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Edited by Joseph Rawson Lumby

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis

Ranulf Higden (*d.* 1364) was a monk at the abbey of St Werburgh in Chester. His most important literary work is this universal chronicle, which survives in over a hundred Latin manuscripts, testifying to its popularity. The earliest version of it dates from 1327, but Higden continued writing until his death, expanding and updating the text. It was also continued in other monastic houses, most importantly by John Malvern of Worcester. The English translation made by John Trevisa in the 1380s was also widely circulated and is included in this work, published in nine volumes for the Rolls Series between 1865 and 1886. The chronicle shows how fourteenth-century scholars understood world history and geography. Volume 5 concludes Book 4, covering the later Roman Empire and the Saxon invasion of Britain. The first part of Book 5 concentrates on the spread of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England.

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*Together with the English Translations
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Writer of the Fifteenth Century*

VOLUME 5

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
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OR
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
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DURING
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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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MONACHI CESTRENSIS:

TOGETHER WITH THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF JOHN TREVISA
AND OF AN UNKNOWN WRITER OF
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

EDITED

BY

REV. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, B.D.,
FELLOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE AND LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume, which contains all that Higden recorded of the history of the world from the end of the first century of the Christian era to the close of first quarter of the seventh century, is largely occupied, as was to be expected, with the affairs of the empire, first in the west and then in the east. It will be perhaps the clearest course to indicate first what the chronicler has noticed on this subject, and then to pass in review his allusions to other countries and events.

A.D. 98. Commencing with the reign of Trajan, Higden relates somewhat of his character and conquests, but a much greater space is devoted to two or three anecdotes ¹ of the Emperor's doings. On the last of these, which is an example of the imperial justice, and to which is added the statement that for this righteousness St. Gregory won the soul of Trajan out of hell, Trevisa has the comment, "So it myzte seme to a man þat were worse " þan wood and out of riȝt bileve."

Speaking of Plinius Secundus in connexion with Trajan, Higden makes a confused account by giving some details which belong to the life and death of the *elder* Pliny in what is intended to be a notice of the

¹ Helymandus or Helmandus, the authority referred to for these anecdotes, was a monkish chronicler of France at the end of the 12th century. His work comprised a History of the World from the Creation down to A.D. 1204. As we should

judge from the anecdotes cited by Higden, his composition showed more pains than judgment. He died A.D. 1227. The name is spelt variously, *Elinand*, *Elimand*, *Elinmond* and *Helinand*. For a longer account, see Moreri s. v. *Elinand*.

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proprætor whose letter to Trajan on the subject of the punishments inflicted on the early Christians in Asia Minor, led, no doubt, to the statement in the text that Pliny softened the feelings of Trajan towards the Christians. Higden, however, knows of the thirty-seven books of the *Historia Naturalis*, and of the comprehensive character of their contents. He mentions also another thirty seven books, “de bellis Romanis,” where he is perhaps alluding to the continuation (made by the elder Pliny, and mentioned by him in the *Historia Naturalis*¹) of the historical work of Aufidius Bassus, of which we have no remains. A very confused story of the death of the elder Pliny is given in the text, the place of its occurrence being said to be on the shore of the Adriatic between Italy and Greece. Trajan, who died at Selinus in Cilicia, is said to have died at Seleucia, a muddling of words which is capable of explanation. The chronicler knows, however, that his ashes were collected and carried to Rome, and deposited under Trajan’s column. The authority here quoted is the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus, a work not often quoted by Higden.

Cap. xiv. Of Hadrian’s learning and artistic skill some mention A.D. 117. is made, and an allusion, though a very vague one, to the effect produced on that Emperor by the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides. Hadrian’s resignation of Trajan’s eastern conquests is also noticed, as well as his war with the Jews, and its results, though Ælia Capitolina is not spoken of. Some allusion to an alteration and extension of the walls of Jerusalem is indicated by the statement that the site of our Lord’s passion was now enclosed within the northern wall of the city. But quite as much space is given to a legend of the self-

¹ *Hist. Nat.* pref. § 19. This continuation was in 31 books. There is a statement that Conrad Gesner (ob. 1565) saw 20 books by

Pliny on the Germanic wars at Augsburg, but it lacks confirmation.

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imposed silence of Secundus, a philosopher, who is said to have been examined before Hadrian, as to all that concerns the rest of that Emperor's doings. The cause of Hadrian's death is correctly stated, but the names of certain persons said to have been martyred at Rome at this time can hardly be accepted as true. *Faith, Hope, and Charity*, the three daughters of *Wisdom*, have an air of allegory rather than of history.

A.D. 138. In connexion with Antoninus Pius, Higden mentions Cap. xv.

his two sons, Aurelius and Lucius, as reigning along with him. It is probable that the two sons whom Antoninus had, viz., Aurelius and Galerius, were both dead¹ before their father was adopted by Hadrian. No mention is to be found of a son Lucius. The character of Antoninus is lauded, and his good offices as arbiter between foreign nations recited on the authority of Eutropius. One story is related which indicates the otherwise notorious evil character of the Emperor's daughter, Faustina,² who, like her mother, enjoyed an unfortunate celebrity for profligate living. Higden has noticed the *Apology* of Justin Martyr, and its presentation to Antoninus. This was the *Apologia Prima*; the second was most probably addressed to the next Emperor.

A.D. 161. Of the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus³ very little is said beyond a men-

¹ See Dion Cassius, lxi. 21.

² The *Marco Antonio* in the text (p. 22) should, of course, be *Marco Aurelio Antonino*, but there is no variation of the reading in any MS. which I have consulted.

³ The names given to these two emperors in the text of Higden are Marcus Antoninus Verus and Lucius Commodus respectively. These have been allowed to remain because they seemed to give an indication that Higden was in part

aware of the names by which they were known before they attained the imperial dignity. These were severally M. Annius Verus and Lucius Ceionius Commodus. The former was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, having married the notorious Faustina; the latter was the son of Ælius Cæsar, who had been adopted by Hadrian previous to that emperor's adoption of Antoninus Pius.

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tion of the bountiful disposition of the former, and his somewhat stoical character. Except a vague notice of wars against the Germans, Sclaves, and Sarmatians, the only thing on which Higden dwells is the account of the supposed supernatural occurrences that are said to have attended the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the Quadi, on which so much has been written. The miracle is generally spoken of as that of the Thundering Legion. Of Verus no notice is taken beyond the mention of his name.

Cap. xvii. The reigns of Commodus, Pertinax, and Julianus are A.D. 180. briefly dismissed, though sufficient details are given to A.D. 192. show that the detestable crimes and debaucheries of the first-named were known of by Higden, as well as his fate. Pertinax is said to have been slain by Julianus, A.D. 193. and he by Severus, neither of which statements is correct. The addition of "jure peritus" to the description of Julianus, shows that the jurist Julianus in Higden's time was confounded with the Emperor¹ of the same name.

Cap. xviii. Of the next Emperor, Severus, we have mention made A.D. 193.
Cap. xix. of his African origin, his assiduous labours before he attained to empire, some notice of his Eastern expeditions, but what naturally occupies most of Higden's record is in connexion with the wall which this Emperor built in Britain. Bede and Giraldus are the authorities from whom the chronicler draws his notice both of Severus and of his sons Caracalla² and Geta. But they are re-

¹ On this confusion, see Smith's Dictionary, *Art.* Salvius Julianus. This was the jurist who lived in the time of Hadrian.

² Caracalla is called in the text Bassianus. This name the prince bore, derived from his maternal grandfather, until his father Severus, declaring himself the adopted son

of M. Aurelius, changed the boy's name to M. Aurelius Antoninus. But he is better known by a nickname than by any other. Caracalla is the name of a Gallic great coat with a hood, a garment which it is said the prince greatly affected and brought into fashion after he became emperor.

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- presented as sons of Severus by different mothers, one a British woman, and the other a Roman, and thus their enmity and rivalry is accounted for. They were, on the contrary, both sons of Julia Domna, the Emperor's second wife. Severus is also wrongly stated to have perished in a battle with Fulgentius, King of the Picts. Three accounts are given of the way in which Geta came by his death. The account of Carausius introduced into A.D. 211. the reign of Caracalla is put in the wrong place, and will A.D. 217. be mentioned hereafter. Opilius Macrinus, the next A.D. 218. Emperor, is only just noticed, and Elagabalus,¹ who succeeded him, and was murdered like his predecessor, receives almost as little mention. In Higden's text he is called by the name which his grandmother gave to him when she induced the troops to believe that he was a son of Caracalla, viz., Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. All that is noticed of him is his luxurious extravagance and his violent end.
- A.D. 222. In the notice of Alexander Severus we are only told Cap. xx. of his severity towards the soldiery, which strictness he himself repented of as ill-advised. His friendship for the jurist Ulpian is just noticed. The title "assessor," given to Ulpian, refers to the fact recorded by Lampri- dius,² that Severus regulated his policy by the great lawyer's advice. Mainz is specified as the place where A.D. 235. Severus was murdered. His successor, Julius Maximinus, is noticed as the persecutor of the church, mainly on account of Origen. The persecution of the church

¹ The emperor known by this name was called first Varius Avitus Bassianus. The name Elagabalus was given to him because for some time he was a priest at Emesa to the Phœnician sun-god of that name. His grandmother, who had been much at the court of Severus, per- suaded the soldiers of the Phœni-

cian border that her grandchild was really the illegitimate offspring of Caracalla and of her own daughter Julia Sœmias, and thus obtained the support of this part of the army for his advancement to the imperial power.

² Lampr. Alex. *Severus*, 51.

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at Rome ceased some time before the accession of Maximinus, therefore there seems no ground for this statement. The next Emperor mentioned is Gordian, A.D. 238. but from the details of the sentence we can see that it is the younger Gordian who is spoken of, who was assassinated through the machinations of Philip the Arabian. Higden has therefore omitted all notice of the two elder Gordians, the grandfather and father of the one whom he has mentioned, nor has he said anything of Maximus Pupienus or Coelius Balbinus,¹ but assigns six years as the length of the reign of Gordian, and then passes on to the accession of Philip. The “non A.D. 244. “longe ab urbe Roma,” as a specification of the place of Gordian’s death is an error. He was murdered while on an expedition in the East.

Cap. xxi. Of Philip, Higden relates that he was the first Christian emperor, and that his son was a Christian likewise. The wondrous solemnity of the younger Philip is mentioned, and also the celebration of the secular games at this time in honour of the millenium of Rome.² Both

¹ The chronology of this portion of the history of the empire is so obscure that it is not to be wondered at if Higden mistakes one Gordian for another. The events appear to have occurred in the following order. Disgusted with the tyranny of Maximinus, the province of Africa broke out into rebellion and invested the eldest Gordian with the imperial power. He being an old man associated his son with him in his sovereignty. Both father and son perished, one in, and the other after, an engagement with the troops of Capellianus, procurator of Numidia, who took the side of Maximinus. The son fell in the battle, the father committed suicide afterwards. On learning this the Romans elected

Pupienus and Balbinus in opposition to Maximinus, but after his death at Aquileia the soldiers, who had no love for Pupienus, rose in revolt against the two newly-elected emperors and murdered them, and elevated to the throne the younger Gordian, the grandson of the first of that name. He it is whom Higden alone notices. All these events appear to have taken place between January and August, A.D. 238.

² The question of the conversion to Christianity of Philip and his son has been much debated. Many writers have maintained that Constantine was the first Christian emperor. The reader may consult as one of the earliest authorities, Eusebius, H. E., vi. 34, 39, 41, and

father and son were slain, it is believed, in a battle near
 A.D. 249. Verona, fighting against Decius. The story of the trea-
 sure given by the younger Philip to St. Laurence rests
 on no satisfactory authority.

After a notice of the chronological confusion of this Cap. xxii.
 period, and the difficulty of supposing that five popes
 suffered martyrdom under Decius, Higden inclines to
 solve the matter by giving the name of Decius to Gal-
 lienus, though he offers none but the vaguest authority¹
 for so doing. The chapter is mainly occupied with a list
 of the martyrs said to have suffered during the Decian
 A.D. 251. persecution. Of Hostilianus, who, whether he were the
 son, son-in-law, or nephew of Decius, was associated
 with Gallus, Higden gives no notice, and barely mentions
 Gallus and his son Volusianus, and the brief reign of
 their successor Æmilianus, who was murdered after
 A.D. 254. three months rule, by the soldiers who revolted in favour
 of Valerian.

In the next chapter Valerian is stated, with no autho- Cap. xxiii.
 rity, to have favoured Christianity, but afterwards to
 have changed his attitude towards it. His subjugation
 by Sapor king of Persia, and the subsequent de-
 A.D. 260. gradation imposed upon him, are noticed. Gallienus,
 his son (again called also Decius) is only mentioned in
 connexion with the retirement of Paul the hermit to his
 desert life.

A.D. 268. Claudius II. is noticed as the conqueror of the Goths,
 but somewhat longer details are given of his brother
 Quintillus (whom Higden calls Quintilianus), who put
 himself forward after the death of Claudius as a candi-
 date for the empire, and who appears from the coins
 A.D. 270. which bear his name to have reigned for a short time.

vii. 10. The celebration of the
 secular games rather militates
 against the account of Philip's
 Christianity.

¹ P. 82, secundum chronica iste
 Gallienus fuit binomius, nam dictus
 est et Decius.

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- Cap. xxiv.** Aurelian,¹ who was recommended to the empire by the dying Claudius, is compared to Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar; his victories are mentioned, and so is the manner of his death. It also noticed that the council of Antioch was held in his reign. The short reigns of Tacitus and his half-brother Florianus are just recorded, and it is erroneously stated that the former of these was killed.²
- Higden tells of the expulsion of the Germans from Gaul by Probus. He notices, likewise, his scheme for a great disarming and disbanding of soldiery, and his assassination at Sirmium. Then follows a brief account of Carus and his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, all the details given being correct except the expression used in describing the death of Carus, "absorptus est a fluvio Tigri." The usual account of his death is, that he was struck by lightning. Higden gives no authorities for the Roman history in this chapter, but his brief statements agree in the main with the accounts of Vopiscus and Aurelius Victor.
- Cap. xxv.** The reign of Diocletian is given rather more in detail because of the persecution of the Christians at that period. The statements are in the main correct. The absurd conduct of this emperor in wishing to be regarded as divine, and the pomp of his dress, which Higden records, were probably tokens of that insanity under which he appears to have laboured. His taking Maximian as his colleague, and of the addition to these rulers

A.D. 270.

A.D. 275.

A.D. 276.

A.D. 276.

A.D. 282.

A.D. 284.

¹ Dacia, mentioned as the native land of Aurelian, is translated in both versions as *Denmark*, an error not uncommon. As early as Saxo Grammaticus, the Latin word *Dacia* was used for Denmark instead of *Dania*. See, among many other places, the commencing lines of Bk. ii. Hist. Dan. of that author. Hence may have arisen the confusion in the minds of our translators. Dacia is also found on

Danish coins between 1482 and 1559, after which the use of the word as a name for Denmark seems to have died out. See Appel's *Münzen und Medaillen*, vol. 2. pt. 2. pp. 492 *seqq.* Its use, both in writings and on the coinage, arose probably from classical affectation.

² The cause of his death was a fever according to Aurelius Victor *de Cæsar*, xxxvi. Epit. xxxvi.

A.D. 292. of two Cæsars, so that the cares of empire were divided among four persons, are correctly noted. Also the sufferings of the martyrs and the abdication of both Diocletian and Maximian. It is in this place that the account of Carausius (given on pp. 60–64) should come in. Constantius Chlorus, one of the two Cæsars, was sent into Britain against this rebel, and died in Britain, as is mentioned at the close of the present chapter. Galerius, the other Cæsar, was with Constantius, declared emperor on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian; and his colleague, confining his care to Gaul and Britain, Galerius appointed two of his own supporters to the dignity of Cæsars. These were Maximinus Daza and Severus. But omitting all notice of the doings of Galerius or of this second pair of Cæsars, Higden passes A.D. 306. on to the history of Constantine the Great.

First is mentioned, in the next chapter, the rival claim Cap. xxvi. to the imperial throne set up by Maxentius, the son of the Maximian who abdicated with Diocletian. It is told how Maximian came forth from his retirement to help his son, and how Diocletian preferred his garden at Salona to the resumption of his former power. The appointment of Licinius to succeed Severus as Cæsar is mentioned, and the death of Galerius by some loathsome disease. We are then told how Constantine made his way from Britain to Rome, and how Maxentius lost his life¹ at the Milvian Bridge. The appearance of the sign of the Cross, with its inscription *ἐν τοῦτο νῦν* to Constantine in a dream is said to have been during this struggle against Maxentius. We then have the record of leprosy with which Constantine is said to have been afflicted and of which he was miraculously cured by pope Silvester. Much of what is told in this chapter comes from the legend of St. Silvester, and partakes of the mar-

¹ He was drowned in the Tiber, | weight of the retreating troops
 for the bridge gave way under the | while he was upon it.

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vellous. Higden inclines to the opinion that Constantine was baptized by Silvester, and did not put off, as is more generally believed, his baptism till just before his death. His bounty to the Church is recorded with some remarks on the evil which such lavish liberality has wrought. There is a long notice of the conversion of Helena, the mother of Constantine, at which the miraculous powers of Silvester are said to have been again displayed. The visit of Helena to Jerusalem and the discovery of the true Cross are all related faithfully, according to the legend. Higden, of course, favours the opinion that the emperor's mother was a native British princess.¹

The transferring of the seat of government to Constantinople, and the erection of that city into the capital of a patriarchate after the Nicene Synod, are briefly noticed, and some short account is given of the reasons for assembling that synod, and of Constantine's manner of dealing with the assembled prelates. Constantine's death at Nicomedeia is also mentioned.

Cap.
xxvii.

Very brief mention is made of Constantius, the son of Constantine, or of his two brothers. All that Higden seems concerned to notice is, that the emperor took part prominently with the Arians in the doctrinal disputes of the period. In consequence of this nearly the whole of the chapter is devoted to the persecution which, after the death of Constantine, was exercised towards Athanasius. It is mentioned also that during his exile at Treves that prelate composed the Athanasian creed.² With the

A.D. 337.

¹ All the most trustworthy authorities are agreed in stating that Helena was a woman of low birth. The legitimacy of her marriage with Constantius seems beyond dispute, for all authors testify that a divorce was necessary before her husband could marry Theodora, the stepchild of Maximian.

² As much controversy has lately prevailed about the authorship and

date of this creed, and as some of the copies brought forward in the process of the dispute ascribe the creed to "Anastasius," and not to Athanasius, it is interesting to notice how uncertain the orthography of these names was in Higden's time and before (as may be seen in several instances in the present volume), and how little stress therefore can be laid on the spell-

mention that this father of the church lived on to the reign of Julian and escaped from pursuit when his adversaries were chasing him along the Nile, the notice of Athanasius comes to a close.

A.D. 361. As might be expected, Higden repeats much of the false charges made by early Christian writers against the next emperor Julian, known as "the Apostate." He is said to have been a monk, and his conduct is described as very little befitting that character. He was also versed in magic arts, and had familiar spirits at his command, having sold himself to them for the possession of the empire. His abandonment of Christianity is represented as the more gross, inasmuch as several miracles were wrought which should have demonstrated to him the sanctity of the sign of the Cross. Many insults to Christianity and Christians are ascribed to him, and his permission given to the Jews to rebuild Jerusalem, as one more of these insults, is dwelt upon, and so are the miraculous hindrances thereto, by the demolition at night of all that had been erected by day.¹ It is not denied that he was temperate, studious, and learned; but as all heathen writers have extolled this emperor's conduct too highly, so all Christians have degraded him too low. The contests to which he was a witness between the Arians and the orthodox had much to do, we cannot doubt, with his rejection of the Christian faith, and his writings bespeak a man who desired to leave the world better than he found it.

Cap.
XXVIII.

ing of this name as "Anastasius." On p. 154, the Latin text has *Anastasium* for *Athanasium*, and on the opposite page the same misspelling appears in Trevisa's version, though in that same page he three times spells the word correctly. The same thing occurs in the Latin on page 156, as will be seen from the notes; and in the margin of that page, more singularly still,

the scribe had commenced the name *Atha*, but afterwards erased it and substituted *Anastacii*. It would seem, therefore, that they considered these forms to be only a different orthography of the same name. It is noteworthy also that Trevisa (p. 213) writes the name of Pope *Anastasius* as *Athanacius*.

¹ On this story, see Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv.

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Of Jovian,¹ the successor of Julian, an excellent A.D. 363. character is given, and he is styled "*Christianissimus*," a story being told to prove his claim to the title. Mention is made of his cession of territory in the East to Sapor, king of Persia, and of the manner of his death, which seems to have been caused by suffocation from the fumes of charcoal, though some suspected that foul play had been resorted to for his removal.

Cap. xxix. Of Valentinian and Valens, the brothers who next A.D. 364. enjoyed the imperial power, hardly any details are given. The Arian tendencies of the latter are mentioned, and how he sent Arian bishops to the Goths, and his death while fighting against that people is pointed out as the just judgment of God for this offence. Very few authorities are given by Higden in this part of his history, but he seems here to be following Orosius.²

Cap. xxx. Gratian and Valentinian II., sons of Valentinian I. fol- A.D. 375. low next in order, and with them is afterwards associated in the imperial power Theodosius the Spaniard. The prowess of the last named is commemorated, and the peace which he made with Athanaric, king of the Goths. The occurrence at this time of the council of Constantinople is just noticed. The assassination of Gratian by A.D. 383. the emissaries of Maximus, who had been proclaimed emperor by the troops in Britain, the flight of Valentinian to Theodosius and the end of Maximus are also alluded to.

Cap. xxxi. In this chapter are contained some further notices of Theodosius. But he is erroneously called the son of Gratian.³ His character is described, and he is compared to Trajan. The story of St. Ambrose forbidding the

¹ Persistently called Jovinian, both in the text of Higden and the versions.

² Cf. Orosius, vii. 33.

³ His father was that Theodosius who was sent by Valentinian I. to drive out the Picts and Scots who

were ravaging Britain. This he performed, and restored Britain again to the empire. For some unknown reason he was beheaded at Carthage in the reign of Valens. Gibbon, vol. iv. chap. 25.

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emperor to enter the church at Milan, is told, and the massacre which led to the prohibition is described, only instead of at Thessalonica Higden places the scene of its perpetration at Constantinople.

A.D. 392. Valentinian II. is said to have committed suicide through weariness of the subjection in which he was kept by Arbogastes, one of his commanders. It seems more likely that he was murdered. After the death of

A.D. 395. Theodosius, his sons Arcadius and Honorius were emperors of East and West respectively, but nothing is mentioned concerning them except the excommunication of Arcadius by Pope Innocent I., for the part he had taken in the banishment of St. John Chrysostom, at the instigation of his wife the empress Eudoxia.

A.D. 408. When Arcadius died Theodosius II. succeeded to the Eastern empire, while Honorius continued to rule in the west. The eruption of the Goths (or Scythians, as they are elsewhere called) under Radagaisus, and their overthrow is noticed and is followed by a longer account of the two expeditions of Alaric the Gothic leader, into Italy. In the first he was defeated, in the second successful. Alaric soon after this died in Sicily, and was buried in the bed of the river Busentinus. This conquest by Alaric was fatal to the empire of the west.

Cap.
xxxii.

Constantius III., the father of Valentinian III. emperor of the west, is not mentioned as emperor by Higden, but his wife Galla Placidia, who was first married to Ataulphus the successor of Alaric, the leader of the Goths, is noticed both for this double marriage and also afterwards as coming to Rome, when Valentinian, her son, became supreme in the west. At this time is mentioned, as the founder of the Frankish dynasty, Pharamond,¹ son of Marcomirus. The invasion of the

Cap.
xxxiii.

¹ Pharamond is now generally regarded as a legendary personage. Of him Thierry says : " Quoique son nom soit bien Germanique, et " son regne possible, il ne figure " pas dans les histoires les plus " dignes de foi."

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empire by the Huns under Attila is recorded, and also their defeat by Aëtius.¹ Their second invasion into Italy is likewise narrated; with the capture of Aquileia and of course the interview of the invader with Pope Leo, by which his farther progress was arrested. Valentinian's futile appeal to the Goths for aid against the invasion of Attila is given at full length.

Lib. v.
Cap. i.

The next emperor of the east was Marcianus, who A.D. 450. married the widow² of Theodosius. The event which naturally attracts Higden's first attention in this reign is the council of Chalcedon, where the Eutychians were condemned.

Cap. ii.

Turning to the western history, Higden notices the A.D. 454. murder of Aëtius by Valentinian III. in a fit of suspicion and jealousy.³ Then follows the murder of Valentinian A.D. 455. himself, though Higden does not assign the right cause⁴ for the deed. Petronius Maximus was the aggrieved person, and though joined by the friends of Aëtius he appears to have been their leader in the assault on Valentinian, for he was immediately proclaimed emperor, though he never enjoyed the empire. He forced Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, to marry him, but she invited Genseric, king of the Vandals, to come from Africa against Rome. Maximus endeavoured to flee when the enemy approached, but was overtaken and murdered by the friends of Valentinian.⁵ In this invasion of barbarians

¹ This decisive battle was fought at Chalons-sur-Marne (Jornandes *Reb. Getic.* 42, where also is to be found an account of Attila's interview with Leo).

² Higden says the *sister*, but this is a mistake. Of the particulars of the marriage, see Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Biography*, Art. Marcianus, and the authorities there given.

³ *Amm. Marcell. an.* 454 says of

this act that with Aetius "occidit "Hesperium imperium nec potuit "relevare."

⁴ See Gibbon, chap. 33, &c.

⁵ The statement that Maximus was slain the day after the death of Valentinian, which is the version of the story given by Higden, must be incorrect. Maximus probably reigned two or three months. See Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. vi. p. 628, note 12.

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Pope Leo is again said to have interceded with and prevailed over their leader. Among the prisoners carried away by Genseric were Eudoxia and her daughters, Eudocia and Placidia.

- A.D. 457. The next emperor of the east, Leo the Thracian, is barely mentioned through his reign lasted thirteen years.¹ Perhaps this may be due to the great share in the chronicle, which is at this time filled by the pope of the same name. Leo the Second, who was a mere babe and died in the same year as his grandfather, is naturally omitted in such a record as Higden's, and Zeno Cap. III. is mentioned as next on the throne of the east. All that is recorded concerning this emperor is the sending of Theodoric against Odoacer king of Italy. Odoacer's ultimate defeat and death are also narrated.

Henceforth, to the end of the volume, very little more Cap. IV. is said of the emperors beyond the mention of their names as a note of time.²

- A.D. 491. The first of the list is Anastasius, surnamed *Silentarius*, because he had served in the imperial guard, to which that name was given. The excommunication³ of this emperor by the Pope Symmachus (Higden wrongly says Anastatius) is noticed, but rather in the history of the papacy than of the empire. So also is the sending to him, by a later pope Hormisdas, of a message which met with no satisfactory response, and we learn from other sources that these attempts at restoring peace to the

¹ Higden has seventeen, p. 286.

² After the death of Maximus no further notice is taken by Higden of the feeble princes who were set up in the West, as Avitus, Majorianus, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Julius Nepos, and Romulus Augustulus, with whom the name of the empire of the west expired. After him Odoacer established himself as king of Italy.

³ The reason for this excommunication was the emperor's adherence to the errors of Eutyches. The final act which provoked the sentence of excommunication was the imperial appointment of the Eutychian bishop Timotheus to the patriarchate of Constantinople. See Evagrius, E. H. iii. 29 seq.

church were futile. For the emperor's obstinacy in error he was, according to Higden's authority, struck dead by a flash of lightning.

- Cap. v. Justinus succeeds to the imperial power and recalls A.D. 518 the bishops, whom it appears Anastasius had banished. Higden notices a conflict between this emperor and Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy, but ascribes it to a wrong cause,¹ though he knows that Boethius and Symmachus (to whom he adds Pope John) the ambassadors sent by the king to the emperor were afterwards accused and executed by their master. The notice of Boethius is lengthy, and such details as are given are in the main correct, viz., his imprisonment at Pavia, and an account of his writings and those of his wife Elpis. Theodoric is said to have died of remorse for his slaughter of Symmachus and Boethius, and Higden tells the story of a "solitary," who saw him after death seething in Vulcan's "crokke."
- Cap. vi. Justinian's legal reforms are mentioned, and also the A.D. 527. cruelties to which he was urged by the empress Theodora. Belisarius and his victories are just noticed, as is the conquest of Italy by Totilas, the king of the Goths. The reduction of the Gepidæ,² through the Lombards, who were encouraged by Justinian, is noticed in order that a story may be told of the bravery of Alboin the Lombard prince.
- Cap. vii. Justin II. succeeded Justinian. He is painted as a A.D. 565. miser, an extortioner, and a heretic. He is said to have fallen into the heresy of Pelagius, and in consequence, apparently as a divine visitation, to have lost his reason. It is told how this emperor sent Narses to expel Totilas

¹ Higden tells of a dispute between the Arians and Catholics. The real cause was Theodoric's anger that the emperor should continue to appoint consuls at Rome.

² The Gepidæ were a tribe in what is now Hungary and Transylvania. They pestered the Roman settlements in Illyricum, and so Justinian fostered the feud between them and their neighbours the Longobards.