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TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

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A. F. NIGHTINGALE, PH.D., LL.D.

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

RHEINSTEIN.

TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

A HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

DANA CARLETON MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

In this text-book three subjects have been emphasized: first, the work of the Christian Church, the greatest of the civilizing agencies; second, the debt which we owe to the Byzantine and Arabic civilizations; third, the life of the times. While endeavoring to subordinate mere facts and dates, I have intended to introduce those with which a pupil should be familiar.

It is impossible to name the sources to which I am indebted; as I have formed my opinions gradually, during thirteen years in which I have been engaged in studying and teaching medieval history. In preparing the maps I have profited greatly by the admirable Oxford *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. Dr. A. F. Nightingale, of Chicago, Mr. F. L. Thompson, of New York, and Dr. Caroline Colvin, one of my students, have read the whole manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Prof. E. H. Castle and Dr. A. C. Howland, of the Teachers College, Dr. E. A. Singer, of Philadelphia, Prof. Wilfred H. Munro, of Brown University, Prof. E. P. Cheyney, and Dr. W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, have read one or more chapters. I wish to thank each one of these scholars, individually, for the interest they have taken and the aid

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they have given me. Prof. J. H. Robinson, of Columbia University, has read all the proofs and suggested many improvements. My wife has assisted me, as in all my work, and the text has been changed constantly to meet her helpful comments. For one chapter I have been especially fortunate in having the criticisms of Mr. Henry C. Lea. It is fitting that I should mention him separately. To praise his scholarship would be a work of supererogation on my part; but by my study in his library and observation of his methods of working I have learned more than from any other source. For ten years I have profited by his kindness and stimulating example.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

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Scots
Wall of Hadrian
Boreacum
Londinium
Saxons
Franks
Colonia Agrippina
Treves
Parisii
Mongontiacum
Alamanni
Gepids
Ostrogoths
Alans
DIOCESE OF BRITAIN
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Tolosa
Mediolanum
Massilia
Aquileia
Ravenna
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Sirmium
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PRE. OF ILLYRICUM
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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the latter part of the fourth century A. D. the Roman Empire extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the River Euphrates on the east. On the north it was bounded by the Rhine and the Danube; on the south by the Sahara; Britain and Egypt were the extreme outposts. Throughout this vast extent of territory every free man was a Roman citizen, Latin was the official language, and Christianity the state religion. All the government was centralized in the emperor, whose will was law. Moreover, the different portions of the empire were not held together by sheer brute force or by the presence of armies; the people were proud to be Romans and despised all non-Romans. Their forefathers had been under the sway of Rome for three hundred years and had shared in the benefits of the imperial rule. Good roads and an excellent postal service had encouraged commerce and travel. Everywhere the people had sought to imitate the customs and fashions of the capital. The whole Roman world had been unified.

Unity of the Roman world.

There was one Church,[1] of which all Christians were

[1] Although Christians realized that there was but one Church, the word church was used in the middle ages with several different meanings, just as it is at the present day. The following definitions may be noted: a building set apart for Christian worship; the group of Chris-

members. Its organization was similar to that of the Roman Empire. In each city there was a bishop assisted by priests. In the chief city of each province there was an archbishop or metropolitan, who was the ruler of the Church in that province. He summoned the bishops frequently to councils in which were discussed matters relating to the general welfare. In this way the Church became centralized and strong. Above the archbishops were the patriarchs, who were the bishops of the most important churches. Four were recognized as having preeminence—Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. As Rome was the only patriarchate situated in the west, it had no rival when the western part of the empire became separated from the eastern. Its bishop was seldom called the Patriarch of Rome, but instead the term Pope was used. In the middle ages he was recognized as the supreme head of the Church to which all Christians in the west of Europe belonged.

Organization of the Christian Church.

The unity of the empire, but not the unity of the Church, was destroyed in the fifth century by migrations. For five hundred years the Romans and the Germans had been learning to know each other. Many of the latter had been brought into the empire as slaves in the days when Rome had been invincible. Later thousands had fought in the Roman armies, or had received permission to settle and defend the unoccupied lands along the northern boundary. In the fifth century whole nations invaded the western provinces, establishing German kingdoms in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. They did not come to destroy the cities or devastate the country, but to secure homes for themselves.

The German migrations.

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tian believers in any locality; the collective body of Christians in the whole world; the order of the clergy, including bishops, priests, deacons, and monks; the aggregate of ecclesiastical influence and authority. It is impossible to avoid using the word with different meanings, but it is important to distinguish the exact meaning in each case.

The population of the Roman Empire had been decreasing for centuries, and a large part of the land in the west was uncultivated. There was ample room for these newcomers, and in many places they established themselves as masters with comparatively little bloodshed. The city of Rome suffered most severely, but even there the churches were spared, for the Germans who sacked Rome had been converted to Christianity.

The great mass of the inhabitants suffered little immediate loss from the German conquests. They lived under nearly the same conditions as before, but they had new masters. The Germans were less numerous than the Romans, and never attempted to impose their own civilization upon the latter. They set up tribal governments, but they allowed the Romans to keep their own law. Living in intimate and constant association with each other, intermarriages were common, and each people had a marked influence upon the other. By the eighth century the fusion of the two races had been completed and had produced a new civilization, partly Roman, partly German.

The fusion of the races.

In all the lands formerly held by Rome, except Britain, the language spoken by the people was a modified form of Latin (page 20), and not German. The schools which existed were patterned after Roman methods, and Roman text-books were used. In the arts and trades there had been a great decline in skill, but men still sought to follow the Roman models.

Roman contribution.

In its laws and government, however, the new civilization was German. The monarchy was elective, and public representative assemblies acted as a check upon the king. The free men had an exalted idea of their own importance and trusted to their own strength to obtain justice. The law regarded an accusation of crime as an attack upon a man's honor, against which he must defend himself.

German contribution.

In shaping this civilization the Church had had a very important part. The only learned men were members of the clergy, whose aid the German kings were compelled to seek. The only moral restraint which the rude German warriors recognized was the authority of the Church. Consequently, as the German conquerors were confronted with new problems for which their own customs supplied no solution, they turned to the clergy for advice. The latter became the trusted councilors and officials in each of the new kingdoms. Their services were rewarded by extensive grants of land, and the Church became very wealthy.

Importance of the Church.

The rulers of the Franks,[1] who had established a kingdom in what is now northern France, were especially noted as benefactors and champions of the Church. The missionaries sent out by Rome were protected by them and aided in converting the heathen neighbors of the Franks. When Pippin superseded the "do-nothing" Merovingian[2] ruler he sought and obtained from the Pope a decision that his action was right. When the Lombards, as the Germans who had conquered the northern part of Italy were called, threatened to wrest Rome from the Pope, Pippin conquered them and gave a large portion of their territory to the Pope. When the Lombards again became dangerous, Pippin's son, Charles the Great, reconquered them and confirmed his father's gift. The donations of Pippin and Charles the Great resulted in the formation of the Papal States.

The Franks and the Church.

In addition to the aid given to the missionaries and the subjugation of the Lombards, the Franks had performed another service of great importance to Christian Europe

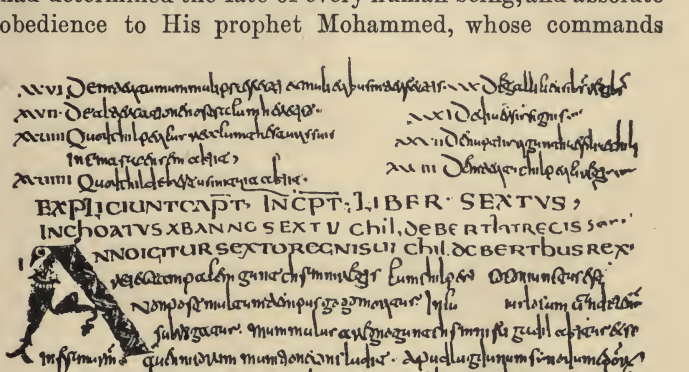
[1] A German nation which had formerly dwelt along the lower Rhine.

[2] Merovingian, the name of the family to which Clovis and all the early kings belonged. The Merovingians were succeeded by the Carolingian family.

CATHEDRAL AND BAPTISTERY, TORCELLO.

by checking the advance of the followers of Islam. This religion had arisen in Arabia, and had been founded by Mohammed, who died in 632. Its most important precepts were a belief in one God who had determined the fate of every human being, and absolute obedience to His prophet Mohammed, whose commands

Rise of Islam.



FACSIMILE OF MEROVINGIAN WRITING.

were contained in the Koran. The Arabs, who had been merely an aggregation of tribes, without a common government or a common religion, became a nation under the theocratic rule of Mohammed's successors, the califs.

Even before the Prophet died his followers had sought to compel others to accept the new religion. Within a hundred years after his death the Mohammedans conquered Persia, India, all of western Asia, Egypt and the whole northern coast of Africa, Spain, and part of southern Gaul. Everywhere they gave to the conquered the choice between the Koran, tribute, or the sword—that is, they must either embrace the doctrines of Islam, or pay tribute, or be exterminated. The fatalism which was an essential part of their creed

Conquests of Islam.

had made them almost invincible soldiers. Each war against unbelievers was to them a holy war, and every Mohammedan slain in battle was a martyr who had won paradise. The Prophet had commanded that all booty should be divided fairly among the victors. The combination of enthusiastic religion, fatalism, and the prospect of booty caused Islam to be adopted eagerly by most of the inhabitants of the conquered countries.

The triumphant advance of the Mohammedans received its first great check at Constantinople in 717. The calif had sent an army of eighty thousand men and a fleet of eighteen hundred vessels, which besieged the city by land and sea for a year. Then the army suffered a disastrous defeat from the Bulgarians, who had come to the aid of Constantinople. This, together with the lack of provisions, compelled the Mohammedans to retreat. Their fleet was wrecked in returning home, and it is said that only thirty thousand men and five vessels escaped destruction. Thus Constantinople, by its brave resistance, had saved eastern Europe from subjugation to Islam. For three hundred and fifty years the Mohammedans did not again attempt to capture the capital of the Roman Empire.

Siege of Constantinople.

In western Europe the task of stemming the tide of invasion was at first more difficult, as there was no great bulwark like Constantinople. But the Franks under the leadership of Charles Martel forced the Mohammedans to retreat, after a desperate battle near Tours (732), and gradually recovered all of Gaul. They did this the more easily because internal wars were sapping the strength of Islam, so that the Moors [1] in Spain ceased to be a great danger to Christianity.

Check in the west.

The invasions of the Germans and Mohammedans had

[1] A mixed race, formed by the intermarriage of Arabs with natives of the northern coast of Africa.


EUROPE
EIGHTH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
CALIPHATE
GREEK EMPIRE
ANGLES
W. O. Saxons
SAXONS
SLAVS
FRANKS
AVARS
Roumans
BULGARIA
Burgundians
LOMBARDS
Slavs
Macedonia
Thrace
Bucellarian Th.
Armenia Theme
Opsician Th.
Anatolic Th.
Thracesian Th.
Cybyrrhaeot Th.
SARDINIA
EXARCH
SICILY
CRETE
CYPRUS
Longitude East 20 from Greenwich

wrested from the empire all of its provinces except the European possessions east of the Adriatic and a few places in Italy. The Mohammedan conquests were separated from the Christian world not only by a difference in religion, but also by the barriers of language and customs, for the conquerors had introduced everywhere the Arabic language and their own Oriental mode of living. In the countries conquered by the Germans there were many different races, each having its own dialect, laws, and customs. The Franks had succeeded in conquering many of the other races, but as yet there was no unity of feeling except the bond of a common religion. If they were to survive the attacks of their more barbarous neighbors it was necessary that they should be united more closely and become more civilized. This was the work of Charles the Great.

Result of invasions.

References

Emerton's *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1892) is the best short volume on the subjects included in this chapter. Robinson's *History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1903), ch. ii–vi, is an admirable brief summary.

CHAPTER II

The Empire of Charles the Great

SUMMARY.—Charles the Great, by his strong personality, was able to influence his subjects. His interest in education led him to adopt Roman customs. His religious zeal brought him into intimate relations with the papacy. As the idea of a world-wide empire, which included all Christians, was still held by thoughtful men, Charles, whose dominions were so extensive, was the logical choice for the position of emperor. His coronation brought him and his successors into still closer association with the Church. While he lived he was able to centralize the government of his dominions in his own hands. After his death the elements of weakness in the imperial constitution, especially the German principle of division, led to the rapid decline of the empire and to the rise of separate and weak kingdoms.

Description of Charles, 768-814.

CHARLES was large, strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall.[1] His height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot. His appearance was always stately and dignified and his whole carriage manly. He despised foreign clothes, however splendid, and wore the national costume of the Franks. This consisted of a linen shirt and linen breeches, and over these a tunic fringed with silk; hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs and shoes his feet. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always wore a sword. In winter he added a coat of otter- or marten-skin. On great festivals he dressed magnificently in embroidered clothes and shoes bedecked with gems, and

[1] The description is taken from the biography of Charles, written by his friend and secretary, Einhard. Charles is the only man of his time of whom such a full description has been preserved.

wore a diadem; but on other days his dress varied little from the common costume of wealthy Franks.

His character.

He was an able, fearless general. He took frequent exercise on horseback and in hunting and often practised swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him. Although slow to anger, few dared to meet his fiery glances when he was once aroused. He was temperate in eating and especially in drinking, but he complained that church fasts were injurious to his health. He was simple in his habits and loved his native German customs. But he realized that the Roman civilization was higher and better than the German in many respects, and he strove to borrow from it all that could be serviceable to the Franks. His energy was inexhaustible.

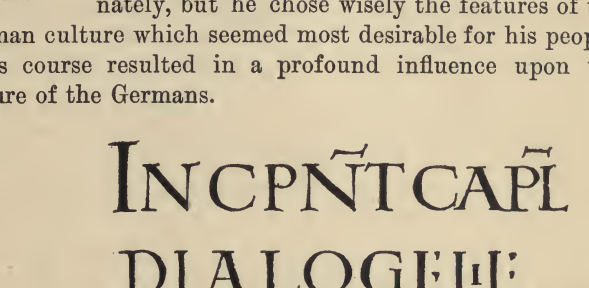
His interest in education.

He was a ready and fluent speaker both in his native tongue and in Latin, and he understood Greek. He tried to learn to write, but he began too late in life to succeed in accomplishing much more than his own signature. He was a zealous student, delighting especially in mathematics, astronomy, and theology. He established many schools in his kingdom and took a keen interest in the progress of the students. His own children were carefully educated under the direction of Alcuin,[1] and Charles often studied with them. He gathered together at his court all the most learned men of the age and sought their aid and instruction. He was active in reforming and enriching the Church services and paid special attention to the singing, which he often directed in person. Such is the description given of him by his contemporaries and especially by Einhard, his secretary.

[1] Alcuin, born about 735, was educated at York, England, and became the most learned man of his time. He was persuaded by Charles to become the latter's teacher. Teacher and pupil lived in close friendship until Alcuin's death in 804. See West, *Alcuin* (New York, 1893).

It is to be noted that his most important work was the fusing of the best elements in the two civilizations, Roman and German. He did not copy indiscriminately, but he chose wisely the features of the Roman culture which seemed most desirable for his people. This course resulted in a profound influence upon the future of the Germans.

His work.



FACSIMILE OF CAROLINGIAN WRITING.

In the preceding chapter the intimate relations of the popes and the early Frankish kings have been mentioned. During the reign of Charles the alliance became much closer. He had conquered the Lombards and had given a part of their kingdom to the Pope. He insisted upon the adoption of Christianity by the Saxons whom he conquered. In his kingdom, in pursuance of his educational policy, he had done much to strengthen the Church, from whose officers he drew his teachers. He increased its wealth by commanding the payment of tithes by his subjects, and he himself set the example. When the people of Rome rebelled and the Pope was compelled to flee from the

His connection with the papacy.

city, Charles put down the rebellion and gave the Pope protection.

Prestige of the Roman Empire.

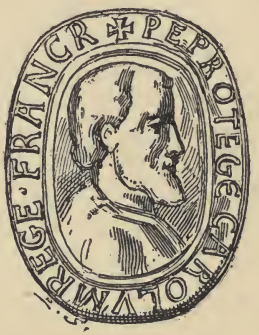
The grandeur of the Roman Empire still impressed the minds of men. The fourth empire in the prophecy of Daniel[1] was believed to be the Roman, which was destined to endure till the end of the world. Although the capital had been transferred to Constantinople and the empire had lost much of its territory, reverence for the imperial idea had never been lost. Men believed that there must be a Roman Empire and could not conceive of the world without one. This idea was of great importance and influence throughout the middle ages. But the Greek Empire had lost prestige in the West, as its power was no longer felt. The papacy wished to break away from connection with it because it was heretical. Irene was now Empress of Constantinople; the Germans considered it unfitting that a woman should govern, and detested her for her crimes. Charles ruled almost all the territory in the West which formerly had been under the rule of Rome, besides much that had never been Roman.

What the empire of Charles included.

As the result of fifty or more military campaigns conducted under his direction, Charles had become the ruler of all the Germanic nations from the Baltic Sea on the north to the city of Rome on the south, from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Elbe and the Saale on the east. "He so largely increased the kingdom of the Franks, which was already great and strong when he received it from his father's hands, that more than double its former territory was added to it" (Einhard). By these conquests Charles had become more than the king of any nation or of any two or three nations. On the boundaries of his realm he was the nominal overlord of many races of barbarians; these, however, were

[1] See Daniel, chap. ii, vv. 31–45.

never in subjection, except when overawed by a strong military force. Most of the kingdom actually under his sway was occupied by Germans, who were divided into many nations or tribes, differing from one another in language, laws, and customs. Some were civilized, while others were almost barbarous. Christianity was the state religion, but in many districts the precepts of Christianity were scarcely known and seldom, if ever, heeded. Among the Saxons Charles found it necessary to forbid human sacrifices to the pagan divinities and the eating of the bodies of witches. This rule over men of many nations, occupying such widely extended territory, made a vivid impression on the minds of his subjects. In order to describe his power, even before he was crowned emperor, they referred to it as imperial.



Seal of Charles.

It seemed fitting that the king who ruled the imperial territory should be crowned emperor at the ancient capital.

Coronation of Charles.

Consequently, on Christmas day, 800, as Charles knelt in prayer at the altar of old St. Peter's in Rome, the Pope suddenly placed upon his head the imperial crown, and the people shouted joyously: "To Charles, most pious and august, crowned by God, the great and peace-loving emperor, be life and victory!"

Thus was the medieval empire founded, and Charles was the first of a long succession of emperors which was to end only in the nineteenth century. But his contemporaries did not realize that there had been any new creation; they believed that the old Roman Empire was still in existence and that Charles was the direct successor of Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine. Furthermore, in the opinion of his contem-

His position as emperor.

poraries Charles had received additional importance and power by the coronation. There was to them only one emperor, and his dignity was far greater than that of any king. He was thought to be the head of the Christian Church in all secular matters as the Pope was in all spiritual matters. As a matter of fact this never was true; there were always Christian countries which were not included in the empire. Moreover, the title did not add any real power; whatever power the emperor actually had was due to his position as king. The empire had no territory, no subjects, no army, no revenues, except as these were supplied by the territory, subjects, army, and revenues of the king who was crowned emperor. These facts must be borne in mind whenever the empire is studied.

Yet Charles believed that he had received an increase of power and dignity when he became ruler of the Roman Empire. He required every one of his subjects over twelve years of age to take a new oath of obedience to him, and in this oath were included not merely the duties to the state, but also the duties to God; leading a godly life, protection to widows and orphans were enjoined in the same manner as military service or obedience to the game-laws. Charles believed that as emperor he was the vicegerent of God on earth, and in his conscientious zeal confused entirely the duties of the state and of the Church. This confusion is characteristic of the whole medieval period.

Charles's conception of his position.

The machinery which Charles had for enforcing these orders—that is, the organization of the administrative system in his empire—was very different from that of any modern kingdom. First, there was no imperial taxation. Charles secured his income mainly from his private estates, which were merely large farms managed for his benefit. He gave much personal attention to the care of his property, and was watchful lest he might be defrauded of some of the grain grown

Administrative system.

or some of the eggs which his hens laid. In fact, some writers, observing the attention which he gave to these matters, have styled him "only a German farmer." In the second place, Charles expected and received gifts each year from most of his important officials. These gifts varied in character and amount, but their total value was great. In the third place, Charles exacted fines from his subjects when they were negligent in the performance of their duties or when they were guilty of crimes. From these sources and from the spoils of war the imperial treasury was filled.

The expenses.

On the other hand, the expenses for the empire were very small, if compared with those of a modern government. There was little or no expenditure for the army, for the police, for internal improvements, for courts of justice, or for education. All of these functions were left to local officials, under the control of the central government, who received no salary from the treasury.

Imperial officials.

The chief among these were the counts, who were generally chosen from the most powerful families resident throughout the empire. Sometimes the counts ruled over cities and the land adjacent; sometimes they governed larger territories. The most important were those on the frontiers, who were called margraves. It was their especial duty to protect the empire from sudden invasions. Situated at a great distance from the center of power, and required to be ready constantly to act on their own initiative, they were given necessarily a large amount of power and independence. The counts and margraves were expected to maintain order and administer justice in their territories. When an army was required they levied the soldiers, saw that they were properly equipped, and led them to battle. In fact, the whole local administration of the government was practically in the hands of the counts.

mark – margree
mark

In order to maintain control over them and to centralize the government, Charles employed special agents, who were called "*missi dominici*," or imperial messengers. These were sent out each year to the various districts of the empire. It was their duty to correct the mistakes in the local administration, to hear appeals from the judgment of the counts or margraves, to make known special laws enacted by the emperor, and in general to represent his authority. Usually two *missi* were sent out together in order that one might serve as a check upon the other, and their districts were changed every year in order to prevent collusion with the local counts. Ordinarily one of the *missi* was a layman and the other a bishop or abbot.

Missi dominici.

The leading members of the clergy played an important part in the government. They held large properties, and over these they exercised the same powers that the counts had over land not held by the Church. The position of the Church as a whole will be treated in the following chapter; here it is essential to note only the share it had in the government. The abbots and bishops administered justice, raised the troops, and acted in every way as imperial officials. This tended still more to increase the confusion between the religious duties and the political duties, which has been noted already.

Abbots and bishops.

That Charles had united western Europe and brought the nations together into a Christian state had been due mainly to the strength of his own personal character. His subjects respected and feared him; they admired his bravery and dreaded his anger. He was devoted to the service of the Church, but he ruled its members with a firm hand and made them aid in the imperial administration. By the force of his personality he controlled all the discordant elements in the state and founded the medieval empire. After his death

The influence of Charles's personality.

the empire was not strong enough to make the union permanent. It soon split up into separate kingdoms, but the memory of it was one of the cohesive forces for the future.

Where so much power was entrusted to the counts and the *missi*, it was certain to be abused whenever the emperor's eye could be eluded. Einhard says that the *missi* were frequently dishonest. It was to their interest to connive at the misdeeds of the counts. The latter were almost independent in their own counties and used their great opportunities for their own profit. There was much friction between the lay officials and the rulers of the Church. It was a period of increasing lawlessness and barbarism.

Elements of weakness: the officials.

Each of the separate nations forming the empire had its own laws, customs, and dialect. They felt little interest in the empire, and were held in check only by the fear of Charles or by the need of his protection from their barbarian neighbors.

Different nations.

The Franks, who were the immediate subjects of Charles and formed his greatest strength, were being destroyed by the wars which had lasted for so many years. As many were either killed or wounded and others ruined, throughout the empire it was more and more difficult to obtain men for the army. But of all the Germans, it was the Franks who suffered the most, and as there was no interval of peace, their strength and numbers gradually became exhausted.

Exhaustion of the Franks.

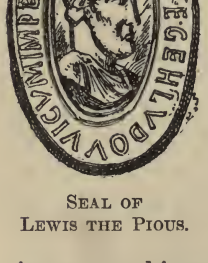
The great extent of the empire made government difficult. The roads were extremely bad, and traveling was dangerous, as robbers lurked in the woods. It is well to remember that western Europe was very sparsely settled; that there were no railroads, no steamboats, and no telegraph. The roads and bridges which the Romans had made were being destroyed by the lapse of time, and the subjects of Charles did not

Difficulties of communication.

know how to make new ones equally good. All travel by land had to be on horseback, or in carts, or on foot. On the water, rowing or towing was the usual method; as men did not know how to tack, sails were of no use except in going before the wind.

German principle of division.

The greatest danger to the empire, however, and the real cause of its disintegration was the German habit of dividing the father's property among all the sons. When there were several sons each one was given his share. A kingdom was treated just like the estate of a wealthy man, and was parceled out so that each son should have an equal, or nearly equal, portion. At Pippin's death the kingdom had been divided between Charles and his brother. They were not in harmony, but the brother's early death prevented the kingdom from being weakened. Charles planned to divide his empire among his three sons; in this case disunion was delayed because two of the sons died before the death of Charles. The full effect of this bad policy of division was seen in the reign of his son.



Seal of Lewis the Pious.

Lewis I, 814-840.

Lewis, called the Pious because of his devotion to the Church, succeeded Charles in 814, but was not equal to the task of ruling the empire. He was not a great warrior, nor was he admired and feared by his subjects as his father had been. Yet his greatest troubles arose from following in his father's footsteps, by dividing the empire among his sons. In 817 he arranged the portions which each one of his three sons should have as a kingdom after his own death. The eldest, Lothair, was to have the lion's share and was made coemperor with his father.

Soon after this division the empress died. Lewis fell into a fit of despondency and talked of abdicating, in order to spend the rest of his life as a monk. His advisers and subjects were alarmed, as they feared that his sons were too young to rule. At first they tried in vain to shake his determination; then they planned to make him marry again. As the king showed no interest and would not choose a wife, his advisers gathered together all the fairest maidens among the nobility and brought them before the emperor. The beautiful Judith caught his fancy and became his queen. They had one son, who was known later as Charles the Bald. Judith soon acquired great influence over the emperor and used it to procure a kingdom for her son.

His second marriage.

In 829, when the boy was seven years old, Lewis was persuaded to make a new division, taking away a portion of Lothair's share and giving it to Charles. All the older sons were angry and fearful that their father in his partiality for Charles would give him still more. From this time they were almost constantly in revolt and at war with their father or with one another. The fortune of war shifted from one side to the other, and each time a new division of the empire was made. Finally, Lewis the Pious died in 840, leaving the imperial crown to Lothair and a kingdom to each of his surviving sons. There were only three kingdoms; as one of the sons, Pippin, had died in 838, and the part intended for him had been added to the territory of Charles the Bald.

Divisions of the empire.

After the death of his father, Lewis the Pious, Lothair tried to secure the whole empire. In 841 he gave battle to the allied forces of his brothers, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald. The latter were victorious and Lothair suffered a decisive defeat. This battle determined the fate of the empire. The German principle of division which had been frus-

Battle of Fontenay.

trated so often by fate had triumphed, and the lands ruled by Charles the Great were now divided into three separate kingdoms.

The brothers, however, still felt the need of union against Lothair. In 842 Lewis and Charles met at Strassburg and took an oath to continue their alliance. This oath has been preserved, and is of especial interest because each took the oath in the language spoken by the subjects of the other. Lewis used the following language: "*Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvaraeio cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.*" Then Charles repeated the same oath in the German language: "*In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizci indi madh furgibit, so haldih tesan minan bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan bruher scal, in thiu, thaz er mig sosoma duo indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, the minan willon imo ce scadhen werhen.*"[1] These are the earliest specimens which have been preserved of the Romance and Germanic languages. It is clear that the two people could not understand each other, and it is interesting to note that only one word has practically the same form in the two oaths.

Oath of Strassburg.

In the following year the three brothers met and agreed to the treaty of Verdun. By this treaty Lewis the German

[1] Out of love for God and for the good of the Christian people and our own salvation, I will in future, from this day forth, as far as God gives to me wisdom and power, treat this my brother as one ought to treat his brother, on the condition that he does the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any agreement which may injure this my brother.

received lands inhabited almost entirely by German tribes. The possessions on the west of the Rhine were said to have been given to him so that he might have some places which would furnish him with a supply of wine. The kingdom of Charles was inhabited mainly by the descendants of Romanized Gauls. Lothair, however, had a long and comparatively narrow

Treaty of Verdun.

CHARLES THE BALD.

strip extending from Aachen to Rome, inhabited by men of different races. In their arrangements for the division of their family property the sons of Lewis had taken no account of the physical geography. The kingdom of Lothair had no natural boundaries and was exposed to

TREATY OF VERDUN
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
IRELAND
ENGLAND
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
THE AVARS
BULGARIA
BRITTANY
AQUITANIA
GASCONY
ASTURIA
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARK
SEPTIMANIA
LOMBARDY
CARINTHIA
TUSCANY
DY. OF SPOLETO
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
ADRIATIC SEA
SERVIA
EASTERN GREEK OR BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Constantinople
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Verden
Minden
Munster
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Paderborn
Hersfeld
Frankfort
Prague
Cologne
Aachen
Prumo
Mainz
Trier
Worms
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
Luxeuil
Basel
Besancon
Regensburg
Passau
Ulm
Augsburg
Lorch
Salzburg
St.Gall
Chur
Brixen
Boulogne
Saucourt
Paris
Rouen
Chartres
Reims
Sens
Tours
Nantes
Poitiers
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Geneva
Turin
Pavia
Milan
Verona
Aquileia
Venice
Trient
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
Avignon
Marseilles
Narbonne
Roncesvalles
Perugia
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Po R.
Rhine R.
Loire R.
West 0° 5° Longitude East 10° from Greenwich 15° 20° 25°

invasion on all its frontiers; the two capitals were situated at the northern and southern extremities. It was possible for the kingdom of Lewis to develop into Germany and for the kingdom of Charles to develop into France. The empire of Lothair was destined to have no national unity and to be a bone of contention for more than a thousand years.

From this time the fortunes of the Frankish Empire declined. Its territories were divided and subdivided. The real heirs of Charles the Great were the dukes, counts, and bishops, who became more independent as the Carolingian rulers became weaker, for in each of the kingdoms the ruler was intent upon increasing his territory or upon securing the imperial title. In order to gain the support of his subjects for his ambitious plans, he was obliged to make constant concessions of lands and powers until he was left almost without resources for maintaining the empty titles of king and emperor.

The real heirs of Charles.

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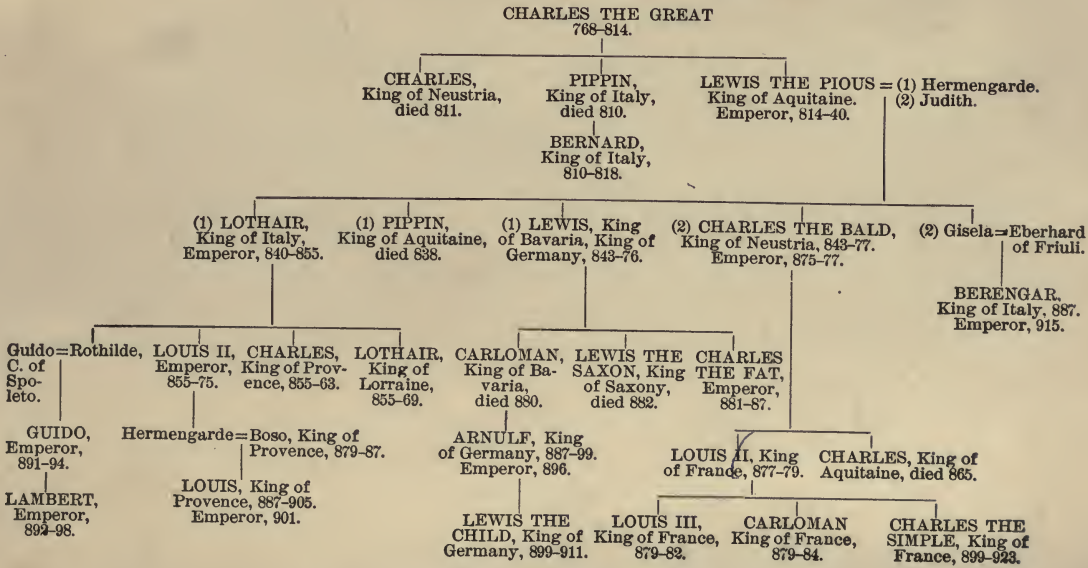
THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLES THE GREAT



CHAPTER III

The Church

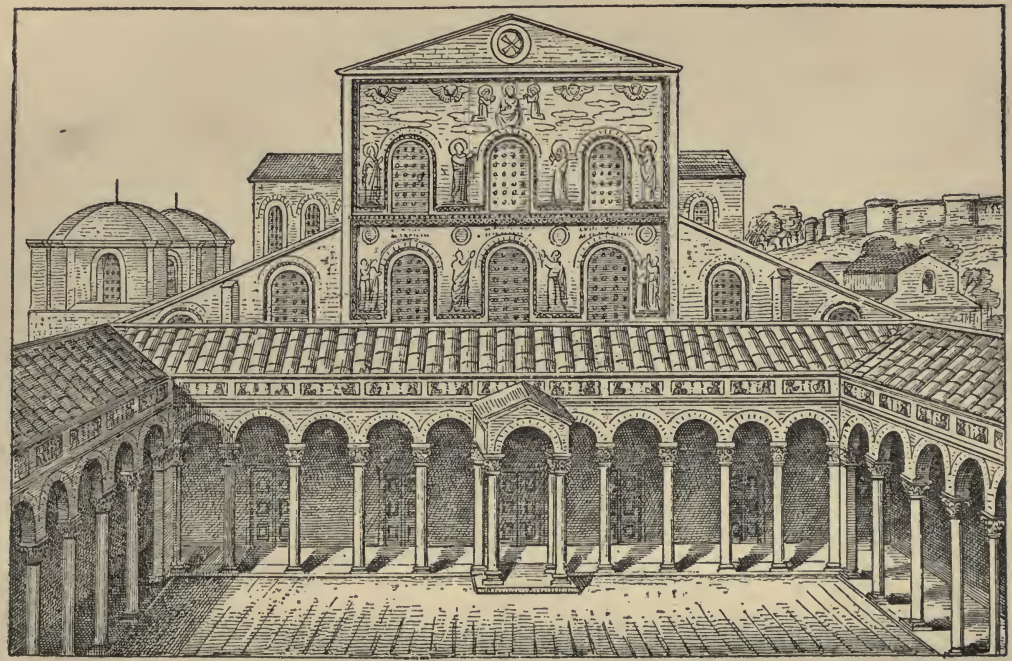
SUMMARY.—Men believed that there was but one Church, of which all Christians were members. This Church held extensive possessions and exercised jurisdiction in different ways. By its punishments it controlled the unruly; by its services to civilization it secured influence and wealth. In particular, it was the great educational agency throughout the early middle ages.

JUST as men believed in one empire which included all Christian lands, so they believed in one Church. They thought of the empire as having a real existence entirely distinct from the countries of which it was composed and as conferring upon its ruler a greater authority than that possessed by any king. In a similar manner they thought of the Church as an entity possessing property and having authority over all Christians. They therefore spoke of the power of the Church, or of a war between the Church and the Empire.

Medieval conception of the Church.

The Church was engaged in two very different tasks, although they were closely connected. On the one hand, it taught people religion and watched over their morals; on the other, it was a great governing body, ruling many with the same power and duties as a monarch. All persons on lands held by the Church were subject to this latter kind of authority and their number was very great, for the Church had extensive possessions in every country of western Europe. Part of its lands had been received as pious gifts; another part had been reclaimed from the wilderness by the labors of

Twofold duties of the Church.



OLD ST. PETER'S.

the monks; other lands had been bought. On these it was necessary that justice should be enforced and that order should be maintained. As their territories and subjects were exposed to constant attacks from neighbors or invaders, an army was needed. The abbots and bishops who were the rulers of these estates were therefore the source of all local authority. As has been stated, they maintained order, held the courts, and raised the armies. Charles the Great summoned the bishops and abbots in the empire to act as *missi dominici*. Consequently they were not merely guides in religious matters, but also judges and officials of the king. They taught the religious duties and had power to condemn criminals to death; they directed the schools, collected the feudal dues, and made war and peace.

The supreme authority in all matters of faith was held by the Pope, who also ruled the city of Rome and the surrounding territory. Next in rank were the archbishops, then the bishops, and below them the parish priests, deacons, and other officials of the Church. All of these, bishops, priests, and deacons, were called the secular clergy,[1] partly because they were engaged in directing the affairs of the Church and in watching over the morals of the people, but especially to distinguish them from the regular[2] clergy.

Secular clergy.

The regular clergy were men and women, governed by monastic rules, who had retired from the world to live in monasteries and to devote their lives to the service of God. There were many thousands, dwelling in almost every portion of western Europe. They had done much by their missionary journeys to spread the teachings of Christ. With a few exceptions the schools were in the monasteries, taught by them, and most of the books were written or copied by the monks. They had

Regular clergy.

[1] From *seculum*, used in the sense of "the world."

[2] From *regula*, a rule.

also done much for the material welfare of the people. Travelers, rich or poor, were received freely and without charge into the monasteries, which supplied the absence of inns and made traveling possible. The monks were less ignorant than the people about them, and taught their neighbors better methods of farming and working. They gave a new dignity to manual labor, which had been despised by free men, for they worked even when they were not compelled to earn their own living. St. Benedict, whose rule was followed by almost all the monks in the West, had inculcated the habit of labor, both manual and intellectual, as a pious duty. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul, and for this reason the brethren are to be engaged at fixed times in manual labor, also at certain hours in the study of sacred books." [1]

The laity.

In addition to the secular and regular clergy, the Church included all the inhabitants of the empire except the Jews, who were few in number. All the others were compelled to be Christians and to be under the authority of the Church. After conquering the Saxons, Charles the Great had commanded [2] that every man, woman, and child should be baptized within a year under penalty of death. He had also ordered that every one should attend services on Sunday and contribute to the support of the Church.

Jurisdiction of the Church.

The primary duty of the Church was to teach religion and to keep its members from sin. In all matters of religion its officials were the judges, who determined whether people had done right or wrong, and punished the guilty. Many things were considered religious matters which would now be judged by the state courts. As marriages were performed by the

[1] *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. xlviii. About six hours daily were to be spent in manual labor and two hours in study.

[2] Undated law, published between 775 and 790.

clergy, all questions connected with marriages were decided by the bishops or their representatives. Many crimes or transgressions were thought of primarily as sins, and consequently came under the jurisdiction of the Church. No Christian was exempt from this jurisdiction. Kings as well as their subjects were expected to obey in all matters of religion. As the Archbishop of Rheims wrote in the ninth century: "The king is a man just like other men. He ought to respect the Church and the property of his neighbor. His duties are the same as those of other Christians." Acting on this principle, the members of the clergy frequently condemned the actions of the kings and nobles. In some instances the Pope declared a king deposed and forbade his subjects to obey him, because he had been guilty of a crime against religion. Thus Lothair II, the great-grandson of Charles the Great, was declared deposed because he had divorced his wife and married again, contrary to the teachings of the Church and to the Pope's command. Lothair was compelled finally to recognize the authority of the Pope.[1]

BISHOP.
(After miniature of ninth to eleventh century.)

The Church enforced its power by various means. Some of its members were sincerely pious and loved to fulfil

[1] For a more famous instance of the exercise of this authority, see chap. vi.

their religious duties; but in such an age of barbarism and warfare many could be controlled only through fear. To them were preached the terrors in store for the guilty, who would suffer horrible tortures in the next world. A brutal nobleman, who feared nothing on earth, could often be reduced to obedience by a vivid description of the eternal punishment awaiting him unless he repented.

The Church's means of control.

The penitent were required to show their repentance by doing penance. This was a custom which had grown up in the early Church, and was based upon the feeling that a guilty man ought to show his sorrow by his actions and to make such atonement as lay in his power. Consequently a knight who had killed an opponent might be required to lay aside his arms and to engage in a work of charity, or a man who had sinned grievously might be ordered to give up his ordinary pursuits and to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint, or to Rome, or even to Jerusalem. His willingness to abandon all and to expose himself to the perils and privations of a pilgrimage would show that he was sincerely penitent. Many entered monasteries in order to atone for the evil lives which they had led.

Penance.

If a man remained obdurate and would not heed the commands of the Church, he was excommunicated—that is, he was shut out from the common life of Christians and from all association with his fellow men. If a man died excommunicate he was believed to be condemned to eternal punishment. In order to compel him to repent no one was allowed to have anything to do with him; even the members of his own family were excommunicated if they ate with him or befriended him.

Excommunication.

In case a ruler was obstinate and would not submit, even when excommunicated, his land was placed under an interdict. In all his territory no public church services

were held, no marriages were performed, no dead bodies were given burial. "The people were forbidden to enter the churches for the purpose of worshiping God, and the doors were locked. The music of the bells was silenced and the bodies of the dead lay unburied and putrefying, striking the beholders with fear and horror. The pleasures of marriage were denied to those desiring them, and the solemn joys of the church services were no longer known."[1] By such deprivations the people would be reduced to distress and terror, and usually the ruler had to yield.

Interdict.

It would be unjust, however, to ascribe the hold which the Church of our ancestors had upon the people to its terrors and punishments, for these were intended only for the guilty. Its power was secured mainly because of the useful services which it performed. Some of the good which the monks did has been referred to already. The secular clergy were the spiritual guides of their parishioners; they baptized, married, and buried the people. The priest was the leader in the parish and the churches were the gathering-places not only for religious services, but also for social diversions. Sunday was the holiday for the hard-working population, and it was spent in or near the church. In addition to the religious services, which all attended, the priest would read to the people letters from the absent—especially during the time of the crusades—and would announce any news that he had heard. Often between the morning and evening services there were games or other amusements. The church was for the peasants the center of all their social life. Naturally when such power and influence were in the hands of the priest there were some unworthy of their vocation—some bad men who sought the office and

Influence of the Church due to its services.

[1] From an interdict laid in Normandy in 1137. See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 4.

did not perform its duties. Ambitious men were especially tempted to obtain the bishopric on account of the great power and wealth which a bishop had; sometimes a worldly layman was given a bishopric by a king who wanted to reward a favorite. In a time of such general ignorance the members of the clergy were not always much more learned than the people under their charge. The church councils labored earnestly to correct these evils and to compel all members of the clergy to lead righteous lives. Sometimes the reformers took a gloomy view of the times in which they lived, and thought that the morals were declining. At the present time it is possible to contrast the condition of society at the end of the middle ages with the society in the feudal period and to realize the enormous advance which had been made. This advance was due mainly to the influence of the clergy, as they were for centuries the only teachers of the people.

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CHAPTER IV

The Invasions

SUMMARY.—The weakness of the Carolingian monarchs exposed their kingdoms to invasions by Saracens, Slavs, Hungarians, and Northmen. The last were by far the most dangerous foes. Their constant raids and the rapidity of their movements compelled the people in each locality to seek aid from any strong man who could protect them. Consequently the nobles who held castles, which served as places of refuge, and had military forces to defend the peasants, gradually became all-powerful in the different parts of the kingdoms. In return for their protection they demanded services and pay from the people.

AFTER the death of Lewis the Pious in 840 there was no strong central government, for his sons were engaged in constant warfare. Busy with attempts to gain more territory, they were unable to keep order in their own kingdoms, and, being jealous of one another, they did not join together to repel invaders. Within each kingdom the means of communication were bad, so that news traveled slowly; and the roads were out of repair, so that soldiers could not be sent rapidly from one part of the kingdom to another. Furthermore, no feeling of patriotism or nationality led the inhabitants in one section to help the people in another. Because of this weakness and disunion the frontiers were harried repeatedly by invaders, and even the interior of the country was never secure from attack.

Weakness of the Carolingian kings.

In the south the Saracens from Spain and northern Africa made constant raids, sacking the towns on the coast of Italy and the cities in southern Gaul, where they plun-

dered the monasteries and burned the churches. One place after another was laid waste by them, and neither the Eastern emperor nor the German kings could protect their subjects. In 827 they began the conquest of Sicily, which was completed after half a century of war with the Greek emperor. They devastated the country about Rome, and even sacked the Church of St. Peter, which was not within the limits of the city walls. After they had been defeated Pope Leo built a great wall around that portion of Rome where St. Peter's and the Vatican now stand, and this enclosure was called in his honor the Leonine city. Soon after this the Saracens conquered Corsica, Sardinia, and most of southern Italy.

The Saracens.

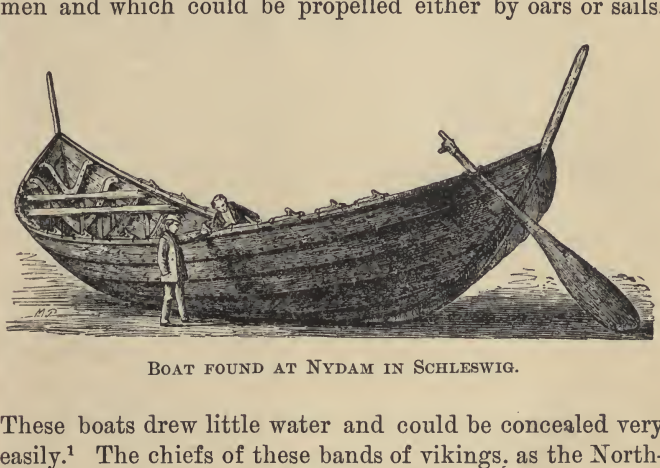
The eastern frontiers were attacked by the Slavs and Hungarians. The former ravaged Thuringia and conquered Moravia. Along the Danube the Hungarians, or Magyars, as they called themselves, made swift raids, pillaging the country. They were savages who traveled on horseback, and swooping down without warning on some town or village, they would kill all the men and old women, sparing only the boys and maidens, whom they carried into slavery. They were famous for their greed, and there was a saying current among the Germans that if a piece of gold were placed on the grave of a dead Hungarian he would put up his hand to seize it.

Slavs and Hungarians.

The most dangerous of all the invaders were the Northmen, who came from the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These people were still pagans and far more barbarous than the inhabitants of the Carolingian kingdoms. They were accustomed to life on the sea and were hard fighters. Tempted by their love of adventure and the desire for gain, they made plundering expeditions along the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland. At first these were of little importance, but in the ninth century revolutions in Norway and

The Northmen.

Denmark led to an enormous increase in the number of Northmen who engaged in marauding expeditions; for two great kingdoms were established in these countries by monarchs who maintained order and forced all who would not submit to their power to leave the land. Then piracy became the principal occupation of the outlaws, who built long open boats which would hold about sixty to eighty men and which could be propelled either by oars or sails.



Boat found at Nydam in Schleswig.

These boats drew little water and could be concealed very easily.[1] The chiefs of these bands of vikings, as the Northmen were called, "never sought refuge under a roof nor emptied their drinking-horns by a hearth." "The eager prince would drink his Yule at sea and play Frey's game [war] if he had his will. From his youth up he loathed the fire-boiler [hearth] and sitting indoors, the warm bower, and the bolster full of down."

Method of attack.

Their method of attack was to ascend some river, hide their boat in a favorable spot, and then fall upon the nearest village. If they

[1] Three of these boats have been found in modern times buried in swamps in Denmark and Sweden. The best preserved is 75 feet in length (60 feet along the keel), 15 feet wide, and 3½ feet deep amidships. It had 16 oars on each side.

met with a determined resistance they would feign a flight; but when the enemy scattered in pursuit they would form again and renew the attack.

Descriptions from sagas.

"They are well cared for, the warriors that cast dice in Harold's court. They are endowed with wealth and with fair swords, with the ore of the Huns, and with maids from the East. They are glad when they have hopes of a battle; they will leap up in hot haste and ply the oars, snapping the oar-thongs and cracking the tholes. Fiercely, I ween, do they churn the water with their oars at the king's bidding." "Ships came from the West ready for war, with grinning heads and carven beaks. They were laden with warriors, with white shields, with Western spears, and Welsh [Gaulish] swords. They tried their strength against the eager king, the Lord of the Eastmen that dwells at Outstone, and he taught them to flee. The king launched his ship when he looked for the battle." "The flying javelin bit, peace was belied there, the wolf was glad, and the bow was drawn, the bolts clattered, the spear-points bit, the flaxen bow-string bore the arrows out of the bow. He brandished the buckler on his arm, the rouser of the play of blades—he is a mighty hero." [1]

Camps on island.

In order to capture larger towns and thus secure more booty, many vikings would join together. In the summer they gathered their boats near some island which they fortified, and from this as a center made raids upon the surrounding country. When the invasions first began they returned home each fall with their "summer harvest." Later on, as a matter of convenience or of necessity, because the leaders had been outlawed, they made winter camps on islands near the mouth of the Seine, Loire, and other rivers.

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[1] The sagas are popular legends of the Northmen, describing their prowess and combats.

In 795 they made a descent on the coast of Ireland. In 841 and the succeeding years different bands sacked many parts of Gaul. A contemporary chronicler writes: "The Northmen, as they were wont to do, put the Christians to shame and grew more and more in strength. But it is a sorrow to have to write these things." Charles the Bald built fortified bridges to prevent the invaders from ascending rivers, but he was not able to defend these bridges. Another contemporary wrote: "All men give themselves to flight. No one cries out, '*Stand and fight for your fatherland, for your Church, for your countrymen.*' What they ought to defend with arms they shamefully redeem by payments. The commonweal of Christendom is betrayed by its guardians." In 885 seven hundred or more vessels were gathered together to besiege Paris; after a siege of a year the emperor, Charles the Fat, bought the invaders off by a bribe and an invitation to plunder northern Burgundy. In the same century some Northmen went as far as Constantinople and entered into the service of the emperor of the East. Others under Hastings attacked the Moors in Spain, ascended the Guadalquivir, and sacked Seville. Later Hastings made descents on the Italian coast, plundering Pisa and Luna. In 867 most of the piratical bands of Northmen attacked England and were so successful that in 878, by the peace of Wedmore, the Danes were recognized as masters of the north of England. In 911 Duke Rollo received a grant of Normandy from the French king under the condition that he should defend it. From this time on the Normans, as

Various expeditions.

PLAQUE OF GOLD, REPRESENTING NORTHERN DEITIES.

they soon came to be called, were one of the most important peoples of Europe.

These constant invasions showed the weakness of the kings, and the people soon learned that they could expect little help from their sovereigns. In every place which was exposed to invasions—and no part of western Europe was safe from them—the inhabitants were compelled to provide for their own defense.[1] The nobles built castles which served as places of refuge for the neighboring peasants. For the sake of protection little villages were built usually at the foot of the hills on which the castles stood. In the larger towns the people built stronger walls and towers, but they trusted to a great extent in the protection which their noble lord could furnish. Consequently these invasions made the people of each district look to resident nobles for the defense which the king was unable to give.

Necessity of local defense.

The lord of the castle was compelled to perform the duties of the king, and wherever a warlike noble could furnish protection he was recognized as the chief power; he collected the taxes, administered justice, and led the people in battle. Consequently northern and western Europe became divided up into small local units under the lordship of fighting nobles, and the king was forced to recognize their power. He had to depend upon them when he needed an army, and in return for their aid he legalized their position and agreed not to interfere with their administration of justice; he did the same for the abbots and bishops, who occupied the same position and had the same power as the lay nobles. In 847 a law was passed that every free man must have a lord who would be responsible for him and whom he must serve. He was to

Power of the nobles.

Capitulary of Mersen, 847.

[1] A special petition was added to the church service: "From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us!"

serve and obey only his immediate lord unless there was a general invasion of the kingdom, which would make it necessary for the king to summon all the men. The weakness of the kings and the necessity of granting power to the nobles resulted in the establishment of feudal usages throughout western Europe.

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CHAPTER V

Feudalism

SUMMARY.—The powers which had been exercised by the kings passed into the hands of the nobles, and feudal usages superseded monarchical. The elements which shaped European feudalism were the practise of commendation, the bestowal of fiefs, and the grants of immunity. The lords owed duties to their vassals and had the right to demand from the latter services. All political, social, and economic conditions were determined by feudal customs.

Feudalism not confined to Europe.

IN many countries society has passed through a feudal stage. Wherever the central authority has proved too weak to defend its subjects and to maintain order it has been necessary for some one else to perform these duties. In such a case the one who offered efficient aid demanded in return obedience and compensation from those whom he protected. Ancient Egypt for some centuries was governed chiefly by feudal nobles, and in Japan until a generation ago feudalism was the recognized condition of affairs.

Power of nobles in Europe.

In western Europe, after the decline of the Carolingian empire, the weakness of the kings, the difficulty in going from one place to another, the lack of any feeling of unity among the different peoples, and the need of protection against the Northmen and other invaders, made it necessary to arrange some means of defense in each locality. Usually some nobleman became the defender and ruler, and although kings still continued to rule in name, the actual power passed gradually in each district to the nobles.

This change took place more easily because the nobles under earlier rulers had acted as the king's agents in the government.

In order to understand their position it is necessary to study the customs which shaped feudalism. The elements which determined the form of European feudalism were three in number: the practise of commendation, the holding of benefices or fiefs, and the possession of immunities. Commendation was the act by which a free man became the vassal of some other man. In order to obtain food and clothing, or to secure protection, or to increase his own importance, a man might *commend* himself to some one more powerful—a noble, or a bishop, or an abbot—who became his lord; that is, the man promised to serve the lord faithfully, to aid him in fighting or with advice; in short, to be his vassal. In return the lord promised support and protection. The vassal did not lose his position as a free man and did not sink at all in the social scale. The nobles welcomed vassals because of the added importance and strength which it gave to them to have a large body of followers. A typical formula of commendation reads: "Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your piety, and your goodwill has decreed to me that I should hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done—that is to say, in this way: that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it. And so long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during the time of my life have the ability to withdraw from your power or guardianship, but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense."[1]

Elements of feudalism: commendation.

[1] See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

A benefice or a fief[1] was usually a grant of land made by a lord to a vassal. Such a grant might be made for various reasons. In the first place, money was scarce and little used; when the king appointed a count or other official to govern a portion of the kingdom, he paid him no salary in money, but instead he gave him land which would produce food and other necessaries. In return the official became his vassal. When a nobleman needed soldiers he hired them by giving them land in return for their services, and they became his vassals. Often men who owned land, and needed protection, handed it over to some more powerful person as a gift on condition of receiving it back as a benefice. In this way they became the vassals of the lord to whom they had transferred the land. As will be seen below, they lost little by giving up their title to the property, and they often secured powerful protection. Sometimes as a pious act they gave land to the Church, and received it back as a benefice. When a man was granted a fief the land did not actually belong to him, but he had the use of it and the profits arising from it. Usually he made a payment in money or produce, each year, to the lord, not as rent, but as a recognition that the land belonged to the lord. Generally his son, if he had one, succeeded to the fief, and the same land was held by the same family, generation after generation.

Benefice or fief.

Gradually almost all the allodial, or freehold property, was changed into benefices and fiefs, and it became a legal maxim that there was no land without a lord. This was never quite true, as there was always some land which was held allodially. But the theory was framed that the king held his kingdom from God, and the vassals held directly or indirectly from the

"No land without a lord."

[1] The words benefice and fief are used here as synonyms. In the middle ages each word was used with several different meanings. The most usual definition for a fief was land for which the vassal, or hereditary holder, paid to the direct owner, or lord, services of a particular

king. By the time that feudal customs had become thoroughly established—that is, in the tenth and eleventh centuries—there was no absolute ownership of land; each vassal had merely the use of his benefice or fief. Land-holding formed the main basis of feudal obligations; but the old personal bond of service and loyalty, represented by commendation, never disappeared entirely.

Carolingian Emperor.

Subinfeudation. When a lord had a large amount of land he kept such a portion of it as was necessary for his own support, and divided the rest into fiefs in order to gain followers. Thus a count might receive a county from the king for his services; he would then gradually divide up his county into larger or smaller parcels, and grant most of these as fiefs to others; they in turn might grant the whole or portions of their fiefs to others, and the latter would be the vassals of the one from whom they received the land—i. e., vassals of the vassals of the count, who was

kind, such as military service. A benefice differed from a fief in not being hereditary (Luchaire).

himself a vassal of the king. This process is called sub-infeudation.

Immunity.

The third of the elements which shaped European feudalism was the immunity. As the kings became weaker it was impossible for them to repress disorder and crime; they were unable to hold courts and punish offenders in the various parts of the kingdom. Consequently it became the custom of the king to delegate his authority in this respect to his vassals. They were permitted to hold courts on their own estates, and the king promised that no royal official should enter their fiefs to hold court. This privilege was called an immunity. The vassals valued this immunity, because the penalty for almost all wrongdoing consisted of fines, usually in money, which went to the one holding the court. Thus an immunity not only added to the vassal's power, but was also a source of income. A typical formula of immunity reads: "We have seen fit to grant to that apostolic man, Lord ——, Bishop of ——; that in the lands of the Church of that Lord, no public judge shall at any time presume to enter for the hearing of causes or for the exaction of payments; but the prelate himself or his successors . . . shall be able to rule over this. We require, therefore, that neither you, nor any other public judicial power, shall presume at any time to enter into the lands of the same Church anywhere in our kingdom, either those granted by royal bounty or by that of private persons or those which shall in future be granted; either for the sake of hearing altercations or to exact fines for any causes or to obtain sureties. But whatever the Treasury could expect either of fines or other things either from freemen or from servants and other nations who are within the fields or boundaries or dwelling upon the lands of the aforesaid Church; by our indulgence for our future welfare, shall be profitable for the expenses of the same Church by the hand of those ruling it, forever."[1] It was

[1] See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

usual in granting a fief to include the immunity, and such a combined grant reads: "We have decreed that *so and so* should have conceded to him *such and such a place* in its entirety, with the lands, houses, buildings, villeins, slaves, vineyards, woods, fields, meadows, pastures, waters or watercourses, grist-mills, additions, appurtenances, or any kind of men who are subjected to our Treasury who dwell there; in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind of causes. Thus he may have, hold and possess it in proprietary right and without expecting the entrance of any of the judges; and may leave the possession of it to his posterity, by the aid of God, from our bounty, or to whom he will; and by our permission he shall have free power to do whatever he may wish with it for the future."[1]

The age of feudalism.

By the end of the ninth century feudalism had become established throughout the lands which had formed the Carolingian empire. Practically the whole territory was divided into fiefs or benefices; all freemen were either vassals or lords; many were vassals and at the same time lords; on almost every fief the possessor had the right of immunity. This condition of affairs continued for several centuries. The period from the ninth to the fourteenth century is called frequently the age of feudalism.

The feudal group.

Generally a lord had a number of vassals, and these, together with their lord, or suzerain, formed a feudal group. When the vassals served as soldiers the feudal group became an army; in times of peace the group formed a little state. The lord, with the aid and advice of his vassals, administered justice and governed the fief. The inhabitants of his lands owed service only to the lord; except for the Church they were practically free from all other authority.

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[1] See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

The vassals were the most important class, but they formed only a small part of the population. They were all held to be noblemen and they were all warriors; consequently others had to support them. The others were the villeins and the serfs, who cultivated the soil, or who carried on the handicrafts and trade in the cities, and by their labor furnished the means of subsistence for the whole group. They were subject to the lord or vassal on whose estate they lived, and from whom they held their lands, but not by feudal tenure. For, instead of aiding in warfare or by counsel, they paid rent in money and produce and also worked for their lord. Their life will be described later.[1] In addition to the nobles, who formed the ruling class and did the fighting, and the serfs in the country or towns, there was a third class in the community, the members of the clergy. Although they, as well as the inhabitants of the cities, belonged originally either to the nobility or the peasantry, they were in some ways distinct from either. The chief officials of the Church were the equals of the nobility; the parish priests were in many respects the equals of the peasantry among whom they lived. But no impassable barrier existed between the Pope and the humblest member of the clergy. By ability the son of a serf

Vassals.

The villeins and serfs.

STONE HURLER.

Clergy.

[1] See Chap. XIV.

might rise to be Pope. The Church was always democratic in theory and offered a chance for any bright boy to rise to the highest rank.

Each vassal was obliged to do homage and take the oath of fealty to his lord. The act of homage was as follows: "The count asked if he was willing to become completely his man, and the other replied, 'I am willing'; and with clasped hands, surrounded by the hands of the count, the vassal and lord were bound together by a kiss."[1] Homage was followed and completed by the oath of fealty. "I promise on my faith that I will in future be faithful to Count William, and will observe my homage to him completely against all persons in good faith and without deceit."[2] In addition the vassal usually gave to his lord some object as a visible symbol of his obligations—e. g., a weapon such as a sword or a lance, a horse, or some article of wearing apparel.

Homage and fealty.

In addition to the general obligation of faithful service contained in his oath of fealty, the vassal owed to his lord other very definite services. In the first place he must fight for him when summoned. Ordinarily he was obliged to serve at his own expense in the lord's army for forty days each year; if the lord wished him to serve for a longer time the lord must pay his expenses. In case of a foreign war he was not obliged to serve outside of the kingdom after forty days were completed, unless he was willing to do so. In the second place the vassal must aid his lord in holding court. When he was summoned he must act as judge or assistant in trying cases. If he was engaged as plaintiff or defendant in a lawsuit he must take the suit to the lord's court and submit to the judgment of the lord and his own peers —i. e., his fellow vassals. In the third place the vassal

Services which the vassal owed.

[1] Homage and Fealty to the Count of Flanders, A. D. 1127. See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3. [2] Ibid.

must assist the lord with his advice. Whenever he was summoned he must go and, with the other vassals, form a council of state to deliberate on all questions of common interest.

The feudal aids.

In theory the vassal was not supposed to be taxed by the lord, for, as a noble holding his fief by feudal tenure, he was free from all money payments. This was the great distinction between feudal or noble tenures and villein or ignoble tenures in which regular payments had to be made. But cases might arise when the vassal was obliged to furnish his lord with money; such payments were called aids and were always considered exceptional. The theory was that when the lord was in great need of money the vassal by the oath of fealty was obliged to aid him. The three customary aids everywhere were: 1. Contributions to pay the expenses incurred in knighting the lord's eldest son.[1] 2. Contributions to furnish a dowry for the lord's eldest daughter. 3. Contributions to pay the lord's ransom if he was made a prisoner. In addition, when it became the custom to go on a crusade, the vassal was expected to aid the lord in the cost of equipment for his journey. On some fiefs the vassal was also required to contribute toward the expense when his lord was summoned to visit the overlord or when the lord went on a pilgrimage to Rome. In England only the three customary aids were recognized.

Obligations of the lord.

The lord was held by the feudal contract to certain obligations toward his vassal. The two most important were that he should see that his vassal received just treatment, and that he should protect his vassal in the enjoyment of his fief.

Relief.

The lords granted fiefs for the purpose of securing service from their vassals. If a vassal died, leaving a son who was old enough, the latter received the fief, but he was expected to pay for the

[1] See Chap. XIII.

privilege. This payment was called a relief, and frequently amounted to the income from the fief for one year.

If, when the father died, the son was not yet of age, the lord managed the fief until the son became of age. During the interval the lord was expected to support the heir, but all the income from the fief was his. This arose from the fact that the fief owed to the lord the service of a full-grown man, and consequently when the heir was too young the income belonged to the lord.

Wardship.

If the vassal left a widow or a daughter, and no son, the widow or daughter passed under the control of the lord. He could give them in marriage to any one whom he chose, for the fief must furnish a man for his service; and if the widow, or heiress, were allowed to marry any one whom she chose, the fief might pass into the hands of an enemy, and the lord would thus be deprived of his just due. On the English Exchequer Rolls of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were many items like the following: "Alice, countess of Warwick, renders account of £1,000 and 10 palfreys to be allowed to remain a widow as long as she pleases and not to be forced to marry by the king."

Control of marriages.

"Hawisa, who was wife of William Fitz Robert, renders account of 130 marks and 4 palfreys that she may have peace from Peter of Borough to whom the king has given permission to marry her; and that she may not be compelled to marry." [1]

There were many minor obligations rising from the feudal relations, but it is unnecessary to attempt to describe them all. They varied in different countries and different fiefs, for the most striking fact about feudalism is the great diversity in customs which existed at the same time—there was no system. Furthermore, there was no orderly hierarchy. The king might

Lack of system.

[1] See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

hold a fief from one of his own subjects. A knight might hold a fief from a dozen different lords; in such a case he owed obligations to all, but personal service to only one, who was called his liege lord.

Use of the word "feudalism."

As is evident from the description that has been given, feudalism included a plan of government and a system of land-holding. A man's position in society was fixed by his feudal relations. So feudalism is often used as a collective name for all the social and governmental relations which existed in western Europe from the ninth to the fourteenth century. The Church was no exception, as its lands were held feudally, and for each fief the abbot or bishop must furnish one or more soldiers to his lord. The surplus lands of the Church were granted to nobles as benefices or fiefs. The abbot or bishop on his fief performed all the duties that the lay lord performed under similar circumstances. In the cities especially the bishops had feudal rights, holding the courts, coining money, and taxing the merchants and artisans.

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CHAPTER VI

The German Kingdom (to 1122)

SUMMARY.—The early kings of Germany were occupied in making their power effective over the different tribes and in repelling invasions. Under Otto the Great both tasks had been so nearly accomplished that he turned his attention to Italy. The local conditions there made it easy for him to obtain the imperial crown. His son and grandson wasted the resources of Germany in attempting to rule Italy. The succeeding kings were forced to devote their energies to reestablishing the royal authority in Germany. This was done so thoroughly that the power of Henry III was greater than that of any preceding king. In order to reform the Church he devoted much of his time to Italy. The papacy became strong, and endeavored to free the Church from all imperial control. This led to the investiture struggle which weakened Germany and resulted in an indecisive compromise.

BY the treaty of Verdun, in 843, the separation of the empire into three kingdoms was recognized. Of these the East-Frankish, or German, seemed in some respects the weakest, as its inhabitants were the least advanced in civilization and were divided into separate peoples—Saxons, Franconians, Alemanni or Swabians, and Bavarians. Each had its own distinctive customs, and at the head of each was a duke, who was its hereditary sovereign. Franconia and Saxony were the most powerful duchies.

East-Frankish kingdom.

The last of the German Carolingians died in 911, and the duke of Franconia, Conrad I, was chosen king by the nobles. But in his reign of seven years he was unable to make the other dukes obey him or to check the invasions of the Hungarians. On

Conrad I, 911-918.

his death-bed, realizing the need of a strong ruler, he designated his most powerful rival and enemy as his successor.

The latter, Henry I, called the Fowler, spent almost the whole of his reign in wars against the Slavs, Danes, Bohemians, Poles, Hungarians, and other invaders. On the frontiers of his kingdom he constructed many castles as places of refuge and centers of defense against sudden raids. He built and fortified so many towns that he was called Henry "the builder of cities." Instead of using foot-soldiers, he formed an army of light cavalry, which could move with great rapidity. In 933 he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hungarians, who were the most dreaded of all the invaders. In a war with the king of France, Charles the Simple, he conquered Lorraine. His successes in war made him both respected and feared by the dukes, so that in the last years of his life he was universally obeyed, and was the king of Germany in fact, as well as in name.

Henry I, 918-936.

Before his death Henry recommended the nobles to choose his son Otto for their king. Consequently the nobles and bishops met at Aachen and proclaimed Otto, "proposed by his father, chosen by God, and made king by the princes." At first the dukes were submissive to the new king, but as they were anxious to regain their former independence they engaged in frequent rebellions. Otto conquered the dukes and, in order to prevent future rebellions, took away some of their powers. Moreover, he did not allow the people to choose their own dukes, but took the appointment into his own hands. He also created new officials, the counts palatine, whose duty it was to watch over the king's interest and to keep an eye on the dukes.

Otto I, 936-973.

Otto gave the most important bishoprics to his own relatives, and drew the leading members of the Church into the service of the state. His brother Bruno was made archbishop of Cologne, and many of his most important


EUROPE
962 A. D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Byzantine Empire
German Kingdom
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ICELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
LETTS
PRUSSIANS
POMERANIA
POLES
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
BURGUNDY
LEON
CASTILE
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
KHAZARS
PATZINAKS
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
EMPIRE
BYZANTINE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
FATIMITES
HAMDANDS
BUWAIHIDS
0 Longitude East from Greenwich 10
20
30
40
50
60
10
0
40
50
60
30

officials were bishops or abbots. His policy in the government of Germany was to increase the power and wealth of the clergy in order to offset the power of the dukes. On the other hand, he insisted that the clergy should perform all their duties as feudal lords; as the bishops and abbots held fiefs they were obliged to lead their vassals to the royal army and to assist the king with their advice and contributions whenever their aid was needed.

Otto and the Church.

The first twenty years of his reign were occupied mainly in organizing his kingdom and in checking invasions. The dukes, in their revolts, had sought aid from the Hungarians, and in 954 a great invasion had swept over the whole breadth of the kingdom. In 955, on the banks of the river Lech, Otto annihilated a Hungarian army, and his victory was so decisive that their incursions ceased.

Defeat of Hungarians.

OTTO THE GREAT AND HIS WIFE, EDITH.

His successes made his power secure in his own kingdom; but Otto was ambitious and the condition of affairs in Italy led him to seek the imperial crown. For a century the title of emperor had been held by unimportant rulers who had received this dignity from the hands of the Pope; but no one of them had possessed any real authority outside of his own petty kingdom. In Italy, as elsewhere, the real power was in the hands of feudal nobles. Most of the south was nominally in subjection to the eastern empire, but portions

Conditions in Italy.

of it had been conquered by the Saracens. At Rome rival nobles fought for the control of the city, and the successful party treated the papacy as a part of the spoils.

In 951 the aid of Otto was sought by one of the contending parties. He made an expedition into Italy, but before much was accomplished he was called back to Germany by a rebellion. In 961 he made a second expedition, and was crowned at Milan with the iron crown[1] of Lombardy. He then proceeded to Rome, which he entered without opposition, and on February 2, 962, was crowned emperor of the Roman Empire. By the men of his day he was regarded as the successor of Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, and Charles the Great. But the empire was something very different from the old Roman Empire or the empire of Charles. It was a union of Italy and Germany, and is best described as the Roman Empire of the German nation. Still, much of the prestige of the old Roman Empire survived, and the emperor was regarded in western Europe as the head of the Christian world.

Otto I made emperor.

His son and grandson, Otto II and Otto III, spent most of their time in Italy endeavoring to make Rome their capital and to rule as emperors. They neglected Germany to a great extent, using it mainly as a source of supplies from which to draw men and money for their Italian campaigns. Consequently, Germany suffered again from the invasions of the Danes and Slavs. Hungary, which had been subject to Otto the Great, became an independent kingdom. The German nobles began new rebellions, and the country was a prey to private warfare.

Otto II, 973-982; Otto III, 983-1002.

Henry II and Conrad II, who were kings in succession after Otto III, instead of being

Henry II, 1002-1024.

[1] So called because it was said to contain a circular band made out of a nail from the cross on which Christ was crucified.

dazzled by a dream of ruling as Roman emperors, tried to be strong kings in Germany. Each one at the beginning of his reign had to put down rebellions of the nobles, and had great difficulty in preventing private wars among his vassals. Each one was crowned emperor at Rome after he had succeeded in establishing order at home. Conrad II added the kingdom of Burgundy to the German possessions, and made the king's power so fully respected that his son was not troubled by rebellions.

Conrad II, 1024-1039.

The latter, Henry III, was able, pious, and successful. He made Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary subject nations, and under his rule Germany became stronger than ever before. He worked earnestly to raise the clergy to a higher moral standard, and encouraged education and the development of the arts. Having succeeded so well at home, he turned his attention to Italy. That country, left mainly to itself by the preceding kings, was in an evil plight. Rome, in particular, was given over to the rule of unprincipled men, and unworthy popes had disgraced the apostolic see. In 1046 there were three rival popes, each of whom claimed to be the successor of St. Peter. Henry caused all three to be deposed and a German bishop to be elected in their stead, and during the remaining years of his reign he nominated the popes. Unfortunately for his aims and for the prosperity of Germany, he died in the prime of life when he was only thirty-nine years old, and left as his heir a boy of six, Henry IV.

Henry III, 1039-1056.

The rebellions in Germany began again, as the nobles sought to regain their former independence. The queen-mother who had acted as regent lost all power and withdrew from all participation in politics or government, and the nobles who ruled in the name of the king aroused bitter enmity by unwise actions. The inhabitants of Saxony were especially discontented, partly on account of actual wrongs and partly

Henry IV, 1056-1106, and the Saxons.

because of dangers which they imagined. Henry, having reached the age of manhood, was ruling in his own name when the storm broke. The Saxons rose in such a sudden, unexpected revolt that the king, who was in their land, barely escaped with his life. Many of the other nobles joined the Saxons, and the rebellion became so formidable that Henry was forced to treat with the rebels and to submit to humiliating conditions, in February, 1074. But at the moment when his position was most desperate the prosperous cities in the Rhine valley declared for him, and he was able to induce the nobles in the south of Germany to remain neutral. Even then he had to agree that all the royal fortresses in Saxony should be destroyed by the Saxons themselves. The Saxons razed the fortresses, desecrated the royal tombs, and destroyed a church. Their violence and sacrilege aided the king, who was able, in October, 1074, to raise an army and to gain a great victory over them. They were obliged to submit to Henry and to accept his conditions. His power was recognized, although unwillingly on the part of some, in every part of Germany, so that for the first time he was king in fact as well as in name.

Just at this time, when he was glorying in his victory, he was suddenly called to face a new danger and to begin a struggle which lasted the rest of his life. In order to understand his position it is necessary to go back and to trace the history of the papacy since 1046. After causing the unworthy claimants to be deposed, Henry III had nominated one German Pope after another. All had worked for the reform of the Church and had been aided by Henry. They had found the Church offices filled with bishops, abbots, and priests who were guilty of simony[1]—that is, they had secured

Condition of the Church.

[1] Simony is coined from the name of Simon Magus, who attempted to buy from the apostles the power of bestowing the gift of the Holy Ghost. See Acts, chap. viii, verses 9–24.

their positions by purchase either directly or indirectly. The Church was so wealthy and had such great power that its offices were sought by ambitious and greedy men. Even worthy and honorable men bought positions, hoping to be

GERMAN TAPESTRY, TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY.

able through their offices to work reform. The kings and nobles often had great influence in the appointment to Church positions, and gave these to their favorites or sold them to the highest bidder. Simony was the greatest evil in the Church.

During his lifetime Henry III and the popes worked together to reform and strengthen the Church; after his death the popes and their advisers continued the same course. Hildebrand was the most zealous and able of the reform party. Of humble birth, he had been educated in a monastery and had entered the service of the Church; by his ability he had risen rapidly until he was made a cardinal and placed in charge of the papal treasury. He had great influence in all matters of papal policy, and finally in 1073 was made Pope, taking the name of Gregory VII. He made every effort to root out simony from the Church. In order to do this he felt it essential to take away from laymen all power in the appointment of church officials. Consequently he issued a decree forbidding lay investiture—i. e., taking away from all laymen the power to invest a priest with his clerical office or to bestow any position in the Church. This was a direct blow at the power of Henry IV, who had been making these appointments just as his predecessor had done. Furthermore, the leading bishops of Germany were also the principal officers of the state and held some of the most extensive and most important fiefs in the kingdom. If the king could exercise no control over their selection a large part of his power would be taken away. The real difficulty was due to the twofold position of the bishops who were servants of both the Church and the state.

Hildebrand, Gregory VII.

Decree against lay investiture.

Henry, flushed with pride by his victory over the Saxons and the great power which he had won, was intensely angry when he received the news of the Pope's action. He wrote to Gregory, refusing to recognize him as Pope and ordering him to relinquish the office which he had seized wrongfully. At the same time he caused all the bishops, whom he had summoned to a council, to write a similar letter.

Henry's answer.

Gregory replied by excommunicating Henry. This ex-

communication caused the rebellions in Germany to begin again, as many of the king's subjects considered that they were released by the Pope from their oath of allegiance. Henry was soon deserted by almost all the leading nobles and bishops, for many of the latter had signed the letter to Gregory only under compulsion. The king attempted in vain to regain his power; the most that he could secure was a period of delay from the nobles who had proposed to depose him. Finally it was agreed that he should live as a private citizen until he was released from the ban of excommunication; if he was not absolved within a year he was to be deposed and a new king elected.

Excommunication of Henry.

Gregory and the nobles entered into an agreement to take no action except in common. The Pope promised to come to Germany and there decide upon the course to be pursued with relation to Henry. The latter was determined to save his crown at any cost and feared to have the nobles and the Pope meet. Accordingly he determined to set off in the dead of winter to cross the Alps and seek absolution from Gregory. He escaped by stealth from the careless guardianship of the nobles and hastened to Canossa, where Gregory had stopped on his way to Germany. There the king was compelled to remain outside the castle gate for three days before he could get an audience with the Pope. Each day, wearing a "penitent's shirt," he stood for several hours, proclaiming his repentance and begging for absolution. No king of Germany had ever suffered such a humiliation. At length the Pope freed him from the ban of excommunication.

Canossa.

Now that he was released from the Church's censure, Henry soon secured support both in Italy and Germany. The "investiture struggle" dragged on for half a century, as neither Pope nor king would abandon what he believed to be his rights. Gregory VII, who died in exile, is reported to have said,

The investiture struggle.

"I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." The sons of Henry revolted against him; the king died, deserted by all, and his body lay for five years without Christian burial. Henry V, one of the sons who had revolted against him, after obtaining the kingdom, took the same position in regard to the question of investiture that his father had done. Germany was almost ruined by the fighting between the contending parties, for in every portion of the land the people were divided into two hostile camps. Anti-kings and anti-popes were elected. Nobles were arrayed against the peasants and the inhabitants of the cities. The parish priests, as a rule, sided with the king; the bishops with the Pope. Members of the same family were armed against one another.

Henry V, 1106-1125.

Finally, in 1122, Henry V and Pope Calixtus II agreed upon a compromise, known as the Concordat of Worms. The bishops everywhere were to be elected by the clergy and not to be appointed by the king; but in Germany the elections were to take place in the king's presence, and in case of disputed elections he was given practically the power of decision. After the election the bishops were to be invested by Henry with their feudal rights. The election of bishops in Burgundy and Italy was to be wholly free from any interference on the part of the king. The real importance of this compromise lay in the fact that the Pope and the king endeavored to distinguish between the various duties of bishops. The Church was to elect its own officials; the king was not to invest them with their spiritual offices, but only with their lay fiefs. The Pope had gained a part of what he desired; Henry had lost some of the powers exercised by former kings This ended the investiture struggle.

Concordat of Worms.

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Kings of Germany, 887–1125

Arnulf, 887–899.
Lewis, the Child, 899–911.
Conrad I, 911–918.
Henry I, the Fowler, 918–936.
Otto I, the Great, 936–973.
Otto II, 973–983.
Otto III, 983–1002.
Henry II, the Saint, 1002–1024.
Conrad II, the Salic, 1024–1039.
Henry III, the Black, 1039–1056.
Henry IV, 1056–1106.
Henry V, 1106–1125.

Popes, 795–1124

S. Leo III, 795–816.
Stephen IV, 816–817.
S. Paschal I, 817–824.
Eugenius II, 824–827.
Valentinus, 827.
Gregory IV, 827–844.
Sergius II, 844–847.
S. Leo IV, 847–855.
Benedict III, 855–858.
S. Nicholas I, 858–867.
Hadrian II, 867–872.
John VIII, 872–882.
Marinus I, 882–884.
Hadrian III, 884–885.
Stephen VI, 885–891.
Formosus, 891–896.
Boniface VI, 896.
Stephen VI, 896–897.
Romanus, 897.
Theodore II, 897.
John IX, 898–900.
Benedict IV, 900–903.
Leo V, 903.
Christopher, 903–904.
Sergius III, 904–911.
Anastasius III, 911–913.
Lando, 913–914.
John X, 914–928.
Leo VI, 928–929.
Stephen VII, 929–931.
John XI, 931–936.
Leo VIII, 936–939.
Stephen VIII, 939–942.
Marinus II, 942–946.
Agapitus II, 946–955.
John XII, 955–964.
Leo VIII, 963–965.
Benedict V, 964.
John XIII, 965–972.
Benedict VI, 972–974.
Benedict VII, 974–983.
John XIV, 983–984.

Boniface VII (974), 984–985.
John XV, 985–996.
Gregory V, 996–999.
Silvester II, 999–1003.
John XVII, 1003.
John XVIII, 1003–1009.
Sergius IV, 1009–1012.
Benedict VIII, 1012–1024.
John XIX, 1024–1033.
Benedict IX, 1033–1048.
Gregory VI, 1045–1046.
Clement II, 1046–1047.
Damasus, 1048.

S. Leo IX, 1048–1054.
Victor II, 1054–1057.
Stephen X, 1057–1058.
Benedict X, 1058–1060.
Nicholas II, 1059–1061.
Alexander II, 1061–1073.
S. Gregory VII, 1073–1085.
Victor III, 1086–1087.
Urban II, 1088–1099.
Paschal II, 1099–1118.
Gelasius II, 1118–1119.
Calixtus II, 1119–1124.

CHAPTER VII

The Kingdom of France (to 1108)

SUMMARY.—The early kings of France were weak, and were unable to repel the invaders. The last Carolingians had no effective authority, and the kingship was rendered still more impotent by the long contest between the Carolingians and Capetians. The Northmen had to be bribed by the duchy of Normandy, and the Flemish cities became almost independent. The early Capetians were enabled by a number of favorable circumstances to retain their power, but made little actual advance before 1108.

THE kingdom guaranteed to Charles the Bald, son of Lewis the Pious, by the treaty of Verdun corresponded roughly to modern France, although it was narrower from east to west and somewhat longer from north to south. But only a small part of the country was actually under Charles's power. Brittany refused to recognize him, and when he attempted to conquer it he met with repeated defeats. Finally he was forced to recognize its independence, and his son, in 856, married the daughter of the king of Brittany. In the south, Septimania and Aquitaine were nearly as independent; even in the north he had constant trouble in maintaining his power. Moreover, the country suffered greatly from invasions, for the Northmen ravaged his territory, burning the towns and monasteries, and laying waste the fields.

Kingdom of Charles the Bald, 843-877.

In spite of the difficulties in his kingdom, Charles cherished ambitious plans of conquering Lorraine and Italy, and sought to obtain the imperial crown; consequently he was forced to make continual con-

Charles and the nobles.

cessions to his nobles, whose aid he needed. He granted as fiefs almost all the lands in the royal domain,[1] and in favor of the nobles he issued the capitulary of Mersen.[2]

The bishops and abbots, too, were striving constantly to increase their power and to free themselves from their feudal duties, so that Charles was compelled to make large grants to the Church in order to retain their support.

The result of these repeated grants was to transfer all the actual power to the nobles and clergy. Even the counts, who were theoretically the king's representatives, had succeeded in making their offices hereditary, and exercised their power wholly for their own advantage. The king was obliged to buy or beg the services of his vassals, who were practically independent of him. In spite of the imperial title, which he held in his last years, Charles had little real authority. As king, he had merely a vague overlordship in his kingdom; as emperor, he had neither army nor income to maintain his pretensions. He could not even protect his subjects from the turbulent nobles or the Northmen.

Weakness of Charles.

His successors were equally weak. His son, Louis the Stammerer, had great difficulty in obtaining the title of king, and reigned for only two years. Two grandsons of Charles the Bald reigned together for a few years, but the last one died in 884, leaving no heir but a younger brother, five years of age, who was known later as Charles the Simple. Charles the Fat, the son of Lewis the German, was then the only other legitimate descendant, in the male line, of Charles the Great. He was already emperor and king of Germany and Italy; now he received the vacant throne of the West Frankish kingdom, which will be referred to hereafter as France. But he was so weak that he aroused the contempt

The successors of Charles.

[1] The royal domain was the land under the immediate control of the king, from which he obtained most of his income. [2] See p. 38.

of all his subjects; finally, when he bought off the Northmen, who were besieging Paris, by giving them permission to plunder elsewhere in his kingdom, the nobles rebelled and deposed him in 887.

After the deposition of Charles the Fat, as there was still no Carolingian of full age, "the people, by common consent, chose as their king, Duke Eudes, an energetic man, who, by his beauty, by his stature, by his great strength, and by his wisdom, surpassed all the others. He ruled ably, and was indefatigable in fighting against the Northmen, who were making constant raids." This is the description given of Eudes by a contemporary abbot, and the last sentence points out the most important service which he performed. His father, Robert the Strong, was a man of obscure origin,[1] who had secured power by defending his neighbors from the Northmen; Eudes had been the hero of the defense of Paris in 886, before Charles the Fat bought off the invaders.

Robertian dynasty.

The history of the kings in France during the succeeding century is composed mainly of the struggles between the Carolingian and Robertian houses. When Eudes died, Charles the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, was recognized as king. He had little power, and the kingdom was wrested from him in 923 by a member of the Robertian house. In 936 his son, Louis d'Outremer,[2] was summoned by the nobles to be their king; but he and his successors were very weak. His great rival was Hugh, "Duke of France," a descendant of Robert the Strong. Hugh had joined in the summons to Louis, but soon became hostile, and stripped him of a great part of his possessions. In 948 Louis was reduced to such straits that he

[1] Possibly a Saxon. In later times it was believed that he was the son of a Parisian butcher.

[2] Louis "from beyond the sea" was so named because after his father's deposition he had been taken by his mother to the court of her brother, king of the Anglo-Saxons.

had to appeal for aid at a church council to King Otto I of Germany. "Hugh recalled me from the foreign land where I was living in exile, and, with the consent of all, he made me king, but he left in my power only the city of Laon. . . . Finally he aroused pirates to seize me by treason. . . . He cast me into a dungeon and kept me there for a year. . . . Laon was my only fortress, the only asylum which I had for my wife and children; but what could I do? I preferred my life to a castle; I sacrificed the castle for my liberty. Now, to-day, despoiled of everything, I implore the aid of all. If the duke should dare to contradict me, I am ready to fight him in single combat."[1] With the aid of Otto he secured Laon again, but his son and grandson were as weak as he had been.

Carolingians and Capetians.

On the death of the grandson of Louis, in 987, Hugh Capet,[2] duke of France, was chosen king. From the feeble Carolingian line the kingship was transferred to the holder of the most important fief in the kingdom, and the descendants of Hugh Capet continued on the throne for eight hundred years. But before following the fortunes of the Capetians certain events of the tenth century must be described.

Hugh Capet, 987-996.

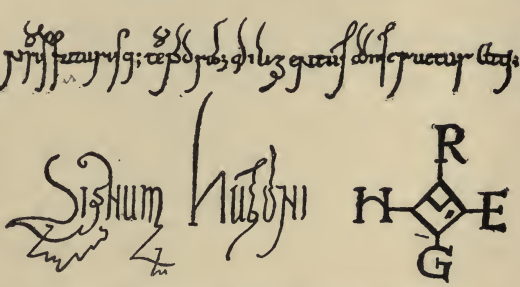
The most important was the creation of the duchy of Normandy. In 911 Charles the Simple granted the nucleus of the later duchy to Rollo, leader of the Northmen; at the same time he gave Rollo permission to plunder Brittany. He did thus in order to protect the rest of the kingdom from the ravages of the Northmen, and in this he was successful. Rollo was bap-

Duchy of Normandy.

[1] From the history of Richer, a monk who lived in the last half of the tenth century.

[2] So called from the cape or cope which he wore as lay-abbot of a monastery. Robertian and Capetian are both used to designate the descendants of Eudes. Robertian from Robert the Strong, Capetian from Hugh Capet.

tized, and many of his followers also became Christians. In order to reward his followers he divided with them the land which he had received, reserving for himself the lion's share. Normandy, as his land was called, flourished and increased in territory under his rule; Northmen and inhabi-



PART OF A CHARTER OF HUGH CAPET.

tants of the neighboring districts repeopled the land which had been deserted. "He forced his subjects to live together in peace; he rebuilt the churches, renewed and strengthened the walls of the cities and the fortifications,"[1] so that under his successors the duchy prospered greatly. The Northmen in Normandy kept up a close connection with the north and frequently received aid thence. This increased their power, but gave them an evil name in the rest of France, where the dukes were often styled "chiefs of the pirates." They supported the Robertian or Capetian house during all its strife with the Carolingians. Gradually the Normans gave up their pagan customs and became very devout Christians; but for centuries they retained their love of wandering and adventure.

Another important event of this period was the rise of the Flemish cities. The constant attacks of the Northmen, especially of those who had settled on the islands

[1] William of Jumièges, a Norman writer of the first half of the eleventh century.

near the mouth of the Scheldt, forced the inhabitants to seek refuge in the remains of the old Roman fortifications. These were rebuilt, strengthened, and enlarged, and on their sites the cities of Flanders grew up. The inhabitants, by living together, were forced into a community of interests, and under the leadership of the local nobles became redoubtable foes. In their dangers and quarrels with one another they sought aid from the kings of France and Germany and from the leading counts and dukes, but were to a great extent independent.

Rise of the Flemish cities.

The poverty of the Carolingians has been referred to already; the last kings of this house had only Laon and a few small towns under their actual power. The Capetian house had been very wealthy, but in their long struggle with the Carolingians the dukes had been obliged to buy aid and soldiers by granting one fief after another. The holders of these fiefs became more and more independent, so that when Hugh Capet became king he had under his immediate control only a small portion of the lands which had formed the duchy of France fifty years before. The real heirs of the royal authority were the feudal nobles who were exercising almost all of the royal prerogatives on their fiefs. Hugh Capet was elected June 1, 987, and shortly afterward crowned "king of the Gauls, of the Britons, of the Danes [Normans], of the Aquitanians, of the Goths,[1] of the Spaniards, and of the Gascons." In spite of this elaborate title, his real power was not great. The diminished territories of his family he was compelled to diminish still more in order to secure aid to maintain his position. His son and grandson were even less successful, and could not prevent their vassals from erecting hostile fortresses almost on the royal domain. In order to obtain provisions for the royal court, it had to be moved from one estate to another, and, in ad-

Weakness of early Capetians.

[1] Inhabitants of Gothia.

dition, the king had to exercise his prerogative as a feudal lord to demand lodgings and provisions from his vassals.

In fact, the men of that day looked upon the king mainly as a feudal overlord; as has been said, the kingship had been annexed to the most important fief.

Position of the king.

The king had a right to demand only feudal duties from his subjects; and these the vassals would fulfil or not, according to their inclination and strength. But the Capetians themselves never lost wholly from their view the old kingship with its absolute power. The history of the Capetian house in the first three centuries is a long struggle on the part of the kings to use their feudal rights so as to transform their position into an absolute monarchy. Naturally, all of them did not have this clearly in mind, and progress was very slow; but viewing their history as a whole, it is possible to see the progress which they made.

They had several things in their favor. First of all, they had usually the support of the Church, which believed in centralized government, longed for peace, and realized the need of repressing feudal anarchy. When the kings incurred the hostility and opposition of the Church it was because of their transgression of the laws of the Church, especially with regard to marriage.

Favoring circumstance: support from the Church.

Secondly, there were several long reigns; for a period of over three hundred years each king had a son to succeed him; and in all but two instances the son was a full-grown man at the time of his father's death, so that the evils of a minority were avoided. In order to render the succession certain all the early Capetians had their sons crowned during their own lifetime. Thus Hugh associated his son Robert with him in the kingship the very year that he himself received the crown. In this way the kingship gradually came to be regarded as hereditary and not elective, as in the earlier days.

Long reigns.

The kings avoided placing authority in the hands of the nobles, and chose as their agents men of humble birth, who owed everything to them. These were selected generally from the members of the clergy, who alone were educated and, because of their celibacy, could found no families which might become dangerously powerful.

Officials of humble birth.

Lastly, the prestige of the old idea of kingship aided them. They associated as equals with the kings of Germany, and outside of their immediate domains had greater respect, although no more real power, than among their immediate vassals.

Prestige of the kingship.

The first four Capetians accomplished little. Hugh succeeded in holding his kingdom against the Carolingian claimant. Robert II conquered Burgundy; but this valuable addition to the royal territory was soon lost, for the next king, Henry I, granted it to his brother in order to secure his own position as king. Under Henry I the power of the king declined rapidly, yet in spite of his weakness Henry attempted to claim Lorraine from Henry III of Germany. The French kings never ceased to desire this territory and to assert their claims to it. Hitherto the old friendship and alliance between the Capetians and the dukes of Normandy had been continuous; but now Henry was alarmed at the position which the Norman duke had attained, and attempted to conquer him. But Duke William, later the conqueror of England (1066), was an abler general than Henry, and inflicted two disastrous

What the early Capetians accomplished.

Seal of Henry I.

defeats upon the latter. Philip I[1] succeeded in adding some fiefs to the royal domain. He endeavored also to weaken the duke of Normandy, who had become king of England also, by stirring up strife in his family and supporting rebellions against his power. This policy, which he initiated, became the traditional policy of the Capetians in their relations with the dukes of Normandy.

Why they were weak.

No one of these kings was feeble in character; their weakness was due mainly to the circumstances in which they were placed. They had no resources except such as they could draw from their comparatively small estates, or could obtain from the good-will of the barons. From their farms they got grain; from their vineyards, wine; from their forests, game, which they themselves killed; from their immediate vassals and from the churches and monasteries on their domain, they exacted "aids" in money; these were practically their only sources of income. But they retained their kingship and laid the foundation for the development in the twelfth century. In addition, during the last quarter of Philip's long reign, the crusade[2] took out of France many of the turbulent nobles and dangerous characters, thus making it easier for the king to rule.

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[1] This name was introduced into the Capetian house through the marriage of Henry I with a Russian princess whose family claimed descent from Philip of Macedon.

[2] See Chap. XI.

KINGS OF FRANCE, 843–1108

Charles the Bald, 843–881.
Charles the Fat, 881–887.
Eudes, 888–898.
Charles the Simple, 898–923.
Robert I, 923.
Rudolf of Burgundy, 923–936.
Louis IV, *d'Outremer*, 936–954.
Lothair, 954–986.
Louis V, *le Fainéant*, 986–987.
Hugh Capet, 987–996.
Robert II, the Pious, 996–1031.
Henry I, 1031–1060.
Philip I, 1060–1108.

CHAPTER VIII

England (to 1135)

SUMMARY.—The history of England differs from the history of other countries conquered by Germans. Almost all traces of Roman civilization disappeared. For four centuries a varying number of petty kingdoms contended for the supremacy. The Danish invasions caused them to become united for a time in self-defense. But the real unity was brought about by the Norman conquest, which brought England into close connection with the Continent and had other important consequences.

THE history of England during the early centuries of the middle ages is very different from that of the other countries into which the Germans migrated. Elsewhere, as indicated in the introductory chapter, the Germans adopted many of the customs of the conquered peoples. In all of the other countries the invaders were far less numerous than the natives among whom they settled; consequently many Roman institutions survived and the Latin language became the basis of the modern speech. In England, on the contrary, the Anglo-Saxons introduced their own institutions and their own language; only a few English words can be traced to the Celtic, the language of the original inhabitants. It does not seem probable that the invaders exterminated all of the conquered peoples, but they subjugated them so completely that the latter had but little influence upon the conquerors.

History of England different from that of other German conquests.

From the fifth to the eighth centuries the Anglo-Saxons in Britain formed petty kingdoms of small extent. These

were constantly at strife with one another, and the history of the period, so far as it is known, is almost entirely a record of the wars waged by the rival kings. In the seventh century there were seven or eight separate kingdoms. The only bond of union was to be found in the Christian Church, which held national councils attended by the leading men from all the different kingdoms.

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

The king of Northumbria seems to have exercised a certain amount of power over the other kings in the latter part of the seventh century. In the eighth, the kingdom of Mercia, especially under Offa (755–794), was supreme. At the beginning of the ninth the leadership passed to Wessex, whose king, Egbert (802–837), favored by the alliance of Charles the Great, conquered the greater part of England and part of Wales. During his lifetime he succeeded in driving off the Danes when they made attacks upon the coast, but after his death the supremacy of Wessex was imperiled by their invasions.

Supremacy of Wessex.

FIBULA FOUND IN ABINGDON.

In 850, for the first time, the Danes remained over winter in England on the Isle of Thanet. In 867 all of the vikings who had been plundering the western coast of Europe joined together for an attack upon the English, who made a brave resistance. "This year [871] nine general battles were fought against the army[1] in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Alfred, the king's brother, and

Danes attack England.

[1] The Danes. This is the term used for them after 867 by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, from which this and the following quotations are taken.

single ealdormen, and king's thanes,[1] oftentimes made incursions on them, which were not counted; and within the year nine earls and one king were slain."

The king who was slain was Ethelred, whom his brother Alfred succeeded. For a time the Danes were successful everywhere, subduing Mercia and Northumbria, and compelling Alfred to retreat "to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors." From his fortress which he built at Athelney he made repeated attacks upon the Danes. "Finally, being joined by the men of three shires, he fought against all the army and put it to flight." After a siege of two weeks the Danes were compelled to surrender their fortress, to take oath to leave Alfred's kingdom, and to promise to be baptized. This was the celebrated peace of Wedmore,[2] by which the land was divided between Alfred and the Danes. Alfred retained only Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and half of Mercia; the rest of England was surrendered to the Danes and became known as *Danelaw*, or land under the law of the Danes. In 893 he had to confront a fresh invasion of the Danes, but after about three years of continuous fighting he was again victorious.

Alfred, 871-901, and the Danes.

In order to be ready to repel a Danish invasion at any time, Alfred ordered that in each district one-half of the men should always be ready to march at a moment's notice, while the other half should cultivate the soil. He built a navy to attack the Danes upon the water, and was the first English king to defeat them on their own element. Besides providing for the defense of his land, he strove earnestly to improve its government. He gathered together and published a code of laws which consisted for the most part of such old laws and customs as seemed to him suitable, with a very few additions of his own.

Alfred's reforms.

[1] Nobles who held land directly from the king. After the Norman conquest, baron was used instead of thane.

[2] Also known as the treaty of Chippenham.


MAP OF
ENGLAND,
878.
SCALE OF MILES
20 40 60 80
CELTIC
ENGLISH
DANISH
Part of
CELTIC
ENGLISH
NORSE
Whitby
Stamford Bridge
Chester
Nottingham
Cambridge
Chippenham
London
Canterbury
I. OF SHEPPEY
I. OF THANET
6°
4°
2°
0°
2°
55°
53°
51°
Longitude West
Longitude East

Before all else Alfred was a teacher and was anxious to educate his subjects. He had been a lover of books from his youth up and realized the importance of learning. But the Danes had destroyed many of the books in the monasteries and most of the schools had been closed for years, so that there were only a very few men in the kingdom who could read or write. Alfred gathered together at his court learned men from his own kingdom and other lands and established schools for his subjects. Moreover, for the education of his people he translated into the Anglo-Saxon language the three Latin works which he considered most valuable.[1] He set scholars at work to translate other books, especially the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, which recounted the history of Christian Britain. He also caused the early portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to be composed in the mother tongue, so that his subjects might know the history of their own race from the time when it first invaded England.

His care for education.

The character of Alfred the Great made a deep impression upon his people. A thousand years after his death delegates from all the English-speaking countries gathered together at Winchester, his old capital, to do honor to his memory. About his name have clustered many fables which show how the people of later days were inclined to attribute all that was best and noblest to him. Possibly the finest tribute to his character is the name justly bestowed upon him of "Alfred the Truth-teller."

Character of Alfred.

Under his successors, Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, Edmund the Doer-of-great-deeds, and Edred, the whole of England passed under the rule of the king of Wessex. The Danish invasions had really aided in making a united Eng-

Effect of the Danish invasions.

[1] The *Consolations of Philosophy*, by Boethius; the *Universal History* of Orosius, and the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great.

land. Before their attacks began the inhabitants of the petty kingdoms into which the country was divided had been separated from one another by feelings of antagonism and jealousy. After the Danes had made themselves master of the rest of England, the king of Wessex became the champion of Englishmen and Christians against the invaders and pagans. Consequently, after each conquest of territory, he was accepted willingly as king by the English inhabitants. He was the national leader, "King of the English."

Athelstan's power was so great that alliance with him was sought by the chief rulers on the continent. His three sisters married Charles the Simple of France, Otto I of Germany, and Hugh the Great. His greatest achievement was his victory at Brunanburh, in 937, over the king of the Scots and the Danish kings of the north. A war-song was composed in honor of this victory and is preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Parts of it are as follows: [1]

Power of Athelstan.

The West Saxons forth,
the live-long day,
in martial bands,
follow'd the footsteps
of the hostile nations.
They hewed the fugitives
from behind amain
with falchions mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not,
the hard hand-play
to any of the warriors,
who with Olaf,
o'er the waves mingling,
in the ship's bosom,
the land had sought
death-doomed in fight.

No slaughter has been greater
in this island
ever yet
of folk laid low,
before this,
by the swords' edges,
from what books tell us,
old chroniclers,
since hither from the east
Angles and Saxons
came to the land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
proud war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
men for glory eager,
the country gained.

[1] It is fortunate that this ballad of our forefathers has been preserved. Its form illustrates the character of the early English poetry.

The period from 955 to 1016, although broken by the peaceful rule of Edgar (959–975), was marked by internal wars which made the nation weak. This was shown clearly when the Danes made new invasions in 988 and the following years. The people in different localities made a valiant defense, but "shire would not help shire," and Ethelred used gold, not steel, to repel the invaders. In 991 and the following years the Danegeld was levied to furnish money to buy off the Danes, and the tribute paid to them led to new invasions. In 1002 the English fear and hatred of the Danes became so intense that Ethelred ordered the massacre of St. Brice's day, when many of the Danes in England were murdered. This aroused Swegen, king of Denmark, to take vengeance, and he devastated the kingdom. Ethelred was compelled to flee to Normandy, and Swegen was recognized as king by right of conquest. When he died, in the following year, Ethelred returned, and was able to rule until 1016.

Danish invasions renewed.

Ethelred's second marriage, in 1002, had important consequences for England. His bride was Emma, daughter of the duke of Normandy, in whose train Normans came to England and received offices. Ethelred, when driven out, took refuge at the duke's court; later Emma again fled thither, taking her sons with her, of whom one was later Edward the Confessor. From the time of Ethelred's marriage Englishmen and Normans became closely associated.

Connection of England with Normandy.

On the death of Swegen, his son, Canute, had not been strong enough to obtain the English kingdom, which had been restored to Ethelred. On the death of the latter, there was a double election; Canute was chosen by one party, and Edmund, son of Ethelred, by the other. The death of Edmund gave the whole kingdom to Canute. His reign was inaugurated by the killing of all the leaders whom he thought dangerous. But after he felt that his rule was firmly established he ruled

Government of Canute.

with great justice and ability. He made very few changes in the institutions of England, except by creating the great earls. Under the preceding kings it was customary for each shire to have as its chief an ealdorman; some of these became very powerful, and extended their rule over two or more shires. Canute made four great divisions of his kingdom—Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland—and placed at the head of each an official whose title was no longer ealdorman but earl.

The other parts of the Anglo-Saxon administrative system were retained by Canute; the powers of the government were, for the most part, in the hands of local groups. At the base of the system were the *hundreds*, which were composed of an indefinite number of townships, of which each one was held responsible for its own members. The assembly of the hundred decided local disputes, punished crimes, and recorded agreements. The hundreds were grouped together into shires, which also had their assemblies, presided over by the shire reeve or sheriff. The whole kingdom was divided into shires, and, except under a very strong king, the maintenance of order depended upon the local authorities. Moreover, the king was controlled to a great extent by the witenagemot, or assembly of the great men of the whole kingdom, which had the right to elect the king. All laws had to receive the sanction of its members, who formed the advisory council of the king, and all important actions were submitted to them for approval. In the witenagemot the bishops and nobles sat together.

Local governments and witenagemot.

On the death of Canute, in 1035, his two sons ruled in succession; but after their death the witenagemot, in 1042, elected Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred and the Norman Emma. He had been educated in Normandy, and brought with him to England many Normans, who were given important offices and had great influence. Godwin, whom Canute had made earl

Edward the Confessor and Godwin.

of Wessex, had been influential in having Edward elected; and his daughter was married to the king. But when the king brought in his Norman favorites Godwin opposed them and became the leader of the anti-Norman party. He and his family were exiled, but soon returned, supported by the whole English nation, and became all-powerful in the kingdom. On the death of Godwin, his son Harold succeeded him; and on the death of Edward, Harold was elected king by the witenagemot.

William claims the kingdom.

Immediately, William, duke of Normandy, asserted a claim to the throne. The claim was based upon a pretended bequest by Edward, with whom William had been in intimate association. In addition, the duke claimed that Harold had broken an oath, as, according to William's statement, Harold had taken an oath not to oppose his election. Neither Edward nor Harold could give the kingdom away; but these claims were put forward to justify William's invasion.

Norman conquest.

Gathering together a mixed host, he landed in England in 1066, and at Hastings, or Senlac, won a decisive victory, and in the battle Harold was slain. London soon opened its gates to William, and he was crowned on Christmas day. The conquest of the whole land was accomplished after four years of fighting, and William was recognized as the legitimate king. By this conquest all England had come under his power. William held that all who had taken up arms against him to aid the perjured Harold had forfeited their lands to the crown. He gave part of their lands to his Norman followers; part he allowed the English holders to redeem; but in every case the transaction was made with a strict observance of legal forms. In this manner all land came to be held from the king, and following the custom in Normandy, he required every vassal to take an oath of allegiance directly to him, and not to any intermediate lord. In this way William avoided the dangerous condi-

tions in France, where a vassal owed allegiance only to his lord and not to the king. In other respects also he introduced the forms of feudalism as they existed in Normandy. Following the strict letter of the law, as he interpreted it, he supplanted gradually the English earls, bishops, and abbots, and introduced Normans in their place.

The results of his policy can be seen in the *Domesday Book*, which contains the records of a general survey made in 1086. The pretext for this survey was the necessity of a census in order that taxation might be more effective. In the case of each entry in *Domesday* there is a statement of the present possessor of the land, of the possessor in the days of King Edward, and of the value of the land at those two dates. In addition, there is a vast mass of details as to the number of freemen and serfs, and of their possessions. It is an unique record of medieval civilization, although many subjects are ignored or taken for granted, so that it is difficult at the present day to understand its full meaning. It shows very clearly that William was carrying out his policy with a strict attention to the law as he interpreted it. The record seems to have been made impartially, for Normans, and even the immediate family of the king, are recorded as withholding property unjustly from Saxons, to whom it actually belonged.

Domesday Book.

The conquest had most important results for England, and changes worthy of note took place under William and his successors. First of all, the conquest made the central government much stronger. All lands were held from the king, and all freemen were obliged to serve in the king's army. He collected general taxes, and sent judges throughout the land to hold courts and try cases. The sheriff in each shire was obliged to report to the king twice each year, so that the latter's authority was felt in every part of the land and the local rulers lost much of their importance.

Results of the conquest; power of the king.

In the second place, the conquest brought England into close association with the Continent, as William and his successors were dukes of Normandy as well as kings of England, consequently the two countries were brought into intimate relations. Some of his followers held estates on both sides of the English Channel, which made it necessary for them and their vassals to make frequent journeys between England and Normandy. Moreover, William had sought the sanction of the Pope for his invasion; and after he had conquered the country, he brought the English Church more fully under the authority of the Pope, so that Roman legates journeyed to England and English bishops sought Rome.

Connection with the Continent.

In the third place, the conquest brought in new classes of inhabitants. Norman merchants and artisans, as well as Norman lords, settled in England, introducing new customs and a new language. Stately Norman churches were built; Norman castles guarded the land; the Norman-French language was spoken by the ruling classes, and for a time English was spoken only by the conquered people. Only gradually did the latter regain the supremacy; and then it had lost many of its ancient forms, and was enriched by new words borrowed from the Norman-French. The language, the people, the country as a whole, profited greatly by the changes introduced by the Norman conquest.

New inhabitants.

William Rufus, who succeeded William the Conqueror, in 1087, was noted chiefly for his vices and his tyrannical rule. But the next king, Henry I, 1100–1135, redressed the evil customs and won the name of "the lion of justice." He granted a charter of liberties, restored some of the powers to the local authorities, and married an English wife; by these acts he conciliated the support of his English subjects, so that by their aid he was able to conquer Normandy, which had been given to his brother.

Successors of William.

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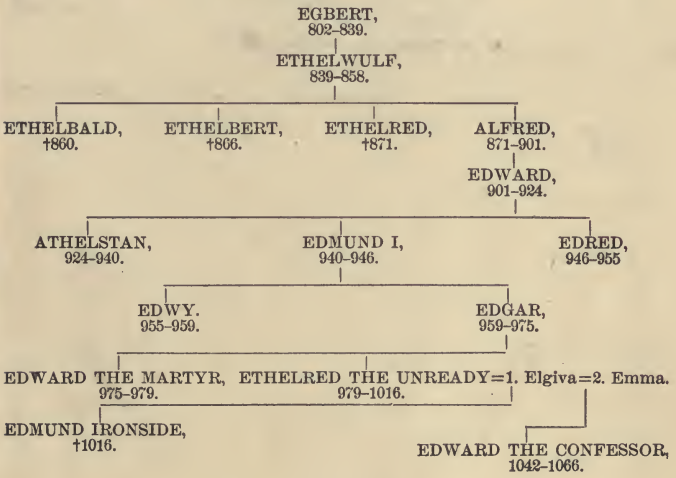
KINGS OF THE FAMILY OF EGBERT



CHAPTER IX

The Moslem World (750–1095)

SUMMARY.—Within a hundred years after the death of Mohammed his followers had conquered a large part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They also advanced rapidly in civilization. Their skill in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, and their knowledge of the arts and sciences, were greater than those possessed by the Christians in the west of Europe. Between 750 and 1050 the latter reconquered portions of the territory which had been held by the Mohammedans. In the eleventh century the Seljukian Turks brought new forces to the aid of Islam, and the Christian countries were again exposed to conquest.

DURING the first hundred years after the death of Mohammed (632) his followers conquered the greater part of the civilized world. About the middle of the eighth century their advance was checked, both in the east and in the west. This was due to internal dissensions, caused by the usurpation of the Abbassides, the rebellion of provincial governors, and the revolt of subject races.

Advance of the Mohammedans checked.

Mohammed left no male descendants, and the first caliphs, or "successors" of the prophet, were elected. Very soon a contest for the supreme power broke out between the Ommiads, members of one of the leading families of Mecca, and the family of the prophet. In 661 the Ommiads triumphed and made the caliphate hereditary in their family. The descendants of Mohammed's family refused to consider the Ommiads as legitimate caliphs and plotted to overthrow their power. In 750 the Abbassides, who were descendants of the prophet's

The Abbasside dynasty.

uncle, raised an army of the discontented, assassinated the Ommiad caliph, and became supreme.

The first province to revolt was Andalusia (Spain). One of the Ommiads escaped the slaughter, in which almost all of his relatives were involved, and after five years of wandering, landed in Spain. There he gained many adherents, and within about a year became the ruler of all Mohammedan Spain, with the title of emir, or commander.[1]

The emirate of Cordova, 755.

Even before the founding of the emirate of Cordova the conquests of the Moors in western Europe had been checked by the revolt of the Berbers. The latter, the inhabitants of northern Africa, had been conquered and converted to Islam only after seventy years of war. In 740 they rose in rebellion against the caliph. After that time the latter was unable to send reenforcements to Spain or to get recruits from Africa.

Revolt of Berbers.

In spite of these losses the reign of the Abbasside caliphs opened brilliantly. The Arabs in their conquests had come into contact with highly civilized nations, and had acquired information and absorbed culture from their conquered subjects. At Bagdad, to which the Abbassides moved their capital in 762, they fell under Persian influence. This was fortunate, as Persia had been for four centuries the seat of a highly developed civilization, which derived its main elements from Greece, China, and India. The influence of the first had been especially prominent, as the Persians had studied eagerly the philosophy and science of ancient Greece.

Civilization of Islam.

Bagdad under Haroun al-Raschid, the caliph of the *Arabian Nights*, became a center of learning and the seat of great luxury. The palace, with the buildings which housed its officials and servants, formed

Bagdad.

[1] In 929 his descendants assumed the title of caliph.

a city in itself. It was thronged with theologians, poets, musicians, officials, and ambassadors from distant nations. Twenty-two thousand rugs carpeted the floor of the palace; thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry hung on the walls. A hundred lions, each with its keeper, added to the magnificence of the spectacle when an ambassador was received. At the nuptials of Mamun "a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride." The tales in the *Arabian Nights* reflect very faithfully the luxury and life of Bagdad under its early rulers.

Arab Horn.[1]

This civilization was not confined to Bagdad or Persia.

Diffusion of the civilization.

From the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean extended the Mohammedan dominions, inhabited by people of many races, but all speaking the Arabic language and governed by the same laws. Each country contributed its own knowledge to the sum total; the Arabs unified the whole and carried it throughout their empire, raising the more barbarous countries to a higher civilization.

Arab Spain.

Spain under their rule became the most prosperous and enlightened country of Europe. Christian students from Germany, France, and England studied in Mohammedan Spain, where they came into contact with learned scholars from all parts of the Moslem

[1] Said to have been given to Charles the Great by Haroun al-Raschid.

world. Art was cultivated, literature was cherished, science was studied when the rest of Europe, except Constantinople, was in its darkest age. Women in Spain vied with the men in the pursuit of learning; some were skilled in medicine; others gave public lectures on scientific subjects.

Much of the prosperity of Spain was due to the wise policy of the rulers in their treatment of the conquered races. The Christians suffered few hardships; their taxes were light; their churches were unmolested, and their property was secure. The only persecution was due to the intemperate zeal of some rash fanatics who sought martyrdom, and their conduct was denounced justly and severely by a Christian council. The Christian bishops were appointed by the emir, but ordinarily he appointed the candidates chosen by the Christians. The public offices were open to men of all races and religions, and many of them were held by Slavs, Jews, and Christians, who were promoted to high positions. One of the ambassadors sent to Otto the Great by the caliph of Cordova was a Christian bishop.

Toleration.

An Arab maxim says, "It is one of the chief duties of the government to construct the canals necessary for the cultivation of the soil." The Arab rulers in Spain acted upon this maxim, and put into practice the art of irrigation learned in Egypt. Water-wheels were introduced, distributing canals were dug, so that Spain became a vast garden. Rice, sugar-cane, hemp, cotton, asparagus, artichokes, beans, melons, oranges, apricots, palms, yellow roses and other flowers which had been brought from the East, were cultivated there.

Agriculture.

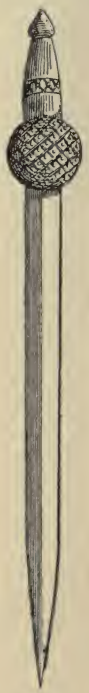
Silk-weaving is said to have employed the labor of 130,000 men in the caliphate of Cordova. The island of Majorca was famous for its pottery, of which the manufacture was transferred later to Italy, where it became known as "majolica." The sword-blades of Toledo acquired a fame which has become proverbial. In

Manufacturing.

addition, the Moors of Spain were renowned for their ornamental metal work and exquisite ivory carvings.

The products of Spain were exchanged for wares from Asia and Africa. The Mohammedans traded, by vessels and caravans, with China, from which they obtained silk, tea, lac, and china; with Calcutta and Sumatra, whence they brought spices, drugs, pearls, and precious stones; with Africa, which supplied them with slaves, ivory, and gold dust; with the country to the north of the Black Sea, which furnished furs and amber. Moreover, they carried on an active trade with Constantinople, and later with the cities of Italy. Religious differences were not permitted to interfere with the trade. Bagdad was the center of this important commerce, but Arab Spain shared in its advantages. The bazaar, or the merchants' quarter, was an important part of each Spanish city.

Commerce.



Arab Dagger.[1]

A people so advanced in the arts of civilization was naturally devoted to study. Schools and universities flourished, and were supported partly by the Government, partly by private liberality. The most important study was theology, with which law and grammar were closely associated. Philosophy, especially the writings of Aristotle, was studied enthusiastically, and it was from the Arab commentaries and translations that the Christians later acquired much of their knowledge of Aristotle's works. Libraries were common, and a caliph in the tenth century collected 400,000 volumes. He sent his agents everywhere to copy books, he employed authors to write new ones, and he is said to have read them

Learning.

[1] Said to have been given to Charles the Great by Haroun al-Raschid.

INTERIOR, MOSQUE OF CORDOVA.

all. This was probably the largest library in the middle ages, and was not surpassed in size until long after the invention of printing. In the west of Europe, at the same period, a library of a thousand volumes was practically unknown.

Mathematics.

Mathematics formed a favorite subject of study among the Arabs. In arithmetic they employed the so-called Arabic figures, including the zero. Among the Christians at the same period the Roman figures were used almost universally; later these were called, in contrast with the Arabic, the "sweating calculators." Early in the ninth century an Arab mathematician composed a text-book on algebra, which, after some centuries, was introduced into Europe and was used until the end of the middle ages. Other Arabs in the ninth and tenth centuries developed spherical trigonometry and mathematical physics, which the Christians acquired from them in the thirteenth century.

Other branches of learning.

The Arabs in Spain taught geography by the use of globes. By their study of alchemy, in which they sought especially the "philosopher's stone," which would transmute base substances into gold, and the "elixir of life," which would bestow the gift of perpetual youth, they acquired a considerable knowledge of chemistry, producing a number of new compounds, such as alcohol, aqua regia, and corrosive sublimate. In medicine they based their science on the writings of the Greeks, and developed their knowledge until they became the most skilful doctors in the medieval world.

Architecture.

By the Koran, Mohammedans are forbidden to make representations of living objects. This prevented them from making much progress in sculpture and painting, although there are some well-known transgressions of the prophet's command, notably the famous court of the lions in the Alhambra. In architecture

they were unhampered, and they devoted themselves especially to this branch of art. At first they copied, with slight changes, Byzantine buildings; gradually they combined with the Byzantine forms other motives which they found in Persia and the East, or which they themselves invented. Their buildings are marked by ogives, arabesques, and pendentives, but above all by the ornamentation, which they carried to an extreme. The ceilings and interior walls are covered with arabesques of geometrical figures, of foliage, or of Arabic inscription.

Frequently the Europeans, in acquiring new information from the Arabs, borrowed the Arabic term. Many words in the modern languages of Europe beginning with *al*—the definite article in Arabic—betray their origin and show the source from which the knowledge was obtained. For example, we have in English algebra, alcohol, alembic, alkali, alchemy, almanac, Aldebaran the star, and many other words. In a similar way damask from Damascus, muslin from Mosul, cordovan from Cordova, and morocco, show in their names the sources from which they were first obtained. Sugar, cotton, and other names were borrowed without the article al.

Words from Arabic.

ARAB COIN. (Obverse and reverse.)

While this civilization was being developed, the power of the caliph of Bagdad was declining rapidly. His subjects were no longer animated by intense zeal for combat. Luxury and refinement had created new tastes. Religious unity of feeling had disappeared, as new sects had arisen; the different sects were bitterly opposed to one another, and were unwilling to join in a common war of propagation or defense. Political unity had been destroyed by the revolt of the Berbers and by the establishment of

Disintegration of the Mohammedan world.

the Ommiad dynasty in Spain. The caliphs at Bagdad, weakened by luxury, were losing control over their officials, so that one province after another revolted. As the caliph's power declined, he lost his prestige, so that in the tenth century two rival caliphates were established—one at Cairo and the other at Cordova; and each ruler claimed to be the true caliph—the successor of the prophet. The process of disintegration went on rapidly. In the eleventh century the East was divided into petty states, each ruled by a conqueror or military commander, recognizing only in the most formal way the authority of any caliph. In Spain the caliphate of Cordova broke up, in 1033, into seven small kingdoms.

The advance of the Christians.

As the Mussulmans became weaker the Christians succeeded in reconquering some of the lands which they had formerly held. All of southern Gaul was regained. In Spain the descendants of the Christians who had retreated beyond the mountains in the northwest, took one town after another until, by the middle of the eleventh century, one-third of Spain had come into their power. Sardinia was reconquered about 1050, southern Italy and Sicily about 1060. In the east the Byzantine emperors were recovering gradually much of Asia Minor and Syria. Although the period from 750 to 1050 is marked by no great wars between Christians and Moslems, and although the Moslems rallied occasionally and recaptured some places, the result was a great advance for the Christians, who seemed destined to recover all the lands formerly included in the Roman Empire.

The Seljuks.

For centuries Mongolian or Turkish tribes from the interior of Asia had been pressing to the westward. As a rule they had gone to the north of the Caspian and Black Seas, and had sought their conquests and booty in Europe. But some had gone to the southwest and had entered into the service of the caliph at Bagdad. In the eleventh century a great Turkish kingdom was

formed by rulers descended from Seljuk, a legendary hero of whom little is definitely known. The Seljuks conquered Persia, and, having adopted Islam, were welcomed, in 1055, as defenders, by the weak Abbasside caliph at Bagdad. From this time the Turkish sultan became supreme, although the caliph remained, theoretically, the religious ruler. The Seljuks, who were brave soldiers, spread over all Asia Minor and Syria. In 1071 they won a decisive victory at Manzikert, in which the Byzantine army was annihilated. Within a few years all of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine Empire had fallen under the rule of the Turks, and they were threatening Constantinople.

Fortunately for the Byzantine Empire, the sultan was not able to keep control over the Turkish leaders, of whom each conquered such territory as he could and established an almost independent principality.

Disunion among the Turks.

Internal wars began at once among the Turks, and their strength was exhausted in fighting one another. The natives whom they had conquered were disaffected, but attempted no open revolt against the Turkish garrisons which held all the fortresses. But the dissensions among the various emirs, or commanders, made the Mohammedans weak, and offered an excellent opportunity to the Christians for reconquering Asia Minor and Syria.

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CHAPTER X

The Byzantine Empire

SUMMARY.—In the early middle ages the Byzantine Empire was the strongest and most civilized of Christian countries. Because of its position it served as a bulwark to Europe against invasions from Asia. It also performed other services of the greatest importance for the future history of Europe. It was enabled to do this by its carefully organized administrative system and excellent army. It was constantly attacked for several centuries, and lost much of its territory, but, although frequently in desperate straits, it succeeded each time in maintaining its position. Toward the close of the eleventh century, after having repulsed all invaders, it was ready to attempt the reconquest of the territory which had been overrun by the Turks.

DURING the early centuries of the middle ages Constantinople was the most wealthy and populous city in Europe. Its inhabitants were the most artistic, learned, and highly civilized people in the Christian world. They controlled the commerce of the Mediterranean Sea and monopolized the manufacture of many luxuries. They were governed by an elaborate system of law which made their property secure, and were protected by an efficient army which repelled for centuries every attack upon their city. They lived in the midst of stately buildings, beautiful statues, and costly works of art, which could be equaled nowhere else.

Constantinople.

Travelers from western Europe were astonished to find such an enormous city, such wealth and refinement. In their own countries there were no large cities, none of the luxuries and few of the conveniences of life. In the West, learning was confined to the clergy; safety in traveling could be secured

Contrast with the West.

only by an armed force; and the homes of the most powerful nobles were rough castles, destitute of comfort, and built mainly for defense. The kings of France and Germany were obliged to travel from one to another of their farms in order to secure the food necessary for their meals. Loathsome skin diseases were common, and there were no skilful doctors; pestilences and famine swept over the population from time to time. In Constantinople the travelers found lighted and paved streets, extensive public parks, hospitals, and homes for orphans. Order was preserved by a well-organized police force; theaters and circuses were maintained for the amusement of the populace. There were flourishing schools in which the scholars pursued not merely the elementary studies taught in the West, but also those pertaining to law, medicine, and science. The nobles lived in magnificent buildings which far surpassed the palaces of the western monarchs. The artisans were comfortably housed, and worked together in great factories, producing the rich stuffs which were so rare and so highly prized in the West. In short, they found a civilization at Constantinople several hundred years in advance of the rude customs of Germany, France, or England.

Greek Emperor.[1]

This civilization did not remain sterile; it performed useful services for all the rest of Europe. First of all it protected the center of Europe against Mohammedan invasions until the young states of the West had grown strong.

[1] Portrait, of the early middle ages, in St. Mark's, Venice.

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CALIFORNIA

ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

Services of the Byzantine Empire.

Secondly, it maintained European commerce, until, in the later middle ages, the cities of Italy and northern Europe had become wealthy and strong enough to take up the task. Thirdly, it preserved the learning and civilization of the ancient Greeks and Romans and transmitted this priceless heritage to the rest of the Christian world—especially during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It spread the knowledge of arts and sciences among all the people who came into close contact with Constantinople; thus Venice owed its wealth, luxury, and refinement to its dependence upon the Byzantine Empire. Fourthly, it converted to Christianity and civilized the inhabitants of all eastern Europe. The debt which modern Europe owes to the mediæval Byzantine Empire is *enormous*.

Position of Constantinople.

It was able to perform these services because of its great strength and resources, and especially because of the unique position which its capital held among the great cities of the world. The situation of Constantinople was even more advantageous in the early middle ages than it is at the present day. Then the Balkan peninsula was covered with flourishing and wealthy cities, and Asia Minor was one of the most fertile and populous districts in the world. From the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor Constantinople was able to secure a plentiful supply of foodstuffs and great revenues in money. Even at the present day, after the surrounding lands have been laid waste by Turkish conquest and misrule, Constantinople has a more advantageous site than any other capital. It "is a city which Nature herself has designed to be the mistress of the world. It stands in Europe, looks upon Asia, and is within reach by sea of Egypt and the Levant on the south, and of the Black Sea and its European and Asiatic shores on the north."[1] It has a

[1] Description of Busbecq, a Flemish traveler of the sixteenth century.

deep, spacious, and land-locked harbor, 4 miles long, which can be easily defended against a hostile fleet. At the back of the city the peninsula is only 4 miles in width, and during the middle ages the approach by land was guarded by two walls. The position of Constantinople was an important element in preserving the Byzantine Empire.

But natural advantages alone would not have made the empire strong; a strong government was needed. Many of the emperors were weak and incapable, but the administrative system was well organized. Just as the government of Old Rome remained effective even under weak or vicious emperors, such as Caligula, Nero, or Domitian, so the officials in New Rome —Constantinople—preserved order and peace even when emperors were assassinated and usurpers assumed the imperial office.[1]

Administrative system.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, however, the empire had the good fortune to be ruled by able emperors of the Armenian or Macedonian dynasties. Under the latter family the succession to the throne was recognized as hereditary; for one hundred and ninety years (867–1057) the members of this house succeeded to the throne, and their rule was so firmly established that their power was not shaken during minorities or when women reigned.

Right of hereditary established.

In the eighth century the old divisions of the early Roman Empire had been abandoned and a new division had been made into *themes*, or districts of varying extent. At the head of each theme

Military organization of provinces.

[1] "It has been calculated that, from the reign of Arcadius (395–408) to the capture of Constantinople in 1453, out of 107 persons—who were emperors or associate emperors—12 abdicated either voluntarily or under compulsion; 12 died in monasteries or in prison; 3 were starved to death; 18 were blinded or otherwise mutilated; 20 were assassinated in some way or other; 8 died in war or accidentally; only 34 died in their beds" (Bayet).


10
20
30
40
50
HUNGARY
PATZINAKS
SERVIA
Hadrianople
Constantinople
Trapezus
Thessalonica
Nicomedia
Ephesus
RŪM
ARMENIA
C. OF SELEUCIA
P. OF ANTIOCH
CRETE
CYPRUS
TRIPOLI
K. OF JERUSALEM
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
1100 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
400
40
30
Longitude East from Greenwich

was an official who controlled both the civil and military administration and was responsible directly to the emperor. Independence in local administration was taken away from the towns, and these were governed directly by the ruler of the theme. The organization was essentially military, and the subdivisions were ruled by officers of the army responsible to the governor of the theme. This made the central government stronger and maintained order more easily, but it weakened the empire, as the people had no interest in, nor feeling of responsibility for the government. Consequently, when invaders conquered any part of the empire, the inhabitants submitted without resistance to the new rule.

Strength of the army.

The military force on which the empire depended was well organized and had the best weapons known in the middle ages. The chief strength of the army consisted of cavalry armed with bows and lances, and protected by armor which was proof against ordinary missile weapons. Moreover, the art of war was more fully developed than anywhere else in the medieval world. The emperors took a great interest in military science; three of them composed important treatises for the use of their generals. The fortifications were improved and strengthened. But, above all, the Greek fire gave a superiority to the Byzantine armies and fleets; this was made and used in various ways;[1] in particular, from hollow tubes fire-balls were hurled on the enemy.[2]

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[1] According to one description it was composed of sulfur, dregs of wine, Persian gum, salt, pitch, petroleum, and oil boiled together. It could be extinguished only by vinegar or sand. But there were many different ways of making it; one form of Greek fire seems to have been very similar to gunpowder. The Greeks preserved the secret of its composition until about the year 1000; after that it was used freely by the Saracens in their battles with the crusaders.

[2] Compare the Roman candles of to-day. This was the nearest approach to the modern gun.

These effective weapons were necessary to the preservation of the empire, which was compelled for centuries to be on the defensive. In the seventh century the Slavs had been the most dangerous enemies, and had made settlements in many parts of the Balkan peninsula. The emperors, after long and almost fruitless attempts to expel them, were obliged to leave them in possession of the districts which they had occupied. In many parts of Peloponnesus they had displaced the ancient Greek inhabitants; but as they settled usually in the country districts, the towns, especially Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, remained Greek. Some Slavs were given lands in Asia Minor; for example, 30,000 were sent thither in 688. In the later centuries a large part of the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire were the descendants of these Slavic invaders and colonists.

Invasion of Slavs.

In the seventh century the Arabs began to attack portions of the empire, as has been related in a preceding chapter. Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa were conquered; early in the eighth century Asia Minor was occupied and Constantinople was threatened.[1] In the ninth and the early part of the tenth century the Arabs took possession of Sicily and some cities in the East. But during the tenth century, under the able emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, almost all of Asia Minor and Syria was reconquered, and those countries again became a source of strength to the empire.

Invasion of Arabs.

In the seventh century the Bulgarians also began to invade the empire. In 811 their khan defeated and killed the emperor, Nicephorus I, whose skull was made into a drinking-cup to grace Bulgarian feasts. Later in the century they became more civilized from their contact with the Slavs, adopted the language of the latter, and were converted to Christianity. In 893

Invasion of the Bulgarians.

[1] See page 6.

their czar, Simeon, proclaimed himself king and by negotiation received recognition from the Pope. In 889 war had broken out again between the Bulgarians and the empire; after thirty-five years, during which the former were successful everywhere, peace was made, with an agreement that tribute should be paid by the emperor to the Bulgarians. After forty years of peace, when the emperor refused to pay the tribute, war was renewed. It dragged on without decisive results until the emperor, Basil II, took command in person in 999 and won several victories; in 1014 he captured 15,000 Bulgarians and blinded all except one in each hundred; the hundredth man, in each case, was deprived of only one eye and was compelled to guide the others back to their homes. This bloody vengeance discouraged the Bulgarians, who submitted four years later, in 1018. Basil II won the epithet of Bulgaroktonos, or slayer of Bulgarians.

In the first half of the tenth century the Hungarians or Magyars, who were the terror of Germany, attacked the Byzantine Empire also. For a time the emperor paid them tribute, but after the victory of Otto the Great on the Lechfeld,[1] the emperor thought them less dangerous, and refused the tribute. The Hungarians attempted to enforce the payment, but were beaten off.

Attack by Hungarians.

Northmen under Rurik (862–879) had established themselves at Novgorod and founded the Russian kingdom. From this date until 1043 the Russians attacked the empire at various times and levied tribute from it. At the end of the tenth century the Russian king married a sister of the emperor, Basil II, and became a convert to Christianity. After this the Russians made occasional raids, but without any great effect upon the empire.

Attacks by Russians.

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[1] See page 54.

ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

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This survey of the dangers which threatened the Byzantine Empire illustrates the most notable fact in its history—its "constant vitality and power of revival." Frequently it was obliged to submit and to pay tribute to invaders; then again it would recover its strength and conquer its enemies. Amid such dangers despotism seemed almost a necessity. The empire had no natural boundaries, was inhabited by different races which had little in common, and was surrounded by hostile states. The only safeguard was a strong central administration.

Need of strong rule.

The Macedonian dynasty, after ruling for one hundred and ninety years, died out in 1057. A period of anarchy ensued, in which there was no legitimate heir, and five usurpers held the throne in succession within a period of twenty-four years. A Turkish race, which was said to number over half a million, crossed the Danube and ravaged the European portion of the empire, but made no settlement. In Asia, the Seljukian Turks invaded Armenia and Asia Minor. The emperor, after some unimportant victories, was defeated by them in the battle of Manzikert, in 1071, and was taken prisoner. He was released on his promise to pay a ransom, but on his return he found that the imperial title had been usurped by a rival, who imprisoned and blinded him.

Attack by Turks.

In 1081 Alexius Comnenus seized the imperial throne. He was a very able ruler, and, in spite of all the difficulties which confronted him, he was successful in establishing his power firmly and in making the empire strong again. Almost as soon as he became emperor he was compelled to engage in war with the Normans, who, earlier in the century, had established themselves in southern Italy, and were now desirous of extending their dominions at the expense of the Greek empire. After four years of war they were obliged to desist, and Alexius was free to turn his attention to other dangers.

Alexius Comnenus, 1081–1118.

It was time, for the Patzinaks—a Turkish race, settled along the Danube, which had threatened the empire from time to time for several centuries—were ravaging Thrace. It took nine years to defeat and expel them from the empire. Alexius, unwearied, was now ready for new wars.

Byzantine Empire in 1095.

The Byzantine Empire, in 1095, after so many wars, was greatly reduced in territory, but was still wealthy and strong. Its civilization had suffered no decline, its capital was unharmed by all the invasions which had swept over other portions of its territory.

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Emperors of the Byzantine Empire, 717–1204

Syrian (Isaurian) Dynasty, 717–802

Leo III, the Isaurian, 717–740.
Constantine V or VI, *Copronymus*, 740–775.
Leo IV, the Chazar, 775–779.
Constantine VI or VII, 779–797.
Irene, 797–802.
Nicephorus I, 802–811.
Stauracius, 811.
Michael I, *Rhangabe*, 811–813.

Amorian Dynasty, 820–867

Leo V, The Armenian, 813–820.
Michael II, the Stammerer, 820–829.
Theophilus, 829–842.
Michael III, the Drunkard, 842–867.

Basilian or Armenian (Macedonian) Dynasty, 867–1057

Basil I, the Macedonian, 867–886.
Constantine VI (with Basil I), 868–878.
Leo VI, the Wise, 886–912.
Constantine the VII or VIII, *Porphyrogenitus*, 912–958.
Alexander, 912–913.
Romanus I, *Lecapenus*, 919–945.[1] (As associates his three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine.)
Romanus II, 958–963.

[1] Usurper.

Basil II, *Bulgaroctonus*, 963–1025. (As associate his brother, Constantine, 1028.)[1]
Nicephorus II, Phocas, 963–969.[1]
John I, Zimisces, 969–976.[1]
Constantine VIII or IX, 1025–1028.
Romanus III, *Argyrus*, 1028–1034.
Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, 1034–1042.
Michael V, 1042.
Constantine IX or X, *Monomachus*, 1042–1055. (Reigns with his wife Zoe.)
Theodora, 1055–1057.
Michael VI, *Stratioticus*, 1057.

Comnenian Dynasty, 1057–1204

Isaac I, Comnenus, 1057–1059.[1]
Constantine X or XI, Ducas, 1059–1067.[1]
Eudocia, 1067–1071.[1]
(In the name of her sons, Michael VII, 1067–1078, Andronicus and Constantine, and with her second husband, Romanus IV, 1067–1071.)
Michael VII (see above), 1071–1078.[1]
Nicephorus III, *Botaniates*, 1078–1081.[1]
Alexius I, Comnenus, 1081–1118.
John or Calojohannes, Comnenus, 1118–1143.
Manuel I, Comnenus, 1143–1180.
Alexius II, Comnenus, 1180–1183.
Andronicus I, Comnenus, 1183–1185.
Isaac II, Angelus, 1185–1195.
Alexius III, Angelus, 1195–1203.[1]
Isaac II (restored), Alexius IV, Angelus, } 1203–1204.
Alexius V, Ducas, 1204.[1]

[1] Usurper.

CHAPTER XI

The Crusades

SUMMARY.—In order to reconquer the territory overrun by the Turks the emperor, Alexius, sought aid from the West. The Pope, to whom he appealed, aroused the Christians, by an eloquent address, to conquer the Holy Land. Hundreds of thousands took the cross and went to Constantinople and Syria. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was established, and the men from the west lived for two centuries in close and intimate association with the Greeks and Mohammedans. Moreover, in 1204, Constantinople was captured by the Crusaders, and the Latin Empire established. The most important results of these movements, which brought the inhabitants of western Europe into intimate and long-continued relations with the more civilized peoples of the east, were the great intellectual advance, and the enrichment of France, Italy, Germany, and England.

THE emperor, Alexius, after having expelled the invaders from the European portion of his empire, desired to recover Asia Minor and Syria. The disunion among the Turks seemed to afford him an excellent opportunity. But he felt the need of additional soldiers, because his own forces had been weakened by the continuous warfare of the preceding years. He was unable to obtain recruits from Asia Minor as he had done in the past, consequently he turned his attention to the West. For a long time the emperors had been accustomed to take into their service Danes, Englishmen, and other adventurers from the West, who formed the Varangian guard, the emperor's most efficient corps. In 1074, after the disastrous defeat in Asia Minor, an appeal for troops had been made by the emperor to Gregory VII,

Alexius appeals for aid.

and an army of 50,000 men had been raised for the aid of the eastern empire. But the investiture struggle[1] and other troubles had prevented the Pope from sending this assistance. In 1095 Alexius made a new request for aid to expel the Turks from his Asiatic dominions.

The fact that this appeal was made to the Pope is an excellent illustration of the condition of affairs at the close of the eleventh century. Notwithstanding the long investiture struggle, the Pope was the only possible source of aid in western Europe. The German king was powerless to aid Alexius; he was barely able to maintain his own position against his rebellious subjects and his son. The French king was under the ban of excommunication, and possessed too little real power to give aid to any one. In England, William Rufus was engaged in quelling the revolt of the barons, which had been occasioned by his tyrannical rule. In Spain the kings were occupied in warfare with the Moors. No one of the other countries had as yet secured a position of importance in the affairs of Europe.

Why the Pope was appealed to.

The emperor's ambassadors presented themselves at the council of Piacenza in March, 1095, and appealed for aid. The Pope, Urban II, took up the matter in earnest, and during the succeeding months matured his plans. He decided to begin the movement in France, where the people were suffering from the evils caused by overpopulation. Accordingly, at the council of Clermont, in November, after the other business had been finished, he made an eloquent address to the people, urging them to undertake a crusade. He depicted the dangers and disasters which threatened the Byzantine Empire; he dwelt upon the cruel treatment of the Christians in the East and the desecration of the holy places by the Turks; he contrasted the opportunities in

The council of Clermont.

[1] See page 59.

"the land flowing with milk and honey" with their own sad lot in France; he promised that Christ would be their leader, and that the journey should take the place of all other penance for their sins.

"Many orations have been delivered with as much eloquence and in as fiery words as the Pope used, but no other oration has ever been able to boast of as wonderful results." The people cried out, "It is the will of God," and rushed forward by thousands to receive the cross, the symbol of their vow. For the Pope had appealed to the most powerful motives of the age. Many were incited by religious zeal; some were inspired with military ardor; others desired to better their condition; still others were attracted by the promise of the remission of penance. In the minds of many the various motives combined, and it is impossible to say which was the most powerful incentive. Although the undertaking had been begun for the purpose of carrying aid to the Greek empire, the Pope and the crusaders subordinated this purpose to the plan of reconquering Jerusalem and of obtaining possession of the Holy Land.

The results of his speech.

During the winter of 1095–1096 members of the Church were busily engaged in preaching the crusade. Peter the Hermit was the most active and the most successful.[1] He journeyed through the middle of France to Paris, and from there to Cologne, preaching to the people as he went. Everywhere he met with an enthusiastic reception, and found many recruits who abandoned their homes and followed him.

Peter the Hermit.

The Pope had fixed August 15, 1096, as the date of departure for the crusaders, but the men who followed Peter were too impatient to wait. One band set off on April 15; a second, led by Peter himself, a few days later; three

[1] See the description of Peter in *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 2, p. 20.

others followed in rapid succession. These bands were composed of men, women, and children, mostly French and Germans; there were comparatively few knights. The greater part of the host which started with Peter were from the city of Cologne and its vicinity; as he marched through Germany two bishops and over twenty knights joined him. These bands marched across Germany, through Hungary and Bulgaria, and down to Constantinople. Many perished by the way, some were driven back, and those who reached Constantinople were so disorderly that the emperor urged them to cross over into Asia Minor, where most of them were slaughtered by the Turks.

The first bands of crusaders.

Duke Robert of Normandy.[1]

During the summer and fall of the year 1096 the great nobles and the real army of crusaders set out for the Holy Land. The most noteworthy leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon, who afterward became the ruler of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard. The host was composed of men from all the nations of western Europe, but French and Normans were most numerous. They marched by different routes, and did not join together into one army until they reached the city of Nicæa in the summer of 1097. The army may then have numbered some hundreds of thousands, if all the monks, women, children, and camp-followers were included; but the effective force probably did not amount to over 100,000 men. This number, however, would have

The real army.

[1] In Gloucester Cathedral.

been amply sufficient for the conquest of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, if the Greek emperor had given efficient aid, and if discipline had been maintained among the crusaders.

Alexius had asked for assistance, but had not counted upon the coming of such a host. Moreover, he was alarmed when he heard that his old enemy Bohemond was with the crusaders; but the opportunity was too tempting to be neglected, and he determined to use the army for his own purposes. As the leaders arrived separately at Constantinople, Alexius endeavored to obtain from each one an oath of vassalage, so that all the conquests might be subject to the imperial authority. The emperor used every means to effect this; he tried in turn violence, bribery, and promises. He succeeded finally in obtaining some kind of an oath from every leader, but in doing so he aroused a feeling of bitter animosity among the crusaders. After Nicæa had been besieged and practically captured by the crusaders, the latter found themselves deprived of their booty by the emperor, who had persuaded the citizens to surrender to him. The leaders, whom he bribed, "withdrew with kindly feelings, others with different emotions." After this the crusaders received no aid from the emperor, and many came to regard him as an enemy.

Alexius and the crusaders.

From Nicæa the army proceeded slowly to Antioch, which was taken after a siege of over seven months, and then to Jerusalem, which was captured July 15, 1099. There had been many delays due to the lack of discipline in the army and to the desire of the chiefs to make conquests for their own advantage. A participant complained that "each one wished only the greatest possible advantage to himself, and thought not at all of the common good." Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, had left the army in order to obtain possession of Edessa. Bohemond had remained at Antioch, which he had secured, and was more intent upon building up a strong

The march to Jerusalem.

principality there than upon aiding in the capture of Jerusalem. Others had deserted the host for the sake of holding fortresses which they had captured; many more had grown disheartened because of the dangers and privations on the long march, and had returned home. There had been no recognized head to the army, and no means of restraining the individual crusaders; each one had done just as he pleased.

After conquering Jerusalem the crusaders elected Godfrey "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." When he died, in the following year, his brother Baldwin was elected king. Conquests were added to the kingdom from time to time until it included most of the cities and villages near Jerusalem. In addition the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa were held by the Franks.[1] From north to south the extreme length of the states founded by the crusaders was about 525 miles; the breadth was, except in the north, 50 miles or less. Much of this territory was rocky and barren, and the fertile portions along the coast and those in the interior were separated by mountains. There were Mohammedan cities and fortresses scattered along the whole eastern frontier, and no Christian city was distant more than a day's ride from some Mohammedan stronghold. Consequently border raids were very frequent.

The kingdom of Jerusalem.

Their position forced the Franks to depend to a great extent upon the natives, whom they were obliged to employ constantly. The crusaders were relatively few in number and were engaged in military service or in commerce. Their lands were cultivated by the native Syrians, who were either Christian or Mohammedan; their houses were built and their churches adorned by Greeks or Armenian architects and artists;

Intimate association with the natives.

[1] A collective name for all the men from the West.


34°
36°
38°
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Harran
Adana
Tarsus
Alexandria Minor
Iron Bridge (Pons Ferri)
Antioch
St. Simeon
Artasium
Aleppo
Euphrates R.
Albara
Marra
Laodicea
Apamea
Gibellum
Hamah
Margat
Mons Ferrandus
Tortosa
Chastel Blanc
Chastel Rouge
Crac
Emesa
Tripolis
Archas
Botroun
Gibelet
Baalbec
Beirut
Damascus
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
Banias
Montfort
Acre
Safed
Castrum Peregrinorum
Tiberias
Nazareth
Caesarea
Arsuf
Jaffa
Neapolis
Azotus
Jerusalem
Blanche Garde
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Daron
Gaza
Hebron
Kerak
Segor
Mons Regalis
Elim
THE
CRUSADING STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 25 50 75 100
Longitude East 36° from Greenwich

their sick were doctored by the Jewish or Arab doctors; their merchants traded extensively with all the natives. In warfare the Mohammedans and the westerners learned to respect each other's valor; in times of peace they mingled freely with each other and sometimes intermarried. In these various ways the Franks were brought into constant and intimate association with the more advanced civilizations of the East. They acquired new tastes, new habits, and new ideals, and when they returned they introduced these into their homes.

The second crusade.[1]

The success of the Christians in the early decades of the twelfth century caused the Mohammedans to unite in self-defense. Zangi, the ruler of Mosul, was the first to check the advance of the Christians. He was engaged from 1127 to 1143 in making himself supreme over all the Moslem lords in the North. He then turned his forces against Edessa, which he captured in 1144. The news of the fall of this city aroused the inhabitants of western Europe to renewed exertions. Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany led great armies to the Holy Land, but dissensions among the Christians caused the entire failure of the expedition, and the kings returned without having accomplished anything. Some imputed their failure to the treachery of the Greek emperor, but the majority blamed some of the Franks who lived in the Holy Land, and during the next forty years requests for aid were received coldly in the West.

[1] It is customary to give numbers to certain crusades, namely: the first, 1096–1099; the second, 1147–1149; the third, 1189–1192; the fourth, 1202–1204; the fifth, 1228–1229; the sixth, 1248–1254. But there were many other great expeditions, notably the crusade of 1101; the German crusade, 1197; the crusade against Damietta, 1217–1221; and the second crusade of St. Louis, 1270. Almost every year in the twelfth century bands of pilgrims or crusaders went to the Holy Land for a stay of a few months or longer. Even after the fall of Acre in 1291 crusades still continued to be preached, but these were not exclusively, or even mainly, against the Mohammedans.

Although it has never been possible to determine the exact truth, it is probable that the failure of the second crusade was due to the attitude of certain Franks settled in the East. For many of the crusaders did not wish to wage war, but preferred to maintain cordial relations with the Moslems. There had been a great change in the character of the Franks who settled in the Holy Land. The early crusaders had been mainly Normans and men from the North who loved fighting for its own sake. Those who had come later were to a great extent Italians and men from the south of Europe, who were interested in commerce and consequently desired peace. In general, after the second crusade, the majority of the Franks who were living in Syria were averse to war; the new arrivals and the military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers[1] were the ones desirous of fighting with the infidels; yet even the members of the two orders frequently entered into friendly relations with the Moslems. The peace party was the more numerous and was able usually to maintain peace, but war might be caused at any time by some aggression on the Mohammedans by the war party.

The two parties in the kingdom.

COIN OF BOHEMOND.
(Obverse and reverse.)

[1] The order of the Templars was founded in 1119 to protect pilgrims in Palestine. They took their name from the temple of Solomon, near which their original dwelling was placed. The order of the Hospitallers grew out of a brotherhood to nurse the sick in the hospital of St. John the Baptist, established at Jerusalem in 1070. This brotherhood was changed into a military order on the model of the Templars. Its members were known later as Knights of St. John and Knights of Malta. The order still exists with its headquarters at Rome. These two orders became the most powerful defenders of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In 1187, during a period of truce, one of the Frankish lords rashly attacked and plundered a Mohammedan caravan. This caused the fall of Jerusalem. For most of the Moslems were now united under the leadership of Saladin, the great hero and the ablest leader whom the crusaders encountered. Aroused by this breach of peace, he attacked the Christians, annihilated their army in a single battle, captured their king, and in a few weeks conquered almost all the cities in the South, including Jerusalem.

The fall of Jerusalem.

The news of the fall of the holy city aroused Europe from its apathy regarding the crusades. Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted of England took the cross and led great armies to the East. Frederick died before reaching Palestine and his troops separated, some continuing their march as far as Acre and others returning home. Richard and Philip, after a long siege, succeeded in recapturing Acre, but quarreled so bitterly that Philip returned home. After his departure Richard accomplished nothing of importance, but by his personal valor he made a deep impression upon the Moslems and has become a hero of romance.

The third crusade.

The popes continued to urge the need of a new crusade and many thousands took the cross; but little was accomplished until 1202, when a number of French knights were induced to join in the movement. They realized that it was necessary to go by sea, and bargained with the Venetians to furnish vessels. They met at Venice, but at the time agreed upon comparatively few were present, and these could not pay all the sum promised for the vessels. After long delay they were persuaded by the Venetians to earn the balance of the money by capturing Zara, a city on the opposite side of the Adriatic which was drawing away trade from Venice. Many of the crusaders were opposed to this because Zara was a

The fourth crusade.

Christian city, but were powerless to prevent it. After the capture of Zara the crusaders were persuaded by the Venetians to go to Constantinople with the ostensible purpose of reinstating Alexius, "the lawful heir," whose father had been driven out by a usurper. Alexius promised a large sum of money and offered many inducements. Although the Pope ordered them not to go to Constantinople, the majority disobeyed and succeeded in reinstating Alexius and his father. It had been very easy for Alexius when he was an exile to make promises, but after he and his father were reinstated in power they could not fulfil the agreements.

Coin of Dandolo.
(Obverse and reverse.)

Consequently the crusaders attacked and sacked the city and established the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted for fifty-seven years (1204–1261). By the sack they obtained a great amount of booty, but their whole conduct was indefensible and criminal. Constantinople was a Christian city and had been for centuries the great bulwark of Europe against the Turks. It was so weakened by this wanton attack that it never regained its strength, and in 1453 was captured with comparative ease by the Turks.

Many believed that the crusades had failed because of the sinful lives of the crusaders, and that if the pure in heart should undertake a crusade under divine guidance they would be successful. This feeling led to the children's crusade in 1212, when many thousands of boys and girls, with some older people, started on a peaceful crusade to convert the Moslems and to recover Jerusalem. The movement began near Paris, and from there extended to the Rhine valley. Most of the French children returned home after a few weeks,

The children's crusade.

without having left France. The German children marched up the Rhine, across the Alps, and down into Italy, expecting the Mediterranean to open and leave a passage, as the Red Sea had done for the children of Israel. Some were induced by crafty men to embark in vessels, and were sold into slavery to the Mohammedans; many remained in Italy; the others returned home after some months of wandering. This expedition is of importance because it illustrates the extent to which the religious zeal for the crusades still existed among the people of France and Germany.

In 1229 Frederick II by diplomacy persuaded the Moslem ruler to cede Jerusalem to the Christians. Later, St. Louis took the cross and attempted to conquer Egypt, the chief seat of the Moslem power. His campaign began successfully, but eventually he was taken prisoner, and compelled to pay a ransom to secure his freedom. In 1270 he started on a second expedition, which was directed to Tunis, where St. Louis died of the plague. During this and the succeeding centuries there were many other crusades against the Moslems in the East, but none of especial importance.

Later crusades.

After 1229 the Franks held Jerusalem for fifteen years, and lived on friendly terms with the Moslems. It was a period of prosperity for the Christian colonies, which were the seats of extensive commerce, wealth, and refinement. But in 1244 a new horde of Turks swept over Syria and Palestine, conquering the cities and destroying civilization. The Franks lost one stronghold after another until their possessions were restricted to the single city of Acre. Finally this was captured by the Turks, in 1291, and the crusaders were compelled to withdraw from the land which they had held for nearly two centuries.

Loss of the Holy Land.

It is very difficult to determine the extent to which the crusades influenced western Europe. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries great changes took place in every

country, and it is possible in many instances to attribute these in part to the influence of the crusades. Thus, although the great increase in the power of the kings of France[1] was not caused by the crusades, the kings profited by the absence of the adventurous and ambitious men who went on crusades. There were undoubtedly fewer private wars when so many turbulent knights had left France, and this was a positive blessing. The position of the French peasants was not changed materially by the crusades, but after the first the evils of overpopulation, which had been so great in the eleventh century, were no longer felt. Food was more plenty, and labor in greater demand. In many ways, which will be apparent in the following chapters, the crusades aided in effecting results which were due mainly to other causes.

Results of the crusades.

Of the direct results the most important was the broadening of the intellectual horizon. Hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children took part in the various crusades. They came from all the countries of western Europe, and in their travels were brought into contact with many different nations and civilizations. They acquired new tastes and new ideas. They lost many of their prejudices against foreigners and foreign ways when they were brought into actual contact with them. In fact, they profited by one of the most effective means of education—travel in foreign lands. As the people who stayed at home were eager to hear of the strange lands and adventures, poems and histories of the crusades were written in the vernacular, and thus more people shared in the intellectual awakening. Some additions to their knowledge were made; for instance, the crusaders learned the use of windmills, and soon these were scattered over all western Europe. The crusaders

Intellectual advance.

[1] See Chapter XVIII.

COSTUMES OF WOMEN IN THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

also learned to like spiced foods, and consequently spices, which had been very rare before, came into common use. But more important than the special acquisitions was the general broadening influence. Yet even the great intellectual advance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not due wholly to the crusades; it had begun before the first crusade. In history it is seldom possible to attribute any great change to a single cause.

A second very important result was the impetus to commerce. Many of the crusaders went by sea, and large vessels were built to carry them, their horses, and their supplies. The vessels, on their return, furnished a ready means of carrying commodities to the West. The cost of transportation was almost eliminated, as many of the vessels would have been compelled to return empty, if they had not secured these commodities. The crusaders in the Holy Land needed supplies from the West; those who returned home desired the luxuries with which they had become acquainted in the East. As crusaders in larger or smaller numbers were going to the Holy Land by sea each year, an active trade was maintained, and the people in the West gradually learned to use and need the Oriental products. As long as the Syrian seaports were held by the Christians, it was from these cities that Europe obtained spices, sugar, silks, glassware, dyestuffs, and many other commodities which were brought from China, India, and Arabia. The Italian ports furnished most of the vessels, and profited especially by this trade. From Italy the eastern commodities were carried over the Alps and down the rivers to the German, French, and Flemish cities. From the latter many wares were shipped to England. This trade enriched the inhabitants of the cities and aided in the rise of the third estate.[1]

Enrichment of Europe.

[1] See Chapter XIV.

This commerce necessitated an abundant supply of money. Before 1204 the crusades did not bring into western Europe any great additions to the actual stock of gold and silver, but they caused almost all the existing stock to be used as money. When the nobles made their preparations to leave home they needed supplies and equipments for their journey. They obtained money to buy these by selling or mortgaging their fiefs, or by selling privileges to citizens and others. The gold and silver which had been hoarded, often in the shape of ornaments, were turned into money to pay for the lands or privileges. The churches and monasteries used much of their wealth in this way, and became more wealthy by buying fiefs at a low price. The money which was brought into use circulated rapidly, and furnished the capital for trade. All the western countries were enriched; the kings, the churches, and the cities shared in this prosperity more than the nobles.

Increased use of money.

Heraldic devices and family names came into use during the time of the crusades and mainly from the conditions in the Holy Land. When clad in armor, knights could not be distinguished easily from one another. As a rule, each one had to adopt some device by which his fellows could tell him in battle. The sprig of broom-plant,[1] from which they took their name, marked the Plantagenets. In the Holy Land this custom was widely extended, and resulted in armorial bearings. Many of the terms in heraldry betray their Eastern origin, as they are merely Arabic words taken over into French.

Heraldic devices and family names.

Family names developed rapidly in the Holy Land for the same reason. When there were many knights named Gilbert, or Godfrey, or Stephen, it was necessary that each one should be known by some distinctive epithet. In his own home, where the knight was all-powerful, where he

[1] Planta genesta.

was living, for the most part, at his castle in the country, it had been entirely unnecessary for him to have any distinguishing name; Lord Hugh or Lord Gilbert represented something very definite; but in the crusading hosts each one had to have some distinctive epithet. These names were derived from personal peculiarities or from the place in which the men had lived previously. Broadhead, Strong, White, Byfield, Atwater, will suggest such derivations. Other names came from the occupations in which the men had been engaged; Smith and Clark (clerk) are the most common examples.

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Kings of Jerusalem, 1100–1187

Baldwin I, 1100–1118.
Baldwin II, 1118–1131.
Fulco of Anjou, 1131–1143.
Baldwin III, 1143–1162.
Amalric, 1162–1174.
Baldwin IV, 1174–1185.
Baldwin V, 1185–1186.
Guy of Lusignan, 1186–1187.

CHAPTER XII

The Monastic Orders

SUMMARY.—During the period of the crusades many monastic orders were founded. Cluny was the most influential monastery, and the model chosen by many of the others. In particular, the "Congregation of Cluny" established a new feature of great importance for the future influence of the religious orders. France was the especial home of these new orders, and the Cistercians became the most famous. This was due chiefly to Bernard of Clairvaux, a Cistercian monk, who became the leading man in Europe. The reform movement affected not merely the monks, but also the priests who were the guides of the people, and led to the establishment of canons regular.

DURING the age of the crusades there was a wonderful increase in the number of monks. The same religious fervor which led many to take the cross caused others to enter monasteries. Many new orders of monks were founded, because the spirit of asceticism,[1] which was so prominent a factor in medieval religion, led men and women to desire a life of stricter discipline and greater privations than the rule of Benedict[2] had prescribed. This movement was most pronounced in France, where many of the new orders originated, but it affected every country of western Europe.

Increase in number of monasteries.

In order to understand this monastic movement, it is

[1] The practise of discipline and self-denial as a religious duty.

[2] Benedict of Nursia, who died in 543, wrote the rule which was followed by the great majority of monks throughout the middle ages. This rule prescribed humility, poverty, and manual labor for its followers.

necessary to go back to the foundation of Cluny, a Benedictine monastery in Burgundy. During the internal wars and invasions of the latter half of the ninth century many monasteries had fallen under the power of worldly men, who used their positions to satisfy their own ambition or greed. The life of the inmates became less strict, and the work of education was to a great extent abandoned. The wealth which had been accumulated was used for the enjoyment of the monks or to satisfy the worldly ambition of their rulers. The feudal nobles who had usurped power in the various districts tried to obtain control of the monasteries, and when they succeeded in doing so, used their power for the purpose of private gain. Sometimes they appointed as abbots[1] their children or their retainers. In order to counteract these evils, the monastery of Cluny was founded in 910, and was placed under the direct supervision of the Pope. No other power, lay or clerical, was to exercise any authority over it or to interfere in any way with the freedom of its monks.

Foundation of Cluny.

At Cluny the life of the monks was regulated by the rule of St. Benedict; but as it had an ample endowment, manual labor was not necessary, and was insisted upon only to preserve a spirit of humility. The monks were required to make bread, to do weeding, and to perform other duties which did not consume a great amount of time. Their days were spent mainly in religious services, in the copying of manuscripts, in studying both sacred and profane literature, and in teaching others. The last was held to be very important, and Cluny soon became one of the great centers of education in the west of Europe. The revenues not actually needed for the support of its members were devoted to charity. As many as seventeen thousand poor people re-

Reforms of Cluny.

[1] The abbot was the head of the monastery.

ceived assistance in a single year during the latter half of the eleventh century. In a time of famine the sacred vessels were sold in order to provide food for the starving peasants.

The congregation of Cluny.

In the earlier centuries, whenever a monastery had become overcrowded, a new and independent establishment had been founded, but the offshoots were in no way subject to the parent house. If the discipline became lax, or if a monastery fell under a dissolute ruler, there was great difficulty in correcting the evils. Cluny adopted the plan of keeping all its new foundations under the rule of its abbot. Officers, known as priors, who were subordinate to him, were appointed to rule the different houses; they were required to report regularly, and their monasteries were visited frequently by the abbot. This plan worked so well that many independent houses were affiliated, and the collective body was known as the Congregation of Cluny. In the middle of the twelfth century this was composed of over two thousand monasteries, situated in different countries, but all directed by one abbot. The members of this great congregation, which possessed enormous wealth and influence, worked as a unit to carry out the policy and to effect the reforms which the Cluniacs desired.

The ideals of Cluny.

In particular, they tried enthusiastically to reform the Church and to free it from all control by kings or feudal nobles. They believed that the power of the Pope should be increased and established more firmly over all Christians. They thought that members of the clergy should be wholly free from all worldly interests, and should devote themselves entirely to the service of the Church. Accordingly, they sought to root out simony, to compel the priests to live a life of celibacy, and to prevent lay rulers from exercising any control over elections to clerical offices. They were of very great assistance to the popes in the investiture struggle—

CLOISTERS OF MOISSAC.

in fact, the ideas which Hildebrand attempted to put into practise were the outgrowth of the ideals held at Cluny.

This impetus for reform was felt widely, in England, in Germany, and especially in Italy. In the last-named country, about 1018, St. Romuald founded the order of Camaldoli,[1] which became a great support to the papacy, and held much the same position for Italy that Cluny did for France. Among its most famous members were Peter Damiani, a reformer and writer of the eleventh century, and Gratian, the author of the Decretum.[2]

Order of Camaldoli.

France was the country which was most profoundly affected, and new orders were founded there with great rapidity. The order of Grammont[3] was established in 1073 by Stephen, a nobleman who had been especially influenced by the example of the hermits whom he had seen in Italy. After his return to France he led a life of the most extreme asceticism for fifty years, eating nothing but bread and drinking only water. Others were attracted to him by his holiness and imitated his austerities, so that he soon had many followers. St. Stephen did not wish them to be called monks, but merely "good men." They were to practise absolute poverty, and were to have nothing to do with the management of any property which the order held. This last provision was disastrous, for the lay brethren who were in charge of the property attempted to control the "good men." This caused internal strife, and led to the ruin of the order.

Grammont.

The Carthusian[4] order was founded in 1084 by St. Bruno, who, like St. Stephen, sought to establish a more

[1] Camaldoli was a monastery in the Apennines, near Arezzo.

[2] See Chapter XVI.

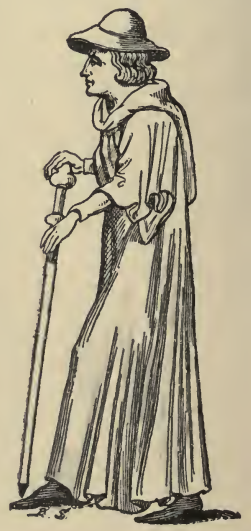
[3] Near Limoges.

[4] Derived from Chartreux, the name given to the spot where the order originated.


SOME OF THE
MONASTERIES
IN FRANCE
12TH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
Note: Monasteries indicated by circles. Only the more important ones are shown.
Premontré
Clairvaux
Cîteaux
Cluny
Grammont
La Grande Chartreuse
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SPAIN
4 2 0 2 4 6 8
52
50
48
46
Longitude East 2 from Greenwich

ascetic form of life than that followed in the Benedictine monasteries. He chose for his dwelling a spot in the mountains remote from human habitation; his followers were to wear haircloth shirts, to eat the most meager food, to live in almost perpetual silence, and to engage in manual labor. Each monk had his own cell, where he worked, ate, and slept; meditation and prayer were his most important occupations. But St. Bruno ordered them also to study and copy manuscripts. The order increased rapidly in numbers, and soon its houses were scattered over all western Europe. In France, each of their homes was called a Chartreuse; in England, a Charter-house. Although they obtained great wealth, they continued the life enjoined by their founder. Their magnificent buildings still attest the greatness of their order.

Carthusians.



Pilgrim.

The preaching of the crusades caused many to repent and to endeavor to lead a more Christian life. Peter the Hermit, the great preacher of the first crusade, was especially successful in reforming evil customs. Each new summons to the aid of the Holy Land caused a reformation in manners and a greater religious fervor. Many who came under the spell of the preacher preferred to atone for their sins by entering a monastery rather than by going on a crusade, with which so many worldly motives were combined. A monk, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century, said that of the thousands who were converted at the time of the second crusade by St. Bernard's preaching,

Impetus to monasticism from the crusades.

those who were worthy were sent by him into monasteries, the others were ordered to go to the aid of the Holy Land. Although this statement is not strictly accurate, it represents what actually took place on many occasions, because of the conviction that it was more holy to take the monastic vows than to go on a crusade.

There were many other new orders, of which the most important was the Cistercian,[1] founded in 1099. Its members were to lead a life of extreme asceticism, wholly apart from the world. The abbeys or monasteries were to be built far from cities, and were to possess only such property as could be cultivated by the monks. Nothing was to be allowed which would bring the latter into contact with secular affairs. They were never to take charge of parishes nor to teach schools. Education was not necessary for them—it was enough if they could say a few prayers. They were to cook their own meager repasts. Their churches were to be wholly without ornamentation; they were to have bare walls, no stone towers, no stained-glass windows, no organs, and no gold or silver crosses. Everything must be reduced to the bare necessities. Their robes were to be of undyed woolen cloth, and consequently were of a grayish-white color; hence the Cistercians, in contrast with the black-robed Cluniacs, were styled the white monks. This extreme asceticism answered the needs of the age, and the order soon became even more highly revered and influential than Cluny.

Cistercians.

Bernard of Clairvaux.

This success was due in great part to St. Bernard, who was for a quarter of a century the most influential man in Europe. Born of a noble family, he entered the Cistercian order in his youth, and distinguished himself at once by piety and zeal. His enthusiastic persuasions induced his brothers and relatives,

[1] Derived from the original house at Cîteaux, between Dijon and Châlon.

to the number of thirty, to join the order. His absolute faith and intense love of asceticism made of him a perfect monk; his eloquence, piety, and ability caused him to become the arbiter between kings and rival popes. His keen knowledge of affairs, excellent judgment, and executive ability caused his aid to be sought on every important occasion; he responded to every call and gave his services wherever they were needed because he felt it to be a duty; but he longed passionately to return to his cell apart from the world. He had a great contempt for study and for appeals to the human reason, believing that faith was all-sufficient and knowledge unnecessary. He did all in his power to oppose the growth of the schools at Paris. In one sermon before the students he exclaimed, "Flee from Babylon and save your souls"; whereupon twenty of the students left all and followed him to become monks. It is difficult to understand his complex character, but in studying his life it is easy to see that he was a man of a singularly lovable character and of commanding ability; one of the world's great men.

He founded the monastery of Clairvaux, which became the model for the whole Cistercian order. When two rival popes were elected, in 1130, St. Bernard declared in favor of Innocent II, who had received the smaller number of votes, but whom he considered the more worthy. By his eloquence he persuaded Louis VI of France, Henry I of England, and the emperor, Lothair, of Germany, to accept the candidate whom he favored. He won over the Milanese, and after eight years of papal schism had the satisfaction of seeing Innocent recognized by the whole Church. This was acknowledged by all contemporaries to be the work of Bernard alone. He also reconciled the emperor, Lothair, with the Hohenstaufens, who had opposed his claims. He established peace between Genoa and Pisa, which were bitter rivals. He was influential in getting papal recognition for

What he did.

the Knights Templar, and the greater part of their rule was his work. He preached the second crusade and induced the emperor, Conrad, of Germany, to take the cross. Conrad at first refused to do so, but could not withstand the eloquence of Bernard; astonished at his own action, the emperor called his sudden change of heart a "miracle of miracles." Bernard was foremost in every work of reform and in combating the heresies of the day. In fact, from 1125 to 1153, although he held no official position, he was the arbiter in political affairs and the leader in spiritual thought for all western Europe. His last act was the establishment of peace at Metz, where the nobles and citizens were engaged in murderous combat. This journey, undertaken while he was seriously ill, caused his death, August 20, 1153. Comparatively early in his career his health had been undermined by the austerities which he practised and by the fatiguing life of action which he led; nothing but an indomitable spirit had enabled him to accomplish so much work.

St. Bernard was only one of many monks who influenced profoundly the spirit of the age in which they lived.

Other monks.

Gregory VII, the great opponent of Henry IV, Urban II, who started the crusading movement, and many other great men, illustrate the services of the monasteries in educating the leaders of human thought. In the twelfth century monasticism was in the popular estimation the most holy mode of life; and even comparatively obscure individuals were revered because they led lives of privation. The growth of the fable which ascribed to Peter the Hermit the credit for the first crusade can be traced in great part to the desire to glorify the monastic profession, of which he was a member. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries formed an age in which sharp contrasts were common. It was not at all unusual for a brutal warrior, laden with sin, to flee from the world and to do penance in a monastery for the evil life he had led. At a

time when the exactions of the feudal lords were almost unbearable, the charity of the monks shone out conspicuously. In a world where might made right, and the nobles seemed bent wholly upon sating their passions, the example of the ascetic monks was remarkably attractive.

The reverence of the people caused them to make gifts to the monasteries, and the more strict and holy the life in any order was, the greater the wealth which it received. This wealth and the power exercised by the abbots attracted ambitious men to the orders. Generally the privations were gradually lessened and the duties neglected. The Cistercians, in spite of their strict rule, became enormously wealthy, and engaged in secular business; in the thirteenth century a large part of the woolen trade in England was in their hands. As their property increased their virtues became less conspicuous. Furthermore, Bernard of Clairvaux, in spite of his wonderful success, was really struggling against the current of the age. The craving for knowledge and the development of the human reason against which he strove were becoming more and more dominant. The increasing wealth of Europe and the absorption of interest in temporal affairs were to render many of his other ideals obsolete. But the monastic spirit, which he inculcated, has always found disciples, and the monks of his age have always received their due meed of admiration and reverence.

Why the influence of the monks declined.

LETTER-CARRIER.

The spirit of asceticism and reform was not confined wholly to the monks, who lived apart from the world. It was felt to be quite as important that the secular clergy

who guided the people should be raised to a higher standard. A beginning was made with the cathedral and collegiate chapters. A cathedral chapter was composed of the clergy who were attached to the cathedral of a bishop. A collegiate chapter was composed of the clergy in towns which had no bishop. Many chapters had acquired great possessions, which were divided into separate portions called prebends, and assigned to the members to supply their needs. Following the custom of the age, many of the holders of these prebends were living as feudal lords. The reformers desired to recall them from their secular pursuits and to make them live in common under a rule.

The Canons Regular: the Chapters.

At first there was great resistance, as the prebendaries, or holders of the prebends, were unwilling to resign their wealth and power; but in the course of time many chapters adopted the rule of St. Augustine,[1] and came to be known as Canons Regular, or Augustinian Canons, or Austin Canons. This rule commanded the observance of many monastic customs, and also the care of souls—that is, the canons were to be priests and were to officiate in the churches.

Not content with the slow progress in the chapters, and feeling the need of more men to guide and serve the people, Norbert and others founded orders of canons.

Premonstratensians.

The most noted was the Premonstratensian, established at Prémontré,[2] about 1121, by Norbert. Its members, who were also known as Austin Canons, lived under a rule of great strictness, were compelled to take the monastic vows and to perform manual labor, and, in addition, to undertake pastoral cares. Separate monasteries for women were established. The order met with great favor, and Premonstratensian abbeys rose rapidly in

[1] The rule which was believed to have been framed by St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, who died in 430.

[2] Not far from Laon.

the different countries; this order was foremost in missionary work among the Slavs beyond the river Elbe. Most of the orders founded later were patterned after the Canons Regular, in combining the monastic life with the pastoral care. This fitted them particularly for their usefulness, and also led to a decline in the importance of the older orders which did not undertake the care of souls.

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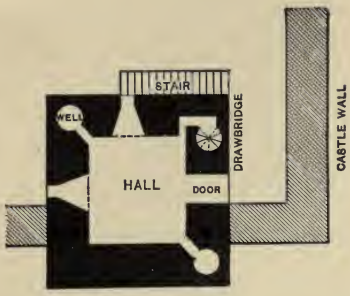
CHAPTER XIII

Life of the Nobles (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)

SUMMARY.—The castles were the homes of the noble classes, and were built in the strongest possible manner, especially to serve as a refuge in case of attack. In order to alleviate the misery and bloodshed caused by the constant wars, the Church attempted to establish the Peace of God and the Truce of God, but with very small results. The education of the noble youths and maidens was intended to prepare them to be lords and mistresses of castles. The gradual refinement of manners and the influence of the Church led to the ceremony of knighthood and the ideals of chivalry. The amusements, too, became somewhat less coarse; minstrelsy and tournaments threw a fictitious glamour over the life of the nobles. The changed ideals of the age and the increasing wealth of the other classes caused a decline in the importance of the nobility.

DURING the invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries many castles were built for the protection of the people. These consisted usually of a wooden tower, several stories in height, surrounded by rude walls of wood or stone, and ditches. These became the homes of the feudal lords, and the centers from which they ruled their fiefs. But they were exposed to constant danger from fire—especially in times of war. The suzerain who wished to conquer rebellious vassals burned their castles; William the Conqueror excelled in this mode of fighting. As the towers were of wood, they were rebuilt quickly, and often reburned as quickly. Consequently the nobles began to use stone in place of wood, and gradually the massive stone structures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were evolved.

The early castles.

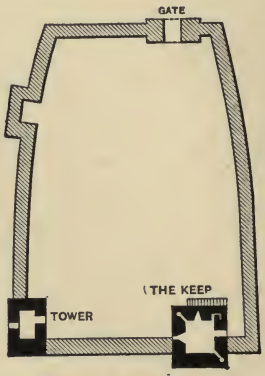


SECOND STORY

THIRD STORY

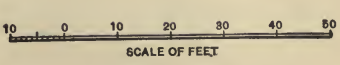
(THERE ARE ONLY THREE STORIES IN THIS CASTLE)

FIRST STORY

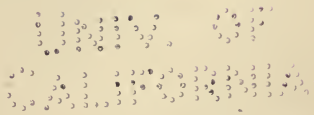


BLOCK PLAN

APPROXIMATE



PLAN OF CASTLETON CASTLE.



CHILLON.

In attacking a castle, the besieger relied chiefly upon siege-engines, or upon starving out the garrison. In building a castle these two elements of danger determined its situation and method of construction. Siege-engines could be used to best advantage only upon level, firm ground. Consequently there were three favorite sites for castles—upon a cliff, difficult of approach, as the Wartburg;[1] upon an island, as Chillon; or in the center of a swamp, where the surrounding ground was too soft for the heavy engines. If it was not possible to secure such natural advantages the castle was surrounded by a moat, sometimes containing water, which would have to be filled up before the engines could approach the protecting walls.

Situations for a castle.

Frequently there were two or more walls, each one formed by building two parallel ramparts of stone a short distance apart, and filling in the space between with dirt dug from the moat. This made the wall more elastic and better able to withstand the blows from a battering-ram. In the center of one side there was a single gate. The approach was usually steep, and wide enough for only one man. Before the gate there was a movable bridge across the moat, which was made especially deep at this point; in the thirteenth century drawbridges came into use. The gate itself was flanked by two towers for the purpose of defense, as this was the most vulnerable point of the castle. At the entrance there was a portcullis, usually of massive timbers or of iron, which could be raised or lowered. Sometimes there was a second portcullis at the other end of the entrance, so that a storming party might be delayed and exposed to the cross-fire of the defenders within the towers. Other towers were built at intervals, projecting from the wall, and a bow-shot apart, so as to protect the intervening portions.

Walls and gate.

[1] Near Eisenach, in Germany. This was Luther's home while he was translating part of the Bible.

Within the enclosure there were frequently other walls separating it into an outer and one or more inner portions, so as to make it difficult for an enemy to reach the actual stronghold. The various towers and other buildings were utilized for lodging and storage. But the most important parts of a large castle were the donjon and keep.[1] The former was the ordinary dwelling-place of the knight and his family; the latter formed a place of refuge if the rest of the castle should be captured. The keep had no windows or doors on the first floor, and was entered by a movable ladder. In the lower story the treasures were stored and dangerous prisoners were confined. Within the enclosure there was always either a spring, or wells, or at least a cistern for catching rain-water, so that the garrison need not suffer from thirst. If the enclosure was sufficiently large, it contained a garden for vegetables and herbs, a poultry yard, and buildings for other animals. The knights endeavored to store up enough food to guard against star-

The castle.

LADIES' COSTUMES.

[1] Because of an error made long ago, the two chief towers are confused in ordinary language, and donjon and keep are used interchangeably. Consequently we have formed a false impression of a castle. In this book donjon is used for the chief dwelling-place, as it is used by German and French historians. Keep is used for the strong tower, which is called by the Germans *Hauptthurm*, by the French *grande tour* or *maître tour*.

vation when besieged. The castle usually contained a chapel. Sometimes underground passages were built by which secret communication could be maintained with the country outside and the garrison might escape in time of need; in some cases, as at Coucy, these were of great length.

The owner of the castle was employed principally in managing his estate, in ruling his subjects, in hunting, and in fighting. The direction and government of an extensive fief required a large amount of time. In addition to the duties which now rest upon the holder of a similar property, the lord then had to administer justice, hold court, and police his domain. Hunting was a constant necessity, as this was one of the main sources of supply for the table. Fighting, above all else, was the occupation of the knight in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The kings were usually engaged in struggles against rebellious barons; private wars between nobles were incessant. The countries, especially France, were devastated by these wars, and the common people were reduced to the greatest extremities; cannibalism was not infrequent in France about the year 1000.

Occupations of the knights.

The Church, as usual, endeavored to institute a reform, and from 989 on, various councils in France decreed that any one who used violence toward members of the clergy, women, peasants, or merchants, should be excommunicated. This was called the Peace of God, but as its decrees were not heeded, the Church formed leagues of peace, which included individuals of all classes sworn to aid in maintaining the peace. In 1027, and later, the Church added the Truce of God—i. e., that during certain days and seasons there should be no fighting at all. At first the truce included only Sundays; later, other days in each week, church festivals and holy seasons, like Lent, were added, until only about eighty days in each year remained on which private warfare was

The Peace of God and the Truce of God.

allowed. Thus the Peace of God was intended to protect certain classes at all times, the Truce to protect all classes at certain times. The Church was not able to enforce either because of the lawlessness of the nobles.

Occupations of the ladies.

The wife of a noble had many duties to perform, for which she was carefully trained from her early childhood. First of all she must know how to sew and to spin flax and silk, as she made her own clothes and to a great extent the clothes of her husband. The coarser work, spinning of wool and weaving, was left generally to the servants, but this also was under her direction. Embroidering the so-called "tapestries" was a favorite occupation, and the completed work decorated the halls of the castles on festive occasions, graced the tournaments, or adorned the churches. On the tapestries were wrought wonderful representations of animals and men, battle scenes, or the adventures of legendary heroes. The Bayeux tapestry, which depicts the conquest of England, is the best-known example. In addition, a lady was expected to have some knowledge of medicine and nursing, in order that she might care for the sick in the castle. Finally, she had the general management of the whole household, and during her husband's absence must be ready to take his place; not infrequently a lady was compelled to defend the castle.

STATUE REPRESENTING LADY.

As the daughter was trained for her later duties, so too the son was carefully educated, in order that he might become a valiant knight. From his earliest boyhood he exercised in running, climbing, jumping, riding, swim-

ming, shooting with a bow, and hurling a spear. At about twelve years of age his real education began. It was the custom that sons of nobles should be sent to the castle of the overlord to receive this education. There they served as pages or squires, running errands, serving at table, cleaning the weapons and armor, and attending the lords at tournaments or in battle. They were taught to use different weapons, and were expected to show their skill in horsemanship or in fighting. In addition, they were encouraged to make verses, and sing them to their own accompaniment, as this became the fashion toward the end of the twelfth century.

Education of a noble.

When the boy became of age he might be made a knight if he seemed worthy of the honor. For not even a king's son could claim knighthood as a right, and in theory it was conferred only as a reward of merit. It grew out of the old German custom of giving a youth his arms in the public assembly, a symbol of the fact that he had become a man and a member of the tribe. The Church had recognized this custom, and endeavored to use it as a means of reforming the feudal nobles. To the old German usages it had added Christian rites intended to sanctify the profession of knighthood or chivalry, and to impose some duties upon each knight. It taught that there was a "certain resemblance" between knighthood and priesthood, as both the knight and the priest had taken vows to aid the Church in its work.

Chivalry: conferring knighthood.

The three essentials in the early ceremony were the girding on of the sword, the symbol of his new honor, by some knight; the accolade, or blow on the neck, the symbol of freedom; and an exhibition of ability to use the weapons. In time the ceremony became much more complicated, and many religious, symbolical rites were added. The arms of the future knight were blessed and placed upon the altar in some church; the candidate took a bath, the symbol of purity; "watched

The ceremony.

his arms" during a night spent on his knees in prayer; attended mass; took an oath to fulfil all the duties of chivalry; received his sword and the accolade from a knight; was clad in armor and with the golden spurs by the lords and ladies present; vaulted on horseback, and with his lance in rest charged against the *quintaine*, or stuffed manikin, to show his skill. Later, the exercises became even more elaborate and more fully religious. Often on the field of battle all formality was dispensed with, and the usages were seldom as elaborate in Germany or England as in France, the especial home of chivalry.

KNIGHT, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Knighthood was usually conferred by the suzerain, and this fact determined to a great extent the duties of a knight, which were practically the same as those of a vassal, but more idealized. The knight ought to be *sans reproche*, brave, generous, and faithful; he ought to protect the weak, to observe his oath faithfully, and to keep his honor spotless.

The duties of a knight.

The reality.

Chivalry introduced high ideals, but was powerless to enforce them among the turbulent nobles of the age. Deeds of cruelty and perfidy were common even on the part of the best men; it is only in the later centuries that a Bayard[1] arises. But the ideals

[1] Bayard (1476–1523) was so distinguished by his valor, piety, and magnanimity that he was called *le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.*

of chivalry inculcated by the Church and sung by the troubadours[1] were effective in improving the manners and in inciting to a more perfect courtesy.

In the twelfth century it became fashionable to play games during leisure hours. Chess, introduced from the Mohammedans, was the greatest favorite; checkers, backgammon, and dice-throwing were also popular. Dancing was an ever-welcome diversion. In the large castles dwarfs and jesters, or "court fools," were kept for the amusement of the nobles; the fools were allowed, on account of their folly, an unlimited license in speech, and often belied their reputation by the keenness of their wits, which spared no one. They were generally adorned with a cap and bells, and frequently, like the modern clown, were made ridiculous in appearance by some device, such as shaving half the head, half the beard, and half the mustache. Strolling players, who performed acrobatic feats, were sometimes admitted to the banquet hall to exhibit their skill.

Amusements in the castles.

Group of Chessmen, Thirteenth Century.

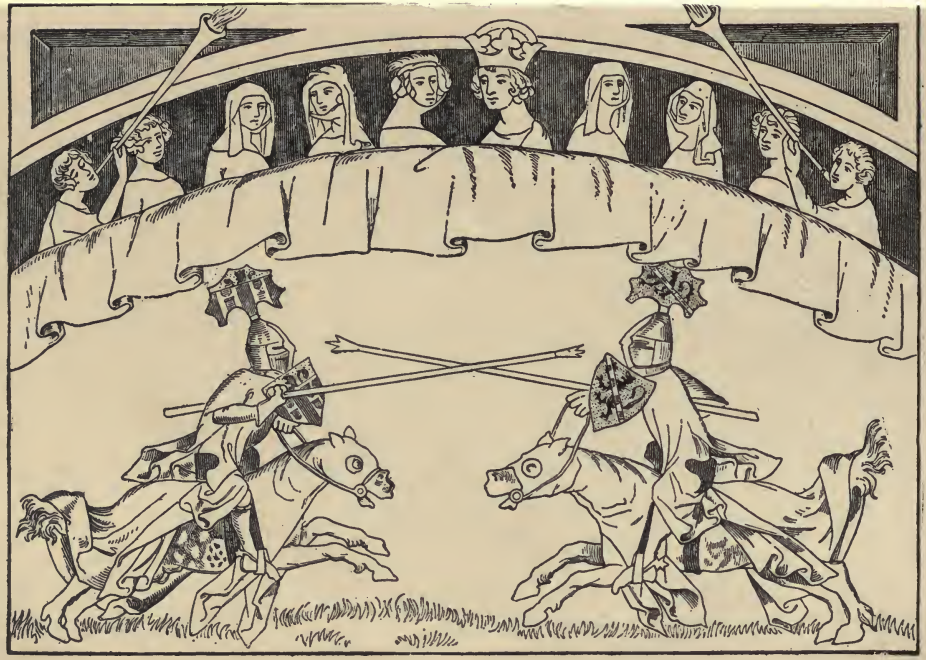
[1] Poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who lived in southern France and northern Italy and sang the praises of chivalry.

The *jongleurs* traveled about the country from castle to castle, reciting the poems of the troubadours. With musical instruments on their backs they would enter a castle, salute the lord with some poetical address, and then begin: "My lords, be silent if you wish to hear a song such as no other jongleur can sing." Then would follow some long-drawn-out narrative in verse, of which the theme might be the death of Roland, the love of Tristan and Isolde, the prowess of the Knights of the Round Table, the capture of Troy, or the deeds of the crusaders. In these stories one combat or siege follows another; banquets are described with a detail which demands the mention of each individual dish; customs and usages are depicted with a photographic minuteness which makes it possible to reproduce accurately many features of the life in a feudal castle. Occasionally in the enormous mass of poetry written by the troubadours there is a real gem, like *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Many of their tales have been translated from one language to another, and have been retold until they have become a part of the literature of modern nations. Who has not read of Roland and Oliver, King Arthur and his knights, or Parsifal?

Minstrelsy.

In the intervals of peace, the nobles engaged in tournaments, or mimic warfare, as their favorite pastime. At first these were simple fights in the open fields between two companies of knights. In the thirteenth century they became elaborate entertainments, managed by very strict rules. The Church forbade them in vain, for they were universally popular; the kings of France were not any more successful in repressing them. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they reached their greatest splendor; and any especial occasion, such as the marriage of a great lord, was considered a sufficient excuse for a tournament, which would attract knights and adventurers from all directions. Technically, tournaments were battles in which whole bands engaged; jousts were combats be-

Tournaments.



TOURNAMENT.

tween two knights. One of the reasons for their popularity was that they afforded a great opportunity for making money. Each participant, when conquered, forfeited his horse and arms to his conqueror, and must redeem his own body from captivity. Consequently the combatants were seldom killed in tournaments, and the same was true of real warfare. The armor protected a knight from many dangers; his value in money as a prisoner, from even more. The great carnage on the fields of battle was among the squires and foot-soldiers; in tournaments there was less danger to the head than to the purse. An ordinance of the king of France, in 1314, forbade tournaments and jousts "because of the great destruction and mortality of horses and sometimes of persons." On the other hand, the love of participating in tournaments frequently ruined a knight's fortune.

Prodigality.

The nobles were generally in financial straits, because generosity in giving and lavish waste in entertaining were regarded as knightly virtues. Every possible occasion was seized upon for an entertainment; and none was given without providing costly banquets for all who chose to come, and valuable presents for all guests. Prodigality was considered a mark of nobility. At the cry of "Largesse"[1] the listeners showered money, ornaments, and garments upon the minstrels. Every messenger must be rewarded with a gift; friends, vassals, and all who came must have occasion to praise the liberality of the knight. This wastefulness kept even the kings and great barons in constant financial difficulties; but the knight who refrained from such a course was despised as a niggard.

Amid all this extravagance there was a great lack of many things now considered necessities. The inner walls were hung with rich tapestries or "Saracen carpets," made at Paris, which were especially prized in the thirteenth cen-

[1] A gift—the cry used by minstrels seeking reward for their services.

ury; but the rooms could not be kept warm in winter. Every poet sings the joys of spring when the earth gets warm again. At the banquets the tables groaned under the rich viands which were served in almost endless profusion; but the knights and ladies ate with their fingers.[1] The same contrast holds true in almost every feature of the life of the nobles.

Contrasts in the castle.

Their prodigality impoverished them. The increasing power of the kings, the growing wealth and influence of the merchants, the changed conditions of life in general, after the thirteenth century, caused the nobles on the Continent to lose much of their power. Many sought fortunes by becoming condottieri, or mercenary captains, in Italy or wherever war was being waged. Absorbed in the need of gaining money to maintain their rank, their ideals changed, and the life which has been described passed away. The use of gunpowder in battle finally rendered the knights and their castles equally impotent.

Decay of this life.

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[1] In 1297 the king of England owned only one fork. Forks came into common use only in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XIV

Life of the People (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)

SUMMARY.—The common people were expected in the eleventh century to do all the work and to support the other classes. Most of them were agricultural laborers, living in villages and subject to great hardships. Gradually their lot improved, although not with equal rapidity in all countries. The inhabitants of the towns and cities were under the same restraints as the other peasants. But as they lived by handicrafts and trading, they became wealthy more rapidly than the agricultural laborers. They also formed gilds, and thus, as corporate bodies, secured rights and freedom.

IN the eleventh century the population of Europe was divided by contemporaries into three classes: those who did the praying, the clergy; those who did the fighting, the nobles; and those who did the work, the common people. The last class, far more numerous than the other two combined, had no social or political importance, and was despised. Its duty was to furnish the money, food, and clothing for the nobility and clergy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, its members began to obtain rights and to have some influence. Their progress may be studied to best advantage in France, where the advance was more rapid than in Germany or England, but not as rapid as in some parts of Italy or Spain. From the eleventh century until the fourteenth the population seems to have been increasing rapidly in all western Europe, but it is not possible to give accurate figures, as no census was taken.

The threefold division.

Most of the people were agricultural laborers. They

were divided into various classes in each country, according to the degree of subjection in which they were held. The slaves were mere property with no rights; they were few in number and almost always foreigners. Above them came the serfs, who held small farms, for which they were obliged to perform certain services. They were forbidden by law to leave their land, and were bought and sold as a part of the estate on which they lived. Some serfs, especially those belonging to the Church, were in a better position than others; but all were the property of their lord, who might be the king, a bishop, an abbot, or other member of the nobility. Above the serfs were the so-called "freemen." The name is misleading, as they too were obliged to perform definite services for their lord; but these were not so heavy as those demanded of the lower class. Between the serfs and the freemen there were many gradations which were very important to the medieval peasants. Some had escaped from the obligations of serfdom without attaining the status of freemen; these were designated in the documents by technical terms which it is impossible to make clear. The same estate had frequently several classes of tenants, carefully distinguished because they owed different kinds of services and payments.

The agricultural laborers.

The villages in which they lived consisted ordinarily of a single street with houses close together on each side. A little apart from the village stood the castle or manor-house in which the lord or his representative lived and the domain land, or portion of the manor which the lord retained for his own cultivation to supply his family with food. There was usually a church with a cemetery at the back and an open space in front. Such villages can still be seen in many parts of Germany, France, and Switzerland. Around the houses extended the fields which the peasants cultivated, and near by were the forests in which the lords hunted, as a large part of the

The villages.

KERPEN, AN OLD GERMAN VILLAGE, WITH ITS FARMING LANDS.

The land is all divided into small strips, each inhabitant of the village having a number of these strips. Those heavily shaded, thirty-six in number, belong to the largest farmer there. *P* is the old village mill. *Q* is the village common, used for pasture. *R* is the ruin of the medieval castle. The other letters of the alphabet indicate the various parts of the village lands having each its local name. The collection of dark spots in the center represent the houses of the village.

land was still covered with woods. The houses were wretched hovels with only a single room, a single door, and no windows or chimney. Frequently the domestic animals and poultry were given the freedom of the house.

The land which any laborer held was not all in one piece, but was scattered in narrow strips among similar strips held by the other peasants. Each year only two-thirds was cultivated; the other third was allowed to lie fallow. This was necessary, as men did not know how to enrich the soil, and consequently it was soon exhausted. Under ordinary conditions the yield per acre was not more than one-third as much as at the present day. Wheat, rye, oats, and barley seem to have been the crops most commonly cultivated. Farm animals were small. Pigs, which secured their own living by ranging in the forests, furnished most of the meat consumed. Bees were kept in large numbers, as the expense was slight; moreover, wax was in great demand for candles in the churches, and honey was an important food. There was very little trade, and each community had to produce almost everything that it needed. Grapes were raised for wine in parts of France where it is not profitable to grow them at the present day. Each village had to cultivate herbs for use in sickness, and plants from which dyes could be made.

The crops.

In return for their land the peasants had to make payments in money or produce and to perform services. These varied according to the freedom of each class. The freeman usually paid fixed amounts at definite times and worked on the domain land one or more days during the seasons of the year when labor was most needed. In theory the serf could be taxed as heavily and made to work as much as the lord pleased; but in practise his chief obligations were fixed by the custom in each fief. The lord, however, might at any time add new burdens and the serfs could make no effective opposition. Even under favorable conditions they usually

Obligations of the peasants.

had to work more than half the time for their superiors, and to make payments of various kinds. Whenever any extraordinary expense was incurred they were compelled to furnish the money.

Additional hardships.

In the wars, which were frequent, the peasants suffered the most severely; their crops were destroyed and their villages burned. In times of peace, owing to their ignorance of agriculture, the crops often failed wholly or in part. Too much or too little rain or heat, and floods, were calamities against which it was impossible to guard. In a period of seventy-three years during the eleventh century there were forty-eight in which the crops in France were deficient. Whole districts suffered from famine, and because of the lack of communication between different parts of the same country provisions might be abundant in one section while people were starving in another. Pestilence followed famine and swept over the different countries with startling frequency. But no matter how hard the lot of the peasants was, they must make their payments. When their number was reduced by famine or pestilence those who were left must pay more. How else could the lords live? The latter usually had no consideration for the peasants. Even if rabbits ate up their crops no serf was allowed to kill one, because all game belonged to the lord.

Revolts and flight.

At times the misery of the serfs became so great that they revolted and killed their lords. This resulted almost always in their speedy defeat and punishment; for all the fighting class would make common cause against the peasants. More frequently they fled into the woods to become brigands, or else sought new homes; for, in spite of the law, the serfs frequently left their land. The fear of losing his tenants, whose services he needed, was a great check upon the lord and prevented him from imposing as many burdens as he might otherwise have done.

Emancipation of serfs.

The more enlightened tried to attract new tenants and to keep those they already had by freeing them from some of the most burdensome obligations, especially by exchanging for a fixed payment the right to demand unlimited services. Lords who needed a large sum of money for a crusade or for some other unusual expense sold to their serfs the freedom from certain obligations. This custom spread, because to a certain extent landholders had to bid against each other for laborers. Moreover, emancipation was looked upon as a pious act, and many lords, especially upon their death-beds, freed a larger or smaller number. Serfs who became members of the clergy became free at the same time, and many rose to high positions; there are instances even of their becoming popes. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the worst features of serfdom had disappeared almost everywhere in France, and in many parts there were no serfs at all. The lot of the peasants continued to be hard, but gradually they all became freemen. In most of the other countries the serfs, sooner or later, obtained their freedom, and usually from the same general causes as in France. But in some countries their burdens were not removed altogether until the period of the French Revolution or even later.

Arms of Paris.

The towns and cities.

The towns as well as the villages belonged to the nobles, and the inhabitants were their subjects. A town was an especially valuable piece of property and could be sold or given away at the owner's pleasure. In fact, it was only a larger village which had fortifications and was governed by special laws. A city was technically the residence of a bishop and belonged wholly or in part to the fief which he held. Sometimes a city or town was divided between two or more lords, each one owning a part.

Growth of the towns.

The ownership was determined usually by the way in which the town had grown up. Some towns had existed from Roman times. Others had grown up about some center, a castle or a monastery, which offered protection and also a market for goods. For the growth of towns was due wholly to commerce and manufacturing, although these terms sound grandiloquent when applied to the petty barter and home industries of the early middle ages. Sometimes during the invasions or private wars a village erected fortifications and by favoring circumstances became a town. In such cases its rise was due to a favorable situation for commerce, to the security afforded by its walls, and lastly to the privileges granted by the lord who wished to profit by the added population. In other cases a town was deliberately founded by a lord in some part of his fief by the offer of special privileges to any who would settle there. Because of their hardships some of the peasants in the middle ages, especially in France, were constantly in motion, seeking to better their lot. Consequently new settlements arose rapidly; some still retain the name of *Villeneuve* (new town) or *Villefranche* (free town).[1]

The town life.

Within the towns and cities there were houses everywhere, even on the walls. The streets were narrow, crooked, and unpaved. The buildings were crowded closely together, and each story projected somewhat beyond the one below, so that the upper stories almost met and overhung the streets. Within, the homes of the richer merchants vied in wealth and luxury with the castles of the nobles. At the back there were gardens filled with flowers, and the best rooms opened upon these gardens. Each shopkeeper hung out his sign with some device representing his trade, for few could read. At dawn the shutters were taken down, and the streets were filled with peo-

[1] Cf. Villafranca, Neustadt, Freiburg, etc.

ple. Venders of food and dealers in miscellaneous articles went about crying their wares. Fights between the apprentices of the different trades were frequent. Each industry had its own quarter, from which the workmen would sally forth to attack those of another quarter, or in which they would in turn barricade themselves. All day long the streets were the scenes of active life and varied tumult. At sunset the shops were closed, a little later the angelus[1] rang, and was followed by the curfew.[2] Soon after the last lights in the houses were extinguished, the watchman fastened the chains at the ends of each street, and the town slept.

Scene in a Shop.

Festivals were many, and were celebrated with a luxury which often surpassed the ostentation of the tournaments, for the French towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were very wealthy. The crusades had given a great impetus to trade and had put into active circulation the gold and silver which had been hoarded in the preceding centuries. The crusaders in the Holy Land needed supplies and equipments from the West. Large vessels, built to carry men and supplies to Syria, brought back the rich commodities of the East. The men who returned had acquired new tastes, and desired luxu-

Commerce.

[1] A bell rung as a signal for the saying of the prayers which were known from the opening word as the "Angelus."

[2] The bell rung, usually at nightfall, as a signal to cover the fires (*couvre-feu*) and retire for the night.

ries with which they had become acquainted in Syria. The Mediterranean ports were centers of active trade between the Orient and Occident. From these ports the goods were carried, mainly on the rivers, all over western Europe. The towns along the Rhone and the Rhine and on the seacoast in Flanders profited especially from this trade.

Fairs.

Fairs were established under the protection of the kings, nobles, or clergy. These were centers for exchanging the products of different parts of the same country or of different countries. They were held for a few days at a fixed time each year, under very strict regulations. The Lendit, near Paris, was one of the oldest and best known; it opened on the eleventh of June, and lasted a fortnight; each town in France had a place assigned to it on the grounds, where the merchants could display their wares. At the fairs of Champagne not only French merchants but also Italian and Flemish carried on a brisk business. In England there were, in the thirteenth century, fifty or more places at which important fairs were held; the most noted were Winchester, Stourbridge, St. Ives, and Boston.

Internal improvements.

In order to carry on this active trade the merchants required good roads, on which they could travel unmolested and in safety. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the roads were very bad, the bridges were few, and highwaymen were many. At the frontier of each fief it was necessary to pay for the privilege of entering or leaving. On the rivers tolls were heavy and robberies frequent. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century conditions improved. The lords found it to their advantage to make better highways, to build bridges, and to police the routes, since for these services they could demand heavy payment from the merchants. These charges also became fixed, and were no longer exacted at the pleasure of the lord. Thus traveling became comparatively safe and easy.

The merchants were able to accomplish these reforms, and also to gain influence in other matters, by forming associations. The individual was weak, but a large number united made a body which even the feudal lord found formidable. The advantages of such associations were perceived very early, and in each town the merchants joined in a gild to regulate and monopolize trade and to protect their common interests. These "merchant gilds" were able to obtain many privileges in exchange for money. Later the artisans in each industry banded together to form a craft-gild; but the latter did not become very important until the fourteenth century.

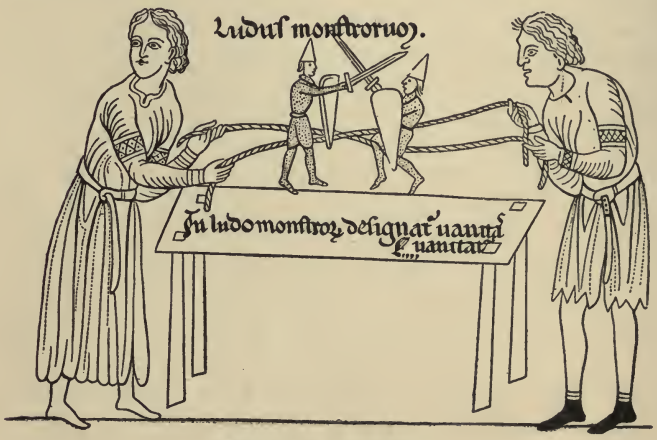
Gilds.

By their wealth and association the townsmen became powerful, and were able to obtain exemptions from many burdens. By usurpation, or by purchase, or during periods of political strife, they secured one privilege after another, until they were almost, and in some cases entirely, self-governing communities. At first they had attempted revolts, but the early ones were crushed with great cruelty. When the crusades began many lords were glad to raise money by selling privileges to the towns. In such cases sometimes a "commune" was formed, which was composed of a part of the inhabitants and acted as a single body, entering into a contract with the lord to pay a fixed amount in return for the rights which they desired. In other cases a charter was sold to the town, guaranteeing its inhabitants against all illegal exactions and granting to them certain privileges. During times of civil war the support and wealth of the citizens were desired by both parties, who vied with each other in offering privileges. Those towns which were owned by two or more masters were especially fortunate, as the interests of the owners were often conflicting, and resulted in concessions from both parties to win the support of the inhabitants.

How the towns became free.

In Germany and Italy, where the central governments were weak, some of the cities became entirely free and very powerful. Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa obtained great possessions in different parts of the Mediterranean. Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck are still free cities and constituent parts of the German Empire. In France and England, on the other hand,

Results in the different countries.



MEDIEVAL PLAYTHING.

where the royal power was strong, the citizens obtained exemption from their burdens, but did not as communities become self-governing.

In the thirteenth century the wealthy merchants were no longer despised by the nobility. In the literature of the day they began to take a prominent place, and, in fact, a new literature, written especially for the citizens, began to appear. Individual merchants were appointed to office under Philip Augustus in France, and the advice of the citizens was often sought in enterprises for which their money would be needed. Early in the fourteenth century, both in France and in

The third estate.

England, representative men were summoned to consult with the nobles and the clergy. From that time the Parliaments were composed of members of the "three estates,"[1] clergy, nobility, and commons.

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[1] Up to this time only the first two estates—the nobles and the clergy—had been recognized as having any importance.

CHAPTER XV

Schools and Universities

SUMMARY.—The teaching was done by the members of the clergy. In the early centuries it was confined to the *trivium*, the *quadrivium*, and theology. In the twelfth century certain centers, especially Paris, attracted students, so that education became more extensive and more general. Universities came into existence, and the students, as members of the clergy, received many and important privileges. The curriculum was broadened, and earnest students investigated many new branches of knowledge.

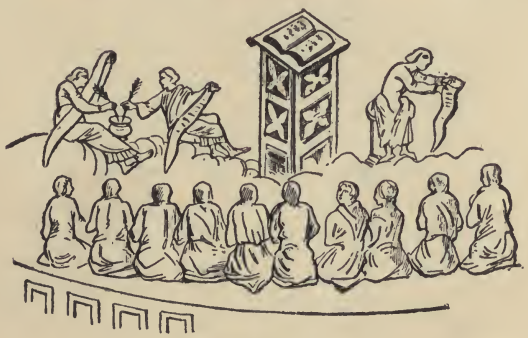
DURING the early middle ages teaching was done wholly by the clergy. In some of the towns and villages there were elementary schools taught by the parish priests. In the monasteries and cities there were schools, both elementary and advanced, under the charge of the abbots or bishops. Whatever learning there was north of the Alps was due to the labors of the Church.

Clergy the teachers.

It was formerly the custom to refer to the middle ages as the dark ages. From their own ignorance of the facts historians had thought that the medieval world was entirely steeped in ignorance and barbarism, that there was no learning even among the churchmen, and that all society was in a state of chaos. Now that the facts are known, the term "dark ages" has been abandoned, or, if used, is applied only to the time between the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the eleventh century or, still more narrowly, to the period of the invasions in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the

"The dark ages."

history of education in Christian Europe the latter was the darkest age. Charles the Great had been anxious to educate his subjects, and under his rule schools had been established in many monasteries and towns. Italian, English, and Scotch, as well as native scholars, were induced to become the teachers of the Franks. During the period of the invasions learning was maintained only in a few favorable localities. In the latter years of the tenth century, especially in Germany, there was a reawakening, and teaching in the monastery schools became more common. The influence of Cluny was very important. From this



NORMAN SCHOOL.

time greater attention was given to learning, and the schools increased in number and improved in quality.

Education was intended wholly for the service of the Church, and most of the students became members of the secular or regular clergy. This determined to a very great extent the character of the teaching. During the early middle ages all the studies were included in the "seven liberal arts" and theology. First came the *trivium*, or threefold way: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, or logic; then the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The trivium and quadrivium together made up the seven liberal arts.

Trivium and quadrivium.

These studies were not taken up in any regular order, and the names of the various subjects do not indicate their contents. Grammar, for example, included the study of the Latin classics, with an explanation of their historical and mythological allusions. Under the subjects of the quadrivium were grouped all the fragments of knowledge concerning the natural sciences. Theology was the most important branch, and the study of the seven liberal arts was pursued partly as a preparation for the correct understanding of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the church fathers.

Methods of teaching.

The teachers read the text-books to the pupils, who had none, and who were expected to commit everything to memory. When a scholar failed he was flogged; fortunately for his comfort, he was not expected to learn a great deal. In arithmetic the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in music, what was necessary for the church services; in geometry, a few problems; in astronomy, enough to calculate the date of Easter. It was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that these subjects were really studied seriously. Before that, when a boy had obtained a smattering of grammar and the quadrivium, he devoted himself, if he wished to study more, to theology or dialectics. Frequently he would travel from place to place to hear the most famous teachers.

Prominence of Paris.

In the early part of the twelfth century the brilliant teaching of Abelard attracted to Paris students from all the European countries. He had broken away from the traditions of the students of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who were apt to accept everything written as necessarily true, and insisted upon questioning the correctness of the information handed down by the earlier writers. This point of view was novel, and attracted auditors by hundreds. The pleasant life in the wealthy capital of France contributed greatly in drawing students from other parts of that country, and from

Germany, England, and the northern lands. From this time Paris became the chief center of learning for all Europe. In the thirteenth century it was said that "France is the hearth where the intellectual bread of the whole world is baked."

Rise of the University of Paris.

Teachers also were attracted to the place where students congregated, for a teacher's income was derived from the fees paid by the pupils who chose to listen to him. The masters and students who were foreigners were obliged to band together for mutual protection and support, as they were not citizens, and consequently without the protection of the laws. In the frequent rows between students and citizens the former would naturally support one another. The king was very glad to have the scholars there on account of the added wealth which they brought to the capital, and because of the prestige which the great school conferred upon Paris. Consequently, when a serious fight occurred, in which five students were killed by the king's police and the students threatened to leave Paris in consequence, the king offered them special privileges if they would remain. It was in the year 1200, and this may be considered the date for the official recognition of the University of Paris, although there had been schools in existence for many years, and the university was never founded in the modern sense.

What a university was.

The word university was originally a collective term, and was applied indifferently to a learned corporation, a gild of artisans, a band of soldiers, or any other body of men. The restriction of it to a particular institution was an accident. What we call a university was called in the thirteenth century a *studium*, or *studium generale*; the addition of *generale* meant that students from different countries were in attendance. A *studium generale* might or might not include schools of law, medicine, and theology; generally, there was at least one of these schools in addition to the fac-

ulty of arts. Sometimes the teachers or masters controlled the *studium*, as at Paris; sometimes the students were the governing body, as at Bologna, where they made regulations as to what studies should be taught, how fast the masters should lecture, and what the latter should wear.

Privileges of students.

The scholars at Paris were chiefly a body of men from other places, bound together by common interests, who would remain only as long as they found Paris attractive. Furthermore, they were either already members of the clergy or intended to become members later.[1] These facts determined the character of the privileges granted to the students. The king, in 1200, exempted them from trial in the royal courts or imprisonment in the royal prison, and gave them the privilege of being tried only by the ecclesiastical courts; he extended their privileges to the servants of the students, if the servants were not property-owners, or engaged in trade at Paris.

Right of migration.

But the most important of all the privileges was the "right of migration." The university held no property; the lectures were delivered in hired buildings, so that it was very easy for the whole body of masters and students to decamp at a moment's notice. This they did frequently and on the slightest provocation. On the other hand, it was highly advantageous to a city to possess a *studium generale*. It was not only a cause of prestige but also a very considerable source of income. The universities realized their advantage, and exercised their right of suspending lectures to enforce their privileges. The course of events was usually the same. The students became involved in a riot, of which they were commonly the cause; the police were called out; some students were wounded or killed; the university decreed a cessation of lectures and threatened

[1] It is said that twenty of Abelard's pupils became cardinals, and more than fifty, bishops.

a migration. If their demands for redress were not promptly complied with they left the city. The final result in most cases was a full compliance with the students' demands, and frequently a payment of money or a grant of greater privileges to them. Probably, in a majority of cases, the scholars were the aggressors, but came out triumphant. Between 1188 and 1338, inclusive, twelve cessations and migrations from Bologna are recorded, and these resulted in the foundation of eight "permanent *studia generalia*" in other places. In fact, a migration was the most usual cause of the foundation of a new university.

SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Foreigners, who were natives of the same province, naturally associated together, and formed a club for social intercourse and self-protection, just as Americans studying in Europe do now. Gradually these associations became more definite, and spread until all the students were enrolled in the membership of some *province*. Provinces were grouped together into *nations*. Each of these had its own officers, money-chest, and seal. Likewise the students and teachers of the same subjects naturally drew together, and so the *faculties* of arts, medicine, law, and theology grew up. Each university had this twofold organization of faculties and nations; in some places, as has been said, the masters controlled these organizations; in others, the students. The faculty of arts was usually the most numerous and the most important.

Organization of the universities.

REVERSE OF THE SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

The government of the University was modeled on that of the gilds. Masters who had the right to teach, corresponded to master-workmen; students corresponded to apprentices. As the latter had to work for a term of years and to prove their fitness before they became members of the gild, so the students must study for six years and pass an examination before they became masters in art. In theology, they had to study eight to fourteen years before they became masters. The scholars were of all ages, from boys of twelve to old men. The studies were extremely varied, "as the students always desired to hear something new." The required course for the degree of master of arts was composed of only a few subjects, and did not take all of a student's time for six years. Many who attended the universities never took a degree at all. Consequently there were always some desirous of taking subjects not included in the required course. Mathematics and the natural sciences attracted many students. The study of the classics was almost entirely abandoned at Paris in the thirteenth century.

The curriculum.

SEAL OF A DOCTOR, UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

In the early monastic schools the pupils had not been required to pay for their tuition, and as long as the teaching remained in the hands of the monks this continued to be the custom. But when masters began to earn their living by teaching, the students were required to pay. Some of the latter were so poor that they had to beg for their living. To provide for such, colleges were founded at the different universities. At first these were merely endowed lodging-houses, under the supervision of a resident master. Gradually it became the custom for the master to give instruction to the other resi-

Colleges.

dents, until the colleges became the principal centers for teaching. Paris was the great home of the college system, and from there it spread under a somewhat changed form to the English and other universities; much later the colleges in this country were patterned after the English models.

In the thirteenth century Paris was the chief university north of the Alps, and was noted especially for its faculties of arts and theology. In Bologna, Italy, where a *studium generale* had grown up somewhat earlier than at Paris, law was the most prominent branch, and the city was thronged with students from all the European countries. The University of Oxford, although in existence earlier, became large and important only after 1229. Then, in consequence of a town and gown row, in which several of the students had been killed, the masters and scholars withdrew from Paris, and many of them went to Oxford, because the king of England had offered special inducements. In the same century other universities were founded in Italy, France, Spain, and England. The earliest ones in Germany date from the fourteenth century. The number of students at the leading universities in the thirteenth century was very large; Paris and Bologna may have had 6,000 to 7,000 at the time of their greatest prosperity; Oxford 1,500 to 3,000.

Other universities.

The majority were boys in their teens or young men, who enjoyed special privileges and were under no restraint. Drinking was a universal habit. Under these conditions it is no wonder that many led a disorderly life, and that in an age when fighting was such a common amusement rows were very frequent. The rich nobles brought armed retainers with them, and sometimes fights arose between the members of different nations. The amusements, also, were of a very rough form, characteristic of the age. Yet in the univer-

Life of the students.

sities there was an intellectual life, a zest for knowledge which led to a rapid advance. Earnest scholars, like Roger Bacon, were investigating new fields and laying the foundations for the wonderful age which was to follow.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

SUMMARY.—In the thirteenth century the great authority of the Church was in the hands of the Pope, who was elected by the cardinals. He claimed authority over kings because he held that the Church was greater than the state. The Church had its own courts, which often came into conflict with the secular courts. There were many heretics whom the clergy believed it necessary to crush. The Albigensian crusade devastated southern France and led to the Inquisition. The inquisitors were chosen from the Mendicant Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were noted for their zeal and piety and consequently obtained enormous powers.

AT the beginning of the thirteenth century the Pope was far more powerful than any king. The authority of the Church was centralized in his hands. The agents of this authority were picked men from all ranks of society; for the members of the clergy were constantly seeking out the brightest boys—the sons of peasants as well as the sons of nobles—and educating them for the Church. The clergy were unmarried, and had no family cares; they were free from all necessity of making provision for their daily needs. Consequently, they were able to devote all their time and all their energies to the service of the Church, and as they worked with a unity of purpose their power was irresistible. The concentration of this power in the hands of the Pope had been a gradual development of the preceding centuries.

The power of the Pope.

The election of the popes themselves, until the middle of the eleventh century, had been to a great degree in

the hands of the emperors when the latter were powerful in Italy. As the Church gained in power its rulers felt that it was absolutely necessary for their chief to be elected only by the members of the Church, and to be free from the emperor's control. By the electoral decree of 1059 the power of election was lodged almost wholly in the cardinals.

Papal election.

These were certain bishops, priests, and deacons, who were connected with the churches of Rome or its suburbs. They were the most important members of the clergy in Rome, and the chief councilors of the Pope. When and how their title originated is a matter of uncertainty, but since the age of Hildebrand their importance has been very great. The number varied; in the twelfth century there were usually 7 cardinal-bishops bearing the titles of the suburban churches[1] of Rome, 28 cardinal-priests, who represented the most important churches in Rome, and 18 cardinal-deacons for the different sections of the city.

The cardinals.

The earlier popes had sent out legates occasionally to represent them, and to act in their place where they were not able to go in person. Gregory VII made a practise of sending legates to represent the papal power in every section of western Europe. These legates presided at councils, corrected abuses, and kept the Pope in close touch with every portion of the Church. Cardinals were frequently employed as legates. In this way the Pope and the cardinals obtained a more direct supervision over the whole Church, and were able to exercise political influence in every European court. It is not easy to exaggerate the practical importance of this in an age when communication was slow and uncertain.

The legates.

The popes confirmed the elections of archbishops and

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[1] Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufina or Silva Candida, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Palestrina.

bishops. They determined upon the canonization of saints and the authenticity of relics; in every case an inquest was held to determine whether the person proposed was worthy of the honor of being numbered among the saints, or whether the relic was really what it was said to be. They had the right to grant dispensations, or licenses, by which a person was allowed to do something which was contrary to the strict letter of the law; for example, they could release a person from an oath which he had taken, or could allow him to marry one of his cousins. They could exempt individual monasteries and monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. They convoked general councils of the Church and confirmed their canons. In particular, any matter, which concerned the Church in any way, could be brought before the Pope by an appeal for his decision. Strictly speaking, his jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters under what is known as the canon law, but the temporal powers of the Church were so large that the distinction between spiritual and temporal things was difficult, and the Church claimed the right to define it. Thus, all questions arising from marriage and testaments became subject to the spiritual courts of the bishops, and from these appeals could be carried to the Holy See. As the Pope also enjoyed original jurisdiction, it can readily be seen how immense was the business flowing into Rome, how large were the revenues thence accruing, and how

THIRTEENTH CENTURY CHESSMAN.

Control over the Church.

directly the papal authority was brought to bear upon the people even to the most remote sections of Europe.

Power of the Pope over lay princes.

The Pope thus was the ultimate arbiter not only in the field of morals and of faith, but also in many departments of law. His jurisdiction extended from the cottage to the throne, for kings were Christians, and as such were as fully responsible to the Church for their conduct as the humblest of their subjects. If a monarch committed a grievous sin and refused to make amends, the Church, acting through the Pope, felt it necessary to punish him. Several rulers were excommunicated for murder or for gross immorality. If they remained obdurate the excommunication was extended to an interdict, or suspension of divine services throughout the land, in order that the subject people who suffered might bring pressure to bear upon their ruler and force him to make amends. Sometimes the Pope released the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, or declared a king deposed for resistance to his commands.

Such actions did not meet with universal approval; for many felt this to be an intrusion by the Church upon the rights of the state. The deposition of Henry IV by Gregory VII, and of Frederick II by Innocent IV, aroused bitter opposition, as their followers held that Henry and Frederick were kings by the grace of God and by the choice of the German people; although they might justly be punished for their sins, the popes had no control over their power as kings. The popes and their followers, on the other hand, insisted that the deposition was a necessary measure of discipline, because the kings were unrepentant, and the Church was supreme. They proclaimed that the monarchs who ruled only over earthly dominions and the bodies of men were subordinate to the papacy, which had been given the keys of heaven and the control over the souls of men. They held that the Pope was as the sun, and the kings as

Theory that the Church was greater than the state.

the moon, which shone only by the light reflected from the sun. Using the feudal idea, that a king held his kingdom as a fief from God, they proclaimed that the Pope, as the representative of God, could bestow or take away any kingdom. Some kings were willing, some were forced, to admit this theory. King John of England, Peter II of Aragon, Sancho I of Portugal, and other monarchs, acknowledged themselves to be vassals of the Pope. At times during the thirteenth century it seemed as if the latter might become the suzerain of almost all the kings of Europe.

CROZIER OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In order to regulate the conduct of its members the Church was obliged to maintain an ecclesiastical court in every diocese in addition to the feudal courts in which the bishops' delegates administered feudal law. In the ecclesiastical courts were tried all suits in which one or both of the parties were members of the clergy; as such they had the right to be tried only by these courts. This was granted as a privilege to all who had taken a vow to go on a crusade, and to students at the universities. Besides having jurisdiction over certain persons, the ecclesiastical courts tried certain classes of crime. All matters relative to the Christian faith, the church sacraments, or vows which had been taken; all crimes committed in holy places; all vio-

lations of the Truce of God or of laws enacted by the Church —either were or might be brought into these courts. For this reason heresy, questions relating to marriage and divorce—for marriage was a sacrament—all transactions which had been accompanied by an oath, and many other classes of cases, were tried by the bishops' officials. In fact, there were comparatively few cases which could not be brought within the competence of an ecclesiastical court by a liberal interpretation of its jurisdiction. For example, the Church had prohibited the payment of interest when money was borrowed; consequently, any business transaction involving a loan might be brought before this court.

Ecclesiastical courts.

Frequently a case might, with equal right, be tried either in a royal or baronial court or in an ecclesiastical court; for a matter of strictly secular business might have been ratified by an oath. It was to the interest of the king and the barons that all such cases should be tried in their own courts, because the judicial fines and payments constituted a considerable part of their income. Frequently one or both of the litigants preferred to carry the case before the bishop's court, partly because the law was thought to be administered more intelligently, and partly because the ecclesiastical penalties for many crimes were less severe. In the civil courts death and the mutilation of limbs were common punishments; the ecclesiastical courts were forbidden to inflict any penalty which would cause the shedding of blood. Up to the middle of the twelfth century there had been little or no conflict between the two kinds of courts, which had often been of mutual aid. From that time, however, the lay powers became jealous of what they considered encroachments on their rights. The great conflict[1] in England between Henry II and Thomas Becket was due mainly to this cause.

Conflict with the secular courts.

[1] See Chap. XIX.

CATHEDRAL, PISA.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

The law administered in the ecclesiastical courts was the canon law or the law of the Church. Its chief sources were custom or unwritten law, the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the church fathers, the canons passed by church councils, and the decretals of the popes. About the middle of the twelfth century all the existing laws were codified by Gratian in the *Decretum*. The work was so well done and so convenient that, although it had at first no official sanction, it soon became recognized as the authoritative collection of the canon law. New laws were being made constantly by papal decretals to meet new cases. From time to time collections of these were made and added to the *Decretum* to form the *corpus* or body of canon law.

Canon law.

The great increase in power was not obtained without opposition. The monastic ideals of the age led some to object to the wealth and authority of the Church, and to urge that it ought to return to apostolic simplicity and poverty. The crusades had made men acquainted with other religions, and had aroused a thirst for knowledge which caused some to question even the teachings of the Church. The connection with the East had brought in many new ideas, some of which were directly opposed to the established doctrines. Consequently the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise of many heretics, who may be grouped under two heads: Antisacerdotalists and Manicheans.

Rise of heresies.

From time to time men came forward teaching that it was not necessary to obey the clergy. They held very divergent points of view, but they may be classed together as antisacerdotalists; and in their development they became known to history as the Poor Men of Lyons or Waldenses, finally merging with the Protestants during the Reformation. The Manicheans, on the other hand, held the Oriental idea of two powers, one of evil and the other of good, who were in

Two classes of heretics.

eternal warfare, and that the material universe had been created by the principle of evil. They were widely spread over southern Europe, and although divided into sects of slightly varying beliefs, they classed themselves under the common name of Cathari or the Pure. To the orthodox they were known by many designations, of which the most usual one was Patarins, while in southern France, where they were very numerous, they were called Albigenses. It is superfluous to say that they denied all authority to the Church.

Need of crushing heresy.

The time when these heresies were spreading most rapidly was a period when Christian Europe as a whole felt the need of union against common foes. Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin, and the Church was doing all in its power to arouse zeal for crusades to recover the holy city. In Spain the invasion of the Almohades threatened to crush the rising Christian kingdoms. In the northeast of Germany and elsewhere the Christians were struggling against the pagans. The heretics were very numerous, and had obtained control over some cities in Italy, while in southern France they had become powerful enough to obtain virtual toleration from the feudal lords. They refused to pay the tithes to the clergy or to recognize their authority, and were a menace to the temporal power which the Church was rapidly acquiring. A Cistercian wrote that if they were not crushed they would soon extend over all Europe. They were included with the Arians, Mohammedans, Jews, pagans, and German emperors as the chief persecutors of Christianity. The Church recognized that if they were not subdued the time was at hand when there would be a struggle on equal terms. Members of the clergy who were engaged in combating the heresies might bear witness to the excellent morals of the heretics, but duty to the faith required that the heresy should be exterminated. Ideas of entire religious toleration did not exist in the Christian

world until several centuries later, and then arose only in the new world, with Roger Williams in Rhode Island, among the Roman Catholics in Maryland, and among the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

In Languedoc[1] the heretics formed a large portion of the population, and were supported by many of the nobility. Missionary labors in conversion and efforts to stimulate the rulers to persecution proved equally fruitless. In 1208 the papal legate was murdered by a squire of the count of Toulouse, who had been for several years under sentence of excommunication. This caused intense excitement, and led to immediate action. Innocent III renewed the excommunication, released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and summoned all Christians to pursue the count and to seize his dominion. In July, 1209, an army of 50,000 men, led by the papal legate, marched against the heretics, who were put to death in great numbers, and towns were burned. Simon de Montfort was made the leader, and succeeded in conquering the greater part of Languedoc. He was killed in 1218, and his son was unable to hold his conquests. King Philip Augustus sent his son Louis to aid. This expedition was marked by great cruelty. In one town all the inhabitants—5,000 men, women, and children—were slaughtered in cold blood. The crusade had now become only a political war to extend the domination of the crown over the great feudatories of the south, for whose subjugation the existence of the heretics served as an excuse. The son of Simon de Montfort resigned his rights to Louis VIII of France, who, in 1226, made a triumphal expedition and took possession of almost the whole of Languedoc without serious opposition. After his death the war dragged on until 1229, when Raymond,

The Albigensian crusade.

[1] Languedoc, the part of southern France which lay between the Garonne and the Rhone, where the people used *oc* for *yes*. In the north *oïl* was used for *yes*. Hence the two parts were distinguished as Langue d'oc and Langue d'oïl, or the speech of *oc* and the speech of *oïl*.

count of Toulouse, submitted and abandoned most of his territory to the Crown.

Although heresy had been crushed in Toulouse by violence, it had not been extirpated. In Italy heretics were extremely numerous. The emperor, Frederick II, in various edicts between 1220 and 1239, ordered that any one of his subjects who had been convicted of heresy by the church officials should be burned and his property be confiscated. This gradually became the law in other countries. Gradually, also, the Church developed an effective system for detection of heresy by the Inquisition. Suspected persons might be tortured in order to extract from them a confession of their guilt. Those who were convicted of heresy and remained obdurate were handed over to the secular powers, and were burned by the latter. Those who professed repentance and conversion were penanced by imprisonment for life, or by scourging or pilgrimages, or by wearing red crosses upon their garments. The proceedings of the Inquisition were secret, and consequently caused great terror to all in any way involved in heresy. The property of heretics was confiscated by the kings, who were therefore interested in maintaining the Inquisition. It was felt to be necessary that the inquisitors, who were given great power, and were responsible only to the Pope, should be impartial, learned, and free from all suspicion of avarice or motives of revenge, and as the best means of attaining this they were usually selected from the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

The Inquisition.

St. Dominic, from whom the Dominicans take their name, was born in 1170, and after studying theology devoted himself to the conversion of the heretics in Languedoc. He was earnest and zealous in his work and winning in his manner. In 1214 he gathered about him a few followers who gave themselves up to preaching and combating false doctrine. In 1215 they

Dominicans.

received papal sanction and adopted the rule of Augustinian Canons. Their purpose was to fit themselves by the study of theology for the task of preaching, and they were called "preaching friars." In 1217 the sixteen brethren who had joined St. Dominic were sent out to preach in Spain, France, and Italy. They were received with great enthusiasm, and many hastened to join the order. By 1221, sixty convents had been established in Spain, France, Italy, England, Germany, and Hungary, and the members were winning universal respect by their learning and piety. From this time the order was of the greatest assistance in preaching the faith and in combating heresy.

Francis of Assisi was born in 1182, and in his twentieth year devoted his life to poverty and the service of others. He was humble, patient, merciful, and always cheerful. Love for his fellow men, especially the poor and suffering, was his most marked characteristic. Gradually a few others joined him, for whom he framed a rule requiring absolute poverty, and ordering the brethren to work for their own living, to go about on foot, and to preach the faith. The order was sanctioned by the Pope in 1215, and increased so rapidly in membership that in 1221 it already included thousands. The Franciscans, or Minorites, devoted themselves especially to the care of the sick and the tending of lepers. They won great love and respect, and by their preaching led thousands to repentance. In an age of brutality and violence they exemplified the Christian virtues of humility, patience, love, mercy, and devotion to others. They sought to proselyte Mohammedans and pagans, and braved every danger in their missionary work. Francis himself went to Syria to the sultan of Babylon. His followers and the Dominicans vied with one another in their efforts to convert the infidels everywhere.

Franciscans.

In fact, the members of these two orders wandered about on foot, enduring the most extreme privations, intent

only upon serving their fellow men. This example was contagious, so that everywhere they went men and women wished to abandon all to enter the mendicant orders. In order to enroll these laymen in active service, St. Francis formed an organization known as "The Brothers and Sisters of Penitence," whose members were to continue their usual pursuits and to lead a holy life. It was called generally the Tertiary Order of Minorites, or Franciscans. Dominic founded a similar order under the name of "The Soldiery of Christ." All of the mendicants were active agents of the papacy, and were employed constantly on papal business in every country of Europe. Unfortunately, the unbounded reverence of the people conferred on the mendicants enormous wealth; the precepts of the founders were neglected by some of the brethren, and corruption crept in, as it had done in the older orders. Yet, in the thirteenth century, the men who were most noted both for their intellectual supremacy and zealous piety were, with few exceptions, members of the mendicant orders.

Power of the mendicant orders.

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Innocent II, 1130–1143.
Celestine II, 1143–1144.
Lucius II, 1144–1145.
Eugene III, 1145–1153.
Anastasius IV, 1153–1154.
Hadrian IV, 1154–1159.
Alexander III, 1159–1181.
Lucius III, 1181–1185.
Urban III, 1185–1187.
Gregory VIII, 1187.
Clement III, 1187–1191.
Celestine III, 1191–1198.
Innocent III, 1198–1216.

Honorius III, 1216–1227.
Gregory IX, 1227–1241.
Celestine IV, 1241.
Innocent IV, 1243–1254.
Alexander IV, 1254–1261.
Urban IV, 1261–1264.
Clement IV, 1265–1268.
Gregory X, 1271–1276.
Innocent V, 1276.
Hadrian V, 1276.
John XXI, 1276–1277.
Nicholas III, 1277–1280.
Martin IV, 1281–1285.
Honorius IV, 1285–1287.
Nicholas IV, 1288–1292.
Celestine V, 1294.
Boniface VIII, 1294–1303.

Growth of the Nations

Summary.—During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the German Empire attained its period of greatest glory. But its strength was sapped by the unwillingness of the electors to choose a strong man, or to recognize the right of hereditary succession. The long struggle between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Hohenstaufen policy of buying support by bartering away imperial rights, the opposition of the papacy, and the rebellions of the Lombard League, deprived the empire of all real authority. In the latter half of the thirteenth century Germany became divided into many states, and remained disunited until the last third of the nineteenth century. In northern Italy the cities, freed from all imperial control, developed into republics. The Swiss cantons succeeded in emancipating themselves from the duke of Swabia's authority and established the Swiss Confederation. Along the Baltic Sea the German cities formed the Hanseatic League and built up a great commercial and political supremacy, while the Teutonic Order was engaged in a crusade which resulted in the foundation of Prussia.

Chapter XVII.

Summary.—At the beginning of the thirteenth century the French kings had little power or territory; two hundred years later they were absolute monarchs of France. They had succeeded in bringing the various fiefs under their direct control and in substituting monarchical institutions for feudal usages. In doing so, they had been aided by the development of a recognition that the kingship was hereditary, and by assistance from the third estate. They established royal courts which superseded the baronial, and a national system of finance which freed them from dependence upon feudal contributions. They took advantage of the misfortunes of their vassals to obtain Languedoc and almost all the English possessions in France. The just rule of St. Louis and the political ability of Philip the Fair made France the leading country in Europe. Under the latter king the States General was organized.

Chapter XVIII.

Summary.—In England the authority of the king was greatly diminished during this period. Almost all the possessions in France were lost, and the only permanent addition of territory in Great Britain was Wales. During the period of anarchy, when Stephen was king, the Church became very powerful. Henry II attempted to submit it to the royal authority, but was hindered by the murder of Thomas Becket. John became a papal vassal, and Henry III was very subservient, but

Edward I began the long series of royal enactments directed toward the restriction of the power of the Pope, which culminated in the establishment of the English Church. In political matters the authority of the king, which was built up by Henry II, was diminished under John and Henry III. The barons and citizens, by joining together, compelled the monarch to consult their wishes. Under Edward I the Model Parliament was assembled, and it was agreed that the king could levy no general tax without authorization from Parliament.

CHAPTER XIX.

SUMMARY.—In Spain the small Christian states were gradually consolidated into the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. The territory held by the Moors was slowly conquered, and in 1492 Granada, their last possession, fell into the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Byzantine Empire became very weak, so that it was easily conquered by the crusaders in 1204. But the empire which they established soon succumbed to the Greeks, and the latter, after an inglorious rule of two centuries, were conquered by the Ottoman Turks. Russia was weakened by internal discord, so that it made no united resistance to the Tartars who overran the country in the thirteenth century. From that time it was for some centuries shut off from intercourse with Europe. The Scandinavian countries, too, failed to establish strong states. The Finns conquered Hungary, which became their home. In Bohemia the Slavs founded a successful kingdom, which soon came under German influence, but in Poland they fell a prey to anarchy.

CHAPTER XX.

CHAPTER XVII

Germany and Italy

After the disintegration of the Carolingian empire western Europe was divided into many fragments, ruled by feudal lords. In each country there was a king who was nominally the suzerain; but his real power depended almost entirely upon his immediate feudal possessions, and these were seldom large enough to furnish him with a strong army or a sufficient income. The work of centralization, which he was not able to accomplish, was undertaken by the clergy. As education was wholly in their control, Latin, the language of the Church, became the language of all educated persons. All books and all legal documents were written in Latin. Furthermore, the civilization which resulted from the interaction of feudal usages and clerical influence was remarkably uniform in the different countries. Institutions like the Truce of God found favor among the different nations, and a general movement like the first crusade was possible.

Civilization, tenth and eleventh centuries.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the power of the feudal barons was undermined by the growing importance of the monarchs on the one hand, and by the rise of the third estate on the other. The influence of the Church was shaken by the influx of new ideas and by the political contests waged between the popes and kings. Education became more common, and literatures in the vernacular were developed. The modern nations began to take shape. In each one of the leading countries the same forces were at

Changes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

work and the elements were the same, but because of differences in the local conditions the results varied greatly; and these results determined the future course of events, as will be apparent in the sequel to this work.

Results in Germany and Italy.

In spite of the troubles of the Investiture Struggle, Germany seemed farthest advanced and the strongest of the nations. Moreover, under the able rulers of the Hohenstaufen house, the empire attained its greatest glory and its widest influence, so that it seemed destined to include all Christian countries. But this glory was only transient, and Germany, weighed down by the burden of Italy—a veritable old man of the sea—wasted her strength and resources in chimerical projects. After the extirpation of the Hohenstaufen family the two countries lost all semblance of unity. They were divided into many fragments, each one practically independent and constantly at war with its neighbors. Individual cities and lords became famous, and a remarkable civilization was developed in certain centers; but Germany and Italy did not become nations until the last half of the nineteenth century. In order to explain the causes of the transient strength of the empire and of its ruin in the thirteenth century, it is necessary to study the careers of some of the rulers.

Opposition to hereditary kingship.

When Henry V died, in 1125, leaving no son, the two most prominent candidates for the crown were Frederick of the Hohenstaufen family, duke of Swabia, and Lothair, duke of Saxony. The first was the nephew of Henry, and had been designated by him as his successor. His election seemed assured, as his brother Conrad was duke of Franconia, and his father-in-law, a member of the Guelf family, was duke of Bavaria. It was therefore probable that he would have the support of three out of the four great races of Germany. But the lesser nobles had secured much power during the Investiture Struggle, when the kings had been obliged to buy their

support by concessions, and now they desired to assert that the monarchy was elective and not hereditary. The leading members of the clergy were opposed to Frederick, because he had supported Henry V in the latter's struggle with the Pope. The duke of Bavaria was induced to abandon his son-in-law, and all the elements of opposition joined in the election of Lothair (1125–1137), who had been the chief opponent of Henry V. The marriage of Lothair's daughter with the duke of Bavaria's son increased the power of the Guelf family.

Guelfs and Ghibellines.

Frederick the Hohenstaufen was the heir of his uncle, Henry V, and held all the latter's possessions. Lothair demanded the resignation of some fiefs which he claimed as royal property. From this time the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens were engaged in intermittent strife until the extinction of the latter family. The Hohenstaufens were known as Ghibellines[1] —an Italian name formed from the German Waiblingen, a Hohenstaufen possession. Conrad, the brother of Frederick the Hohenstaufen, was elected as anti-king in Italy, but had little real power, and after some years, yielding to the eloquence of Bernard of Clairvaux, was reconciled to Lothair.

Election of Conrad.

On the death of the latter, his son-in-law, the Guelf Henry, became duke of Saxony as well as of Bavaria, and expected to be elected king. The same jealousy on the part of the lesser nobles which had caused the election of Lothair, now caused the rejection of Henry, whose excessive power was feared. The opponents of strong government favored the Hohenstaufen Conrad, who became king.

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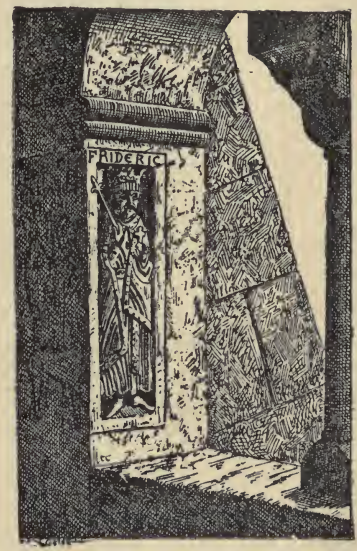
[1] The names of Guelf and Ghibelline were soon adopted as designations for the papal and imperial partizans respectively. Transplanted into Italy, they were used later to designate party factions in the different cities, without much regard to their former meaning.

His nephew, Frederick I, in whom the Ghibelline and Guelf stocks combined,[1] had shown great ability as duke of Swabia, and when Conrad died was the choice of all parties. His subjects admired his beauty and trusted in his virtues. With intense zeal he undertook "to reestablish the Roman Empire on its ancient basis." His hero was Charles the Great, whose canonization he secured from an anti-pope, and he intended to exercise all the rights ever possessed by Roman emperors. He believed fully in the maxim that "the will of the emperor has the force of law." The imperial prerogatives which had been lost through the weakness of the preceding kings he intended to exercise in every portion of the empire. Under him the "Roman Empire of the German Nation" regained its prestige, and became known as the "Holy Roman Empire." Most of his long reign, however, was spent in unsuccessful attempts to reduce his Italian subjects to obedience.

Frederick Barbarossa,[2] 1152-1190.



STATUE OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

For a century the German monarchs had been either too weak or too fully occupied elsewhere to govern Italy effectively. In the north the Lombard cities had become

[1] See genealogical table.

[2] His Italian nickname, because of his red beard.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10
12
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16
18
46
44
42
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38
36
TREVISO
Milan
Venice
LOMBARDY
Genoa
Pisa
TUSCANY
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Messina
ITALY
1160 A. D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 40 80 120
Belonging to the Empire
Belonging to the Pope
Belonging to the Normans
Belonging to the Venetians
Longitude East from Greenwich

almost independent. In the south the Normans had built up a strong kingdom, which they held as vassals of the Pope, and not of the emperor. In Rome the nobles had set up a commune under the direction of Arnold of Brescia, and the Pope was a fugitive from his capital. It was necessary for Frederick to assert his rights vigorously and without delay, if he wished to retain Italy as a part of his empire.

Position of Italy.

His first expedition to Italy, in 1154–55, was undertaken to aid the Pope to secure Rome, and to obtain the imperial crown for himself. He was crowned King of Italy at Pavia, and Emperor at Rome; Arnold of Brescia was seized and burned at the stake; but the emperor was forced to retreat hurriedly, as his army was suffering from diseases caused by the intense heat. Furthermore, Frederick and the Pope had disagreed, because the former was not willing to take the same subordinate position with regard to the papacy that his immediate predecessors had done. A little later the Pope, Adrian IV, in writing to Frederick, referred to the *beneficia* which he had bestowed upon the latter. This term in feudal usage meant benefices or fiefs, and was so translated by the German chancellor. Frederick was indignant, as he interpreted the phrase to mean that the Pope considered the empire a fief of the papacy. An open conflict was avoided, as the Pope explained that he had used the word merely in its general meaning of "benefits." But the incident increased the latent hostility between the two powers, and showed that Frederick was not willing to recognize the Pope as his superior.

Frederick and the popes.

On his second Italian expedition, in 1158, Frederick held a great diet on the Roncalian plain,[1] at which representatives of all the Lombard cities were present. Overawed by the emperor's power, the cities submitted to his

[1] East of Piacenza, Italy.

demands. He claimed all the imperial rights of government and taxation which had been usurped by the cities; prohibited private wars between the latter, and appointed an official called "*podestà*" in each city to represent the imperial authority and to administer justice. Frederick's purpose was to destroy the independence of the cities and to subject them to his own power. Milan refused to receive his podestà, was conquered by him after a two years' siege, and was destroyed (1162) by the inhabitants of the neighboring cities who, jealous of its prosperity, had aided the emperor. Frederick hoped that the fate of Milan would crush all opposition.

Frederick and the Lombard cities.

In the meantime Adrian had died and Alexander III became Pope. As the emperor's supporters knew that Alexander would oppose their policy, they chose an anti-pope. Alexander excommunicated Frederick, made an alliance with the Lombard cities, and encouraged them to form a defensive league against the emperor. Thus far the cities had been weak because they had been disunited, and some had been glad to see the ruin of rivals, even when it entailed a loss of liberty on their own part. But the emperor's policy was so impartial, subjugating both friendly and hostile cities to his authority, that almost all were ready to unite against him. In 1167 he led an enormous army into Italy and captured Rome; but this army was almost destroyed by the plague, and he had difficulty in getting back safely. This disaster encouraged his opponents, so that in 1168 almost all the cities joined in the Lombard League.

The Lombard League.

For some years Frederick was occupied in Germany. Milan was rebuilt, and regained its power. In 1176 the emperor attempted to conquer it again, and was defeated in the battle of Legnano. He realized that further efforts would be fruitless, and made peace with the Pope and the cities, recognizing the right of the latter to self-government in almost all matters,

The defeat of Frederick.

although they still paid taxes to him and he retained a shadowy overlordship. From this time the Lombard cities were practically independent.

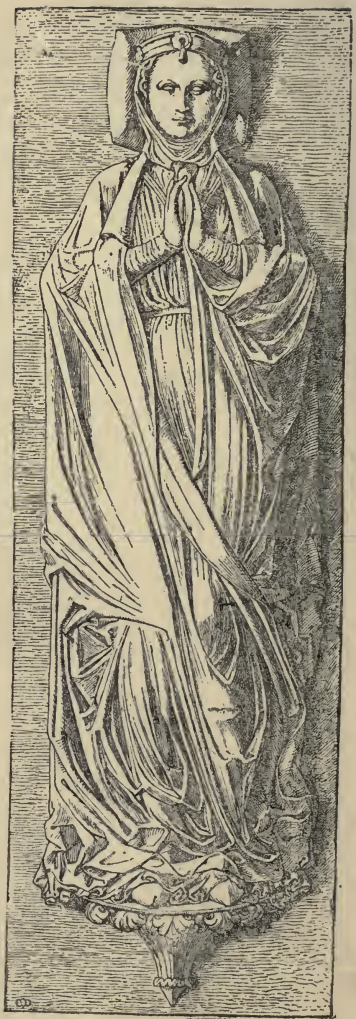
The emperor's absorption in his Italian difficulties had enabled the Guelf party to build up a strong power in northern Germany under the leadership of Henry the Lion. The latter consolidated all the Guelf possessions, and also followed the traditional policy of the Saxon dukes in extending his dominion over the lands to the north and east. The heathen inhabitants were converted; towns founded, of which Lübeck was the most important; and bishoprics were established. At first Frederick and Henry had been on good terms, but the latter refused to help Frederick in his campaigns against the Lombard League. After the emperor had made peace with the Lombards he determined to humble Henry, whose power in Germany was almost as great as his own. A pretext was furnished by the complaints of Saxon bishops, who accused Henry of usurping their possessions. The latter, refusing to obey the imperial summons for a trial, was banished and his duchies confiscated. By granting concessions to the lesser nobles in Henry's fief the emperor won sufficient support to conquer Saxony, and Henry was forced to submit (1181). He was banished for three years, and lost all his possessions except Brunswick and Lüneburg. Bavaria was given to the Wittelsbach family, which has held it ever since, and his other lands were divided. Thus the danger of the separation of Germany into two kingdoms, a northern and a southern, was averted.

Frederick and Germany.

In spite of his defeat in Italy, Frederick had succeeded in reviving the glory of the empire, and had established order in Germany. By his marriage with the heiress of upper Burgundy he became king of that country. He forced the king of Bohemia to acknowledge him as overlord (1158). He negotiated the marriage of his heir, Henry, with the heiress of the king of Sicily

Frederick's power as emperor.

HENRY THE LION.



MATILDA, WIFE OF HENRY THE LION.

(From their tombs in the Cathedral of Brunswick.)

in order to unite southern Italy and Sicily to the empire. He drew vast resources from his own ducal dominions and from the Italian cities. By concessions in favor of the lesser German nobles, he obtained their support and was able to raise great armies. His power was so firmly established that he felt safe in leaving Germany for the crusade, during which he died (1190).

His eldest son Henry succeeded him without opposition and added the kingdom of Sicily to his dominions in 1194.

Henry VI, 1190-1197.

As the Lombard cities, freed from direct imperial control, were again engaged in warfare with one another, the emperor used one party against the other and secured money from both. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, who had fallen into captivity in Germany on his return from the crusade, was retained until he became the vassal of the emperor and paid an enormous ransom. Henry, dreaming of universal dominion, was preparing for a crusade to subjugate the East, when a sudden illness caused his death.

Henry's son Frederick had been crowned king, but was only three years old when his father died; consequently his claims were set aside. His uncle Philip[1] was chosen by the Ghibelline party; Otto IV, son of Henry the Lion, by the Guelfs. For ten years Germany was devastated by a war between the rival claimants, in which the nobles became virtually independent. Philip was murdered in 1208. Otto, who had been supported by the Pope, was then recognized by all as sovereign. As emperor he soon became hostile to the Pope, who set up a rival king in the person of Frederick, son of Henry VI.

Philip II and Otto IV.

The latter, as king of Sicily, had been under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His childhood had been spent in the midst of war, and his kingdom had been preserved

[1] He styled himself Philip II because Philip the Arabian, the third-century Roman emperor, had been Philip I.

only by the zealous care of the Pope. Now Innocent, after compelling him to take an oath never to unite the kingdoms of Sicily and Germany, secured his election by the German nobles who were opposed to Otto. The hopes of the latter were crushed by the battle of Bouvines,[1] where he and his uncle John of England were defeated by Philip Augustus and the partizans of Frederick. The deaths of both Otto and Innocent secured the kingdom for Frederick and left him free.

Frederick II, 1212–1250.

In spite of his oath, he felt it necessary to keep both Sicily and Germany. If Innocent had lived, he would not have been able to do this without serious opposition. Innocent's successor, influenced by Frederick's vow to go on a crusade and his fair promises, made no objection to crowning him emperor and allowing him to retain Sicily. Frederick's policy was to draw money from Sicily and soldiers from Germany to maintain his imperial position. He organized in his southern kingdom a strong centralized government in place of the former feudal administration. He encouraged commerce, granted toleration to Mohammedans and Jews, established the University of Naples, and published a new code of laws more modern in spirit than any pre-

Frederick and Sicily.

Seal of the Widow of Otto IV.

[1] See page 211.

ceding code. The country prospered under his strict rule, and literature and the arts flourished under his patronage.

In Germany he followed the traditional Hohenstaufen policy of buying support by granting privileges to the nobles, and thus weakened the central government. In the last years of his reign he gave charters to the more important cities also, in order to secure their assistance against the anti-kings who were elected by his opponents. As a whole, he was little interested in Germany, and made it entirely subordinate to his Italian projects. Consequently he allowed his adherents almost entire independence on their German fiefs as long as they furnished him aid when demanded. Whatever unity Germany had secured under the Franconian emperors was lost under the Hohenstaufens, and the country became divided into many separate units, some of which were duchies or counties, some bishoprics, and some free cities.

Frederick II and Germany.

In order to arrange matters in his two kingdoms, Frederick postponed his crusade repeatedly. The Pope tried to make him fulfil his vow and threatened excommunication; but he secured delays by reassuring promises and by representing the need of his presence in the West. When the pacific Honorius was succeeded by Gregory IX, the emperor found it necessary to embark for Syria in order to avoid excommunication. Within a few days he turned back on account of illness, as he alleged. Gregory at once excommunicated him, and when he did set out again, renewed the ban because he had undertaken a crusade while excommunicated. The Pope also sent an army to invade Sicily. When Frederick returned, he drove out the papal troops and succeeded in making his peace with the Pope.

Frederick's crusade.

His power was increasing rapidly, and was a menace to both the Pope and the Lombard cities, whose dominions were surrounded by his German and Italian possessions. The latter, fearing that he might attempt to destroy their

independence, renewed the Lombard League and showed themselves openly hostile to him. Frederick attacked them with an army composed of Swabian knights, and Mohammedan horsemen from his Sicilian kingdom, inflicted a crushing defeat at Cortenuova, in 1237, and organized a strong government in northern Italy.

Frederick II and the Lombard cities.

All Italy, except the papal states, was now in his power, and it seemed evident that he would soon attack these. Gregory viewed the emperor's triumph with alarm, and when Frederick refused to give up Sardinia, which was claimed as a papal fief, placed him under excommunication and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Frederick retorted by conquering most of the papal territory. The death of Gregory, in 1241, caused a truce. During these years Frederick attempted to establish in his dominions a national church of which he, and not the Pope, should be the head. His plan was somewhat similar to that followed later by Henry VIII of England. Pope Innocent IV renewed the excommunication, in 1245, and caused an anti-king to be elected in Germany.

Excommunication of Frederick.

Frederick and his son Conrad were successful in Germany. The real danger was in Italy, where the Lombard cities again took the offensive and won a great victory. Frederick met with other reverses, and even in the kingdom of Sicily his despotism caused conspiracies to be formed. In the midst of his struggles he was taken ill and died.

Defeat of Frederick.

Frederick was called "the wonder of the world." He had been carefully educated, and delighted in the society of learned men. He was versed in many languages, and was regarded by Dante as the father of Italian poetry. He was fond of natural history, and composed a treatise on falconry which shows his intimate knowledge of the subject. He was a free-thinker,

Character of Frederick.

outwardly devoted to the Christian religion, but really a skeptic about all religions. In many respects he preferred Mohammedan customs, and in his later years spent his leisure in a Moslem colony which he had founded in southern Italy, where he maintained a harem. In many respects he was far in advance of his age, as is proved by his laws, in which medieval customs were discarded and modern ideas introduced. Dante regarded the period of Frederick's greatest power as the golden age of Italy.

His successors were unable to withstand their combined enemies, and their rule ceased in Germany with the death of Conrad IV, in 1254. Then succeeded a period of "Fist-law," when there was no central government and each portion of the country had to keep peace and defend itself as best it could. The Germans, experiencing disasters under inefficient rulers, sighed for the days when the Hohenstaufens had ruled, and their longing later found expression in the legend of the sleeping Barbarossa. In parts of Italy, Frederick's descendants retained some powers until 1268, when the young Conradin fell into the hands of Charles of Anjou and was beheaded at Naples.

Fall of the Hohenstaufens.

From this time the peninsula of Italy was almost wholly free from any control by the emperors. In the north the cities engaged in civil wars which resulted in the rise of city-states controlling the adjacent towns and villages. Of these the most important were Venice, Milan, Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. The center of the peninsula formed the papal states governed by the Pope. In the south the French house of Anjou established the kingdom of Naples, and Sicily was conquered by Aragon. Thus the whole of Italy was divided into separate states, which were destined to remain disunited until the last third of the nineteenth century.

Italian states.

The Hohenstaufen policy had been fatal to the cause of Germany unity. In order to secure men and supplies,

the emperors had granted away almost all of the imperial prerogatives. As they wished to lessen the power of the great nobles, they had made many knights and cities immediate vassals of the empire. Consequently, when the imperial authority was not exercised, all of the immediate vassals, princes, bishops, knights, cities, and even villages claimed to be independent. Many of the weaker were forced to submit, but the total number of independent cities and knights was very large.

Position of Germany.

Their independence was fostered by the double election after the death of Conrad IV. Two rivals were chosen by opposing parties; one was the English Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III; the other, King Alfonso X of Castile.[1] Neither one exercised any real power; Richard spent but little time in Germany, and Alfonso never visited it. Each one, in order to gain support, granted privileges and lands to nobles, bishops, or cities whose aid he wished to gain The last semblance of imperial authority was lost, and all imperial domains passed into private hands. This was the period of "Fist-law" already referred to. Richard died in 1272.

The interregnum (1256–1273).

The electors[2] felt it necessary to choose a king, but did not desire a strong monarch who would take away any of

[1] The election of a Spanish and an English emperor was due to the theory—never in accordance with the facts—that the empire embraced all Christian Europe, and consequently any prince was eligible to the throne.

[2] Originally the king was elected by all the freemen. Gradually this power passed into the hands of the chief nobles. In the thirteenth century seven of the most powerful princes claimed this right of choice. There was some dispute as to the seven who should constitute the electoral college, but in 1356, by the Golden Bull of Charles IV, the following were designated: the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

their own power. Their choice accordingly fell upon Rudolf, the "pauper count" of Hapsburg. His position was a very difficult one, as he secured by election no domain lands and little real authority. Moreover, Alfonso of Castile still claimed the title, and the king of Bohemia, who had not been consulted about the election, was openly hostile to Rudolf. In order to gain the support of the Pope, he confirmed all previous grants of Italian lands to the Holy See, and made no attempt to enforce his claim to the kingdom of Sicily. His policy was to add to his family possessions in Germany. As the king of Bohemia remained hostile, Rudolf attacked him and succeeded in conquering Austria, which had been annexed to Bohemia. This was his only great success, and resulted in the establishment of the Hapsburg family in Austria, where their rule has lasted until the present day.

Election of Rudolf of Hapsburg.

At his death the electors refused to choose his son, and selected another weak noble. Their unwillingness to elect a strong candidate prevented the monarchy in Germany from becoming hereditary, as it had done in France. Each emperor tried to aggrandize his own family and to add to his domains. Outside of his immediate possessions no ruler was strong, and Germany continued to be divided into many independent states, some of large size, others with a few hundred acres only under their control.

Later emperors.

Among the richest of the villages which claimed to be independent of all powers except the emperor, were the Swiss Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on the Lake of Lucerne. These had been originally in the duchy of Swabia, and Rudolf of Hapsburg, before he became emperor, attempted to subjugate them, together with the rest of the duchy, to his sway. Fortunately for the little Swiss cantons, of which these villages were the centers, Rudolf's election turned his ambition in other directions, and they remained free. The

The Swiss Confederation.


SWISS CANTONS
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40
Three Cantons of the First League.
Five Cantons which joined the League by 1353.
Longitude East from Greenwich
6
7
8
9
10
47
46
FREE COUNTRY OF BURGUNDY
NEUCHÂTEL
L. of Neuchâtel
SOLOTHURN
BASEL
AARGAU
Sempach
LUCERNE
ZUG
ZURICH
L. of Zurich
SCHAFFHAUSEN
THURGAU
Lake of Constance
APPENZELL
ST. GALLEN
Näfels
Morgarten
SCHWYZ
L. of Lucerne
UNTERWALDEN
GLARUS
URI
BERN
FRIBOURG
VAUD
Lake of Geneva
CHABLAIS
VALLAIS
TICINO
GOTTESHAUS
L. Maggiore
L. of Como

next emperor, who was opposed to the Hapsburg claims, protected them for some years. In 1315, when the Hapsburg count finally sent a force against them, it was cut to pieces by the Swiss confederates in the battle of Morgarten. This success, and the growing desire for independence, led five other cantons[1] to join them, thus forming the Swiss Confederation.[2] The common danger of attack by a powerful foe caused the cantons to forget local jealousies and differences. The great attempt to subjugate them to the Hapsburg power was thwarted by the battle of Sempach, in 1386, and three years later the confederated cantons were acknowledged to be independent except for their allegiance to the emperor. In their wars the Swiss had proved themselves the best infantry in Europe, and their services were sought as mercenaries by the other nations.

The Hanseatic League.

In the north of Germany the cities were becoming very wealthy by trade. The weakness of the central government, and the privileges which they had secured, made them independent. The towns along the Baltic profited especially by the fisheries, as herring came thither each year in countless numbers. The perils of the sea and the dangers from robbers led these towns to unite for protection. When they formed such a union it was known as a hansa, or hanse.[3] The most important hanse was formed by the union of Hamburg and Lübeck, which was entered into for the protection of the road between the two cities. Gradually other towns joined in order to secure protection for their trade, until at about the beginning of the fourteenth century the association became known as the Hanseatic League. At first the purposes were wholly commercial, but their interests and the neces-

[1] Lucerne, 1320; Zurich, 1351; Glarus and Zug, 1352; Bern, 1353.

[2] The legend of William Tell and the oath of Rüthli are wholly fabulous.

[3] Hanse was a common term for associations formed for commercial purposes.

sities of common defense led them to undertake combined military operations against Denmark. For a time during the early fifteenth century this league was the most important power in the north. It was ruined by the departure of the herring, which left the Baltic, and by the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century, which gave the commercial advantage to other nations.[1]

Prussia.

The sphere of German influence was greatly extended in the northeast by the efforts of the Teutonic Order. This had been founded at the siege of Acre, during the third crusade, and had been confirmed in 1191 by the Pope. For a time its knights served in the Holy Land, but in 1231 transferred their activity to the lands along the Baltic which were still held by the heathen Slavs. In a half century they had conquered all of Prussia,[2] and there they maintained their power until the middle of the fifteenth century.[3]

Much later the lands of the Teutonic Order, which had become the duchy of Prussia, were transferred to the Hohenzollern Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg. From that time the Baltic provinces of Prussia were held by the elector of Brandenburg, until in the eighteenth century his title was changed to king "in Prussia."

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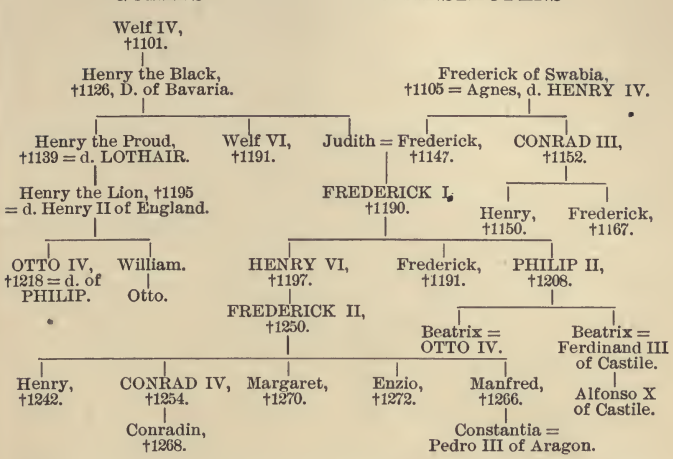
[1] Some cities, like Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck retained, until the nineteenth century, the name of hanse towns, but only as a symbol of freedom, not of association.

[2] Not the modern Prussia. See Map.

[3] Their later history is to be found in the history of the rise of Brandenburg and the growth of Poland.



NOTE.— =, married ; D., duke ; d., daughter. Names of emperors in capitals.

CHAPTER XVIII

France (1108–1314)

In Germany feudalism triumphed over the monarchy; the centralized government was weakened by repeated concessions to the nobles, until the king became merely the nominal suzerain, while all the real power was in the hands of the vassals. In France, the king in the eleventh century was a baron with no effective power outside of his own fiefs. In three centuries the kingship had shaken off its feudal bonds and had become a centralized government. The first four Capetian monarchs did little more than retain the title of king for their family; their possessions were less extensive than some of the fiefs held by their vassals. From this humble origin the kingdom grew, until, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it included almost all of modern France.

Contrast between Germany and France.

The Capetian rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were occupied with two great tasks: first, that of bringing all the fiefs in France under their direct rule; secondly, that of superseding the feudal usages by monarchical institutions. Their success was due to the fact that they moved slowly, attempting no rash innovations, and did not take any action which was not a natural outgrowth of existing customs. They took away gradually many rights from their vassals, but they did it by following feudal usages, and by claiming these rights as overlords. A part of their success was due to the ability of the individual rulers,

Two tasks of the French kings.

especially Philip Augustus and Louis IX; in fact, Louis VII is the only one of the twelfth or thirteenth century kings who can be called weak, and his weakness would be less apparent if he had not succeeded Louis VI and been followed by Philip Augustus.

Many circumstances, of which they took full advantage, aided in establishing their power. Most prominent of all was the fact that the kingship gradually became recognized as hereditary. In the earlier centuries it had been, like the German, elective. More fortunate than the German kings, each Capetian, for three centuries, had a son to succeed him. Each of the earlier monarchs had his son elected associate-king during his own life. In the time of Philip Augustus the hereditary succession was so fully recognized that he did not feel it necessary to continue the custom. When Louis VIII died, in 1226, his son, although only a child, was recognized without hesitation.

Favoring circumstances; hereditary kingship.

Seal of the City of Paris.

The king was aided by the rise of communes and the growth in importance of the non-noble classes, because the latter desired peace and order above all else. Not merely their prosperity, but their very safety, depended upon the suppression of private warfare and feudal exactions. The king could count upon assistance and money from them, if needed to check disorder. Moreover, the study of law at the universities was educating a large number of laymen from the middle class, who entered the royal service and superseded the nobles as the king's agents.

Aid from the third estate.

The French monarchs profited also by the misfortunes of their vassals. Throughout the country all the petty fiefs

were being absorbed into a few great fiefs; two of the most important of these were Normandy and Toulouse. As the duke of Normandy was the king of England, the civil wars in the latter country enabled the French king to annex Normandy to the royal possessions. The Albigensian crusade[1] so weakened the count of Toulouse that he was forced to resign most of his lands to the king, who gradually secured almost all of Languedoc. These favoring circumstances were utilized skilfully by the Capetians.

Troubles of the vassals.

This work was done so methodically, and the results were so striking, that modern writers are apt to attribute to the rulers a conscious plan and prophetic spirit. This is a mistake. The individual kings were frequently led by their personal feelings into actions which hindered progress. They never planned to discard the feudal usages with which they were familiar, in order to try experiments in statecraft. Yet, from the vantage-ground of the twentieth century, it is easy to trace out the steps by which the suzerains of the territory immediately about Paris became the monarchs of France. They established their rule firmly in the duchy of France. They drew into their employ men of humble birth, whose fortunes were wholly dependent upon the king, and thus were enabled to dispense with the services of their barons. They acquired one fief after another, until their domain included the whole kingdom. They developed a royal army, so that they were not wholly dependent upon the military forces of their vassals. They established royal courts of justice, which gradually absorbed the business of the baronial courts. They organized a national system of finance, which made them independent of feudal contributions. Some of these processes were going on simultaneously.

Steps in the creation of France.

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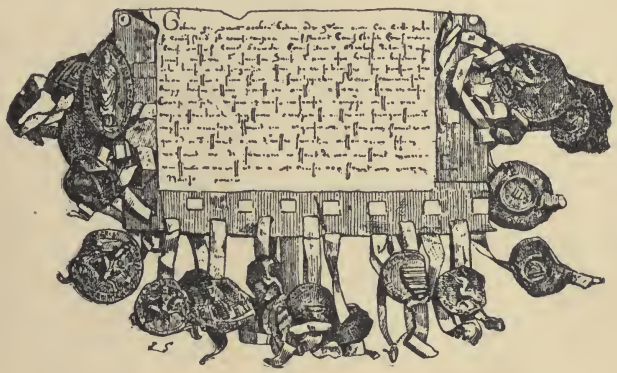
[1] See page 177.

Louis VI reduced to obedience the rebellious vassals in the duchy of France. He had been elected associate king in 1100, and because of the weakness of his father he had assumed the task of repressing disorder, and conducted many campaigns against his vassals. No one of these is important in itself, but the defeat of one vassal after another finally made the king supreme in his own domain. He burned many of the castles which

Louis VI, 1108-1137.



CHARTER OF ST. LOUIS, WITH SEALS.

were held by robber-barons, who had made it impossible for the king to travel in his own fief unless he was accompanied by an armed band. He protected the clergy and the poor against the exactions of the nobles. His chief minister was Suger, a monk of humble birth.

During the reign of Louis VII little progress was made. In his early years he continued the policy of his father in the duchy. He also attempted to establish his authority in Aquitaine, which he had acquired by marrying the heiress, Eleanor. This marriage, arranged by Louis VI, had more than doubled the possessions of the king. His real troubles began when he went on the second crusade. During his absence the barons became powerful.

Louis VII, 1137-1180.

and when he returned he had to take up again the task of establishing order in his duchy. He lost Aquitaine when he obtained a divorce from Eleanor. She had long despised her husband on account of his piety, which was in strong contrast with her own character. She hastened to marry his enemy, Henry of Anjou, who already held Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. By this marriage Henry became more powerful than Louis; his possessions in France were about six times as large as those under the immediate power of the French king, and in addition he soon became king of England. Almost all the remainder of Louis's reign was spent in wars against Henry. Probably the latter's struggle with Thomas Becket [1] saved Louis from defeat.

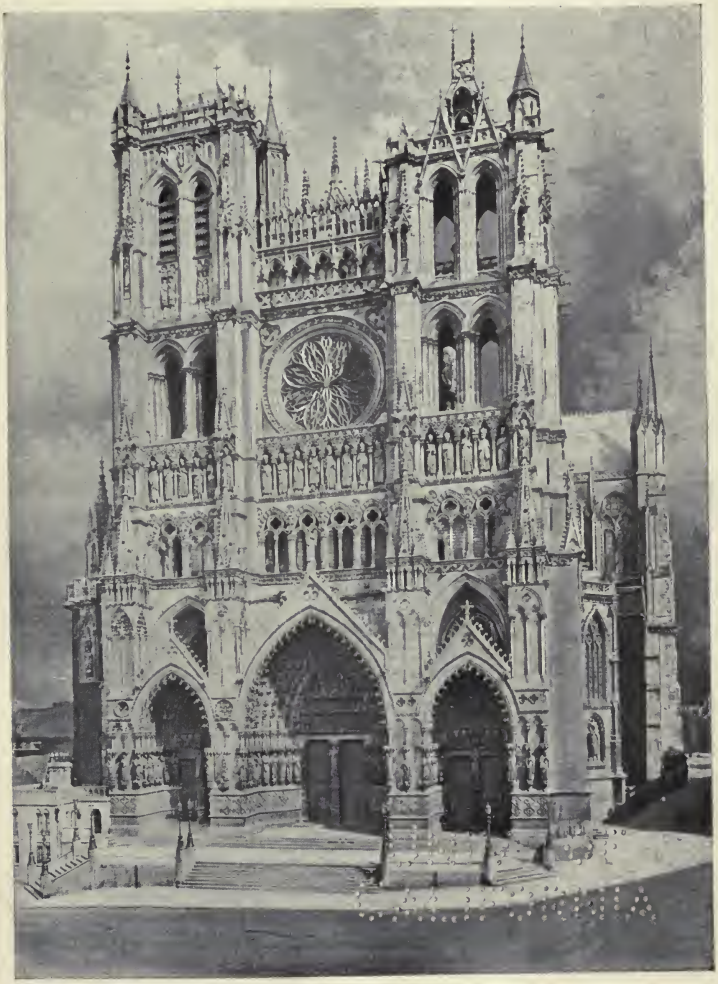
Philip II was only fifteen years of age when he became king. His strength of character and ability, however, were so marked that he soon took the reins of government into his own hands. He was the very man needed to release the French monarchy from its dangerous position. He was shrewd and diplomatic; he took advantage of every opportunity offered by his opponents and used every other means to increase his own power; he could conceal his feelings so successfully that no one could tell what he really intended to do.

Philip Augustus, 1180-1223.

The great task of his reign was to weaken the power in France of the English kings. While Henry II lived, Philip incited the English princes to rebel against their father. He aided each one in turn. After Henry's death, in 1189, had made Richard the Lion-hearted king of England, Philip professed the greatest friendship for the latter. Their intimacy, however, soon led to quarrels, and on the third crusade they became bitter enemies. When Richard was in captivity, Philip encouraged John of England to rebel and joined with him in

Philip and the English kings.

[1] See page 217.



CATHEDRAL, AMIENS.

UNIV OF
CALIFORNIA

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE

TIME OF HENRY II

attempting to bribe Henry VI of Germany to keep Richard in prison. After the release of the latter there was open war, until Richard's death freed Philip from the danger of being conquered. John's misdeeds gave him his opportunity, for John married the heiress of Angoulême, who had been betrothed to one of his own vassals, and, moreover, he was suspected of having murdered his nephew Arthur. As feudal overlord Philip summoned John to be tried for his crimes. The latter refused to obey the summons, and in accordance with feudal law forfeited the fiefs which he held from the French king.

Additions to territory.

Philip took possession of Normandy (1203–'04) and most of John's other possessions in France. He met with serious opposition at only two or three castles, as many of the vassals of John were glad to change their suzerain. Philip took no part personally in the Albigensian crusade, but watched it carefully and managed matters so that eventually Languedoc became the property of his descendants. Other fiefs were added by his shrewdness and diplomacy.

Divorce of Ingeborg.

While Richard the Lion-hearted was in captivity Philip planned an invasion of England, and in order to get the assistance of the Danish fleet he married a Danish princess, Ingeborg. She was only eighteen, virtuous and pretty. The very day after the marriage Philip showed a great aversion to her, and hastened to get a divorce, alleging falsely that she was related to him.[1] Ingeborg and her relatives appealed to the Pope, who pronounced the divorce illegal, and commanded Philip to receive her as his wife. Philip refused, kept Ingeborg a prisoner, and married Agnes of Meran. When Innocent III became Pope he laid an interdict upon France (1200) until Philip should send away Agnes and take back Inge-

[1] By the canon law relatives within certain degrees were forbidden to marry.

org. After ae months Philip pretended to yield, but hen the interdict was raised he still refused to live with ngeborg. Agnes died in 1201, but the unhappy Ingeborg as a prisoner for twenty years in all; she complained hat she was not given sufficient food or clothing.[1] Finally, n 1213, as Philip again needed the help of Denmark, e took back Ingeborg and treated her as the queen of rance. By his unexpected submission he secured the aid f Innocent III.

He needed this, for his position was desperate. John of ngland had succeeded in forming a coalition with the rul- rs of Germany, Holland, and Flanders, and by their assist- nce hoped to regain his lost provinces. The allies planned double attack upon France: the German and Flemish orces were to invade it from the north, while the English ttempted to reconquer Poitou and march upon Paris. John anded at La Rochelle, February 16, 1214, and was welcomed y some of his former vassals. While Philip went to meet he enemy in the north, his son Louis prevented John from conquering Poitou. The allies and the French engaged battle at Bouvines, where the latter, although greatly inferior in number, won a decisive victory, which had important results in three countries. It freed the king of France from his dangers; in Germany it decided the contest between Otto IV and Frederick II;[2] in England it gave such a blow to he power of John that he was soon obliged to sign the Great Charter.[3]

Battle of Bouvines, 1214.

Philip's work had been done thoroughly, so that on the death of Louis VIII (1223–1226), the latter's son, Louis IX, who was only eleven, succeeded to the throne without opposition. During the long minority, the nobles, aided by Henry III of England,

Louis IX, 1226–1270.

[1] The reason for the king's dislike and cruelty has never been ascertained.

[2] See page 194.

[3] See page 221.

rebelled repeatedly, but the rebellions were easily crushed. Then followed a long period of peace in which Louis governed France firmly and made it the most important country in Europe. His success was due chiefly to his admirable character; he was pious, just, and generous; he was so honorable that his arbitration was sought by foreigners; and he never took unfair advantage of a defeated foe. He delighted in works of charity and piety, fed the poor and nursed lepers with his own hands, and could never endure to hear profane or vulgar language. His nobles were amazed at his devotion, but they respected his vigor and loved his virtues. His subjects willingly obeyed him because they knew that he was just. Soon after his death he was made a saint—a fitting recognition of his preeminent virtues.

St. Louis.

Marguerite of Provence.

Philip the Fair, 1285-1314.

His grandson, Philip the Fair, is famous for his skill in organizing the administration. The foundations had been laid by Philip Augustus and Louis IX, but Philip IV completed the structure. The results of his work are the basis of the present administrative system in France. The government was centralized, and the power was taken from the feudal nobles in many ways. Lawsuits could be appealed from the feudal courts to the king's court, and many cases could be tried only by the latter tribunal. Philip's most famous innovation was the *States-*

General, in which all classes except the peasants were represented. At its first meeting in 1302, nobles, clergy, and citizens were summoned to assist the king; thus the importance of the third estate was recognized, and its aid was sought by the king.

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CHAPTER XIX

England (1135–1327)

HENRY I had secured from the barons an oath to recognize his daughter Matilda as his successor, but after his death her cousin Stephen obtained the crown, in 1135. The Scotch king and many English nobles asserted the superior rights of Matilda, and a civil war ensued which lasted for seventeen years. During this time the king lost all control of the country, and the power passed into the hands of the feudal nobles. The latter engaged in many private wars and wasted the kingdom so that famines followed in some counties; they also seized the property of private citizens and used torture to extort money from their victims. "They hanged up men by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. . . . They put knotted strings about men's heads and twisted the strings till they entered the brain. . . . Many thousands they starved." This period of anarchy was ended by the peace of Wallingford, in 1153, when Stephen was recognized as king by the party of Matilda, with the condition that her son Henry should receive the crown after Stephen's death.

Civil war, 1136–1153.

The following year Henry II succeeded to the throne. In addition to England he ruled over Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, which he had inherited. By his marriage with Eleanor, formerly the wife of Louis VII of France, he secured Aquitaine. Thus his French possessions were more extensive than his English kingdom, and for a time there was a possibility

French dominions of Henry II.

that England would be merely a subject country ruled by a French monarch. The danger to the French king has been discussed. Fortunately for the development of England, almost all of these foreign possessions were lost during the reign of John.[1]

In the British islands, on the other hand, the possessions of the Angevin[2] kings became much more extensive.

Ireland.

One of the popes, Adrian IV, is said to have made a grant of Ireland to Henry. Whether this is true or not, the latter made an expedition to that island in 1171, and during a brief stay received the submission of the Irish kings. Probably the real reason for his expedition was the growing power of Norman lords, who, dissatisfied with his rule, had left England and were attempting to establish independent principalities in Ireland. This so-called conquest gave the English kings a claim to Ireland, but the later kings paid little attention to that country, and the real conquest and incorporation did not take place until the reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1603.

Henry II also became overlord of Wales by the submission of the Welsh rulers. The overlordship was claimed by

Wales.

the succeeding kings, and was generally recognized until the time of Edward I. But the Welsh were constantly plundering the English border-lands and joined in every movement against the king. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, refused for some years to do homage to Edward, and even after acknowledging that he was the king's vassal, made war upon the latter. A long conflict followed, in which the Welsh, aided by the mountainous character of their country, made a stubborn resistance, but were subjugated in 1283. In the following year Edward II was born in their land and received the title of Prince of Wales—which is still borne by the oldest son of the king of England.

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[1] See page 210. [2] From Anjou, the home of Henry's father.

The Angevin kings also claimed the overlordship of Scotland, as William the Conqueror and William Rufus had both received the homage of the Scottish kings, and in 1137 King David of Scotland had aided Matilda as her vassal. The Scottish monarchs did homage to Henry II, but Richard the Lion-hearted sold his rights as overlord when he needed money for his crusade. On the death of Margaret, the heiress to the Scotch throne, in 1290, several relatives laid claim to the succession, and Edward I was asked to decide which was the lawful heir. He asserted the right of overlordship, which Richard had abandoned, and his authority was recognized by most of the claimants and by many of the nobles. John Balliol was made king by Edward, but soon became irritated, because he found that he was treated merely as a vassal of the English monarch, who kept the effective power in his own hands. Consequently Balliol revolted in 1295 and made an alliance with the French king. War followed in 1296; Balliol was captured, the country was conquered, and an English governor appointed. In fact, Scotland seemed to be incorporated into Edward's possessions. But in 1297 the Scotch revolted again under William Wallace; after a victory at Stirling, a defeat at Falkirk, and various other battles, he was captured, and executed in 1305. The next year Robert Bruce headed another revolt. The death of Edward I in 1307, and the weakness of Edward II, enabled Bruce to gain the mastery of almost all Scotland; and his victory at Bannockburn, in 1314, practically secured the independence of Scotland, which was recognized by the English in the Treaty of Northampton, 1323. The English kings made some attempts later to regain Scotland, but these were of little consequence.

Scotland.

William the Conqueror had favored the clergy and had added to the power of the Church in England, but he was in no way subservient to the papacy. He refused to do homage to Gregory VII; he forbade appeals to Rome; he

allowed no papal legate to land in the kingdom without his permission; and ecclesiastical laws had to receive his sanction before they became operative in England. Henry I wished to keep the same authority and refused to give up the right of investing church officials; but a compromise was reached in 1107, similar to that arranged by the Concordat of Worms.[1] In the period of civil war, however, the Church obtained great power, as there was no effective opposition from Stephen or Matilda.

Troubles with the Church; policy of William I and Henry I.

When Henry II became king he desired to regain the authority over the Church which William had wielded. Accordingly he appointed as archbishop of Canterbury his chancellor and most intimate friend, Thomas Becket, but the latter at once became the champion of the Church and attempted to assert his freedom from royal control. Open conflict was avoided, however, until the king promulgated the Constitutions of Clarendon, in 1164. By these laws appeals to Rome without the king's permission were forbidden; the king's consent was declared to be necessary for the election of bishops and abbots; clerics were in certain cases to be punished by the royal courts; estates held by the Church were to pay the same dues as lay fiefs; and a villein was not to receive ordination without his lord's consent. Becket resisted the enforcement of these laws and was forced to go into exile. In 1170 he returned and again provoked the anger of the king. Some followers of Henry, acting upon rash words which he uttered, murdered Thomas in Canterbury Cathedral. The general indignation of the people compelled Henry, who regretted that his anger had led to the murder, to rescind the constitutions and to do penance for the murder. Later, however, he succeeded in obtaining many of the powers which he desired.

Henry II and Thomas Becket.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

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[1] See page 61.

When the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant in 1205, during John's reign, a double election took place, and both parties appealed to the Pope, Innocent III. The latter set aside both candidates, one of whom was nominated by John, and had Stephen Langton elected. As John refused to accept Stephen, Innocent placed England under an interdict in 1208, and the following year excommunicated the king. The latter remained obdurate, and was threatened with deposition by the Pope in 1213. The people of England were so incensed by John's tyranny that he was compelled to yield to the Pope in order to keep his kingdom, and to submit to the most humiliating conditions, acknowledging himself to be a papal vassal, receiving Langton, and promising to pay a large sum each year as a recognition of the Pope's overlordship.

John and Innocent III.

During the period of misrule in the reign of Henry III, the popes treated England as a papal territory, exacting contributions and appointing hundreds of foreigners to church offices. In 1252 Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln, stated that the officials nominated by the Pope were enjoying revenues in England which were three times as great as the king's income.

Exactions under Henry III, 1216-1272.

Edward I endeavored to restrict the power of the clergy. In 1279 he made a law forbidding gifts of estates to the Church, because the lands which it held were free from the payment of feudal dues. He refused to submit to the authority claimed by Boniface VIII, in 1296. Ten years later he forbade members of the Church to pay contributions which were to be used outside the realm. Without openly breaking with the Pope he did all in his power to lessen the papal influence and authority over the Church in England.

Policy of Edward I, 1272-1307.

When Henry II became king in 1154, he set about the reestablishment of the royal authority, which had been

weakened in the long civil war. The Constitutions of Clarendon, by which he endeavored to restrict the powers of the Church, have been discussed. His other laws, which were called assizes, were intended to lessen the authority of the feudal lords, and may be divided into two general classes. Those of the first class built up a national army, in contrast with the feudal levies on which the king had been obliged to depend. Henry secured money to hire mercenaries by levying frequently a tax called scutage,[1] instead of calling upon the barons to perform their military service. This resulted in a serious loss of power by the feudal nobles. In 1176 he required that all earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and also villeins, who wished to remain in the realm, should take an oath of fealty to him. Thus he reenforced the law of William the Conqueror, which made all subjects responsible directly to the king, and not to any intermediate lord. In 1181, by the Assize of Arms, every freeholder was required to supply himself with suitable arms, and to serve when summoned; thus a national army could be raised directly by the king. The laws of the second class established a system of royal courts, which left comparatively little power to baronial courts. Judges were sent throughout the country to try cases; in 1176 their jurisdiction was extended, and they were given fixed circuits. In 1178 five judges were appointed to hear appeals at Westminster; from these the modern Court of the King's Bench developed.

Political changes; laws of Henry II.

Henry was interested mainly in his continental possessions, and of the thirty-five years of his reign he spent only thirteen in England. Richard I, who succeeded him, 1189–1199, was in England only ten months in all. John's tyranny and misrule, 1199–1216, alienated every one; in addition, the loss of his continental possessions in 1204, the defeat at Bouvines in

Why the kingship did not become absolute.

[1] From *scutum*, a shield.

1214, and his troubles with the Pope, weakened him. His successor, Henry III, 1216–1272, was unable to govern the realm. Consequently, in spite of the energetic measures of Henry II, the English nobles and people had a long period in which to develop their strength, and when a really capable king, Edward I, 1272–1307, came to the throne, the nation had secured certain rights which the monarch was obliged to respect.

These rights had been obtained mainly by the struggle for the charters. In 1215 the estrangement of the nation from John became so great that the barons met together, and, led by Stephen Langton, compelled the king to sign the Great Charter. This contained few, if any, new principles; but was merely a statement of the rights formerly enjoyed by the subjects. Freedom of election to church offices was confirmed; feudal exactions were restricted; courts were to be held at fixed times and places; freemen were not to be imprisoned or punished except in accordance with the law of the land. John was forced to dismiss his mercenaries, and to consent to the appointment of a commission of twenty-five—twenty-four barons and the mayor of London—who should see that these provisions were observed. When the Pope annulled the charter and suspended Langton, the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of the king of France. John's death saved the kingdom for his son, Henry III, whom the nobles preferred to a foreign ruler.

Magna Charta.

For eleven years during Henry's youth the government was directed well by the king's ministers. But they had to struggle against the queen-mother's foreign favorites, who received many appointments in England. From 1227 to 1258 Henry ruled in person, and aroused opposition from his subjects by his incapacity, by his preference for foreigners, and by his demands for money. In order to obtain funds he confirmed the charter repeatedly, but never kept his promises. In

Misrule under Henry III.

1258, when Henry demanded an enormous sum of money for the Pope, the "Mad Parliament" met, headed by Simon de Montfort, brother-in-law to the king and the son of Montfort, the leader in the Albigensian crusade. This parliament drew up the Provisions of Oxford, which ordered the expulsion of all foreigners, and transferred the government from the king to the barons. Dissensions, however, soon arose among the latter, and the king was able to regain his authority for a time. As he did not observe the Provisions, Earl Simon took up arms against him; after a few months a truce was made, but the war soon broke out again. Simon was slain in 1265, and his associates surrendered in the following year; but in 1267 Henry was compelled to grant almost all the reforms which the "Mad Parliament" had asked.

In 1265 Simon had called together a parliament, to which, besides the clergy and the nobles who were of his party, representatives of the shires, and burghers from certain cities and boroughs, had been summoned. He took this step in order to gain support. At first this innovation bore little fruit, but in 1295, when Edward I needed the aid of all his subjects, he summoned the "Model Parliament." This consisted of tenants-in-chief, representatives of all classes of the clergy, knights of the shire, and two citizens from each city or borough. As Edward said in his summons, "What affects all should be approved by all." Thus the English Parliament was established in the form which it retained until the nineteenth century. Moreover, Edward was obliged, in 1297, to agree to the principle that no general contribution should be exacted from his vassals without the consent of Parliament.

Growth of Parliament.

Edward I was able and energetic, a great contrast to his father and also to his son. His wars, his resistance to the demands of the Church, and his "Model Parliament," have been mentioned. In addition, he passed a long series of

laws which diminished the power of the feudal nobles, and established order in the realm. The Assize of Arms was renewed; the process of subinfeudation was restricted, thus preventing a multiplication of feudal duties; and investigation was made to see by what right nobles exercised their judicial and administrative authority; merchants were protected and commerce encouraged; liberal charters were granted to towns, and Magna Charta was confirmed. In short, on the one hand, he restricted the authority of the barons; on the other, he fostered the welfare and prosperity of the merchants.

Laws of Edward I.

Edward II was a weak king, and his reign lessened the royal authority which his father had done so much to establish. For a few years he governed by the aid of his favorite Gaveston, who was hated by the people. In 1311 the barons wrested the power from Edward, and compelled him to dismiss his favorite. In the following year Gaveston returned, and was executed by the barons, who, except for a short period, kept the power until 1322. Then Edward recovered his authority, and ruled with his new favorites, the Despensers. In 1327 the queen, supported by the nation, compelled the king to abdicate, and put the Despensers to death. These twenty years of misrule enabled the barons, who were the leaders of the nation, to weaken the royal authority and assert the rights of the subjects.

Misrule of Edward II, 1307-1327.

Thus the course of events in these centuries led to results in England which differed widely from those attained in France. In the latter country the Capetians, at the beginning of the twelfth century, had little authority and only a small territory under their immediate sway. At the beginning of the fourteenth the French kings ruled almost all of France with an absolute government. In England, on the contrary, at the opening of this period, the kings were absolute, and had enormous territories in France and England. In 1327

Contrast with France.

their French estates, with a few exceptions, had been lost, and their subjects had compelled them to recognize that the royal prerogatives were limited by the rights of the people.

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CHAPTER XX

The Other European Nations

THUS far Germany with Italy, France and England, have been the nations which have occupied the chief place in the discussion. Now it is necessary to trace the growth of the Christian states in the Spanish peninsula, the destruction of the Byzantine Empire, and the rise of kingdoms in Russia and the Scandinavian countries. For all of these states were important in the thirteenth century, and were destined to be still more important in the future.

The new nations.

The Moors had never conquered the whole of Spain. The Christians who refused to submit to them had established strongholds in the mountains of the northwest, and, as they increased in number, had gradually reconquered one place after another. When the caliphate of Cordova broke up in 1033 into seven kingdoms, the Christians held nearly one-third of the peninsula. Leon, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon were the most important Christian states. Their history for the succeeding one hundred and fifty years is marked by constant struggles with one another, and by almost incessant warfare with the Mohammedan powers. At first Navarre, under Sancho the Great, 970–1035, was supreme; but when Sancho died, his kingdom was divided among his sons, and Ferdinand I, who ruled over Castile and Leon, became the chief power among the Christians.

Christian states in Spain.

Under Alfonso VI, who died in 1108, the great period of conquest began. Madrid and Toledo were captured. It

was during this reign that the Cid became famous. The latter's career is very instructive for the history of the period. At times he fought for his sovereign Alfonso; when it served his purpose he allied himself with the Moors, or entered into the service of the king of Aragon, who was the rival of Alfonso. He was a soldier of fortune, of recognized bravery and great ability; his alliance with the Moors and opposition to his monarch did not tarnish his fame, and he has become the legendary hero of Spain.

Wars with the Moors.

In order to oppose the Christian advance the Moors sought aid from Africa. The Almoravides entered Spain in 1086, and sixty years later were followed by the Almohades. They, in turn, became masters of Mohammedan Spain, but without checking permanently the advance of the Christians. Portugal, which was composed of lands conquered from the Moors, was made a kingdom shortly before the arrival of the Almohades, and Lisbon was taken in 1147. During this time many crusaders took part in the Spanish wars against the infidel; but the most important source of strength was found in the military orders, especially that of Santiago, which were founded in the twelfth century. Under the influence of the crusading spirit the war in Spain took on the character of a religious war. Although the Christians were usually impeded by strife between the different kings, in 1212 the monarchs of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre united and won the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa. This resulted in the permanent triumph of Christianity, and within fifty years the Moorish possessions were confined to the little kingdom of Granada.

Almoravides and Almohades.

From that time until the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1469, the Christians were so much occupied in wars with one another that they made no attempt to conquer Granada. Portugal became separated politically from the rest of the pen-

Conquest of Granada.


FRANCE
Coruna
C. of Trastamare
Santiago de Compostella
GALICIA
Orens
Astorgao
Llinia
Sanabria
Oviedo
PR. OF ASTURIAS
Santander
VISCAYA
GUIPUZCOA
Leon
Burgos
Palencia
Valladolid
KINGDOM OF NAVARRE
KINGDOM OF
Zaragoza
Lerida
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
ARAGON
Entre Minho e Douro
Traz os Montes
PORTUGAL
Salamanca
Sierra de Guadarama
Siguenza
Molina
Avila
Madrid
Cuenca
D. of Infantado
Coimbra
Plesencia
Toledo
KINGDOM OF CASTILLE AND LEON
NEW CASTILE
La Mancha
Alcudia
Merida
Lisbon
Evor
Beja
Guadiana
Tejo e Alemtej
Entre
KINGDOM
Estremadura
D. of Albuquerque
M. of Villena
VALENCIA
Valencia
Alicante
Elche
Murcia
Oriuela
MURCIA
Lorca
Cartagena
CORDOVA
JAEN
Cordova
ANDALUSIA
Sevilla
SEVILLA
Spanish Algarve
ALGARVE DE AQUEM MAR
Huescar
Bursiena
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Granada
Almeria
Malaga
Cadiz
D. of Medina Sidonia
Tanges
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF MAJORCA AND ROUSSILLON
MINORCA
Palma
MALLORCA
IVIZA
FORMENTERA
THE SPANISH PENINSULA
14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES
SCALE OF MILES
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Longitude West 6 from Greenwich
Longitude East 2 from Greenwich

nsula. Navarre disintegrated; the part to the north of the Pyrenees became French territory, the southern portion was nnexed by its more powerful neighbors. In 1474 Isabella ecame queen of Castile, and in 1479 Ferdinand became ing of Aragon; their united kingdoms composed almost ll of Spain. In 1481 the final struggle with the Moors egan, and ten years later the conquest of Granada was ompleted.

The religious war, which may be called a perpetual crusade, had an important influence upon the internal development of Spain. The clergy became more influential than in any other European country. A spirit of intolerance was aroused which led to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella, to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and later to the expulsion of the Moors. The people secured political rights in Spain much earlier than in any other European country. In 1133 they obtained representation in the Cortes, or parliament, of Aragon, and in 1166 in that of Castile. The nobles also were very independent of the monarchs until the union of Castile and Aragon enabled Ferdinand and Isabella to establish their authority firmly at the expense of their subjects. The latter were powerless to resist, because the nobles and the people had always been disunited and opposed to each other.

Results of wars.

Alexius Comnenus, 1081–1118, reestablished the strength of the Byzantine Empire, and also secured some territory in Asia by the aid of the crusaders. But the establishment of the latter in Syria was a serious blow to the prosperity of the Eastern Empire. The trade between the east and the west, which had formerly centered at Constantinople, was now diverted to the Syrian seaports. In order to retain at least a portion at Constantinople, special privileges were given to the Venetians and Pisans, who established trading colonies there. As they were exempted from taxation they were

Byzantine Empire, 1095-1204.

enabled to undersell the Greek merchants, and the state was deprived of almost all customs duties. The extravagance of Manuel I, 1143–1180, the brutality of Andronicus I, 1183–1185, and the weakness, misrule, and lavish expenditure of Isaac Angelus, 1185–1195, brought the empire to the verge of ruin.

Latin Empire, 1204-1261.

The crusaders in 1204 had comparatively little difficulty in capturing Constantinople and in establishing the Latin Empire. But the feudal states into which the empire was divided had no unity, and the Greek subjects were hostile to their masters. Greek nobles established principalities in Asia Minor and in outlying portions of the old empire. The Venetians, who had obtained the lion's share of the conquests, were the only western rulers who maintained their authority. One part after another of the Latin Empire was reconquered by Greek rulers until finally, in 1261, Constantinople itself fell into their hands. Some Latin nobles retained principalities for a generation or two, and the Venetians continued to hold the islands and parts of the coast. The emperors of Constantinople managed to keep their capital for nearly two hundred years of inglorious rule. This was due partly to the strength of the city and partly to the lack of any continued effort by their opponents. Early in the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks began their attacks upon the empire, and one city after another was wrested from its grasp. Finally, after all the territory outside the city had been occupied by the Turks, Constantinople fell into their hands in 1453.

The Greek Empire, 1261-1453.

Russia.

The early history of Russia is very obscure. Its Slavonic inhabitants were conquered in part by the Northmen under Rurik in the latter half of the ninth century. The foreign rulers maintained themselves at first by aid from the Scandinavian countries; then they turned to their subjects, the Slavs, for support. About the year 1000 the Christian religion was introduced by the

COURT OF THE LIONS, ALHAMBRA.

CORNELL

ruler and the people were brought under the civilizing influence of the Byzantine Empire. For a time the country was united under an able ruler, churches were built in many places, trade was fostered, and Russia seemed destined to be a great European power. But on the death of Jaroslav the Great, 1015–1044, his kingdom was split into many fragments which engaged in almost constant warfare with one another. This state of confusion lasted for two centuries. During the latter part of the period Russia was attacked on the west and northwest by the religious orders, the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic order, who by their conquests shut it off from the Baltic and from Poland. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Tartars subjugated Russia, which became Asiatic rather than European, and for three centuries remained under their yoke. As it was cut off from Europe and from contact with the civilization which led to the Renaissance and Reformation, its history followed a course widely different from that of any other European country.

Scandinavian countries.

The invasions and conquests of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries brought the Scandinavian countries into connection with the rest of Europe, but the inhabitants who remained at home were much less advanced in civilization than their kinsmen, the Normans, who settled in England, France, or Italy. Christianity was introduced in the eleventh century when Canute the Great, 1014–1035, was for a time king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. After his death separate kingdoms were formed and little advance was made until the thirteenth century, when the countries became thoroughly Christianized and profited by the growing commerce in the Baltic Sea. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were engaged in conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a short period at the beginning of the latter century the three countries were again united; for Margaret, who chanced to secure all three crowns, per-

WOODEN DOOR OF CHURCH IN ICELAND.
(Tenth or eleventh century.)

suaded the nobles to agree to the Union of Kalmar in 1397. Soon, however, the countries again separated. Their importance in the middle ages was due to their voyages and colonization. In addition to their conquest in England and on the continent, the Norwegians settled Iceland, which was soon a flourishing although little developed state, and made voyages to North America centuries before the discovery by Columbus.

Other nations.

In order to make a complete survey of Europe in the thirteenth century, it would be necessary to follow the fortunes of the Finns and Slavs, as well as the stronger nations. The most important representatives of the Finns were the Hungarians or Magyars. They invaded Europe in the ninth century as nomads, and by their devastations terrorized Germany and Italy. Defeated by Otto the Great on the Lechfeld in 955, they ceased their depredations for a time. Under St. Stephen, 995–1038, they were converted to Christianity, and under his successors conquered all of the present Hungary. They still retained their nomadic habits in the twelfth century, rarely dwelling in houses. In 1222 the nobles secured from the king the Golden Bull, which guaranteed their privileges and in some points resembled Magna Charta; but the people obtained no rights, and were held in bondage by the nobles. Besides the Russian Slavs, other Slavs settled in Bohemia and Poland. The former country came under the German influence; the king of Bohemia in the thirteenth century became one of the seven imperial electors, and his capital was for a time the residence of the emperor. Poland was the scene of almost continuous civil war, in which the nobility destroyed the power of the king, only to fall into a state of anarchy.

With the close of the thirteenth century, or the beginning of the fourteenth, the medieval period ended in the most progressive countries. In the others, medieval conditions continued to prevail for a longer or a shorter

time. The fourteenth century is of far less interest than the thirteenth, for, although substantial progress was made, it was due mainly to the diffusion of the ideas and activities which had their birth in an earlier age. Some writers have characterized the two periods by saying that after the wonderful advance of the thirteenth century the nations "marked time" during the fourteenth. Certainly the conditions and forces which had determined the course of events in the middle ages were replaced to a considerable extent by other interests at the close of this period. The more important modern nations of Europe were well established, and Christianity was the dominant religion. The medieval empire had lost its power, and with it departed the dream of a world-wide Christian state. The papacy was soon to undergo a captivity at Avignon, from which it would emerge with views and powers widely different from those held by Innocent III. Feudal institutions were declining rapidly, and the men of the third estate were rising into prominence. The Renaissance was soon to dawn. Europe was on the verge of geographical discoveries which would reveal a far larger world, and would culminate at the end of the fifteenth century with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America; gunpowder was to revolutionize the art of war, and the printing-press was destined to diffuse a greater degree of general intelligence. Master minds, like Roger Bacon and Dante, who has been well styled the Janus-faced, illustrate the character of the age, although they were far in advance of their contemporaries. In most respects, they were thoroughly medieval in all their education and thoughts; but occasionally they had intuitions and wrote passages instinct with the modern spirit.

Close of the middle ages.

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