sent to him, the father threatened that he would bring many evils upon the monastery if they received his son as a monk.

Therefore the monks feared greatly that, if they granted John the habit of religious life which he urgently sought, his father would inflict some notable harm upon the monastery.

When no one dared to deliver it to him, John himself, moved by fervor of spirit, cut the hair of his head by himself, then, seeing one of the brothers' cowls, took it and, setting it upon the altar in the church, joyfully put it on, while all the monks marveled and rejoiced.

Although his father, when he first saw him in the habit, grieved greatly and, made as though mad, cried out that he himself was abandoned and desolate, at length, consoled by the abbot and by his own son, he returned to himself, received consolation, and granted him his blessing, exhorting his son to perseverance.

Having therefore become a religious, John began to act not sluggishly, but to tame the flesh with fasts, abstinence from food and drink, and vigils; greatly to avoid idleness, the sewer of vices; and to apply himself to prayers and devout meditations.

He was fragrant to all with the perfection of humility, patience, obedience, and all virtues.

But when, a little afterward, the abbot migrated from this light, the brothers, coming together as one, unanimously elected the aforesaid John as abbot.

The man of God humbly refused this office, desiring rather to be subject than to preside, not being ignorant that the higher the place in which someone is found, the greater the danger in which he is engaged.

Not so the impious, not so: with ambition spurring and simony working, through right and wrong, seeking ascent through steep places, they rush into the precipice.

Hence a certain man from the said monastery, moved by cupidity, procured for himself from the bishop of Florence, through money, governance of the said abbey.

When the man of the Lord learned this, he secretly departed thence with another monk who favored him.

Entering the city, they came to a certain great old man named Teuzo, who had enclosed himself in a certain little cell beside the monastery of Saint Mary in the city of Florence, and to whom very many flowed together for counsels expedient to salvation.

This man of God greatly detested the vice of simony, which then, like leprosy, had infected many in the Church of God.

Therefore John sought counsel from him whether he ought to serve under a simoniacal abbot in his monastery, or what it was fitting for him to do.

He gave John this counsel: that with his companion, in the public forum of the city and before all, they should proclaim the bishop and abbot to be simoniacs, and thereafter yield the place to powerful fortune.

Although this counsel was contrary to the common laws, John nevertheless simply put it into execution.

When this had been done, he brought great and fearful horror upon many, certain supporters of the bishop crying out that such a defamer of so great a man was guilty of death, while others excused him; and, rescued from the tumult, he scarcely escaped secretly from the hands of the bishop's friends.

After these things, on the counsel of that recluse, he departed from his homeland and, traveling about with his companion, sought what better place might have them for serving God.

On the road, he commanded that the one loaf which alone his companion had preserved for their refreshment be presented as alms to a poor man who met them and sought alms, casting his thought upon the Lord, who gives food to all in due season.

His confidence was not frustrated, for when they reached a certain castle, abundant provision was made for them by many persons.

Coming to the Camaldolese hermitage, they remained there for no little time, contemplating the conduct and life of the inhabitants, which was holy but eremitical.

When those who had received them exhorted them to that religious life and to remain, blessed John, desiring the cenobitic life more, as being safer than the solitary life, determined to depart thence and to institute a new congregation in another place under the Rule of blessed Benedict.

Hence, coming with his companion to Vallombrosa, he was devoutly received by two religious men who served the Lord there.

Taking pleasure in the place, he fixed upon dwelling there, a poor wooden house having been constructed.

The Lord did not suffer the lamp to remain long beneath a bushel; rather, the fame of John's sanctity, gradually diffused through neighboring places, caused many laymen and clerics to begin to flow together to that religious life for the sake of visitation, and some also for the sake of conversion.

Among them were Herizo, Albert, Teuzo, Rudolph, Peter also, who afterward was cardinal bishop of Albano, and many others.

A certain abbess of Saint Hilary in those regions, to whose monastery the right and lordship of the said place belonged, having heard of the virtues of blessed John and his companions and conceived devotion toward them, sent them some assistance of books and provisions.

Afterward, with the consent of her chapter, she gave them the place by a public document, together with many good possessions.

When those monks had now sufficiently increased both in number and in merit, it pleased all that they should set blessed John himself over them as abbot.

Although unwilling and resisting greatly, they placed him in the higher seat to rule them. At length, lest he seem to resist the will of God, he acquiesced.

Having assumed the office, he began diligently to inspect the meaning of the Rule of blessed Benedict which they had professed, and to apply himself with all his strength to its observance.

He forbade the monks ever to go outside the limits of the cloister except for the necessities of the monastery and with due permission.

He established that at night a light should never be lacking in the dormitory any more than in the oratory.

Leading them to cheapness and fewness of garments, and also exhorting them to bear hairshirts, he commanded mixed cloth to be made from the various wool of their sheep, so that garments might be formed from it.

What he taught others he himself strove to fulfill first and more perfectly.

For he was assiduous in prayer, expansive in charity, gentle in humility, constant in patience, rigid in rebuking vices, kind toward penitents, and mature in gravity of conduct in all things.

He was preeminent in abstinence, content with the smallest quantity of food and drink, which might ward off death, not minister delights.

From the excessive austerity of his life he incurred so great a weakness of body that, his stomach broken, he fell into that fainting sickness which we read blessed Gregory to have suffered, and, unless the brothers frequently refreshed him, he seemed about to give up his spirit.

Those who knew him know that he endured this illness until his death. Ascribing it to his own sins, he tolerated it most patiently.

It is believed that this was perhaps done by divine dispensation, so that, taught by experience from his own weakness, he might learn how he ought to pity others.

For whereas previously, because of his austerity, there was scarcely anyone who could observe his institutes, when thus weakened he was made of so great discretion and so great mercy toward all that no one seemed more humane than he.

He received very many oblates and converts, whom he sent to exterior works so that the monks might have less occasion to wander about and more opportunity to be free for prayer.

At that time, King Henry, coming to Florence, when he had heard many distinguished things concerning blessed John's virtues, conceived affection toward him and, at the exhortation of the aforesaid Teuzo, sent a catholic bishop to the said monastery of Vallombrosa to consecrate the greater altar.

After some years Ubertus, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, consecrated the whole church together with two other altars.

During the same time, many noble faithful, drawn by the odor of their sanctity, offered places for constructing other monasteries.

Others asked him to take dissolved monasteries under his governance and reform them according to the aforesaid standard.

Then he newly constructed the monastery of Saint Salvius, another at Moscheta, another at Razzuolo, and a fourth at Monte Scalario.

He also received the already ancient monastery of Passignano to be reformed, and another of Saint Reparata in Romagna.

He made provosts for each of these and frequently visited them, correcting the things which required it.

Section I

Concerning his love of poverty and humility: he was a true lover of poverty, displaying and teaching it in all things.

Hence, when he visited the monastery of Moscheta and saw houses grander and more beautiful than seemed to accord with their poverty, he said with a most severe countenance to Lord Rudolph, abbot of that place: "In this place, from your own will, you have fashioned palaces at great expense with which very many poor people could have been refreshed."

Turning toward a certain small stream flowing nearby, he said: "Omnipotent God, who has been accustomed to make great things from the least, may I soon see, through the smallness of this stream, vengeance upon this enormous building."

Having said these things, he departed without delay from the place as though he abominated it.

Immediately after the saint departed, the stream began to increase and, gathering most abundant currents of waters, left its own channel, rushed headlong from the mountain, drew ledges of rocks and trees with it, and overturned the aforesaid houses from their foundations.

Hence, the abbot of the said place, disturbed with the brothers, determined to move the monastery from that place.

The pious father kindly consoled them, saying: “Do not fear, nor move the place, because the stream will harm you no farther.”

This prophecy of his has indeed remained true and firm down to the present.

On another occasion, when he heard that a certain man coming to conversion had written his whole patrimony into a charter, depriving his successors of their inheritance, and had brought it with him to the monastery, he immediately went to that monastery and commanded the abbot who had received the charter to bring it to him without delay.

When he had received it, he tore it into small pieces and cast its fragments upon the ground.

It seemed more just to him to live with scant things than to become proud with multiplied riches.

Then, greatly moved by zeal for holy poverty, he invoked God and his apostle that they avenge him upon that monastery, and immediately departed in anger.

When he had not gone far, fire suddenly began there and burned a great part of that monastery.

When his companion saw the conflagration and announced it to him, he neither looked back nor returned to the place, but pursued his journey to Vallombrosa, his own place.

Furthermore, when he resided in the said monastery and Pope Stephen passed through neighboring places, the pope, having heard his celebrated fame, sent honorable persons as messengers to him, asking that he present himself before the apostolic sight.

But because John was ill and could not go to His Holiness, the apostolic man sent the messengers back after the incapacity had been explained to them, perhaps doubting whether through humility John considered himself unworthy to appear before him or wished to remain hidden.

He commanded that, if John could not go otherwise, he should cause himself to be carried upon a bed.

Blessed John, hearing the intention of the lord pope, entered the church, asking the Lord that without scandal and disobedience he provide in some manner that John not have to be presented before the Supreme Pontiff.

Therefore, rising from his bed before the apostolic messengers, he commanded certain converts to come to him so that they might carry him before the lord pope.

But when they had departed a little distance from the monastery, the air was immediately greatly disturbed, and an excess of winds and an immensity of rains burst forth together.

The legates, seeing this and ascribing it to a miracle of God, judged him to be a true man of God and caused him to be carried back to the monastery, reporting this to the most blessed pontiff.

The pope did not cause him to be summoned any farther on this account, but commanded that he be left in his repose and pray to the Lord for the happy state of the Church.

Section II

The grace of the discernment of spirits was also not lacking to him, and he abounded in the prophetic spirit, pronouncing and manifesting by revelation secrets of men known to God alone.

When someone approached the monastery, before he was received John knew from his appearance whether his spirit was from God.

When he was in the monastery of Passignano, a certain man came to him asserting that he wished to abandon the world.

John first repelled him; but at length, overcome by the insistence of the man seeking mercy, as a most pious father he received him.

When the man, as is customary at the beginning of conversion, made confession, he confessed certain sins but was ashamed to confess greater ones. He was called Gerard.

One day the father said to him: “Brother Gerard, why have you presumed thus to deceive me?”

He replied: “In what have I deceived you, holy father?”

Calling him aside, John said to him secretly: “In this you have deceived me, but you have deceived yourself more: you did not confess completely. For on the day of the Lord’s Epiphany and its vigil you committed adultery with the wife of such a man, which you concealed in confession.

“And, what is worse, not content with these things, you resolved to repeat the crime.”

Recognizing his sin, which he understood to have been divinely revealed to the man of God although it was hidden, Gerard prostrated himself at his feet and with tears sought pardon, doing penance.

Likewise, when a certain noble and rich man named Ubald, very familiar with the servant of God, had fallen ill unto death, his wife, expecting her husband’s passage from this world, sent one of her household named Benzo to the man of God to intimate to him her husband’s imminent departure.

Coming swiftly to John, who then remained at Monte Scalario, when he had disclosed the things entrusted to him, blessed John, turning his eyes toward the east and making prayer for the sick man, said to the messenger: “Return to your own place, because the man whom you left laboring at the extremity of life you will find sound and joyful.”

By this deed he both healed the sick man and manifested the hidden matter.

When the man of God then resided in the monastery of Passignano, Pope Leo, passing with his curia beside the aforesaid monastery, halted so that they might take refreshment.

Then blessed John asked his steward whether he had fish to offer to the most blessed pontiff.

When he learned that none were present, he commanded certain converts to go fishing at a certain river or lake nearby.

Although all asserted that fish were not found there, he nevertheless commanded them to go and to believe entirely that the Lord’s protection would be present.

This followed: while they fished, two great pikes were caught, and blessed John himself presented them, when brought, to the lord pope amid the wonder of all.

The lord pope received this gift most gratefully.

Section III

Concerning his generosity toward the poor: clothed with the inward parts of piety, he himself, though poor, succored the needy in many ways.

For compassion had grown with him from infancy.

Hence, when the venerable Father John returned from visiting others to his monastery of Vallombrosa, mindful of the need by which very many were oppressed, he called the steward Godfrey and the procurator named Rusticus and said to them: “Let us inspect our granary to see in what condition it is.”

When he found it abundantly filled, he said: “Very many are oppressed by hunger under present necessity, but you abound.”

Therefore he commanded that a certain vessel holding five modii, or thereabouts, be brought and filled with grain.

From the third hour until the ninth he himself distributed it with grateful generosity to the poor who came, and nevertheless the granary from which it was taken remained full as before.

When the want of famine also pressed vehemently, the blessed father, standing before the doors of the monastery of Deramvolo and seeing the monastery’s herd of cows grazing upon the mountain ridge, and having nothing to distribute to the poor who sought sustenance, prayed, saying: “O Saint Paul, if you will grant one of the cows for the poor—”

Immediately one of them fell dead below, and he commanded that its flesh be given to the poor.

When it had been distributed, he prayed in like manner that a second, third, and fourth be given to him, all of which he distributed to the poor.

For this reason the herdsmen, made sad by their death, led the herd from the other side of the mountain.

But the man, desiring to succor the petition of the poor and having no source from which to do so, prayed with tears, saying: “Saint Paul, these men seek to flee you by changing place, but they cannot flee you, who are the patron of this place.

“You who preached mercy and the distribution of alms, grant me a source from which I may be able to sustain the poor.”

Immediately five of the cows fell, and the father commanded that the dead animals be distributed to the poor.

But the herdsmen, observing this, began to complain harshly against him because of this loss, saying that he would do better to return to his monastery of Vallombrosa than to remain there with so great a loss to them.

He answered them placidly: “I see that you have been made sad over this matter. But do not fear, because no more of them will perish.”

This also was done.

On another occasion, when he did not have loaves to give, he commanded that all the milk of the animals be distributed to the poor.

He also sold the copes offered to the abbey of Vallombrosa in a time of necessity and distributed the price to the poor.

Section IV

He was abundant in miracles, for he restored many sick persons to health.

Hence, when a certain sick man named Florentius had a son near death from illness, he came to the venerable Father John, who was then at Saint Salvius, seeking health for his son.

The saint answered him: “These are not his works, but those of the apostles.”

But when the man persisted in pressing with prayers, John, overcome by compassion, prayed for him with the brothers, and immediately he was healed.

At a certain time, when the brothers were oppressed by extreme want, so that only three loaves were present in the monastery, the blessed father commanded them to be divided and a piece given to each.

Nevertheless, considering that necessity has no law, he arranged with the cellarer that one ram be killed and, when cooked, given to the brothers.

“Today,” he said, “we are in want, but tomorrow we shall abound.”

Therefore, sitting at table during the meal, each ate the small piece of bread placed before him.

All were horrified at the meat placed before them to be eaten, and they were unwilling to touch it out of reverence for the rule that was to be observed.

On the following day, according to the blessed man’s prophecy, certain men came to the monastery of Saint Salvius with several animals laden with grain and flour, asserting that they had been sent by noble persons; but who those persons were could not be discovered.

The same thing happened on another occasion.

For when bread was lacking to the brothers he had commanded cooked beef to be set before them, and they did not dare touch it.

As Saint John prayed, a certain man knocked at the door of the monastery. The cellarer, going to him, found him bringing many loaves in cloths.

Taking them, he carried them to the brothers’ table, while they gave thanks to God, who gives food in due season.

When the cellarer returned to the bearer to inquire the name of the sender, he was found no more.

For that baker had sent him who furnished bread from heaven to the Hebrews in the desert.

A certain man full of insanity, when he was being sent to Passignano so that treatment might be applied to him, crossed the river Arno in a little boat with others and, compelled by madness, cast himself into the middle of the river.

But by the power of God and the merits of the saint he reached the riverbank unharmed.

When a certain brother had fallen ill in the monastery of Vallombrosa, the man of God delivered with his own hand the medicine appointed for him.

When this had been done, another cause arising, he hastened to another place.

But the sick man, not guarding himself carefully, grew worse and expired after a few days.

As is customary to act for the dead, the subprior announced his death by letters throughout the whole congregation, for the sake of his commemoration.

Meanwhile, the man of God, returning to the place and hearing of the brother's passage, sought to know the cause of his death.

When it had been explained to him, he commanded that the brother's memory be erased throughout the whole congregation because of his disobedience in not carefully guarding himself.

While this was observed and no one prayed for him, after the passage of some days the deceased appeared in clear daylight to another brother.

When he had declared himself to be the one who had migrated and was asked concerning his condition, he answered: "I am excommunicated and segregated by Father John from the fellowship of the faithful"—which is to be understood with regard to suffrages.

The other said: "In what manner, brother, can we help you?"

He said: "If Saint John reconciles me."

When he disappeared, the brother to whom he had appeared went to Saint John and related what he had seen and heard.

The pious father, tempering severity with mercy, commanded that the office and alms be performed in the monastery and throughout the whole congregation.

When these had been completed, after thirty days the deceased again appeared to the same brother, cheerful and festive, giving thanks to John, who had reconciled him; and, freed from penalties, he passed to the company of the saints.

A certain other man named Florentius, of urbane and civil eloquence, who had been greatly stained by simoniacal perfidy through his defense of a certain bishop, when held by a most grievous illness asserted that he was altogether near death.

Amid grievous lamentations and frequent sobs, however, he sought the habit of the Order from the holy man through his friends.

John granted him the habit of probation without much delay.

When, after receiving it, he had now recovered and walked about the monastery cloisters supported by a staff, his former illness returned, so that he appeared near death.

When the holy man heard this, he came with several brothers to the sick man's bed, commending to the Lord the man who was about to die very soon.

The sick man began to cover his face with the cloak with which he was covered.

When the saint asked the reason for this, he answered, fearing and trembling: "Because I behold the devil standing nearby, from whose mouth issues a flame of marvelous magnitude, and from his nostrils sulfurous smoke."

Saint John said: "Where is he? In what part?"

When the sick man indicated the place, blessed John took the cross from the hand of the one holding it and struck the devil forcefully with it. He immediately vanished like smoke.

Hence the sick man cried out, saying: "Thanks be to God. Behold, the devil flees; behold, he has departed. And behold, blessed Mary and Saint Peter and Saint Benedict."

Having said these things, he breathed forth his spirit.

Section V

Concerning the greatest persecution which blessed John suffered with his monks because of the crime of simony perpetrated by the bishop of Florence, who was called Peter, a native of Pavia, and had obtained that dignity through simony.

Blessed John, with his brothers, asserted that Peter, bishop of Florence, was not only a simoniac but also a heretic because of that vice, and that therefore abstention must be made from his sacred rites.

Hence a most powerful contention arose among the clergy and people of Florence, some defending the bishop, while the others commended the monks for the liberty with which they detested that vice.

Because sedition frequently arose among men on that matter on both sides, the wicked Peter thought that he could repel from himself so great a wheel raised against him if he caused those monks to be killed, so that by their example others opposed to him might be terrified.

Therefore, in the night, an armed multitude of foot soldiers and horsemen was sent to the monastery of Saint Salvius, where they believed blessed John to reside, although on the preceding day he had departed thence for Vallombrosa.

The ministers of darkness violently entered the place and attacked the monks whom they found, cruelly wounding them, leaping upon the lambs like wolves.

Neither murmur nor complaint sounded from the monks, but they patiently bore the injuries inflicted, giving thanks to God, the infallible Truth, who had made them worthy to suffer for him.

Not content with these things, the bishop's retainers plundered the monastery and set fire to it.

But from the source from which the enemy believed that he would acquire victory and his own exaltation, he found loss and confusion.

For many who had formerly been supporters of the bishop, seeing so great an impiety, became helpers of the monks.

Therefore, on the following day, when their crime had been made known, many came to the place and, seeing its desolation, provided for the monks in many ways.

Blessed John also, after a report of this had been made to him, came himself and, seeing his brothers scourged, naked, and beaten, said: "Now you are truly monks. But why did you wish to suffer these things without me? For I grieve greatly because I did not merit to become a participant in your crowns."

Therefore the monks, proceeding to Rome with their friends and steadfastly proclaiming Peter, the Florentine prelate, publicly to be a heretic and simoniac, offered to enter fire to prove this crime.

But Pope Alexander, who then presided in the chair of Peter, was willing neither to depose the accused man nor to receive proof by fire from the monks; for the greater part of the bishops who had assembled for the general synod favored the bishop and opposed the monks.

Hildebrand the archdeacon, however, afterward Pope Gregory VII, favored John's party and stood forth as his defender.

A certain Duke Godfrey supported the bishop's party to such a degree that he even threatened the monks with death.

Thus, while this controversy endured, those who adhered to John, both laymen and clerics, suffered many injuries from their adversaries.

Among them was the archpriest of the greater church and prior, who, because he adhered to John, was expelled from the city.

At length the monks offered to those zealous for their bishop that they would pass through fire; and if, as they trusted, they escaped unharmed, those men should agree with them concerning the bishop's simony. But if not, they too would venerate the bishop with the others and profess him immune from simony.

The proposal pleased all. A place and day were appointed so that those who wished might be able to behold what was to be done.

The place determined for this proof was the monastery of Settimo, which then belonged to the said Order but now belongs to the Cistercians. The appointed day was the Wednesday after the first Sunday of Lent.

The manner of the proof was that two piles of wood should be placed beside one another in a public place, each ten feet long, five wide, and four and one-half high; and that between the two pyres a path one arm's breadth wide, strewn with burning coals, should remain, through which one of the monks should pass.

When the appointed day and hour came, the bishop was invited by his supporters to come and behold the trial of so great a matter, lest the city labor so long under so great a dispute.

He wholly refused this; indeed, he forbade those who loved him to go there.

But all the people of both sexes and the greater part of the clergy proceeded to the place.

Those adhering to the bishop pledged that, if the result of the offered proof followed, so that one of the monks passed through the fire unharmed, they would hold with the monks and abandon the bishop.

Litanies and other prayers were made by the monks. Mass was solemnly sung by one of them, an abbot, with clerics and monks assisting.

When they came to the *Agnus Dei* in the Mass, one of the monks brought holy water for sprinkling, another a thurible for incensing, a third torches for kindling the wood, and a fourth an image of the Crucified.

The Lord Jesus Christ and his mother were invoked by all with full voice, that he might show the truth of the matter.

When Mass had been completed and the chasuble laid aside, the priest who had celebrated, an abbot called Peter, carried the cross of Christ in his hand.

After the litanies had been said, one of the abbots was chosen to explain everything to the people in a sonorous voice: the condition of the petition and of the promise.

When these things had been completed, that aforesaid Peter the monk, with the cross in his hand, while Saint John standing there prayed, entered through the midst of the masses of fire, the flame rising on high, and trod the burning coals kindled in the path between the piles of wood.

Before entering, however, he made this prayer while all heard:

“Lord Jesus Christ, true light of all who believe in you, I seek your mercy; I implore your clemency: if Peter of Pavia, who is called bishop of Florence, seized the Florentine see through the intervention of money, now you, Son of the eternal Father, my salvation, hasten to aid me in this fearsome judgment.

“Preserve me unharmed, without any mark of burning, just as formerly you saved the three boys unharmed in the furnace of burning fire at Babylon.”

Thus he passed without any sign of burning upon his body or garments.

When he had reached the extremity of the burning fire and wished to return by the same path, he was seized by the people lest he return, since they had been openly instructed by the power that had been demonstrated.

They could not be satisfied with his presence, some kissing his hands, others his feet, and the rest his garments. The one who could touch even the fringe of his garment judged himself blessed.

Thus Simon Peter was raised up with great praises, but Simon Magus was trampled by all like dung; and Peter, not the apostle but the simoniacal bishop, was proclaimed by all and avoided as a heretic.

By solemn letters the community signified the whole course of the deed to the Supreme Pontiff Alexander, humbly supplicating that, just as Simon Peter condemned Simon Magus with a curse, so he should depose Peter, bishop of Florence, from that dignity and His Holiness deign to grant another.

This also was done, justice requiring it, to remove the scandal, and provision was made for the city of Florence with another bishop.

After these things the blessed father, worn out by old age, fell ill unto death.

The abbots having been assembled from diverse places, he foretold his departure from this world and exhorted all to observance of the rule, unity, and brotherly love.

Having devoutly received the holy sacraments, he rendered his uncontaminated spirit to heaven in the year of the Lord’s Incarnation 1073, on the fourth day before the Ides of July.

On the third day he was buried in the church of the monastery of Passignano.

After his passage omnipotent God performed many miracles through him.

Title XV

Chapter XVIII

The Order of Cistercians, serving under the Rule of blessed Benedict but with many other constitutions added, approved by the Church, greatly privileged, and diffused through the world, had its beginning in 1098 under a certain Abbot Stephen.

But a little afterward it was marvelously enlarged through blessed Bernard, of whom extensive mention will be made in another title.

Its beginning occurred in this manner.

Certain venerable and devout men, relying upon the counsel of Hugh, archbishop of the church of Lyon and then legate of the Apostolic See, of the religious man Walter, bishop of Chalon, and also of the most illustrious prince Odo, duke of Burgundy, and strengthened by their authority, began to establish the wilderness which they had found as an abbey.

Robert having been appointed abbot and receiving the care and pastoral staff from the bishop of that diocese, namely the bishop of Chalon, the others under him confirmed their stability in that same place.

But after not much time it happened that this same Abbot Robert, sought by the monks of Molesme, was restored to Molesme by command of Pope Urban II, with the permission and assent of Walter, bishop of Chalon, and Alberic, a religious and holy man, was substituted in his place.

This mediator of peace was retained between the two churches and confirmed by apostolic authority: from that time neither of them should receive any monk of the other to dwell there without regular commendation.

When this had been done, the new monastery, by the solicitude and industry of its new father and with God cooperating, shortly advanced not moderately in holy religion and conduct, became illustrious by reputation, and increased in necessary goods.

In the time of William II, king of England, as Vincent writes in the place cited above, the Cistercian religious life began.

It pertains to the glory of the English that England bore so great a man, who was both author and mediator of this religious life.

He was named Harding, who is otherwise called Stephen. A monk at Sherborne from boyhood, afterward, having cast off those garments, he immediately went to Scotland and then to France, where he studied for some years.

Thereafter he went to Rome with a clerical companion. Going and returning, they sang the whole Psalter every day.

Then, returning to Burgundy, he was tonsured in the new and great monastery at Molesme.

When certain things were proposed there to be observed which were not from the Rule, he began to inquire into their rationale and disputed so long with one and another concerning certain superfluous things that he brought the abbot himself and seventeen others into his opinion.

Therefore they came to Cîteaux, a place formerly saline, and remained there through the support of the archbishop of Vienne, who afterward became pope.

At length the abbot who had come with them, being sought by his monks, returned to them as though compelled.

All who had come with him from Molesme returned with him except eight, who appointed a certain Alberic from among themselves as abbot and made Harding, who is also called Stephen, prior.

Vincent in the place cited above relates these matters somewhat more fully, namely, that the monastery named Molesme, situated in the bishopric of Langres, is known to be most celebrated in fame and conspicuous in religious life.

From its beginning, in a short time divine clemency illuminated it with great gifts of grace, ennobled it with illustrious men, and rendered it no less ample in possessions than illustrious.

But because there is not usually a lasting fellowship between possessions and virtues, wise men from that holy congregation, understanding more deeply, chose rather to be occupied in heavenly studies than to be entangled in earthly affairs.

Hence, as lovers of virtues, they immediately began to think concerning poverty fruitful in men; and at the same time they observed that, although life there was holy and honorable, nevertheless the very Rule which they had professed was observed less than accorded with their desire and purpose.

They spoke to one another of what moved each individually, and considered together how they might fulfill that verse: “I shall render to you my vows which my lips have uttered.”

Why say more? Twenty-one monks, together with the father of that monastery, Robert of blessed memory, went out by common counsel and strove to complete by common assent what they had conceived in one spirit.

Therefore, after many labors and excessive difficulties, which all who wish to live piously in Christ must suffer, having at length obtained their desire, they came to Cîteaux, then a place of horrible and vast solitude.

But the soldiers of Christ, judging that they ought not to distrust the harshness of the place because of the strict purpose which they had already conceived in mind, held the place as pleasing as though truly divinely prepared for them, just as they held their dear purpose.

Section I

In the first year of Emperor Henry V and in the year 1107 from the Lord's Incarnation, as Vincent relates from the sayings of Sigebert in book twenty-seven of the *Historical Mirror*, the Charter of Charity was made by Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux, and twenty abbots, and confirmed by the authority of the apostolic seal.

From that time they cast out from the Order fleeces and pelisses, woolen fabrics, hoods, breeches, combs, bedcovers and bedding, diverse courses of foods in the refectory, fat, and all things which opposed the purity of the Rule.

They also renounced churches, altars, offerings, tithes, burials of other men, ovens, mills, villages, and rustics, because neither in the life of Saint Benedict nor in his Rule did they read that the same saint possessed things of this kind, that women entered his monastery, or that dead women were buried there, except his sister Saint Scholastica.

They said that tithes were divided by the holy fathers into four portions: one for the bishop; another for the priest or cleric; a third for the guesthouse, for those coming to the church, or for widows and the sick, or the poor who had no other sustenance; and the fourth for restoration of the church.

Because in this reckoning they did not find the person of the monk who possesses his own lands, whence they might live by laboring both themselves and through their livestock, they refused to usurp this for themselves unjustly as the right of others.

The said Abbot Stephen was a most ardent lover and most faithful emulator of religious life, poverty, and regular discipline even before he was abbot.

Hence Helinand says in book forty-seven of his history: "I remember that I heard Master Peter the Chanter of Paris, a most just and learned man, relate concerning Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux, that when one day his cellarer announced to him that nothing was held in the monastery whereby the brothers' poverty could be sustained even for one day, he answered: 'Saddle two asses for us.'

"When they had been saddled, he caused his lay brother to mount with him and commanded him to beg bread from door to door in a certain village for the brothers' use, while he himself did likewise in another village.

"After they had done this and came together at the one place which he had designated, it happened that, as they were now returning, they met at the aforesaid place.

"Behold, the abbot saw that the lay brother's sack was much fuller than his own and said, smiling: 'Where did you beg? As I see, you gathered in thicker straw than I. Where, I pray, did you gather? Who gave you more?'

"The lay brother answered: 'That priest whom you know very well almost alone filled my whole sack.'

"Hearing this, the abbot groaned and said: 'Woe to us! Why did you receive anything from him? Did you not know that that priest was ordained simoniacally, and that whatever he receives from his church is leprosy and robbery?

"'The Lord lives: we shall taste absolutely nothing of all that he gave you. Far be it that we eat his sin and incorporate it into ourselves.'

"Having summoned the shepherds of sheep who were not far away, he emptied the whole sack of the lay brother into their bosoms."

Fifteen years thereafter blessed Bernard entered this Cistercian Order and marvelously exalted and multiplied it, so that 160 monasteries of the said Order were built during his lifetime.

But mention will be made of him below in another title.

Title XV

Chapter XIX

In the year of the Lord 1120 the Order of Premonstratensians began.

The man of God Norbert stood forth as founder both of the place and of the Order, as Vincent writes in book twenty-seven, chapter twenty-eight of the *Historical Mirror*.

He was a native of the regions of Lotharingia, distinguished by lineage, riches, and eloquence, familiar and very well known even to the highest princes.

Inflamed with divine fervor, the pomp of the world having been set aside, he was suddenly ordained deacon and priest together according to his vow, put on the tunic of Christ's poverty, and, applying himself most fervently to the word of preaching and bearing his own cross, naked followed the naked Christ.

Having also examined the conduct of certain religious men, he undertook a purpose of stricter life and a rigor unheard of in those times; and for some time, walking with bare feet even in wintry cold and scattering the word of God, he converted many from error.

Finally, when Pope Gelasius had come into Gaul and conducted synodal causes in the province of Saint Giles, the man of God Norbert, walking with bare feet as he was, came to him and, disclosing the purpose of his mind, received from him license and authority to sow the word of God.

At length, specially commended by Pope Calixtus to Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, when the church of blessed Martin was offered to him by that bishop, he abandoned it both because of the nearness of the city and because the clerics set over that church abhorred his purpose and the austerity of his life.

When diverse places in that province suitable for religious life had been shown to him by the bishop, at length, divinely inspired, he settled in the place of Prémontré and there began to lead a solitary and religious life.

In the time of Lent, going out alone to gather companions, he returned before Easter with thirteen companions and with these began to serve together in the place of Prémontré according to the standard of the canonical institution and the tenor of the Rule of blessed Augustine.

In the Premonstratensian church, while a certain brother at Matins thought too deeply concerning the ineffable Trinity which is God, a demon stood by him and appeared bearing three heads, declaring that it was the Trinity and affirming that, because of the merit of his faith, he was worthy of a vision of the Trinity.

But the brother, recognizing the deceit of the enemy, compelled it by abuse to depart from him.

While Norbert preached the word of God at Vingella and exorcised a demoniac girl brought before him, the demon, mocking, uttered the Song of Songs through the girl's mouth from beginning to end and interpreted it word for word first in the Roman and then in the German tongue.

But when the servant of God pressed more closely, it at length went out.

When Norbert came to Cologne to seek relics of saints and his men applied themselves to prayers during the said fast, one of the eleven thousand virgins, specially designating her name and the place where she lay, was solemnly raised on the following day and was translated by him with other relics of saints to the place of Prémontré.

On the following day, keeping vigil in prayer at Saint Gereon, when morning came he commanded digging in the middle of the church, where no trace of a burial appeared.

He found the complete body of Saint Gereon without the brain, honorably and carefully placed, just as it is read concerning him that a part of his head and not the whole was cut off.

It was raised with honor and reverence by the clergy and people, and a part of it was given to the man of God.

Returning thence to Prémontré and now having forty clerics with him together with many laymen, he taught them to make profession according to the apostolic institution and the canonical Rule of blessed Augustine, and diligently instructed them in voluntary poverty and the other instruments of spiritual warfare.

In the aforesaid year, in the church of Vincelliacum, on the vigil of the passing of blessed Mary Magdalene, by an uncertain but just judgment of God, innumerable persons of mixed sex, age, and order were burned when the church suddenly caught fire in the very twilight of night and day.

Title XV

Chapter XX

At this same time also, as Vincent writes in the place cited above, namely in the year 1120 from the Incarnation, the Order of the Templar soldiery began, who are called the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem.

They live under the Rule of blessed Augustine, having a black habit in the lay manner but with a white cross upon the breast; they are commonly called brothers and are appointed to fight bodily against the infidels.

Their principal place is the island of Rhodes. All the other oratories dispersed throughout the world, which are many and wealthy, are subject to it, namely to the Grand Master of Rhodes.

Because few of them are clerics, although they are religious and enjoy the personal and real privilege of clerics, they commonly say their Hours or Office by means of the Lord's Prayer, that is, the *Our Father*.

Bernard, in his sermons, first commends so great a religious life, teaches what manner of conduct they ought to have and from what things they ought to abstain, and finally inveighs against those who do not preserve things congruent with their state.

For thus he says, writing to the Knights of the Temple:

"A new kind of knighthood is heard recently to have arisen in the lands, one unexperienced in all ages, which fights tirelessly in a twofold conflict together: both against flesh and blood and against spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places.

"What should one fear, whether living or dying, for whom to live is Christ and to die is gain?

"Rejoice, strong athlete, if you live and conquer in the Lord; but exult and glory still more if you die and are joined to the Lord.

"If those who die in the Lord are blessed, much more are those who die for the Lord.

"O secure life, where there is a pure conscience! O truly holy and safe knighthood, altogether free from that twofold danger by which this race of men is accustomed frequently to be endangered in the soldiery of the world, where Christ is not the cause of fighting.

"For whenever you who serve in secular warfare engage in battle, it is wholly to be feared either that you may kill the enemy in body but yourself in soul, or perhaps that you may be killed by him both in body and soul.

"For either the danger or the victory of a Christian is weighed from the affection of the heart, not from the outcome of the battle."

And below the same Bernard says:

"For the confusion of soldiers who plainly serve not God but the devil, let us speak briefly of the life and conduct of the knights of Christ, so that it may become manifest how greatly the soldiery of God and the soldiery of the world differ from one another.

"For they live in common under the obedience of one man, without wives and children and without any property of their own.

"At no time do they either sit idle or wander curiously anywhere. Rather, whenever they are not marching forth, lest they eat their bread without cost, they mend what is torn or repair what is old in their arms or garments, or put in order what is disordered, and finally do whatever the will of their master and the common necessity declares must be done.

"There is no acceptance of persons among them. Deference is shown to the better man, not to the more noble.

"An insolent word, a useless deed, immoderate laughter, murmuring, even if slight, or whispering is in no way left uncorrected wherever it is detected.

"They detest chess and other such things. They abhor hunting, nor, as is customary, do they delight in that sportive plundering by birds.

"They reject and abominate mimes, magicians, storytellers, scurrilous songs, and spectacles of games as vanities and false insanities.

"They cut their hair, knowing according to the Apostle that it is a disgrace for a man if he nourishes long hair.

"Never groomed and rarely washed, but rather bristling with neglected hair, foul with dust, and darkened by armor and heat, when battle threatens they fortify themselves inwardly with faith and outwardly with iron, not gold, so that, armed and not adorned, they may strike fear into their enemies and not provoke avarice.

“They desire to have strong and swift horses, yet not brightly colored or caparisoned ones, for they think of battle, not pomp, of victory, but not vain glory, and strive to be an object of fear rather than of admiration.

“But when they have come to the contest, their former gentleness having been put aside, as though they were saying, ‘Did I not hate those who hated you, O Lord?’ and so forth, they rush against their adversaries, reckoning them as sheep; for they have learned not to presume upon their own strength, but to hope for victory from the might of the Lord of Hosts, for whom they trust it is easy, according to the saying of the Maccabees, for many to be enclosed in the hands of a few, because victory in war is not in the multitude of an army, but confidence is from heaven.

“Thus, in a certain wonderful and singular manner, they are seen to be both gentler than lambs and fiercer than lions. Neither the gentleness of the monk nor the fortitude of the soldier is lacking in them.

“What must be said concerning this except that this was done by the Lord and is wonderful in our eyes? For God chose such men for himself and gathered ministers from the strongest of Israel out of the ends of the earth, that they might vigilantly and faithfully guard the bed of Solomon, that is, the sepulcher, all holding swords in their hands and most highly trained for wars.”

But the same Bernard inveighs against them concerning their pomps and desires, saying:

“What is this, O soldiers, so astonishing an error and madness: to serve as soldiers with such great expenses and labors, but with no wages except either death or crime?

“You cover your horses with silks and put I know not what hanging little cloths over your coats of mail. You paint your spears, shields, and saddles; you ornament bridles and spurs all around with gold and silver; and with such great pomp you hasten to death in shameful madness and shameless stupor.

“Are these military insignia, or rather womanly ornaments? Will the enemy’s blade perhaps revere gold, spare gems, and be unable to penetrate silk?

“Finally, you yourselves have very often and very certainly learned by experience that three things are especially necessary for one who is to fight: namely, that the soldier be vigorous, industrious, and circumspect in preserving himself; unencumbered in running about; and ready to strike.

“You, on the contrary, burden your eyes with hair in the manner of women; with long and flowing shirts you wrap your own garments; and you bury delicate and tender hands in ample and flowing sleeves.

“Nor does anything else among you move wars and stir up quarrels except either the impulse of irrational anger, the appetite for vain glory, or desire for some earthly possession. Certainly, for such causes it is safe neither to kill nor to fall.

“But the knights of Christ fight securely in the battles of their Lord, in no way fearing either sin from the slaughter of enemies or danger from their own death, since indeed death for Christ is either to be suffered or to be inflicted.”

Title XV

Chapter XXI

In the year of the Lord 1076 the Order of Grandmont began under Father Stephen, as Vincent relates in book twenty-six, chapter forty-six of the *Historical Mirror*, from his deeds.

He was the son of Stephen, a most noble man from the regions of Auvergne. In his boyhood he was taken by his father to Benevento, where, having been educated for twelve years by Saint Milo the archbishop, he learned a rule of living well.

Finally, departing and traversing many hermitages, and commending to memory what things from the life of canons, monks, and hermits were to be imitated, he came under Christ's guidance to Aquitaine, near Limoges, to the wooded mountain which is called Muret.

There he found springs and rocks, a deserted and trackless land which was entirely woodland and sterile, unaccustomed to men but accustomed to beasts. Offering its new guest a most cold drink and a house exposed to the winds, it promised by manifest indications affliction of the body and rest of the mind.

Then Stephen, rejoicing, vowed that he would serve God there for all time; and with a certain ring, which alone he had from all the substance of the world, he betrothed himself to the most chaste Virgin, saying: "I, Stephen, renounce the devil and all his pomps, and I offer and render myself to God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

Writing his profession, he placed it upon his head and poured out prayer to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his mother the Virgin in a small hut constructed from twigs.

In the year 1076 from the Lord's Incarnation, being in the thirtieth year of his age, he made the hermitage his habitation, serving God in fasts, vigils, and continual prayers.

His food was bread and water, and sometimes a little broth of wheat flour, which, less savory than other foods, served both necessities and not pleasure.

He also went armed with an iron coat of mail against the temptations of the flesh and the wantonness of the mind, until, his whole body having been dried out, he obtained a complete victory over himself.

The garments with which he was clothed over the coat of mail were increased at no time. Rather, in winter and summer, the same equal garments sufficed to repel cold and heat.

The bed to which, after excessive bodily fatigue, he betook himself for a little rest was so hard and contrary to repose that, sleeping in it, he could be tormented, not comforted.

For it was made of wooden boards fastened together in the earth in the likeness of a tomb, lacking all straw and all bed furnishings except that iron tunic which he always wore against his naked flesh, and also the most worthless habit with which he was clothed over it.

Thus, when he was absent, his bed was bare and empty; when he was present, it was adorned with such mattresses and sheets.

Besides the canonical Hours and regular obligations, he humbly performed innumerable genuflections, kissing the earth and striking it with his forehead and nose.

Thus, from their continual performance he had contracted calluses on his hands and knees after the manner of a camel, and had bent his nose sideways.

He loved psalmody and prayers and the grace of divine contemplation so greatly that, intent upon their sweetness, he frequently went for two or three days without bodily food.

And because a lighted lamp could not lie hidden under a bushel, the reputation of his holiness was spread far and wide. Many came to him and heard admonitions of salvation from him, but few joined themselves to him, since the others feared the austerity of his manner of life.

Nevertheless, he himself imposed the rule of his discretion upon no one. Rather, though harsh toward himself, he was kind toward others and far more moderate.

But after, by God's ordering, the number of his disciples increased, he was made together with them not as one of them but less than all of them.

For while they sat at table and ate, he sat humbly apart, and by reading the passions of the saints and the lives of the fathers, or some other edifying scripture, he prudently instructed them, being solicitous for their salvation, and helped them with his prayers. These had such power before God that by them he could free men captured from the very jaws of demons and from their depraved machinations.

For a certain noble knight, guilty of an immense crime, when he stood among others who had come to visit Stephen, said: “I beseech you, servant of God, do not pray to God for me. For I love a certain sin so greatly that in no way do I wish either to hate it or to abandon it. But if you pray for me, I fear that this may happen to me. Therefore assist others with your prayers, but by no means me.”

Having said these things, he departed joyful, while the holy man remained sorrowful and anxious.

Entering the chapter, Stephen gathered the brothers and, scarcely able to speak because of the force of his tears, at length exhorted them to pray to God with him for the most foolish knight.

Without delay the sinner returned and, seeking pardon for his foolishness, renounced his iniquity with heart and mouth.

A certain rich man was accustomed to carry the provisions which the faithful people sent in charity to the holy man dwelling in the hermitage.

But because he lived far from Stephen’s cell, he had procured for himself lodging on the road, in which he might be received as a guest when going and returning.

Because the lord of that lodging had learned that the man possessed riches, he delivered him to two robbers. In order to compel him to ransom himself, they hid with him in caves and caverns of the earth, holding him bound and captive.

After some days it was reported to the servant of God that this familiar friend of his had been secretly captured on the road by which he came to him, by unknown men, and had been taken no one knew where.

Then, when the brothers complained and grieved over this, he said: “Why are you anxious? I know one to whom it is manifest concerning the man both where he is and how he fares. Therefore, with our feet bare, let us go into the oratory and implore the aid of the blessed Virgin, the Mother of the Lord, in whose service he was captured.”

When they had done this, behold, at dawn on the next day the treacherous host with the two robbers and the man whom they had captured stood knocking at the door of the cell.

The man who had been captured and bound was loosed and free; the thieves and the betrayer were bound with chains.

When the brother doorkeeper saw this, he rejoiced and made it known to the father, who after his custom was instructing the disciples.

Stephen, concealing the joy of his mind in his face, did not omit the discourse which he had begun, giving the brothers an example that they should glory not in miracles but in God alone.

Then, when the discourse had been completed, the thieves and the betrayer were released from the bonds with which they had been bound; and, giving thanks to God and blessed Mary, he permitted them to depart safe and free.

Those who spoke with him and stood around him perceived a fragrance of wondrous odor proceeding from him, as from one in whom the author of sweetness rested.

Section I

Moreover, when he was set in the illness from which he died and admonished them most ardently, those standing by said with one accord: “Most holy father, for as long as we have been with you, God has furnished us the necessities through his love for you; but after your death, how shall we be able to live?”

To this he, most firm in faith, replied: “I leave God alone to you, to whom belong all things and for love of whom you have likewise left all things and your very selves.

“If, by loving poverty, you adhere to him steadfastly, he, by the providence with which he governed all things, will bestow upon you what he knows to be expedient.

“But if, which may it not be, by loving temporal things you depart from his love, I do not wish to leave you anything from which you might rise up to assail him.”

Thus, after the Viaticum and extreme unction, he passed to the Lord in the eightieth year of his age, established in the order of the diaconate.

His passing was miraculously revealed in many regions, and many afterward came to the place; his joyful ascent to the glory of the fatherland was likewise revealed.

Therefore the brothers, deprived of their pious father, chose for themselves as prior one of their convent, namely Peter of Limoges, dear and lovable to God and men.

While the brothers advanced under his government, the monks of Saint Augustine began to lay claim to the aforesaid place of Muret in which they served God, maintaining that it belonged to their right.

But since they wished rather to surrender their cloak also to one taking their tunic than to be drawn thence into the custom of litigating, they sought to obtain another place where they might establish the head of their religious life.

When no suitable place had been found, they at length entered upon the counsel that the prior should humbly and devoutly celebrate Mass and, with all the brothers, supplicate God that he would not delay to indicate what they sought.

When he did this and the *Lamb of God* had now been sung three times, a heavenly voice was heard saying: “At Grandmont, at Grandmont, at Grandmont.”

The prior and some of the brothers heard it. Therefore, when Mass had been ended, they came to the place revealed to them, sufficiently near Muret, and made a church and houses for habitation.

When both had been completed with an inexpensive form, they returned to Muret, and, receiving the holy body, they transferred it to Grandmont and, with few knowing, concealed it beneath the presbytery before the altar.

A certain knight who was paralytic was carried there so that he might be received into the prayers of the brothers. He was carried before the altar.

After he held his feet upon the stones of the sepulcher before the altar, he freely cried out, saying: “Release me, for now I have been made sound, in this place upon which I hold my feet. And I tell you that some holy man lies buried here, for whose merits and love God has bestowed health upon me.”

When the prior rebuked him and vehemently forbade him to say this, the man cried out more strongly for joy: “Here I have been made sound.”

A certain disciple of Stephen who had lost his sight also prostrated himself before his sepulcher and, praying, recovered his vision.

The cloth in which his sacred relics had been wrapped, cast into the fire once, and again, and yet again, could not be burned.

Observing these miracles, the prior feared that peace would be diminished for himself and the others, and that the sweetness of inward delight would be experienced more slowly, if crowds of peoples frequented the place to which they had come for the sake of the miracles.

Coming to the sepulcher, he spoke thus: “Servant of God, you showed us the way of poverty and taught us to walk in it with our whole endeavor. But now by your miracles you wish to recall us from the narrow way to the broad and spacious way.

“You who preached solitude now wish to gather markets and fairs in solitude.

“We are not led by curiosity so that we should wish to see miracles. We sufficiently believe in your holiness.

“Take care, therefore, that henceforth you do not perform miracles which exalt your holiness and deprive us of our humility. Do not so provide for your own praise that you are forgetful of our salvation.

“But if you act otherwise, we tell you, and steadfastly declare through the obedience which we promised you, that we shall draw your bones out from here and scatter them in the river.”

Title XV

Chapter XXII

In the year of the Lord 1086, according to Vincent in book twenty-six, chapter eighty-two of the *Historical Mirror*, who relates this from sayings taken from the history of Sigebert, the Order of Carthusians had its beginning.

For he says that Bruno, a German by nation from the city of Cologne, instructed in letters from his earliest age, a canon of the church of Reims and master of the scholars, having left the world founded the hermitage of Chartreuse and instituted a sufficiently arduous purpose of monastic conduct.

Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, of blessed memory, standing forth as a cooperator of his holy purpose, received the monastic habit from the same Bruno and furnished an eminent example to all who dwelt there.

Concerning this Hugh, Vincent writes thus in book twenty-eight, chapter eight of the *Historical Mirror*:

Guigo, prior of Chartreuse, wrote down the religious and holy life of this holy man Hugh.

When Hugh's mother was pregnant with him, as she related to others, it seemed to her in a dream that she had conceived an elegant boy whom saints, among whom was blessed Peter, were carrying into heaven to be presented before God.

Hence it happened that, when he had been born and became a boy, he was applied to learning letters. For it was hoped, and not in vain, that he would be of singular grace and merit before God.

Divine grace gathered in him very many ornaments of the virtues, which, if distributed among individuals, could sufficiently make many men illustrious and conspicuous.

For if chastity is praised, who was purer than he? If truthfulness of speech, who was more cautious in speaking? If love of God, who was more fervent? If love of neighbor, who was more benign? If humility, who was more abject? If almsgiving, who was more generous? If prayer, who was more devout? If rivers of tears, in whom were they poured out more abundantly? If contemplation, who was more sublime? If endurance, who was stronger in tribulation? If justice, who was more strict? If prudence, who was more circumspect? If temperance, who was more moderate?

Besides these, there were the good things that came through him to the clergy and the people.

The hermitage of Chartreuse, the abbey of Chalais, the hermitage of Écouges, a house of the regular canons, and houses at Saint Misenus and at Saint Gregory began with his approval and were completed with him fostering them spiritually and bodily.

As is read, he saw in a dream in the solitude of Chartreuse God constructing there a habitation for his own condescension, and seven stars presenting themselves to him as guides for the journey.

And behold, drawn to him by the odor of his sanctity, seven men came to him, all of whom, inflamed by one desire, were seeking a place suitable for the eremitical life and had not yet found one.

The first of these, as has been said, was Master Bruno, a man most renowned for religious life and learning; the other four were learned men and two were laymen.

Saint Hugh received them gratefully and made them possessors of their vow. For with him counseling, helping, and accompanying them, they entered the solitude of Chartreuse and built it up.

Thus began the Carthusian Order, singular in purity of minds and in the study of contemplation.

This holy man, as the aforesaid Guigo relates, although adorned with many virtues and very useful to the Church of God, nevertheless, always thinking upon his perfection, desired to put off the episcopal burden entirely and be free for the repose of the soul.

He did not lack this desire from the beginning of his promotion even to his death. Hence he also sent a legation concerning this to Pope Honorius.

When he had not obtained what he sought, although weighed down by diseases and old age he himself went to that pope, asking and adjuring that permission to rest be given to his old age; but he could not obtain it.

Honorius having died and Innocent II succeeding him, when Peter Leonis, supported by the protection of his relatives—for certainly both he and his father had formerly shown many acts of reverence and service to Saint Hugh—raised his head against Innocent, nevertheless the same holy man Hugh was neither bent by friendship nor terrified by power, but, led by zeal for God,

although consumed by diseases and age, proceeded to Avicium so that with other bishops he might excommunicate that Peter as a schismatic.

But when Innocent, avoiding the persecutions of the same Peter, entered Gaul, Saint Hugh met him with tears, asking and adjuring what he had sought from his predecessor. Yet he did not obtain it even thus.

For it was believed that by his authority and example alone, weak and sick though he was, he could benefit the people subject to him more than any other healthy and robust man.

From this time he began to fail more day by day and, with his troubles increasing, to approach death.

Religious men from Chartreuse and from the houses of Chalais and Écouges were present to serve him, and no secular person at all was admitted to his service.

If he needed anything, he did not seek it from any of those serving by commanding as lord of the house, but by humbly asking for God's sake.

He by no means endured his successors laughing or occupying themselves with idle words, but immediately restrained them by a most severe rebuke from his own mouth, declaring that the times were owed to weeping and were to be occupied with laments, not consumed in guffaws or the relating of trifles.

He died in the year of the Lord 1132, being at least eighty years of age.

His consecration lasted fifty-two years. He was also enrolled by Innocent II in the catalogue of the saints.

Section I

This religious order had its beginning from the following astonishing event.

When a flourishing course of study abounded in the city of Paris, both in the multitude of scholars from various regions and in a numerous company of distinguished doctors in every faculty, among the others there was one man singular in eminence of learning and especially renowned for probity of life.

When he had died, solemn obsequies were prepared in the church where he was to be delivered to burial. To honor him there assembled the university of masters and students of Paris, and very many others.

Therefore, when the corpse had been carried upon a bier into the church according to custom and the office was being celebrated, the dead man who lay there rose and, sitting up in the coffin, cried out in a loud voice while all heard: "By the just judgment of God I have been accused."

Having said this, he lay down as before. All were terrified and stupefied by this utterance, and they decreed that he should not be delivered to burial on that day, but that all should assemble again on the following day.

When this had been made known throughout the city, many more came on the following day for that spectacle. While they performed the office around his bier, the dead man again sat up on the bed, crying: "By the just judgment of God I have been judged."

All who were present and heard this were dismayed by the event. In order that they might know its outcome, they arranged that his burial should be deferred until the following day.

On the third day, therefore, almost the whole city flowed together. In the continuation of the office for his soul, that dead doctor rose and now for the third time cried out, saying: "By the just judgment of God I have been damned."

This rendered them all almost lifeless with astonishment. Thus, his damnation having been made manifest to all, he was judged unworthy of ecclesiastical burial and was buried with the burial of an ass.

Bruno, of whom mention was made at the beginning of the chapter, a distinguished master of scholars, was present at this spectacle. Having seen these things, he said to his companions and disciples: "Behold, dearest ones, how this great doctor, reputed holy by all, has perished. Do we also wish to perish, and not rather to be saved? There is no place of salvation for us unless we flee the world. If this has been done in the green wood, what will be done in the dry?"

He said many other things of this kind. Thus, being pierced in heart, as has been said, they left the world.

Section II

Around the year of the Lord 1175, this astonishing and notable event occurred in the principal house of Chartreuse.

One of those monks passed to the Lord. He had been of such a life that very many miracles made his holiness known. When they were multiplying daily and his fame went out through that whole region, a very great multitude began to come to the place: some, indeed, were sick and came for healing, because very many were cured; others came to see the wonderful works of God and to commend themselves to the saint.

This frequenting of men, however, began to be very troublesome to the priors and monks because their quiet was impeded.

Therefore Jancelinus, prior of Chartreuse, a man of great holiness and discerning intelligence, seeing the quiet of the monks broken by so great a concourse and many crimes perpetrated by the laymen who gathered there, approached the tomb of the man of God and, making pious complaints, said:

“Dearest son, is this the recompense with which you have repaid us? You have ascended to glory, there to rest perpetually; but by your miracles you inflict upon us the warfare of so great a disturbance.

“It shall not be so, son; it shall not be so. Rather, it is necessary to assail you with the same dagger by which you conquered the adversary of God, namely that of obedience.

“Therefore, my son, by the power of holy obedience I command you that, just as in life you always obeyed me, so also now you shall do, and that henceforth you shall not presume to perform any miracle.”

And so it was done, for no miracles were performed thereafter. I read these things in the chronicles of that order.

Certainly that religious order is exceedingly venerable, for down to the present day it has preserved the rigor of its observances for around four hundred years.

It is austere in many respects: in abstinence, indeed, because its fasts are prolonged and every Friday is kept on bread and water. They always abstain from eating meat, even in the gravest illness, so that anyone who wishes to eat it cannot afterward remain in enclosure with the others.

With respect to clothing, they always wear a hairshirt next to the flesh. With respect to solitude, they never go out, except for the prior and the procurator; and they remain alone in their cells with strict silence. They have great vigils because of the length of the office.

Hence Bernard, who wrote to them the letter called *To the Brothers of the Mount of God*, commends them greatly, saying among other things: “It is yours to enjoy God.” Nevertheless, at the end he reproves them for the excessive costliness and size of their buildings.

From this religious order was taken that venerable man Nicholas of Bologna, unwillingly to the bishopric of Bologna and afterward to the cardinalate by Pope Martin V. Always preserving the rigor of his religious order, he was a spotless mirror to all courtiers and prelates, a father of the poor, a restorer of peace among the discordant princes of the world, and a preventer of schism.

Finally, under Pope Eugenius, he passed to Christ at Siena from the sickness of the stone. When he was opened, a stone as large as an egg was found in the bottom of his bladder, as though embodied in its flesh.

Title XV

Chapter XXIII

In the year of the Lord 1017, as I have found in writings, the Order of the Humiliati had the first beginning of its existence. Nevertheless, in the course of time it was varied in a threefold manner of living, as will appear.

It must therefore be known that, when the most serene Emperor Henry III had come into the regions of Lombardy in the aforesaid year, he had certain Lombard nobles under suspicion, from certain reports and indications, lest perhaps they were devising some wicked thing. He therefore relegated them, and especially those originating from Milan, into Germany, or delivered them into exile.

As they journeyed, seeing themselves so greatly humiliated, they humbled themselves in the sight of God, making a virtue of necessity; and their affliction gave understanding to their hearing.

For they began not to love earthly things immoderately, to avoid vices, and to walk in humble clothing, namely cloth of a brownish-gray color. Although they lived individually in their own houses with their wives and servants, procuring sustenance for themselves from the labors of their hands, especially from the practice of working wool, they nevertheless held certain congregations, frequently exhorting one another to the things that are of God and to advancement of the spirit, applying themselves to fasts, alms, and prayers, and loving one another with the love of brotherhood.

The odor of their pious manner of life began to be spread through that region, and from this very many more were gathered into their number.

When the fame of their humility became known, the lord emperor absolved them from their relegation and permitted those who wished to return to their own soil.

Having returned, therefore, to the regions of Lombardy, they began to live more strictly and to approach more nearly to complete religious life.

Hence the men, separated from their wives by common consent, understanding that no consideration is worthy of a continent soul, and that chastity, especially virginal or widowed chastity, is that which alone can present our souls to God, decreed that the men should dwell separately in one place and the women separately, as in monasteries, and that they should apply themselves more earnestly to prayers, vigils, and abstinences.

They had certain men, though few, dwelling under the care of one of them and serving them in divine matters, while they continued their bodily exercises, especially in the working of wool and the weaving of cloth. This was called by them their second manner of living.

Finally, when they had multiplied in number and merit, and especially in clerics, a third manner of living followed so that they might have the completion of religious life. It was, however, first in dignity and religion.

Diminishing manual exercise, they applied themselves more to readings and divine offices. They were clothed in a uniform but humble habit: a tunic and scapular, with a mantle or cape of white color over it.

They took as their norm of living a part, but not the whole, of the Rule of blessed Benedict, calling their superiors provosts.

Having greatly multiplied, they constructed for themselves many monasteries, both of brothers and of nuns, throughout the regions of Tuscany and Lombardy, especially at Milan.

Around the year of the Lord 1200, this order and manner of living was approved and confirmed by the Church through Innocent III. Afterward it was exempted from the diocesan bishops by his successors, fortified with many privileges, and placed under the government of one principal and general provost.

From the convent of All Saints at Florence, which belonged to the said order, there flourished a certain venerable father named Lucas, a professor of sacred theology, renowned by fame and illustrious for probity and learning. Having been made bishop of Fiesole by Pope Gregory XII, he was promoted by the same pope as far as the cardinalate. He died in a good old age, full of days, around the year of the Lord 1410.

Section I

But all the religious orders mentioned above are today so relaxed and lukewarm that the saying of Jeremiah can plainly be applied: “How the gold has grown dark; the finest color has been changed.”

And Bernard says against the relaxed Cluniac monks:

“Whence could so great an intemperance have grown among monks in foods, in drinks, in clothing, in bed furnishings, in riding horses, and in constructing buildings, so that where these things are pursued more studiously, more pleasurably, and more lavishly, there the order is said to be better observed and there religion is thought to be greater?

“For behold, frugality is thought to be avarice; sobriety is believed to be austerity; silence is accounted sadness. Conversely, relaxation is called discretion; lavishness, liberality; talkativeness, affability; loud laughter, cheerfulness; softness of garments and the pomp of horses, dignity; and the superfluous adornment of beds, cleanliness.

“And when we bestow these things upon one another, it is called charity. This charity certainly destroys charity. This discretion confounds discretion. Such mercy is full of cruelty, for it so serves the body that it slaughters the soul.”

Nevertheless, under this abuse these things are now maintained almost everywhere as though belonging to the order. They are now observed by almost everyone without complaint and as though irreproachably, although in different ways.

For some use all these things as though they did not use them, and therefore with no offense, or with very little. Some, indeed, do these things from simplicity, some from charity, and some from necessity.

For certain men simply maintain these things because they are so commanded, being prepared to act otherwise if otherwise commanded. Others do so lest they live discordantly from those with whom they dwell, pursuing in these things not their own desire but the peace of others.

Others, however, do so because they cannot resist the multitude of those who contradict them. These certainly defend these things with free voice as belonging to the order; and whenever the former begin to restrict or change them otherwise, as reason dictates, the latter immediately resist with their whole authority.

Who at the beginning, when the monastic order began, would have believed that it would come to so great an inactivity of monks?

O how far we are from those who were monks in the days of Antony! For when they visited one another from time to time out of charity, they received the bread of souls from one another with such eagerness that, having wholly forgotten bodily food, they often passed the entire day with fasting stomachs, but not with fasting minds.

And this was the right order, when the worthier part was served first. This was the highest discretion, when he who was greater received more.

But when we now come together, it is not to eat the Lord’s supper. Nothing from the Scriptures is discussed, nothing concerning the salvation of souls; rather, trifles and laughter and words are uttered into the wind. During the meal, just as much as they feed their throats with dishes, so much do they feed their ears with rumors.

The use of meat, which by the discretion of the Rule is scarcely conceded only to the sick and altogether weak for the restoration of their strength, is not, indeed, used to repair for need the ruins of a failing body, but to fulfill in desire the care of luxuriating flesh, when, namely, the use of meat is given to young men and to others who have no need of it.

I would say that absurdities of this kind ought to be laughed at rather than praised.

Thus Macarius lived. Thus Antony taught. Thus Basil instituted. Thus the fathers in Egypt conducted themselves. Thus Saint Odo, Maiolus, Odilo, and Hugh, whom the Cluniacs glory in having as the princes and instructors of their order, either observed or judged that it ought to be observed.

Section II

All the aforesaid monastic and regular religious orders, which had their beginning with great fervor and holiness of life, by neglecting the smallest parts of their ancestral traditions gradually declined in the course of time and were emptied out as far as their foundations, namely the substantial vows in them. The Order of the Carthusians alone was excepted, for it still perseveres in its vigor.

But through divine mercy, during the last seventy years they have put forth shoots and blossomed again in a few men who reformed themselves to regular life, God turning the hearts of the fathers to the sons in order to prepare for the Lord a perfect people, multiplied in merit and number. And flowers appeared in our Florentine land.

For the canons regular, who are said to have had their beginning from the jewel of the doctors, Saint Augustine, with his rule, had become relaxed and deformed. But they were reformed by the Lord through two eminent men, illustrious in learning and life, and now they have been spread through Italy, dwelling as brothers and in monasteries in regular observance.

The first place of these was, and is, near Lucca and is called Fregionaia. Hence that congregation, which is governed under one head, is called the Congregation of Fregionaia. They also possess the abbey of Fiesole.

After them, certain other religious men of the Order of Hermits, separating themselves from that order in order to live more strictly, took the state and habit of canons regular of the Rule of blessed Augustine, adding certain constitutions. They were approved by Gregory XII and exempted by him from the diocesan bishops.

They had their beginning around the year of the Lord 1410 under a certain venerable man of Siena named Stephen. Their first convent was near Gubbio, and their second was the convent of San Donato di Scopeto near the walls of Florence.

Thence they multiplied in brothers and convents in several cities of Tuscany and Lombardy. That congregation is called the Congregation of Scopeto from the said place, but more properly the Congregation of the Holy Savior, just as those of Fregionaia are also more suitably named.

The Cistercians were indeed a great pillar of the Church under blessed Bernard, and afterward for a hundred years they were adorned with learning and holiness. But they too, declining from the footsteps of the fathers, became useless.

Around the year of the Lord 1436, however, certain monks of the Florentine abbey under Eugenius IV passed to the Order of the Cistercians in regular observance. The monastery of Settimo near Florence, belonging to the said order, was conferred upon them by the lord Eugenius himself, at the procurement of the most reverend lord Cardinal of Fermo. From a little flock it has been increased not a little.

The black monks, such as the Cluniacs are believed to be, when they had grown thick and fat and had been enlarged by innumerable abbeys, wandering everywhere through the lands at pleasure, were restricted in some measure by the Clementine decree *Lest in the Field*. They were restricted in outward things, but in inward things they remained black.

But God, who renews things grown old and makes black coals shine when they have been kindled by fire, inspired certain monks who were noble according to the world and nobler in mind to fulfill the Rule of Father Benedict in its entirety, with certain constitutions added to the Rule.

It had its beginning around the year of the Lord 1400 in the abbey called Santa Giustina. Eugenius IV was a supporter of and greatly devoted to and a promoter of the congregation called the Congregation of Santa Giustina.

When they had multiplied in a short time, that same pope gave them many great monasteries, and among others Saint Paul Outside the Walls and the Florentine abbey. He also exempted them from diocesan bishops and other prelates and supported them with great privileges.

From this religious order also, through that pope, the venerable man and zealot of religion, Lord John the Sicilian, abbot of Saint Paul, was given the red hat.

The white monks serving under the Rule of blessed Benedict, such as the Camaldolese, having degenerated from their father Romuald, have been turned backward, except for very few of their monasteries and enclosed hermitages.

But around the year of the Lord 1370, as I heard from certain religious men who maintained a life almost eremitical and praiseworthy in the diocese of Arezzo but in the territory of Siena, the bishop of Arezzo at that time gave them a similar habit and the Rule of Benedict himself.

When these men had grown in the grace of God and in number, the order called the Order of Monte Oliveto was established, named from the church. It was itself approved, multiplied in monasteries throughout Italy, privileged, and made exempt from diocesan bishops. Those religious men place one general abbot from among themselves over their heads from one three-year period to another.

The gray monks, such as the Vallombrosans, also limped away from the paths of John Gualbert, the first founder of their order, likewise under the Rule of Benedict, so that there was scarcely anyone who did good.

Under the same habit and rule were certain men called Sylvestrines, because Sylvester was called their first author. He began that order at Monte Fano near Fabriano in the March of Ancona. Having multiplied, they built for themselves several monasteries in various cities, including Florence.

The convent of San Marco belonged to them, but it was taken from them by Eugenius IV because of their dissolute life and was conferred upon the Order of Preachers. The said religious order has now almost entirely failed through lack of brothers.

But the hand of the Lord was not shortened from mending the gray monks, who bear the mortification of the cross in their habit.

For around the year of the Lord 1430, when certain black monks had been taken from the Florentine abbey into the abbey of Santa Flora at Arezzo, and afterward were transferred by Eugenius IV from the said Aretine abbey to the monastery of San Salvi by way of exchange, the fallen religious order of Vallombrosa, to which the said monastery of San Salvi outside the walls belonged, was restored to regular life.

The convent of San Gregorio at Florence was added to them by annexation, and the monastery of Passignano by union, their number being multiplied.

With the religious men who had been deformed, the women and nuns agreed in the relaxation of religion in the aforesaid orders. For the Cistercian women, the white Camaldolese women, the black nuns in various monasteries, the gray nuns of Vallombrosa, and the Augustinian women walked along the broad and spacious way.

But some monasteries have been renewed in the narrow and constricted way of regular life, and others have recently been erected, such as the monastery called San Donato in Polverosa and the newly constructed monastery of Santa Monica under the Rule of Augustine.

But above all the others, the monastery of the Annunciation, which is commonly called Le Murate, completed in these days in its buildings under the Rule of blessed Benedict and the black habit, gives forth a wondrous fragrance of holiness.

The women dwell in the greatest poverty; and although they are a hundred in number and more, they have no possessions or revenues, but live from the labor of their hands and from alms sent to them but not solicited by them. They serve one another in great quiet and mutual charity.

Beyond the canonical Hours devoutly discharged, some of them always remain in the church day and night, without interruption, singing the Psalter in alternating turns.

Section III

The religious order instituted by Saint Bridget was also established in our days under the Rule of blessed Augustine and with constitutions added to that holy rule, in double monasteries, that is, of brothers and nuns remaining in one monastery but in entirely separate dwellings and under great enclosure, so that the brothers cannot approach the sisters.

Although double monasteries of this kind were first instituted by Saint Basil, they were nevertheless afterward separated and not permitted.

For this reason a lengthy dissension and contention also occurred in the Roman Curia under Martin V, some of the said order procuring the separation of the brothers from the sisters, while others contradicted them out of reverence for the saint who had instituted it thus and for the Church, which had already approved the said religious order.

Finally, through Eugenius it was decreed that that religious order should remain as it had been instituted from the beginning. The monastery of the said religious order near Florence is called the Paradise. Those religious men are under the care of the diocesan bishops.

I omit the religious orders of Saint Anthony, whose brothers are ordained for hospitality; of the Holy Spirit; of Saint James of the Sword, which is ordained for military service; of those of Mercy, which is ordained for redeeming captives from unbelievers; of the Crosiers; and of Saint Mary of the Teutons.

I also omit the religious order of Paul the First Hermit under the Rule of Augustine, and that of Saint John under the gray habit.

Concerning the mendicants, however, comprehending among them the Preachers, the Minors, the Hermits, the Carmelites, and the Servites, and concerning their saints and doctors and their relaxation and renewal, a full account will be given below and in another title.

Title XVI

The following title, the sixteenth, contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors, and also of doctors and most holy men, and wondrous occurrences and destructions in diverse parts of the world, through three hundred years or thereabout, namely from the year of the Lord 813 down to the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1100.

Within that span were the following supreme pontiffs: Pope Leo III; Stephen IV; Paschal I; John VII, the English pope, who was a woman; Benedict III; Paschal II; Eugenius II; Valentine; Gregory IV; Sergius II; Leo IV; Nicholas I; Adrian II; John VIII; Martin II; Stephen V; Formosus; Boniface VI; Pope Romanus; Theodore; John IX; Benedict IV; Leo V; Sergius III; Anastasius III; Lando; John X; Leo VI; Stephen VII; John XI; Leo VII; Stephen VIII; Martin III; Agapetus II; John XII, most wicked; Leo VIII; John XIII; Benedict VI; Boniface VI; John XIV; John XV; Gregory V; Sylvester II the Great; John XVI; John XVII; Benedict VIII; John XVIII; John XIX; Benedict IX; Gregory VI; Clement II; Damasus II; an intruder; Leo IX; Victor II; Stephen IX; Benedict X, an intruder; Nicholas II; Alexander II; Candullus the schismatic; Gregory VII; Clement the schismatic; Victor III; and Urban II.

Then there is treatment of the emperors of those times, namely: Louis, son of Charlemagne; Lothair, his son; Louis II; Charles II; Charles III; Charles IV; Arnulf; Louis III; Conrad; Henry I; the three Ottos who reigned successively; and Emperor Henry II, who was the first made emperor by election, it then being ordained that this was thereafter to be done by three archbishops and four princes.

There is also treatment of Emperor Henry III; of the origin of the Turks; of Henry IV, who was excommunicated by Gregory VII and afterward by Urban II; of certain holy bishops of England; of Peter the Damascene and his sayings; of Childebert and his sayings; of Lanfranc; of Anselm and his sayings; of Peter Alfonso against the Jews; of the conquest made by the faithful against the Holy Land; and of how it was captured by Godfrey.

Title XVI

Chapter I

In pursuing the history of the supreme pontiffs, emperors, doctors, and others, we digressed through the preceding title interposed in its course. In that title there was extensive treatment especially of the most holy anchorites, cenobites, and founders of diverse monastic religious orders who shone in the Church, from the year of the Lord 280, namely from the time of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, down to the year of the Lord 1100, at which time Henry reigned.

We resume that history at the place where it was left, namely with Pope Leo IV and Louis I, emperor and son of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne therefore having been removed from this light, and his son Louis succeeding him in the empire, Leo IV presided in the city.

He, himself a Roman, had been badly and ignominiously treated and ejected from his see. After he had cleared himself before Charlemagne himself and the council assembled before him, he was honorably restored to his see, as was said above.

He was raised to the summit of the supreme pontificate in the year of the Lord 796, and held it for twenty years, five months, and sixteen days.

He crowned Charlemagne in the Roman Empire. He himself made the portico of the church of Saint Peter in the city, which is still called the Leonine City, so called from him, and surrounded it with a wall because of the incursion of the Saracens, as a refuge from their raids.

He ordained the litanies for the three days before the Ascension of the Lord in this manner: on Monday the supreme pontiff, going forth with the clergy and people from the church of the Mother of God at the Crib, was to proceed with hymns and canticles to the church of the Holy Savior called the Constantinian; on Tuesday, from the church of Saint Sabina to the church of Saint Paul; and on Wednesday, from the church of Jerusalem to Saint Lawrence Outside the Walls. This is found in the Martinian Chronicle.

He also wrote as follows to Louis Augustus, whom he crowned emperor after the death of his father Charlemagne, when the Romans were being harassed by the Saracens, as is found in cause twenty-three, question eight:

“Therefore, since adverse reports from the regions of the Saracens have often reached us, saying that the Saracens were about to come secretly and furtively into the harbor of the Romans, for this reason we commanded our people to be assembled, decreed that the maritime people should descend to the shore, and went forth from Rome.”

The same pope wrote to the same emperor:

“You ought to know that we never permit our men to be oppressed by anyone; but if any necessity occurs, we avenge it in person, because in all things we ought to be the avengers and principal helpers of our flock.”

The same pope said to the army of the Franks:

“Having laid aside every fear and terror, endeavor to act manfully against the enemies of the holy faith and the adversaries of all religions. For the Almighty knows that, if any one of you should die, he died for the truth of the faith, the salvation of the fatherland, and the defense of Christians; and therefore he will obtain from Him a heavenly reward.”

All these things are found there.

The same Leo IV says to the Augusti Louis and Lothair, in distinction sixty-three: “It was established and confirmed between you and us by the course of a pact that the election and consecration of a future Roman pontiff ought to be made only justly and canonically.”

Likewise, from the council of this Leo IV, in cause twelve, question two, it is said thus:

“We admonish and irrefragably affirm that none of the bishops or priests shall presume to usurp the property of his title, nor attempt to take away the payment offered by Christians to holy places because of friendship, fear, or reward, lest the Church of God be reduced to nothing.

“Any bishop or priest who has presumed to do this shall without doubt undergo canonical vengeance and shall be compelled to restore to the church what was unjustly taken, so that thereafter he can have no power to litigate or possess in relation to these things.”

Finally, after very many holy works, he rested in the Lord and was buried in the church of Saint Peter.

The same Leo IV writes thus to the bishops of Britain, in cause twenty-six, question five:

“The lots by which you distinguish all things in your provinces, which the fathers condemned, we decree to be nothing other than divinations and sorceries. Therefore we desire them to be condemned altogether and no longer named among Christians; and under prohibition of anathema we forbid them to be practiced.”

Pope Leo says in cause twenty-four, question three:

“I signify that this assuredly displeases me very greatly: that certain clerics are said to belong to your jurisdiction who communicate with the depravity and madness of the adversaries, and that vessels are mingled with vessels of mercy.

“Your diligence ought vigilantly to apply itself to investigating them and restraining them with fitting severity, so that amputation shall not spare those whom correction could not benefit, according to this: ‘If your eye causes you to stumble, pluck it out,’ and so forth.

“This pestilential tolerance, by which a man does not spare himself by sparing the sins of others, must be cast entirely away from priestly vigor.”

Section I

Leo having been removed from this light, Stephen IV was created bishop in the city in the year of the Lord 815. He was a Roman by birth, the son of Julius, and sat for seven months. Thereafter he was placed with the fathers and buried in the church of Saint Peter. According to the Martinian Chronicle, the papacy was vacant for eighteen days.

According to John of Colonna in his history, after this Stephen attained the pontifical dignity, in the same year, namely, in which Louis I, son of Charlemagne, received the Roman Empire, being a most holy man kindled with zeal for the faith, he went personally into Gaul to the most serene Emperor Louis concerning the affairs of his church.

He was received by him with as much honor and reverence as the tongue could scarcely relate. The angelic man found so great favor in the sight of the prince that he obtained everything he sought.

Imitating the example of the Savior, whose place he held on earth, who prayed for his crucifiers and commanded prayer for persecutors, this saint asked that all the Roman exiles who had offended in the cause of Pope Leo and for this reason had been relegated there by Charlemagne should be absolved, and also others who, because of great crimes that they had perpetrated against the Holy Roman Church, were being held more closely in various prisons in France. He asked that they be able to be led back to Rome with him. All of this was granted to him. Returning to the city, he rested in peace.

He wrote thus to Count Guido, as is found in distinction sixty-three:

“When the letters of your sagacity were read, it was confessed that, after the bishop of the church of Rieti died, the clergy and people of that church elected for themselves a future bishop who was directed to us through your effort to be consecrated by us, lest that church remain long without its own pastor.

“We, grieving over the death of the former bishop, omitted to ordain most quickly the man now elected by the unanimity and canonical election of that church, as you commanded, because he had by no means brought us, as is the custom, the imperial letter of absolution, for which reason the matter is doubtful to us.

“Therefore we delayed obeying your will, lest the august mind should in any manner take this most harshly.

“But knowing that the Church of God ought not to remain long without its own pastor, we command your glory—because we ought not to have acted otherwise—that, when permission has been received from your imperial sagacity as ancient custom dictates, and an imperial letter has been directed to us, as we believe you know, we shall then obey your will concerning this and, with the Lord assisting, shall consecrate the same elect.

“Dearest son, do not in any way receive this with displeasure.”

These things are found there. Perhaps that man was a courtier, and therefore the emperor’s assent was awaited.

Section II

Paschal I, a Roman by birth and the son of Maximus, succeeded Stephen in the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 817. He sat for seven years and seventeen days.

This holy man, seeking many bodies of saints, found them outside the walls of the Roman city. Gathering them diligently, he placed them with the greatest reverence in various basilicas within the walls of the city.

Moreover, he either constructed many new churches at Rome or renewed those worn away by long age. Among these was the basilica of blessed Cecilia, virgin and martyr, which had been shaken by excessive antiquity and had now almost fallen. In the same place, however, he began to construct a church with magnificent workmanship.

Therefore, on a certain day, as John of Colonna testifies, while he was celebrating vigils in the church of Saint Peter in the customary manner, he was suddenly overcome by sleep and saw a certain maiden of virginal appearance adorned in angelic garments, who said to him:

“We render you many thanks because, lending your ears to deceitful reports that had been published, you abandoned the undertaking that you had taken up concerning me. You have been of such standing with me that we could speak to one another with our own mouths.”

Hearing this, the blessed pontiff asked who she was who spoke such things. She replied: “I am called Cecilia, the handmaid of Christ.”

The pontiff said to her: “How can I believe this, when it was long ago made known by report that the body of the venerable martyr Cecilia was secretly carried away by Aistulf, king of the Lombards, while he himself was residing at Rome?”

But she replied: “They certainly sought me with desire so that they might find me; but, through the assisting grace of my Lord Jesus Christ and of his most blessed mother, they could neither find nor carry me away.

“As you have sought my body, do not cease to seek it diligently, because it pleases Him for whose love I endured martyrdom that you should find me and lay me away in the church that you are now newly constructing.”

Saying this, she was withdrawn from the eyes of him who looked upon her.

Then the blessed pontiff, after Matins had been completed, solicitously began to seek where the most sacred body of the virgin lay buried, because of the indication of so certain and indubitable a revelation.

By God’s granting, he found it outside the Appian Gate in the cemetery called that of Praetextatus, in golden garments, together with the body of her spouse Valerian and linen wrappings stained with her blood.

Examining all these things with his own hands, he gathered them and laid them with the greatest veneration in the church that he had constructed, together with Valerian her spouse, Tiburtius his kinsman, and Maximus, who, seeing their souls ascend into heaven at their beheading, believed and was crowned with martyrdom. He also placed them with Pope Urban and the martyr Lucius. He located all those remains beneath the sacred altar.

When Lothair had been sent into Italy by his father, Emperor Louis, and consecrated emperor at Rome by Pope Paschal, certain nobles were killed because they appeared to be more inclined than was right toward fidelity to Emperor Lothair.

When such a crime was laid against Pope Paschal, the pope excused himself before the emperor and purged himself of this crime by oath before the people and the emperor’s legates at Rome, together with a great number of bishops. Vincent relates these things in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror*.

Emperor Louis, son of Charlemagne, made the following pact with this Pope Paschal, which is found in distinction sixty-three:

“I, Louis, Roman Emperor Augustus, establish and grant by this pact of our confirmation to you, blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and through you to your vicar, Lord Paschal, supreme pontiff, and to his successors forever, just as you have held and disposed from our predecessors down to the present in your power and dominion: the Roman city with its duchy, all its suburbs and villages and territories, its mountains and maritime shores and ports, and all the cities, towns, castles, and villages in the regions of Tuscany.”

And he held the chair of Peter for sixteen years.

The same emperor says:

“When, by divine calling, the pontiff of this most sacred see shall migrate from this world, no one from our kingdom, whether Frank or Lombard, or a man of any nation established under our power, shall have license to come publicly or privately against the Romans or to make an election.

“Nor shall anyone therefore presume to do any evil in the cities or territories belonging to the power of the church of blessed Peter the Apostle. Rather, let the Romans be permitted, with all reverence and without any disturbance, to furnish an honorable burial for their pontiff.

“And let them canonically celebrate, without any ambiguity or contradiction, the man whom by divine inspiration and the intercession of blessed Peter all the Romans, with one counsel and concord and without any promise, shall have elected to the order of the pontificate.

“And when he has been consecrated, let envoys be directed to us or to our successors, the kings of the Franks, who may join friendship, charity, and peace between us and him.”

Thereafter Benedict III was created, and after Benedict, Paschal II.

This Paschal, writing to Victor, bishop of Bologna, says thus in cause sixteen, question one:

“It has come to us—whence we greatly marvel—that certain monks and abbots in your parish arrogantly claim for themselves episcopal rights and offices contrary to the decrees of the holy fathers, namely, to give penance and remission of sins, the reconciliation of penitents, tithes, and churches, although without the permission of their own bishop or the authority of the Apostolic See they ought by no means to presume this, as was ordained in the Council of Chalcedon.

“We therefore command your affection that you summon them and altogether forbid them to presume such things.”

The same pope says in cause sixteen, question seven:

“Just as the garment of the Lord was not torn but lots were cast concerning it, so the Church ought not to be torn apart, because it consists wholly in unity.

“Therefore let the churches be brought back under the power of their own bishop and be ordered by him as was established in the sacred canons. Otherwise, those churches and their clerics shall be deprived of the divine offices,” namely through an interdict, according to the gloss.

The same pope says: “If any cleric, abbot, or monk has obtained churches through laymen, let him be subject to excommunication according to the canons of the apostles and the chapter of the Council of Antioch.”

The same pope says: “Let none of the laity occupy or dispose of churches or the goods of churches.”

The same pope says in cause sixteen, question one:

“The authority of the divine law has decreed that tithes are to be rendered by the people to priests and Levites. Furthermore, no reasoning permits that soldiers, bishops, or any persons should extort tithes from monks or clerics living in common out of their own labors or livestock.”

Finally, when he died, the papacy was vacant for eighteen days.

Section III

Eugenius II, a Roman by birth and the son of Boemund, succeeded Paschal in the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 824. He sat for three years and two months.

According to the Martinian Chronicle, he was blinded by Roman laymen and crowned with martyrdom. He had formerly been cardinal of Santa Sabina, which church he adorned with a silver ciborium over the altar and ornamented with solemn painting.

From this Pope Eugenius, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* after Sigebert, Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis and archchaplain of the sacred palace, having sent to Rome, received the body of blessed Sebastian and placed it in the basilica of Saint Medard in the city of Soissons.

While it still lay unburied in the coffin in which it had been brought, so great a grace of signs and mighty works shone forth in the name of that martyr that it could be neither numbered nor narrated by any mortal. Certain of them are said to be of such great wonder that they exceed human belief, were it not certain that God, for whom that martyr suffered, can do all things.

Around the same time the bodies of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Peter were taken from Rome, transferred into France, and glorified by many signs.

The body of Saint Gregory the pope is also said to have been transferred to the city of Soissons. It is nevertheless more commonly believed to be in Rome.

Eugenius having been called to the Lord, Valentine, a Roman by birth, succeeded him. He sat for forty days in the papacy and died. According to the Martinian Chronicle, the pontificate was vacant for three days.

Section IV

After him Gregory IV, a Roman by birth and the son of John, was created supreme pontiff in the year of the Lord 827, and he held the chair of Peter for sixteen years.

He built with new fabric the church of Saint Martin on the Mount, which had been destroyed from its foundations.

At the prompting of this Gregory, according to Vincent in the place cited above, and with all the bishops assenting, Emperor Louis established that the feast of All Saints should be solemnly celebrated in France and Germany on the Kalends of November. It had been instituted by Pope Boniface I and was celebrated by the Romans.

In his time, as Martin says in his chronicle, a great tribulation arose for Christians. For certain wicked Romans sent to the sultan of Babylon, asking him to come to Rome and possess Italy.

So great a multitude of Saracens entered through the port of Centumcellae and filled the face of the earth that they appeared to be locusts. Rome having been besieged, the Leonine City was captured, the church of Saint Peter was despoiled and made a stable for horses, and not only the Roman city but all Tuscany was reduced to solitude.

At length, at this Pope Gregory's petition, Marquis Guido came with the Lombards, and afterward King Louis with the Gauls; with much shedding of Christian blood they drove the Saracens from Italy. At that time the Saracens also devastated Apulia and Sicily.

This pontiff, as Jacob of Colonna testifies, was a vigorous and benign man, Catholic in faith and a most diligent investigator of the sacred Scriptures, a lover of the poor, coveting nothing earthly and nothing transitory, but always wholly intent upon those things that know no end.

Kindled therefore by the fire of divine love, this blessed pontiff raised from the place where it had first been buried the body of the great Pope Gregory, through whom the grace of the Holy Spirit brought an inextinguishable light of wisdom throughout the whole world, and transferred it with great veneration into the church of blessed Peter the Apostle.

In that place he dedicated an oratory to his name, where the body itself and also that of Sebastian were placed upon the altar.

Certain chronicles nevertheless assert that the said bodies were transferred into Gaul, as was said above. But the Romans believe them to be in the church of Saint Peter, which appears closer to the truth.

At this time the relics of Vitus the martyr were transferred from Paris into Saxony. Hence the Franks themselves testified that from that time the glory of the Franks had been transferred to the Saxons.

Section V

After Gregory IV, Sergius II, a Roman by birth and the son of Sergius, undertook to govern the Church in the year of the Lord 844. He sat for three years and two months. When he migrated, the papacy was vacant for fifteen days.

As Martin says in his chronicle, he had formerly been called Pig's Snout. Because this was a shameful name, he was called Sergius.

From that time onward it was established and has been observed down to the present day that, when a supreme pontiff is created, he sets aside the name by which he was called before his creation and is called by a new name that he himself pleases to assume from the names of those who have already been inscribed and named in the chair of Peter.

Beyond this reason, namely lest it happen that he be called by some shameful name, the Archdeacon adds two other reasons: first, because Christ also changed the name of the first supreme pontiff, Peter, when he was formerly called Simon; and secondly, to signify that he ought to exist as an entirely new man.

Thus, just as he is changed in name, leaving the first behind, so let him be changed in conduct, leaving all passions behind; and, putting off the old man, let him put on the new, who was created according to God in justice and holiness of truth.

This pontiff, as Jacob of Colonna testifies in his history, was distinguished in origin, pure in faith, freer in preaching, humble before God, very lovable to men, and a consoler of the poor and needy.

To confirm, or rather to honor, his election, Emperor Lothair sent his firstborn son with a great retinue of princes and prelates. He was received by the supreme pontiff with great glory and was anointed and crowned by him king of the Lombards.

Almost all the bishops of Lombardy and Tuscany were present at this coronation. When this had been done, the princes petitioned in the name of the said Louis that the Roman nobles should swear fidelity to that Louis. The most solicitous and prudent pontiff refused this most steadfastly.

He nevertheless granted to those petitioning that, as it was customary to do for the Roman emperors, the Roman princes and the foremost men of the city should promise and swear fidelity to Lothair as Roman emperor.

Section VI

Sergius having been called to the Lord, Leo IV, a Roman by birth, was enthroned in the chair of Peter by the common assent of all in the year of the Lord 847. He sat for eight years, three months, and five days.

According to John of Colonna, this man was very holy, applying himself greatly to vigils and prayers, very rigid in preserving justice, and most skilled in the divine Scriptures.

From infancy he was reared among holy monks because of the study of letters. Among them he not only learned letters, but also remained among them in the pursuit of holy conduct, not as a boy but as a perfect monk.

After he was made pope, although he changed his place and order, he nevertheless never changed his holy and humble life or conduct.

This blessed pontiff decreed by canonical authority that, while the sacred solemnities of Masses are celebrated, none of the laity ought to stand, sit, or enter.

While he presided, so horrible an earthquake occurred that all the elements appeared to be shaken.

This pontiff established that the octave of the Assumption of blessed Mary should be celebrated in the Roman Church, which had not been done before.

While he presided and Lothair reigned, that wicked race of Saracens, carried by ships around the coasts of the Tuscan sea, inflicted very great losses upon certain cities.

Then, putting in at the Roman port, it disembarked upon the land and proceeded toward Rome in the hope of possessing the city. But when the Romans had foreknown their arrival, they fortified the city.

Therefore, confidence in obtaining the city having been set aside, that race plundered everything outside the city. They despoiled churches, and after despoiling them they set them on fire.

Among these the church of Saint Peter, which was then outside the enclosure of the city, was wholly plundered; and, after the sacred altar had been profaned, they scraped away everything that belonged to the adornment of the church and, burdened with spoils, returned to the ships.

Therefore, when that church which is the head and mother of the churches had been thus profaned by the wicked men, the senate and Roman people approached Leo their pontiff, beseeching him with tears that through his effort that sacred place, venerable to the whole Church of Christ, should thereafter be so fortified that it would not again fear the course of that most wicked race.

The blessed pontiff, diligently hearing their voices, immediately adopted the following counsel: that, with the Lord assisting him, he should bring to completion the work which Leo III, his predecessor, had begun, when he had started to build walls around the church of blessed Peter and had already placed foundations in many places.

When he had made this counsel of his known to Prince Lothair and to his brothers, kings of the Franks and Germans, they were filled with great joy. Through their messengers Emperor Lothair and his brothers Louis and Charles sent a great sum of money for completing that work.

Therefore, in the second year of his pontificate the work was begun with great rejoicing of the Roman people. Not only the Romans but also the peoples from the surrounding cities contributed so greatly that in the sixth year of that pontificate the work was completed in every part by the faithful.

That city, or part of the city, was called Leonine from the name of its author.

When this had been completed through the zeal and industry of this pontiff, the same pious father was afflicted with great grief when he saw daily the altar of the prince of the apostles profaned and stripped of all its adornment, to such a degree that the people now ceased to frequent it.

Assisted by divine aid, he adorned the confession of blessed Peter and his altar fittingly and honorably, surrounded the front of the altar itself with golden and jeweled plates, cleansed the church, and restored everything to its former condition.

Moreover, he granted for habitation the city of Portus, which had been abandoned for a long time, to the Corsicans who had come fleeing to the Roman city from the harassment of the Hagarenes.

Furthermore, this pontiff, eminent in devotion, sought with immense effort and found many bodies of saints that for a very long time had lain without care in various places of the city. Having found them, he placed them in their own places with the greatest reverence.

He also buried beneath the altar of the church that he himself raised from its foundations the bodies of the Four Crowned Ones. With them he also placed many other bodies of saints, namely those of Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorian, Castor, Simplicius, Marius, Audifax, and Abachuch; Felicissimus and Agapitus; Hippolytus with his household, eighteen in number; Aquila, Priscus, Arseus, Aquinus, Narusus, Marcellinus, Felix, Candidus, Paulinus, Anastasius, Felix, Apollonius, Felix, Benedict, and Venantius.

He also placed there the head of Saint Protus, of Saint Alexander, of Saint Sixtus, and of Saint Praxedes the virgin. He honorably restored many other places and churches that the Saracens had devastated and despoiled a little before.

For the Neapolitans fighting the Saracens at sea, he made the collect in prayer: “O God, whose right hand raised blessed Peter,” and so forth.

Those Saracens had come with a very great multitude to capture the city. When, after despoiling the churches of Peter and Paul, they were returning in ships to Africa, they were battered by a storm on the deep sea and submerged by the power of God.

After this Leo, Martin places John, an Englishman by birth, in his chronicle.

Section VII

He sat in the year of the Lord 850, upon the chair of Peter for two years, three months, and six days. When he died, the papacy was vacant for one month.

Martin says that, as is asserted, this person was a woman. In girlhood she was taken to Athens by a certain lover of hers in male clothing, and advanced so far in diverse sciences that no one could be found equal to her.

Thus afterward, lecturing upon the trivium at Rome, she had great masters as disciples and hearers. Since in the city she was of great reputation for learning and life, she was unanimously elected pope after Leo.

But during her papacy she was impregnated by one familiar to her. Not knowing the time of her delivery, while proceeding from Saint Peter’s to the Lateran, she was distressed by labor and gave birth in the road between the church of Saint Clement and the Colosseum.

She died in childbirth and is said to have been buried there. Because the pope always turns aside from that road when he approaches the Lateran, it is believed by many that he does this from detestation of the deed.

She is not placed in the catalogue of the supreme pontiffs because of the female sex.

Truly this is greatly to be marveled at, and one must cry out with the Apostle: “O depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how incomprehensible are his judgments,” and so forth—if what is commonly said was true, as this author relates. A certain sign of marble sculpture is said to have been placed on the road where this occurred in memory of the event.

Vincent in the *Historical Mirror* and John of Colonna, however, relate nothing about this.

But even if it was true, no prejudice to anyone’s salvation arose from it, because the Church was not then without a head, who is Christ, from whom it receives the inflowing of grace.

Nor were the ultimate effects of the sacraments that she conferred, namely grace, lacking to those who received them devoutly from her.

Although she, just like other women, was not capable of receiving the character of any order, could not confect the Eucharist even if in fact ordained, and could not absolve from sins, those ordained by her had to be ordained again, because they had received nothing from her.

Nevertheless, Christ supplied the grace of the sacraments in those who received worthily, their invincible ignorance of the deed excusing them from fault.

Section VIII

When this person was removed by death, Benedict III, a Roman by birth and the son of Patrodus, was created supreme bishop in the year of the Lord 853. He sat for two years and five months. When he died, the papacy was vacant for fifteen days.

As Martin says, he established that clerics should walk in an orderly manner and live honorably.

Among the other good things that he did, he restored the portico from the gate of the city as far as Saint Paul, and another portico from the gate of the city as far as Saint Lawrence. When he died, he was buried at Saint Peter’s.

John of Colonna relates this notable thing about Benedict: when he was cardinal priest of Saint Sixtus and had been elected pope by the consent of all, he was pressed by the people and clergy and also by the Roman nobles to give his assent to the election made concerning him.

Bending his knees with many tears, he said in a mournful voice: “I beg you, brothers, do not lead me into the church, because I am not sufficient to bear the burden of so great a summit.”

Nevertheless, while he resisted thus, they led him to the Lateran church and placed him upon the pontifical throne.

In distinction ninety-six of the Decrees, Pope John says:

“If the emperor is Catholic, with his peace be it said, he is a son, not a prelate, of the Church. In what belongs to religion, it is fitting for him to learn, not to teach.

“He has the privileges of his own power, which by divine grant he has obtained for administering the public laws. Let him not be ungrateful for its benefits and usurp anything contrary to the ordering of the celestial order.

“For God willed that the things which are to be disposed concerning the Church should belong to priests, not to the powers of the world. If those powers are faithful, he willed them to be subject to the priests of his Church.

“Therefore let him not claim for himself another’s right and the ministry deputed to the altar, nor strive to break away from him by whom all things are established, lest he appear to fight against the benefits of him from whom he obtained his own power.

“Almighty God willed the clerics and priests of the Christian religion to be ordained and examined, and to receive correction from error, not by public laws or by the powers of the world, but by pontiffs and priests.

“The Church alone ought always to judge concerning pontiffs. It does not belong to human laws to pronounce sentence concerning such men without the pontiffs principally established over the Church.

“Christian princes have been accustomed to obey the decrees of the Church, not to place their own power before them. Princes have been accustomed to submit their head to bishops, not to judge concerning their heads.”

These things are found there.

Section IX

When Benedict III departed, Nicholas I of this name, a Roman by birth, was canonically raised to the summit of the pontificate in the year of the Lord 857. He held the chair of Peter for nine years, two months, and twenty days. His father was called Theodore.

As Martin says, he was a most holy man. After the great Pope Gregory, scarcely anyone appeared in the Roman See who could be compared with him. Emperor Louis confirmed his ordination by his presence.

As John of Colonna writes from the Chronicle of the Pontiffs, he was a very holy man who, fleeing the honors of the world, desired to be free for God alone.

Hence, when he heard that he was to be assumed as pope, he fled and hid. But when he was found and forcibly dragged away, he was made pope by the consent of all.

He was handsome in appearance, learned in speech, humble in utterance, illustrious in action, and greatly intent upon fasts, vigils, and prayers.

Under this pontiff Michael, emperor of Constantinople or of the Greeks, sent envoys to Rome, through whom he also sent most precious gifts to the church of Saint Peter. Among them was a golden chalice of wondrous weight and workmanship, adorned with most precious stones.

Nicholas, as a fearless man of great authority yet not alien to clemency, deposed John, archbishop of Ravenna, because, when summoned, he had disdained to come to the Curia.

When John afterward came and humbled himself at the feet of Pope Nicholas, acknowledging his error, he was restored to his office at the prayers of Emperor Louis.

The same pope also excommunicated King Lothair, brother of Emperor Louis, because, after repudiating Theutberga his lawful wife, he had joined Waldrada his concubine to himself.

The Roman See bore and detested this enormous crime of adultery so greatly that two archbishops who, contrary to the order of law, had celebrated or assented to this divorce by their authority were excommunicated and thereafter deposed from their offices.

Hence concerning this matter and other notable things done by him, decrees issued by him are contained in the Decrees.

Writing to emperors in distinction ninety-six, he says:

“Where have you read that your predecessors, the emperors, were present at synodal assemblies, except perhaps at certain ones where the faith was treated, which is universal, which is common to all, and which pertains not only to clerics but also to laymen and to all Christians altogether?”

The same pope says in the same distinction:

“It is shown sufficiently clearly that a pontiff can neither be altogether loosed nor bound by secular power. It is established that he was called a god by the pious prince Constantine, since it is manifest that God cannot be judged by men.

“The younger Theodosius also, writing to the holy synod of Ephesus, first said: ‘The most magnificent Count Candidian, commander of the valiant household troops, has been appointed to proceed as far as your most sacred synod, and in no matter to communicate in the questions or expositions that are to be made concerning pious doctrines. For it is unlawful that one who is not in the order of the most holy bishops should meddle in ecclesiastical proceedings.’

“Therefore, these things being manifestly found, it appears that the fellow minister Ignatius could in no way have been expelled solely by an imperial sentence. In his condemnation, because the assent of certain prelates followed, it appears that this was a crime of flattery, not of lawful sanction.”

Pope Nicholas speaks concerning Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, who had been deposed by his suffragans at the urging of Michael, emperor of the Greeks. He greatly detests this deed and shows that it could not have been done.

In distinction twenty-one, in many chapters, he says:

“Ignatius is submitted to the deliberations of inferiors and subjects, contrary to the sacred canons which command, and the examples of the holy fathers, that one must always go where there is greater authority, and that in all controversies recourse should be directed to the judgments of the more powerful see. It is established that this was observed not only by Catholics but even by heretics themselves.

“Otherwise a council is clearly headless when it acts concerning so great a person and does not await the sentence of superiors.”

The same pope says in the following chapter:

“The holy fathers at Chalcedon so greatly detested this presumption that, among other things, for this especially they condemned Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, without any restoration, because, placing his mouth in heaven while his tongue passed over the earth, he dictated a sentence of excommunication against holy Pope Leo.”

In the chapter beginning “But Now,” in the same distinction, he brings forward for the same point the example of blessed Marcellinus, pope and martyr. Although in the time of Diocletian he had placed incense upon the coals in veneration of an idol, when a council of bishops had been assembled and he confessed his sin, no one dared to pronounce sentence against him.

They said: “The first see shall be judged by no one. Judge your cause from your own mouth.”

And when Pope Sixtus II was defamed concerning certain matters in a council of bishops where Emperor Valentinian was present, the emperor himself arose and placed the judgment of his own cause in the decision of Sixtus himself.

Concerning that same matter the pope says: “An inferior see cannot absolve a superior, for only the superior can fittingly absolve the inferior. Hence it is clearly foreseen that an inferior, who cannot absolve the superior, cannot bind him by judgment.”

Therefore the prophet also says: “Shall the axe glory against him who cuts with it?”

The same Nicholas, writing to Louis, emperor of the Romans, says in distinction ninety-six:

“In the Scriptures it is related that Emperor Constantine said: ‘Truly, if I saw with my own eyes a priest of God, or any one of those who are clothed in the monastic habit, sinning, I would spread out my cloak and cover him, lest he be seen by anyone.’

“In these matters, therefore, most beloved son, you are necessarily admonished that, just as you appear to be made equal to him in faith, religion, and equality of honor, so you should nevertheless aspire to be made equal in humility and devotion, so that in nothing you may be found inferior to him, but rather superior.

“We have said these things, desiring to render you cautious, so that, if it should happen that you hear anything concerning the priests of the Lord, who are rightly called fathers of souls, which may bring confusion to pious minds, you should not rashly expose it, but, imitating the sons of Noah, should henceforth cover the shame of your fathers with reverence, so that, just as they did, you may deserve to be filled with blessing under the Lord’s governance.”

The same pope writes thus to King Lothair, brother of Louis, in cause eleven, question two:

“Above all, avoid communion with Waldrada your concubine, who was formerly repudiated by you. For she has been excommunicated and, until she comes into our presence, separated from all fellowship of Christians.

“Therefore care must be taken lest you be struck together with her by the equal edge of the sentence, and, bound and fettered by passion for one little woman, be drawn into everlasting destruction.

“For prelates sin more grievously among the peoples, and by this they are punished more cruelly than others. As Gregory says: ‘Prelates ought to know that, if they ever perpetrate perverse things, they are worthy of as many deaths as the examples of perdition that they transmit to their subjects.’”

The same Nicholas, against King Lothair, brother of Emperor Louis, because after repudiating his wife he took another, writes thus to the bishops and archbishops established throughout Gaul, Germany, and Italy, in cause two, question one:

“The crime which King Lothair—if indeed he can truly be called a king, since he restrains the appetite of the body with no salutary governance but through slippery enervation yields instead to its unlawful movements—committed with two women, namely Theutberga and Waldrada, is manifest to all.

“Almost the whole world, flowing from every side to the thresholds or Apostolic See, reported that long before this the bishops Theutgaud and Gunthar had been his protectors and supporters in such a deed.

“Therefore, with the holy synod decreeing together with us, in their presence they were deposed, excommunicated from the priestly office, and unquestionably removed from episcopal governance.”

The sentence pronounced against these great archbishops, namely Theutgaud of Trier and Gunthar of Cologne, is found more fully in cause eleven, question two.

He writes thus to King Lothair himself, the adulterer, in cause twenty-four, question three:

“Are you not to be struck with strict vengeance, you who are recognized to have imitated the adultery and crime of Lamech in two wives? Our Lord did not erase this until his saving advent after seventy-seven generations, whereas the fratricide of Cain was abolished in the seventh generation by the waters of the cataclysm, that is, of the flood.”

The same Nicholas says in cause twenty-seven, question one:

“Queen Theutberga wrote to us that she wished to be stripped of royal dignity or the marriage bond and desired to be content with the private life alone. We wrote to her that this could not be done otherwise unless her husband Lothair chose the same life.

“For although it is written, ‘What God has joined together, let man not separate,’ nevertheless marriages are sometimes dissolved from regard for divine love and by the consent of both spouses, namely as to the marriage bed, not as to the bond; and then man does not separate them.

“We forbid your mutual separation to be made otherwise.”

The same pope says thus in response to the consultations of the Bulgars, who had recently been converted to the faith, in cause fifteen, question eight:

“You ask whether you ought to receive communion from a priest who has been caught in adultery, or concerning whom report alone has spread this, or whether you ought not.

“We respond: No one, however polluted he may be, can pollute the divine sacraments, which are the purgation of every contagion. Whatever sort the priest may be, the things that are holy cannot be defiled.

“Therefore communion is to be received from him until he is condemned by the judgment of the bishops, because evil men, by ministering good things, harm themselves alone.

“A wax torch when lit indeed brings loss to itself, but supplies light to others in the darkness; and from the same thing by which it furnishes advantage to others, it brings loss to itself.

“Therefore receive the mysteries of Christ fearlessly from every priest, because all things are purified in faith.”

This is to be understood, as the gloss says, and well, unless such a priest has been cut off by sentence, or unless he is a notorious fornicator or simoniac.

The same pope says concerning the matter of custom, writing to Michael, emperor of the Greeks, in distinction eleven:

“It follows that what is decreed by full authority by the governors of this see, namely the Apostolic See, should not be removed under the hindrance of any custom by merely following individual wills, but should be held more firmly and unshaken.”

The gloss there says: “Unless there is such a custom as can prejudice law.”

The same pope says to the same emperor in distinction twelve:

“The holy Roman Church knows that diverse customs according to place and time do no harm to the salvation of believers, if canonical authority does not stand against them, on account of which we should oppose them. Hence we judge that nothing ought or can resist them.”

The same pope says: “It is ridiculous and a sufficiently abominable disgrace that we should permit the traditions which we received of old from the fathers to be infringed.”

In his time the king of the Bulgars was converted to Christianity with his nation. Hence, ministers having been sent to him from the Apostolic See and assistance also having been received from King Louis, he was so strengthened in the faith that not long afterward, when his elder son had been established in the kingdom, he himself renounced the world and became a monk.

But thereafter his son, acting youthfully, wished to return to the worship of paganism. Having resumed the military belt and royal insignia, the father left the monastery, pursued his son, captured him, put out his eyes, and thrust him into prison.

After placing his younger son in the kingdom, he resumed the habit and ended his days well.

The same Nicholas, in response to the consultations of the Bulgars, says in distinction twenty-eight:

“Although priests are greatly reprehensible, namely when they are evil and incontinent, it is nevertheless fitting that you imitate God, who makes his sun rise upon the good and the evil.

“You ought not to cast them away from you, because the Lord did not cast even Judas, when he was a deceitful disciple, from the number of the disciples.

“But concerning priests, you who are laymen ought neither to judge nor investigate anything concerning their life. Whatever it may be is to be reserved for the judgment of the bishops.”

The same pope writes concerning a certain man whom his father, when he was around the tenth year of his age, caused to be clothed in the monastic habit against the will of the boy himself, and who afterward did not consent to be a monk, that he should be dismissed as free. He says thus in cause twenty, question three, in the chapter beginning “The Present”:

“Wisely recalling the words of the Psalmist, in which he declares that he sacrifices himself to God voluntarily and prays that the voluntary offerings of his mouth may be well pleasing in the sight of God, we judge that the present cleric named Lambert ought by no means to be considered to have become a monk under such violence.

“For what someone does not choose or desire, he assuredly does not love; and what he does not love, he easily despises. Therefore no good exists unless it is voluntary.

“For this reason the Lord also commanded that a staff by which violence might be inflicted upon anyone should not be carried on the way.

“Therefore you act advisedly if by pious persuasions, by preaching contempt of the world and love of God rather than by inflicting violence, you kindle him toward that heavenly love.”

The same pope says in response to the consultations of the Bulgars, in cause twenty-three, question eight:

“If no necessity presses, one must abstain from battles not only in the Lenten season but at every time.

“But if unavoidable necessity presses, even in the Lenten season preparation for wars for the defense of oneself and the fatherland or of paternal laws must without doubt not be spared, lest, namely, man appear to tempt God if he has what he may do and does not take care to provide for his own salvation and that of others and does not guard beforehand against losses to holy religion.”

The same pope says to King Charles, in cause twenty-three, question eight:

“It is established to be highly reprehensible that you have alleged that the greater part of all the bishops, together with your other faithful men, keep watch day and night against maritime pirates, and that for this reason the bishops are impeded from coming, since it belongs to the soldiers of Christ to serve Christ.

“But let the soldiers of the world serve the world, as it is written: ‘No one serving as a soldier for God entangles himself in secular affairs.’ If the soldiers of the world apply themselves to military service, what belongs to the bishops and soldiers of Christ except that they should be free for prayers?”

The same pope says in cause twenty-four, question two, in the chapter beginning “Those Who Are Pilgrims”:

“Let that peace which we call the Truce of God be so observed as it was established by the archbishops and bishops of each province. Let anyone who breaks it be subjected to excommunication.”

The same pope says in cause twenty-four, question four:

“We do not adopt single combat into law, because we do not find that it was commanded. For although we read that certain men entered it, just as sacred history records that Saint David went against Goliath, nevertheless divine authority nowhere decreed that it should be held as law, since those who do this and follow it appear to tempt God alone.”

The same pope says thus to Bishop Unifredus, in cause seven, question one:

“You ask concerning the priest Guadagarius whether, when you have been driven from the bishopric by the Normans, you ought thereafter to dwell in the monastery.

“In this matter you should know, dearest brother, that it is pernicious to abandon a ship placed in calm, how much more so amid the waves.

“We do not say that we should not flee persecutors, and especially the snares of pagans, when they rage for a time and by reason of the multitude of our sins are divinely permitted to obtain power to harm, especially since we ought not voluntarily to betray ourselves to them.

“But because we, although we are rams, furnish leadership to the flocks—and rather, by God’s authorship, are their shepherds—it is certainly fitting that we remain with them in dangers according to our strength.

“And when tranquility has been restored by divine mercy and the furious harassment has been quieted, we ought immediately to seek the flock, gather it into one, and, after the peace and especially the security of the heavenly fatherland has been preached, lift its souls upward.

“We ought to be solicitous for their protection for so long that, if by the judgment of God they should perhaps lose the advantages of the present time, they may hope without doubt to receive the eternal joys of the future life.”

The same pope says in cause nine, question three:

“It is certainly evident that the judgment of the Apostolic See, than whose authority there is none greater, is to be reconsidered by no one, and no one is permitted to judge concerning its judgment.

“According to this, Pope Innocent, writing to Rufus and the other bishops established throughout Thessaly, says: ‘No one ever boldly laid opposing hands upon the apostolic summit, concerning whose judgment it is not permitted to reconsider. No one stood rebellious in this matter except one who wished judgment to be made concerning himself.’

“And blessed Pope Gelasius says: ‘The canons never commanded judgment to be made concerning its judgment, that is, the judgment of the Roman Church. They established that its sentence ought not to be dissolved, but rather commanded that its decrees ought to be followed.’”

The same pope says in distinction forty-three:

“The stewardship of the heavenly seed has been entrusted to us. Woe if we do not scatter it; woe if we are silent. Since the vessel of election fears this and cries out, how much more is it to be feared by anyone small?

“Therefore, just as no slight danger rests upon pontiffs for having kept silent about what is fitting, so there is no moderate peril for those who, although they ought to obey, despise doing so—which may it not be.”

The same pope says in distinction ten:

“The law of emperors is not to be used in all ecclesiastical controversies, especially when it is found sometimes to oppose evangelical and canonical sanction.

“The law of emperors is not above the law of God, but beneath it. Ecclesiastical rights cannot be dissolved by imperial judgment.

“To show this, the testimonies of two men, namely Innocent and Gregory, suffice. For Saint Innocent says in his decretal letter to Alexander, bishop of Antioch: ‘Concerning what you ask, whether, when provinces have been divided by imperial judgment so that two metropolises are made, two metropolitans ought to be named, it has not seemed good to us that the Church of God should be changed according to the mobility of worldly necessities or should undergo honors or divisions which the emperor has seen fit to make for his own causes.’

“Blessed Gregory, writing to Theotista the patrician, says among other things: ‘If marriages are said to have to be dissolved for the sake of religion, it must be known that, even if human law granted this, divine law nevertheless forbade it.’”

There the gloss says that Emperor Justinian, who established this, erred. Or it can also be said that he permitted this to avoid a greater evil, namely the killing of a wife.

The same pope says in distinction ninety-seven:

“The most noble and vigorous man, the envoy of your sublimity, although he had brought no letter from you to our pontificate according to custom, and although it was never the custom of the Apostolic See to receive an embassy from any quarter without sealed letters, nevertheless, honoring you in him and recognizing his gravity and the truthful assertions of his speech, we received him as was fitting and believed him as was honorable.”

Note there in the gloss that credence is not to be given to envoys without letters. Many notable things concerning this matter of letters are also found there.

In the time of this Nicholas, Saint Cyril, apostle of almost all the Slavs because he converted them—who, as I believe, are elsewhere called Bulgars—sought the body of Saint Clement the pope where it had been cast into the sea and remained covered by the waters of the sea together with the temple, because that miracle, namely the drying of the sea, had ceased for a long time.

When Cyril prayed with the people for the finding of the body, the sea was dried as far as the place where that body lay in the temple. Entering it, he carried the body from Cherson to Rome.

Section X

When Nicholas, complete in every holiness, died, Adrian II, a Roman by birth and the son of Talarus the bishop, was made bishop of the city and the world in the year of the Lord 867, the one hundred and ninth in the number of pontiffs. He held the chair of Peter for five years and eleven months.

As John of Colonna testifies, he was a man of great almsgiving.

When he was a cardinal priest and had once received forty denarii from Pope Sergius, gold coins, I believe, or silver ones, he returned home and found a very great multitude of pilgrims before his house.

Calling his steward, he said to him: “Take this money and give three denarii to each pilgrim.”

When the steward affirmed that it could not suffice even for a third part of the pilgrims, the saint began personally to give three denarii to each one.

Therefore, when the steward marveled that, after three denarii had been given to each, money still remained, the holy man again bestowed three upon each person of his household. When six still remained, Adrian said: “You see how generous the Lord Jesus Christ is, who from that quantity which you said could not possibly suffice has reserved three for me and three for you also.”

Vincent omits this, perhaps because he did not notice it, but Martin places it in his chronicle.

Concerning this Adrian it is said thus in distinction sixty-three:

“When Adrian II was being drawn from the church of the Mother of God our Lady, which is called At the Crib, to the Lateran patriarchate, he was carried there in rivalry by the people, clergy, and nobles.

“When the envoys sent by Emperor Louis II heard this, they took it with displeasure and were indignant that, although they were present, they had not been invited and had not deserved to be present at the election of the future prelate desired by them.”

Having accepted the explanation that this had been done not from contempt for the emperor, but from foresight for future times, lest through this kindling the custom of waiting for the envoys of princes in the election of Roman prelates should take root, they thoroughly quieted all indignation. They too approached humbly to greet the man elected.

Concerning this matter it is also said thus in the same distinction, from the Eighth Synod:

Pope Adrian II sent to Basil, emperor of the Greeks, and to his sons Constantine and Leo, the emperors, at Constantinople, those whom Nicholas his predecessor had arranged to send as his representatives, namely Donatus, bishop of Ostia, Stephen, bishop of Ephesus, and Martin, deacon of the Holy Roman Church.

With them went Anastasius, librarian, that is, chancellor, of the Roman Church, skilled in both languages, namely Greek and Latin.

When a synod had been assembled, which those gathering there called the eighth universal synod, they quieted the schism which had arisen from the deposition of Ignatius and the ordination of Photius, anathematizing Photius and restoring Ignatius.

In it the following was established:

“In agreement with the earlier councils, this holy and universal synod has defined and established, and has promulgated as law, that the consecrations and promotions of bishops are to be made by the election of the clergy and the decree of the college of bishops.

“No lay prince or powerful man is to insert himself into the election or promotion of any patriarch, archbishop, metropolitan, or any bishop whatsoever, lest an irregular and improper dispute or confusion should arise from this, especially since it is fitting for no powerful man or any other layman to have any power in such matters.

“Rather, he is to be silent and attend to himself until the election of the future pontiff receives its conclusion regularly from the college of the Church.”

And in chapter one of the same distinction a threat of anathema is made by Pope Adrian himself against those acting to the contrary.

King Lothair, whom Pope Nicholas had excommunicated for adultery, as was said above, came to this Adrian, as Martin relates in his Chronicle. Coming to Rome in order to excuse himself concerning the said adultery, both he and his nobles were invited by the pope to communion in the body and blood of Christ as a demonstration of their innocence. Because they received it unworthily, they all died within the year. King Lothair also died at Piacenza on the road while returning.

Section XI

After the passing of Adrian II, John VIII, a Roman by nation, was raised to the supreme prelacy in the year of the Lord 872. He sat for ten years and two days.

As Martin says in his Chronicle, he anointed Charles, son of King Louis, as emperor. In his time the Saracens, ranging through Italy, destroyed the church of Saint Benedict on Monte Cassino.

For this Pope John, John, a deacon of the Roman Church, laudably composed the life of blessed Pope Gregory in four books.

He suffered injury from the Romans, so that he was held in custody, because he did not favor Charles when he was in Francia. For he remained for almost a year with Louis the Stammerer, who was opposed to him.

He gave to the venerable man who was archbishop of Sens the head of blessed Pope Gregory and the arm of Saint Pope Leo, which he deposited as relics at Sens.

Under this pontiff John, Anastasius, librarian, that is, chancellor, of the Roman Church, flourished at Rome. He was very learned in the Greek and Latin languages, fluent in eloquence, and very accomplished in every science.

According to John of Colonna, at the command of Pope John he translated the seventh universal synod from Greek into Latin. In addition, he also translated the *Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite, which he sent to Emperor Charles, the son of Louis. Moreover, he translated from Greek into Latin the Passion of Peter of Alexandria, that of Acacius and his companions, and that of Saint John the Almsgiver, and he produced several other short works.

This John VIII says thus in cause twenty-three, question five:

“The administrators of secular dignities, who without doubt ought to have been appointed for the protection of churches, the defense of orphans and widows, and the restraint of plundering, whenever they have been approached by bishops and ecclesiastical men, are to hear their complaints very attentively, and, according as necessity shall require, are to examine them without negligence and correct them with diligent care.

“But if, not having the fear of God before their eyes, they are found negligent after a second and third admonition, let them know themselves deprived of all communion,” namely after sentence has been rendered against them.

The same man, writing to Duke Mago in cause twenty-three, question eight, says thus:

“Furthermore, we exhort the zeal of your devotion that you be stirred up all the more vehemently against the maritime robbers who rage against Christians under the pretext of your name, inasmuch as you recognize that the reputation of your name has been obscured by their wickedness.

“For although it may be believed that they lie in wait for those sailing without your consent, nevertheless, because they are said to be capable of being suppressed by you, unless you restrain them you will not be held innocent.

“For it is written: ‘He who does not correct crimes which he can amend commits them himself.’”

The gloss says that this holds when someone is the judge of such matters; then he is bound to do this.

The same man says in cause seventeen, question four:

“Whoever shall be found guilty of sacrilege shall pay thirty pounds of the purest tested silver to the bishops, abbots, or persons to whom the complaint of sacrilege shall justly have pertained.

“Sacrilege is committed if someone breaks into a church, or into the thirty ecclesiastical paces which are around a church, or into houses which are within the aforesaid paces, by plundering or carrying something away from there; or if someone inflicts injury or the taking away of property upon those who do not bear arms, or upon monks, those devoted to God, or any ecclesiastical persons.”

The same man says in the same question:

“If anyone violates the house of God and removes anything from it without the permission of the one to whom it is known to have been entrusted, or inflicts injury upon ecclesiastical persons, let him know himself deprived of communion until, having been admonished in the assembly, he makes lawful satisfaction.”

The same man says:

“Those who break into monasteries, places dedicated to God, and churches, and remove deposits or any other things from them, shall repay the damage ninefold and the immunity threefold, and, as sacrilegious persons, shall be subjected to canonical sentence.”

Those who break into or burn churches and monasteries are today excommunicated. Those who merely carry property away from them, however, are not.

Pope John says thus in cause sixteen, question three:

“But if anyone perhaps raises an objection concerning the number of years, know that among Christians and those who are of one faith a fixed number has been assigned, namely for prescription.

“But wherever the fury of pagans and unbelievers is involved, however much time may pass, it does not prejudice the right of churches, which, knowing no bodily weapons, patiently await only the Lord and their defender, when it shall please him to have mercy upon them.

“But if length of years should be an impediment in such matters, God himself is to be reproved, who after four hundred and thirty years freed the children of Israel from the harshest servitude of Pharaoh and from the iron furnace; and so is the Redeemer himself, who through himself snatched the human race from the prisons of hell after thousands of years.”

The same John VIII, writing to King Louis, says in cause sixteen, question three:

“Let no one presume to take grounds for objecting from the number of years, because the Holy Roman Church, which by God’s authorship we serve, is restricted by no periods of time and prejudiced by no divisions of kingdoms in regard to the privileges which it received, established upon the firm rock of Peter.

“Rather, the venerable laws of the Romans, promulgated by divine agency through the mouths of princes, admit prescription of its property only through one hundred years.”

Section XII

When the Lord called John VIII from this world, Martin, the one hundred and eleventh, ascended the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 882. He sat for one year and two months.

After him Martin in his Chronicle places Adrian III. Others place Agapetus, a Roman by nation, who held the pontificate for one year and three months.

About this time Rollo, who was duke of the Normans, received baptism. Because the count of Paris received him from the sacred font, he was called Robert; therefore Rollo was afterward called Robert.

And thus, when the Normans had been converted to the faith, peace was made between them and the Gauls, whereas previously the Normans, raging through Gaul, had inflicted many evils upon them.

After Rollo, who was also Robert, had been baptized, he bound himself to divine service with marvelous fervor, and above all the princes of his time he loved and fostered justice and strove to have it observed in his land. He even ordered bracelets and rings to be hung on the great public roads so that they might mock the greed of travelers, since there were none who would seize them.

He avenged with such severity the injuries committed by the greater against the lesser without cause that the lesser lived more safely and freely than the greater. Hence even now in the kingdom of the Franks, when injury or violence is inflicted upon someone, they are accustomed to cry out in their language: “O Rollo, would that you were alive!”

Therefore the wrath of God was turned into mercy toward the Gauls, who had been plundered by the Normans and Danes for forty years and more and had been reduced almost to nothing, when those peoples, as has been said, were converted to the faith and peace was restored throughout Francia.

The body of blessed Martin, which for fear of the barbarians had been carried away from Tours to Auxerre, was brought back to Tours. At its return or bringing back, so many and such great miracles were performed that whoever was afflicted by any illness or infirmity whatsoever was healed upon encountering it, even without having been carried there, even without asking, indeed even against his will.

Hence, among the others, two infirm men who received many alms by making a livelihood from their infirmity, upon hearing the wonders that were being performed, fled before those sacred relics of the body, fearing to be healed lest through this they lose their customary gain. But, encountering them against their will, they were suddenly healed.

Moreover, when the body of the blessed man entered the boundaries of the parish in wintertime, all the thickets and shrubs were clothed with leaves and flowers. Candles and lamps throughout the churches were also kindled by divine light, especially in the two basilicas dedicated in his name. The bells themselves also rang with no one touching them. Hence the whole province of Tours celebrates this feast solemnly every year.

Section XIII

When at length the Apostolic See was vacant, Stephen V, a Roman by nation, was made pontiff of the city, the one hundred and twelfth. His father was Adrian of the Via Lata. He was the vicar of Christ for six years and eight days. He presided in the year of the Lord 885.

Some place a Basil here, but that is not commonly held. No Basil is found in the catalogue of pontiffs.

This Stephen writes thus to the bishop of Mainz in cause two, question four:

“You have consulted us concerning infants who, sleeping in one bed with their parents, are found dead: whether the parents ought to purify themselves by hot iron, boiling water, or any other ordeal in order to prove that they did not crush them.

“For parents are to be admonished and warned not to place such little children with themselves in one bed, lest through some negligence they be suffocated or crushed and the parents themselves thereby be found guilty of homicide.

“For the sacred canons do not judge that a confession is to be extorted from anyone by an ordeal of hot iron or boiling water. What was not established by the teaching of the holy fathers is not to be presumed through a superstitious invention.

“For it has been committed to our governance to judge, with the fear of God before our eyes, offenses made public by voluntary confession or the attestation of witnesses. Hidden and unknown matters, however, are to be left to him who alone knows the hearts of the sons of men.”

It should also be noted that certain others place Adrian III immediately before this Stephen, sitting for one year and three months. But this is not commonly held, and therefore he is not placed in the number of pontiffs.

Section XIV

Upon the death of Pope Stephen, Formosus, the one hundred and third, was made prelate of the Roman Church in the year of the Lord 891. He remained in the pontificate for five years, six months, and eighteen days.

As John of Colonna relates, he was made pope against the will of certain Roman nobles. These men favored the Roman Sergius and wished him to preside over the supreme pontificate, but, being unable to prevail, they remained quiet.

When this Formosus at one time had come under adverse suspicion before Pope John VIII, of whom above, he fled, leaving the bishopric of Porto. And because, having been recalled by the same pope, he refused to return, he was excommunicated.

At length, when Pope John was setting out for Gaul on the affairs of the Church, Formosus approached him. Degraded by him as far as the lay habit, he swore that he would no longer enter Rome, nor seek again the bishopric of his city, and, furthermore, that he would remain in lay communion. He confirmed all these things in writing with his own hand.

Afterward, however, he was restored by Martin, John's successor, to his own bishopric contrary to the oath he had given. He not only entered Rome, but in the course of time, when Stephen, who had succeeded Martin, died, he received the papacy of the Roman See. On account of this matter, much controversy subsequently arose in the Roman Church. Agitated long afterward, it variously generated great scandal in the hearts of many, as will appear below.

Therefore, when the Romans gravely harassed this Pope Formosus and did not permit him to govern the Church, he was compelled to summon from the Franks to his aid Arnulf, then emperor of the Romans.

Arnulf, after rapidly assembling an army, came to Rome. But, not being admitted within, he besieged it on the side which looks toward Tuscany.

During this siege, when a little hare, suddenly found by the dogs, fled toward the city, the army followed it with a very great shout. The Romans who were standing guard on that side, thinking that the city had been captured by the emperor's army on the other side, abandoned the walls and fled.

Seeing this, the enemy applied ladders and entered the city; the gates having been opened, the emperor entered with his entire army. Thus Rome was captured for the first time by an army of Germans under Emperor Arnulf.

When the emperor had entered the city, Pope Formosus received him with much honor. Afterward, having received the imperial blessing from him, he was solemnly crowned. When these things had duly been completed, the emperor ordered all those who had injured Pope Formosus to be summoned before him and beheaded as an example to others.

Scandal and dissension therefore arose from this concerning Pope Formosus. Some proclaimed that his consecration and the ordinations made by him ought to be invalid. Others, on the contrary, judged by sounder counsel that, whatever Formosus may have been, all the ordinations or consecrations ought to be valid, both because of the dignity of the priestly office and because of the faith of those who had been ordained, especially since Formosus himself had been absolved by Pope Martin from the perjury of the oath.

Boniface VI, a Tuscan by nation, succeeded Formosus in the papacy. He sat for only twenty-five days and is described as the one hundred and fourteenth in the number of pontiffs.

After Boniface, Stephen VI, a Roman by nation, received the Church of God to govern in the year of the Lord 897, the one hundred and fifteenth in the number of pontiffs. According to certain men he sat for one year and three months; according to others, as Vincent says, for four months.

In his time, as John of Colonna relates, the entire Lateran church fell down from the gate which looks toward the east as far as the high altar.

Although this Stephen had been greatly loved by Pope Formosus and had been ordained bishop of Anagni by him, nevertheless, after he was made supreme pontiff, he persecuted Formosus and decreed that all his ordinations were invalid. Moreover, he perpetrated against him other things wicked even to speak of.

For it is read that he caused the body of Formosus to be taken from the tomb and brought into a council which he had assembled; first he caused it to be stripped of the pontifical habit and clothed in lay garments. Then, after two fingers of the right hand had been cut off, he ordered it to be cast into the Tiber.

When Stephen died, a man named Romanus, a Spaniard by nation, succeeded him. He sat for a little less than four months and was the one hundred and sixteenth in the number of pontiffs.

When Romanus had been taken from this life, Theodore, a Roman by nation, ascended the chair of Peter. He sat there for twenty days.

Holding a position contrary to Stephen, he reconciled those ordained by Pope Formosus, whom Stephen, as Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History*, had forcibly disordained within Rome and not outside it, and had not presumed to consecrate them again. After these men had been reconciled, Pope Theodore returned the books of renunciation and ordered them to be burned with fire.

When Theodore had completed his life, John, a native of Tivoli, the one hundred and eighteenth, presided over the universal Church. He sat for two years and three months.

To confirm the ordination of Formosus, whom Stephen had deposed, he appointed a synod of seventy-four bishops at Ravenna, in the presence of the archbishops of the Franks and the king. Before them the synod was burned, that is, the acts of the synod which Stephen had held for the condemnation of Formosus.

When John died, Benedict IV, a Roman by nation, succeeded to the papacy in the year of the Lord 902. He sat for three years, or, according to others, for four years and six months. The chroniclers write nothing about him.

After Benedict, Leo V, a native of Arezzo, is described. Thirty days after his ordination, Christopher, his priest, seized him and thrust him into prison, and himself seized the prelacy by invasion. But after seven months Christopher was cast out of the papacy and became a monk.

Section XV

Thereafter Sergius III, a Roman by nation, was created supreme pontiff in the year of the Lord 906. He held the See of Peter for seven years and three months.

He rebuilt from the ground the Lateran basilica, which had wholly fallen down in the time of Stephen VI, as has been said, and enriched it with various gifts and ornaments, as could be read in letters engraved on both sides of the walls before those bronze columns which stood before the altar, up to the time when the church itself was burned.

This Sergius, as Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History* and Martin in the Chronicle, had previously been a deacon and, on account of Formosus, had been rejected from the papacy, he who had been made a bishop by that same Formosus. Nevertheless, he went to the Franks and, with their aid, captured Christopher, the invader of the papacy, and thrust him into prison, as has been said. Entering Rome secretly, he invaded the papacy and drove the Romans by threats and terrors to hold all the ordinations of Formosus invalid.

In vengeance for his own rejection—which is a wicked thing to speak of—he ordered Formosus to be drawn from the tomb, placed in the pontifical chair clothed as a priest, and beheaded. Moreover, after three fingers had been cut off, he caused him to be cast into the Tiber. He unjustly disordained all whom Formosus had ordained and still more unjustly reordained them.

When Formosus was found by fishermen and carried in a coffin into the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, certain images of the saints were seen openly by everyone to adore him and greet him reverently.

After Sergius, Anastasius III received the Roman Church to govern in the year of the Lord 913. He sat for two years and two months.

He was succeeded by one named Lando, a native of Sabina, who held the chair for four months and twenty-two days. The papacy was vacant for thirty days.

When Lando had been called to the Lord, John X, a Roman by nation, held the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 917. He sat for thirteen years and two months. According to John of Colonna and Martin, he was a son of Pope Sergius.

By his counsel the Saracens who were devastating the territories of the Romans were defeated in war. For when the Saracens were, as it were, dominant in Italy, they were first defeated near the city. Then Pope John, entering Apulia with Marquis Alberic against the Saracens at Garigliano and waging a hard war with them, became victorious. Returning thence together to Rome, they were received by the Roman people with great joy and honor.

But afterward, when discord intervened, the marquis was expelled from the city. Building a fortress at Orte, he took refuge there and sent messengers for the Hungarians so that they might possess the land of the Romans. Upon coming, they plundered all Tuscany and carried men, women, and whatever they could take away into Hungary. Moved by this, the Romans killed the marquis. The Hungarians, however, were afterward accustomed to devastate the territories of the Romans every year for a long time.

Pope John was afterward captured by the soldiers of Guido, sent into prison, and strangled when a pillow was placed over his face.

Another John was put in his place upon the chair of Peter. Because that John had entered badly, he was therefore cast out and is not commonly placed in the number of pontiffs.

In the year of the Lord 930, Leo VI, a Roman by nation, was assumed as bishop of the city. He sat for almost three months.

After the passing of Leo, Stephen VII, a Roman by nation, was made supreme prelate. He sat for two years, one month, and fifteen days.

When he departed, John XI, a Roman by nation, was created pope. He sat for four years, ten months, and fifteen days. In his first year, as Martin relates in his Chronicle, a fountain in the city of Genoa poured forth blood most abundantly, perhaps portending its imminent destruction. For in that same year it was captured by Saracens coming from Africa and emptied of men and treasures.

He was followed by Leo VII, a Roman by nation, in the year of the Lord 936. He held the papacy for three years, six months, and ten days.

After him was Stephen VIII, a German by nation, for three years, six months, and ten days. He was mutilated by the Romans.

Martin III, a Roman by nation, succeeded the aforesaid man. He sat for three years, six months, and fourteen days.

When Martin passed to the Lord, Agapetus II, a Roman by nation, was placed in the Roman See. He remained in it for eight years, six months, and ten days. He began to preside over the Church in the year of the Lord 945.

The chroniclers or historiographers say almost nothing about all the aforesaid men.

Section XVI

Pope Agapetus was joined to his fathers. At that event a certain Alberic, one of the most powerful of the Roman nobles, labored sufficiently with the clergy, both by entreaties and gifts and also by threats, that his son should be elected pope.

Before his election this son was called Octavian, but afterward he was named John, the twelfth of that name. He was very youthful in his conduct. Given over solely to the care of the flesh, he devoted himself to hunting and lust, and had cast chastity so far from himself that women entered publicly to him, as John of Colonna and Vincent note.

This monster in conduct sat for nine years and three months.

When Emperor Otto I entered Italy, summoned by the pope through his envoys and by the peoples of Italy so that he might free it from the tyranny of Berengar, who was greatly harassing it, he sent that Berengar into exile. He was also received with great honor by the clergy and Roman people and was solemnly crowned by Pope John himself.

After receiving the crown, he remained at Rome for some time. Having spoken several times with this most wretched Pope John, he urged him to recover from his most unclean life. But when he accomplished very little, the emperor, detesting his conduct, withdrew into the regions of Spoleto.

Alberic, the son of the said Berengar, came to Pope John and, drawing him to himself by promises and gifts, sought to attempt something against the emperor. When this was perceived by certain Romans and cardinals who wrote to the emperor, the pope on that account caused the nose of one cardinal deacon to be cut off, as though he had been an adviser in this deed, and the hand of the subdeacon who had written the letters, as Martin relates in his Chronicle.

The emperor returned to Rome. But Pope John, fearing his coming, fled into Campania, where he hid in the woods and mountains like a beast.

Therefore, arriving at Rome, the emperor sought and received hostages from all the nobles of the city. He feared that they might contrive something in favor of Pope John, for that most wretched pope was sprung from the lineage of Roman nobles.

With the common consent of all, the emperor sent an embassy to Pope John and urged him to lay aside fear and return safely to his see. When he was unwilling to return, all the Romans, clergy and people, begged the emperor to provide the Church with a worthy pontiff.

The emperor is said to have answered them:

“You yourselves, Quirites, to whom the election of the pontiff of the city belongs, choose, with God before your eyes, one who is worthy, and I shall most gladly confirm the man whom you elect.”

Having heard this, all the Romans with one voice and one consent elected before the emperor as supreme pontiff Leo, a venerable man, the chief notary of the Apostolic See, a Roman by nation. He was solemnly conducted to the Lateran church and consecrated.

But whether this could lawfully have been done—whether a pope, even if a notorious sinner and one scandalizing the Church, could have been deposed, even by a synod, except for the vice of heresy, and another could have been created while he was living and had not voluntarily resigned—is a great question. It belongs to the present work not to determine it, but only to weave together the history.

When affairs in the city had been settled, the emperor went into Tuscany. While he was there, certain Romans, after taking counsel, recalled Pope John, whom the emperor had cast out of the papacy on account of his crimes by the counsel and assent of a synod, the clergy, and the people. They restored him to his see with no small solemnity. The emperor, as has been said, had deposed him in an assembled synod of bishops before the election of Leo.

When Leo perceived this, he feared for his person, fled from the city, went to the emperor, and related the course of the matter. Hearing it, the emperor angrily resolved to return to Rome.

But in those days, while the most wretched Pope John was most shamelessly taking pleasure with a certain man's wife, he was struck by the devil in the bedchamber and suddenly expired without penance and the viaticum.

Concerning that Pope John and Otto I before Otto's coronation, the chapter beginning "To You, Lord," in distinction sixty-three says:

"To you, Lord Pope John, I, King Otto, cause promise and oath to be made by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, by this wood of the life-giving cross, and by these relics of the saints, that, if the Lord permitting I come to Rome, I shall exalt the Holy Roman Church and you, its ruler, according to my power.

"You shall never lose your life, your limbs, or the honor itself which you possess by my will, my consent, my counsel, or my exhortation.

"In Rome I shall hold no court or make any ordinance concerning all those matters which pertain to you or to the Romans without your counsel; and whatever from the land of Saint Peter shall come into our power, I shall return to you.

"Whomever I shall entrust with the kingdom of Italy, I shall cause him to swear that he will be your helper in defending the land of Saint Peter according to his power."

From these words it is evident that he made this promise before Otto himself came to Rome.

Thus, when John had died miserably, Leo VIII remained in the See of Peter. He was in it for one year and four months, in the year of the Lord 963.

But as soon as the aforesaid John had died, the Romans elected as pope Benedict V, then a cardinal of the Roman Church. When he had been elected, they sent messengers to Otto, begging him concerning this matter that he should approve Benedict himself with his consent and confirm the election, as John of Colonna relates.

But the emperor, filled with anger and accusing them in many matters, refused to hear them. As they withdrew, he answered them as follows:

"Go and announce to the Romans: I shall cease seeking to restore Lord Pope Leo to his see, from which he was wickedly cast out by them, when I shall have laid down my sword."

The emperor, therefore, angry both over Leo's expulsion and over the election of another, namely Benedict, assembled great forces, came to Rome, and surrounded it on every side with a siege. By thoroughly plundering everything outside the walls, he brought the Romans to such wretched hunger that asses and horses were eaten within the city.

Wearied by so many evils and unable to endure any longer, the Romans opened the gates to him. They handed Benedict, whom they had ordained, a simple and innocent man, over to the judgment of the emperor, and restored Leo to his see with solemnity.

After all these things had been completed according to the prince's judgment, he was reconciled to the Romans at Leo's entreaty.

Otto I therefore remained at Rome for some time. While he was there and the solemnity of the Lord's Nativity was approaching, he caused his son Otto to be crowned by Pope Leo and joined to him in marriage Theophania, daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. Departing from there, he returned to Germany, taking with him the aforesaid Benedict, who had held the papacy for only two months. According to some, he caused Benedict to be strangled in prison.

As Martin says in his Chronicle, this Leo, on account of the wickedness of the Romans, established that no one should be made pope except with the assent of the emperor.

This is contained in distinction sixty-three, where it is said:

"In a synod assembled at Rome in the church of the Holy Savior, according to the example of blessed Adrian, bishop of the Apostolic See, who granted to Lord Charles, the most victorious king of the Franks and Lombards, the dignity of the patriciate, the ordering of the Apostolic See, and the investiture of bishops, I Leo likewise, servant of the servants of God and bishop, together with all the clergy and the Roman people, establish, confirm, and corroborate, and by our apostolic authority concede and bestow upon Lord Otto I, king of the Germans, and upon his successors in this kingdom of Italy in perpetuity, the power to

choose a successor and to ordain the pontiff of the supreme Apostolic See, and through this to ordain archbishops or bishops, so that they may receive investiture and consecration from him, excepting those whom the emperor has conceded to the pontiff and the archbishops.

“And let no one hereafter, of whatever dignity or religious condition, have the power to elect either the patrician or the pontiff of the supreme Apostolic See, or to ordain any bishop, without the consent of the emperor himself. Nevertheless, let this be done without any money, and let the emperor himself be patrician and king.”

At the end of the chapter he imposes the penalty of excommunication upon those acting to the contrary and, unless they recover their senses, the penalty of exile or death.

Section XVII

When Leo was called to the Lord, Pope John XIII, a native of the city of Narni, was elected and consecrated. He spent six years, eleven months, and five days in that dignity.

While he was governing the Church in tranquility, the prefect of the city, together with Geoffrey, count of Campania, and certain other Romans, made a conspiracy against him and captured him. Having been captured, he was most disgracefully committed to imprisonment in the Castel Sant’Angelo. He was detained there for almost eleven months.

When this came to the emperor’s knowledge, he immediately assembled his forces and hastened to Rome. But before he reached the city, that Geoffrey was killed by a certain John together with his son.

After Geoffrey’s death, the Romans feared the emperor’s coming, which was already near, and restored the supreme pontiff to his place with great solemnity.

But when Otto arrived at Rome, he summoned the Romans, diligently examined the pontiff’s case, and afflicted with various punishments all whom he found culpable in the pope’s capture. He sent some into exile and deprived others of their goods. He caused twelve men who had been the principal figures in the capture of Pope John to be hanged in the middle of the city. He caused Geoffrey and Stephen, who had done this and were already dead, to be dug up and their bones scattered.

The emperor handed the prefect over to the pope to be punished at his judgment. As an example to others, the pope caused him to be stripped of his clothes and to stand for the entire day suspended by his hair from the horse of Emperor Constantine. Afterward he caused him to be placed upon an ass facing backward, with a bladder placed upon his head, and scourged through the city. He then caused him to be sent to prison and afterward into exile in Germany.

After John XIII ended his last day, Benedict VI, a Roman by nation, received the miter of the supreme prelacy in the year of the Lord 971, while Emperor Otto I was still surviving. He remained in it for one year and six months.

He was captured by a certain Cynthius, son of Theodora, and placed in custody in the Castel Sant’Angelo. He is then said to have been strangled by that same man.

About this time, a certain savage people called the Danes, worshiping Jesus and idols at the same time, disputed at a banquet with a certain notable cleric named Poppo concerning the worship of the true and supreme God and of idols, as Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History* and John of Colonna.

The Danes asserted that Jesus Christ was indeed God, but that the other gods whom they worshiped were greater and older than he. Poppo, on the contrary, affirmed that Jesus Christ was the true God and the only God, and that the true God was one in substance and three in persons.

Harald, king of the Danes, told the cleric Poppo to prove by a testimony of truth the faith which he had set forth. When the said cleric agreed to this, the following proof ensued.

A glowing iron of immense weight was placed upon his hands to be carried. When the cleric bore it without any injury to the satisfaction of all, the king, thoroughly moved, cast aside idolatry and converted himself and his people to worship the one true God.

When Benedict died, Boniface VI was made archbishop of the city. He sat for one year and one day.

Before this Boniface, however, Martin in his Chronicle places a certain man called Domnus, who presided over the whole Church for one year and six months. After him this Boniface is described.

As John of Colonna relates after Martin, Boniface, being unable to remain safely in the city, stripped the church of blessed Peter of all its precious ornaments and fled to Constantinople.

When Boniface had thus departed, the Romans made another pope in his place. They called him John XIV, a native of Pavia, and he sat upon the papal throne for eight months.

But the aforesaid Boniface, who had fled to Constantinople, returned to Rome with much treasure. Drawing the Romans to himself by gifts and promises, he captured the aforesaid Pope John and placed him under guard in the Castel Sant'Angelo. Wasted away there by hunger and want, John ended his life after four months; and, as some think, he was killed by the pope.

After John's death Boniface again invaded the see. But not long afterward divine vengeance raged against him, for he was taken away by sudden death.

He was so hateful even to all his own men that they pierced even his dead body with lances and poles, tied ropes to its feet, and cast the corpse into the Lateran square. But it was gathered up by clerics and buried.

After Boniface, John of Colonna places John XIV as governing the Church for only four months.

About his time Elfrida, queen of the English, through whose deceit her stepson, the king of England, had been killed so that her son, namely Elfrida's, might possess the kingdom, returned to herself and did harsh penance.

For although she was a most beautiful and delicate woman, she abandoned the world and entered a monastery of nuns. There, clothed against the flesh in a harsh hair shirt, without any pillow, she lay upon the ground with a little straw placed beneath her, fasting on bread and water.

But Martin in his Chronicle does not place this John. Rather, he places another whom he names Benedict VII. After him he places the aforesaid John XIV, whom he asserts to have held the chair of Peter for eight months and, after being afflicted by hunger for four months in the Castel Sant'Angelo, at length to have died.

After this man he places another John XV, who remained in the papacy for four months, and after him John XVI, who governed the little ship of Peter for ten years, six months, and ten days.

But John of Colonna, omitting two, namely Benedict VII and John XV, describes this John XV, who sat for ten years and more. According to him, he was a Roman by nation and very learned. He composed many books and was very experienced in military affairs.

Crescentius, the patrician of the city, began to persecute him gravely in many matters, so much so that the supreme pontiff abandoned the city and fled into Tuscany.

But when Crescentius heard that the pope had summoned Emperor Otto III to his aid and for the defense of the Church, Crescentius himself and the entire senate, fearing the emperor's severity, approached the pope's feet. Having humbly sought pardon, Crescentius was reconciled with him, and the pope returned to the city.

At that time a venerable man named Rodulf was made archbishop in the church of Reims in Francia. He was descended from the lineage of Charlemagne, which had now ceased in the kingdom of Francia.

Hugh, then king of Francia, who was sprung from another lineage, bore hatred against him. Summoning the bishops and alleging that Rodulf had been made archbishop unlawfully, he procured his deposition and installed Gilbert, a monk and philosopher, or rather a magician and necromancer.

Hearing this, the supreme pontiff sent a legate to Reims. Having summoned a council, the legate deposed Gilbert and restored Rodulf to his see.

After being deposed, Gilbert went to Emperor Otto, whom he had instructed in knowledge. Otto, seizing the opportunity, caused him to be made archbishop of Ravenna. Afterward, as will be said below, he was pope.

When John XV ended his last day, Gregory V, a Saxon by nation, ascended the chair of Peter in the year of the Lord 992. He sat for two years and five months.

He had formerly been called Bruno. Since he was a blood relative of Emperor Otto III, he was made pope at the emperor's instance.

But Crescentius the consul, in hatred of the emperor, deposed him from the papacy and, corrupted by money, procured John XVI, then bishop of Piacenza, to be elected pope by intrusion by the cardinals and clergy.

When the emperor heard this, he was inflamed with anger, came into Italy and then to the city, defeated Crescentius and his men in battle, and fastened him to a gallows before the city gate. He blinded that intruded John, who had usurped the papacy for ten months. When Gregory V died, the emperor procured the assumption as pope of Gilbert the magician, concerning whom what follows is said.

Section XVIII

In the year of the Lord three less than one thousand, when Emperor Otto III, having punished Crescentius together with the Romans adhering to him in rebellion, could now dispose of the Roman clergy and people according to his judgment, he chose Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, for promotion to the papacy—a man whom I would call not the supreme philosopher, but the worst magician. He caused him to be consecrated and named Sylvester II. He was a Gaul by nation.

This Aquitanian, as John of Colonna testifies, was a monk from boyhood in the monastery of Fleury in the diocese of Orléans.

Afterward, going out from the cloister at the prompting of demons, he sought Spain. Coming to Seville, which is now called Sevilla, he remained there a long time. For this city was then held in the possession of the Saracens, who devoted themselves solely to divinations and incantations.

There Gilbert therefore learned the whole art of astrology, divination, and necromancy. He also drank in the quadrivium so deeply that he restored in Gaul those arts which are called liberal and which had long been obsolete there.

He lodged with a certain Saracen philosopher who possessed a single book in which were contained the rules and characters of the whole art of necromancy. Gilbert could extract that book from his master by no art.

At length, with the aid of the philosopher's daughter, whom Gilbert knew familiarly, he stole that book. As he fled, he did homage to the devil on condition that the master who was pursuing him should by no means find him. Thus, with the devil's aid, he came into Francia, where he professed in the public schools.

He had as fellow philosophers and companions in his studies Constantine, abbot of Saint Maximin, for whom he composed a rule concerning computation by the abacus, and Adibolbus, bishop of Vinziburg, whose letter to that same Gilbert concerning the question of the diameter in Macrobius is extant.

He also had as disciples men of praiseworthy character and noble lineage: Robert, son of Hugh Capet, and Otto III, son of Otto II.

Hugh, as was said above, made him archbishop of Reims. In that church Gilbert himself made by mechanical art a marvelous clock.

After Otto III was raised to the empire, he first made Gilbert archbishop of Ravenna and afterward, in the course of time, caused him to be elected pope.

Gilbert himself pressed forward his fortunes in his mind, with the devil as his supporter, so that he wished to leave nothing which he had conceived unfinished. By necromantic art he found treasures which had once been buried by peoples, and when they had been found he entangled them in his desires.

At that time there was in the Field of Mars, or Martian Field, a certain marble statue which bore written upon the finger of its right hand: "Strike here." Men of an earlier age, thinking that there was treasure in its head, had cut off its head with many blows.

But Gilbert, observing at the midday sun the point to which the shadow of the statue's finger extended, fixed a stake there.

When night came, accompanied by his chamberlain as a companion, he went to that place. There, causing the earth to gape by his customary arts, he opened a broad entrance.

Having entered it, they saw there a golden people, golden walls, golden coffered ceilings, golden statues, and golden vessels of great weight and price.

In the opposite corner stood a boy holding a bow with its string drawn. As soon as anyone prepared his hand to touch something, all those statues or images seemed to spring forward and make an attack upon the presumptuous intruder.

Induced by this fear, Gilbert touched nothing. But his chamberlain, who was with him, thinking it a small theft amid so much booty, took one knife of marvelous workmanship and value.

Immediately the boy holding the bow shot an arrow into the carbuncle which illuminated that house with its splendor, and brought on darkness. Unless the chamberlain, at Gilbert's warning, had hastened to replace the knife, perhaps they both would have felt a grave punishment.

Nevertheless, I do not see how this could have been known unless those very men who alone were there disclosed it to others.

Therefore this greatest magician, having been made pope, was in the See of Peter for one year. Forgetful of his salvation, he asked a demon whom he had as a familiar how long he was to live and enjoy the honor of the papacy.

The devil answered him that he would live until he celebrated Mass in Jerusalem. Gilbert therefore rejoiced at the answer, because the wretched man believed himself to be far from his end, just as it was far from his intention to make a pilgrimage across the sea to Jerusalem.

But he was deceived by the devil in his equivocal speech, as is the devil's custom, which Gilbert did not understand. For at Rome there is a church called Holy Cross in Jerusalem, in which Carthusians now reside. In that church the pope was accustomed to celebrate during Lent, and the station is entitled "At Holy Jerusalem."

Therefore, when on one of those days that wretched man had gone there to celebrate Mass and had already begun the Mass, he was suddenly seized by a grave fever. After this he perceived a very great tumult of demons.

Wondering, he recalled to mind that the church was called Jerusalem and recognized that he had been deceived by the devil.

As his illness increased, he caused all the cardinals to be summoned to him. Before them he disclosed his crimes with weeping. Although he had been most criminal, nevertheless he did not despair of the mercy of God.

But, contrite while he was still living, he commanded that after his death all his members with which he had rendered service to the devil should be cut off piece by piece. He ordered that his trunk be placed upon a cart and buried wherever the horses drawing that cart should carry it of themselves.

By divine direction, as a sign of his perfect contrition and that the merciful and most compassionate Lord had spared him, the horses carried it to the Lateran church.

He would have been numbered among the men illustrious for knowledge of letters in his age if he had not defiled his knowledge with diabolical art. Hence certain men do not place him in the number of pontiffs, because this Sylvester is believed not to have entered through the door. Omitting him, they describe a certain Agapetus in the catalogue.

Moreover, certain writers, also writing about his death, assert that he died after being struck suddenly by the devil. John of Colonna relates these things about him at such length.

After Sylvester had been taken from this life, Martin in his Chronicle places John XVIII, who sat for five months and twenty-five days, and after him John XIX, who sat for five years. The papacy was vacant for one month. After him he places Sergius.

But John of Colonna makes no mention of those two men who were called John. After the aforesaid Sylvester he places Sergius IV, who held the See of Peter for two years and seven months and was of holy life and honorable conduct.

About that time, according to Vincent in the *Mirror of History*, John of Colonna, and Martin, Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, succeeded to the kingdom of Francia. He was a most devout and most religious prince, most affectionate toward the divine office, and not moderately instructed in ecclesiastical chant.

For he composed that devout sequence which begins, "May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with us," which is sung on the day of Pentecost, and that responsory, "O Judah and Jerusalem."

It is also related that, when on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul he had come to visit the thresholds of the apostles, after he had prayed for some time before their altar during Mass, he rose and placed a certain slip upon the altar.

Certain persons thought that he had offered some great gift. The ministers of the altar found the said slip, upon which was written with musical notation that responsory, "Cornelius the centurion," together with its verse, which the king himself had composed with its chant.

He is said to have possessed such great devotion toward the divine office that he always wished to be in some monastery on great feasts. He not only sang with the monks in choir, but, clothed in a silk cope, also directed the choir.

Hence, when he had once besieged a certain fortress which had rebelled against him, he left the army on account of the feast of Saint Amandus and came to Orléans. While on that same day he was singing the *Lamb of God* in a loud voice during Mass, at that same moment the walls of that fortress, which appeared impregnable, fell down.

At that time there also shone in Francia Philibert, bishop of Chartres, and Odilo, abbot of Cluny, concerning whom above.

After the passing of Sergius, Benedict VIII, a Tusculan by nation and the son of Gregory, was invested with the supreme pontificate in the year of the Lord 1011. After his creation he lived twelve years less ten days. The papacy was vacant for one year.

He was expelled from the papacy and another was made, whence a great schism followed, according to Martin and John of Colonna.

As Peter Damian relates, a certain bishop known to this Pope Benedict saw him after his death sitting upon a very black horse. The bishop said to him, “Are you not that Pope Benedict whom we know to be already dead?”

“I,” he said, “am that unhappy Benedict.”

The bishop asked, “How is it with you, father?”

“I am gravely tormented,” he answered. “But if aid is furnished to me, I do not despair of the ineffable mercy of God. Therefore go to my successor, Pope John, and tell him that he will find a certain sum of money in such a chest. Let him distribute it to the poor, because whatever was previously given for me profited me nothing, since it came from plunder.”

The bishop faithfully fulfilled what had been entrusted to him. Terrified by this vision, he yielded his bishopric and became a monk in a certain monastery, where he happily completed his life.

When Benedict was joined to his fathers, John XX, a Roman by nation and the son of Gregory, was called to the summit of the supreme dignity in the year of the Lord 1022. He remained in it for eleven years. He had a war with the Romans.

The people of the Hungarians, given over to the worship of idols until those times, was perfectly converted to the faith through Gisela, sister of Emperor Henry I, who was married to the king of the Hungarians.

For this holy woman by her insistence led her husband the king to this, that he should humbly and devoutly ask Emperor Henry to baptize him and his whole people. The king was called Stephen in baptism. His merits are commended by many miracles down to this day.

When John died, Benedict IX, nephew of the aforesaid Pope Benedict and therefore also a Tusculan by nation, succeeded in the government of the universal Church.

He was expelled from the papacy, and another was made, namely the bishop of Sabina, called Sylvester III, who sat for only fifty-six days. When Sylvester had been deposed, the expelled Benedict recovered his see and the dignity taken from him. Benedict sat in the chair of Peter for fourteen years.

After his death, according to John of Colonna and Martin, he appeared near a mill in the form of an animal whose body had the tail of an ass, while the rest was like a bear.

When the man to whom he appeared fled in terror, the monster cried after him, saying: “Do not be terrified of me. Know that I was a man just as you are, but by the will of God I wander in such a form on account of my sins, because I lived not as a pope but as a beast.”

John of Colonna says that after this Benedict recovered the see from which he had been expelled, with the more powerful men supporting him in this and after many gifts had been given, because he was an uneducated man and ignorant of almost all letters, he caused the said Sylvester to be consecrated with him to perform the duties of the ecclesiastical office.

Because this displeased many, a third was brought in who alone would fulfill the duties of the two. He had formerly been called Gratian, but in the papacy he was called Gregory VI.

Gregory VI gloriously ascended the chair of Peter after Benedict IX. He had been priest of Saint John Before the Latin Gate. He remained in the chair for two years and six months.

As John of Colonna writes at length concerning him, this Gregory found the condition of the Roman pontificate greatly diminished in the curia through the actions of his predecessors, so that apart from a few towns near the city and the offerings of the faithful he had nothing with which to sustain himself and his cardinals.

For the cities and possessions which belonged to the right of the Roman Church had been taken by noble tyrants, both Roman and those established round about. Moreover, the public ways and roads throughout almost all Italy were beset by robbers and plunderers, so that pilgrims could not come to Rome to visit the thresholds of the apostles without danger unless gathered into a great multitude.

For this reason people from almost every province had ceased to approach the city for devotion. In the city itself hired killers wandered in the middle of the forum. Anyone desiring to see the church of the Prince of the Apostles, if by chance he fell among that kind of men, by no means returned home without loss of property or life.

At first the supreme pontiff Gregory began to oppose such great evils mildly, as became a pontiff. He therefore first ordered them to cease harassing pilgrims and plundering sacred things, so that they would allow the offerings of the faithful to pass to the use of Christ’s ministers. He promised to provide for them in some way if they were driven to plunder by want. Those whom greed agitated were themselves, for fear of God and the honor of the world, to impose a limit by withdrawing themselves from it.

He invited the invaders of ecclesiastical patrimony by mandates and letters either to return what was not owed to them or to prove in the Roman senate that they held it by right. If they did neither, they were to recognize that they were not members of the Church.

Having frequently addressed assemblies with such words, he accomplished almost nothing. Then he excommunicated all who did such things and those who shared food or conversation with them.

The excommunicated men raged in return and began to surround the walls of the city with arms, so that they attempted the pope's death.

Then the supreme priest, judging that the iron of amputation must be used, sought arms and horses from every quarter and assembled soldiers and horsemen. First occupying the church of blessed Peter, he either destroyed or put to flight the plunderers of the offerings. After those who resisted him had been killed, he restored to their ancient right the estates and towns lost for a long time.

Meanwhile the Romans, accustomed to live by plunder, called him that bloodthirsty man and unworthy to offer to God, being conscious of so many killings. The cardinals themselves seemed to hold the same opinion and to bring accusations against him, so much so that, while he lay in the illness from which he died, after first taking counsel among themselves they dared to admonish him not to order himself buried in the church of the Prince of the Apostles with the other pontiffs, since he had defiled the pontifical office by the deaths of so many men.

Having heard this, he is said to have recovered his spirit and, threatening them with fierce eyes, delivered this speech:

"If there were in you even a spark of human reason or a spark of divine authority, you would not approach your pontiff with such a rash persuasion. For as long as I lived, I poured out my patrimony for your advantage and disregarded my reputation for your liberation.

"If others whom you cut to pieces with words had attempted this, it would have been fitting for you to resist them and to soothe the opinions of fools by better interpretations.

"Whose treasures, I ask, did I save? Perhaps treasures for myself? Or did I possess the treasures of my predecessors, which would suffice for any man's greed? For whom did I obtain safety? To whom did I restore liberty? You will indeed refer these things to me.

"But I was adored by the people, and freely did whatever I wished. They applauded me with all their vows. Consideration of your poverty took these praises and this applause from me.

"I turned my mind toward you and judged that I must act more severely. An impious plunderer had occupied the titles to your fortunes. You were leading a destitute life. They bought precious silks for themselves from your offerings; you, in common and tattered clothing, moved my eyes. Therefore, since I could not endure this, I declared war upon others so that at the cost of harm to citizens I might purchase glory for the clergy.

"But, as I now experience, I have lost the benefits conferred upon ungrateful men. For the sons harass their dying father concerning his burial. Will you deny me the common house of mortals? A prostitute is not barred from entering the church, nor a usurer, nor a robber, and you forbid a pope to enter.

"Therefore, sons of such reckless audacity, do penance, for you have spoken foolishly and bitterly.

"But lest you think that I prevail by authority alone, receive also the reason. Every act of men must be examined according to reason, so that the judgment of the deed may tend toward the point from which the intention of doing it proceeded. For, as the Truth says, 'If your eye is simple, your whole body will be full of light,' and so forth.

"A wretched poor man repeatedly entreated me to relieve his want. Ignorant of future events, I not only did not refuse, but sent him away laden with much money. Departing, he encountered a robber, who, seeing him carrying money, struck him with the club he bore and killed him. Am I therefore to be judged because I had given to the pilgrim, whence he incurred death?

"In ecclesiastical and civil laws the same deed is both praised and punished in different respects. It is condemned in the robber that he killed a man secretly; it is approved in the soldier that he struck down an enemy in war. Thus homicide in the latter is praiseworthy, in the former blameworthy.

"Our predecessor Adrian of praiseworthy memory was once praised because he granted the investitures of churches to Charlemagne, so that no man elected should be consecrated by a bishop unless he had first been distinguished by the king with ring and staff. For the mind of Charles was unconquered by avarice, and no one would easily have found access then unless he entered through the door.

“Moreover, across so many intervals of lands the Apostolic See could not be sought so that it might furnish assent to each man elected, while the king was near and would arrange nothing through avarice. Now luxury and ambition have occupied all the palaces of kings. Therefore the bride of Christ deservedly asserts her liberty, lest a tyrant prostitute her to an ambitious usurper. It is praised in the pontiffs of our age that they took these grants away from princes.

“Certainly it is not the office of a bishop to command battle to be joined. But it pertains to the duty of a bishop that, if he sees the shipwreck of innocence, he run to meet it with hand and tongue. Ezekiel accuses the priests because they did not stand in opposition or set themselves as a wall or shield for the house of Israel.

“There are two persons established in the Church for cutting away vices: one to sharpen speech, the other to bear the sword. As you are witnesses for me, I did not neglect my part. Where I hoped to profit, I armed my tongue. I informed by a messenger the one whose concern it is to conduct the matter with the sword, namely the emperor.

“He wrote back that he was occupied in war against the Vindelici, asking that I not be burdened by my labors and his expenses in overthrowing the assemblies of robbers. If I had refused, what excuse would I offer to God, since the emperor had poured his own part back upon me? Would I see the slaughter of citizens and the losses of pilgrims and slumber? Whoever spares a robber kills the innocent.

“But it is objected that it does not belong to a priest to stain himself with anyone’s blood. It is true; but the man who punishes the guilty and frees the innocent does not stain himself. Indeed, blessed are those who preserve judgment and perform justice at every time.

“Priests were famous with the greatest praise: Phinehas and Mattathias, who took vengeance upon transgressors with their own hand. For the one pierced those joined in venereal embraces with a dagger; the other mingled the man sacrificing to idols with the blood of the sacrifice.

“The priest Zechariah drove the king who was burning incense from the temple and doubtless would not have hesitated to kill him if God had not hastened the slaughter. The divine stroke forestalled the episcopal hand, so that leprosy fed upon the corpse of the man whose soul had usurped unlawful things. The devotion of a king is cast down, and shall the greed of a robber not be cast down?

“It is too little that I excuse what I did; what I did is even to be praised. For I conferred a benefit upon those to whom I seem to have brought destruction. I diminished their punishment when I hastened their death. These are the things I had to say for myself in order to empty your assertions of force.

“But because both my reasonings and yours can be deceived, let us commit all things to divine examination. Place my body, prepared in the manner of my predecessors, before the doors of the church, and let the doors be made fast with locks and bars. If God wills that I enter, applaud the miracle. If not, do whatever shall please you with my corpse.”

Thus it was done. Immediately the dead man’s body was placed before the doors of the church of blessed Peter, which had been shut with locks. When this had been done, a mighty whirlwind sent forth by divine power broke the obstacles of the bars and, suddenly opening the doors with repeated force, drove them against the walls with a great crash.

All who were present, astounded by the miracle, delivered the pontiff’s body to burial with great reverence.

After Gregory VI was buried, Clement II, an invader, seized the supreme pontificate by force, as Martin relates in his Chronicle. But he discharged it for a short time, namely nineteen months and seven days. The papacy was vacant for twenty days.

When he died, Damasus II was enthroned in the See of Peter. He sat for only twenty-four days and, dying, was buried with his fathers. Martin in his Chronicle asserts that this man too was an invader of the Apostolic See. Hence he was also swiftly taken away.

After him, in the year of the Lord 1052, Leo IX, a German by nation, was set over the Roman Church. He governed it for five years, two months, and six days.

Martin writes thus concerning him in his Chronicle. When the Romans, from wicked custom, had asked Emperor Henry that a pontiff be given to them, and the emperor could induce no German to accept this, he inclined Bruno, bishop of Toul, to it.

Coming to the city and having a conscience concerning this, Bruno resigned completely. Afterward, elected by the clergy and people, he maintained a praiseworthy life, so that, buried in the church of blessed Peter, he became illustrious through miracles.

But John of Colonna relates more fully, saying that, while this most holy man was setting out for the city to undertake the Apostolic See, he heard the voices of angels singing in heaven: “The Lord says, ‘I think thoughts of peace and not of affliction,’” and so forth.

This learned and devout man composed chants for many saints and wrote many things and did things useful to the Church.

Moreover, when during his papacy he found a leper before the doors of his house, he led him into his chamber and carefully placed him in his own bed. When afterward he did not find him there after the door had been opened, he was astonished that in the poor man he had received Christ.

Under his pontificate, as the same John of Colonna testifies, the Normans held a great part of Apulia occupied and rendered nothing to the Roman Church in any respect.

For this reason Pope Leo obtained from Emperor Henry by many entreaties that he should assist the Church in driving the Normans from Apulia. Assenting to his wishes, the emperor sent a great army of his men to Rome to the pope.

With them the supreme pontiff set out into Apulia against the Normans. In the borders of Samnium, near a city named Civitate, he joined hard battle with the said Normans. Defeated by them, he lost a great part of the Germans of his nation, and the pope himself was captured with many others.

But when the prince of the Normans wished to release him, the pope refused, saying that without his men, whose cause of calamity he had been, he would never return to his own country.

In that year Winifred of the Normans ended his last day. Finally, after many holy works, Leo commended his spirit to the Lord.

The same author says that, although Leo was holy and had done this with a pious intention, nevertheless, because it did not belong to his office to proceed personally to war with armed hand, and because it had been said to the first shepherd, Peter, “Put your sword into its sheath,” therefore, by the Lord’s dispensation, the army was cut down in his sight.

Section XX

After Leo’s death, Victor II, a German by nation, was placed in the See of Peter in the year of the Lord 1057. He presided over the Church for two years, three months, and thirteen days.

He was made pope through fear of the emperor and was received gloriously by him. On account of the affairs of the Church, the pope set out for Germany. While he remained there, Emperor Henry III died.

This pope also celebrated a universal council at Florence, the principal city of Tuscany. In it he deposed many bishops on account of simony and fornication.

For the city of Florence itself had now begun to flourish in wisdom, power, and riches. Hence also came its reputation: first its name, namely *Fluentia*, was changed to *Florentia*, and it became such a city that a universal council was held there.

At that time, while Henry III was emperor, one named Edward began to reign in England. He was so gentle and mild that he did not know how to injure even base men. Nevertheless, among his household there was immense reverence for him, and among strangers vehement fear. For God favored his simplicity, so that one who did not know how to become angry could be feared.

This king shone with the spirit of prophecy and with miracles, as Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History* and John of Colonna.

For on the holy day of Easter, while he sat at table crowned with the diadem and surrounded by a company of nobles, and while the others ate eagerly, he, with his mind stretched toward heavenly things, beheld something divine and broke into laughter.

When the tables had been removed, certain of his magnates asked why he had laughed. After delaying a long time, he at last answered, saying:

“The Seven Sleepers rest on Mount Celion. For seven hundred years and more they have lain upon their right sides, but at the very hour of my laughter they turned themselves onto their left sides. It shall be that they lie thus for seventy-four years.

“This is assuredly a dire omen for wretched mortals. For in those seventy-four years all those things shall come which the Lord foretold concerning the end of the world: nation against nation, kingdom against kingdom, pestilences and famines, terrors from heaven, and wars of the gentiles against Christians.”

Having heard these things, Count Harold, who was one of those asking, sent a certain knight to the emperor of Constantinople so that inquiry might be made concerning the Seven Sleepers.

The emperor received him kindly and sent him with his own messengers to the bishop of Ephesus. Coming there and making inquiry together with the bishop, they found matters just as King Edward had foretold.

Moreover, in the course of time all those things followed which the same king, moved by the divine spirit, had told his people would come in the world. For the Hagarenes, Arabs, and Turks plundered Syria, Cilicia, Asia Minor, and many cities of greater Asia, among them Ephesus and Jerusalem. Especially did the people of the Turks, going out from their territories, subject to themselves a great part of the East.

On account of this, our eastern peoples, kindled by the divine spirit to aid their Christian brothers who in the eastern regions were oppressed under the yoke of unbelievers, took up arms, fought the unbelievers, and reached as far as Egypt.

When Pope Victor had been conquered by death, Martin in his Chronicle asserts that a certain Stephen IX, a Lotharingian by nation and formerly abbot of Monte Cassino, succeeded him. He says that Stephen died after nine months and was buried at Florence.

Martin places as his successor Benedict X. He had been bishop of Velletri and was called Mutius. Because he had been made pope by violence, after the nine months during which he stood as an intruder he finally yielded the papacy and returned to private life.

Thereafter, as Martin and John of Colonna relate, the cardinals unanimously elected as pope in the city of Siena Nicholas II, a Burgundian by nation and then bishop of Florence. He sat for two years and seven months, less five days.

He celebrated a council at Rome in the year of the Lord 1059. There a decree concerning the election of the supreme pontiff was established, as is contained in distinction twenty-three, in the chapter beginning “In the Name of the Lord.” In the council assembled and celebrated in the Lateran church, Nicholas himself says:

“Your blessedness knows, most beloved brothers and fellow bishops—and the lower members also have not been unaware—how many adversities this Apostolic See, which by God’s authorship I serve, endured after the death of our predecessor Stephen of pious memory; and how many repeated hammer blows and frequent beatings it underwent at the hands of the money-changers of the simoniacal heresy, so far indeed that the column of the living God already seemed almost to totter and the net of the supreme Fisherman was compelled by swelling waves to be submerged in the depths of shipwreck.

“Hence, if it pleases your fraternity, with God’s aid we ought prudently to meet future events and to take precautions for the ecclesiastical state, lest recurring evils—which God forbid—prevail.”

And below:

“Because the Apostolic See is placed before all churches throughout the world, and therefore cannot have a metropolitan over itself, the cardinal bishops without doubt perform the office of the metropolitan. They are to advance the elected bishop to the summit of the apostolic eminence to be consecrated.

“Let him be elected from the bosom of that same Church if a suitable man is found; but if he is not found in it, let him be taken from another, with the honor and reverence due to our beloved son Henry being preserved. He is presently regarded as king and is hoped to be the future emperor, just as we have already granted to him and to those of his successors who shall personally obtain this right from this Apostolic See.”

And below it is added:

“But if this cannot be done in the city, let it be done elsewhere. And let the man elected, even before consecration, possess authority as pope to govern the Roman Church and dispose of all its resources, as blessed Gregory is known to have done.”

Finally, many curses are invoked against transgressors of this decree.

In the time of this Nicholas, and in the said council before one hundred and eighteen assembled bishops, Berengar abjured his error and heresy. For he said that the body of Christ was not really present in the sacrament of the altar, but only in a sign.

His abjuration concerning this is placed in distinction two, *On Consecration*, where it says thus:

“I, Berengar, unworthy deacon of the church of Saint Maurice of Angers, recognizing the true, apostolic, and catholic faith, anathematize every heresy, especially that concerning which I have hitherto been defamed, which attempts to assert that the bread and wine placed upon the altar are, after consecration, only a sacrament, that is, a sacred sign, and not the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they cannot sensibly, except in the sacrament alone, be handled or broken by the hands of priests.

“But I consent to the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, and with mouth and heart profess that concerning the sacraments of the Lord’s table I hold that same faith which our lord and venerable Pope Nicholas and this holy synod, by evangelical and apostolic authority, delivered to be held and confirmed to me: namely, that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar are after consecration not only a sacrament but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and sensibly, not only the sacrament but also the true body, is in truth handled and broken by the hands of priests and ground by the teeth of the faithful.”

The gloss intends this to mean not that the body of Christ is broken in itself, but that the body of Christ is really present under those appearances of bread and wine which are broken and handled.

And it follows: “Swearing,” and so forth.

When that abjuration had been made, as it says there, Pope Nicholas sent it through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Gaul, and to whatever places the report of Berengar’s depravity had reached, so that the churches which had formerly grieved over him as perverse and turned away might afterward rejoice over him as converted and returned.

Through this Berengar of Tours the Gallican Church was disturbed. For although he was very learned, he erred greatly, asserting, as Vincent testifies in the *Mirror of History* and John of Colonna, that the Eucharist which we receive upon the altar was not the true body and blood of Christ, but was a figure of the body and blood of Christ.

Many men disputed much against him in speech and writing. Among them Lord Guido, abbot of the Cross of Saint Leufredus, produced an elegant book against him concerning the body and blood of the Lord. Pope Leo VIII [read: Pope Leo IX] assembled a council against this Berengar at Vercelli, and Lanfranc, the most learned archbishop of Canterbury, also wrote against him.

In other respects this Berengar was a good man, full of almsgiving and humility, and possessed of great estates, all of which he dispersed for the uses of the poor. Moreover, he permitted no woman to be admitted into his sight.

Although he had erred in the faith, as has been said, nevertheless he acknowledged his error and abjured that heresy before Nicholas. Yet he was unable to recall those whom he had infected with this pestilence.

As Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History*, concerning this man, when Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, was at the end of his life and many were visiting him, while the capacity of the house scarcely sufficed to contain those flowing together, Fulbert, after searching with his eyes far among the assembled crowd for Berengar, judged that he should be expelled by whatever effort he could. He declared that an immense demon stood near Berengar and, with a beckoning hand enticing many to follow him, immediately corrupted them with his breath.

But Berengar himself, dying on the night of Epiphany and remembering how many wretched men he had once, as a young man and in the first heat of his error, infected with his sect, brought forth a groan and said:

“Today, on the day of his manifestation, the Lord Jesus Christ will appear to me: on account of my penance, as I hope, for glory; or on account of others, as I fear, for punishment.”

Hence William, speaking about him, says: “So exceedingly evil is it to weaken others from the good by example or word, because perhaps another’s sin will weigh you down when your own has been blotted out.”

When Nicholas II passed from this world, Alexander II was canonically created pope by the cardinals. At that time he was bishop of Lucca, but Milanese by nation. He sat for eleven years, six months, and twenty-five days from the year of the Lord 1063.

Against him, a certain man named Cadalus, bishop of Parma, was elected by all the bishops of Lombardy, as it is said, with Emperor Henry willing and consenting. The bishops asserted that the pope ought not to be elected except from the paradise of Italy.

As John of Colonna and Martin write, this Cadalus came to Rome twice with a great army and strove to usurp the papacy for himself by violence. But, repulsed by Alexander’s supporters, he could not obtain what he had wickedly hoped for.

Alexander came into Lombardy at the emperor’s entreaties and celebrated a council in the city of Mantua. When all had been pacified and quieted, he returned to the city.

At that time the portion of the Normans which had occupied Apulia began to devastate the territories of Campania. Godfrey, duke of Spoleto, and the illustrious woman Countess Matilda expelled them.

This Countess Matilda, who caused herself to be called a daughter of blessed Peter, was so powerful that she even joined most severe battle with the emperor, together with her people, in favor of the Roman Church. Since she abounded in very great possessions and had no sons, she offered her entire patrimony upon the altar of blessed Peter. Hence, down to the present day, what she conferred upon the Roman Church is called the patrimony of blessed Peter.

This Alexander established the following against the vice of simony, as is contained in cause one, question three, writing to the church and clergy of Lucca:

“We have learned that for a long time this detestable evil has taken root within your church, so that an ecclesiastical benefice was never granted to any cleric, however religious and however endowed with knowledge and conduct, except to him who strove to buy it with the profane gift of money.

“Thus the Church and its property became saleable, as though some earthly and vile merchandise exposed by merchants for sale.”

And below:

“Wherefore I, Alexander, bishop—or rather unworthy minister—of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, beholding so many and such great evils being done in the churches, have decreed to extirpate and utterly uproot them, lest the blood of the wicked be required from our hand by the strict Judge.

“We therefore establish and confirm by the present decree, as our predecessors are known formerly to have done, that no bishop shall hereafter dare ever to confer upon clerics for any price or gift a benefice of the Church, which certain men call canonries or prebends or even orders.

“Rather, let them take care to ordain all ministers and servants of the Church freely and without any venality in the holy Church.

“Let not those who offer larger sacks of money be elected in the house of God, but those who, rich in conduct, discipline, and knowledge, are able according to their office to sustain the Church itself.

“We establish and confirm in the same manner that no cleric of whatever rank shall dare to offer anything for a benefice of the Church, either for the fabric of churches, among the gifts of churches, or even as something to be distributed to the poor.”

Finally, he imposes a penalty upon those acting to the contrary. But concerning this more fully in the second part.

Section XXI

When Alexander died, Gregory VII, a Tuscan by nation from the city of Soana, was elected and enthroned in the See of Peter in the year of the Lord 1074. He had previously been called Hildebrand. He sat for twelve years, one month, and three days.

This man was religious and feared God, a lover of justice and equity, constant in adversities, moderate in prosperity, and also very prudent. He was a most vigorous defender of the rights of the Church and, apart from God, feared nothing in accomplishing those things which pertained to justice.

As Vincent relates in the *Mirror of History*, when he was established in lesser orders as a legate in Francia, he terribly pursued simoniacs, deposing from their offices those convicted of this vice.

When, among others, a certain bishop infected with such a stain had been denounced to him, and that bishop, being cunning and sagacious, could not be convicted in judgment, although he labored under infamy concerning it, the aforesaid legate Hildebrand convicted him by this miracle.

The legate commanded him, for his purgation from this infamy, to say, “Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.” Thinking that by this proof he had escaped, the bishop began to speak and readily and promptly uttered, “Glory to the Father, and to the Son.” But he was unable to express the rest, namely, “and to the Holy Spirit.”

Wishing to pronounce it again and again, he always failed at the pronunciation of “Holy Spirit” and was unable to name him. This was deserved, because through simony the Holy Spirit is especially offended, since he appears to be sold like a vile servant when the sacrament in which the Holy Spirit is conferred is sold. Convicted by this, the bishop was deposed.

When Gregory had now been created supreme pontiff, because of his virtues, as Martin writes in his Chronicle, while he was singing the first Mass on the night of the Lord’s Nativity in Saint Mary Major, a certain Cintius, son of the prefect, seized him and confined him in his tower.

But on that same night the Romans destroyed the tower, freed the pope, and sent Cintius outside the city.

In the second year of his pontificate, as John of Colonna relates, Gregory celebrated a council at Rome for the reformation of conduct. Among the other things which he did there in a holy and pious manner, he excommunicated as simoniacs and as usurpers and possessors of the rights of the Church certain nobles from the household of Emperor Henry who were then at Rome and by whose counsel churches were being sold.

In the third year of his pontificate, the same Gregory, kindled by the divine spirit, suspended from his office Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, who attempted to cut off and separate the bishops and abbots of the kingdom of the Germans from the Holy Roman Church, their special mother. He excommunicated all who had subscribed or should subscribe themselves by consenting to his schism.

Moreover, he bound with the bond of anathema King Henry, who favored that same Siegfried and persecuted those obedient to the Church.

When Henry heard that he had been excommunicated, he was vehemently terrified. Hearing that the lord pope had descended into Lombardy and was residing at Canossa, he came to him with a few men and with great humility to seek absolution.

For three days he remained before the gate of the said fortress, having laid aside all royal attire, barefoot and clothed in wool, with many tears and weeping. Those present were moved to implore the supreme pontiff's mercy and compassion and persisted before him, praying that Henry might be loosed from that bond.

While Gregory still delayed with just severity to remove the bond, all marveled at his unusual hardness. At length, overcome by the persistence of Henry's compunction and humility, and also by the prayers and supplication of all who were present, Lord Gregory absolved him from the bond of excommunication, first receiving from him an oath that he would obey the commands of the Roman Church in all things.

When peace between the priesthood and the kingdom now appeared to have intervened, again, at the devil's persuasion, a most grave schism arose between pope and emperor.

The cause of this schism appears to have been the following. A custom had taken root, especially in the empire, that when prelates of churches died, the ring and pastoral staff were sent to the lord emperor. Thereafter he sent any one of his household and chaplains to the vacant church to perform the office of pastor there, without waiting for the election of the clergy.

The lord pope, considering that this was done contrary to all honor and perceiving that ecclesiastical rights were trampled underfoot in this deed, admonished the emperor once, twice, and a third time to desist from so detestable a presumption.

When he could not recall the emperor, though admonished by salutary precepts, he assembled at Rome on account of this matter a council of one hundred and ten bishops. In it he first excommunicated Emperor Henry himself as perjured, a persecutor of the Church of God, and its subverter. Moreover, he anathematized all ecclesiastical persons who received investiture from the hand of any secular person.

Furthermore, in that council he anathematized all simoniacs, removed married priests from the divine office, and forbade laymen to hear the Masses of those priests and of persons notoriously living in fornication.

This was done by a new example and, as it appeared to many, by an ill-considered judgment. For from it arose grave scandal, so that, as John of Colonna says, at the time of no heresy was the western Church divided by a more grievous schism.

Sigebert and Vincent in the *Mirror of History*, book twenty-six, relate this same thing after him, adding:

"Some acted for justice, others for injustice. Some did not turn aside from simony. Others covered the stain of avarice with an honorable name when they sold under the name of charity what they boasted that they gave freely. And, as Eusebius says concerning the Montanists, under the name of an offering they craftily received gifts.

"Moreover, few maintained continence. Some feigned it for the sake of gain and boasting, while many heaped incontinence upon perjury or manifold adultery.

"In addition, through this importunity laymen rose against the sacred orders and shook themselves free from all ecclesiastical subjection. Laymen profaned the sacred mysteries and disputed about them; they baptized infants, using filthy moisture from their ears in place of sacred oil and chrism.

"At the end of life they disdained to receive the Lord's viaticum and the customary service of ecclesiastical burial from married priests. They burned with fire the tithes appointed for priests.

"And that you may perceive the rest in one thing: laymen often trampled underfoot the body of the Lord consecrated by married priests and voluntarily poured out the blood of the Lord. Many other things contrary to law and divine right were done in the Church.

"On this occasion many false teachers arose in the Church and turned the people away from ecclesiastical discipline by profane novelties, although the judgment of the holy fathers who wrote is that the sacraments which are performed in the Church—baptism, chrism, and Eucharist—are true sacraments whether dispensed by good men or evil, the Holy Spirit secretly working their effect, and therefore are not to be despised."

As William writes that Hugh, the holy abbot of Cluny, said, this Hildebrand announced the thoughts of others by a prophetic intuition of the mind. Pope Alexander had therefore appointed him chancellor of the apostolic men. In view of this office Hildebrand, as chancellor, traveled through the provinces so that he might correct things wrongly done.

One day, while Hildebrand rode with a great crowd of attendants, Abbot Hugh, as his familiar companion, followed with his monks at the end of the column. Seeing from afar a man held in such honor, he began to think in his mind whence so great an honor came to a little man of short stature and contemptible parentage. Without doubt, he thought, this happened to him from pride, because he had so many attendants walking around him.

He had scarcely turned this over in his mind when Archdeacon Hildebrand turned his horse around, spurred it on, and, calling Abbot Hugh from afar, cried: “You have thought wickedly. I do not ascribe this glory to myself—if that can be called glory which swiftly passes—nor do I wish it to be ascribed to me by others, but to the blessed apostles, by whose privilege it is shown to me.”

Blushing, the abbot answered only this: “I ask you, lord, how did you know my thought?”

“It was conducted,” he said, “from your mouth to my ears as though through pipes.”

On another occasion the aforesaid abbot and the said archdeacon entered a church together to pray. Prostrate with their sides continuous and joined, they prayed for a long time.

Then the archdeacon looked at the abbot with a disturbed gesture, gnashing his teeth. When the abbot had gone outside, he asked the cause of his agitation. Hildebrand said to him:

“If you wish to love me, take care that you do not hereafter assail me with this injury. For my Lord Jesus, beautiful above the sons of men, stood visibly beside me at my petitions, looking intently upon my words and favoring me with serene eyes. But, cast off by the violence of your prayer, he deserted me and turned toward you. I think it a kind of injury to withdraw from a friend the author of his salvation.

“Moreover, know that mortality threatens men and destruction threatens this place. For I saw an angel of God standing over the altar with a drawn sword, and a thick and cloudy air circles this province. I shall therefore flee as quickly as possible.”

Having said these things, they entered the lodging and sat down to care for the body. As soon as the dishes had been set before them, lamentation arose in the house because several members of the household suddenly died. When the plague raged through the neighboring houses, they soon mounted their mules and fled.

Concerning the same Gregory, Emperor Henry, as John of Colonna says after Vincent, after he learned that he had been publicly excommunicated, began to persecute the Roman Church no longer secretly or in hiding.

In order to multiply quarrels and scandals against Lord Pope Gregory, he arranged with the bishops of Lombardy, who for the greater part had been given over to a reprobate sense, that at the aforesaid emperor’s request they should elect as pope Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, a learned and wealthy man upon whom they imposed the name Clement.

Henry himself came to him and showed the highest reverence to that idol as though to a true pontiff.

That unhappy man, presuming upon Henry’s favor and trusting in the multitude of his riches, violently excluded the venerable Gregory and invaded the Apostolic See. He was so delirious and so deprived by ambition of sound understanding that he believed himself to be what he was falsely called.

The unhappy world, set in wickedness, followed dangerous ways on account of this schism. Declining toward worse things, it cast behind it every reverence for God and men, following harmful things and turning away from salutary ones.

Pontiffs and all sorts of prelates of churches were seized and committed to custody as though guilty of homicide, their goods being confiscated, if they did not consent to the emperor in this perversity of his. Injuries were not only inflicted upon them for a time, but after they had been excluded, successors were intruded in perpetuity.

The pope also fought against the emperor with every effort in word and deed, sending letters everywhere, and turned away from him as many men as he could. Moreover, he absolved the princes of Germany from the oath of fidelity which they had rendered to Henry and deposed Henry himself from the empire.

For this reason the Saxons rebelled against the emperor. Drawing certain other German princes after them and assembling a council, after much deliberation they elected Rudolf, king of Burgundy, against Emperor Henry.

The pope sent Rudolf a golden crown of marvelous workmanship, upon which was written: “The rock gave the diadem to Peter; Peter gave it to Rudolf.”

At the pope’s command, the archbishop of Mainz solemnly crowned this Rudolf. Having assembled great forces of his own and of the Germans, he entered Germany and, with many adhering to him, contended with Henry for the empire for a long time.

At last, God so permitting, Rudolf was killed by Henry in battle together with many princes of the Saxons.

Having obtained this victory, Henry first afflicted with many calamities the Saxons, who had been the head of the rebellion. Then, entering Swabia and demolishing cities and fortresses, he compelled them to return to him. By threats and gifts he also brought back to himself others throughout the empire who had defected from him through despair of his affairs.

Thus, when Rudolf, whom he had greatly feared, had been killed by Henry and the Saxons had been routed in many battles, he now appeared to possess the empire peacefully.

Being therefore lifted up above himself, Henry dared to attempt a wicked deed. On the feast of Pentecost, after a great council of princes and prelates had been assembled at Mainz, all who adhered to Henry judged that Hildebrand, who was also Gregory, ought to be deposed.

When this had been done, the emperor came into Italy with a great army. After he arrived, certain men interposed themselves so that he and the supreme pontiff might meet together and treat with one another concerning peace.

When they had met, after many negotiations no agreement concerning peace could be made in any way. Many bishops and barons of Italy who had first favored the pope abandoned him and turned themselves toward the emperor.

Encouraged by their favor, the emperor came to Rome and besieged it. At this time that illustrious Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, who afterward was the first of the Latins to reign at Jerusalem and concerning whom many things must be said later, served under the emperor.

During that siege, when the portion of the wall which had fallen to him to attack had been broken, Godfrey was the first to burst into the city. Wearied by excessive labor that day, he fell into a grave illness.

When he saw himself near death, he vowed that, if God restored him to health, he would personally visit the Holy Land of Promise. When this vow had been made, he was immediately restored to his former health.

Therefore, after the Romans perceived that the emperor's army was within the walls after they had been broken, those who had previously favored Henry secretly no longer did so in hiding. Abandoning the pope, they passed openly to the emperor. Meeting him in crowds as he entered, they acclaimed imperial praises to him and received him in the imperial manner.

The supreme pontiff, seeing himself deserted by the Roman people, in whom he had placed his greatest hope, and having no path open for flight, took refuge with his cardinals in the fortress of Crescentius, which is called Castel Sant'Angelo.

After the Romans thought that they had found an opportunity by which they believed they could recover the emperor's favor, they besieged on every side the fortress in which the pious pontiff had taken refuge, so that entrance or departure was open to no one without danger.

The emperor entered the city and ascended the Capitol. The Germans, meanwhile, pouring themselves through the city in the manner of barbarians, inflicted many evils upon the citizens.

While the emperor dealt with the city according to his will and disposed all things according to his judgment, a messenger came to him asserting that Duke Robert Guiscard was coming to the pope's aid with an innumerable multitude of both horsemen and foot soldiers.

Hearing this, the emperor was vehemently terrified, for he did not trust that he could resist Duke Robert within the city. He ordered the Roman people to be assembled and, making no mention of the duke's coming, asserted that the affairs of Lombardy pressed him and that it was therefore necessary for him to hasten his journey there with all speed.

Leaving the city, Henry therefore fled, to speak more truly, with his armies into Tuscany and then Lombardy.

Not many days after his withdrawal, the pious duke approached Rome to free the pope and signified his coming to the supreme pontiff through secret messengers.

When the Romans heard of his arrival, they encouraged one another and went out to meet him with a multitude of armed men. Battle having been joined, they were defeated and put to flight by him.

After the Romans had been put to flight, Duke Robert entered Rome as an enemy through the Flaminian Gate. Attacking as an enemy the part of the city which looks toward Saint Lawrence in Lucina and Saint Sylvester, he exposed it to plunder and fire.

Then, after the Romans had everywhere been routed, he went to Castel Sant'Angelo. Bringing Lord Pope Gregory out from there with great glory, together with the cardinals and the nobles who had followed him, he conducted him through the middle of the city, brought him to the Lateran, and remained there for some time.

Afterward, when the pope, upon the deliberation of his men's counsel, did not believe that he could remain safely with the Romans, and domestic affairs called the duke back into Apulia, the pope left the city with the few who followed him and set out with the duke for Salerno. He remained there for some time as a catholic shepherd and, after enduring many tribulations for the liberty of the Church, rested in the Lord.

Vincent in the *Mirror of History*, book twenty-six, chapter eighty-two, says thus after Sigebert:

"Pope Hildebrand, who was also Gregory VII, died while in exile at Salerno. Concerning him I found this written:

"'We wish you who are solicitous for ecclesiastical care to know that Lord Apostolic Hildebrand, who was also Gregory, now placed at the end of life, summoned to himself one of the twelve cardinals whom he loved above the others.

"'He confessed to God, Saint Peter, and the whole Church that he had sinned greatly in the pastoral care which had been entrusted to him to govern, and that, at the devil's persuasion, he had stirred up wrath and hatred against the human race.

"'Afterward he said that he had begun the sentence which had been poured out throughout the world for the increase of Christianity.

"'Then at last he sent the aforesaid confessor of his to the emperor and to the whole Church so that he might ask indulgence for him, because he saw the end of his life and was now soon putting on the angelic garment.

"'He remitted and dissolved the bonds of all his bans for the emperor and for the whole Christian people, living and dead, laymen and clerics. He ordered his men to leave the house of Theodoric and the emperor's friends to ascend it.'"

These things are said there. Nevertheless, I do not believe them to be true for many reasons, nor does John of Colonna place them.

Note certain constitutions made by this Gregory in the Decretals. In cause sixteen, question seven, he says:

"Sitting in a general council, I decree that if anyone hereafter receives a bishopric or abbey from the hand of any lay person, he shall in no way be held among the bishops or abbots, nor shall any hearing be granted to him as bishop or abbot.

"Moreover, by the grace of blessed Peter we forbid him entrance into the Church," that is, we suspend him, "until by recovering his senses he abandons the place which he took under the crime both of disobedience and of ambition, from which the crime of idolatry takes its beginning. We establish the same concerning the lower dignities."

Likewise:

"If any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any secular power or person shall presume to give the investiture of bishoprics or of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him know himself bound by the bond of the same sentence."

The same Gregory, writing among other things to Dukes Rudolf and Berthold in distinction thirty-two, in the section beginning "But Gregory," says:

"In no way knowingly receive the office of simoniacs and of those lying in notorious fornication, and, so far as you can, prohibit such persons from sacred ministries wherever it shall be necessary."

The same Gregory VII says to all those established throughout the kingdoms of Italy and of the Germans in distinction eighty-one:

"If there are any priests, deacons, or subdeacons who lie in the crime of fornication, by the authority of Almighty God and Saint Peter we forbid them entrance into the church until they repent and amend.

"But if they prefer to persevere in their sin, let none of you presume to hear their office, because their blessing is turned into a curse and their prayer into sin, the Lord testifying through the prophet: 'I shall curse,' he says, 'your blessings.'

"Those who refuse to obey this most salutary precept shall incur the sin of idolatry, Samuel testifying and blessed Gregory instructing, because not to obey is the sin of divination, and not to acquiesce is like the crime of idolatry.

"Therefore, whoever, while asserting himself to be a Christian, disdains to obey the Apostolic See incurs the sin of paganism."

These things are said there. It is to be understood concerning notorious fornicators who are suspended both with respect to themselves and with respect to others. Nevertheless, they still confect and confer the sacraments.

Their blessing, that is, their office, is said to be turned into a curse because both they themselves and those who knowingly hear their offices sin, since they act contrary to the precept of the Church commanding this, namely that their offices are not to be heard.

The same man says to the most beloved citizens of Rome in distinction three, *On Consecration*:

"It has come to me that certain men of a perverse spirit have sown among you things contrary to the holy faith, so that they forbid any work to be done on the Sabbath day.

"What else shall we call these but preachers of Antichrist? When he comes, he will cause the Sabbath and the Lord's Day to be kept from every work. For because he feigns that he dies and rises again, he wishes the Lord's Day to be held in veneration; and because he compels the people to Judaize, so that he may recall the rite of the exterior law and subject to himself the unbelief of the Jews, he wishes the Sabbath to be observed."

He also adds that if anyone wishes to wash on the Lord's Day for bodily necessity, he is not forbidden. But if for luxury and pleasure, it is permitted neither on the Lord's Day nor on any other day whatsoever.

The same man says in cause eleven, question three:

"Because, our sins requiring it, we see many perish daily on account of excommunication—some through ignorance, some through excessive simplicity, some through fear, and some even through necessity—overcome by mercy, we temper the sentence of anathema for the time being as far as we can, and show that it has been tempered.

"Therefore we withdraw from the bond of anathema, that is, of minor excommunication, wives, sons, male servants, female servants or slaves, peasants and servants, and also all others who are not so much courtiers that crimes are perpetrated by their counsel.

"We also withdraw those who in ignorance communicate with excommunicated persons, or those who communicate with persons who communicate with the excommunicated.

"But if any man praying, pilgrim, or traveler comes into the land of excommunicated persons and there cannot buy, or does not have the means to buy, we give him permission to receive from the excommunicated.

"And if anyone wishes to give something to excommunicated persons, not for the support of pride but for the sake of humanity, we do not forbid it."

See the notable gloss there.

The same man says that offerings are to be made at the altar in distinction one, *On Consecration*, in the chapter beginning "Every." According to the gloss, this is counsel.

There he says that one must first flee to the Lord, who can heal the passions of our soul. But men, by an inverted order, first summon aid from men for themselves. When human aids fail, then they judge that the grace of divine favor is to be sought.

Section XXII

When Gregory VII died in the year of the Lord 1088, Victor III was created pope by the cardinals. He had formerly been called Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino.

According to Martin in his Chronicle, he presided over the Church of God for one year, four months, and seven days. But according to John of Colonna he lived in the pontificate for only four months and seven days.

He was a religious man who feared God and is said to have been killed by poison placed in the chalice.

In the same year the sun suffered an eclipse, and there was an intolerable famine throughout almost the entire world. There was also an excessive inundation of waters in many places, with damage and danger.

For in Italy there was so great a flood that liquefied rocks destroyed several villages by their fall. Domestic birds—peacocks, hens, and geese—withdrawing themselves from houses all became wild.

Augustine in book three of *The City of God* relates that a similar portent occurred before the Latins stirred up the Social War against Rome, as a sign of a great evil.

About the same time, as Sigebert says, while the Venetians planned to remove the body of blessed Nicholas from Myra in Lycia, which had been laid waste by the Turks, the citizens of Bari anticipated them.

Forty-seven in number, coming from Antioch to Myra, they compelled the four monks alone found there to show them the tomb of Saint Nicholas. Breaking it open, they drew out the bones of Saint Nicholas, complete in number and floating in an oily liquid, and brought them to Bari with glory.

This translation was made in the seven hundred and forty-seventh year from his deposition or death, and many infirm persons were healed in this translation.

When a certain man of the palace had drawn a tooth from the tomb so that from great devotion he might carry it with him, and afterward did not find it, Saint Nicholas revealed that it had been returned to the tomb because he did not permit even the smallest part to be separated from his body.

About that time the order of the Cistercians is said to have had its beginning. Its institution was discussed above in the preceding title.

Section XXIII

After the passing of Pope Victor, when the cardinals had assembled as one, Urban II was elected supreme pontiff with one mind. He had formerly been a monk of the Cluniac order, called Odo.

According to John of Colonna, he was raised to this dignity of supreme prelate in the year of the Lord 1089, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Henry IV. He sat for twelve years, four months, and nineteen days.

He was a vigorous man and very learned in the divine Scriptures.

From this time scandals increased between the Church and the empire, and disagreements grew while the one distrusted the other and each excommunicated the other: namely, on the side of the pontiffs, the true, holy, and legitimate Urban and the apostate called Clement, whom the emperor had intruded. But each despised the other's excommunication, either because of prejudice concerning the cause or concerning the person.

After these things Pope Urban, avoiding the fury of the aforesaid Emperor Henry, and deservedly placing very little trust in the Romans, lay hidden among his faithful men in more fortified places, secure almost nowhere.

After the pope had celebrated a general council at Piacenza, fleeing the aforesaid emperor's indignation he left Italy and entered the kingdom of the Franks. He caused a general council to be summoned at Clermont in Auvergne.

In that place, during the month of November, a sacred assembly of archbishops, bishops, and abbots gathered from all the regions beyond the Alps, with certain princes of those regions also present.

There, by the counsel of the prelates, the lord apostolic ordered in that council many constitutions which appeared to look toward raising up the declining state of the Church, as will appear below.

Among other things it was established that the Hours of blessed Mary should be said; hence this is also under precept like the office of the Lord. It was also ordained that the office of the Lady should be solemnly celebrated on Saturdays.

As regards the Mass, this is observed sufficiently when the day is free. As regards the office of the Hours, however, that the whole office of the Virgin should be performed on Saturday, the curia does not observe it, but certain churches or religious orders do.

In the same council the pope excommunicated Philip, king of the Franks, Emperor Henry, and the antipope.

Finally, he delivered a sermon to the people, exhorting them to take up the cross and aid the Holy Land. At the end of his sermon he concluded thus:

"Trusting in the mercy of God and the authority of the blessed Peter and Paul, we remit to faithful Christians who shall take up arms against the pagans holding the Holy City and the other venerable places all the penances imposed upon them for their offenses.

"Meanwhile, we receive under the defense of the Church and the protection of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, as sons of true obedience, those who in the ardor of faith shall undertake this labor to attack them. We establish that they shall remain secure from all disturbances, both in their persons and in their property."

By ending with these words, God gave his faithful servant the grace of evangelizing with much power.

Although his command appeared exceedingly arduous and difficult, both greater and lesser embraced it with every eagerness. The fervor of this word not only animated those present, kindled by his speech, but that same discourse, going forth far and wide, inflamed those absent, burning with an equal vow, toward the same undertaking.

Moreover, the bishops, as they had received in command, showed themselves faithful fellow workers by inviting their peoples to it. Divine grace working, not one stroke fell upon the earth without fruit, so that the Lord's saying could truly be spoken: "I came not to send peace upon the earth, but a sword."

For husbands were separated from wives and fathers from sons. At that time there was no bond of affection which could impede this fervor, so that many monks went out from the cloisters, from the prisons in which they had enclosed themselves voluntarily for the Lord.

Nor was there anyone in the western kingdoms who wished to be mindful either of age, sex, condition, or rank, or who, detained by any persuasions, desisted from the undertaking. But all without distinction committed themselves. For that which is written in Tobit was seen to be fulfilled to the letter: "Jerusalem, city of God, nations shall come to you from afar and, bearing gifts, shall adore the Lord in you; and they shall inhabit your land in sanctification, invoking the great name in you."

Those present, therefore, who had been at the council affixed the cross to their shoulders as an earnest of the future pilgrimage. The first was the lord Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, otherwise called Haimar, who afterward, exercising the authority of the apostolic legation, presided over the same expedition. The lord bishop of Orange did likewise.

Many barons and princes from each kingdom affixed the cross to their shoulders: namely, the lord Hugh the Great, brother of Philip, king of the Franks; Robert, count of Flanders; likewise another lord Robert, duke of the Normans, son of the elder lord William, king of the English; Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois; Raymond, count of Toulouse and Saint-Gilles, a man likewise distinguished and vigorous; Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lotharingia, and with him his two brothers, namely Baldwin and Eustace; likewise Baldwin of Bourg, their kinsman, son of the count of Royscost; Warner, count of Grees; Baldwin, count of Hainaut; Isuard, count of Die; Raibuld, count of Orange; William, count of Forez; Stephen, count of Aumale; Rotold, count of Perche; and Hugh, count of Saint-Pol. Many other princes and barons who were not counts offered themselves for this service pleasing to God.

On this side of the Alps, however, there were the lord Bohemond, prince of the Tarentines, son of the lord Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, and Tancred, his sister's son, a man practiced and vigorous in arms. There were also on this expedition certain nobles from the cities of Italy, and especially from the city of Rome.

All these, awaiting a suitable time, set out upon this road of pilgrimage, some by a sea route and others by a land route. For so many and such countless thousands of peoples could not find the necessary things in any single region. Therefore it was carefully arranged that each of the greater princes should lead his own legions separately and that they should not set out along the same path.

Nowhere among all the provinces that the West possesses was there even one idle household, while here the father of a family, there the son, and there the whole household prepared itself to migrate. With sobs and sighs they were separated from one another; the embraces of dear ones were parted, as they said a final farewell to one another.

In the year of the Lord 1086, a certain noble Walter, a prudent man and vigorous in arms, passed through the kingdom of the Germans with an immense multitude of companies of foot soldiers and descended into Hungary. Having traversed it, he entered Bulgaria. Emerging from the forests of that region, he reached Stralitia, the distinguished metropolis of inland Dacia. There, after guides for the road had been received from the duke of that city, he arrived unharmed after some days.

Upon arriving, he was introduced into the presence of the lord emperor and obtained from him that, until the arrival of Peter the Hermit, at whose command he had taken up the journey, he should be permitted to dwell in places adjoining the city.

This Peter the Hermit was the instigator of this work and of the undertaking for recovering the Holy Land. Having received a revelation, he came from Jerusalem to Pope Urban. But this matter, the wars on its account, and the acquisition of the Holy Land will be discussed fully below in the following title.

Concerning the decrees of this Urban II, Urban II says thus in the synod at Melfi, in distinction 32:

"Let no one be admitted to sacred order unless he is either a virgin or of proven chastity, and unless up to the subdiaconate he has had one wife, and she a virgin."

The same man, in the preceding chapter of the same distinction, writing to Dominic, father and patriarch of Grado, says:

"Let the impious be ashamed and understand openly that, by the judgment of the Holy Spirit, those established in the three sacred grades—namely, the presbyterate, diaconate, and subdiaconate—who have not put away their women and have not lived chastely are to be excluded from the dignity of those same grades.

"For we speak concerning manifest things. God, however, is the knower and judge of secret things."

The same man says in cause 1, question 1:

"If any have been ordained by simoniacs, but not simoniacally, and if they can prove that, when they were ordained, they did not know them to be simoniacs, and that at the time they were regarded as Catholics in the Church, we mercifully sustain the ordinations of such men"—namely, with a dispensation—"provided, however, that a praiseworthy life commends them.

"But those who knowingly have permitted themselves to be consecrated by simoniacs—rather, to be execrated—we decree that their consecration is altogether void."

The gloss explains this.

Likewise, in cause 8, question 3, it is set down thus. Artald, bishop of Arles and suffragan of the church of Narbonne, came to Rome to be consecrated by the lord Urban, namely Pope Urban II. His archbishop was unwilling to consecrate him because, on account of his election, he had sworn to the canons that the goods of the Church were to be preserved.

He was therefore consecrated by the lord Pope Urban, after first being cleared concerning an oath of this sort, saying that he had taken the said oath after the election, but had made no agreement beforehand in order that he might be elected. Therefore, as the gloss says, the promise was not simoniacal.

Concerning simony in dignities, see the same Urban in cause 1, question 3, in the chapter beginning “The Savior.”

The same man says in distinction 56:

“We remove the sons of priests from sacred ministries unless they have lived religiously either in monasteries or among canons,” namely canons regular.

The same man, writing to the archbishop of Tours, says in the same distinction:

“We do not reject the elect of Le Mans because he is said to be the son of a priest, if the other virtues concur in him; rather, his merits supporting him, we receive him patiently. Yet let this not be assumed as a rule hereafter; rather, provision is made for a time against the danger of the Church.”

Hence, according to the gloss, the pope dispenses with this.

The same man says in cause 9, question 1, in the chapter beginning “Ordinations”:

“Those who were consecrated by bishops once ordained in Catholic manner but separated from the Roman Church in schism, when they return to the unity of the Church, we command to be mercifully received while preserving their own orders, if life and learning commend them.

“Henceforth, however, whoever permits himself to be ordained by the aforesaid schismatics and adversaries of the Holy Roman Church shall in no way be considered worthy of this pardon.

“Although, in consideration of mercy and under the compulsion of great necessity, we have established this dispensation in sacred orders, we nevertheless desire that no prejudice be done to the sacred canons, but that they retain their own force.

“And when the necessity ceases, let that also cease which was done on account of necessity. For where the slaughter of many lies, something of severity must be withdrawn.”

The same man says in cause 11, question 3:

“Do not communicate with those with whom bishops do not communicate; and do not receive those whom they have cast out,” namely by excommunication. “For the sentence of a bishop is greatly to be feared, although he binds unjustly.”

The same man says in cause 12, question 1, in the chapter beginning “We know”:

“Whoever among you has undertaken the common life and has vowed that he will possess nothing of his own, let him see that he does not render his promise void, but let him faithfully preserve for the Lord what he has promised, lest he acquire damnation for himself rather than a reward. For it is holier not to vow than not to fulfill a vow as well as one can.

“For those who have made a vow or received the faith and have not fulfilled the vow, or have ended their lives amid evils, are punished more grievously than those who died without a vow or faith and nevertheless did good things.”

From the council of this Urban it is said in cause 12, question 2:

A question was raised concerning laymen who, when bishops or other clerics die, seize and steal the goods of the deceased from the Church and the poor. Against them the common anathema of the entire council was pronounced, the pope himself promulgating a sentence of this sort:

“If anyone, after knowledge of the present prohibition, invades the goods of bishops, presbyters, or other clerics, let him be excommunicated until satisfaction has been made.”

The same man, writing to the bishop of Gap, says in cause 15, question 6:

“I prohibit the sworn knights of Count Hugh from serving him for as long as he is excommunicated. If they put forward their oaths, let them be admonished that they ought to serve God rather than men.

“For they are constrained by no authority to discharge the fidelity which they swore to a Christian prince when he opposes God and His saints and tramples upon their precepts.”

The same man says in cause 16, question 7:

“Let monks not receive tithes and churches from laymen without the consent and will of the bishops. But if anything has been presumed otherwise, let them be subject to canonical vengeance.”

The same man says in cause 17, question 4:

“All must take heed lest estates dedicated to the uses of the heavenly mysteries be harassed by certain men rushing upon them. If anyone does this, after the harshness of the punishment that must justly be imposed upon sacrilegious persons, let him be condemned to perpetual infamy and delivered to prison or exile.”

The same man says in cause 19, question 2:

“There are two laws, one public and the other private. Public law is that which was confirmed in writings by the holy fathers, such as the law of the canons, which was handed down on account of transgressors.

“For example, it is decreed in the canons that a cleric ought not to pass from his own bishopric to another without commendatory letters from his bishop. This was established on account of criminals, so that infamous persons might not be received by any bishop. For formerly, when they could not perform their offices in their own bishopric, they were accustomed to pass into another and to celebrate in another’s bishopric. This is detested by lawful precepts and writings.

“Private law, however, is that which is written in the heart by the prompting of the Holy Spirit, just as the Apostle says concerning certain persons: ‘When the gentiles, who do not have the law, naturally do those things that belong to the law, they are a law to themselves.’

“If any one of these remains in his own church under a bishop, holds a people, and lives in secular fashion, but, inspired by the Holy Spirit, wishes to be saved in some monastery or regular canonry, because he is led by private law no reason requires that he be constrained by public law.

“For private law is worthier than public law. The Spirit of God is indeed a law, and those who are led by the Spirit of God are led by the law of God. And who is there who can worthily resist the Holy Spirit? Therefore, whoever is led by this Spirit, even if his bishop contradicts him, let him go free by our authority.”

The same man says in question 3:

“We establish that no one under canonical profession, after in place of God he has placed a man over his own head, shall dare, at the prompting of some levity or under the pretext of a stricter religious life, to depart from the same cloister without the permission of the father and of the entire congregation.

“Let no abbot or bishop and no monk receive one who departs without the common security of letters.”

The same Urban says in cause 18, question 2:

“The service which monasteries or their churches have rendered from the time of Gregory VII down to the present time, we also concede.”

See the gloss there.

The same, from the synod of Urban II held at Piacenza, is set down thus in distinction 70:

“By a sanction consonant with the institutions of the holy canons, we decree that an ordination made without a title shall be held void. And in whatever church anyone has been given a title, let him remain in it perpetually. It is altogether unlawful, however, for anyone to be given a title in two churches.”

The notable gloss there, at length after many things, concludes well: namely, that with respect to several churches having the cure of souls, or several dignities, the pope alone dispenses, in the *Extravagants*, *On Prebends*, in the chapter beginning “Concerning many.” But bishops can dispense with respect to holding several simple benefices. Yet if anyone does this without a reasonable cause, both the one dispensing and the one dispensed with sin gravely.

The same man says in cause 23, question 8:

“The tribute was found in the mouth of the fish while Peter was fishing, because the Church renders tribute from her exterior things, which are openly visible to all. He was not commanded to give the whole fish, however, but only the stater that was found in its mouth, because the Church ought not to be given to the emperor.

“The pontifical summit, which stands preeminent in the mouth of the head of the Church, cannot be subjected to kings. But certainly, as we have said, what was found in the mouth of the fish is commanded to be given for Peter and the Lord, because what was established of old from the exterior things of the Church for the tranquility and peace for which emperors ought to protect and defend us must be paid to the emperors.”

The same man, writing to the bishop of Brescia, says in cause 30, question 4:

“That a wife ought not together with her husband to receive a child in baptism is found prohibited by no authority. But, so that the purity of spiritual parenthood may be preserved immune from every blemish and infamy, we have decreed it worthy that the two together should by no means presume to aspire to this.”

The same man says in cause 24, question 3:

“Admonished by the examples of paternal traditions and discharging the debt of the pastoral office, we establish that churches with their goods, both persons and possessions—namely clerics and monks, and their lay brothers or those committed to them—and all worshippers whatsoever, likewise with the goods which they carry, shall be safe and without molestation.

“If anyone presumes to act against these things, if he does not make amends, let him be barred from the thresholds of the Church.”

The same man says in the same question, from his own letter:

“It must be noted that certain persons say that we act against the evangelical parable in which the Lord commanded that the tares not be uprooted, when we subject to excommunication certain persons worthy of excommunication.

“But the Lord Himself, who narrates this in a parable, elsewhere commands that excommunication be done, saying: ‘A brother who is corrected by the Church and does not obey, let him be to you as a heathen and a publican.’

“Hence it appears clearly that excommunication is one thing and uprooting another. For one who is excommunicated is excommunicated for this purpose, that his spirit may be saved on the day of the Lord. Excommunication is discipline, not uprooting, unless perhaps uprooting proceeds from the pride and contempt of the excommunicated person.

“Moreover Augustine, whose words they introduce for their own proposition, together with the holy legates of the Roman Church and other holy bishops, excommunicated the heretics Pelagius and Celestine. He also held the Donatists excommunicated.”

The same man says:

“He who defends the error of others is far more damnable than those who err, because not only does he himself err, but he prepares and confirms stumbling blocks for others.”

Title XVI

Chapter II

After the history of the supreme pontiffs from Leo IV through Urban II inclusively—that is, from the 813th year of the Lord through the year 1100—it now falls to us to speak concerning the emperors who existed in those times and concerning other secular princes.

Therefore, when Charlemagne, the first emperor from the Franks, died, his son Louis, surnamed the Pious, succeeded him in the empire. He began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 814, but in the 6,024th year from the beginning of the world, or, according to another opinion, in the year 4,877. He ruled as emperor for twenty-seven years.

Before he received the empire he begot three sons, namely Lothair, Pepin, and Louis. As Vincent and Jacob of Colonna relate, he made Lothair, as the firstborn, Caesar and left Italy together with Rome itself to be governed by him. He established the second, namely Pepin, as king of Aquitaine. He declared Louis king of Germany and Bavaria.

This Louis was always a most fervent executor of the commandments of the Lord and a most vigorous propagator of the Catholic faith. Although he was established in great eminence in the world, he nevertheless stood forth more loftily in humility.

At the beginning of his empire, considering the condition of the churches with diligent care, he established a law that the ministers of Christ should not be subject to human service. He also established that each church should have its own expenditures for living in common, lest anyone's avarice abuse ecclesiastical ministry for gain, or divine worship be neglected on account of poverty. Likewise, he established stipends for the monks in each monastery.

For this reason, in the sixth year of his empire he commanded that a synod of all the prelates, abbots, and other clerics of his empire be assembled at Aachen for the condition and advantage of the faith, with Pope Gregory IV presiding.

Among the other things piously and holily established in that council, it was decreed that bishops and clerics should use neither costly nor silken garments, nor belts of gold and gems. For it is said to be like a monstrosity and is judged a crime of impiety if one deputed to the ecclesiastical household attempts to aspire to this pomp of secular glory.

The aforesaid Emperor Louis, however, was most merciful by nature and ordered the commonwealth in a holy manner according to the gentleness of his conduct. His sons, despising what they themselves called their father's inactivity, like fickle, unruly, and irreverent men, stirred up a grave sedition against him with many princes of the empire and kingdom and even with prelates.

The author and head of this conspiracy was Bernard, king of Italy, son of the younger Pepin and nephew of the emperor. The emperor, considering that it would be dangerous if he dissembled so dangerous a conspiracy raised against him, rose with great spirit against those who had conspired against him.

First he deprived Bernard, king of Italy, as one guilty of treason against the majesty, first of his kingdom, then of his eyes, and finally of his life. After this deed many, both nobles and others, were afterward punished by him with various penalties. Some were deprived of authority, others delivered into exile, others deprived of their substance, and some were even killed.

For this reason he stirred his sons' hatred more sharply against himself and alienated from himself the hearts of the other princes. When the prelates of the churches interposed themselves so that the material of so many evils might be quieted, by their counsel Emperor Louis dismissed from himself Judith, his second wife, by whom he had already begotten his son Charles, as though she were the origin of all the evils. Yet on account of this he could not mitigate the spirits of his sons and the other princes.

While Louis was being tossed about in this tempest, at last he was betrayed by his own men into the power of his sons, in favor of the sons who were persecuting their own father. Detained by them, he was compelled in the presence of the princes to lay aside every imperial dignity, and he is said to have been enclosed in a monastery to perform penance, even by the judgment of the prelates.

But, God so disposing, in the following year, which was the twentieth year of his empire, he was released, received his arms, empire, and wife, and compelled his son Lothair, who had come from Italy with a numerous army, to return to Italy. Moreover, the archbishop of Reims, who had conspired in Louis's deposition, was deposed from the archbishopric and relegated into exile.

In the tenth year of this Prince Louis, envoys of Michael, emperor of Constantinople, came to him. Among other gifts they brought him the books of Dionysius the Areopagite *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, written by Dionysius himself.

These books were sent to Paris on the feast of the holy martyr himself and were received in the monastery with immense joy. The power and merit of the said martyr augmented this joy, for on that very night nineteen sick persons were healed of diverse infirmities.

In the twenty-third year of the empire of the said Louis, the nation of the Normans, going forth from its own borders, began to harass Gaul. The Normans, however, are originally Danes; in their barbarous tongue “Normans” means as much as “northern men,” because they came from that part of the world.

Under this prince also, Ariold, king of the Danes, was baptized at Mainz with his wife and sons and a great part of the Danish nobles. He was honored by the emperor with gifts and with a portion of Frisia given to him as a benefice.

In the twenty-fifth year of the same Louis, he was reconciled to his son Lothair, who was reigning in Italy and came to him under pledge. To him, as the firstborn, he gave the crown of the empire and kingdom.

In the eighth year of his empire, according to what Vincent relates in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror* after Hugh, in Thuringia a piece of turf fifty feet in length, fourteen in width, and one and a half feet in height was cut from the ground and lifted up without hands, and was moved more than twenty-five feet.

In Saxony the earth swelled in the manner of an embankment for the extent of one league. An earthquake also occurred. Many villages and houses were devastated by heavenly fire. With the hail itself, true stones of immense weight fell. A mortality of human beings followed these prodigies of hail.

In the territory of Toul, in the village of Commerciato, a twelve-year-old girl, after receiving Holy Communion from a priest at Easter, abstained first from bread for ten months, then from all food and drink for three years, and afterward returned to the common life of human beings.

In Gaul, before the summer solstice, when the air had turned into a tempest, an immense fragment of ice suddenly fell with the hail. It had a length of fifteen feet, a width of six, and a thickness of two feet.

The sun and moon failed through an eclipse in the fifteenth year of Louis’s empire. In the final year of his empire a comet appeared in the sign of Aries, and for several days very many small fires, like stars, were seen running through the heavens. Louis died in the twenty-sixth year of his empire.

Section I

When Louis I died, Lothair his firstborn, usurping the empire for himself alone, ruled as emperor for fifteen years. He began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 841, but from the beginning of the world in the year 4,094 according to the lesser computation, and in the year 6,051 according to the greater.

In the first year of his empire, Charles and Louis, sons of the emperor, grieving that they had been deprived by their brother Lothair of the portion of the kingdom owed to them, prepared to rise against him.

In the second year of his empire a comet appeared in the sign of Aquarius. When the three brothers were in discord concerning the division of the kingdom, a battle was joined between them in the territory of Auxerre, in the village called Fontenay. So great a slaughter was made among them that no age ever remembered so great a destruction to have been made among the nation of the Franks. Their strength was so weakened there that they were no longer able even to defend their own borders from foreigners. The victory at length fell to Louis and Charles.

When the kingdom had been marked out in three parts, the brothers came to the city of Verdun in Gaul and were reconciled with one another. Oaths having been given and received among them, each returned to defend the parts of the kingdom marked out for him.

Charles received the western kingdoms from the British Ocean as far as the river Meuse, in which part from that time down to the present the name of France remained. To Louis fell the eastern kingdoms, namely Germany as far as the streams of the Rhine, and certain cities beyond the Rhine with their adjoining districts because of the abundance of wine.

Lothair, however, who was greater by birth and was called emperor, held all the kingdoms of Italy together with Rome itself, and also Provence and the middle part of Francia between the Scheldt and the Rhine, which, its name being changed, was named Lotharingia from him.

After this division was made, Charles reigned in Francia for thirty-four years. Louis his brother reigned in Germany for thirty-three years.

It is held from the chronicles that this Louis caused fourteen dukes of the Bohemians to be baptized with their people. The Normans, however, gravely attacked the kingdom of his brother Charles, surnamed the Bald, and came by ship as far as Paris. They fought three battles with the Frisians and came forth victorious in the first two.

At that time Saint Radulphus, archbishop of Bourges, died and was buried in the monastery of Saint Sulpicius.

In the twelfth year of Lothair's empire, Charles, king of the Franks, captured Pepin and Charles, the sons of his brother King Pepin, who were disturbing the kingdom, had them tonsured as monks, and thrust them into a monastery, as Sigebert and Vincent write in the *Historical Mirror*.

At that time the cities of Bordeaux, Périgueux, Saintes, Limoges, Tours, and Orléans were captured by the pagan Normans. They had indeed broken forth from Dacia, as has been said, but, turning at length toward the maritime part of Gaul, they settled there; it is called Normandy from them.

Those Normans, passing through the British sea and entering by the mouth of the Loire, invaded the city of Nantes. On Holy Saturday they slaughtered the bishop as he consecrated the baptismal water and killed the clergy and people. From there they occupied Angers and afterward Tours, and like a tempest they destroyed all things. They even burned the church of Saint Martin.

In the fifteenth year of the same emperor, an earthquake, an unusual commotion of the air, whirlwinds, hailstorms, tempests, and many thunderbolts inflicted manifold injuries upon human beings. A certain man was also consumed by heavenly fire while his garment remained unharmed.

Around those times, according to Vincent after the chronicle, Adeulphus, king of the English, who first held the monarchy of all England, went to Rome and before Pope Leo offered to Saint Peter the tribute which is paid in England down to the present day: namely, one silver coin each year from every house.

At length Emperor Lothair, after dividing the kingdom among his sons, renounced the world. Having received the monastic habit in the monastery of Prüm, not long afterward he slept in the Lord, as Vincent testifies in the *Historical Mirror* in the place cited above.

As Vincent relates, when there was a contention between angels and demons concerning his soul, the angels sought the soul of the monk, but the demons the soul of the emperor. When the brothers prayed, however, the demons who were tearing his body were put to flight.

While the said Lothair was ruling as emperor, when Pope Sergius had been created at Rome, Lothair sent his firstborn son Louis with a great company of princes and prelates to honor Sergius in his election and consecration. Received by the supreme pontiff with great glory, Louis was anointed and crowned by him as king of the Lombards. Almost all the bishops of Tuscany and Lombardy were present at his coronation.

Rabanus also, having been made archbishop of Mainz from being an abbot, at the command of Louis, king of the Germans and brother of Emperor Lothair, assembled a synod of the bishops of Germany at Mainz, in which many things useful to the Church were ordained. Rabanus and his books were discussed above.

During the reign of the said Lothair, that abominable nation of Saracens, conveyed by ships around the coast of the Tuscan sea, inflicted very great damage upon certain cities. They violated especially the church of blessed Peter and carried off everything, because at that time that part was without walls. Afterward they withdrew, as was said in the preceding chapter.

Section II

When Lothair migrated to the Lord, his son Louis II succeeded him in the empire. He had formerly been anointed king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius. He began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 856, and in the year 4,919 from the beginning of the world according to the lesser number, but in the year 6,066 according to the opinion of the greater number. He held the empire for twenty-one years. His brother Lothair, however, held Lotharingia.

In the third year of the empire of this Louis, the Franks complained before his brother Louis concerning the cruelty of their King Charles and invited him to reign over them against Charles, according to Vincent after Sigebert. Louis undertook this without counsel, but shamefully withdrew from another's borders.

In his eighth year Hubert, abbot and duke, brother of Queen Theberga, the wife of King Lothair, rose against Lothair because, after repudiating his wife Theberga, he had taken in addition a certain woman named Waldrada.

Because the two archbishops of Mainz and Trier had consented to and cooperated in this repudiation, they were convicted of it, excommunicated by Pope Nicholas I, and deposed. The concubine Waldrada herself was also excommunicated by the apostolic legate.

Seeing that excommunication was also being threatened against him, Lothair received his wife Theberga and rejected Waldrada. But this profited little, because not long afterward, after repudiating Theberga again, he took back the concubine as his wife and thereafter refused to be separated from her by any manner of correction.

In the twelfth year, when the Saracens were raiding the region of Benevento, Emperor Louis manfully met them. His brother Lothair, hastening to his aid, indeed waged many battles vigorously with him. But his army was exceedingly burdened by illnesses and by the bites of spiders on account of the intemperateness of the air, and he returned with great loss to his men.

In the thirteenth year of the same emperor, Michael, emperor of the Greeks, diminished in sense, so departed from his mind that he commanded his familiars to be killed. Yet, returning to himself, he required them to be presented to him.

Hence in the following year Basil—whom Emperor Michael had taken to himself as a poor man from the household of a certain abbot, had made chamberlain, and had advanced to such honors that he was called second after the emperor—had often been commanded by the emperor in his insanity to be killed. Fearing that he would be killed on such an occasion, Basil chose rather to kill the emperor himself than to be slain by him. Basil ruled as emperor in Greece for seventeen years.

In the fifteenth year of Louis's empire, when Pope Nicholas migrated to the Lord, King Lothair went to Rome to excuse himself before Adrian his successor. Both Lothair and his chief men were invited by Adrian, for proof of their innocence, to the examination and reception of the body and blood of the Lord. All who received Communion with him died within a year, Lothair himself also dying at Piacenza on his return.

In the seventeenth year of the empire of the aforesaid Louis, as Vincent relates, King Heldred, who had been a son of Ethenulf, died. After him reigned Elfred, brother of Ethenulf, who had received the royal anointing and crown from Pope Leo V. He reigned for twenty-eight years and six months and fought with enemies for nine continuous years.

As Vincent relates after Helinand, when on a certain day Elfred was enclosed on an island and was alone at home, his companions having dispersed along the bank of the river to fish, he gave his body, sick with cares, to sleep. Behold, Saint Cuthbert, formerly bishop of Lindisfarne, addressed him as he slept:

"I am Cuthbert, if you have heard of me. The Lord sent me to announce prosperous things to you. England has long paid the penalties for its sins; now at length, through the merits of its native saints, it has been regarded by the Lord. You are miserably driven from your kingdom; after a little time you will be restored gloriously to the throne.

"And this shall be a sign to you: today your fishermen will come bearing a great multitude of fish in baskets, which is marvelous since, with the water of the river frozen, nothing of the sort is hoped for. Moreover, the cold season frustrates every art of fishermen. Then, when you are master of your fortune, remember your liberator and his messenger."

This same thing was seen by his mother in a dream. When they awoke, both related their dreams. And behold, the fishermen arrived with a great abundance of fish.

Not long afterward he dared to leave the prison in which he was held by the Danes and undertook a venture of great cunning. For he entered the tents of the king of the Danes in the appearance of a minstrel, with only one most faithful man sharing his knowledge. There, as one professing the entertainer's art, he was admitted even into the more secret parts of the dining hall and perceived with eyes and ears all their secrets.

Having remained there for several days, he returned to Elingia. After explaining everything to his companions, he suddenly rushed upon the idle barbarians. Very many of them having been killed, the rest with their king gave hostages that they would become Christians and depart from England.

This was done. Their king Gudrum, whom our people call Gurnund, was baptized with thirty leading men and almost the whole people, and was received as a son by King Elfred. The rest of the Danes who were unwilling to become Christians crossed the sea with Hasting.

In the aforesaid year of the said emperor, as Vincent says after Sigebert, a domestic calamity afflicted Charles, king of the Franks and brother of the said Louis, in his sons. The father himself captured and blinded Karlomann, who had advanced in the clerical state as far as the office of the diaconate, because, having turned to apostasy and disturbing the kingdom by every manner of doing harm, he had become another Julian the Apostate.

His other son Charles, however, when he had rashly wished to test the tested strength of the soldier Albuin and had engaged him alone in single combat, was killed by that same Albuin, who did not know who he was.

Around that time, according to Vincent from the chronicle, the nation of the Danes, raging greatly, disturbed England. It also condemned Eadimund, that land's most Christian and most pious king, to death.

What was marvelous, a savage wolf took up the severed head of this saint unharmed and, carrying it into the forest, placed it most carefully clasped between its forefeet. When it was afterward sought by many, it is said to have uttered a voice of this sort: “Her, her, her,” which in interpretation means, “Here, here, here.”

Afterward, when this king’s martyrdom had been made manifest, the joyful people of the English hastened there, where very many miracles were accomplished.

Among other gifts, Basil, emperor of the Greeks, sent to Louis, king of the Germans, a crystal of marvelous size adorned with gold and gems, together with a considerable portion of the holy Cross.

Charles the Younger, son of Louis, king of the Germans, was gravely vexed by a demon in the presence of his father and his father’s chief men. During that very vexation he confessed that this had happened to him because he was attempting to make a conspiracy against his father.

Concerning the marvels that occurred in the time of this Louis: in the first year of his empire a tempest arose at Cologne, and when the people fled into the basilica of Saint Peter, suddenly a thunderbolt like a fiery dragon split and penetrated the basilica and cast three men down to death in different places, but with one stroke. By the same violence it left six others half alive.

In the parish of Mainz a malignant spirit gave evident proof of its wickedness. First by throwing stones and striking the walls of houses as if with hammers, then by speaking openly, also by revealing thefts and sowing discords among neighbors, it disquieted human beings.

At length it moved the minds of all against one man, as though the others suffered such things on account of his sins. It set fire to his crops, which had been heaped together in one place. Wherever he entered, that house was immediately burned, so that there was now no place for him to remain except in the fields.

For this reason, when the priests performed litanies and sprinkled blessed water, the enemy, by throwing stones and bloodying many, at length rested for some time. When the priests withdrew, the enemy howled mournfully. At last, naming a certain priest explicitly, it declared that when blessed water was being sprinkled it had hidden beneath his cope as though it were his familiar, accusing him of having lain with the daughter of the procurator.

It persisted thus for three years, until all the buildings there were consumed in a conflagration of fire.

Around that time, when Numeneus, king of the Britons, was pressing on to devastate the kingdom of the Franks, it seemed to him that Saint Maurilius, formerly bishop of the city of Angers, stood beside him. Struck on the head by him with a staff, Numeneus experienced the wrath of God in death.

In a year of the empire of the aforesaid Louis, as Vincent relates after Sigebert, it is narrated that blood rained from heaven at Brescia in Italy for three days and three nights.

Innumerable locusts devastated Gaul. They were larger than other locusts, had savage coverings of wings, six feet, and two teeth harder than stone. Flying in bands like the battle lines of camps, they sent leaders with a few others a day’s journey ahead to measure out places for the multitude that was to come. Arriving at the place sent ahead around the ninth hour, they waited there for sunrise.

For the space of one day’s journey they covered the air, obscuring the very ray of the sun. With a broad mouth and extended intestine, they gnawed away everything green among grasses and trees, extending a day’s journey over four or five miles.

Advancing with this miserable spectacle as far as the British sea, they were at length plunged into the depth of the sea by a blast of winds. But, cast back to shore by the tide of the ocean, they corrupted the air with their putrefaction and caused many to perish.

A severe famine also followed and consumed many by starvation, so that almost a third part of the people was consumed in Gaul. In the following year the winter was harsher and more prolonged than usual, so that snow and ice remained upon the ground from the Kalends of November until the vernal equinox.

His father, formerly emperor, appeared in a dream to Louis, king of the Germans, adjuring him by the name of the Holy Trinity to deliver him from the torments in which he was held, so that at length he might merit to have eternal rest.

For this reason the son earnestly succored his father by assigning alms to diverse monasteries. From this it was given to be understood that, although the same emperor had done many things pleasing to God and human beings, he nevertheless consented that more things contrary to God should be done in his kingdom.

Among these the more serious things appeared to be that he did not resist the heresy of the Nicolaitans, and that he did not strive to observe the admonitions of the archangel Gabriel, comprised in twelve chapters, which Marcus offered to him to be read and observed.

The Normans occupied the city of Angers with their people as though they would dwell in it. To conquer it, Charles, having summoned Salomon, king of the Britons, besieged it for many days. But when the Normans had been brought to despair, the king, against the will of his army, accepted money from them and allowed them to depart. By this compact he gave them opportunity to do worse things.

Section III

When Louis II died in the twenty-first year of his empire, his uncle Charles, king of the Franks, went to Rome. Having won Pope John and the Romans to himself by gifts, he was created emperor in the year of the Lord 877 and ruled as emperor for two years.

But war was immediately prepared against him by his brother Louis, because, without consulting him, Charles alone had usurped the empire of their cousin. A comet appeared brighter than usual.

A sudden and excessive inundation of waters occurred in June, so that in Saxony a certain village far removed from torrents and rivers was completely swallowed up in a moment, together with human beings, beasts, trees, buildings, a church, and its altar, so that no trace of habitation remained.

After the death of their King Salomon, the Britons clashed among themselves in an internal war because of a contention over ruling. Thus, unwillingly, they ceased from the destruction of Gaul.

In the first year of Charles's empire, Louis, king of the Germans and his brother, died, leaving three sons: namely Louis the Younger; Charles, who not long afterward ruled as emperor; and Charles the Great, father of Emperor Arnulf.

Charles, however, rejoicing over his brother's death and preparing to complete against his brother's sons the injustice which he had conceived against his brother, attacked their kingdom with fifty thousand men and more and came as far as Cologne, the other sons of Louis being occupied elsewhere.

Louis the Younger, sending an embassy to his uncle, asked for those things that belong to peace. When he could not obtain them, he manfully received him in battle and compelled him, defeated and with excessive loss to his army and much disgrace, to flee.

In the times of this Charles the Bald, the county of Flanders took its beginning. For Flanders was not then of so great a name and opulence as it is now seen to be, but was governed by the foresters of the king of the Franks. Of these, Lideric, Ingelram, and Audacer were governors of Flanders under Pepin, Karlomann, and Louis, nor were they then called counts.

Baldwin, son of Audacer, abducted Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. On account of this he was excommunicated by the whole Church with the consent of the bishops, at the command of Charles.

Afterward, by the counsel of his bishops and chief men, Charles was reconciled to Baldwin and Judith. He gave them Flanders to be possessed perpetually as a county by them and their heirs.

At this time, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* after Helinand, John Scotus flourished, a man of penetrating genius and honeyed eloquence. Amid the clashes of wars resounding on all sides, he had previously crossed into Francia to Charles the Bald.

At Charles's request he translated the *Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite from Greek into Latin word for word. He also composed a book which he entitled *On the Division of Nature*, very useful for resolving questions, provided that he is pardoned in certain matters in which he departs from the path of the Latins while fixing his eyes keenly upon the Greeks.

In succeeding years this man, attracted by the munificence of Elfred, came to England. At the monastery of Malmesbury he was, as is reported, pierced with writing-styluses by the boys whom he taught and was regarded as a martyr.

This was his epitaph:

> *Enclosed in the tomb is Saint John the sophist,*
> *Who, while already living, was enriched with wondrous doctrine.*
> *By martyrdom at last [he merited] to ascend to Christ's kingdom,*
> *In which all the saints reign through all ages.*

These verses, however, are rough and lack the polish of modern times.

Vincent adds in the place cited above that this John Scotus the philosopher, as Lanfranc says, became foolish in the faith. Hence his book on the Eucharist, read in the synod of Vercelli celebrated under Pope Leo IX, was condemned in the same year in which Lanfranc also cleared himself of the error of Berengar. The same John made a commentary upon the *Hierarchy* of Dionysius.

Emperor Charles the Bald, as Vincent writes in the place cited above after Sigebert, after obtaining the empire was lifted up beyond himself. Despising the customs of the Franks, he affected Greek glories and unusual modes of dress. Clothed in a long dalmatic and girded over it with a belt hanging down to his feet, with his head wrapped in a silken veil and a diadem placed above it, he walked about.

Although he was more timid than a hare and more ready to flee enemies than to put them to flight, he provoked his brother Louis, threatening that he would lead so many forces that, after the river had been drained by the horses, he himself would enter the kingdom of Germany through the dried Alpheus [read: through the dry riverbed].

This Charles the Bald, as Helinand says in his histories, founded and completed the monastery of Saint Cornelius at Compiègne. He had planned to make this stronghold in the likeness of Constantinople and to name it Karlopolis after himself.

Because he had seized in the church of Saint Dionysius many things which others had given, he brought there the Lord's crown of thorns, one of the nails, a piece of the wood of the Cross, and certain other things. He left a shroud at Compiègne, which I understand not to be the shroud shown at Rome, but that which remained in the tomb after Christ had risen.

Before these relics were shown to the people, there was customarily so great a famine in Francia that they ate asses and horses. Afterward, by the mercy of God, it ceased.

Sigebert says that this Charles died at Mantua. Elsewhere it is read that, while going to Rome, he died on the journey and was buried at Lyon in the monastery of Antonay.

But after a long time Charles himself appeared in a vision by night to a certain monk of Saint Dionysius named Erchengar and, on the same night, to a certain cleric of Saint Quentin. He told each that he was Charles the Bald and had appeared to them at God's command so that he might tell them that it displeased God and Saint Dionysius that his body was not buried in the church of Saint Dionysius, to which he had conferred so many gifts for the love of God.

He therefore commanded them to go and tell Louis his son and the chief men of the kingdom to carry his body there. This was done, and he was buried in the church of Saint Dionysius before the altar of the Holy Trinity.

Concerning this Charles, Sigebert says that, having set out for Rome a second time, he gave to Boso, brother of his wife, his niece, the daughter of Emperor Louis, as wife. Having given him Provence, he crowned him king, so that he appeared even to command kings.

Hearing that his cousins Karlomann and Charles were leading an army against him, he was dissolved by fear and prepared his return. On his return he was given a harmful potion by a certain Jewish man named Zedechias and died at Mantua.

His son Louis, surnamed the Stammerer, reigned second after the division in Francia for two years.

Section IV

Charles III, the younger son of Louis, king of the Germans, obtained the empire, certain Roman nobles assenting to him, although Pope John strove to transfer the empire to Louis the Stammerer, son of the recently deceased Emperor Charles.

The aforesaid Charles III began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 879, but in the year 4,842 from the beginning of the world according to Jerome and the Hebrews, whom Vincent in the *Historical Mirror* and John of Colonna follow. According to another computation, however—namely the computation of the seventy, which Eusebius and Bede follow—it was the year 6,002.

Because Pope John did not so favor the aforesaid Emperor Charles, the Romans inflicted injuries upon him, even detaining him in custody. But, finding an opportunity, he departed from Rome and went to Louis the Stammerer in Francia, remaining there for a year.

More than five thousand Normans were slain by the Franks in Gaul.

At that time Milo flourished, a monk who composed the life of Saint Amand in meter and wrote a book on sobriety to Charles the Bald. Under this Milo his nephew Hucbald grew up. Distinguished by knowledge of the seven liberal arts, he flourished beyond the others especially in music and composed chants concerning many saints with sweet and regular modulation.

At that time, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* after Helinand, Hasting, driven from England by King Elfred, crossed the sea with his men. After emptying Paris, Tours, and other cities of their citizens, he ranged as far as the Tyrrhenian Sea.

After devastating the upper parts of Gaul, this Hasting besieged Tours. When its wall was repeatedly struck by a ram, the people ran to the body of Saint Martin and carried it to the weaker place, making the dead man a defender for the living, as Vincent says after Saint Odo.

Immediately the Danes fled. The men of Tours pursued them as far as the sixth milestone, where the church of Saint Martin was built in the place at which the holy body had stopped.

Three lustrums after Hasting's flight, Rollo came from the same regions. After defeating the Britons and Flemings and setting fire to their cities and towns, he came to Le Mans and besieged it. He sent the leaders of his army toward Tours, but then by divine providence the rivers Cher and Loire had so overflowed that they could not approach Tours.

Marmoutier, not far from Tours, was utterly destroyed. One hundred and sixteen monks there were struck down by the sword. The abbot and twenty-four others, hiding in caves, escaped. They had been reserved for this purpose: that they might follow the body of their patron.

Nevertheless Abbot Herbern, dragged from hiding, could be compelled by no torments either to betray the treasures of the Church or the monks in hiding. None of these remained whom Martin did not afterward set over the governance of a church.

When the Danes withdrew, the abbot and those twenty-four were received reverently by the canons of Saint Martin, brought to the city, and fed there.

After six months had passed, Rollo captured Le Mans, and then the body of Saint Martin was sent to Orléans. Its guardians were Abbot Herbern with twenty-four monks, twelve canons, and twelve burgesses of Châteauneuf, who provided them with all necessary things.

Thereafter, because of the wars in that region, they carried the saint's body to diverse places, and finally to Auxerre, where innumerable miracles were accomplished through him in the church of Saint Germanus.

Among the others, William relates this notable one. When people coming to that holy body conferred very many things for the sake of remedies, a dispute arose between the canons and the people of Auxerre concerning the division of the money.

To resolve this dispute, a leper was placed between the bodies of the two saints, namely Martin and Germanus, and was guarded there by human watch for the whole night. As dawn grew light, that part of the leper which had been nearest Martin appeared entirely healed, while the other still remained leprous.

The body was turned, and they turned the diseased side toward Martin. On the next morning the man was found entirely healed, Germanus yielding to the honor of his guest.

Section V

Concerning the studies and deeds of Elfred, king of England, Vincent in the *Historical Mirror* writes after William as follows.

At the same time the Danes harassed Gaul for thirteen years, until at length, defeated by Emperor Arnulf and the Britons in many battles, they fled back into England. In that interval King Elfred had subjected to himself the whole island except that which the Danes possessed.

He gave London, the capital of the kingdom of the Mercians, to a certain leading man together with his daughter Agelfreda. From her that same leading man, named Egelred, begot the children Echelmund and Edward, who reigned after him.

This Elfred, though already twelve years old, was devoid of all learning. But then, invited to a kindly game by his mother so that he would receive as a gift something which she held in her hands if he learned quickly, he entered upon letters in play and drank them in with thirsty eagerness.

He translated these books into the English language: Orosius, Saint Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, Bede's *Deeds of the English*, and Boethius *On Consolation*.

He divided the time of the day in this manner: he spent eight hours in reading, writing, and praying, eight in the care of the body, and eight in dispatching the affairs of the kingdom. For this purpose there was in his chapel a candle of twenty-four parts, and by the manner in which the candle burned the king was admonished concerning each office.

He bequeathed half the portion of all his revenues—only those justly acquired—to monasteries. He divided all his revenues, moreover, into two parts. He divided the first again into three: one he gave to his court ministers, the second to workmen whom he kept continually in the construction of new buildings by a marvelous manner unknown to the English, and the third to strangers.

The second part of the revenues was so divided that the first portion was given to the poor of his region, the second to monasteries, the third to scholars, and the fourth to churches across the sea.

He always carried in his bosom a little book in which the daily course of the Psalms was contained, so that whenever he had leisure he might take it up and run through it.

He gave his daughter Echelsunda as wife to Baldwin, count of Flanders. From her Baldwin had Arnulf, from whom the counts of Flanders descend, and Adulf, who received from his father the county of Boulogne—not the city that is in Lombardy.

This Elfred, as Vincent says after William, was a most learned man who was always of adverse health. He was always troubled either by a fistula or by some internal disease. They say that he had demanded this from the Lord by prayers so that he might embrace worldly allurements less.

He instituted hundreds and tithings, and infused so great a peace into his country that he commanded golden bracelets to be hung even upon the public embankments where paths spread into a crossroads. These mocked the greed of travelers, since there were none who would seize them.

He sent many gifts to Rome and to Saint Thomas in India. A certain bishop named Sigelin of Sherborne was sent as legate for this purpose. Penetrating into India, he brought back from there many gems and spices, and a portion of the Lord's wood, which had been sent to the king by Pope Martin.

He constructed one monastery at Adelingia, where he had once lain hidden as a captive; another at Winchester, where he established Gerbald as abbot so that by his industry he might revive the study of letters, now almost buried in England; and a third monastery, which he filled with nuns and in which he established his daughter Elsegina as abbess.

After him reigned Edward, whose sister or mother Echelfreda, having experienced the difficulty of her first childbirth, abstained perpetually from her husband, declaring that it did not befit a king's daughter to commit herself to so great a danger.

This Edward reigned for twenty-three years and gave his daughter Edith to Charles, king of the Franks, son of Louis the Stammerer. He caused his own daughters first to be instructed in letters and immediately afterward to be exercised with the distaff, spindle, and needle. He likewise caused his sons first to be imbued with letters and afterward to learn the governance of the kingdom.

Elfred was buried at Winchester in his monastery. To provide sufficient ground for its workshops, he purchased space from the bishop and canons and paid for each foot with a mark weighed according to the public standard.

The Rollo discussed above was indeed noble, but descended from an ancient and obsolete lineage of the Noricans. Driven from his country by command of the king, he brought with him many whom either another's debt or consciousness of crimes harassed, having enticed them with great hopes.

Having undertaken piracy, he drew near to Chartres. Its citizens, trusting neither in arms nor in walls, adored the garment of blessed Mary—that is, her tunic—which Charles the Bald had caused to be brought from Constantinople with other relics.

They exposed this garment like a standard upon the battlements, stretched by the winds upon the breasts of the guards. The enemies, seeing it, began to laugh and to direct arrows against it. Their eyes were immediately darkened, so that they were able neither to retreat nor to advance. Seeing this, the townspeople satisfied themselves with a great slaughter of them.

Rollo nevertheless escaped, whom God reserved for His faith. Not long afterward he obtained Rouen and the neighboring cities.

Section VI

In the second year of the aforesaid Emperor Charles III, as Sigebert writes, the sun was so darkened at the ninth hour of the day that stars appeared in the heavens.

Louis the Stammerer, king of the Franks, died, leaving his wife pregnant by him. The Franks held diverse opinions concerning his kingdom: some judged that it was owed to the sons of Louis the Stammerer by a concubine; others assented to Boso, a petty king of Provence, unjustly invading it; and others wished to associate it with the kingdom of Germany.

Meanwhile a son was born from the lawful wife of Louis the Stammerer and was named Charles after his grandfather. Nevertheless the sons of Louis the Stammerer by a concubine, called Louis and Karlomann, divided the kingdom of Francia between themselves in the meantime, reigned for five years, and continually pursued Boso.

Therefore, as Vincent says in the place cited above from the chronicle, Charles, after his brother Karlomann had died and not long afterward his other brother Louis had been seized by an untimely death, triumphed over his enemies and obtained the kingdom of Germany.

After two years he obtained at Rome that he should be blessed emperor by Pope John, and he ruled as emperor for ten years.

In the Carbonarian Forest of Francia, as Vincent relates after Sigebert, more than nine thousand Normans were slain by the Franks.

In the fourth year the Normans, having joined the Danes to themselves and ranging through Francia and Lotharingia, devastated with iron and fire Amiens, Arras, Corbie, Cambrai, Thérouanne, the territories of the Noricans, Menapians, and Bracarians, all the land around the river Scheldt, and the monasteries of Saints Valery and Riquier.

In the same year Godfrey and Sigefrid, kings of the Normans, settled with an incalculable multitude near the Meuse at a place called Haslon. They burned Liège, Maastricht, Tongeren, Cologne Agrippina, and Bonn with the adjoining strongholds. Stabling horses in the palace at Aachen, they burned the town and palace. Moreover, they burned the monasteries of Stavelot, Malmedy, Inda, and Prüm.

Ministers of holy order and those of each sex serving God hid wherever they could do so more conveniently, and concealed the bodies and relics of the saints in safer places. Malahug, son of Lothair by the concubine Waldrada, was still acting as a tyrant in Lotharingia, and the aforesaid Boso in Burgundy.

In the sixth year, Emperor Charles, having summoned both Gauls and Germans to the aid of the kingdom, besieged the Normans. King Godfrey made a compact with him that the province of Frisia and Gilla, daughter of King Lothair, should be given to him as wife; he was baptized and received from the sacred font by the emperor. Charles also gave money to King Sigefrid and caused them to depart from his kingdom.

They soon sought Francia again and, after many incursions, exacted from Karlomann, king of the Franks, twelve thousand ounces of silver as tribute. Thus, promising peace for twelve years, they sought the sea again.

At this time a certain Rodulph transferred the body of Saint Callixtus, pope and martyr, from the city of Rome into Francia.

In the seventh year, when Karlomann, king of the Franks, died—his brother Louis having died in the preceding year—the Normans sought Francia again, saying that they had struck a compact of peace only with the king of the Franks, not with the Franks.

Hence the Franks, compelled and inviting Emperor Charles to their aid, subjected Francia to him. He sent an army once and twice against the Normans encamped near Leuven, but accomplished nothing. Charles therefore also reigned in Francia for five years, and in his eighth year Pope Marinus presided over the Roman Church.

Hugh, son of King Lothair by the concubine Waldrada, hoping to obtain his father's kingdom of Lotharingia by rebellion, promised half of the kingdom sought to Godfrey, king of the Normans, to whom his sister Gilla had married. He persuaded Godfrey to seek from the emperor that the imperial fisc should be added to him at his own pleasure.

By this he thought to circumvent the emperor from either side. For if the emperor granted it, Norman enemies of the kingdom would be admitted into the bowels of the kingdom; if he refused, they would appear to have a just cause for rebelling.

By command of the emperor, Duke Henry and Godfrey came by agreement to Batavia to discuss this. During the proceedings Godfrey was killed with his men. Not long afterward Hugh also was blinded by Henry and finally was tonsured as a monk at Prüm.

At Constantinople, after Emperor Basil died, his son Leo ruled as emperor for almost eighteen years.

In the ninth year the Normans, leaving Leuven, besieged Paris. Duke Henry, leading an army against them, rode incautiously into a pit which the Normans had made and covered with refuse; falling into it, he was slaughtered.

In the tenth year of this Charles, when Charles himself was unable to expel the Normans, he at length entered into a compact and conceded to them the regions beyond the Seine whose inhabitants were rebelling against him. This part of Francia was named Normandy from the Normans.

Section VII

This Charles IV, king of the Germans, Franks, and Romans and emperor, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror* from the sayings of William, on a certain Sunday night, when he had given himself to sleep, was caught up in spirit. Led by a certain most radiant being in the appearance of a man, namely an angel, he was conducted to the penal places of the other world.

First he was brought to the deepest fiery valleys, which were full of pits burning with pitch, sulfur, lead, wax, and fat. There he found the pontiffs of his father and of his uncles.

When he asked them fearfully why they suffered such grievous torments, they answered:

"We were bishops of your father and your uncles. When we ought to have admonished them and their people concerning peace and concord, we sowed discords and were kindlers of evils. Therefore we and other lovers of homicides and plunder are now burned in these infernal punishments.

“Your bishops and attendants who similarly love to do such things will also come here.”

When the blackest demons wished to draw Charles to themselves with iron hooks and immerse him in those pits, the angel defended him and delivered him from their hands.

Then, ascending with the angel over fiery mountains, he saw from them boiling rivers arise, with every kind of metal bubbling. There he found innumerable souls of human beings and of the princes of his father and brothers cast headlong, some as far as their hair, some as far as their chins, and some as far as their navels.

They cried to him with wailing:

“While we lived with you, we loved to commit plunder, homicides, and battles with your father, your brothers, and your uncles, on account of earthly greed. Therefore we are tormented here.”

He heard behind him voices saying: “The powerful shall powerfully endure torments.”

After this he descended into a valley that was on one side dark and burning like an oven of fire, and on the other most pleasant and most splendid. Turning toward the dark part, he saw there certain kings of his own lineage in great punishments. Being exceedingly distressed, he thought that he would immediately be plunged into those punishments by the blackest giants who were setting that valley aflame with diverse kinds of fires.

On the other side of the valley he saw fountains flowing, one exceedingly hot, the other temperate and clear. There were two casks there, and upon one he saw his father Louis standing in water as far as his thighs.

When Louis was burdened by excessive pain, he said to him:

“Charles, do not fear. God has permitted you to come here so that you may see for what sins I and all whom you have seen endure such torments. For on one day I am in this bath of the boiling cask, and on the next day I am transferred into that other most pleasant cask of water.

“This is done by the prayers of Saint Peter and Saint Remigius, by whose patronage our royal lineage has reigned until now. But if you assist me promptly—you, my bishops and abbots, and the entire ecclesiastical order, by Masses, offerings, prayers, vigils, and alms—I shall quickly be delivered from this cask of boiling water. For my brother Lothair and his son Louis have now been rescued from these punishments through the prayers of Saint Peter and Saint Remigius and led into the joys of paradise.”

He also said to me, “Charles, look toward the left side.” When Charles had done so, he saw two very high boiling casks. Louis said, “These are prepared for you unless you amend yourself and perform penance for your abominable offenses.” Charles began to be gravely horrified by this.

Then the angel led him toward the right side of the most radiant valley of paradise. There he saw his uncle Lothair and Lothair’s son Louis sitting with immense brightness and with glorious kings, crowned with a precious diadem.

Lothair said to him, “Charles, my successor, now the third under this name in the empire of the Romans, know that our genealogy will now cease to reign and rule as emperor. The power of the empire will soon be taken from your hand, and afterward you will live for a very short time.”

Louis said to him, “The empire which you have held until now ought by hereditary right to be received by Louis, the son of my daughter.” Thus he seemed to restore to him the entire monarchy of his empire.

After this vision Charles survived scarcely two years, as Sigebert says. Charles, being jealous of his wife because she behaved more familiarly than was just with Liutward, bishop of Vercelli, declared in an assembly that he had never had intercourse with her. She, however, glorying that she was a virgin, received a repudiation and sought a monastery.

Section VIII

In the twelfth year of his empire, this Charles, failing in body and mind, was repudiated by the chief men of the kingdom. Arnulf, son of King Karlomann and his cousin, was raised to the kingdom, according to Vincent and Sigebert, in the year of the Lord 891, the year 4,854 from the beginning of the world, but according to the other, greater computation, the year 6,014. He reigned for twelve years.

This Arnulf assigned estates in Germany to his uncle Charles, a former emperor who now lacked even necessities. Charles died in the following year, and the Roman Empire and kingdom of the Franks were miserably torn apart. In Italy, Berengar and Wido contended for the kingdom. The Franks, however, neglecting Charles, the son of Louis the Stammerer and a boy scarcely ten years old, set over themselves as king Odo, son of King Robert, whom we said above was killed by the Normans. Rodulph, a crown having been placed upon him, was established king of the Burgundians; that kingdom endured for a long time.

In the first year of Arnulf's empire, the Normans, unable to conquer Paris, attacked Burgundy, as Vincent says in the place cited above after Sigebert. They assaulted the city of Sens but did not conquer it. From Sens they sought Paris again. Driven from there, they burned the city of Troyes by way of the river Marne and devastated everything as far as the cities of Verdun and Toul.

For one year Stephen presided over the Roman Church. The Normans, seeking Lotharingia again, fought near Liège and defeated the Christians. Sunderold, archbishop of Mainz, was martyred by the Normans at Worms.

Hearing of the slaughter of his men, Arnulf hastened from Bavaria with a strong army to fight the Normans. Attacking them in an infantry battle above the river called the Dyle, he made so great a slaughter of them that from the innumerable multitude scarcely one survived who, having returned to the fleet, might bear the report. The remaining Normans crossed the Meuse and, ranging about while devastating Brabant and the Ardennes, withdrew across the sea.

At that time Remigius of Auxerre flourished, who was diligent in expounding divine and human writings. At that time Berno also flourished in Burgundy, formerly a count and now abbot of the monastery of Gigny which he had founded. From the gift of his grandmother, a countess, he also constructed the monastery of Cluny.

At length the anger of God toward Francia was turned into mercy. The Normans and Danes, who for forty years and more had reduced the kingdom of the Franks almost to nothing, were so defeated by Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Robert, count of Paris and brother of the former King Odo, that they themselves implored the mercy of God so that they might be made Christians.

At that time there were two kinsmen as leaders of the Normans, namely Rollo and Gello. Therefore, after taking counsel with his chief men, King Charles gave his daughter Gilla and all Neustria to Rollo upon receiving his pledge that he would receive baptism. Robert, count of Paris, received Rollo from the font. From Rollo he was called Robert according to Robert's name. He was the first duke of the Normans and begot William.

William begot Richard II, and this Richard begot Richard III and his brother Robert, who acquired Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria and defeated the Venetians and Alexius, emperor of the Greeks. This is Robert Guiscard, father of the renowned William the Bastard, who killed Harold, king of the English, in battle. These are the dukes of the Normans and kings of the English who proceeded from Rollo's lineage.

To Gello his kinsman, King Charles handed over the hill of Blois, upon which he built a stronghold and dwelt there. Having received a noble wife, he begot Theobald the Old. Theobald begot Odo the Campanian from the daughter of Emperor Conrad; Odo was called Campanian because he was born in Champagne. Odo begot Odo; Odo begot Theobald and Stephen; Stephen begot Count Theobald. This is the genealogy of the counts of Blois descending from the progeny of Gello the Norman.

When Charles, king of Francia and son-in-law of Edward, king of England, had summoned Rollo and made him a Christian, he gave him Normandy with his daughter Gilla so that he might be a vessel of peace, in such a manner that Rollo should hold Normandy from the king of the Franks as from his lord.

Then, when the counselors standing by told him to kiss the king's foot, Rollo, disdaining to bend at the king's knees, took hold of his foot and, while standing, drew it to his mouth. When the king fell backward, the laughter of the Normans followed, while the Franks rebuked them. Rollo excused the deed by alleging that such was the custom of his province.

The same Charles also gave Rollo the Norman county and Brittany, which are appendages of Normandy.

Arnulf, who had succeeded Charles III in the empire as has been said, was invited by Pope Formosus, concerning whom many things were said in the preceding chapter. He came to Rome, besieged and captured it, and caused all the Romans who had injured the pope to be beheaded. He was blessed as emperor by the pope himself.

In the following year King Wido, unable to endure Emperor Arnulf pursuing him everywhere—for neither cities nor strongholds fortified by nature were able to resist him—protected himself by flight. The emperor besieged Wido's wife. Now distrusting her circumstances, through one of the emperor's familiars whom she corrupted with much money she gave him a deadly cup.

After drinking it he could not be roused for three days; although his eyes were open, he was able neither to speak nor to perceive anything. This forced him to retrace his steps. Wido pursued him as he withdrew and died from him. Or, as some report, this Arnulf, dissolved by a long illness or afflicted by the tiniest worms called lice, which swarmed in such numbers upon his body that they could be diminished by no physician, at length died.

Section IX

Arnulf was succeeded by his son Louis in the year of the Lord 903, but in the year 4,866 from the beginning of the world, or, according to the greater computation, the year 6,026. He reigned for ten years.

Concerning this Louis I find nothing except that, because of the insolence of the tyrants in Italy and the onset of many evils, he did not merit the imperial blessing. In the tenth year of his reign he died as king of Germany.

When a certain Adelbert, one of the foremost Austrasians, had been in rebellion against Louis for seven years, he was brought to the king through the deceit of Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, and was beheaded.

Louis was succeeded by Conrad in the year of the Lord 913. He reigned for seven years and likewise lacked the imperial blessing. In his time Saint Odo flourished, having been made abbot of Cluny, concerning whom it was said above.

In the second year of this Conrad, when the more powerful princes of the kingdom had contemplated rebellion against him, they were brought back to his favor both by the wisdom and by the strength of the king. Arnald of Bavaria alone fled to the Hungarians with his wife and sons and remained there until the king's death.

In the fourth year of the same emperor, the Saracens, going forth into Gaul, occupied Calabria and Apulia, Benevento and the kingdom of the Romans, and most grievously oppressed Italy, but were afterward expelled.

King Conrad incited Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, through whose deceit Adelbert had perished, against Henry, duke of the Saxons, because Conrad suspected his power. For this purpose the archbishop had fashioned a golden chain, which he would deceitfully place around the neck of the duke as they dined together. When the deceit was betrayed, he was frustrated. Three days later he died by disease and infirmity, or, as others say, by a stroke of lightning. The duke also expelled the accomplices in the counsel from their country.

When the king sent an army against Henry, the Saxons raged among them with so great a slaughter that it was declaimed by minstrels where so great a hell could be that it might contain so great a multitude of the slain.

In the following year, when King Conrad was dying before the princes of the kingdom, he designated Henry, son of Otto, duke of the Saxons, as king.

John of Colonna says that in this Louis, father of Conrad, was the end of the empire in Francia as regards the posterity of Charlemagne, and the Italians began to reign again. For the kings of the Franks who in the time of Charlemagne and of his father Pepin had assisted the Roman Church in many difficult cases and rescued it from the persecutions of tyrants merited, by the judgment and authority of the Church, that the Roman Empire, which was among the Greeks, should be transferred to their posterity.

But after, through the inactivity of this Louis, king of the Franks, the Frankish kings did not assist the Roman Church, the empire began to be divided. Some ruled as emperors in Germany and others in Italy down to the time of Otto I, who ruled as emperor in Germany and Italy, being of the German nation.

For during the reign of this Louis, a certain Berengar, powerful among the Italians, invaded the Italian kingdom. He reigned for four years, a prudent man and vigorous in arms.

Although this Louis, entering Italy with a large army, put Berengar to flight, nevertheless, after Verona was captured by him, Louis was betrayed by his own men, captured, and blinded; and Berengar was restored to the kingdom of Italy.

Nor did Conrad, succeeding Louis, free Italy from the tyrants, nor Henry I, succeeding Conrad in the empire. Hence neither of them received the imperial blessing or crown from the pope. But Otto I, Henry's son and a Saxon, freed Italy from the tyrants Berengar and his sons and received the imperial crown from the pope, as appears below in the following chapter.

Section X

Henry I began to reign in the year of the Lord 920, but in the year 4,883 from the beginning of the world, or, according to another computation, the year 6,042. He ruled for eighteen years.

In Henry's third year, when the Hungarians were devastating Francia, Alsace, Germany, and Saxony, King Henry engaged them near the city of Merseburg, vowing to God that, for obtaining victory, he would eradicate the simoniacal heresy from his kingdom. With an inestimable slaughter he almost destroyed them to extermination.

Whenever King Henry saw that any thieves, robbers, or hired killers were strong in hand and fit for war, he gave them pardon, fields, and arms. Making a legion from them, he exposed them to fight the barbarians, commanding absolutely that only the citizens should be spared.

Charles, king of the Franks, with the aid of the Lotharingians fought near the city of Soissons against Robert, brother of King Odo, who was invading the kingdom of the Franks against him, and killed Robert with many others. Charles submitted himself and Francia to King Henry. As a pledge of perpetual compact and love, he sent him the hand of the precious martyr Dionysius of Paris enclosed in gold and gems.

The Africans who were tearing apart all Italy were so ground down in a battle joined with them by the soldiery of Pope John and with the aid of the Roman emperor of the Greeks that not even one survived who was not either captured or slaughtered. Many testified that Peter and Paul were seen in that battle coming to the aid of the Christians.

In the following year King Henry established peace with the Hungarians for nine years.

Charles, king of the Franks, was captured by Count Herbert and thrust into custody at Péronne because of the killing of Duke Robert, who had been slain by him. This Herbert, as is held from the chronicle, had already taken the sister of the said Robert as wife. Therefore by deceitful words he deceived Charles so that he turned aside to Herbert's lodging at Péronne. Thus he kept him, deceitfully captured, in prison, where at length he died as an exile and martyr.

His wife fled with her little son Louis to her father, the king of England. After Charles, however, Rodulph, son of Richard, duke of Burgundy, was elected king by the Franks and reigned in Francia for thirteen years.

Rodulph, king of the Burgundians, as Sigebert says, was invited by the Italians to reign against Berengar, who called himself king of Italy. A battle having been joined with Berengar, Rodulph defeated and expelled him and held the kingdom of Italy for three years.

Pope John, captured by Wido's soldiers and sent into custody, was most wickedly strangled, a cushion having been placed over his face.

Ziptneus, duke of Bohemia, having been converted to the faith of Christ, ruled justly and religiously in Bohemia. After him his son Watislaus was illustrious for justice and sanctity. His brother Bolizlaus opposed him exceedingly.

In Henry's seventh year, as Vincent relates in book twenty-five of the *Historical Mirror* after Sigebert, Simeon the Bulgar, who had become a monk from being a philosopher and a soldier from being a monk, ruled the Bulgarians and grievously wore down the Greeks. But Romanus, emperor of the Greeks, mitigated his madness by making a compact.

In his tenth year, a lance of marvelous workmanship, sanctified by a nail of the crucified Jesus Christ and said to have belonged to the first and great Emperor Constantine, was given by Count Samson to Rodulph, king of the Burgundians and of Italy. By prayers, threats, and gifts, with a portion of the province of the Suevi also added, King Henry extorted the lance of Christ from Count Rodulph. He left it to his posterity as an insignia and safeguard of the empire.

In the fifteenth year of Henry's reign, Otto, son of the aforesaid king, took as wife the daughter of Edward, king of the English.

In the sixteenth year of the same king, a fountain of blood flowed most abundantly in the city of Genoa, perhaps portending the ruin of the city itself. In the same year it was captured by Africans arriving there with a fleet, all the citizens except little children and women being captured and killed, and it was emptied even of its treasures.

In his seventeenth year Niger, king of the Russians, knowing that the armies of the Greeks had been led against the Saracens and dispersed for the guarding of the islands, came to conquer Constantinople with a thousand ships and more. He was now so secure of victory that he commanded that the Greeks should not be killed but captured.

Romanus, so named, emperor of the Greeks, manfully met them with a few men and, casting Greek fire all around, burned almost all of them with their ships, a few escaping. He commanded all the captives to be beheaded.

In the eighteenth year prodigies appeared. Not only was the sun darkened in a clear sky, but through the windows of houses it emitted rays as though bloody. The left hand of a certain man, amputated with iron, after almost a year was restored whole to him while he slept. As a sign of the marvel, a line as though of blood was marked at the place of conjunction.

At length King Henry died. Although he had been glorious in overcoming enemies, because he was nevertheless peaceful he gave no effort to receiving the imperial blessing after the tyrants who, as though hired wage earners succeeding one another, were tearing the empire apart had been driven from Italy. The mountain where King Henry was buried afterward vomited flames in many places.

Section XI

Concerning Echelstan, king of England, who began to reign around the beginning of Henry's empire. Therefore, after Edward, who had reigned in England for twenty-three years, his son Echelstan reigned for sixteen years, as Vincent notes in the place cited above after William. They report that he was born from a concubine.

Scarcely an ancient monastery existed in all England which he did not adorn with buildings, ornaments, books, or estates. He made recent monasteries into ancient ones, as if by design.

He gave one of his sisters as wife to Sitric, king of the Northumbrians. When Sitric died after a year, Echelstan subjected that province to himself and expelled Widual, king of the Welsh, and Constantine, king of the Scots, from their kingdoms. Nevertheless, afterward, moved by pity, he permitted them to reign beneath him in their former state.

Afterward he had a war with Adalan, son of Sitric. Fearing the king who was coming against him with an army, Adalan pretended to be a minstrel. Taking a harp in his hand, he came to King Echelstan's tent. Singing at the entrance, he was easily admitted. While singing between the psalms, he scrutinized all things with his eyes.

After the banquet he was ordered to leave and received the price of his song. Disdaining to carry it away, he buried it in the ground beneath him. This was noticed by a certain man who had formerly served him and was immediately told to Echelstan.

When the king accused the man because he had not betrayed the enemy placed before his eyes, he received this answer: "The same oath which I recently made to you, O king, I formerly made to Adalan. But move your tent from here until the forces left behind arrive tomorrow, so that with restrained delay you may break the enemy who insolently exults."

Adalan therefore came by night and killed a certain bishop, who had come to the army in the evening, with his entire household. Advancing farther, he found the king unprepared, for he had thought that the enemies would dare nothing of this sort.

Shaken from his bed, when the king urged his men to battle, his sword happened to fall from its sheath. Calling upon God and Saint Adelin, who was his kinsman from an ancient lineage, he put his hand back toward the sheath and found a sword which to this day is preserved in the royal treasury as a miracle. It is cutting on one part and never receptive of gold or silver.

Trusting in this gift of God, throughout the whole day until evening he tirelessly put Adalan and his army to flight. Constantine, king of the Scots, fell there, a man of treacherous boldness and vigorous old age, as did five other kings, twelve counts, and almost the whole multitude of barbarians. The few who remained were preserved to receive the faith of Christ.

The petty kings of the North Welsh—that is, of the northern Britons—paid him each year, under the name of tribute, twenty pounds of gold, three hundred of silver, twenty-five oxen, and as many hunting dogs and hunting birds as he wished. He took the city of Exeter from the Cornish and fortified it with towers and a wall of squared stones.

A certain Arold, king of the Norwegians, sent him a golden ship having a beak and a purple sail, surrounded within by a dense covering of gilded shields.

When Echelstan's father died, rivals wished to blind him in the city of Winchester. Their leader was a certain Elfred, who, having been apprehended, was sent to Rome so that there he might defend himself by oath before Pope John. When he had sworn before the altar of Saint Peter, he fell. Carried by the hands of servants to the school of the English, he died on the third day.

Rabod, provost of Samson the archbishop, sent to this Echelstan the bones of Saint Senator, Saint Paternus, and Saint Scubilion, who had been the master of the same Saint Paternus and migrated to the Lord on one and the same day and hour with Saint Paternus. These saints had been transferred from Lesser Britain and Normandy to safer places. Many other relics were also transferred when the Normans were then harassing Gaul.

This Echelstan is said to have been born from a concubine in this manner. In a certain village there was a most beautiful daughter of a shepherd. In a nocturnal vision she saw the moon shining from her womb and illuminating all England with its light.

When she related this to her companions, and they related the same thing to the female steward who nurtured the king's sons, the steward took her and held her in place of a daughter. Edward, son of King Elfred, afterward loved her in the steward's house and begot Echelstan from her.

Henry, son of Conrad, king of the Germans and emperor of the Romans, sent to this Echelstan seeking Echelstan's sister as wife for his son Otto. Louis, prince of the Aquitanians and a survivor from the lineage of Charlemagne, had another of his sisters as wife.

Title XVI

Chapter III

Concerning Otto I, emperor.

When Henry died, he was succeeded in the empire, as Vincent relates in the place cited above, by his son Otto, born of Matilda, daughter of Theoderic, king of the Saxons. Otto began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 938, but in the year 4,901 from the beginning of the world, or, according to the other computation, the year 6,060. He ruled as emperor for thirty-six years.

In this Otto I the empire was transferred from the Franks to the Germans, and it has remained among them until the present, namely the year of the Lord 1456.

In his first year, Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia, a holy man, was killed by his brother Boleslaus, who had been seduced by ambition to seize the principality. In vengeance for him King Otto declared war upon Boleslaus, and a long contest between them was carried on for fourteen years.

In the same year, as is held from the chronicles, the king of the Franks died at Auxerre, and his body was buried in the church of Saint Columba at Sens. After his death the Franks, having gathered in one council, sent William, archbishop of Sens, into England to a certain Edina, queen of the Franks, so that she might send back her son Louis to his paternal kingdom. After hostages and oaths had been furnished, the aforesaid prelate received Louis and brought him into Francia. He was anointed and crowned king at the city of Laon and reigned for nineteen years.

In the following year, as Sigebert says, the heresy of the Anthropomorphites—that is, of those saying that God has a bodily form—was troubling Italy. Ratherius, bishop of Verona, protested against it both in words and in writings.

In the third year of his empire King Otto overcame Boleslaus in war. But Boleslaus, surrounding the leaders of the king's army when they were secure because of the victory, slaughtered them with many others. The king, however, devastated Bohemia.

In the same year, as Vincent relates after William, Edmund, the eighteen-year-old brother of Echelstan, reigned. He reigned for six and a half years. He endowed the church of Glastonbury with great estates and honors and confirmed his donation by a privilege written in golden letters in a Gospel book elegantly fashioned, which he gave to that church.

This Edmund had threatened a certain robber named Leof. After six years the robber returned on the day of Saint Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, and unexpectedly sat down among the king's fellow diners at Pucklechurch, for the English were then accustomed to feast festively in memory of the preaching of the aforesaid Saint Augustine. This robber happened then to be reclining next to a duke whom the king himself had deigned to serve with portions from the supper.

When he had been recognized by the king alone while the others were foaming with wine, the king, kindled with anger, seized the aforesaid man by the hair and dashed him to the ground. The man secretly drew a dagger from its sheath and drove it into the king's breast, and the king immediately expired. The robber, however, was torn limb from limb by the attendants running up, after first wounding some of them.

Blessed Dunstan, then abbot of Glastonbury, had foreseen this end of the king, having been instructed by the gestures and buffoonish clapping of a demon dancing before him. Mounting a horse at once and hurrying to the court, he received in the middle of the journey the report of the deed that had occurred. Edmund was buried in the church of Glastonbury.

In these days the chief men of the Franks rebelled against King Louis, and above all Hugh the Great, count of Paris, who was the son of the tyrant Robert, killed by King Charles in the battle of Soissons. King Louis, therefore, surrounded by his own dukes, was captured by the Normans and, by Hugh's counsel, was sent to Péronne and handed over to public custody. Karlomann, however, his elder son, having been brought by the Normans, died at Rouen.

Hearing this, Emperor Otto attacked Francia with twenty-seven legions to liberate Louis, and through fear of him Louis was released from custody.

Moreover, Eberhard, count palatine, and Gilbert, duke of Lotharingia, who had Gerberga, the emperor's sister, as his wife, rebelled against Emperor Otto. These two, therefore, captured Henry, the emperor's brother, after besieging him, and by their deceit separated him from fidelity to the emperor and attached him to their faction, suggesting that the kingdom was more fitting for the one born while his father was reigning than for Otto, who had been born before the reign.

In Otto's fifth year Gilbert and Eberhard, with the aforesaid Henry, were preparing war against the emperor near the Rhine when they encountered the emperor's soldiers. The many engaged the few, while the emperor lay prostrate in prayer on the other bank of the Rhine before the nails of the Lord affixed to his lance. They were defeated and turned their backs, Henry having been incurably wounded in the arm.

In the same year a dissension arose among the princes because of the diversity of laws: whether, while grandfathers survived, the sons of sons ought to inherit after their fathers had died, or whether, the cousins having been disinherited, the inheritance ought to return to the paternal uncles. By the judgment of King Otto and all the princes, knowledge of the truth was committed to a trial by combat. Victory was granted to those who said that brothers' sons ought to inherit together with their paternal uncles.

In the following year King Otto besieged the town of Breisach in Alsace, which King Louis held through the soldiers of Eberhard and Gilbert. During this siege, at the persuasion of Frederick, archbishop of Mainz, who had already in spirit defected from the emperor, many defected from the emperor. While others were terrified by this circumstance, the king alone remained unterrified.

Meanwhile the king's faithful men, namely Odo and Conrad, brother of Herman, duke of the Swabians, unexpectedly attacked Eberhard and Gilbert near the Rhine while they were securely intent upon plundering the kingdom, and fought them most fiercely. Eberhard was killed by swords, while Gilbert was submerged in the waters of the Rhine; scarcely anyone among the others was not either slaughtered or captured. At this report the king's unfaithful men were broken in heart, Louis departed from Alsace, and the king and his faithful men rejoiced with him.

In the same year, as William and Vincent write, William, son of Rollo and duke of the Normans, was treacherously killed in Francia by Alzo, surnamed the Short. A key was found at his belt belonging to the lock of a private chest, in which monastic garments were found. Amid wars he had always contemplated wearing them at Jumièges. His son was Richard.

In Otto's seventh year Stephen and Constantine, sons of the emperor of the Greeks, namely Romanus, as they are called according to Sigebert and Vincent, complaining that they had been restrained from youthful age by the just severity of their father, arranged an ambush in the palace. Without the knowledge of the other Constantine, son of Emperor Leo, they deposed their father from the throne of the palace and, having shorn his head according to custom, sent him to a neighboring island upon which cenobites practiced philosophy.

The sun suffered a horrible eclipse on Friday at the third hour of the day. On that day in Spain Adamar, king of the Saracens, was defeated in battle by Ramiro, the most Christian king of Galicia. In Italy a comet of marvelous magnitude appeared, portending the famine that followed. King Otto transferred the body of Saint Innocent the martyr to the city of Magdeburg.

In the eighth year Otto subjected all Lotharingia to himself, only Adalbero, bishop of Metz and brother of Duke Frederick, resisting him.

Stephen and Constantine, sons of Emperor Romanus, seeing that after their father's expulsion Constantine, son of Emperor Leo, was preferred to them by everyone and that they themselves were now scarcely held in second place, deliberated about doing to Constantine what they had done to their father. Their counsel was made public by Diabolinus, who was aware of the purpose of this counsel. When they had sat down together at a banquet by agreement and were contending among themselves after consultation about priority in sitting, at a signal given by Constantine's men both brothers were cast down from the throne. Their heads were shorn, and they too were sent to philosophize with the monks in the same monastery to which they had sent their father.

Thus, after the palace had been emptied of the usurping emperors, Constantine himself and his son Romanus, born of the daughter of Emperor Romanus, ruled as emperors for sixteen years.

Section I

Concerning the second Romanus, emperor of the Greeks, and his capture, together with many provinces, by Belfech, prince of the Persians and also of the Assyrians, an unbeliever, John of Colonna writes that, in the age when Conrad was ruling as emperor in Germany, Romanus, surnamed Diogenes, was ruling as emperor among the Greeks.

At that time, when he had administered the empire of Constantinople with every prosperity, a most powerful prince of the Persians and Assyrians named Belfech came forth from the farthest eastern regions, drawing with him so great a multitude of unbelieving nations that it was said to exceed number and cover the whole surface of the earth.

Advancing in chariots and on horses and with an exceedingly magnificent array, he entered the borders of the empire of Constantinople. He subjected everything to himself, from the open suburbs as far as walled cities and the most heavily fortified towns. There was no one who resisted him, and therefore everything was plundered at will.

Meanwhile the threatening sword was announced to the emperor of the Greeks. Solicitous for the commonwealth, he summoned expeditions and gathered as many forces of horsemen and foot soldiers as the pressing necessity compelled and as the whole empire could supply.

Why say more? When the legions and an abundant retinue had been gathered, the emperor advanced to meet the enemies. He encountered with a strong hand those who were already holding the inner parts of the empire, but he was destitute of divine aid.

Battle having been joined, they fought most fiercely on each side, with forces almost equal but with greater hatreds, such as the grief of sacrilege and zeal for the faith are accustomed to suggest. To make a long account shorter, the Christian people perished and, God permitting it, the lines of the faithful were laid low. What was more lamentable, the emperor was captured. What portion of the army had escaped returned, reporting the confusion that had occurred.

Meanwhile that unbelieving but magnificent man, the pagan prince, elated by so great a victory, commanded the emperor whom we said had been captured to be presented to him. In contempt of the name and Christian faith, while sitting upon the royal throne, he commanded the emperor to be placed beneath his feet. Ascending and descending in the presence of the princes, he used the imperial body in place of a footstool. At length, in return for so great a service, he restored him to liberty and permitted him to depart with the few of his magnates who had been captured with him.

The aforesaid pagan prince, freely fulfilling his purpose, occupied all the provinces from Laodicea of Syria as far as the Hellespont, which flows past Constantinople—thirty days' journey in length and fifteen in breadth—after the people of the whole land had been taken captive. Among them Antioch, the noble and distinguished ruler of many provinces and the first see of the Apostle Peter, was captured and made tributary under the unbelievers.

Thus within a short time he took under his jurisdiction both Coele-Syrias, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Sichaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, both Pontuses, Bithynia, and parts of Asia Minor—noble provinces distinguished by every advantage and filled with faithful peoples. He took the peoples captive, cast down churches, and with exterminating fury persecuted Christian worship. If he had possessed an abundance of ships, without any doubt he would have occupied the royal city of Constantinople itself.

When Emperor Romanus returned, however, the princes of the Greeks placed another over themselves, judging it unworthy that one who had suffered such indignities in his own body should exercise the imperial dignity. Therefore, after depriving him of his eyes and treating him ignominiously, they scarcely permitted him to live a private life.

By the just judgment of God this Romanus suffered this, for, rising against his lord and benefactor, Emperor Constantine, he had cast him down from the summit of the empire, and Constantine sought his livelihood by practicing painting, the work of his own hands.

It should be noted, to remove equivocation concerning this name Romanus, that there were two Greek emperors called Romanus. One was the father of Stephen and Constantine; he burned the fleet of the king of the Russians and was afterward cast out of the empire by his sons, as was said above according to Vincent and Sigebert. The other was the one of whom John of Colonna has now spoken. He was the son of Constantine, who ruled in Greece after the sons of the first Romanus. It nevertheless appears that this man belonged rather to the time of Emperor Otto than to that of Conrad.

Section II

In the ninth year of Otto I, Henry, the emperor's brother, having been besieged at the city of Merseburg by his brother, cast away his arms, fell at his feet, and implored his mercy; he was enclosed in custody. Frederick, archbishop of Mainz, was also shut out by the citizens.

In the same year, as Guillerinus testifies, Edred, the third of Edward's sons, reigned in England, and he reigned for nine and a half years. When news was heard that he was sick and blessed Dunstan was hastening there on horseback, Dunstan heard a voice sounding from above: "Now King Edred has fallen asleep in the Lord."

In Otto's twelfth year, as Vincent says after Sigebert, Taxus, king of the Hungarians, came into Italy and received from Berengar ten measures of money for his return.

In his thirteenth year, very many great earthquakes occurred throughout places in Gaul and Germany.

In his sixteenth year, when Wifrid died, the glorious man Bruno, brother of Emperor Otto, received the archbishopric of Cologne. How great a man he was before God and human beings the reader may learn from his life, which Roger described lucidly. Through his effort the bodies of Saints Elisius and Patroclus, together with the staff of Saint Peter, were transferred from Rome to Cologne.

In his eighteenth year, when Louis, king of the Franks, died, his son Lothair by Gerberga, the emperor's sister, reigned in Francia for thirty-one years. Under King Lothair himself Hugh the Great was made duke of the Franks. Not long afterward the said Hugh died and was buried in the church of Saint Dionysius; his sons Hugh, Otto, and Henry succeeded him. Of these, Hugh obtained the duchy of the Franks in place of his father.

In the same year also, as William writes, Edwy, son of King Edmund, began to reign in England while still an adolescent, wanton and lustful. When Saint Dunstan rebuked him, he exiled all the monks throughout England and afflicted them with calamities. He expelled Dunstan himself into Flanders, as will be said in the following chapter.

In his nineteenth year, as Vincent writes in the place cited above after Sigebert, a stone of marvelous magnitude, cast from heaven with thunder and a violent storm, presented a great marvel to those who saw it. In many places churches were shaken by a powerful tempest; priests of both orders perished by a lightning strike, and many other portents horrible to relate were shown.

In the twenty-second year, a prodigious event terrified many and restrained them from vices: signs of the cross appeared upon the garments of very many, while the garments of some were soiled as though with leprosy.

In the twenty-fourth year Otto himself was summoned by Pope John XI [read: Pope John XII] and the people of Italy through legates to liberate Italy from the hands of Berengar, who as a powerful tyrant was molesting it in many ways. He entered Italy and, after defeating Berengar, sent him into exile. Otto was received with the greatest honor by Pope John and by all the clergy and Roman people, and was solemnly crowned emperor by Pope John himself. But this pope was wicked and scandalized both the emperor and everyone because of his abominable life.

In Otto's twenty-sixth year, a council of bishops from all Italy having been assembled, after the pope had been summoned a third time to answer concerning the crimes charged against him and, fleeing, had scorned to come to Rome, he was condemned by all. Leo was substituted as pope by the election of all and the emperor's consent. Presiding over the apostolic see, this Leo did things worthy of an apostle.

But not long afterward, as Vincent says after Sigebert, the Romans, having changed their fidelity, with the aid of certain men of the emperor—because Pope John himself was of noble stock—and also with the help of Alberic, son of the aforesaid Berengar, recalled John and restored him to his see. He ended his life most miserably and most shamefully, as is evident above in the preceding chapter.

When John died, Pope Leo, who had withdrawn from the city when John had been restored to the papacy by the Romans, went to the emperor. The Romans themselves chose a certain man as pope whom they named Benedict. Emperor Otto, angered by this outcome, both because they had cast out Leo and because they had acted contrary to their oath—for they had sworn to him that they would never elect a pope without his and his son's consent—suddenly approached the city with his forces.

After besieging it he so afflicted it with slaughter and hunger that they promised to receive the aforesaid Leo as pope. This they did after Benedict had been rejected. Benedict was deprived not only of the papacy but also of the priesthood and, according to some, was strangled in prison by Otto.

In the twenty-eighth year of his empire, Otto celebrated the feast of Pentecost at Aachen. His sisters came there from Francia: Gerberga, queen of the Franks and mother of King Lothair and Duke Charles, and Hadwig, wife of Hugh, count of Paris. There the whole royal lineage was affected by so great a jubilation of mutual rejoicing that scarcely any joy and gladness in all their lives could be compared with it.

In the thirty-second year of this Otto I, a certain count, a familiar of Emperor Otto, was seized by the devil at Rome before everyone's eyes, so that he tore himself with his teeth. By the emperor's command he was brought to Pope John XIII, who had succeeded Leo, so that the chain of Saint Peter might be placed around his neck.

When deceitful clerics once and twice applied another chain furtively and no remedy proceeded from it because no power was present in it, at length the true chain of Saint Peter—the one with which he had been bound under Nero—was brought and placed around the raging man's neck. The devil departed, foaming and crying out greatly.

Theoderic, bishop of Metz, seized this chain and said that he would not release it unless his hand were cut off. At length the emperor, after quieting the dispute, obtained from Pope John that the bishop should merit to have a ring cut from this chain.

After Otto had been reconciled to the Romans at the insistence and prayers of Pope Leo, the emperor remained at Rome for some time. When the feast of the Lord's Nativity arrived, Otto caused his son Otto to be crowned by Pope Leo, and joined to him in marriage Theophania, daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. When this had been done, he returned to Germany.

After Pope Leo died, however, John, a native of Narni, succeeded him, and certain Romans imprisoned him. On hearing this Otto again returned to Italy with his forces. After freeing John from prison and entering Rome with him, the emperor subdued in various ways those who had been the cause of his capture, as was stated above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs.

In Otto's thirty-third year Theoderic, bishop of Metz, joined more closely than others to the emperor by blood, affection, and familiarity, collected, in whatever way he could, many bodies and relics of saints from different places in Italy while he campaigned under him for three years in the Italian expedition, as Vincent says in the place cited above.

First he obtained Saint Elpidius the confessor from Marsia, whose companion, Bishop Eutychius, the emperor himself had already carried away. From Amiternum he obtained Saint Eutyches the martyr with the relics of Maron and Victorinus, his companions; from Foligno, Felician, bishop and martyr; from Perugia, Asclepiodorus the martyr; from Spoleto, Serenus the martyr with Gregory the martyr of Spoleto; from Cordino, the relics of Vincent, martyr and levite, which had once been brought from Spain to Capua by two monks and conveyed from Capua to that place; from Mevania, another Vincent, bishop and martyr; from Vicenza, Leontius, bishop and martyr; from Florence, Minias the martyr; from the city of Todi, Fortunatus, bishop and confessor; from Corfinium, Lucy, the virgin and martyr of Syracuse, once transferred there from Syracuse by Faroald, duke of the Spoletans; and from the Sabine region, portions of the bodies of the martyrs Protus and Hyacinth.

All these things, together with a portion of Saint Peter's chain, hairs of the same saint, blood of blessed Stephen the first martyr, and a piece of Saint Lawrence's gridiron given to him by Pope John, along with many other relics of saints, Bishop Theoderic transported into Gaul and placed in the church of Saint Vincent the martyr which he had constructed on the island of the city.

Concerning the aforesaid relics and others, since many people make many contrary claims—namely, that they are in one place rather than another, and that they are these rather than those—everyone is free in spirit to believe that they are those relics or that they are not, without prejudice to salvation. Nevertheless, it is pious to believe what is commonly said.

At length this Otto I died. The monk Widukind wrote his life and also composed the history of the Saxons down to him.

Concerning these three Ottos there is the verse: "Otto reigned after Otto, then the third Otto." Jacob of Voragine briefly relates the following things in his chronicle.

Concerning the first, he relates that when the said Otto had prepared a banquet for the princes on the solemnity of Easter, before they sat down the son of a certain prince, at a boy's prompting [read: on a childish impulse], took a dish from the table. The steward struck him down with a staff. Seeing this, the boy's tutor immediately killed the steward.

When Caesar wished to condemn him without a hearing, the man cast Caesar to the ground and began to choke him. When he had been torn from the man's hands, Otto caused him to be spared, crying out that he himself was blameworthy because he had not shown reverence for the feast; therefore he permitted the man to depart freely.

Concerning the second Otto, Jacob relates that, when the Italians had violated the peace rather often, he came to Rome and made a great banquet for all the chief men, magnates, and pontiffs at the steps of the church. While they were feasting he secretly caused armed men to surround them. Then, making a complaint concerning the violated peace, he commanded the guilty men to be read out from a written list. He caused them to be beheaded immediately in that place, while he took care that the others should feast.

Concerning the third, it is read that he had a certain wife who wished to prostitute herself to a certain count. But when he was unwilling to perpetrate so great a crime, she, indignant, so defamed the aforesaid count before the emperor that the emperor caused him to be beheaded without a hearing.

Before he was beheaded, he asked his wife to prove his innocence after his death by the judgment of glowing iron. The day came upon which Caesar declared that he would render judgment for orphans and widows. The widow was also present, carrying her husband's head with her in her arms.

Then the woman asked the emperor what death one who had unjustly caused someone to be killed deserved. When he declared that such a man deserved deprivation of his head, she added: "You are that man, O emperor, who killed my innocent husband at the suggestion of your wife. And so that you may prove that I speak the truth, I shall prove it by this judgment of glowing iron."

Seeing this, Caesar was astounded and gave himself into the woman's hands to be punished. Through the intervention of the pontiffs and chief men, however, he received from the widow a delay of ten days, then eight, afterward seven, and finally six.

Then the emperor, after the truth had been examined and learned, caused his own wife, found guilty and the cause of so great an evil, to be burned alive. For his own redemption he gave four strongholds to the widow. These strongholds are in the bishopric of Limoges and are called from the delays of days: Tenth, Eighth, Seventh, and Sixth.

What was said above concerning the second Otto appears more likely to have occurred in the time of Otto III, who came into Italy several times.

Section III

Therefore, in the year 974 from the Lord's Incarnation, but in the year 4,933 from the beginning of the world, or, according to the computation of the greater number, the year 6,096, Otto II, son of the first, began to rule as emperor. He ruled as emperor for ten years.

In the second year of his empire there was a great frost from the Kalends of November until the vernal equinox.

In Otto's third year Saint Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, died. The glory of miracles soon disclosed what manner of life he had led.

In the fourth year Saint Withech, bishop of Prague, surnamed Adelbert, was illustrious in sanctity and teaching among the Wends. Martyred among the Prussians, he was glorified by many miracles.

In the fifth year, when the kingdom had been pacified on every side and Emperor Otto was remaining at Aachen, Lothair, king of the Franks, suddenly came to invade Lotharingia. When the emperor withdrew because he was unprepared for battle, the king returned to his own land after much devastation.

The emperor pursued him with an inestimable army and, on the appointed day, namely the Kalends of October, entered Francia. Ranging through it until the Kalends of December, he devastated the territories of Reims, Laon, Soissons, and Paris with various slaughter, but granted every immunity to the churches of God. On his return, however, he lost part of the baggage near the river Aisne. Concerning these events a certain recluse predicted that all the instigators of this evil would die before seven years had passed.

In the sixth year fiery armies were seen in the sky throughout the whole night on the fifth day before the Kalends of November.

In the seventh year the bodies of Saints Laudoald, Adrian, Amantius, and others were transferred from the village of Ventre-Sono-Habania to Ghent, with the glory of many miracles.

In the eighth year Emperor Otto II attempted to transfer Apulia and Calabria, provinces of Italy belonging to the jurisdiction of the kingdom of the Greeks, to the Roman Empire, chiefly because of the affinity which he had with the emperor of the Greeks through his wife Theophania.

In the ninth year the Greeks, hostile because Emperor Otto was invading the provinces of the Greeks, hired the aid of the Saracens for themselves and met the emperor in battle in Calabria. In that battle almost all the forces of the Romans were destroyed, as though to annihilation.

The emperor, striving to escape by swimming, was captured by sailors who did not know him. He was recognized by one of them who was a merchant of slaves but was not betrayed. Through him the matter was reported to the empress and to Theoderic, bishop of Metz, who were awaiting the outcome of the affair in the city of Rossano. With difficulty he was liberated through the bishop and the slave.

For while the sailors were intent upon the money brought to redeem him, the emperor mounted a horse and scarcely escaped. While everyone was cast down in spirit because of the misfortune of the commonwealth, the empress alone, with feminine and Greek levity, taunted them because the Romans had been defeated by the army of her own nation; through this she began to be held in hatred by the chief men.

In the tenth year Emperor Otto, failing from weariness and anguish of spirit, died at Rome, as Vincent writes after Sigebert. There was dissension among the chief men concerning the emperor to be substituted: some contended that the empire was owed to Otto's own son, while others, through hatred of the empress, wished to transfer the empire from her son to Duke Henry, son of the Henry who had been the brother of Otto I.

This Henry held the boy Otto in custody after factiously seizing him. But the princes, wresting the boy from Henry's hand, raised him to the kingdom and the empire.

Around that time the body of Saint Mederic the abbot was raised at Paris on the day of his deposition, namely the fourth day before the Kalends of September. As Vincent relates from his deeds, he was born of noble stock in the territory of the city of Autun. When he had completed thirteen years of age, he went to the monastery of that city against his parents' will.

After entering the monastery, he practiced so great an abstinence that he took some food only twice in the week. He did this with nothing but barley bread, or whatever cheaper thing could be found, and a little water. He secretly covered his body with a very rough hairshirt and outwardly was like the other brothers in clothing.

At length, when the abbot died, he succeeded him. Considering that he had received not an honor but a burden, he strove to show himself a true father to all entrusted to him.

At that time a certain monk of the same place was grievously burning with the heat of lust. When he revealed this to the pious father, Mederic sent him the tunic with which he was clothed so that the monk might put it on. As soon as he put it on, the devil, the kindler of that evil, fled and hid himself, crying out in a loud voice and saying: "Saint Mederic, why do you burn me with your prayers? You have taken from me a vessel which I long possessed and have consigned me to an unquenchable fire."

Then the saint rebuked him with a divine voice, and he departed. The monk afterward remained in so great a sanctity that many miracles were subsequently worked through him.

Another disciple of the aforesaid father was so overcome by a diabolical delusion that he could not apply himself to the divine work, namely the office in the church. He was frequently admonished by Mederic but nevertheless was not corrected. The holy father, however, took bread and offered it to him, and he was freed from the said delusion.

When people from different regions, having heard the fame of his sanctity, hurried to him, he sought a deserted place and enclosed himself in the condition that he had long desired, so that he might labor with his own hands for whatever was to be taken as food.

The brothers, saddened by his departure, searched for him far and wide through the vast wilderness. At length they found him, and, since they could not bring him back, they approached the bishop. Going with them, the bishop found the saint in the wilderness and, binding him with the bond of excommunication, led him to the monastery, where he flourished in great sanctity and cured many infirmities.

At length he wished to go to Paris for the sake of prayer. On this journey the Lord worked many miracles through him. Finally, arriving at Paris, he served the Lord for two years and nine months in a cell which had been consecrated in the name of the Apostle Peter. Having summoned his disciples, he indicated the day of his death. On that day, after completing all things and bidding them farewell, he migrated to the Lord amid words of prayer.

Section IV

In the year of the Lord 984, when Otto II died, his son Otto III succeeded him in the empire. This was the year 4,947 from the beginning of the world, but, according to the greater computation, the year 6,116. He reigned for nineteen years.

In the fourth year of this Otto III, when Louis, king of the Franks, died, the Franks wished to transfer the kingdom to Duke Charles, brother of King Lothair and paternal uncle of Louis himself. While he deferred the matter for counsel, Hugh, son of Hugh of Paris by Hadwig, sister of Emperor Otto I, usurped the kingdom of the Franks and reigned for nine years. This Hugh was surnamed Capet; his genealogy and posterity now reign among the Franks.

But William says, as Vincent relates, that this Hugh took as wife a daughter of Edward, king of the English, and sister of King Echelstan, who had reigned long before this time, namely in the time of Henry, king of the Germans and father of Otto I. Otto I took one sister of this same Echelstan as wife; Louis, prince of the Aquitanians, took another sister; and this Hugh took the third, who was the most beautiful.

For her he sent most ample gifts to her father: spices and precious gems, especially emeralds; very many swift horses with trappings; and a certain vessel of onyx so carved that in it fields of grain appeared to wave, vines to germinate, and images of human beings to move. It was so bright and polished that in place of a mirror it returned the images of those looking into it.

He also sent the sword of Constantine the Great, upon which the name of its ancient possessor was read in golden letters. In its hilt, above thick plates of gold, an iron nail was also affixed, one of the four which had been driven into the Lord’s body.

He likewise sent the lance of Charlemagne, with which that most unconquered emperor, leading an army against the Saracens, returned victorious as often as he hurled it against the enemy; and the standard of the most blessed martyr Maurice, leader of the Theban legion, with which the same King Charles had been accustomed in the Spanish war to break and put to flight the compact ranks of any enemies whatsoever.

He also sent a diadem of much gold and precious gems, whose splendor beat back the eyes of those looking upon it; a particle of the holy Cross enclosed in crystal; and a small portion of the crown of thorns enclosed in the same manner so that it could be seen. The leader of this embassy was Adulf, son of Baldwin, count of Flanders, by the daughter of King Edward.

In the fifth year of Otto III, Duke Charles reclaimed against his nephew Hugh the kingdom of the Franks owed to him by paternal and ancestral succession. Pursuing him in war, he captured the city of Laon. Hugh besieged Charles in Laon, but in the second month of the siege those besieged sallied forth and burned the camp of the besiegers. After very many were killed, the king scarcely escaped in flight.

In Otto III’s sixth year, as Sigebert and Vincent say, a frequent and long-lasting flood of waters occurred beyond what was customary. The summer afterward was most fervently hot and destructive to very many; hence the crops also were diminished.

Duke Charles stormed Montaigu and advanced by devastation as far as Soissons. From there he attacked Reims and returned to Laon with much booty. There was a great spring drought; hence the early sowing was hindered and a great famine followed. Excessive snow fell and afterward continuous rain, so that it entirely prevented the autumn sowing. It is reported that grain rained from heaven at Alba. Others also said that small fish rained from heaven.

In the seventh year Duke Charles occupied at Reims the lands of the archbishop whom Hugh had appointed; he captured certain chief men and relegated them to Laon.

In the eighth year Duke Charles died. His son Otto succeeded him in the duchy of the Lotharingians.

In the ninth year a synod of all Francia was assembled at Reims. Arnulf, nephew of Duke Charles, whom Charles himself had installed as bishop at Reims, was deprived of orders and condemned by everyone's judgment. The priest Adelgarius, who had betrayed the city and opened its gates to Charles, was excommunicated irrevocably. Gilbert was substituted as bishop.

But when certain persons argued the case that Arnulf could not have been degraded without the knowledge and authority of the Roman pope, Gilbert was deposed and betook himself to Emperor Otto III. The emperor received him and first established him as archbishop of Ravenna and afterward as Roman pope.

Although Gilbert was very skilled in the liberal arts, he was nevertheless devoted to the magic art and was an enchanter of demons. His pupils in knowledge had been this Otto III and Robert, king of Francia. Therefore, by Otto's agency, he was assumed to the papacy and was called Silvester, concerning whom there is a full account above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs.

When Hugh, king of the Franks, died, his son Robert succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned for thirty-four years. He was very devout, as was said above.

In the sixteenth year of this Otto, which was the year 1000 from the Lord's Incarnation, many prodigies were seen, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-five, final chapter. For there was a very great earthquake. A comet appeared on the nineteenth day before the Kalends of January.

Around the ninth hour, when the sky was clear, something like a burning torch with a long trail in the likeness of lightning fell toward the earth. It had so great a splendor that not only those who were in the fields but even those beneath roofs were struck by the lightning that burst in. As this cleaving of the sky gradually vanished, meanwhile a figure like a serpent was seen, with its head growing and with blue feet.

In the eighteenth year of this Otto, a certain Crescentius, a Roman patrician who had a following of certain Romans, expelled from the papacy Gregory V, a Saxon by nation, the emperor's kinsman, who had been created according to his pleasure. For money and in hatred of the emperor, Crescentius caused a certain John, bishop of Piacenza, to be made pope.

Hearing this, Emperor Otto, kindled with anger, entered Italy. Advancing toward the city, he joined battle with Crescentius and his followers and defeated him. Crescentius, fleeing, was drawn back from his flight and captured. He was placed backward upon a vile beast and led around; then, his limbs having gradually been cut off, he was finally hanged before the city. Otto deposed and blinded that John who had been intruded into the papacy. When Gregory V meanwhile died, he caused the aforesaid magician Gilbert to be made pope.

In the nineteenth year Emperor Otto, while dwelling at Rome, acted rather leniently with the Romans as he considered how he might reform the rights of the kingdom and the Church to their ancient condition. Brought by this to contempt for him, the Romans conspired against him. After killing some of his soldiers, they besieged him in the palace.

Through the industry of Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Hugh, marquis of Italy, he was scarcely extracted by means of a feigned pact of peace and departed from Rome with Pope Silvester, who had formerly been called Gilbert.

Because the wife of Crescentius had enticed the emperor to her love with the hope of reigning, grieving at his departure, she sent him poison. After drinking that cup, he died in Italy while returning.

The transalpine soldiers, carrying the body of the dead emperor with the insignia of the empire into Gaul and harassed by frequent attacks of the Italians, made a path for themselves by arms. But when the matter was now thought to be secure, Henry, duke of Bavaria, after wronging Herbert, archbishop of Cologne, from whose mouth all depended, violently extorted from him the insignia of the kingdom as though they belonged to him by hereditary right. For he was the son of Duke Henry, who had been begotten from Henry, brother of Emperor Otto I.

John of Colonna gives a different end for this Otto. He says that, coming to Rome near the end of his life, because the air of the city pleased him greatly, he thought to place his seat there, as it had formerly been in ancient times. When he began to construct a new and noble palace in the place where until then the palace of Julian the Apostate had stood, he ceased from the work when the Romans protested. Returning to Saxony not long afterward, he rested in peace.

Title XVI

Chapter IV

Concerning Henry II, emperor.

When Otto III died, Henry, duke of Saxony, obtained the Roman Empire in the year of the Lord 1003. This was the year 4,866 from the beginning of the world, but, according to the other computation, the year 6,125. He ruled as emperor for twenty-two years.

Having won over to himself the minds of certain princes of the kingdom, he was anointed king by Willigis, archbishop of Mainz, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six. He swiftly defeated the more powerful men of the kingdom who wished to stir up wars against him. He also made tributary to himself the kings of the gentiles dwelling in inner Germany who are called Wends.

But, as John of Colonna writes, it should be known that this Henry was not elected emperor immediately after the death of Otto III. For when Otto died the empire was vacant for a year and more because the princes of Germany did not agree concerning the election of an emperor.

For although the three preceding Ottos had ruled as emperors by succession of lineage, after the death of the last, as Martin says in the chronicle, it was established that the emperor should be elected by the provision of the princes, namely by the seven officers of the empire.

These are the three chancellor-archbishops: the archbishop of Mainz, vicar of Germany; the archbishop of Trier, vicar of Gaul; and the archbishop of Cologne, vicar of Italy. The margrave of Brandenburg is the emperor's chamberlain; the count palatine is the steward; the duke of Saxony bears the sword before the emperor; and the cupbearer is the king of Bohemia. "These establish the lord supreme over all through the ages."

Therefore, after their minds had been won over to him, this Henry was elected emperor by them. Among the emperors of the Germans he was the first emperor of this name. For before him there had been another King Henry, of whom above, who was the father of Otto I, but he did not receive the imperial crown or blessing. Yet, because he is called emperor with respect to this man, the one of whom the present account treats is called Henry II.

He was a magnanimous man and very fortunate in wars. For he suppressed certain more powerful men who had rebelled against him at the beginning of his empire, as has been said.

Moreover, the nation of the Hungarians, which until that time had been devoted to the worship of idols, was converted to the faith through Gilla, this Henry's sister, who had married the king of the Hungarians. For by her insistence this holy woman brought her husband the king to the point that he humbly asked to be baptized by Emperor Henry, together with his entire nation. In baptism he was called Stephen, whose merits are commended to this day by many kinds of miracles.

After many wars had been prosperously waged in Italy and Germany, this Henry, being most devout and wishing to devote himself devoutly to God, founded the monastery of Bamberg, endowed it with many estates, and adorned it with diverse ornaments.

His wife was most holy, to such a degree that, although she was young and most beautiful, she brought her husband to the point that by a common vow they preserved perpetual virginity between themselves. Thus, persevering in holy works and perpetual virginity until the end of life, they migrated to the Lord. They were buried in the monastery which they had built from the foundations, and they shine with miracles. At that time Sergius, a holy and pious man, was bishop in the city of Rome.

Once, when this Henry II had gone hunting, as John of Colonna relates, and his companions had dispersed here and there in a certain forest, he came to a certain church. When he had entered it, he found a priest who was then about to begin Mass.

When Mass had begun, the emperor began to look curiously at the priest. He was short in stature, very black in color, and deformed in his limbs, so that he appeared a monster rather than a human being. After the emperor had looked at him for a long time, he began to think and wonder how God, from whom all beautiful things proceed, permitted so deformed a monster to perform or handle His sacred rites.

While he was turning these things over more attentively in his mind, they came to the verse of the tract: "Know that the Lord Himself is God; He Himself made us," and so forth. When the priest's minister sang discordantly in these words, the priest, with a more forceful voice and as though roaring at the emperor's thought, said: "He Himself made us, and not we ourselves."

Struck by this saying, the emperor considered that man prophetic. Afterward, when he had come to know him familiarly, he made him a bishop.

In the time of this Emperor Henry, Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, and Adelbold, bishop of Utrecht, were held to be great men in the Church and in the emperor's palace.

In his third year a comet appeared horribly, which was seen scattering flames here and there. In the following year a horrible famine and mortality followed. It grew so strong throughout the whole world that, because of the weariness of those burying them, living people who still drew breath were often buried with the dead.

I have frequently observed that whenever that star which is called a comet appears, famine or mortality or some great destruction follows from it, or the death of some great man, of whose event it is a prognostic.

While this Henry was ruling as emperor, a marvelous event worthy of preaching occurred in a village of Saxony named Kalb, in the diocese of Magdeburg, where there was a church of Saint Magnus the martyr.

As Vincent in the place cited above and John of Colonna relate, when a certain priest was celebrating Mass on the vigil of the Lord's Nativity, eighteen men together with fifteen women were dancing in a ring and singing in a loud voice in the cemetery of the church where he was celebrating. They impeded the priest himself as he celebrated.

The priest sent word to tell them to be silent or withdraw from there. Mocking the priest's words, they were unwilling to cease. Embittered, he said in imprecation: "May it please God and Saint Magnus that you remain singing in this manner for a year." And thus it happened that they danced in a ring and sang throughout that whole year without any interruption.

Marvelous to relate, during that whole time neither dew nor rain fell upon them. Neither weariness nor hunger affected them, nor were their garments or shoes worn away during that whole time.

When the year had revolved, Archbishop Herebert, in whose diocese this marvel occurred, came to the place, absolved them from the knot by which the priest had bound them, and reconciled them before the altar of the said church. Emperor Henry had unjustly expelled this archbishop from himself after afflicting him with injuries; but when the emperor celebrated the Lord's Nativity at Cologne, he appeased him by humble satisfaction.

The priest's daughter with two others immediately expired. The others slept throughout the following three continuous nights. Some afterward died, while the others displayed their punishment by a trembling of their limbs. Hubert, who was one of them, left these things written in this manner.

In the twenty-second year of his empire, which was his last, Henry, perceiving that he was approaching death, designated Conrad, an excellent man born of royal stock, as his successor to the kingdom and empire while he was still living, with the consent of the princes to whose authority the election pertained.

This Henry and his wife Cunegund were of holy life and remained in virginity until the end. But once, when Henry, at the devil's instigation, held his wife suspected concerning a certain knight, he caused her to walk fifteen paces with bare feet over glowing plowshares.

As she stepped upon them she said: "As You, O God, know me to be untouched by Henry and by all others, so help me." A voice was heard saying to her: "The Virgin Mary will liberate you, a virgin." She traversed the whole glowing mass uninjured.

When Caesar Henry was approaching death, a very great multitude of demons passed with a great noise before the cell of a certain holy hermit. Opening the window, the hermit asked the last demon who they were. He answered: "We are a legion of demons hastening to the death of Caesar, to see whether perhaps we can find in him anything belonging to us."

The hermit adjured the devil to return to him. Returning to him afterward, he said to the hermit: "We accomplished nothing. For when his good and evil deeds had been placed in the balance, that burned man Lawrence brought an immense golden pot of enormous weight. When we seemed to have prevailed, it was cast onto the other part of the balance, in which the good deeds were placed, and weighed very heavily. Then, angered, I broke one handle from the pot."

The devil called the chalice a pot, which the emperor had caused to be made for the church of Merseburg in honor of Saint Lawrence. Because of its magnitude it had two handles. It was discovered both that Emperor Henry had then migrated from this life and that one handle of the chalice had been broken.

Section I

After Henry II, Conrad II of this name ruled as emperor, but he was the first Conrad after Otto. He assumed the Roman Empire in the year of the Lord 1026. This was the year 4,988 from the beginning of the world, but, according to the greater number, the year 6,147. He ruled as emperor for fifteen years.

On his mother's side this Conrad was descended from the first kings of the Franks. He was vigorous in arms, provident in counsel, and especially flourishing in wisdom and knowledge of law. He was also very devoted to the Catholic Church and generous to the poor.

Because, when Henry died, a certain duke named Cuno was seeking the empire, he was at length rejected. For this reason the election of Conrad was prolonged for two years, although Henry had left him as successor to the empire; hence the empire was then vacant for two years. Conrad himself received the imperial crown from Pope John.

At that time Wenceslaus, duke of Poland, whose kingdom Henry II had made tributary to the Roman Empire, assumed the royal name for himself without consulting Conrad and disdained to be subject to anyone. Since he was very vigorous in arms and exceedingly powerful in riches, after the death of Henry, whom he had greatly feared, he aspired with great force of arms to complete a rebellion. Prevented by death, he could not accomplish it.

His son Miso, while arranging to fulfill his father's will in this matter, expelled his only brother from his homeland because he believed that his brother opposed him in this. Fleeing to the aid of Emperor Conrad, the brother came into Germany. Kindly received by him and aided with treasures and arms, he entered Poland with a great army of Germans. Conrad immediately followed him with a strong body of soldiers and threw all things within Poland into confusion by arms.

Miso, seeing that he could resist Conrad by no means, left Poland and fled to Ulric, duke of the Bohemians and enemy of the empire. Ulric, believing that he could recover Emperor Conrad's favor, which he had lost, resolved to hand over to Conrad the duke of the Poles whom he had received as an exile and suppliant, and revealed this very thing through a secret messenger.

But the magnanimous emperor, detesting his perfidy, rejected the offer of the betrayer and caused Miso to be told through a secret messenger to seek safety somewhere other than in Bohemia. Marveling at the emperor's goodness, he secretly left Bohemia and returned to his own lands. Casting aside the insignia of royalty which he had previously assumed and content with a modest retinue, he came voluntarily to Emperor Conrad and subjected himself to his will. He humbly resigned to the emperor the crown which he had proudly placed upon himself. From that time Poland was made tributary to the Roman Empire.

Therefore, when Germany had been pacified, Conrad, intending to descend into Italy to receive the crown, caused his son Henry to be elected king of Germany. When this had been done, he gathered a great army of his men into one body and entered Italy powerfully. There he was received with great honor by the Roman people and was anointed and crowned by the supreme pontiff.

While he was there, he heard that Duke Ernst had rebelled and was molesting those faithful to the empire with a great army. On hearing this, the emperor immediately returned to Germany and, attacking Ernst with all the forces of the empire, compelled him to flee to the recesses of the forests. Not long afterward he was killed there by the emperor's faithful men. His brother Herman received his duchy.

While Conrad was in Germany, a great part of the Lombards rebelled. For almost all the cities of upper Lombardy had sworn together that, mindful of their liberty, they would permit no one to reign over them. On hearing this, the emperor suddenly came into Italy with a great army. Terrified as though by his unexpected arrival, all the cities subjected themselves to the emperor.

After receiving them at his command and carrying out a diligent inquiry, he cast all the instigators of this rebellion into chains and committed them to prison. He also captured the archbishop of Milan, who was said to have been the instigator and author of the whole conspiracy, and committed him to prison. Coming to Milan, he besieged it and burned its suburbs.

While he stood crowned at Mass beside the city in a certain small church on the day of Pentecost, such grievous thunders and lightnings occurred that some went out of their minds and others even breathed out their spirits.

Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, a most holy man who was solemnly celebrating Mass that day, asserted that amid the solemnities of the Mass he openly saw Saint Ambrose threatening the emperor with an indignant countenance because he had committed his successor to prison.

Therefore, after some days, the emperor, having received the city of Milan, went to Cremona. There he met the Roman pontiff. After dismissing him with much honor, he remained for some time in Lombardy. When affairs had been settled and the matters of the empire ordered, he went to Rome for the sake of prayer. Going from there into Apulia, he planned to return to Germany by the Adriatic Sea. But while he was there he lost many of his princes because of the intemperance of the air. Finally he returned to Germany.

Section II

At the same time in which the aforesaid Conrad ruled as emperor, Rodulph, king of Burgundy, dying, left his kingdom by testament to Henry, son of Emperor Conrad. But Otto, count of the Celts, asserting that the kingdom of Burgundy and Lugdunese Gaul belonged to him, gathered an army and invaded it.

Therefore the indignant emperor entered that kingdom with great forces of Germans and, after afflicting the said Otto with many wars, compelled him to surrender. Thus he obtained the entire kingdom of Lugdunese Gaul. Lugdunese Gaul is that part of the province which lies beyond the Rhône toward the east.

In the sixth year of Conrad's empire, that renowned king of the Franks, Robert, son of Hugh, died. While alive he was so devoted to clemency and mercy that on feast days, when he dressed or undressed himself in the royal garments, he would distribute those very garments to the poor if he had nothing else at hand, unless the diligence of the keeper of the wardrobe kept the needy away. When he died, his son Henry reigned in Francia for thirty years.

During his reign a certain bishop of the Gauls asserted in a council celebrated by the bishops of the Gauls that letters had been given from heaven to certain persons which taught how peace was to be renewed upon earth. He wrote the matter to the other bishops and commanded that the people observe the following things.

No one was to bear arms. Things taken away were not to be reclaimed. No avenger of his own blood or that of any relative whatsoever was to arise; he was to be compelled to pardon those who struck him. They were to observe a fast on bread and water every Friday. On Saturday they were to abstain from meats and fat. Content with this fast alone for the remission of all sins, they were to know that no other penance was to be added for them. They were to bind themselves by an oath to observe all these things.

Whoever was unwilling to do so was to be deprived of Christianity; when he was dying, no one was to visit him as one alien to the faith, nor was his body to be handed over for burial.

Many who were desirous of novelties embraced this novelty of commands more willingly than was just. Many also contradicted it, especially Gerard, bishop of Cambrai. He asserted that from the beginning the human race had been divided threefold: into those who pray, those who fight, and those who cultivate the fields. One needed the aid of the other two, and two needed the aid of one.

Therefore arms ought to be borne. Plunder ought to be restored by the authority of law and owed to grace [read: restored by the authority of law and grace]. The avenger of one struck was not to be provoked by compulsion, but was to be reconciled to him according to the Gospel.

One fast on Friday or Saturday was not to be imposed upon everyone, because there is not one capacity in all. Nor were all to be content with this fast, because there is not one quality of repentance in all. To confirm this by an oath, or to increase violation of the oath by perjury, was not useful. To excommunicate those contradicting these things, deny visitation to the sick, and deny burial to the dead was altogether detestable. The decrees of the holy fathers were sufficient, and, when they were neglected, a suitable measure of penance was to be imposed.

At this time Guido of Arezzo was also illustrious, supreme among musicians. In this he is to be preferred even to philosophers, because he discovered unknown chants. He also found a rule through which children learn chant more easily than by the voice of a master or by the use of any instrument. This rule today is called gamma.

In the time of this Conrad, Drogo, count of the Normans, an outstanding man in arms, pious in religion, vigorous in action, and famous, came into Italy with four of his brothers and a great army of his men. Passing through Lombardy and Tuscany, he entered Apulia. Three times in one day he fought with the Greeks who held it. He emerged victorious and, after putting the Greeks to flight, obtained the greater part of Apulia.

At length, after many victories, Conrad ended his last day in the fifteenth year of his empire.

Section III

When Conrad II was taken from human affairs, his son Henry, the third of this name, succeeded him in the empire. He began to rule as emperor in the year of the Lord 1040, the year 5,003 from the beginning of the world, and ruled as emperor for seventeen years.

While his father was still living, he took as wife a daughter of the king of the English. She was a most beautiful maiden and, coming to her husband, remained with him for a long time.

At length she was accused of adultery. Since no one dared defend her through fear of her husband, she opposed to her accuser, a man of gigantic bulk, a certain boy, a ward of her own jester, whom she had brought with her from England, to fight in single combat.

When the duel was joined, the boy, trusting in divine aid, obtained victory. He defeated the man who had unjustly accused his lady and, cutting the tendon behind his knee, deprived him of his strength.

Guivilda, for this was the maiden's name, after the victory gave repudiation to her husband. Afterward she could not be induced by threats or blandishments of any kind to remain with him. Taking the habit of holy religion, she ended her life in the service of God.

This Henry was like his father in every virtue. After his first wife gave him repudiation, he took as wife a daughter of William, duke of Poitou. This nevertheless could not have been done according to the common law unless there was some diriment impediment.

When the nuptials were celebrated in imperial fashion, he commanded all the entertainers, mimes, and stage performers who had come to that solemnity to be expelled. He ordered that everything which, according to the custom of princes, was to be given to them in garments, horses, and money should be bestowed upon the poor.

This prince was also very cheerful by nature and affable to human beings, humble toward everyone, terrible to enemies, and very pious and generous toward the poor.

Once, when he was solemnly celebrating the feast of Pentecost in Germany at Mainz and, shortly before Mass, places were being prepared next to the imperial throne, at the devil's persuasion a dispute arose among the servants of the archbishop of Mainz and of the abbot of the monastery of Fulda concerning which of their two lords ought to sit nearer to the emperor.

For this abbot is said to have been of so great power among the Germans in Saxony that he could furnish the emperor with sixty thousand armed men against enemies. He had an ancient privilege that on great feast days he should sit at the emperor's right hand.

Therefore, after many words among the servants of those prelates, they came to a fight. When German fury threw everything into confusion, the pavement of the church was filled with blood. But when the bishops and others ran together, peace was reestablished among those in dissension, the church was purified, and Mass was celebrated with much devotion.

When they came to that verse of the sequence, "You have made this day glorious," a voice fell from the air, saying: "I made this day warlike." On hearing this, everyone stiffened with fear.

The emperor, attentively perceiving the joy of the devil who had procured this disturbance, said: "You, at once the inventor and kindler of every evil, have made the day warlike and sorrowful to the arrogant. But we, through the grace of God who made it glorious, shall render it gracious to the poor and needy."

At once, after the sequence had been begun again, they invoked the grace of God with solemn weeping. When Mass had been completed with much devotion, all the indigent and needy were summoned through a herald. All the precious foods that had been prepared for the emperor and the courtiers were consumed for their use, while the pious emperor himself, together with the other prelates and ministers, served them with his own hands.

When this same Henry was still a boy during the life of his father Conrad, he received as a gift from a certain cleric a silver tube of the sort with which boys at play are accustomed to spray water at one another. Receiving it, he said: "When I am emperor, I shall give you a most wealthy bishopric."

When he had grown to manhood and assumed the empire, he promptly gave what the man requested according to the promise. But not long afterward he was struck by a bitter and grievous illness and lay sick. For three days and nights he remained as though lifeless. The bishops, having proclaimed a three-day fast, supplicated the Lord for his life.

Afterward, when by God's will he recovered from the illness, he summoned the bishop whom he had made on account of the tube and deposed him by sentence in an assembly of all the prelates.

He confessed that throughout that three-day period he had seen demons hostile to him hurling a flame of fire at him through the tube. I say a flame so persistent that in comparison with it our fire would be regarded as a jest and a breeze.

Meanwhile, however, he had seen a half-burned young man carrying at his side a golden chalice of immense magnitude, full of exceedingly cold water. By the sight and sprinkling of it he had escaped the burning heat inflicted upon him. This was blessed Lawrence the martyr, whose church roof, dissolved by long age, the emperor had caused to be repaired and whom, among other gifts, he had honored with a golden chalice.

They also report concerning this Henry that, when he was fleeing enemies, a certain white doe, like a domestic animal, carried him upon its shoulders across an impassable river.

The same Emperor Henry had a certain cleric who was sufficiently learned and had a good voice, but who loved a base little prostitute rather ardently. When on a certain solemn night he slept with her for the sake of pleasure, in the morning he stood at the emperor's Mass.

The emperor, concealing his knowledge of this, commanded him to prepare himself to read the Gospel, since, namely, he delighted in his melody. For the cleric was a deacon. Conscious of his evil, he refused. The emperor pressed him in order to test his constancy. When at last he refused to obey, the emperor commanded him to go into exile from his homeland. Embracing this sentence, he withdrew immediately.

Someone was sent after him when he had already gathered all his possessions, arranged them in bundles, and taken to the road. Therefore, forcibly brought back, he was set before the emperor. Smiling joyfully, the emperor said: "You have acted uprightly, and I congratulate your uprightness, because you valued the matter of God more than your homeland and feared God's anger more than mine. Therefore, have the first bishopric that falls vacant in the empire, provided that you renounce your indecent love, namely that woman." These things are from Helinandus.

When this same magnificent Emperor Henry now possessed the whole empire peacefully in Italy and Germany, desiring to enlarge the name and worship of the Christian faith, he brought war upon the Wends, who border upon the Swabians and worship idols and images.

As Guillerinus relates in his chronicle, these peoples worshiped Fortune. Erecting her idol in a most renowned place, they placed in her right hand a horn full of that drink which is made from water and honey and is called hydromel by a Greek word, and left it there.

On the last day of November, sitting in the same place, they tasted it. If they found that cup full, they applauded with a great noise because there would be abundance from a full horn in the coming year. If the contrary occurred, they mourned as though scarcity would come.

Emperor Henry made the kings of these nations tributary. But when he promised great immunities if they would receive the Christian faith and they could not be bent, he imposed this rule of compulsory service upon them: on all solemnities upon which the emperor was accustomed to wear the crown, two of their four petty kings were to carry a cauldron in which meat was seasoned, suspended from a pole.

Pope Leo VIII [read: Pope Leo IX] of this name asked Emperor Henry that the Normans, who then held a great part of Apulia occupied and rendered nothing to the Roman Church in any respect, should be driven from those seats. Assenting to him, the emperor sent his armies to Rome to the pope. Advancing personally with them, the pope joined battle with the Normans. But that army was defeated and the pope captured, as above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs.

Around the same time Vinifrid, count of the Normans, ended his last day. His son Baiolard succeeded him in the duchy, a man strong in spirit and vigorous in war. But he did not hold the lordship for long.

For Robert called Guiscard, Vinifrid's brother on his mother's side and a son of Tancred, cast him down from the honor and obtained the duchy of the Normans in Apulia.

Tancred, father of Guiscard, begot twelve sons, all most prudent men and vigorous in arms. Among them this Robert, son of Guiscard [read: Robert called Guiscard, son of Tancred], was seventh in order. He was a prudent, magnanimous, generous man, most practiced in arms, but desirous of ruling; hence he acquired Apulia, Calabria, Campania, and Sicily for his dominion. He always governed military discipline most severely and rigorously.

He had as wife Silregarta [read: Sichelgaita], daughter of the prince of Salerno. Though a woman in sex, she surpassed men in counsel and prudence. By her he begot three sons, namely Roger, Robert, and Wido, and five daughters. By another wife named Alberada he had a fourth son named Boamund, concerning whom many things will be said below.

At that time the intact body of Pallas, son of Evander, was found at Rome in a certain tomb. A burning lamp was found at his head. The epitaph of this tomb was:

> *Pallas, son of Evander, whom the lance of the warrior Turnus*
> *Killed in its accustomed manner, lies here.*

I would not believe that these verses were made at that time, although Carmentis is said to have invented Latin letters, but rather that they were made either by Ennius or by some other ancient poet.

That corpse had a wound in the middle of its breast, the opening of which measured four and a half feet. The burning lamp that was found could be extinguished neither by the sprinkling of any liquid nor by the violence of blowing. But a certain man of subtler ingenuity made a hole with a stylus beneath the flame. When this had been done, as soon as air entered from below, the fire vanished.

The body was of so great a size that, when it was placed against the wall, it surpassed the height of the walls. But as the days passed, after it had been infused by dripping moisture, it experienced the common corruption of mortals: the skin dissolved and the sinews flowed away.

Section IV

In the eighth year of Emperor Henry III, as John of Colonna writes, the church of the Lord's Resurrection at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by the Arabs, was rebuilt by the faithful. But because many do not know how, by whom, or at what time it was destroyed by the unbelievers, I have therefore considered it necessary to write out the order of the event.

It should be known that, after the power of the Egyptians began to grow strong against the Persians, before the coming of the Turks, the dominion of the Egyptians increased so greatly in the East that they occupied all the provinces and regions from Egypt as far as Antioch. Among these the holy city Jerusalem, with the adjoining region, came into their power.

Under this principality, just as more indulgent times are customarily granted to captives, the faithful who dwelt in that city began to be relieved of their distresses, until a caliph named Eques was set over that same kingdom of the Egyptians.

He exceeded alike the wickedness of both his predecessors and his successors and became a celebrated tale to posterity and to those reading of his madness. For he was so singular in every impiety and wickedness that his life, hateful to God and human beings, demands a special treatise.

Among the many exceedingly destructive things that he commanded, he ordered the church of the Lord's Resurrection to be cast down to its foundations. It had been built by the venerable man Maximus, bishop of that place, at the command of the great Emperor Constantine, and afterward rebuilt by Modestus in the time of Emperor Heraclius. That venerable church was destroyed in the year 1018 from the Lord's Incarnation.

At that time a venerable man named Herestus presided over that church. He was the maternal uncle of that most wicked tyrant, being his mother's brother. The tyrant is said to have done this so that he might give the unbelieving peoples an argument for his perfidy. For the designation of Christianity was objected against him because he had been born from a Christian mother. Wishing to repel this as though it were a crime, he dared to perpetrate the aforesaid crime.

From that same day the condition of the faithful in that city began to be worse, both from the most sorrowful grief which they received from the fall of the church of the Holy Resurrection and from multiplied distress through increased compulsory services. For besides the enormity of the tributes exacted from them contrary to custom and the privileges granted by his predecessors, he had also forbidden their solemnities.

Nevertheless, divine mercy was present, bringing no small consolation to desperate affairs. When the aforesaid tyrant was taken from human affairs, the shaking partly ceased, and his son named Daber obtained the kingdom.

At the request of the lord emperor of Constantinople, who was surnamed Heliopetanus, Daber repaired the treaty which his father had violated and contracted friendship with him. He granted to the faithful the power to rebuild the aforesaid church.

When this permission had been granted, the people of the faithful who dwelt at Jerusalem, recognizing that their strength was insufficient for the restoration of so great a work, sent messengers to Constantinople. Extending prayers to the lord emperor Constantine Monomachus, they humbly signified the great desolation in which the people of the faithful had sat after the church was destroyed. They entreated most affectionately that he extend the generous hand of imperial munificence for the rebuilding of the church.

A certain John surnamed Chariamitis, a Constantinopolitan by nation, managed their embassy. He appeared noble according to the flesh, but was much nobler in morals. Having set aside the dignity of the world and followed Christ by assuming the religious habit, he lived poor for Christ at Jerusalem.

Being sent, therefore, and not sluggish in due persistence and solicitude, he labored faithfully before that same lord emperor and obtained that the God-loving emperor should command the necessary and sufficient expenses for the work of the said building to be supplied from his own treasury. The venerable patriarch Nicephorus then presided over the said church.

Thus, after permission had been obtained and expenses supplied from the imperial treasury, they rebuilt at Jerusalem the church of the Holy Resurrection which now exists, in the year 1048 from the Lord's Incarnation, twenty-five years before the liberation of the city and seven years after it had been destroyed.

Section V

Concerning whence the Turks had their origin and how they were tributaries of the Persians.

Since many things will be said below concerning the nation of the Turks, it is therefore not foreign to the purpose now to relate briefly the origin and progress of this nation, how it came to this rank in which it is read to have stood for many years, and now stands in a greater one, Constantinople having been captured by them and their emperor killed with his magnates.

Therefore the nation of the Turks, or Turcomans, was northern from the beginning. They are called Turks, as they themselves assert and as the same is contained in our chronicles, from a certain duke of theirs named Turcus. Under him, after the destruction of the Trojans, they transferred themselves to the Hyperborean regions.

There, having abandoned the use of arms, they gave their labor to tending flocks and herds. They were an entirely uncultivated nation and had no fixed seat. For they wandered and were borne about in every direction, following the convenience of pastures, and had neither cities nor towns.

When they wished to set out, those who were of the same tribe traveled together. They had as though a prince some tribesman from among their elders, to whom all questions or anything else that arose in the same tribe were referred.

When migrating they drew their entire household with them: horses, flocks and herds, male and female servants. For all their property consisted in these things. They nowhere gave labor to agriculture and, ignorant of the commerce of buying and selling, acquired the necessities of life for themselves by exchanges alone.

In the course of time it happened that a very great multitude of that people traveled separately from the others and entered the borders of the Persians, where they found a most agreeable region. They gave tribute to the king who ruled at that time according to what had been agreed between them from the beginning, and for some years had a rather long stay there.

Their people increased immeasurably, and there was no number to their multiplication, so that their increase became suspect to the king of the Persians and to the natives. Hence it happened that, after counsel had been taken among them, they decreed to expel them violently from the borders of the kingdom.

At length, however, changing their purpose, it seemed more expedient to weary them by multiplying compulsory services until they should withdraw voluntarily without compulsion. When they had already endured for many years the burden of injuries and the enormity of tributes, they were unwilling to tolerate it longer. The king sent forth a herald’s voice and commanded them all to depart within a fixed time.

Therefore, crossing the river Chobar, which bounded the kingdom on that side, they saw more freely than usual the infinite multitude of their own people. For previously, dwelling separately, they knew neither their number nor their power.

They marveled at how so great and so marvelous a people could ever have tolerated the pride of any princes and borne the bitterness of compulsory services and tributes. It appeared to them without doubt that they were inferior neither in number nor in strength to the people of the Persians or to any other nation, and that nothing was lacking to them for violently obtaining the neighboring regions except that, after the custom of other peoples, they did not have a king for themselves.

Therefore, wishing with harmonious vows to create a king for themselves, they registered the entire multitude of their people and found among them one hundred families more illustrious than the others. They commanded each of these to bring one arrow and, according to the number of the families, bound a bundle of one hundred arrows.

After covering the bundle, they summoned an innocent little boy and commanded him to put his hand beneath the covering under which the aforesaid bundle of arrows lay hidden and draw out only one. The condition was that the king should be taken only from the family whose arrow came out by lot.

It happened by chance that the aforesaid boy drew out the arrow of the family of the Heldüceans. Therefore it was established among everyone, as had previously been ordained, that the future prince should be created from that tribe.

Again it was commanded that from the same tribe one hundred men should be chosen who surpassed the others in age, morals, and virtue, and that each should bring one arrow bearing the inscribed name of the one offering it.

When another bundle had been made from them and carefully covered as before, the innocent boy was summoned again and told to draw one from them. He drew one upon which the name Selduch appeared.

That man was exceedingly handsome and noble, illustrious in his tribe, but was among strengths [read: advanced in age but sound in strength], and had much experience in military affairs. In his entire bodily bearing he displayed the elegance of a great prince.

Therefore, setting him over them by common decree, they raised him to the royal throne. They showed him the reverence owed to kings and bound themselves by an agreed covenant and furnished bodily oaths to fulfill his commands.

Immediately using the power conferred upon him sufficiently for command, he sent out a herald's voice and commanded it to be publicly proclaimed that, after crossing the river, they should violently occupy the borders of the Persians from which they had previously departed and claim the adjoining kingdoms for themselves, lest henceforth they be compelled to wander through foreign regions and endure the intolerable arrogance of other nations.

It happened that within a few years they subjected to themselves not only the kingdom of the Persians but also all the eastern kingdoms, after the violence of the Arabs and other nations had been subdued.

Thus a vile and abject people suddenly flew up to so great a summit that it occupied almost the whole East. This occurred scarcely thirty or forty years before our western people undertook the journey of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, concerning which there will be an account in what follows.

Add that now, in the year of the Lord 1453, the king of the Turks himself, called Mahumeth, at length captured Constantinople after besieging it with his men and seized the surrounding region, as will be said below.

After the eastern kingdoms had been subdued, they also proceeded to invade the most powerful kingdom of the Egyptians. Descending into Syria, they violently subjected Jerusalem with certain other neighboring cities to themselves. They burdened the faithful whom they found dwelling in it with harsher afflictions than usual and wearied them by a multitude of compulsory services.

Title XVI

Chapter V

Concerning Henry IV, emperor.

When Henry III was taken from this light, his son Henry IV of the same name obtained the Roman Empire. He began to rule as emperor, as John of Colonna writes after Vincent, in the year of the Lord 1067, the year 5,020 from the beginning of the world, or, according to the other computation, the year 6,179. He ruled as emperor for fifty years.

This Henry was eloquent in speech, acute in intellect, generous in alms, and most fortunate in military affairs. For, as is read, he fought sixty times with standards joined.

And although, led by the counsel of evil men, he was a persecutor of the Holy Roman Church, nevertheless for so long a time he was a very glorious and fortunate prince. Yet near the end of his empire, by the just judgment of God in recompense and punishment for the cruelties of the punishments and persecutions which he had inflicted upon the clergy, he suffered many calamities not only from the princes of the empire but even from his own son.

This Henry remained very young after the death of his father and was governed by the counsel of his mother Agnes. She was a most prudent and God-fearing woman. Therefore, while he obeyed his mother's admonitions, he governed the empire with great peace.

But afterward, deceived by counsel, he despised his mother's counsels, became wholly estranged from her, and began to conduct the affairs of the empire by himself.

The empress, a religious and prudent woman, seeing that her son was not only estranged from her but was using the counsel of wicked men to contrive things against her, and being unwilling to be enveloped in waves of disturbances, chose the religious life.

Then, going to Rome for the sake of prayer and captured there by devotion to the holy places, she devoted herself to holy works and alms and rested with a holy end. Her body was buried in the church of blessed Peter beside the altar of blessed Petronilla.

Not long afterward Conrad, his second-born son, whom his father while still living had set over Italy, died and was honorably buried at Florence.

At that time the renowned Duke Robert Guiscard, summoned by the citizens of Troia, received their city into his dominion with the will and consent of all. Not long afterward he suddenly set out into Calabria with an army, stormed the city of Reggio, and from that time was called duke.

When he had already obtained the greater part of the region and wished to perpetuate the dominion also for his posterity, he went to Rome to Pope Nicholas II, who had formerly been bishop of Florence but was a Burgundian by nation. From the lands which he himself had acquired and which belonged to the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, he became a vassal of that Church.

He swore fidelity to the same pontiff, promising that he would preserve fidelity to the Roman Church and to that pope and his successors entering canonically. When this had been done, Pope Nicholas himself immediately invested him with the honor of his duchy through a standard. This occurred in the year of the Lord 1060.

When Pope Nicholas died and Alexander II canonically succeeded him in the papacy, a schism followed when Cadalus, bishop of Parma, was made antipope in Lombardy, as is said, by the will of Emperor Henry.

When he could not prevail, Pope Alexander, at the prayers of the emperor returning to him, celebrated a general council at Mantua, where all things were quieted. Concerning these matters there is an account above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs, and there also concerning Countess Matilda.

Section I

Concerning William, duke of the Normans, who afterward took the kingdom of England for himself.

In the tenth year of Emperor Henry IV, William, magnificent duke of Normandy, occupied the kingdom of England, as John of Colonna writes after Vincent. This William was the son of Robert, son of Richard II.

For once, at a certain feast, Robert saw a most beautiful and noble maiden dancing decorously with others in a certain ring. Captivated by her beauty, he wished her to lie with him the following night. Thereafter he loved her uniquely and for some time held her in the place of a lawful wife. By her he begot a son named William.

The mother foresaw his future greatness in a dream. For while sleeping she beheld her entrails extending throughout all Normandy and England. Moreover, at the very hour in which the boy was born, he first touched the ground and filled both hands with the dust which covered the pavement. The midwife also cried out with a favorable omen that he would be a king.

As soon as he reached adolescence he received the insignia of knighthood and took as wife Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders.

This religious and God-fearing man and duke magnificently built the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen and endowed it. In it he established Lanfranc as abbot. Lanfranc afterward became archbishop of Canterbury, a man to be compared with the ancients in all knowledge and religion, concerning whom there is an account above.

William was of so great a severity that, while still a boy, he removed his paternal uncle Mauger from the archbishopric of Rouen because, forgetful of the profession of his birth, he repeatedly devoted himself to hunts and contests of birds and consumed ecclesiastical treasures in banquets and lavish expenditures.

As the report of this affair grew, Mauger lacked all use of the pallium, because the apostolic see denied the privilege of this honor to one who neglected the sacred office.

After the renowned William had governed the duchy of the Normans for a long time, he gathered a great army both of Normans and of Gauls and entered the kingdom of the English in order to occupy it. When he left the ship, his foot slipped, and he heard the nearest soldier cry out to him: “You hold England, count who will be king.”

At that time Harold, king of England, was returning from the war in which he had defeated the king of the Norwegians. Hearing that William had landed in England with a great army, he sent scouts to examine his camp.

When they were discovered within the camp, William commanded that they be led around through the tents and inspect everything without concealment. When this had been done, they were fed generously and sent back unharmed to their lord.

Returning, therefore, they reported the magnificent confidence of the duke and asserted that almost everyone in that army appeared to be a priest.

William sent a certain monk as legate to Harold, bearing three proposals: either Harold should relinquish the kingdom according to the conditions, or he should reign under William, or certainly, while both armies watched, the two of them individually should contend in battle. Harold did not deign to give an answer and expelled him with a troubled countenance.

The English spent that whole night which preceded the battle engaged in drinking, drunkenness, and songs, and passed it sleepless. The Normans, however, devoted themselves to confession of sins and in the morning communicated in the Lord’s body and blood.

Therefore, in the said battle the duke asked for his armor and by chance put on his hauberk reversed. When the servants who were arming him became alarmed, he rebuked their laughter and said: “Today my county will be turned into a kingdom.”

Battle having been joined, each army fought fiercely. At length the English turned their backs and sought safety in flight. Harold became a companion of their flight. While he strove to withdraw himself from the battle by the speed of his horse, he fell after being struck in the brain by the blow of an arrow.

While he lay there, one of the soldiers pierced the thigh of the dead man through with a lance. William marked him with disgrace because of this and deprived him also of the military belt.

In the same battle William’s strength shone forth. For on that day, by fighting, running about, and encouraging his men, he lost three very strong horses.

Therefore, after victory had been obtained, he returned the body of the slain King Harold to his mother when she requested it, without a price. On the day of the Lord’s Nativity he was crowned at York.

He sent King Harold’s standard to Pope Alexander at Rome. That standard was fashioned in the figure of a fighting man and woven with gold and stones by a costly art. From that time the Normans began to reign in England until the present day.

Section II

In the seventeenth year of this Henry IV, when Alexander II died, Gregory VII, a holy man, was created pope. Holding a council at Rome in the second year of his pontificate for the reformation of morals, he excommunicated certain nobles of Henry’s household because churches were sold by their counsel and the rights of the Church were usurped.

Afterward, in the following year, he excommunicated Sigifrid, archbishop of Mainz, because he sought to make a schism in the Church, and then Emperor Henry as his supporter. Henry was afterward absolved by him and reconciled to the Church.

But not long afterward, when the said emperor did not cease to usurp the rights of the Church, namely by making the investitures of bishops himself, and, though admonished several times, did not desist, Gregory again assembled a council and excommunicated the emperor himself.

Because of this Henry himself made a persecution against the Church and Gregory, applying himself to a new schism and making the archbishop of Ravenna [i.e., Guibert] pope, or rather antipope.

Because of this, certain men from among the Saxons and the princes of the Germans rebelled against Henry and elected Rodulf, king of Burgundy, as emperor. Gregory sent him a crown. But when Rodulf himself fought in battle against Henry with a very great army, Rodulf was defeated and killed by Henry. Henry afterward punished in manifold ways all who had rebelled against him.

Afterward, when Emperor Henry had entered Italy, approached Rome, and besieged it, Pope Gregory fled with his cardinals into the fortress of Saint Angelo. After taking the city, Henry besieged the aforesaid fortress.

But at the pope's request Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, was summoned to the city and arrived as quickly as possible with a very great army. Henry, however, having first heard of his arrival, fled from the city into Lombardy.

The aforesaid Robert, after taking the city, led the pope and his men out of the fortress of Saint Angelo with great glory. After being liberated from there, Gregory did not trust the Romans and went with Duke Robert himself into Apulia, where at length he died. But these matters were treated more fully above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs of this title.

During those same times the aforesaid renowned Duke Robert Guiscard received the city of Bari in Apulia into surrender after it had been worn down by a long siege. When he had now taken all Apulia and Calabria into his power, he began to aspire to dominion over Sicily.

Therefore, after ships had been gathered from every direction, he left his firstborn son Roger in Apulia and himself sailed with a great army into Sicily. With no one resisting him, he besieged Palermo, that most noble city of Sicily. After it had long been worn down by famine and frequent assaults, certain agreements intervened, and the citizens at length surrendered themselves to him. In that city the same duke caused a most beautiful church to be constructed in honor of the most blessed Virgin.

Returning to Apulia after the island had been occupied, he carried with him to Troia, as a token of his victory, bronze gates and marble columns.

After his return from there he began to persecute the duke of Salerno, his kinsman. After besieging him at Salerno by land and sea, he captured the city in the seventh month and committed the captured Duke Gisulf to prison. After taking the city he built there a most beautiful church in honor of the blessed apostle Matthew.

Section III

At that time there came into Apulia a certain man conspicuous in appearance and distinguished in eloquence. He asserted that he had formerly been Michael, emperor of Constantinople, and complained that he had been unjustly deprived of the empire. For this reason he earnestly sought the duke's aid in recovering the empire.

At first the duke was somewhat astonished. But when he saw elegance of conduct and prudence in speech in the man, he retained him with himself and treated him most honorably.

Therefore, after assembling his council, he gathered his army for the recovery—or rather for the acquisition—of the Constantinopolitan Empire. Thus, when the fleet had been assembled, he entered the sea at Otranto together with his son Boamund and his wife, and after two days landed at Avlona.

When Emperor Nicephorus heard of his arrival, he united a great army of his men and set Alexius, surnamed Mega, over the army. He assigned to him a great part of his treasury, commanding him to gather against the arriving Latins forces not only of Christians but also of Turks and gentiles.

Obeying the emperor's command, Alexius came to Adrianople and drew together a great army from every nation. Enticing it with gifts and rewards, he won the hearts of all to himself, so that some were already saying that he was most worthy of the empire.

When Alexius saw the hearts of everyone inclined toward him, being most deceitful, he conceived a nefarious design. For he said among the soldiers that he did not have money, but that he had written several times to the emperor so that money might be sent to him for supporting the army. He said that he wished to go personally to the emperor, lest so great an army and one so devoted to the empire perish from want.

Therefore he came to Constantinople. After he had spoken with the emperor about many things which appeared necessary for waging the war, he secretly departed from the city by night without the emperor's knowledge. Coming to the army, he said: "See, fellow soldiers, how grateful the imperial majesty is toward those of you who expend your strength in defense of the empire. For when with well-deserved urgency I sought your stipends from the emperor, he threatened me with death. Therefore I fled to you, fellow soldiers, imploring your fidelity. But if you will be men and will choose to follow my counsels, I shall heap riches and benefices upon you all. Therefore let us wrest the empire from this useless man, who languishes in idleness and sloth, and let us transfer it to whomever you yourselves shall decree."

On hearing these words as though they were true, the army inclined its ears. Raising a tumult, they proclaimed Alexius emperor with one voice, clothed him in purple, and obeyed him as lord.

When this had been done, Alexius returned to Constantinople with the very army which the emperor had given him to oppose Duke Robert. When Emperor Nicephorus heard of his approach, he was exceedingly stupefied. As much as the brevity of the time allowed, he fortified the city of Constantinople and commanded forces of soldiers to be gathered from every direction against the traitor.

Alexius therefore came and pitched camp not far from the city. But because he distrusted his ability to obtain by violence a city so well fortified, he turned to fraud and cunning.

At that time there was at Constantinople a certain mercenary of the emperor, a German by nation, a noble man and very dear to Emperor Nicephorus because of his experience in military affairs. His name was Armo. Alexius corrupted him with money and induced him by promises to betray to him that part of the city which the emperor had entrusted to his custody.

Attracted by his promises, Armo opened to him by night the gate which is called the Gate of the Bulgars and admitted the traitor Alexius with his army within the city.

Having entered the city, Alexius exposed it to plunder by his army on the very day which is called the Lord's Supper. His army was composed of diverse nations, among whom there was a very great multitude of Turks and other unbelievers. Gaping after booty and plunder, they spared no age or sex. Churches and monasteries were despoiled; crosses and chalices were broken; and violence was inflicted upon virgins dedicated to God. But, what it is impious to say, priests lying upon the very altars were mutilated.

When Emperor Nicephorus saw that the enemies had entered the city and that he had been betrayed by his own men, he abandoned the palace, fled, and became a monk.

After Alexius had obtained all things within the city, he caused himself to be solemnly crowned emperor on the day of the Lord's Resurrection. On that day he commanded the army thereafter to abstain from plunder and booty. But, so that he might show that he had invaded the empire not by violence but by cunning, he took Michael, the son of Emperor Nicephorus, to himself as a partner in the empire.

Meanwhile the aforesaid Duke Robert was laying waste all things like a tempest around the regions of Dalmatia with his army. For after many towns and municipalities had been captured, he was now penetrating into the interior of the empire.

After affairs within the city had been arranged, Alexius hastened to battle against the duke together with the son of Nicephorus. Coming with an innumerable army, he fortified a camp not far from Durazzo. Since the army of the Latins was not far from that place, the battle lines were arranged on both sides and battle was joined.

For some time the contest remained doubtful. At length, when the Greeks turned their backs, the emperor was defeated, and his army was laid low everywhere throughout the whole field like animals. A great multitude of Greeks perished there. Among them also died the young Michael, son of Emperor Nicephorus, whom Alexius had placed in the front of the battle for this purpose alone; he perished pierced by swords.

In this battle Emperor Alexius had sixty thousand armed soldiers from the Greeks alone and ten thousand Turks with bows and arrows, whereas there were scarcely seven hundred mailed knights in the duke's army.

Therefore Emperor Alexius fled with those who had escaped from the battle and returned to Constantinople, where he either deprived of their eyes all whom he found of imperial stock or delivered them into exile.

After the flight of Alexius, Duke Robert stormed Durazzo and reduced the whole surrounding region to his power. But when he heard that Emperor Henry had besieged Pope Gregory VII, as was said, he left his son Boamund to guard the lands which he had occupied, returned with his wife to Apulia, and liberated the pope.

While his father was absent, Boamund fought twice with Alexius, emperor of the Greeks. In the first battle he drove the emperor and his men from the field after a great number of the enemy had been killed; in the second he was surrounded by the emperor through ambushes and was defeated.

In the following year the magnanimous duke collected an army of most valiant men, crossed the sea, and invaded the regions of the Greeks. When the emperor learned this, he marveled at the man's boldness, because with so small a company he had dared to invade so great an empire.

Therefore the emperor gathered a multitude of ships, among which there was no small multitude from Italy, and especially of the Venetians, and commanded them to meet Duke Robert at sea. A naval contest was therefore joined, and battle was waged for a long time by both sides. At length, by the duke's skill, the valor of his men, and their perseverance in fighting, the imperial fleet was defeated and put to flight after a great part of its men had been lost. Many were captured in that battle and bound in chains.

Having gained this victory, the duke set his forces ashore, repaired the ships, and increased the army. When, after defeating the Greeks by sea and land, they wished to lead the army toward Constantinople, the magnanimous duke ended his last day at the island Cassiopola, which lies between Thessalonica and the island of Vallis Compatris, which is now called Jerusalem. This was in the year of the Lord 1086, in the sixty-second year of his age.

He was truly vigorous and strong in war, distinguished in body, constant in spirit, moderate, civil, provident, and cunning; a corrector of morals and a most vigilant guardian of military discipline, but a seeker of lordship beyond human estimation.

His son Roger succeeded him in the duchy. After his father's death he ruled the duchy most prudently and nobly enlarged it, but more by the munificence of benefactions than by the severity of power.

In the second year of his duchy his brother Boamund brought war upon him. Battle was joined not far from Benevento, and Boamund was driven from the field by his brother. Yet, by God's will, no one died in that battle except one man. Many, however, were captured. But when friends interposed themselves, the brothers were reconciled to one another, and Roger gave to his brother Boamund and his heirs the principality of Taranto to possess perpetually.

This Roger took as wife the daughter of Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders, who had been queen of the Danes. By her he begot in succession two sons, namely Louis and Guiscard, who died at a tender age. After their death he also begot a third son, William, who succeeded his father in the duchy but afterward placed a crown upon himself.

Section IV

In the thirty-second year of Henry IV, which was the year 1089 from the Lord's Incarnation, after Gregory VII and Victor, Urban II was created pope. Although he was a holy, religious, and vigorous man, because the emperor remained in his obstinacy, usurping the rights of the Church, such as the investitures of prelates, Urban also excommunicated Emperor Henry himself. Because of this the Church was persecuted, as was said above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs.

This Henry twice besieged Florence because it held the party of the supreme pontiff—and Florence did this justly and holily—namely, in the year of the Lord 1080, in the time of Gregory VII, and again in the year 1088, during the pontificate of Urban II, because it favored the party of Urban himself and did not cease to follow it. But he was able to harm it little or not at all, because the Lord and justice protected it, since Henry persecuted the Church as a tyrant.

In England, when William, who had subjected England to himself and made himself king, died, his son of the same name, namely William, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was wicked and criminal, very unlike his father, neither fearing God nor revering human beings.

He was so prodigal that within a short time he consumed all that his father had amassed. At length, when his money had been exhausted, he turned his mind to robberies. A certain man named Ranulf impelled him to this crime. He was sprung from a very low family but so mastered the king's mind that all things to be done in the kingdom were disposed according to his judgment.

At his instigation the sacred honors of churches were sold when bishops died. For when the death of a bishop or abbot was heard, a clerk of the king was immediately sent there. He took down in writing everything found, so that all revenues thereafter might be paid into the royal treasury. Any persons whatever were substituted in place of the deceased, not after an examination of morals but after an examination of money.

It pertains to the disgrace of that time that the venerable man Anselm, who had succeeded Lanfranc in the archbishopric of Canterbury, when he had tried to correct the king, voluntarily departed after he saw himself deprived of the fellowship of his suffragans, yielding to the wickedness of the time. When he was waiting at the port for the wind because he was now about to sail, he was stripped at the king's command as a public robber.

Moreover, when the Jews whom his father had transferred from Rouen to London approached him at a certain solemnity offering gifts, he dared to encourage them to a contest against the Christians, swearing by the Face of Lucca that, if they prevailed, he would pass over into their sect.

Therefore the affair was conducted with great fear on the part of bishops and clerics who, with pious solicitude for the Christian faith, were afraid. But, by God's will, the obstinate nation of the Jews carried away nothing from that contest except confusion.

In the second year of his reign an earthquake terrified all England with a horrible marvel, so that all buildings sprang apart at a distance and immediately settled again into their former state. A scarcity of all fruits followed, with a late ripening of the crops, so that the harvests were scarcely stored away on the feast of Andrew.

In the fourth year of his reign there was a tumult of thunderbolts, movement of whirlwinds, and violence of winds so great that many churches were cast down. Moreover, in his time there were famine and an unheard-of pestilence everywhere.

At that time there was also Fulk the Elder, count of the Angevins, who, already an old man, went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. There he bound two servants by oath to do what he commanded. He ordained that, after a twisted rope or cord had been put around his neck, one of them should drag him, naked as he was, as far as the Lord's Sepulcher, while the other should drive him on by striking his back with the harshest scourges as the Turks watched and marveled.

Amid these things he cried: "Receive, O Lord, wretched Fulk, Your perjurer, Your fugitive." Nevertheless, this pious prince returned home against his desire.

After some years a son was born to him named Geoffrey and surnamed Marcellus [i.e., Geoffrey Martel]. He had appropriated this name for himself from Marcellus, the Roman consul, because he appeared to crush with a certain felicity all who resisted him.

For in open war he defeated and captured his lord, the Poitevin, who was superior in number and strength. After binding him in iron chains, he compelled him to ignoble conditions of peace: namely, that he should cede the city of Bordeaux and its territories and pay an annual tribute from his other lands.

But afterward that conquered man, overcome by want, iron chains, and their weight, died in prison. Geoffrey took that man's stepmother as wife and received his brothers into his guardianship.

Soon he entered the territories of Theobald, count of Blois, and besieged him in the city of Tours. After the city had been violently broken open, he captured Theobald himself. While captive, Theobald swore away the city to him and his heirs in perpetuity.

When this Geoffrey died, he left his county to Geoffrey, his sister's son. But because he was unwarlike and simple, his brother Fulk took the county away from him and committed him to perpetual custody.

This Fulk had a wife who left him and married Philip, king of the Franks. He was so captivated by love of her that she commanded him in all things. Finally, when he had become everyone's tale because of this deed, he suffered himself to be excommunicated from the whole Christian world because of his lust.

In the forty-third year of Emperor Henry IV, after the council which he celebrated at Piacenza, Pope Urban celebrated another with the prelates at Clermont in Auvergne. In it, after many holy ordinances, as was said above in the chapter concerning the pontiffs, the pope excommunicated not only the aforesaid Philip, king of the Franks, but also those who called him king or their lord, and that accursed de facto wife, until they should amend themselves and one should depart from the other. He also excommunicated Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, who named himself pope, and Emperor Henry, who maintained him.

At length the pope exhorted all the prelates and princes to take the cross for the recovery of the Holy Land. But concerning this there is a fuller account above, and below in another title there will be an account concerning the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Title XVI

Chapter VI

Concerning Saint Dunstan, abbot and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, and certain kings of England.

This Saint Dunstan began to become illustrious around the year of the Lord 940, in the time of the first Otto. He was born in the regions of England of parents noble in lineage, faith, and morals.

While his mother's womb was swelling with the sacred offspring, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-five, from Dunstan's deeds, it happened that she came with her husband and a multitude of the people to the church of the blessed Virgin Mary at Glastonbury on the day of her Purification. With lamps lit, she was present at the solemnities of the Masses.

They had already begun to recite how they brought the boy Jesus into the temple when suddenly the majesty of the Lord appeared, extinguished all the lights, and covered the entire building with darkness. While everyone stood senseless from excessive fear and indicated their astonishment by looking at one another, immediately a light sent from heaven shone within the church and lit the candle which the childbearing woman, namely Dunstan's mother, held in her hand.

If the people had marveled at the light that was lost, they were then held by still greater wonder and exultation. Everyone hastened to that candle, and from it light was extended to all.

When the infant had been born and had now begun to speak, he was carried with offerings to that same church. While they spent the night there in prayer, there appeared a man having an ethereal countenance, who said that the boy, soon to be raised to great height, was to be left there to God and proclaimed blessed throughout the ages.

While he was afflicted in his tender body by a most severe illness and death was already believed to be at the threshold, heavenly medicine visited him in the dead of night, which Christ provided to him through angelic ministry.

Immediately rising from his bed of pain, he ran to the church to give thanks to God. Those who had charge of him in his sickness were stupefied; following his footsteps with a slow pace, they investigated the outcome of the matter.

He had not yet completed half the journey when the malignant spirit met him, surrounded by a multitude of barking dogs, and strove to block the way of the one who was going. Terrified by fear, the boy cried out to Christ. Fortified by His protection, he seized a staff and, brandishing it into the face of the opposing apparition, drove it into flight with its entire company.

Coming to the church and finding its door barred, by the power of God he found himself within the church.

As an adolescent he strove to preserve chastity and flee wantonness, always to have God as the beginning of acting well, and to commend the end to Him. To his good morals he also added the study of sacred reading. Although he excelled magnificently in various arts, he claimed for himself with a certain special affection the art which is practiced upon musical instruments.

Finally, by his paternal uncle Athelin, archbishop of Canterbury, he was commended by familiar attestation to King Echelstan. Most graciously received by him in the palace, he conducted himself wisely in all things: now rising to pray to God, now sitting to judge the causes of human beings. When he saw the king wearied by secular cares, he sang to the harp or to some other musical instrument. Thus he gladdened the hearts both of the king and of the princes.

Compelled by the frequent request of a certain matron to portray a priestly stole skillfully for her, which she would afterward fashion for divine worship by transforming it into goldsmith's work, he took up his harp and went to her house. He hung the harp upon the wall and diligently began the work for which he had come.

While he applied his hand to the work but prepared his heart and lips for God, the glory of the Lord appeared in the house. Without the impulse of any human being moving it, the harp which had been fastened to the wall sounded with a most distinct modulation the melody of this antiphon: "The souls of the saints rejoice in heaven," and so forth.

Then the stupefied girls leapt up and summoned the mistress of the household and every little servant of the house, crying out that he knew more than was expedient.

The devil also inflamed certain persons with the goads of envy so that by a fabricated falsehood they might injure his reputation before the king. They asserted that he was imbued with evil arts and that whatever he did was worked not by divine aid but, for the most part, by the illusion of demons.

Perceiving that the king's countenance was not toward him as it had formerly been, he prepared to depart from the palace, preferring to abandon him rather than to be abandoned by him.

When this was discovered, his rivals blocked his way with ambushes. They cast him from his horse, afflicted him with torments, and at length, entangled in bonds, cast him into a cistern which was nearby. There he was found by certain human beings who were passing by, and by their compassion he was transferred to a village to be cared for.

He therefore understood that this was the beginning of the contest of which the divine harper had lately forewarned him.

Section I

Departing from there, he went to Elphege, his kinsman, bishop of the church of Winchester. Elphege frequently asked him to put on the monastic habit, so that he who had the beginnings of an angelic manner of life might demonstrate perseverance in the habit.

Dunstan answered that he was of more excellent grace who had grown old in the world and nevertheless had done the things worthy of a monk than he who had given himself to a monastery and after this could do nothing other than what had been prescribed for him. “The one,” he said, “is of necessity; the other, of liberty.”

To this the bishop said: “There is one common necessity for all: that whoever wishes to escape the fire of Gehenna should strive to extinguish the fire of concupiscence. It is not greatly extinguished if its fuel is not withdrawn from the human senses. As for that which is chiefly desired in the world, it is the liberty of the human being; for when this is given up, the other things cannot be possessed. Therefore, so that you may give to God what you love most, you cease to have it.”

While the bishop pressed upon him daily with words of this kind, a most severe fever invaded Dunstan while he remained in doubt and brought him to despair of life. At length, growing warm again beyond hope, he said: “I renounce the laws of pleasure. The Son of the Virgin has preserved me a virgin until now; the Queen of Virgins shall have me a virgin.”

Immediately summoning the bishop, he asked that the blessing of religion be given to him without delay. Then the bishop, filled with joy, advanced him by monastic and priestly grace, attaching him to the church of the blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the betrothal of his parents had dedicated him from the beginning.

When he had instructed him against the wiles of the devil, he dismissed him as he proceeded to the place where his life had begun. There he dwelt in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary, doing those things which the pious rule of religion required.

By his own labors he built a cell, or rather a cave, adjoining it. It bore not so much the form of a human habitation as that of a sepulcher. For, as I who have seen it judge, its length was not more than five feet, while its width measured two and a half feet. Its height, moreover, expresses the stature of a human being if one stands in the excavated earth; otherwise it scarcely reaches to the middle of the breast. A little window opened in the middle of the small door, through which light shone upon him as he worked.

But the devil, who had formerly not permitted him to dwell in the palace, now also strove to drive him from the hut. The deceiver, therefore, having assumed the deceptive appearance of a human being, approached the young man’s cell beneath the darkness of evening. Putting his head inside, he leaned upon the window. Seeing Dunstan occupied with smith’s work, he asked that some work be fashioned for him.

Dunstan did not perceive his cunning and applied his mind to the work that was requested. Meanwhile the enemy began to arrange words in a perverse composition, to insert the names of women, and to recall acts of lust. Then he displayed religion, and again repeated the same things.

Then the athlete of Christ, understanding who he was, began to heat strongly the pincers with which he held the iron and to invoke Christ with compressed lips. Then, moved by holy fury, he quickly snatched the glowing pincers from the fire, enclosed the spectral face within them, and, straining with all his strength, dragged the monster inward.

He was already drawing strength by standing when the one who was being held tore away part of the wall and escaped from the hands of the one holding him, uttering such howls with an immense roar: “Oh, what has that bald man done?” Dunstan had thin but beautiful hair, and therefore the demon cried such things about him.

In the morning a multitude of the neighboring people gathered to him, asking what that cry had been which had terrified them as they slept with so great a violence. He said: “It was the fury of a demon. Act cautiously against him, because if you could not bear the voice of the one when angry, how will you endure the fellowship of the damned one?”

After these things, fighting against the enemy with fasting and prayer, together with chastity of body he obtained so great a purity of heart that scarcely anything which the sinister spirit had attempted could be hidden from him. His fame also ran through the whole region and kindled the hearts of everyone to see him.

When King Echelstan died, his brother Edmund assumed the monarchy of the kingdom. Having received from him power over the royal residence which was called Glaston, Dunstan began to lay the foundations of a narrower church and to construct

workshops according to the model once shown to him by an angel measuring the building itself. He also gathered a great flock of monks there.

Having been made their first abbot, he brought them to so great a perfection of justice that bishops did not cease to be chosen from among them and abbots taken for all the churches round about.

When the man of God, overcome by royal entreaties, proceeded to visit the church of Bath, while he prayed there alone he was suddenly caught up to the things above. He beheld the soul of a certain disciple, whom he had nobly educated at Glastonbury, surrounded by an innumerable company of angels, suffused with immeasurable light, and carried to heaven. He immediately commended it into the hands of divine mercy.

On his return, as he went to the king who very eagerly desired to speak with him, he caught sight of the devil dancing like a jester before those who were riding and glorying as though over some future gain. When he had announced his presence to the people who were with him and by command had disclosed to all his horrible form, he was afterward asked what the petulant joy of that monster portended. He announced that the death of the king and a change of kingdom were near.

The truth of events immediately answered his prophecy. For within seven days the king was killed, and the distinguished Edred, pious and just, succeeded to the kingdom by his brother's right. Thereafter Dunstan became as it were the king and the emperor of the king.

Section II

When Elphege, bishop of Winchester, had passed from the life of the present age to the spiritual life, the king approached Dunstan and asked him to receive as its pastor the church deprived of pastoral consolation. But when he saw that he could not persuade Dunstan to this, he imposed upon the queen mother Cadina, who was very dear to him, the task of persuading him.

When she urged this and he refused, she still pressed him with arguments. Somewhat moved, he said: "Hold it most certain that in the days of your son I shall not be raised by the pontifical infula."

Then, bearing a wavering mind, he gave himself to his chamber. While he turned many things over with himself there, sleep stole upon him. And behold, Christ's apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew were present, by whom he was most gloriously greeted.

He looked upon Andrew nodding with a cheerful countenance and declaring in placid words: "Take My yoke upon you and learn from Me, because I am meek."

Then, commanded by blessed Peter to extend his left hand, he received a light blow from a cracking rod, hearing this from him: "Let this be to you both the punishment for the rejected episcopate and the sign that a pontificate is not to be rejected hereafter."

Waking at the touch of this little rod, he gave thanks to God, by whom he perceived that he had been so honored. When he had related to the king what he had seen, he was glorified by the sign of the divine foretelling and, moreover, by the king's own interpretation was designated as the future pontiff of Canterbury.

The king was afterward seized by a deadly illness and sent messengers to summon him, so that Dunstan might be the hearer of his confession and his faithful intercessor before God. Grieved in soul, he hastened swiftly toward the palace and tirelessly wearied limbs spent by fasts.

Because God did not permit him to be afflicted any longer, a voice fell from heaven: "Behold, King Edred has fallen asleep in the Lord." At the utterance of this voice the horse upon which he sat was struck and died.

Those accompanying him trembled, hearing indeed the trembling of one thundering but not understanding who thundered. Dunstan disclosed the matter to them and commended the soul of the dead king into the hands of the eternal King. Entering the palace, he discharged the office of burying him.

After him arose Edwy, son of King Edmund, a foolish youth, flourishing in no grace for ruling. Like another Rehoboam, he despised the elders, followed the counsels of boys, and burned unceasingly with lust.

Gravely offended by these things, the holy man began frequently and sharply to rebuke him. Edwy laughed at the one rebuking him and threatened him with many evils. When Dunstan saw that his diligence prevailed not at all, he decreed to abstain entirely from conversation with him. Therefore, leaving him, he withdrew to the monastery.

In that place there was a tower which no covering yet enclosed at its summit. While the people strove to set upon the highest walls the beam that supported the whole work, suddenly the ropes broke and it began to fall. When all the people cried out for Dunstan, he flew to them at their repeated shouts.

The holy man, more swiftly than speech, traced the sign of the cross opposite the machine. The holy hand had not yet drawn back its fingers when the beam, neither bound by cords nor raised by machines, was seen to be carried back to the place from which it had begun to fall.

Moreover, envying this glory, the devil, transformed into the appearance of a bear, attacked him as he prayed with gaping jaws. Casting in his claws, he embraced the pastoral staff which Dunstan held in his hand and strove to draw it toward himself.

But Dunstan, strengthened by the Spirit of God, drew the staff back toward himself, raised it on high, and did not cease beating the fleeing beast until the staff appeared to have been broken into three parts upon its back. Defeated in himself, the devil sought to defeat his victor in others.

For the aforesaid Edwy, king of England, on the very day on which he had been consecrated, publicly rolled himself in shameful couplings. Because the entire senatorial order was offended by this, Dunstan was compelled by the common wish of all. He went and violently dragged the king away from the adulteress and the adulterous bed and led him before the supreme pontiff, namely Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.

Therefore the devil instigated the concubine's spirit; the concubine heightened the king's anger; and both attempted exile against Dunstan. When he had come to Glastonbury and had been proscribed at the urging of the king's edict, amid the tears of the monks reared under his hands, amid the lamentations of friends, and amid the groans of the poor refreshed by him, there was heard in the court of the church the voice of the applauding devil, as though of a laughing young woman.

Looking up at him with a severe brow, the saint said: "You shall glory in nothing over my exile, because there is more for you to grieve over when I return than anything over which you can rejoice while I am an exile." When this had been said, the malignant one departed.

Nor did the madness of the furious woman thus cease. After those who had sheltered the exiled man of God had been searched out, proscribed, and condemned, she sent ministers to tear out their eyes.

But the mercy of Christ, looking upon the people of the English deprived of so great a shepherd, aroused their hearts against the impious king. Gathered into a crowd, they pursued with arms the king as he fled with the adulteress. They cut the sinews of the woman when she had been captured, drove the king himself, as he wandered through diverse places, beyond the river Thames, and established his brother Edgar as king.

After celebrating a council of the kingdom, Edgar annulled all things which had been decreed by his brother through iniquitous laws. He also restored everything violently taken away by him and recalled from exile with great glory the man of God Dunstan, who was then abbot.

Finally, when the most impious King Edwy had died and passed into the lot of demons, Dunstan did not know what had been done concerning him and was intent upon devout meditations in the church over which he presided. And behold, before his sight the infernal cohort exulted as though it were leading a dance.

When the saint inquired into the cause of their gladness, he heard that the king had died and that his soul was immediately to be delivered to the punishment of Gehenna, but that first this was to be announced to Dunstan by divine command.

Immediately moved by compassion, he cast himself upon the ground and, weeping copiously, did not cease praying to God until he learned that the king had been liberated.

After a short delay the infernal legion returned in sadness, breaking forth into these cries: "O man alien to fidelity and always ungrateful for our benefactions! We came to avenge your injuries, and behold, confounded by your hostile rebukes, we return."

When he commanded the demons to bring forth the truth, he learned that the king's soul had been taken from them by angelic power and had passed into the lot of penitents.

Then, exulting in the Lord, he restrained their furies by this reasoning: "If," he said, "this man sinned against Christ, he also sinned against me. What therefore Christ and I have deigned to forgive, with what temerity do you dare wickedly to censure?" Struck by this sentence as though by a Parthian arrow, the foul spirits scattered after the manner of flies carried away by the wind.

Section III

After the death of Saint Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar wearied Dunstan with entreaties. At length Dunstan was overcome by the importunity of the king himself and of all the bishops, and Edgar established him as primate and patriarch of Canterbury, the first metropolis of the English.

He immediately proceeded to Rome for the strength of apostolic authority. Pope John merited to see him and, after adorning him with the pontifical insignia, sent him back like a pillar of light to illuminate the land of the English people.

On the first day of his arrival, while he stood at the sacred altars and reached out to distribute the life-giving bread to the people of God, suddenly the building was covered by a cloud. The dove once seen by John in the Jordan appeared and remained over him until the sacrifice had been consumed.

But the devil, wishing to disturb the joys of the Church, induced the king's mind to love a certain virgin consecrated to God. For once, when he was a young man, he came into the monastery situated at Winchester. There a certain maiden sprung from the nobles of the English was being raised among the holy nuns in their common habit. Seeing and desiring her, he sent for her.

In her fear, she placed upon her own head a veil snatched from a certain nun and so came to the king. On seeing her he said: "How suddenly have you been made a nun?" Removing the veil, he inflicted violence upon her.

When this sin had been perpetrated and brought to the public hearing of the people, Dunstan, perceiving these things, was afflicted with great sorrow. The devil had been unable to cast him down and therefore attempted to cast him down into sorrow through the one whom he loved most, namely the king, after he had thus fallen into a crime.

Dunstan, therefore, affected with bitterness over the offense against God, went intrepidly to rebuke him, like another Nathan to another David. Rising to Dunstan, the king extended his hand in order to lead him to the royal throne. Dunstan refused to give his hand, turned his eyes upon him with indignation, and said: "Do you dare to touch the hand of a pontiff, you who did not fear to seize a virgin betrothed by the gift of divinity? I do not wish to be the friend of one to whom Christ is an enemy."

Terrified by the thunder of his words, the king immediately prostrated himself at his feet, tearfully confessed the crime, and humbly begged pardon. When the pontiff saw this, he was astonished. Suffused with tears himself, he raised from the ground the king who was drenched with tears.

Then, after he had set forth the magnitude of the sin by amplification and rendered the king ready for every satisfaction, he imposed upon him a penance of seven years: throughout this whole period he was not to wear the crown of the kingdom; he was to pass a two-day fast each week; he was to distribute treasures generously to the poor; and, moreover, he was to found at Flensconia a monastery for virgins consecrated to God, so that he who had taken one from God through sin might gather many to Him through a religious congregation.

He enjoined many other things upon him also. There was nothing which the king carried out either less fully or more sluggishly than had been commanded by the ruler of his life.

In the seventh year, when the time of penance had been completed, the sacred prelate summoned all the princes, bishops, and abbots of the English Empire and placed the crown of the kingdom upon the king before the multitude of the people, as all rejoiced and praised God in Dunstan.

He also lifted from the sacred font the boy begotten from the sinful woman. Giving him the name Edward, he adopted him as a son.

This Edgar was so severe in his holiness that there was no private thief or public robber there, unless someone preferred to make an attack upon the fortunes of others at the cost of his own life.

Moreover, he resolved to exterminate from the kingdom beasts of every kind greedy for blood. Hence he commanded Widualus, king of the Welsh, to pay him each year a tribute of three hundred wolves. After he had done this for three years, he ceased in the fourth, professing that none could be found any longer.

Edgar was of a most slender body and immense strength, so that he challenged any bold man to a contest. Fearing above all lest he be considered afraid in such a clash, throughout every summer after Easter he commanded ships to be assembled along all the shores. With the eastern fleet he sailed to the western part of the island; after traversing it, he sailed with the western fleet to the northern part; and from there he was accustomed to sail with the northern fleet to the eastern part, so that he might ascertain whether any pirates disturbed navigation.

In winter and spring he rode through all the provinces, examining the judgments of the powerful, lest they violate justice.

Once the king had gone hunting and asked Dunstan, who happened then to be with him, to delay Mass until he returned. As the third hour approached, the man of God, clothed in sacred vestments, waited for the king, standing with his elbows resting upon the altar and given to tears.

Then, suddenly overcome by a light sleep, he was caught up into heaven. Mingled with the angels, he heard them sing of the Holy Trinity in measured voices: "Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison."

Retaining their chant, he returned to himself and asked whether the king had arrived. The answer was, “No.” He therefore prayed again and was again caught up into heaven, and there heard it said with a most exalted voice: “Go, the Mass is ended.”

When he answered, “Thanks be to God,” the king’s clerics ran in, saying that the king was present. Dunstan answered them that he had already heard Mass and was neither to hear nor to celebrate another on that day.

When he was asked why, he disclosed the vision. Taking instruction from this discourse, he prohibited the queen from going hunting thereafter on the Lord’s Day. He taught the clerics the “Kyrie eleison” which he had heard in heaven, and today it is sung in many places throughout England.

Section IV

This Edgar, king of the English, son of Edmund and brother of King Edwy, began to reign, as Vincent relates in the place cited above after William, around the year of the Lord 1000. At his birth Dunstan is said to have heard an angelic voice: “Peace to England for as long as this boy shall reign and Dunstan shall live.”

He reigned for sixteen years, and there was scarcely any year of his reign in which he did not found a new monastery.

He bound to himself by a perpetual oath the king of the Scots, Kinadius; Malcholinus of the Cumbrians; the chief pirate Mascesius; and all the kings of the Welsh, five in number. When they met him at the City of the Legions, he led them through the river in the pomp of a triumph, placed together in one boat. He himself sat at its prow, and they rowed.

The Saxons came, stirred by his fame, to see him, as did the Flemings and the Danes. From them the English at that time learned an uncultivated ferocity of spirit from the Saxons, enervated softness of bodies from the Flemings, and drinking from the Danes.

At that time Dunstan flourished in England: first a monk of Glastonbury, afterward made abbot of Glastonbury, afterward made bishop of Winchester, and soon archbishop of Canterbury. He possessed much power in the world and great grace before God. After King Alfred, concerning whom above, he was a marvelous promoter of the liberal arts and a magnificent repairer of royal places.

In order to restrain the drinking of his fellow countrymen, he commanded golden or silver nails to be affixed to drinking vessels, so that, while each person recognized his own limit, out of yielding shame neither would he himself seek more nor compel another to seek it.

His disciple was Athelwold, who from being a monk of Glastonbury became abbot of Abingdon and afterward bishop of Winchester. As bishop of one city he did as many and as great things as the king of the whole of England would scarcely appear able to do. He expelled the clerics from Winchester and placed monks there in their stead.

Oswald also flourished at that time. He was a nephew of Archbishop Odo, who had preceded Dunstan. From being a monk of Fleury he became bishop of Worcester and afterward archbishop of York. He built the monastery of Ramsey in a certain marshy place. He expelled the clerics from Worcester and placed regular monks there in their stead.

Once this same Edgar, king of England, was wearied in the hunt and, dissolved in sleep, lay beneath a wild apple tree. Then behold, a pregnant female hunting dog was pursuing a beast. Lying down beside his feet, she awakened him as he slept. For although she herself was silent, the pups enclosed in her womb gave forth manifold and sonorous barking.

Astounded, the king directed his eyes toward the top of the tree and saw one apple and then another fall into the river. When they collided and watery bubbles curled against one another, an articulate voice sounded forth in this manner: “Vuelhiste,” that is, “It is well for you.”

Not long afterward, amid the silver coils of the waves, a small ewer appeared upon the water, and after the small ewer came a pitcher overflowing with water, for the former smaller vessel was empty. Although the larger one repeatedly pressed upon the smaller one by the impulse of the whirlpool so that it might pour its waters into it, it was never able to prevent the empty small ewer from withdrawing. Then the pitcher, as though with a proud gesture and as victor, attacked the small ewer again.

After this vision the anxious king returned home and disclosed everything to his mother, to whom, as to a holy woman, God was accustomed to reveal many things. She was called Elfiga and was so pious and so gentle that she would secretly redeem from the palace even accused persons whom a judgment had condemned. Whenever she saw a poor person, she immediately gave him any precious garment. She was most beautiful in body, most prudent in the craft of her hands, and intent upon every good work.

At length, therefore, in the morning she said to her son: “The barking which the pups gave while their mother rested signifies that after your death, while those who now flourish are at rest, scoundrels not yet born will bark against the Church of God.

“That one apple followed the other in such a way that at the collision of the second with the first the voice ‘Vuelhiste’ appeared to have sounded signifies this: from you, who after the likeness of a great tree overshadow all England, two sons will proceed. The supporters of the second will extinguish the first. Then the instigators of the different parties will say to the boys of both sides, ‘Vuelhiste,’ because the dead one will reign in heaven and the living one in the world.

“That the larger pitcher could not fill the smaller one signifies that the northern peoples, who are more numerous than the English, will attack England after your death. Although by the frequent arrival of their fellow countrymen they may fill up their own losses, they will never be able to fill this corner of the world; but our English, when they appear most defeated, will expel them.”

In the twelfth year of Henry III, the year 1050 of the Lord’s Incarnation, Abbot Adilpardus found the body of this Edgar, king of England, who was buried at Glastonbury, incorrupt. Because the small resting place which Edgar had prepared was narrower than the size of the body, as Vincent relates in the place cited above, the abbot dared to violate the royal remains with iron. Immediately blood spurted forth in waves.

Then the royal body was placed in the shrine which he had given to the church, above the altar, together with the head of Saint Apollinaris and the relics of Saint Vincent, which Edgar had bought at a great price.

The abbot who had violated the sacred body immediately lost his courage, and not long afterward death found him when he had departed from the church. At the saint’s body a mad and blind man was healed.

Nowhere among the nations, as I think, will you find so many bodies of saints uncorrupted after death as in England. They present an appearance of the future incorruption. I believe this was done divinely so that a nation situated almost outside the world might be animated to hope for the resurrection by considering so many bodies which endure incorrupt.

These are Saint Etheldreda and Saint Wiuburga, virgins; King Eadmund; Archbishop Elphege; and Eutbert, an ancient father. All these, with skin inviolate and joints flexible as reeds, retain a certain vital appearance of sleeping persons.

Section V

Concerning the constancy of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and the severity of his justice.

At that time a certain count had married his kinswoman. Corrected by Dunstan, he was unwilling to obey by leaving her. He was excommunicated. The count approached the king, complaining about Dunstan. The king commanded the archbishop to absolve him. Dunstan was unwilling, but excommunicated him more gravely.

The count sent to Rome with many gifts. The apostolic pontiff commanded Dunstan to absolve him. Dunstan said: “Far be it that, for the sake of any mortal human being, I should despise the law of my God.”

Seeing this, the count repented and repudiated that wife. With bare feet, clothed in wool, and carrying rods in his hand, he fell at the feet of Dunstan while he was celebrating a general council, and then for the first time he was absolved.

Once three makers of false money were captured. They were immediately adjudged to undergo the penalty promulgated throughout England for such a crime, namely the cutting off of their hands.

Dunstan was not unaware of this. Therefore, when he was about to celebrate Mass on the day of Pentecost, he asked whether that law had been fulfilled. The answer was that, out of reverence for the feast of Pentecost, the penalty had been delayed until the next day.

“By no means,” he said. “Today I shall not approach the altar until they have undergone the penalty owed, for the matter pertains to me.” The men themselves were in his power.

He said these things, and by weeping greatly for those who were about to lose their hands he revealed with what affection he had spoken them. When they had been punished, he ascended to the altar with a joyful countenance, saying: “Now I trust that the Lord will receive the sacrifice from my hand,” and so forth.

During that Mass, while he said, “Your Church, which You deign to pacify, guard, aid, and govern,” a snow-white dove descended over him as many looked on. With its wings spread above his head, it remained thus in silence until he completed the sacrifice.

When it had been completed, the dove turned toward the tomb of the aforesaid Odo, his predecessor. It embraced the tomb with its wings and kissed it with its beak. For this reason, whenever Dunstan afterward passed before his tomb, he always bent his knees and afterward called him “Odo Sodo,” that is, “Odo the Good.”

When Dunstan departed from the altar, the ministers were going in different directions because of the sign which had occurred. There was no one to receive his chasuble. It hung in the air and did not touch the ground, lest it disturb the servant of God from his intention.

Once he was dedicating the church of a certain nobleman. When water was lacking for the ministry and that nobleman was disturbed, the man of God first offered prayer, struck the ground with his staff, and a spring burst forth. Flowing to this day, it makes his name celebrated.

At another time he was dedicating a certain church. When he perceived that it was not turned toward the east, he pressed it a little with his shoulder, and immediately it is said to have turned toward the east.

Meanwhile, in certain places the clerical order was conducted in so great a confusion that not only did it possess nothing more excellent than the life of secular persons, but it lay far beneath even wicked persons in evil deeds. Troubled by this, the shepherds of the churches approached Dunstan as their own primate and set forth the matters badly conducted.

Against the nefarious men he pronounced the sentence of his authority: either one must live canonically or depart from the churches. From this it happened that very many clerics of churches, when they disdained to be corrected under the proposed condition, were expelled by the authority of the pontiff.

When they accused him of injury, professing themselves to be lovers of virtue, Dunstan assembled a council and came to Winchester. There, by the sentence of the whole council, he gained victory over his adversaries.

When they saw that nothing remained for them by right, they used royal assistance and that of the princes and turned to prayers. By these they demanded of the bishop that the persons introduced into the churches should be expelled and those expelled should be restored.

While the man of God remained doubtful and answered nothing to what was requested, behold, the form of the Lord's body, fastened to the standard of the cross and placed in a higher part of the building, expressed human speech and checked the voices of all, saying: "Far be it that this should be done. Far be it that this should be done."

At this voice the king and all the elders were terrified and together filled the hall with shouting and praise of God. With these adversaries looking on, an end was indeed made to the contentions, until through succession the discord was renewed.

Then they departed and, taking as defender of their iniquity a certain bishop of the Scots who was ingenious and eloquent, went to the man of God and proposed the scandal with a swelling spirit.

But Dunstan, broken by long old age and the labors of the Church and now setting aside all things except prayer, hurled this weapon of an answer at the enemies: "Why," he said, "did you not put forward the cause of your calumny when so much time had elapsed? But now you compel me, growing old and giving my effort to silence, to serve old quarrels. I confess that I do not wish to conquer you. I commit the cause of His Church to Christ the Judge."

The judgment of the angered God confirmed what he said. Immediately the building was shaken, and the upper room was dissolved beneath their feet. The enemies were cast to the ground and crushed by the weight of the falling beams. But where the saint reclined with his men, there was no inundation of ruin.

Section VI

Concerning Dunstan's prophecy against the royal house, the killing of the king, and Dunstan's passing.

King Edgar, taken by an untimely death, left his son Edward as successor both of the kingdom and of his morals. When certain palatine princes were unwilling to acquiesce in his election, Dunstan seized the standard of the cross which by custom was carried before him, placed Edward in their midst, displayed him to them, elected him, and consecrated him. As long as Edward lived, Dunstan expended upon him the affection of a father and master.

But after three years he was killed through the deceit of his stepmother in this manner. For Dunstan had made Edward king, as has been said, contrary to the will of the stepmother, Queen Elfrida, because she herself wished to make king her son begotten from Edgar, a boy not yet seven years old, so that she might reign for him.

Angered because of this, she planned Edward's death with her accomplices. Hence, one day when the still-adolescent Edward was returning from the hunt and his companions had dispersed here and there, because he was very thirsty a certain man offered him a cup, and while he drank another attendant, induced by Queen Elfrida, pierced him with a dagger.

Miracles testified to his innocent death and the probity of his life. Lights from heaven were shown there; a lame man recovered his gait, a mute man speech, and a blind man sight.

When Queen Elfrida came there, her horse standing there could be moved by no spurs. The horse was changed, but the second also could not be moved.

After the sacred body had been raised from the ignoble place and honorably committed to burial, a certain cleric named Elpherius, who was contrary to Saint Dunstan's ordinances, had destroyed almost all the monasteries which Ethnold [i.e., Athelwold] had built. Together with other clerics who, because of their dissolute life, had been expelled from their churches when Dunstan substituted honorable and suitable clerics, he stirred up wars. As though rejoicing over Edward's killing, he discharged the royal funeral rites at Scestonia. But after a year he was consumed by the worms which are called lice.

Echelred, son of Edgar and Elfrida, succeeded his slain brother Edward in the kingdom of England and reigned for thirty-six years. When he was recently born and was being baptized, he defecated in the sacred font in the presence of the bishops, as Vincent says after William, and polluted the sacraments. Troubled, Dunstan said: "By God, this man will be slothful."

When he had become ten years old and heard that his brother had been killed, by crying with raging lamentation he so moved his mother that, because she did not have a whip at hand, she seized candles and beat the innocent boy. She did not cease until he was almost lifeless and she herself was drenched with tears.

For this reason he so abhorred candles throughout his whole life that he never permitted their light to be brought before him.

When this matter was known to Dunstan, Echelred was hateful to him because of so great a crime. Nevertheless, it was not his counsel to resist because Echelred was the king's son and appeared then to be the nearest heir.

Yet on the day of his consecration, when Dunstan was present to place the diadem upon his head, he said before everyone standing around: "Because through your brother's death you have aspired to the kingdom, therefore hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord God: The sin of your infamous mother and the sin of the men who took part in her wicked counsel will not be blotted out except by much blood of the wretched provincials. Evils such as it has not suffered up to the present time will come upon the nation of the English."

The aforesaid Queen Elfrida afterward returned to herself and greatly repented of the crime perpetrated. She maintained an austere life in a monastery and devoutly migrated from this light, furnishing to those who truly turn to God confidence not in doing evil but in obtaining pardon for crimes perpetrated.

At length, when the day of the Lord's Ascension was at hand and the vigils had been completed, Saint Dunstan remained alone in prayer in the church. He looked, and behold, an innumerable multitude of persons clothed in white, bearing golden crowns upon their heads and flashing with an inestimable splendor, burst in through the church's door, gathered in a mass before him, and greeted him with one voice in this manner: "Hail, our Dunstan, hail. The Son of God, whom you piously desire, commands you that, if you are ready, you should come and celebrate with us this day for whose joy you sigh."

Remaining unafraid at this, he asked who they were. They said: "We are Cherubim and Seraphim. Answer what you wish."

He answered: "Today is a most solemn day, and it falls to me to refresh the people with the bread of God's word and to show them how they may be able to attain this joy. For this reason many have assembled, and I ought not deceive them. Therefore I cannot come."

They said: "Come now, be prepared, so that on the coming Sabbath you may be ready to come hence to Rome with us and to sing eternally before the supreme Pontiff: 'Holy, holy, holy.'" After these things they departed.

Therefore, when the Gospel had been read at Mass on that day, he spoke to the people such things as he had never spoken before. Returning to the altar, he celebrated the mysteries.

When the blessing over the people was reached, he again withdrew from the altar to preach, so that you would think not a human being but an angel was speaking. Again he returned to the altar, and after giving the blessing he again returned to the people, as all were astonished.

As soon as he opened his mouth to speak, his face shone with so great a brightness that no one could look upon him. He foretold that his death was at hand, promising them that he would never fail them. Then he returned to the Lord's table.

On the same day, after he had risen from the table upon taking food, he went to the oratory and designated the place in which he wished to be buried. Soon illness invaded him. On Friday he lay down upon his bed and incited all who came to follow the footsteps of Christ.

On the Sabbath he communicated again. While he awaited his hour, he was suddenly raised together with the bed upon which he lay as far as the upper parts. With the beams preventing him from being raised above them, he was gently lowered to the earth. This happened three times.

Then he said to those standing around: “You see that I am called. If you wish to come with me, go by the way by which I have walked. God calls me. May He Himself direct your hearts and bodies toward His will in peace.” When everyone had answered, “Amen,” he passed from this world to the Father.

The blessed passing of this saint occurred in the year of the Lord 989, the thirty-third year of his patriarchate, and about the seventieth year of his age.

Osbern, cantor of Canterbury, described his life. As Vincent relates after William, he was second to no one in our time in style and first of all in music.

After Dunstan’s death the Lord glorified His saint through many prodigies. A certain woman blind from birth received sight; another person, lame from the womb, was perfectly healed. A certain man excommunicated by his bishop because of pleasures, and for this reason delivered to Satan and made foolish for seven years, was liberated at Dunstan’s tomb.

A paralytic who had been healed by him was afterward seized immediately by his former disease because of his ingratitude. In a banquet, as though insulting Dunstan, he had said: “Even if Dunstan had not existed, I would have been healed.” Crying out miserably, he died.

It was the custom in the same monastery where Dunstan had once been abbot and was afterward buried for all the boys in the schools to be beaten before the fifth day preceding the Lord’s Nativity. This was done not, however, for faults, but merely from custom, perhaps so that they might become accustomed to bear patiently, even without reasonable cause, the commands of masters and prelates.

The masters were asked to pardon them on that day. They were unwilling, but all prepared themselves for the rods. That night Saint Dunstan appeared in a vision to one of them, saying: “Why are you so afraid, O boys?”

“Because, lord,” he said, “the fury of the masters cannot be calmed.”

“Do not be afraid,” Dunstan said. “I shall calm them. I am Dunstan, father of this monastery. This will be the sign to you that I shall liberate you. Go and tell the custodian of the church to remove from the church the body of Harold’s son, whom the hateful flattery of certain persons has dared rashly to bury beside me, although he was a pagan. If he does not do this quickly, this whole church will suffer grave damage.”

Dawn was now breaking, an hour terrible to the boys, and the masters stood armed with knotted straps, awaiting the boys who were to pass before them. And behold, suddenly all the masters fell asleep, and there was no one to touch the boys as they passed through their midst.

The youth carried the command to the custodians, who despised it. Afterward Dunstan was seen by certain monks to depart from the place. When they detained him and asked why he was withdrawing, he answered that he could not bear the stench of the pagan flesh and the iniquities of certain persons living there.

“If this matter,” he said, “is not amended, this whole city and this church will pay the penalty.” Not long afterward the city was burned, together with the whole church and its workshops, except for the dormitory, the refectory, and the cloisters which adjoined them.

Title XVI

Chapter VII

There flourished in England another archbishop of Canterbury named Elphege—not the one who had been Dunstan's kinsman and a bishop. From being a bishop he was translated to be archbishop, or patriarch, of Canterbury, and at length was crowned with martyrdom in the year of the Lord 1003, in the time of Emperor Henry II.

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six, chapter one, from his deeds, he was once sprung from most splendid ancestry and was handed over to be imbued with letters. After he had read and thoroughly read those things which appeared sufficient for salvation, he turned the whole study of philosophy toward loving God.

When he wished to enter the path of a stricter life, he came to the place which is called Bath. There he constructed a dwelling and enclosed himself, restraining himself with marvelous rigor.

Without delay all the nobles flowed together to seek his spiritual counsel. Many also came under his discipline, intending to imitate his life and habit.

When there was a very spacious residence, he himself imposed upon the disciples the law of perfect sobriety and taught them to moderate carnal passions. He withdrew into a most confined little house, after appointing a provost to bring him provisions. Nevertheless, the causes of the highest affairs were brought to him.

Many of his disciples, however, despised his admonitions, forgot their profession, and possessed nothing of a common life. In the middle of the nights they were accustomed to eat stolen food, devote themselves to drunkenness, act wantonly, and perpetrate altogether dishonorable things insofar as their hidden boldness permitted.

But the anger of God killed the man who was chief in this crime, enveloping him in a horrible and sudden judgment.

On the night which followed the day of his burial, while Elphege celebrated the sacred vigils according to custom and offered sacrifice to the Lord, it happened that strong voices were heard within the enclosure of the monastery. Therefore he hastened quickly toward the monastery. With his ears stunned, he caught the sound and distinguished words. He burst into the house.

And behold, the man who had recently died lay miserably afflicted upon the ground. Human beings of horrible appearance stood over him and scourged him with ox-hide thongs and fiery serpents. While he howled because of the anguish of pain, they reproached him with this: "Neither you to God, nor we to you." Repeating the same words several times, they dragged the captive from the place.

Then the saint withdrew and passed the remainder of the night sleepless in weeping. When the sun had risen, he gathered the disciples together and related what he had learned through God's manifestation. He saw some chant psalms, others weep, and all tremble.

But those who had held the dead man as an associate in crime sprang into their midst. They confessed their error and asked that their evil deeds be punished, lest they remain liable to divine vengeance. When they were asked where they had held the place of their feasting, they pointed out to him the place in which the wicked spirits had tortured the dead man's soul.

Thus pious God, because of the excellent merits of the man, while He was unwilling for the crime of one to lie hidden, wished the evils of all to be uncovered; and while He was unwilling to spare one, He wished the diseases of all to be healed.

Meanwhile, when the bishop of Winchester had died, Saint Dunstan, bishop of Canterbury, who presided as primate over all the cities established in England and also over the other regions subject to the kingdom of the English, learned that a great dissension of parties had arisen over the election of a bishop of Winchester. Fearing that this would become a scandal to many and a loss of souls, he prayed the Lord to deign to show what suitable shepherd ought to succeed in governing the church.

Although the clerics and monks, and he himself likewise, multiplied their prayers to the Lord, behold, Andrew the Apostle appeared and employed this oracle: "Why, dearest one, are you saddened, and why do you utter such mournful complaints with tears? Arise and lay your hand upon Abbot Elphege, and establish him as priest of the desolate church. Nor let the power of any persons hinder you, for this sentence has proceeded not from man but from God."

Then the pontiff, made exceedingly joyful, explained this to the ears of the palace. When an assembly had been held, all passed to the same opinion, crying out that they wished what God wished and what the pontiff of God should determine.

Elphege, Section I

Elphege was therefore made pontiff. He conducted himself so vigorously in all things that no one doubted who sat as moderator of his heart, by whose election he had been promoted. He adorned himself with all virtues in such a way that he was dear to all and no one—which is rare—envied his glory.

Although he was of the highest mercy and beneficence toward everyone, he appeared cruel and impious toward himself. Even in wintertime, when the earth was stiff with icy cold and deep sleep held the others, he was accustomed secretly to rise from his bed and, seeking an outdoor place, to spend the night there in prayer, with bare feet and clothed in a single garment.

Even when he entered the dining hall as though about to eat, he arose from the table truly as empty as he had approached it, so that those dining with him could accuse him neither of having eaten nor of not having eaten.

He assisted all the poor so thoroughly that he permitted neither anyone of his parishes to beg publicly nor a poor stranger to the place to depart empty. He reckoned it a horrible impiety if a man should wish to usurp as private to himself that which nature established as common.

But when those things which by the right of the Church could belong to the service of the poor had failed, he ordered the Church's treasures, of which he had prepared many, to be distributed. He taught that churches possessed all their most ornate things for this end: that in a time of prosperity they might serve for honor, but in a time of necessity for utility.

The aforesaid defender of justice, Dunstan, therefore, when he had received a report of the manner in which blessed Elphege preached among the people, rendered lofty praises to God and entreated His mercy that, after his own death, which he had foreknown, He would leave Elphege as heir of his patriarchate. What he asked was immediately promised to him, although it was not immediately fulfilled, but only after time had run its course.

For the pontiffs Dunstan and Elphege lived together for five years. After Dunstan had passed into the joy of his Lord, three succeeded him in order before Elphege.

Accordingly, in the year 1006 of the incarnate Deity, Elphege was translated from Winchester to Canterbury and elevated there as archbishop. Within a few days he resolved to go to Rome.

When he had now entered Ausonia and, wearied by the journey, was resting in a certain town, the townspeople, regarding him as an unknown man and consulting their own avarice, broke into the house. They plundered his possessions and, having deprived him of all his household goods, forced him to leave with words and blows.

But he bore his own insults lightly, while grieving over the poverty of his companions, and began to return by the road on which he had come. Yet he had not gone far from the town when, behold, dreadful cries seized the walls, threatening the buildings and citizens with reduction to ashes. Fire sent by God seized the town and began to race headlong through everything.

When the inhabitants of the place saw this, considered whether it was happening to them because of the injuries inflicted upon the man of God, and feared their own destruction, they were pierced with compunction. They went out of the town, sought the man of God, and asked pardon, restoring all his possessions and offering their own.

While he prayed for them, the fire departed beyond the walls and left them unharmed. He also admonished them not to injure their neighbors.

After this, when pirates—the worst kind of robbers—with their leader Thurkill, a prince of the Danes, wandered about the harbors of the sea, that people spread throughout all England and destroyed with both slaughter and fire whatever opposed it. Therefore, with the land deserted by its inhabitants, refuge was taken in the neighboring cities; and the land lay exposed to the fury of the robbers, blessed by no cultivator.

For Ethelred, king of the English, because he was weak and unwarlike, displayed by his conduct a monk rather than a soldier. But amid so great a crisis of affairs, Elphege went to the enemies, preached the word of life to them, redeemed captives by paying a price, and fed those whom hunger oppressed. Divine grace granted him so great a power of pleasing the enemies that he freed not only captives from temporal servitude but also their captors from eternal servitude, when he recalled those who were without the faith to the faith.

On the Constancy of This Saint and the Persecution by the Danes and the English, Section II

A considerable part of the Danes, therefore, held fast by the error of unbelief, envied the salvation of their companions and contemplated killing the author of their salvation. They feared that, if those whom they were accustomed to employ as auxiliaries in war were removed, they would have less license to do harm or less power to resist.

But when the devil, on account of the multitude of the faithful, could not impel the small number of unbelievers to the unjust killing of the just man, he undertook another way of perpetrating the crime.

For Edric, prefect of the entire kingdom, had a brother whom the nobility of Canterbury had attacked and killed because, in the king's presence, he had insulted it without cause and had invaded the goods of certain persons; it had also burned his house. Edric demanded vengeance for his brother's blood from the king.

But the king denied what was requested, declaring that the brother had rightly been killed, since he had presumed to assail so great a nobility in the royal palace. The prefect, his color changed, departed from the palace. Having joined to himself ten thousand armed men, he attempted to avenge his brother.

But when he perceived that, because his adversaries resisted, his efforts had profited him little, he was carried into anger, sought the councils of the Danes, and solicited their aid. He promised that, after victory, the kingdom would be divided in equal shares: he himself would rule over the eastern English, while they would possess the north.

Why say more? They gave and received their right hands; they demanded and tendered oaths. The enemies threatened the pontiff, the prefect threatened the nobility, and all threatened Canterbury with destruction.

When the report of this affair had greatly disturbed the city, the whole nobility which had exercised vengeance against the violator of the law immediately surrounded the pontiff with tearful lamentation. It begged him to depart from the city and to take counsel for his own life, which surpassed the lives of all persons on earth.

But he said: "I think that I must walk by another way. For we have not committed the evil deeds of wicked men, so that on their account we should fear the punishments of death. Moreover, I shall be able to be called a hireling if, seeing my sheep being devoured by wolves, I begin to contemplate flight. Therefore, all those whom God has inspired to be willing to undergo good things and evil things alike should patiently await here the things that have been prepared for us."

Then, while some transferred themselves to other places and others approached the Danes for the sake of appeasing them, Elphege summoned the poor of his people. He exhorted them to be of good courage, to hold God before their eyes, to fear nothing except Him, and to take the example of Christ's humility and patience. Although Christ was Lord of all, He not only refused to avenge Himself upon His enemies, but also restrained Peter's fervent love from vengeance.

He also set before them the constancies of the martyrs and their victories. Having instructed them with these discourses, he rendered them most ready for whatever torments the persecutor might drive them toward. Then, after pouring an episcopal blessing over them and tasting the holy communion of peace in a kiss, when he had made them participants in the divine banquet, he commended them to the Lord, the protector of all.

When the city was surrounded by the enemies, the citizens standing upon the walls did not so much display boldness in resisting as simulate it. When all that they had prepared for the use of life had now been exhausted, someone was sent by the pontiff to advise the Dane to desist from what he had begun and to fear the judgment of God.

But the English, who were more inclined toward impiety, urged on the Danes, made fiercer by it, to strike the walls with battering rams and to cast fiery torches into the city. Thereafter a deadly fire, kindled among the adjoining houses, spread itself by extending into every place.

Then there was a pitiable hesitation among the citizens: whether, after abandoning the fortifications, they should fly to their own homes, or, neglecting them, persist in the defense. Sweet remembrance of their children and an inborn compassion to protect their family prevailed. Headlong with frenzy, they ran and snatched their wives and dear children from the midst of the fires, only for them immediately to be butchered by the enemy's sword.

But while they were more intently occupied amid the ashes of the buildings, the city was broken open and the army entered. Some were slaughtered; others were consumed by flames; but many were cast headlong over the walls. Women of the nobler class, while forced to disclose treasures which they did not possess, were dragged by their hair through the streets; at last they were thrown into the flames and died. Little children torn from their mothers' breasts were either received upon spears or crushed piece by piece beneath a wagon driven over them.

But the pontiff Elphege, unable to endure so great a devastation of his people, ran to a place filled with corpses. He thrust himself among the densest formations of the enemies, crying out: "Spare them, spare them, if you recognize yourselves to be men. Cease to persecute innocent age. This is not a victory in which nursing infancy is destroyed. Woe is me, who, in order that I might increase the Christian people, deprived you of many a soldier! Woe is me, who always condemned your crimes with a free voice, who fed, clothed, and redeemed captives! If it pleases you to be evil without payment, let your anger rage chiefly against me, since it is certain that I have offended you in so many ways."

Immediately the athlete of God was seized by innumerable hands, and, his throat being gripped, the voice of the speaker was impeded. His palms were fastened with bonds; his cheeks were cut apart by fingernails; his sides were pounded with fists and heels.

Amid these things, the servant of God, like a mute man, was driven by the hands of the impious to the atrium of the church. He was forced to stand as a spectator of a new outrage, so that he might see death before death and no kind of death might exist that passed him by, whether as one suffering it or as one grieving with his own people.

The ministers of the devil therefore approached and set fire to the vessels placed above, so that they might burn the roof from them. The lead, now dissolved by the fire, began to flow inward, when the holy company of monks, their heads covered by their cowls and their faces streamed with tears, came out, intending to expend for the Savior what He had deigned to expend for all. A savage executioner, running to meet them with the sword, received them and devastated them in a pitiable slaughter.

Accordingly, out of the entire number, which was reckoned to extend to eight thousand persons, we have learned that only four of monastic profession and nine hundred men of an inferior order remained. After furrowing them cruelly with blows, the enemies either judged them worthy of redemption for money or led them away with themselves by assigning them to servile works.

When the people had now been slaughtered, the city burned, and the church violated, searched, and despoiled, the saint, bound over his whole body, was being dragged toward the northern gate. Behold, those whom I said had survived the ruin were being held under military guard with their feet inserted into beams. When they saw the pontiff and what was being done against him, they raised their hands to heaven and cried out with a roar, asking God to be the inspector of so great a cruelty.

But when the pontiff halted so that he might strengthen their broken spirits with an address, he was suddenly wounded by those driving him onward with a severe blow across the shoulders, so that, as a stream of blood flowed forth, his shoulder appeared divided from his body. The shackled men shuddered at the deed; the Danes also shuddered.

The saint was led to a prison, which was made foul by the horror of darkness, the confinement of its walls, and the importunity of frogs. For they kept him there for seven months, thinking that he would despoil the patrimonies of the Church and give them the proceeds for his own liberation.

Meanwhile, the anger of God began to rage against the murderous people to such a degree that, in a short time, two thousand of them were laid low by dreadful torments of the bowels, and the rest of the multitude, struck by a similar disease, awaited a similar destruction.

At last they all ran to him and sought his supplication to God. Then, honorably borne forth in public by their hands and placed in a carrying chair, he said: “Even if your unceasing cruelty leaves itself no place for meriting pardon, nevertheless it belongs to our office to consider not so much what it is fitting that you should suffer as what it becomes us to do.”

Therefore, after invoking Christ, the Creator of the world, and giving them bread blessed by himself, he freed them all from the deadly plague.

The aforesaid enemies then send envoys—that is, four princes. Having approached the pontiff, namely Elphege, they first give thanks for the benefit bestowed. Then they propose the condition that, if he wishes to possess freedom and life, he must pay sixty talents of silver, each talent being weighed at the weight of fifty pounds.

He is reported to have answered them thus: “If you think that, to fulfill your greed, I shall despoil ecclesiastical possessions, you are deceived, for it is not the part of a Christian to give the flesh of Christians to be crushed by pagan teeth. But if blessed Lawrence laudably concealed the treasures which he had received, shall I cruelly seek out those which I have received and betray them still more cruelly?”

Then, at these words, the furious enemies began to raise their clamor with a grinding of teeth. The condition of affairs was pitiable: on the very day on which all the elements of the world rejoiced over the Lord’s resurrection, the blessed man was punished with unheard-of examinations of torments. But because of the hope which he had in God, he delighted in all these evils as though in banquets.

At last he was afflicted with great blows by the crowd of executioners; his brain having been injured, he was shut half-dead in a prison. There they kindled a fire, cast into it everything most foul-smelling, and closed the doors.

But the dreadful house began to receive participation in celestial grace, to breathe the fragrant substances of eternal life, and to resound with honey-sweet hymns modulated by the voices of saints. Looking upon them, the saint recognized among the others Saint Dunstan, the formerly glorious archbishop, standing there.

Dunstan said to him: “We have come to you, soldier of Christ, to honor you with our service, sent by Him who has given you victory and prepared a crown for you in heaven.”

Amid these things, the knots of the bonds were loosened, the gaping wounds closed, and every wound of his body was restored to wholeness. Elphege, chanting psalms with those chanting psalms, exulted. When the guards of the prison perceived this, they were terrified.

At last Elphege, placed upon a beast of burden, was led to the council of fury amid the immense lamentation of the faithful. He was stoned and made a martyr. As his blood dripped, dry wood immediately came to life again.

Then, on account of so great a miracle, the Danes permitted his body to be carried to London, where it was buried. After ten years it was found incorrupt and endures until this time, its blood fresh and the integrity of its body unviolated.

On Ethelred, King of England, of Whom Above, and on Certain Others, Section III

At that time, as Vincent relates in the place cited above, Ethelred, king of England, fleeing the Danes, came to Normandy to Richard, the brother of his wife Emma and the son of Duke Richard. Richard completed the monastery of Fécamp which his father had begun.

At night he evaded the watch kept by his servants and went to the monks' matins. Bending his knees, he remained in prayer until daylight. One night, while doing this, he found the monastery door barred. When he violently knocked out the bolt, he disturbed the sacristan's sleep.

The sacristan, rising from sleep and seeing Richard dressed in a commoner's garment, flew upon his hair and gave him many slaps. Richard, with incredible patience, gave no answer.

On the following day he lodged a complaint in the chapter and commanded that monk to meet him at the village of Argentias, threatening to avenge himself in such a way that all Gaul would speak of it. On the appointed day the monk was condemned by the judges.

Richard immediately absolved him and assigned that same village, which is renowned for excellent wine, to the office of the sacristan. He declared him to be an excellent monk, one who had guarded well the duty entrusted to him and had not broken silence even when angered.

This Richard died after twenty-eight years of his duchy. He ordered his body to be buried before the door of the church so that it might be trodden upon by everyone and rained upon. Abbot William afterward removed him from there and placed him before the altar.

His brother Robert became archbishop of Rouen. Abusing that honor, he committed many outrages; but afterward, declining into old age, he erased certain of them by almsgiving—which, namely, was sufficient for satisfaction, if he truly repented.

This Richard had a son of his own name, who was duke for one year and is said to have been poisoned by his brother Robert. Therefore, after eight years, Robert sought Jerusalem. While returning home, he was killed by poison at Nicaea, a city of Bithynia. The boy William succeeded this Robert.

In the year noted above, Durand became bishop of the people of Liège. As Sigebert says, this was like a tale upon the theater of the world: that a man from a most humble and most impoverished family of servile condition exercised lordship over his carnal lords.

At Aachen, about those times, a general and synodal assembly was celebrated for several days. So great a drought and intemperance of the air grew hot that many failed through excessive heat and many animals also suddenly perished. The pavement and the marble columns were damp with so much sweat that those who did not know believed water to have been scattered upon them.

About that time ecclesiastical religious life flourished through renowned abbots: in France and Burgundy through Odilo of Cluny, distinguished for the piety discussed in the preceding title, and through William of Dijon, revered for severity; in Lotharingia through Richard of Verdun, discerning in pious gravity and grave piety; through Poppo of Stavelot; through Helias of Cologne; through Olbert and Stephen of Liège; and through Berno of Reichenau.

In the year of the Lord 1025 there was a king in England named Cnut. He set out for Rome and, returning thence by ship to England, immediately subdued Malcolm, the rebellious king of the Scots.

There was in England a most wise man, Egeuold [i.e., Egelnoth], archbishop of Canterbury, the second after Lining [i.e., Living] but the third after the martyr Elphege, of whom it was said in the preceding section. From being dean, he was taken up into the episcopate. He brought the body of Saint Elphege back from London to Canterbury.

Returning from Rome, he sent to Canterbury an arm of Saint Augustine, the great Doctor, which had been purchased at Pavia for one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold. At his admonition King Cnut also sent money to churches across the sea, and especially to the church of Chartres.

There Fulbert, a bishop most renowned for holiness and prophecy, was then flourishing. He laid the foundations of the church of the Holy Mother of God and completed it with marvelous stone paneling. He is also said to have been visited by the blessed Mother of God in his sickness and to have been refreshed with her most holy milk.

The author, however, does not accept these things. For it is not lawful to sell or buy relics of saints, because that is simoniacal. But when they have been offered freely, it is lawful, out of gratitude, to bestow something liberally upon the donors, or even to buy the gold or silver vessels themselves.

What is added concerning the Virgin's milk is not to be understood of true and natural milk, since a dead body has no milk, and a body raised in glory—as is commonly held concerning the Virgin—remains incorruptible. Rather, it was a certain liquid miraculously procured.

After the aforesaid king of England named Cnut, Edward, the son of the Ethelred mentioned above, reigned in England about the year of the Lord 1043. This Edward was crowned with great pomp at London on the holy day of Easter by Archbishop Eadsige.

He took as wife Edith, the daughter of Godwin, in whom almost all the liberal arts had flowed together. She lacked neither suspicion of disgrace while her husband lived nor after he had died. But, dying at last in William's time, she gave satisfaction concerning her integrity by an oath.

The king treated her in such a way that he neither removed her from his bed nor knew her in the manner of a man.

This Godwin, once sitting at table beside the king when conversation arose concerning Alfred, the king's brother, said: "You, O king, look at me, as I see, with a wrinkled countenance at every remembrance of your brother. But may God not permit me to swallow this morsel if I was conscious of any matter which concerned his danger or your injury."

When this had been said, he was choked by the morsel which he had placed in his mouth, turned his eyes upward, and died. He was then pulled away from the table by his son Harold, who was standing beside the king.

This Godwin had first had as wife Cnut's sister, from whom he begot a boy. While the boy gloried in childish boastfulness upon a horse, he was carried by that same horse into the river Thames, was drowned, and perished. His mother also was killed by a stroke of lightning.

She was said to be accustomed to send bands of slaves purchased in England to Denmark, especially beautiful girls.

This King Edward, however, was a holy man, illustrious in miracles and in the spirit of prophecy. It was said above concerning him, in the chapter on pontiffs, that in the spirit he saw the Seven Sleepers turn themselves upon their other side.

In the Island of England at Another Time, Section IV

At the village of Beverley, a certain woman, a diviner and sorceress, when at her death she had been buried in a church as she had arranged, placed in a stone sepulcher, firmly closed, and bound with chains, was visited by demons at night. They opened the closed church, broke all the bonds and fastenings, drew the body of that sorceress out from there, and placed it upon a very black horse. Beating the horse, they disappeared from the eyes of men.

At Rome, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six, in the times of Emperor Henry III, there was a certain wealthy and noble young man who had newly taken a wife and had made a well-attended banquet for his companions.

After the meal, when he was about to go into the field to play, the king of the banquet, the standard-bearer in the game, demanded the ball. Meanwhile, the young man placed his wedding ring upon the outstretched finger of a bronze statue of Venus which stood nearby. When almost everyone was striking toward the ground, he, sighing as his inward parts grew hot, was the first to withdraw himself from the game.

When he asked for his ring again, he found the statue's finger bent as far as the palm. After struggling there for a long time, he was able neither to pull out the ring nor to break the finger. Departing in silence, he concealed the matter from his companions.

Returning with a servant in the dead of night, he found the finger extended and the ring stolen. Concealing his loss, he returned to his bride.

When he had placed himself in bed beside her, he perceived something cloudy and dense rolling between himself and her. It could indeed be felt but could not be seen. He was prevented from embracing her by this obstacle.

He also heard a voice saying: "Lie with me, because today you espoused me. I am Venus, upon whose finger you placed that ring. I shall not return it."

Terrified by so great a prodigy, he dared not—or could not—relate anything. He passed that night sleepless, deliberating much within himself. For a long time it happened in this way: at whatever hour he wished to lie with his bride, he perceived and heard that same thing. In other respects he was certainly vigorous and fit both at home and in military service.

At last, admonished by his wife's complaints, he brought the matter to his parents. After taking counsel, they disclosed the matter to a certain suburban priest named Palumbus. He, however, was a necromancer and powerful in sorceries.

Enticed by many promises, he gave the young man a prepared letter, saying: "Go at that hour of the night to the crossroads where four roads meet, and, standing silently, observe. Figures of human beings of both sexes, of every age and condition, will pass there: horsemen and footmen, some joyful and some sad. Whatever you hear, do not speak.

"A certain one taller in stature and more corpulent in form, sitting in a chariot, will follow that crowd. Silently hand this letter to him to read, and immediately that which you seek will be done."

The young man fulfilled everything as he had been instructed. Among the others passing there he saw a woman in the dress of a prostitute riding a mule, with her loosened hair tossed over her shoulders and bound higher up with a golden band. She bore a golden rod in her hands, with which she guided the mule. Because of the thinness of her garments she appeared almost naked, performing shameless gestures.

Last came the lord of the crowd. Sharpening terrible eyes upon the young man from his lofty chariot, fashioned of emeralds and pearls, he asked him the reasons for his journey. The young man answered nothing, but, stretching out his hand, offered him the letter.

At last, not daring to despise the familiar seal, he read what had been written. Immediately, raising his arms to heaven, he said: "Almighty God, how long will You endure the wickedness of the priest Palumbus?"

Without delay he sent attendants from his side to wrench the ring from Venus. After much evasion, she at last returned it with difficulty. Thus the young man, having obtained his desire without obstacle, possessed the embraces for which he had long sighed.

But when Palumbus heard the demon's cry to God, he understood it to concern himself and that the end of his days had been announced to him. Therefore, after all his limbs had been voluntarily cut off, he died by a pitiable punishment, having confessed unheard-of outrages before the Roman people.

At that time there were two old women dwelling in a single hut upon the road by which one goes to Rome. They were imbued with one sorcery, by which they changed a guest, if anyone arrived alone, into a horse, an ass, or a pig.

Understand this soundly, reader: that change was not according to nature but according to appearance. The imagination of the observers was so altered and the eyes of the observers so deluded by magic that it appeared thus to themselves and to others.

About the Same Time, Section V

Renels [i.e., Kenulf], king of the Mercians, had entrusted Chenelin [i.e., Kenelm], his seven-year-old son, to the fidelity of his sister Quandrida [i.e., Quendreda] to be reared. Falsely foretelling the kingdom for herself, she ordered a retainer, who was the boy's fosterer, to remove the little child from their midst. Taking the boy hunting, he slaughtered him among the thickets.

What had been concealed in England was immediately made known at Rome by divine means. For a parchment, fallen from above upon the altar of blessed Peter, borne by a dove and written in English characters, disclosed both the killing and the burial in order. It was interpreted by a certain Englishman.

Thereupon a letter of the pope indicated the compatriot martyr to the kings of England. Hence the body of the innocent boy was raised with great solemnity for frequent veneration.

When it was being carried to Winchcombe amid the song of clerics and the applause of laypeople, Quendreda, the parricidal woman, was stirred up. From the window of the upper chamber in which she stood, she put out her head. By chance she held a psalter in her hands and, through continuous reading, had reached the psalm, "O God, be not silent concerning my praise."

Reciting it backward from the end by some enchantment unknown to me, she attempted to weaken the joy of those singing. Then, however, by divine power, the sorceress's eyes, torn from their hollow sockets, polluted with blood that verse, "This is the work of those who speak evil of me before the Lord." Marks of the blood remain to this day, breathing forth the woman's savagery and the vengeance of God.

A pestilence arose in the monastery of Selsey and killed many. A three-day fast was proclaimed. On the second day of the fast, Peter and Paul the Apostles appeared to a boy lying ill with the same sickness. They said that he ought not fear death, which is both the end of sickness and the entrance into everlasting life, but that no one else from that monastery would die from that pestilence.

God had granted this through the merits of the aforesaid King Oswald, who was supplicating on that same day for his compatriots. For this was the day on which that same king, killed by the faithless, entered the court of heaven. The day of his death was sought and was found to be so. From that time onward he was numbered among the martyrs.

While Hingwar and Ubba, leaders of the Danes, were devastating the province of the East Angles, the first of them beheaded King Edmund after certain torments, when the king did not resist but had cast aside his arms, prostrated himself upon the ground, and prayed.

The head was thrown among the thickets by the executioner. When the citizens sought it, they heard the voice of the head inviting them all to itself. A wolf, embracing it between its forelegs, was guarding it. The wolf also followed the bearers from behind as far as the tomb, injuring no one and injured by no one.

At first a wooden chapel was erected over his body. When thieves wished to despoil it, it entangled them in their very undertaking with invisible thongs.

His head, joined to the rest of his body, displays the sign of martyrdom in a scarlet scar. The hair and nails of that same saint gradually grow. A certain holy woman named Oswen was accustomed to cut and trim them annually, so that they might profit posterity in sacred veneration.

When a young man named Leofstan menacingly ordered that this saint's body be shown to him, desiring, as he said, to investigate with the trustworthiness of his eyes what was uncertain by report, he became insane as soon as he saw it. A little afterward he died, swarming with worms.

As Bede testifies, Etheldreda remained a virgin although married to two men. Her father was Anna, king of the East Angles. He also had two other daughters, Ethelburga and Sexburga.

The first was initially a nun in the monastery in Gaul which is called Brie and afterward was its abbess. She was incorrupt before death and after death, as was her sister also.

The other was given as wife to Earconbert, king of the people of Kent, from whom she bore two daughters: Ercongota, concerning whom Bede wrote many things, and Ermenilda, who was given in marriage to Wilsio [read: Wulfhere], king of the Mercians, from whom she had a daughter, the virgin Werburga.

The mother was abbess at Belinum [read: Ely] after her mother Sexburga. The daughter rests at Chester, and she is believed especially to hear the prayers of women and children.

There was also in England a holy virgin named Edith, daughter of King Edgar, who lies in the monastery of Wilton. When blessed Dunstan was consecrating the church of Saint Dionysius, which he himself had built in England out of love for the martyr, he saw this young woman repeatedly stretch out her right thumb and imprint the sign of the cross upon her forehead.

Delighted by this sign, the bishop said to her: "May this finger never decay." Immediately, amid the solemnities of the Mass, he began to weep. When asked the cause, he said: "Soon this flowering rose will wither; soon the bird beloved of God will fly away."

Thus it happened. She died on the day foretold, six weeks from that day, when she was twenty-three years old.

Not long afterward, the same Dunstan saw in a dream Saint Dionysius holding that same virgin by the hand and, by a divine oracle, steadfastly commanding that she be honored on earth by the servants of God just as she was honored in heaven by her Bridegroom and Lord.

Even in her profession as a nun she wore garments ornamented with gold, whence she was openly rebuked by Saint Aethelwold the bishop. She answered: "The true and unshakable judgment of God is covered only by the conscience of mortals. For vainglory can also exist beneath filthy mourning garments. Therefore I think that a mind can be as incorrupt beneath these garments as beneath your torn skins."

When her virginal body was raised to a higher place, it was found to have been entirely reduced to ashes except for the right thumb, the abdomen, and the parts beneath the abdomen.

While certain persons were discussing this, the virgin herself stood in a dream beside one of those who had seen it, saying: "It is no wonder if those other parts of my body decayed, for dead bodies customarily fall away in this manner, and I myself, as a girl, sinned with those members. But justly the belly, which lust did not touch, was not corrupted. I was free from gluttony and carnal intercourse."

On Certain Marvels of That Time, Section VI

As Vincent relates in the place cited above, Paderborn, a city of Germany, was burned together with its greater church. In the monastery of the monks, however, a certain Scottish monk named Paternus, who had been enclosed for a long time, had often foretold this fire. Unwilling to go out because of his purpose of enclosure, he suffered himself to be burned.

Peter Damian, relating it more fully, speaks thus: “In a certain Teutonic city there was a certain servant of God living enclosed in a cell beside a monastery. It was revealed to him that, unless the people quickly appeased God through penance, the whole city would perish by fire within thirty days.

“The vision was made public, but they were unwilling to be converted. He ordered the monastery’s precious things to be removed so that they might be safe. At last fire suddenly arose from seven districts of the city and came as far as the cell of the man of God. When men asked him to come out, he refused. Committing all things to the judgment of God, he was burned together with his cell.”

In the district of Bracara near Tournai, as Sigebert writes, multitudes of serpents gathered from opposite sides and ran together against one another in a prodigious battle. After many on both sides had been killed, the defeated party fled and hid itself in the hollow of a tree. The other party, pursuing in the manner of victors, made a hissing din around it until men surrounded them with fire and all were burned.

Not long afterward a comet appeared, continually trailing long and fiery hair, as Helinand says. Concerning it a certain monk of Malmesbury named Eilmer said: “You have come; you have come, an object of lamentation to many martyrs [read: mothers]. It is long since I saw you, but now I behold you much more terrible, threatening the destruction of this country.”

He was mature in age and well imbued with letters. In his early youth he had attempted a deed of immense daring. For by some art unknown to me, he fastened wings to his hands and feet so that he might fly in the manner of Daedalus, embracing a fable as truth.

Having gathered the breeze from the top of a tower, he flew for the space of one stadium and more. But, trembling because of the violence of the wind and whirlwind, and at the same time because of consciousness of his rash deed, he fell. Thereafter he was permanently disabled, his legs having been broken. He himself, however, maintained that the cause of his fall was that he had forgotten to fit a tail to his rear part.

About that time Marianus the chronographer flourished. Coming from Scotland into Gaul, he became a monk at Cologne and was enclosed first at Fulda and afterward at Mainz.

About those times, as Vincent relates after William, a portent was seen on the border of Normandy and Brittany in one—or two—women. In such a body there were two heads and four arms, and all other things were double as far as the navel; below it all things were single.

One laughed, ate, and spoke; the other wept, hungered, and was silent. Food was eaten with a double mouth but was directed through one passage. When one had died, the other survived for nearly three years, carrying the dead one, until she too failed from both the weight of the mass and the stench of the corpse.

It was asserted by certain persons and handed down in writing that these women signified Normandy and England, which, although divided, were nevertheless united under one lord. Whatever money these had swallowed with greedy throats flowed down into one drain, which is either the avarice of princes or the ferocity of the surrounding peoples. England sustains with immense sums of money a Normandy that is dead and almost exhausted, until perhaps she herself succumbs to the violence of the tax collectors.

Not long afterward, according to Sigebert, many faithful persons, as many as seven thousand, seeking Jerusalem with a vow of prayer, were besieged by the Arabs on Good Friday in a certain fortress. So many were killed and wounded that, out of seven thousand and more, scarcely two thousand returned.

Three years afterward a comet appeared throughout the whole week of Easter.

Harinuth [i.e., Harald Hardrada], king of the Northumbrians [read: Norwegians], came to England with almost one thousand ships, intending to reign. In the city of York he killed more than one thousand laypeople and one hundred priests from among the English. Harold, king of the English, came upon him with seven legions and killed him together with many others.

But afterward William, count of the Normans, entered England with the French. After joining battle with the English, he killed Harold together with many thousands and reigned in England, as was said above.

Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, was often admonished that he was neglecting his office. His nephew urged this against him, and Mauger nevertheless acted still more irreverently. Compelled by extreme necessity, he was deposed.

But certain persons say, as Vincent writes after William, that the secret cause was that this same Mauger had excommunicated his nephew and his wife Matilda because they were joined as blood relatives. For that reason the nephew devised grounds for deposition against the persecutor of his outrages.

For the expiation of this crime, that same William afterward built the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, and Matilda built the monastery of the Holy Trinity.

Title XVI

Chapter VIII

In the year of the Lord 1068, Peter Damian, distinguished in life and learning, was in Italy. He published many sermons in an elegant style on diverse subjects. He renounced the episcopate with which he had been adorned so that he might be at leisure for God more freely.

He also wrote several smaller works: namely, one *On the Perfection of Monks*; another entitled *Most Welcome, Against the Simoniacs*; a book *On Contempt of the World*; a little book entitled *The Lord Be with You*; a book *On the Customs of the Church*, addressed to Pope Leo; an eremitical rule and a work *On the Order of the Eremitical Life*; a book in the manner of a dialogue *Against the Jews*; a little book of narratives; a book *On the Dissolution of Marriages*; a book of disputation *On the Canonical Hours*; and an invective against a certain bishop who was recalling monks to the world.

He also relates many examples of things which happened in his times, very notable in diverse places. Some of them are placed in this chapter.

In his apology—that is, his defense concerning his relinquished episcopate—Helinand speaks of him thus. This Peter wrote to Pope Hildebrand, who was Gregory VII, giving a reason why he had relinquished the episcopate. For he was a man most renowned for wisdom and religious life.

He says: “Because I refused ecclesiastical government, a penance of one hundred years was imposed upon me according to the remedy of the monastic rule.” Perhaps he speaks here of remedies of the kind concerning which he says there:

“Dominic was clothed next to his flesh with an iron cuirass. He was girded upon his body with two iron circles and with two around the upper parts of his arms. With each hand armed with scourges and his garments removed, he passed the whole night wakefully through twelve Psalters; on the following day he completed from the thirteenth as far as ‘Blessed are they whose.’”

Through the example of this man, the custom became established in those regions that not only men but also noble women eagerly undertook this kind of purgatory. For the widow of Cechaldus, a woman of great family and great dignity, related to me that through the discipline prescribed by this rule she had completed a penance of one hundred years, three thousand strokes of discipline being counted as one year.

Such a penance of one hundred years was therefore imposed upon him because he had relinquished the episcopate and returned to the monastery for love of religious life, although he was very suitable for the government of the Church.

But in giving his reason, he himself says that many saints before him had done this same thing. “Valerius of Hippo,” he says, “established Augustine as his successor. Lucidus of Citoclenum, when death was imminent, flew to a monastery. As Gregory says in the *Register*, blessed Andrew appeared to him and announced the hour of his death.

“Adalbert, bishop of Betuwe, taking the monastic habit, merited to win the palm of martyrdom. Likewise, a certain holy penitent, after relinquishing the episcopate, was at length visited by an angel and ordered to return to the episcopate. But he refused until, at the admonition of that same angel, blessed Remigius swiftly came and commanded this of him; only then did he obey.”

And below: “It is better to cast away the burden than, to the loss of the Lord whose servant I am, to perish with a broken neck.”

Hence it is written: “Why did you not give my money to the bank, so that, when I came, I might indeed have exacted with interest that which is mine?”

Jerome likewise says: “You should have deposited at the altar what you could not carry. For while you, a slothful merchant, retain the denarius, you have occupied the place of another who could have doubled the money.”

Are there not among certain bishops royal feasts every day, preparation every day, a wedding banquet every day? Soldiers are refreshed from that by which the needy ought to have been relieved; and strangers feed at their tables, which overflow with delicacies, while those whose entire substance it is, shut outside, waste away from lack of food.

And, in what appears to equal diabolical malice, after estates have been squandered in military service, together with every possession of lands, tithes and congregations are moreover added to the benefice of secular persons. This most wicked liberality both takes from the needy the means by which they live and deters the diocesan people from paying tithes, killing the diocesan people in soul and the needy in body.

The bishop of the city of Florence presided over a game of chess. Rebuking him for this while I was still a bishop, I imposed upon him that he should go through three Psalters, wash the feet of twelve poor persons and feed each one, and give a single denarius to each, so that with his hands he might wash away that which he had polluted with his hands.

On Certain Marvelous Occurrences Which the Same Peter Relates in His Diverse Smaller Works, Section I

In the monastery of Saint Vincent, established not far from the monastery which is called the Pierced Rock, we had established a regular decree that during Lent, every third day, all should take nothing except a little bread with water; that they should utter no words; that there should be no disobedience concerning prayers or readings; that they should walk with bare feet; and that, when the Psalter had been completed, they should purify themselves by mutual chastisement with scourges.

A certain brother violated this rule by eating. He was skilled in writing, notation, turning, and manufacture—an augur, a cenobite, a great physician; he knew everything. In the middle of Lent, this fat, sleek, and corpulent man was suddenly made ill.

I had heard, however, that because of his sins he had been separated from the celebration of Masses. I admonished him concerning the matter, but he denied it.

On the second day, while sitting anxiously in bed, he demanded the Lord's body from me. The abbot, who was standing there present with us, rebuked him concerning this because no signs of death appeared in him. Nevertheless, he persisted.

When the priest was now standing there with the Sacrament, he drew one of the brothers to himself and whispered into his ear some grave sin unknown to me. Astonished and not knowing what penance to impose upon him, that brother at last imposed fifteen years of penance upon him.

As soon as the sick man received the Lord's body, he vomited forth his soul together with bile. That bile did not cease to flow until his burial.

In the aforesaid monastery it had been established, and had now been observed for three years, that the offices of blessed Mary should always be said at the canonical hours. A certain monk named Gazo, of a reprobate life but of biting and polished eloquence, began to murmur about this. By his complaints he obtained that the hours of the Blessed Virgin should no longer be said.

Immediately adversities began to rise against that monastery: depredations, robberies, conflagrations, and the slaughter of the servants and households of that place. They went to the Teutonic emperor, but in vain. They came to me, and I told them this had happened because the monastery had cast away from itself the emperor—or empress—of peace.

Immediately the messengers, prostrate upon the ground, said that henceforth they would never omit the praises of the Blessed Virgin. Observing this, they recovered peace within a short time.

An angel of the Lord was accustomed to come to a certain priest of the city of Faenza and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's body from the hands of the one offering it, while a prince looked on.

At length that same priest fell into lust. Behold, while he offered as usual, the angel of the Lord came and, as the prince watched, squeezed a sponge filled with water over the priest's head. He poured back again upon all his limbs all the filth and foulness which he had previously drawn from the priest's body.

The astonished prince secretly admonished the priest. At first denying it, the priest afterward confessed that on the preceding night he had fallen upon a certain chambermaid of the prince.

When a certain priest of Salerno one day saw flames erupting from Mount Vellinus, he immediately said: "Beyond doubt, some wicked rich man is about to die very soon and descend into hell. For there is such a custom in those regions that, when the death of some reprobate rich man is imminent, that mountain vomits forth pitch-black and sulphurous flames."

After he had said these things, during the following night, while that same prince of Salerno lay securely with a prostitute, he expired. As she afterward related, she endured him for a considerable time, not knowing what had happened. At last, with difficulty, she cast away from herself not a man but a corpse.

A certain priest of Naples, wishing to learn with greater certainty that which it was not lawful to learn, presumed to approach the place where the infernal abyss belched more fiercely. After the solemnities of the Mass, he proceeded in his vestments as though armed. When, as a rash investigator, he approached farther than people were accustomed to go, he was unable to return and afterward was never seen.

Another priest, promising conversion and delaying it, fell from his horse into a small stream and was drowned.

A Certain John, Section II

As the same Peter relates, a certain John took a widow's pig. Weeping as she sought its return, she was not heard. But when he ate the pig, he was struck in the throat. While he lived, physicians were unable to heal that wound.

He therefore then converted to the religious life which he had promised long before but had been unwilling to fulfill. Nevertheless, he lived a long time afterward in conversion, laboring under so great an affliction of the throat that he received food with great difficulty.

A certain man named Arduin had promised me with a sure devotion that, if he could not do so earlier, at least when ten years had elapsed he would pass into the religious life in the monastery of Saint Vincent, which is situated in the territory of Arpinum.

When the term had elapsed, he began to evade it. The abbot of that monastery favored his desires and dissuaded him from being converted, because the abbot was supported by Arduin's necessary assistance.

Meanwhile, seized by sickness, Arduin confessed and bestowed many things upon the poor and upon churches. As though all things had been well arranged and he was secure, he bound the relatives and kinsmen standing beside him by this adjuration: "I beseech you by Charity, which is God, that no one ask that I be restored to this mortal life, lest an unforeseen death—which may it not be—overtake me unprepared."

He therefore died, and some time after his death he appeared to that abbot. One night the abbot saw in a vision, and behold, in the spacious level ground of a field, an emperor—or some other exalted power—was coming with the numerous army of the entire kingdom.

While the astonished abbot directed his eyes this way and that, behold, Arduin was being led swiftly by certain guards. "Alas," said the abbot, "halt your step for a little. Will you not speak to me, Arduin? Come, brother, what is happening to you? Do you rejoice, or do you suffer? Are you in punishment, or in glory?"

Then Arduin, sad and tearful, said: "Why do you question me concerning glory, when I am afflicted by unceasing punishments?"

The abbot said to him: "What, then, has blessed Vincent done for you?"

"For a long time," he said, "the saint caused me to hope for an audience. But because, wearied for so long, I did not merit to obtain it, I have now lost this hope entirely, having been frustrated."

Thus plainly was he frustrated by promises by the one whom he had similarly frustrated by making promises.

Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who afterward became pope, related this to me, says Peter Damian. A servant of God in the region of Naples lived as a solitary upon a precipitous rock beside a public road.

While he chanted psalms at night and opened the window of his cell as an observer of the hours, he saw many Ethiopians undertaking a journey and driving along, in a long train, beasts laden with hay.

When I asked them who they were and why they were carrying this fodder for beasts, they said: "We are malignant spirits. We prepare these things not as fodder for feeding cattle, but rather as fuel for fires with which men are to be burned. For very soon we await the prince of Capua, who is already lying ill, and John, master of the soldiers of the city of Naples, who is still living in health."

Immediately the man of God hastened to John and related what he had seen and heard. At the same time Otto II was going into Calabria against the Saracens.

When he had heard these things, John said: "Now it is necessary for me to meet the emperor and to treat carefully concerning the condition of this land. After his departure, I promise that I shall forsake the world and become a monk."

To test whether what the solitary related was true, John sent a messenger to Capua, who found Pandulf already dead. John himself, the master of the soldiers, survived scarcely fifteen days and died before the emperor reached those regions.

Martin, who dwelt in the hermitage of Camaldoli, a man of many virtues and especially of the grace of tears, related the following.

There was a monk of the maritime territory in the monastery which is called Ad Pinum, entangled in many bonds of sins. When a great and lengthy penance had been imposed upon him, he sought assistance from a certain familiar friend in carrying the burden of the penance.

That friend devoutly received the burden and instructed him to remain secure concerning the discharge of so great a portion. The man thus obligated died not long afterward. Among the brothers, however, he had been of irreproachable life and honorable reputation.

Not many days afterward he appeared in a dream to the penitent monk. When asked how he fared, he said: “Badly and harshly, but because of you. For I was free of my own bonds, but I bound myself with yours; and because I did not discharge another’s surety, I am worn down by harsh scourges. But I ask you to keep watch for yourself and free me. Go, therefore, and beseech the community to discharge what I promised and rescue me.”

When this had been done, he appeared again to the aforesaid monk with a serene and joyful countenance, saying that through the prayers of the brothers he had been rescued from the punishments and joined to the saints.

In Parts of Gaul, Section III

In parts of Gaul a great contention arose between an abbot and a certain secular potentate concerning a particular possession, so that, after long disputes, the supporters of both parties brought matters to arms.

That secular potentate, surrounded by companies of armed men, entered the field to fight. The abbot, however, forbade the company of all those who had come to fight for him. He placed only his monks upon horses, ordered them to cover their heads with cowls, and thus armed came to the place of combat.

Immediately the adversaries were struck with so great a horror that they promptly leapt down from their horses, cast away their weapons, humbly prostrated themselves upon the ground, and begged pardon.

If it is objected that Pope Leo waged war, I answer that Peter was not made prince of the Apostles because he denied Christ, nor David a prophet because he committed adultery. Good or evil things ought to be judged not from the merits of those who possess them but from their own qualities.

Gregory suffered many robberies and acts of violence from the Lombards; Ambrose suffered them from the Arians. Each fought by patience alone.

Dusinus the bishop, on the Wednesday at the beginning of the fast, caused a sumptuous banquet and a bath to be prepared for himself and his soldiers. Paralysis suddenly seized his face, and he lived for a long time afterward with such a disease.

A certain bishop, being very thirsty, ordered wine to be brought to him. When the cupbearer had emptied everything that was in the vessel into a cup and brought it to the bishop, behold, an importunate poor man asked that it be given to him, saying that if he did not drink immediately he would promptly expire.

The bishop ordered it to be given to the poor man. When the bishop thirsted even more than before, he ordered the wine vessel to be inspected again, in case anything perhaps remained, and it was found full.

A certain father of a household had only one coin in his purse for buying something to eat with bread. Meanwhile a poor man came and sought mercy. He gave that coin to him and returned home.

Behold, a certain unknown man whom he had never seen before, hurried and anxious, placed in his hand twenty shillings of denarii bound in linen. He said that they had been sent to him by his lord and, as though someone awaited him, immediately withdrew.

It is reported that in the region of Puteoli in Apulia, among black and fetid waters, there is a rocky and craggy promontory. From those waters, in the customary manner, extremely foul little birds are seen suddenly to arise and to appear to human sight from the evening hour of Saturday until the dawn of Monday.

As though released from bonds, they range about freely, extend their wings, and comb their feathers. They are never seen to eat and cannot be caught by any fowler’s skill.

On Monday morning, an immense raven like a vulture pursues them and croaks after them. They immediately immerse themselves in the waters and do not appear again until the evening of the following Saturday.

Certain persons assert that these are the souls of persons assigned to Gehenna, but that on the Lord’s day, together with the adjoining nights, they obtain relief for the glory of the Lord’s resurrection.

Prudentius agrees with this assertion in a hymn, saying: “For guilty spirits also there are often holidays from punishments on that sacred night on which God returned victorious from the depths of Acheron.”

But Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, utterly denies that the matter is so. Nevertheless, in the presence of Desiderius, Archbishop Humbert related that he had heard this from the inhabitants of Apulia.

Take note, reader, that the first assertion cannot be true, because in hell there is no redemption—not only no liberation, but no interruption, diminution, or relief from or within those punishments—according to Thomas and others. But whether the reported phenomenon is so and what its cause may be, God knows.

Archbishop Humbert related that in the monastery of Saint Sylvester in the territory of Urbino, a certain monk died. From the beginning of the nocturnal hour of cockcrow until the second hour of the day, the lifeless corpse lay while the brothers chanted psalms round about it.

When “Lamb of God” was said for him at Mass, behold, the dead man suddenly arose. When the astonished brothers approached more closely to hear words from his mouth, he began to vomit curses and blasphemies against God, to spit upon a cross offered for him to kiss, and to lacerate the undefiled Mother of God with shameful reproaches.

He said: “Why do you chant psalms for me or offer sacrifices? I was in the very flame of Tartarus. There my master and lord Lucifer placed upon my head his crown, always glowing with inextinguishable heat, and clothed me with a cloak of the same metal with which he was clothed. The cloak was so long that it flowed as far as the ankles, and so fiercely ignited that it appeared to emit drops.”

When the brothers admonished him to do penance, he pronounced anathemas and with sacrilegious mouth despised all the mysteries of our Redeemer.

Then the monks prayed for him with their whole heart, beat themselves after removing their garments, pounded their breasts with their fists, and labored in every kind of prayer of which they were capable.

Behold, that desperate man returned to himself. He praised the omnipotence of the Savior, renounced the mockeries of Satan, adored the cross, and begged for penance.

He confessed that after renouncing the world he had fallen into fornication, which he had concealed until then. Praising and blessing God, he lived until the following day and departed in holy confession.

In parts of Babylonia, the Apostolic See possessed an estate from which it annually received so great a revenue of balsam that it sufficed for the illumination of a lamp suspended before the altar of blessed Peter and always burning.

Having received money, a pope sold this estate and lost the due measure of aromatic substance which he was accustomed to receive.

Some time afterward, while that same pope stood praying before the holy altar as though devout, behold, an aged and terrible old man, whose face even showed the marks of beard-shaving, raised his arm and struck him forcefully with a slap, saying: “You extinguished my lamp before me, and I extinguish your lamp before God.”

He immediately disappeared. The pope fell and died a little afterward.

When certain merchants of Venice had put into port, they saw a lion not far from the shore, enveloped in the coils of a dragon and being dragged violently by the dragon into a cave.

The merchants, who suddenly assembled at this spectacle, boldly attacked the dragon and freed the lion. Not ungrateful, while the merchants remained there for several days, it brought them one hide from an animal which it had captured.

A certain man was going with his fellow villager to cut wood when, behold, a serpent of the magnitude of a beam, lifting up two necks with two heads, made an attack upon them.

One of them, who held an axe, cut off one of its heads, and immediately his axe fell to the ground. The angry serpent at once seized him with bites by its other head, enveloped him in its coils, and dragged him into its cave.

As he was being dragged, he cried to his companion to defend him or to give him the axe which he held in his hands. Afraid, the companion refused and fled. For this reason he was compelled by the priests to undergo exile as one guilty of the man’s death.

When certain persons returning from Jerusalem, wearied, rested beside the road at night, a terrible lion came upon them as they slept. Passing over the others, it attacked only the priest and carried him as prey to other lions. They immediately devoured him while his companions heard him roaring.

These things are from the sayings of Peter Damian, who also wrote the lives of Saint Romuald and Odilo.

Title XVI

Chapter IX

About this time, namely in the year of the Lord 1100, Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, flourished. He was a disciple of Berengar of Tours, an excellent composer of verse and prose, who magnificently wrote an epitaph for that same Berengar in fifty-two verses, as Helinand writes.

That same Hildebert endured tribulations and bonds for Christ. For, as he himself relates in a certain general letter to all the sons of the Church—Vincent writing this in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six—when Count Heotrocus was held in bonds in the tower of Le Mans, the bishop himself, having been summoned, approached the count as he trembled from fear of death.

Having confessed to him, the count arranged the affairs of his household, made his testament, and distributed his goods to the Church. So that this might remain unviolated, he obtained by entreaties from the bishop that the bishop should approach his mother and bear witness concerning the testament, forbidding anyone to presume to diminish it or attempt to reduce it to nothing.

When the bishop therefore came, the count's mother received him in peace. She approved the testament, giving thanks that he had approached by the count's favor.

On the same day a council was begun against him, and on the following day hands were laid upon him. Thus he was shamefully captured and placed in public custody. They also divided his garments among themselves, his horses having already been distributed among those who freely ran to the crime.

At that time the venerable bishop of Chartres was in the fortress in which these things were done. In a contrite spirit, he first indeed addressed Hubert, namely, the leader of those criminals, but the beast admitted no reason. Thereafter he freely accused him of sacrilege and finally delivered him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, bound by the chain of anathema by which he deserved to be bound.

Religious abbots also and anchorites of consummate reputation came to him, but they found him like a hard stone. "And in all these things his fury is not turned away."

Hildebert was first bishop of Le Mans and afterward archbishop of Tours.

While the aforesaid bishop was now placed in bonds, he wrote several letters. He also composed certain elegant verses concerning his exile; a beautiful book *On the Weariness of This Life*, containing a complaint of himself, concerning himself, addressed to himself, partly in verse and partly in prose; a most beautiful prayer to the Holy Trinity; and certain verses concerning the Eucharist.

Some extracts from these works are those which follow. But first a certain event concerning another matter of the same time must be noted.

In the monastery of Fulda a deadly pestilence, raging violently, first seized the abbot and soon killed many of the monks. At first each of the survivors feared for himself, said prayers, and made more generous alms. But as time passed, as is the nature of all, they gradually began to omit these things when fear had been removed.

The cellarer did so especially. He openly cried out that the storehouse could not possibly suffice for so many expenses, that he had always hoped for some relief on account of so many removals by funerals, and that no further hope remained if the dead consumed that which they had been unable to consume while alive.

Accordingly, when one night he had long postponed sleep because of necessary duties, at last, having disentangled the knots of his delays, he proceeded into the dormitory. Behold, in the chapter house he saw the abbot and all who had died in that year sitting in the order in which they had departed.

Trembling and desiring to flee, he was forcibly dragged back, rebuked, and flogged in the monastic manner. He heard the abbot's words to this effect:

"It is foolish to gape after profits from another's death when the lot of each hangs beneath the same fate. And it is impious, when a monk has spent his entire life in the monastery's service, that he should lack at least one year's stipend after his death.

"Know, therefore, that you will die very soon, but whatever is done for you will be turned to the benefit of the others from whom you have taken it. Indeed, correct by example those whom you corrupted by word."

He departed, and demonstrated by wounds so recent and by his approaching death that he had seen nothing vain.

Sayings of the Aforesaid Hildebert in Verse, Section I

Recently I was wealthy and blessed with many friends,
and my own fortunes smiled upon me for a long time.

Often I said to myself, “What are such prosperous conditions of affairs?
What does so great and silent a field of riches intend [read: What does so great and so swiftly gathered a heap of riches portend]?”

Alas for me, there is no trust and no constancy in things;
things themselves teach what they are by their changeability.

A light breeze turns the affairs of men and men themselves from hour to hour,
and the greatest ruin comes from the highest step.

All mortal things hang beneath a two-edged chance,
and by their own mortality promise flight.

Whatever you possess today will perhaps leave you tomorrow,
or even now, while you speak, it ceases to be yours.

Fortune plays these alternations and permits neither proud kings
nor humble slaves to remain such for long.

That deceitful companion, faithful only in fickleness,
neither favors without punishment nor oppresses without end.

She who once caressed me with a serene countenance
changed her faces into cloudy fortunes.

That new and grievous tyrant was added to my losses,
under whom, as consul of the people of Le Mans, law perished.

His ancestors were ashamed to have begotten a patron of crimes,
one equal to Fortune in changeability and deceits.

He, the shame of the country, expelled me from my country—not without punishment—
as I defended the laws of justice.

Thereupon I climb a ship and commit my life to storms;
the sails draw, and the little vessel is aided by a double labor.

The world and the enemy heap almost all that can do harm
as their rage upon the fragile pinewood.

Behold, a ravening whirlwind, raising waves to the stars,
has driven the ship, now without a stern, to the shore.

Thus, wretched yet fortunate, with the ship shattered and my possessions taken away,
I have escaped winds, seas, rocks, and Jupiter.

Behold what belongs to man, what he may rightly call paternal,
and with what endowment that wretched man may applaud himself.

This is man’s: always to slip away with time
and always to die under some condition.

It is man’s to be born naked and to return naked,
unable to carry his riches to his mother.

It is man’s to decay in the earth and confess through putrefaction,

and by miserable steps to be reduced to ashes.

Man, you are heir to this property,
and no rewards more certain than these await their lord.

Things and riches are lent and serve for an hour,
and one rich in the morning will be poor in the evening.

No one can assign to things a right to remain,
for they have not learned to follow man's nod.

God assigned their right to them and established that they be held
by laws, and that they stand or go at His nod.

He once, simultaneously, and alone foresaw and acted all things;
He neither saw them otherwise nor acts otherwise.

As He saw the things to be made, He makes and governs them without labor;
He distinguishes them by forms, time, or place.

He measures out to things the course of growing,
determines them, and, Himself remaining, turns them by laws.

Himself remaining while He moves all things, He counsels sick mortals
and teaches where hope is to be placed.

He is the mighty order and concord of mute things [read: He, the mighty one, is the gentle course and harmony of things].
Whatever He wills concerning me, He swears [read: let Him dispose concerning me]; I shall be His.

In that same work of complaint, the soul speaks about itself to itself:

As the guest of a narrow and fragile house, and of one falling,
I am oppressed under a servile condition.

I bear a sorrowful yoke upon my neck and am held by heavy chains;
alas for grief, though I shall not die, I am dragged toward death.

Alas for me, how easily I was deceived, how ready to undergo
shameful things, how swift toward my own losses.

The Bridegroom had constructed the lodging with marvelous art;
received into it, I remained chaste for a short time.

For a cunning adulterer, though illustrious in origin,
deceived me when the maidservant opened the doors.

He mutters, speaks against me, and commands me to use present things;
by pleasures, riches, and the name of mistress he entices me.

Corrupted by these means, the maid perverts the honorable beginning
and imperiously drags the wretched woman wherever she wishes.

This is the law of my lodging: as an exile, I am bound to these things for an hour;
a bitter day will dissolve this covenant.

I must depart, but I know neither where nor when,
and perhaps this very day will be the last.

The house must therefore be laid aside so that, once free,
I may by right be without an eternal and sorrowful prison.

Alas, how shameful the impiety, how much it must be repressed,
how discordant to the soul and how impious!

Care of the world, stirring the heat of the heart,
teaches one to attack what is right and honorable.

Peace is a thing too abject and a source of shame;
virtue is a burden and crime an honor.

Virtue is cheap, eminence an endowment without fruit.
You are a saleable good, sluggish toward heavenly things,
burdensome and sluggish, yet ambitious for heavenly things.

Easy to lay aside, hard to take up again,
I vanish like a little column of smoke.

There is no one whom you please with a simple desire,
who grieves when you are injured if the witness is removed,

who loves or protects you freely,
or who promises patronage.

Praise is lofty, riches are praised, crime is exalted, poverty despised;
outrage prevails and honesty is made foul.

Alas, now laws threaten the innocent.
Does outrage thus gain scepters?

Alas, with what anxious labor each hastens to the physician
through love of the flesh!

There is no complaint concerning the morals of the soul;
after it has departed, a tardy remedy follows.

The leaders of Latium endured many things for liberty;
they exposed offspring to exile and their head to the sword.

Happy would they be if the sorrowful yoke were cast off thus
and nothing more miserable followed the wretched.

But grievous servitude oppressed necks that were wrongly free,
and each person bore his own crimes as a hundred masters.

If it truly pleased one to live under liberty,
one would be ashamed to serve not man but sin.

For the former passes and is at least relieved by death;
the latter is eternal and gains no end by an end.

On the Seven Acts of the Soul, Section II

The same author speaks thus:

The power of the soul claims seven acts more properly for itself:
it gives life, senses, embraces various arts,

corrects excesses, presses on by virtues into its very self,
directs its gaze toward Deity, and rejoices in Him.

The first act also inheres in seeds; brute animals
participate in another; two are properties of yours [read: are peculiar to us].

Three also belong to those above, though those above are preferred.
By the first act bodies vegetate and grow.

From it come vigor, union, completion of motion,
condition, form, and a certain fittingness.

By another it touches, sees, hears, tastes, smells,
hates, loves, seeks, and avoids things contrary and suitable to itself.

It is relaxed into sleep unless it wanders through all things in the mind [read: It sinks into sleep and wanders in dreams with the mind];
moreover it remembers [read: remembers the past], attends to future things, and does many things,

For they are carried out by sensation and also by reason [read: which are carried out by sensation and not by reason].
The third act traverses the liberal and other arts,

whatever either natural ability or discipline supplies;
it gathers them and inheres in minds with varied advancement.

The fourth recalls one from unlawful things and teaches one
to renounce the remaining guilt and then to know oneself.

It begins, I say, to strive toward and pass into a new beauty.
From the fifth we learn to be held by the law of nature,

to guard against forbidden things through love of virtue,
and sometimes to abstain from permitted things even without a witness.

The sixth, into the sight of the sun and of heavenly light,
snatches the immaculate soul, almost equal to those above.

The seventh binds it and confines it with steadfast love [read: betroths it with steadfast love],
and sets it beside God. What dowry it now beholds,

what bridal chambers, what adornment and what festivals make it serene!
Who can say, "Come, beautiful one"? The blessed and greater souls have spoken,

yet even they had neither such power nor such a tongue
by which it would be lawful to disclose these things here.

The reward laid up for merit exceeds sense.

Our first act, therefore, is vivification; the second, sensation; the third, art; the fourth, correction; the fifth, virtue; the sixth, contemplation; the seventh, rest.

If you deny that these acts are impeded by desires of the flesh, you have certainly either fallen entirely below man or advanced above man.

You alone are so freely blessed that you do not know that concupiscence which fights against the aforesaid acts both in a numerous army and triumphs with diverse affection. For it does not have equal license in all souls; nor are all the acts themselves assailed at the same time by the same affliction.

Some, like a crop in grass at its rising, are suffocated. Others, now advanced like grains in ears, become empty because an excessive heat burns them. There is also something which fattens them inwardly and something which empties them outwardly.

The first of these acts, the more pleasing it is to the flesh, is the safer from the flesh's disquiet. For the flesh loves the office of vivification and has made so great a peace with it that, if it knows anything contrary to it, it both abhors it with implacable hatred and averts it with attentive solicitude.

Hence it is that even those who cry with Paul, “I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ,” nevertheless fear death, because the flesh delights in this office of the soul. Christ had come to die, and nevertheless He said, “Father, if it can be done, let this cup pass from Me.” Disturbed by the anxiety of the Passion, He also reached the point of a sweat of blood.

In these words nothing else is to be understood than a certain joint vivification of the flesh, which so inhered in Him by the law of nature that it nevertheless did not impede the good of obedience.

Although these things are so, afflictions that frequently supervene rupture so great a love, as though it were a fraternal covenant. The flesh, stirred by them to hatred of vivification, solicits the spirit toward consent, because it is moved not only by desire for enticements but also by the ruinous anxiety of cares.

While that huntress of delights fears to be subject to these for a long time and to be wearied for a long time, she gradually begins to be weary of life. It becomes pleasing to renounce the grace of vivification, whose services grow bitter when mixed with disadvantages.

From this is born a shameful and ridiculous appetite for death, a wicked offspring which, in the manner of a viper, frequently suffocates and extinguishes its own parents.

For your times also had certain persons whom grief over lost money drove either into the waters or to a noose. Do you not remember that you attested the same thing in these little verses?

> *Although it pleases the flesh that it is vivified*
> *and it loves this service of the soul,*
>
> *it happens that, broken by prolonged evils,*
> *it loathes life and renounces its years.*
>
> *The final will prefers to die once rather than repeatedly,*
> *and to be seized by death rather than survive so many dying things.*

But although the flesh presses upon these things, the will is not murderous until the uxorious spirit inclines and favors it. The spirit, subdued by these goads and by the flesh’s flattering strife, commits the excess, because when the flesh cries out and the spirit hears it, guilt is created by consent. In creating this impiety, the flesh becomes the husband and the spirit the wife.

His Devout Prayer to the Holy Trinity, Section III

Alpha and Omega, great God, Eli, Eli, my God,
whose power is all ability, whose understanding is all knowledge,

whose being is the highest good,
whose work is whatever is good;

above all things, beneath all things,
outside all things, within all things;

beneath all things, yet not laid beneath them;
above all things, yet not elevated;

within all things, yet not enclosed;
outside all things, yet not excluded;

wholly above by presiding,
wholly beneath by sustaining,

wholly outside by embracing,
wholly within by filling.

Within, You are never confined;
outside, You are nowhere extended;

beneath, You are wearied by nothing;
above, You are supported by nothing.

Moving the world, You are not moved;
holding place, You are not held;

changing time, You are not changed;
stabilizing wandering things, You do not wander.

No external force or necessity alters Your being.
Our yesterday, tomorrow, and the day before are always for You now and the same.

Your Today, O God, is indivisible and everlasting;
in it You foresaw all and simultaneously perfected all.

According to which exemplar of the supreme mind,
You give form to the elements.

Son coequal with the Father,
consubstantial with the Father,

splendor and figure of the Father,
Maker made a creature,

You put on our flesh;
You assumed our flesh.

Everlasting, made temporal;
immortal, about to die;

true man, true God,
man and God without mixture.

The Godhead was not turned into flesh here,

nor diminished because of the flesh;

humanity was assumed into God here,
yet not consumed because of God.

Equal to the Father in deity,
lesser in the reality of the flesh;

God the Father is Father only of God,
the Virgin is a mother, but the mother of God also.

In so new a joining, each nature thus stands
so that it preserves whatever it was,

having nevertheless been made something that it was not.
This is our Mediator; this is our Lawgiver:

circumcised, baptized,
crucified, buried.

He slept and descended;
He arose and ascended.

Thus, raised to the heavens,
the One who was judged will judge.

The Paraclete is uncreated,
neither made nor born;

consort of the Father and of the Begotten,
He proceeds thus from both,

lest He be lesser in power
or distinguished in quality.

As great as They, so great is He;
as They are, so is He.

From when They are, from then is He;
as much as They are, so much is He.

The Father is another by begetting,
the Son another by being born,

the Breath another by proceeding from Them;
the Three are one by subsisting.

Each of the Three is fully God,
yet not three gods but one God.

In this God, the true God, I affirm Three and One,
giving unity to the essence and Trinity to the Persons.

Among the Persons none is prior,
none lesser, none greater.

Each one is always itself,
so constant and fixed

that it is neither varied in itself
nor changed into any other.

This is the orthodox faith;
this is neither error nor guilt.

As I speak, so I also believe,
nor do I yield toward a perverse part.

Therefore come, good God,
lest I despair, although guilty.

Guilty of death, I do not despair,
but in death I seek life.

I offer nothing by which I may appease You
except the faith which I defend.

You see the faith; by it I implore You:
lift the burden under which I labor.

Through this sacred plaster,
let the sick clay grow well.

His Prayer to Christ, Section IV

Already carried outside the gate,
already fetid, already buried,

a band binds me and a stone presses me;
but if You command, this man will rise again.

Command, and the stone will be rolled away;
command, and the band will be broken.

He who is to come out knows no delays
after You cry, “Come forth.”

In this war of the sea my ship is assailed by pirates;
from here assaults, from there waves;

from here and there, death and mourning.
But You, good Sailor, come;

press down the winds, calm the sea,
make these pirates withdraw;

lead the ship to port;
save the ship.

My fig tree is unfruitful,
and its branch stands dry;

it will be cut down and burned
if You pronounce what it deserves.

But let it be left this year;
let it be dunged and dug around.

If it has still not rendered an account,
I speak these things weeping: then it will burn.

The ancient enemy rages against me;
he submerges me in waters and burns me in flames.

Therefore, languishing and afflicted,
I am left to You alone.

So that this enemy may vanish,
so that the sick man may recover,

grant to the weak man the strength to fast;
grant him the strength to pray.

Through these two, Christ being witness,
I shall be freed from this pestilence.

Release the mind;
make the penitent devout.

Give fear, for when it is cast away
I conjecture nothing concerning salvation.

Give hope, faith, and charity;

give discerning piety.

Give contempt of earthly things
and desire for heavenly things.

God, I hope entirely in You;
God, from You I seek everything.

You are my praise, my good;
all my things are Your gift.

You are consolation in labor,
medicine in pain;

in mourning You are my lyre;
in anger You are a soothing remedy.

In straits You are a liberator;
for the fallen You are a restorer.

You furnish fear in advancement;
You preserve hope in failure.

If anyone injures me, You repay;
if anyone threatens, You defend.

What is doubtful, You resolve;
what must be covered, You enfold.

Do not permit me to enter the workshops of hell,
where there is sorrow, where there is fear,

where there is languor, where there is weeping,
where disgraces are uncovered,

where the guilty are confounded,
where the torturer is always striking,

where the worm is always eating,
where all this is everlasting,

because there is the death of Gehenna.
Let that Zion receive me,

Zion, David's tranquil city,
whose Builder is the Author of light,

whose harbor is the wood of the Cross,
whose keys are the tongue of Peter,

whose citizens are always joyful,
whose wall is living stone,

whose guardian is the festive King.
In this city there is solemn light,

eternal spring, everlasting peace;
in it fragrance fills the heavens,

in it festive melody is perpetual.
There is no corruption there,

no failure, no complaint;
none are diminished, none deformed;

all are conformed to Christ.
Heavenly city, blessed city,

established upon a rock,
city in a sufficiently safe harbor,

from afar I greet you.
I greet you, I sigh for you,

I desire you, I seek you.
How greatly do your people rejoice;

how festively do they feast together!
What affection binds them,

or what gem paints the walls?
Which is chalcedony, which jacinth?

Those who are within know.
Joined to the pious companies

in the streets of this city,
may I sing a pious alleluia

with Moses and Elijah. Amen.

Title XVI

Chapter X

In the year 1057 of the Lord's Incarnation, in the first year of the empire of Henry V, Lanfranc flourished as prior of the monastery of Bec.

To his excellent teaching there hastened from Burgundy Anselm, a man afterward adorned, as will be said below, with much virtue and learning. He succeeded Lanfranc in the office of prior under the excellent man Herluin, the first abbot, who founded that monastery of Bec from his own possessions.

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six, chapter thirty-six, from Lanfranc's deeds, Lanfranc was a native of Pavia, a city of Italy, and was perfectly imbued with every secular science.

Having crossed the Alps, he came into Normandy and taught for some time in the city of Avranches. Then, considering the pursuit of mortal favor to be vanity, he seized upon the counsel of salvation and resolved to leave all things for the sake of Him who made all things.

When, in the evening, he wished to go to Rouen, he fell among robbers in a forest beyond the river Rille. Taking everything that he possessed, they bound his hands behind his back, drew the hood of his cloak before his eyes, led him away from the road, and left him among the dense thickets of the woodland.

Seized by such straits and not knowing what to do, he lamented his misfortune. At last, returning to himself amid the silence of the night and turning to God, he said: "Lord God, I have spent so much time in learning and have worn away both body and soul in the studies of letters, and still I have not learned how I ought to praise and pray to You. Free me from this tribulation, and I shall take care so to correct and order my life that I may know and be able to serve You."

When dawn arose, he heard travelers undertaking their journey and began to cry out for their assistance. Approaching and unbinding him, they led him back to the road.

He asked them to show him the humbler and poorer monastery which they knew in the region. For he was unwilling to approach a place where there were learned men who would hold him in honor and reverence.

Accordingly, on their counsel, he approached the monastery of Bec. There the venerable Abbot Herluin, founder of that monastery and recently promoted from being an aged soldier into the clergy, received him with joy.

Having become a monk, Lanfranc expended the greatest care in learning the offices, so that he might know how to render praises to God just as he possessed knowledge.

Thus for three years he lived as a solitary, rejoicing that he was unknown, nearly unknown to everyone, content with every kind of lowliness and extremity in the monastery.

As is reported, he was unwilling to read a lesson in church unless the cantor had first heard it.

One day, while reading at table, he pronounced a certain word as it ought to be pronounced. This did not please the presiding officer, who ordered him to pronounce it otherwise—as if Lanfranc had pronounced the word "to teach" with the middle syllable lengthened, as it is, and the presiding officer ordered him to shorten it.

That prior was not a learned man. But Lanfranc, a wise man who knew that Christ ought to be obeyed more than Donatus, abandoned what he had pronounced correctly and said it in the manner which seemed to be incorrect.

When report and fame had grown widely throughout distant regions, clerics hastened to him. With the permission of his abbot, he maintained a school. Powerful and noble laypeople also bestowed many things upon that church out of love for him.

After this, having been made archbishop of Canterbury from being abbot of Caen, he did many good things in the churches of England.

One day, when he was celebrating Mass and had come to the hour at which he received the body of the Lord in his hands, the deacon who was ministering to him, persuaded by a demon, seized him by the shoulders with his hands. The venerable prelate, disturbed in no respect, bent back his right hand, grasped him by the hair, and drew him before his feet.

When the Mass had been fully celebrated, he ordered that man to be taken into the house of the sick, where for some days he remained in madness. He said certain abominable things about some of the brothers of that place.

Then they named a certain man, saying that he would have nothing to say about him. But the demoniac began to affirm that the man would never dare to come into his presence.

When the brother heard this, he feared lest the demoniac should reproach him with something wrongly done by him. Then the wise brothers gave him counsel that, by speaking with the archbishop, he should make a pure confession, and thus, confidently, with his absolution and blessing, should go with them to the demoniac.

When he had done this, those who were present said to the demoniac: “Behold, the man whom you threatened is here. Say whether you know anything about him.”

But the demoniac, looking upon him with a savage eye and laughing loudly, said: “Who has so boiled you again and made you white?” He said nothing more. From this it was given to be understood that the power of confession and absolution takes from the devil either the memory of sin or, at least, the power of accusing.

After some days, however, by God’s mercy, he was freed from that plague by blessed Lanfranc, with the prayers of the brothers assisting.

When it was reported to Lanfranc himself that Abbot Anselm, coming to his bed one night after Matins, had found a gold ring upon it, he answered the one reporting it to him: “Know most certainly that he will be archbishop after me.” And so it was done.

Berengar of Tours, who asserted that the Eucharist which we receive at the altar is not truly the body and blood of Christ but only in a sign, sent letters to this Lanfranc. When the bearer of these letters did not find him in Normandy, he delivered them to certain clerics. From this a suspicion arose concerning Lanfranc himself, as though he supported and favored the things that were said by Berengar.

Therefore, when a reader read at Rome the letters brought by a certain bishop of Reims, Pope Leo presiding over the synod, and it was understood that Berengar exalted John Scotus, condemned Paschasius, and held an opinion contrary to the common faith concerning the Eucharist, a sentence of condemnation was promulgated against him, depriving him of the communion of the Church.

At the pope’s command Lanfranc expounded his faith before everyone and wiped away from himself the stain of the evil report. Thereafter he wrote against that same Berengar, in the manner of a dialogue, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, showing there that there is not only a figure or sign, but also the reality of the body and blood of Christ.

Section II

When Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, came to Rome, the man who was pope at that time, namely Alexander, rose respectfully for him, professing that he had rendered that distinguished mark of reverence not to the honor of the archbishop but to the love of the teacher.

At a Mass of this Lanfranc, a certain young monk had read the Gospel. When, after the Lord’s Prayer, he offered the paten to the pontiff, he saw before him certain most hideous faces of malignant spirits. Terrified at their appearance, he tightly embraced with both arms the pontiff as he held the sacred elements in his hands, crying out horribly and saying: “Christ conquers; Christ commands; Christ reigns.”

All who were present were terrified, and after Mass the man was carried by soldiers into the pontiff’s chamber. They assembled in chapter; the man, full of a demon, was brought in, strongly bound. Lanfranc delivered an address concerning him and ordered prayer to be made for him in common.

As soon as he appeared to have been made sound, he was brought to the tomb of Saint Dunstan to give thanks. While Compline was being sung, the man, snatched from his stall, ran to Prior Henry. Henry immediately seized him and led him into the dormitory, and he passed a sleepless night before him.

At midnight he disturbed everyone by crying out. He was led to the tomb of Saint Dunstan, resisting greatly. When he had come there, he began to rage, and until day he poured forth innumerable blasphemies against Dunstan and against Christ.

In the morning he was carried back to the house of the sick, where he was tormented for many days. Whoever approached him, if they had any crime which they had not yet confessed, he disclosed it publicly and said that they were to be joined to him in everlasting punishments.

Hence some, being ashamed, confessed purely. When they presented themselves to him again, he asked who they were, whence they came, and how they had been washed so suddenly and had lost his fellowship.

After these things, when he had been placed amid holy relics, leaping with the bed upon which he lay, he wished to flee from the saints. When he was held there, the demon ran through his belly like a little cat, now toward the mouth, now toward the lower parts, seeking an exit.

While the brothers were taking refreshment, the brother who had been left to guard him, being greatly devoted to Saint Dunstan, trusted in God's help. He took the cross which Saint Dunstan, according to the custom of archbishops, was accustomed to have carried before him, and placed it upon the demoniac, crying with tears: "Saint Dunstan, come to our aid."

Immediately the demon went out. Then the sick man, raising his eyes to heaven and suffused with tears, said: "I give thanks to you, holy father Dunstan, and to you, dearest brother, because by your merits, holy lord, and by your charitable prayer, dearest brother, I have been freed from the enemy."

After this the bishop of Bayeux, who was earl of Kent, raised certain calumnies against Lanfranc concerning the lands and customs of the church of Canterbury. When the day of the plea was at hand, Lanfranc earnestly invoked Saint Dunstan.

That night Saint Dunstan stood before him in a vision, saying: "Lanfranc, do not be troubled; I shall be with you. And if you do not conquer them, know that it is not I who speak with you."

And thus it was done, so that on the following day all the things that were alleged against Lanfranc were reduced to nothing, to the astonishment of all.

Title XVI

Chapter XI

Concerning Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, His Deeds, and the Books Published by Him; He Flourished in the Year of the Lord 1061

As Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six, chapter sixty-six, Anselm, born on the border of Lombardy and Burgundy, was entrusted to letters, learned, and in a short time made great progress. He had not yet reached the fifteenth year of his age when he was already considering in his mind how he might best order his life according to God.

After some time had elapsed, he left his homeland. When, in crossing a certain mountain, he failed from bodily weariness, he tried to restore his strength by eating snow, for at that time nothing else was at hand for him to eat.

His servant, observing this, grieved and began carefully to search whether perhaps anything to eat was contained in their bag. Immediately, contrary to expectation, he found in it a most white loaf of bread. Refreshed and restored by it, Anselm was returned unharmed to his journey.

After three years had therefore been spent, partly in Burgundy and partly in France, he proceeded to Normandy. Since the fame of Master Lanfranc, concerning whom above, had become widely celebrated everywhere, and since he taught the most noble of the clerics who came to him from all parts of the world, Anselm came to Bec and submitted himself to his teaching.

Because on account of his studies he wearied his body with vigils, fasting, and cold, it came into his mind that, if he became a monk, it would not be necessary for him to suffer harsher things than he was suffering, while he would then not lose the merit of his labor, concerning which he did not at that time know whether it would remain for him.

Having conceived this in his mind, he considered thus within himself: “Behold, I shall become a monk—but where? If at Cluny or at Bec, I have lost all the time which I have spent in learning letters. For both the strictness of the order at Cluny and the surpassing wisdom of Lanfranc at Bec will prove me either to be of use to no one or to be worth nothing. Therefore I shall accomplish what I propose in such a place that I may both display my knowledge and benefit many.”

For, as he himself was accustomed to relate, contempt of the world did not yet flourish in him. But afterward, returning to himself, he said: “What is it to be a monk? Is it to wish to be set before others, to be honored before others, and to be magnified? No. Therefore, immediately laying aside obstinacy, become a monk where, as is fitting for God, you may be set after all and may be considered more abject than all. And indeed at Bec I shall be of no weight, since there is one there who, conspicuous in the light of preeminent wisdom, is sufficient for all and is honorable and acceptable to all.”

Having therefore become a monk there, he served religion in all things in such a way that whoever in the whole congregation wished to live religiously would find in his life enough to imitate. When Lanfranc was assumed to the governance of the monastery of Caen, Anselm himself discharged the office of prior.

It happened on a certain night before the night vigils that, lying in bed, he tried to examine within himself how the prophets had long ago known past and future things together as though present, and had put them forth without doubt in speech or writing.

While he was wholly occupied in these things and desired to know this, directing the rays of his eyes, he saw through the intervening walls of the oratory and dormitory the monks whose office this was going around the altars and the other places of the church in preparation for Matins, lighting the lamps, and one of them, after taking the rope, striking the bell. At its sound he marveled to see the assembly of the brothers rising from bed.

He therefore conceived within himself that it is a very easy thing for God to show future things to the prophets in spirit, since He had granted him the ability to see with bodily eyes the things being done through so many obstructions.

A certain young man in the community had resolved within himself that on no occasion whatsoever would he place his hand upon his genital members. Envying his resolution, the devil caused him to feel such pain and distress in those same members that the young man could not bear himself. For the flesh itself was felt to be of such weight as if a most heavy mass of lead hung in that part of the body.

When he could no longer conceal his distress and was asked by Anselm what afflicted him, he could no longer hide the matter itself. Admonished, therefore, to ascertain the extent of the sickness by applying his hand, he modestly refused, fearing lest he violate his resolution.

Then Anselm, taking with him an elderly and religious brother, led the languishing young man into a more private place, so that he might learn the extent of that infirmity and bring aid according to his ability. What more? The flesh was found perfectly

sound. Immediately all that diabolical vexation fell away and did not weary the young man further, whom the mere sight of Anselm rendered immune from so great a calamity.

Concerning Certain Notable Deeds Performed by Anselm, Section I

As Vincent relates in the place cited above, a certain one of the older brothers, who through an ancient hatred was exceedingly hostile to Anselm and could in no way look upon him with a straightforward eye, was pressed by infirmity and brought to his last extremity.

While the brothers at midday rested in their beds according to custom, he, lying in the house of the sick, began to utter pitiable cries and, as though desiring to escape the sight of certain horrible things, to turn his pale and trembling face now this way, now that, while hiding it.

The terrified brothers who were present asked what afflicted him. But he said: “You see two enormous wolves holding me confined between their forelegs and now, with their teeth driven in, suffocating my throat—and you ask what afflicts me!”

When this was heard, one of them hurried to Anselm, who was occupied in the cloister with correcting books. Having led him outside the cloister, he disclosed what was happening to the sick brother.

Then Anselm withdrew into a more private place. After a little while he went out of [read: entered] the house in which the sick man lay, raised his hand, and made the sign of the cross, saying: “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”

At this act the sick man immediately became quiet and, with his countenance gladdened, began with the deepest affection of his heart to give thanks to God. He said that, when Anselm entered the doorway and, extending his hand, made the sign of the cross, he saw a flame of fire in the likeness of a lance proceed from his mouth. Hurled against the wolves, it terrified them and drove them far away in swift flight.

Then Anselm, speaking more privately with the brother concerning the salvation of his soul, inclined his heart to penance and confession. Finally, having absolved him by paternal authority, he said that he would depart from the present life at the hour when the brothers rose for None. And so it was done.

Birulbus, sacristan of the same monastery, one night, while going through the cloister at the hour when he was to awaken the brothers for the vigils, observed Anselm, whom at that hour he thought to be occupied with sleep rather than prayer. He saw him standing in prayer in the chapter house, surrounded by a vast globe of shining flame.

One day, while Anselm was on a journey, a certain monk of Bec met him. Anselm asked what counsel concerning lodging he brought him. He answered: “We have lodging not far away, but there is nothing to be set before us and the brothers except bread and cheese.”

Smiling, Anselm said: “Do not be afraid, good man, but go swiftly, and when a net has been cast into the neighboring river, you will immediately find a fish sufficient for us all.”

Having received the command, the monk flew to tell the fisherman, who declared that what he said would be more a thing to laugh at than to attempt. At last, compelled by the brother, he cast the net contrary to expectation and immediately caught a trout of unusual size together with another small fish.

At another time, a certain man detained Anselm for a meal while he was passing through his land. When the man complained about the scarcity of fish, having only certain worthless things to set before Anselm and his monks, Anselm said to him in jest: “Behold, a sturgeon is being brought to you, and your spirit complains about a lack of delicacies.” And so it was done.

When a certain abbot who was considered exceedingly religious was speaking with Anselm concerning matters belonging to monastic religion, and among other things discussed the boys being reared in the cloister, he added: “What, I ask, will become of these? We do not cease to beat them day and night, and they continually become worse, for they are dull and beastlike.”

Marveling, Anselm said to him: “You have indeed expended your nourishment well, since from human beings you have reared beasts. Tell me, I ask you, Abbot: if you planted in your garden a sapling of some tree and immediately enclosed it on every side so that it could extend its branches in no direction, what sort of tree would come from it?”

“Certainly a useless one, with bent and entangled branches.”

“Surely this is what you do with your boys. They have been planted through oblation in the garden of the Church so that they may grow and bear fruit for God. But you constrain them so greatly on every side with terrors, threats, and blows that they are permitted to use no liberty at all.

“Hence it happens that, because they perceive in you no love, piety, or sweetness toward themselves, neither afterward do they have faith that any good is in you. Instead, they believe that all your actions toward them proceed from hatred and envy.

“And it happens in a pitiable manner that, as they afterward grow in body, so hatred and suspicion of every evil grow within them, and they are always inclined and bent toward vices. Since they have been reared by no one in true charity, they can look upon no one except with downcast brows or a sidelong eye.”

A Narrative of the Same Anselm, Section II

The same Anselm relates in the book *On Similitudes* that, when he had already been made archbishop of Canterbury and was making a journey with a fitting company, they met a certain boy who had one sparrow tied with a thread and was playing with it in this manner.

For sometimes the boy let out the thread, and the sparrow began to fly as though free from restraint; but the boy very quickly pulled back the thread, and the sparrow fell to the ground. The boy rejoiced in this and laughed at the fallen sparrow.

After a little delay the boy again let out the thread. The sparrow began to fly so as to escape, but the boy, ready at hand, pulled it back by the thread and cast it to the ground, rejoicing over this. Anselm therefore fixed his attention upon this sight.

After many repetitions of the boy’s action, Anselm commanded one of his men to break the thread. When this was done, the sparrow flew away, and the boy could no longer catch it. From this the boy received great grief and wept over the loss of the sparrow, but Anselm began to laugh.

When his companions marveled that so great a man should laugh at this deed, he turned it to a moral meaning: “This boy signifies the devil—a boy in foolishness, a hundred years old in experience and long malice. The sparrow, however, is the sinner, for the Psalmist says, ‘Our soul is like a sparrow.’

“The long thread is the habit of sin by which the devil keeps the sinner bound beneath his dominion. But sometimes it happens that the sinner begins some good deed, as though, having been freed, he wished to depart from the devil’s hands.

“The devil, however, by the evil thread of an old habit, casts him to the ground through the repetition of sins. This happens not once but many times. Hence the boy, the devil, rejoices over the sinner’s relapse, while the sinner, after the sin, is saddened as his conscience bites him.

“At length, sometimes by the work of the prayer or admonition of some holy man, the habit of evil in the sinner is broken, so that he does not relapse but flies fully to heaven through works of virtue.

“Seeing this, the boy, the devil, grieves and is saddened at the loss of the sinner, because he has been plucked from his hands; but holy men rejoice and exult.”

In that book *On Similitudes*, Anselm presents many beautiful examples or similitudes concerning spiritual things in diverse subjects. In this matter of similitudes he appears in his books to surpass other doctors, so beautiful are the similitudes he presents.

Anselm wrote the *Prologion* [i.e., *Proslogion*], that is, an address concerning God. A certain foolish man, desiring to refute this work, composed a writing against it. When it had been sent to him by a certain friend, Anselm considered it and published his response to it in one book.

He also wrote the *Monologion*, that is, a soliloquy concerning the Holy Trinity, in one book; *On Truth*, in one book; *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, in one book; *On the Harmony of Free Choice and Divine Foreknowledge, and also of Predestination and Grace*, in one book; *On the Fall of the Devil*, in one book; *On Original Sin*, in one book; *On the Incarnation of the Word*, in one book; *On the Sacrament of the Altar*, in one book; *On Unleavened Bread*, in one book; *Why God Became Man*, in one book; *Meditations or Prayers*, in one book; *On the Grammarian*, in one book; *Parables or Proverbs of Anselm*, in one book; *On the Song of Songs*, in one book; and his *Letters to Diverse Persons*, in one book. Certain extracts from these books are placed here.

Anselm, Section III

In the *Prologion* [i.e., *Proslogion*], Anselm exhorts himself to the secrecy of contemplation, speaking thus:

> *Come now, little man, hide yourself for a little while from your tumultuous thoughts. Cast aside now your burdensome cares. Exclude everything except God and those things which assist you in seeking Him; and, having closed the door, seek Him.*
>
> *Come therefore, You, Lord my God: teach my heart where and how it may seek You, where and how it may find You. Lord, if You are not here, where shall I seek You when You are absent? But if You are everywhere, why do I not see You when You are present?*

Yet certainly You inhabit inaccessible light. And where is inaccessible light, or how shall I approach inaccessible light? What will Your servant do, anxious in his love of You and cast far away from Your face? He longs to find You and does not know Your place. He desires to seek You and does not know Your face.

You made me and remade me, and You have conferred all my good things upon me, and I do not yet know You. Finally, I was made to see You, and I have not yet done that for which I was made.

O miserable lot of man, when he lost that for which he was made! O that hard and terrible fall! Alas, what he lost and what he found; what departed and what remained! He lost the blessedness for which he was made and found the misery for which he was not made. That without which nothing is happy departed, and there remained what in itself is nothing but miserable.

Then man ate the bread of angels, for which he now hungers. Now he eats the bread of sorrows, which he did not then know. Alas, the common mourning of humankind, the universal lamentation of the children of Adam! He belched with fullness; we sigh with hunger. He abounded; we beg. He happily possessed and miserably abandoned; we unhappily lack and miserably desire, and alas, we remain empty.

Why did he not preserve for us, when he could easily have done so, that whose absence weighs so heavily upon us? Grave loss, grave sorrow, the whole grave thing! But alas for me, miserable, one among the other miserable children of Eve, alienated from God! What have I begun? What have I accomplished? I was striving toward God and stumbled upon myself. I was seeking rest in my secret place and found tribulation and labor in my inmost parts. I wished to laugh from the joy of my mind and am compelled to roar from the groaning of my heart. Joy was hoped for, and behold, from where do such dense sighs come?

And You, O Lord, how long? How long, Lord, will You forget us? How long will You turn Your face away from us? Restore Yourself to us, that it may be well with us, for without You it is so evil with us. Have mercy upon our labors and endeavors from You [read: endeavors toward You], for without You we have no strength.

You invite us; help us. I beseech You, Lord: let me not despair by sighing, but breathe again by hoping. My heart is embittered by its desolation; sweeten it by Your consolation. Hungry, I began to seek You; let me not cease while fasting from You. Famished, I approached; let me not depart unfed. Poor, I came to the rich One; miserable, to the merciful One; let me not return empty and despised.

And if I sigh before I eat, after my sighs You will give me something to eat. Teach me to seek You and show Yourself to the one seeking You, because I can neither seek You unless You teach me nor find You unless You show Yourself.

Let me seek You by desiring You; let me love You by finding You.

I confess to You, Lord, and give thanks, because You created in me this Your image, so that, mindful of You, I may think of You and love You. But it has been so effaced by the abrasion of vices and so darkened by the smoke of sins that it cannot do that for which it was made unless You renew and reform it.

Concerning the Inquiry into Divine Power, Mercy, and Justice, Section IV

Anselm:

Lord, I do not attempt to penetrate Your sublimity, because I in no way compare my understanding with it; but I desire in some measure to understand Your truth, which my heart believes and loves. For I do not seek to understand so that I may believe, but I believe so that I may understand. For I also believe this: that unless I believe, I shall not understand.

Therefore, Lord, You who give understanding to faith, grant me, insofar as You know it to be expedient, to understand that You are as we believe and that You are what we believe. Indeed, we believe You to be something than which nothing greater can be thought.

But how are You omnipotent if You cannot do all things? Or if You cannot be corrupted, cannot lie, cannot make the true false—so that what has been done has not been done—and cannot do many similar things, how can You do all things?

Or is the ability to do these things not power but impotence? For he who can do what is not expedient for him and what he ought not to do can do something such that, the more he can do it, the more adversity and perversity can prevail against him and the less he can prevail against them. Therefore, he who can in this manner can not by power but by impotence.

Therefore, Lord God, You are the more truly omnipotent because You can do nothing through impotence and can do nothing

against Yourself.

But how are You at once merciful and impassible? For if You are impassible, You do not suffer with another; if You do not suffer with another, Your heart is not miserable from compassion for the miserable—which is to be merciful.

Lord, You are merciful according to us because You save the miserable and spare sinners, but not according to Yourself because You do not suffer with another. For Your heart is not made miserable by compassion for the miserable. You are merciful not because You feel the affection, but because we experience the effect.

But how do You spare the evil if You are wholly and supremely just? When You punish the evil, it is just because it agrees with their merits. And when You spare the evil, it is just because it is fitting to Your goodness. Therefore, by sparing the evil You are just. Thus, without contradiction, You both justly punish and justly spare.

Whatever You are, however, You are not through another but through Yourself. You are the very life by which You live, the wisdom by which You are wise, and the very goodness by which You are good to the good and the evil; and so concerning similar things.

Have you found, my soul, what you were seeking? You were seeking God, and you have found Him to be something supreme over all, than which nothing better can be thought.

Concerning the Inquiry into Divine Goodness, Truth, and Eternity, Section V

Anselm:

Lord my God, my maker and remaker, tell my desiring soul what else You are than what it has seen, so that it may see purely what it desires. It strains itself so that it may see more, and it sees nothing beyond that which it has seen except darkness. Indeed, it does not see darkness, because there is none in You; rather, it sees that it cannot see more because of its own darkness.

Why is this, Lord? Why is this? Is its eye darkened by its own infirmity, or is it beaten back by Your splendor? Certainly it is both darkened in itself and beaten back by You. It is surely both obscured by its own littleness and overwhelmed by Your immensity. Truly it is both contracted by its own narrowness and conquered by Your breadth.

For how great is that light from which every truth that shines upon the rational mind gleams! How broad is that truth in which is everything that is true, and outside which is nothing except nothingness and falsehood! How immense is that which, with one gaze, sees all things that have been made, and by whom, and through whom, and how they were made from nothing!

What purity, what simplicity, what certainty and splendor are there! Certainly more than can be understood by a creature.

Therefore, Lord, You are not only that than which nothing greater can be thought, but You are also something greater than can be thought. Truly, Lord, this is the inaccessible light in which You dwell. Therefore I do not see it, because it is too great for me; and yet whatever I see, I see through it. It shines too greatly.

The eye of my soul does not receive that light, nor does it endure looking into it for long. It is beaten back by its splendor, conquered by its breadth, overwhelmed by its immensity, and confounded by its capacity.

O highest and inaccessible light! O whole and blessed truth! How far You are from me, who am so near to You! How remote You are from my sight, though I am thus present to Your sight! You are wholly present everywhere, and I do not see You. In You I move, and in You I am, and I cannot approach You. You are within me and around me, and I do not perceive You.

Still, Lord, You lie hidden from my soul in Your light and blessedness, and therefore it still moves about in its own darkness and misery. It already hoped for satisfaction and is again overwhelmed by need. I was already longing to eat, and behold, it happens that I hunger more.

I was striving to rise to the light of God, and I fell back into my darkness. I have sought Your countenance; Your countenance, Lord, I shall seek. Do not turn Your face away from me. Reveal me, Lord, to You [read: Raise me from myself to You]. Heal, sharpen, and illuminate the eye of my mind, that it may behold You. Let my soul gather its strength and with its whole understanding strive again toward You, Lord.

You therefore fill and embrace all things. You are before and beyond all things. Indeed, You are before all things because You are before they were made. But You are not beyond all things. [read: But how are You beyond all things?] Is it because they can be thought to have an end, whereas You cannot in any way?

For in some manner they have an end, but You in no manner. You alone, Lord, are what You are, and You are He who is. You are sufficient to Yourself in every respect, needing nothing, while all things need You in order that they may be and that they may be well.

You are this good, God the Father. This is Your Word, that is, Your Son. For in the Word by which You speak Yourself there cannot be anything other than what You are, or anything greater or less than You, because Your Word is true in the same manner as You are truthful. Therefore He is the very truth, as You are, not a truth other than You.

And You are so simple that nothing other than what You are can be born from You. This very thing is the one love common to You and Your Son, that is, the Holy Spirit proceeding from both. For that same love is not unequal to You or to Your Son, because You love Yourself and Him, and He loves You and Himself, as greatly as You and He are.

Nor is that which is not unequal to You and Him other than You and Him. Nor can anything proceed from supreme simplicity other than that from which it proceeds. Moreover, this is that one necessary thing in which is every good—indeed, which is every good, and the one, whole, and supreme good.

Concerning the Inquiry into the Supreme Good in Which Are All Good Things, and Concerning Full Joy, Section VI

Anselm:

Now awaken, my soul, and raise up your whole understanding, and consider as much as you can what sort of thing and how great that good is. For if individual good things are delightful, consider attentively how delightful is that good which contains the delightfulness of all good things—not such as we have experienced in created things, but differing as greatly as the Creator differs from the creature.

O you who will enjoy this good, what will there be for him, and what will there not be for him? Certainly, whatever he wishes will be, and whatever he does not wish will not be.

Why, then, do you wander through many things, little man, seeking the goods of your soul and the goods of your body? Love the one good in which are all good things, and it is sufficient for you.

What do you love, my flesh? What do you desire, my soul? There is whatever you love; there is whatever you desire.

If beauty delights you, "the just shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father." If speed, or strength, or liberty of body which nothing can resist, "they shall be like the angels of God." If a long and wholesome life, there is sound eternity and eternal soundness. If satiety, "they shall be satisfied when the glory of the Lord appears." If drunkenness, "they shall be made drunk from the abundance of the house of God." If melody, there the choirs of angels sing together. If wisdom, the very wisdom of God will show itself to them.

If friendship, they will love God more than themselves and one another as themselves; and God will love them more than they love themselves, because they love Him, themselves, and one another through Him, while He loves Himself and them through Himself.

If power, they will be omnipotent concerning their own will, as God is concerning His. For just as God will be able to do through Himself what He wills, so they will be able to do through Him what they will.

If honor and riches, God will set His good and faithful servants over many things; indeed, they will be heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ. If true security, they will be certain that never and in no way will those things—or rather, that good—be lacking to them.

But what sort of joy, and how great, is there where there is such and so great a good? Human heart, needy heart, heart experienced in afflictions—indeed, overwhelmed by afflictions—how greatly would you rejoice if you abounded in all these things? Ask your inmost self whether it can contain its joy from so great a blessedness.

But certainly, if someone else whom you loved entirely as yourself possessed the same blessedness, your joy would be doubled, because you would rejoice no less for him than for yourself. If, however, two or three or very many more possessed the very same thing, you would rejoice as much for each of them as for yourself, if you loved each of them as yourself.

Therefore, in that most perfect charity of innumerable human beings, blessed angels, and human beings [read: innumerable blessed angels and human beings], where no one will love another less than himself, each will rejoice no differently for every other

than for himself. If, therefore, the human heart will scarcely contain its joy from so great a good of its own, how will it be capable of so many and so great joys?

And since, in proportion as anyone loves another, he rejoices in that one's good, just as in that perfect happiness each will love God beyond comparison more than himself and all others with himself, so he will also rejoice beyond estimation more in the happiness of God than in his own and that of all others with himself.

My God and my Lord, my hope and the joy of my heart, tell my soul whether this is the joy of which You tell us through Your Son: "Ask, and you shall receive, that your joy may be full."

For I have found a certain full joy, and more than full. For when the heart, the mind, the soul, and the whole human being are full of that joy, that joy will still remain beyond measure. Therefore not all that joy will enter into those who rejoice, but those who rejoice will enter wholly into joy.

But eye has not seen that joy, nor has ear heard it, nor has it ascended into the heart of man. Therefore, Lord, I have not yet said or thought how greatly those blessed ones of Yours will rejoice. Surely they will rejoice as greatly as they will love; they will love as greatly as they will know.

I pray, O God, that I may know You and love You, so that I may rejoice in You. Let knowledge of You advance in me here and there be made full. Let Your love increase and there be made full, so that here my joy may be great in hope and there may be full in You.

Meanwhile let my mind meditate upon it. Let my tongue speak of it. Let my heart love it. Let my mouth discourse upon it. Let my soul hunger for it; let my flesh thirst for it. Let my whole substance desire it until I enter into the joy of the Lord.

Concerning Lamentation over Present and Future Misery, Section VII

Anselm says in the book of *Meditations*:

My life terrifies me. For, when diligently examined, almost my whole life appears to me to be either sin or sterility. And if any fruit is seen in it, it is either feigned, imperfect, or corrupted in some manner, so that it can either fail to please or displease God.

Certainly my whole life is either in sin and damnable, or unfruitful and contemptible. But why do I separate the unfruitful from the damnable? Surely, if it is unfruitful, it is damnable. For every tree which does not bear good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire.

My soul is weary of my life. I am ashamed to live; I am afraid to die. What therefore remains, O sinner, except that throughout your whole life you lament your whole life, so that the whole of it may lament its whole self?

But in this also it is wondrously miserable, because it does not grieve as greatly as it knows itself, but thus, secure, it lies torpid as though it did not know what it suffers. Why do you sleep, lukewarm soul, worthy to be vomited out? Tree worthy of the axe and worthy of fire, worthy to be cut down and burned!

What are your fruits? Surely they are piercing thorns and bitter sins. Would that in repenting they so pierced you that they might be broken, and became so bitter that they might vanish!

O dry and useless wood, worthy of eternal fires, what answer will you give on that day when an account will be exacted from you, even to the blink of an eye, of all the time granted you for living and of how it was spent by you?

For then whatever is found in you will be condemned: work or idle speech and silence [read: work or idleness, speech and silence], down to the smallest thought, even what you commanded [read: even the very fact that you lived], if it was not directed toward the will of God.

Woe! How many sins will spring forth there suddenly and unexpectedly, as though from ambush, which you do not now see! How many evils you do not think to be evils! How many things you now believe to be good! With face unveiled, they will appear to you as blackest sins, then, when penance will no longer be received and amendment will not be promised.

Woe, wondrous hardness, for breaking which such heavy hammers are light! Insensible torpor, for rousing which such heavy goads are blunt! Alas, deadly sleep, for awakening which so terrifying a thunder is hoarse!

For if I say whatever I shall be able to devise, I shall not yet be able to reach what the reality is. Add terror upon terror, wailing

upon wailing. For He will judge you against whose insult every disobedient man or transgressor sins. He who is now most patient will then be most strict.

Woe, woe, wrath of God, may You not rush upon me! There is nothing in the whole of me that could endure it. O distress! On this side will be accusing sins; on that, terrifying justice. Below, the horrid chaos of hell lies open; above, the angered Judge. Within, conscience burns; outside, the world burns. Scarcely will the just man be saved.

In what direction will the sinner, thus caught, press himself? Being constrained, where shall I appear? Where shall I hide? To hide will be impossible; to appear, intolerable. I shall desire the former, and it will be nowhere; I shall abhor the latter, and it will be everywhere.

Who will rescue me from the hands of God? Whence will counsel come to me? Whence salvation? Who is He who is called the Angel of Great Counsel? He is Jesus; He is the very Judge in whose hands I tremble.

Breathe again, O sinner; breathe again, lest you despair. Hope in Him whom you fear. Flee for refuge to Him from whom you fled. Call importunately upon Him whom you proudly provoked.

Jesus Christ, on account of this Your name, deal with me according to this Your name. Forget the proud man who provokes You; look upon the miserable man who invokes You. Sweet name, delightful name, name comforting the sinner and of blessed hope!

Therefore, Jesus, be Jesus to me on account of Your name. You who created me by Your goodness, do not let Your work perish through my iniquity. Most kindly One, recognize what is Yours and wipe away what is alien.

Jesus, Jesus, have mercy while it is the time for mercy, lest You condemn me in the time of judgment. For what profit is there for You in my blood if I descend into everlasting corruption? For neither will the dead praise You, Lord, nor all those who descend into hell.

If You admit me into the broadest bosom of Your mercy, it will not be made narrower because of me, Lord. Therefore admit me, O most desired Jesus; admit me among the number of Your elect, so that with them I may praise You, enjoy You, and glory among all who love Your name.

Concerning the Invocation of the Son of God and the Memory of His Passion, Section VIII

Anselm says in a prayer:

Lord Jesus Christ, my redemption, my mercy, my salvation, I praise You and give thanks to You. Although they are very unequal to Your benefits, although they are greatly devoid of worthy devotion, nevertheless my soul renders to You what it is able to strive to render.

Hope of my heart, strength of my soul, aid of my infirmity, may Your most powerful kindness fulfill what my most trembling weakness strives to do. My life, end of my intention, even if I have not yet merited to love You as greatly as I am bound, nevertheless I certainly desire to love You as greatly as I ought.

If that which You inspire is good, Lord—indeed, because it is good that I should wish to love You—grant what You cause me to will; grant that I may merit to love You as greatly as You command.

I render praises and thanks to You for the desire which You have inspired. I offer praises and prayers to You, lest Your gift, which You gave of Your own accord, be fruitless in me. Most mercifully turn my lukewarmness into the most fervent love of You.

Still, most clement One, this prayer of mine, this meditation and remembrance of Your benefits, strives to kindle Your love in me.

Your goodness, Lord, created me. Your mercy cleansed me, once created, from original sin. After that cleansing of baptism, Your patience has until now tolerated, nourished, and awaited me as I wallowed in the filth of other sins.

Lord God, my Creator and my nourisher, be my helper. I hunger for You; I thirst for You; I desire You; I sigh for You; I yearn for You.

And like an orphan deprived of the presence of a most kindly father, insofar as I am able, mindful of Your Passion, mindful of Your blows, mindful of Your scourges, mindful of the cross, and mindful also of Your wounds, I lament the afflictions of my exile. I hope for the consolation of Your coming alone. I burn for the glorious contemplation of Your countenance.

Alas that I could not see the Lord of angels humbled to the society of human beings, so that He might exalt human beings to the society of angels, when the offended God died of His own accord so that the sinner might live!

Why, O my soul, did a sword of most piercing sorrow not transfix you when you were present, since you could not have borne the side of your Savior to be wounded by a lance, or the hands and feet of your Savior and Maker to be violated by nails? Why were you not made drunk with the bitterness of tears when He was given the bitterness of gall to drink?

Why did you not suffer together with the most chaste Virgin, His most worthy mother, your most kindly Lady? My most merciful Lady, what fountains shall I say burst forth from your most modest eyes when you beheld your only innocent Son scourged before you, bound, slain, and the flesh from your flesh cruelly cut apart by the impious?

With what sobbings shall I judge your most pure breast to have been vexed when you heard, "Woman, behold your son," and the disciple, "Behold your mother"?

Would that with blessed Joseph I had taken my Lord down from the cross, embalmed Him with spices, and placed Him in the tomb, or at least had followed Him, so that none of my service might be lacking at so great a funeral!

Would that with the blessed women I had been terrified by the shining vision of the angels and had heard the announcement of the Lord's Resurrection—the announcement of my consolation, the announcement so greatly awaited, the announcement so greatly desired!

Most kindly, sweetest One, when will You make up to me for my not having seen that incorruption of Your flesh, for my not having kissed the places of the wounds, the punctures of the nails? For my sorrow does not contain itself within me so long as I am a pilgrim from my Lord.

Where or when shall I find Him? Whom shall I ask? Who will announce to my beloved that I languish with love? My flesh and my heart have failed; God is the God of my heart and my portion forever.

My soul refuses to be consoled except by You, my sweetness. For what is there for me in heaven, and what have I desired upon earth apart from You? I desire You; I hope in You; I seek You. My heart has said to You: "I have sought Your countenance; Your countenance, Lord, I shall seek. Do not turn Your face away from me."

Most kindly lover of human beings, the poor man is abandoned to You; You will be a helper to the orphan. My safest advocate, have mercy upon the abandoned orphan. My soul has thirsted for You; in how many ways my flesh also thirsts for You!

O if I shall ever see my joy which I desire! O if I shall be satisfied when Your glory appears! If You will give me to drink from the torrent of Your delight, for which I thirst!

Meanwhile, Lord, let my tears be my bread day and night until it is said to me, "Behold your Lord," until I hear, O my soul, "Behold your Bridegroom." Meanwhile feed me with my sobbings. Meanwhile give me my weeping to drink.

Perhaps in the meantime my Redeemer will come, because He is good; nor will He delay, because He is loving.

Concerning Lamentation over One's Own Fall and Future Punishment, Section IX

Anselm:

Bring back to your heart, my wretched soul, your enormous crime, and bring forth from your heart an immense roaring. You, I say, who once, whitened by the heavenly laver, endowed with the Holy Spirit, and sworn in Christian profession, were a betrothed virgin!

Alas, memory of lost delight, why do you thus increase the burden upon the pressure of the unhappiness now possessed? How miserable is the lot of your shameful man! Both the good and the evil equally become torment.

For an evil conscience torments me, and so do the torments in which I fear that I shall burn. The memory of a good conscience and of its rewards torments me, for I know that I have lost them and shall recover them no more.

Woe, miserably to betray; grievously to lose; to lose irrecoverably that which ought to be preserved without end!

O my virginity, now no longer my beloved but my lost one, now no longer my joyous one but my despaired-of one, where have you

gone? In what foul, in what bitter filth have you abandoned me? From this comes inconsolable loss; from this, intolerable torment.

For you, my treacherous soul, perjured to God, adulteress of God and of Christ, have willingly and wondrously plunged from the sublimity of virginity into the abyss of fornication. You, once betrothed to the King of the heavens, have ardently become the harlot of the tormentor of the hells.

O most miserable and more than most miserable change! Alas, from what height you have fallen! Into what depth you have collapsed! Woe, how kindly a one you have despised; to how malignant a one you have joined yourself!

What have you done, O madness of mind, mad filth, filthy wickedness? What have you done? In heaven you abandoned your chaste lover, and into hell you followed your hateful corrupter; and in the abyss you prepared not your bridal chamber but your brothel.

Plunge, miserable little man, into the dark depth of immoderate sorrow, you who of your own accord plunged into the abyss of horrible wickedness. Be overwhelmed, unhappy one, by the mass of terrible sorrow, you who willingly fell into the filth of infernal stench. Roll yourself in the mire of shame.

Horrible terror, terrible sorrow, inconsolable grief, gather yourselves over me; rush upon me; overwhelm me; disturb me; envelop me; possess me. It is just; it is just. By shameless boldness I despised you and by shameful delight I provoked you—indeed, I provoked God, not you—and now in miserable penance I desire you.

Torment the guilty one; vindicate God. Let the fornicator repent of the infernal torments which he has merited. Let him taste beforehand what he has prepared; let him become accustomed to what he is to suffer. Be rolled and rolled again in the same whirlwind of bitterness, you who so often were rolled in the same whirlpool of lusts.

Consolation, security, joy: I do not desire you; I refuse you unless forgiveness of sin brings you back. Be far away—far away before death—if perhaps forgiveness may restore you to me even after death.

Let continual, bitter penitence be the companion of my age. Let sharp sorrow be the insatiable tormentor of my life. For if I am not worthy while praying to raise my eyes to heaven, surely I am not unworthy to blind them by weeping.

If my soul fears to be displayed before the sight of its God, it is just that it should have before its own sight the torments of its crime. Let my heart therefore think and think again what it has done, what it has merited.

Let it descend into—what? Let it descend to the dark land covered by the shadow of death. Let my mind strive toward it and contemplate; let it see and be troubled.

What is it, O God? What is it that I perceive in the land of misery and darkness? Alas, confusion of wailings, tumult of gnashing teeth, disordered multitude of groanings! Woe, woe—how many and how many and how many woes!

Sulfurous fire, Tartarean flame, dark billows, with what terrifying roaring I see you revolve! Worms living in the fire, what wondrous greed for gnawing so kindles you whom that fiery thing does not kindle! Demons burning together, roaring with heat, grinding their teeth with fury!

Are these, great God, the things that have been prepared for fornicators and those who despise You? My soul, be terrified; my mind, fail; my heart, be torn apart. To what do You hand me over, my God?

If I acted so that I became guilty before You, surely I could never act so that I was not Your creature. If I took my chastity away from myself, surely I did not take Your mercy away from You.

Lord, Lord, if I committed that for which You can condemn me, You have forgiven me from that from which You are accustomed to save me [read: have You then lost that by which You are accustomed to save?]. Do not, Lord, do not so attend to my evil that You forget Your good. Do not remember anger against the guilty one, but remember mercy toward the miserable one.

It is true that my conscience has merited condemnation and my penitence does not suffice for satisfaction; but it is certain that Your mercy surpasses every offense.

These are the words of Anselm.

Title XVI

Chapter XII

Around the year of the Lord 1100 Peter Alfonsi flourished. He had formerly been a Jew and was called Moses, as Vincent relates in the *Historical Mirror*, book twenty-six. Leaving the Jews, he disputed excellently against the Saracens, but first he expounded the manner of his conversion.

“Almighty God,” says Peter Alfonsi, “inspired me by His Spirit and directed me to the right path, first removing the thin white film from my eyes and afterward the heavy veil from my corrupted mind.

“Then the enclosures of the prophets lay open to us and their secrets were revealed. Then we weighed both what is to be understood and what is to be believed from it.

“When, therefore, by the impulse of divine mercy I had arrived at so exalted a degree of this faith, I put off the cloak of falsity and was clothed in the tunic of iniquity [read: was stripped of the tunic of iniquity]; and I was baptized in the episcopal see of the city of Hostia [read: Huesca], in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, by the hands of the glorious Stephen, bishop of that same city, in the year 1106 from the Lord’s Nativity, on the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

“Hence, for the veneration and memory of that day and of the apostle, I imposed upon myself his name, which is Peter. Moreover, my spiritual father was Alfonso, the glorious emperor of Spain, who received me from the sacred font. And on this account, adjoining his name to my aforesaid name, I imposed upon myself the name Peter Alfonsi.

“When it became known to the Jews who had known me before, and had proved me skilled in the books of the prophets and the sayings of the doctors, that I had accepted the Christian law and had become one of the Christians, some judged that I had done this only because I had cast aside all shame and despised the law and God.

“Others, however, said that I had done this because I had not rightly understood the words of the prophets and of the law. Others imputed it to vainglory and slandered me as having done this for the honor of the world, because I perceived the Christian people to surpass all the others.

“Therefore I have now composed a little book so that all may know my intention and may hear the argument in which, namely, I proposed the destruction of the cruelty [read: belief] of all other peoples. Afterward I concluded that the Christian law is more excellent than all others.

“Finally, I also set down all the objections of every adversary of the Christian law and, after setting them down, destroyed them, according to my understanding, with reason and authority.

“I divided the whole book by means of a dialogue, so that the reader’s mind might be more ready to understand. In defending the arguments of the Christians, I used the name which I now have as a Christian, namely Peter. In refuting the arguments of the adversary, however, I used the name which I had before baptism, namely Moses.”

Peter: “Truly, Moses, I concede even now that Amram’s son was a true prophet of the Israelite people, was truly sent by God, and faithfully announced whatever he prophesied in God’s name.

“I also concede that all the prophets who came after Moses came to confirm his law. For that same law was translated long ago by our doctors, to whom we give credence, and it is preserved in writing among us.

“And now, as I ought, I preserve complete faith in it with the right understanding, and proceed with a right step along its most right paths. But I see the Jews, the worshipers of the law, attend only to its surface and expound the letter not spiritually but carnally.

“Therefore they exist as strangers to its right intention and have been deceived by the greatest error in its exposition.

“For remember, O Moses, your doctors, who wrote your teaching upon which, according to you, your whole law rests: how they assert that God has a body and a form, and apply to His ineffable majesty things which it is impious to believe and absurd to hear, since they are supported by no reason.

“Concerning Him they have also put forth such opinions that they seem to be nothing other than the words of people jesting in the schools of boys or of women gossiping in the streets.

“Likewise, while you expound the law according to the capacity of our understanding [read: your understanding], you hope to escape captivity in a manner in which it cannot happen. Likewise, you hope that an unprecedented miracle will be done for you by God in your escape from captivity: that your God will raise your dead, who may begin again to inhabit their lands as before.

“Moreover, while you exist in captivity, I perceive you to observe scarcely the smallest part of all the precepts of your law, even according to your own exposition. Yet you believe that the very thing which you do pleases God and is acceptable to Him. Concerning that which you omit, however, you trust that He will by no means blame you. This evidently holds the greatest place of error.”

Behold Your Doctors, Section I

“In the first part of your teaching, which is called *Blessings* [i.e., tractate *Berakhot*], your doctors said that God has a head and arms, and that in His hair He bears a box bound by a strap, the knot of that strap being fastened at the back of the head beneath the brain.

“Within the box, however, are four parchments containing the praises of the Jews. At the top of His left arm He bears another box bound in a similar manner with a strap, and in it there is a parchment containing all the praises said to be written in the four aforesaid parchments.

“Concerning the box which He bears in His hair and the knot of its strap, they draw an authority for themselves from the place where the Lord says to Moses: ‘You shall see My back parts, but you shall not see My face.’ For then, as they say, Moses saw the knot of the strap. But the knot itself must necessarily belong to some box.

“Concerning the box which He bears upon His arm, they introduce the authority of Isaiah, who says: ‘The Lord has sworn by His right hand and by the arm of His strength.’ By the arm of strength they wish the left arm to be understood, in which is the power of that box.

“I indeed remember that I have read that passage, but that authority gives them no support. For since the law reports that God said to Moses that he would see His back parts, and since it is established that He cannot lie, we do not doubt, although Scripture afterward remains silent, that it occurred. Yet nowhere does the law mention that Moses saw anything among His back parts.

“How, therefore, do you teach that he saw there the knot of a strap, which can scarcely be said without laughter? Likewise, since not only the neck but also any part of the body can suitably be understood by ‘back parts,’ you prove your assertion that Moses saw His neck not by reason or the authority of the law, but by your will alone.

“And even if I were to grant that God has a neck—which to a person of sound wisdom both seems impious and is impious—I could nevertheless suppose that Moses saw nothing in Him except the neck. Or, if we imagine that he saw something else, he could have seen the cap or the knot of the strap upon His crown, which you say the angel Micraton [i.e., Metatron] places upon God’s head every day.

“But to employ the reasoning of nature: you contend or concede that God has a head and arms and the whole form of a body. If this is so, God must therefore consist of the dimensions of length, breadth, and height. If He is enclosed by these three dimensions, He is bounded by bodily parts. This is plainly proved to be unfitting.

“Concerning the strap which you say He has upon His head, I now set two alternatives before you. That strap is either from Him or from elsewhere. If it is from Him, God is now divided from Himself. If it is from elsewhere, it is either a creator or a creature.

“If it is a creator, there are therefore two creators. If it is a creature, then some creature is greater than a certain part of the Creator, which is unfitting.

“Moreover, I ask you whether He bears that which you say He bears upon His head or arm because of some necessity or without necessity. If because of necessity, then the Creator needs a creature, which is unfitting. If without necessity, then God bears something superfluous upon Himself.”

Which is another unfitting thing.

“Moreover, your doctors say in the book of teachings that He is only in the west. They confirm this by the authority of Ezra, who says: ‘The host of heaven supplicates You.’ They expound it thus: ‘When all the stars go down in the west, then the host of heaven supplicates God.’ Because this supplication of the stars takes place in the west, they therefore assert that God is in the west.

“Again, your doctors in the third book of teaching assert that God is in a place bounded by six parts. They affirm this by the testimony of Daniel, who says: ‘When I was going out, behold, the prince of the Greeks entered.’ For from this they conclude that God is in such a place as has an entrance and an exit. If this is so, it is therefore evident that He subsists in a place bounded by six parts.

“But if He is circumscribed by a bounded place, then some place is empty of God. If this is so, how does He know what is in another place, where He Himself is not, or how does He act in it?

“But you say that He can possess such wisdom and will that by wisdom He knows, and by will He effects, what is elsewhere. I therefore wish you to answer me whether that wisdom and will are in Him and always with Him, or outside Him and thus sometimes without Him.

“For if you say that they are not outside Him but in Him, the same difficulty will arise concerning them as concerning Him, because He will be in every place [read: because He will not be in every place]. How, therefore, will He be able to know or to effect what is elsewhere? But if you say that they are outside Him and fill every place, then they are separated from Him. For they know something which He does not know, and by themselves effect what He does not effect. They therefore are creators, and the world has no need of God.

“But you say that they are indeed in Him, yet shine forth into every place by knowing and acting, just as the sun, although it remains in one place, nevertheless diffuses its rays everywhere by warming and illuminating. If this is so, it therefore follows that that wisdom and will do not subsist equally everywhere. For whatever is diffused in this manner does not have at its furthest point the same force that it has at its beginning, which by no means befits God.

“You also ascribe the accidents of a body to God, although He is only a spirit. For you say that He grows angry every day, bringing forward as testimony the saying: ‘The Mighty One is angry every day.’ You also say that He grows angry in the first hour of the day, asserting the cause of this anger to be that, in that hour, kings of iniquity arise, place a diadem upon themselves, and adore the sun.

“You now see how absurd this speech is, and how foolish were those who uttered it, since they did not understand the definition of anger. Had they known it, they would not have thought this about Him. For anger occurs when, upon hearing something displeasing in word, bile, or red choler, boils, spreads over the liver, and is mingled with the blood. From this a man grows hot and becomes pale in the face. But this befits no thing unless it is composed of the four elements, whereas God is not subject to such lineaments.

“No less abhorrent is what they say, that He is angry at a thing for which He cannot avenge Himself. If He could avenge Himself, His anger would surely cease.

“They say, moreover, that no one has ever known the point of the hour in which He grows angry except Balaam son of Beor. In this you contradict yourselves, since on the one hand Moses calls him a soothsayer, and you also call him unjust, while on the other hand you signify that he was more prudent concerning God than Moses, because he knew the point of the hour that was hidden from Moses.

“Nor is it enough for them to say this about God, for they also say that He weeps once every day, and that two tears proceeding from His eyes fall into the great sea. They affirm that these are the flash which at night is seen to fall from the stars.

“But this account shows God to be composed of the four elements. For tears are not produced except from an abundance of moisture descending from the head. If this is so, therefore, the elements are the matter of God. But all matter is prior to and simpler than every form. Therefore these things too are prior to God and simpler than He, which assuredly it is impious to believe.

“Moreover, since, as you say, God enjoys neither food nor drink and emits two tears from Himself every day, He must necessarily decrease, unless perhaps He continually drinks from the waters that are above the heavens, which it is foolish to say.

“Finally, from their words I perceive that they do not understand what that flash is. For it is not what they say, but a certain smoky and exceedingly dry vapor which rises from the earth, passes through the regions of the clouds, and comes to a place where there is not much heat, because it is far removed from the motion of the firmament. When it has arrived there and has gathered abundantly in one place, it is gradually burned by the heat of that place, and, once burned, vanishes. This is what we say is the thing that we see coursing through the air.

“They also say that the captivity of the Jews is the cause of the weeping which they unworthily ascribe to God. Indeed, they assert that because of His sorrow He roars like a lion three times a day, and they report that on this account He strikes the heaven with His feet in the manner of those treading in a winepress. They say also that, like a dove, He makes a certain murmuring sound, and sometimes moves His head and says in the voice of one grieving: ‘Alas for Me, alas for Me! Why did I reduce My house to a desert, burn My temple, and transfer My sons among the nations?’ They say, according to some of them, that He prays every day that His mercy may be among His people and may be over His anger [read: that His mercy may prevail over His anger and that He may go among His people in mercy].

“But all these things are not only errors and heresies but also follies, since they show God as corporeal and affected by human passions, as praying and consequently in need of the help of another to whom He prays, and as having something happen which He does not will and cannot remove, together with many other absurd and foolish things.

“But someone says to me: ‘Since those Jews confirm their statements by the authority of the prophets, why do you inveigh so gravely against them and say nothing against the prophets? Do you not know that the prophets said that God has a head, eyes, nostrils, hands, arms, and all the lineaments of a body? They also said that God grows angry and roars, according to that saying of the Psalm: “The Lord was angry in fury against His people,” and that of the prophet: “The Lord will roar from Zion,” and many other things of this kind.’

“To this it is answered that the sayings of the prophets are obscure and not sufficiently plain to everyone. Therefore, when we find in them such statements as, if accepted according to the letter, depart from the path of reason, they must be interpreted allegorically, not according to the surface of the letter, and be brought back to the path of rectitude. Necessity compels us to do this, because otherwise the meaning of the letter would not stand.

“But if you wish to know that certain words of the Scriptures cannot stand when expounded according to the letter, that is, according to the outer covering, see what is written in the book of Numbers concerning Dathan and Abiron: ‘The earth, opening its mouth, devoured them.’ Does the earth have a mouth? David says: ‘The fields shall rejoice, and all things that are in them’; and again: ‘The rivers shall clap their hands.’ Does it belong to fields to rejoice, or do rivers have hands, or can mountains exult? And Habakkuk the prophet says: ‘The stone shall cry out from the wall,’ and there are many similar sayings.

“Finally, the corporeal things that you ascribe to God agree only with a corporeal substance and an imaginary thing. It is indecent to believe that God is such a thing. It is therefore fitting that the things which Scripture says of Him as though He were corporeal be understood not literally but tropically.

“For if we say that God has any image or likeness, we contradict many authorities of the prophets. For example, Moses says to the children of Israel: ‘Guard your souls carefully. You saw no likeness on the day when the Lord spoke to you in Horeb from the midst of the fire, lest perhaps, being deceived, you make for yourselves a carved image,’ and so forth.

“When he had forbidden them to liken God to composite bodies, he also feared lest perhaps they conform Him to simple bodies, and added: ‘Lest perhaps, lifting your eyes to heaven and seeing the sun and the moon and all the stars of heaven, you be deceived by error and adore them.’ Do not suppose that Moses, in commanding these things to the people, feared that they would adore the figures or images of the aforesaid bodies, since they already had no doubt that they were creatures. Rather, he feared that they would believe God to have the image of one of these, and therefore would adore likenesses of this kind made for Him.

“Isaiah the prophet also says: ‘To whom have you made God like, or what image will you place for Him?’ David also proves by his words that God is not local, and thereby consequently signifies that He is not corporeal. For he says: ‘Where shall I go from Your spirit?’ and so forth. And Solomon says: ‘If heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain You,’ and so forth. And Jeremiah says: ‘Do I not fill heaven and earth?’ Therefore, if we expound superficially the Scriptures that say God has a body and all the members of a body, we contradict all the aforesaid testimonies.”

Now Concerning the Image, Section II

“As we are about to recline in the palace of reason, let us strew its floor with flowers of certain opinions, so that afterward we may sit there and reason more delightfully. These opinions will be for us certain steps toward proving that God exists and toward knowing what He is.

“For we must first prove that God exists, and afterward show that nothing is like Him. For a certain part of mankind both denies that God exists and affirms that the world has existed from eternity and without a creator. Therefore necessity compels us first to show, even by physical reasons, that the God who created the world exists. For if I show that the world, with all the things that are in it, was created, then I shall necessarily conclude that God is its creator. And when we have proved Him to be the creator of the world, we shall consequently show by reason that God Himself has no likeness.

“Thus nearly all the philosophers agree on this: that perfect wisdom is the principle of all things, a brilliant light, the substance of substances, and the argument of all things. After this is soul, and afterward matter. These, as it were, are two simple things and the first principles of all creatures, and the origin and cause of every composite thing. From them the firmament, with all the variety of images and forms that it possesses, was made by degrees.

“For the firmament, with all the things that it contains, is truly composite, although with respect to the things that lie beneath the lunar circle it is called simple. For it is thus in all things: something is called composite with respect to that from which it was made, but simple with respect to that which is made from it.

“And because all matter is simpler than that which was made from it, and does not have in itself the form or image of its composite, it is evident that the matter of the firmament has no corporeal form in itself and is therefore wholly simple. But if we say that there is something composite in it, there must also be some other matter of which it is composed, which is simpler than

it. Yet if we call that matter composite too, we shall also acknowledge another and simpler matter. We shall thus proceed to infinity. To avoid this, it is necessary that we confess that matter, namely the matter of the firmament, to be simple.

“And because that matter newly received within itself various forms which it had never before possessed, it is established that it had them not from itself but through the addition of another thing which was both simpler and more powerful: that is, a thing which produced diverse forms and images within it, especially since there was no necessity upon it that such forms or images should be made in it. This was done rather from the desire of the soul, which wished to be mingled with a thing with which it had never been mingled, so that its power might be manifest in that thing. Thus, after the soul had been mingled and at the same time glued to that thing, matter was informed with new forms from the new mingling.

“Since, therefore, according to the philosophers, there is no doubt that the firmament, with all that it possesses, is composite, it must be believed to have a beginning. For every composite must have a composer, because nothing can create itself. Therefore there must be a creator of the world, who is God. It is necessarily fitting to believe that He was neither created nor made new, but is eternal. Otherwise the number of things created or made new would have no end.

“He must be understood not as composite but as simple, because every composition is a motion and act of a simple thing. Moreover, that which is the first cannot have a principle, whereas every composition has some principle. Accordingly, He is not corporeal, because every corporeal thing is composite. Likewise, He is not movable, because everything that is moved consists of parts, and every such thing is composite.

“Again, He is neither changed nor corrupted, because both belong to things subject to death, whereas the first of all things is immovable. Likewise, He neither grows of Himself nor is increased from elsewhere, for everything that receives growth or increase is undoubtedly composite. Nor is He shown to decrease, because that which decreases is corrupted.

“Again, He has no likeness to any creature in any respect, because likeness belongs to quality. But He is subject to no quality, and therefore not to likeness. Moreover, the likeness of two things makes one equal to the other, but nothing can be made equal in any respect to Him, namely to God. Finally, since matter, which was created, has in itself no form or image, much less should God, the creator of its nature, who is of a simpler and subtler nature, be thought to have any likeness.

“Behold, by these physical reasons we have proved to those who do not believe the Scriptures that God is the maker of all things and has no likeness to any creature.

“Furthermore, according to the same philosophers, all things were made by degrees from the conjunction of the universal soul with matter. For they say that, when the soul was joined and glued to matter, first of all the greatest firmament was formed and composed. In it there are no stars; it is the first movable and that which causes all the circles to move.

“After it was formed the sign-bearing circle, in which the twelve signs shine. In the third place was made the circle of the stars, which, always preserving their position, remain fixed in their places. In the fourth place was made the circle of Saturn. In the fifth the sphere of Jupiter was placed. The sword of Mars claims the sixth place for itself. In the seventh the circle of the sun shines. The globe of Venus possesses the eighth. Mercury obtained the ninth. The tenth and lower place gives its regions to the moon.

“When all these circles and the other things that are in them had been completed, that circular motion which is called simple and perfect then began.

“That motion generated in matter the heat which was poured through it, and matter itself received the heat. From this were made the four elements, namely fire, air, water, and earth. For when some force or motion proceeds from a source, the closer the things it reaches are to that source, the greater force and strength they receive from it.

“The heat proceeding from the motion of the firmament grew much hotter in the nearer places and became fire, of a hot and dry nature. But because that heat withdrew a little farther from the firmament, now losing some of its strength, it became somewhat warm and weaker, yet it also moved itself this way and that. Hence arose the nature of air, which is hot and moist. For all heat, so long as it remains very strong, dries and burns; but when it grows warm, it causes a thing to become soft and liquid.

“But when it withdrew still farther from the firmament, the source being far distant, it lost its vigor, and therefore a cold nature flowed forth. It became liquid and weighty, namely water. And because it withdrew even farther from the firmament than it had been, the nature of cold, because of its very great distance, became stronger, denser, more congealed, and harder. It became cold and dry, and it is earth.

“When the creation of the elements had thus been completed, the nature and force of the firmament moved it to perform the will and command of God. When the force of the firmament had thus moved them toward one another, all things were mixed and joined together, and from their very mixture were generated other, smaller bodies, namely inanimate and animate bodies.

“The inanimate are stones, metals, and the other things that are contained in the earth and do not grow, such as quicksilver, sulfur, and other things of this kind. The animate are herbs and trees; irrational animals are brute beasts; and the rational animal is man, who was made after all the others.

“Although all these things are diverse, divine power so restrains them that they seem in no respect utterly contrary or discordant with one another. But each lower thing is called simple with respect to a higher thing, and composite with respect to a lower thing. The human body, however, which is lower than all things, because there is nothing beneath it in the order of things, is not undeservedly called composite. Thus man was made from that which is altogether simple, namely the soul, and from a body altogether composite.

“The philosophers say that the rational soul proceeds from the universal soul. The Jews, however, assert that all souls were created together at the beginning of the world and stored in one place, and that the day of judgment will not come until they have all been incorporated. But when they have been incorporated, the end of the world will immediately come. Christians, on the other hand, maintain that new souls are created every day and, once formed, are infused into new bodies.

“Whatever anyone may believe concerning the soul, undoubtedly He who gave reason made all things and is the cause of all things. He therefore flooded and illuminated man with the wisdom of His own loftiness, by which man might know and discern all things. Thus the species of man was made better and more elegant among the species of animals, and more excellent in all things; hence it is justly called the lesser world.

“He also says that the delay of so many days elapsed in the creation of the world for no other reason than that some creatures were slower to receive form, and that this did not result from the impotence of the Creator.”

Attend diligently, reader, because this Peter Alfonsi perhaps sets down the things that he says from the opinions of Jewish philosophers not by asserting them but by reporting their opinions. Even after presupposing these opinions, he proves from them his principal intention, namely that God is not corporeal and that no likeness to a creature befits Him.

The aforesaid opinions nevertheless contain many errors against the faith. For prime matter does not have a soul; nor were the heavens with the planets created successively, nor the elements in the aforesaid manner, nor the things made from the elements. Nor were souls created from the beginning, nor were some things made later because of a disposition of created things.

Rather, as Solomon says, “He who lives forever created all things together,” at least with respect to the matter and substantial forms of things, especially of the heavens and the elements. But because the unlearned people to whom Moses spoke were not capable of understanding that God created all things suddenly from nothing, God was spoken of according to the likeness of a man at work, who performs many and diverse works at diverse times. Or, if those things are held to have been created literally within the six days, as certain of the saints hold, this nevertheless was by the work of almighty God and not according to the aforesaid manner of the philosophers.

Peter reports many other fables, or rather follies, from the book of the Thalmuth [i.e., Talmud], a book which the Jews greatly venerate as most true. I omit them for the sake of brevity. One is that when God made the firmament, being unable to complete it, He left the space of a certain great opening in the northern part, so that if anyone should at some time arise and set himself against Him as His equal, He might answer him: “If you are God as I am, close, if you can, that place which I left open.”

Likewise, they say that when the sons of Jacob were bearing Jacob’s body to the tomb, the sons of Esau met them, also carrying their father to burial with a very great company. While they were contending over the tomb, Dan ascended a mountain, cut off a stone of such great size, and placed it upon his head, that it would have been sufficient to prostrate that whole great company with one blow. But when he found them now reconciled, he cast it into the sea, and by its magnitude the waters of the sea, overflowing, overturned two cities by their outpouring.

Likewise, they say that Moses ascended into heaven to receive the law. Then the angels disputed with him, saying that they ought to possess it first. But Moses answered that that law contained precepts for the governing of bodies, and therefore, since the angels themselves did not have bodies, it did not befit them. Thus, after the angels had been defeated by Moses by this reasoning, they say that God laughed.

Likewise, they say that, when Moses was leading the people of Israel through the desert, Korah, one man, namely, from the tribe of Levi, had three hundred laden camels bearing nothing other than the keys of that people’s treasure, made from the hides of cows.

Likewise, they say that an angel appeared to a certain man named Josue, of the tribe of Levi [i.e., Rabbi Joshua ben Levi], and told him that he was about to die and that the angel had therefore come to receive his soul. Josue answered that he was by no means willing for this to happen unless the angel first showed him paradise. The angel carried him upon his wings into paradise. Afterward, when Josue would not leave paradise at the angel’s command in order to die, the angel laid a complaint

concerning this before God. But Josue was unwilling to leave even at God's command. God told the angel that, when Josue's entire life had been examined through all its course, if the angel found that he had perjured himself even once, he must leave paradise altogether; but if not, he should remain there unharmed. Thus, when this was not found, he remained there.

Likewise, they say concerning Og, king of Bashan, that when the people of Israel were passing through the borders of his land, he took upon his head a mass of unheard-of magnitude, so that by casting it upon the passing people he might prostrate them all with it. But a hoopoe, flying over the aforesaid mass, made so great a hole in its middle with its beak that it would have fallen upon his neck, had his teeth not suddenly grown so greatly that they supported it. But when Moses struck him with his rod, he expired. They set down many such things worthy of laughter, as manifestly false and foolish.

Section III

"The cause of the final captivity brought about by Titus, and of the dispersion of the Jews themselves throughout the world, was not the same as the cause of the Babylonian captivity. Rather, the suffering inflicted by them upon Christ Jesus, and their perseverance in their perfidy, namely that Christ was not the Messiah and true God, are the cause of the continuance of their captivity and servitude.

"For the cause of the former captivity, namely the Babylonian, which was prolonged for only seventy years, was idolatry, usury, false testimonies, homicides, adulteries, and other sins which it would take long to recount. These had then increased to such a degree that the prophet heard from the Lord: 'Go about in the ways of Jerusalem, and seek in its streets whether you may find a man who performs judgment and seeks faith, and I will be propitious to them.'

"But you Jews will be able to establish by no authority that this was the reason and cause of your final captivity, which had already endured for a thousand years and more in the time of this Peter, but has now endured for one thousand four hundred and eighty-four years and more. For during the three hundred years before the overthrow of Jerusalem, there was no prophet in Israel who foretold or wrote this. Therefore, not all the things which were the causes of the former captivity were the causes of the final one. And although they say that there were many who performed new miracles beyond custom or nature, naming some such persons, they can prove none of these things.

"Indeed, in the first captivity, when they were led to Babylon in the manner of other captives, they sustained no punishment there except servitude. For they cultivated fields, planted vineyards, built houses, and lived securely with their wives and children.

"But in the second captivity their enemies inflicted upon them so many and such great disgraces that things similar or equal to them have been neither heard nor seen. For they were killed, burned, and sold in the manner of captives. That sale increased so greatly that thirty captives were offered for one piece of silver, yet buyers were not found, just as Moses had foretold: 'You shall be sold to your enemies as male and female servants, and there shall be no one to buy.' Ships also were filled with them and were sent to wander over the sea without any rower or pilot.

"Moreover, after you had been cast down into this captivity, intolerable commands were given to you, namely that you should not read your law, nor any longer teach it to your sons. If anyone was found doing this, he was either burned or combed with the sharpest iron combs. Likewise, anyone found celebrating the Sabbaths or the Passover, or practicing circumcision, was most severely punished. And many other very grave things occurred through the succession of times.

"Behold, therefore, you have now been in captivity for more than one thousand four hundred and eighty-four years, and you still have no certainty from any writing how long it ought to endure.

"Forensic justice indeed requires that, once those who have committed some crime have been punished or have died, their successors ought to be free from captivity. Thus, when the scouts sent to the Promised Land murmured together with the rest of the people, they remained in the desert for forty years. In that space all those transgressors died, and their children, who were innocent of their fathers' crime, entered that land promised to their fathers. Likewise, in the Babylonian captivity, after those whose sins had been the cause of that captivity had died, their children were freed from that yoke. But in this captivity, which was brought about by Titus, innumerable generations have passed, and they do not yet have an end.

"For the saying, 'The children shall not bear the iniquity of their fathers,' is understood thus: if the children have not committed or imitated their iniquities. For elsewhere also children are said to bear their fathers' crimes, namely when they are their imitators, as the Lord says to Moses: 'I am the Lord, mighty and jealous, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation, of those who hate Me.'

"Therefore all the following generations are detained in the captivity of their fathers because they carry out their works insofar as they are able. If they abandoned the works of their fathers, they would also depart from captivity.

"Thus, O Jews, your ancestors sinned against the Son of God, saying that He was a sorcerer and was born of a harlot, and they led your whole nation into error. They proclaimed these and similar things until, having made the whole people a partner of

their depraved will, they led a just man to a very unjust judgment, crucified Him, and killed Him. The magnitude of so great a guilt was therefore the cause and origin of so prolonged a captivity. And for as long as you remain in both the will and the faith, or rather the perfidy, of your fathers, for so long you will undoubtedly remain in the same tribulation of condemnation.

“For you ought to know that, when forty years had been completed after the death of Christ, Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus. And for forty years before it was destroyed, as the books of your teaching also testify, signs and wonders were seen in it which plainly indicated that this destruction of the temple and city would come about.

“Josephus also, together with other doctors of yours, understood that the very death of Christ was the cause of this captivity of yours. Nevertheless, they said not that death, but the malevolence and envy of men, to be the cause of so great a captivity, and they were silent concerning its true cause. For the envy and malice of the Jews were the cause of Christ’s death, but the death of Christ was the cause of the captivity.

“But perhaps one of you will say: ‘If it were established that that man, as you say, was the Son of God, and that His death was the cause of our tribulation, none of us would be worthy to live. For since such a sin is greater than denying God, this crime was not undeservedly greater than that which the Jews committed in the desert when they adored the calf as God. Yet God then wished to destroy that whole people for so great a crime, and He would have destroyed them had Moses not turned away His anger by prayer and fasting. Therefore, if that people had presumed to commit this deed, which is much greater than the former one, and there had been no one to intercede for it, none of them ought to have lived. But now God both permits us to live and shows every day how greatly He loves us, since He grants us favor in the sight of our enemies, enriches us with resources, and exalts us with honors, just as He foretold through the mouth of Moses, saying: “Nevertheless, even when they shall be in a hostile land, I did not utterly cast them off.”’

“To this I answer steadfastly: By no means, O Jews, does God permit a remnant of your people to live because He is well pleased with it, but only so that you may serve all nations and may be a reproach, a tale, and a curse in the eyes of all, just as Moses the lawgiver promised, saying: ‘You shall be a proverb and a tale among all the peoples to whom the Lord shall lead you.’

“For if, at the time when that sin was committed by you, He had utterly destroyed the entire Jewish race, after the courses of many ages had passed that fault would already have been erased by oblivion and would be known to no mortal, according to that saying of the Psalm: ‘God shows me concerning my enemies: do not kill them, lest at any time my people forget.’

“There is also another cause for which God did not will the whole Jewish nation to perish and fail. For He saw that some from that race would at some time believe in Him unto salvation, and therefore, for their sake, He did not will to destroy that whole race.

“But as for the promise concerning the book of the law which you brought forward from Moses, it is evident that it looks not to the present captivity but to the former Babylonian captivity, from which He was going to lead you out, as is evident from the things preceding the aforesaid authority.”

Section IV

“The Jews misunderstand the article concerning the final resurrection. Peter Alfonsi says: As for the fact that, after your escape from captivity, you believe an unprecedented miracle will be performed for you, namely that your dead will be raised by God so that they may inhabit the lands again, I judge that you believe an error which you can prove by no authority.

“For if you wish to rely upon this testimony of Scripture, ‘I will kill, and I will make alive; I will strike, and I will heal,’ God shows His omnipotence by this; it does not show that He will raise the dead in the manner which you describe. Nevertheless, I do not deny that He can raise the dead, since I confess and believe that all men will be raised by Him on the day of judgment. But what you add, namely that they will inhabit the lands, I do not believe. For none of the prophets who were before Christ foretold that this would happen.

“Your doctors, however, invented this error so that the Jewish nation might persist in its unbelief. For when Isaiah says, ‘Your dead shall live; the slain shall rise,’ he by no means shows that your dead will be raised to inhabit the land. For if we diligently consider what is said there, we do not find that the resurrection of the dead is plainly signified there. Otherwise the prophet will seem to be contrary to himself, since a little earlier he said: ‘Let the dying not live; let the giants not rise.’

“Therefore, that which departs from the usage of nature and introduces a contradiction into the prophet’s meaning ought by no means to be expounded in that manner when it can be understood with some sound meaning. We can, however, understand that word of the prophet in two ways: either that he said this concerning the raising at the last judgment, or that by the word ‘resurrection’ he signified escape from captivity.

“This latter meaning appears to belong more closely to the letter, since, a little earlier, the prophet had lamented the captivity of his nation and immediately introduced the consolation of the divine promise and loving-kindness, saying: ‘The dead shall live;

the slain shall rise.' He indicates that this escape will occur not at any particular distant time but after a short time, saying: 'Go, My people, into your chambers,' and so forth. These words are fittingly understood as referring to captivity.

"Moreover, it is read in Ezekiel that, when he had raised several dead persons by divine power, he also prophesied concerning future things in these words, saying: 'Thus says the Lord God: Behold, I shall open your tombs,' and so forth. Your doctors indeed endeavor to assert that he caused them to rise not in a dream but while awake.

"But he by no means restored to them a true and perfect resurrection. For the spirit which is commanded to come from the four winds is by no means the rational soul, but that spirit which is produced by the conjunction of the four elements. For it is a very light and very subtle body, which is made in the human heart from the four elements, as has been said. From that place it is spread into all the veins and bestows upon the body itself life and action, and upon the arteries a continual pulse, producing the motion natural to man.

"The rational soul, however, does not proceed from the union of the elements, but is a substance subsisting through itself. For if it arose from their conjunction, when the strength of the body failed, the power of the soul ought to fail; and when the dissolution of bodily vigor began, the power of the soul would likewise be dissolved. If this is granted, it follows that when the body is corrupted, the soul also is corrupted.

"But the contrary is now proved to occur by the eye of faith. For it happens frequently that the more the body is weakened and approaches death, the more the soul grows strong; and a man dies at the very moment when the soul thrives better. Thus we find that many old men, when there is already no bodily strength in them, then excel the more in counsel and in all wisdom by means of their souls.

"Therefore, when all bodies which possess a soul had been produced, the vegetative soul adhered to all of them and exercised its functions in them, namely by growing, nourishing, and generating. But the animal soul was joined to the subtler bodies, so that in them it might exhibit its functions, namely by granting them sensation and motion from place to place. The rational soul associated itself with that which among them was most subtle, most light, most tempered, and most fitted to receive reason. There it freely exhibited its functions, namely by meditating, remembering, discerning, and doing similar things.

"Therefore I recognize that the spirit which Ezekiel commanded, at God's order, to come from the four parts of the world ought to be understood as a bodily spirit, which is said by some to be like the most subtle blood. And concerning the dead who were then raised, although many believe that they received a rational soul, I find no authority for it.

"Nevertheless, in whatever manner that resurrection was accomplished, I say and believe that it was a sign of the future resurrection, and that God will assuredly raise your dead too at some time, just as the prophet shows in the same place, saying: 'And you shall know that I am the Lord when I have opened your sepulchers and brought you out of your sepulchers, My people, and have led you into the land of Israel, and have given My spirit within you, and you shall live; and I shall make you rest upon your soil.'

"As for the statement, 'I shall make you rest upon your soil,' it can be understood as signifying that the soul rests in the body, which is not undeservedly called by the name of earth, since it was taken from the earth.

"Therefore, because your exposition concerning your dead being raised and inhabiting the lands of the world is found to be contrary both to Scripture and to reason, it must be rejected by the judgment of equity. Hence Solomon also says in Ecclesiastes: 'The dead know nothing more, nor do they have a part in this age and in the work that is performed under the sun,' namely, so as to do the things which those living here used to do.

"That your exposition also disagrees with reason is established by many arguments. For you believe, just as your doctors have said, that when the point of this resurrection of yours arrives, Adam, Seth, Methuselah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, and the other patriarchs and prophets, and all the just who died before its arrival, will rise together with them; that they will perform all the functions of the human race, observe the former rites of things, and inhabit the lands anew; and that Aaron and his sons will be clothed by Moses in priestly vestments and will offer sacrifices as before.

"But who, I ask, will then be the supreme pontiff? Will Aaron and Eleazar and Phinehas and the others who succeeded them all exist at one time? If you say that while Aaron is alive the others cannot exercise the supreme priesthood, then that resurrection will be more to the disgrace and disadvantage of the other supreme pontiffs than to their honor and glory. If you grant that all will be equals in the supreme priesthood, we shall then take away each one's honor, because no one among many equals can possess a preeminent honor.

"Moreover, many things are necessary for many pontiffs, including temples and similar things. Thus there will be a destruction of the law, which commands that there be only one temple.

"Furthermore, will you have several kings, or only one? You will answer that you will have one, since Ezekiel says: 'All shall have one shepherd.' For if there were several, they could not be in concord and would destroy the peace of the kingdom. There

will therefore be one. But who will that king be? They say: ‘The Anointed One, at whose coming we shall escape captivity. Our dead, who are to be raised, ought to have the governance of his empire [read: The Anointed One, at whose coming we shall escape captivity and our dead are to be raised, ought deservedly to have governance of our empire].’

“Well indeed, O Jews, what you say could be so if that Anointed One were God and man. But if, as you believe, he will be only a man, what then will become of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and the other prophets? When such and so great men are subjected to one anointed man, would it not have been better for them not to be raised?

“Moreover, your faith also holds that, just as they will possess the other functions of humanity, so they will have the nature of generating, to such a degree that you believe a woman will conceive and give birth every day, which human ears can scarcely bear to hear. For if this were so, the earth would certainly not be able to contain them, even if it were twice as great or if the sea itself were made land. They would be confined by such narrowness of place that there would be none who could cultivate the fields.

“Likewise, if all who have died will be raised, will they all return to their wives? If so, what, therefore, of those who had several wives? And of the woman who had several husbands: whose wife will she be?

“Likewise, when such persons have been raised, and so many have afterward been born from them, will those who are born be immortal or mortal? Your faith indeed holds that they will have the nature and use of eating, drinking, and generating, and that after the courses of a thousand years have passed they will be transferred without any death into the kingdom of perpetual beatitude.

“If you say that they will be immortal, you return to the former unfitting consequence. For within a thousand years their multitude will be propagated to such a degree that they cannot be enclosed within the compass of the earth. Finally, since a man will eat, drink, and generate, he must be composed of the four elements. Whatever is composed in this manner must also be corrupted. Therefore, since they will be composed in this manner, they must be subject to corruption and death.

“But if you concede that they will die, I ask whether that resurrection is for them a punishment or a crown. They say: ‘For honor and glory, so that they may behold the kingdom and glory of their Anointed One.’

“Now, therefore, I wish to hear from you what you think about the interim state of the good who have died until they rise: whether, namely, they remain in punishments or in rest. You say that it is most certain that they enjoy the beatitude of rest with God. From this it follows that their future resurrection will be for them a punishment rather than a crown and glory.

“For since they now glory in the gift of eternal life, why will they again be enclosed in the prisons of bodies, unless so that they may be agitated anew by hunger and thirst and various and innumerable torments? Indeed, according to your aforesaid opinion, they will sustain the punishment and possess the fear of a second death; and their parents too will suffer punishment because of their deaths.

“But perhaps you say that although the good who have died now live in rest and delights, from which they will return to the constraints of bodies in that resurrection, nevertheless so great will be their exultation from the presence of their Anointed One, that is, Christ, and from seeing him and exulting in Jerusalem, dwelling in the temple as of old, and sacrificing according to the former rite, that the punishment of their bodies will be nothing to them, and the rest which they now possess in the other life will afterward be regarded by them as very little.

“But this departs from the path of truth. For no honor or glory of the present world bears any comparison with the delights and rest of eternal life, because no one will be able to enjoy the delights of this world for even one moment without labor and pain. But the glory of that blessed life remains perpetual and continuous, with no distress intervening, especially since your own doctors testify that all the honor and glory of this world is, in comparison with the delights of that life, as one is to forty.

“Moreover, it is evident to everyone who is not devoid of all reason that the joy of beholding God is incomparably greater than the joy of beholding such an earthly man as you say your Anointed One will be. You see, therefore, if you consider the matter, that the path of reason and escape is closed to you on every side, so that the resurrection of the dead will in no way take place in the manner you describe.”

Section V

“But what I said, that you observe not even the least thing among the commandments of the law, needs no proof from either authority or reason, since it is plainly evident. For you neither sacrifice the lamb as a victim morning and evening, nor celebrate the burnt offerings of Sabbaths, new moons, and ceremonies, nor observe the other sacrifices and ceremonies.

“But you say: ‘We are not to be reproved concerning the precepts of the law which we do not observe at all, since we are exiles from our homeland and lack a temple and lawful priests.’”

"'For because we sinned in His sight, He grew angry and cast us out of the land where we cannot observe His precepts. Therefore our inability will neither be imputed to us nor charged against us until the time comes when we return to our land. Then we shall fulfill His precepts, and our sacrifices will be acceptable to the Lord.'

"I answer: Certainly, if your sacrifices had been acceptable to God, He would not have cast you out of the land so that you could not fulfill the things which He had commanded you to do. Rather, that which the Lord foretold through many of His prophets has been fulfilled: namely, that these legal or ceremonial observances of yours would cease at the coming of Christ, whom you still expect to come. But it is now one thousand four hundred and eighty-four years since He whom you believe will be a mere man has already come. And Scripture says: 'Behold, God and man shall come.'

"But in you will be fulfilled what the Lord Jesus Himself, true God and man, foretold to you, preaching to you: 'I came in the name of My Father, and you did not receive Me,' namely as your Messiah and Christ. 'Another will come in his own name,' namely Antichrist, seeking his own glory; 'him you will receive,' namely as Christ.

"The Jews therefore err in many things. For they fashion God as corporeal and deny the Trinity of persons. They proclaim that the Christ, whom they say has not come but will come, will be a mere man, and that Jesus Christ our Lord was born from the seed of Joseph and Mary. They posit no purgatory and deny that original sin is contracted, but say that circumcision was given only as a sign distinguishing that people from the others; that their Messiah will confer liberty upon them and restore to them the land of promise; and that a future resurrection of bodies will endure for a thousand years for bodily delights.

"They have no scruple of conscience about taking usury from those to whom they lend. Many of them apply themselves to divinations. They make no matter of conscience for themselves concerning sins of thought. Moreover, by observing their ceremonies because they are commanded in the law, they Judaize, and consequently they sin mortally.

"For after Christ, true God and man, the Messiah promised to them in the law, had come, He revealed the secrets of the prophets and, when the veil of the law had been removed, disclosed the spiritual meaning that lay hidden. From that time the legal institutions ought to have been observed not according to the letter that kills, but according to the spirit that gives life, since the same One who had given the law understood it better than those who had been its hearers. Because they neglected to do this, God refused to receive the ancient observances. I give thanks to Him because He freed me from their error."

As for why Peter Alfonsi himself, after abandoning the law of Judaism, did not accept the law of Muhammad rather than that of Christ, although he had lived and been reared among them and knew their language and law, he answers that he did not adhere to it because that law is Epicurean, and its inventor Muhammad was not a prophet but a most wicked man. In composing it he was aided by certain heretics, namely Georgians and Jacobites, who observe circumcision; therefore he commands circumcision in that law.

Muhammad was most lustful and full of deceptions. He was distinguished by neither prophecy nor miracles, but falsely contrived certain things. Those to whom he first gave it, namely the people of Arabia, were rustic and devoted to bodily vices and idolatry; therefore he permitted several wives. So that he might appear to have some religion, he imposed the performance of certain fasts and prayers and abstinence from drinking wine.

Peter sets down in summary the precepts of that law and shows them to be irrational. It promises paradise to those who observe that law, but a paradise full of corporeal things and pleasures. Nevertheless, it does not say that anyone is to be compelled to adopt that law. Because these matters were discussed above in another title, I now say nothing further.

Title XVI

Chapter XIII

In the year of the Lord 1099, Jerusalem was captured by the worshipers of Christ and wrested from the hands of the Turks, who had captured and held it for a hundred years or thereabouts. This was accomplished while Godfrey, commander of the army, fought marvelously and indefatigably against the Turks with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace.

Because of the great virtues which Godfrey exercised in this undertaking, by the will of all he was made the first king of Jerusalem. In that kingdom there were successively seven kings, one after another. At length the faithful who dwelt in those regions were afflicted by many battles and devastations, both in Jerusalem and in the other cities captured by the faithful, while aid from the western peoples failed.

After the eighty-eight years during which the faithful held it, Jerusalem was again captured by the Turks, and it has been possessed by the Saracens until the present, together with the other cities of those regions, which the faithful entirely abandoned.

The preparation of the faithful to capture those lands was made over three years. For after a certain Peter the Hermit, visiting the Holy Land out of devotion, saw and understood the oppression of the faithful there, he returned from there and reported it to the lord Pope Urban. At a council celebrated at Clermont, Urban exhorted the prelates and princes who were present to furnish aid for the recovery of the Holy Land.

From that time many took up the cross, as was said above. That Peter the Hermit also encouraged them and the peoples as well.

Therefore, in the year of the Lord 1096, as Vincent relates after Sigebert, the western peoples grieved that the holy places were profaned by the nations and that the Turks had already invaded a great part of the territories of the Christians. Almost innumerable persons, moved by one inspiration, with many signs shown to them and each encouraged by the others—commanders, counts, powerful men, nobles and persons of no nobility, rich and poor, free and servile, bishops, monks, clerics, old men and young men, boys and girls—all ran together from every quarter with one mind, no one compelling them.

They came from Spain, Provence, Aquitaine, and Brittany; from Scotland and England; from Normandy, France, Lotharingia, and Burgundy; from Germany, Lombardy, Apulia, and other kingdoms. Signed and armed with the power and sign of the cross, they prepared to go and avenge the injuries done to God upon the enemies of the Christian name.

The more each person had hitherto been inclined to exercise the malice of the world, the more ready he now became to undertake voluntarily the warfare of God, while in the meantime the firmest peace was established everywhere.

First they attacked the Jews in the cities in which they lived and compelled them to believe in Christ. Those who refused to believe they deprived of their goods, slaughtered, and expelled from the cities. Some of the Jews, led by zeal for preserving the law of their fathers, slaughtered one another. Others pretended for a time that they believed and afterward returned to Judaism.

Prominent in this army of God were Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, and his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Anselm of Ribemont; Baldwin, count of Mons; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Blois; Hugh the Great, brother of Philip, king of the Franks; Robert, count of the Normans; Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles; Bohemond, duke of Apulia; Tancred, his nephew; and several other counts.

By apostolic authority an excellent man, Haymar [i.e., Adhemar], bishop of Le Puy, undertook the care of them all. By his counsel and teaching he was very useful to them until Antioch was captured. The aforesaid Peter the Hermit was also the instigator of this journey, and he remained usefully with the army of God in many circumstances until Jerusalem was captured.

As William says, never were so many nations seen to come together in one purpose. Their number surpassed human estimation, although it was estimated that sixty times one hundred thousand persons were all proceeding toward Jerusalem.

All these, awaiting an opportune time, undertook the path of that pilgrimage, some by sea and others by an overland route. For so many, as though infinite, thousands of peoples could not find necessities in any one region. It was therefore diligently arranged that each of the greater princes should lead his legions separately and that they should not depart by the same route.

Nowhere among all the many provinces which the West possesses was even one house idle, while from one a father of a household, from another a son, and from another the whole household prepared to migrate. The embraces of loved ones were separated from one another with sobs and sighs, and they said their final “Farewell” to one another.

Therefore, in the year from the Lord’s Incarnation 1096, a certain nobleman named Walter, a prudent man and vigorous in arms, passed through the kingdom of the Germans with a vast multitude of companies of foot soldiers and descended into Hungary. Having traversed it, he entered Bulgaria and, passing through the forests of the Ernenian region, reached Stralicia, the

eminent metropolis of inland Dacia. There he received guides for the road from the duke of the aforesaid city, and after some days arrived unharmed at Constantinople.

When he arrived there, he was introduced into the presence of the aforesaid lord and obtained from him permission to winter in places near the city until the arrival of Peter the Hermit, at whose command he had undertaken the journey.

But Peter the Hermit followed him after no great interval of time with an innumerable army which he had gathered from many nations, whose number was said to reach forty thousand armed men. Because of the people's disobedience and stubbornness, he suffered many adversities on that journey. For in Bulgaria, because of the robberies, depredations, and other enormities which they committed, that people became intolerable to the inhabitants, and nearly ten thousand were killed.

Moreover, Peter lost all the money which he had collected from the generosity of the faithful princes so that he might supply from it the necessities of the poor and needy on the journey. Having suffered this misfortune, they hastened their journey and reached Constantinople. Finding Walter there, they joined their armies at the emperor's command and awaited the greater princes.

When they had rested there for some days, refreshed by provisions, at the command of the emperor of Constantinople they crossed the Hellespont in prepared ships and passed into Bithynia, which is the first province of Asia. There they encamped not far from the sea, in a place called Civitos. The aforesaid place was situated on the frontier of the enemy.

When the pilgrims' army had remained there for almost two months amid an abundance of many things, they did not lack a supply of goods for sale, which were carried to them daily from the city of Constantinople. Enervated by this abundance of things and by idleness together, they began, against the will of their magistrates, to form separate bands and to ravage the region for ten or more miles, carrying away flocks and herds with them.

When they had often done this prosperously, at last about three thousand Germans and two thousand cavalry left the camp for this purpose. They were surrounded in ambushes by Solimann, who ruled the Turks in that region, and were all killed to the last man.

After this was heard in the camp, everyone ran to arms, and all with one accord, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to avenge the blood of their slain brothers. When the elders of the army and those who had greater experience wished to restrain them and to moderate the indiscriminate fury of the raging people, the untamed populace rose against them, ascribing to cowardice rather than prudence the fact that they did not pursue the killers of their brothers with an avenging sword.

Therefore, having drawn up their battle lines, about twenty-five thousand foot soldiers and about five hundred excellent armored cavalry hastened toward those regions. They had scarcely advanced three miles when, behold, the aforesaid Solimann arrived with an innumerable multitude of Turks. When he arrived, our men, compressing themselves together, received the advancing Turks manfully with their swords.

At last our men, oppressed by the multitude of the enemy, broke ranks and turned in flight. The Turks pursued them as far as their camp and killed almost all of them. Among them the aforesaid Walter was also killed. Thus the stubborn and intractable people, because they could not acquiesce in the counsels of their betters, fell by their own impulse and descended into destruction, consigned to the swords of the enemy.

After these things, a certain priest named Gondecalcus [i.e., Gottschalk], a German by birth, undertook the journey with fifteen thousand armed men and entered the borders of Hungary. There, when goods for sale were most abundantly supplied to his army at the king's command, they abused the abundance of food, gave themselves to drunkenness, and turned to inflicting enormous injuries upon the natives, even to the point of practicing plunder.

When this became known to the lord king, he was inflamed with just anger. Summoning his military forces for vengeance upon such great injuries, he rushed upon them and carried out a most savage slaughter, making no distinction between the just and the impious. Nevertheless, some escaped the common peril and, through the exceedingly great mercy of the Lord, avoided the swords of the Hungarians and returned to their own lands.

At the same time, after a short interval, innumerable crowds had assembled from the western regions with the same purpose. They proceeded everywhere imprudently, without commander or ruler. There were, however, some noble men among them, but the people, impatient of discipline, submitted to them in nothing. Disregarding the teaching of the prudent, they ranged freely everywhere and without guidance through every unlawful act.

Hence it came about that, although they ought to have completed the journey they had begun in the fear of the Lord, they turned to madness and cruelly slaughtered the Jewish people, who had done no such thing to them, in the cities and towns through which they passed.

All these, having traversed Germany, reached the borders of the Hungarians. When they came to a place called Zaborthg and found the passage closed, they encamped on this side of the bridges. For that place was a very strongly fortified stronghold, protected by the very great rivers Danube and Linthace, and surrounded besides by deep marshes.

The king of Hungary had commanded that passage be denied to those wishing to cross, fearing that, mindful of the injuries which he had recently inflicted upon Gottschalk's legions, they might begin to arm themselves against him if admitted within his kingdom.

Therefore, when they saw themselves excluded from entrance into the kingdom, presuming upon their multitude, they repaired their arms, made a bridge over the river, and attacked the stronghold from every side. While they labored more intently in its assault and had already pierced the walls of the town in many places, so that entrance lay open to the pilgrims, suddenly, because their demerits demanded it, terror was divinely sent upon them. Abandoning the assault, they turned in flight, entirely ignorant of the cause of their flight.

No other cause is said to have existed except that by their manifold sins they had provoked God to wrath. For, according to the word of the wise man, "The impious man flees when no one pursues." When the Hungarians saw that the enemy's ranks had turned their backs, they pursued them and made a great slaughter among them.

Their number, as it is written, had been about two hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand cavalry. The greater part of them, despairing of the journey, returned to their own lands. The others, however, turned through Italy and, arriving in Apulia, afterward reached Greece by ship. At Durazzo they joined their forces to certain princes who had already arrived there.

Section I

In the same year, in the month of August, on the fifteenth day, the magnificent lord Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, undertook the journey. The noble men who joined his camp were the lord Baldwin, his brother; Iecerinus, count of Annonia; the count of Saint-Pol; the count of Grees; the count of Toul; Baldwin of Bourg; and many other nobles and barons who followed his camp.

All these, proceeding together in one undivided company, reached the borders of Hungary. Having with difficulty obtained entrance into it, because they were prudent men and held God before their eyes, they traversed it with complete peace, passed through Bulgaria, overcame the passes which are commonly called those of Saint Basil, and reached Philippopolis.

There they learned that the lord Hugh the Great, brother of the king of the Franks, a prince who had preceded the others with many noble men, had been captured through treachery by the emperor of Constantinople and was being held in chains. With all speed they sent messengers and earnestly entreated the emperor to permit those nobles, whom he held in chains without fault, to depart.

When this was flatly denied them by the aforesaid emperor, they were deservedly indignant and by the common counsel of all exposed that whole region to plunder by their armies. Hearing this, the emperor feared that such and so strong an army might penetrate into the interior of the empire, and permitted the aforesaid noble men to depart freely to their own people.

Therefore, as they approached Constantinople, Duke Godfrey, who commanded the army of pilgrims, was often summoned by the emperor but refused to go to him, because he deservedly held the emperor's treachery in suspicion. The emperor, conceiving very great indignation on this account, prohibited the market in provisions to the people who had arrived with the duke.

When the princes saw the people's want, by common counsel they again ranged far and wide through the suburbs and brought every kind of abundance of food into the camp. Therefore the emperor again commanded that commerce be restored.

After these things, because the emperor regarded the Latins' assurances as suspect, he caused a multitude to be assembled in his empire, although our men took no precautions for themselves. Suddenly sending in the armies of his legions, he attacked our men. At first some were wounded and some were also killed. At length the pilgrims ran to arms, killed many of them, delivered others into bonds, and compelled the rest to flee within the city.

When war had now broken out and attacks were made from both sides every day, while the Greeks were always routed and fled in confusion as unwarlike men, the emperor was deservedly afraid. This was especially so because the number of pilgrims multiplied from day to day and the arrival of certain princes was reported to be near.

He therefore sent trustworthy and solemn messengers to them and caused them to be asked about peace. Although the faithful people of the pilgrims had no doubt that they had taken up arms against the Greeks with just zeal, nevertheless, holding the fear of God before their eyes and considering their purpose, they feared to turn against a Christian people the arms which they had borne against the infidels. Therefore, obeying the proposals of peace, they returned to full concord with the emperor.

When this had been done, the emperor opened his treasuries and conferred immense gifts in gold, gems, and other precious jewels upon both the lord duke and the other princes, so that, laden with gifts to the highest degree, they marveled at the emperor's munificence.

But in truth, what he conferred upon the princes as though liberally proceeded neither from liberality nor from grace, but from fear and fraudulent cunning. Because our men walked in simplicity of spirit and sincere faith, they could scarcely be persuaded of the malice of the Greeks and the wicked fraud of their prince, especially since he overflowed toward them with such great liberality and feigned favor.

When the duke heard of the arrival of the other princes, at the emperor's urging he crossed the Hellespont with his army in prepared ships, passed over into Bithynia, and encamped in the district of Chalcedon. That place was very near Constantinople, separated from it only by the interposition of the Hellespont, which we call the Arm of Saint George. Consequently, those drawn by urgent business could go to the royal city and return to the camp by ship three or four times in a day without difficulty.

The fact that the emperor had compelled the army of pilgrims by persuasion to cross the strait did not proceed from sincerity of faith. Rather, using his customary fraud, he circumvented the duke so that, when the other princes arrived, their forces could not be joined to his. He also compelled the others who followed afterward to cross separately by the same device, so that the armies of pilgrims were never together before the city of Constantinople.

Section II

Therefore, after the whole army of the pilgrims had crossed the Hellespont and come together in Bithynia, it was made one army of the living God. When the number of the legions was counted there, they were found to have six hundred thousand foot soldiers and one hundred thousand armored cavalry.

All these, with one mind, besieged and captured Nicaea, a most populous city. The lord of that city, or rather of the region and at the same time of the adjoining provinces, was a certain most powerful satrap of the Turks named Solimann, a man mighty and vigorous in arms. He possessed all the provinces from Tarsus in Cilicia as far as the Hellespont.

When he heard of the arrival of our men, he gathered great forces of Turks from the whole eastern region, hoping that, relying upon their aid, he might rescue the aforesaid city and the entire region from the impending dangers. But before the capture of the city of Nicaea he was defeated in battles by the pilgrims and put to flight.

The city of Nicaea was captured in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1097, in the month of June, on the twentieth day. At the command of the princes they continued their journey and proceeded toward Antioch.

On this journey the lord Bohemond, Robert, count of the Normans, Stephen of Blois, the lord Tancred, and the count of Saint-Pol preceded the other forces. They had scarcely gone two miles away from the greater camp when, behold, Solimann suddenly rushed upon them. Mindful of the injuries by which he had lost an eminent city, his wife, and his children, who had been captured in its conquest, he yearned with all his strength to repay them in kind. He had already killed many and almost turned the rest to flight when, behold, the lord Godfrey came flying like lightning with the rest of the army, having hastened after being informed by messengers of his companions' danger. Rushing with his men upon the enemies of the faith, he turned them in flight, not without slaughter among them.

It is said that on that day as many as three thousand powerful and distinguished men fell from the enemy's number. Of our common people and the lowest populace, of both sexes mingled together, four thousand fell. This battle took place on the day of the Kalends of November [read: the Kalends of July].

Departing from there and continuing the journey they had begun, they traversed all Bithynia and entered Pisidia. When they descended into a certain region of it, they suffered a great scarcity of water, to such a degree that many failed because of the distress of thirst. At length, with the Lord assisting, they were rescued from these dangers and descended into a plentiful and fertile region near Antioch the Lesser, which is the metropolis of Pisidia.

Here certain of the princes first deliberately separated from the army, drawing their troops apart. The first of these was the lord Baldwin, brother of Duke Godfrey, with seven thousand armored men. The second was the lord Tancred, with five thousand cavalry and not many foot soldiers.

Tancred descended into Cilicia and besieged Tarsus, the metropolis of that province. Tarsis, the second of the sons of Javan, son of Japheth, son of Noah, is said to have founded this city, although Solinus thinks otherwise concerning the foundation of this city, asserting that it was built by Perses.

When they had already compelled the citizens to surrender, the lord Baldwin arrived with larger forces, expelled the lord Tancred, and claimed the city for himself, after expelling from it the Turks who ruled there. The citizens who inhabited it were faithful, but, having abandoned the use of arms, devoted their labor only to agriculture and commerce, while paying tribute to the Turks.

Tancred, however, withdrawing from Tarsus, captured Anustria, a noble city of the same province, after expelling the Turks from it, and subjected the whole adjoining region to his dominion.

Moreover, after the lord Baldwin had reduced Tarsus to his power, he attacked the cities and fortresses of that region, with a certain Armenian commander named Pangratius as his guide, putting the Turks to flight and killing them. When his name had now become renowned, he was called by the citizens of Edessa and was made their lord and governor.

Edessa is a noble city of Mesopotamia which by another name is called Rages of the Medes. For this city, filled with faithful citizens, had preserved until that time the faith which they had received from the time of the apostles. But until then they suffered daily beneath the yoke of the infidels. When Baldwin had obtained lordship of the city, he attacked and put to flight the infidels all around and subjected the entire region to his lordship.

Section III

Meanwhile, while the lord Baldwin labored around the region of Edessa, the greater army reached Antioch after capturing all the cities on its road and putting the Turks to flight.

Antioch is a glorious and noble city, having obtained the third or second degree of dignity after Rome, and is the chief and ruler of all the provinces contained within the eastern region. In ancient times it was called Reblata. Zedekiah, king of Judah, was led there before Nebuchadnezzar's sight, and at his command Zedekiah's sons were cruelly killed in his presence.

After the death of Alexander the Great of Macedon, Antiochus, who obtained part of his kingdom after his death, as was said above, surrounded it with towers and a very strong wall, commanded that it be called Antioch after his own name, and established it as the capital of his kingdom.

In this city the prince of the apostles, blessed Peter, held the priestly chair. In this city the first assembly of the faithful was held, in which the name of Christians was also established. For previously those who followed Christ's teaching were called Nazarenes or disciples. Afterward, however, from the name derived from Christ, by the authority of that synod all the faithful were called Christians. The patriarch of that city is said to have twenty provinces within his jurisdiction.

Antioch is situated in the province called Coele-Syria and has a most convenient and delightful position. For it is almost entirely watered by springs and streams. Two mountains of marvelous height are also enclosed within the circuit of the city. On the summit of one of them, which appears higher, is situated a most strongly fortified stronghold. These two mountains are separated by a very deep but narrow valley, through which a torrent sent down from above flows through the middle of the city. Some assert the length of the city to be two miles and others three. It is ten or twelve miles distant from the sea.

The lord of this eminent city was a certain man named Anexianus [i.e., Yaghi-Siyan], a Turk by nation, who had belonged to the household of the great and most powerful prince, the sultan of the Persians. As we said above, the sultan had violently subjected all those provinces to his empire. Wishing, however, to return to his own lands, he distributed all the regions which he had claimed for himself among his nephews and household servants.

In this distribution, the city of Nicaea with its provinces was conferred upon his nephew Solimann. To a certain nephew of his named Ducat he conferred the city of Damascus. To a certain servant of his named Assunghur he conferred the most famous city of Aleppo. To this Anexianus, of whom the discussion concerns, he also granted the city of Antioch with modest territories, for the Egyptian caliph possessed the regions of Syria as far as Laodicea.

Thus our men, arriving before this most strongly fortified city, besieged it for eight continuous months. But because the city extended in a great circuit, they were unable to surround it on every side, although the number of those among them who could draw the sword was said to be three hundred thousand.

It would take long to enclose within the pen each individual event that occurred on almost every day during that siege prolonged for so great a time. For our army was almost endangered by famine. Moreover, the citizens, making frequent sallies, inflicted many losses upon our men.

Nevertheless, while all with one mind persisted with all their strength in attacking the city, a report resounded that a certain most powerful prince of the Persians, at the entreaty of the people of Antioch, was sending innumerable forces from his entire empire to their aid, and it was now held for certain that they were stationed nearby.

Our princes therefore assembled and began to deliberate with one another about what ought to be done in so great a necessity. Some advised that, abandoning the city, they should go out to meet the approaching multitude and experience the fortune of battle. Others thought that the greater part should go out to meet them while the remainder continued the siege.

Bohemond, prince of the men of Taranto, a vigorous man and very experienced in such matters, rejected both courses, setting forth his reasons and saying: "Whether we all go out, as some wish, or some part remains in the camp, we appear to have spent our labor, zeal, and expenses uselessly over so long a time. For if everyone goes out, the siege will be dissolved, and the citizens within the walls will join the enemy according to their pleasure or admit those arriving within the walls. But if part of the army

remains in the camp, how will one part be able to restrain the citizens within the city when all of us together can scarcely restrain them?

“Therefore, fathers, it appears to me that all our intention ought to hasten toward this: that before the arrival of so great an army the city should first descend into our dominion. If you ask the means, it is ready at hand. I have a faithful friend in the city. He has in his power a most strongly fortified tower, which he is prepared to surrender to me under certain conditions. For this transaction I have promised to give him much money.

“If it seems good to your greatness that the city, captured by our solicitude and zeal, should pass into our power to be possessed by hereditary right, I am prepared to fulfill the agreement with my aforesaid friend. Otherwise, let any one of you labor, and by whatever endeavor he can obtain the city, so far as I am concerned I concede it to him.”

Hearing these things, the princes rejoiced with great joy and assented to his request with a grateful mind, except for the count of Toulouse. They granted the city with its appurtenances to Bohemond, to be possessed perpetually by hereditary right.

At that time there were among the other faithful in the same city two brothers born of the same mother. The elder of them, Emirferyus, was a man of very great power and very familiar with the lord of the city. When he heard that the lord Bohemond was a magnificent prince, he immediately gained his favor through faithful messengers while the city was under siege, so that almost every day he informed him more fully concerning the condition of the city.

Therefore, when the council had been dissolved, Bohemond, being a solicitous man, approached this friend through messengers so that what they had agreed with one another might be fulfilled. When he heard this, Emirferyus rejoiced. Because he had only one brother and could not bring so great a transaction to the desired end without him, although he had concealed that transaction from him until that day, he wished to test whether his brother would cooperate with him in the transaction.

When he began from afar and by certain light words first to reveal the mystery to him, he found him greatly abhorrent from this pious purpose, indeed execrating the work of our men. Thus he who had previously doubted whether he should communicate the plan to his brother now, shunning him as though a pestilence, execrated him in his conscience. Lest the service of Christ be impeded through him, he began to plan his death, preferring the public salvation of the faithful to brotherly charity.

That night, when the city had given itself to sleep, the aforesaid man, seeing that an opportune hour for accomplishing the affair had presented itself, signified through a messenger to the lord Bohemond that he should come swiftly with chosen men. Hearing this, the lord Bohemond secretly summoned the other princes, and with his household company they suddenly stood before the tower.

Meanwhile the aforesaid man entered that tower and killed in his bed his brother, whose mind he knew to be opposed to his purpose, while he slept. When this had been done, a rope was let down, and the princes began to ascend in the name of God. The first was the lord Bohemond; after him came the count of Flanders and Tancred; after them the others ascended.

Clothed with strength from on high and led by the aforesaid man who had introduced them, they occupied ten towers without challenge, killing their guards. When this had been done, they descended to the gate, broke it open by force, and admitted those who were waiting outside.

Recognizing that dawn had now arrived, they gave a signal with a trumpet and admitted into the city the others who had remained in the camps. Running through the city and breaking into houses, they carried out no small slaughter.

The citizens, hearing the tumult, rose from their beds. Seeing the slaughter of their people which was taking place everywhere through the streets, they understood the affair as it was and attempted to flee, abandoning their houses. But, falling among the ranks of armed men, they were cut down. Many nevertheless departed through the gates or, being lowered over the wall, ascended into the mountains and preserved their lives. Among them Anixianus [i.e., the same Yaghi-Siyan], the lord of the city, left the city and was found and killed by certain Armenians while he fled.

Our men, having obtained the city, found absolutely no food within it. This was no wonder, since the city had now been enclosed by siege for almost nine months. Yet so many and such great riches in gold, silver, and precious stones were found that the man who had previously begged while starving, now made wealthier, abounded beyond all others.

Antioch was therefore captured in the year from the Lord’s Incarnation 1098, on the third day of the month of June.

On the third day after the capture of the city, the aforesaid most powerful prince arrived with forces said to be even greater and enclosed the city on every side with his men. Thus the Christian people, who a few days before had besieged the same city and violently claimed it for themselves, now—with the roles reversed, as affairs are wont to change—sustained a most grievous siege and were afflicted beyond measure by starvation.

Section IV

Therefore, when the city was thus surrounded on every side by the unbelieving people and the faithful people were no longer permitted to leave or enter, the condition of our men became far worse. For since no food was brought in, a famine more violent than usual arose in the city, so that through lack of provisions and the bitterness of hunger the populace descended to shameful things.

There was no difference among foods even among the delicate, nor was there any legal distinction of clean things from unclean. It was therefore pitiable to behold the stronger men, upon whose strength they especially relied, running about the squares and streets begging, leaning upon staffs with downcast faces because of excessive weakness. Scarcely anyone among so great a people had enough for himself.

Why say more? Camels, asses, oxen, horses, mules, and any unclean things—whenever it was granted to have any of these—were regarded as the greatest delicacies. To relate what happened to each person and in how great a need the pious people labored for Christ would depart far from the brevity of a history and would require individual treatises. But, in summary, scarcely any history records that elsewhere so many princes and so great an army bore such great hardships without failing and with such patience.

Meanwhile William of Grantamesitil, a noble man, and others who had fled with him at the beginning of the siege reached Alexandria the Lesser, boarded ships, and came to Smyrna. The emperor of Constantinople was in that place with his forces and was hastening to the aid of our princes.

Apart from the armies which he had gathered from all nations, about forty thousand Latins were joined to him. Because of certain urgent causes, they had been left in the emperor's lands by the armies which had gone before.

When William and his companions arrived, the emperor asked them about the condition of our princes and armies. To conceal their flight and perpetual infamy, they falsely contrived many things, asserting: "Antioch has been captured, but so great a famine has worn away the army of the faithful that very few survive from so great an army. Moreover, Corbonach, the most powerful prince of the Persians, has surrounded the same city in siege with infinite eastern forces. But our people within have been so diminished by hunger, cold, and slaughter that they scarcely appear sufficient for the defense of the city.

"Therefore, seeing that the affairs of our brothers could not proceed as desired, we often approached them so that they might consult for themselves and cease wishing to undertake an impossible thing. Since we could not recall them from their purpose, we took care to provide for our own safety, lest we be enveloped in equal calamities. Now, if it pleases you, cease to advance, lest your legions be enveloped in equal dangers."

Hearing these things, the emperor took common counsel with his men and decided to return. Thus it came about through the work of the aforesaid wicked men that the army, although greatly needing it, did not receive the aid which the Christian emperor had prepared according to his agreement.

Nevertheless, when the matter is considered more inwardly and diligently examined, this redounded to the glory of our Latin princes. For it was fitting that those who had borne the burden of the day and heat should carry back the glory for their labors. But if the emperor had been present with his forces, because of his preeminent authority the palm of victory would deservedly have belonged to him. Therefore it is believed to have been procured by the Lord that those who had labored faithfully and devoutly amid innumerable dangers should carry back the fruit of their labor and the title of victory.

Section V

Corbonach, however, who not undeservedly feared the emperor's arrival, heard of his withdrawal and, as though now secure of victory, pressed our men within the city at his pleasure. Hence our men fell into so great an abyss of desperation that no hope of safety now appeared to remain.

For this reason it is said that even the princes, despairing of safety, held a private council among themselves and secretly decreed that, abandoning the people, they themselves should flee secretly by night to the sea. When this became known to Duke Godfrey and to the venerable lord bishop of Le Puy, they summoned them to themselves and assailed them with just rebukes.

While the people of God were thus afflicted, the Lord looked upon them, sending to them consolation from His majesty. For blessed Andrew appeared to a certain cleric from the province of Provence, who was exceedingly devoted to him, admonishing him to announce to the princes that they should seek the lance with which the side of our Lord Jesus Christ had been pierced, deposited in the church of blessed Peter. He designated its place to him by certain signs.

When the cleric had done this and they had been led at his suggestion to that same place, they dug the earth somewhat deeply and found the lance just as it had been foretold to them by the cleric. When the people heard this, as though from consolation sent to them from heaven, they began in some measure to be relieved from their distresses.

Renewing their vow, they bound themselves by oaths bodily sworn that they would not depart from one another until, with the Lord as author, they restored the holy city to its former liberty.

When they had labored for twenty-six continuous days under so miserable an affliction, the people began again to return to heart, to gird their loins with courage, and to join battle with the enemy. Therefore, on the night preceding the appointed day of battle, while they prepared their arms and made ready the horses, no place was given to sleep.

When morning came, around the twilight of day, the priests and ministers of the Lord celebrated the divine rites throughout the churches. Before the people went out to battle, they first confessed their sins with humility and fortified themselves with the body and blood of the Lord. When this had been done, so great a grace was divinely poured into them that those who yesterday and the day before yesterday could scarcely lift themselves over the thresholds, as though sluggish and cast down, now came forth in public and promised one another the palm of victory. The bishops and the other priests likewise, clothed in sacred vestments, blessed the people for battle.

Assembling at the earliest dawn on the fourth day before the Kalends of July and invoking aid from above, they drew up twelve battle lines. The last, which was more densely filled than the others, was commanded by the illustrious prince, the lord Bohemond.

In the departure of our men from the city there occurred something very worthy of memory. A certain most sweet dew, sent from above, slight but most welcome, descended upon the army of our men. It was so gentle that the Lord seemed, as it were, to have poured His blessing and grace into it.

For whoever was sprinkled by that shower received such complete gladness of mind and body that there appeared to be no labor and no hardship in that entire expedition. Not only to the men, but also to the horses, their former vigor was restored to such a degree that, although for many preceding days they had had nothing but leaves and the bark of trees for fodder, throughout that whole day they surpassed in moderation and endurance of labor the horses of the enemy, which had been fed on barley and straw.

Meanwhile, when the prince of the enemy understood that our men had gone out from the city, he too drew up his battle lines. But our men, advancing toward them step by step, first sent three battle lines rushing manfully upon them; and the other lines that followed attacked the enemy with no lesser force. Thus the battle was fought most fiercely on both sides. When they had now fought for a long time on equal terms, the last battle line arrived, over which the lord Bohemond presided. He rushed upon the enemy with so great a force that, when their compact formations had been broken apart, they were turned to flight. But Corbonach, seeing his battle lines broken apart, himself took refuge in flight and consulted his own safety.

Our men pursued the yielding enemy for a long time. Nevertheless, fearing the failure of their horses, they did not presume to pursue them farther, with the exception of the lord Tancred, who with certain others pursued the enemy, striking them down, until sunset. When the battle had been completed, our men returned to the enemy's camp, where they found so great an abundance of necessary things and so great a store of eastern riches that there was neither number nor measure of the gold, silver, gems, and precious garments. So great an abundance of horses and herds, and also of grain and provisions, was found that even those who had previously labored under the utmost want no longer knew what they should choose. Our princes obtained this victory in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1098, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of June.

Section VI

When affairs in the city had therefore been put in order, the Christian people remained in the city for some time. There, from hidden causes, a great destruction arose among the people, so that scarcely any day passed on which thirty or forty funerals were not presented. Nearly the entire female sex also perished there, so that within a few days fifty thousand died. The venerable man the lord Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, also died.

During this intervening time, therefore, our princes dispersed and moved their forces separately. They occupied many cities around Antioch, while they made others tributary to themselves. But on the Kalends of September, as had been agreed among them, they came together into one body and undertook the journey toward Jerusalem. After passing through many regions and storming many cities, they came to the city of Tripoli, for it was a great and populous city. Its inhabitants, hearing of the arrival of our men, went out to meet them in battle, but by divine action they were defeated and put to flight.

When our men had besieged the city for some time, the people began to murmur and to cry out that, abandoning that siege, they should undertake the journey toward Jerusalem. The princes, wishing to satisfy the people, therefore raised the siege and undertook the journey, following the seacoast. On the third day they came down before the city of the people of Beirut. Then, passing Sidon and Tyre, they came to the plain that is not far from Acre. Proceeding from there, leaving Galilee on their left and passing Caesarea, after the third day they encamped in a plain not far from Joppa.

Having learned that the noble city of Ramla was nearby, they sent the lord count of Flanders ahead to it with five hundred horsemen. Finding the city empty, they entered it without anyone opposing them. For during the preceding night the citizens, having learned beforehand of the arrival of our men, had abandoned the city with their whole households and fled to the mountains. But our men, coming to the city, passed three days there amid every abundance of wine, oil, and grain.

Meanwhile, the Jerusalemites, made more certain of the arrival of the Christians and knowing for certain that the entire multitude said to be coming had as its special and principal purpose the obtaining of that city, fortified the city with as much care as they could, gathering the necessities of sustenance and kinds of weapons. Moreover, the Egyptian prince, who in that year with great labor had recovered the aforesaid city after expelling the garrison of the Turks, on learning that our army had departed from Antioch, had ordered the walls of the city to be repaired with as much diligence as he could.

Furthermore, they all assembled together and decreed that, after killing all the faithful who dwelt in Jerusalem, they would demolish completely the Church of the Lord's Resurrection and tear the tombs out of it by the roots, lest on their account, or for the sake of prayer, the people of the faithful should thereafter propose to approach and frequent the city. But at length, recognizing that by this action they would inflame still greater hatred against themselves among our peoples, they changed their counsel and desisted. Nevertheless, after despoiling the faithful who dwelt in the city, they expelled them all from the city together with the lord patriarch. Hiding themselves in suburban bonds [read: villages] until the arrival of our men, they awaited death from day to day.

After our men had completed three days at Ramla, they undertook the journey and began to approach the city. Knowing that the venerable places for which they had endured so many labors were now nearby, when they had proceeded only a little they beheld the holy city from close at hand. Pouring forth tears because of spiritual joy, they glorified God, who had deigned graciously to hear the vows of His people, so that according to their desires they had merited to arrive at the places for which they had longed. The prophecy that had been foretold through the prophet appeared to have been fulfilled: "Lift up your eyes round about, Jerusalem, and see the power of the king. Behold, your Savior comes to release you from the bond."

Section VII

It is certain that the holy city Jerusalem, beloved by God, is situated upon lofty mountains; the authority of the ancients hands down that it was placed in the tribe of Benjamin. On the west it has the tribe of Simeon, the region of the Philistines, and the Mediterranean Sea. On the east it has the streams of the Jordan and the wilderness adjoining it. On the south it has the lot of Judah, in which is Bethlehem, the familiar resting place of the Lord and the happy site of the cradle of the Lord's nativity. On the north it has the city of Gibeon of Joshua the son of Nun, distinguished by victory and renowned for the miracle of the sun made stationary, having the tribe of Ephraim.

Jerusalem is the metropolis of Judea, situated in a place altogether lacking streams, woods, springs, and pastures. According to the histories of the ancients, it was first called Salem and afterward Jebus; from the Jebusite it was called Jebusalem. Afterward, however, when his son Solomon reigned as king, it was called Jerusalem, as though "the Jebusalem of Solomon." The city is both smaller than the greatest cities and larger than those of middling size. It is oblong in form and quadrangular, with one side longer than the other.

It is situated upon two mountains, the summits of which are for the most part contained within the circuit of the wall, separated by a small valley that also divides the city through the middle. Of these, the mountain on the west is called Mount Zion. The other, on the east, is called Mount Moriah, where Abraham wished to sacrifice Isaac and on which, according to what sacred history contains, Solomon built a temple to the Lord.

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1099, on the seventh day of the month of June, the army of the Christians encamped before the city. The number of those arriving is said to have been about forty thousand of our men, of whom scarcely twenty thousand were serviceable foot soldiers. There were, however, one thousand five hundred horsemen. Within the city there were said to be forty thousand strong and very well-armed men.

On the fifth day after our army came to the city, they prepared with one mind to attack it. When the whole army had now labored at this for four weeks, on the eleventh day of the month of July they attacked the city with one mind. Until the seventh hour of the day the contest remained quite uncertain and doubtful, without a sure victory. When our men, already wearied by great labor, began to press on more weakly, the people gradually fell back while the enemy taunted them.

But suddenly divine power came to their aid and brought consolation to the affairs of the faithful, which were already desperate. For from the Mount of Olives a certain knight, girded with shining arms, who afterward did not appear, gave a sign to our legions that they should return and repeat the assault anew. When this sign had been seen, our army was gladdened and returned with greater courage to attack the city. So great was the ardor of their spirits that those who, weary or wounded, had withdrawn their labor now recovered their courage, offered themselves voluntarily, and pressed on with greater spirit.

So great was the joy in the camps of our men that, as though already certain of victory, within the space of one hour they leveled the ditch, broke through a certain outer wall, and applied to the wall a tower that they had constructed from timbers. The citizens, however, had suspended trees of very great height and immense solidity from the wall so that they might break the blows of the machines. Our men who were in the aforesaid tower cut the ropes by which two of those trees were bound and cast them down to the ground. When Duke Godfrey, who was attacking the city in that part, learned this, he ordered the said beams to be carried up into the tower. Placed with one end upon the machine and the other upon the wall, they served in place of a bridge.

When the bridge had thus been arranged, the illustrious man Duke Godfrey, with his brother Eustace, was the first of all to enter the city. After them many others followed. When the enemies upon the walls saw our men, they abandoned the towers and ramparts. But our men who had already entered the city, approaching at the duke's command the northern gate, which is called Saint Stephen's, opened it and admitted the people who were waiting. Running through the streets of the city with drawn swords, sparing neither age nor sex, they struck down everything by the edge of the sword. Moreover, a very great multitude of the pagans fled into the court of the Temple. Coming to them, the lord Tancred beheaded all whom he found there, who numbered nearly ten thousand.

Section VIII

When the city had been completely subdued, the people of the faithful laid down their arms and, in a spirit of humility, with groaning and tears, began with every devotion to go about the venerable places that our Savior, the Son of God, had willed to sanctify by His own presence. For it was most delightful to behold and full of spiritual gladness with how great a devotion the faithful people approached the holy places. Everywhere there were tears, everywhere sighs.

On the day of the city's capture, the lord Adhemar, the venerable man and bishop of Le Puy, the lord pope's legate, who, as we said before, had departed from life at Antioch, was seen by many in the holy city. Thus many venerable and trustworthy men asserted that they had seen him with their bodily eyes ascend the wall of the city first of all and encourage the others to enter the city. Many others who had fallen by various misfortunes in the service of God upon the said journey appeared in that city, visiting the venerable places with the others. By this it was manifestly given to be understood that, although they had departed from bodily life, nevertheless, being called to eternal beatitude, they were not deprived of their desire, but with complete affection obtained that which they had sought with pious zeal.

The aforesaid city was captured in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1099, on the fifteenth day of the month of July, on the sixth day of the week, at the ninth hour. It was the third year from the time when the Christian people had assumed the burden of so great a pilgrimage, while the lord Urban II presided over the Roman Church, the lord Henry IV was emperor of the Romans, and the lord Philip reigned in France.

When the holy city had therefore been restored to its former liberty by the Christian people, on the eighth day the princes assembled in order to choose someone from their company who would rule the region and expend royal care upon the acquired province. Invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit and agreeing with one another, they unanimously elected the lord Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, as king.

This Godfrey was from the kingdom of the Franks, from the province of Reims and the city of Boulogne. His father was the lord Eustace the Elder, count of that region. His mother was named Ida, the sister of Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, who was surnamed Struma. Later, when the latter was without children, he adopted this nephew of his, Godfrey, as his son; hence, when he died, Godfrey succeeded him in the duchy of Lotharingia.

Godfrey had three full brothers, namely, the lord Baldwin, count of Edessa; Eustace, count of Boulogne, who obtained the county of Boulogne after his father; and the third was William, who remained at home with his father when his two brothers set out for Jerusalem.

This duke was most illustrious, a religious, merciful, pious, and just man, slow and steadfast in speech. He despised the vanities of the world, which is rare at that age, especially in the military profession. Moreover, he was constant in prayers and assiduous in works of piety; he was also distinguished in affability and pleasing in liberality. He was handsome and tall in body, robust, with a comely face and blond hair and beard. In the use of arms and military exercise he was, in the judgment of all, almost singular; his deeds were always magnificent and worthy of admiration, and are recounted in celebrated history even to the present day.

Therefore, after the prince devoted to God obtained the kingdom, being a religious man, he immediately began to offer the firstfruits of his reign to the Lord. For at once he established regular canons in the Church of the Lord's Sepulcher and the Temple of the Lord, and assigned ample benefices to them. The man beloved by God had brought with him disciplined monks from cloisters, who throughout the entire journey ministered the divine offices for him at both the daytime and nighttime hours.

In those days, in a part of the Church of the Holy Resurrection, one portion of the Lord's Cross was found apart, which the faithful had hidden for fear of the gentiles. This circumstance brought great consolation to the faithful.

A most pious deed of this prince ought not to be passed over in silence. For, when raised to the kingship, he would not be adorned with a golden crown after the custom of kings in the holy city, in which the Restorer of the human race had borne a crown of thorns for our salvation even to the gibbet of the cross. Hence some do not even number him in the catalogue of the Latin kings of Jerusalem. To me, however, he appears not only a king but the best of kings, the light and mirror of others. For he must not be believed to have despised the gift of consecration, but humbly to have declined the pomp of the world and its perishable crown so that he might obtain elsewhere one that does not wither.

Section IX

Thus under the hand of the illustrious man Godfrey the kingdom began to gain strength. Since at that same time the most Christian princes had not yet dispersed from one another, the Egyptian prince who is called the caliph, the most powerful among the eastern peoples, had collected boundless armies. Summoning the commander of his army to himself, he commanded him to descend into Syria with all the forces of his kingdom and erase from the earth that barbarous people which had come from many regions of the west.

Obeying his lord's command, he descended into Syria with innumerable forces. When this was heard, our princes assembled together and, after completing their customary prayers before the Lord's Sepulcher, gathered their forces and advanced against the enemy. They had in all one thousand two hundred horsemen and nine thousand foot soldiers. Therefore, having drawn up the battle lines, commending the outcome of the affair to the Lord, and invoking aid from above, they manfully met the approaching enemy. Unable to withstand their first assault, the enemy were turned to flight. Our men pursued them and killed a great number of them. Returning to their camps, which were filled with many kinds of riches, they were sated even to nausea.

After these things had thus been accomplished, the princes beloved by God, the counts of the Normans and of the Flemings, returned to their own lands. But the count of the Normans, upon returning, found that his brother, the king of England who was surnamed Rufus, had died without children. Although the right of succession belonged to him as the elder, his younger brother Henry persuaded the princes of the kingdom that his brother had been established as king at Jerusalem and had no intention of returning. By this fraud he obtained the kingdom.

The brother therefore returned and began to claim the kingdom, but when Henry denied it to him altogether, he prepared a fleet and entered England by force. With mediators of peace intervening, peace was restored between them on these terms: namely, that the king would give his firstborn brother a fixed sum of money each year under the name of tribute. Afterward, however, notwithstanding the agreements, the king sailed with an army into Normandy, defeated his brother in battle, captured him, and consigned him to perpetual imprisonment. When he died there, the king succeeded him in all things.

When these princes had departed, the lord King Godfrey retained with himself the lord Tancred and Count Garnerius of Grees; with them and certain other nobles he governed the kingdom prudently and vigorously. In those days, the lord Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and the lord Baldwin, count of Edessa, hearing that our men had claimed the holy city for themselves, undertook the journey toward Jerusalem with twenty-five thousand armed men. After defeating the Turks who had prepared ambushes for them on the road, they arrived at Jerusalem safe and unharmed.

Indeed, since the church of Jerusalem had remained vacant until those days, by the common will of all they placed in the patriarchal seat the lord Daibert, a venerable man and archbishop of Pisa, who after the capture of the city had sailed to the Holy Land with many men from Italy. When this had been done, these two princes returned, the one to Antioch and the other to Edessa.

But after Bohemond returned, when he had rather hastily approached a certain city for the purpose of capturing it, he was captured by the Turks after many of his men had been lost. In that same year, which was the eleven-hundredth from the Lord's Incarnation, King Godfrey became ill. Perceiving that death threatened him, he received the viaticum of our salvation and, as a true confessor of Christ, entered upon the way of all flesh. In that year William, king of the English, a man most wicked of all, also died, in the thirteenth year of his reign and the forty-fourth year of his life, on the Nones of August.

Finally, when the lord Godfrey had been taken from this light, the lord Baldwin, his brother, count of Edessa, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was indeed a vigorous man, suitably imbued with the liberal disciplines. Moreover, he was ready for arms, tireless, and solicitous whenever the affairs of the kingdom called him. It appears superfluous to commend in him magnificence, courage, experience in military discipline, and the other gifts of his spirit. He had an aquiline nose, was grave in gait and slow in speech, and always bore a cloak hanging from his shoulders, so that to those who did not know him he appeared more a bishop than a secular prince. He afflicted the Turks and the other unbelieving nations in many battles and stormed many of their cities.

Section X

At the same time, when the western princes heard the great marvels that the Lord had wrought through His servants against the unbelievers in the east, and how He had overthrown nations before their face, they firmly conceived the purpose of renewing another expedition and setting out for the east. The greatest among them was the illustrious lord William, count of Poitou and likewise duke of Aquitaine; Hugh the Great, brother of the king of the Franks, who had also been in the first expedition but had been compelled by want of household means to return to his own lands; the lord Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, who, after Antioch had been captured, feared the future battle and received perpetual infamy through shameful flight; and the lord Stephen, count of Burgundy, together with many other nobles. Seeking to redeem his former disgrace, the count of Chartres undertook the same journey.

All these undertook the journey and came to Constantinople. From there, crossing the Hellespont with their legions, they came to Nicaea. But Alexius, the emperor of Constantinople, after the ancient custom of the Greeks, envied the successes of the Latins and secretly incited the enemies of the faith through messengers to destroy them. Whether deliberately or by chance, they were divided from one another and given into the hands of the enemy, so that in one day more than fifty thousand of both sexes indiscriminately fell. Those, however, who were divinely permitted to escape the enemy reached Tarsus in Cilicia after losing almost everything. Hugh the Great died in that place.

Afterward, drawn by devotion to see the holy places, they undertook the journey toward Jerusalem. They besieged Tortosa, a maritime city, broke into it by force, and reduced it to their power. In a certain shrine of that same city a vessel of the greenest color was found, fashioned in the form of a dish. The Genoese, judging it to be an emerald, received it for a great sum of money as their share of the booty promised to them by the king. Returning home, they offered it to their church as a great ornament. That vessel is shown even today in the said city of Genoa as a miracle, for the aforesaid Genoese say that it is truly an emerald and is that vessel or dish in which Jesus Christ, the Son of God, ate at supper with His disciples.

When the cities that the king had wrested from the hand of the unbelievers had been put in order, as he returned to the kingdom a report resounded that the Egyptian caliph was again directing boundless forces into Syria against the faithful. In their army there were said to be fifteen thousand horsemen and twenty thousand foot soldiers. When the king had learned their arrival for certain, he manfully met them with two hundred seventy horsemen and thirteen thousand foot soldiers, invoking aid from above. When battle was joined, by the cooperation of God’s grace he put them to flight. Our men pursued them and made a marvelous slaughter among them, their prince being killed.

In the same year, which was the year of the Lord’s Incarnation 1103, while King Baldwin was at Joppa, the unbelievers of Ascalon gathered a boundless multitude of their men and attacked the borders of the kingdom. When the king heard this, he took his forces and went out against them very impetuously; not fearing their multitude, he joined battle. But when our men had fought manfully for some time, at length, overwhelmed by the multitude, they were turned to flight after a great slaughter of the enemy. It is not read that so great a slaughter of noble men had occurred in the kingdom of Jerusalem down to that day. Among them fell the lord Stephen of Burgundy, count of Chartres.

The king nevertheless escaped and fled to the mountains. Although he was believed to be dead, he returned to Joppa. At length he attacked the enemy while they were running about here and there because of the victory, defeated them, killed and captured many, and turned the rest to flight.

In the fourth year of his reign, that same king, with a fleet of Genoese that in the same spring had put into the port of Joppa, captured the maritime city of Acre after it had been besieged for twenty continuous months [read: days], expelling the unbelievers from it. From this time safe tranquillity by sea was first opened to those visiting the Holy Land.

In the same year the lord Bohemond, prince of Antioch, together with the lord Tancred and the lord Baldwin of Bourcq, who had succeeded the lord king in the county of Edessa, came together. With a great company of nobles and of other persons, both horsemen and foot soldiers, they besieged the city of Harran near the city of Edessa. When with great persistence in fighting they had compelled the unbelieving citizens to surrender, a contention, poured forth among the princes at the instigation of envy, arose over whose banner should first be brought into the city.

While they contended, there suddenly arrived a boundless multitude of Turks who had hastened from the whole east to break the siege. They attacked our men, who were deprived of divine aid, and turned them to flight. When a great part of them had been killed, the lord count of Edessa and the lord Joncellinus, his kinsman, were captured. But the lord Bohemond and the lord Tancred fled to Edessa. Moreover, neither before nor afterward, anywhere in the whole east during the time of the Latins, is so perilous a battle and so great a slaughter of the strong men of our nation read to have occurred.

In the following year the lord Tancred, to whom Bohemond, voyaging in the west, had entrusted the principality of Antioch, defeated in battle and put to flight Rodoaham, a most powerful Turk, who had entered the borders of Antioch in hostility with a great company of his men, many of the latter being killed. The lord King Baldwin also laid low with a great slaughter the

Egyptians who were again rushing into the kingdom, four thousand of them being killed. Moreover, their fleet, while returning to Egypt, encountered a most savage tempest and nearly all of it perished.

Section XI

In the year of the Lord 1101, after many great victories had been obtained against the Saracens, the illustrious Godfrey, the first king after Jerusalem was captured, died. His aforesaid brother Baldwin succeeded him in that kingdom and reigned there for eighteen years. During them he three times overcame the Egyptians in battle and killed their caliph and king.

After the death of Baldwin I, Baldwin II, one of our people, reigned at Jerusalem for thirteen years. He killed Gazis, king of the Persians, after defeating him in battle, and laid low the kings of Damascus and Ascalon. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 1119. Because the Christians who crossed diligently from Europe were failing, Baldwin also summoned many of Christ's faithful from beyond the Jordan and caused them to dwell in Jerusalem together with his own people. In the year 1124 the Christians captured Tyre, the most flourishing city of the Phoenicians. Four years afterward, an earthquake overthrew Tyre itself, the greatest of cities, with a slaughter of the people.

The fourth king to reign in Jerusalem after the death of the aforesaid Baldwin was named Fulk, whose son-in-law he was. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 1131 and reigned for eleven years. During that time the Egyptians under various commanders harassed the Christians who held Jerusalem and in several places broke into their cities. On account of this the war was renewed, in which our men captured certain cities and made some tributary to themselves. In the year of the Lord 1139, Ascalon, a maritime city of Judea, was captured by the Christians. Finally, while the aforesaid Fulk, king of Jerusalem, was pursuing a hare, he fell by the mishap of his horse and died.

He was succeeded as fifth king by Baldwin III of that name, the son of the said Fulk. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 1142 and reigned for twenty-four years. Two years after he began to reign, the peoples of Mesopotamia were converted to the faith of Christ in a greater number of their men. In the year of the Lord 1147, Louis, king of France, moved Emperor Conrad, and with a vast multitude they at last crossed over to conquer the most sacred land in aid of the Christians who were continually failing there. But while they ran about rashly through Syria, they were oppressed by famine and returned empty in that same year. The Venetians also sent an auxiliary fleet in favor of the Christians.

In the year of the Lord 1151, the aforesaid Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, overcame the Egyptians and Babylonians, more than five thousand of them being killed. After these things Ferdinand, king of Spain, died in Arabia while fighting for the name of Christ.

In the year 1166, when Baldwin had died, a king named Amalric, the sixth, the brother of the aforesaid Baldwin, began to reign in Jerusalem. He reigned for twelve years. In the first year of his reign he divinely overcame Dragon, commander of the Egyptians, in battle. Around those times Saladin killed the Egyptian caliph, his lord, and took possession of his kingdom.

The seventh king of Jerusalem was Baldwin IV, the son of Amalric. He reigned for six years and began to reign in the year of the Lord 1178. He overcame Saladin, king of the Egyptians, not far from Ascalon and turned him to flight. Afterward, infected with leprosy, he did not take a wife. But seeing that death threatened him, he commanded that Baldwin, the still youthful son of his sister Sibylla, should reign under the guardianship of the count of Tripoli.

When both the elder and the younger Baldwin had died, Sibylla, the mother of the younger, passed to a second marriage and procured that Guy, her husband, should reign. When Guy had therefore obtained the kingdom, a destructive dissension arose between him and the count of Tripoli. In it the count, adhering to Saladin, prepared the greatest loss for our men. Finally, in the year of the Lord 1187, Saladin, having gained strength because of the discord of our men, at length recovered the city of Jerusalem after a very great slaughter of the Christians. After Godfrey, the Christian kings had nobly possessed that glorious city for eighty-eight years.

Title XVI, Chapter XIV

Around the year of the Lord 1090, as Vincent reports in Book XXVI of the *Mirror of History*, in the city of Nantes there were two clerics who were not yet of an age to be priests, but were amply instructed in letters. Being very great friends with one another, they entered into this agreement between themselves: whichever of them died first would appear to the other, whether awake or asleep, within thirty days. A bodily pledge was given and received. Not long afterward one of them died.

On the thirtieth day the dead man, with a bloodless and pale countenance, stood before the other while he was awake and was engaged in some work. The former addressed the living man first, saying, “Do you recognize me?”

“I recognize you,” the other replied, “and I marvel that you have appeared so late.”

The former first excused the delay. “At length I have come,” he said, “and my coming, if you are willing, will be profitable to you, but wholly fruitless to me, for I have been consigned to everlasting punishments.”

The other said, “I will aid you with many prayers, fasts, and alms.”

But he replied: “The judgments of God in hell are without repentance.

> *While the pole turns the stars, while the sea strikes the shores,*
> *I shall be punished for my crimes.*

“Even if the whole world sought remedies for me, nevertheless I shall suffer eternal and innumerable kinds of punishments. And so that you may know one of my rational punishments, behold one.” He extended a hand dripping with a festering ulcer. “Does it seem light to you?” he said.

When the other reported that it seemed light to him, the dead man himself, with his fingers curved into the palm, cast three drops of the flowing corruption upon him. Two touched his temples and the third his forehead, penetrating the skin like a fiery missile and making holes capable of holding a nut. When the living man declared with a cry that the pain was great, the dead man said: “This will be for you as long as you live both a grave proof of my punishments and, if you do not neglect it, a singular warning for your salvation. Go, therefore, while it is permitted. Change both your habit and your mind, and be a monk at Saint Melanius of Rennes.”

When the living man would not respond to this, the dead man struck him with the force of his gaze. “If, miserable man, you hesitate to be converted,” he said, “read these letters.” Saying this, he extended a hand inscribed with dreadful characters. In them Satan and the attendants of all the inhabitants of hell sent thanks from Tartarus to the ecclesiastical assembly, because, while its members lacked nothing for their own pleasures, through their neglect of preaching they allowed so great a number of subject souls to descend into hell as past ages had never seen.

When these things had been said, the appearance of the speaker vanished. The one who heard sold all things, gave them to the poor, went to Saint Melanius, and, having been made a monk there, conducted himself excellently.

Section I

In the year of the Lord 1094, while Helinand was pontiff in the city of Laon, a certain woman dwelling nearby had a son-in-law adorned with youthful beauty. She cared for him with great diligence because of her love for her daughter. Hence an ugly suspicion concerning the woman and her son-in-law arose among her neighbors, and this greatly disturbed her. Impatiently enduring that her reputation was being stained with such disgrace, she turned the cause of her injury back upon him and, by a hidden contrivance, procured that he should be killed by two servants.

Afterward, however, being converted to penance for the homicide she had committed, she revealed her sin to a certain priest through confession. But after a period of time had passed, the priest, while quarreling with her, reproached her to her face with the evil she had done. When the parents of the slain man heard this, they hastened and reported it to the vidame of Laon. At that lord’s command the woman was summoned and came, and she did not conceal how she had caused the man to be killed.

It was therefore judged that she should be burned with fire. But first she was led to the church of blessed Mary and recounted her sin in order before God and men. Thus she faithfully commended herself to the merits and prayers of the most blessed Mother of God. Then, when she was placed in the fire, she felt the burning in no way. When the fire had been consumed, through the protection of divine grace she herself remained unharmed by that providence.

The relatives of the slain man did not ascribe this deed to divine power but believed instead that the material of the wood was fragile. They again kindled a fire around her with stronger pieces of wood, yet they accomplished nothing. By the repeated miracle God preserved her unharmed from the burning of the fire, to the praise of His name and to the glory and honor of the Mother of God. Thus she came out of the fire unharmed not only in flesh but also in garment and hair, and she was led to the

church of Saint Mary. After praises had been rendered to God, when a few days had passed, by God's will she passed from this world.

At the same time, as the same Sigebert testifies, a famine long since begun grew most grievously, and the year became calamitous, with many laboring from hunger and the poor gravely tormenting the richer through thefts and fires. There was also a violent whirlwind. An earthquake also occurred at midnight on the fourth day before the Ides of September.

Throughout a great part of the lands, on the day before the Nones of April, around dawn, many stars were seen to have fallen from heaven to earth. I believe, however, that these were fiery vapors. Among them there was one exceedingly great one. When a certain man in France gazed in wonder as it fell to earth elsewhere and marked the place where it appeared to fall, he poured water there and marveled still more that smoke issued from it with the sound of seething heat. In the county of Namur we saw bread baked beneath the ashes as though stained with blood. In this year many were kindled by the sacred fire, their limbs growing black like coals.

Concerning this fire Vincent reports as follows in Book XXVIII of the *Mirror of History*, near the beginning. In the year of the Lord 1128, many from the district of Soissons, kindled by the sacred fire, came to the church of blessed Mary situated in the city of Soissons. There, during a few days, earnestly entreating the mercy of God and the assistance of blessed Mary, they obtained salvation through her merits and prayers, so that within fifteen days one hundred three persons by name were restrained from this fire, and three deformed girls were restored to health.

For it had been granted to the adversarial power to strike many persons of diverse age and sex with an invisible blow, so that their bodies, once kindled, burned with intolerable torment. This is indeed a wasting disease beneath taut, livid skin, separating and consuming the flesh from the bones. Taking on increases of pain and burning with the passage of time, it compels the wretched to die at every single moment; but death does not come to those who desire it until that swift and pestiferous fire, having consumed their limbs, invades the vital members.

And what is exceedingly marvelous, this fire, without heat yet powerful to consume, drenches the wretched with so great and, as it were, glacial a cold that they cannot be warmed by any remedies. Likewise, what is no less marvelous, after it has been restrained by divine grace and the mortal cold has been put to flight, so great a heat pervades the sick persons in those same parts that the disease of cancer is very often joined to that same burning unless it is countered with medicines.

For six days in the month of September persons sick in this manner were in the church of the most blessed Virgin Mary. At the prayers of the people running together, the blessed Virgin Mary also came to their aid, drawing with her strong hosts of holy spirits, at whose presence hell is afraid and the gates of death tremble. So great a trembling, the forerunner of her coming, filled the church that all fled, thinking that an earthquake had occurred or that the church had been shaken from its foundations. But when they perceived that no danger was present, they returned and found that all the burning of the sick had been extinguished and all their pain lulled, a most swift sweetness having been bestowed.

Moreover, some of the sick say that on the day before this benefit was given from heaven, abundant brightnesses were seen to descend from heaven through the glass windows of the church, as though certain heralds of the largesse that was to follow. For, as was said above, within fifteen days one hundred three persons were restrained from that fire.

Section II

A certain boy eleven years of age, a keeper of livestock, burning in his feet, was brought by his mother. Having received a remedy for his pain within a few days, he returned home restored. He was from the valleys. But when that same boy, not unmindful of so great a benefit, burned by divine impulse with a desire to see the house of the blessed Virgin, and on this account daily troubled and pressed his mother to go there, she would by no means consent.

"Let the sickness return into me," he said, "so that I must be carried back there." And this was done. Thus he was carried back by his mother. At the entrance of the procession into the mother church, he was shaken from repose and in thanksgiving burst through the heavens with his cries. He related to everyone that he had been caught up before God and had seen the Mother of God supplicating for the people, that God might deign to turn this disease away from the people and overturn it, and take away this spark that had fallen upon them. He said that she had received this response from her Son: "Mother, you are My Star of the Sea. Let all your will be done."

When the same Virgin again complained concerning her house, which was mean and abject in comparison with the others, she heard from her Son that He would cause money to be brought from across the sea and from beyond the Rhine, from which her house would be built and would shine with great brightness and glory in the eyes of all beholders. He also foretold that evils from God would come upon the people of Soissons because they did not repair the church of His Mother. Indeed, the fire attacked many from that same city. What things and of what kind remain we do not know.

The same boy foretold shortly afterward that he would die, and so it happened, for he did not survive a month. What was exceedingly marvelous about this boy was that, recounting the whole history from the beginning of the world, he arranged the whole course of his narration rhythmically. He recited in order the text of the Gospel and all the deeds of the Lord as though he read them in a book and pronounced things dictated by others. Among other things he also said concerning Joseph, the husband of the blessed Virgin:

> *He who holds the scepter of the flowering rod*
> *was the guardian of the glorious maiden.*

He narrated these things with closed eyes, as though hating transitory light. He scarcely deigned to speak a word to lay and unlettered persons, as though weary of their ignorance. So great a grace suffused his body after death that the whiteness and brightness of his countenance signified something angelic and divine.

At a village called Calla in the territory of Soissons, which is a possession of the mother church of the blessed martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, a woman laboring because of the difficulty of childbirth was in danger for three continuous weeks. Persuaded by neighboring women, she vowed that she would go barefoot to Saint Mary of Soissons, and she was delivered, but in a marvelous order. For first she discharged three stones from her womb: the first the size of a goose egg, the second the size of a hen’s egg, and the third not smaller than a certain nut. When these stones had been discharged, the birth of an infant immediately followed. The infant both received the grace of baptism and survived for a few days.

Title XVII

This seventeenth title contains the deeds of the supreme pontiffs and emperors through one hundred years or thereabout, namely from Urban II exclusively, who died in the year of the Lord 1110 or thereabout, down to Innocent III.

These were the supreme pontiffs: Paschal II; Gelasius II; Calixtus II; Honorius II; Innocent II, and then a schism; Celestine II; Lucius II; Eugenius III; Anastasius; Adrian; Alexander III, and then a schism; Lucius III; Urban III; Gregory VIII; Clement III; and Celestine III.

These, however, were the emperors: Henry V; Lothair II; Conrad III; Frederick I; and Henry VI, son of Frederick I.

There are also contained the deeds or legends of certain saints: Malachy, archbishop in Ireland; Saint Thomas the Martyr, archbishop of Canterbury; the history of Tundale, nevertheless greatly abbreviated; and the life of blessed Bernard. These legends of the saints are placed before the deeds of the aforesaid emperors. Among the deeds of the emperors there is also the history of the wars waged in the Holy Land after Jerusalem was captured by the worshipers of Christ, possessed for eighty-eight years by seven kings, and at length lost.

Title XVII, Chapter I

When Urban II had been summoned by the Lord's calling, Paschal II was canonically elected, not intruding or procuring himself ambitiously, but resisting and being assumed as though unwilling. He was a Tuscan by nation, from the city of Bleda, a monk by profession, a prudent and magnanimous man. He was created pope in the year of the Lord 1100, but in the year 5064 from the beginning of the world. According to the more common opinion, however, one thousand two hundred fifty-seven years are added to the said number. He sat for eighteen years and five months.

After he had been solemnly crowned, he judged that it would be shameful for Guibert, the heresiarch or antipope made by Emperor Henry, to remain in the city and suburbs. Aided by the Romans, he expelled him from the city of Alba. Fleeing from the face of the true pontiff and running here and there, that unhappy man found the end he deserved. For, dying a sudden death, he put an end to so many evils. When he had died, the Roman Church began to breathe again.

Nevertheless, those of the clergy who had adhered to that antipope in the schism elected two others, one after the other, when he was dead. The first of them, in the fourth month of his election, was captured by the faithful and confined to perpetual imprisonment at Saint Lawrence; he was called Albert. The second also, who was called Theodore, ended his life by a similar fate.

Persisting in malice, those schismatics elected as pope another man named Maginulfus. Devoting himself to necromantic arts, he attached many persons to himself, especially from among those who were held by consciousness of crimes or by hope of future prosperous success. But at last, abandoned by all, an exile laboring under grievous want, he ended a miserable life.

Thus, when these impious men had failed, Paschal, the true shepherd, grew strong. Strengthened by the Lord, through his diligence he restored to the right of blessed Peter all things - namely, cities, castles, towns, and other municipalities - that had been occupied by tyrants during the time of Henry IV, restoring peace in the city. In the fifth year of this Pope Paschal, a general council was celebrated under him at Florence, with three hundred forty bishops present there.

Emperor Henry V, however, entered Italy from Germany with a very great army to settle the scandals that existed between the empire and the priesthood, and hastened to Rome. This discord had begun under Gregory VII, of whom treatment was given in the preceding title, and had been pressed by his successors Victor and Urban, and much more by Paschal. On account of it there was scandal throughout the whole world of the faithful.

For the emperor, wishing to employ the custom and authority of his predecessors, insisted upon and petitioned that those things should be conceded or preserved to him which had been conceded by great privileges to Charlemagne three hundred years and more before, and had been observed under the supreme pontiffs of that time. By these privileges bishoprics and abbacies were lawfully conferred through investiture by ring and staff. He alleged that this was his right.

But contrary to this authority of the ancestors, the aforesaid supreme pontiffs determined by synodal judgment that a bishopric, any ecclesiastical dignity, or an investiture neither could nor ought to be given by rod or ring by any lay person whatsoever. For this cause especially, the emperor was proceeding to Rome.

As he approached the city, all the notability and people of Rome came to meet him. Entering the city with them, he proceeded to the church of blessed Peter and was honorably received on the steps of that church by the supreme pontiff Paschal himself, who waited there with the cardinals and bishops. Nevertheless, the emperor would not enter the church until, with the pope's consent, he had reduced all the fortifications, towers, and high houses into his power. Lest the pope imagine anything sinister concerning his wicked will, he gave his nephew and certain other barons as hostages. When this had been done, he entered the church of blessed Peter.

While the lord pope solemnly celebrated Mass, the emperor approached the altar to receive Holy Communion from his hand. The supreme pontiff said to him: "Lord Emperor, today we give to you, in confirmation of true peace between me and you, the body of the Lord born of the Virgin Mary and suffered for us upon the cross, just as the holy Church holds."

They had agreed that the emperor would relinquish to him the investitures of bishops and prelates, while the pope, in return, would surrender to the emperor all the royal rights of the bishops. They confirmed this agreement by an oath and hostages. But because the bishops resisted and contradicted, the supreme pontiff was unable to fulfill what he had promised. Therefore, by the counsel of certain criminals, the emperor made the pope and cardinals captives. Moreover, he despoiled the clergy of all their goods in the city. The archbishop of Mainz is said to have been the principal author of this crime. Thus, from the second day before the Ides of February until the fifth day before the Kalends of May, the pope was detained in prison and afflicted with many injuries.

At last, for the liberation of the Church and of the many captives who were held captive with him, he was compelled to make a peace for a time with the aforesaid appraiser [read: emperor]: namely, to concede to the emperor the investitures of bishops by

ring and staff. When this had been done, he was freed from prison. The emperor, however, took care to reconcile through gifts the pope himself and the Roman citizens, whom he had greatly exasperated by this deed. Hence, as certain chroniclers write, he received from him the gift of coronation. These things were done in the year of the Lord 1111.

When the emperor had departed from Italy, the pope summoned the bishops and prelates and annulled and canceled the privilege made between himself and the emperor. On this account he suffered many persecutions from the emperor's supporters, especially from the prefect of the city and from a certain other noble named Thalamon. Hence the pontiff, yielding to their fury, withdrew into Apulia.

When he had departed, those sons of Belial occupied the greater part of the castles and towns that belonged by right to blessed Peter. Then, fearing the lord pope's return to the city, they sent messengers to the emperor and persuaded him to return to Rome again. Obeying their words, that enemy of the Church returned to Italy, hostile to all good men but more kindly toward the seditious and evil. As soon as he entered Latium, he made war upon the faithful of the Church and occupied many castles, cities, and towns that, still preserving their fidelity to the Church, had resisted the schismatics.

For this reason the Roman people decreed a triumph for him, as though he had triumphed over the Parthians and barbarians. Thus Henry entered Rome and, wearing a crown, proceeded through the arched city together with the wife whom he had brought with him. But there was great apparatus and little glory, for none of the fathers, none of the bishops, and no Catholic priest came to meet him.

At length, as will be said below in the following chapter, Henry, given over to a reprobate sense, was unable to circumvent with words the faithful who were within the city and whom he had provoked beyond measure. He therefore summoned Mauritius, bishop of Braga, who had left his own church and followed him, and caused himself to be crowned in the church of blessed Peter before the altar of blessed Gregory. Thus he departed from the city.

But he had not yet passed the city of Sutri when, behold, messengers came swiftly to him, signifying that Roger, duke of Apulia, was coming against him with a very great army in support of the Church. When the emperor learned this, after assembling the counsel of his men he decreed that the entire strength of his army should be sent there at once, for he readily believed that in this way he could circumvent the unwary duke.

But, God so willing, a certain matron who dwelt in the castle of Plumbinarium made the duke of Apulia more certain of the arrival of the Teutons through a messenger. Thus, while she took care for one, she provided for both, lest two most powerful armies join battle with one another. Therefore Roger, duke of Apulia, hearing that Emperor Henry had abandoned the city and departed into Lombardy, returned to his own lands. But when the emperor's army, which had believed that it would circumvent that unwary duke, learned that he had returned to his own lands, it returned to the emperor.

Amid these things, after the emperor's withdrawal from the city, the supreme pontiff Paschal believed that he could now return safely to the city. After celebrating a council in Apulia, he came first to Campania and then to Rome. His unexpected arrival so terrified the rebels against the Church that they thought of nothing but flight. But the most blessed man, a confessor of Christ, became ill from the labor of the journey and after a few days migrated to the Lord. The Apostolic See was vacant for three days.

Among other things, this Paschal decreed as follows, as is contained in Cause XVI, Question I: "The authority of divine law has sanctioned that tithes are to be rendered by the people to the priests and Levites. Moreover, no reason permits soldiers, bishops, or any persons to extort tithes from monks or clerics living in common, from their labors, increase, or their own possessions." Concerning this matter, see fully in the second part.

The same man, writing to Guido, legate of the Apostolic See, says as follows in Cause XIV, Question II: "We marvel exceedingly at your prudence because, in the affair of the church of blessed Stephen, you were unwilling to accept the testimony of those clerics themselves. For the kinds of causes are diverse, and crimes are not at issue in all causes. Indeed, in criminal cases, that distinction concerning accusers and witnesses which is contained in the canons must be observed, lest household members be assumed for the proof. But in matters of possessions or affairs of this kind, those are especially to be assumed who conducted those same affairs and concerning whose hearing and sight there ought to be no hesitation. Therefore, if those clerics are suitable for the assertion of that cause, let them in no way be removed."

Section I

After the death of Paschal II, the cardinals assembled into one body and, with one consent and one voice, elected John of Gaeta as pope in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1118. It was the year 5082 from the beginning of the world, but according to the greater computation, the year 6321. He held the See of Peter for one year. They called him Gelasius II.

He was a monk of Monte Cassino, a man from his very youth most skilled in the learning of both secular and divine letters. While he flourished in the said monastery in life, knowledge, and morals, although a young man, he was summoned to Rome by

Pope Urban II and, while the German persecution raged, was appointed chancellor of the Church. For he was a most eloquent man and exceedingly suitable and solicitous for conducting the affairs of the Church.

When the emperor's supporters who were in Rome - especially Cincius of the house of Frangipane - heard that this pope had been elected, Cincius assembled those who adhered to him in so small a plan, armed himself contrary to custom [read: armed himself without delay], and ran with armed men to the place where the cardinals had made the election. It was formerly called the Palladium, but today it is called Palla. This place is situated between the Colosseum and Saint Mary the New.

Coming to the place, that tyrant broke down the doors and entered. Setting aside the fear of God, he seized the pope who had now been elected and, like another Diocletian, beat him with his own hands, with fists and kicks. Leading him out from there like a worthless slave, he bound him with fetters and consigned him to prison. The cardinals, bishops, and other prelates of the churches who had assembled for the election were assailed by the officers of the said Cincius: some were despoiled, others beaten, and others bound and thrust into prison with the lord pope.

When a report of this had spread through the city, a multitude of the Roman people and nobles assembled. Among them were especially the Normanni, who are now called the Albertesti, and with them the Honesti and Thebalesti. All these, with one mind, came to the Capitol with a multitude of armed men and, sending messengers to those of the Frangipane, demanded back their elected shepherd. When the latter heard the agreement of the Roman people, they feared for themselves and repented of their deed, albeit too late. They approached the elected pontiff, and, prostrate at his feet, although feignedly, they sought pardon. The pope was therefore released and crowned with the great joy of the whole Roman people.

While he prudently disposed all things and made arrangements for the exaltation of the Church, behold, a messenger said that Emperor Henry, the enemy of the Church, was coming with a great army and was already at the gates. Thus, fearing for himself and for the faithful of the Church, the lord pope thought to flee. But because the route by land was closed on every side, he fled by sea to Gaeta. After he arrived there, bishops and archbishops came to him from every side. In that place he was first made a priest, for at the time of his election he was a deacon. Then with great solemnity he received the gift of consecration.

While the pope was still at Gaeta, that barbarian Henry, who ought not to be called emperor, created Mauritius, bishop of Braga, as though a new idol and antipope, naming him Gregory. When the supreme pontiff heard this, he resolved to go to Rome. The illustrious William, duke of Apulia, who had succeeded Roger in the duchy, came to his aid with a great body of soldiers. When Henry perceived their arrival beforehand, he abandoned Rome and returned to Germany with his antipope.

The pope therefore sent Duke William home with his forces, not believing it necessary, after Henry's departure, to introduce a new army into the city. But events occurred otherwise than he thought. For when he arrived, Henry's supporters raised so many wars and so many seditions with the faithful of the Church against the supreme pontiff that the pontiff, wishing first to provide for the peace of the citizens, abandoned the Roman city and journeyed by ship to Pisa. Then, undertaking a voyage again, he betook himself to the kingdom of the Franks, stayed in the monastery of Cluny, and there ended his last day. When he had died, the episcopate ceased for fifteen days.

Section II

In the year of the Lord 1119, by the common assent of all the electors, Calixtus II, the one hundred sixty-ninth pope, was created. He was previously called Guido, was a Burgundian by nation, the son of a certain great count, and archbishop of Vienne. Coming to Rome after his election, he was received by the senate, clergy, and all the Roman people with marvelous and ineffable joy. He sat for six years.

After he was established in the see, he excommunicated Emperor Henry as a rebel and persecutor of the Holy Roman Church. The angered emperor therefore came to Rome a third time and, after the death of that wicked bishop of Braga, the antipope, intruded into the See of blessed Peter a certain man named Burdinus, a Spaniard by nation. When this had been done, he returned to Germany, while Calixtus was then dwelling in Apulia.

Calixtus returned to Rome and, to establish the peace of the Church, sent three cardinals into Germany to the emperor. Going to him, by God's action they obtained from the emperor all things as it pleased them. For the emperor considered for the better that the princes of the empire were gradually deserting him. Turning over in his mind his father's most miserable death, and because he perceived that he himself was excommunicated, in the presence of the prelates and princes whom he had summoned generally to his court he therefore resigned into the hands of the cardinals, the legates of the Roman Church, the investiture of bishops that he had extorted from Paschal by violence. Thus he was absolved from the bond of excommunication by which he had been bound for a long time. The lord legates therefore returned from Germany and, bringing back peace according to their desire, gladdened all the people.

But Burdinus the pseudo-pope, hearing that the emperor had made peace with Calixtus and fearing the fury of the Roman people, departed from the city and betook himself to the city of Sutri with certain Romans who adhered to him. Remaining in that place, he began to persecute the Roman Church and despoil pilgrims to Rome.

Pope Calixtus, however, returned to Rome from Apulia when he saw that he was now secure on every side. He sent John of Cremona, cardinal of Saint Chrysogonus, to Sutri against Burdinus, and himself followed him immediately. Thus, by God's action, the party of Burdinus was defeated and Burdinus himself was captured. After he was captured, he was placed upon a camel and led to Rome with his face turned toward the camel's tail. Finally, he was thrust into a monastery, having been tonsured as a monk.

At that time, when through the zeal of the illustrious man Calixtus peace flourished everywhere, he was called from the world to the Father of Lights. His body was buried with great weeping by all in the Lateran church.

This man beloved by God established several decrees. Hence he says as follows concerning the fasts of the Four Times, in Distinction LXXVI: "The usefulness of this observance, most beloved brothers, is established especially in the ecclesiastical fasts. By the teaching of the Holy Spirit they have been distributed through the course of the whole year in such a way that the law of abstinence is assigned to all seasons. Indeed, we celebrate the spring fast in Lent, the summer fast at Pentecost, the autumn fast in the seventh month, that is, September, and the winter fast in this month, which is the tenth. We understand that nothing is empty in the divine precepts and that, at the word of God, all the elements serve for our instruction, while through the very hinges of the world, as though through four Gospels, we learn by an unceasing trumpet that which we both preach and do."

The same Calixtus, writing to all bishops in Distinction XII, says as follows: "It is not fitting for the members to depart from the head, but according to the testimony of Scripture all the members should follow the head. No one doubts that the Apostolic Church is the mother of all the churches, from whose rules it is by no means fitting for you to deviate. And just as the Son of God came to do the will of the Father, so also fulfill the will of your mother, which is the Church, whose head is the Roman Church."

The same man says as follows concerning the transfer of bishops, in Cause VII, Question I: "Just as it is not permitted for another man's wife to be adulterated by anyone, or to be judged or disposed of by anyone except her own husband while he is living, so it is understood without doubt that the wife of a bishop, which is his church or parish, may not, while he is living, be adjudged or disposed to another without his counsel and will, nor be permitted to enjoy his intercourse, that is, ordination. Hence the Apostle says: 'A wife is bound by the law of her husband for as long as her husband lives; but when he has died, she is released from the law of her husband.' Similarly, the spouse of a bishop, which is called his church, is bound to him while he lives; when he has died, she is released. Let her marry whom she wishes, but only in the Lord, that is, regularly. For if she marries another while he is living, she shall be judged an adulteress. Similarly, if he takes another spouse of his own accord, he shall be judged an adulterer and deprived of communion.

"But if he has been persecuted in his own church, he must flee to another church and be associated with it, the Lord saying, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee into another.' But if he must be transferred for the sake of utility, let him not do this by himself, but let him do it when his brothers invite him, by the authority of this Holy See, not being seized by ambition, but because of utility or necessity, as has been said."

The same man says in Cause IX, Question II: "Let no one usurp the boundaries of another, nor presume to judge, ordain, or excommunicate within another's parish, because such a judgment, ordination, excommunication, or condemnation will neither be valid nor have any force, since no one shall be bound or condemned by the sentence of any judge except his own."

The same man says in Cause XXIV, Question III: "If anyone should attempt to seize those journeying to Rome and pilgrims - that is, those visiting the thresholds of the apostles and the oratories of other saints - or to despoil them of the goods they carry, or to trouble merchants with new exactions of tolls and passage-dues, let him lack Christian communion until he has made satisfaction." Today such persons are excommunicated by the law itself, and absolution is reserved to the pope, as you have in the third part.

This Calixtus II wrote a little book concerning the miracles of blessed James, and compiled into one volume what he had read here and there or heard from the faithful. Hence he himself says, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXVII: "When I was a scholar," he says, "and had loved blessed James the Apostle from infancy, over a period of fourteen years I traveled through lands and barbarous provinces, so that whatever writings concerning him I found I might comprehend in one volume. O marvelous fortune! I fell among three robbers, and when all my spoils had been taken, only the book remained to me. I was thrust into prisons, and when all my property had been lost, only the book remained to me. I often fell into the depth of many waters, very near to death, and the book escaped wholly unspoiled. The house in which I was staying was burned, and when my possessions had been consumed, the book remained with me and escaped unburned.

"And when in my zeal I was considering whether this book, for which I had suffered innumerable anxieties and which I was striving to complete with my own hands, would be acceptable to God, one night, carried away in ecstasy, I saw in a certain splendid royal hall a most beautiful young man, radiant and royally crowned with laurel. Sitting upon a throne, he said to me as I sat at his feet, 'Offer the gloves which you hold in your hand.' When I had gladly offered them, and he had entered the bedchamber, one of his companions said to me: 'He is the Son of the supreme King. Just as he received the gloves from your hands, so he will graciously receive the apostolic book after you have completed it.'

“Again, on a venerable day, while I was pondering an account of the apostle’s translation and holding its writing in my hands, he himself appeared together with blessed James, saying: ‘Write what you have begun. Correct the crimes of wicked hosts who dwell along the road of my apostle.’ Therefore let no one despise this book, for whatever is written in it is authentic and expressed with great authority.”

From that book Vincent, in the *Historical Mirror* where cited above, reports many and great miracles of the most blessed Apostle James, especially among those visiting his tomb, including even dead persons restored to life. But I shall narrate only this, which he reports from Bede.

“In the time of blessed Theodomirus, bishop of Compostela, a certain man had committed a grave sin which he had scarcely dared to confess to his priest and bishop. When the bishop heard it, he was astonished and did not dare to give him a penance because of its enormity, judging scarcely any penance suitable. He sent that man to Saint James with a little document upon which that sin had been written. When the man had come there on the saint’s feast day, he placed the document upon the altar, weeping and asking Saint James to blot out that sin by his merits. Meanwhile the bishop approached to celebrate Mass. Seeing that document and asking why and by whom it had been placed there, the man immediately came forward and narrated the course of the affair while all listened. When the bishop opened that writing and found nothing written there, he understood, as all declared, that the sin had been forgiven him.”

Let another miracle also be added. In the year of the Lord 1108, in a region of Gaul, a certain man who had no son by his barren wife approached Saint James for this reason, asking that by his merits and prayers he might obtain a son from the Lord. He was heard. For upon returning, he had a son by his wife, to whom he also gave the name James. When the boy had now reached his fifteenth year, his father and mother arranged to go with him to the saint’s shrine to offer him there. But after they had undertaken the journey, the boy became sick on the road even unto death, so that no breath remained in him.

His parents, grieving exceedingly at his death, filled the whole woodland with their cries as though bereft of reason. The mother addressed Saint James in such a way that, if he did not restore her son to her, she would cause herself to be buried alive with him. Meanwhile, as the boy was being carried to the tomb, he revived as though awakened from sleep, and narrated to all standing nearby how Saint James had held him in his bosom and commanded him to follow his parents on their journey.

This Calixtus also, as Vincent reports in the same place from the words of Helinand, was the first to plant the Cistercian Order in the territory of Vienne, in the monastery of Bonneval. The first abbot of this monastery was John of Lyon, afterward bishop of Valence. A most joyful presage of his future dignity was a certain most beautiful vision, which John himself saw before his conversion. Geoffrey describes it in this manner in his work upon the Apocalypse.

When the first foundations of our Cistercian Order were being laid, there was in the church of Lyon a certain upright and honorable cleric named John. Moved by the celebrated report of our Order, he silently resolved within himself that he would be joined to the fellowship of that Order. A few days later, when another thought arose, he changed this resolution and, as a certain compensation for such a resolution, undertook a pilgrimage to Saint James. When he had devoutly completed it, he returned, was joyfully received by his household, and, wearied from the journey, withdrew to his chamber.

As he rested, the Lord Jesus Christ immediately appeared to him in a vision with the two apostles Peter and James. Peter held a book in his hand, which the Lord commanded to be opened. It was written in golden letters and contained the names of the predestined. The apostle, therefore, being commanded, began to read. When he read there the name of that John, the Lord said: “Take it away, take it away; erase him, erase him, because he had promised that he would become mine, and he withdrew from his resolution.”

Blessed James then approached nearer and entreated for him, saying: “Lord, he is my pilgrim. I beseech you, do not erase his name.” The Lord answered him: “He ought to have been my citizen, not my pilgrim. Is it not a greater thing to be my citizen than your pilgrim?” But the apostle persisted in supplication: “Do not erase his name, most merciful God; do not erase him, I beseech you. I stand surety to you for him. He will do what he had resolved.” The Lord said to him, “When will he do it?” The apostle answered, “Within fifteen days.”

Awakened at these words, John prostrated himself upon the ground and, with a most abundant outpouring of tears, gave thanks to the one who had stood surety for him, saying: “I shall indeed do it, holy apostle; I shall do what you have so mercifully promised on my behalf.” Not long after his great weeping, he fell asleep again. Again the Lord appeared with the aforesaid two apostles and commanded the book to be opened again. In it the same John heard blessed Peter reading: “We shall make for you little chains of gold, variegated with silver.” John soon arose and, before the appointed day, fulfilled his vow.

He was the first abbot of the monastery of Bonneval, and afterward prelate of the church of Valence. His life and death were illustrious through many miracles and merits. Plainly, Israel is rightly reproached because its people returned to Egypt in their heart, since this John, because he had drawn back from Cîteaux, was commanded to be erased from the book of life. At the same

time, we must consider with how great devotion the intercessions of the saints are to be implored by us, since they intercede for us so affectionately and so efficaciously.

Section III

In the year of the Lord 1124, when Calixtus had been gathered to the fathers, Honorius II undertook the government of the Roman Church. He was previously called Lambert, bishop of Ostia. He was the one hundred seventieth in the order of pontiffs, and sat for six years and two months. He deposed the patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia.

Norbert, the first founder of the Premonstratensian Order, journeyed to this pope. He was honorably received by him and worthily obtained what he requested. He learned by divine revelation that he would become bishop of Parthenopolis. Returning, when on Easter Day at Herbipolis he was celebrating Mass amid a great gathering of the people, a blind woman recovered her sight when, after he had received the mysteries, he breathed upon her eyes.

Thereafter, returning to Prémontré, in the church of blessed Martin situated in the suburb of Laon, he caused a certain man of his company, Lord Walter, to be consecrated there as the first abbot, that is, to be blessed. By his industry, with God cooperating, the same church was so greatly multiplied in a short time, both in temporal and in spiritual things, that it extended the fame of its good reputation and the shoots of its holy planting into other and distant regions, namely into Hainaut, Flanders, England, Gascony, Gothia, Spain, and Burgundy.

When the archbishop of the city of Parthenopolis had died, the aforesaid Norbert was elected and, royal assent following, was advanced to the episcopate of the aforesaid city. In the Premonstratensian church, however, he caused Hugh, who from the beginning had been his companion in poverty, to be ordained abbot as his successor.

Finally this Archbishop Norbert, a man powerful in deed and speech, founder of many monasteries of the said Order and an exceptional propagator of holy religion, a most equitable supporter of the Catholic Pope Innocent, concerning whom it will be related below, and a most just condemner of Peter the schismatic, returned with Emperor Linther from the Italian expedition. Stricken by illness, after four months he fell asleep in the Lord. When there was a dispute concerning the burial of his body between the clerics of his greater, or cathedral, church and the brothers of Saint Mary of his own religious order, the case was brought to the emperor. At his command Norbert was buried in the church of Saint Mary with his sons and brothers, whom he had begotten and reared for Christ.

In the Premonstratensian church, during Matins, a demon stood beside a certain brother who was pondering too deeply upon the Trinity, which is God, and appeared to him bearing three heads. It declared itself to be the Trinity and affirmed that, because of the merit of his faith, the brother was worthy of a vision of the Trinity. But the brother recognized the enemy’s deceit and, reviling it, caused it to depart from him.

Likewise, while Norbert was preaching the word of God at Nigella and exorcising before him a demoniac girl who had been brought there, the demon, mocking him, uttered through the girl’s mouth the Song of Songs from beginning to end and rendered it word for word in the Romance vernacular, and then interpreted it in the Teutonic tongue. But when God’s servant pressed it more closely, at last it went out.

When the aforesaid Norbert came to Cologne to seek relics of the saints and his men, having been enjoined to fast, persisted in prayer, one of the number of the eleven thousand virgins specifically designated her own name and the place where she lay. On the next day she was solemnly raised and translated to Prémontré with other relics of saints. The place where the body of Saint Gereon the martyr lay was also revealed to him, although it was unknown. When it had been found there, it was raised with honor, and a portion of it was bestowed upon him.

In the year 1123 began the order of the military Templars, or of Saint John of Jerusalem, concerning which see above.

Not long before the time of Pope Calixtus, certain horrible and marvelous things occurred. For when God had been provoked by the sins of men, on Mount Castrilocus the church of Saint Waltrude burned with nearly the whole town. The church of Saint Michael in Peril of the Sea, struck by lightning from heaven, burned with the buildings attached to it. Waldric, bishop of Laon, attempted to recall the citizens of that city from the oath by which they had wrongly sworn a commune. When the seditious men ran together to arms, he was stabbed with a sword and perished - a thing wicked even to relate.

On Thursday in Easter week, the seventh day before the Kalends of May, during the Greater Litany, the bishop’s house was set on fire amid a tumult and the attack of a disorderly multitude. Hence both the mother church of blessed Mary herself and the church of blessed John the Baptist in the nuns’ abbey, together with all the other churches attached nearby, were burned. King Louis of the Franks punished the authors of this sedition so severely that the example could deter both future and present persons from a similar crime.

Thus, when Waldric, bishop of Laon, had been wickedly slain by the citizens of his city, Hugh, dean of the church of Orléans, was put in his place. When Hugh died after seven months, the illustrious man Bartholomew was advanced to the episcopate of

the city of Laon. By his industry the episcopal church, which had been burned, was repaired in a short time and consecrated again; the desolation of the city and province was relieved; and in many places in which previously there had never been fervor of religion or worship of God, it was founded and propagated even into many distant regions beyond the sea.

Helinand describes the manner of this relief and devotion in Book XL, as Vincent reports in the place cited above. Seven canons of the church of Laon and six burgesses were chosen to carry the shrine of Saint Mary and other reliquaries through diverse provinces to seek the alms of the faithful for the restoration of the churches. These relics were made illustrious by many miracles, and the canons of the church of Laon wrote down those miracles, which were performed in many places in the cities of France and England through which that shrine of relics was carried with great devotion and reverence.

Among the said relics there was preeminent in form and dignity a single phylactery, that is, a vessel upon which the following was written: “The sponge, the cross of the Lord, with the shroud and the face-cloth, and your hairs, Mother and Virgin, consecrate me.” That is, there was in it some small portion of each of these things.

At Ysoldunum two contracted persons were healed whose heels adhered to their buttocks. At the castle of Buscentum one deaf and mute from birth was healed. In the city of Tours a woman who for eight years had not been able to rise from her bed or to go anywhere unless carried caused herself to be borne to the place of the said shrine, as had been revealed to her by a vision, and was delivered. Likewise, another young man, deaf and mute, was healed when the said shrine was carried to Saint Lawrence of Scala on the feast of that martyr.

A monk dwelling there, fearing that he would lose the customary offerings on that feast, did not permit it to be placed upon the altar of blessed Lawrence or elsewhere in the said church. But toward evening that same monk was grievously seized by epilepsy and fell to the ground. Humbled by this, he did penance. And the greater bell fell from the tower and was broken.

From there, when the shrine was brought to Chartres, the venerable Yvo came to meet it with the whole procession of canons, and it was placed in the greater church upon the altar of Saint Mary. There two contracted women were cured, and a certain man bound in prison was freed. Thereafter, when a great quantity of money had been collected throughout France, but not enough for so great a repair, they also carried the said shrine of Saint Mary with the relics into England, where at that time there was an abundance of riches.

While voyaging by sea with the said shrine in order to enter England, they miraculously escaped the danger of capture by pirates whom they encountered. In that kingdom also, in many cities, many persons obtained health from diverse illnesses by approaching the said shrine devoutly and commending themselves to the Virgin.

Then, when they approached a certain large town, the dean with his clerics was unwilling to receive the shrine into his church lest they lose the offerings, although no slight rain was then descending upon the earth. But a certain man, urged to this by his wife out of compassion and devotion, offered shelter in one of his houses to the shrine and to those carrying it.

On the next day a certain fire-breathing dragon came out of the sea and flew into that town. First it set fire to the church and then to certain houses with the flame which it emitted from its nostrils. That church was so burned that not only its wood, but also its walls, very large stones, and the altars themselves were reduced to ash, so that it did not appear in any way that a church had been there.

That dean, seeing the church and his house set on fire, caused his clothes and household goods to be carried from there to a ship which was on the shore nearby. But that dragon, seeking the ship, burned it and everything in it. The house of the man who had received the shrine, however, escaped unharmed with everything belonging to him. Seeing this, the dean sought pardon. Many sick persons were also healed there. Thus from the alms offered, the burned church of Laon was repaired. These miracles were performed in the years of the Lord 1114 and 1115.

Section IV

In the papacy Innocent II succeeded Honorius II, in the year of the Lord 1130. He was the one hundred seventy-first in the number of pontiffs. From the beginning of the world it was the year 6334, but according to the other, lesser computation, the year 5095. He sat for nearly fourteen years. This Innocent, by the reputation of his life and learning, was held worthy of the supreme priesthood.

Against him Peter Leonis was ordained through contention. To allay the plague of this schism, blessed Bernard was summoned from Clairvaux; he labored greatly and accomplished much. This antipope Peter Leonis, aspiring to this summit of honor, was named Anacletus by his supporters, whom he had corrupted with money. He had indeed amassed innumerable riches, both from exactions of the curia and from the business of legations, which he had reserved for the long-awaited fair. In addition, an ample accumulation of his paternal wealth, sealed until then, when distributed among the people, had armed a rabble for sale for right and wrong.

When these things had been expended, he tore from the altars themselves the gifts of kings among the ornaments of the church. And when even those profane Christians either blushed or feared to break the chalices and divide golden crucifixes limb by limb, Jews were sought who boldly broke the sacred vessels and images dedicated to God.

Meanwhile, after a council had been convoked at Étampes, Saint Bernard persuaded it to receive Innocent. But because Peter Leonis remained at Saint Peter's through the strength of his kindred, Innocent departed from Rome and journeyed into Gaul. When the Gallican Church adhered to him, a council was celebrated, and he was declared and confirmed as pope. Peter was anathematized by all the bishops of Gaul and Germany.

Thus Innocent was honorably received at Orléans by Louis, king of the Franks. From there he was conducted to Chartres by Geoffrey, a man of great virtues, where Henry, king of the English, also came to meet him.

Then, as Helinand says, a great synod was celebrated by Pope Innocent at Reims. In it, after many things had been disposed for the honor of God, he crowned King Louis as king while his father was still living because his brother Philip had been cast from his horse by a pig and had died. For when the said Philip, already anointed as king while still a boy, was riding a horse in the city of Paris, by chance a certain pig, placing itself beneath the horse's feet, caused the horse to fall headlong over it. Hence the whole city mourned his sudden and miserable death.

When the aforesaid Innocent was dedicating the monastery of Saint Médard of Soissons, which is situated beyond the river, there was present among the others a certain woman from the region of Laon. She proceeded with others to enter the monastery of the blessed Virgin Mary, but by an invisible power she was driven back from the entrance. Then she began to be tormented by excessive fear and to tremble throughout her whole body. But after she had confessed and been absolved, she merited entrance.

Saint Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, a man of complete holiness and great renown, although he had been very familiar with Peter Leonis and his father and had received many services from them, nevertheless, when he heard that Peter had raised his head against Innocent, was neither swayed by friendship with him nor terrified by his power. Rather, led by zeal for the truth, although old and infirm, he went to the council and, with the bishops and others, excommunicated Peter the schismatic and adhered to Innocent.

Finally, as is held from the chronicles, Emperor Lothair, who is also called Lintherius, prepared an expedition into Italy and, bringing Pope Innocent to Rome with bishops and archbishops, against Peter Leonis, who had fortified the monastery of Saint Peter, powerfully installed that bishop in the pontifical seat in the Lateran church. Innocent himself consecrated Lothair emperor.

At that time, Helinand says, as Vincent reports, the entire church or province of Bordeaux labored under the oppression of the schismatics, and there was no one in Aquitaine who could resist the prince whose mind God had hardened so that he favored the antipope Peter Leonis. Persuaded by Girard, bishop of Angoulême, who instilled seeds of dissension into his heart, he had become a defender and author of the schism.

Girard therefore sent to Peter Leonis so that Peter would grant him a legation, and he himself would obey him with fidelity sworn; moreover, he would incline both the prince of the land and whomever else he could to Peter's rule. The man of perdition rejoiced to have found a place in which he might enlarge his malice, and quickly and willingly assented. He sent to Girard Gilo, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, who alone among the Romans, together with Peter of Porto, had adhered to him. Thus Girard, having resumed his horns, proceeded publicly wearing a miter, which he had not done before.

By these two men William, bishop of Poitiers, an upright and Catholic man, was violently expelled from his see, and in his place another man, noble by birth but degenerate in faith, was intruded. Similarly, in the church of Limoges they intruded a certain Ranulf of Dorat. Not long afterward he fell backward from his horse on a level road. His head was driven upon the one avenging stone that had been left there for this, and, his brain being shattered, he expired.

Hearing these and similar things, the venerable Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, to whom Pope Innocent had entrusted the legation of Aquitaine, took Saint Bernard with him. When they came to Nantes, a woman who had already been oppressed for six years by an incubus demon was healed there through the holy man Bernard; how this happened is declared elsewhere.

The dean of the church of Poitiers dared to break the altar upon which Saint Bernard had celebrated Mass. A short time afterward, struck by God, when he was now breathing out his soul, he saw his house filled with demons and himself being strangled by a demon. Shouting, he asked those standing around him for a knife which he might thrust into his own throat to draw out the demon. Amid these words he expired.

The archpriest who announced a synod of Peter, the invader of the church of Poitiers, before those whom he invited to a gathering of perfidy, was seized by the devil. But the hand of God also exercised manifest vengeance upon many others who had been more fervent in that schism.

At last, when the prince had been reconciled and the bishops who had been expelled had been restored to their own sees, Girard alone persevered in evil. He was suddenly found dead in his bed, without confession and viaticum, and enormously swollen. He was buried by his nephews in a certain basilica, but Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, caused him to be extracted from there and his body to be cast elsewhere. His nephews also were expelled from the Church, and all his progeny and planting, torn up from the root, wandered in exile through other kingdoms, carrying everywhere complaints concerning so great a judgment.

Roger, king of Sicily, alone among the princes not obeying Innocent, sent to Peter Leonis so that he would delegate Peter of Pisa to him from his side, trusting in Peter of Pisa's eloquence. But the holy abbot Bernard reconciled Peter of Pisa himself to Pope Innocent. After three days Peter Leonis died impenitent, and his corpse was buried in hiding; even to this day that pit is unknown to Catholics.

When the schism had therefore been removed, Innocent founded at Aquae Salviae the monastery of Saint Anastasius the martyr, monastic dwellings having been constructed there. He asked that a community and an abbot be sent from the monastery of Clairvaux. Thus Bernard, formerly vice-lord of the church of Pisa and then a Cistercian monk, was sent there with a community. After some years he was created pope, as will be evident below.

This Innocent II pronounced the sentence of excommunication against those who laid violent hands upon ecclesiastical persons, decreeing as follows in Cause XVII, Question IV: "If anyone, at the devil's persuasion, should incur the vice or crime of this sacrilege, because he has laid violent hands upon a cleric or monk, let him be subjected to anathema. Let none of the bishops presume to absolve him, unless the danger of death is urgent, until he presents himself before the apostolic presence and receives its command." This decree has a very lengthy explanation, which you have in the third part under the title concerning excommunications.

Innocent himself, when consulted concerning these matters, also determines that if anyone takes a widow as wife even before baptism, he cannot be promoted, because he is a bigamist, in Distinction XXXIV, "If Anyone Takes a Widow." Likewise, if anyone had one wife before baptism and another after baptism, even if she were a virgin, he is truly a bigamist and cannot be promoted, as in Distinction XXVI, "Thereafter." Likewise, those knowingly baptized or ordained by heretics are not admitted to the clergy, in Cause I, Question I, "It Has Come," unless they were baptized by them in a case of necessity.

The same man says in Cause XXIII, Question IV: "It has been asked concerning those who after baptism administered justice in a case of blood, or exercised tortures, or even rendered a capital sentence, whether such persons sin. We answer: we read nothing defined by our forefathers concerning these persons to the effect that they sin. For they remembered that these powers had been granted by God, that the sword had been permitted for the vengeance of the guilty, and that it had been given by God's ministry to judges of this sort. How, therefore, could they reprehend a deed which appears to have been granted by God as author?" The Gloss says there: "In truth, such persons do not sin if they do this from love of justice and possess authority for such things."

Likewise Innocent says in Cause XXXV, Question IX: "We do not deny that a sentence of the Roman See can be changed for the better when something has been obtained by surreption, or when the See itself, in consideration of ages and times or of grave necessities, has decreed that certain things be ordered by dispensation. For we read that even the excellent Apostle Paul did certain things by way of dispensation which he is afterward read to have reproved. Nevertheless, this must be observed when that Roman Church, by most discerning consideration, chooses that this be done, not when she wishes to reconsider what has been well defined."

The same man says in the same Question: "It ought not to appear burdensome to your most devout minds to reconsider anyone's judgment, because truth, more frequently examined, shines forth more brightly into the light, and destructive error, recalled to judgment, is condemned gravely and without pardon. For it is a divine fruit that justice should be reviewed more frequently."

Section V

When Innocent II had entered the way of all flesh, Celestine II, a Roman of the Castellani, who had previously been called Guido, was raised to the rank of the supreme pontificate in the year of the Lord 1144. From the beginning of the world it was the year 5109, but according to the other computation, the year 6348. He sat for five months. Hence, because of the brevity of his pontificate, nothing concerning him is found recorded, and he was the one hundred seventy-second in the number of pontiffs.

About that time, or a little before, in the presence of Louis, king of France, there was held at Sens a gathering of bishops and religious abbots against Peter Abelard, who was scandalizing the Church by a certain profane novelty of words or meanings. When he was challenged by them and was about to answer concerning justice, fearing a hearing he appealed to the Apostolic See. Escaping in this way, not long afterward he died at Saint-Marcel in Chalon.

This Peter Abelard, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXVIII, was a celebrated teacher, most renowned in the reputation of learning, but one who dogmatized perversely concerning the faith. Innocent II condemned his writings to the fire and the writer to silence. Concerning this Peter, Bernard writes as follows to Pope Innocent II:

"We have in France a new theologian from an old master, who from his early age played in the dialectical art and now raves in the Sacred Scriptures; who always seeks new things and invents what he does not find. At the threshold of his first book of theology - or rather, of foolish discourse - he defines faith as an estimation, so that we are to suppose that something in our faith hangs upon doubtful estimation, as he thinks, rather than that all which is in it rests upon sure and solid truth, divinely commended, established, and consecrated by oracles and miracles, by the Virgin's childbearing, by the blood of the Redeemer, and by the glory of the one rising again. 'These testimonies have been made exceedingly credible.'

"The Apostle cries, 'I know whom I have believed, and I am certain,' and you whisper to me, 'Faith is an estimation.' You chatter to me as uncertain that than which nothing is more certain. Augustine also speaks otherwise: 'Faith,' he says, 'is not held in the heart of the one whose faith it is by conjecturing or opining, but by certain knowledge, conscience acclaiming.' Moreover, the Apostle says, 'Faith is the substance of things to be hoped for,' not an empty fantasy of conjectures. These estimations belong to the Academics, whose part it is to doubt everything but to know nothing." Thus Bernard.

Blessed Bernard noted the reprehensible chapters in Abelard's books in the letter which he wrote concerning him to Pope Innocent II. Nevertheless, his books are curiously preserved by many, for whom stolen waters are sweeter and hidden bread more pleasant. I found many reprehensible things in them.

Geoffrey of Auxerre, who for a long time had been the secretary of blessed Bernard, had at one time been a disciple of this Peter. Among other things he says the following concerning that same Peter:

"I remember that he was once my master. While he himself consumed, or offered to his disciples, nothing more of the Paschal lamb than its feet and entrails, he defrauded both himself and his own of no small part of it. Indeed, emptying the price of redemption, he commended to us nothing in the sacrifice of the Lord's Passion except an example of virtue and an incitement of love. For he said that what the Scriptures declare - that the human race was redeemed from the power of the devil by that precious blood - consisted only in this: that an example was exhibited to us of contending for truth and justice even unto death, and that an incitement of love was supplied, since by the love expended an occasion was given for loving in return; as though these two things had not also been exhibited to us in the deaths of the prophets slain for truth and justice. These things indeed are great and true, but they are not the only things.

"Blessed be God, who at the same time and in the same manner gave to you and to me a teacher, afterward a better one, through whom he reproved the first teacher's ignorance and confuted his insolence. For he, as a true Hebrew, eagerly consumed entirely, and carefully commended to us for consumption, the head of the lamb with its feet and entrails: thus preaching that the suffering Lord is to be imitated, and that the loving Lord is to be loved in return, while he professed and adored as the principal cause of this sacrifice, as the head of the lamb, the redemption of mankind in him.

"For Christ exhibited three special things to us in his Passion: an example of virtue, an incitement of love, and the sacrament of redemption. If a heretic empties out the third, the other things can profit him nothing. For without cause he contended for virtue even unto death, providing us an example of patience; and without cause he exhibited and commended an affection of such immense love, if the captivity long ago already mentioned does not receive the effect of abundant redemption." Geoffrey thus writes forcefully and in a Catholic manner against Peter, formerly his own master.

At that time Henry, the brother of Louis, king of France, became a monk at Clairvaux. Not long afterward he was raised to the episcopate of Beauvais.

And John of the Times died, who had lived for 361 years from the time of Charlemagne, whose armor-bearer he had been.

Section VI

In the year of the Lord 1144, when Celestine had been taken from this light, Lucius of Bologna, who previously was called Gerard and was chancellor, undertook the government of the Roman Church as the one hundred seventy-third pontiff. Because he died within the year, his deeds are not found indicated by writers, except what John of Columna reports: namely, that when the Romans, who were governed according to the judgment of the supreme pontiff, had determined to exalt the senate, which had fallen from use for long ages and had nearly been given over to oblivion, Innocent II wished to prevent this, but, forestalled by death, was unable to do so.

But this Lucius of Bologna, following Innocent's will, resolved to abolish the senate against the Roman people. Hence, after a great body of soldiers had been gathered, he attacked the Capitol in order to expel the senators from it. But the Roman people, running to arms, expelled the pope with his men from the Capitol. There the pope, as is reported, was so battered with stones

that afterward he could not exercise the pastoral office. Not long afterward, namely after eleven months of his papacy, he ended his final day.

In the same year a great famine grew strong in France. Saint Bernard performed many miracles in Germany, where at the city of Speyer there was so great a concourse that King or Emperor Conrad, lest the people crush him, laid aside his cloak, received him into his own arms, and carried him from the basilica.

During the same time in the regions of Germany there was a certain marvelous virgin of advanced age, upon whom divine power had bestowed so great a grace that, although she was a laywoman and unlettered, nevertheless, being marvelously carried away, she frequently learned in dreams not only what she poured forth in words, but also what she dictated in Latin for writing, so that by this dictation she composed books of Catholic doctrine. Vincent says in the *Historical Mirror* that this was, as I think, Saint Hildegard, who is said to have predicted many things concerning the future, and to whom blessed Bernard is also said to have written. Writing to the people of Cologne concerning the future tribulation of clerics, she says that clerics desire to have glory without merit and merit without work.

About this time the boy William was crucified by Jews in England on the Day of Preparation for Easter in the city of Norwich. Concerning him the following vision is read, as Vincent reports from the chronicles in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXVIII.

A certain boy named William, fifteen years old, saw while sleeping a radiant man who said to him, “Follow me.” He soon began to see a dreadful shadow on his left, but he was comforted by the gentle sight of his guide. Then he saw a dark valley having fire on one side and very cold water on the other, where souls were always passing from one to the other.

Afterward that radiant elder led the boy to other torments, where he saw innumerable fiery seats and an innumerable people filling the same seats. Demons brought out flaming money from little bags and threw it into the mouths of individuals. They cast it out through their jaws and throat, but the demons cast it back into their mouths again.

Afterward he saw flesh which appeared to have the form of a mature human being cast by demons into cauldrons, and in a moment they appeared like newly born infants. Raised from the cauldrons by fiery hooks, they seemed immediately to be transformed into their former age. Thus they were twisted in the cauldrons repeatedly.

Led from there to another fire, he saw innumerable persons cast into it and dissolved at each joint, and again, when they had been taken from the flame, their joints returned to their places. Afterward he saw many men fastened upon turning wheels by their virile members and women by their genital members, and they all cried, “Woe, woe!”

Likewise he saw many persons upon fiery seats, suspended like thieves in a field with their heads downward. Others, dying from cold, saw garments placed beneath them but could not touch them. Others, tormented by hunger, could not touch the pleasant foods placed beneath them. And those who had not aided others placed in any necessity received no consolation in that same necessity.

Afterward he saw Tartarus open, which appeared in its descent to be deeper than the length of the road from Canterbury to London. There the ancient enemy sat in the midst of the flame, stretched into six parts. When the boy stood trembling near the rim of the pit, the foul spirit which had always adhered to his left side from the time he left his house began to accuse him, saying, “I always suggested every evil thing to this boy.” But those things which the boy had confessed before Easter - for all this happened after Easter - it concealed completely. Nevertheless, it alleged against him so many and such great crimes that they seemed sufficient for eternal damnation.

Then, at the guide’s admonition, when the boy fortified himself with the sign of the cross, the pit disappeared. When the guide withdrew, the boy stood trembling for a long time in the darkness. But the guide returned, led the boy to a luminous radiance, and immediately there appeared a wall of infinite length and breadth in which no entrance was open. Coming to it, in a moment they found themselves carried beyond it.

In that desirable country there appeared a round house which had twelve gates, as is written in the Apocalypse: “From the east, three gates,” and so forth. Entering it, they saw it to be so spacious that all those who are in the world could not fill a tenth part of it. There he saw many persons in great glory, but some more glorious than others. Then he saw ten companies of the blessed.

Coming to the eastern gate, about the middle of the entrance he saw a certain altar, around which radiant men sat, all serving one who was as though the most excellent among them. That man had upon his head a crown distinguished by twelve golden crosses. The guide addressed the boy, who was rejoicing in this vision, saying: “This will be your place if you live well; and know that this is the boy William whom the Jews crucified at Norwich.”

When the guide withdrew, the spirit, although resisting, soon returned to the body. On Monday at about the ninth hour he began to sleep. On Tuesday at about the third hour, raising himself upon his face, he signed himself, when, namely, he saw Tartarus opened. On Thursday at about midday he revived.

Section VII

Eugenius III succeeded Lucius in the See of Peter in the year of the Lord 1145. He was the one hundred seventy-fourth in the number of Roman pontiffs. He was a monk of Clairvaux, a Pisan by nation, and a disciple of blessed Bernard. He had been sent to the city from Clairvaux to be appointed abbot in the monastery of Saint Anastasia outside Rome, which monastery had been constructed by Innocent II. While he was abbot there, he was elected pope.

Thus, unexpectedly elected by the cardinals, he immediately transferred himself to the monastery of Farfa for fear of the senators who had been elected by the Roman people against his predecessor's will. There, after the cardinals and prelates had been summoned, he received the gift of consecration. Although he had previously been a simple man, God suffused him with marvelous grace and refinement. He governed the Church for eight years, seven months, and twenty days.

But the Romans, raising up against him Jordan the patrician and senator, drove him from the city. Seeing that sedition had arisen among the people, he shook the dust from his feet against the disputants and, leaving them, came into France. In his company blessed Bernard performed many signs. The same holy man wrote to this pope the book *On Consideration*, a book indeed of much subtlety, usefulness, and eloquence.

Under this Eugenius III the book of John Damascene the priest was translated from Greek into Latin by Burgundio, a judge and citizen of Pisa. In it is contained the tradition of the orthodox faith, divided into four books and distinguished into one hundred chapters. Nevertheless, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, John did not hold faithfully with the Greeks. Yet he could be excused from the vice of heresy, because in his time that matter had not yet been determined by the Church, as Thomas says in the *Summa*.

In the year of the Lord 1148 a council was celebrated at Reims under Eugenius. In this council blessed Bernard publicly confuted Master Gilbert, surnamed Porretanus, disputing individually with him as the singular champion of his age. This Gilbert was bishop of Poitiers, greatly practiced in the sacred writings. But, having searched into things too sublime for him, he fell into folly. Indeed, neither thinking simply concerning the unity of the Holy Trinity and the simplicity of the divinity nor writing faithfully, he set before his disciples hidden breads and stolen waters.

He did not easily confess to authoritative persons what he understood, or rather how greatly he lacked understanding. For he feared what they report had been said to Peter Abelard at Sens: "Your own affair is now at stake when the nearest wall burns." Finally, when the scandal of the faithful now grew strong concerning this and their murmuring also increased, he was called into their midst and commanded to deliver the book in which he had vomited forth blasphemies that were indeed grave but enclosed by a certain wrapping of words.

Saint Bernard first elicited by subtle questions everything which Gilbert appeared to conceal by verbal cavils, and then refuted it in a two-day disputation both by his own reasonings and by testimonies of the saints. Perceiving that some of those who presided, although now recognizing the blasphemy in the teaching, nevertheless still turned injury away from the person, he was kindled with zeal and separately summoned the Gallican Church, which was as his own household.

Thereafter, by common counsel, with the man of God dictating, a new formula of faith was opposed to the new dogmas by the fathers of ten provinces and by very many other bishops and abbots. The names of each were also subscribed to it, so that, just as the reprehensible zeal of all those men, so also their irreprehensible zeal, might become known to others. At last that error was condemned by apostolic judgment and the authority of the universal Church.

Bishop Gilbert was asked whether he consented to the same condemnation. Consenting and publicly refuting what he previously had written and asserted, he himself obtained indulgence, especially because from the beginning he had been constrained to enter that disputation under this condition: that he promised, without any obstinacy, freely to correct his opinion according to the judgment of Holy Church. Certain disciples of these two masters, namely Peter Abelard and Gilbert Porretanus, zealously defending them beyond measure, afterward began to disparage blessed Bernard and the whole Cistercian Order.

The same Eugenius issued certain decrees. Hence in Distinction XXXVII it is said from the synod of Pope Eugenius: "It is reported to us that in certain places neither masters nor care for the study of letters are found. Therefore, let care and diligence be exercised entirely by all bishops among the peoples subject to them and in other places in which necessity occurs, so that masters and teachers may be appointed who continually teach the studies of letters and the teachings of the liberal arts, because in these the divine commandments are especially manifested and declared."

The same man says concerning monks in Cause XVI, Question I: "It has pleased our common council that none of the monks, for earthly profit, presume with a most wicked daring to go out from the monastery, or to give penance, or to receive a son from baptism, or to baptize, or to visit a sick person, or to bury the dead, or to transfer to a secular church, or to involve himself in any business whatsoever. Let him be content with his cloister, because just as a fish without water lacks life, so does a monk without a monastery. Therefore let him sit alone and be silent, because he is dead to the world but lives to God. Let him recognize his

name: for *monos* in Greek is ‘one’ in Latin, and *archus* in Greek is ‘sad’ in Latin. Therefore let him sit sad and attend to his office.”

The same man says in Cause XXVII, Question II, from the synod of Eugenius: “If a husband and wife should agree between themselves to separate solely for the sake of religion, let this in no way be done without the bishop’s knowledge, so that they may be established by him separately in a suitable place. For if the wife is unwilling, or either one of them is unwilling, the marriage is not dissolved even for such a reason.”

At length, having returned to Rome, Eugenius was received by the people with the greatest honor, and afterward migrated to the Lord.

Section VIII

When Eugenius died, Anastasius, a Roman by nation, the one hundred seventy-fifth pontiff, was placed in the Roman See in the year of the Lord 1152. Before a year had been completed, he was gathered to his fathers. I have found nothing recorded concerning him.

In the thirty-eighth year of his episcopate Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, despising the magnificence of the world, was clothed in the monastic habit in a certain monastery. Once, while he was sitting with other monks at the conference, he observed a certain monk coming later and more slowly than the others, with a little black boy walking beside him and holding him by the cowl. When Bartholomew had reported this to the abbot, he learned from him that this monk was exceedingly negligent. Thus Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

About that time there flourished a certain holy man named Peter, bishop of Tarentaise, distinguished for holiness and the grace of miracles. He frequently extinguished implacable enmities and inveterate hatreds and restrained very grave wars. With the Lord cooperating and confirming his word by signs that followed, he also effected reconciliations that had been despaired of, even among the greatest princes.

As Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXVIII, Chapter CXXV, on the journey by which he approached the king of England to arrange a certain peace, he performed a stupendous miracle at Saint-Symphorien, which is a castle of the church of Lyon. There was there a certain faithful man, Peter of Fraxinetum, known and honored, who had once drawn him to his lodging almost by force.

This man had a young daughter laboring under a miserable affliction. For a certain female sorcerer, induced by the wickedness of an envious mother-in-law, had brought it about that she languished with an affliction deemed incurable and could in no way endure the presence or sight of her husband. Her mother, persuaded by womanly affection to have Satan cast out Satan, summoned a certain famous sorcerer. He came and examined her. Declaring that the young woman had been filled with iron, he rubbed the bark of trees and gave her cups infected by words and herbs to drink. He also bit the wretched woman’s arm with his own teeth in two places near the front of the arm, so that each bite, the upper and the lower, was about one palm distant from the front of the arm.

A new thing, a marvelous thing: she recovered from that illness, but not fully. For at intervals she was grievously tormented when she felt as though a needle were proceeding from her heart, until a hidden power brought the needle out through the upper bite of her arm, which no scar had covered, just as none had covered the lower bite. By now, in this manner and at intervals of time, about thirty needles had come out: some, as is said commonly, without eyes, while others bore holes suitable for receiving threads.

The daughter was therefore presented by her father to the holy man, to whom he explained her lamentable tragedy. And behold, immediately that same young woman, feeling a needle, lamented it with groaning. One of the lay brothers serving the man of God approached her and extracted it bloody; it was preserved for many years as testimony. Saint Peter prayed and, touching the place of the wound, promised by the power of God that no iron or steel would come out any longer.

So it happened; but the material changed, for the malice had not yet been entirely extinguished. Through the other, lower bite on the arm, which the holy man had not yet touched because nothing had yet emerged from it, there began to come forth, in place of iron needles, little wooden stakes which are commonly called broaches, of oak or ash wood, thicker than thorns and somewhat longer. Yet they were not all of one length or thickness, just as the needles had not been. Sixteen pieces of wood had already come out from the woman within a year and a few months.

Thereafter the reverend prelate Peter, for whom the fullness of so great a miracle was divinely reserved, came again. The woman was presented to him as he celebrated the solemnities of the Mass, as he had instructed on the preceding evening. At that same hour an eighteenth piece of wood came out from the woman’s flesh, which the chaplain extracted before the eyes of all. The prelate therefore absolved the woman after she confessed and, giving her the sacred Eucharist, commanded her thereafter to be

secure from the emergence of anything of any kind. Thus, freed from all illusions, she adhered to her husband, begot children, and proclaimed to many the power of the holy man which she had experienced in herself.

Section IX

In the year of the Lord 1153, from the beginning of the world the year 6328 according to the greater computation, Adrian, an Englishman by nation who previously was called Nicholas, was called to the summit of the supreme pontificate. He sat for four years, nine months, and eight days. He had previously been a monk and abbot in the monastery of Saint Rufus near Avignon. John of Salisbury, who was very familiar with him, says the following concerning him:

“I heard Pope Adrian saying that no one was more miserable than the Roman pontiff and no condition more miserable than his. He confessed that he had found so many miseries in that see that, when present things were compared with them, all the past bitterness of his life seemed joy and happiness to him. He said that the chair of the Roman pontiff was thorny, that the mantle was everywhere crowded with the sharpest points, and that it was of so great a weight that it pressed down, wore away, and crushed even the strongest shoulders. He said that the crown and the phrygium rightly appeared bright, since they were fiery.

“He declared that he would rather never have left his native English soil, or would rather have remained perpetually hidden in the cloister of Saint Rufus near Valence, than have entered such great straits, except that he did not dare resist the divine dispensation. He also very frequently added this to me: that although he had ascended from rank to rank, from a cloistered cleric through all offices to the supreme pontificate, nothing of happiness or tranquil repose of life was ever added to him by an advancement.

“To use his own words: ‘With anvil and hammer,’ he said, ‘the Lord has always enlarged me. But now, if it pleases him, let him place his right hand beneath the burden which he has imposed upon my infirmity, because it is unbearable to me. Is not one who struggles for so great a misery worthy of mercy?’ Thus the richest man who has been elected is poor on the following day and is held bound to almost innumerable creditors.

“Therefore, to aspire to the supreme pontificate, and even to ascend to it not without a brother’s blood, is to succeed Romulus in parricides, not Peter in feeding the sheep. It is therefore rightly said that, not only in name but also in substance, the supreme pontiff is the servant of servants. For it is necessary that he serve the servants of avarice, that is, the Romans, to such a degree that if he does not serve them, he becomes either an ex-pontiff or an ex-Roman.” Helinand reports these things.

In the year of the Lord 1156, the sign of the cross appeared upon the moon. Alberic, a knight of Beauvais, suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ. In the following year three moons were seen, and in the middle one the sign of the cross. In the following year, on the Nones of September, three suns were seen in the western part. The sun of the day, which was in the middle, remained until sunset when the other two failed. Thus Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*. Those two are vapors, occurring sometimes miraculously and sometimes naturally.

Adrian excommunicated William, king of Sicily. Filled with anger on this account, the said king sent an army to besiege Benevento, a city of the Church in Apulia. For this reason Adrian summoned the emperor of the Greeks against him and incited against him several princes who had been exiled by the king. Ranging through Apulia, they captured several cities. The lord pope, favoring them in all things, had withdrawn into Benevento.

Hearing this, King William crossed into Apulia as quickly as possible with the military forces gathered from all Sicily, where they then were. Immediately upon his first arrival he routed the forces of the Greeks and bound their captured leaders in chains. Thus, having obtained the victory, he brought the entire region which had defected from him back into his power. When this had been done, he directed his forces toward Benevento and surrounded the city on every side with a siege. There he afflicted both the lord pope, the cardinals, and all the citizens with such hardships that he made them very anxious for their own safety.

But through the intervention of certain persons peace was restored between them, all those who, at the pope’s persuasion, had immersed themselves in such dangers being excluded from the treaty. Thus, seeing that events had occurred contrary to their hope, the aforesaid noblemen began anxiously to seek by what means they might leave the kingdom without danger. Count Robert of Basvilla, with certain others, betook himself to Emperor Frederick in Germany. But the prince of Capua, who had also risen against the king of Sicily, was more unfortunate than the others. While he was preparing to travel by ship along the Garigliano, he was captured by King William’s supporters and presented to that king. William immediately deprived him of his eyes and placed him in prison, and after a short time he miserably ended his life.

After Pope Adrian composed peace with William, king of Sicily, he returned to Rome. It happened that one of the cardinals was wounded at Rome by certain most wicked men. For this reason the pope placed the entire city under ecclesiastical interdict until worthy satisfaction was made.

At that time there also flourished Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, raised from the monastery of Bec, a man altogether praiseworthy and magnificent and most experienced in both secular and ecclesiastical affairs. Thomas, archdeacon of

Canterbury, who afterward was archbishop after him, was made chancellor of King Henry through the industry of this Theobald.

Section X

When Adrian had been taken from this light, the cardinals, disagreeing among themselves, elected two men as pontiffs: namely Roland the chancellor, who was called Alexander III and was of the nation of Siena, and Octavian, whom they called Victor. From this circumstance the Catholic Church labored long under schism. For this reason the secular princes wavered, some adhering to one and some to the other. Emperor Frederick, with his bishops, adhered to Octavian. But Louis, king of the Franks, and Henry, king of the English, with their men, received Alexander as father and lord.

But by God's will Octavian, who was called Victor by his men, died after a short time, being taken from their midst. Those who had adhered to Octavian, immediately persevering in obstinacy and contumacy, elected as pope a certain Guido, who was called Paschal. By the just judgment of God, he too died while Alexander was still living. When he had been given burial, John, who called himself Calixtus, was ordained by the same men. When John died, a certain man named Lando, to whom the name Innocent was imposed, was made pope by those schismatics. These three were cardinal-priests, and, excommunicated by Pope Alexander, they perished by an evil death.

At length, when the schism had been removed, Alexander alone remained, declared by all to be the true supreme pontiff. He sat in the chair of Peter for twenty-two years and was the one hundred seventy-seventh in the number of pontiffs. Immediately after his creation, when Emperor Frederick, who favored those antipopes, persecuted him, he fled to the Franks. He was honorably received by them as the true pope by the king of the Franks and English [read: by the kings of the Franks and English]. His party was defended by war, and his adversaries were confounded and destroyed.

He celebrated a general council at Tours in Gaul and enrolled blessed Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the catalogue of the saints. Concerning this he wrote a letter in commendation of Bernard's life and teaching to Louis, king of France, and also to all the bishops throughout the world and the other prelates, commanding that his feast be celebrated on the day of his death.

In the year of the Lord 1163 Pope Alexander III came into Gaul. A little afterward Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, fleeing as an exile from England, came into France and first lived in exile at Pontigny. As Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXX, and John of Columna, the said blessed Thomas came from Pontigny to Sens to Pope Alexander, bringing with him in writing the customs of the king of England because of which he was an exile, for he was unwilling to observe them since they were iniquitous.

Holding them in his hands, he placed the unfolded and extended charter before the pope's feet, saying: "Behold, holy father, the sacred - or rather, sacrilegious - customs of the king of England, contrary to the canons and decrees and even to the laws of secular princes themselves. We are compelled to endure exile because of them. We have come here so that we might show them to your holy fatherhood and have counsel concerning them. Therefore, if it pleases your holiness, command them to be read and heard. For whoever hears these things, it is marvelous if both his ears do not ring, since he will hear that Christians are acting against the law of Christianity and that, when the venerable statutes of the holy fathers have been condemned, new and unheard-of abuses presumed by ancient tyrants are being introduced into the Church."

When he had said this on bended knees, at the pope's command he rose and stood in the midst, with the company of his clerics surrounding him. When those customs had been read at the command of the lord pope, and when the reader had pronounced the first chapter, the venerable prelate began marvelously to discourse against the proposed chapter and more fully to elucidate and reveal the king's intention in this matter. From decrees and laws he showed and proved in which things and in how many respects what had been pronounced opposed the canons of the holy fathers, and how great a danger threatened the Church of God if the king obtained what he intended. He did the same for each chapter, while the lord pope willingly heard him and diligently noted his assertions concerning each.

Nevertheless, the cardinals who, having received money from the king, favored his party, offered the blessed man much vexation in his cause, especially William of Pavia, who was a closer friend and intimate of the king. Striving by every means to impede the blessed man, he rose up at each point and opposed himself to him, proposing many things and asking many things. The venerable man, without difficulty or hesitation, either unraveled or refuted them as though they were spiders' threads.

For William thought that the archbishop was using another person's speech and not his own, and that if he could deflect him from the path of his discourse, he would immediately be held up to ridicule and confusion. But the holy man, understanding that William directly opposed him, sometimes so entangled and ensnared him in his own objections by a reciprocal course of speech that it became manifest to all that not only was he using his own powers and eloquence, but also that he possessed an unsurpassable genius and eloquence.

When a great part of the day had been consumed both in the exposition of his cause and in contention with his adversaries - for there were sixteen chapters of those customs to which he had replied while standing - the lord pope, at last marveling at his

wisdom, called him to himself, commanded him to sit beside him, and said: “Welcome, dearest brother.” Repeatedly rejoicing with him that he had come safely, he began to thank him because he had undertaken so great a burden and so arduous a business and had dared to defend the Church of God against the assaults of tyrants in such dangerous times.

The venerable prelate also returned thanks to the lord pope with due honor and reverence because he had deigned to honor him with so great an honor. Then the lord pope condemned those customs in perpetuity and subjected their observers and exactors to eternal anathema.

Thus, after the man of the Lord had remained at the curia for some time, at length, with the lord pope’s permission and counsel, he betook himself to the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny. He remained there for almost two years and, among his other pursuits of emulation, also desired and received the monastic habit. Sending a confidential messenger to the lord pope, then dwelling at Sens, he sought and obtained that the religious habit be blessed for him by the pope and sent to him, the lord pope writing back to him as follows: “We have sent to you, beloved brother, a habit not such as we wished, but such as we had.”

When Henry, king of the English, learned in how great an honor the venerable pontiff had been received by the lord pope and that he had chosen Pontigny as the place of his dwelling, he raged against his own people with an unheard-of kind of cruelty. He commanded that wherever any man or woman of Thomas’s kindred could be found, each should be disinherited, despoiled of his own goods, and driven from the kingdom, after an oath had first been exacted from that person that he would journey to Pontigny for the purpose of grieving the archbishop and present himself to him. Then old and young belonging to his kindred were expelled, as were women with nursing children and even certain pregnant women.

At length this glorious pontiff Thomas returned to Canterbury, to his own church, and was received with great honor. A few days afterward he fell by the swords of the impious, as will be said below. By this same Alexander III he was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints, shining with many miracles.

In the year 1165 Alexander returned to Rome and was received with honor. But when Emperor Frederick came toward the city, Alexander, fearing his power, fled to Venice to escape his hand. Indignant at this, the emperor armed a fleet against the Venetians. He placed his son Otto in command of it and sent him to demand Pope Alexander. But Otto, the emperor’s son, was defeated in the first encounter in a naval battle by the Venetian fleet, which aided the party of Holy Church and Alexander, and was captured and conducted to Venice.

In the following year, through the agency of the emperor’s son Otto, who had been captured, the dissension between pope and emperor was removed and peace was made. From this great honor and glory followed for the Venetians, to whom the supreme pontiff gave certain insignia to be borne in perpetuity in memory of the affair. I marvel, however, that neither Vincent in the *Historical Mirror* nor John of Columna makes mention of this.

This magnanimous pontiff issued many constitutions in the first council which he celebrated at Tours in Gaul and in the second Lateran Council celebrated at Rome. He also made many decretals which are found under diverse titles in the Decretals.

Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXX, that the schism which Frederick fostered endured for sixteen years. At length the emperor himself abjured that schism and, making public satisfaction, composed peace with the pope.

Alexandria, which is in Upper Lombardy between the roots of the Alps and the city of Pavia, upon the river Tanaro, was then built against the people of Pavia who favored the emperor, and was named Alexandria after this pontiff Alexander. In his time Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, who composed the Book of Sentences, flourished, according to Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*. He will be discussed below.

Section XI

When Alexander migrated to the Lord, Lucius III was created pope. He had previously been called Ubald, bishop of Ostia. This was in the year of the Lord 1182. From the beginning of the world it was the year 6366 according to the greater computation, but the year 5148 according to the lesser computation. He was the one hundred seventy-eighth in the number of pontiffs and sat for four years.

Lucius himself, however, was driven from the city by the Romans. Many of his men were afflicted by various injuries: some were blinded, and others, wearing miters, were placed backward upon asses. The pope himself went to Verona.

About that time, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, in the city of Orléans on a Sunday about the feast of blessed Lawrence, a priest celebrating Mass had prepared two hosts because of the viaticum and had proceeded as far as the Lord’s Prayer. He saw the one which he held in his hands suffused with a red color and blood flowing from it between his fingers. He transferred it to three places upon the altar, and in each place as much of the surface as the host covered was stained purple with blood. The people ran together and marveled. The priest consumed the host which he had prepared to reserve.

Philip, king of France, who was not far away, ran there and saw the host in the form of livid flesh, and upon the corporal drops or marks of blood, circled in the manner of a host when the sacred host was transferred. Afterward, at the castle of Charola, the same host represented partly the appearance of flesh and partly that of bread. On the feast of All Saints, while the prior was celebrating and wished to divide it into three, it could not be broken; rather, remaining whole, it was folded through the middle. Immediately one part assumed the form of flesh, while the remaining part remained in its former form.

Something similar also happened at the town of Sorona; another similar thing in the territory of Vendecinum; and a similar thing also happened at Arras. These works of God's mercy were believed to have been performed at that time because of the heresy springing up in Gascony.

A little before this the reputation of Saint Alpaïs of Cudot became illustrious, nor is it marvelous if it was celebrated, since an eminent and most splendid miracle shone in her. For it was divinely granted to her to live for many years in the body and not to need the assistance of bodily food.

She was indeed of the lowest birth and by occupation a cowherd. Previously she was worn down by a very grave and prolonged scourge, so much so that, because pus flowed from her whole body, she became an object of horror even to her own people. But he who chose the contemptible and lowest things of the world, after long proofs of her patience, regarded the humility of his handmaid. The more he refined her in the furnace of tribulation, the more worthy he made her, restoring her body and sustaining her with spiritual nourishment.

She became so powerless in herself that she could not be moved except by another person, lying continually upon her back, while all her other members except her head and right hand lacked the vigor of their function. Although she could not easily swallow any food, she nevertheless had a natural passage freely prepared for swallowing the viaticum.

Her body became exceedingly thin and withered, since her intestines had been emptied within by prolonged fasting; yet she was seen to be so beautiful and indeed full in the face as if she enjoyed an abundance of delicacies. She was frequently carried away into the heights. Relying upon an angel as guide, she traversed now the places of punishments and now the joys of the blessed.

Upon returning to herself, she cautiously released what and to whom she should disclose [read: she carefully weighed what she should disclose and to whom], the Spirit teaching her inwardly what and in what manner she ought to keep silent, and what she ought to disclose. On the solemnities of the Lord or of his glorious Mother, however, it was granted to her to be carried aloft very frequently and, by the free gaze of the mind, to contemplate the world and all things that are in the world.

When after one or several days she returned from that most exalted repose, she appeared to herself to pass as though from a certain most spacious region of light into darkness, and, as we heard her herself relate, to have a certain millstone placed upon the eyes of her mind. She related that, while in that rapture, she beheld the whole unclean world circumscribed in the form of a circular ball, the sun larger than the earth, and the earth hanging like an egg in the middle and surrounded on every side by waters.

She declared that things and the reasons and causes of things were so infinite and so hidden that each person grasps the less, the more curiously he investigates. In the spirit she saw many absent things and frequently foresaw future things. But this was all the more particularly marvelous because it was rarer: namely, that a woman born and reared in the countryside and accustomed to rural labor was distinguished by so great a gift of wisdom, so prudent in counsels and so circumspect in words. For she spoke so prudently, counseled so discreetly, and exhorted so salutarily that it was clearer than light that he who teaches man knowledge had chosen his seat in her and had made his dwelling in her.

In these times Anselm, bishop of Beauvais, flourished. Lamps were divinely kindled at his tomb as testimony of his holiness, except for one of those lamps, to which a certain usurer supplied the nourishment of oil; that lamp could not be kindled.

In the year of the Lord 1172 Robert, provost of Area, governed two bishoprics, namely Arras and Tournai. The son of a certain rustic smith of Chartres, he is said to have used a familiar demon, through whom he had come to such honors. At length he was killed by ribalds, a certain illustrious knight having procured his death.

In the year of the Lord 1173 fiery battle lines appeared in the sky at night on the third day before the Ides of February. In the following year blessed Thomas of Canterbury was crowned with martyrdom.

In the year of the Lord 1177 an eclipse of the sun occurred at the sixth hour on the Ides of September.

Section XII

Urban III succeeded Lucius III in the papacy in the year of the Lord 1185. He was the one hundred seventy-ninth in the number of pontiffs and sat for three years. When he heard that Jerusalem had been captured by the Saracens and that the Christians had been expelled from those parts of the East with the destruction of many, he grieved so greatly that he became ill from sorrow, and from that illness migrated to the Lord.

About that time, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, eastern and western astrologers - namely Jews, Saracens, and also Christians - sent letters through diverse parts of the world, predicting and asserting without doubt that in September there would be a tempest of violent winds, an earthquake, and a mortality of men. They also threatened seditions, dissensions, changes of kingdoms, and many other things in this manner. But the subsequent outcome of events manifestly proved that things would be otherwise than they had predicted by divination.

The judgments of such persons are not to be adhered to greatly: both because it is difficult to determine precisely the influences of the heavenly bodies upon these lower bodies, and the mathematical art which is regarded as heretical intrudes itself into this matter; and because the first cause, which is God, exerts more influence upon the effect of the second cause than does the second cause itself.

At that time Abbot Joachim came from the regions of Calabria to this Pope Urban, who was then dwelling at Verona. It is reported of Joachim that, although he previously had learned little from a human teacher, he divinely received the gift of understanding, so that he eloquently and discerningly unraveled any difficulties or obscurities of the Scriptures.

He therefore said that certain mysteries of the Apocalypse had lain hidden until that time but were now becoming clear in the spirit of prophecy, as is evident to those who read the little work which he wrote. For he says that, just as the Scriptures of the Old Testament contain the histories of the five ages of the world that ran from Adam, namely, to Christ, so the Book of the Apocalypse expounds the course of the sixth age beginning from Christ. He divides this sixth age itself into six little ages, each of them designated quite suitably by individual periods of this book.

He also says that these things were revealed at the end of the fifth little age and that the sixth would immediately follow. In it, he declares, various tribulations and manifold persecutions will arise, as is manifestly shown in the opening of the seal and in the sixth period of the book, where the fall of Babylon is treated. But this above other things in his little book is regarded as notable and suspect: that he fixes the end of the world within two generations, which, according to him, make sixty years, and judges that it will be fulfilled within them.

He is said to have written many things and to have offered his books to the lord pope to be corrected. For he is also said to have erred in certain things, as will be evident in the following title. Nevertheless, many future things are reported to have been revealed to him. Hence, afterward, when the two kings of France and England were wintering at Messina, a city of Sicily, on their overseas journey, this abbot was summoned and said that the time for the liberation of Jerusalem had not yet arrived.

But concerning those things which he wrote about future times, it is fitting that we leave the presaging of uncertain things to the judgment of posterity. Thus Vincent. But add what Thomas says in Book IV: that all who have spoken of the end of the world by determining a definite time have been found false speakers in this matter, and those who determine it hereafter will also be found so. Hence Augustine, in *The City of God*, upon that passage of Acts I in which Christ said to the apostles, “It is not yours to know the times or moments which the Father has placed in his own power,” says: “Here he unbends the fingers of all who calculate concerning this matter and commands them to rest.”

The same Joachim, in his exposition upon Jeremiah, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXXII, Chapter CVII, speaks as follows:

“From the year of the Lord 1200 onward the times are suspect to me, and the moment in which, when a new order of Samuel has arisen, Hophni and Phinehas, the priests and pontiffs of God, will be taken captive by the prince of the Roman commonwealth. Let the ark of the Church be captured, and let Eli, that is, the supreme pontiff, fall and remain in danger under Haman the Agagite like another Mordecai.

“It is necessary that such persons preach and lament this very fall of the Church, persons to whom voluntary poverty is pleasing and whose spiritual doctrine and purity of life ‘eron withstand’ the goads of future tribulation [read: will not withstand the goads of future tribulation]. Such teachers and such prophets, therefore, are to be sent who will scorch, and not flatter, not only inferior men but even pontiffs and prelates themselves.

“Faithful teachers and preachers are indeed to be revealed shortly, who will strike earthly and carnal hearts with every plague and impose silence by their studies upon proud and swollen masters. Although that future order is to arise for obedience, nevertheless it was foretold by the prophets, and in apostolic men of the third period of the ecclesiastical course it was known and chosen by God, to be sanctified in the womb of the spiritual Church and of perfect doctrine, as another Benjamin, a son not so much of sorrow in punishment as of the right hand, that is, of exultation in glory.

“The universal Church, now growing old, will soon bear such persons. Rachel will lament such sons, as though they were to be slain by a king of shameless countenance, as by another Herod. They are therefore called sons of sorrow, because, when they were crushed, spiritual religion could not be consoled because of the anguish of the time. Yet they are also called sons of the right hand, because, from the same source from which Mother Church is oppressed in them and for their sake, the eternal homeland rejoices concerning them and with them.

“These are faithful in doctrine, spiritual in life, and obedient under oppression. This order, therefore, has been formed in the likeness of Jeremiah in the universal Church and sanctified in regular observance, lest anyone reprehend it concerning the merit of its life. I also think that, just as formerly God chose the Fathers, who were old, and secondly the Apostles, who were younger, so now for a third time he will choose children according to the letter to preach the Gospel of the kingdom, because of those for whom old things have become worthless while the prelates adulterate the word of God.

“And just as formerly through Moses and Joshua the Lord subjected the Canaanites to the Israelites, and through Paul and Barnabas laid low the idolaters, so now through two future orders prefigured in them he will subdue and convert unbelieving nations.” Thus Joachim.

Section XIII

After the death of Urban III, Gregory VIII ascended the chair of Peter. He was the one hundred eightieth in the number of pontiffs, a man illustrious for learning in letters and eloquence, but more illustrious for purity of life and integrity of mind, and a vehement chastiser of himself.

First of all, therefore, he was inflamed with every desire to assist Jerusalem. To rouse the princes and peoples throughout the provinces of the West, he sent both legates and letters to set forth the eastern disaster and to promise absolution of penances to those journeying to Jerusalem. But, alas, immediately at its arising the flower of his splendor withered. After two months he departed from the chair and left this world; he was buried at Pisa.

At that time there flourished a certain man called Peter the One-Eyed, abbot of Clairvaux. As Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXX, he concealed the nobility of his birth by as much dissimulation as he could. He became a novice in the monastery of Igny. In food he never took anything besides the common fare, and frequently withheld much even of that common portion from himself. He possessed only a cowl and a tunic. He attended vigils both continually and persistently. He wished to appear lowly, not to be proclaimed humble.

He neither possessed nor sought singular graces, nor polished speech, personal beauty, skill in secular business, or popular generosity. He possessed inward goods and rejoiced to be obscure in outward things. Yet to those who judged rightly he appeared greatly venerable and marvelous.

One night this Peter saw in a nocturnal vision that he entered a most beautiful hall in which a throne had been placed, and upon the throne sat a certain lady with a very venerable countenance. As he entered the hall, black and horrible dogs ran to meet him. Charging upon him, they wished to tear him apart. But that great and venerable lady magnificently drove them away by her authority, called Peter to herself, soothed him with gentle words and sweet speech, and commanded him to be secure.

This venerable man was always in the same state. When a certain abbot familiar with him asked how he could always remain the same, he answered: “When I was a novice, a certain spirit seemed visibly to enter into me. From then until now that spirit, that force or affection, in a certain manner rules me, governs me, and leads me like the sheep of Joseph. It gathers inward what has been scattered through outward things and compels me, even when I wish to attend to other things, to apply myself to prayer. Sometimes it causes me not to perceive the things that are thrust upon my eyes or ears and make a din.”

At midnight on Sunday, while the brothers were chanting psalms in choir and he was then with them, a pain of the head attacked him so violently that he considered leaving the choir. When he moved for this purpose, he heard a voice saying to him: “Praising, I shall invoke the Lord, and I shall be saved from my enemies.” Strengthened by this voice, he remained. After a short time, when the pain grew strong again, he again prepared to leave, and the aforesaid voice sounded again. Throughout that whole night and the following Sunday until the end of the conventual Mass, that contest between the pain and the consoling voice did not cease.

When, in his order, he approached the horn of the altar to receive communion, at the very act of inclining it seemed to him that a stone of great weight fell from his head. Immediately rising and receiving the Holy Eucharist, he was healed from all that pain.

A certain religious man very familiar with him, being at times tempted concerning the reason of our faith, asked him in confession whether he had ever had such a temptation. Peter said: “I do not deny that I have often been assailed by such a temptation, but manifold experience of the faith drove away every such weakness of mine.” The man asked what that experience was. Peter said: “I have sensed much concerning God, and sometimes something such that, when I ceased to sense it, I bore it more grievously than if I had been cast into a burning furnace.”

He became prior of Igny, afterward abbot of Val-Roi, and finally abbot of Clairvaux, God revealing it through his saints. For while Peter himself was praying, Saint Malachy and Saint Bernard, concerning whom it will be said below, stood beside him. One of them said to him, “You will be abbot of Clairvaux.” When this had been said, they disappeared. He remained utterly terrified, for he never would have wished this to happen.

Not long afterward Abbot Gerard, who was abbot of Clairvaux, came to Igny. Finding there a certain man named Hugh of Basochiis, who had transgressed gravely within his Order, the aforesaid Gerard avenged the offense with regular severity. Hugh lay sick in body and mind among the infirm brothers. When Hugh had resolved to kill Abbot Gerard because of the punishment imposed upon him, a certain one of the brothers named Haymo, while sitting in the vestibule of the infirmary, saw two horrible persons enter the dormitory.

The aforesaid Abbot Gerard attended vigils that night. When he went to the dormitory because of necessity, Hugh, placed in ambush with an iron weapon prepared for the crime, wounded him mortally. Gerard died of that wound on the following day, saying at the hour of his departure, “Direct me, Lord, in your truth.”

When Henry, a man powerful in deed and speech, had been made abbot of Clairvaux - for a short time afterward this Henry was made a cardinal-bishop - Peter the One-Eyed, concerning whom this account is given, was summoned to the election and fled, but was elected in his absence.

Gerard himself appeared to Peter, who was grieving over his death, and said: “Do not be saddened by my death, because I am with the Lord Jesus Christ. But when you come to Clairvaux, you will perform my office and bury me.” When Gerard’s body had been brought to Clairvaux, Peter, having been asked by the abbots to celebrate Mass for the deceased, agreed. In the canon of the Mass Saint Bernard appeared to him on one side of the altar and Saint Malachy on the other, saying to him: “Do not doubt that Abbot Gerard is a companion of the angels in eternal glory.”

The Roman pope, having heard his reputation, caused him to be summoned. The pope confessed his sins to him, received the Holy Eucharist from his hands, and gave him the necessary expenses for constructing an abbey.

When through an infirmity of the head he had lost one of his eyes, he afterward used to say cheerfully that one of his enemies had escaped, and that he feared the remaining eye more than the one that had been lost.

On one occasion he saw three notable women enter the cloister. When he asked why they presumed to enter there, the one more venerable than the others replied: “I am the mother of the Lord Jesus, and my companions are Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt. It is fitting for me to come to my sons.” When he wished to kiss her feet, they vanished. At length, adorned with every holiness, he rested in peace.

Section XIV

After Gregory VIII, having been perfected in a short time, had fulfilled long years, Clement III was advanced to the summit of the supreme pontificate. He was the one hundred eighty-first in the number of pontiffs. This was in the year of the Lord 1186, from the beginning of the world the year 5145 according to one number and the year 6073 according to another. He lived in the pontificate for three years and five months.

During his pontificate there was a universal eclipse of the moon at the fourth hour of the night, and it endured for three hours. Likewise, on the fourth day before the Ides of February, a little before dawn on a most serene night, the moon was seen as though to descend to the earth in a moment and, after a short delay, as though having recovered its strength, gradually to ascend again to the place from which it had descended. Thus Vincent in the *Historical Mirror*.

About those times Hugh, the venerable abbot of Bonneval of the Cistercian Order, was illustrious by the grace of great holiness. When he had left the world, he began to live religiously in that place. But he was greatly tempted to depart from religious life. Thinking these things, he entered the church and, praying devoutly with tears, saw above the altar the Mother of Mercy clothed with light as with a garment.

It seemed to him that he saw Jesus her Son beside her: how he had been announced by the angel, born of the Virgin, proclaimed to the shepherds, circumcised, afterward captured by the Jews, scourged, mocked, and crucified. Thereafter he beheld him rising and ascending into heaven. While Hugh looked upon these things, our Lady said to him: “Act manfully, and let your heart be strengthened in the Lord; be certain that from now on you will not be assailed by such temptations.”

After this he began to afflict himself with excessive abstinences, so that he appeared almost to lose sense and memory. Meanwhile Saint Bernard, who was still among the living, came to him by God’s providence and commanded that he be sent to the infirmary and that vigils be sung for him every night before they were sung for the other infirm, so that afterward he might be able to sleep sufficiently. Bernard also commanded that he have general permission to speak wherever he wished. Thus by God’s mercy he recovered in a short time. Then religious fervor began to burn greatly within him, and not long afterward he was made abbot of Bonneval.

Under this abbot a certain religious young man was at first exceedingly fervent, but afterward, being greatly tempted, he considered returning to the world. When the abbot, who had heard his temptation in confession, urged him much to remain and accomplished nothing, the abbot said: “My son, have mercy upon your soul and please God. Do not lose the glory prepared for

you. For I promise you, and I appoint myself your surety in this: that if you remain, you will be an eternal companion of the holy angels." Strengthened by these words, he remained and lived in the best manner.

For two years before his death this young man labored under a most grave illness. Saint Job, with a great radiance which filled the whole infirmary, was sent to console him. "I am Job," he said, "whom the Father of Mercies and God of all consolation has sent to console you, just as I was patient in such an infirmity; so also must you be. Therefore you will flourish with me in glory, and tomorrow you will be with me and reap what you have sown." This also came to pass. Not long afterward he appeared to the abbot in glory, giving thanks because by the abbot's admonition he had remained in the Order.

On the Annunciation of blessed Mary, when the same abbot was rousing the brothers in choir for the vigils, he saw the devil standing in the middle of the choir in so horrible a form that the abbot himself fell from fear. Raised by the brothers, he signed himself and returned to his seat. On the next day the abbot narrated in chapter what he had seen and said that one of the brothers was in some criminal sin, on account of which the devil had come. Hearing this, all were afraid, but the guilty man concealed his own conscience.

On the following day the abbot again said that the devil was still among them. Then all the brothers confessed and each received disciplines, entreating the Lord that he would reveal the guilty man's conscience to the abbot. This was done. Hence the abbot drew the guilty man aside and disclosed his sin, which the man confessed and did not deny, seeking pardon and penance at the abbot's feet. When this had been done, the devil appeared no more.

A certain servant of the cellarer of Bonneval confessed his sins to the monk who was confessor of the poor. The servant mentioned a certain sin which that monk feared to receive, and the monk enjoined the sick man to confess it to the abbot. He agreed to do so if he lived. But the abbot was not then present, being on a journey, and meanwhile the servant died.

When the abbot returned from his journey after Compline and sat upon his bed, wishing to take off his shoes, he saw that dead man ascending the steps of the dormitory. Coming before him, the dead man fell at his feet, seeking pardon and humbly asking that the abbot hear his confession. He said that he had been sent to him for this purpose, and he confessed with so great an abundance of tears that the abbot also was moved to tears, and both wept greatly.

After absolution the dead man humbly asked the abbot to pray for him, because he was in great torments. When the abbot wished to test by touch whether he was in the body or in the spirit, the dead man vanished. On the next day the abbot asked the confessor of the poor whether that dead man had confessed such a crime. He replied, "Yes." The abbot asked, "And how do you know it?" He answered, "I heard it from his mouth."

A certain lay brother from another house was sent to Bonneval because of his fault, where he became sick unto death. Visiting him, the abbot asked him to confess securely the sin of which he was accused, which he had never been willing to confess even to his own abbot. But the man denied everything and asked that the body of the Lord be given to him. Abbot Hugh urged him not to presume to receive the body of the Lord unless he had first confessed well. But the man, saying that he had confessed well, insisted that the body of the Lord be brought to him.

When the priest brought it and placed it in his mouth, the man immediately began to cry: "What shall I do, wretched man? What shall I do?" Then the priest removed from his mouth the body of the Lord which he held upon his tongue, and the man immediately expired.

When this same abbot was once sick, he entered the dormitory and saw upon the shoulder of the infirmarian monk a dove whiter than snow. When that monk wished to seize it, it flew to the abbot and entered his bosom. Afterward it went out through the opening of the abbot's tunic, fixed its beak in that abbot's ear, and said to him in human words: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Prepare yourself, prepare yourself. Saint Bernard commands you to go and make peace between the pope and the emperor of Germany." Having received the saint's admonition, he afterward made peace between them.

When Clement III migrated from this light, in the year of the Lord 1190 Celestine III, the one hundred eighty-second pope, undertook the government of the Roman Church. He governed the Church for six years and nine months, and died. At the beginning of his pontificate he crowned Emperor Henry at Rome. In that year there was an eclipse of the sun. In the year of the Lord 1195, when a storm of great violence arose, stones fell from heaven with the rain.

When Celestine died, Innocent III, praiseworthy in all things, succeeded him. He will be discussed at the beginning of the title after the following one.

Title XVII, Chapter II

In the time of Pope Innocent II and blessed Bernard, about the year of the Lord 1140, the glorious pontiff Saint Malachy migrated to God in the monastery of Clairvaux. Blessed Bernard himself described his life, full of virtues, as Vincent reports in the *Historical Mirror*, Book XXVIII. Hence the things which follow are excerpted from it.

Bernard says: “It has indeed always been a worthwhile labor to describe the illustrious lives of saints, so that they may serve as a mirror and an example and as a certain seasoning, as it were, for the life of men upon earth. For by this means they live among us in a certain manner after death, and provoke and recall to true life many of those who, while living, are dead.

“But now the rarity of holiness especially requires this; clearly, our age is poor in men. For whom might you show me, even from the number of those who were given as a light to the nations, not smoking from on high rather than flaming? ‘If the light that is in you is darkness,’ he says, ‘how great is the darkness?’ - unless perhaps you say, which I do not believe, that those men shine who regard gain as godliness, who in the Lord’s inheritance seek not the things of the Lord but rather their own things.

“Why do I say ‘their own things’? Let even one who seeks his own and retains his own be perfect and holy, if he restrains his heart and his hands from the goods of others. Nevertheless, let the man who perhaps appears to have advanced this far remember that the same degree of holiness is demanded even from a gentile. For John the Baptist said to the gentiles, ‘Be content with your wages,’ so that they might be saved.

“Yet a law has been prescribed by the apostles for the successors of the apostles: ‘Having food and clothing,’ they say, ‘with these we are content.’ Where do we find this pattern? We find it in books, but not in men. But you have it concerning the just man that the law of God is in his heart, not in a codex. He is perfect who is prepared to lack even necessary things. But let that pass. Would that a limit were set upon superfluous things; would that we did not desire without end. Today the best man is one who is not exceedingly evil.

“Hence, because the holy man has failed from the earth, it seems to me not superfluous to recall into the midst, from those who were redeemed from the earth, the holy man Malachy the bishop, a truly holy man and one of singular wisdom in our times. He indeed was a burning and shining lamp, which nevertheless has not been extinguished but removed.”

This Saint Malachy, Bernard says, arose in Ireland from a barbarous people. There he was reared; there he was educated in letters. Yet he drew nothing from his native barbarity. His parents were great in birth and power, but his mother was more noble both in mind and in blood. From the very beginning she endeavored to make the little child know the ways of life. Thus, a boy in years, he acted as an old man in morals and was free from childish wantonness.

In the city of Armagh, in which Malachy was reared, there was a holy man of exceedingly austere life who had a cell within the church and served God, applying himself to fasts and supplications day and night. Malachy betook himself to this man to receive from him a pattern of life. He too sat in solitude, but within a few days he had not a few imitators, provoked by his example.

At length he was ordained priest in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The bishop also entrusted his own authority to him: to sow holy seed among an unholy people and to give the law of life and discipline to a rude people living without law. He received the command with all eagerness, as one fervent in spirit.

Finally, since he possessed the greatest concern and zeal for the divine worship and the veneration of the sacraments, lest perhaps he teach or establish something concerning these otherwise than the rite of the universal Church held, it entered his mind to approach Bishop Malchus, who would instruct him more fully concerning all things. Malchus was old and full of days, wisdom, and virtues. From the monastic habit in the monastery of Nicomensis [read: Winchester] he had been taken up as bishop in the city of Lesinor [read: Lismore]. There so great a grace was bestowed upon him by God that he was illustrious not only in life and teaching but also in signs.

For by conferring the sacrament of confirmation he healed a boy who was mentally afflicted or lunatic, and he restored hearing to a certain deaf man. Because of the fame of these signs, the Scots and Irish resorted to him as to a father and greatly venerated him. Malachy therefore approached him, was kindly received by him, and remained with him for some years.

After his sister had died, he saw concerning her a vision that must not be passed over. The holy man had abhorred her carnal life, and with so great a zeal that he had vowed that he would not see her while she lived in the flesh. But when she was released from the flesh, he was released from his vow, and he began to see in spirit the woman whom he had been unwilling to see in the flesh.

One night in a dream he heard a voice saying to him that his sister had stood outside in the courtyard and had tasted nothing for thirty whole days. Awakening, he quickly understood through lack of what food she was wasting away. After carefully

examining the number of days which he had heard, he found that it was precisely the time since he had not offered bread and wine for her. Then he, who had hated not his sister's soul but her sin, resumed the beneficence which he had discontinued.

Nor was it fruitless. For not long afterward she was seen by him to have reached the threshold of the church, although she was not yet able to enter; she also appeared in a dark garment. Since he persevered, taking care that she should not be deprived on any day of the customary offering, he saw her a second time in a whitish garment, indeed within the church at Mass, but not permitted to touch the altar. At last, the third time, she was seen to be joined to the company of those clothed in white, herself in a white garment. You see, therefore, how greatly the continual prayer of a just man avails, and that the kingdom of heaven suffers violence. For Malachy's prayer opened the kingdom of heaven to this sister.

A rich and powerful man who held the place of Bangor and its possessions, inspired by God, immediately gave all his things into Malachy's hands, and himself also; this man was his maternal uncle. The prince handed over the place of Bangor itself to him so that he might build a monastery there, or rather rebuild it.

For it had once been a most noble monastery under its first father, Congallus, producing many thousands of monks and serving as the head of many monasteries. Those swarms of saints poured themselves out, as though in an inundation, not only into the aforesaid regions but also into foreign nations. From among them Saint Columbanus, ascending to these Gallican regions of ours, constructed the monastery of Luxeuil and became there a great nation. For they say it was so great that, with choirs succeeding one another in turn, the solemnities of divine worship continued in such a way that not even a moment of day or night was vacant from praises. These things have been said concerning the ancient glory of the monastery of Bangor.

It had once been destroyed by pirates. Because of the mark of its ancient dignity, Malachy embraced it as though he were about to replant a certain paradise, and because many bodies of saints slept there. For, to say nothing of those who were buried in peace, they report that nine hundred were killed by pirates in one day.

The place indeed had a great possession, but Malachy, content with the holy place alone, ceded all the possessions and lands to another. Taking about ten brothers with him, he came and began to build the place. One day, while one of the workmen was cutting wood with an axe, as he swung it into the air Malachy incautiously occupied the place toward which the blow was directed. It fell upon his spine with as great an impetus and sound as the force with which the man was able to drive it. The man ran, and all ran together, thinking Malachy either struck unto death or dead. But he was found uninjured, as is believed, through the merits of the holy man.

At the same time a certain man was ill. A devil standing beside him and speaking openly suggested that he should never believe Malachy's words, but that if Malachy entered to him, he should attempt to kill him with a knife. When this became known, those who ministered to the sick man, the sick man himself betraying the word, brought it to Malachy and forewarned him. But Malachy, taking up the customary arms of prayer, fearlessly attacked the enemy and drove away both the illness and the demon. In the same place he healed a cleric grievously ill with dysentery, and cured the same man when a second time he languished most gravely in body and mind.

Section I

Concerning his acts in the episcopate. When the episcopal see was vacant in one of the cities which had long been without a shepherd, Malachy was unwilling to assent to those who had elected him. Yet, when they persisted, he at last yielded, since the command of his master and also of the metropolitan was added to this. Therefore, in the thirtieth year of his age, he was consecrated and introduced as bishop of Connor.

When he began to act according to his office, the man of God then understood that he had been sent not to men but to beasts. He had never yet experienced such persons in any degree of barbarity; nowhere had he found persons so arrogant in morals, so beastly in rites, so impious toward the faith, so barbarous toward laws, so stiff-necked toward discipline, so filthy in life - Christians in name, pagans in fact. They did not give tithes or first fruits, did not enter legitimate marriages, did not make confessions or penances, nor was anyone found who sought penance or who gave it. In the churches neither the voice of a preacher nor of one singing was heard.

What, therefore, was the athlete of the Lord to do? He must either yield shamefully or contend dangerously. But he who recognized himself as a shepherd, not a hireling, chose to stand rather than flee, prepared, if necessary, to give his soul for his sheep, although all were wolves and there were no sheep. The intrepid shepherd therefore stood in the midst of the wolves, resourceful in every manner by which he might make sheep from wolves.

He admonished publicly, rebuked privately, wept for individuals, and addressed them now harshly and now gently, according as he perceived to be expedient for each. How often he spent whole nights awake for them, extending his hands in prayer. When they were unwilling to come to the church, he met them throughout the villages and streets; going about the city, he sought someone whom he might gain for Christ. He frequently traversed also the countryside and towns outside, with that holy

company of his disciples who were never absent from his side. He did not ride a horse but went on foot, proving himself in this to be an apostolic man.

How much he endured from the very persons to whom and for whom he spoke good things. When blasphemed, he entreated; when injured, he opposed the shield of patience. At last hardness yielded and barbarity grew quiet. Ecclesiastical customs were received everywhere, while contrary customs were cast down. Basilicas were rebuilt; clergy were ordained in them; the solemnities of the sacraments were celebrated according to rite; confessions were made; the peoples assembled at church; and the solemnity of marriages gave honor to what had been concubinage.

Finally, all things were so changed for the better that today there applies to that nation what the Lord says through the prophet: “Those who formerly were not my people are now my people.”

Section II

Concerning his assumption to the archbishopric. It happened that the archbishop named Celsus became ill; he had ordained Malachy as deacon, priest, and bishop. Knowing that he would die, Celsus made as it were a testament that Malachy ought to succeed him, because no one appeared more worthy of the primatial see.

But a most evil custom had grown up through the diabolical ambition of certain powerful men: the holy see had been held in hereditary succession. They did not permit anyone to be made bishop unless he belonged to their tribe and family. The execrable succession had advanced no small distance, nearly fifteen generations having already passed in this wickedness, and it had established for itself so firmly a wicked right - rather, an injury deserving punishment by every death - that although clerics of that bloodline sometimes failed, bishops never did. Indeed, before Celsus there had already been eight married men without holy orders, although learned men.

From this came throughout all Ireland that dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline, weakening of censure, and emptying of religion which we discussed above. Grieving deeply over these things, Celsus took care in every way to have Malachy as his successor, because he trusted that through him the badly rooted succession could be torn out, since he was dear to all, all emulated him, and the Lord was with him. Nor was Celsus frustrated in his hope.

For when he died, Malachy was substituted - yet not immediately, nor easily. Behold, from the wicked seed there came one named Maurice to occupy the place. For five years, relying upon secular power, he lay upon the Church, not as a bishop but as a tyrant. For the wishes of the devout had converged rather upon Malachy.

At length they urged him to undertake the burden according to Celsus’s ordinance. But he, who declined everything exalted, seemed to himself to have obtained a good occasion for excuse, because during that time his entrance could not be peaceful. He therefore said that it was not his part for human blood to be shed on his account, and finally that he was joined to another bride whom he was not permitted to dismiss.

But when they insisted to the contrary and cried that the word had gone forth from the Lord, and when with all authority they commanded him to undertake the burden and threatened anathema, he said: “You lead me to death, but I obey in hope of martyrdom, yet upon this condition: that when the Church has peace, it may be permitted me to return to my former church when another has been found.” When they assented to this condition, the holy man yielded to their will, or rather to God’s, by whom it had already been shown to him.

For while Celsus was ill, a woman appeared to Malachy as he prayed, saying that she was the wife of Celsus, that is, his church. Handing him a pastoral staff, she disappeared. And as Celsus died, he sent his staff to Malachy as to the one who would succeed him.

Nevertheless, on undertaking the burden of that dignity, Malachy did not enter the city for as long as that occupier lived, lest anyone should happen to die on this account. But outside the city he vigorously exercised the episcopal work throughout the whole province. When the intruded Maurice had in a short time been taken from their midst, a certain Nigellus - black in name, or rather blackest in truth - again seized the see. Dying, Maurice had left him as heir of this dignity for the accumulation of his own damnation, for Nigellus was his kinsman.

But the king, the bishops, and the faithful of the land assembled so that Malachy might be introduced. Behold, a council of malignant men stood against them. A certain one of the sons of Belial, ready for malice and powerful in wickedness, knowing the place where they ought to assemble and the road by which they would come to the place, set armed retainers in ambush to kill the innocent people as they came, together with the king and the bishop himself.

When this became known to Malachy, he entered the church and poured out prayer concerning it. Behold, cloud, mist, and dark water turned day into night; lightning, thunder, the spirit of storms, and all the neighboring elements threatened death. The man who had been the chief author of the evil perished by a thunderbolt, with three other accomplices struck down. That just tempest assailed only those who sought the soul of the just man.

Section III

Thus, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the poor man Malachy, after the occupier had been driven out, entered Armagh as pontiff and metropolitan of all Ireland. When the king and the others who had introduced him returned to their own affairs, he remained in the hand of God, and there remained for him fights without and fears within. For behold, the viperous offspring, gnashing and crying out that it was being disinherited, aroused itself wholly, within and without, against him and his company.

Nigellus, seeing flight threaten him, took with him certain insignia of that see: namely the Book of the Gospels which had belonged to blessed Patrick, and a staff covered with gold and adorned with most precious gems, which they call the Staff of Jesus because, as opinion reports, the Lord Jesus himself held and fashioned it with his own hands. These things are of the highest dignity and veneration among that nation.

That wandering man, another Satan, went about the earth carrying the sacred insignia. Displaying them everywhere, he was everywhere received on their account. But it was resolved to pursue the schismatic, because he seduced many by the insignia which he carried, persuading all that he ought to be bishop. Thus he stirred up the peoples against Malachy and the unity of the Church.

But through God's grace, and through the favor which he possessed among all, Malachy blocked all his ways so easily and in so short a time that the malignant man was compelled to surrender, restore the insignia, and remain thereafter in complete subjection.

God reproved not only Malachy's evildoers but also his detractors. A certain man, for example, possessed the favor of princes and powerful men, even of the king himself, because he was a flatterer, garrulous, and powerful in speech. He favored Malachy's adversaries in all things and insolently defended their party. He even resisted the saint to his face and irreverently disparaged him in his absence, confronting him everywhere, especially where he knew that Malachy would be present at more crowded assemblies.

But he was quickly presented with the worthy reward of his insolent tongue. The cursing tongue swelled and rotted, worms teeming from it and flowing throughout the blasphemous mouth. Vomiting them without cease for nearly seven days, he at last ended his wretched life with them.

While Malachy was once speaking to the people, a certain unhappy woman dared to interrupt his sermon with wicked cries. She belonged to the impious stock of the intruders and vomited insults and blasphemies against the saint, calling him a hypocrite and invader of another's inheritance and reproaching him for his baldness. He answered her nothing, as he was modest and mild. But the Lord answered for him. She was turned to insanity and cried repeatedly that she was being suffocated by Malachy. At last by a horrible death she paid the penalty of blasphemy.

Mindful of his purpose, Malachy appointed in his own place Gelasius, a good man worthy of such an honor, the clergy and people consenting, or rather enduring it because of the compact, for otherwise it seemed altogether hard to them. When Gelasius had been consecrated and earnestly commended to kings and princes, Malachy himself, illustrious through miracles and triumphs, returned to his own parish.

Once, departing from Scotland, the holy man turned aside to Clairvaux. After seeing the brothers he was moved to compunction, and they were greatly edified by his presence and speech. Embracing the place and us in his deepest heart, he bade us farewell and departed.

When he had crossed the Alps and came to Ivrea, a city of Italy, he immediately healed his host's little son, who was so ill that he was about to die. At that time Pope Innocent II of happy memory occupied the Apostolic See. He received Malachy kindly and humanely when he approached him. With many tears Malachy implored the pope's permission that it might be lawful for him to live and die at Clairvaux, but he did not obtain it.

Returning by Clairvaux, he bestowed upon us a second blessing. Drawing deep sighs because he was not permitted to remain according to his desire, he said: "Meanwhile retain these men in my place, so that they may learn from you what they may afterward teach us." He left four of his companions and departed. Found approved and worthy, they became monks.

Departing from us, he came prosperously to Scotland and found King David, who remains alive even today, in a certain castle of his. The king's son was sick unto death. Malachy entered to him and was honorably received by the king, who humbly entreated him to heal his son. Malachy sprinkled the living one [read: young man] with water which he had blessed and, looking upon him, said: "Take confidence, son; you will not die this time." On the following day health followed, and the exultation of the whole household followed his health. He restored speech to a mute girl. Another woman, whose limbs were disabled and who had been carried to him in a cart, returned upon her own feet.

Section IV: Concerning His Conduct

Whoever might enumerate all the miracles wrought through him, nevertheless I confess that I would more gladly linger over those things which are to be imitated than over those which are to be admired. And in my judgment the first and greatest miracle which he exhibited was he himself, that is, his life.

Who, even if he watched curiously, ever detected in him an idle thing - I do not say an idle word, but even a gesture? Who saw him move a hand or a foot in vain? Indeed, who saw anything in his gait, gaze, dress, or countenance which did not edify? Finally, neither sorrow clouded the cheerfulness of his countenance nor laughter made it frivolous. Everything in him was disciplined; everything was distinguished, a model of virtue and perfection. In all things he was serious, but not austere; relaxed at times, but never dissolute; neglectful of nothing, although according to the occasion he dissembled many things; often quiet, but never idle.

From the first day of his conversion until the end of his life he lived without property of his own. He possessed neither male servants nor female servants, neither estates nor villages, nor, finally, anything from secular or ecclesiastical revenues. Even in the episcopate there was absolutely nothing established or assigned for the episcopal table from which the bishop might live. Indeed, he did not even possess a house of his own.

Rather, he went about almost without ceasing through all the parishes, serving the Gospel and living from the Gospel, just as the Lord appointed for him. But if at times it was fitting for him to rest, he did this in the holy places which he himself had scattered throughout all Ireland. With those among whom he chose to make a stay, he conformed himself to their customs and observances. And when he went out to preach, he himself went on foot with those who were on foot - a bishop, to be sure, and a legate.

This is the apostolic form, and it is the more wonderful in Malachy inasmuch as it is exceedingly rare in others. They exercise dominion among the clergy; he, although free from all, made himself the servant of all. They eat without evangelizing; Malachy eats in order that he may evangelize. They gather into barns and fill wine vessels, from which they may load their tables; Malachy gathers into deserts and solitary places, from which he may fill the heavens. They exact from the poor what they may give to the rich; he solicits the rich so that the poor may be sustained. They raise lofty palaces and lift towers and walls to the heavens; Malachy does not have a place where he may lay his head. He does the work of an evangelist. They do not even know their peoples; he instructs them. They honor powerful men and tyrants; he punishes them.

O apostolic man, whom so many and such great signs of his apostleship ennoble! What wonder, then, if he wrought wonders, since he himself was also wonderful? Or rather, it was not he, but God in him. “You are the God,” he says, “who works wonders.”

In a region of Ireland a sick man lay in a house, afflicted indeed by the sorcery of demons. For on a certain night he heard them saying to one another: “Take care lest this wretched man—that hypocrite’s brother [read: omit ‘brother’]—touch that hypocrite’s bed or bedding, and so escape our hands.” The man understood that they were speaking of Malachy, whom he remembered had passed the night in that same house not long before, and whose bedding still remained in the place.

Having taken confidence, he began to crawl as well as he could, weak in body but strong in faith. And behold, there was shouting and an outcry in the air: “Stop him, stop him! Hold him, hold him! For we are losing our prey.” But he, supporting himself upon his knees and hands and reaching the bed, climbed upon it and rolled himself in the bedding. He heard the howling of those who lamented: “Alas, alas! We ourselves have betrayed him. We have been deceived. He has escaped.” When this had been said, all the terror and horror of the demons from which he was suffering, and likewise every illness, withdrew from him more swiftly. In another place Malachy also freed a demoniac infant who had been brought to him.

Section V: Again Concerning His Miracles

The saint was sitting with the count of Ulidia in a field, discussing certain matters, and a numerous multitude was around them. A pregnant woman came, truly heavy. For she declared that, contrary to all the laws of nature, she had retained the child for fifteen months and twenty days as now established with certainty. Malachy, moved by compassion, prayed, and the woman gave birth.

A city of Ireland named Cork was without a bishop. While they were treating of the election, the parties divided, each group wishing, as is customary, to appoint its own bishop and not God’s. Malachy came there and, having heard of the dissension, summoned the clergy and people and took care to unite the wishes and hearts of those who were divided. He persuaded them that the entire affair ought to be committed to the one upon whom chiefly rested the care of the churches of Ireland.

Immediately he named for them a holy and learned man. He was sought, and when found was reported to be lying sick and unable to leave his bed. Malachy said: “Let him rise in the name of the Lord. I command it. Obedience will make him well.” Therefore, while the will to obey struggled against a twofold enemy - namely, the weight of his illness and fear of the burden -

obedience itself conquered. For, having recovered his strength, he came by himself to Malachy, who placed him in the episcopal chair while the clergy and people praised the choice together.

When the wife of a certain nobleman was sick unto death, Malachy was asked to come down before the sick woman died in order to anoint her with oil. He came down and entered where she was. On seeing him she rejoiced, animated by the hope of salvation. When he was preparing to anoint her, however, it seemed to everyone better that it be deferred until morning, for it was evening. The saint therefore yielded to them. When he had withdrawn, a sudden cry and lamentation arose because she had died.

Hearing the tumult, Malachy hurried back and was struck down in spirit, imputing to himself alone that the woman had died deprived of the grace of the sacrament. Raising his hands to heaven and confessing his fault, he declared in the hearing of all that he would receive no consolation unless he were permitted to restore the grace which he had taken away. Standing over her throughout the entire night, he labored in his groaning. He also commanded his companions to keep vigil and pray. Thus they passed the sleepless night, some in psalms and he in tears.

When morning came, the Lord heard his saint. For the woman who had died opened her eyes, raised herself, and greeted him; and mourning was turned into joy.

There was a certain woman over whom the spirit of anger and fury so exercised dominion that not only her neighbors and relatives fled her company, but even her own sons could scarcely live with her. She was brought to Malachy and, after she had made confession as he had commanded, he prayed for her and converted her to the highest gentleness, so that she could not be provoked by any losses or insults. I judge this miracle to be preferred to the preceding miracle in which the dead woman was raised, because there the outward person revived, but here the inward person.

When Malachy was offering the sacraments and a deacon approached him in order to perform something belonging to his office, the priest looked upon him and groaned, because he perceived that something unfitting lay concealed within him. When the sacrifice had been completed, Malachy carefully questioned him in private concerning his conscience. He confessed and did not deny that he had been deluded by a dream that night. Imposing penance upon him, Malachy said: “You ought not to have ministered today, but modestly to have withdrawn yourself from sacred things and to have shown reverence toward such great and divine mysteries, so that, purified by this humility, you might thereafter have become worthier.”

On another occasion, while Malachy was celebrating, a deacon saw a dove enter through the window with great brightness, in order to manifest his purity. These few things have been related from among many, from which it appears sufficiently how great my Malachy was in merit, since he was distinguished by so many wonders even amid so great a scarcity of holiness.

Section VI: Concerning His Death and Place of Burial

When he was once asked in what place, if the choice were given him, he would prefer to spend his final day, he said: “If I depart from here, nowhere would I do so more gladly than where I may rise together with our apostle.” He was speaking of Saint Patrick. “But if it is necessary to die abroad, and God permits it, I have chosen Clairvaux.” When he was asked about the time, he answered: “The solemn day of all the departed.” As we heard, so we saw concerning the place and the day.

He bore it very grievously that Ireland had until then lacked the pallium, for he was a zealous guardian of the sacraments. Remembering that this had been promised to him by Pope Innocent II, and having obtained the opportunity that Pope Eugenius was presiding and had then drawn near to France, he presumed that with such a man he would encounter no difficulty in obtaining it. He therefore undertook the journey. The brothers who had assembled accompanied him as far as the shore, but not very far because he himself, of course, forbade it.

One of them, named Catholicus, said to him in a tearful voice: “Alas, you are departing and leaving me to daily affliction by so great a suffering. You are not ignorant of it, yet you do not bring help, having compassion upon me.” Moved in the depths of his mercy by these words, Malachy embraced him, impressed the sign of the cross upon his breast, and said: “Be certain that you will suffer nothing of this kind until I return.” For he was epileptic and frequently fell, and had now suffered this for six years. But at this word of Malachy he recovered perfectly.

When they had boarded a ship and had now completed half the voyage over the sea, a contrary wind suddenly drove the ship and brought it back to land. But when calm had arisen, they continued the journey and came with a prosperous course to Scotland; from there he crossed into England.

It was necessary for him to pass through Clairvaux so that he might follow the supreme pontiff. He was received by us as a true Dayspring, coming from the west and visiting us from on high. On the solemn day of blessed Luke the Evangelist, after Mass had been devoutly celebrated in the community, Malachy was seized by fever and lay down upon a bed.

You would have seen the brothers running about, eager to give or to receive. All were solicitous in frequent service: to seek medicines, to apply warm compresses, and often to urge him to taste something. He said to them: “These things are without purpose, but out of regard for your charity I do whatever you enjoin. Malachy must depart from the body this year.”

Finally, he was anointed and, after receiving the viaticum and commending himself to the prayers of the brothers, he returned to his bed. He lay in an upper chamber, and he did not permit the community to ascend to him; rather, he himself descended to them. And yet he said that death was at the doors. Who would have believed that this man was about to die? His countenance did not appear paler or more emaciated. His forehead was not wrinkled, his eyes were not sunken, his nostrils were not narrowed, his lips were not contracted, his teeth were not parched, his neck was not wasted and thin, his shoulders were not bent, nor was the flesh in the rest of his body emptied away. This was his body, and this the glory of his countenance.

Indeed, the eyes of all were fixed upon him, and yet no one could have turned them away when he departed, because in death the same liveliness of countenance and the same serenity remained as in life. He was not changed; rather, he changed everyone. A wonder indeed: the weeping and groaning of all suddenly ceased; sorrow was changed into joy; song shut out lamentation; faith conquered; affection triumphed.

And in truth, what reason is there to mourn Malachy without measure, as though his death were not precious, as though it were not sleep rather than death, as though it were not rather the gate of life? Malachy our friend sleeps, and shall I mourn? If the Lord gave sleep to his beloved, and such a sleep in which the inheritance of the Lord is sons, the reward the fruit of the womb, which of these things seems to summon weeping? Shall I not refrain from weeping for the one who has escaped weeping? He exults, he triumphs, he has been brought into the joy of his Lord, and shall I mourn him?

When all things had now been duly performed, a boy applied his withered arm to the hand of the bishop lying upon the bier and was healed. Malachy was buried in the oratory of blessed Mary in the year of the Lord 1148, on the fourth day before the Nones of November.

Title XVII, Chapter III: Saint Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury

Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, was in his youth very pleasing to everyone. But when he saw many things done in the court of the king of England which were contrary to piety and chastity, he left the court and committed himself to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. Faithfully contending in many matters against the barons of the English who opposed the Church, he went to Rome many times and always dispatched every affair faithfully and successfully. Therefore the archbishop of Canterbury made him archdeacon.

When that same archbishop perceived that a sufficiently harmful king of England had died and that Henry, still exceedingly young, had succeeded to the kingdom, he feared that through the impulse of his youth and the counsels of wicked men he would oppress the Church more grievously. He therefore made blessed Thomas the king's chancellor, so that by his integrity and prudence he might temper the savagery of malignant men. Thomas so pleased the king that, after the archbishop's death, the king took care to have him appointed over that same church.

But Thomas, considering the conduct of the king and the nobles and the effective malice of detractors, refused as much as he could that see, which was filled more with burden than with honor. At last, however, when the king pressed him and a certain cardinal of Rome also urged it, he consented to this.

Immediately after he was consecrated, he changed himself wonderfully. For, always intent upon reading and prayer, and afflicting his flesh beyond endurance with a hairshirt and fasts, he so subtly concealed his holiness that under the respectability of his clothing, the preparation of his utensils, and the cheerfulness of his countenance he conformed to the people in all things. But in a more secret little chamber, bending his knees, he washed the feet of thirteen poor men every day. After giving each a full meal, he distributed four silver coins to each. If at any time he could not do this himself, he caused it to be done most diligently through a deputy.

But the devil, seeing that the holy man would greatly benefit the Church, envied him. He stirred up another archbishop and many other bishops, who were bound to defend the Church, for his destruction. For when the king and his counselors endeavored by promises and flatteries to bend Saint Thomas to their will, to the detriment of the Church, he resisted altogether. Therefore, through the rigor of justice, he provoked the anger of the king and his princes against himself.

After innumerable persecutions and injuries, when the barons and bishops had assembled at a certain place, the king insistently demanded that the customs which the kings of England had been accustomed to possess within the Church should be most firmly observed, so that they might dispose of ecclesiastical and spiritual dignities. Saint Thomas and the bishops, considering this and seeing danger on both sides - namely, either a crisis for faith and salvation, which was then pressing, or an intolerable war against the Church - would gladly have deferred that affair if they had been able. But, under the pressure of necessity and deceived by the counsels of great men, blessed Thomas consented verbally that the petition be granted. Thus he and the bishops, although with injury to the cause, escaped the danger of death.

But blessed Thomas, in this deliverance of bodies fearing the death of souls, afflicted himself more grievously in penance and suspended himself from service at the altar, until, having confessed and repented, he merited release by the pope. Yet not even thus did the king's anger rest. Rather, with threats and terrors he demanded that the customs which he was striving to introduce against the Church should be confirmed by the letters of the archbishops and bishops.

Section I

But blessed Thomas, opposing himself fearlessly, was pressed with many losses, injuries, and insults. He appealed to the Apostolic See against the bishops, lest they condemn him unjustly so that even in this way they might flatter the king. But when the nobles did not acquiesce even then, the holy man raised aloft the cross which he held in his hand and departed from the court, while the impious shouted after him: "Seize the thief! Hang the traitor!"

When he had withdrawn to his lodging, two great and faithful nobles came to him by night, weeping and declaring under oath that many nobles had conspired to bring about his death. Therefore, fearing more for the Church than for himself, he fled by night. Hiding by day and walking by night, on the seventeenth day he came to a port; in a little vessel he was carried across to Flanders by two priests. Pope Alexander, who was then residing at Sens, received him honorably and committed him to the monastery of Pontigny.

But the king of England sent bishops and nobles to Rome so that legates might come who would decide the king's affair against the archbishop. He was refused. Therefore the king, angered, ordered the church and all the goods of the archbishop and of his adherents to be confiscated, and all without exception who belonged to him to be condemned to exile.

Thomas, however, remaining at Pontigny and afflicting himself with fasts and prayers, continually prayed for the Church, for the king, and for the kingdom of the English. But through the abbots of the Cistercian Order he was compelled by the king to

leave the monastery. Therefore he betook himself to Louis, king of France, who received him reverently and kindly supplied his necessities until peace should be made.

At last the archbishop of Sens, taking pity upon the desolation of the English Church, went to Rome and obtained a decree that the king should be excommunicated together with his whole kingdom unless peace were restored to the church of Canterbury. Peace was therefore restored, and Saint Thomas returned in the seventh year of his exile and was received honorably.

When the lord pope heard the complaint of Saint Thomas against a certain bishop and against others who favored the king, he suspended all the bishops from their offices or benefices. Therefore the king, exceedingly angered, so oppressed Saint Thomas with losses and injuries that he forbade him, as though he were a traitor, to go outside the enclosure of his church.

At last, when the holy man could be bent neither by force nor by flatteries from always defending the rights of his church, behold, armed knights of the king arrived. Shouting, they asked where the archbishop was among the clerics and monks who were with him in the church. Saint Thomas immediately answered them from the steps of the chancel: “Behold, I am here. What do you wish?”

One of the knights answered: “We wish you to die, because you can live no longer.”

He said: “I am prepared to die for God, for the defense of justice, and for the deliverance or liberty of the Church. But if you seek my head, on behalf of almighty God and under anathema I forbid you to harm anyone except me. I shall indeed die gladly, provided that through my death the Church obtains peace and liberty. Therefore I commend myself and the cause of the Church to God, to blessed Mary, to the patron saints of this church, and to Saint Dionysius.”

When these things had been said, the swords of the executioners were drawn, and he was attacked by the impious. With his head inclined, he was beheaded. And, what is horrible to relate, after the crown of his head had been removed, his brain was scattered over the pavement with his blood and bones.

When, according to custom, he was being clothed in pontifical vestments for burial, they found his body wrapped in a hairshirt filled with lice and worms, and the garments upon his thighs as far as the backs of his knees were likewise of haircloth.

But the fury of the impious did not rest with these things. They said that the body of the traitor ought not to be buried among the holy pontiffs, but should be thrown into a marsh or hung upon a gibbet. Holy men, fearing the savagery of the malignant men who were attempting to seize or cast away the saint’s body, buried it before the altar of Saint John the Baptist in a marble tomb, in the year of the Lord 1174 [read: 1170].

Shortly before he returned from exile to his church, however, it had been revealed to him by the Lord that he would return with honor to that church, but after a few days would migrate to the Lord through the palm of martyrdom.

Meanwhile, when a certain young man was sick, his soul departed from his body and afterward returned to it. He said that, having been carried up into heaven, he had seen a certain exceedingly ornate, empty seat situated among the apostles. When that soul asked for whom this magnificent seat was prepared, an angel answered: “It is reserved for a certain great priest of the English.” This was understood concerning blessed Thomas.

Section II: Concerning His Miracles

When the clerics began to sing the Mass of the dead, namely, “Eternal rest,” suddenly, as is reported and as Jacob of Voragine writes, the voices of angels were heard singing together: “The just man will rejoice in the Lord,” and the clerics continued with that text.

The wrath of God raged so greatly against his killers that some tore their fingers to pieces with their teeth; others perished while pus flowed from them; others, undone by paralysis, and others, having been made mad, furnished clear indications of the unjust death inflicted upon the saint.

The Lord also deigned to work many miracles through him by the merits of his saint. For sight was restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, walking to the lame, and life to the dead.

A certain simple but very devout priest celebrated Mass concerning the Virgin every day, namely, “Hail, holy Mother.” When he was accused before Archbishop Thomas, who was then still among the living, he was summoned by him and, as though an uneducated and ignorant man, was removed from his office.

When blessed Thomas needed to sew his hairshirt and had hidden it under his bed so that he might find a suitable hour for sewing, blessed Mary appeared to that priest and said: “Go to the archbishop and tell him that she for love of whom you used to say those Masses has sewn his hairshirt, which is in such a place, and I have left there the red thread with which I sewed it. She therefore sends word to you that you ought to relax the interdict which you made for me.” Hearing this, he was astonished and relaxed it for him. But he commanded him to keep this very thing hidden during his lifetime.

A certain woman from England desired to have eyes of differing colors on account of wantonness and beauty. Making a vow concerning this, she visited the tomb of blessed Thomas with bare feet. When she had lain prostrate in prayer, she rose and found herself completely blind. Immediately repenting, she began to ask blessed Thomas to restore to her, no longer eyes of differing colors, but at least her own. At last, with much difficulty, she was scarcely able to obtain this.

A certain bird which had learned some speech, like a magpie, was being pursued by a hawk. As it had learned, it began to cry: “Saint Thomas, help me! Saint Thomas, help me!” Immediately the hawk fell dead, and the other bird escaped.

A certain man whom Saint Thomas had greatly loved during his life became sick and went to the saint’s tomb, asking to recover his health, which he immediately received in full. But when he had returned home, he thought within himself that perhaps that illness had been given to him for his salvation and would be more useful to his soul than health. Returning to the saint’s tomb, he asked that Saint Thomas obtain for him from the Lord whichever was more expedient for his salvation, whether illness or health. It came to pass that the illness returned to him.

The Lord wrought many other signs through him. Therefore he was also inscribed by Alexander III in the catalogue of the saints.

Title XVII, Chapter IV: The Vision of Tundal

Vincent narrates in the *Historical Mirror*, Book Twenty-eight, Chapter Seventy-eight and the following chapter, that in the year in which Saint Malachy died - namely, as has been seen, in the year of the Lord 1148 - the vision of Tundal occurred in Ireland.

This Tundal, who originated from Ireland, was noble in birth but degenerate in conduct. He was cruel, distinguished in bodily form, robust in strength, and in no way solicitous concerning the salvation of his soul. He bore it grievously if anyone spoke to him about the salvation of his soul. He neglected the Church and did not even wish to see the poor of Christ.

God, wishing to lead him back to the way of truth, suddenly drew his soul out of his body while he was eating with a companion, so that he might see the condition of the other life, the immense punishments of the wicked, and the glory of the blessed who live well here; and so that, when that soul at last returned to the body, he might change his conduct because of the things which he had seen and heard and, by relating them to others, provoke them to a better life.

From the tenth hour on the fourth day of the week until the same hour on the Sabbath, his body lay without a soul. Because a little warmth remained in the left part of his breast, which was perceived by those who touched him, they kept him unburied. But when he revived on the Sabbath, he began to say: “O God, your mercy is greater than my iniquity, although it is exceedingly great. How many great and evil tribulations you have shown me; and, turning, you have given me life, and from the abysses of the earth you have brought me back again.” He narrated all the things which he had seen and suffered.

“When my soul put off the body, conscious of its guilt, it began to fear and did not know what it should do. Therefore, weeping, lamenting, and trembling, it trusted in nothing except the mercy of God. At last it saw so great a multitude of unclean spirits coming toward it that they filled not only the entire house and the courtyard of the house, but also the streets and squares of the city.

“Surrounding the wretched soul, they said: ‘Let us sing for this wretched soul the song of death which is its due, because it is a daughter of death, food for inextinguishable fire, a friend of darkness, and an enemy of light.’ Turning toward it, they gnashed their teeth against it and, in their excessive fury, tore their most foul cheeks with their own claws, saying: ‘Behold, wretched one, the people whom you chose, with whom you will enter hell to burn: nurse of scandal, lover of discord. Why are you not proud now? Why do you not commit adultery? Where is your vanity and your gladness? Where is your immoderate laughter? Where is your strength? Why do you not devise evil with a wicked heart, as you were accustomed to do?’

“While they were saying these things, it saw from afar something coming like a most brilliant star. Fixing its unwearied gaze upon it, the soul hoped that it would obtain some consolation. It was its angel. When he had drawn near, he greeted Tundal by his own name, saying: ‘Hail, Tundal. What are you doing?’

“Seeing that exceedingly beautiful young man and hearing himself greeted by his own name, Tundal said with fear and joy together: ‘Alas, lord and father! The groanings of death have surrounded me; the pains of hell have surrounded me.’

“The angel said to him: ‘Now you call me father and lord, though you always had me with you and never judged me worthy of such a name.’

“Tundal said to him: ‘Lord, where did I ever see you? Or where did I ever hear your most sweet voice?’

“The angel said to him: ‘I always followed you from your birth wherever you went, and you were never willing to acquiesce in my counsels.’ Extending his hand toward one of the unclean spirits who insulted him above the other accursed spirits, the angel said: ‘Behold the one whose will and counsels you obeyed. But the mercy of God, which nevertheless you did not merit, will be present to you. Follow me, and retain in your mind whatever you learn from the things which I show you, because you will return again to the body.’

“Then the soul of Tundal, terrified beyond measure, left its body, above which it had been standing, and approached nearer. The demons, seeing this and seeing that they could not inflict upon it the evils which they threatened and which it had merited, blasphemed God, saying that he was unjust because he did not render to each according to his works. After this they rose against one another and struck one another with whatever blows they could; and, leaving behind an excessive stench, they withdrew with immense sorrow and indignation.”

The angel, going before, said to Tundal: “Follow me.” The angel therefore led Tundal’s soul to diverse places of punishment and to a dark and terrible valley covered by the gloom of death. It was deep and filled with burning coals. Its stench surpassed all the tribulations which he had suffered in the world. There was an iron plate there upon which a multitude of souls descended. They were burned there until they melted like fat in a frying pan, and thus they were strained as wax is customarily strained through cloth.

The angel said to Tundal: “This is the punishment of those who kill fathers, those who kill brothers, and murderers.”

From there the angel led him to another place, where there was a great and tempestuous lake whose waves rose exceedingly high. There was a multitude of terrible beasts roaring so that they might devour souls. Over the lake was a very narrow bridge. Its length was two miles, but its width one palm. The plank of that bridge across which the passage ran was filled with exceedingly sharp iron nails driven into it, which pierced the feet of all who crossed.

Those horrible beasts were as tall as towers. Dwelling in the lake, they devoured the souls which could not cross the bridge, and fire came forth from their mouths. He saw there a certain soul upon the bridge, weeping greatly and accusing itself of many crimes. It was burdened by the great weight of sheaves of grain and was compelled to cross that bridge. Although it grieved exceedingly over the soles of its feet pierced by the nails, nevertheless it feared still more to fall into the lake and enter the open mouths of the beasts.

When Tundal asked what this was, the angel answered: “This punishment is especially fitting for you and for those like you who commit theft, whether great or small, although the one who commits a small theft does not suffer as grievously as the one who commits a great one. But those who transgress under the habit of religion are especially guilty. Therefore you must cross this bridge, lead an untamed cow with you, and deliver it to me unharmed beyond the bridge, because you once stole your godfather’s cow.”

Tundal said to him: “Lord, did I not restore it?”

He said: “You restored it, but only when you could not hide it, and therefore you will not suffer the full punishment, because it is a lesser evil to will evil than to accomplish it.”

When these things had been said, the angel showed him an untamed cow. Tundal therefore took hold of the cow and, provoking it with whatever threats he could, tried to lead it to the bridge. But the beasts came roaring and took their food from the bridge, namely, from those who fell from it.

Tundal therefore began to make his journey across the bridge, but the cow resisted following him. When Tundal stood, the cow fell; and when the cow stood, Tundal fell. Thus in turn, now standing and now falling, with the greatest difficulty he came to the middle of the bridge.

When they had come there, they saw a certain man coming toward them across that bridge. He carried sheaves of wheat which he had stolen during his life. The man asked Tundal, who was leading the cow, not to occupy the way before him. Tundal, in turn, asked him to permit him to finish his own journey, half of which he had already completed. Neither of them could return or even look back. Thus, standing and weeping, they made the bridge bloody with the blood from the soles of their feet.

When they had now stood for a long time, without knowing how, each saw that he had passed the other. Tundal then saw before him the angel whom he had left behind. The angel said to him: “Welcome. Be concerned no longer about the cow.” When Tundal showed his wounded feet, saying that he could go no farther, the angel answered: “You ought to remember how swift your feet were to shed blood, and therefore destruction and unhappiness are in their ways.” Touching him, the angel healed him.

The angel led Tundal to various places of diverse torments, where souls were tortured in many ways by demons because of diverse vices: pride, gluttony, and lust. From the shameful parts of men and women, both lay and religious, worms sprang forth, and beasts entered through them.

Among other things, he saw Lucifer, the prince of darkness, in the depth of hell. If anyone had a hundred heads and in every head a hundred tongues, he would in no way suffice to narrate what kinds and how great the torments Lucifer suffered. In the magnitude of his body he surpassed all other beasts. So great a multitude of demons and souls surrounded him that it could not be believed that the world from its beginning could have contained so many souls.

He was bound at every joint of his limbs with red-hot iron chains, stretched out over living coals. Holding souls in his hands, he tortured them in diverse ways, and especially wicked prelates and princes, according to the saying: “The powerful will powerfully endure torments.”

Section I: After Many Places of Punishment Had Been Seen

At last the angel led Tundal’s soul to places of glory. He saw a city having very high, splendid, shining, and beautiful walls of silver. Although no gate appeared there, he saw himself admitted within, without knowing the manner.

Looking around, he saw choirs of exultant saints saying: “Glory to you, God the Father; glory to you, God the Son of God; glory to you, Holy Spirit, God.” There were men and women clothed in white and most precious garments without spot or wrinkle, joyful, cheerful, always rejoicing and praising the Holy Trinity. Their harmonious voices produced sounds like a musical melody.

Brightness, pleasantness, joy, beauty, honor, health, eternity, unanimity: one charity belonged to all. Its fragrance surpassed all spices and fragrant substances. The angel showed Tundal the diverse conditions of the blessed in various degrees of heavenly glory: married people who had lived virtuously here were in great glory and joy; the continent were in a greater triumph; virgins and perfect religious were in the greatest.

At last Tundal's soul returned to the body. Rising from the dead, he looked upon the clerics and others standing around him. He devoutly asked for and received the viaticum. Having made confession, he distributed all his possessions to the poor. By narrating every individual thing which he had seen and preaching to the peoples, he converted many to God. He himself undertook a perfect manner of life and rested with a blessed end.

Section II: A Caution Concerning the Vision

Nevertheless, it should be noted that Vincent, in the *Historical Mirror* at the place cited above, after the narration of these things, which we have greatly abridged, says that this vision is not approved by our doctors, because they posit no intermediate condition of souls between purgatory and paradise.

For if a soul departs from here not fully purified, yet dies in grace, it proceeds to purgatory and remains there in torments until perfect and complete purification. It is not free from torments for any hour or moment until, fully purified, it ascends to glory. But a soul which departs from here fully purified immediately flies to glory. If it dies in mortal sin, it immediately descends to the place of the damned, to be tortured perpetually without any interruption or refreshment.

But in the course of the history of this vision it is said that Tundal saw some who were not perfect in malice or goodness, but were moderately good or moderately evil, and that they were partly in some rest and consolation and partly in some affliction. Concerning a certain King Cormartho [read: Cormachus], who had been his lord in the world, he narrates that he saw him partly in the punishment of fire and that for three hours each day he suffered in fire, but for the remainder of the time, namely twenty-one hours, he had rest.

Therefore these two things are not maintained: namely, that those who are in purgatory are partly in punishment and partly at rest, or that for one hour they are free from punishments and at another time are in punishment. This is much less to be maintained concerning those who are in hell.

What is said in the aforesaid vision, however, that certain souls amid punishments melted in the fire and were strained like wax, is not to be understood literally, because souls lack death and cannot be changed, diminished, or consumed in their substance. Rather, this was said to show the magnitude of that punishment, just as Christ, to show the magnitude of his suffering in the Passion, says through the Psalm: "My heart has become like melting wax."

Likewise, concerning what was said there about the diverse bodily members in which souls or demons suffer, it is not to be believed that either souls or demons have bodily members as mortal human beings do, since they are spirits and without bodily matter. But just as by a similitude we say concerning God that he has a head, eyes, hands, and feet, in order to denote his works, although God is spirit, so also are things said by similitude concerning souls and demons.

For it is necessary through similitudes of material things, which are known to our senses, to treat and speak of spiritual things, so that we may be able to understand something about them. Other visions of souls of this kind are to be understood similarly. And the things which are said about the city of glory - about walls, gold, silver, precious stones, garments, foods, and temporal things of this kind - are to be understood spiritually of spiritual delights which surpass all the delights of this life.

Title XVII, Chapter V: Blessed Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux

Blessed Bernard of the Cistercian Order, an abbot and extender of the Order, passed from this world to the heavenly Father in the year of the Lord 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age. In the twenty-second year of his age he entered the Cistercian Order, which had been founded or begun fifteen years earlier by Stephen, a most religious man. During his life Bernard founded one hundred sixty monasteries of his Order.

He illuminated the Church by holiness of life, sweetness of teaching, and the glory of miracles, so that he deservedly obtained that name. For *ber* is said to be a well, and nard is a small herb, warm in nature and fragrant. Thus Bernard was a well or fountain by the profundity of divine wisdom, a little nard by humility, warm by charity, and a fragrance breathing forth by purity of life.

His companion William, abbot of Saint Theodore [read: Saint-Thierry], described his life. This saint, therefore, originated from Burgundy, from the town of Fontaines, and from noble parents. His father, named Tescelin, was in the world a vigorous knight and no less devoted to God. His mother was called Aleth. By him she bore six males, all of whom would become monks, and one female, who became a nun after having been married.

That mother was so religious and dedicated to God that she immediately offered with her own hands to God the child whom she had borne. She avoided having them nourished at other breasts, as though with their mother's milk she were in some manner pouring a good nature into them. When they had grown, for as long as they were under her hand she fed them coarser and common foods, as though they were soon to be sent to a monastery.

When she had now conceived her third son, namely Bernard, and still carried him in her womb, she saw a dream foretelling future things. It seemed to her that she carried in her womb a little dog which was entirely white, reddish over its entire back, and barking. When she had explained this to a certain holy man, he answered with a prophetic voice: "You will be the mother of an excellent little dog, who, as the future guardian of God's house, will give great barks against the enemies of the Church. For he will be an outstanding preacher and by the grace of his medicinal tongue will heal many."

When Bernard was still a boy and was oppressed by a grave pain in his head, a little woman came to him so that she might lessen the pain by incanted charms. Crying out with great indignation, he expelled her. The mercy of God did not fail the boy, who was moved by good zeal; for, rising immediately, he perceived that he had been freed.

On the most sacred night of the Lord's Nativity, while Bernard, still a boy, had risen for the morning office and was waiting in the church, he desired to know at what hour Christ had been born. The infant Jesus appeared to him before his eyes as though then being born from the womb of the Virgin Mother. Therefore, for as long as he lived, he believed this to have been the hour of the Lord's Nativity.

From that hour a more profound understanding and more abundant speech were given to him in those things which pertain to that mystery. Therefore, afterward, among the very beginnings of his treatises, he published a distinguished little work in praise of the Mother and the Son, in which he sweetly explained the Gospel reading, "The Angel Was Sent."

But the ancient enemy, seeing the young man's purpose to be so salutary, envied his chastity and placed many snares of temptation before him. For when at one time he had kept his eyes fixed for some time upon a certain woman, immediately, blushing at himself, he arose as a most severe avenger against himself. Leaping into a pool of icy water, he remained there so long that, having been made almost bloodless, by the grace of God he was completely cooled from the heat of carnal desire.

Again, when he was lodging in the house of a certain matron, she considered the young man, who was handsome in appearance, and burned vehemently with desire for him. When he had caused a bed to be prepared separately for himself, she shamelessly and silently arose and approached his bed. Perceiving her, he immediately cried out: "Thieves! Thieves!" At this cry the woman fled; the household, having been roused, arose; a lamp was lit; the thief was sought but by no means found.

All returned to bed. The others rested, but that wretched woman by no means rested. Rising again, she approached Bernard's bed. He again cried: "Thieves! Thieves!" Everyone arose; the thief was sought, but was by no means disclosed by the one who alone knew her. A third time the wicked woman thrust herself upon him. Repelled in this manner, she scarcely ceased even when overcome by fear or despair.

When on the following day he was making his journey with his companions, they reproached him because he had dreamed of thieves so many times during the night. When they asked the cause, he answered: "Truly, this night I suffered the ambushes of a thief, because my hostess attempted to take from me the irrecoverable treasure of chastity."

Section I

Considering, therefore, that it was not safe to dwell together with serpents, he began to meditate upon flight and determined to enter the Cistercian Order. When his brothers learned this and tried in every way to prevent him from this purpose, and when his companions likewise advised him to remain in the world, the Lord bestowed such great grace upon him that not only was he himself not prevented from conversion, but he gained for the Lord all his brothers and companions, disposing them toward religious life.

Guido, the firstborn, although married, now had the purpose of entering religious life, but he could not induce his wife, since she was a young woman, to do the same. The Lord sent a grave illness upon her. In it she perceived the vanity of the world and the brevity of life and, moved by compunction, resolved that if she escaped the illness she would become a nun. This also followed. For, having soon recovered health, she left the world together with her husband: she entered a monastery of nuns, and Guido entered the Cistercian Order.

Gerard, Bernard's brother and a vigorous knight, judged vain the words by which his brother Bernard exhorted him to religious life and entirely rejected his admonitions. Then Bernard, now fiery in faith and wonderfully provoked by zeal for fraternal charity, said: "I know, my brother, I know that affliction alone will give understanding to hearing." Placing his finger upon Gerard's side, he said: "The day will come, and it will come soon, when a lance will pierce this side and will make a way to your heart for the counsel which you reject."

After a few days Gerard was captured by enemies and wounded by a lance in the place where his brother had put his finger. Captured, he was bound in custody. Bernard came to visit him, but when he was not permitted to speak with him, he cried out to him: "Know, Brother Gerard, that very soon we are going to depart and enter a monastery." That same night the fetters fell from Gerard's feet and, when the door opened by itself, he joyfully escaped. He informed his brother that he had changed his purpose and wished to become a monk.

Section II

In the year 1112 from the Incarnation of the Lord, the fifteenth year from the establishment of the Cistercian house, Bernard, the servant of God, being about twenty-two years old, entered the Cistercian Order with more than thirty companions.

When Bernard was departing from his paternal home with his brothers, Guido the firstborn saw Minard, his youngest brother [i.e., Nivard], still a boy, playing in the street with other boys. He said: "Ah, Brother Minard, the whole land of our possession now looks to you alone." The boy answered in a manner not childish: "You therefore have heaven and leave only the earth to me. This division has not been made equitably." He therefore remained with his father for a short time, but afterward followed his brothers.

Having entered the Order, Bernard, the servant of God, was so wholly absorbed in spirit and so given over to God that he no longer used any bodily senses. For he had now spent a year in the novices' cell and still did not know whether the building had a vaulted ceiling. For a long time, entering and leaving the church, he thought that there was only one window at its head, where there were three windows.

The abbot of Citeaux sent brothers to build the house of Clairvaux and appointed Bernard abbot over them. For a long time they lived there in extreme poverty. They often made cooked dishes from beech leaves and ate bread of barley, millet, and vetches.

The servant of God kept vigil beyond human possibility. For he was accustomed to complain that he lost no time more than when he slept. He judged the comparison of death and sleep sufficiently fitting: just as those sleeping appeared dead among human beings, so before God those sleeping in sins were dead. Therefore, if he happened to hear anyone snoring too loudly or saw him lying in a less composed manner, he could scarcely bear it patiently and declared that the man was sleeping carnally or secularly.

Appetite was scarcely drawn to eating by any pleasure. Rather, solely from fear of collapse he approached the taking of food as though to a torment. After eating, he was accustomed to consider how much he had eaten. If he ever found that he had exceeded his customary measure even a little, he did not permit it to pass unpunished.

He had so subdued the allurements of gluttony that to a great extent he lost the very discernment of flavors. For he drank oil which had once been served to him by mistake and remained completely unaware of it. He did not learn what it was until someone wondered why his lips were greasy. He is known to have eaten raw lard, that is, pig fat, which was offered to him by mistake in place of butter, for many days. He said that water alone had flavor for him, because when he drank it, it cooled his jaws and throat.

Whatever he had learned in the Scriptures, he confessed that he had received chiefly by meditating and praying in forests and fields. Among friends he was accustomed to say that he had never had any teachers except oaks and beeches.

He was accustomed to say to novices who wished to enter the Order: “If you hasten toward the things which are within, leave here outside the bodies which you brought from the world. Let spirits alone enter, for the flesh profits nothing.”

His father, who alone had remained at home, went to the monastery and died there after some time in a good old age.

His sister, however, was married in the world. While she was endangered amid the riches and delights of the world, she came on a certain occasion to visit her brothers at the monastery. When she arrived with a proud retinue and display, Bernard shuddered at her as though she were a net of the devil for capturing souls, and he would in no way consent to go out to see her.

When she saw that none of her brothers came to meet her, but that one of them, who was then the porter, called her “dung wrapped up,” she dissolved entirely into tears. She said: “Even if I am a sinner, Christ died for such persons. Indeed, because I perceive that I am a sinner, I therefore seek the counsel and conversation of the good. If my brother despises my flesh, let the servant of God not despise my soul. Let him come and command me, and I shall fulfill whatever he commands.”

Holding her to this promise, Bernard went out to her with his brothers. Because he could not separate her from her husband, he first forbade her every glory of the world and, pointing out to her the model of their mother which she should imitate, dismissed her. Returning, she was so suddenly changed that she led an eremitical life in the midst of the world and made herself altogether a stranger to the entire world. At last, with many prayers, she prevailed over her husband and, released by him, entered a monastery.

Once, when the man of God became sick and seemed now to be drawing his final breath, in an ecstasy of his mind he was ordered to be presented before the tribunal of God. Satan was also present on the opposing side, assailing him with wicked accusations. When Satan had pursued everything and the man of God was about to speak for his own part, Bernard, neither frightened nor troubled, said: “I confess that I am not worthy, nor can I obtain the kingdom of heaven by my own merits. But my Lord possesses it by a twofold right: namely, by the inheritance of the Father and by the merit of the Passion. Content with one, he gives the other to me. Claiming it for myself by right from his gift, I am not confounded.” At this word the enemy was confounded, that assembly was dissolved, and the man of God returned to himself.

He wore away his body by so great abstinence, labor, and vigils that, languishing under a most grave and almost continual illness, he could scarcely follow the community. Once, while he was most gravely ill and the brothers were praying insistently for him, he perceived that he had recovered a little. When the brothers had assembled, he said: “Why do you hold back a wretched man? You are stronger and have prevailed. Spare me, I beg you, spare me, and permit me to depart.”

Section III

On a certain occasion he visited the Carthusian brothers. Although in all things they were greatly edified by him, there was one thing which moved the prior of that place somewhat: the saddle upon which Bernard had sat while riding was insufficiently neglected and displayed poverty too little. When the prior said this to one of the brothers and that brother reported it to the man of God, Bernard, no less astonished, asked what the saddle was like. For he had come from Clairvaux as far as the Charterhouse and yet was entirely ignorant of what the saddle was like.

Likewise, while traveling for an entire day beside Lake Lausanne, he did not see it at all. When, after evening had come, his companions spoke about that lake, he asked them where the lake was. Hearing this, they marveled greatly.

Certainly in him humility of heart overcame sublimity of name. The whole world could not raise him so high as he alone cast himself down. He was considered highest by all, while he considered himself lowest; although everyone preferred him to themselves, he preferred himself to no one.

Finally, as he himself often confessed, amid the highest honors and favors of the peoples, he seemed to himself to have borrowed another man. He judged himself rather to be absent and regarded the whole thing as a certain dream. But when he was among the simpler brothers and was always permitted to enjoy friendly humility, there he said that he had found himself and returned to his own person.

He was always found either praying, writing, meditating, or edifying the brothers by his word.

Once, while he was preaching to the people and all were receiving his words attentively and devoutly, a temptation of this kind crept into his mind: “Truly, now you preach exceedingly well, and you are willingly heard by everyone and considered wise by everyone.” He paused briefly and began to consider whether he should proceed or make an end. Immediately strengthened by divine aid, he silently answered the temptation: “I did not begin through you, nor shall I cease through you.” Thus secure, he continued to the end.

A certain monk who in the world had been a ribald and a gambler, being incited by a malignant spirit, wished to return to the world. When blessed Bernard could not retain him, he asked him whence he would live. The man answered: “I know how to play at dice, and I shall be able to live from that.”

Bernard said: “If I entrust capital to you, are you willing to return to me every year and divide the profit with me?” Hearing this, the man rejoiced and gladly promised that he would do so. Bernard therefore ordered twenty-five solidi to be given to him, and he departed with them. The holy man did this so that he might be able to call him back again, as afterward came to pass.

The monk went away, lost everything, and returned in confusion to the gate of the monastery. Hearing this, the man of God joyfully went out to him and extended his lap so that they might divide the profit together. The monk said to him: “I have gained nothing, Father, but I have also been stripped of your capital. If you wish, receive me in place of your capital.” Bernard kindly answered him: “If it is so, it is better that I receive you than that I lose both together.”

Once, while blessed Bernard was traveling somewhere seated upon a beast of burden, an occasion presenting itself, he complained to a certain countryman concerning the instability of the heart. Hearing this, the man immediately despised him and said that in his prayers he possessed a firm and stable heart.

Wishing to convince him and restrain him from his rashness, Bernard said: “Withdraw from us for a little while and begin the Lord’s Prayer with all the attention you can. If you can finish it without any wandering of the heart, the beast upon which I am sitting will without doubt be yours. But pledge to me on your faith that, if you think of anything else during it, you will not deny it to me.”

The countryman rejoiced and thought that he had already gained the beast. He withdrew confidently and, recollecting himself, began to say the Lord’s Prayer. He had scarcely completed half the prayer when, behold, an importunate thought concerning the saddle thrust itself upon his heart: whether he ought to possess it together with the beast. Perceiving this, he quickly returned to Bernard and disclosed what he had anxiously thought during the prayer. He no longer presumed concerning himself as he had before, that is, concerning firmness of mind in prayer.

Brother Robert, a cleric, his monk and his kinsman according to the flesh, was deceived in his youth by the persuasion of certain persons and, leaving the Cistercian Order, betook himself to the Cluniac Order. After the venerable father had dissembled for a long time, he determined to recall him by a letter. While he dictated it beneath the open sky and another monk wrote from his mouth, a rainstorm suddenly and unexpectedly broke out. The monk who was writing wished to fold the sheet. Bernard said to him: “It is the work of God to write. Do not fear.” Therefore he wrote the letter in the midst of the rain without rain.

When Bernard had constructed a certain monastery, an incredible multitude of flies occupied it, so that they caused grave distress to everyone. On learning this, he said: “I excommunicate them.” When morning came, they were all found dead.

When the blessed man was at Pavia, a certain man brought to him his wife, who was possessed by a demon. Immediately the devil burst forth through the mouth of the wretched woman in insult against him, saying: “This eater of leeks or devourer of cabbages will not drive me out of my little old woman.” But the man of God sent her to the church of blessed Syrus. Blessed Syrus wished to defer to his guest and bestowed no cure upon her. Therefore she was brought again to blessed Bernard.

Then the devil began to chatter through her mouth and say: “This little Syrus will not cast me out from here, nor will Bernard expel me.” Bernard answered him: “Neither Syrus nor Bernard will cast you out, but the Lord Jesus Christ.” As soon as he poured forth prayer, the devil said: “How gladly I would leave this little old woman, being grievously distressed within her. How gladly I would depart, but I cannot, because the great Lord does not will it.”

Bernard said to him: “Who is the great Lord?”

The devil answered: “The Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth.”

Bernard said: “Have you ever seen him?”

The devil answered: “Certainly.”

Bernard added: “Where did you see him?”

The devil said: “I saw him in glory.”

Bernard said: “And were you in glory?”

The devil answered: “Certainly.”

Bernard said: “How did you depart from it?”

The devil answered: “Many of us fell with Lucifer.”

He spoke all these things with a mournful voice through the woman’s mouth while everyone listened. Bernard said to him: “Would you wish to return to that glory?” The devil, laughing in a strange manner, said: “It is too late.” At last, while the holy man prayed, the devil departed from her.

But when the man of God had gone away, the devil again invaded her. Therefore her husband ran and reported it to Bernard. Then the man of God commanded that a little sheet containing these words be fastened around her neck: “In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you, demon, not to presume any longer to touch this woman.” When this had been done, the devil did not dare to approach her any longer.

While the man of God was staying in Aquitaine in France, having been sent as a legate by the pope so that he might reconcile to the Church the duke of Aquitaine, who fostered the schism by adhering to Peter Leonis the antipope, that duke refused this in every way. The man of God entered to celebrate Mass while the duke, whom he had excommunicated, waited outside.

When Bernard had said, “The peace of the Lord,” he placed the body of Christ upon the paten and, carrying it, went outside to the duke with a fiery face and flaming eyes. He assailed him with terrifying words, saying: “We entreated you, and you despised us. Behold, the Son of the Virgin, the Lord of the Church whom you persecute, has come forth to you. Your judge is present, in whose name every knee is bent. Your judge is present, into whose hands your soul will come. Will you despise him as you have his servants? Resist him, if you can.”

Immediately the duke became entirely rigid and, all his limbs having been loosened, at once fell at Bernard’s feet. The saint of God struck him with his foot and ordered him to rise and hear the sentence of God. Trembling, he arose, fulfilled whatever the holy man commanded, renounced the schism, and adhered to Innocent.

When Saint Malachy, bishop of Ireland, of whom it was related above, had happily migrated to Christ in the monastery of Clairvaux, and blessed Bernard was solemnly chanting the Mass at his obsequies, he knew Malachy’s glory through the Lord’s revelation. Therefore, after Communion, under God’s inspiration he changed the form of the prayer and said with a joyful voice: “Lord, who have equaled blessed Malachy to the merits of your saints,” and so forth. When the cantor indicated to him that he was making an error, Bernard answered: “I do not err, but I know what I am saying.” After Mass he kissed Malachy’s feet.

Section IV

When blessed Bernard had been made abbot of Clairvaux while still quite young, he approached the bishop of Chalons to receive his blessing. He entered the bishop’s house a young man of wasted and almost dying body, with a contemptible appearance, followed by an older monk elegant in bodily size and strength. Some laughed, while others approached them interpreting the matter as it truly was. When it was asked which of them was the abbot, the bishop, having first fixed his eyes upon Bernard, recognized the servant of God.

As in private conversation the young man’s prudence disclosed itself more and more together with his modesty in speaking, there was made between him and that bishop one heart and one soul in the Lord.

After a short time had passed, Bernard’s illness grew so much worse that nothing was now to be hoped for except either his death or a life more grievous than any death. The bishop himself visited him. On seeing him, the bishop said that he had hope not only for Bernard’s life but also for his health if, acquiescing in his counsel, Bernard would permit some care to be expended upon his body according to the measure of his illness.

But because Bernard could not easily be bent away from the rigor of his accustomed practice, the bishop went to the Cistercian chapter. There, before the few abbots who had assembled, by pontifical authority and priestly charity he prostrated his whole body upon the ground and asked and obtained that Bernard be handed over to him in obedience for one entire year. He obtained this.

Returning to Clairvaux, the bishop commanded that a little house be made for Bernard outside the cloister and boundaries of the monastery. He ordained and commanded that no discretion of the Order concerning food, drink, or anything of this kind should be observed toward him there; that no solicitude concerning the entire care of the house should be referred to him; and that he should live there according to the manner established by the bishop.

At that same time I also began to visit Clairvaux. When I visited with another abbot, I found Abbot Bernard, by command of the bishop, at leisure from every care of the house, free for God and himself and exulting as though amid the delights of paradise. When I entered that hut, the house itself impressed upon me so great a reverence for it that it was as though I entered the altar of God.

When Bernard had received us joyfully and we asked what he was doing and how he lived there, smiling upon us in that noble manner of his, he said: “Excellently. I, whom until now rational human beings obeyed, have by God’s just judgment been given over to obey a certain irrational beast.” He was speaking of a certain rustic and vain man who knew absolutely nothing but boasted that he would cure Bernard of the illness from which he labored. The bishop, the abbots, and his brothers had handed Bernard over to obey this man.

Eating there with him, we supposed that so sick a man, entrusted to so much care, was to be cared for as was fitting. But when we saw foods offered to him at the direction of that physician of his which a healthy person would scarcely touch under the

distress of hunger, we looked on and wasted away, scarcely restraining ourselves by the silence of the Rule from rising against that man with anger and insults as though against a sacrilegious man and murderer.

But Bernard, against whom these things were done, took everything indifferently and approved all things equally, like one who, his very sense of taste corrupted and almost dead, scarcely distinguished anything by flavor. For he is known to have eaten raw lard by mistake in place of butter for many days, and to have drunk oil in place of water.

At last, Father Bernard returned to the monastery of Clairvaux. With so great a fervor of spirit he nourished his sons by his sweet admonitions and magnificent examples that although they lived in simple dwellings, ate bread not so much branny as earthy, were occupied by hard labors, and their other foods scarcely possessed any flavor, they judged these things to be excessive delights.

They judged every pleasure of the flesh to be an enemy of the soul. Whatever seemed to nourish the flesh with some delight they considered something to be fled like poison. Because of the sweetness of divine love, bitter things seemed sweet to them, and it seemed to them that they lived more delightfully in the desert than they had formerly lived in the world.

Moved by a scruple concerning this, they asked the aforesaid venerable bishop of Chalons, who visited them out of great devotion and affection, and sought his counsel. As a prudent and God-fearing man, he consoled them, removing from their hearts the sting of conscience concerning so great a sweetness which they perceived in their foods, foods which provoked in them nausea rather than pleasure. He brought forward the example of the prophet Elisha, who, after a little flour had been placed in the cooked food set before the sons of the prophets, that is, religious, changed the death which was in the pot and the highest bitterness into sweetness. He explained that this flour was the fervor of charity, which caused harsh things to taste sweet to them; therefore they should entertain no scruple concerning this.

Section V

After Bernard had been freed from the bond of that year of obedience and made subject to his own authority, he returned to his former rigor like a bow released from constraint. One might see a weak and languid man striving after and undertaking whatever he wished, considering less what he was able to do: solicitous for everyone, negligent concerning himself; most obedient to everyone in all things, yet concerning himself scarcely obedient to anyone, whether to charity or to necessity. Counting his former deeds as nothing, he attempted greater ones, adding strength from spiritual pursuits in order not to spare his body. His body, already weakened in itself by various infirmities, he wore down further without interruption by fasts and vigils. He prayed standing by day and by night, until his knees, weakened by fasting, and his feet, swollen from labor, were unable to support his body.

His food was milk with bread, or the water in which legumes had been cooked, or porridges of the kind customarily made for infants. The rest either his infirmity did not accept or he himself refused through zeal for abstinence. If he ever used wine, he did so rarely and in an exceedingly small quantity, since he declared that water agreed better both with his infirmity and with his appetite.

Yet, so affected and exhausted, he scarcely ever allowed himself to be excused from the common labor of the brothers, whether by day or by night, or from the occupations and labors of his office. And when that frequent eruption of undigested matter from the corruption of his stomach through his mouth began to be more troublesome to others, especially in the choir of those chanting the psalms, he nevertheless did not immediately cease attending the brothers' assemblies. Instead, after arranging for a receptacle to be dug in the earth beside the place where he stood, he endured that painful necessity in this way for some time, insofar as he could. But when the intolerable nature of the matter no longer permitted even this, then at last he was compelled to abandon the assemblies and to live separately by himself, except insofar as it was sometimes necessary for him to be present at the brothers' convent for conversation, consolation, or the discipline of the cloister. For who in our age, however robust in body and sound in health, has ever accomplished so much as this man, dying and languishing, both accomplished and accomplishes for the honor of God and the usefulness of the Church?

Section VI

He also shone abundantly with the power of miracles. The first of them was this. When he had already completed some years at Clairvaux, it happened that a noble man named Josbert, who was also Bernard's kinsman according to the flesh, fell gravely ill at La Ferté, a town near the monastery. Suddenly overcome, he lost both understanding and speech. Consequently, his son and all his friends were afflicted with still greater grief because so magnificent and highly honored a man was to die without confession and Viaticum.

A messenger ran very quickly to Abbot Bernard, but at that time he was not in the monastery. At last Bernard came and found Josbert already lying in that condition for three days. Having compassion upon the man, and moved by the tears of his son and the others who were likewise mourning, Bernard trusted in the mercy of God and delivered an imposing address, saying to

them: “It is known to you that in many matters this man has burdened churches, oppressed the poor, and offended God. If you believe me, so that what has been taken may be restored to the churches and the customs usurped to the injury of the poor may be relinquished, he will yet speak, make confession of his offenses, and devoutly receive the divine sacraments.”

Everyone marveled; the son rejoiced; the entire household exulted. Whatever the man of God commanded was promised to him and fulfilled. But Bernard’s brother Gerard and his uncle Galdric, not a little frightened and disturbed, met with him more privately concerning so great a promise, reproved him more harshly, and assailed him more sharply. Answering them briefly and simply, he said, “God can easily do what you believe to be difficult.”

Therefore, after secret prayer, he approached the offering of the immortal sacrifice. While he was offering it, a messenger arrived to announce that the aforesaid Josbert was already speaking and earnestly asking that the man of God hasten to him. When Bernard came to him after the sacrifice had been offered, Josbert confessed his sins with tears and groaning and received the divine sacraments. Living and speaking for two or three days after this, he determined that those things in particular which the holy man had commanded should be observed without any retraction. He also put his household in order and gave alms, and thus at last breathed forth his spirit in Christian fashion and in good hope.

When, by praying out of mercy, Bernard restored health to many sick persons, his brothers and spiritual sons marveled at the things they saw and at the things said about him. Yet they were not raised up to human glory in the manner of carnal men, but with spiritual solicitude they feared for his still youthful age. In this zeal his uncle Galdric and Guido, the firstborn of the brothers, certainly went before the others, so that it might appear that those two had been given to him by God as twin goads of the flesh, lest the greatness of his virtues should in some way exalt him. For they did not spare his tender modesty, but harassed it with harsher words, found fault even with things well done, reduced all his signs to nothing, and frequently afflicted that most gentle man, who contradicted nothing, even to tears by reproaches and insults.

The venerable Godfrey, bishop of Langres and a kinsman of the holy man, used to relate that it happened that he was present, together with Bernard’s aforesaid brother Guido, at a certain miracle which he saw performed through Bernard’s hand. For when the holy man Bernard was passing through the castle of Nanton in the territory of Sens, a certain young man whose feet had been seized by a fistula implored with much supplication to receive the touch of the aforesaid father in blessing. After being signed, he immediately recovered. Hence, when the blessed father returned after a few days and passed through the aforesaid castle, he found that young man unharmed. But his aforesaid brother Guido could not be restrained even by the miracle itself from reproving Bernard still further and accusing him of presumption because he had consented to touch a man and had shown such great charitable solicitude for him.

About the same time it happened that his uncle Galdric, who likewise, out of zeal, overwhelmed his nephew’s gentleness with harsh rebukes, labored under very severe fevers. At last, when the illness grew worse, overcome by the very greatness of his pain, he entreated Abbot Bernard with humble supplication to have mercy upon him and bring him the aid that he was accustomed to bring to others. Bernard, whose spirit was sweeter than honey, first gently and briefly recalled Galdric’s frequent rebukes concerning this very matter and charged him not perhaps to be saying this in order to test him. But when Galdric persisted, Bernard placed his hand upon him and commanded the fever to depart. Without delay, at his command, the fever left Galdric, who now experienced in himself what he had reproved in others.

A certain brother whom Bernard had suspended from communion at the sacred altar because of a secret fault feared being marked out and could not endure the shame. He therefore approached Bernard’s hand with the others in excessive presumption. Bernard looked upon him and, because the cause was hidden, did not wish to repel him; but in the depth of his heart he prayed to God that he would ordain something better concerning so great a presumption. Accordingly, when the brother received the Eucharist, he could not pass it into his interior. Although he strove for a long time and with great effort, since he was able to accomplish nothing, he anxiously and tremblingly kept it enclosed in his mouth. Therefore, when the hour of the office of Sext had been completed, he drew the holy father aside. Prostrate at his knees, with many tears he disclosed what he was suffering; and, opening his mouth, he also showed him the Host itself. Bernard rebuked the man, absolved him when he confessed, and without difficulty the man received the Lord’s sacrament.

An adulterous wife tormented by sorceries a poor man who lived not far from the monastery. For, just as she had threatened him in anger and fury, by malignant incantations she had caused the wretched man, his flesh being consumed, neither to be able to die nor to be permitted to live. Very often he lost both the use of his voice and every bodily sense. Again he returned—not to life, but cruelly recalled to a more protracted death. He was brought by his people to the man of God with many tears. Bernard, vehemently indignant that the malice of the malignant enemy had usurped so much power over a Christian, caused the man to be carried before the altar. After placing upon his head a vessel containing the Eucharist, by the power of the sacrament he commanded the demon to be restrained from injuring the Christian. The man was restored to perfect health.

The miracles which the Lord performed through him are innumerable. For he expelled demons from many possessed persons. Thus at Milan, while solemnly celebrating Mass before all the people, he gave a little girl water poured over the paten to drink

and immediately freed her from a demon. He likewise freed another matron, whom the devil had now so tormented for many years that he had deprived her of sight, hearing, and speech; held her tongue extended after the manner of an elephant's trunk; made her countenance terrible; and made her breath fetid.

When she had been brought with great violence to the holy man of God before the altar of the church of Saint Ambrose, he celebrated Mass before an innumerable people. When the consecration had been performed and the Lord's Prayer said, he took the Eucharist and held it over the head of the possessed woman. Bernard adjured the demon on behalf of Jesus Christ present in the sacrament—Christ who was born of the Virgin, was crucified and died for the salvation of the world so as to cast the demon out of humankind, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father—and commanded the demon to depart from her. She was freed, and, the demon having been cast out, she recovered hearing, sight, and speech, while all those standing by marveled and praised God in his saint.

So great a devotion toward Bernard grew among the people from his honey-flowing teaching confirmed by miracles that, abandoning the schism to which they had adhered by following their archbishop Anselm, who supported the party of the antipope Peter Leonis, they rendered complete obedience to Innocent II, the true vicar of Christ. At Pavia he also cured a demoniac who barked like a dog. He restored very many persons suffering from fevers to their former health. He restored to natural strength those disabled by paralysis. He gave light to the blind. He healed those who had withered members, whether hands or other members. Sick persons were also healed by eating from loaves blessed by him. Through the spirit of prophecy he also knew many things hidden from human beings and many future things, all of which are set forth explicitly in his legend.

Section VII

When in his time a schism had arisen, Innocent II having been canonically elected, while Peter Leonis, a Roman, had been intruded by certain men into the papacy through the friendship of powerful men and money and called himself Anacletus, the saint of God labored greatly, running through cities and kingdoms to remove the said schism. Innocent had indeed been enthroned according to the customary manner. But in a short time so great was the multitude both of nobles of Peter's own family, of those joined to him by affinity, and of those corrupted by money, that almost the entire city followed the antipope. On this account, after mature counsel had been taken with the servants of God, Innocent, the true pontiff, decreed that he should yield to the fury. Having secretly procured ships, he departed thence by the Tiber and arrived at the port of Pisa.

After sending messengers ahead into Gaul to make known the truth of the affair, lest they should be forestalled by falsehoods from the other party, a council was assembled at Étampes. Saint Abbot Bernard was summoned by the king of the Franks himself and by all the principal bishops. For he was already held in renown for miracles and teaching. He approached in no slight fear, not being ignorant of the danger and weight of the affair. But on the journey God consoled him, revealing in a nocturnal vision that peace was to come to the Church.

Therefore, after a fast had first been celebrated and prayers poured forth to God, when the king and bishops with the princes had sat down to treat of the affair, there was one counsel and one opinion of all: that so great an affair should be imposed upon the servant of God and the entire case should depend upon his mouth. Fearing and trembling, but acquiescing in the admonitions of faithful men, he undertook it. After diligently following the order of the election, the merits of the electors, and the life and reputation of the one first elected, he opened his mouth, and the spirit of wisdom filled it. Therefore, speaking with the mouth of all, he declared Innocent to be the supreme pontiff who must be received by everyone. All alike acclaimed that the matter was ratified and must be so held; and, after praises had been sung to God, all subscribed to Innocent's election.

Thereafter Pope Innocent was carried by ship into Provence and afterward into Burgundy. At Orléans, where the bishops met him, he was honorably received by Louis, king of the Franks. When the pope had also been conducted to Chartres, Henry, king of the English, came to meet him with a very great company of bishops and nobles. The venerable Abbot Bernard had been sent ahead to this king. Addressing him, Bernard scarcely persuaded him to receive Innocent, because the king himself had been dissuaded from doing so by the bishops of England. For when the king, speaking with the man of God, kicked against the goad and drew back lest he offend God, the saint of God said: "Why do you fear to incur sin if you obey Innocent? Consider how you are to answer God for your other sins. Leave this one to me; let this sin rest upon me." Persuaded by this word, the king acquiesced and received Innocent with honor.

After a council had been celebrated at Reims, the lord pope did not permit Abbot Bernard to be separated from him. Bernard sat with the cardinals in public affairs, and privately all who had business consulted the man of God more secretly. At last at Liège the lord pope met the king of the Romans and was indeed honorably received. But that serenity was quickly clouded. For the same king insistently demanded, judging the time opportune, that episcopal investitures be restored to him. The Roman Church, through the greatest labors and many dangers, had claimed them for itself from his predecessor Henry. At this demand the Romans and those who were with the pope grew pale, and counsel failed them, until the holy abbot placed himself before them as a wall. Boldly resisting the king, he reproved the malignant demand with marvelous freedom and restrained it with marvelous authority.

Returning from Liège, the lord pope wished to visit Clairvaux in person. There he was received most affectionately by Christ's poor, who were not adorned with purple and fine linen and did not carry gilded Gospel books, but came in ragged ranks bearing a rugged cross, not with clamorous jubilation but with subdued melody. The bishops wept, and the supreme pontiff himself also wept. They marveled at the gravity of that congregation: amid so solemn a joy the eyes of all the men remained cast down and were nowhere carried about by wandering curiosity; rather, with eyelids closed, they themselves saw no one and were seen by everyone.

The Roman saw nothing in the church that he might covet. In the oratory they saw nothing except bare walls. There whole-grain bread was set in place of fine flour, boiled-down grape must in place of sweet wine, vegetables in place of red things [read: turbots], and legumes in place of any delicacies whatever. If by chance a fish was found, it was set before the lord pope, and it benefited the community by being seen, not by being used.

The devil envied the glory of God's servants, whom the presence of so great a guest had ennobled, and he was unable to bear it. While they were chanting psalms eagerly and devoutly in choir, with some of the cardinals also present, one man, more seized than the others, spoke certain blasphemous words, saying, "Tell them: I am Christ." The others, frightened and trembling, fled to the steps of the blessed father. Turning to the others, Bernard said, "Pray." Then, in silence, he led out and restrained those who appeared disturbed, so that that most wicked spirit might reveal itself and discover its efforts to be feeble. Everything was calmed with such speed that what had happened remained hidden from those standing nearby.

Innocent could not make a long stay in Gaul. Just as he had agreed with Lothair, king of the Romans, he met him at Rome, and by the strength of the army Innocent was conducted into the Lateran palace. Many of the Roman nobles faithful to the Church received him honorably. Nevertheless, Peter Leonis, the antipope or antichrist, surrounded by the malice of his confederates, remained in the higher places and towers, awaiting a time to rage.

Leaving Innocent at Rome, Emperor Lothair withdrew elsewhere. After his departure, Peter made frequent incursions through the city and thirsted for the slaughter of the faithful. Innocent, understanding that a stay at Rome was fruitless for him at that time, returned to Pisa lest his presence enrage the fury of that beast. There the bishops of almost the entire West and other religious men were assembled. The holy abbot assisted them throughout in all counsels, judgments, and definitions. The sum of the proceedings of that assembly consisted in the excommunication of Peter Leonis and the deposition of his supporters.

When that council had been dissolved, the lord Innocent sent Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to reconcile the Milanese, who had sought him with many supplications. From his own side he also directed Guido of Pisa and Matthew, bishop of Albano, to wash away the schism made by Anselm in that same city and recall the straying to the unity of the Church.

Therefore, when Saint Abbot Bernard together with his aforesaid colleagues was approaching the city of Milan, the entire people, of whatever condition and status, came to meet him seven miles from the city and received the man of God with incredible reverence. They delighted in the sight of him and judged themselves happy if they could enjoy hearing him. All kissed his feet; and although he received this with distress, no reasoning could restrain the devout. They even claimed whatever hairs they could from his clothing, and for remedies against diseases they tore something from the hems of his garments. At last everything was pacified, the churches were reconciled, and those who had been disobedient to Innocent subjected themselves to him.

Section VIII

After this the holy man returned to Clairvaux and began to expound the Song of Songs to those monks. But since many still followed the schismatic Peter and favored his party, attempting and contriving to turn away from the truth cities and princes who adhered to Innocent, the lord pope dispatched special messengers for the blessed man, that he should come to the city and confront those who were causing scandal. Coming to Rome as quickly as possible, he was honorably received by the supreme pontiff and the entire curia.

Meanwhile Roger, king of Apulia, who favored Peter Leonis, sent to Innocent that he ought to dispatch to him his chancellor Aimeric and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. He wrote similarly to Peter Leonis that he should send to him Peter of Pisa as his defender, so that, by hearing them debate before him, he might understand the cause of this dissension and schism. For he sent deceitfully. He had heard that Peter of Pisa was most eloquent and second to no one in knowledge of the laws and canons. He thought that, if a hearing were granted to Peter's rhetorical declamations in a public consistory, the abbot's simplicity could be overwhelmed, and silence in the weight of words and arguments could be imposed upon him.

At last both parties came to Salerno, where the king held his court. In the meantime that King Roger had gathered an innumerable army against Duke Ranulf, who with his peoples stood on the side of the Church and Innocent. Although the saint of God had persuaded him not to enter such a conflict because, if defeated, he would lie open to disgrace, he did not acquiesce, trusting in his multitude. But what had been foretold to him occurred: he was defeated and put to flight in battle by Ranulf, although Ranulf's army was much smaller.

But the king, feigning cheerfulness and exalting himself in royal apparel, with his court surrounded by soldiers, commanded both parties to be summoned. Peter of Pisa, first instructed and inflamed by the inducements of many promises, was ordered to speak concerning the arguments for his cause. Accordingly, Peter first strove to prove that the election of his lord, Peter Leonis, was canonical, and fortified his words with many assertions from laws and canons.

But the man of God, considering that the kingdom of God consisted not in speech but in power, said: "I know, Peter, that you are a learned and wise man. And would that the sounder party and more honorable business had occupied you; would that a happier cause had obtained you as its advocate! And without doubt no eloquence could impede— [read: no eloquence could impede you when presenting reasonable arguments]. And we rustic men, accustomed more to hoes than to declamations, would keep the silence imposed upon us if the cause of the faith did not press us. But now charity compels us to speak, because Peter Leonis, with this lord as his supporter, has lacerated and rent the Lord's tunic, which at the time of the Passion no one, not even a Jew, presumed to tear.

"There is one faith, one Lord, one baptism. We know neither two Lords, nor a double faith, nor two baptisms. To begin with ancient things: there was one ark at the time of the flood. In it eight souls escaped while the others perished; and as many as were found outside the ark perished. No one doubts that this ark bore the figure of the Church. Another ark has recently been built. Since there are two, one must necessarily be adulterous and be submerged in the deep.

"If the ark which Peter Leonis rules is from God, the ark which Innocent rules must necessarily be overwhelmed. Therefore the Eastern Church perishes. The entire West perishes. France will perish. Germany will perish. The Irish, the English, and the barbarian kingdoms will be submerged in the depth of the sea. The Camaldolese, Carthusian, Cluniac, Grandmontine, and Cistercian religious orders, and innumerable other congregations of God's servants and handmaids, must fall beneath one whirlwind into the abyss. The sea will engulf and receive bishops, abbots, and the other princes of the Church as they are cast headlong into it with an ass-driven millstone bound to their necks. Alone among the princes of the world, this Roger has entered Peter's ark; and, when all the others have been put to death, he alone will be saved. Far be it that the religion of the whole world should perish and that Peter's ambition—whose manner of life is openly known—should obtain the kingdom of heaven."

At these words those who were present could no longer restrain themselves, but abominated Peter's life and cause. The holy abbot, taking Peter of Pisa by the hand, raised him up and likewise rose himself. "If you believe me," he said, "we shall enter the safer ark." And, as he had already conceived in his mind some time before, he approached Peter with salutary admonitions and, with the grace of God cooperating, immediately persuaded him to return to the city and be reconciled to Pope Innocent.

When the assembly had been dissolved, the king was not yet willing to obey, because he had greedily occupied the very extensive patrimony of Saint Peter in the provinces of Cassino and Benevento. He thought that by means of these suspended negotiations he could extort from the Romans certain privileges through which that patrimony might be established for him as though by his own right.

At that time it happened that a certain nobleman, very well known in Salerno, fell ill and was despaired of by the physicians, whose art and study especially flourished there at that time. By drinking water from the washing of the holy man's hands, as had been revealed to him in dreams, he was suddenly restored to perfect health. When this became known, it drew everyone to an extraordinary devotion toward the saint and to belief in his words, the king alone persisting in his malice.

The holy abbot returned to Rome, reconciled Peter of Pisa and certain others to the Church, and joined them to Pope Innocent. At last, a little afterward, Peter Leonis died in despair in his malice. But his party established another pope in place of the other. As quickly as possible this ridiculous pontiff came to Abbot Bernard, laid aside through him the papal insignia he had usurped, and was reconciled to Innocent, seeking and obtaining pardon.

After this the holy man, who for seven years had labored to mend the aforesaid schism, departed from the city—to the great grief of the peoples' minds because of their excessive affection for his holiness—and returned to Clairvaux. He continued the exposition of the Song of Songs which he had begun. Nevertheless, he did not complete it, but scarcely completed the second chapter.

As the brothers entering that Order multiplied, attracted by his honey-flowing teaching in his sermons and inflamed by examples of holiness, he founded one hundred sixty monasteries of his Order in diverse parts of the world. He left such disciples that many of his brothers were elected bishops and archbishops in great cities, and some were even made cardinals. Bernard, too [i.e., Pope Eugene III], who had been sent to Saint Anastasius near Rome, a monastery of the said Order constructed by Innocent, was created pope after Lucius and Celestine, the aforesaid successors of Innocent II. To him Saint Bernard, while still living, wrote the most beautiful and useful book *On Consideration*.

All those prelates assumed from the Cistercian Order displayed a great light to the Church. Bernard himself, though elected many times as bishop or archbishop by the Genoese, the Milanese, and many churches beyond the mountains, neither acquiesced nor refused with an obstinate mind, but asserted that he was not subject to his own authority. The brothers of the

Cistercian Order had arranged and procured with the supreme pontiff, at Bernard's instigation, that this treasury of wisdom could not be taken away from them by any church.

Section IX

In Aquitaine there was a certain wretched woman who was tormented by a wanton incubus demon. For six years it had abused her and tormented her with incredible lust. When the man of God came there, the demon vehemently threatened the woman not to approach him, because Bernard would be able to profit her nothing; and when Bernard departed, the demon, who had been her lover, would become her most cruel persecutor.

But she confidently approached the man of God and related with much groaning what she was suffering. He said to her, "Take this staff of mine and place it in your little bed, and let him do whatever he can." When she had done this and lay down in her bed, the demon was immediately present, but did not presume to approach either its accustomed work or the bed itself. Rather, it threatened her most sharply and declared that, when Bernard departed, it would take atrocious vengeance upon her.

When she had privately related this to Bernard, he called the people together and commanded everyone to hold lighted candles in their hands. Together with the entire assembly present, he excommunicated the demon and forbade it thenceforth to have access to that woman or to any other. Thus she was wholly freed from such an illusion.

When the servant of God entered the kingdom of Germany to settle a certain great discord, an archbishop sent a certain venerable cleric to meet him. When the cleric said that his own lord had sent him to meet Bernard, the man of God answered, "Another Lord sent you." Astonished, the man affirmed that he had been sent by none other than his lord the archbishop. In reply the servant of Christ said, "You are mistaken, son, you are mistaken. A greater Lord sent you: Christ."

Understanding this, the cleric said, "Do you think I wish to become a monk? Far be that from me. I have not thought of this, nor has it arisen upon my heart." Why say more? On that same journey he bade farewell to the world and received the habit from the man of God.

Bernard had received into the Order a certain very noble knight. When this man followed the man of God at a certain time, he began to be assailed by a most grievous temptation. When a certain brother saw him so sad, he asked the cause of such great sadness. The man answered, "I know, I know that I shall never again be joyful." When the said brother reported this statement to the servant of God, Bernard prayed more attentively for him. Immediately that brother, who had been so tempted and sad, appeared as much more joyful and cheerful than the others as he had previously been sadder than the others. When the said brother amicably reproached him with the sorrowful statement he had made, the man answered, "Although I said, 'I shall never again be joyful,' I now say, 'I shall never again be sad.'"

When Lent was approaching and Bernard had been visited by many young men, he asked them to abstain from their vanities and wantonness at least during those sacred days. When they acquiesced in no way, he commanded wine to be served to them, saying, "Drink the cup of souls." Having drunk it, they departed suddenly changed; and those who had refused to give a short time gave to God the entire time of their life.

At last the blessed father Bernard, happily approaching death, said to his brothers: "I leave you three things to observe which I remember having observed according to my strength in the course of this present life in which I have run. I wished to give scandal to no one; and if scandal ever arose, I quieted it insofar as I could. I always trusted my own judgment less than another's. When injured, I never sought vengeance upon the one who injured me. Behold, I leave you charity, humility, and patience."

Finally, after he had performed many miracles and compiled many books and treatises, when the days of his life had been completed at about sixty-three years, in the year of the Lord 1153 he fell asleep in the Lord amid the hands of his sons.

After his death he manifested his glory to many. For he appeared to a certain abbot in a certain monastery and admonished him to follow him. When the abbot followed, the holy man said, "Behold, we have come to Mount Lebanon. You will remain here, but I shall ascend there."

When the abbot asked why he wished to ascend, Bernard said, "I wish to learn." Astonished, the abbot said, "What do you wish to learn, Father, when we believe that today no one is second to you in knowledge?" Bernard answered, "Here there is no knowledge, no cognition of the truth. Above is the fullness of knowledge; above is the true knowledge of truth." At this word he disappeared. The abbot noted the day and found that at that time the man of God Bernard had migrated from the body. The Lord also performed many other and almost innumerable miracles through his servant.

Title XVII, Chapter VI

Now treatment must be given to the emperors who existed from Henry IV through Henry VI, inclusively.

After Henry IV, therefore, his son Henry V, of the same name, received the Roman Empire in the year 1107 from the Incarnation of the Lord, but in the five thousand seventieth year from the beginning of the world. According to the other, more common opinion, it was the six thousand three hundred seventeenth year. He reigned for twenty years.

Nevertheless, during the two years before his father's death, when he had already been declared the future emperor, forgetful of the benefit received from him, Henry moved rebellion against his father and rose against him under the pretext of improving the commonwealth and restoring the Church. He took as his occasion the fact that his father had been excommunicated by the Roman Church. Hence he easily joined to his will the princes of the Saxons, who had always been hostile to his father. Moreover, many princes of the empire abandoned the father and adhered to the son. At last, when everyone deserted him, the father was captured by his son and committed to confinement in prison.

There, while he sought a hearing, the son together with the princes surrounded him deceitfully and forced him to resign the imperial insignia to his son. When this had been done, he was released and, deprived of everyone's support, ran through Germany wandering and in flight, and came to Cologne. Its citizens had compassion upon his calamity, and he was solemnly received by them not as an exile but as an emperor.

Thence he came to Liège, with many accompanying him. There, when a court of the princes had been summoned and certain men had gathered to him, he asserted that he had been compelled by his son to resign the imperial insignia. When the son heard that he was at Liège, he prepared to besiege him. He sent soldiers ahead to occupy the bridge situated over the river Meuse. Through the father's action they were repelled, and many were killed and captured. Count Bruno was among those killed. Thus the son, advancing against his father, returned without glory.

Not long afterward this Henry IV died at Liège and was buried by the citizens in the same church according to the custom of princes. But afterward, by command of the supreme pontiff, as one excommunicated he was cast out of the sacred cemetery, and all Christian burial was denied him.

When he was dead, his son Henry V gathered a marvelous army of his men and entered Italy. Thirty thousand armed men were found among the Teutons alone, apart from those from Italy who were joined to him. Thence, moving the army and passing into Tuscany, he long besieged and assaulted the castle of Pontremoli, which was most strongly fortified with walls and towers and had denied him passage, and compelled it to surrender. Having captured it, he razed it from the foundations and leveled it.

Thence, moving camp, he entered Tuscany and was honorably received by almost all the cities. Only the city of the people of Arezzo resisted for some time. Afflicting it with many calamities, he at last compelled it to carry out his commands. When he had arranged affairs within Tuscany as he wished, he proceeded to Rome to settle the scandals between the kingdom and the priesthood. How he conducted himself toward Pope Paschal—namely, that he imprisoned him but afterward released him and attempted to reconcile him with the people whom he had offended—has been related above in the preceding chapter, in the section concerning Paschal II.

Thereafter, when the emperor had left the city and Italy, he returned to Germany. Since he had no wife, he immediately accepted as his bride Matilda, daughter of the king of England, and celebrated magnificent nuptials at Mainz. There Lothair, duke of Saxony, who had been rebellious against him from the time when he obtained the empire, came to the emperor's feet seeking pardon, dressed in a woolen tunic, barefoot, and ungirded. For so great a terror of Henry had seized him that no one dared resist him. But afterward, when Henry was exceedingly harsh and rigid, many of the princes rebelled against him.

Meanwhile the pope annulled before many prelates the privilege or compact made between Pope Paschal and the emperor—namely, concerning investiture—as was related above. On this account the Church suffered many persecutions from the emperor's supporters. At their persuasion the emperor returned to Italy, where he made war upon the faithful, captured cities, and was received by the Romans with great honor. Nevertheless, none of the Catholics came to meet him.

When he was about to go to the basilica of Peter, he crossed by boat, not by the bridge. Coming to that church, he requested to be crowned. He was told that he ought to be crowned by the pope or the pope's commissioner. Henry, knowing that the mind of the Catholics was alienated from him and being not a little confounded within himself, thought of departing from the city. But before he withdrew thence, he commanded the entire people to be summoned. He is reported to have addressed them thus:

"If it were divinely granted, Romans, that the condition of commonwealths should be governed with worthy moderation and their rulers should anticipate one another with worthy reverence, there would be peace. The pontiff would not be absent from the imperial assemblies of the city, nor the emperor from pontifical assemblies. The glory of one would support the other; the

glory of one would be the glory and strength of both. The strength of both would be the fear of all, and the city would turn itself in love between the two.

“Fathers, consuls, leading men, and all the good men of the city and the world would look to us. Goths, Gauls, Spaniards, Africans, Greeks, and Latins—the Arab, the Parthian, and the Indian—would either fear or love us. But now, while matters are conducted otherwise, it happens otherwise. For while we are divided from one another, we are trampled by everyone, despised, cursed, and attacked.

“Turn, therefore, and receive both my desire and my correction, although I am a sinner, lest, while justice grows stern against me through you, it should have no means, without me, of growing stern against others when their crimes have multiplied. Behold, I have come from the father of the Roman Church, the lord pope, out of Gaul into the city to be crowned. I ascribe his absence to my misfortunes. But now I ask this of you: let there be peace between us. Indeed, there will be peace if you Romans yourselves wish it; and assuredly, when the winds have been calmed, the seas will be at rest.”

To these words of Henry, the Church of the Catholics which was in the city answered thus:

“We consider it sufficiently dishonorable and unworthy that you should approach us at any time with sweet words, when you strive daily to circumvent us with deceitful deeds. Do you suppose, O king, that we believe you have come to this city to repent and make satisfaction, when through you we see continual and hostile invasions and sacrilegious ordinations being made? As soon as you entered Latium, O king, you made war upon the faithful of blessed Peter.

“Come now: who are those on whose behalf the abbot of Farfa and Ptolemy act, both excommunicated for their crimes? With those men as your leaders, you entered the church of the apostles. With what fathers? With what bishops? With what clerics? Add to this: who are those who now keep watch before its doors? Are they not seditious men? Who are those who guard its treasury? Are they not sacrilegious men? Who are those who minister at its altar? Are they not heretics?

“Alas, alas! All the Catholics having been expelled, through you schismatics occupy the venerable church of blessed Peter. Is this that road by which you merit pardon? Is this the satisfaction by which you are reconciled to the Church? Is this the peace by which wars are quieted? The matter must be conducted otherwise, O king.”

Nevertheless Henry, given over to a reprobate sense, was unable to circumvent with words the faithful who were within the city and whom he had provoked beyond measure. He summoned Mauritius, bishop of Braga, and caused himself to be crowned. Thus he departed from the city and proceeded into Lombardy.

In those times, in the diocese of Liège, a sow gave birth to a piglet having the face of a human being. A chicken was also born four-footed, as Sigebert attests. Many were consumed by the sacred fire, their members growing black like coals. In the month of July a comet appeared, directing its rays toward the south. Many conjectured that this sign portended the future expedition of King Henry toward Italy.

About that time at Laon a twin boy was born, double from the buttocks upward: he had two heads and, as far as the loins, two bodies with their own arms. Having been baptized, he survived for three days. In the month of June grain-crops and trees, burned by the sacred fire, belied the hope of their fruit; certain forests also dried up. There followed a grave and prolonged sickness of human beings, both from a flux of the belly and from mortality. Lord Sigebert, the venerable monk of the monastery of Gembloux, ingenious in every branch of literary knowledge and a chronicler of the times, died.

Section I

While the aforesaid Henry V was reigning in the Roman Empire, our western princes, as Jacob de col. relates, fought with varying fortune against the enemies of the faith in the East. For Bohemond, the illustrious prince of the Antiochenes, returned from the regions beyond the mountains into Apulia and crossed into Epirus, having five thousand cavalrymen and forty thousand infantrymen. Pursuing the causes of the Latins and remembering the injuries which the emperor of the Greeks had inflicted upon him and upon the other Latin princes, he broke the maritime cities, gave them over to plunder, and devastated the whole of Epirus.

When the emperor of the Greeks heard this, he likewise gathered his armies and, advancing to meet Bohemond, established camp nearby. There, with mutual friends intervening, the emperor entered into a treaty with Lord Bohemond under interposed oaths: henceforth he would in good faith provide counsel and assistance to Christ’s faithful who wished to pass into the East. When this had been completed, Bohemond dismissed the multitude of pilgrims and returned to Apulia.

In the following summer, after he had gathered a fleet so that he might prepare himself for the journey into the East, he was seized by a violent illness and died, leaving one only son as heir to his principality and his name, whom he had begotten from Constance, daughter of the king of the Franks. In that year Philip, king of the Franks and his father-in-law, also migrated to the Lord. His firstborn son Louis succeeded him in the kingdom.

In the same year, which was the second of Henry V, Bertrand, son of the count of Toulouse, who had succeeded Raymond, landed in Syria with a fleet of the Genoese. When he had arrived at the city of Tripoli with a fine company of cavalrymen and infantrymen—a city which his father had besieged and assaulted for a long time before—he again enclosed it with a siege by land and sea. Lord King Baldwin also came to that siege with the strength of his armies. As the struggle was renewed, the citizens, worn down by prolonged labors, surrendered the city to the Christian army with their persons and possessions preserved. Bertrand was made count there and became the liegeman of the lord king of Jerusalem. That city was captured in the year of the Lord 1109.

About that time the aforesaid worshiper of God, the king, assembled a multitude of cavalrymen and infantrymen from the entire kingdom, surrounded the city of the people of Beirut with a siege, violently broke into it, and captured it, the greater part of the unbelievers having been killed. Beirut is a maritime city situated between Byblos and Sidon, one of the cities of Phoenicia. It was captured in the month of April in the year of the Lord 1111.

In the same year, the brother of the king of Norway arrived in the port of Joppa with a great force of armed men. He had come to this kingdom beloved of God for this purpose alone: that for some time he and his men might devote themselves to the service of Christ. The king, rejoicing not a little at the assembled multitude of the army, surrounded the city of Sidon by land and sea with those who had arrived.

When they had assaulted the city with continual attacks for some days, the citizens, despairing of their escape, surrendered the city to the lord king upon these conditions: that departure should be granted to the nobles, while the common people should be permitted, as before, to devote their labor to agriculture under favorable conditions. Sidon is a maritime city situated between Beirut and the city of Tyre in the province of Phoenicia, possessing a most advantageous location. Sacred Scripture makes mention of it in many places. It was captured in the month of December in the year of the Lord 1111.

In the following year Tancred, prince of Antioch, of illustrious memory and pious remembrance, died. By his final judgment, his kinsman Roger, son of Richard, succeeded him in his principality upon this condition: whenever Lord Bohemond the Younger should demand back the said principality, Roger was to resign it to him without dispute.

In the year of the Lord 1113, under a certain Turkish prince, an infinite multitude of Turks coming from Persia poured itself into the kingdom of Jerusalem. The king did not wait for the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, who were hastening to his aid with great forces, but met the Turks with those troops which he himself had with him. Overwhelmed by the multitude, he lost a great part of his men. On that day thirty Christian cavalrymen and one thousand two hundred infantrymen fell. Having obtained this victory and inflicted great losses upon the kingdom, the Turks returned to their own lands.

In the year of the Lord 1115, Bursoquinus, a most powerful man of the Turks, gathered an infinite multitude of his people and invaded the region of Antioch in hostility, devastating everything with fire and sword. When this became known to the prince of Antioch, he took with him Lord Baldwin, count of Edessa, and proceeded to meet him. When the two armies were already near one another, the army of the Christians placed its hope in the Lord. As though certain of victory, as soon as they saw the enemies and despised their multitude, they rushed upon them with greater spirit, broke apart their formations, and turned them to flight. Pursuing them for two miles, they produced a horrible slaughter. After this they approached the enemies' camp and returned to their own lands with infinite spoils and rich treasures.

At the same time Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, saw that the holy city of Jerusalem was empty of inhabitants, to such a degree that there was not a population in the city sufficient even to protect its entrance. Anxiously he considered how he could fill it with faithful peoples. At last he learned that across the Jordan and in Arabia many faithful persons lived in villages, serving the unbelievers under oppressive conditions and living under tribute to the enemies of the faith. The lord king summoned them and received them into Jerusalem under better conditions, with their wives, children, and entire households.

In the year of the Lord 1118, so that the lord king might repay the Egyptians for the things they had repeatedly committed in the kingdom, he descended into Egypt with immense forces, violently assaulted and captured a most ancient city named Faramia after besieging it, and divided the plunder among the soldiers. This city is situated on the shore of the sea, not far from the mouth of the river Nile, which in ancient times was called Tanis.

While the king was staying in that city, preparing to penetrate into the interior of Egypt, he became gravely ill. Therefore, when a return had been proclaimed to his legions, he was carried in a litter. There, overcome by the illness, he migrated to the Lord. Thence he was carried to Jerusalem and was buried on Palm Sunday beside his brother Godfrey, below the place of Calvary, with royal magnificence.

Section II

For some years before this, so great an earthquake shook all Syria that it entirely overthrew cities, castles, and towns. An infinite slaughter of human beings resulted from the ruin of the buildings, so that people fled human habitation and lived in the fields in order to find rest.

About those times, according to the chronicle, so great a snow fell on the ninth day before the Kalends of May in the district of Brabant near Tournai that it even broke the forests. At Ravenna and Parma, cities of Italy, blood rained in the fields and within the walls in the month of June. On the Ides of November, in the suburb of Antioch, the earth opened at night and swallowed many towers and many adjacent houses with their inhabitants.

In the year of the Lord 1118, on the third day before the Nones of January, an earthquake occurred in certain places, though not everywhere, gentler in some places and more violent in others, to such a degree that parts of certain cities are said to have fallen together with their churches. The river Meuse beside the abbey called Sustula also appeared, as though hanging in the air, to have abandoned its bed.

In the same year the city of Liège was afflicted by many plagues. For on the fifth day before the Nones of May, while Vespers was being celebrated in the greater church, thunder together with an earthquake suddenly cast everyone to the ground. Lightning entered at the left side of the church and cast sizeable fragments here and there. Then, entering the tower, it split many portions of the beams. An intolerable stench followed, to such an extent that it could scarcely be expelled by the fragrance of many aromatic substances.

In the following month of June, on the seventh day before the Ides of that month, at about the ninth hour, a rain-cloud suddenly burst from the mountain called Robert and utterly overwhelmed and ruined the part of the city lying beneath it. It demolished many houses and destroyed an immense quantity of grain. It killed a mother embracing two sons in her arms and crushed eight other persons in diverse places.

While the bells were sounding Vespers on a Saturday, as a certain woman washed a boy's head, her hands grew red with flowing blood. Around the Kalends of July, at about the sixth hour, an exceedingly violent and dark whirlwind covered the city. A cloud suddenly split open and cast down the entire roof of the greater church, so that it lay open to the rains and the whole pavement was flooded. Immediately lightning entered from the northern side and killed three clerics: one praying, another reading, and another coming out of the writing room at the entrance to the church. It also killed one layman before its doors.

On the third day before the Nones of August, at the first silence of the night, thunder was heard as though throughout the circle of the earth and lightning repeatedly flashed. In the city of Liège this whirlwind raged more greatly, so that people leapt from their beds, filled the churches in a sorrowful assembly, and devoted themselves to supplications throughout the whole night.

At the first light of dawn, fire with an immense flame circled from the eastern side, so great that everyone feared they were to be burned by divine action. After this a great whirlwind, bursting from the west, appeared somewhat to obscure that fire. But the fire, as though victorious, grew hot again with its flame; and when the whirlwind returned, it lay hidden for a little. A third time the fire also grew hot again, and a third time, nevertheless, it fell defeated by the whirlwind. From early morning until the third hour this spectacle vehemently terrified the people.

A certain monster was born at Namur, the like of which has rarely or never been seen: namely, a two-headed infant. It was double with respect to sex, but simple in the remaining structure of its body.

On the third day before the Ides of December, at midnight, while the stars were shining in a clear sky, the moon, thirteen days old, suffered an eclipse. Its orb contracted and was suffused with many colors, but especially a blood-red one, for almost an entire hour.

On the fourth day before the Kalends of January, at the first hour of the night, fiery battle-lines were seen in the sky from the north toward the east. Then, spread through the whole sky for a great part of the night, they were a marvel and astonishment to those who saw them.

Section III

When Lord Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, died, Baldwin of Bourg, his kinsman and count of Edessa, succeeded him in the kingdom. This Baldwin was a Frank by nation, from the province of Reims, and the son of Lord Hugh, count of Rethel.

Nevertheless, his elevation displeased many princes of the kingdom. Therefore, through faithful messengers they invited Lord Eustace, count of Boulogne and brother of the deceased Lord King Baldwin, to come to the kingdom which was owed to him by hereditary right. They drew him, as though unwilling and resisting, as far as Apulia. There the aforesaid venerable man heard that in the meantime Baldwin, count of Edessa, had been ordained king at Jerusalem, and determined to return to his own lands.

The messengers nevertheless pressed him to proceed, asserting that what had been done against sacred right could stand in no way. The man full of God is reported to have answered: "Far be this from me, that through me scandal should enter the kingdom of the Lord, through whose blood the world received peace, and for whose tranquility my brothers, men of virtue and immortal memory, carried their distinguished souls to heaven." Therefore, having arranged his baggage, he returned to his own lands.

This Baldwin was conspicuous in form, tall in body, handsome in face, with sparse blond hair mixed with gray. He had a sparse beard let down as far as his chest. He was fit for the use of arms and had much experience in military affairs. He was moreover merciful, religious, and God-fearing, and so constant in prayer that he had calluses on his hands and knees from genuflections and the frequency of his bodily afflictions.

Having therefore obtained the kingdom, he gave the county of Edessa, which he had left without a ruler, to Lord Jocelin, his kinsman, a prudent and vigorous man who knew that region more fully.

At the same time Alexius, the emperor of Constantinople and a great persecutor of the Latins, was removed from human affairs. His son John succeeded him in the empire, much more humane than his father and much more acceptable to our Latin people.

At the same time certain nobles of the equestrian order, devoted to God, delivered themselves into the service of Christ in the hands of the patriarch of Jerusalem and professed that they wished to live perpetually in chastity and obedience, without property. The first and principal among them were Hugh of Payns and Godfrey of Saint-Omer. The king granted them a dwelling in his palace beside the Temple.

First, for the remission of their sins, the lord patriarch enjoined upon them that they should guard the roads and routes for the safety of pilgrims against the ambushes of the unbelievers. For nine years after their institution they wore secular clothing. At last, in the ninth year, at a council celebrated in France at Troyes, a rule was established for them and a white habit assigned by command of Pope Honorius. The bishop of Albano, the pope's legate, presided over that council, and from that time their number began to increase.

Afterward, in the time of Eugenius, they began to affix red crosses to their mantles. Because they had their dwelling beside the Temple of the Lord, they were called the brothers of the knighthood of the Temple. But just as their beginning was holy and full of virtues, so afterward they degenerated from their fathers after they had grown fat and spread throughout the world.

In the year of the Lord 1117, a certain prince of the unbelievers named Gazo, together with the king of the Damascenes, entered the territory of Antioch with a great multitude of his men. When their arrival became known, Lord Roger the prince took with him the counts of Edessa and Tripoli and proceeded to meet them. Impatient of delay according to his custom, he joined battle with them without waiting for the king, who was hastening to his aid with all the forces of the kingdom.

But, our sins demanding it, almost all were killed and the adverse party became superior. Prince Roger, as a man vigorous in arms, fought manfully in the midst of the enemies and perished, pierced by their swords. It is marvelous to say: of the seven hundred cavalrymen and three thousand infantrymen who followed the prince in that battle, scarcely one escaped to announce these things, while few or none of the enemies were killed.

Not many days afterward the lord king of Jerusalem arrived with his legions. On the way he defeated a part of the army which the aforesaid Gazo had sent to meet him, killing and capturing many. Then he came to Antioch and, after restoring his forces, met the said prince of the unbelievers in battle on an open field with standards brought together and conquered him, four thousand being killed, apart from the captives and wounded. This victory obtained by Baldwin II occurred in the year of the Lord 1119.

Section IV

But after two years, King Baldwin heard that a certain prince of the Turks named Balaach was gravely harassing the region of Antioch. Having assembled a military force, he went into the land of the count of Edessa, who a little before had been captured together with his kinsman Geleran and committed to chains.

One day the king went out with his household retinue from a town called Turbessel. While he journeyed incautiously with his column dispersed, the aforesaid Balaach followed him, laid ambushes, captured the king, and led him away captive. He bound him in chains and committed him to custody in a certain castle beyond the Euphrates. In that place Lord Jocelin and Geleran were held captive.

When they had been detained there for some time, fifty Armenians from the land of the count of Edessa, bound together by oaths, resolved to set aside every fear and free those magnificent men. Armed beneath monastic clothing, they entered the said town, drew their swords, and killed those who met them. Having gained the castle, they released the king and his companions from their chains.

When the Turks who lived in the suburban towns learned this, they seized their arms and besieged the castle before the king and his men could depart. But Count Jocelin, at the king's command, took two companions and secretly left the castle. With the aid of two inflated skins he crossed the river Euphrates, reached Antioch, and disclosed everything that had happened. Accordingly, troops assembled both from the kingdom and from the principality and set out to aid the king.

When they had now reached Antioch and were preparing to advance farther, Lord Balaach had violently captured the said castle and, after imposing many conditions, had reduced the king together with his company into his power. Having obtained the castle, the aforesaid Balaach granted life to the lord king, to one of his nephews, and to Lord Geleran, and sent them as captives to the city of Caira. But he killed the aforesaid valiant Armenians by various tortures. Those who were hastening to the king's aid returned to their own lands after hearing of the unfortunate event which had befallen him.

Section V

Meanwhile the Egyptian prince, having heard of the captivity of the king of Jerusalem, came by sea to Ascalon with an infinite multitude of his men. When the princes of the kingdom learned this, they assembled the military force of the entire kingdom together with Lord Eustace Grenier, to whom they had entrusted the kingdom after the king's capture. Armed with faith, with the Lord's cross going before them, they proceeded against the enemies.

Finding them near the place called Ibelin, they despised their multitude and rushed upon them with greater spirit. After invoking the Lord's aid, they pressed them with their swords and turned them to flight. Our men pursued and laid them low in a great and horrible slaughter, so that seven thousand of them are reported to have fallen that day, apart from the captives, who were infinite in number.

Not long after this victory, the said Lord Eustace Grenier departed from life. In his place, while the lord king was still held captive, Lord William of Bures, lord of the city of Tiberias, was appointed.

Section VI

At the same time Lord Domenico Michiel, duke of the Venetians, came into Syria with a fleet of seventy galleys. When he heard that the fleet of the Egyptians, after learning of the slaughter of their men, was returning to its own lands, he pursued and overtook it not far from the port of Ascalon.

Battle was joined and was prolonged for a long time with varying fortune. At last, by the Lord's authorship, after a great slaughter of the enemies, the Venetians became superior and turned the enemies to flight. So great a slaughter occurred in that battle that it seems to exceed belief. For the adjoining sea is said to have taken on the color of blood for two miles around from the bodies cast headlong into it.

When the Venetians, having obtained victory, sailed farther through that sea toward Egypt, they encountered and captured ten ships laden with eastern riches. Dividing all these things among themselves, they returned to the port of Acre.

The duke of the Venetians, leaving the fleet, came to Jerusalem to see the holy places. He was received with much honor by the lord patriarch and the other princes and celebrated the Lord's Nativity there. Then, after deliberation among them, it was determined that the princes of the kingdom should besiege the city of Tyre on every side by land, while the fleet of the Venetians should do so by sea. Thus, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of March, they enclosed the aforesaid city with a double siege.

Tyre is a most ancient city, to which Severus, emperor of the Romans, gave Italian right because of its distinguished fidelity to the Roman commonwealth. The Roman princes granted this right only to very few and to those who had deserved exceedingly well. Not only gentile writers but also the sacred oracles of the prophets bear witness to how great the glory of this city was in most ancient times. For in Ezekiel it is read: "And you, son of man, take up a lamentation over Tyre; and you shall say to Tyre, which dwells in the heart of the sea, the mart of the peoples to many islands: You have said, 'I am perfect in beauty and situated in the heart of the sea.'"

Sichaeus and his wife Dido, who built the marvelous city of Carthage, came from Tyre. Hiram reigned in it and cooperated in the building of Solomon's Temple. After it had been captured and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great rebuilt and enlarged it. The body of Origen rests in it, as ecclesiastical history attests.

The army of the Christians therefore surrounded this noble city with a siege on every side and attacked it with frequent and almost continual assaults. The neighboring princes of the unbelievers were summoned to its aid, but because they could not assist its inhabitants, they returned to their own lands. Thus, after the citizens had long resisted our men manfully, at last, when they were already laboring under most dangerous hunger, they began to discuss among themselves how they might impose an end upon such great troubles. Therefore, after sending messengers to our princes, they began to negotiate concerning surrender. With compacts intervening, the city of Tyre was surrendered to the Christian people in the year of the Lord 1124.

In the same year, in the month of September, the same Lord Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, after being held in chains by the unbelievers for almost eighteen months, returned after money had been agreed upon and hostages given. Thence he returned to the kingdom with his household retinue.

In the following year Bursoquinus assembled a multitude of Turks, crossed the Euphrates, and invaded the territory of Antioch in hostility. When this became known to the king, he assembled the troops of the whole kingdom, took with him Pons, count of

Tripoli, and, supported by divine aid, proceeded into battle against the enemies with one thousand one hundred cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen. In the army of Bursoquinus there were fifteen thousand cavalrymen alone. Battle was therefore joined; our party prevailed and, the enemies having been turned to flight, obtained victory most gloriously. About two thousand are said to have fallen in that encounter; but twenty-four of the Christians fell.

In the following year King Baldwin assembled the military force of his kingdom and entered the lands of the Damascenes, devastating everything with iron and fire. When he came to the place where Saul the persecutor heard the voice saying, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” our men saw the camps of the Damascenes set against them and arrayed for battle.

Seeing them, our men seized their arms and attacked the enemies like lions, as though already certain of victory. But the enemies, encouraged by their multitude and by the admonitions of their lord, resisted manfully, so that the battle was prolonged with varying fortune from the third hour of the day until the tenth. At last, with divine clemency assisting, the enemies were turned to flight. Two thousand of them were killed on that day. Of the Christian cavalrymen twenty-four fell, and of the infantrymen eighty.

Finally, concerning Emperor Henry V, some say that he disappeared in such a manner that he was never seen again. Others say that, when he began to be troubled by a congenital disease called *dracunculus*, after some time he died of that illness. His corpse was disemboweled, sprinkled with salt and aromatic substances, and carried to Speyer for burial.

Others say that he feigned himself dead, secretly withdrew, and became a monk at Cluny. This, however, is fabulous. Rather, a certain man very similar to him pretended that he was Henry. After it was discovered that he was not, as punishment he was compelled to become a monk at Cluny.

Title XVII, Chapter VII

When Henry V had died without children, the legates of the Roman Church, the archbishops and bishops, and the nobles of the empire assembled by agreement at Mainz and deliberated concerning the election of an emperor. At last, after many discussions, Lothair, who was also called Lintherius, duke of Saxony, was elected emperor, although he resisted greatly and cried out that he was unworthy of so great an honor.

He began to reign in the year of the Lord 1127, but in the five thousand ninetieth year from the beginning of the world, or, according to the other computation, the six thousand three hundred thirty-seventh year. He reigned for eleven years.

In the first year of his empire, advancing with a great multitude of Germans against the Bohemians who were rebelling against him, he suffered a great slaughter of his soldiers through the treachery of certain of his princes.

Afterward he entered Italy. Having assembled his army, he conducted Innocent to Rome, honorably placed him in his see, and, having been crowned by him, was consecrated emperor. After this both proceeded into Apulia—namely, Pope Innocent and Emperor Lothair—against Prince Roger, who favored the antipope Peter Leonis. When Roger had been put to flight, the lord pope established there a certain Rayno as duke. Returning to Rome with victory, after some time Lothair took the road into Germany. Coming to Verona, he was seized by illness and ended his life.

This Lothair, at the beginning of his empire, especially after he had been confirmed in the empire, as John of Cologne relates, humbled as much as he could the offspring of Emperor Henry, his predecessor, in favor of the Roman Church. Therefore Frederick and Conrad, brothers and nephews of the aforesaid Henry through his sister, rebelled against him; for this cause they had been excommunicated by Pope Honorius, the predecessor of Innocent II. Nevertheless, the said Conrad was made emperor by certain princes of Germany. And when, having gathered a great army, he had entered Italy, he caused himself to be crowned with the iron crown according to the custom of emperors. And when he wished to advance as far as Rome, his money being exhausted, he returned into Germany.

Section I

While these things were being done in the West under the rule of Lothair, our eastern Latin princes fought indefatigably against the enemies of the faith, with varying fortune, for the extension of the Christian faith; and with much sweat they held the kingdom of Jerusalem, beloved of God, which, with divine aid going before them, they had claimed for themselves.

And in the year of the Lord 1127, Bohemond, son of the elder Bohemond and prince of Taranto, came into Syria. After this became known to the lord king, he went out with the magnates of that region to meet him. And when Bohemond had entered Antioch, the king restored to him entire the city and the region which he had governed with the greatest care after the death of Prince Roger. He also gave him as wife one of his daughters, named Alice, the second by birth; and when the wedding had been celebrated according to custom, he returned to the kingdom.

But the lord Bohemond, illustrious prince of Antioch, violently stormed the castle of Carsada, which the enemies had held occupied for several years.

In the year of the Lord 1129, about the beginning of spring, the illustrious man Fulk, count of Anjou, for whom the lord king had sent by the common counsel of all the princes in order that he might give him his firstborn daughter, the lady Melisende, as wife, landed at Acre with an honorable company of nobles. Immediately and without delay the king gave the said daughter to him under the law of marriage.

In the following year, Hugh of Payns, master of the knighthood of the Temple, and certain other religious men who had been sent by the lord king to the western princes in order to stir them to the aid of the Holy Land, returned. With them a very great multitude of nobles landed in the kingdom. Trusting in their strength, the king and his princes deliberated by agreement to besiege the city of Damascus. But the divine power was adverse to them: although their army was exceedingly strong and numerous, because they presumed upon their own strength they accomplished nothing at all; rather, after losing very many of their men, they returned to the kingdom without honor.

In the year 1130, Rodoacham, prince of the Tartars and lord of Aleppo, entered the territories of the Antiochenes in hostile fashion. Bohemond went out against him without awaiting the forces of his men and did not hesitate to join battle with him. But, overwhelmed by the multitude and deserted by his men, he was pierced by the swords of the enemies and died. Struck with consternation by this misfortune, the people of Antioch summoned the king of Jerusalem to their aid. After this was announced to the king, he hastened to Antioch with swift steps. But his daughter Alice, a wicked princess moved by an evil spirit, attempted to prevent her father from entering. Therefore, when he arrived, he was not admitted within the city because his daughter forbade it. Afterward, however, through the efforts of God-fearing men, the king entered the city against his daughter's will and

disposed of the condition of the city and region according to the judgment of his own will. The princess had one daughter by Prince Bohemond.

The king, therefore, having returned to Jerusalem, fell into a grave illness. Seeing that the day of death threatened him, he departed from his own palace and, as a suppliant and humble man who had laid aside royal pomp, commanded that he be transferred in the sight of the Lord to the patriarch's palace, because it was nearer to the place of the Lord's Resurrection. There, having summoned his daughter and son-in-law, and with the boy Baldwin, now two years old, and the princes of the kingdom placed before him, he entrusted the care of the kingdom to them. He himself, however, a true confessor of Christ, assumed the habit of religion and, having professed the regular life if he should live, rendered his spirit to him who is the Father of spirits. He was buried beneath Mount Calvary in the thirteenth year of his reign.

Section II

When Baldwin, the third king of Jerusalem, who was called of Bourcq, had been called from this light, Fulk, his son-in-law, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was count of Anjou, Maine, and Tours. When he obtained the kingdom, he was sixty years of age.

During the same time, the elder Jocelin, count of Edessa, weighed down by a long illness, while he lay in bed, heard that the sultan of Iconium had besieged one of his castles with a great multitude of Turks. On hearing this, the magnificent count commanded his son to take military forces with him and meet the enemies manfully. But the son, as though timid, excused himself, asserting that it was dangerous to encounter so great a multitude with so few men. Therefore the father, angered, commanded that a litter be prepared for him. Placed upon it, he proceeded with the forces that he had gathered to meet the enemies and break the siege. When the sultan learned of his approach, he feared his courage, raised the siege, and returned to his own territory. The count, coming to the place at that same hour, ordered the litter in which he was being carried to be set down upon the ground. Raising his eyes to heaven with groaning and sighs, he gave thanks that in his last days the Lord had visited him with such great grace that, although placed in the very vestibules of death, he became fearsome to the enemies of the Christian faith. When he had said these things, he rendered up his spirit, leaving a son of the same name as himself, but one greatly degenerate from his father's glory.

In the first year of Fulk, king of Jerusalem, the foremost men of Antioch summoned him, and he hastened to Antioch. But the princess, a wicked woman aspiring to dominion over the city, opposed the king in all things, to such a degree that by her flatteries and gifts she also stirred up against him as a rival in this affair the lord count of Tripoli, corrupted by her. Thus, when they met one another in war, a great division arose in the kingdom of Christ. But the king, having gained the upper hand in the war, drove him from the field. By the grace of God, with authors of peace interposing themselves, they were reconciled to one another. The king, however, after a long stay at Antioch and after settling their affairs in peace, returned to the kingdom, the care of the principality having been entrusted to the noble man Reynald Masoir.

But not much time afterward, having heard that an infinite multitude of Turks had poured out of Persia into the regions of Antioch, the king hastened thither. While he was on the road, however, he learned that Sanguin, the most powerful of the Turks, was besieging Pons, count of Tripoli, with a great multitude. Postponing the former journey for a little, the king directed his battle lines thither. When Sanguin heard of his approach, he raised the siege and returned to his own territory. The king, continuing his former journey, reached Antioch. Having summoned the military forces there and relying upon divine aid, he went out to meet the enemies of the faith. After camps had been placed not far from them, he remained quiet for some time. But seeing that the enemies attempted nothing and remained quietly in their stations while awaiting still greater reinforcements, the king suddenly rushed upon them and, pressing upon them with his men and with swords, wrought an immense slaughter among them, so that permission to escape death was granted to few.

The lord king, therefore, having gained so distinguished a victory, was now preparing his journey back into the kingdom. But before his departure, the nobles and chief men of the principality of Antioch, by the counsel and assent of the king himself, sent solemn messengers and summoned to themselves the lord Raymond, son of the lord William of Poitiers, in order that they might join to him in marriage the daughter of the younger lord Bohemond. When this had been done, the king returned to the kingdom.

After the king had returned from the regions of Antioch, various conspiracies, and grave ones, arose against him in the kingdom, chiefly from Hugh, count of Joppa. Condemned by the king for his contumacy, Hugh betook himself to Ashkelon, to the enemies of the faith. The king besieged Joppa. But the citizens, considering that their lord had sought the protection of the enemies of the cross, betook themselves to the king under the guidance of better counsel. While the king was occupied about the siege of Joppa, the king of Damascus besieged and stormed the city of Paneas, all the citizens and stipendiaries being captured.

In the following year the lord Raymond, for whom the Antiochenes had sent, came to Antioch and immediately took as wife the said daughter of Bohemond, who was below the lawful years. This Raymond was distinguished by nobility, fashioned with an

exceptional tallness of body, commendable in speech and affability, and to be preferred in the use of arms and experience of military affairs to all who had preceded him. He was almost assiduous in the divine offices and sober in food and drink. Nevertheless, among the other defects from which he suffered, he was precipitate in spirit, impetuous in things to be done, knowing no measure in anger, devoid of reason, and little fortunate.

At that time Pons, count of Tripoli, manfully met the Damascenes when they entered his land in hostile fashion and joined battle with them. But, their sins requiring it, after his battle lines had been broken and turned in flight, he was killed, the Syrians who dwelt on Mount Lebanon betraying him. In that battle many nobles and many citizens of Tripoli of middling station were killed. The aforesaid Pons left as his heir a son named Raymond. As soon as Raymond obtained the lordship, he gathered the remaining multitude of his men, suddenly ascended Lebanon, and killed with various torments, in the sight of the people, all those who had betrayed his father.

Section III

Meanwhile it was announced that the lord John, emperor of Constantinople, having gathered infinite forces of both cavalry and infantry, was hastening to descend into Syria. He was greatly indignant that the Antiochenes had presumed to give the daughter of the prince in marriage to someone without his knowledge and wholly without consulting him. Coming into Cilicia, he occupied almost all the cities of that province, casting out the faithful princes from them. Thence, coming to Antioch, he surrounded it on every side with a siege and began to press the city more vehemently.

While these things were being done around Antioch, Sanguin, an indefatigable persecutor of the Christian name, entered the county of Tripoli in hostile fashion and laid waste everything with fire and sword. After this became known to the king of Jerusalem, although he had determined to go toward Antioch, nevertheless, changing his purpose, he directed his battle lines against the enemies of the faith. After Sanguin learned this, he left the siege of the city of Raphania and came to meet our men, with his battle lines drawn up, in order to fight. Battle having therefore been joined, by the hidden but just judgment of God, our men were defeated. The king, seeing the slaughter of our men, took counsel for his own safety and secured himself with a few men in a certain neighboring fortress. For in that deadly battle almost all the infantry forces perished, with a few of them captured. Raymond the younger, prince of Tripoli, was also captured there.

Immediately after the victory, Sanguin surrounded on every side with a siege the castle into which the lord king had withdrawn, denying the besieged rest. But when he heard that the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa were hastening to the aid of the lord king, he sent messengers concerning peace to the king. He said that he would restore all whom he had captured a little before, both the count and the others, and would give free departure both to the lord king and to his men, provided that the king surrendered that fortress to him. The king, not knowing that aid was so near, accepted his word, marveling whence such great humanity proceeded in them. When all things had therefore been completed as they had agreed, they hastened on their journey toward the kingdom. But when the king was at the place called Archis, he then learned of the lord prince's approach. The prince therefore came to Antioch after a short time, and the king returned to Jerusalem.

Amid these things, the emperor of Constantinople, with his armies, vexed the citizens of Antioch with frequent attacks. They, in turn, wore down the emperor's army according to their strength with continual sallies. When each side had suffered very great harm in that affair, peace was at last reformed between them under certain agreements, certain men interposing themselves for that business. It then seemed good to the arbiters that the lord prince should approach the emperor and, with due solemnity, render the due homage and fidelity; and he should swear that he would not deny entry to the emperor when he wished to enter Antioch. And if the lord emperor should restore to the prince the cities of Aleppo, Caesarea of Cappadocia, Hamah, and Emissa, the prince, at last content with these cities, should without difficulty restore Antioch to the lord emperor to be possessed by his own right; but the lord emperor, in recompense for the fidelity rendered, should concede the city of Antioch to the prince.

Thus, the compact having been completed and peace more fully reformed, the emperor betook himself with his armies into Cilicia for the sake of wintering, on account of the severity of the approaching winter, promising that in the immediately following summer, with the Lord as author, after he had stormed the aforesaid cities, he would subject them to the prince's power.

Therefore, when the winter months around Cilicia had passed, the emperor besieged the city of Caesarea and, with engines erected round about it, struck its walls with his armies, not without slaughter of the inhabitants. While the imperial army sweated manfully in the assault upon the city, the prince and the count of Edessa conducted themselves more remissly, delighting themselves with games and dice. Observing this, the emperor was not a little indignant. Taking no small quantity of money from the besieged citizens, he raised the siege and departed, and returned with his armies to Antioch.

When he had rested there for some time, he asked the prince that the city’s citadel be given to him. He sought, moreover, free lordship over the city. This seemed exceedingly hard to the prince and the other Latins dwelling there: that the city acquired at

so great a peril to our people and restored to the Christian faith by the blood of so many blessed princes should descend into the hands of the effeminate people of the Greeks. Thus the matter was placed in a narrow pass.

When this new development had been made known among the people, a tumult was suddenly raised to the stars; and the citizens, inflamed by these reports, rose up against the Greeks dispersed through the city, wounded many, and killed some. Vehemently moved by this uproar of the citizens, the emperor summoned the prince and the foremost men of the city and spoke these words to them: “I remember that I held negotiations with you about obtaining the city, from which a scandal is said to have arisen among the people. Therefore, since what I had sought seems so hard and difficult to you, I revoke my decision. Keep the city for yourselves, therefore. It suffices for our empire that you are truly our faithful men. Go out, therefore, and restrain the raging people. But if my delay in the city is in any way suspected, with the Lord as author, we shall depart tomorrow.”

He carried out what had been said on the following day. For, having departed from the city, he commanded the camp to be pitched above the river. At last, having most firmly promised his return, he went back with his legions to his own territory.

While these things were being done around Antioch, the lord Theodoric, count of Flanders and son-in-law of the lord king, landed at Jerusalem with an honorable company. Gladdened by his coming, the Christian people besieged and stormed a certain stronghold situated beyond the Jordan.

Meanwhile Sanguin, immeasurably exalted by favorable successes, determined to occupy for himself the kingdom of the Damascenes. Understanding this, Aynard, procurator of that kingdom and father-in-law of the king of the Damascenes, entered into an alliance with the lord king and the Christian people and summoned him to his aid. After the matter became known to Sanguin, fearing that he could not resist the two very strong armies which had now assembled against him, he left the siege he had already laid against a certain city and returned to his own territory. But the king, with the army of the Damascenes, as had been provided in their agreements, besieged the city of Paneas; aided faithfully by the army of the Damascenes for this work, he compelled the besieged city to surrender after not much time. Having received it, he restored temporal jurisdiction to the lord Raynerius, from whom it had been taken.

In the eighth year of this Emperor Lothair, Henry, king of England, died. Stephen, his nephew through his sister, succeeded him in the kingdom. But he was deprived of a great part of the kingdom. For Matilda, daughter of King Henry, who had first married Emperor Henry V and afterward Geoffrey, count of Anjou, occupied the duchy of Normandy with the aid of Louis, king of the Franks. Moreover, she also stirred up great troubles against Stephen in England and afterward even captured him when he had been defeated in battle. But she released him in exchange for her brother, Count Robert, whom King Stephen held captive. From these dissensions England was worn down by famine and the sword while the princes were in discord with one another.

Title XVII, Chapter VIII

When Emperor Lothair had been removed from human affairs, Conrad, nephew of Henry V, who had aspired to the empire before Lothair, was assumed for the government of the empire by the common vote of the princes. This was in the year of the Lord 1138, but in the five thousand one hundred first year from the beginning of the world according to the shorter reckoning, and in the six thousand three hundred forty-eighth year according to the greater reckoning. He ruled for fifteen years.

Nevertheless, Duke Henry of Saxony and Bavaria, who was surnamed the Proud and with whom the imperial insignia were also stubbornly withheld, did not consent to this election. This Henry was the son-in-law of the deceased emperor; therefore, after the emperor's death, claiming those same insignia for himself, he aspired to the empire.

The emperor appointed a general court for all. Those who came to it, together with the empress, Lothair's widowed wife, were received into the emperor's peace and favor, except Henry, duke of Bavaria, who scorned to come. Persevering in his contumacy, this Henry was abandoned by all. With only four counts as companions, alone and in poverty, he withdrew secretly into Saxony and, after a short interval of time, ended his life.

When the aforesaid Henry had died and Emperor Conrad now had no opponent in the empire, although he had not yet received the imperial blessing, he ruled more fully in Germany.

At that time Roger the Sicilian, whom, with Lothair's aid, the lord Pope Innocent II had expelled, as we said above, because he favored the antipope, again gathered military forces from every side and returned into Apulia. He joined battle with Rayno, whom Innocent had set over Apulia; defeated by him, Roger was again driven from Apulia. But after a short time the said Rayno died. When his death became known to Roger, Roger returned to Apulia once more and received under his dominion without battle the province bereft of a duke. Having exterminated from it the nobles who had opposed him, he began to call himself king of Sicily.

Prince Robert of Capua, with those whom Roger had expelled from Apulia, betook themselves to Emperor Conrad in Germany, exhorting him to cross over into Italy. But because other business pressed upon him, he was unable to cross over at that time.

Pope Innocent, however, a magnanimous man, gathered a great army and set out into Apulia against Roger, Roman nobles also accompanying him to that business. When he had come to a certain place, and the leaders of the army conducted themselves with insufficient caution, he was surrounded and captured by Roger. But because Roger behaved with exceedingly great reverence toward him, Innocent received him into favor. Roger, having sworn fidelity to the lord Pope Innocent and to all his successors, obtained by apostolic authority the royal name both in Sicily and in Apulia.

King Roger, therefore, raised up immeasurably and now having no obstacle except Emperor Conrad, corrupted with his money Welf, duke of Bavaria and brother of Henry the Proud, and stirred him up against Conrad in Germany. Welf, having procured great armies with the money of Roger, king of the Sicilians, brought wars upon Emperor Conrad. At last, defeated by him in battle, he lost many of his men.

Many think that the Welfs were named from this Welf, duke of Bavaria, whose pestiferous name gained strength especially in Italy. I call it pestiferous insofar as it is destructive of unity and peace, so that it could never afterward be eradicated from there. For because this Welf opposed himself to the emperor, those among the Italian peoples who reject imperial dominion in Italy are called Welfs down to the present day. But I have not found it written why those who favor the party of the empire in Italy are called Ghibellines. Others assign another cause from which the supporters of the Church are called Welfs and the supporters of the empire Ghibellines.

Section I

Around the same time John, emperor of Constantinople, again led by desire to possess Antioch, gathered great forces anew and descended into Syria. Coming to Antioch, he was in no way admitted because the Latin inhabitants opposed him. Conceiving great indignation from this, he recalled his army into Cilicia, hoping that, when the winter had passed, he might obtain something around Antioch even against the will of the citizens.

While he was there, about the beginning of spring, he went out to hunt. When he had loosed an arrow from his bow against a boar, he gravely wounded himself with the arrow in the hand with which he controlled the bow. That arrow had been smeared with poison. Having thus received the sentence of death from so slight a cause, he returned to the camp. But the deadly plague of poison having been received inwardly, the remedies applied by the physicians accomplished little. Nevertheless, the physicians said that one remedy could be applied: the injured hand should be cut off before the poison infected the remaining parts of the body. Hearing this, the magnanimous man steadfastly rejected it, asserting that it was unworthy for so great and so noble an empire to be ruled with only one hand. This, however, seems to be ascribed more to pride than to magnanimity.

The emperor, therefore, seeing that the danger of death threatened him, declared Manuel, the younger of his sons, heir of the empire. This having been done, he departed the present life. His son, after completing the affairs in that region according to his desire, returned to Constantinople.

In that season there occurred a matter very harmful to all Christendom. While the lord Fulk, king of Jerusalem, was making a stay at the city of Acre and had gone outside the city for the sake of recreation, it happened by chance that a little hare, started by the dogs, fled. A shout raised by all pursued it as it fled. The king, sitting on a horse and hastening without deliberation, ran up. But the horse was driven headlong and, falling to the ground, cast the king headlong, so that the king's head was entirely crushed by the saddle and he discharged brain through both nostrils and ears. Therefore, borne back to the city amid the groaning of all, he prolonged his life for three days, still palpitating without sense. On the fourth day, however, he breathed out his spirit, in the year of the Lord 1142. By the lady queen, his wife, he left two sons: namely, Baldwin, the firstborn, about thirteen years of age, and Amalric, seven years of age. And thus, within one year, two most illustrious princes—the lord John, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, and Fulk, the fourth king of the Latins of Jerusalem—died by an unexpected death.

Section II

When Fulk, the fourth king of Jerusalem, had died, his son named Baldwin succeeded him in the kingdom. He was a youth of excellent natural disposition. After he had become a man, he was tall in body and displayed such great eminence of beauty that, even to those who did not know him, a certain exceptional dignity shining in him gave a sure indication concerning him, that is, concerning his royal majesty. He was affable and very merciful, by no means covetous of another's goods, nor did he, after the manner of a prodigal man, lie in wait for the riches of his subjects. What is usually a rare occurrence at that age, he was also God-fearing in the age of adolescence. He was moderately learned and, whenever time was available to him, he gladly applied himself as a hearer to the reading of histories; he diligently investigated the deeds and customs of ancient kings and ancient princes. He was, moreover, patient in labor and, after the manner of an excellent prince, exceedingly provident amid the doubtful outcomes of wars.

In that same year Sanguin, a wicked man and the most powerful of the Turks, surrounded Edessa, filled with Latin peoples, with a siege. He had taken the occasion for besieging the said city from the absence of Count Jocelin, count of Edessa. Contrary to the custom of his predecessors, Jocelin had abandoned residence in that city and was dwelling near the Euphrates in a castle called Turbessel, giving himself to delights because of the fertility and pleasantness of the place. The aforesaid city had as inhabitants Chaldeans and Armenians, men unwarlike, who, entirely abandoning the use of arms, gave themselves to commerce; and it was rarely frequented by the coming of Latins. Its care had been entrusted only to mercenaries.

Sanguin, therefore, finding it empty, placed his legions round about it and, continually afflicting the citizens with frequent assaults, denied rest to the besieged. Count Jocelin, however, hearing these things, summoned his military forces too late. Moreover, he warned the prince of Antioch, his lord, to prepare himself together with him to break the siege. A messenger was also sent to the king of Jerusalem to announce that the city was besieged by the infidels. While both of them were summoning military forces, Sanguin violently stormed the aforesaid city after it had been breached. Sparing neither sex nor age, he caused all the faithful found there to be cut down with swords by his infidels, except a few who had withdrawn into the city's stronghold. Thus, therefore, a most ancient city, devoted to the Christian name from the time of the apostles and rescued from the superstitions of the infidels, came into the hands of the infidels.

At the same time Baldwin departed with the greater part of the army of his kingdom in hope of obtaining a certain city which one of the emirs of the king of the Damascenes, to the harm of his lord against whom he had rebelled, wished to surrender. But when the Turks met him, he suffered great losses among his men. And when the army of the Christians was pressed on every side by the infidels even to despair, to such a degree that certain of the nobles secretly counseled the lord king to take for himself the wood of the life-giving cross and the horse of a certain noble man, which surpassed all the others in speed, and alone take counsel for his own safety, the said king, although he was below the years of puberty, despised that counsel with royal magnificence. He said that he would entirely spurn his own safety if a people so devoted to God should perish in so lamentable a misfortune.

Section III

When the city of Edessa had thus been captured, a deadly report full of bitterness occupied the whole West. For it had been made known abroad that the impious nation of the Turks was laying waste the cities and fortified towns of the Christians and afflicting the Christian people with frequent invasions. The lord Eugenius III, who was then supreme pontiff, bearing paternal solicitude for the affliction of his children, sent religious men into diverse regions of the West to announce to princes, peoples, and nations the oppressions of the eastern Christians.

Among them, the blessed Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, a man of immortal memory, was chosen for the execution of the aforesaid office pleasing to God. Although vigorous and indefatigable, he was nevertheless of an infirm body. He went around the kingdoms, everywhere evangelizing the word of God, and diligently revealed the affliction of the Christian people who were in the East. In the city of Speyer there was so great a concourse of people to hear and venerate him that Emperor Conrad, who was standing there, lest the people trample him, carried him from the church with his own hands.

While he was discoursing upon these things, the free favor of both nobles and common people attended his exhortations. They gave their voluntary assent and pledged themselves to the journey toward Jerusalem. Moreover, the illustrious men the lord Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and the lord Louis, king of the Franks, together with many princes of both peoples, with all devotion impressed the saving sign of the cross upon their garments. Having therefore settled the condition of their kingdoms and prepared the things necessary for the journey, they undertook the journey in the month of May.

They determined to advance separately, namely for this reason: lest contentions arise between peoples disagreeing among themselves, and so that they might be able more conveniently to provide for themselves the necessities of life. Having therefore traversed Bavaria and Austria and the territories of the Hungarians, and having crossed both Pannonias, they reached Turkey. At last Emperor Conrad came with his men to the royal city, that is, Constantinople. He was magnificently received by Emmanuel, emperor of the Greeks. Some rest having been given to the armies, Conrad crossed the Hellespont and came with his legions into Syria.

Meanwhile the sultan of Iconium, a man most powerful among the Turks, hearing of the arrival of such great princes, summoned infinite forces of armed men from the remotest boundaries of the East. For he had heard that a multitude unheard of through the ages had arrived. And it was truly so. For, as those who were in the aforesaid expedition steadfastly assert, in the company of the lord emperor alone there were as many as seventy thousand armored horsemen, apart from the infantry forces. A number no smaller than theirs had been in the company of Louis, king of the Franks. If the Lord's grace had been favorable to them, not only the sultan of Iconium, who was most powerful, but all the provinces of the East would easily have been subjected to the Christian name. But, by the hidden judgment of God, God despised their service and did not hold acceptable the gift that perhaps was being offered by unworthy hands.

Meanwhile the lord emperor came into Lycaonia, whose metropolis is Iconium. At the request of the lord Conrad, emperor of the Romans, the lord emperor of Constantinople had given him guides for the road who were knowledgeable about the places. Employing their innate malice and led by their customary hatred of our men, whether by the command of their lord or corrupted by the money of the infidels, they deliberately began to draw the legions of the Teutons through trackless places. And when they had led the emperor's army where they intended, while our men slept from weariness, in the silence of the untimely night they secretly fled, abandoning the lord emperor's camp and leaving the people without a guide.

When daylight had at last returned, those who customarily preceded the columns were not found. When the emperor perceived this, he assembled his princes and consulted them about what needed to be done. Some counseled that they should return, others that they should advance. While, ignorant of the places and anxious because of the lack of provisions, they thus wavered, it was announced that the battle lines of the infidels were stationed not far away in the vicinity. For the army had been placed in a barren wilderness, just as it had deliberately been led in by the aforesaid seducers.

It was also publicly said, and did not differ much from the truth, that these perilous contrivances had been constructed with the knowledge and at the command of the emperor of Constantinople, who envied the successes of the Latins. For the Greeks are said always to have held and still to hold the Latins, and especially the Teutons, in suspicion as rivals of the empire who were growing strong in dominion, because their king names himself emperor of the Romans and Augustus. In this, indeed, they judge that too much is detracted from their own emperor, whom they call monarch, that is, the one who singularly rules over all, as if they call him the one and only emperor of the Romans.

Thus, therefore, while the army of the faithful was suffering from hunger, labor, and ignorance of the places, the battle lines of the Turks suddenly rushed upon the emperor's camp. Although at the beginning our men were struck with amazement and trembled at their sudden arrival, nevertheless, after recovering their spirits, they resisted manfully on both sides as the place and time permitted. At last, worn down by hunger and weariness, they now began to fail. Thus the army of the faithful, surrounded on every side by the infidels, was exceedingly grievously distressed by the discharge of missiles and arrows and was pressed even to death. Nor was an opportunity given to return the attack or the ability to engage with the enemies. For whenever the battle lines of the faithful attempted to make an assault upon the enemies, the latter, breaking up their columns and eluding the efforts of our men, were carried in different directions. Again, when our men withdrew themselves into the camp, the enemies recalled their columns, surrounded our army, and, pressing more fiercely as though upon besieged men, denied them rest.

It therefore came to pass, by the hidden but just judgment of God, that all that power of the princes, which in arms, strength, courage, and number appeared incomparable, was suddenly crushed and fell, so that scarcely any traces of its glory and scarcely any remnant of such great forces survived. But of seventy thousand armed knights and of so great a body of infantry troops,

whose number was infinite, scarcely a tenth part escaped, as those who were present assert, the others either killed by the sword or bound in the chains of the enemies.

By God's will the emperor escaped with a few of his princes. Although with exceedingly great difficulty, after some days he betook himself into the regions of Nicaea. But the enemies, having gained the victory, laden with spoils and made rich with manifold treasure, were enriched with horses and arms even to nausea. They eagerly awaited the arrival of the king of the Franks, who was said to have arrived near those same regions. Nevertheless, the sultan of Iconium did not take part in so great an affair. Rather, a certain noble first officer of his army, called Paramuni, by the Lord's permission inflicted this blow contrary to expectation. This happened in the year of the Lord 1146, in the month of November.

But these sons of Belial, who had been given to our men by the emperor of the Greeks as guides of the roads and routes, in order to add sin to sin hastened to the army of the king of the Franks, who was said to be near. They lied that the lord emperor, relying upon their guidance, had conducted all things prosperously and, after violently storming Iconium, had triumphed over the enemies.

Section IV

Meanwhile Louis, king of France, following almost in the same footsteps, came with his army to Constantinople. Making a short stay there, he crossed the Hellespont and descended into Bithynia, where he inquired more diligently concerning the lord Emperor Conrad, who had preceded him. It was truthfully signified to him that the emperor himself had lost his army in battle and had escaped with a few princes. At first, therefore, the report that arose was doubtful and without a certain authority, but in the course of time it became more certain. For, after a short interval, Frederick, duke of the Swabians and the emperor's nephew through his brother, who had escaped from that slaughter, came hastening to the army of the king of the Franks. From him Louis learned more fully and more certainly what adverse things had occurred.

King Louis therefore moved camp and came to the place where the emperor had encamped. There, employing familiar conversations, they ordained that they should set out together with their columns joined. But when they had come to Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia Minor, the emperor—either because he could not endure the shame that they were so few who had previously had very many with them, or because he could not bear the pride of the Franks—sent his men onward by land and himself returned by ship to Constantinople. There he made a stay with his princes until the beginning of spring.

Meanwhile the king of the Franks, after remaining at Ephesus for some days, undertook the journey again and came to the fords of the Venander [read: Maeander] River. Here the Franks were first granted sight of the enemies according to their desire. Having seen them, the king and his men, crossing the river despite the enemies, rushed manfully upon them. Having killed and captured many, they turned the rest to flight. Pursuing them as far as their camp, they also stormed the camp itself. Having therefore gained this victory and been made more joyful by the spoils and plunder of the enemies, they again continued on their way in the morning and girded themselves for the journey.

When they had now advanced a little, he who customarily went before the others with the royal standard reached a certain mountain where it had been ordained by the king that morning that they should encamp that night. But when it seemed to certain of the chief men who went before that the army had advanced too little that day, the standard began to proceed farther. Those who followed, however, when they saw that they were already not far from that mountain, judged that the camp had been established there, as had been ordained, and began to advance much too slowly. And thus, with some having crossed the mountain while others still delayed around the mountain, the army of the Franks was divided.

The legions of the infidels, who were following the army from the side, saw this and seized the occasion, both from the narrowness of the places and because the more robust portion of the knights had been separated from the army. Suddenly, with their battle lines drawn up, they rushed upon our men; and before they could seize their arms, they broke up the battle lines of the Franks present there. Although the narrowness of the places hindered the Christians, nevertheless for some time they resisted manfully. The battle was fought for a long time in an uncertain art [read: with the battle wavering] and with a doubtful outcome. But at the end, our sins requiring it, the hand of the infidels prevailed, and the army of the Christians was reduced to a small number. Thus on that day very many noble and illustrious men fell, whose names no one should doubt are written in the book of life.

Why then, blessed Lord Jesus, did you suffer this people, so devoted to you and wishing to adore the footprints of your feet and the venerable places which you consecrated by your bodily presence, to perish by the hands of those who hate you? Truly, Lord, your judgments are a great abyss, and there is no one who can resist your will.

But the king of the Franks, by chance delivered by God's will from so great a danger, ascended the summit of the aforesaid mountain. With the greatest danger, in the silence of the untimely night, he betook himself to the place where those who had gone before had encamped. On that day bread and every nourishment of food began to fail in the camp. And, what was worse, without a guide going before them, they wandered here and there as men who had lost their way.

At last, with much difficulty, they came to the city now called Attalia, which city is situated on the seashore and was then under the dominion of the emperor of the Greeks. From that place the king, with the remaining infantry forces and his princes, came by ship to the port of Saint Symeon, which is ten or twelve miles distant from Antioch. He remained there until the rest of his army, which followed him by land, came to him.

Before the king's arrival, Raymond, prince of Antioch, summoned the nobles of the whole region, went out to meet him, and introduced him with his company into Antioch with the greatest magnificence. Long before, upon hearing of his approach, Raymond had conceived the hope that he might enlarge the principality of Antioch through his aid. Therefore, after some days, meeting the king according to what he had conceived in his mind, he sought his aid so that, supported by his forces, he might subject to himself the neighboring cities of Aleppo, Caesarea, Emam, and certain others. But when he saw that he made no progress, since the king had irrevocably determined to go toward Jerusalem, frustrated in his hope, he changed his purpose and began to abominate the king's ways and to arm himself for his injury.

After this became known to the king, he forestalled the prince's contrivances and, on the counsel of his magnates and hastening his journey, departed secretly from the city of Antioch. There were those who imputed it to the excessive malice of the king of the Franks that he did not admit the entreaties of so great a man and a prince who had deserved so well of him, since, if the king had been willing to give his effort to it, he could easily have obtained one or more of the aforesaid cities.

Meanwhile the lord emperor, when the winter had passed, was carried from the royal city in a fleet which the lord emperor of Constantinople had caused to be prepared for him, and with his men reached the port of Acre. Setting out thence toward Jerusalem, he was introduced into the holy city by the lord king and by the whole clergy and people.

In those same days there also landed the lord Alfonso, count of Toulouse and son of the elder lord Raymond. Before he reached Jerusalem, at the maritime city of Caesarea, he ended his life, as is said, after taking poison; the author of so great a crime was uncertain. The people of the entire kingdom were awaiting the coming of this illustrious man with joy, hoping that he would bring many things to the kingdom.

Meanwhile it was announced that the king of the Franks was approaching Jerusalem. Therefore, by the common counsel of all, the king sent the lord patriarch to meet him. Thus, as the whole people came out to meet him, he was conducted into the city and led to the venerable places.

After some days, a general court was proclaimed at the city of Acre so that the fruit of so great a pilgrimage and the end of such great labors, and the desired increase of the kingdom of Jerusalem, might be discussed. Present at the said court were the lord Conrad, emperor of the Romans; Louis, king of the Franks; Baldwin, king of Jerusalem; and many other princes and barons of the said kingdoms. Coming together as one, they began to discuss what seemed best and more expedient to attempt for the glory of the Christian name and the increase of the kingdom.

At last, by the common counsel and will of all, it seemed expedient that the city of the Damascenes, situated near our peoples in the East, should be besieged. Therefore, when counsel about this had been made firm, it was commanded by the voice of a herald that on the appointed day all should be prepared to direct their forces into those regions.

Section V

Thus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of May, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1147, the aforesaid kings beloved of God assembled. With the saving wood of the Lord's cross going before them, they undertook the journey together with their expeditions. Having traversed the most famous Mount Lebanon, which lies midway between Caesarea Philippi and Damascus, they descended into the field of Damascus at a place whose name is Daria. There, with the battle lines drawn up, they approached the city.

On its northern and western sides, from which the Christians approached, the city of Damascus has orchards that are almost infinite, so that they extend more than four or five miles toward Lebanon. These are enclosed separately on every side by a wall, although an earthen one. These orchards are a supreme fortification for the city. Therefore, on the first day, with the king of Jerusalem and his men going before, they obtained the said orchards, not without difficulty and danger. Having obtained the orchards and crossed, against the enemies' will, the river which flowed between the orchards and the city, they freely encamped beside the city.

The citizens, therefore, struck with amazement by so great a number and strength, began to distrust their own strength. Holding a deliberation among themselves, employing that resourcefulness which is customary in desperate circumstances, and having recourse to their final devices, they covered with great beams all the streets of the city on that side where the Christian people had placed their camp, for this purpose alone: that while the Christians labored to break through the city's walls, they themselves might depart by fleeing through the opposite side.

It appeared quite ready to be accomplished, if the divine power had been favorable to us, that in the near future the Christian people would obtain that most noble city. But it seemed otherwise to him who is terrible in his counsels over the sons of men. For while the city was placed in a narrow pass and its citizens had no hope of resisting, they began to presume upon the covetousness of our men. They promised an infinite quantity of money to certain of the eastern princes if the siege should be raised by their efforts. Seduced by money, these descended into such a crime that they persuaded the kings and pilgrim princes, who trusted in their diligence, to abandon the orchards and transfer their expeditions to the opposite part of the city, asserting that the city wall was weak there.

Both the kings and the other princes believed them. Abandoning the places which they had previously occupied with great slaughter among their men, they transferred their legions to the opposite part of the city. There, seeing themselves placed far from convenient access to water and that provisions were now failing entirely, they complained too late that a deception had intervened and that they had maliciously been transferred from fertile places. Doubtful of what they should do, they deliberated secretly and privately and determined that they must return, detesting the frauds of those who had seduced them.

Thus, therefore, that glorious army, clothed with confusion, was compelled to return to Jerusalem with the business unfinished. And after it was granted to the western princes to return to their own regions, remembering the injuries they had received, they abominated the malice of the eastern princes. It is related, moreover, as a supreme miracle that afterward all that money wickedly received was found to be false and entirely useless.

Having returned to Jerusalem, they again summoned an assembly of the princes. There were some who suggested that a siege should be laid around Ashkelon, which was still held by the infidel people. But after many words, the said plan suffered an abortion.

The illustrious man the lord Emperor Conrad, therefore, seeing that the Lord had withdrawn his grace from them, prepared a ship and returned to the western regions of the empire. But the lord Louis, king of the Franks, after passing the circuit of one year in the kingdom of Jerusalem, returned with his wife, whom he had brought with him, and the other princes into his own kingdom.

From that day, therefore, the condition of the eastern Latins began manifestly to become worse. For the enemies of the faith, to whom their names alone had previously been a terror, had now despised without loss the presence of such great princes. From this they were raised into such great presumption that thereafter they neither held their strength in suspicion nor feared to press more bitterly upon our men.

Section VI

Thus, after the departure of the said princes, Nuradin, son of Sanguin, began insolently to rage around the regions of Antioch with an infinite body of his men. After this became known to Prince Raymond, because he was an impetuous man, and a rash one, without waiting for those whom he had summoned to his aid he hastened with a few men to those regions. After he arrived and saw the multitude of the enemies, he began, although too late, to doubt in distrust. Nevertheless, he drew up his battle lines and, although far unequal both in number and strength, joined battle with the enemies.

But those who were with the prince, unable to endure the strength of the enemies, were turned to flight. The prince, however, because he was a strenuous man, fought manfully in the midst of the slaughter of enemies which he himself had wrought by cutting them down. At last, wearied and pierced by swords, he died. Many nobles also fell with him. Nuradin, having gained the victory and obtained the prince's body, commanded the head together with the right arm to be divided from the rest of the body. As a sign of victory he sent them into the East to the caliph of Baghdad and the other satraps of the Turks. The prince was killed in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1148.

The count of Edessa, who had escaped from that battle, was also captured by enemies lying in ambush on the road while he was returning to his own territory. He was conducted to Aleppo and, unable to endure the filth of prison, miserably ended his life after a short time. After his death, his wife, a most prudent woman, strove as much as she could to fortify and defend the strongholds of the region.

Meanwhile the emperor of Constantinople, hearing of the desolation of those regions which had been under his dominion, sent one of his princes with infinite treasures and no small military force to the aforesaid regions. He offered certain annual revenues to the countess and her children if they would concede to his empire the strongholds which had remained in their possession, so that it might preserve that land from the incursions of the Turks and, moreover, restore to his empire those things which had been lost. The lord king of Jerusalem, who was then in those regions, also condescended to this opinion, although he did not greatly presume that the province could be preserved in that condition by the strength of the Greeks.

All things therefore having been completed according to what had been provided in the agreements, and all the towns having been surrendered to the Greeks, the lord king of Jerusalem took with him the lady countess with her children and all the other

Latins who wished to depart, and went out to Antioch. But Nuradin, most powerful lord of the Turks, seeing the land destitute of the aid of the Latins and presuming upon the softness of the Greeks, sent in his armies and within one year occupied the entire region. Thus, therefore, a most wealthy province in which five thousand knights had sufficient support came into the hands of the infidels.

In the same year, which was the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1151, Raymond the younger, count of Tripoli, was killed by Assassins in his city of Tripoli.

In the following year, two certain most powerful Turks, namely full brothers, whose inheritance the holy city is said to have been before it was liberated by the Christians, gathered an infinite multitude of Turks and set out toward Jerusalem. Coming not far from the city, they placed their camp on the Mount of Olives itself. When those who were in the city heard this, they invoked aid from above, took up their arms, went out, and attacked them manfully. Rushing upon them, they wrought a very great slaughter and, after they had been turned to flight, our men pursued them, cutting them down as far as the Jordan. Thus clothed with confusion and shame, these two brothers returned to their own territory. It is said that as many as five thousand of them were slain on that day.

While Conrad was emperor, Louis, king of the Franks, captured Vitry, a castle of Count Theobald. There the church was burned by fire, in which one thousand two hundred persons of both sexes were burned. Therefore certain men thought that Louis, led by consciousness of this danger, undertook the pilgrimage across the sea.

In that season also, Audebert, count of La Marche, disturbed by the death of his only son, sold his land to King Henry. For it is read that this man's son was suddenly carried away alive, before many witnesses, by a certain knight whom he had treacherously killed, and nowhere appeared again. Terrified by this, the father took up the cross, set out for Jerusalem, and ended his life there. Geoffrey and Hugh of Lusignan, asserting themselves to be heirs of his land, reclaimed it and at last obtained it.

Moreover, at that time, while Louis, king of the Franks, was returning by ship from Syria into Gaul, he happened upon ships of the Greeks and was captured by them. While he was being conducted to be presented to the emperor, who was besieging Cursolium, Gregory, commander of the king's fleet, returning with the fleet from Constantinople, attacked them. For he had laid waste and dispersed the provinces of the Greeks, had advanced as far as the city of Constantinople itself, and had shot golden arrows into the emperor's palace. And after burning the city's suburbs, he had violently taken away fruits from the emperor's gardens. Therefore, while returning, he encountered the ships of the Greeks. Having brought them under his power, he rescued Louis, king of the Franks, but released the captives at the king's request.

Returning into France, Louis, led by a spirit of jealousy and after consanguinity had been sworn, repudiated his wife. Henry, duke of the Normans, namely the son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and the aforesaid Matilda, married her against Louis's will. From this cause the king of the Franks at that time lost the duchy of Aquitaine. She was King Louis's first wife, the daughter of the elder count of Poitiers, who died at Saint James. For it is read that, when King Louis had taken her with him across the sea, he heard that she had received gifts. Therefore, after his return into France, he wished to repudiate her not only because of the aforesaid cause but also because of that woman's incontinence. For the monk Helinand relates that she conducted herself not as a queen but almost as a harlot.

In the same year, which was the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1153, Conrad, king of the Teutons, died. Although he had reigned for fifteen years, he nevertheless did not receive the imperial blessing from the lord pope. In that year Pope Eugenius, who had returned to Rome from Gaul and had been received with supreme honor and joy by the Roman people, also migrated to the Lord. In the same year Anastasius, a Roman by nation, was substituted for him in the papacy. When he had died within a year, Adrian, an Englishman by nation, succeeded him. He sat for four years, nine months, and seven days.

Title XVII, Chapter IX

After the death of Conrad III, emperor, Frederick, duke of the Swabians, the first of this name and nephew of the aforesaid Conrad through his brother, was made emperor. He was called Barbarossa. And when the electors of the empire did not agree, committing their votes to him, he elected himself emperor.

Coming to Rome, he caused the desolated city of Tivoli to be rebuilt, but he destroyed Spoleto. He began to rule in the year of the Lord 1153, in the five thousand one hundred sixteenth year from the beginning of the world, or, according to the other computation, in the six thousand three hundred sixty-third year. He ruled for thirty-six years.

He did many evils to the Church. And when he had reigned as it were for a year in Germany, he descended into Italy with an innumerable army of his men in order to obtain the imperial blessing, and he directed his journey toward Rome. His arrival, however, was very suspect to Pope Adrian, who was then at Rome. Nevertheless, before his arrival there was peace and concord between them. Therefore, received with imperial favor by the Roman clergy and people, he was solemnly crowned by Adrian in the church of Saint Paul on the sixth day before the Kalends of July.

Three days afterward, the pope together with Emperor Frederick celebrated the solemn feast on the day of the apostles Peter and Paul below the city of Tivoli, at a place called the Lucanian Bridge. In that solemnity, the one bore the insignia of the supreme prelacy and the other was adorned with the imperial garb; on the feast of the apostles they proceeded crowned within the city. After the completion of the feast, they separated from one another in good peace, and the lord emperor hastened toward the regions of Ancona.

In those days grave enmities arose for certain causes between the lord pope and William, king of Sicily, to such a degree that the lord pope hurled against him the sentence of excommunication. Therefore King William, full of fury, commanded the city of Benevento to be besieged by his princes. The lord pope bore this matter grievously and, wishing beyond measure to repay him in equal measure, determined to arm his own princes against him. For he persuaded Robert, count of Bassavilla and nephew of the same King William, to rise against him with many other nobles.

Moreover, the same pope recalled into the kingdom the exiles whom William and his father Roger had expelled—illustrious men powerful in arms, namely Robert, prince of Capua, Andrew of Ripa Canina, and many others—promising them on the word of the pontiff that the aid of the Roman Church would not fail them. He promised no less firmly that both the emperor of the Romans and the emperor of the Greeks would hasten to their aid within a short time. In truth, the same pope had solicited both emperors for his aid against King William.

Thus, first, the emperor of Constantinople, under hope of recovering the kingdom of Sicily, sent certain of his princes with a great army and infinite treasure and invaded the region of Apulia. At their first arrival he occupied the city of Otranto when the citizens surrendered it. Count Robert of Bassavilla also violently obtained Taranto and Bari and the whole maritime region as far as the boundaries of the kingdom. But Robert, prince of Capua, and Count Andrew claimed for themselves all Campania, which by common appellation is called the Land of Labor, as far as Saint Germanus.

Frederick, emperor of the Romans, who had already prepared arms against the said William, king of the Sicilians, was prevented. For while he made a stay with his armies in the March of Ancona, he suffered so great a slaughter among the people whom he had led into Italy that scarcely a tenth remained of the more noble and principal men. Therefore he was compelled to return to his own territory with the others who remained to him.

But in the year of the Lord 1156, Emperor Frederick himself descended into Italy with great forces and surrounded the city of Milan with a continuous siege for seven years. At last he captured and destroyed it and divided it into three boroughs. When that most famous city had been destroyed and leveled to the ground, Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, transferred from Milan to Cologne the bodies of the three kings, namely, the Magi who had come under the guidance of the star to adore Christ in the cradle. They had formerly been transferred from Constantinople and carried miraculously to Milan by Saint Eustorgius. They now rest at Cologne.

This Frederick also, in the year of the Lord 1167, when he had been unable to prevail against Pope Alexander, who was aided in France by the king of the Franks, entered Italy. Because the Romans had rebelled against him, adhering to Alexander, he moved war against them near Tusculum and obtained victory, a very great slaughter of the Romans having been made. And because the Colonnese had committed betrayal in aid of the emperor, the Romans therefore expelled them from Rome. When Frederick besieged Rome, the Romans, animated by the Orsini, manfully expelled him.

In the first year of Emperor Frederick, Louis, king of the Franks, entered the territories of Normandy in hostile fashion with a very small army and received the castle of Vernon in surrender. Meanwhile Henry, duke of Normandy, acting forcefully against King Stephen, at last made peace with him under this condition: that while Stephen himself lived, he should possess the

kingdom of England peacefully, but when he died, with no other intermediary, the kingdom of the English should devolve upon Henry.

In the following year, Louis, king of the Franks, received the duke of the Normans into peace. When King Stephen had died, the duke, with the aid of the king of the Franks, entered the kingdom of the English and, having obtained the kingdom in its entirety, reformed the ancient peace.

Section I

Moreover, in the first year of Frederick, the illustrious King Baldwin, fifth king of Jerusalem, gathered the knighthood of the kingdom and led it to lay waste Ashkelon. When they had burned the orchards adjoining the city, divine clemency attended them so that it might inflame the Christians to greater things, for they proposed to compel the city to surrender.

Ashkelon is one of the five cities of the Philistines, situated on the seashore and having the form of a semicircle, whose chord lies along the shore of the sea, but whose circumference or arc upon the land faces east. Fifty years after the Lord had delivered the land of promise to the Christian people, our men then first dared to besiege this city, which was still resisting, undertaking an arduous and almost impossible matter. Thus, the city having been surrounded everywhere by sea and land, they frequently assailed it on every day.

The citizens resisted manfully for some time. But when our Christian princes had persevered throughout the siege for five continuous months, and the enemies' strength seemed to have been worn down while a greater hope than usual of obtaining the city sustained our men, a fleet of Egyptians landed at the city's port while our men saw it and were unable to prevent it.

At that time, while the Christian people sweated with all their strength in the storming of Ashkelon, Nuradin, a circumspect and prudent man, saw that, after the death of Aynard, procurator of the kingdom of the Damascenes, who had always greatly resisted his efforts, the knighthood of the Christians was occupied around Ashkelon. With a huge military force he invaded the kingdom of the Damascenes. There, with the Damascenes for the greater part assisting him, he deprived their dissolute and useless king of the kingdom and compelled him to flee into the East.

Thus Nuradin, having captured Damascus and subjected the whole region, besieged the city of Paneas, judging that he would remove our army from Ashkelon. But by the provident mercy of the Lord he obtained neither outcome. For he himself accomplished nothing around the besieged city, and our men compelled Ashkelon to surrender. For, sweating over the work begun with much urgency and vigilance, and altogether denying rest to the citizens, they daily wrought no small slaughter among them, although not without loss among our men.

For on one day about forty of the brothers of the Temple violently entered the city through a certain breach made in the wall. By God's permission, every one of them was killed. Struck with consternation by this misfortune, the Christians almost desisted from their purpose. But when they returned to the same undertaking, on a certain day the citizens went out beyond the city to battle and were laid low by our men with so grave a slaughter that there was no family in the city which domestic grief did not oppress. Therefore, the strength of their knighthood having been consumed, all their power of resistance withered. Hence, pressed by so many evils, by the common counsel of all and under conditions that they be permitted to depart from the city with their wives, children, and all their household goods, they surrendered it to the lord king. The said city was captured in the year of the Lord 1154.

At that time also the lord Reynald of Châtillon married the lady Constance, widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, not without the amazement of many. For many illustrious and noble men sought marriage with her; scorning all of them, she secretly chose for herself as husband one stipendiary knight, namely this Reynald. Seeing that this deed had not greatly pleased the lord patriarch, Reynald, moved by indignation at the devil's instigation, seized the said patriarch and treated him shamefully. For he compelled the old and infirm man, with his head bare and smeared with honey, to stand through a summer day in the most fervent sun. Then he released him, stripped of all his goods. Unable to endure the eyes of his own citizens, the patriarch abandoned Antioch and betook himself into the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Section II

During the same time, after the city of Ashkelon had been captured by the Christians, Raymond, master of the house of the Jerusalem Hospital which is named after Saint John, together with his brothers, began to inflict many vexations concerning patriarchal right both upon the lord patriarch of Jerusalem and upon the other prelates of the churches. For they freely admitted to the celebration of divine offices those who had been excommunicated and separated from the Church, whether by the lord patriarch or by others, on account of their crimes. They did not deny viaticum and extreme unction to the sick, nor burial to the dead, and they did many other things contrary to the immunities of the churches.

When the lord patriarch often complained concerning these acts of temerity, at length, at the devil's instigation, they arrived at such temerity that, taking up arms as though in the house [read: into the house] of some ordinary man, they rushed against the patriarch in the Church of the Sepulcher. But, as the archbishop of Tyre says in his History, the Roman Church, perhaps not knowing it, seems to have furnished the first material for so great an evil. For it exempted the aforesaid place from the jurisdiction of the lord patriarch, to which it had long been subject.

But in order that it may be committed to the present history from what small seed, once sown, the aforesaid place took so great an increase, we have judged that the matter should be carried back a little to an earlier beginning.

Therefore it must be known that, at the time when the infidels held the kingdom of Jerusalem, there were not lacking some from western regions who sometimes visited the holy places either for the sake of devotion or for the sake of commerce. Among these were Amalfitans. Amalfi is a city of Apulia. The inhabitants of this city were the first to carry into the regions of Syria, for the sake of making profit, foreign merchandise which the East had not previously known. Therefore they merited favor with the lords of that region.

But because, when they came to the holy places for the sake of prayer, they did not have a dwelling within the city where they might make a stay, they obtained from the caliph, king of Egypt, permission to build an oratory within Jerusalem at a place which they might choose. Thus, money having been taken from the merchants by way of contribution, they erected a monastery before the door of the Church of the Lord's Resurrection in honor of Saint Mary, Mother of God. And because Latins founded it, for a long time it was called the monastery of Saint Mary of the Latins. When this had been done, they brought both monks and an abbot from their own regions and established the place according to a rule.

When people from western regions flowed together to visit the venerable places at Jerusalem, especially those whose own resources did not suffice to procure provisions for themselves, whatever was available was ministered to them fraternally from the aforesaid monastery. They also erected in the said place an altar of blessed John the Almsgiver. He was patriarch of Alexandria, whose pious endeavors and liberal alms the whole Church of the saints recounted. Therefore he was called by the holy fathers John the Almsgiver, which is interpreted “merciful.”

This venerable place, which extended itself so charitably to all, had neither revenues nor possessions. Rather, the aforesaid Amalfitan citizens collected money among themselves, as if by contribution, and offered it to the abbot who was there at the time through those who sailed to those regions. Thus, through the courses of many years, until it pleased the supreme Maker of things to cleanse the city beloved of God from the worship of the gentiles and restore it to his worshiping people, that place remained in the aforesaid manner.

A monastery for women in honor of Saint Mary Magdalene was also built by God-fearing people not far from the said Church of Saint Mary of the Latins; and sisters under a fixed number were assigned to the service of arriving women. In this monastery, at the time when the city of Jerusalem was captured by the Christian princes, a certain abbess named Agnes, a Roman by nation, was found there. She also lived for some years after the capture of the city.

Thus, therefore, from so small a beginning of the aforesaid house, the brothers first withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of the abbot. Then, their riches having multiplied, they were delivered by the Roman Church from the power of the lord patriarch. The patriarch proceeded against them to the Roman curia. When he had litigated there with them for a long time, he returned to his own territory clothed with confusion. For from the whole multitude of cardinals scarcely three were found who, following Christ, wished piously to favor his minister in his cause. All the others, going away after gifts, followed the way of Balaam, son of Bosor.

Section III

During the same time Reynald of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, governed chiefly by the judgment of perverse men, violently occupied with armies sent in by him the island of Cyprus, which is near the kingdom of Jerusalem and was then held under the dominion of the emperor of the Greeks, and which was filled with faithful peoples. Having occupied the island, he crushed its cities, overthrew its towns, and shamelessly broke into the monasteries both of men and of women. For there was neither number nor end to the gold and silver which he took away from there.

Moreover, in that season, while the lord Baldwin, fifth king of the Latins, was rebuilding a certain city which the Turks had violently occupied apart from the stronghold, and had burned after occupying it, the Saracens suddenly placed ambushes on the road as he was returning thence to Jerusalem and attacked him on every side. All his men being turned to flight, he was himself almost captured. But by the speed of his horse, with God protecting him, he was rescued from the hands of the infidels. A very great multitude of the Christians was captured on that day, but few were slain. Among those captured was also the master of the knighthood of the Temple. This happened in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1158, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of July.

In the following year Nuradin, a most hostile persecutor of the Christian faith, gathered his forces and besieged a certain castle called the Cave. After this became known to King Baldwin, he took the knighthood of the kingdom and hastened together with the lord Theodoric, count of Flanders, to break the siege. When Nuradin learned of his approach, he raised the siege and, having drawn up his battle lines, went out to meet the approaching king in battle. Battle was therefore joined; but, divine mercy going before them, after the combat had been prolonged for a long time, victory over the infidel people was granted to our men. Not without great slaughter among them, they were turned to flight.

In the same year the lord emperor of Constantinople descended into Cilicia with an innumerable army. The cause of his coming was that the lord Thoros, great lord of the Armenians, had expelled for the greater part the emperor's household men who presided over the cities and castles, and had occupied almost all Cilicia.

But the prince of Antioch, agitated by the stings of conscience because of the things that he had committed against the emperor, considered by what kind of satisfaction he could reconcile himself to the emperor after so great an offense. By the counsel of his men, he came to the emperor in Cilicia and was reconciled to him with the greatest ignominy of the Latin people. For, as is said, barefoot, clad in a woolen garment with sleeves cut short as far as the elbow, a rope bound around his neck, and holding in his hand a naked sword whose hilt he presented to the lord emperor, he was presented to the lord emperor before all the legions. There, prostrate on the earth before his feet, he lay so long that it turned to nausea for everyone and the glory of Latinity became an object of reproach and a fable.

But the king of Jerusalem, hearing of the lord emperor's arrival, hastened to him with a most select company of his princes and was received by him with much glory. And lest his stay with the emperor be unfruitful, he reconciled to him the lord prince of the Armenians, whom the lord emperor persecuted with insatiable hatred. At last, laden with many gifts, he returned to the kingdom. The emperor, having accomplished the things for which he had descended into Cilicia, returned after no long interval of time to his own territory, domestic cares recalling him.

In the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1160, Reynald, prince of Antioch, learned that the land which had belonged to the prince of Edessa was filled with herds and was without military forces, and that it could easily lie open to plunder. Gathering a huge military force, he set out for the place and, with no one resisting, collected infinite plunder from there and was returning to his own territory. When the enemies of the faith who dwelt in those regions heard this, they went out in a great multitude to meet the prince and shake off the plunder. Trusting in their multitude, they joined battle. When they had fought for a long time in an undecided battle, our men at last, struck with consternation in mind, abandoned the plunder and turned their backs. Many were killed, and some were also captured. Among them Reynald himself, the leader of his men, was captured, his sins requiring it, and with the other captives was conducted to Aleppo with the greatest ignominy.

After this so lamentable misfortune, the king of Jerusalem, summoned by the Antiochenes, set out for Antioch. When affairs had been settled, he returned to his own territory, governance having been left to the lord patriarch for the time. But not much time afterward, when certain difficult affairs required it, the lord king came again to Antioch. While he was there, he fell into a grave illness. Sensing that the danger of death threatened him, he caused himself to be carried to Beirut. While there, he caused the prelates and princes of his kingdom alike to be summoned to him.

When they had been placed in his presence, he piously and religiously disclosed his faith article by article, confessed his sins to the pontiffs with much contrition, and, released from the prison of the flesh, carried his soul to heaven. It is said that poison was offered to him in a certain medicine, nor was this very dissimilar from the truth. For the remainder of what had been commanded to be given to the king was poured upon bread and given to a certain little dog, which died within a few days. No history records that so great a sadness had existed in any kingdom over the death of any prince.

It is related, moreover, that the enemies of the faith also grieved at his death, so that when some suggested to Nuradin, king of the Damascenes, that, since the Christian leaders were occupied in many things, he should enter our territories, he is said to have replied: “We must have compassion upon them and humanely grant indulgence to their just grief, because they have lost a prince such as the rest of the world does not have today.” He died in the year of the Lord 1162, on the twenty-first day of the month of February, and was buried among his predecessors in the Church of the Lord's Sepulcher.

Section IV

When the lord Baldwin, fifth king of Jerusalem, had died, as has been said, the lord Amalric, his only son, succeeded him in that same holy city as the sixth king of the Latins, in the year of the Lord 1163. This Amalric was a man furnished with secular experience, exceedingly prudent, and circumspect in matters to be done. He was of little learning, but through liveliness of intellect and the benefit of memory he was quite suitably instructed. He was also, what cannot be denied, covetous of money beyond what befitted royal dignity. But in the necessities of the kingdom he neither spared expense nor was recalled by the weariness of his own body.

Thus, in the first year of his reign, when the Egyptians refused to pay the annual tribute which they had covenanted with his father, he gathered military forces and descended into Egypt. There the procurator of Egypt met him with an innumerable multitude. Defeated in battle, and having lost many of his men, the procurator fled. Fearing, therefore, that the Christian army would penetrate into the interior of the kingdom, the Egyptians broke the embankments which ordinarily restrained the River Nile and led the overflowing water through the region. Because of these barriers the lord King Amalric was unable to advance farther. Hence, having gained the victory, he returned to the kingdom.

Not much time afterward, Nuradin, stirred by the persuasions of a certain powerful man of Egypt and hoping to claim the kingdom of Egypt for himself, determined to send Shiraconus, chief of his knighthood, into Egypt with an infinite multitude of Turks. Hearing this, the sultan of Egypt, distrusting his own strength, sent envoys to the lord King Amalric, entreating him to bring aid against the enemies who were rushing upon him. He promised not only the tribute that had been established with the king's father, but a much greater one at the king's judgment; he was prepared to confirm perpetual subjection and an everlasting compact by giving hostages.

While the aforesaid envoys were treating with the king concerning these things, and their petition had almost been satisfied, the aforesaid Shiraconus entered Egypt with his legions, defeated in battle the sultan who met him, and drove him into flight. The sultan, as he fled, was killed by his own men. After his death a certain Suar was made sultan. After the victory Shiraconus stormed the city of Bilbeis. Sultan Suar, therefore, fearing lest by admitting such a guest he make his own condition worse, renewed the former agreements with Amalric, king of Jerusalem, through envoys.

Hence, in the second year of his reign, the king descended into Egypt with the whole army of his men. Together with the sultan he besieged the said Shiraconus at Bilbeis and compelled him to surrender under this condition: that he should have free departure with all his men. Having obtained this, he abandoned the city and returned to Damascus.

In those days Nuradin was defeated by pilgrim Christians around the regions of Tripoli. For certain nobles of Aquitaine had come for the sake of prayer, namely Hugh the elder of Lusignan and Geoffrey, brother of the count of Angoulême. These men suddenly rushed with their knighthood upon Nuradin's army and destroyed it almost to annihilation.

Nuradin, struck with consternation by the adverse misfortune and wishing to erase the loss, after not many days gathered the forces of his men and besieged a certain castle of the Christians not far from Antioch. After this became known to our princes, the lord Bohemond III, prince of Antioch; the count of Tripoli; Calamannus, governor of Cilicia and kinsman of the lord emperor; and Thoros, prince of the Armenians, set out to break the siege. Thus, when they arrived, battle was joined. When they had fought for a long time with doubtful Mars, at last, our sins requiring it, the Christians were turned to flight, defeated, and innumerable men were cut down. Almost all the princes were also captured: namely, the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, the governor Calamannus, Hugh of Lusignan, and many other noble Christians.

Nuradin, prince of the infidels, having gained this victory, stormed the aforesaid castle. This happened in the year of the Lord 1169, on the Ides of August. In the same year, while the king was still held occupied in Egypt, the same Nuradin besieged and compelled to surrender a city of the Christians which by common appellation is called Bellianas.

Returning from Egypt with his expeditions, King Amalric, although he had heard of the adverse things that had occurred in the kingdom, nevertheless, when summoned by the Antiochenes, did not delay in going thither together with the count of Flanders, who had landed in the kingdom that year. Coming there, he began to treat the affairs of the region with as much diligence as he was accustomed to treat his own. Prudently administering all things, he brought it about that in that same summer, at the intervention of a great price, the prince was restored to liberty and his own honor.

In the following year Nuradin again attempted to occupy the kingdom of Egypt. When the lord King Amalric learned this, he gathered military forces from the whole kingdom, traversed the wilderness, and descended into Egypt. Hearing this, Sultan Suar, marveling at the sincerity of our faith, rejoiced immeasurably. For the prudent man considered that in no way could he either sustain the enemy who had entered his kingdom or expel him from the boundaries of the kingdom except by means of the Christian army. Therefore, with the caliph consenting, it was agreed that four hundred thousand gold pieces should be given to the lord king, under this condition: that the lord king should not attack Egypt [read: should not depart from Egypt] unless Shiraconus were either killed or expelled from all the territories of Egypt.

These agreements having therefore been made, the king went out to battle against Shiraconus and encamped not far from him. On the following day, battle was decreed according to the desire of all. But the distribution of those equipped for battle was exceedingly unequal. For Shiraconus had twelve thousand armored horsemen, while there were four thousand horsemen of the Christians, apart from the base and effeminate Egyptians.

Going out to battle, the king manfully attacked the battle line over which Shiraconus presided, overthrew it without any resistance, and pursued it for a long time, cutting it down after it had been turned to flight. But Hugh of Caesarea, who presided over the other battle line, made an assault upon the battle line over which Saladin, nephew of Shiraconus, presided. When they

had fought for some time, Hugh was captured when his men deserted him. Some from his battle line were captured and many were killed, although they too left the enemies a bloody victory behind them. On that day one thousand five hundred of the enemies fell, but one hundred of the Christians died.

Shiraconus, fleeing from the battle, occupied Alexandria when the citizens surrendered it. After this became known to the king, he came thither with all speed and surrounded the city with a siege. A fleet was stationed at sea so that neither provisions nor nourishment might be brought into the city in any way.

Alexandria is the metropolis of all Egypt, situated in that part which looks toward Libya, on the border of cultivated soil, so that immediately outside the city walls toward the setting of the sun a vast desert lies adjacent. As ancient histories relate, Alexander the Great founded it. It is situated not far from the mouth of the Nile. It is distant five or six miles from the riverbed. Nevertheless, at a fixed season, by the customary increase of the river, part of it flows into the city; they preserve that inflow of water in very large cisterns for their use throughout the whole year.

It is, moreover, most conveniently situated for conducting commerce, having two separated ports with a certain very narrow tongue of land lying between them. At the head of that tongue is a tower of marvelous height which they call Pharos, and Julius Caesar is said to have built it. From the upper regions of Egypt, by the streams of the Nile, it receives a rich abundance of every kind of food. From the overseas regions also, all wealth is supplied to it by ship.

In addition, from both Indies, Saba, Arabia, both Ethiopias, Persia, and the other adjacent provinces, whatever there is of spices, pearls, gems, eastern treasures, and foreign merchandise which our world needs is brought by way of the Red Sea, through which those nations have a route to us, to the city situated in the upper regions of Egypt which is called Ardeph and which is situated on the shore of that same sea. Thence it descends by the river to Alexandria. Thus, therefore, a meeting of eastern and western peoples takes place there, and that same city is the public marketplace of both worlds.

Section V

With the city besieged, our men pressed on and burdened the besieged by whatever methods they could. Why say more? Daily conflicts, the continual slaughter of their men, and the lack of provisions had worn down the people enclosed within the city. Saladin, therefore, fearing that the citizens might rise against him, signified all things to his uncle Shiraconus, who was besieging a certain city in the upper regions of Egypt. Hearing of his nephew's necessity, Shiraconus raised the siege and came to Babylon.

But hearing that those cities were fortified with a garrison of Christians, through the mediation of Hugh of Caesarea, whom he held captive, he began to treat concerning peace: namely, that the lord king should receive back his men whom Shiraconus held in chains; that the king himself should raise the siege of Alexandria; that the captured Turks should be restored to Shiraconus; and that Shiraconus should depart from the kingdom of Egypt with his legions.

The form of the peace pleased the lord king and the sultan, and it seemed sufficient for glory that the city should pass into the lord king's power by surrender and that Shiraconus should be compelled to depart from all the territories of Egypt. Peace having therefore been granted, those who had been worn down by the long siege departed, marveling at one thing above all: that so small an army had so easily constrained within the city walls so great a multitude of citizens and so great a number of foreigners, and had compelled them to an ignominious surrender according to its pleasure. For there were scarcely five hundred knights of the Christians and four or five thousand infantrymen, while there were more than fifty thousand of the besieged who were able to bear arms.

Thus, when Shiraconus departed from Egypt, the lord king also returned with his army into the kingdom, in the year of the Lord 1167, the fourth year of his reign.

In the following year a solemn embassy was directed to the lord king of Jerusalem by the emperor of Constantinople. The substance of the embassy was this: the lord emperor of Constantinople had perceived that the kingdom of Egypt, hitherto exceedingly powerful and very wealthy, had come into the hands of unwarlike and effeminate men. This had also come to the knowledge of the neighboring peoples. Therefore it did not appear able to continue long in its present condition without its dominion necessarily passing to foreign nations. The lord emperor had therefore conceived within himself that, with the aid of the lord king of Jerusalem, he could easily receive it into his own jurisdiction. Hence he had sent the aforesaid envoys concerning this.

For this purpose the aforementioned envoys approached the king and made firm agreements, namely, that within a fixed time the lord emperor should send forces so that, joined together, they might attack the aforesaid kingdom. As public report resounded, Sultan Suar of Egypt was secretly directing frequent embassies to Nuradin, imploring aid from him and asserting that unwillingly he had been joined in a compact of peace with an enemy people, and that if he were assured of Nuradin's

friendship he would withdraw from that people and break the agreements. Therefore the king, moved by just indignation, gathered forces and hastened to descend into Egypt.

There are some, however, who say that all the aforesaid things were fabricated, but that such things were made known among the people so that so notable a deed might have some excuse. Gilbert, master of the house of the Hospital, as some maintain, supplied the incentive for this evil. But the brothers of the knighthood of the Temple withdrew themselves from this same deed, because it seemed to them contrary to conscience to declare war, against the tenor of the agreements, upon a friendly kingdom which presumed upon our faith. They refused to follow the king.

The king therefore descended into Egypt and stormed the city of Pelusium, the greater part of the citizens being killed. But Sultan Suar, struck with consternation in mind when he heard these things, did not know what he should do. Nevertheless, as the narrowness of the time permitted, he deliberated whether he should try to overcome the king with gifts or solicit with prayers and a price the neighboring princes of his superstition for his aid. With mature foresight he resolved, however, to attempt both.

Having therefore sent an embassy to Nuradin, he implored aid and obtained what he sought. For Nuradin summoned Shiraconus and directed him into Egypt with a great military force of his nation. But the king, having overthrown Pelusium, besieged Cairo. The sultan weakened the king's mind, which was covetous of money, with promises, offering him infinite money. For, as some say, he promised two million gold pieces, which the kingdom of Egypt could scarcely pay. But, as afterward became evident, he contrived this not with the intention that he believed himself able to pay what he promised, but so that meanwhile the aid of the Turks which he awaited might arrive.

In the meantime, one hundred thousand gold pieces having been given in the present, the king raised the siege and, withdrawing about a mile, established his camp around the garden of balsam. While he was there, he learned through scouts that Shiraconus was approaching and drawing an innumerable multitude with him. When this was discovered, the king prepared to go out to meet him; but he had not advanced far when he heard that Shiraconus had crossed the Nile. There was now need of a new counsel. For, with the strength of the enemies doubled, it was not safe to make a longer stay in Egypt. Therefore, having ordered his columns, he returned to the kingdom.

Moreover, Shiraconus, seeing that the opportunity of the time agreed with his wishes and that, with the king departing, there was now no one who could place an impediment before his desires, committed to effect what he had previously conceived in his mind. For he commanded the sultan, who suspected nothing concerning the faith of the Turks, to be killed. After his death Shiraconus entered before the caliph, rendered him the reverence owed, and was adorned by him with the office of sultan.

O unspeakable rage of an insatiably covetous mind! Behold from what quiet and tranquil condition, and into what a turbulent one, the disordered ardor of possessing cast down the Christians in the regions of the East. The resources and immensity of the wealth of Egypt served our uses. On that side the kingdom of Jerusalem had secure flanks, nor was there anyone it feared from the south. But now, contrariwise, the finest color has been changed, and our harp has been turned into mourning. For wherever I turn myself, I find the regions suspect, because every neighboring region round about afterward lay open to enemies, and the bordering kingdoms armed themselves for the destruction of the Christians.

But Shiraconus did not rejoice long in so great a success. For scarcely had he possessed the empire of Egypt for one year when he ended his life. When he had died, Saladin succeeded him, a man of keen intellect, strenuous in arms, profound in counsel, and liberal beyond measure, especially toward military men, upon whom he poured out all things. He was, moreover, merciful toward the conquered and very steadfast in his word.

At the first auspices of his principate, Saladin entered before the caliph, his lord, to render him his customary reverence, and killed him with a club which he carried with him. When the caliph had been killed, Saladin pierced all his progeny with the sword so that he himself might be at once sultan and caliph. After the caliph's death, he liberally distributed all his treasure, which was infinite, to his own soldiers.

When the lord King Amalric had returned from Egypt into the kingdom, nothing worthy of memory was done in the kingdom during that winter in those days. But in the following spring, our eastern princes of the Christians, seeing that, with Egypt occupied by the Turks, the condition of the Christians in the East had been made much worse, deliberated that it was necessary for men from among the prelates of the churches of the kingdom to be directed to the princes of the West. They were diligently to disclose the unbearable necessities of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the affliction of the Christians there, and the harsh misfortunes that threatened.

Therefore, by the common counsel of all, the lord Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, and the lord John, bishop of Paneas, were sent for the work of this ministry. They happily reached the western regions but accomplished little or nothing. Therefore, when two years had been completed, the archbishop of Tyre returned, the lord bishop of Paneas having died at Paris.

Section VI

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1169, around the beginning of autumn, the aforementioned emperor of Constantinople, mindful of the agreements which he had made firm with the lord king of Jerusalem—namely, that, aided by his forces, he should occupy the kingdom of the Egyptians—sent a fleet into Syria. In the emperor's naval army there were one hundred fifty beaked ships, which are called galleys. There were seventy-two transport ships for carrying horses, arms, and other instruments of war. Moreover, he sent from among his princes Malducas, his kinsman and a count, who presided over the army, and Alexander of Conversano, a noble man from Apulia.

King Amalric, having learned of their coming long beforehand and settled the affairs of the kingdom, gathered the army of both the Greeks and the Latins at Ashkelon. Thence they encamped before Damietta, which from the beginning he had determined to besiege, proceeding both by sea and by land, and surrounded the city with a siege. There, while for three days they postponed the assault, they learned by experience how true is what was said by the poet: “Delay has always harmed those prepared.” For in this intervening space, infinite forces of Turks arriving from the upper regions of Egypt filled the city, which had previously been almost empty, while our men saw them and were unable to prevent them.

Nevertheless, the Christian people, with engines erected, attacked the city on every side. The citizens strove to resist our men with the arguments which they had at hand. But our men, seeing their spirit in resistance, when they ought to have pressed more fiercely, began to administer all things timidly and coldly. During the same time there was added so great an abundance of rains that neither the poorer men in huts nor the richer in tents could by any art keep off the dripping water. Assaults were made upon the city, moreover, but on interrupted days; in these, now our men, now the enemies, carried away the worse reckoning. The enemies rarely provoked the Latins to an encounter unless they had been harassed, but sometimes they made sudden sallies upon the Greeks through a certain postern gate which faced their camp.

Furthermore, the citizens' military forces increased daily, to such a degree that they were now a terror to our men. A murmur therefore crept among the people, and almost all the Christians held one opinion: that, with the divine power angered, they had begun this work uselessly, and that it was safer to return to their own territory than to waste away from hunger in Egypt. For a severe famine had grown strong in the camps, and there was dearness of all provisions, especially in the camps of the Greeks.

Thus, with our men acting as mediators and certain of the satraps of the Turks consenting to the same, a compact was entered into with the Greeks under certain secret conditions, and peace was immediately proclaimed by a herald's voice. The engines having therefore been taken down and burned with fire, the lord King Amalric returned to his kingdom by the land route. But all the Greeks who had come by ship boarded their ships to return to their own territory, under a sinister omen and with ill-omened birds. For a most savage storm suddenly arose; their ships having been broken against the shores, they suffered shipwreck, so that from so great a fleet scarcely a few ships are said to have remained unharmed.

In the month of June of the following year, so great and so violent an earthquake occurred in the eastern regions as is never read to have happened within the memory of the present age. Destroying utterly the cities of the entire eastern tract, it crushed their inhabitants by the fall of buildings, so that it reduced them to a small remnant. Among them, it cast down to the ground even the cities of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Among these it utterly laid low Antioch, so that it could scarcely be restored to a middling condition with much expense and labor. Among the inland cities held by the enemies, Aleppo, Caesarea, Hamah, Emissa, and many others collapsed utterly. In Phoenicia, noble and populous Tripoli was shaken to such a degree that the whole city became, as it were, a field of stones and of the tumult of citizens.

Section VII

In the month of December of the same year, Saladin, in order to repay the Christians in turn, prepared himself with all his strength to invade their territories. Gathering military forces from all Egypt, which are said to have been as many as forty thousand horsemen, he entered the kingdom of Jerusalem. When his arrival was heard, the king hastened with all speed to Ashkelon with his entire army, which could scarcely amount to two hundred fifty knights. Then, prepared for battle, he made ready to meet the enemies. But they turned aside to another place, broke through the suburbs, and returned into Egypt with the city's treasure and immense plunder.

In the following year, which was 1171, the aforesaid king, seeing by how many troubles the kingdom was wearied, that the number of the enemies increased incessantly, that the provident princes of that same kingdom had now failed, and that in their place a pernicious offspring was growing, whence it had come into such great weakness that it almost failed, sent solemn messengers into the West by the counsel of the princes. He himself determined to approach the emperor of Constantinople in person with a fleet of ten galleys.

Thus, employing prosperous sailing, he reached Constantinople. When the emperor heard that so famous a prince and so beloved of God a ruler of the kingdom had entered his empire contrary to custom, he first marveled greatly what could be the

cause of so great a labor. Then, considering the increase of his own glory, because the king of Jerusalem, defender and advocate of the venerable places of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection, had come to him—something which is not read to have happened to any of his predecessors—he rejoiced exceedingly.

When the king therefore entered before him in the assembly of his nobles, the emperor familiarly told him to rise and received him very joyfully with the kiss of peace. After some days the king disclosed to the emperor the cause of his journey and explained the necessities of the kingdom. He set forth more diligently the immortality of fame which the lord emperor could acquire for himself by subjecting the kingdom of Egypt to himself. He also established the ease of obtaining the proposed end by evident arguments. The emperor accommodated a kindly ear to these persuasions and assertions and promised the full and desired accomplishment of his wishes.

The business therefore having been completed according to his desire, the king began to prepare himself for his return. The work having been happily consummated and a fleet arranged, he entered the sea and, driven by favorable winds, landed at the city of Sidon.

In the same and the following year Saladin made incursions into the kingdom of Jerusalem, but, the divine power being favorable, he was able to harm the Christian faithful little or not at all.

In the year of the Lord 1173, an exceedingly dangerous matter and one very detestable to the kingdom is said to have occurred in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In order that this may become known more fully, the beginning of the narrative must be taken from farther back.

In the province of Tyre, around the bishopric of Antaradus, there is a certain people possessing ten castles with their suburbs. Their number, as we have often heard, is as many as forty thousand men or more. They are accustomed to set over themselves a master not by hereditary possession but by the prerogative of merits. Scorning the names of other dignities, they call him the Old Man. They are accustomed to bind themselves to him by so great a bond of obedience and subjection that there is nothing hard, nothing so difficult or dangerous, which at the master's command they do not undertake with ardent spirit to fulfill.

For, among other things, if they hold certain princes hateful, a dagger or sword having been given to one of their men, the man to whom the command has been given strives thither without considering the outcome of the matter, whether he can escape. Anxious to complete the command, he labors and goes about until he performs the office enjoined, satisfying the command of his preceptor. Both our men and the Saracens call these men Assassins, though we do not know whence the name is derived.

Thus for almost four hundred years they cultivated the laws of the Saracens and their traditions with so great a zeal that, in comparison with them, the other Saracens were judged as transgressors and prevaricators, while they alone seemed to fulfill the law.

It happened in those days that they set over themselves as master a most eloquent man of subtle and keen intellect. Contrary to the customs of his ancestors, he began to keep books of the Gospels and the apostolic book in his possession. Applying himself to their continual study, he had attained with much labor the sequence of Christ's miracles and commandments. Comparing within himself the sweet and honorable doctrine of Christ with the things which that wretched seducer Muhammad had handed down to his accomplices and to those deceived by him, everything that he had drunk with his milk began to become foul to him, and he began to abominate the uncleannesses of the aforesaid seducer.

Instructing his people in the same manner, he caused them to cease from the observance of that superstition, casting down the oratories which they had formerly used, dissolving their fasts, and allowing them wine and the flesh of sheep. At last, wishing to proceed to the inner parts of the law of God, he directed to the lord King Amalric a certain prudent man named Boabdellus, bearing secret words.

The chief article of these words was that if the master and brothers of the knighthood of the Temple, whose castles bordered theirs, were willing to remit the two thousand gold pieces which they exacted from them in each year, they would hasten to the faith of Christ and baptism. The king received their embassy with a joyful spirit. Because he was a most discerning man, he consented fully to their petitions and was prepared to repay to the aforesaid brothers from his own revenues the two thousand gold pieces whose annual remission they sought.

He sent the messenger, whom he had kept with himself for a long time, back to his own master with a guide for the journey given to him. When the messenger had reached Tripoli and entered his territories nearby, the aforesaid brothers suddenly rushed upon him unexpectedly with drawn swords and killed the man, who presumed upon royal guidance and upon the sincerity and faith of our nation and feared nothing of the kind.

When the king heard this, he was inflamed as if into madness at the atrocity of the deed. Summoning the princes of the kingdom and asserting that whatever had occurred redounded to his own injury, he sought to be instructed what ought to be done in such a case. At last, by the common counsel of the princes, they declared that the deed which had occurred must not be neglected.

For in it royal authority seemed to perish, the faith and constancy of the Christian name seemed to contract undeserved infamy, and the eastern Church seemed to lose an increase pleasing to God which had already been arranged.

Therefore, by counsel, noble men were sent to demand from Odo of Saint Amand, master of the aforesaid brothers, that they render satisfaction to the king and the whole kingdom for so great an excess. For it was said that a certain brother, Walter du Mesnil, a wicked and one-eyed man possessing no discretion at all within himself, had nevertheless done this with the knowledge of the brothers. Hence the master, sparing him beyond what was due, signified to the king through his messengers that he had imposed penance upon the brother who had committed this and that, with the imposed penance, he would direct him to the lord pope. He also forbade, on the lord pope's behalf, that anyone dare lay violent hands upon the aforesaid brother.

But the king, who was stationed at Sidon on account of the aforesaid business, caused the aforesaid man guilty of an offense against majesty to be violently dragged from the house and delivered into chains. At last, on account of this deed, almost the entire kingdom incurred irreparable ruin. Nevertheless, the king appeared before the master of the Assassins to be free of blame for the deed through messengers concerning his innocence. Employing a sufficiently temperate moderation with the aforesaid brothers, he left the matter undiscussed until his death.

It is said, however, that if he had recovered from that illness which he incurred immediately after this deed, he had determined to discuss that injury with the kings and Christian princes of the world through most solemn messengers.

At the same time Nuradin, supreme lord of Aleppo and a very great persecutor of the Christian faith, but nevertheless a just and provident prince, died in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Not much time afterward, the lord King Amalric, after he had lain sick for some months, wearied by fever, died in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1175, the twelfth year of his reign and the thirty-third of his age. He was buried among his predecessors, beside his brother in the same line, before the place of Calvary.

Now, however, let us return to the western histories by relating those things which occurred while Emperor Frederick I ruled.

Section VIII

In the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1172, Robert, a native of Chartres and provost of Aire, governed two bishoprics, namely Arras and Tournai. He was the son of a certain smith and rustic, who, as they say, employed a familiar demon, by whose mediation he attained such great honors. Afterward, deceived by this same patron and familiar of his, he was killed by ribalds through the contrivance of a certain noble knight.

In the year of the Lord 1179, Philip, son of Louis, king of the Franks, was consecrated king at Reims on the feast of All Saints by Archbishop William, his maternal uncle. He was consecrated while Louis, his father, still lived. Louis had now passed the seventieth year of his age, while the boy himself was now fourteen years old.

Although young, Philip had excellent beginnings, for especially beyond what belonged to his age he seemed to fear God. For at the beginning of his reign he abhorred so greatly the enormous oaths which were customarily made by gamblers in taverns and courts that he commanded those who uttered such oaths in his presence, whoever they might be, to be immersed in a lake or river. He commanded that this edict be observed most firmly thereafter.

In the first year of his reign, when grave wars arose against him, although he was a boy in age he began to excel all men not childishly, but manfully and strenuously. For first he moved an army against Hebo of Charenton in the territory of Bourges, who oppressed the churches and their ministers with a heavy yoke.

And he so greatly repressed his tyranny that, compelled, he was forced to come to his feet, and could obtain pardon and indulgence from him in no other way until he promised under oath that, according to his pleasure, he would make full satisfaction to all the churches for all the damages inflicted and would abstain from like acts.

Likewise, in the same year, having gathered an army against the sons of iniquity, Imbert of Beaujeu and the count of Chalon, who presumed to burden the churches of God contrary to the royal immunities, he entered their lands. Breaking their tyranny and pride, he compelled them to restore in full what had been taken from the churches. And because he vigorously waged these first two wars for the defense of the churches and the liberty of the clergy, the Lord was therefore with him against the fraud of those who surrounded him.

In the following year his father Louis died at Paris in the forty-third year of his reign. In the year of the Lord 1182, Pope Alexander died. Lucius, a Tuscan by nation, succeeded him in the papacy. He sat for four years and two months.

In the same year Philip, the great count of Flanders, Odo, duke of Burgundy, and William, archbishop of Reims—his brother—conspired against King Philip. But Henry, king of England, together with his son, brought aid to the king, and through their mediation peace was composed between them. At that time Henry and Richard, brothers and sons of Henry, king of the

English, were at discord with one another, their father favoring Richard's side. But not long afterward the younger Henry died, whom his father had long before caused to be crowned king.

At that time, indeed, a very great multitude of Jews, which had flowed together from every part of the world, dwelt at Paris. Having remained there so long, they had become so rich that they claimed almost half the city for themselves. Contrary to the decree of God and holy Church, they kept Christian men and maidservants in their houses. What was still worse, they compelled some of them to Judaize with them. Moreover, retaining as pledges sacred vessels on account of the urgent necessity of churches, they treated them so vilely that they made morsels for their infants in chalices and drank from them. They also committed many other enormities against the faith, indeed in contempt of God.

It was said further that in each year, in reproach of the Christian religion, as if for a sacrifice, on the day of the Lord's Supper, in certain crypts and underground pits, they killed one Christian by fastening him to the gibbet of a cross. Philip had heard that these enormities were committed by the Jews, and, while his father lived, had long carried the matter enclosed within his mind. When his father died, at his command the Jews were seized throughout his entire kingdom. First they were stripped of all their goods, namely, in gold and silver. Then he commanded that all who were unwilling to receive the Christian faith and baptism should depart from his kingdom. Many, therefore, by the grace of God, came to baptism and the faith. To them the most pious king restored all their possessions entire. But as the others departed, the king commanded that their synagogues be dedicated as churches of God. Philip was then seventeen years old.

Section IX

While these things were therefore being done in the West, a great change was made concerning the imperial power at Constantinople, and a mournful calamity befell all Latinity. For the sorrow which deceitful and faithless Greece had conceived the day before brought forth and bore iniquity. When Manuel, the most fortunate emperor of the Greeks, had died in the Lord, his son Alexius, a boy of thirteen years, succeeded him in the empire. He was placed under the guardianship of his mother, and the imperial affairs were administered by Alexius the protosebastos, the lord emperor's nephew by a brother older than himself.

It therefore seemed both to the nobles and to the people that they could conveniently put into effect what they had maliciously conceived against our Latins. For while the aforesaid emperor Manuel, beloved of God, reigned, the Latin people had found so much favor with him that, neglecting his own petty Greeks as effeminate men, he entrusted great affairs only to Latins. Hence Latins, noble as well as ignoble, hastened to him from the whole world. For this reason all the Greeks, especially the emperor's blood relatives, conceived an insatiable hatred against the Latins. They sought an opportunity whereby, at least after the emperor's death, they might utterly exterminate the hated Latin name or people, both those dwelling in the city of Constantinople and those remaining in the bounds of the empire.

Therefore, not long after the emperor's death, Andronicus, a nephew of the aforesaid emperor, was summoned by them. Coming to Constantinople with innumerable forces of barbarous nations, he first removed the aforesaid Alexius, who exercised the boy's guardianship, from the administration and deprived him of his eyes.

But the Latins who dwelt within the city were greatly struck with consternation in mind, fearing that a sudden irruption of the citizens would be made upon them; and they did not fear this without cause. For Andronicus had already deliberated with himself concerning their extermination. Therefore, forestalling their designs, some took refuge in the forty-four galleys that were in the harbor, and others in ships, and thus escaped the peril of death. But those who were infirm, old, or less fit for flight experienced the rage which the others had escaped. Although they were exceedingly few in number, especially those who were able to bear arms, they resisted for a long time and left their enemies a bloody victory over themselves. Nevertheless, they were cruelly killed by the Greeks with diverse kinds of death, who spared neither sex nor age.

But the few who committed themselves to their faith, and to whom they had given hope of safety, they sold to the Turks and other infidel peoples into perpetual servitude. These are said to have been more than four thousand, of both sexes indiscriminately. Thus, therefore, the faithless people of the Greeks and brood of vipers, after the manner of a serpent in the bosom, rewarded their guests, who had merited nothing of the kind. Yet they did not depart altogether without vengeance; but a crime unheard of for ages had been committed with impunity.

For those who, as we have said before, were in the galleys and ships had a very great multitude with them. After they learned more fully that the Greeks had consumed by sword in part, and by fire in part, their wives, children, and entire households which had remained in the city, moved by just indignation they went around both shores of the Hellespont as far as the mouth of the Mediterranean Sea, which is said to be more than two hundred miles distant from the city. Violently seizing every municipality, they killed all its inhabitants with the sword. Invading the monasteries also, they killed the false monks and their sacrilegious priests with iron and set fire to the monasteries themselves. From those places they are said to have carried away infinite quantities of gold and silver.

Then, entering the Mediterranean Sea and traversing the cities and towns of Thessaly and the other adjoining provinces, and delivering all things to fire and plunder, they wrought an innumerable slaughter. But others who abominated the slaughter and plundering withdrew from the aforesaid army with their wives and children and descended into the kingdom of Jerusalem. This happened in the year of the Lord 1182, in the month of April.

Section X

When Amalric, the sixth king of the Latins at Jerusalem, had died, his son Baldwin, the fourth of that name, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was thirteen years old at the time when his father died. While his father was living, when he was nine years old, he was discovered to have contracted the leprous disease. Since he could not administer the affairs of the kingdom, both because of the illness, which continually increased and grew, and also because of his age, by the common counsel of all the princes the care and administration of the kingdom of Jerusalem was committed to the lord Raymond, count of Tripoli.

In the first year of this Baldwin's reign, Saladin, summoned by the Damascenes while their lord, the son of Nuradin, was still under age and dwelling at Aleppo, occupied the kingdom of the Damascenes. When this had been done, he hastened with a multitude of his men toward Coele-Syria, hoping easily to occupy all those cities which had hitherto belonged to Nuradin. What he had begun, he brought to effect within a short time.

Hearing this, the lord king, by the counsel of his princes, swiftly directed the lord count of Tripoli thither with the whole knighthood of the kingdom, that he might oppose all Saladin's endeavors. For all held Saladin's increase suspect, and deservedly so, lest, his possessions having been doubled, he should rise more fiercely against the Christians. It seemed safer to minister aid to Nuradin's son, not that anything of kindness might appear to be offered to him through favor toward him, but that a more suspect rival might be nourished against the adversary.

But Saladin, hearing of the count's coming against him, asked him through messengers not to oppose his successions [read: successes], but to permit him to try his fortune with Nuradin's son and those who had come to aid him. And lest he should disdain even this without a worthy repayment, he freely offered to restore his own hostages and those of the lord Reynald, formerly prince of Antioch, who were held captive in the city of Emissa, which he had occupied. This proposal pleased the lord count, and, having received the hostages according to the agreement, he returned to his own territory with the army of the Christians. Thus it came about contrary to our purpose that our favor accrued to the very man who ought to have been opposed utterly.

During the same time, while Saladin was more closely occupied about those regions, the lord King Baldwin entered the territories of the Damascenes in hostile fashion with his army. When Servusidolus, Saladin's brother who governed at Damascus, heard this, he gathered the knighthood of his men and met the Christians. But, God willing it, he was defeated and fled after losing many of his men. The Christians, having obtained the victory and laden with much plunder, returned to Jerusalem.

In the third year of this Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, the lord William, marquis of Montferrat, who was surnamed Longsword, having been summoned to the kingdom by the lord King Baldwin and his princes, landed at Sidon. The king immediately gave him his sister as wife, just as had been promised to him. This marquis was most noble in birth, so that he was said very rarely to have an equal. For the mother of Philip, king of the Franks, was his own sister; but the mother of William himself was sister of the lord Emperor Conrad. Yet after three months of the consummated marriage, the aforesaid William died at Ashkelon, leaving his wife pregnant.

In the aforesaid third year of the lord Baldwin, which was the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1175, Saladin, who had occupied all the land that had belonged to Nuradin, returned into Egypt, gathered an infinite multitude of his men, and entered the kingdom in hostile fashion. When this was heard, the lord king swiftly summoned his men and, having invoked aid from above, went out of the city of Ashkelon with his men to fight. In his army there were scarcely three hundred seventy-five mailed knights, for the king had sent the rest of the knighthood of the kingdom to Antioch.

All these, trusting in divine aid and preceded by the life-giving wood of the Cross, despised the enemies' multitude and invaded them. At first the issue of the battle between them was doubtful, since their forces were very unequal. For it was said that in Saladin's army there were twenty-six thousand armed horsemen alone. But, God willing it, when their legions had been broken, after a great slaughter our men turned them to flight. Our men pursued them with slaughter as far as night for twelve miles, and almost utterly destroyed so great a multitude, to such a degree that Saladin barely escaped by flight with one hundred horsemen, the rest having been killed and others bound in chains. Having obtained this victory, the lord king returned to Jerusalem laden with much plunder.

Section XI

In the year 1178, Saladin again entered the kingdom of Jerusalem in hostile fashion with his forces. After this became known to the lord king, he summoned his men from every side and advanced against the enemies of the faith. He encountered raiders of the Saracens, and, battle having been joined with them, by God's favor our men became the stronger. Very many having been killed, the rest were turned to flight and returned to Saladin's camp.

But Saladin, having learned what had occurred, arranged his battle lines according to military discipline and proceeded to meet our men. He encountered the Christians, who were excessively secure because of their victory. But when our men saw the enemies, whom they now thought defeated, rushing so fiercely upon them, they resisted for a time, fighting with their order confused. At last, unequal in strength, they succumbed, shamefully turned to flight. Many of them were killed by the sword, while the others escaped by taking counsel for their safety in flight. But the lord king escaped unharmed, supported by the aid of his men.

Odo of Saint Amand, master of the knighthood of the Temple, was captured there from among the Christians. Worn down by the squalor of prison, he died in the same year. Elated by this victory, Saladin inflicted infinite injuries upon the kingdom of Jerusalem in that year. At the same time, for certain intervening reasons, the lord king gave his sister, the widow, namely, of the lord marquis, as wife to a noble and illustrious young man, Guy of Lusignan. At that time also truces were made between the Christians and Saladin for two years.

In that season, while the kingdom enjoyed a temporal peace, a certain nation of Syrians, which dwelt in the province of Phoenicia around the ridges of Lebanon near the city of Byblos, underwent a very great change concerning its condition. For almost five hundred years they had followed the error of a certain Matron [read: Maron], a heresiarch, so that from him they were called Maronites. Separated from the Church of the faithful, they performed sacred rites apart. By divine inspiration, returning to their heart, they laid aside the error and approached Aimery, patriarch of Antioch, who was then the third of the Latins to preside over that same church. Abjuring the error by which they had long been held, they returned to the unity of the Catholic faith.

Meanwhile, while these things were being done, Saladin, sultan of Egypt, dissolved the treaty by which he was bound to the Christians under certain conditions. With an infinite multitude of infidel nations he entered the territories of the kingdom of Jerusalem and began to ravage the fields and suburbs. The number of the enemies was twenty thousand, while the horsemen of the Christians were scarcely seven hundred. But, the Lord's mercy going before them, they arranged their columns according to military discipline, rushed manfully upon the enemies' wedges, and, with drawn swords, broke their columns and turned them to flight. A thousand of them fell on that day. They also killed some of their princes. But exceedingly few of the Christians from the equestrian order were lost.

Saladin, therefore, defeated in battle and clothed with confusion, returned to his own territory. But, as he was a most vigilant man, accounting the Christians' strength as almost nothing and aspiring to greater things, he gathered the knighthood of his men and hastened toward the river Euphrates. Having crossed it, within a few days he claimed for himself the most splendid cities of Mesopotamia, Edessa, Harran, and very many others, as well as the whole region which was under the dominion of Nuradin's brother.

But when the king heard that Saladin had transferred himself to distant regions, and considered that the enemies' region was destitute of forces, he entered the lands of the Damascenes with his knighthood. He violently broke open a celebrated and famous place named Zora, filled with many inhabitants and not far from Damascus. When this had been done, they besieged a certain fortress which Saladin had taken from the Christians a little before, and compelled the besieged to surrender. Having recovered it, the king returned to the kingdom with much plunder.

Section XII

Meanwhile Saladin, a tireless man and a prince conducting himself strenuously in all things, after he had subjected all Mesopotamia to his dominion, crossed the Euphrates again, returned to Coele-Syria, and received the noble and powerful city of Aleppo under certain intervening conditions. Here fear first crushed the eastern Christians, for that which they most greatly feared occurred. With Aleppo subjected, all that region round about was, as it were, encircled by a siege through Saladin's power. Therefore the Christians began to fortify the cities and towns which were situated in the enemies' territories.

At that time the lord king was suffering from a most grave fever at Nazareth. The leprous disease, which had begun to grow upon him from his earliest adolescence, was also becoming worse. Despairing, as it were, of himself, he bestowed the universal care and administration of the kingdom upon the lord Guy of Lusignan, his sister's husband, retaining for himself the things to be paid annually.

But Saladin, having arranged affairs in those regions according to his will, returned to Damascus. Then, with the whole army of his men, he entered our territories. When this became known, the Christians, their arms having been prepared, proceeded to the place where he had pitched camp. Here indeed, as the lord William, archbishop of Tyre, says in his Chronicle, if our sins had permitted God to be propitious to us, it seemed that the strength of the enemies could easily have been turned to ruin. For never is so great a knighthood read to have assembled at one time from the eastern Christian kingdom. There were one thousand three hundred horsemen most excellently mailed, and fifteen thousand foot soldiers girded for war.

In that battle there were great and admirable leaders, namely, the lord Bohemond III, prince of Antioch; Raymond, count of Tripoli; Henry, duke of Louvain, from the empire of the Teutons; and Prince Rodulf of Milleone in Aquitaine. But, our sins requiring it, contention was poured out upon the princes. For certain of the princes, through hatred of Guy of Lusignan, to whom the king had committed the care of the kingdom, dissuaded them from fighting.

The knights who were present marveled what was the matter with us, that, when so great an opportunity had been given, no engagement was made with the enemies. Hence it happened that for eighteen days they shamefully allowed the enemies' camp, scarcely distant from our men by the space of one mile—something which is never read to have happened otherwise in the kingdom—to remain there and, moreover, to rage in the region according to their judgment. But Saladin, after inflicting many injuries upon the region, returned to his own territory unharmed.

But when scarcely the space of one month had elapsed, Saladin recalled his forces and surrounded on every side with a siege the city which in antiquity had borne the name Petra of the Desert but is now called Krak. The king, considering that in the aforesaid administration of the war the count of Jaffa had conducted himself less strenuously, recalled the care of the kingdom to himself. By the common counsel of the princes, he caused his nephew Baldwin, whom his sister had borne to William, marquis of Montferrat, to be crowned king.

When this had been done, he hastened with the knighthood of his men to aid those who were besieged by Saladin. When Saladin learned this through scouts, he raised the siege, which he had continued for a month, and returned to his own territory. This was done in the year of the Lord 1183.

Not much time afterward the aforesaid boy Baldwin, whom the elder King Baldwin had caused to be crowned king of Jerusalem, died. After his death the king himself did not live long, but, when his illness grew strong, he migrated from this world. When he had died, the aforesaid Guy of Lusignan, to whom the kingdom of Jerusalem was owed by reason of his wife, obtained the said kingdom. At that time the Saracens took many lands from the Christians.

When King Guy was pressed on every side by the infidels, by the counsel of his princes he sent the lord patriarch of Jerusalem, together with the master of the Temple and the prior of the Hospital, to the princes of the West, that he might announce to them in how great a calamity the Christian people in the East were. They first came to Philip, king of the Franks, to whom they carried the keys of the Sepulcher and of the holy city of Jerusalem, supplicating that he deign to succor the Holy Land, which was about to perish, and to furnish aid.

But the most pious king received them very benignly. Having learned the cause for which they had come, he celebrated a general council at Paris. In it he first commanded all the prelates to admonish the princes by frequent exhortations that they should hasten to the succor of the land of promise. By the counsel of the princes, he himself in the same year sent most strenuous knights with a multitude of foot soldiers, to whom he ministered sufficient expenses from his own revenues.

Section XIII

In the year of the Lord 1184, Philip, king of the Franks, gathered an army near the city of Amiens against Philip, count of Flanders, on account of the county of Vermandois, which he unjustly detained. When the count despaired that he could resist him, he freely restored the said county into the king's hands. He asked, however, that the castle of Saint-Quentin and Péronne be left to him only for his lifetime, and he obtained it.

At that time the king made two notable works in his kingdom. First, he caused the forest which is near Paris and is called Vincennes to be enclosed with a most excellent wall of squared stones. When Henry, king of the English, heard this, he sent to the aforesaid Philip wild beasts—namely, boars, stags, roe-deer, and does—captured in a very great multitude throughout Normandy and Aquitaine and placed upon a certain ship, conveyed along the river Seine by the course of the waters [read: over a long course of water], so that he might cause them to be enclosed in it.

Moreover, in order that he might take away the ancient name from the city of Paris—for it was formerly called Lutetia from mud—he summoned craftsmen and caused all the districts and roads to be paved with hard and strong stones.

In the year of the Lord 1186, Emperor Frederick set his firstborn son Henry over Italy. Much enmity arose between him and the pope.

In those times a frequent crowd of entertainers gathered in the courts of kings and princes. By flattering and jocular words they extorted horses, garments, gold, and silver from princes. This pestilence had grown so strong that those who lacked the company of such parasites were reckoned miserable and avaricious. Philip, king of France, considering this vain and contrary to salvation, promised God that thereafter, for as long as he lived, he would bestow his garments upon the poor for God's sake. If other princes followed this most pious king in this deed, so many parasites would not run hither and thither throughout the world.

In the same year a grave discord arose between this King Philip and Henry, king of England. For Philip sought homage from Richard, Henry's son, for the county of Poitou, which Richard, instructed by his father, delayed rendering. He also sought from the king of England himself Gisors and the other neighboring castles which his father Louis had given to his daughter Margaret by way of dowry when he gave her as wife to Henry's younger son, under this law: that if he did not beget from her a son or offspring, after Henry's death the dowry should return to the king of France.

But when the king of England treated these matters with contempt, Philip invaded the lands which he possessed on this side of the sea. Then Henry, king of England, likewise gathered his men for war and advanced against Philip. But before the battle lines engaged, when they had already proceeded into the field, by the grace of God the legates of the Roman Church interposed themselves. A truce was made between them, and they returned to their own territories.

Section XIV

Meanwhile, while these things were being done, Saladin gathered an infinite multitude of Turks and Saracens from the whole East, entered the lands of the Christians, and besieged Tiberias, a city of Galilee. When this was heard, Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, gathered the knighthood from his entire kingdom and, together with the count of Tripoli, met him, the divine power being adverse to him.

When Saladin learned of his approach, he raised the siege and proceeded to meet the approaching Christians. Battle was therefore joined between them, in which they fought with equal fortune from midday until night. When night came, each side withdrew to its camp. On the third day the enemies prepared themselves again for battle and suddenly approached our camp.

When their approach became known, our princes deliberated together with the king by what art they should fight with the enemies. A certain man from among the Christians, named John, a man very experienced in war and one who had at one time served as a soldier with the Turks, advised that they should break with all their strength into that wedge above which Saladin's standard stood higher. He asserted that if that battle line could in any way be made to incline, the remaining army would easily be put to flight.

All except the count of Tripoli inclined to this counsel. For that most wicked man asserted that faith ought not to be given to one who, having abandoned the faith of Christ, had sworn faith to the Turks. But he suggested that clean places [read: the high ground] should first be occupied, so that from there the enemies might be attacked with greater force.

Thus, the useful counsel having been rejected, assent was given to the traitor. For they soon rushed upon the enemies, and, when they had fought readily enough for some time, both through the heat and thirst and through the opposed splendor of the sun, our sins requiring it, our battle line began to incline. The enemies rushed upon our men with a force of javelins and arrows.

The count of Tripoli gave a most evident sign of betrayal. For at the very beginning of the contest, together with those who followed his standard, he cast aside his altars [read: arms] and was the first to flee. Before our men withdrew from the battle he took refuge in the castle of Saph. At last, before the flight and in the flight itself, a horrible slaughter of our men was made.

In this crisis the bishop of Acre, who carried the Lord's Cross, was gravely wounded in battle. Perceiving that the danger of death threatened, and being unable to govern himself upon his horse, he handed the Lord's Cross to another, and that man handed it to the king. At last, when the king had fought strenuously with his wedge until the end of the battle, the enemies attacking on every side and his men having for the greater part been killed, he himself, not knowing how to flee, was captured together with the precious wood of the life-giving Cross.

Rarely since the first entrance of the Latins into Syria was so much blood shed in any battle. For then the strength of all Christianity in the East fell. In that most deadly battle all the nobles and stronger men for the greater part fell, except a few who, after the enemies were satiated with the slaughter of our men, were captured.

The valor of the Hospitallers and Templars shone forth especially in that battle. For, not knowing how to flee, almost all who took part in that battle were either killed or captured. Those whom Saladin captured from among them he caused to be killed without any consideration of humanity. Moreover, the lord Reynald of Châtillon, formerly prince of Antioch, a man strenuous in hand and counsel, was captured in that battle and led before him, and Saladin cut off his head with his own hand. For this Reynald had been a most bitter assailant of the Turks and had routed the Saracens in battle in many places.

But Saladin, having obtained a celebrated victory, liberally divided among his men at the bridge of Tiberias the spoils and plunder of the Christians. The king and the master of the Temple were reserved as a sign of victory. At the king's petition, Saladin granted to him the master who had been captured together with him.

Section XV

After the victory Saladin, following his fortune, led his victorious army to storm the cities and castles of the Christians. First of all, he surrounded the city of Acre on every side with a siege. Its citizens, despairing of aid, surrendered it to him after two days. Thence he went to the city of the Beirutians and received it into his dominion without resistance, its citizens delivering it to him. From Acre as far as Ashkelon there was no city that dared resist him, since they were destitute of their defenders. For all the fighting men had either been killed or captured in the aforesaid battle.

In this, however, Saladin's liberality is commended, because he permitted no one to be burdened who had freely surrendered himself to him or wished to remain under his dominion and tribute.

But the Ashkelonites, because they believed their city impregnable, retarded Saladin's force for a little while. They refused to surrender the city to him, asserting that for no reason would they wish to resign the city to him until they knew for certain whether the citizens of Jerusalem would surrender their city to him.

When Saladin heard this, he surrounded the city with a siege and attacked it for nine days with continual assaults. But when he made no progress, because the citizens defended themselves manfully, he abandoned the siege and hastened to Jerusalem in order to besiege it. He believed that they would yield easily, since they saw that all the others had already come into Saladin's surrender.

But the citizens of Jerusalem, and those who had flowed together there from the neighboring places on every side through fear of the enemies, hearing of the slaughter of their men, the loss of the life-giving Cross, and the king's capture, humbled themselves with every kind of supplication. Litanies, confessions, and fasts were solemnly performed by all the Christians dwelling there. Even the very young persisted in these spiritual exercises.

But the wrath of God was manifestly vehement. Nor is it a wonder. For both the clergy and the people had poured themselves out excessively into various luxuries, and that entire land had become filthy with crimes and shameful deeds. Moreover, those who wore the habit of religion had shamefully exceeded the bounds of regular temperance. There were few whom the disease either of avarice or of lust did not infect. Therefore the Lord, provoked to anger, again permitted the land which he had taken from the hands of the impious to be occupied by their dominion.

Thus Saladin came to Jerusalem and surrounded the city on the western side. By continual assaults he strove to burden the besieged. But when the citizens resisted according to their strength, he attacked the city day and night from the northern side. When he had weakened the walls with engines, the citizens feared, since they expected aid from no place, lest the enemies occupy the city by a violent irruption. It pleased them to yield to the pressing and unavoidable danger and to surrender themselves to Saladin under certain conditions, namely, that, once he had received the price of redemption, he should permit those who wished to depart to go away freely.

Thus, on the second day of October, which was the fourteenth day from the beginning of the siege, a Friday, the city was surrendered into the hands of the pagans, in the year of the Lord 1187.

When the Saracens entered the city, in reproach of the Christian name they stabled foul animals in the churches and did vile and abominable things there. But the Syrians redeemed the Church of the Holy Resurrection with much gold, lest it lie open to the gentiles and be subjected to filth. The Turks, however, exhibited marvelous veneration toward the Temple of the Lord. For ancient custom had accustomed them, according to their superstition, to venerate that place in many ways. Saladin also, before he entered it, caused its walls to be washed with rosewater and suffused with many perfumes.

When this had been done, he caused the bells of all the churches to be broken with hammers. I myself saw in the bell tower of the Sepulcher the bells still broken, which the Saracens keep suspended to the present day in reproach of the Christians.

Section XVI

After the holy city had thus, God permitting it, been surrendered into the hands of the Saracens, Patriarch Heraclius, with all the clergy and people of the Latins, departed from the city. But Syrians and men of the other sects—namely, Maronites, Jacobites, Georgians, Armenians, and Nestorians—remained in the city under tribute to the Saracens. When the surrender of Jerusalem was heard, many places which could scarcely have been captured by man surrendered themselves to the Saracens.

The Christians departing from Jerusalem therefore took the road toward Tripoli. But when they had now approached the city and already believed that they had escaped the hands of the Saracens, they fell among sacrilegious men worse than the Saracens

themselves. For the count of Tripoli, together with his satellites, sons of iniquity, met them. He who ought now to have shown compassion toward them as toward brothers attacked them as enemies. Whatever of their substance they had carried with them, even that which the Saracens themselves had left to them out of humanity, he violently took from them, inflicting many insults upon them.

A certain marvelous event is read to have happened there. A certain woman who had departed from Jerusalem with the other Latins and carried with her upon her shoulders a little child, her son, was totally despoiled by the impious Christians and stripped of all her goods. Thus the wretched woman, who had once abounded in many riches, seeing that nothing at all remained to her for nourishing her son, driven by a woman's fury, cast her own son into the sea.

In those days the sultan, having received Jerusalem, commanded the count of Tripoli by letter to cause the citizens of Tripoli also to swear the agreements which he had personally sworn to him. Therefore the count summoned a council of the citizens and commanded them to swear. But they declared that they would in no way do this unless they first heard the form of the oath. When the count pressed them, they sought a delay until morning.

But before the term assigned to the citizens the hand of the Lord was laid upon the wicked man. For that morning the count was found dead in his bed. And what could not be concealed was found manifest: the marks of circumcision upon his body, which he had recently received. Hence it was discovered, disclosed by the confession of his attendants, that he had determined to deliver the city to the Saracens and, allied with Saladin, had promised to observe the sect of the Saracens after renouncing the Christian religion.

Thus, Jerusalem having been occupied, Saladin returned again with his whole army to besiege Ashkelon. When he had attacked it for some days, the citizens were prepared to deliver the city to him under this condition: if he would restore to the Christians King Guy and the master of the Temple, whom he had captured in battle. Saladin gladly embraced these terms. Having received the city, as he had promised in the agreement, he permitted the king of Jerusalem to depart freely with the master of the Temple and, moreover, the entire household of both of them.

Having received Ashkelon, he came thence to Tyre and began to attack that city fiercely. But considering that the citizens, together with those who had escaped from the battle, were prepared to defend the city, and despairing that he could violently obtain that city without a great slaughter of his men, he directed his expeditions toward Antioch. He was unwilling to labor much in storming the maritime cities, because the adjured man [read: admiral] of William, king of Sicily, had come into Syria with fifty armed galleys. For that most illustrious king had sent that fleet to the aid of our men when he heard of the calamities of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Thus Saladin, coming into the regions of Antioch, obtained almost the whole principality of Antioch within the space of three months. He was unwilling to approach to attack the city, knowing that, once the other fortifications had been occupied, the city alone could not long resist him.

Returning therefore into the kingdom, Saladin surrounded by land and sea the city of Tyre, which alone remained among the cities to be occupied. Conrad, count of Montferrat, a prudent man and strenuous in arms, had landed at that city. Coming from Constantinople, he had landed there on the day on which the Christians were defeated by Saladin in that most deadly battle.

When the aforesaid prince arrived, he undertook to defend the city against the Saracens under this condition: if the citizens would grant it to him to possess perpetually. The citizens granted this petition with a grateful spirit. Thus the marquis, having first received the city from the citizens, began to resist the attacking Saracens manfully. For, making a sally with his men on the landward side, he expelled Saladin with his army, and on the seaward side he burned the galleys of the Saracens with fire.

Having suffered these losses, Saladin, struck with consternation in mind, withdrew from the siege. But as he departed he captured the most strongly fortified castles of the Christians after a long siege. They had resisted him manfully as long as they had provisions.

But Pope Urban III, who then presided over the Church, when he heard of the desolation of the land of promise, died from excessive grief. He was buried at Ferrara, where he then was.

Section XVII

Meanwhile sinister reports and lamentable calamities concerning the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem had shaken all the kingdoms of the West. Hence the kings and princes girded themselves to avenge the blood of the Christians. First, in the kingdom of the Franks, at the exhortation of the archbishop of Tyre, on the thirteenth day of January, Henry, king of England, and Philip, king of the Franks, spoke together. Their discord having been settled for a time, contrary to everyone's opinion, both received the Cross in the presence of the aforesaid archbishop, and many with them.

Among these, from the prelates, were the archbishops of Rouen and Canterbury and the bishops of Beauvais and Chartres; also the counts of Poitou, Flanders, Blois, Soissons, and Champagne. Many other great men, kindled with the same zeal, took up arms for the liberation of the Holy Land.

As a memorial of this deed, the two kings erected a wooden cross in the same place. Founding a church there, they entered into a perpetual covenant with one another. They called that place the Holy Field, because there they had been signed with the sacred crosses. That place is in the territory of Normandy.

In the year 1188, a general council was celebrated at Paris. In it a marvelous and incredible multitude of knights and foot soldiers received the Cross for the aid of the Holy Land. In that council it was ordained by the aforesaid Philip, king of the Franks, that all who had not received the Cross should give at least tithes from all their movable goods and revenues. These were called the Saladin tithes.

In the same year the renowned prince, the lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans, after he had been reconciled with Pope Alexander and the Church, which he had long persecuted, took up the Cross as a sign of penance and in satisfaction. He promised the pope that he would proceed with great forces to the aid of the Holy Land for its recovery. This he did with the company of many of his princes, an infinite multitude of both horsemen and foot soldiers, and Conrad, his second-born son. As a sign of this, as has been said, he fastened the Cross upon his shoulders with much humility and tears.

Therefore, following the example of the king and the emperor, many from diverse nations took the road to liberate the holy city, especially from Italy with ships and galleys. Among them the Pisans, with a fleet equipped as if they were the first, set out with their archbishop and the duke of Sardinia. Moreover, many nobles and barons from the entire world, flowing together toward the sea, hastened to the aid of the Holy Land. So universal was that movement that the whole world seemed to have come together in this purpose.

Fifty ships from Frisia and Datia [i.e., Denmark], allied together, likewise undertook the same pilgrimage. Thirty-seven vessels from Flanders, equipped with every apparatus of war, followed them.

At the same time that renowned and magnificent prince, the king of the Sicilians, died without a male heir. After his death the Sicilians set his nephew Tancred over them as king. But Henry, the emperor's son, asserted that the kingdom was owed to him by reason of his wife, the lady Constance, sister of the aforesaid William. Thus his death brought many evils and injuries upon the kingdom of Sicily.

Meanwhile, while the kings of the Franks and the English prepared themselves magnificently and powerfully for the journey overseas, at the instigation of the devil, who endeavored to hinder them from so holy a journey, a grave and dangerous dissension arose between them from this occasion. Richard, count of Poitou and son of the king of the English, invaded in hostile fashion the land of the count of Toulouse, which he held from the king of France, and stormed many municipalities.

When Count Raymond reported this to Philip, Philip, as he was a man impatient of delay, immediately gathered an army, invaded the lands of the English, and captured many municipalities in Auvergne. The king of the English also invaded the kingdom of the Franks with his armies. When they had inflicted many injuries upon one another, with winter approaching they rested under a truce between them.

Meanwhile Richard, count of Poitou, sought from his father the wife who was owed to him by right, namely, the sister of King Philip. She had been delivered by her father Louis into Henry's custody under this condition: that he should give her as wife to one of his sons, the firstborn, together with whom he would also give the kingdom. Therefore, when Henry, Richard's firstborn brother, had died, Richard himself, remaining as firstborn, sought and claimed that she be given to him by this right.

When King Henry was unwilling to do this, or dissembled, Richard withdrew from his father in anger. Betaking himself to the king of the Franks, he did homage to him and confirmed an alliance or compact with him by oath.

Thus, when winter had passed, the king of the Franks recalled his armies to arms and entered the lands of the king of the English. Having driven the king of the English from the city of Le Mans, he received the city itself into his dominion. Then, coming to the river Loire, he himself was the first to cross the river by fording, something which had not been heard of for an age. After him his entire army crossed. Immediately after crossing the river, it stormed the city of Tours after breaking into it by force.

But King Henry was staying at the castle of Chinon. When he saw himself thus oppressed by the king of the Franks and abandoned by his own son, afflicted by excessive grief, he fell ill and died after twelve days. His son Richard, count of Poitou, succeeded him. After obtaining the kingdom, Richard renewed the peace which had been made between his father and his son Henry and the king of the Franks. Hence Philip, for the good of peace, immediately restored to him the cities of Le Mans and Tours which he had previously taken away.

Section XVIII

While these things were being done so variously in the West, Guy, king of Jerusalem, who at the same time was staying at Tripoli, by the counsel of the lord of Lusignan, his brother, a most strenuous man, and of the lord patriarch, the master of the Temple, and the other pilgrims who had already landed by a sea journey, determined to go to Tyre. There, with their forces joined, he would proceed to battle against Saladin.

Beforehand, however, he determined to test the marquis, who had occupied the lordship of the city, whether he would in any way surrender the city to him. But when he had attempted this in vain, he set out with those who followed his camp. After this was heard at Tyre, the army of the king of Sicily went out of the city, and from Germany Count Bertold and Count Albert with a multitude of Teutons.

When the king had dwelt outside the city in tents for several days, a part of Saladin's army, which was then besieging the castle of Belfort, suddenly rushed upon the king's army. But, the Lord's mercy going before them, they were repelled with loss to themselves, many of them having been killed and captured.

The king, seeing that the people who were with him were afflicted by weariness, communicated counsel with the greater men who were in the army and surrounded the city of Acre with a siege. Hearing this, Saladin raised the siege of the castle of Belfort and directed his battle lines to furnish aid to his men who were being besieged in Acre. Coming toward the north, he attacked the camp of the Christians and inflicted great injuries upon our army on that day.

In those days the lord James of Avernis [i.e., James of Avesnes], a man very strenuous in arms, came, and with him the fleet of the Frisians, who had entered into association with him at Messina. In his army were Flemings and Brabanters, and he landed at the port of Acre. Moreover, a multitude of nobles and other men from Champagne, Burgundy, and also Italy arrived.

At their arrival the army of the Christians was replenished with every abundance of provisions and strengthened by strong warriors. Hence the city was surrounded from the southern sea as far as the northern sea. It thus came about that Saladin could in no way aid the besieged. Therefore, having summoned a fleet from Alexandria, he conveyed arms and provisions into the city and also brought in warlike men.

How great were the tribulations, how many the dangers, how many the injuries which the army of the Christians endured there, it would be long to encompass with the pen, especially before the arrival of the kings of the Franks and England. For the Saracens often broke forth in a grave multitude and, after killing and wounding many of our men, set fire beneath the engines erected to attack the city and burned them. Countless men also perished through labor, hunger, and corruption of the air.

At times there was so great a scarcity in the camp that a measure which at one time was sold for half a bezant could scarcely be found for sixty bezants. Hence it happened that certain men who could not provide for themselves from their own resources and were unable to endure the misery of hunger any longer—as many as twenty thousand armed foot soldiers—proceeded to battle against the Saracens contrary to the prohibition of the greater men who presided over the camp.

But the Saracens, foreknowing their coming, abandoned their camp filled with every convenience and placed themselves in ambush. The Christians arrived without perceiving the deceit. When they had eaten to the point of nausea and, stuffed and laden, wished to return to our camp, the Saracens suddenly rushed upon them. Pressing them with swords and bows, they killed almost all, so that very few escaped from so great a multitude.

After those who were in the city learned this, they suddenly broke forth and attacked the Christian camp with such force that, if divine power had not been with us, and the prudence of the renowned man Geoffrey of Lusignan, the camp of the Christians plainly could easily have been crushed. But through his providence and probity the camp was defended, and the Saracens themselves, after losing many of their men, were violently driven back into the city.

While our men were thus occupied about the attack upon the city, Henry, count of Champagne and nephew of the king of the Franks, landed at Tyre with a great multitude of armed men. He immediately betook himself with the company of his men to the camp of the Christians around Acre.

Section XIX

At the same time the renowned Frederick, emperor of the Romans, directed his battle lines or legions toward Constantinople by a land route. Arriving there, and peace having been arranged on each side with the emperor of Constantinople, he crossed the Hellespont and came into Asia. After enduring many hardships among his men in that province, he arrived in the region in which the sultan of Iconium ruled.

Terrified by fear of his arrival, the sultan promised to provide provisions at a just price to the passing army. But the faithless man not only failed in his promise, but, having gathered a multitude of Turks, also harassed the emperor's army everywhere.

Therefore the angered emperor pursued the same sultan and advanced powerfully as far as Iconium, after laying waste the whole region round about.

When he had taken the road toward Cilicia with his legions and had come to certain narrows of the places, he found an unheard-of multitude of Saracens. Trusting in the aid of the terrain, they thought that they could easily hinder his passage. After the emperor learned this through scouts, he drew up his battle lines, approached the place, and rushed manfully upon them with his legions. With divine aid, he easily repelled the infidels from that place. Pursuing them, he led them out into the open fields, where he could easily unfold his battle lines, and wrought an unheard-of slaughter among them.

Having obtained this victory by divine aid, the emperor reached Cilicia with his army unharmed. There he was received with much joy and charity by Leo, lord of the Armenians, and provisions were supplied abundantly for his army. When he had determined to remain there to refresh the army, at the exhortation of the aforesaid lord of the Armenians he devoted himself to hunting in order to refresh his spirit.

On a certain day, when he was burning with the force of the heat and had descended into a certain river for the sake of cooling himself, by the Lord's permission he was drowned in it, to the irreparable injury of all Christianity. For Saladin feared his arrival to such a degree that he contemplated leading himself with his Turks out of Syria into Egypt, despairing that he could hold against him those places through which the emperor was to pass. Hence he then commanded all things to be destroyed. Thus the walls of Laodicea, Gibellum, Tortosa, Byblos, Beirut, and Sidon were broken down.

This renowned prince died in the thirty-eighth year of his empire. He was certainly a magnificent and illustrious man, who so greatly enlarged the empire in his time that after Charlemagne he scarcely had an equal in the magnificence of his deeds. Nevertheless, he sometimes persecuted the Church terribly, in which he cannot and ought not to be praised.

After his lamentable death, his son Conrad signified his father's death to King Guy through solemn messengers. He added that men of prudent judgment should be sent to him, by whose counsel his army might proceed. For before approaching the siege he wished, if the Lord permitted it, to recover those cities which Saladin had taken from the Christians.

He avoided the counsels of the prince of Antioch because of the wickedness of the deceased count of Tripoli, his father, for he had heard of the cruelty which he had exercised against the Christian people fleeing from Jerusalem. Baldwin, who had been castellan of Petra, and a certain knight named Galgan, a Poitevin by nation, were therefore directed from the king's side. These two came to him with an honorable company, and by their counsel they turned aside to Antioch to refresh the legions. There the Germans—men truly very disorderly in regard to food—finding an abundance of provisions and all things, while seeking to refresh their bodies poured themselves out into feasting.

Therefore, within a short time, so great a mortality followed from intemperance in food that scarcely a few thousand remained from so great an army. Hence the aforesaid young man desisted from the purpose of attacking the cities. His plan having been changed, he came by ship to Tyre, where he buried his father's body with imperial magnificence.

Section XX

But Saladin, hearing that the army of the emperor's son was coming to the siege by a land route, sent a certain Todequin, one of his princes, with part of the army to meet him. For this reason, because Saladin's army appeared to be diminished in great part, those who were among the princes of the Christians judged that they should fight with the sultan altogether, since it appeared that his army could easily be crushed. But the sultan, fearing this same thing, moved his camp away from the camp of the Christians and established it in a safer place. Yet the marquis's accomplices, who were unwilling for the Saracens to be attacked in his absence, dissuaded them from battle. Their opinion then prevailed.

Amid these things Conrad, son of the emperor, came into the camp. In his army there were scarcely seven hundred knights girded for war, for, as we said before, his army had been greatly diminished by the mortality. At his arrival the entire army, as had been ordained, girded itself to attack the city. The places were therefore assigned.

First, the maritime places, namely from the bridge as far as the houses of the bishop of Acre, were given to the king, the Pisans, and the Templars. From the same place as far as the Bridge of the Accursed they were given to the duke of Swabia. Thence as far as the house of Raymond they were given to the bishop of Salisbury and the English. The remainder as far as the other sea was given to Count Henry, Count Theobald, the French, the Genoese, the Hospitallers, the Provençals, and the Italians.

The day of assault arrived, but because envy was strong between the accomplices of the marquis and those of the king, while some attacked the city manfully, others rested. Hence on that day they accomplished nothing at all.

In those days two daughters of King Guy died, whom he had received from Sibylla, the firstborn daughter of King Amalric. A little afterward their mother died. The lord Humphrey of Toron, who had the second-born daughter of Amalric himself as wife,

namely, the lady Elizabeth, considered that after their death the kingdom appeared to devolve by right upon her. Trusting in the power and favor of Count Henry, he began to aspire to the kingdom.

The aforesaid Humphrey asserted that the kingdom was owed to his wife, both by her father's command and by the testament of the lord Baldwin, the leper king. King Guy asserted, to the contrary, that he had been justly and solemnly anointed at Jerusalem and crowned king, and that he ought never to be deposed from the royal throne, since he had committed nothing in the kingdom worthy of deposition. He promised that, when the king of the Franks arrived, he would stand by his judgment.

Notwithstanding this, at the will of Henry, count of Champagne, whom no one in the army dared contradict, it was done that the port duties and the forfeitures of delinquents should remain with Humphrey, so that King Guy, stripped of all jurisdiction, remained king in name alone. Therefore the king complained deservedly that, contrary to all justice, he was being stripped of the honor of the kingdom.

For this reason, summoning those from the army who had followed him from the beginning, he determined to commit himself to the chances of fortune and resolved to engage the Saracens together with them. The greater men, and those who appeared to be the columns of the army, feared that if the king committed himself to battle as he had resolved and succumbed in it, that whole multitude gathered in the service of Christ could easily perish. It was therefore brought about that King Guy was restored to all things as before.

But the marquis of Montferrat, to whom it appeared that the kingdom had devolved by hereditary right upon the aforesaid lady Elizabeth, daughter of the lord King Amalric, was led by desire for the kingdom. With the consent of her mother Calomaria, wife of the aforesaid Amalric, who was still living, he carried off the aforesaid Elizabeth from her husband, the lord Humphrey, with Elizabeth herself willing, and took her as wife in fact. This enormous and detestable deed displeased all the pilgrims. Nevertheless, they dissembled for this reason: unless he willed it, provisions could not come from Tyre. Moreover, as an astute man, he had inclined certain of the greater men to himself with gifts and presents, that aid might be furnished to him by them in the aforesaid business.

Section XXI

Meanwhile Philip, king of the Franks, desiring to hasten to the aid of the land of promise, entrusted the guardianship of the kingdom to his mother Adela and his maternal uncle William, archbishop of Reims. He forbade all his prelates and men to impose a tallage or any exaction in his kingdom for as long as they were in the service of God.

He commanded, moreover, that all his revenues and proceeds for three terms be brought to Paris. If it should happen that he died on that journey, the queen, the archbishop, the bishop of Paris, and three other men were to divide his treasure into two parts. From one of these they were to distribute, according to their judgment, for repairing churches destroyed by his wars; to divide the residue among those who had been excessively impoverished because of the tallages and exactions which he had exercised upon his men; and to give the remainder of the same part for his soul and the souls of his ancestors. They were to preserve the other half for the use of his son Louis, the only son he had, who was then three years old.

The kingdom having thus been ordered, he received the pilgrim's wallet and staff in the church of Saint Denis and came to Genoa by a land route with his company. At that place he had caused ships and provisions to be prepared. Entering the sea, by a prosperous journey he came to Messina, a city of Sicily, where he was honorably received by Tancred, king of Sicily. There he also bestowed provisions upon him abundantly.

After him the king of England began his journey in the month of August. King Philip therefore undertook the sea journey and, departing from Marseille, happily landed at the port of Acre on the vigil of Easter, where he was received by the Christians as an angel of the Lord. Having pitched his tents and constructed a house from boards, he was unwilling to attack the city. For in the king of England's absence he was unwilling to make an assault. They had agreed that they would assault the city only together. But in the meantime he prepared all things magnificently for storming the city.

The king of England, coming by sea with his men, landed on the island of Cyprus. When he was there and the Christian army which had followed him was treated less well by the lord of that island, he determined to attack him in hostile fashion. For he had heard that the man who then ruled the island had rebelled against the emperor of Constantinople and consequently possessed that island tyrannically. Thus Richard, king of England, landed his army upon the island and within a few days captured the tyrant and his daughter with all his treasure and occupied the whole island.

When this had been done, he left a garrison of his men there and took the road toward Acre. When he had not gone far from the island, his fleet encountered a certain ship of unheard-of size, exceedingly well furnished with men and arms. Saladin was sending it to the aid of those besieged in Acre. Thus the ship was captured and burned, and all who were in it were killed. At last the king of England reached Acre and established his camp before the city walls.

At the arrival of these two most powerful kings the Christian army was exceedingly increased. With continual assaults by day and night, denying rest to the besieged, they harassed them. At that time, while our men strove with all their strength to storm the city, many nobles and some of the princes rested there in the Lord. Among them were Count Theobald, seneschal of France; the count of Perche; the count of Clermont; the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Swabia, son of Frederick.

In the same year, while the kings were at the siege of Acre, there was an eclipse of the sun in the seventh degree of Cancer, and it lasted for four hours. In that year, namely, the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1199, [read: 1191] Pope Clement III, who had succeeded Gregory VIII, died. Pope Celestine succeeded Clement.

After the western people who had descended to aid in recovering the Holy Land had labored for a long time in the siege of the city of Acre, they compelled the besieged Saracens to surrender under this condition: that they be permitted to depart with their persons safe. In addition, they promised to restore to the Christians the wood of the Cross which Saladin had captured in battle. Moreover, they promised to pay two hundred thousand gold bezants. Thus the city of Acre was received in the year of the Lord 1194, on the Nones of July [read: in 1191, on the third day before the Ides of July].

After its capture Saladin, struck with consternation in spirit and despairing that he could hold the other fortifications against us, demolished all the walls of the maritime cities, namely, Porphyry, Caesarea, Ashkelon, Gaza, and also Damietta. But after the city had been captured, the kings caused the provisions which they found within the city to be divided among the people with an equal balance. They divided the captives between themselves.

But because Saladin did not observe the agreements which had been promised to the kings, namely, concerning restoring the Lord's Cross and returning the Christian captives who were in Saladin's whole dominion, the angered King Richard on one day commanded five thousand to be beheaded, retaining the richer and more powerful. They were afterward released for their redemption when an exceedingly great sum of money had been given. But the king of the Franks, employing better counsel, preserved his captives alive for an exchange of the Christians who were held captive by the Saracens.

Section XXII

After the Christian people captured the city of Acre, the princes and leaders of the army began to deliberate among themselves what they should do from there. Some said that they should set out for Egypt with all their forces by land and sea and wage war there with the most abominable nation of the Saracens. For it was believed that if, with the divine power favorable, the Christians could occupy that most opulent kingdom, they could easily occupy not only the kingdom of Jerusalem but also Damascus and lightly expel the Turks from all Syria and Asia.

Others judged it better that the kingdom and Jerusalem, the city beloved of God, should first be recovered, and afterward Damascus should be besieged; when it had been occupied, they should then set out for Egypt. The greater part of the lower people assented to this opinion. But the enemy of the human race, who endeavored to hinder so great an exaltation of the faith, hindered both plans through his machinations and cunning.

For he renewed the former discords between the kings of the Franks and the English. Each secretly persecuted the other, and each was suspect to the other. King Philip especially feared the deceit and cunning of the king of the English, chiefly because he saw that, by receiving the greatest gifts from Saladin, Richard had allied himself with him. Hence Philip began to aspire to return. A most grave illness then troubled him. But, as some writers of histories also assert, he hastened to return solely because he was led by desire for the county of Flanders.

Thus Philip, king of the Franks, abominating Richard's madness and detestable purpose, commended his armies to the duke of Burgundy. Contrary to the will of all who had followed his camp, he departed from the Holy Land and the service of God, leaving the army of the living God with great desolation. For it was believed that if these two princes had administered that war with one mind and had persisted to the end as they had promised, they could have occupied the whole East.

Thus the king of France departed and landed in Apulia. Thence, visiting the thresholds of the apostles and receiving the blessing of Pope Celestine, he returned to his own kingdom.

But King Richard, judging that the king of the Franks, whom he held as his rival, had not departed without a hidden cause and returned to his own territory, regarded him with great suspicion, lest Philip invade his lands in his absence. He himself therefore determined to sail westward, although the king of the Franks had confirmed by oath that he would not harm Richard's lands within fifty days after he himself had returned to his own.

Richard therefore departed and, adding affliction upon the desolate, left his army to his nephew, the count of Champagne. Moreover, he left to him for guardianship the land overseas which the Christians held in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

King Richard therefore entered the sea and, God so willing, suffered shipwreck when a most savage storm arose. But escaping with his men, while making passage through Austria very secretly, he was captured through ambushes placed by Sapuldus [i.e.,

Leopold], duke of that region. Stripped of all his goods, he was delivered to Emperor Henry. He was unjustly detained by him for a year and a half and, moreover, burdened with many expenses and exactions. At last, after two hundred thousand marks of silver had been given, he was released. Fearing to pass through the land of the king of the Franks, he returned by ship to England.

The aforesaid Henry, count of Champagne, to whom the king of the English had committed the care of the Christian army, was a pious and prudent man. Considering that after the departure of those two princes the land had remained desolate, he determined to remain there in the service of God. Considering his pious spirit, the masters of the Hospital and the Temple, together with the other pilgrims, elected him king of Jerusalem. They also gave him as wife the daughter of the king of Jerusalem whom the count of Montferrat had previously had. For the marquis had been killed by the Assassins in the preceding year.

Section XXIII

At that time, when the city of Acre was acquired by the Christians, there was found among the captured Saracens one of the sultan's emirs, named Carachux, a man of unheard-of prudence and wisdom among them. Obeying his counsel and cunning, as is contained in a certain chronicle, Saladin had occupied almost the whole East and Syria. As the Saracens who had been captured with him said, Saladin held him so dear that, in order to have him back, he would gladly give one of his sons in his place.

Therefore the man who had been appointed by the king of France over the Saracen captives, hearing of his reputation, summoned him to himself. When he saw that he was deformed in face and small in stature, he marveled how so great a prudence could be found in so contemptible a man. Nevertheless, that overseer honored him greatly. Drawing him to a secret place, he said, “I have heard that you are a most prudent man and most faithful in counsels. I therefore adjure you now to counsel me faithfully concerning the things which I shall ask you.”

The Saracen replied to him, “My lord, there was no need to adjure me, since you have determined to communicate the secret of your counsel with me, for every counselor ought to be faithful.” And he added, “My lord, let it not be burdensome to you to wait for me a little.”

Thus the Saracen withdrew for an hour, washed himself, and prayed humbly. Afterward he returned to that overseer. When they had sat down together, the overseer said, “This is the counsel which I seek from you: that, according to the prudence given to you by God, you disclose to me by what way, by what manner, and by what device the kingdom of Jerusalem can be obtained with less difficulty and, once recovered, preserved and peacefully possessed.”

Hearing these things, the Saracen was vehemently astounded and sought to be absolved from this counsel. But when the overseer pressed him to disclose altogether what he thought concerning that matter, the Saracen said, “By God, today you have destroyed the Saracens. And I, compelled by counsel, shall tell you the truth and shall give you counsel which will benefit your nation both now and in the future, but will work the desolation and destruction of our nation.

“The sum of my counsel is this. If you wish to recover the land which you call holy and, once it has been recovered, to possess it perpetually, it is expedient for you to capture Egypt.”

Then the overseer said, “Tell me by what way the kingdom of Egypt can be occupied.”

The Saracen answered, “It is agreed that the Christians are more powerful upon the sea than all nations. Hence, with their fleet, they can easily harass by continual incursions the sea which adjoins Egypt, so that merchandise does not come into Egypt. But if the fleet is powerful, it will also be able to run along the river Nile and harass it, and to impede the vessels which carry goods from all Egypt to Cairo and Babylon. In this manner they will destroy the Saracens without sword and iron.

“Then let them strive with all their strength to obtain Damietta. When it has been captured, truly, my lord, if the Christians have good governance, it will be easiest for them to subject the whole kingdom of Egypt to their dominion.”

It must be known that at the time when that Saracen said these things, Damietta was a most strongly fortified city. But because the Christians afterward captured it twice, from whose capture the Saracens believed that they would lose all Egypt, for this reason the Saracens, after recovering it, destroyed it utterly and built its walls, and the city itself, far from the sea. Thus it is now a very opulent city.

“But if they are unwilling to besiege Damietta,” he continued, “then they will necessarily have to capture the land at the mouth of Rosetta, which is very broad and suitable for navigation, because, once this has been obtained, it would be easy to capture Alexandria.”

In the year of the Lord 1193, that marvelous sultan Saladin died at Damascus. He was a magnificent man, very experienced in arms, liberal and munificent. By his cunning he expelled the Latin Christians from Syria and subjected almost the whole East to his dominion.

When he had died, two of his sons succeeded to the dominion, namely, Saphadin over Syria and Meralinus over Egypt. But for a long time there was a contest for the empire between Saladin's sons and Saphadin, the brother of the aforesaid Saladin.

This notable account is read in a certain chronicle: when Saladin saw that he was altogether about to die shortly, he summoned one of his men whom he knew to be most faithful and said to him, “You who have been accustomed to carry my standards in battles, now carry the standard of my death, namely, this cheap little cloth in which this cheap and putrid body must be wrapped, through the city of the Damascenes, and cry out, saying: ‘Behold, the lord of the East, dying, carries away with him from all his glory nothing except this cheap cloth which you see.’” Thus Saladin, the scourge of the Latin faithful in the East, ceased by dying.

Section XXIV

Around the end of the empire of Frederick I, as he passed through Florence, where he had been honorably received, although he had been reconciled to the Church, nevertheless, because the Florentines, holding with the Church, had not been favorable to him, he was moved by complaints from the nobles of the city that their castles near Florence had been taken from them because of the Florentines' insolence. Frederick took away the entire county of the Florentines as far as the walls.

He did the same to other cities of Tuscany, restoring those castles to the nobles as being subject to the empire. He did this because those cities had held with the Church, not with him, except Pisa and Pistoia, which had held the party of the empire. But after four years they recovered their county.

Around that time a fire was accidentally kindled in Florence and, assisted by the wind, burned the buildings from the foot of the Old Bridge as far as the Old Market. Again in the same year, another fire burned the houses from the church of Saint Martin as far as the oratory of blessed John the Baptist and as far as the church of Saint Mary of the Ughi. The Old Bridge also collapsed because of an inundation of waters. These things occurred because of the crimes which abounded in the city.

In the same year seditions and quarrels arose among the Florentine citizens. Because the city was governed by consuls under a fixed form, and the nobles were excluded from the offices of this city, and other evils arose because of their pride, many injuries followed from it and several men were killed. This evil lasted for two years.

Likewise, the Florentines moved war against the Aretines because the latter had aided the Counts Guidi. The Aretines fought against the commune of the Florentines and were pacified. Likewise, the Florentines, fighting against the Sienese in defense of the men of Montepulciano, prevailed and expelled them.

Likewise, in the year of the Lord 1188, when a certain bishop of Ravenna of the Cistercian Order preached the Cross at Florence in aid of the Holy Land, very many devoutly took up the Cross and set out with a great company. They aided sufficiently in the capture of the land of Damietta. On account of this Emperor Frederick restored to them their county as far as ten miles.

Around that time the arm of blessed Philip the Apostle was bestowed upon the Florentines by the queen of Jerusalem. It is in the church of Saint John the Baptist.

Section XXV

Returning the pen to the western kingdoms: when Frederick I had died, as has been said, a son of the aforesaid Frederick, who was called, and was, Henry VI, was created emperor of the Romans by the consent of the princes in the year of the Lord 1190. From the beginning of the world, according to the shorter number, it was the five thousand one hundred fifty-fourth year; according to the other opinion, the six thousand three hundred sixty-ninth. He ruled for seven years.

This Henry was strenuous in deeds, fierce against enemies, and munificent in giving. At Rome, after receiving the imperial diadem, he delivered to the Romans the city of Tusculum which had been handed over to him. Mindful of the injuries and slaughter which the Tusculans had inflicted upon them, they utterly destroyed the city. When the people who were in the city had been dispersed, some migrated with their wives and children to Rome, others to Tivoli, and others to Velletri.

But certain men, since it was intolerable for them to abandon their own soil, assembled together and established new settlements in that region, which remain to our own age, namely, the castle of Molaria, Rocca di Papa, Rocca Priora, Borgo, and the castle of San Cesareo.

In the same year Emperor Henry, aspiring to the kingdom of Sicily, entered Apulia while the Apulians resisted him in hostile fashion. Subjecting all things to himself, he reached Naples. When he had besieged that city for three continuous months, so

pestilential a disease invaded his army that all there either died or fell sick. Therefore the emperor himself, also languishing, was compelled to abandon with a few men the land which he had occupied.

In the same year Louis, son of Philip, king of the Franks, became ill to the point of despair of life. The whole community of the monks of Saint-Denis, carrying with them the Lord's nail and crown of thorns, together with the clergy and innumerable people, walking with bare feet, visited him. Afterward the venerable man Maurice, bishop of Paris, delivered a sermon to the people. Prayer having been poured forth, the boy, by touching the holy relics, was freed from peril through the grace of God. Moreover, on that same day the serenity and temperateness of the air, long lost, were restored.

In the same year the bishop of Liège, fleeing from the face of Emperor Henry while he stayed with William, archbishop of Reims, was deceived by treachery and killed by the accomplices of the same Henry. There was no other cause except that he had been elected and consecrated bishop contrary to Henry's will.

In the same year the count of Flanders died at the city of Acre. Because he had no other male heir, possession of that county devolved upon Baldwin, his nephew, namely, the son of the count of Hainaut. This Baldwin, as will be said below, was afterward made emperor of Constantinople.

In the year of the Lord 1193, at the devil's instigation, a grave and dangerous war began between the king of France and the king of England. For King Philip entered Normandy with the army of the Franks; he greatly desired to occupy it. He besieged the most strongly fortified castle of Verneuil. But hearing that the Normans had surrounded the city of Évreux with a siege, he raised the siege, put the Normans to flight, and utterly destroyed the city itself. But the king of England captured Bayeux with his army.

Thus these two Christian princes, pursuing one another with implacable hatred, struck one another and mutually inflicted many irreparable injuries to the detriment of the eastern Christians.

In the year of the Lord 1195, when King Philip had led an army against the king of England into the archbishopric of Bourges, and the king of England had met him with a grave multitude and pitched his camp not far from the camp of the Franks, each army prepared itself for battle. But, God disposing it, contrary to everyone's opinion the king of England laid down his arms and, accompanied by a few companions, approached the king of the Franks. There publicly before all he rendered him homage and fealty for the duchy of Normandy and the counties of Poitou and Anjou. Thus a peace not long to endure was made between them.

In the same year Roger, firstborn son of Tancred, king of Sicily, whom his father had caused to be solemnly crowned king even during his own lifetime and to whom he had given as wife the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople, died. Not long afterward his father Tancred also died from grief, leaving three daughters and one male child named William, whom his mother Sibylla immediately caused to be crowned king of Sicily.

But Emperor Henry, who asserted that he pertained to the kingdom of Sicily on account of his wife Constance, aspired to it and gathered a great army. For he was then powerful in the treasure which he had extorted from Richard, king of the English. Entering that kingdom with great power, he obtained it without resistance.

But the aforesaid Sibylla, formerly Tancred's wife, together with her son William and her daughters, seeing that she could not resist the emperor's power, took refuge together with the archbishop of Salerno in a certain most strongly fortified castle of Sicily. Emperor Henry caused negotiations for peace to be held with her. Making a virtue of necessity, she composed terms with the emperor in this manner. The emperor, interposing an oath, granted to her son William and his heirs the county of Lecce, which his father had possessed in Apulia before the kingdom. Moreover, he added to him the principality of Taranto.

When this had been done, and the aforesaid queen had committed herself to his faith, he, forgetful of his faith, sent her captive into Germany with her son William and her daughters, as well as certain other nobles of the kingdom whom he held suspect, and commanded them to be shut up under close custody. Moreover, he imprisoned the archbishop himself, and deprived his brothers and certain others of their eyes.

But Philip, full brother of Emperor Henry, took as wife the widow of the aforesaid Roger, daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. Emperor Henry, after he obtained all Sicily, despoiled that kingdom of gold, silver, and other goods through grave and frequent levies and unbearable exactions, and returned to Teutonia. He brought it about among the princes of Germany that they elected his only son Frederick, whom he had begotten from his wife Constance and who was not yet three years old, king of Germany.

In the same year the king of the Moabites invaded Spain in hostile fashion with an infinite multitude of Saracens. Alfonso, king of Castile, met him with a gathered army of Christians. But, God permitting it, he was defeated in battle. In that battle more than fifty thousand Christians were killed.

In the year of the Lord 1196, war arose again between the king of France and the king of England. Baldwin, count of Flanders, openly withdrawing from the king of the Franks, adhered to the king of the English and began gravely to persecute the king of the Franks, his lord. In this deed Reynald, count of Dammartin, a man most strenuous in arms, adhered to him.

When Emperor Henry had died, Innocent III was then made pope. Two emperors were elected, concerning whom treatment will be made in the following title.

Section XXVI

Around the year of the Lord 1190, when the aforesaid Philip, king of the Franks, was at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, he heard of the shameful death of a certain Christian perpetrated by the Jews. Showing compassion for the Christian religion, without his household knowing where he was going he suddenly took the road and came with the greatest speed to Bray near Paris. Guards having been placed at the gates of the castle, the Jews having been seized, he caused more than eighty to be burned.

For the countess of that castle, corrupted by their gifts, had delivered to them a certain Christian upon whom they falsely laid theft and homicide. Thus, moved by ancient hatred, they led him through the entire town with his hands bound behind his back and crowned with thorns, scourging him, and afterward hung him upon a gibbet.

In the same year, on the day before the Ides of March, at Nogent, in the portico, battle lines of knights descending from the air were seen upon the earth. A marvelous battle having been fought there among them, they suddenly vanished.

A certain William, an English priest, a charitable man flourishing in holiness of life and morals and a most vigilant pursuer of his office, migrated to the Lord in a Rogation procession. At the time of his death many miracles were wrought at his tomb: the blind were given sight and the sick were healed. Hence, from the fame of the miracles, his body began to be visited by very many.

At that time letters were also brought to King Philip from the regions overseas, saying that Arsacids [i.e., Assassins] were being sent to kill him at the suggestion of Richard, king of England. For at that time they had killed the marquis, the king's blood relative, overseas, who had governed the Holy Land with marvelous vigor before the kings came there.

Therefore, when King Philip had remained troubled for many days, at last, after taking counsel, he sent messengers to the Old Man, king of the Arsacids, that through him he might learn the truth of the matter. Meanwhile he then established guards for his body, always carrying bronze clubs in their hands and watching around him alternately throughout the entire night. When the messengers returned, he learned through letters from the Old Man of the Arsacids that the rumors were false, and thus he withdrew from the false suspicion.

Section XXVII

In the year of the Lord 1183, in the third year of the reign of Philip, king of the Franks, seven thousand Cotterels and more were killed in the province of Bourges by the inhabitants of that land, who had allied together as one against the enemies of God. For these men, laying waste the king's land, carried away plunder, dragged captured men with them most vilely, and slept with the wives of the captives while the captives themselves looked on—O abomination. They burned churches.

Moreover, leading away captured priests and religious men, and mockingly calling them their singers amid the very torments, they derided them, saying, “Sing to us, singers, sing,” and immediately gave them blows on the face or beat them with thick rods. Some of them, scourged in this way, rendered their blessed souls to God. Others, half dead through a long confinement in prison, returned to their own territory after money had been given for their redemption.

Finally, the sins of men requiring it, the same Cotterels despoiled churches. Drawing the Lord's body from the gold and silver vessels in which it was reserved for the necessity of the sick, alas, they cast it violently upon the earth and trampled it underfoot. Their concubines, moreover, fashioned veils for their own heads from the corporals. They carried the chalices with them irreverently and, breaking them with hammers or stones, stripped them.

The inhabitants of that province, seeing these things, disclosed them by letters to their lord King Philip. Having received an army from him, they unanimously made an assault upon the enemies. Having killed all of them, from the least to the greatest, they were enriched by their plunder.

In the same year many heretics in Flanders were burned by William, archbishop of Reims, and Philip, the illustrious count of Flanders.

When a great dissension had arisen for a long time between the king of Aragon and Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, which could be pacified by no means, as Vincent says in the Speculum Historiale at the place cited above, God is said to have appeared to a certain poor man named Durand in the city of Anicium, which is now called Le Puy. He is said to have delivered to him a

sheet upon which was the image of the blessed Virgin seated upon a throne, holding in her hands the image of the boy Jesus, and around it this inscription was impressed: “Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, grant us peace.”

Hearing this, the princes assembled with all the peoples at Anicium on the Assumption of the blessed Virgin. Then the bishop of that city, together with the clergy and people, placed that poor carpenter in an elevated place and listened to him most attentively as he boldly reported the Lord's command concerning the restoration of peace among them and showed the sheet with the image of the blessed Virgin to all as a sign. Raising their voice with tears, with a most ready mind they promised under oath that they would preserve peace.

As a sign of the peace to be preserved, they always carried the aforesaid seal of the blessed Virgin impressed in tin and placed upon the breast, with white linen hoods made after the manner of the scapular of white monks. What is marvelous, all who carried a hood of this kind with the sign were so secure that if anyone had by some chance killed another's brother, and the surviving brother saw the fratricide coming to meet him with the sign already mentioned, immediately, consigning his brother's death to oblivion, he received him with tears in the kiss of peace and, leading him into his own house, ministered to him the necessities of sustenance.

Around the same time, on the feast of blessed Denis, a certain little boy suddenly died. He was carried by his parents to the church of the same martyr and placed before the bodies of the saints upon the altar. By their merits he was restored to life before all the people.

Chartres, a populous city in France, was consumed by a sudden conflagration. In that fire the renowned church of the blessed Virgin Mary, together with the entire cloister, was burned and collapsed. There a multitude of relics and men and an immense mass of ornaments perished.

Section XXVIII

Around those times King Philip sent Stephen, bishop of Noyon, to Canute, king of the Danes, that he should send him one of his sisters, whom Philip would receive in marriage, as Vincent reports in the *Speculum Historiale* at the place cited above. Canute, accepting this gratefully, delivered to him Vigeburg [i.e., Ingeborg of Denmark], a holy maiden adorned with good morals. The king took her as his lawful wife at Arras and caused her to be crowned queen.

But soon afterward, at the devil's instigation, the king himself, hindered, as is said, by certain spells worked by sorceresses, began to hold in hatred the wife whom he had desired for so long. Not long afterward, when the line of consanguinity through Charles, count of Flanders, had been computed by the bishops and barons, he caused the marriage to be separated.

The queen, however, unwilling to return to the Danes, determined to remain in religious houses in France, preferring to preserve conjugal continence perpetually rather than, being joined to another, to violate the bonds of the first marriage. But because that marriage was said to have been dissolved unjustly, Pope Celestine, at the complaint of the Danes, sent two legates into France, namely, Melior, cardinal priest, and Cencius, subdeacon. Having summoned a council at Paris, they treated of restoring the marriage; but, fearing for their own skin and acting rather lukewarmly, they brought nothing to completion.

In the same year there was a universal eclipse of the moon on the fourth day before the Ides of November, and it lasted two hours.

In the month of February King Philip entered Normandy and captured the city of Evreux, Neufbourg, the valley of Rouloir, and several other fortifications. He also besieged Rouen; but, seeing that he was making no progress there, he departed in anger after burning his petraries, mangonels, and other engines.

Afterward he entered Normandy again and besieged Verneuil. When part of the walls had been destroyed, he heard a message that the city of Evreux, which he held fortified, had been captured by the Normans. He withdrew from the siege in anger and, after putting the Normans to flight, utterly overthrew that city and, in a vehement spirit, also destroyed the very churches of God.

In the same year William, count of Leicester, a strong and magnanimous man, was captured by King Philip and placed in prison at Etampes. Meanwhile the king of England captured Loches and, expelling the canons of Saint Martin of Tours, despoiled them of their possessions.

When King Philip heard this, in retaliation he seized all the churches in his territory that belonged to the bishoprics and abbeys of the other's land. At the instigation of certain wicked men, he expelled the monks and clerics who served God there and transferred their revenues to his own uses.

Thus Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, did not cease from their former rivalry, but persecuted one another with implacable hatred. Especially along the borders of their realms they frequently made many grave incursions and acts of plunder.

In the same year, in the district of Beauvais between Clermont and Compiegne, such rains accompanied by thunder, lightning, and storms occurred as no antiquity of men records. Stones falling from heaven utterly destroyed trees, fruit-bearing vines, and crops. Villages also were destroyed and burned by lightning in many places. Very many ravens were seen flying through the air from place to place amid a storm of this kind, carrying live coals in their beaks and setting houses on fire. Men of both sexes also perished by strokes of lightning, and many other dreadful things were manifested on that day.

On that same day, in the diocese of Laon, we heard that a certain castle, namely, Mont-Chauve, was also destroyed by lightning. An unusual disturbance of the air occurred. Whirlwinds, storms, and hail destroyed the vineyards and harvests, whence a severe famine followed in the next year.

In the year 1195 the truces were renounced by the king of England, and war began anew. Then King Philip utterly overthrew the valley of Rouloir, which he held fortified. A few days afterward he gave his sister, whom Richard, king of England, had sent back, as wife to the count of Ponthieu.

In the year of the Lord 1196, in March, a sudden and excessive inundation of waters destroyed villages in many places and killed the people dwelling in them. It also broke the bridges over the river Seine.

In the same year King Philip took as wife a woman named Mary, daughter of the duke of Moravia and Bohemia and margrave of Istria.

After a short time King Richard, setting aside his oath, deceitfully captured the castle of Millon, otherwise called Pago, in the territory of Bourges, and utterly overthrew it. On account of this King Philip, having gathered an army, besieged Aumale. While he remained there, the king of England recovered the castle of Neufchatel after money had been given to the knights guarding it.

King Philip attacked the aforesaid castle with erected petraries and other engines for seven weeks and more, until, when the tower and walls had been broken, he compelled the warriors within to surrender. When he had completely destroyed the castle, he besieged Neufchatel, captured it in a short time, and gave it to Count Robert to guard.

Section XXIX

In the same year Maurice, bishop of Paris of venerable memory, father of the poor and of orphans, happily migrated to the Lord, as Vincent testifies in book thirty of the *Speculum Historiale*. Among the innumerable good works which he performed, he founded four abbeys and endowed them from his own expenses, namely, Herivaux, Hermetias, Hedera, and Gif.

Because many at that time doubted the resurrection of bodies, which he himself believed most firmly, when dying he commanded that a scroll be written containing this text: "I believe that my Redeemer lives," and so forth. Therefore, when he was at the point of death, he asked that this scroll be placed extended upon his breast, so that it could be read by all who came to his burial.

Odo, a native of Sully and brother of Henry, archbishop of Bourges, succeeded him. In morals and life he was far unlike his predecessor.

In the year of the Lord 1197 Baldwin, count of Flanders, who in the preceding year had done homage to King Philip at Compiegne, openly withdrew from his fealty at Compiegne and allied himself with Richard, king of England. He also gravely persecuted the king of the Franks himself and his land. Reynald, son of the count of Dammartin, acted similarly. Out of the greatest affection the king had given him as wife the countess of Boulogne together with her county.

In the same year the queen of Hungary, sister of Philip, king of the Franks, after the death of her husband, set out for the regions overseas with great equipment. When she had already landed at Ptolemais, she died a short time afterward.

In the same city and in those same days Henry, count of Troyes, her nephew, who had been established as king in the Holy Land, leaned upon a certain window in the upper chamber of his palace and, dashed down in a pitiable fall, expired.

His mother, named Mary, was a sister of Philip, king of the Franks, on her father's side and also a sister of Richard, king of England, on her mother's side. She governed the county of Champagne with sufficient vigor and ruled it in manly fashion. When she received the news of the death of her son and of her sister the queen, she grieved exceedingly and died not long afterward. Her son Theobald, a youth of excellent disposition, succeeded to the county.

In the same year Peter the Chanter of Paris, conspicuous in both life and learning, a lover of piety and justice, died. At the monastery of Longpont he migrated to the Lord in great devotion and holy confession.

In the same year, namely, the third year from the beginning of the preaching of a certain priest named Fulk, the Lord began to work many miracles through him. By preaching he also induced many to make restitution of usury. For he restored sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the mute, and walking to the lame.

In the following year, namely, 1198, the aforesaid Fulk associated with himself in the office of preaching another priest, namely, Peter of Roissy, a learned and good man, who recalled many from the sins of lust and usury. He also called certain public prostitutes to conjugal continence. But some, rejecting marriage and desiring to serve God alone, assumed the religious habit and were placed in the new abbey of Saint Anthony near Paris, which was founded at that time for their sake. Others exposed themselves to various pilgrimages and labors, walking with bare feet.

Besides these, Herluin, a monk learned in the sacred writings, preached in Brittany on this side of the sea. Through him an innumerable multitude of Britons assumed the Lord's cross and, suddenly crossing the sea without waiting for the other pilgrims, reached Acre with the same monk as their leader. But, having no ruler there, they were divided into many parts and accomplished nothing profitable.

At that time many novelties also appeared at Rosetum in Brie. In the sacrifice of the altar the wine was visibly changed into blood and the bread into flesh. In the Vermandois a certain knight who had died returned to life and foretold many future things to many people. Afterward he also lived for a long time without food and drink.

In France, around the feast of John the Baptist, honeyed dew falling from heaven during the night permeated the ears of grain, so that many who placed them in their mouths plainly perceived the odor and taste of honey.

In the month of July a violent storm arose, and stones of such magnitude fell from heaven that from Trebacum as far as the monastery of Cale, and in the surrounding places, they utterly destroyed crops, vineyards, and woods.

Section XXX

In the same year, in the month of July, contrary to every expectation and to the king's own edict, King Philip brought the Jews back to Paris and gravely persecuted the churches of God. Not long afterward, namely, in the month of September, punishment followed.

For Richard, king of England, with one thousand five hundred armed knights, Cotterels, and innumerable foot soldiers, laid waste the Vexin around Gisors. He destroyed Courcelles, burned many country villages, and carried away their plunder.

King Philip desired to cross to Gisors, but no easy passage lay open to him. With only five hundred knights, he furiously rushed through the midst of the enemy battle lines and, fighting manfully against the enemy, escaped unharmed by the grace of God and reached Gisors, although many of his knights were captured and others put to flight.

For there were captured the renowned men Alan of Roucy, Matthew of Marly, William the Younger of Mello, Philip of Nanteuil, and several others. Thus the king of England withdrew in triumph and divided the plunder.

King Philip entered Normandy and laid it waste as far as Neufbourg and as far as Beaumont-le-Roger. He then immediately dismissed his army, less cautiously, as it seemed to certain persons.

When the king of England heard this, he carried away great plunder from the Vexin in the district of Beauvais with his Cotterels, over whom Mercadier had command. Philip, bishop of that city, a man strenuous in arms and a blood relative of King Philip, and William of Mello pursued him fiercely in order to wrest the plunder from him. After laying ambushes, the king captured them and committed them to prison for a long time.

At that time the count of Flanders captured Sanctum Hocimarum [read: Saint-Omer].

Around that time Henry, bishop of Bourges, died. William, abbot of Chaalis, succeeded him in the episcopate. This William, as Vincent reports from his deeds in the *Speculum Historiale* at the place cited above, was noble in lineage. From boyhood he held a canonry in the churches of Paris and Soissons. When he had matured and grown into manly strength, being unable to bear the troubles of the world, he broke their fetters and flew to the hermitage of the Grandmontines.

There he lived for some time in sincerity of mind and purity of conscience. But when a disturbance arose in the same order, fearing for the tranquility of his mind, he transferred himself to the Cistercian Order in the monastery of Pontigny. Professing there and advancing in virtues, he received the office of prior.

Afterward, from being abbot of Fontaine-Jean, he was transferred to the monastery of Chaalis, where by election he received the office of abbot. Everywhere he treated his subjects with gentleness and propagated examples of the virtues.

At last, although unwilling, he was raised to pontifical honor in the church of Bourges and submitted to the burden, not to the honor. He did not alter the observance of the order he had first received, but retained his former humility and habit. Although he found the delicacies of an archbishop's foods, he did not abandon the practice of his ancient sobriety.

Gladly intent upon meditation and prayer, he was solicitous for the care of souls committed to him. Receiving their confessions with great gentleness, he comforted their spirits. He diligently persisted in preaching, either in person or through another.

The Lord also added to him that grace of merits whereby even while living he shone with miracles. Hence a certain priest named Girard, who had so lost the use of his left hand that he could not celebrate, came to him. When William had stroked his hand and enjoined him to confess and to conduct himself better, after the third day he fully recovered.

A certain boy also, with his brain and eyes disturbed and suffering from a trembling of the head, was brought to him. After William stroked his head, he restored him to health.

This saint was almost always cheerful and joyful, which displeased certain austere men. Although in this manner he showed himself sociable and lovable, he avoided with the greatest intent the vice of detraction, which is accustomed to creep into the course of speech even among men who diligently guard themselves against it.

At last, after assuming the cross and wishing to set out for the territory of the Albigensians against the heretics, he was seized by illness while he prepared the necessities for the journey. He died on the fifth day before the Ides of January. Buried in the church of Bourges, he immediately began to shine with miracles. Pope Honorius III canonized him after an inquiry had been made concerning his life and miracles.

Around that time, when the archbishop of Sens, a man full of God, migrated to God, Peter of Corbeil, formerly the teacher of Pope Innocent, succeeded him. Through Innocent's hand and authority Peter merited to receive first the see of Cambrai and then that of Sens.

Not long afterward, at Dijon, a council of all the bishops, abbots, and priors of the entire kingdom was summoned by the aforesaid Cardinal Peter. But because he was endeavoring to place the kingdom of the Franks under interdict, an appeal to the Apostolic See was made by the king's messengers. Nevertheless, the cardinal, not deferring to the appeal, pronounced the sentence before all. He commanded, however, that it not be published until twenty days after Christmas. From that time the whole land of the king of the Franks lay under interdict.

When King Philip heard this, he was angered because his bishops had consented to imposing the interdict. He disturbed them from their own sees, expelled their canons or clerics from his land, and confiscated their goods. He also expelled the parish priests and plundered all their goods.

To the accumulation of all this evil, he shut up Vigeburg, his holy wife, destitute of all the aid of her people, in his castle at Etampes. He also tormented the knights, who had formerly enjoyed their liberty, and their men, and took from them a third part of all their goods. From his burgesses also he extorted intolerable tallages and exactions.

In the year of the Lord 1200, on the Ascension of the Lord, peace was restored between the two kings, namely, those of the Franks and the English, between Vernon and the Isle of Andely. On the following Monday Louis, the only-begotten son of the king of the Franks, took as wife Blanche, daughter of Alfonso, king of Castile, and niece of the king of England.

For this marriage John, king of England, quitclaimed to the aforesaid Louis and his heirs all the fortifications, cities, castles, and land which the king of the Franks had captured, and granted to him all the land on this side of the sea after his own death, if it should happen that he died without a lawful heir.

Section XXXI

In the year of the Lord 1201 Octavian, bishop of Ostia, and John, bishop of Velletri, came into France as legates. At their admonition the king received Vigeburg, his wife, into some degree of favor and for a time separated from the woman whom he had taken in addition to her.

Then the Council of Soissons was summoned by the legates Octavian and John. Philip, king of France, attended it with his bishops and princes. There for fifteen days treatment was made concerning whether the marriage of Queen Vigeburg should be confirmed or separated.

After many and various disputations of the jurists, the king, affected by the long delay and weariness, departed in the morning with Vigeburg his wife without greeting them. Through a messenger he commanded them to be told that he was taking his wife with him as his own and that at that time he did not wish to be separated from her.

When this was heard, the council was dissolved, while the cardinals and bishops who had assembled to effect a divorce were astonished. John departed with shame, but Octavian remained in France.

In the same year Count Theobald died in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Because he had no male heir, King Philip received his land under tutelage and guardianship. He had only one daughter; but afterward a posthumous son was born to him, because his wife had remained pregnant.

In the same year John, king of England, came into France. King Philip received him very honorably at Paris and gave him many and various precious gifts.

Then also, before Octavian returned to Rome, Mary, whom King Philip had taken in addition to his wife, died. By her the same king had begotten a son named Philip and one daughter. He had kept her for five years contrary to God's decree and law.

After she died, Pope Innocent III, concerning whom below, at the petition of King Philip, commanded that the aforesaid children be lawful heirs, and afterward confirmed it by his letters. This deed displeased many at that time.

In the same year King Philip held a conference with the king of England between Vernon and the Isle of Andely. Summoning him as his liege man, he commanded him to come to Paris fifteen days after Easter for the county of Poitou and Anjou and for the duchy of Aquitaine, to respond concerning the things which he would bring forward against him.

Because on the appointed day he neither came in his own person nor wished to send a sufficient representative, King Philip, after taking counsel, entered Normandy and utterly overthrew the little fortification called Boutavant. Then he captured Argueil and Mortemer, and at last Gournay, and subjected to himself all the land which Hugh of Gournay held.

There he made Arthur a knight, delivering to him the county of Brittany, which belonged to him by hereditary right, and adding to him the counties of Poitou and Anjou, which he was to acquire for himself by right of arms. He also delivered two hundred knights to him as aid and a great sum of money. Thus he received him as his liege man in perpetuity.

When Arthur withdrew from him, the king of England unexpectedly came upon him and captured him together with Hugh le Brun and Geoffrey de Laudunaco [read: Geoffrey of Lusignan], and afterward the count of Limoges.

These three were liege men of the king of England himself. But because he had taken his own wife, namely, the daughter of the count of Angouleme, away from Hugh le Brun, who was viscount of Thouars, they had withdrawn from his fealty and had allied themselves under oath with the king of the Franks, hostages also having been given.

When winter came, each king, without peace or truce, ceased from war with the machines secured [read: with the fortresses secured].

In the year of the Lord 1202 King Philip entered Aquitaine with an army and, when the men of Poitou and the Bretons had joined him as aid, captured many fortifications. Then also the count of Alencon, allied with him, delivered his land to him to guard. Returning into Normandy, the king captured Conches, the Isle of Andely, and the valley of Rouloir.

Meanwhile Pope Innocent III sent the abbot of Hamary to the king of the Franks and the king of the English to restore peace between them. Taking with him the abbot of Trois-Fontaines, they commanded each king by apostolic authority to summon the bishops and princes of the kingdom and make peace while preserving the justice of each, and to restore to their former condition the abbeys and other churches destroyed by their peoples.

When King Philip heard a command of this kind, he recalled the cause to the examination of the supreme pontiff by interposing an appeal. Then, gathering an army, he besieged Pont-de-l'Arche and, after wooden towers had been erected around it, attacked it strongly and captured it.

After this he besieged the most strongly fortified Chateau Gaillard, built by King Richard upon a high rock over the Seine. He remained in that siege for six months and more and at last captured it with a great battle.

In the year already noted, Fulk, priest of Melliacum [read: Neuilly], died. Many who had been signed with the cross through him came to Venice after many labors, but their passage was impeded. Many died, many returned, and the remainder spent what they possessed.

On the thirtieth day of May, three days before the Ascension of the Lord, an earthquake occurred, and a terrible voice was heard. A great part of the city of Acre collapsed together with the king's palace, and many people perished. Tyre was almost entirely overthrown. Arqa, a most strongly fortified town, was destroyed even to the ground. The greatest part of Tripoli collapsed, and very many of the common people were suffocated.

Antarados, however, was preserved unharmed. In it blessed Peter the Apostle is said to have constructed the first basilica of the blessed Mother of God. Thereafter barrenness of the earth and mortality of men followed.

John, king of England, captured Arthur, count of Brittany, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey, at Mirebeau. When the others had been liberated through hostages, he himself, as is reported, secretly killed Arthur. Concerning this he was accused by the barons before the king of France, whose vassal he was. When he refused to appear, after many citations he was disinherited by the judgment of his peers.

In the year of the Lord 1204 Peter, king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and duke of Montpellier, offered his kingdom to Pope Innocent. For the remedy of his soul and for that of his parents, he established it as tributary to the pope and his successors in perpetuity, so that annually two hundred fifty Nassemuntine [read: Massamutine] coins should be rendered from the chamber

of the king himself to the Apostolic See, and that he and his successors should be held specially faithful and obligated to that same see.

Section XXXII

Therefore, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1197, after Emperor Henry VI had caused his son Frederick to be elected king of Germany and fealty and homage to be rendered to him by the princes, he returned again with his son Frederick into the kingdom of Sicily. While he was in the city of Messina in the presence of Constance his wife, he ended his last day.

After his death certain members of his household, departing from the kingdom, betook themselves to the lands of the Church which Henry had tyrannically usurped. Markward went to the March of Ancona, Conrad returned to the duchy of Spoleto, and Philip withdrew to Montefiascone, occupying the whole patrimony.

When this had been done, Philip himself, brother of the aforesaid dead Emperor Henry, aspiring to the empire, returned into Germany. Certain men, however, remained in the kingdom: in Sicily, William Capparone; in Calabria, Frederick; and in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, Dipold and his supporters.

After the death of her husband, Empress Constance returned to Palermo and sent for the duchess of Spoleto, who was raising her son in the March. Having had him brought to herself, she caused him to be crowned in the kingdom of Sicily and began to reign in Sicily with him.

When Emperor Henry died, Pope Celestine died almost immediately. Innocent succeeded him, concerning whom treatment will be made in the following title.

In the year of the Lord 1199 Richard, king of England, heard that a certain knight of the diocese of Limoges had found a great treasure in his castle. The king himself, desiring ambitiously to have that treasure, demanded the aforesaid knight from the viscount of Limoges, to whom he had fled for his safety. When the viscount refused, Richard besieged him in the aforesaid castle.

While he attacked that castle strongly by day and night, he was struck by an arrow and died a few days afterward. He was buried at Fontevraud, where he rests. Because he was without children, his brother John, who was called Lackland, succeeded to the kingdom. Some things concerning him have been said above.

Here happily ends the second historical part of the lord Antoninus, archbishop of Florence.

Register of the Second Historical Part of the Lord Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence

A

- The Arian heresy was more universal, more dangerous, more enduring, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III.
- The ignominious death of Arius is related. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § I.
- Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, endured such great things from the Arians. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § II, and Title X, Chapter II, throughout.
- Apollinaris, the heretical bishop of Laodicea, flourished. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § X.
- Ambrose is elected bishop. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI.
- The Arians, confounded by a notable miracle, are compelled to leave the church of Nicaea. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § III.
- The Alemanni were laid low by Emperor Gratian near Strasbourg in a very great slaughter. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § VI.
- Ambrose acted steadfastly against Justina and her son, the emperor, who were Arians. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § IV.
- Arbogast acted deceitfully against the younger Emperor Valentinian. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § I.
- Ambrose kept Emperor Theodosius from entering the church because of the killing of the people of the circus. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § III.
- Arcadius and Honorius are substituted for Theodosius in the empire. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX.
- The manner of life and deeds of Athanasius are related. Part II, Title X, Chapter II.
- The holiness of Athanasius the priest shines forth from many things. Part II, Title X, Chapter IV, § II.
- Ambrose, bishop of Milan and a most illustrious doctor, is illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter VII.
- Augustine, a most renowned doctor, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter VIII.
- Emperor Arcadius is excommunicated by Pope Innocent because he consented that Chrysostom be relegated to exile. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § VII, at the end.
- Alexius the Roman, placed beneath a stair, was illustrious. Part II, Title X, Chapter XIV.
- Pope Anastasius II presided over the Roman See. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § VIII.
- Anastasius, the heretical emperor of Constantinople, perished by lightning. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § IX.
- When Anastasius began to rule as emperor. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § V.
- Athalaric obtained the kingdom of Italy. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § VI.
- Amalasuntha, daughter of Emperor Theodoric and mother of Athalaric, prudently ruled the empire. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § V and the following section.
- England, formerly Britain, divided in this manner, is conquered by the Saxons. Part II, Title XI, Chapter V, § I.
- Attila, king of the Huns, performed these deeds. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, §§ I, III, and the following sections.
- Anianus, bishop of Orléans, was illustrious in holiness. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, § VI.
- Arator the poet was illustrious through his writings, including theological ones. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § VII.
- Saint Amator, bishop of Auxerre, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII.
- Arnulf, bishop of Poitiers, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § VI.
- Pope Agapitus governed the see of blessed Peter. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § III.
- Africa is recovered by Belisarius after the Vandals had been defeated. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § I.
- Arator, a poet and Roman deacon, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § XI, at the end.
- Alboin, king of the Lombards, usurped Italy with his nation. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, throughout.

- Avitus, abbot of Chartres, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII.
- Amandus, bishop of Maastricht, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § IX.
- Andrew, bishop of the city of Fundi, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § X.
- Amantius, a simple priest, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XXI.
- The existence of the soul and whether it is invisible are proved. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, §§ II and IV read: [§§ XXII and XXIV], and the following sections.
- The commemoration of all souls after the feast of All Saints is instituted. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § I.
- Pope Agatho was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Pope Adeodatus was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- How the book of the Quran, which contains the law of Mohammed, was composed. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter V, § V.
- Attalas, abbot of Luxeuil, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § II.
- Austregisilus, archbishop of Bourges, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § V.
- Bishop Aldanus was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § IX.
- Aurea the abbess was illustrious in holiness. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § X.
- Arnulf, bishop of Metz, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XI and the following section.
- Audoenus was illustrious together with his brothers Ado and Rado. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XVII.
- Ansbert, archbishop of Rouen, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXI.
- Agilus, abbot of Rebais, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXII.
- Audomarus, bishop of Thérouanne, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXIV.
- The translation of Augustine to Pavia. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § I, and Chapter II, § III.
- Pope Adrian was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § VI.
- Anastasius, who is also called Artemius, usurped the empire. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § I.
- Albinus, abbot and bishop of Angers. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § I.
- Amelius and Amicus, marvelously alike, performed these marvelous deeds. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter III, in the body of the chapter.
- Albinus, who is also called Alcuin, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter V.
- Anthony the abbot, glorious in temptations and miracles, was illustrious. Part II, Title XV, Chapter III, § I and the following sections.
- The death of Anthony, the most pious father. Part II, Title XV, Chapter III, § V, at the end.
- The morals and manner of life of Arsenius. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § III.
- The martyrdom of the virgin maidservant. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § IV.
- Ammonius refused the episcopate. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § V.
- The holy and devout manner of life of Apollonius. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, in the body of the chapter.
- The deeds of the virgin Amata and of very many other holy virgins are related. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, §§ IV and V.
- Pope Adrian II was a great almsgiver. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § X.
- Anastasius translated the *Hierarchy* of Dionysius. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XI.
- Pope Alexander II issued a decree against simoniacs and received the patrimony of Peter. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XX.
- Emperor Arnulf defeated the Normans. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § VIII.
- Several incorrupt saints of the English are enumerated. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VI, § IV.
- A marvelous betrothal through a ring received by Venus. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VII, § IV.
- Saint Anselm the bishop was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XI, throughout.

- The location of Antioch, together with its capture by the Christians, is described. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § III.
- Abelard is attacked by blessed Bernard. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § V.
- Anastasius II is elected pope. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VIII.
- Pope Adrian IV relates the miseries in the see of Peter. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § IX.
- Pope Alexander III endured a grave schism and persecutions from Frederick I. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § X.
- Alpais, a holy and celebrated virgin, was illustrious. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XI.
- The vanities of astrologers are refuted. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XII.
- Antioch is besieged by the emperor of Constantinople. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VII, § III.
- Antioch is captured from the Christians by Nur ad-Din, ruler of the Turks. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VIII, § VI.
- Amalric, the sixth king of Jerusalem, waged several wars in Egypt. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, §§ IV and V.
- The location and description of Alexandria in Egypt. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § IV, at the end.

B

- Basil, a man of great holiness, labored faithfully for the Catholic Church. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § VIII, and Chapter VI, § III.
- Brice, bishop of Tours after blessed Martin, endured many adversities. Part II, Title X, Chapter XI, § V.
- Pope Boniface I governed the see of Peter. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § I.
- Boethius, on account of his wisdom, is exiled to Pavia and at last is killed there. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § IV, around the end.
- Brutus, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas, thus triumphed against the king of the Greeks. Part II, Title XI, Chapter V.
- These were the kings of the Britons, and for so many years they possessed the kingdom. Part II, Title XI, Chapter V, § II.
- Boethius was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XV.
- Pope Boniface II accomplished these things in the see of Peter. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § I.
- Pope Benedict I presided over the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § VII.
- Belisarius restored Africa to the Roman Empire, as it were victoriously, after the Vandals had been defeated; and how cleverly he laid low Theodatus, king of the Goths and usurper of Italy and Sicily. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § I and the following sections, at length.
- Notable cunning on both sides of those fighting is noted. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § III.
- Benedict the abbot is tested by Totila as to whether he possessed the Spirit of God. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § III.
- Brendan the Scot, father of three thousand monks. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § XI, at the end.
- Bridget, queen of Sweden, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VII, § I.
- Brendan the abbot was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § VIII.
- Basolus the abbot and Sindulphus the priest were illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § VIII.
- Boniface, bishop of Ferentino, a city of Italy, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § V.
- A certain monk named Benedict was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XVI.
- Popes Boniface III and IV were illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § I.
- Pope Benedict was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § V.
- The Venerable Bede was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter III, in the body of the chapter.
- Brunhild, a savage woman, after many evil deeds died in this manner. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IV, and Title XIII, Chapter IV, § I.
- Bathildis, queen of Francia, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § VI.
- Know the power of baptism from the leprosy that was taken away. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XIII.
- The translation of Benedict and his sister Scholastica. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXXII.

- Boniface, archbishop of Mainz, illuminated Germany with the faith and performed these deeds. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter and § VII.
- Burchard, the first bishop of Würzburg, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § IV.
- The translation of Bartholomew. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § V.
- The exorcism and accessory rites of baptism are moralized by Rabanus. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter V, § I.
- Saint Benjamin was illustrious. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § V.
- Benedict, a holy abbot, was illustrious through miracles in the monastic life. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XIII, in the body of the chapter and the following sections.
- Boniface the monk passed unharmed through fire. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XV, § IV.
- Pope Benedict III entered the papacy unwillingly and with tears. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § VIII.
- The church of Bamberg is founded by Henry. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, in the body of the chapter.
- Baldwin succeeded his brother Godfrey in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § IX.
- Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, was illustrious in teachings and merits. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter V, throughout.
- Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, waged very many wars with the unbelievers and was at last captured. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, § IV and the following sections.
- Diverse wars of the Christians against the unbelievers in the Promised Land are related. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VII, §§ I and II, and in the remaining sections and following chapters.
- Baldwin, the fifth king of Jerusalem, captured Ascalon. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § I; his death is narrated in § III.
- Baldwin the leprous was the last to reign as king of Jerusalem. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § X.
- Very many wars between Philip, king of Francia, and the king of England are related in several sections throughout almost all of Chapter IX.

C

- Constantine, called in this manner to the empire by the Romans, undertakes it. Part II, Title IX, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- The Holy Cross was found in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter I, § IV.
- Constantius, son of Constantine the Great and a heretic, inflicted many evils upon the Christians. Part II, Title IX, Chapter II and Chapter IV.
- The Council of Nicaea established these things. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III and the following sections.
- Constantius initiated war against Magnentius, the killer of his brother Constans. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § I.
- The Council of Milan was instituted by Constantius, a supporter of the Arians, against Eusebius of Vercelli. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § IV.
- Those who killed Constans, son of Constantine, died in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Constantine the Great had two brothers from the same father but not the same mother, namely Constantius and Dalmatius. This Constantius had two sons, namely Gallus and Julian, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VIII.
- The Council of Alexandria established things against the Luciferian heresy, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § II.
- Cyriacus, called Judas before baptism and the finder of the Holy Cross, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § VII.
- How greatly the pastoral office is to be avoided. Part II, Title X, Chapter V, § I.
- Pope Celestine presided over the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § II.
- How great is the holiness of the corporals upon which the divine mysteries are celebrated. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § IV.
- Claudian, also called Mamertus, bishop of Vienne and doctor, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § V.
- Clovis, who reigned among the Franks as an unbeliever, was converted in this manner. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § VII.

- Cassiodorus the monk was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIV.
- Cassian, bishop of Alexandria, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII, § IV.
- Gregorian chant is authenticated against Ambrosian chant. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § V.
- A crucifix wounded by a Jew with a weapon poured forth blood. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § XI, at the end.
- The deeds of Abbot Columbanus. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VI.
- The deeds of Carilephus the hermit. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII.
- Constantius the monk was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § III.
- Cassius, bishop of Narni, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § IX.
- Cerbonius, bishop of the city of Populonia, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XII.
- Pope Conon was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § V.
- Pope Constantine was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § VI.
- These four councils are authentic as though they were the Gospels. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter II, § I.
- How the life of clerics ought to be regulated. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter II, § II.
- How Chosroes recovered the kingdom of the Persians from which he had been expelled. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV.
- Chosroes conquered Palestine, despoiled Jerusalem, occupied Egypt, Alexandria, Libya, and Carthage, and established that he be worshiped as a god. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § II and the following section.
- Constantine, son of Heraclius, while reigning in his fourth month, was killed by his stepmother. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § V.
- Constans followed the same Constantine, his father, in the empire. In the same place.
- Constantine, son of that Constans, received the empire of Constantinople. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Columbanus, abbot of Luxeuil and father of many holy monks, died. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § II.
- Pope Constantine II was at last degraded and deposed. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV read: [Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § V].
- Constantine, son of Emperor Leo II, ruled as emperor. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § IV.
- Constantine V, brother of Leo, governed the empire with his mother Irene. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § VI.
- Diverse and devout *Conferences* of the holy fathers are related. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, throughout.
- The conferences of Chaeremon. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § X and the following section.
- The narrative of Abbot Copres concerning Mutius and several others. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § I.
- The Camaldolese Order began from Romuald. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XV, in the body of the chapter and the following sections.
- The Order of Cluny began. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVI, § I.
- The Cistercian Order was enlarged. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVIII, in the body of the chapter.
- The Carthusian Order had its beginning from Bruno the Teuton. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXII, in the body of the chapter and § I.
- The county of Flanders had its origin. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § III.
- Conrad succeeded Henry in the empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § IX.
- Dancers are marvelously punished. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, in the body of the chapter.
- Conrad II powerfully subjected Italy, especially Lombardy. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § I.
- Constantinople is obtained by Alexius, and Rupert lays low the Greeks. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter V, § III.
- A damned cleric appeared to his companion. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIV, in the body of the chapter.
- Pope Calixtus II absolved Henry V, restored peace to the Church, and made several decrees. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § II.
- Pope Celestine II sat in the papacy for a short time. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § V.
- Pope Clement III presided over the Church. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XIV.
- Pope Celestine III crowned Henry. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XIV, at the end.

- Eastern cities were captured by the Christians, namely Tripoli, Sidon, Beirut, and so forth. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, § I.
- Emperor Conrad performed several deeds in the empire. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VIII, in the body of the chapter; at last he took the Cross for the liberation of the oppressed in the Holy Land, below in the same title and chapter, § III, although without fruit.
- Seven thousand Cotarelli are killed. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXVII.

D

- The disputation of the most learned Jews and Christians concerning the faith before Constantine. Part II, Title IX, Chapter I, § III.
- Pope Damasus was illustrious. Part II, Title IX, Chapter II.
- Donatus the grammarian was illustrious. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § VI.
- Didymus, although blind, was nevertheless a most illustrious doctor. Part II, Title X, Chapter V, § III.
- Bishop Donatus was illustrious. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § III.
- Datius, bishop of Milan, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § VIII.
- Very many examples from the *Dialogues* of blessed Gregory are related. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, throughout.
- Pope Damnus was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Pope Deodatus was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Dagobert ruled the monarchy of the Franks. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § VIII.
- An excellent vision of the dedication of a church. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § VIII.
- The virtue of discretion is very greatly praised. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § I.
- The conference of Daniel concerning the concupiscence of the flesh and of the spirit. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § III.
- Dorotheus the Theban lived most harshly. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § VI.
- The book of Dionysius the Areopagite concerning the celestial hierarchy is sent to Paris. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter.
- The nation of the Danes very greatly harasses the English. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § II.
- Dunstan, an Englishman and bishop of Canterbury, was illustrious through miracles and prophecy. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VI, almost throughout.
- The Danes, joined by Englishmen, miserably devastate Canterbury. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VII, § II.
- How the house of the Hospital of Saint John at Jerusalem had its beginning, and its controversy. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § II.

E

- Eusebius, the renowned bishop of Vercelli, was after Athanasius a defender against the Arians. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § IV, and Title X, Chapter I, § II.
- Eusebius, a Roman priest, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VI.
- Eusebius of Nicaea produced lucid little works. Part II, Title X, Chapter I, § I.
- Ephrem the Syrian, a devout father, conducted himself in the desert in this manner. Part II, Title X, Chapter IV, § V.
- Saint Epiphanius was an illustrious man. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § VIII, and Title XI, Chapter II, § IV.
- Eutyches, a heretical abbot, and his defender Dioscorus are condemned in the Council of Chalcedon. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § IV.
- Those relegated into exile by Huneric endured these things. Part II, Title XI, Chapter X, § IV.
- Eutropius the priest was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § VI.
- Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVI.

- The letter of Belisarius to the emperor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § II.
- The letter of Totila to the emperor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § V.
- Emperor Tiberius II distributed very great alms and found new treasures. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VII.
- Echbinus performed many miracles with Vignalocus. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § VII.
- Abbot Equitius was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § II.
- Very many examples of saints collected from the *Dialogues* of blessed Gregory are related. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, throughout.
- Eutychius and Florentius of the province of Nursia were illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XIV.
- Eleutherius, father of monks, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XIX.
- Etheldreda, queen of England, although married to three men, remained a virgin. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Pope Eugene was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Eustasius was illustrious in teachings and miracles. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, in the body of the chapter; he dies in § VII.
- Eligius, bishop of Noyon, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XV and the following section.
- Giles the abbot was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXXIII.
- The deeds of Eulogius with a leper. Part II, Title XV, Chapter III, § VI.
- Euphrosyna lived in a monastery under a male habit. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § IX.
- Evagrius was harshly tempted by the devil. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XI, § V read: [§ II].
- Pope Eugene II, having been blinded, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XV, Chapter I, § III read: [Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § III].
- The studies and deeds of Alfred, king of England. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § V.
- The glorious deeds of Athelstan, king of England. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § XI.
- The electors of the empire are enumerated according to their offices. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, at the beginning.
- The church of the Lord’s Resurrection in Jerusalem is destroyed and rebuilt. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § IV.
- The deeds of Edgar, king of England. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VI, § III.
- Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, is crowned with martyrdom by the Danes. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VII, in the body of the chapter and the following section.
- Edessa is captured by the unbelievers. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VIII, § II.

F

- Florentius was illustrious in holiness and miracles. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § VII.
- Pope Felix II is elected by Constantius the Arian, is driven out, and Liberius is restored. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § V.
- Pope Felix III presided over the Roman Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § VI.
- A profession of the Christian faith against the Arians is given. Part II, Title XI, Chapter X, § VI.
- Fulgentius of Ruspe, conspicuous in holiness, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § VIII and the following section.
- Pope Felix II performed these deeds. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § I.
- The feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary is instituted, and the pestilence ceased. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § XI, near the end.
- The kingdom of the Franks was thus divided among the four sons of Lothair. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § III.
- Fortunatus, bishop of Todi, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § VI.
- Fridianus, bishop of Lucca, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XI.
- The feast of All Saints and the commemoration of all souls on the following day are instituted. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § I.

- Phocas killed Maurice and usurped the Roman Empire. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV.
- Fursey, caught up in spirit, was afterward illustrious through his preaching. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXIII.
- The truth of the Christian faith shines forth from a golden plate that was found. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § VI.
- Jews relate to Bishop Adeodatus a miracle of the Christian faith. In the same place.
- Pope Formosus, having endured many adversities, held the see of Peter. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XIV.
- Florence is besieged by Henry IV. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter V, § IV.
- The slaughter at Fulda is related together with the punishment of the cellarer. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IX, in the body of the chapter.
- The bier of blessed Mary, carried to various places, performed miracles. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § III, near the end.
- The brothers of the knighthood of the Temple had their origin. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, § III.
- Fulk, the fourth king of Jerusalem, waged several wars against the unbelievers. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VII, § II.
- Frederick I, emperor, vigorously performed many deeds. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, in the body of the chapter.
- The death of that same Frederick in a river, after great works had been accomplished. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XIX.

G

- “Glory be to the Father,” and so forth, began to be sung by the Church against the Arians at the end of a psalm. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Gallicanus, master of the soldiery, suffered martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § V.
- Gordianus and Epimachus are crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § VI.
- Gratian, son of Valentinian, ruling in the western part, killed thirty thousand Alemanni near Strasbourg. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § VI.
- Why the Goths advanced into Roman soil. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § IX read: [§ II].
- Emperor Gratian had these morals, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII. And he was killed in this manner, § I.
- Two hundred thousand Goths were laid low together with their king. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § II.
- The Goths, besieging Rome, obtained victory. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § IX.
- Gregory Nazianzen is proclaimed worthy of very great praise. Part II, Title X, Chapter V.
- How the writings of the Gentiles are to be studied: see Jerome. Part II, Title X, Chapter VI, § IV.
- Pope Gelasius governed the Roman Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § VII.
- The Goths, defeated by the Huns and driven from their own seats, dwelt as victors in the Roman Empire. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VII, § I.
- The Goths imposed a double name upon themselves from their places, namely Visigoths and Ostrogoths; and a catalogue of the kings of each kingdom is set forth. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VII, § II and the following sections.
- Genseric inflicted such great evils upon the Romans and throughout Campania. Part II, Title XI, Chapter X, § XI.
- Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII.
- Genevieve, converted to the faith, is illustrious through the carrying of a coin. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII, § I.
- The deeds of Genebald, bishop of Laon, are related. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVIII, § I.
- Genevieve, a virgin of Paris, was illustrious in holiness. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX.
- Gregory the Great, taking pity upon the nation of the English, effected its conversion. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § VII.
- The deeds of Pope Gregory the Great I are related. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, throughout.
- The Goths were converted to our faith. Part II, Title XII, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter.
- Gregory’s death became celebrated, and the vision of a hermit bears witness. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § XXX.
- The Goths did very many evils to Milan and to other cities of Italy. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § IV and the following sections.

- Totila, king of the Goths, inflicted such great evils upon the cities of Italy, and at last was so cruelly defeated together with his men. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, throughout.
- Germanus, bishop of Paris, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IV.
- Gallus the abbot, a disciple of blessed Columbanus, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VI.
- One part of the Goths, called Visigoths, abandoned the Arian heresy and are converted. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IX.
- The deeds of Goar the confessor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VII, in the body of the chapter.
- Gregory, bishop of Langres, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § I.
- Gregory, bishop of Paris, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § II.
- Gregory, archbishop of Tours, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § XI.
- Sisebut, king of the Goths, favored the Catholic faith and Church. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § II.
- Goericus, bishop of Metz, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XII.
- Pope Gregory II converted the Teutons to the faith through legates. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Pope Gregory III was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § I.
- Gangolf the martyr was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § VII.
- The Order of Grandmont received its foundation from Stephen, whose holy life is manifested. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXI.
- Pope Gregory IV suffered many things through the Saracens. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § IV.
- Pope Gregory VI restored the shaken dignity of the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XIX read: [§ XVIII].
- Gregory VII excommunicated Emperor Henry and the bishop of Mainz, and died in exile. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XXI.
- Guido, the supreme musician, was illustrious. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § II.
- Godfrey's election as king after the capture of Jerusalem, and his praises, are declared. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § VIII.
- Pope Gelasius II endured many things. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § I.
- Gilbert is defeated in disputation by blessed Bernard. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VII.
- Pope Gregory VIII urged the princes to recover the Holy Land. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XIII.
- Whence the name of the Guelphs had its origin. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VIII, in the body of the chapter, near the end.
- William, archbishop of Bourges, was illustrious in holiness. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXX.

H

- Ireland was thus converted to our faith. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § VII.
- Hilary, an excellent man, writing concerning the faith, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § II, at the end, and Title X, Chapter III, throughout.
- Emperor Honorius steadfastly took vengeance upon those usurping the empire. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § III.
- Pope Hilary ruled the Roman Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § V.
- Pope Hormisdas possessed the see of Peter. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § IX.
- The Huns defeated the Goths and drove them from their own seats. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VII, § I.
- Huneric, king of the Vandals, raised a persecution in Africa against the Christians. Part II, Title XI, Chapter X.
- Hilary, bishop of Arles, a most eloquent man and doctor, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVI.
- Honoratus, bishop of Arles, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVI.
- Hermenegild, king of the Visigoths, was converted to our faith. Part II, Title XII, Chapter II.
- The martyrdom of Herculianus is described. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § VI.
- Chilperic, king of Francia, performed these deeds against his brother. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IV.
- Honoratus, father of two hundred monks, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX.

- Pope Honorius I was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § II.
- Emperor Heraclius was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § II.
- Hildenutus, bishop of Meaux, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § IV.
- Irene, so that she alone might preside over the empire, blinded her captured son Constantine. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § VI.
- The divine deeds of Hilarion. Part II, Title XV, Chapter V, throughout.
- The miracles and death of Hilarion. Part II, Title XV, Chapter V, §§ II and III.
- Hugh, abbot of Cluny, flourished in the spiritual life. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVI, § VI.
- Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, follows Bruno the Carthusian. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXII, in the body of the chapter.
- Hasting, together with the Danes, is put to flight by the body of Saint Martin. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § IV.
- King Henry gave the Lord's lance to the empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § X.
- Hugh seeks the kingdom of Francia. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, § IV.
- Henry II, emperor and a holy man, was the first to receive the empire through the electors of the empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, in the body of the chapter.
- That same Henry is delivered from the devil through a chalice offered to Saint Lawrence. In the same part, title, and chapter.
- Henry III performed many good deeds in the empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § III.
- Emperor Henry IV, fortunate through his mother's counsel, is afterward deceived by his own men. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter V, in the body of the chapter.
- That same Henry is excommunicated by Gregory VII, and Rudolf is raised up against him. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter V, § II.
- Hildebert the bishop was illustrious in verses and prayers. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IX, throughout.
- The siege and storming of Jerusalem, together with its description and the situation of the place. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, and Chapters VI and VII.
- Pope Honorius II was illustrious. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § III.
- Hildegard the prophetess was illustrious. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VI.
- Certain hosts were turned into flesh. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XI.
- Hugh of Bonneval was illustrious. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XIV.
- Emperor Henry V consigned his father and the pope to prisons. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, in the body of the chapter.
- Emperor Henry VI occupied Apulia and thereafter obtained Sicily. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXV.
- Henry, when he had made his son Frederick king of Germany and Sicily, dies. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXXII.

I and J

- The finding of the Holy Cross was accomplished in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter I, § IV.
- Pope Julius established these things. Part II, Title IX, Chapter II.
- Pope Innocent I. Part II, Title IX, Chapter II.
- Jacob of Nisibis was illustrious at the Council of Nicaea. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § IV.
- Farther India is converted to the faith. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § VI.
- Juventius and Florentius flourished in holiness. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § VII.
- Whence Julian the Apostate originally came. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VIII.
- That same Julian obtained the Roman Empire after the heretical Constantius. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V.
- Julian's appearance, morals, and persecution of the Christians are described. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § I and the following sections.
- The unjust laws of Julian the Apostate against the Christians. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § III.

- John and Paul are crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § IV.
- The death of Julian the Apostate occurred in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § VIII.
- Emperor Jovian was illustrious. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § IX.
- Justina, wife of Valentinian, infected his son of the same name with the Arian heresy while persecuting blessed Ambrose. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § IV.
- Jerome, a most illustrious doctor, is greatly proclaimed. Part II, Title X, Chapter VI.
- A notable example of the immunity of the Church. Part II, Title X, Chapter VII, § II, at the end.
- John Chrysostom, a most solid doctor, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX.
- Isidore of Alexandria is assailed with injuries by Theophilus, bishop in the same place. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § II.
- John Chrysostom, calumniously condemned, was sent into exile. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § III and the following section.
- John Cassian was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § II.
- John Damascene was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § IV.
- Emperor Justin I recalled those relegated into exile by Anastasius the heretic and restored the churches taken away by the Arians. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I.
- Pope John I performed these deeds. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Emperor Justin I sent the Catholic faith in his own handwriting, together with precious *eulogiae*, through two bishops to Pope John II. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § II.
- Pope John II presided over the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § II.
- Pope John III presided over the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § VI.
- The fast of Lent was thus instituted by blessed Gregory. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § XIV.
- Justin the Elder ruled as emperor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV.
- Ildibad, king of the Goths, accomplished these things against Belisarius. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Emperor Justinian, afflicted in many ways by the Goths, favored the Church. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, throughout, especially § XI.
- Emperor Justin II was adopted as a son by Justinian. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI.
- The son of a Jew received the sacrament of the Eucharist at the persuasion of a Christian woman: see the miracle. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § II.
- John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § XII and the following section.
- Isaac, a hermit from Syria, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XIII.
- Pope John IV was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § II.
- Pope John V was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § V.
- Pope John VI was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § VI.
- Pope John VII was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § VI.
- Isidore, bishop of Seville, is illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter.
- The Jews were compelled to assume the Christian faith or to be killed. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § IV.
- Justinian II, son of Constantine IV, ruled as emperor. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § VIII. And, having been relegated into exile, he is thus restored and is cast out again, § IX.
- The relics of James the Greater are disclosed to Charlemagne. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § IV.
- The conference of Abbot Joseph concerning true friendship. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § XV.
- The conference of Abbot John concerning the comparison of the cenobitic life with the anchoritic. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § XVIII.
- The enclosure of John the hermit. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, in the body of the chapter.

- John the carpenter foretold future things. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § XII.
- John Gualbert, founder of the Order of Vallombrosa, was illustrious in miracles and a holy life. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVII, in the body of the chapter and the following section.
- John the Englishman, a woman, is set down as pope. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I.
- Pope John VIII governed the papacy by many words and deeds. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XI.
- Pope John X, having suffered evils from the Saracens and Hungarians, was at last strangled. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XV.
- Pope John XII lived miserably in the papacy against Otto. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVI.
- John XIII, captured by the Romans, is freed by Otto. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVII.
- John Scotus was illustrious through books written and translated. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § III.
- The errors of the Jews are refuted. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XII, § I and the following sections.
- The follies of the Jews from the Talmud. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XII, § II, at the end.
- Sacred fire marvelously tormented human beings. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIV, § I, at the end.
- Pope Calixtus wrote the miracles of the Apostle James. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § II.
- John I, abbot of Clairvaux, saw a vision. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § II, at the end.
- Innocent II endured a grave schism through Peter Leonis. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § IV.
- A book of John Damascene is translated in the time of Eugene. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VII.
- Joachim the abbot was illustrious through his sayings. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XII.
- The Jews were expelled from all Francia. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § VIII.
- Jerusalem is taken away from the Christians by Saladin in the year of the Lord 1187. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XV.

K

- Kilianus, together with his companions, is consecrated by martyrdom. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXVIII.
- Karloman, son of Pippin, king of the Franks, became a monk and was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § II.
- Charlemagne laid low the Lombards who were usurpers of the goods of the Church. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § VI.
- Charles Martel performed these deeds. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § III.
- The deeds and mighty wars of Charlemagne are related. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § V.
- Charlemagne began to govern the Roman Empire in the year, and so forth. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV.
- Charles II, called the Bald, ruled as emperor. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § III.
- Charles III, called the Younger, is elevated to the empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § IV.
- Emperor Charles IV saw marvelous visions. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § VII.
- Cunegund, a holy virgin and the wife of Henry, clears herself by glowing ploughshares. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, in the body of the chapter.

L

- Pope Liberius is driven into exile by the Arians, especially by Emperor Constantius; and at last, overcome by weariness with exile, he assented to Constantius by subscribing. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § IV and the following sections.
- Leontius castrated himself and was therefore deposed from the priesthood. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Lucifer was a heresiarch. Part II, Title IX, Chapter V, § II.
- Lucius, a most wicked bishop, was a persecutor of the Church. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § IV.
- A notable example of ecclesiastical liberty. Part II, Title X, Chapter VII, § II, at the end.
- Pope Leo I, illustrious in his writings, presided over the Roman Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § IV.

- The litanies of the Rogation days were instituted for this reason. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § V.
- Leo I attained the empire. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § II.
- The praises of Clotilda, wife of Clovis, king of Francia. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § VII and the following sections.
- Lupus, bishop of Troyes, was illustrious through miracles. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, § IV.
- Pope Leo went to Attila, king of the Huns, and obtained peace for the Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, § V.
- The deeds of Lupus of Troyes, bishop of that city, are related. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII, § VII.
- Leonard of Limoges, full of holiness, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § I.
- Leonard of Carbignac was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § II.
- The exhortation for the litany composed by blessed Gregory. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § I.
- The nation of the Lombards usurps Italy by the counsel of Narses. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, throughout.
- Lothair, king of the Franks, performed these deeds and died in this manner. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, §§ II and VI.
- The Lombards besieged Rome. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VIII, near the end.
- Locusts devastated the land. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IX.
- Libertinus the monk was illustrious through miracles. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § I.
- Pope Leo the Younger was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § V.
- Lothair and Theodoric, kings of Francia, clash in battle. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § I.
- Leo II, called Leontius, usurps the empire. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § IX.
- Lambert, bishop of Maastricht, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXVI, at the end.
- Leodegar, bishop of Autun, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXVII.
- Leufredus the abbot was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXX.
- Lupus, bishop of Sens, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXXIV.
- Liutprand, king of the Lombards, performed these deeds. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § I.
- Pope Leo III governed the see of Peter. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § VIII.
- Emperor Leo II performed these deeds. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, §§ III and V.
- The decrees and deeds of Pope Leo III. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Pope Leo IV is elected to the papacy. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § VI.
- Pope Leo VIII governed the papacy against Benedict through Emperor Otto. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVI.
- Pope Leo IX, a Teuton, was illustrious in holiness. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XIX.
- Louis the Pious, emperor, endured many things from his sons. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter.
- Emperor Lothair, renouncing the world, dies as a monk. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § I.
- Emperor Louis II fought against the Saracens. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § II.
- Louis, king of Germany, left discordant sons. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § III.
- Louis, king of the Romans, lacked the imperial blessing. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § IX. And this was the end of the empire in Francia.
- Lanfranc, bishop of Canterbury, performed certain deeds against the heresy of Berengar. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter X, in the body of the chapter and its sections.
- The books of Saint Anselm are set forth. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XI, § II.
- The lance of the Lord and Savior is found. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § V.
- Pope Lucius II, while attempting to impede the senate, is driven back. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VI.
- Pope Lucius III suffers many adversities from the Romans. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XI.

- Emperor Lothair suffered a slaughter at the hands of the Bohemians. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VII, in the body of the chapter.
- The Latins, expelled from Constantinople, withdrew not without loss. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § IX.

M

- Maximinus, bishop of Trier in the time of blessed Martin, was illustrious through miracles. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § III.
- Magnentius killed Constans, son of Constantine the Great, and finally killed himself. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Maximus the Roman thus usurped the empire after Gratian had been killed. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § I.
- Saint Martin rebuked Emperor Maximus. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § II.
- The monastic life is praised by Gregory Nazianzen. Part II, Title X, Chapter V, § II.
- Maximus, bishop of Turin, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § III.
- Martin, bishop of Tours, was virtuously illustrious. Part II, Title X, Chapter XI, in the body of the chapter and the following section.
- Maurilius, bishop of Angers, was illustrious. Part II, Title X, Chapter XIII.
- Mamertus, bishop of Vienne and doctor, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § V.
- Merlin the seer was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § I.
- Marcian obtained the empire after the death of Theodosius the Younger. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § II.
- The body of Mark the Evangelist was translated from Alexandria to Venice. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § II, at the end.
- Maxentius, abbot of Poitiers, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § V.
- Melonius, abbot of Vannes, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § VI.
- Milan is most cruelly devastated by the Goths. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § IV.
- Maurice, the first Greek emperor of the Romans, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VIII.
- Many marvels that occurred at this time are enumerated. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § IX.
- The death of Emperor Maurice is thus foretold. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § X.
- Medardus and his brother, born on one day and made pontiffs, were illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § I.
- Machutus, who is also called Maclou, a disciple of Brendan, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § I read: [§ V].
- Martin, a solitary in Campania, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XV.
- Mennas, a solitary man, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XVIII.
- Pope Martin was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § III.
- The wickedness of Mohammed is related. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter V.
- Magnobodus, bishop of Angers, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § IX.
- Michael the Archangel demands that a church be constructed for him at Tumba Maris. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXX.
- Mimmolus, abbot of Fleury, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXXII.
- The body of Mary Magdalene is translated. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § IV.
- The conference of Abbot Moses. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter.
- The earliest origin of the magical arts is traced. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § VII.
- The miracles of Macarius of Alexandria. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VI, in the body of the chapter and the following section.
- The deeds of Macarius the Egyptian. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VI, § III.
- The deeds of Malchus, a captive monk. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VII, § I.
- Melania's account concerning Ammon and Saint Pambo. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § IV.
- Moses the Ethiopian, a bishop, suffered martyrdom. Part II, Title XV, Chapter IX, in the body of the chapter and § I.

- Melania saw several holy fathers. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § VII.
- Marina, because of a change of name, is held under suspicion of fornication. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § X.
- The penance of Mary the Egyptian. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § X.
- Maurus is sent into Gaul by blessed Benedict. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XIV, in the body of the chapter.
- The marvels that occurred in the time of Emperor Louis II. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § II.
- Medericus, a holy abbot, was illustrious. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, § IV.
- Marvels and portents of diverse places are narrated. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VII, § VI.
- Certain evils of Mohammed's profane law are related. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XII, § V, at the end.
- Malachy, a holy bishop, was illustrious through miracles. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter II, throughout.
- The bodies of the three Magi, the kings, are translated from Milan to Cologne. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, in the body of the chapter.

N

- The Council of Nicaea, assembled in this manner, decreed these things. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III and the following section.
- In it Paphnutius, Spiridion, and Jacob of Nisibis were illustrious. § IV.
- Saint Nicholas, bishop of the city of Myra, was illustrious. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § V.
- Nicasius, bishop of Reims, together with his sister Eutropia, are crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, § II.
- A coin suspended from the neck assisted in the conversion of unbelievers. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVI, § I, at the end read: [Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVII, § I, at the end].
- Narses, moved by pride and hatred against Belisarius, was the cause of many evils. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § IV and the following section.
- Narses liberated Italy and Greece against the Goths. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § IX and the following section.
- Nonnosus the monk was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § IV.
- The conference of Nesteros concerning the active and contemplative life. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § XIII and the following section.
- Pope Nicholas I excommunicated King Lothair and made many decrees. Part II, Title XV, Chapter I, § IX read: [Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § IX].
- Pope Nicholas II extirpated the heresy of Berengar. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XX.
- The body of Saint Nicholas is translated to Bari. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XXII.
- The Normans devastated Francia and other places. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § VI.
- The conversion and genealogy of the dukes of the Normans. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter II, § VIII.
- The expulsion of the Turks from Nicaea and from other eastern places by the Christians. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § II.
- Norbert, the first founder of the Premonstratensian Order, was illustrious. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § III.

O

- The writings of Origen endured a great dispute among the doctors. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § I.
- Orosius the Spaniard, a historian, was illustrious. Part II, Title X, Chapter X.
- Odoacer, after grievous wars, is deceitfully killed. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § IV.
- An excellent oration of Totila to his fellow soldiers, and another to the Romans, and a mandate through Pelagius to the emperor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § V.
- A hortatory oration in favor of undergoing a glorious death rather than flight. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § VII.
- Odo, founder of Cluny, abridged Gregory's *Moralia*; his life is described. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVI, in the body of the chapter and § I, and so forth.

- The holy life of Odilo is described. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XVI, §§ III and IV.
- The Order of the Templars of Saint John is expounded by Bernard. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XX.
- The origin and distinction of the Order of the Humiliati. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXIII.
- A beautiful oration of Pope Gregory VI concerning his innocence. Part II, Title XV, Chapter I, § XIX read: [Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVIII].
- Otto I ruled as emperor most gloriously. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, in the body of the chapter.
- The empire of Otto II is described, and many deeds under him. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, § III.
- Emperor Otto III performed many deeds against the Romans. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, § IV.

P

- A most acute and eloquent philosopher is converted by a simple confessor. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § III.
- Pannucius was illustrious at the Council of Nicaea. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § IV.
- Paul of Constantinople is consecrated by martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VI.
- The birthday of Paulinus, confessor and pontiff, is celebrated at Trier. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VI.
- How greatly the pastoral office is to be avoided, according to the teaching of Gregory Nazianzen. Part II, Title X, Chapter V, § I.
- Prudentius the poet was illustrious through his sayings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § VI.
- The Priscillianist heretics held these errors. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § VII.
- Pelagius the heresiarch was in Britain. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § VIII.
- Paula, a most noble Roman woman, migrated after innumerable virtues. Part II, Title X, Chapter XV.
- Who the kings of the Persians were and how many years each of them governed. Part II, Title XI, Chapter III.
- Prosper, a most learned man and the notary of Pope Leo, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI.
- Petronius, bishop of Bologna, author of the *Lives of the Fathers of Egypt*. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § V.
- Priscian the grammarian was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § VII.
- Bishop Paulinus permitted himself to be sold for the son of a widow. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XII.
- Patrick the Briton, archbishop of the Scots, converted almost all Ireland. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVIII, § II.
- The purgatory of Patrick had such an origin. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVIII, § II.
- Pope Pelagius II, an institutor of canons, thus governed the Apostolic See. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § V, at the end, and Chapter II, in the body of the chapter read: [Part II, Title XII, Chapter II, in the body of the chapter].
- When Easter is to be celebrated is evident from a miracle. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § VII.
- From this came the inguinal pestilence at Rome. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § I.
- See a mighty battle conducted with the greatest stratagems. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § III.
- Paul, bishop of Léon, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § X.
- Bread is turned into stone when alms are denied. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Phara, a virgin of Christ, together with her holy brothers, was illustrious in Francia. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, in the body of the chapter.
- Philibert, archbishop of Rouen, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XVIII.
- Praejectus, bishop of Auvergne, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XXV.
- Pippin attained the kingdom of Francia and protects the Roman Church. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § II and the following section.
- Pope Paul I, a holy and most gentle man, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § IV.
- Philippicus the heretic, after Justinian had been killed, usurped the empire. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II.

- The University of Paris arose in this manner. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § XII.
- The conference of Paphnutius concerning the threefold calling. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § II.
- The conference of Piamun concerning the diverse kinds of monks. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § XVII.
- The life of Paul the First Hermit is made clear from the visitation of blessed Anthony. Part II, Title XV, Chapter III, in the body of the chapter.
- The conversion and obedience of Paul the Simple. Part II, Title XV, Chapter IV, throughout.
- The teaching of Abbot Pastor. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VII, in the body of the chapter.
- Paphnutius sought silence for himself. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § II.
- The deeds of Saint Pachomius the Scetiot. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XI, in the body of the chapter and § I.
- Placidus, a disciple of Benedict, suffers martyrdom in Sicily. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XIV, § III and the following section.
- Norbert was the founder of the Premonstratensian Order. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XIX.
- Pope Paschal I found the body of blessed Cecilia through a revelation. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § II.
- Paschal wrote certain decrees. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § II.
- Poland is made tributary to the Roman Empire. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § I.
- Peter Damian was illustrious through his sayings and examples. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VIII, throughout.
- Peter Alfonsi, formerly Moses, is converted from Judaism. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XII, in the body of the chapter.
- The expedition for the recovery of Jerusalem and other eastern regions. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, throughout.
- The marvelous childbirth of a certain woman. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIV, § II, at the end.
- Pope Paschal II is captured by Emperor Henry V because of investiture by ring and staff, and so forth. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Peter, bishop of Tarentaise, cured a young woman from whose wound needles and wooden stakes had come forth. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § VIII.
- Peter the One-Eyed, abbot of Clairvaux, flourished. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § XIII.
- Rare prodigies and events in the times of Henry V. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, § II.
- Philip, the young king of Francia, performed marvelous deeds in the kingdom. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § VIII.
- The expedition for recovering Jerusalem after its loss by Emperor Frederick and the others. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XVII.
- Philip, king of Francia, and the king of England obtained Acre. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXI.

Q

- The Lenten fast was instituted in this manner. Part II, Title XII, Chapter III, § XIV.
- The complaints of Saint Thomas, bishop of Canterbury, before Pope Alexander against the king of England. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § X.

R

- Radagaisus, king of the Goths, having attempted to restore the idols at Rome, was killed in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § II.
- Rome is depopulated by the Goths, who marvelously spare those fleeing to the church of blessed Peter. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § II.
- These morals are fitting for religious. Part II, Title X, Chapter V, § II.
- Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § I.
- The Rogation days with litanies were instituted for this reason. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § V.
- Who the kings of the Persians were and how many years each presided. Part II, Title XI, Chapter III.

- The kings of Francia from Priam to Charlemagne were twenty-five. Part II, Title XI, Chapter IV.
- The kings of Britain are enumerated, with how many years they reigned. Part II, Title XI, Chapter V, § II.
- The kingdom of the Vandals has its origin from Scythia. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VI.
- The kings of the Goths are enumerated. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VII.
- The kings of the Huns are enumerated. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII.
- The kings of the Lombards are enumerated. Part II, Title XI, Chapter IX.
- Remigius, bishop of Reims, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XVIII.
- Rome, besieged by the Goths for an entire year, thus at last conquered the Goths. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IV, § III.
- Rome is besieged by the Goths and most cruelly overcome. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § III and the following section.
- Rome is thus restored by Belisarius. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § VI.
- Rome, again possessed by the Goths, is thus restored by Narses. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, § X.
- Radegund, queen of Francia, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § III.
- The queen of England named Etheldreda, although given to three men, remained a virgin. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § IV.
- The kings of the Bulgarians are recorded. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter IV, § VII, at the end.
- Roboricus the abbot was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XI.
- Remaclus, bishop of Maastricht; his brother Rodoaldus, archbishop of Trier; and their sister Severa, an abbess, blood relatives of Saint Gertrude, were illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § XIV.
- Richarius of Ponthieu was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI.
- The deeds of Roland, a most valiant soldier. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § IX.
- Rabanus, abbot of Fulda and at last archbishop of Mainz, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter V, § I.
- The manner of life of religious is commended in many ways. Part II, Title XV, Chapter I.
- Romuald, founder of the Order of the Camaldolese, first flourished. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XV, in the body of the chapter. And his life is set forth in § I and the following section.
- The relaxation and tepidity of religious orders are narrated. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXIII, § I and the following sections.
- The reformation of very many religious orders. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXIII, § II.
- The religious order of Saint Bridget is instituted in a double monastery. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XXIII, § III.
- Rollo, duke of the Normans, having been converted, maintained the highest peace. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XII.
- Robert, king of Francia, composed responsories and sequences. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVIII.
- Romanus, the Greek emperor, is defeated by the Persians, who had previously acquired almost all Asia Minor and other provinces, as the Turk does now. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter III, § I.
- Richard, duke of the Normans, was illustrious in devotion. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter VII, § III.
- The kings of Jerusalem are enumerated in succession. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter XIII, § XI.
- Fulk, king of Jerusalem, and the emperor of Constantinople died by an unexpected and marvelous death. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VIII, § I.

S

- Pope Sylvester converted Constantine to the faith. Part II, Title IX, Chapter I, § I and the following section.
- When and how long Sylvester presided over the Roman Church. Part II, Title IX, Chapter II.
- Spiridion was illustrious at the Council of Nicaea. Part II, Title IX, Chapter III, § IV.
- Symeon, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § III.
- Sapor, king of the Persians, crowned sixteen thousand worshipers of Christ with martyrdom. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § III.

- The study of the writings of the Gentiles is not reproved without qualification. Part II, Title X, Chapter VI, § IV.
- The relics of Stephen the Protomartyr were found by this miracle. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § III.
- The creed of the Lord's Mass, namely, "the almighty Father," and so forth, was produced by the synod of Constantinople against Macedonius the heretic. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § VII.
- Sulpicius Severus, Severus Sulpicius, was illustrious in Aquitaine. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § IX.
- Pope Sixtus II presided over the Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § III.
- Pope Simplicius governed the Roman Church. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § VI.
- Pope Symmachus was confirmed by the king against Laurence the antipope. Part II, Title XI, Chapter I, § VIII.
- Sigismund is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § IX.
- Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIII.
- Symmachus, a Roman patrician and the father-in-law of Boethius, is illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XV, § I.
- Severinus, abbot of Agaunum, was illustrious. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XIX, § IV.
- Pope Silverius endured these things from the heretical empress. Part II, Title XII, Chapter I, § IV.
- Samson, archbishop of Dol, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VIII, § VI.
- Savinus, bishop of the city of Carosme, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § IX.
- Severus, a priest of Valeria, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § VII.
- Savinus, bishop of the city of Piacenza, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XI.
- Sanctulus, familiarly known to blessed Gregory, was illustrious. Part II, Title XII, Chapter IX, § XX.
- Pope Sabinianus, disparaging blessed Gregory, is punished. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Pope Severinus was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § II.
- Pope Sergius was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § V.
- The Nicene Synod, together with the other three, is held authentic as though it were the Gospel. Part I, Title XIII, Chapter II, § I read: [Part II, Title XIII, Chapter II, § I].
- Sulpicius, archbishop of Bourges, was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § VI.
- Saleberga the abbess was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter VI, § VII.
- Pope Stephen II was illustrious. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § III.
- Pope Stephen III was illustrious after Constantine had been deposed and degraded. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, § V.
- Salvius, bishop of Amiens, is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § XII read: [§ XI].
- The University of Paris was transferred from Rome. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § XII.
- The conference of Serapion concerning the assault of the vices. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § IV.
- The conference of Serenus concerning the mobility of the soul, and so forth. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § VI.
- The memorable sayings of the abbesses Sarah and Syncletica. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, § II.
- Serapion, father of three thousand monks. Part II, Title XV, Chapter IX, § II.
- The manner of life of Abbot Silvanus. Part II, Title XV, Chapter IX, § XIII read: [§ III].
- Serapion the Sindonite was illustrious. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § III.
- The moral sayings of the holy fathers are related. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XII, in the body of the chapter and the following sections.
- Scholastica, sister of blessed Benedict, sought heaven in the likeness of a dove. Part II, Title XV, Chapter XIII, § VI.
- Pope Stephen IV crowned Emperor Louis. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § I.
- Pope Sergius II first changed his own name. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § V.

- The cruel deeds of Pope Sergius III against the dead Pope Formosus. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XV.
- Pope Stephen VIII, a German, was mutilated by the Romans. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XV.
- Pope Sylvester II, formerly called Gilbert, a necromancer, had a most miserable end. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter I, § XVIII.
- Stephen, king of Hungary, is converted to the faith through Gisela his wife. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, in the body of the chapter.
- Blessed Bernard mitigated a grave schism in the time of Innocent through various disturbances. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter V, §§ VII and VIII.
- Saladin is made lord of Egypt. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § V. And he attacks the kingdom of Jerusalem in a hostile manner below, §§ X and XI.
- Saladin received the city of Acre and Jerusalem into his dominion. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XV. His death is narrated in Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXIII.

T

- Theodosius, father of the great Emperor Theodosius, was innocently killed. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § V.
- Theodosius is thus taken by Gratian into partnership in the empire. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII.
- Theodosius thus defeated the great tyrant Maximus in war. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § III.
- Theodosius began to rule as emperor and had these morals. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII.
- Theodosius thus defeated Eugenius and Arbogast in war. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § I.
- Theodosius restored the churches taken away by the Arians and extinguished all the idols. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § II.
- The obedience of Theodosius: he submitted to blessed Ambrose because of the killing of the people of the circus. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § III.
- Theodosius the Younger is substituted in the empire together with Honorius by Arcadius. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § III.
- How perversely Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, acted against Chrysostom and the writings of Origen. Part II, Title X, Chapter IX, § I and the following section.
- Tyconius the African was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title X, Chapter X, § I.
- Theodosius the Younger, the most Christian son of Arcadius, ruled as emperor with Honorius. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II.
- Theodoric the heretic obtained the empire through very great wars in Italy. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § IV.
- Theodatus acted cruelly against his benefactress. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § VI.
- Theodore, bishop of Syria, was illustrious through his writings. Part II, Title XI, Chapter XI, § VI.
- Totila, prince of the Goths, thus fought against the commanders of the emperor. Part II, Title XII, Chapter V, throughout.
- Theophilus the Sicilian thus recovered from the demon the faith that he had denied. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § II.
- Theodoric, king of Francia, performed these deeds against Columbanus. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VI.
- Tiberius II, Roman emperor, was such a man. Part II, Title XII, Chapter VI, § VII.
- Pope Theodore was illustrious. Part II, Title XIII, Chapter I, § II.
- The Teutons are converted to the Christian faith. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter I, in the body of the chapter.
- Theodosius, deposing Anastasius, assumed the empire. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter II, § II.
- Let testamentary executors receive an example of execution. Part II, Title XIV, Chapter IV, § IV.
- The threefold temptation of Adam and Christ. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § IV.
- The conference of Theodore concerning the prosperous and adverse things of this world. Part II, Title XV, Chapter II, § V.
- Marvelous temptations of hermits are narrated. Part II, Title XV, Chapter VIII, in the body of the chapter near the end and in § I.
- The penance of Thaïs the harlot. Part II, Title XV, Chapter X, § III.
- The origin of the Turks and the advance of their dominion. Part II, Title XVI, Chapter IV, § V.

- Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, flourished. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter I, § IX.
- Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, after many persecutions is crowned with martyrdom. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter III, throughout.
- The marvelous vision of Tundal concerning the punishments of hell and the joys of heaven. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IV, throughout.
- The city of Tyre is praised on account of its antiquity and other things. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter VI, § VI.
- A savage tempest previously unheard of is narrated. Part II, Title XVII, Chapter IX, § XXVIII.

U and V

- Vigils of the dead were first celebrated. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Victorinus the rhetorician was illustrious and, having become a Christian, publicly professed it. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IV, § VII.
- Emperor Valentinian governed victoriously. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI and § I.
- Valentinian dies in this manner. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § II.
- Valens, the brother of Valentinian, fell into the Arian heresy under the empire, and so forth. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § III.
- Emperor Valens was thus defeated by the Goths and consumed by fire. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VI, § VII.
- Valentinian the Younger, oppressed by Maximus, is restored to the kingdom by Theodosius. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VII, § III. That same man is thus extinguished by death. Part II, Title IX, Chapter VIII, § I.
- The Vandals raged cruelly throughout Gaul and Spain. Part II, Title IX, Chapter IX, § III.
- Valentinian III held the empire in the West for thirty years. Part II, Title XI, Chapter II, § II.
- Whence the kingdom of the Vandals has its origin. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VI.
- The city of Venice is built. Part II, Title XI, Chapter VIII, § IV.
- Ursula, together with her companions, are crowned with martyrdom.