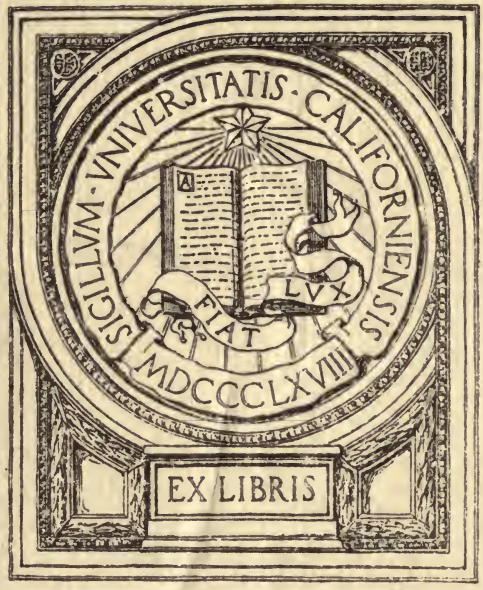
SAINTS & HEROES OF THE WESTERN WORLD

BY MURIEL O. DAVIS



SAINTS & HEROES OF THE WESTERN WORLD

BY

MURIEL O. DAVIS

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF

LADY MARGARET HALL, OXFORD

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

MDCCCCXXI

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THIS small book is an attempt to interest those who are beginning the study of European History. I have hoped to illustrate at least one line of thought by means of the biographies of a few great men.

A list of some of the books which I have consulted will be found at the end of this volume. I have selected them because they are easily accessible to the general reader.

My thanks must be expressed to two of my colleagues, Miss G. I. Anderson and Miss J. M. Hughes of Somerville College, who by their friendly interest and almost daily disagreement with my opinions have made the composition of this book a pleasant and lively task ; and also to my brother, Mr. H. W. C. Davis, who, however, is not responsible for any of the defects of this little volume.

M. O. DAVIS.

BANGOR.
January 22, 1921.

CONTENTS

I. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

(Reigned 306–337)

Those who write about European history (or the history of Western civilization as it is often called) generally divide the subject into three sections—namely, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern History. It is not easy, however, to say exactly when any one of these divisions begins or ends, because periods of history do not come suddenly to a full stop like the acts of a play. Our ancestors did not wake up one fine morning to discover that they had passed in the night from ancient to mediaeval times. Each era of history melts into the next, as the dawn into the morning and the evening into the night, and very often the people who live through the change fail to realize what is happening. Thus, any exact division of history into periods is only a very rough-and-ready contrivance for the sake of convenience.

Remembering this, we may take Ancient History to mean the rise and downfall of the power of Greece, the rise of Rome and the growth of its Empire, and also the beginning of its gradual decline. In the same sense Modern History may be said to begin with the new interest in learning which grew up in Europe somewhere about the year 1453—that is, the year when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks. Again, we may understand Mediaeval History to be the history of the centuries which fall between Ancient and Modern Times.

The aim of this book is to tell the stories of the lives of some of the famous people who lived in Mediaeval and Modern Times.

Mediaeval History is mixed and entwined with the history of the Roman Empire, and cannot be understood apart from some knowledge of that Empire, the rise of which, dating from centuries before the birth of Christ, had been so gradual, so steady, and so marvellous that men at last thought of it as

something almost miraculous and eternal. The decay of the Empire was the work of centuries, and many generations of men refused to believe that it could ever come to an end. Even when its greatness and power were fading before their very eyes, they preferred to hope and believe that the glory of the Empire was only hidden by a passing cloud, and that one day its power would be seen again.

The Roman Empire grew out of humble beginnings, just as a sturdy oak-tree springs from a little acorn which chance has dropped into a patch of good soil. The story of Romulus and Remus is perhaps only a fable, but at any rate it serves to remind children and grown-up people alike of the slow growth and immemorial antiquity of Rome and its power. And it is little wonder that few considered the possibility of the downfall of this power. Those who may chance to sit in the grateful shade of an oak-tree on a summer's day, enjoying the defence its leaves give from the glare of the sun, or from the heavy raindrops, perhaps hardly ever think of its little beginnings, and they are still less likely to consider the day of its decay, or the chance that a lightning stroke may destroy some of its limbs, or even smite it to the earth. Even so it was in the olden days with those who lived within the security of the Roman Empire. They assumed that it had risen by a miracle, and that it would stand by a miracle for ever. Even when bad storms came, when the Empire was attacked by barbarous tribes from without, and torn by quarrels from within, men hoped and believed that a day was coming when once more all would be well.

Legend tells us that Rome was founded by Romulus more than seven hundred years before the birth of Christ (753 B.C.). After his death the city was ruled by a long line of kings, until in course of time the crown fell to the Tarquins, a family so wicked that the people in desperation rose up and drove them out (510 B.C.). The Romans then swore that henceforth they would manage their own affairs by means of a Republic—that is, a government carried on by elected representatives of the people. At the head of the Republic they put two Magistrates or Consuls.

After this revolution, the power of the city of Rome was gradually extended first over Italy and then into the Mediterranean countries and beyond the Alps until at last it included most of Europe, and even parts of Asia Minor. This process was very gradual, and all the while the Romans were making laws, drilling armies, building roads, founding cities, subduing other civilized peoples, and forcing the barbarians within their boundaries to live at peace with one another in a civilized fashion.

The Republic had many struggles. Again and again many ambitious men tried to get the sole power in the State. At last Julius Caesar actually succeeded in doing this, for in the year 48 B.C. he had himself proclaimed *Imperator*, or Commander-in-chief, and though he himself was murdered because men thought he was a tyrant, after his death Emperors ruled Rome and its dominions for over four hundred years. This rule of the Emperors seems wonderful, because many of those who succeeded Julius Caesar were bad or weak men ; but the fact of the matter was that the officials who did the work of the State were often so good that all went well in spite of, and not because of, the Emperors themselves.

One of these Emperors, Constantine the Great, was a particularly important person, not only for the men of his day, but for many after-generations in Europe. If we know something of his work, we shall understand much that might otherwise seem difficult in mediaeval history.

Constantine reigned as Emperor from the year 306 down to 337. To those who live in the British Isles, it is interesting to know that he was proclaimed Emperor when he was at York. He had come to this island with his father, the Emperor Constantius, to take part in a campaign against the Britons. Constantius was joint Emperor with one Galerius ; and his share of the task of Empire had been to govern Gaul and to recover Great Britain from the rule of the barbarians. On his father's death, in 306, Constantine was proclaimed Emperor, but he was not sole Emperor at first because Galerius did not die until 311. In 312, soon after the death of Galerius, no less than three rivals

proclaimed themselves Emperor. This meant even more fighting than before.

Constantine determined to act quickly. He made his way to the Alps, crossed into Italy, and went in search of these three claimants. One he defeated at the battle of Milvian Bridge just outside Rome; with the second, Licinius, by name, he made friends and agreed to rule with him as joint Emperor; and the third he put down with the help of this newly found friend.

There is a wonderful story, the story of the Shining Cross, which is told about the battle of Milvian Bridge. Constantine believed that, just before he was going out to fight, he saw a vision of the Cross in the sunlit sky, and the words 'By this conquer' written in Greek above the Cross. Moreover, in after days he declared that our Lord had appeared to him by night in a vision, directing him to make a standard with these words upon it, and a Cross, telling him also that this standard should be a token of victory. This command Constantine obeyed, and he won the battle. Afterwards, in gratitude and in order to show his belief in the power of Christianity, we are told that he issued the Edict of Milan 313). By this Edict he declared that the practice of all forms of religion was to be permitted within the Empire. This decree at last freed the Christians from cruel persecutions. From henceforth it became lawful to practise and teach Christianity within the borders of the Empire; and thus Christian teaching soon began to spread. If only for this reason the reign

COIN OF CONSTANTINE[1]

[1] The coin, which is enlarged to twice its actual size in the photograph, shows a standard (*labarum*) with the words SPES PUBLICA beneath it. The spear which carries the standard is surmounted by XP, and transfixes a serpent.

of Constantine is important for Europe; because hitherto Christians had been cruelly persecuted and molested.

Constantine and Licinius did not reign either long or happily as joint Emperors. They were suspicious and jealous of each other, and at last, in the year 314, they came to open warfare. Licinius had never been a friend of the Christians, and he did not really approve of the Edict of Milan, so he now began to

URBS CONSTANTINOPOLITANA NOVA ROMA[1]

persecute them again, to satisfy his anger against Constantine. Once more Constantine arose as the champion and defender of Christianity. After much fighting, his enemy was finally defeated at the battle of Chrysopolis, or Adrianople, in 323. This was the last of Constantine's wars, and he remained sole Emperor until the day of his death.

It is surprising to learn that, although Constantine had

[1] An early picture of Constantinople from a manuscript in the Bodleian of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (an account of the different parts of the Roman Empire), which was copied in 1436 for Pietro Donato, Bishop of Padua, from a very ancient manuscript then in the library of Spires but now lost.

befriended and defended the Christians, he himself was not baptized until his last illness in the year of his death 337. Long before that, however, he had publicly proclaimed himself a Christian, and had proved his sincerity by many of his measures. By his order, for instance, such property as had been taken from the Christians was restored to them; churches were rebuilt or repaired, and those which had been taken for heretic worship

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, ROME

were restored to the Christians. Sunday, the Christian holiday, was ordered to be observed as a public holiday, and by his command no business might lawfully be transacted upon that day.

In 325, too, the Emperor summoned a Council, the Council of Nicaea, to settle those disputes which had arisen with the followers of the heretic Arius as to what the Church should teach as the true belief. To this Council came over 300 Bishops. Here they drew up a statement of belief, the Nicene Creed, the substance of which, though not the exact words, may be found to-day in the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church.

But these are not the only great acts for which Constantine is remembered. For instance he removed his capital from Rome to Byzantium, which he renamed Constantinople, or the city of Constantine (330). He did this because he believed Constantinople to be a more convenient centre than Rome from which to govern the Empire, and to defend its eastern frontiers. Constantine made this city exceedingly beautiful; he spent much wealth in adorning it with wonderful buildings, so that it became one of the wonders of the civilized world.

MEDAL OF CONSTANTINE

Yet more important than all the building which Constantine did, was the effect his removal of the capital had on the power of the Bishop of Rome. In future when the Emperor was absent from Rome, the Bishop was by far the most important person in that city; and in time, men began to look upon the Bishop as having inherited some of the world-wide powers of the Emperors. It seems almost as if the men of those days believed that the mere fact of living in Rome gave some magical power to a man. In the Middle Ages, men who were anxious to support the claims of the Pope to greater authority said that Constantine had removed himself from Rome in order to give the Bishop fuller liberty, and that he had given, in point of fact, wide powers to Sylvester, the then Pope. They said these powers were all written down in a document called the 'Donation (or gift) of Constantine'. In reality, however, this Donation

was forged between the years 756 and 766, many years after the death of Constantine, and he never made any grant of this kind. However, though it was a lie, it is interesting to us because it explains what the supporters of the Papacy in the eighth century wished to be believed by the 'faithful'. The writer of the Donation began by saying that Constantine, having been healed of his leprosy by St. Peter and St. Paul, had, in token of gratitude, decreed that Sylvester should be the universal Bishop, and that he should possess 'our palace, as also the city of Rome, and all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy, or of the western regions', and that this shall remain uninjured and unshattered until the end of the world. This document deceived many people. It was not until the days of the Revival of Learning, in the fifteenth century, that it was proved to be a piece of clever trickery.

There are, then, three reasons why Constantine has earned the name of 'the Great'. Firstly, he defended the Christians from persecution in dangerous days; secondly, he beautified Constantinople, and made it his capital, and, thirdly, he was unknowingly a benefactor of the Popes by removing his capital to the East and giving them a chance of extending their authority. Whether he meant to help the Popes or not does not affect the question of the fame his action brought to him, nor the importance of the consequences that followed.

Before we leave Constantine, it is interesting to learn what he looked like, and what kind of man he was. We are told that he was tall, strong, and handsome; that he was pleasing and amusing, and that, though ill educated himself, he knew the value of education. He was not a lazy man who had good luck, but a wise man who worked hard and deserved his fame. He loved pomp and glory, and he spent much wealth on building, on his court, and on great feasts and festivals. As he grew older he became childish and more and more vain about his personal appearance. We are even told that he wore false hair of various colours, which he had very skilfully arranged; that he wore jewels of all kinds and beautiful robes of flowing silk curiously embroidered with flowers of gold, so that he sounds more like

a silly, vain woman than an Emperor. Perhaps in this way he was only trying to imitate the splendours of those Eastern monarchs whom he had either seen, or, of whom, perhaps, he had heard wonderful tales, hoping that thus he would obtain the reverence and deference of uncivilized as well as civilized peoples, and at any rate we may as well give him the benefit of this excuse.

IMPORTANT DATES

306–37. Reign of Constantine the Great.
313. Battle of Milvian Bridge.
313. Edict of Milan.
323. Battle of Chrysopolis (Adrianople).
325. Council of Nicaea.
330. Constantine makes Byzantium his capital.

II. THEODORIC THE OSTROGOTH

(King of Italy) (Reigned 493–526)

THE defence of the vast frontier line of the Roman Empire was always a difficult task. Wild tribes, called Barbarians by the Romans, settled on its borders and looked greedily at its peace and plenty. Rome indeed styled herself the mistress of the world, but these vast tribes of people outside her borders in fact rendered her no obedience, but rather did her injuries whenever it was possible. On the eastern borders, for instance, the German tribes, which included many subdivisions such as the Teutons and the Goths, were a constant menace. These were a tall, fair-haired, rosy-cheeked race, blue-eyed, living by agriculture, fond of liberty and food and drink. Unlike other races of Europe, they had not come in contact with the civilization of Greece, for Greece had absorbed much of the best teaching of Asia and had handed it on to Rome and the West. Thus, these German tribes were far behind the rest of Western Europe in the arts of civilization. And moreover they were often driven to invade the Empire by enemies that attacked them in the rear, such as the Huns, an Asiatic race, who roamed from place to

place, seeking pasture for their flocks, and ravaging and pillaging the countryside. Here is a contemporary description of these people. 'They all have closely-knit and strong limbs and plump necks; they are of great size and bow-legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out in a rude manner with an axe on the posts at the end of bridges. They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, and are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well-flavoured food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them, as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres as things not fit for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reeds, but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. None of them plough, or even touch a plough handle, for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering about with their wagons which they make their homes; in fact, they seem to be people always in flight.'[1]

Some few years after the death of Constantine the Great, in order to meet the difficulty of defending the Empire, the experiment was made of dividing it into two parts. One Emperor lived in the East at Constantinople, the other in the West at Rome (364). This plan, however, was only partly successful. In the East, it is true, the Emperors held their own down to the year 1453, when at last the Turks besieged and took Constantinople. Then, and not till then, the Eastern Empire was brought to an end. But the Western Empire fell shortly after the division in 364. Europe was overrun by the German tribes and the Huns, and in the general confusion the Emperor of the West

[1] See Robinson's *Readings in European History*, vol. i, p. 35, quoted from Ammianus Marcellinus.

fell into the hands of his own mercenary soldiers in Italy. In the year 476, these soldiers took a bold step, setting up as ruler, Odoacer, one of their own number. This having been accomplished, they sent messengers to Zeno, the Eastern Emperor, telling him curtly that in their opinion one Emperor was enough for the world, and that he himself would do for the purpose. They demanded that he should give Odoacer the title of *Patrician* and entrust him with their government. Undoubtedly this message flattered Zeno, and he gave his consent to the plan. This meant that the Western Empire had fallen, at any rate for the time being. The plan of 364, therefore, which was meant to provide for the better defence of Western civilization by the subdivision of the Empire, had failed at last.

Although the power of the Empire was now destroyed in the West, the tradition and memory of its greatness was still alive. Indeed, many men refused to believe that it had really passed away. There were always some to be found who believed that the custom of having an Emperor at Rome could never be abolished, that it was just as much an established fact as that the sun shines by day and the moon by night. Even when there was not an Emperor at Rome, these hopeful men thought that clouds had only gathered for a time, and that one day some great man would come back to take up the old title and honour. We shall often find in later days that ambitious men had this vision before their eyes. They were ever hoping and scheming to set up a Western Empire again and plotting to revive its ancient glories once again.

One of these earliest attempts at the restoration of the Western Empire was made by Theodoric, King of the wandering Teutonic tribe of the Ostrogoths. The life of Theodoric is a tale of surprising adventures and changes. At first, he seemed to be only a bold warrior, like many another of his tribe. But time and circumstances developed him into a wise and great statesman. He found that he could not remain content with pulling down what others had set up, and so he grew into a nation-builder. He endeavoured to establish a Teutonic kingdom in Italy, on

the ruins of the ancient Roman Empire, working for peace and law and order among and between the Goths and the Romans. And it is for this reason that he became famous and renowned. Theodoric built up the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy. Justinian, as we shall see in another chapter, brought about its fall. These two names, for these reasons, it has been said ' will ever defy oblivion '.

Theodoric was born in the year 454, more than a hundred years after the death of Constantine. His adventures began when he was a very little boy. His tribesmen lived in Pannonia, a district to the north of the Adriatic Sea. They were on friendly terms with the Eastern Emperor, being employed by him as mercenary soldiers. It so happened that, when Theodoric was about six or seven years of age, his tribe quarrelled with the great Emperor, because sending men to receive their yearly pay, they found that other adventurers had stepped in before them and had received the money and taken their places as his soldiers. The Ostrogoths were infuriated. Under the leadership of Theodoric's father, they took up arms against the Emperor, and much hard fighting took place before they were defeated and peace was made. As its price the Ostrogoths were obliged to give up the little Theodoric as a hostage, who was taken to Constantinople, and remained there for the next eleven years. This event of course had a tremendous effect upon his character. Life at Constantinople must have been a revelation to Theodoric. Taken away as he was, from the rough barbarous life of his tribe to the civilized life of the Emperor's court, he saw much and learned much, not indeed, of books, but of what civilization may do for the happiness and safety of mankind. He learned to admire law and order, and although in after-days, when he first left Constantinople, it seemed as if he would be only a fighter as his father before him, yet in his later years we find that he had really learned much in his exile. He had become convinced that a settled and peaceful life is the best for man, and he did his utmost to persuade his fellow-tribesmen to settle down as peaceful families, and to give up wandering from place to place, seeking booty and new pasture for their flocks and herds.

In Constantinople, too, Theodoric saw beautiful buildings and wide streets. He saw people living at peace with one another, settling their disputes in the Law Courts instead of by brute force. He grew accustomed to comfort and splendour. All this he could not forget in later years, when he returned to his own people, and saw their squalid ways once again.

It was only when Theodoric was eighteen that he was allowed to return home. Even on his return journey he showed that the love of fighting was still in him, for he carried out a successful expedition against a Slav chieftain, named Babai, who had lately been warring against the Eastern Emperor. He captured Belgrade, the city of Babai, and returned home to tell his father of his deeds of valour. Following on this, he made several expeditions with his father against enemies in Macedonia, and, when in course of time his father died, he made warfare with a rival, another Theodoric, the 'squint-eyed'. All this fighting seems to have been carried on by Theodoric with no settled plan. For he afterwards made friends with the 'squint-eyed' one, and they both fought together against Zeno, Theodoric's former friend. They were doubtless trying to overthrow the Eastern Empire, as Odoacer had overthrown the Western. It almost seemed as if Theodoric fought for the sake of fighting.

At last, however, he gave up this ambitious plan; and it is small wonder that the Emperor was anxious to be rid of him. In 489 we find that Theodoric, having made peace with Zeno, was sent by him on an expedition to Italy against Odoacer the Patrician. He made his way over the Alps, with all his tribe behind him. In this war, which lasted four years, Theodoric was most successful. First of all he scattered the opposing army of Odoacer; then he penned up his enemy and the remnant of his supporters in the strong city of Ravenna, which he besieged for three long years, till in 493 he succeeded in starving Odoacer and the city into submission. And this was by no means all of his great task. Whilst the siege of Ravenna was in progress, Theodoric had many enemies to fight, treacherous men, who for one reason or another had turned against him. At last

Odoacer gave in, and Theodoric came to an agreement with him. Odoacer was to retain his kingly title, and together, as joint-rulers, they would govern Italy.

RAVENNA, BAPTISTERY OF NEON (fifth century)

This peace did not last many days. Theodoric, much angered at hearing that Odoacer was again plotting against him in defiance of all promises, determined to get rid of his rival for ever, even by evil means. Theodoric invited Odoacer to a banquet at Ravenna, intending to have him murdered here.

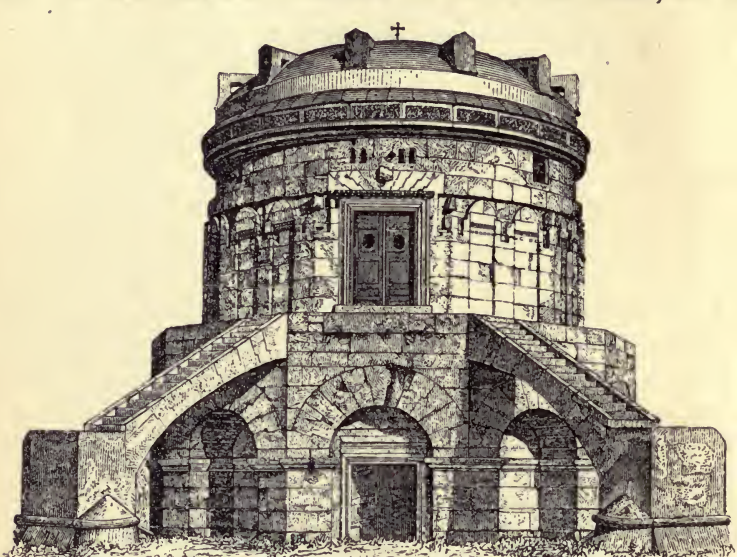
And this was the manner of his plot. Two men were ordered to pretend that they were bringing a petition to Odoacer. They were told to kneel before him and clasp his hands. At this signal some soldiers in hiding near by were commanded to rush out and kill him. All went as arranged, but at the critical moment the hearts of the soldiers failed them. In a flash, Theodoric determined to do the wicked deed himself. He seized his sword, and, with taunting words, he smote Odoacer to the ground, crying 'Thus didst thou to my friends'. Theodoric seems to have become quite mad for the moment, for, as the body fell to the earth, he shouted in triumph, 'I think this weakling never had a bone in his body'. Immediately afterwards the chief officers in Odoacer's army were massacred by Theodoric's men, and he was left completely triumphant.

THEODORIC

It is impossible to defend Theodoric for this deed. He had committed a ruthless and treacherous murder, and it may surprise us that this did not turn his subjects against him. It shows us how cruel and how base and craven men were in those days. No one remonstrated, and Theodoric was for the next thirty-three years the sole ruler in Italy. From this time onwards, however, he ceased to be a fighter, and began to do the work of a great statesman. He determined to restore prosperity to Italy, and to repair, as far as possible, the havoc that had been wrought upon the country by the constant invasions to which it had been subjected. He wanted to make it possible for Goths and Romans to live in neighbourly peace side by side in one country instead of being sworn daily enemies.

The Goths at once recognized Theodoric as their King, and he made his capital at Ravenna. The Romans, too, soon agreed to obey his authority, and in a few years' time the Eastern Emperor formally acknowledged him as King of the Goths and

the Romans (498). This recognition by the Eastern Empero was very valuable to him, because it meant that all the men wh had helped to carry on the government in the olden days, whe Italy was a province of the Eastern Empire, might now wor under Theodoric without fear of being treated as traitors to th Emperor, and their experience was naturally of great value t him. He was not too conceited to learn from them, for h



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

knew very well that the Romans had been among the cleveres of nations in the art of government and in the making of wis laws. He knew, too, that it was unlikely that he or, indeed, an man, could think out in a few years what it had taken th experience and wisdom of generations of these Romans to invent So he took what he found at hand and made the best use of it like the wise man he was, though he allowed the Goths to liv under their own laws. We see that the fighter had at las changed into the teacher, into a man who taught two warlik

nations, the Romans and the Goths, to live side by side in peace. This part of Theodoric's life had far greater results for the good of mankind than all his years of fighting.

Theodoric showed great wisdom as a ruler, though he was an unlettered man all his life. There is a story that he could not even sign his name, that even the four letters of his signature—Theo—baffled him. It is said that he caused a gold plate to be made with the necessary letters perforated in it, so that when he wished to sign his name, he could draw his pen through the holes.

In all directions Theodoric's activity was very great. Wasted cities were rebuilt, roads were repaired, marshes drained, agriculture and mining encouraged, law and order enforced. Theodoric, too, had dealings with all the most important States in Europe, especially with the Visigoths in Spain, whose King Alaric married one of his daughters. On the death of Alaric, Theodoric became Regent for his son, Amalric. Theodoric was also on friendly terms with Clovis, the Christian King of the Franks, though he afterwards quarrelled with him about matters of religion, for Clovis was an orthodox Christian and Theodoric was an Arian heretic, that is, he denied the Divinity of Our Lord.

Theodoric died on August 30, 526. The memory of his greatness as a ruler lived long after him, though the actual work that he did in Italy was soon upset by Justinian, an Emperor of the East. But in spite of this Theodoric had shown men an ideal for the government of Italy. He wanted her to be regarded as a unity and not as a collection of States, and his idea was not entirely forgotten for many centuries, though it is only in recent times that Italy has become one nation with her own national government.

IMPORTANT DATES

364.	Division of the Empire.
454.	Birth of Theodoric.
477.	Odoacer set up as Patrician.
489.	Theodoric invades Italy.
491–3.	Siege of Ravenna.
493.	Murder of Odoacer.
493–526.	Reign of Theodoric.

III. ST. BENEDICT OF NURSIA

(480–547)

In olden days, right down to the end of the sixteenth century, one of the commonest sights near any European town or village was the monastery. The history of those times is full of tales of the monks and their work. Even nowadays we often see traces of the beautiful homes these men built for themselves. Nearly every historic town has somewhere near at hand the ruins of a monastery carefully preserved. They may well serve to remind us of the many men who once sought, apart from the bustle and turmoil of the everyday world, to live a life of devotion to God.

In days when life was savage, cruel, and ruthless, different motives drove men into the monasteries. Some thought it was wellnigh impossible to live godly lives in the hubbub of ordinary life. Others, distrusting their power of withstanding temptation, cut themselves off as far as possible from the society of ordinary men and women. Many, again, believed that the bodies of men and women demanded too much service and attention in the workaday world, and that their souls and spirits should be their first care. For all or one of these reasons a life of self-denial was perhaps often sought within the shelter of the monasteries. Here men might find solitude and safety; here they might harden themselves to bear discomfort and free themselves from the slavery of luxury and pleasure. In these surroundings they believed their spirits would be the more ready to serve God, and they themselves would at last earn their escape from eternal punishment.

Ever since the Reformation, however, most men have been inclined to think that the life of a good citizen is a higher type of life than that of a monk; that it is better to fight enemies than to flee from them, to serve others than to save one's own soul. However this may be, perhaps the old monks were better able to judge what was best for them in their own times than we at this distance of time. Later on, the ideals of

the monasteries changed, and some of the monks used the monasteries as places where they might find strength before they went out into the world to fight the Ancient Enemy, as they called all evil. But whatever we may think of the monasteries and their work, this much is true. The monks showed that it was possible to give up, for the love of God, all that men hold most dear in this life, and that greed and luxury and idleness are sins which can be fought and conquered. Moreover, this lesson was taught to the world at a time when men were inclined to say it was an impossible task. Besides all this, the monks were the great missionaries of civilization in the West. They did much to further the work of education in Europe in the Middle Ages. Their labours were, indeed, manifold. For instance, they cultivated waste lands, they cared for the sick, taught the ignorant, succoured the poor, formed libraries of manuscripts, wrote the history of their own times and did many other useful works which otherwise might have been neglected.

The origin of the monastic movement is a big topic, and it is hard to fix the date when the custom of founding monasteries first began in Europe. We know that, from about the year 500 and onwards, by far the greater number of monasteries were Benedictine houses—that is, they were managed and planned according to the Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia. So quickly did the Rule which he had drawn up for the guidance of his monks spread that, only about one hundred and twenty years after his death, when Charlemagne the Great made an inquiry about the innumerable monasteries which were to be found in his wide domains, he discovered that they were all ruled after this same fashion, for St. Benedict's ideas had in this comparatively short time become the property of educated Europe.

It is interesting to find out who this St. Benedict was; and how it was that he came to draw up a Rule of Life, under the guidance of which generation after generation of monks have chosen to live. If we begin by suspecting that St. Benedict was something of a genius we shall not be far wrong, for he loved and thoroughly understood his fellow-creatures; that is he knew where they

were weak and where they were strong, and he knew how to get the best out of laggards and saints alike. Assuredly a man with such an insight into human nature had a spark of genius in him. Rightly, then, have men loved to commemorate him in their pictures, their histories, and their calendars of great men; for his work has counted much in the history of the civilization of Europe. This saint of understanding was one of the great pioneers of Christianity.

Benedict was born in the little city of Nursia, about the year 480. He died in 547. His life, therefore, fell in the historic days of Theodoric and Justinian, whom we have known respectively as the builder and the destroyer of the Gothic kingdom in Italy. Nursia is situated to the north of Rome, in one of the valleys of the Apennines—those mountains which, as once a child remarked, run down the leg of Italy like the buttons of a boot. Here Benedict lived until, as a youth, he was taken by his father to Rome, then the centre of the intellectual world, in order that he might attend its famous schools. It is hard to describe the misery and the wickedness which Benedict saw on all sides. Wave after wave of barbarous tribes had invaded Italy for the past eighty years, and new invaders had just come to punish a land which was already poverty-stricken and starving. Misery had made men reckless. Lawlessness, cruelty, and wickedness flourished openly. No wonder that Benedict hated and feared the evil that he saw. He soon made up his mind that, whether his father liked it or not, he must flee away and save his soul in that solitude which, in his day, was the traditional school for saints. A story tells us that the only person who discovered his plan was his faithful old nurse, Cyrilla. She followed his flight, and for some time tended him as he lived in solitude by the banks of the Anio, a tributary of the Tiber. But even here he was not left unmolested for long. Stories soon began to spread of his power to perform miracles, and such large crowds flocked out to see him that once again he fled. This time he hid himself more successfully in a cave at the foot of a cliff near Subiaco, about forty miles from Rome. We are told that a kindly monk

from a neighbouring monastery kept Benedict supplied with food. This was let down by a rope over the edge of the cliff to his cave, which was carved in the face of a rock looking over a valley that was rugged and wild, bare of trees and vegetation, lonely and silent. Here, in this solitary spot, with its desolate outlook, St. Benedict lived for three years, trying to discipline himself in every way for perfect worship. He spent long hours in prayer

ST. BENEDICT SETTING OUT FROM ROME,[1] followed by his old nurse

and meditation; he inflicted dreadful penances upon himself; he fasted to such an extent and became so careless of his food that he nearly died. Dressed in a garment of skins, himself growing more and more rough and shaggy, he gradually became in appearance more like a wild beast than a man. He might easily have been taken for a madman. Benedict, however, was not as wildly foolish as might appear. There was reason behind his conduct,

[1] From a fresco by Sodoma at Siena. The walled town in the distance is Nursia.

and he had a definite and heroic purpose before him. He was making his life as hard as possible, so that he might gradually become indifferent to, and independent of, all luxury and comfort. Then, and not till then, he believed that his heart would be free to worship God. He was testing what he believed to be the only way to attain holiness.

This period of strict self-denial had important results. It taught our saint much. In after years, St. Benedict was more compassionate towards those whom he was training than he had been in his early days to himself. In all probability he came to think that the life of a hermit was too hard and difficult for the ordinary man who was seeking perfection in the religious life. He thought that, for commonplace folk, life in an organized group was the best beginning, and that Man could only be led step by step to a life of complete self-denial. It is more than probable that Benedict drew up his Rule for those who were about to lead the monastic life, only looking upon it as a preparation for the future severer discipline of the life of the hermit. St. Benedict did not wish to extol his groups of men above the hermits and anchorites and other holy men of old; on the contrary, he himself called his Rule a 'very little rule for beginners'. It depicted, perhaps, a more elementary stage in holiness to his mind than the life of the Solitary. Man could become saintly by living a life of social usefulness, he now taught, and he was original in that he introduced this new idea into Europe—and we shall see how his plan of monks living in communities took root, and spread over all the Continent.

It is well to notice that St. Benedict did not draw up his Rule immediately after his life in the cave at Subiaco. He wrote it in later years, after he had gained wide experience in ruling and managing other men. He soon began to gain this experience, for he was not long to remain unmolested in his cave. Shepherds had by this time discovered all about him, and he was much talked about and celebrated in the neighbourhood. It so happened that there was, in his neighbourhood, a monastery which was inhabited by some monks who had grown slack and idle and who,

beginning to repent of their evil ways, chose the famous hermit as their ruler.

Much against St. Benedict's will he was persuaded to forsake his cave and come to this monastery as abbot. However, the the lazy monks of Varia soon became weary of their choice. They found their new ruler wanted deeds, not words ; and at last in aggravation they plotted to poison him. Pious legend tells us that St. Benedict was saved from this evil fate by a miracle, for we are told that, as he made the sign of the Cross, the poisoned cup fell to the ground and was shattered in pieces. However this may be, the open antagonism of the monks certainly decided St. Benedict to leave Varia. He withdrew again to his cave, saying as he left the monastery, ' Said I not to you that my ways and yours could never agree ? Go seek an abbot after your own heart, for me ye shall see no more.'

St. Benedict was, by this time, a young man of about twenty years of age. As his fame as a holy man began to spread further afield, many came and placed themselves under his guidance. Thus, for the next twenty years or so he busied himself in establishing and organizing monasteries. In time, no less than twelve monasteries sprang up round Subiaco, each ruling itself as a distinct unit, and each inhabited by twelve monks under an abbot appointed by St. Benedict. Long generations afterwards, many pictures of the Saint and his scholars were painted by Italian artists. Two of the most famous of these scholars were St. Maur and St. Placidus. It is important to remember that the men who were gathered together in this way were not always clergy. It is not certain even whether Saint Benedict himself was a layman or a cleric. There were possibly some priests among the monks, but as a rule, in early times, they were ordinary peasant folk and artisans.

St. Benedict was not without enemies at Subiaco. The secular clergy, as those priests who did not live in monasteries were called, were often very jealous of the monks, whether they were laymen or priests living under a rule (Latin *regula*, a rule). At last the secular clergy near Subiaco became so unfriendly and

so malicious in their persecutions that, once again, St. Benedict decided he must find a new home. About the year 525 he and a few friends forsook Subiaco and settled at Monte Cassino, near Rome. Here he found an old heathen chapel. This was transformed by him and his followers, and here, in this spot, he lived till the day of his death in 547. It is interesting to learn that the original monastery at Monte Cassino was sacked and destroyed

ST. BENEDICT'S MONASTERY of the Sacro Speco, Subiaco

by the Lombards 581 and 589, though it has since been restored. Many wonderful stories are told of St. Benedict's life in this place. In after days, a Pope, Gregory the Great, collected them and wrote his life. Gregory was a great admirer of St. Benedict and his system, and possibly, if it were not for his work, we should know little of the Saint; for, although the Benedictines found a home in Rome when the Lombards drove them out of Monte Cassino, little or nothing is recorded of their life. When, however, as we shall see, Gregory founded a monastery in Rome,

it was organized after the manner of St. Benedict; and it is from this source that we have learned much of the system.

Many of the stories and legends preserved are of the trials and temptations of the Saint and how he bravely conquered them all. Stories, too, are told of how he read the hearts of men before they had uttered a word, such was his insight and his power to read human nature. Men were afraid to think evil thoughts in his presence for fear that he would guess what was passing in their minds. One story tells how the famous Totila, King of the Goths, came to see him in 425, and cast himself at the feet of the Saint, who read his heart before he spoke and reproached him for all the evils he had brought upon Italy. And Totila, who hitherto had feared no man, now feared the reproach of the Saint.

It was during these years at Monte Cassino that St. Benedict drew up his 'very little rule for beginners', a rule that seems hard to us in these days, but was far easier than anything that had been devised before. St. Benedict was now well fitted to do this, for his experience and long thinking had taught him much of human nature and of what we call the 'average man'. He had also studied deeply and pondered on the works of many of those men who in past days had thought and written on the subject. And the Rule he drew up proved to be a marvellous piece of work. It was based on real experience, and it was very practical. St. Benedict was a genius, not because he invented his Rule, for this he certainly never claimed to have done, but because he had loved and studied his fellow-men so ardently that he was able to understand what would best help their weakness and what would best guide their strength. He was able, by this understanding sympathy with others, to take the best and to leave the unsuitable of older monastic laws. Experience had taught him that a man must proceed step by step to perfection, that he cannot do at once all that he fain would do, and that coercion and 'drilling' must not take the place of love, which must ever be the truest and best motive for aiming at perfection.

Benedict was, as we have seen, original in this respect. He believed that the average man should be brought to perfection

by living a life in a community; forbearing with others, working for others, and being helped by others he believed to be the true school of life. The 'Praise of God', it is true, was to be the chief work of the monastery, the 'Opus Dei', as St. Benedict calls it, but it was not to be solitary thanksgiving but praise in company with other people. Second to the praise of God, the monks were to undertake hard laborious work; such work, manual or otherwise, that would be useful not only for the monks but for their whole generation. The discipline and life of the monastery was formed with these two ends in view. First of all it was to be a community which was to keep its members fit in body, soul, and spirit in order to sing the praises of God, and, secondly, it was to carry out useful work for the world, which otherwise might not be accomplished.

Therefore, St. Benedict meant his rule for monks to be less severe than a rule which might be used to guide a hermit or a 'spiritual athlete'. The food was plain but sufficient; there was but one meal a day. Clothing was such as was absolutely necessary. It was to be worn till it was shabby, but not until it was too old and threadbare to be given to the poor. About four hours a day were given to prayer and meditation, four to reading, six and a half to work, eight and a half to sleep (though they had to rise very early), and one to the meal. The monks slept in large common dormitories.

The directions St. Benedict drew up for the guidance of his abbots show the sort of places he wished his monasteries to be. As we read them we rightly conclude that the monastery was to be a place where men were helped, and not where they were driven, to lead good, strenuous lives. The abbot is reminded that he ought to be an aid and support to the monks who are under him, rather than one who only issues commands. He must, indeed, correct sinners, but he must not be so harsh in his reproofs that, while he is 'removing the rust the vessel be broken'. He must also remember that 'a bruised reed is not to be crushed', and that, as Jacob said, 'If I overdrive my flock they will all die in one day'. The abbot must also be careful for those who are

delicate in health or faint-hearted in spirit. They are to be encouraged by him as a wise father encourages his children, one in this way, one in that.

Towards the end of his life, St. Benedict, we are told, withdrew from the monastery, and lived more or less as a hermit in a cave near by. Death came to him on March 21, 547. We are told that his much-beloved twin-sister, St. Scholastica, lived near the monastery of her brother. Once a year St. Benedict used to spend the day with her. She died on February 1 in the same year as her brother.

Such was St. Benedict, who devised the Rule by which most of the monasteries in Western Europe were guided down to the days of the Reformation.

CHIEF DATES
480–547. Benedict,
525. Comes to Monte Cassino.

IV. JUSTINIAN THE EMPEROR

(528–565)

THEODORIC died in the year 526, and trouble soon arose in Italy over the question of the succession, as he left no son, but only a daughter to succeed him. This daughter, Amalasuntha, was, according to his idea, to rule until her young son Athalaric was of an age to act for himself. But this plan did not turn out successfully. Amalasuntha disliked the Goths and favoured the Romans, thus soon making herself thoroughly unpopular; for instance, she offended many by insisting that her son should be educated in the Roman and not in the Gothic fashion. This was most unwise, as Athalaric was supposed to be the future King of both Goths and Romans; at last he was taken from her charge, and under the influence of bad companions he grew up as a drunken and dissolute young man. Thus it was no misfortune for his country when he died at the age of eighteen; but his death of necessity left the question of the succession a difficult

one. Amalasuntha tried to rule with the help of a nephew, a bad weak man, but this attempt was a failure. He disliked his aunt, and at last imprisoned her and shut her up on an island. In desperation, Amalasuntha contrived to send for help to the Emperor Justinian. But before help came her plans were discovered, and she was strangled by the orders of her undutiful nephew. Justinian, however, had now been furnished with an excuse for interference in Italy, and he was not slow to make use of the opportunity. His reign proved to be of the utmost importance in the history of Western Europe.

Justinian had a clear aim and ambition before him. He wished to restore the Western lands to the direct rule of the Eastern Emperors. In other words he was determined to upset the Gothic kingdom which Theodoric had established in the West. This was likely to be no easy task, but Justinian had doubtless reminded himself of the greatness and power of the Roman Empire in bygone days, and he had the spirit of adventure and determination in him.

Justinian had doubtless inherited this force of character and power of imagination. He came of an adventurous stock, though he was of humble origin. The story of his life is a strange romance. He owed the opportunity of his fortunes to his uncle, the Emperor Justin I, who preceded him. Justin was a self-made man ; in his youth, as a poor peasant, he had tramped from Macedonia to Constantinople to seek his fortune. He entered the Imperial army, and served it so well that after fifty years he was able to bribe the soldiers to elect him as Emperor (518). At sixty-eight, this illiterate old man held the most important office in Europe, and continued to rule for nine years until the day of his death. As he had no son he sent for his nephew Justinian, and had him educated in Constantinople. This Justinian succeeded his uncle in 528. He was then a man of nearly forty, a tremendous worker, of untiring energy and great ability. Then to the surprise of all this hard-working serious man suddenly determined to marry Theodora, a notorious dancer and actress. Theodora was said to be the most beautiful woman

in the world, and her marriage with the Emperor did not turn out to be the failure some had predicted.

Justinian was a man of great ambitions. His aim was no less than to make the Empire as great and glorious as it had been in the old days of Roman power. In his plans, however, Justinian made one great mistake ; he did not care, and probably did not consider whether or not the people of Italy would be happier under the new form of government which he proposed to set up, nor did he take into consideration that they might bitterly regret the destruction of the kingdom which Theodoric had so laboriously built up. His whole plan was based on personal ambition. He did not consider the good of the people under him. Whatever we may think of the wisdom or folly of Justinian's plan, however, on the death of Amalasuntha, he certainly had a good opportunity for interference in the affairs of Italy.

MOSAIC PORTRAIT OF JUSTINIAN I
at Ravenna

Luckily for Justinian he had in his employ one of the greatest generals who ever served the Empire. Belisarius was a much younger man than Justinian himself. In 531 he was but twenty-six years of age, and yet renowned as the conqueror of the Persians when they rose against the Empire. Belisarius was the husband of Antonina, one of Theodora's bosom friends, and therefore his influence at court was very great. He had also rendered the Emperor signal service in quelling a great rebellion which broke out in Constantinople in 532. When Justinian turned his eyes

from problems of the East to the West, he first sent Belisarius on an expedition against the Vandals, a barbaric tribe which inhabited the Northern Coast of Africa. In 535, Belisarius having brought these people into subjection, Justinian then ordered his general to proceed to Italy. Belisarius landed in Sicily, crossing over to Italy. Little resistance was made until he reached Naples, which city held out for some weeks, and then gave in. Belisarius now continued his victorious march to Rome. This he occupied with ease; though the Goths under their newly elected King Witiges returned and besieged him with 100,000 men. Belisarius had but a garrison of 5,000 against this enormous host, but he managed to hold out for over a year. The siege of Rome was raised in 538. The war was to last for two years, until at last Witiges surrendered at Ravenna in 540. The Goths gave in, hoping to bribe Belisarius to become their ruler in the place of Witiges; but Belisarius was loyal to his master, and refused this offer. Justinian nevertheless was beginning to be jealous of his brilliant general. Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople, and he returned, taking the captive Gothic king with him, and he was soon required to carry on another war with Persia to keep him out of the way.

By the work of Belisarius the power of the East was at last supreme in name in Italy. Ravenna was made the seat of the new government. The administration, however, soon became unpopular. It was carried on unjustly and tyrannically by men who were sent for that purpose from Constantinople, and though the Eastern Empire had nominally conquered Italy, the Goths did not give up their freedom without further struggles. For some little time they were divided in their choice of a leader. At last it fell upon one Totila, or Baduila, as he is sometimes called. We shall see how Totila made a valiant effort to keep the Gothic kingdom together, and how for some time he had great success. In two years he conquered the whole of Northern Italy, and he ruled over it for eleven years (541–553). We have already heard of his interview with St. Benedict.

Although Justinian was jealous of his general, Belisarius, and

had for that reason recalled him, he soon made up his mind that Belisarius alone could recover Italy, so in 542 back again he was sent. Belisarius was now not treated well by the Emperor. He was given very little money, and thus his army was forced to live by plunder. This, of course, made the soldiers extremely unpopular with the peasants, and the task of conquest was thus made harder. The Goths at this time were besieging Rome; Belisarius endeavoured to come to the rescue of the city; Totila succeeded in taking the city in the year 546. Then he determined to leave the city desolate. For forty days, we are told, no human being remained in the city. Rome was left as desolate as a wilderness. This event must have made a deep impression on all who heard news of it, for in those days Rome was looked upon as the very centre of the universe. It must have astonished people just as greatly as the news of the desolation of London would amaze people to-day. Belisarius returned to Rome after this lapse of days, but he was again besieged by Totila, whom he drove off, but at last when he was once again recalled to Constantinople (548) by Justinian to defend the city from the attacks of savage hordes from the East, Totila again besieged Rome and took it and made it his capital (549).

But this was by no means the end of the struggle between Constantinople and Italy, for it was to continue for six years longer, as Justinian was determined not to be beaten. In 552 he sent Narses, another great general, to Italy. This Narses, his chamberlain, was an old man of seventy-four, but as he was rich and generous, and because the Emperor was not as jealous of him as he had been of Belisarius his difficulties were not so great. Narses gathered together a large army from many friendly barbarian tribes, and with this motley host, he fell upon Totila at Tanginae (552). Here the Goths were defeated and their king, the greatest of the Goths since the days of Theodoric, was slain. Many of the Goths, after his death, fled across the Alps. The conquest of Italy, by his death, was at last completed. Although the glory fell to Narses, Belisarius had really done the greater part of the work.

The story of the unfortunate fate of Belisarius is interesting to

us. In 562, the Emperor accused him of conspiracy, and for a short time he suffered imprisonment. However, as the charges brought against him were proved to be false, he was again restored to the Imperial favour, only to die in the year 565. There are many stories told of his last days. These are probably not true, but were perhaps made up by people who admired him and who felt that he had not been held in sufficient honour by the Emperor.

ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE (sixth century)

One account of his last days tells that he became blind and that he was reduced to beggary in the streets of Constantinople. However this may be, this much is certain, that he was not held in the honour he deserved by the Emperor, and that little or no gratitude was shown him for his exploits.

Justinian the Great had now brought about his cherished scheme, the overthrowal of the Gothic kingdom in Italy. He earned his title, the Great, for this and several other reasons. He carried on wars against the Persians, the Vandals, and the Visigoths in Spain as well as with the Goths of Italy.

But though his work in Italy proved that he was powerful, it was probably a disaster for that country. The Eastern Empire was not strong enough to hold what it had regained, and in consequence Italy was soon left unprotected and unable to defend herself, and was thus overrun and desolated for another half-century by the barbarian Lombards. A well-organized Gothic kingdom might have been able to face this enemy,

ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE (sixth century)

and this is exactly what Theodoric had set up, and Justinian had pulled down.

By far the greatest work of Justinian's for good was his collection and codification or arrangement of the old Roman laws. We have seen that the Romans were wise law-makers, and that they had great genius for this particular kind of work. Justinian, by his foresight, saved much laboriously thought-out wisdom for the use of his own and future generations. In later ages the Roman laws he preserved were used and amplified in most European States. Justinian also added to his fame by

building the great Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, which is one of the most wonderful churches that has ever been made.

CHIEF DATES

535. Death of Amalasuntha.
536. Belisarius invades Italy. Takes Rome.
536–7. Defence of Rome.
540–52. Reign of Totila.
552. Battle of Taginae.

V. GREGORY THE GREAT

(540–604)

WE have already heard of Gregory the Great as the man who wrote the life of St. Benedict of Nursia. He did this because he believed that the monks, by their prayers and their work and the example of self-denial, did much to teach men and women about Christianity, and he hoped that those who read the life of St. Benedict would be led to copy him. He also believed his Rule for the government of monasteries to be very wise.

Gregory had never known St. Benedict, because he was born in the year 540 and St. Benedict died in the year 547. Gregory was, therefore, only a little boy at the time of the saint's death. But as he grew up, he heard much about him, and learned to love and honour his work.

Gregory came of an old Roman family ; he was brought up in luxury and given a good education. He was over fifty years of age when he became Pope, and he died after he had held that office for about fourteen years. Yet, in that short time he managed to make himself a great influence in Europe, and things which he did, though he lived so long ago, still affect us. He was a great genius, which means that he was not only very clever but that he also worked very hard. His whole life seems to have been an education and a preparation for the tasks which he set himself to perform when he became Pope.

Gregory's parents had not meant him to become a priest,

but they wished him to take part in politics. Whilst he was still young, he was made Prefect of Rome and thus given a share in the government of the city. However, on the death of his parents, though they left him much property and a beautiful house on the hills near Rome, he determined to manage his life otherwise. He determined to follow in the steps of St. Benedict as far as possible. He gave up his grand ways, and he made use of the money his father had left him to found six monasteries in Sicily, and also to help the poor in Rome. Next he turned his grand house into a monastery, the monastery of St. Andrew, and then he entered it himself as a simple monk. Here the monks lived according to the Rule of St. Benedict. Gregory took this step because he realized the sadness, the misery, and the disorder around him, and he had come to believe that men would never be better and happier till the Christian religion was taught and practised. He thought monks could do this work better than other people. He remained in the monastery for three years, and, during that time, he found out what this discipline meant for men. He learned the power a life of self-denial has as an object-lesson to other men. Ever afterwards Gregory encouraged monks to found more and more monasteries.

Gregory was to have another chance of experience which proved most useful to him. He was apppointed one of the seven Deacons who helped the Pope manage the city of Rome. This must have helped him to form business habits. After a year of this work he had six years of a still wider experience. He was sent as the representative of the Papacy to the Court of Constantinople; here he must have seen and learned much. Unfortunately he never learned to speak Greek, and this was to prove a disadvantage to him in later years. When, as Pope, he came to having dealings with the Eastern Empire, he had to depend upon interpreters, and this always put him at a disadvantage. In any case, however, during these six years at Constantinople, he saw and learned much, even if he did not learn Greek. He became practised in arguing and dealing with heretics. He even carried on a long controversy

with the Patriarch or Bishop of Constantinople. After this stay in Constantinople, he returned to Rome in 585, and he was the head of his own monastery until the year 590 when he was elected Pope by the Roman people. He had become most popular by his courage and kindness during a great pestilence which swept over Rome. Gregory had no wish to be Pope, but his wishes were disregarded. Gregory had a great task before him. There was, indeed, need of a reformer in the Church. He himself described the state of the Western Church in words which have become famous. He said it was like 'an old and violently shattered ship, admitting water on all sides, its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck'. In other words, the Church was both ignorant and disorganized. As a business man, Gregory began to set the estates of the Church in order. He appointed men to look after her property, and these men were obliged to render strict accounts of the money which passed through their hands. Next, he carefully arranged the income of the Church for definite purposes; so much was to be used for the expenses of the Pope, so much for the clergy, so much for keeping Churches in repair or building new ones, and so much was to be used for the poor. Gregory did not wish to take more lands for the Church, but he thought that which had been bequeathed for her upkeep, ought to be properly

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT
From the Sforza Book of Hours

looked after. He once said, 'As we ought not to allow property belonging to the Church to be lost, so we deem it a breach of the law to take what belongs to others.'

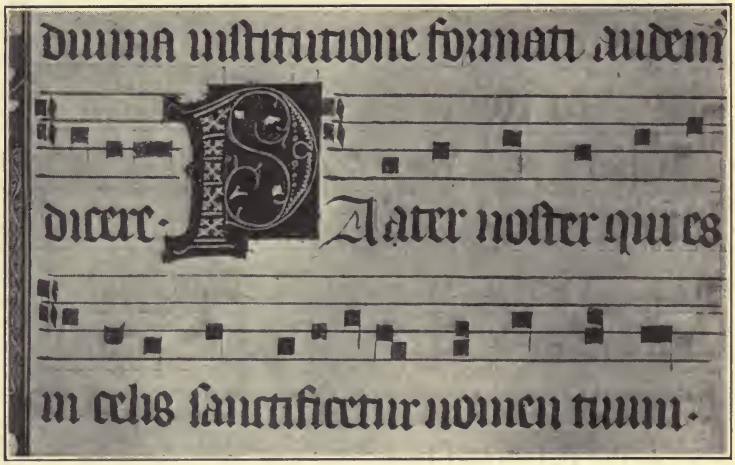
Gregory also had to do what he could to fight the ignorance which he found on all sides among his clergy. Everywhere he found lawlessness and ignorance, but, to the worst degrée, among the Franks, who strangely were supposed to be the most Christian of all people.

From early times the Church had been governed by Bishops, each Bishop ruled his See, and he was helped by a Synod or Council which met regularly to advise and control him. The Bishops were grouped under five Patriarchs, those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. This plan worked very well as long as the Bishops were good and remembered that they had sacred work to do, but when they began to please themselves, to seek their own ends, and to despise and neglect their Synods, matters began to go from bad to worse. Often it so happened that the Bishops were appointed in a wicked and careless manner. Men were chosen who could offer them the highest bribes. This was called practising simony, because of the story of Simon Magus told in the 'Acts of the Apostles', who tried to buy the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Gregory the Great determined to put an end to this state of affairs; he knew very well that, if the Bishops were hardened and callous and wicked, it was small wonder if their underlings were lazy and indifferent. So many of the secular clergy were men of this description that, when Gregory wanted work done entailing hardship and self sacrifice, he turned to the monks who were well trained and disciplined.

Gregory also did what he could to reorganize and beautify the services of the Church. He introduced music into the Church, and we still call certain chants or plainsong after his name, and speak of them as Gregorian chants, because they were introduced by him.

Thus did Gregory work at the organization and improvement of the Church from within, but we must remember that, all the

time that he was trying to reform the clergy, upon no one was he harder than himself. He lived a severe and austere life; always working hard, either at the business of the Church or studying the works of learned men, or writing himself, or performing his devotions. He was constantly interviewing people, preaching sermons, and writing letters and tending to the wants of the poor, and we must remember that he was far from being a man of robust health. To all who came in contact with him,



A GREGORIAN CHANT
From a manuscript in the Vatican

he set an example of ceaseless activity. He was, indeed, as he called himself 'servus servorum Dei'.

But Gregory the Great also did work for the Church on a wider scale. He was determined to get control over the whole Western Church, possibly because, in this way, he thought it would be better organized in the future. But here Gregory was not without a rival, because the Patriarch of Constantinople thought that he had some sort of claim to the title of 'Universal Bishop'. Gregory would never admit these claims, and, though he held himself to be a loyal subject of the Empire, he would never brook any interference on the part of the Emperor in the matter

of elections of Bishops, and so on. He had clearly and definitely made up his mind as to his position, and this he meant to uphold, whatever the Emperor said, thought, or did.

In Italy itself, too, circumstances forced Gregory to take a part in politics, that is, in the questions which arose about the government of the country. Italy was in a great state of unrest, and, more than once Gregory was obliged to use his skill to make peace between the Lombards (who were constantly invading the country) and the inhabitants. In Gregory's day the Lombards occupied most of the country. The Emperor was so far distant, and his Exarch, or governor, who generally lived at Ravenna, was so feeble that people were obliged to turn to the Pope in their distress. At one time the Lombards even invaded Rome, slaying and ill-treating the people. Gregory looked upon politics as part of the work of a Bishop ; he said that, in arranging such matters as war and peace, he was dealing with men on behalf of God, though at times it was hard to manage with so little authority and force behind him.

Pope Gregory also dealt with other parts of Europe. He exchanged letters with the Bishops of Gaul and the Kings of the Franks. He held discussion with the Irish Bishops, and carried on active missionary work. He is interesting to the people of Great Britain because it was he who sent Augustine, the abbot of his own monastery of St. Andrew, with a band of monks to carry out the conversion of England (596). Every one knows the story of how his interest was first excited by the sight of fair-haired Angles in the slave-market at Rome ; of how he first intended to come himself, and then handed on the task to Augustine.

When Gregory died, on May 12, 604, he had given men a new idea of what the Papacy or ' the Apostolic See ', as it was called, might be in the future, and he had laid the foundations of claims that were to be extended to even a wider extent in later years.

CHIEF DATES

Gregory the Great, 540–604.

590. Gregory elected Pope.

VI. CHARLES THE GREAT

(CHARLEMAGNE)

(742–814)

At the end of the eighth century most men had quite forgotten about the old glories and the power of the Empire of the West. For years wave after wave of barbarian tribes had swept over Northern Europe and Italy, finding little opposition to their victorious progress, so that they burned, pillaged and murdered, and then settled wherever they pleased. Thus in time it came to pass that most of Europe fell into the hands of two tribes, the Franks and the Lombards.

When we talk of Europe in the eighth century we do not mean exactly the same tract of land that bears that name nowadays; then it only meant Gaul or France, part of Central and Southern Germany, and the greater part of Italy. This territory was surrounded by a ring of foes—fierce tribes such as the Norsemen, the Slavs, the Avars, the Saracens, and so forth, tribes which were always ready to break out into quarrelling and fighting, and, against them, the Franks and the Lombards always had to make their own defence, for no help was ever given to the West by the Eastern Emperors, who were far too much occupied with their own affairs at Constantinople. Thus on one famous occasion, in 732, the danger was great when the Saracens in Spain crossed the Pyrenees and even raided far into Gaul. But luckily they were driven off after a great battle at Tours, by the brave King of the Franks, Charles Martel. Nevertheless the Franks and the Lombards were not deemed the rulers of Europe.

Although the Eastern Emperors did nothing to help defend Western Europe against the wild invaders, a nominal representative of their power still lived at Ravenna in Italy, called the Exarch. Even the little authority he possessed, however, was openly disregarded, and in times of trouble men began to look more and more in Italy to the Pope instead of the Emperor as the source of good government and law and order.

An Emperor living far away at Constantinople was of little use to men when they were living in constant danger of having their throats cut, or their houses pillaged and burnt, and their flocks and herds driven off. Instead they wanted some one near at hand to keep order, and to see that justice was done. Little respect therefore was paid to the Exarch at Ravenna, who was more or less powerless.

Now, when the Lombards had settled in Italy about the sixth century, they made their capital at Pavia, regarding neither the authority of the Pope nor of the Exarch. When they first came to Italy they were not Christians, but they were either Arians or they were heathen, and although after a time they became converted to Christianity and were often anxious to show themselves good friends of the Church, as a matter of fact they were changeable, often ready for a quarrel with the Papacy upon the slightest pretext. The Popes, too, were ever ready to remind them in an insulting way of their heathen ancestry. And so it came to pass that the Lombards were neither friends of the Eastern Empire nor loyal friends of the Papacy. The Franks, on the other hand, who were settled in Gaul, were always firm allies of the Papacy.

It so happened that, in the year 754, the Lombards were on very bad terms with Pope Stephen. They threatened to attack him in his territory, and would listen to no remonstrances either from him or from the Exarch. Pope Stephen, knowing that he could get no practical help from the Emperor, in desperation set off to the Frankish Court there to seek for aid against his enemies. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, the victor of the famous battle of Tours, was King of the Franks at this time. Pepin required little persuasion to attack the Lombards. He came to Italy, and having defeated them in battle, seized the lands they had taken from the Exarch, reconquered the Papal territory they had invaded, and then handed over all his conquests to the Papacy. This was called *the Donation of Pepin.* In return, the Pope gave Pepin the title of *Patrician.* From this time onwards we shall find that the Popes paid little attention to the words of the Eastern Emperors. It was the Franks who

had helped them in their dire extremity ; and it was the Franks whom they henceforth delighted to honour, and to whom they looked for help in times of tribulation.

All this explanation is necessary in order that we may understand the work of Charlemagne, or Carolus Magnus, one of the greatest men who ever lived in Europe. Charlemagne was one of the sons of Pepin the Great. He was born in the year 742, and he died in 814. It was his lot to raise up again a great Empire in the West. The performance of this great task was an idea which gradually unfolded and developed in his mind during a long lifetime. It only gradually coloured all other aims and objects, and we must remember it did not suddenly present itself to him as a wonderful end for which he must work and achieve great things. He succeeded in gradually bringing back to Europe a shadow of the old Roman Empire, which, roughly speaking, endured from the year 800 down to 887. Then, after an interval, a Western Empire was once again founded in 962 by Otto the Great, and this, nearly three hundred years after the death of Charlemagne, was called the Holy Roman Empire. If people had thought of it, perhaps it might just as well have had this title in Charlemagne's day. It is interesting to remember that the Empire was called the Holy Roman Empire right down to its dissolution by Napoleon in 1806, and though it only took its name from the days of Otto, it was all built on Charlemagne's plan, and it really represented his ideas, and not the ideas of Otto.

Charlemagne wished the Empire which he founded to be a Christian Empire. He did not wish it to be merely a business-like arrangement for governing the European nations; neither did he mean, as Constantine had done, to tolerate Christianity as one of many religions. Rather, he wished that the Empire should teach and, if necessary, force people to be Christians. Thus it has been well said that his Empire might very well have been called a Crusading Empire. Charlemagne wanted to put in force the old idea of a Church militant, that is, of a Church engaged in spiritual warfare ; he wished to build up a fighting or combative Empire to carry on this work of the Church.

He believed that all Western Europe should be a united Christian Europe, aiming at bringing Christianity into the dark heathen corners of the earth. He believed that men should be converted by force from heathenism if they would not listen to reasonable arguments ; and thus, in his wars against the pagans, he sometimes offered them the choice between baptism and death. He thought his lifework was meant to be the furthering of this aggressive missionary work.

King Pepin died in 768, and then his Frankish dominions were divided between his two sons Charles and Carloman. Carloman only lived for three years after this, and, on his death, our hero Charles, or Charlemagne, was the sole King of the Franks (771).

Charlemagne was a wonderful man, and his deeds and his kingly appearance struck the imagination of hundreds of mediaeval poets and writers. They loved to tell of his goodly looks and wisdom, and certainly he must have been a wonderful man, something like the hero-king out of a legend. He was tall, and mightily strong. He had long flowing golden locks and piercing hawk-like eyes. He loved hunting and fighting and swimming and all deeds of strength and energy. Everything that was beautiful, in things and thought and deed was of interest to him—goldwork, jewels, beautiful woven tapestries, music, poetry and the songs of minstrels. He was especially ever eager to learn of scholars, and of the people of other civilized nations, in order that he might teach and benefit his own Frankish people. For he took the keenest interest in the welfare of his folk. He was for ever journeying up and down his kingdom, or sending out his representatives, his *missi dominici*, and very seldom did he rest long at his palace at Aachen, his capital. Charlemagne was interested in schools, and a story tells us how he compelled the sons of his nobles to mind their books, saying that no lazy and ignorant man should have promotion from him. He invited scholars and famous men of learning to come to his court, in order that he might enjoy talking with them and learn from their conversations, as he himself could neither read nor write. Charlemagne was thus

every inch a king; before his own wishes he set the good of the people he governed, and, though he had the sins of his age and did things which would not be pardonable in a king of our own days, for he was often cruel and hard to conquered folk, yet, on the whole, even the vanquished people, who might have been expected to hate him, recognized him as a great and just man.

CHARLEMAGNE BUILDS THE CHURCH OF AACHEN[1]

The greater part of Charlemagne's reign was taken up with fighting. He made many expeditions against the heathen Saxons and their chief, Witikind. When the Saxons were at length subdued, he compelled them by force to accept Christianity. Charlemagne also fought against the barbarous Bavarians and the Avars, the Moors, and the Lombards. One of his most famous expeditions was one which he undertook against

[1] From the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, by Jean Foucquet (1415–1477).

the Moors in Spain. A famous story is told of how two of his knights, Roland and Oliver, were cut off from the rest of his army in the Pass of Roncesvalles. Here they fought with the Moors until they died. The story tells that one of them, Roland, had been given a horn by Charlemagne. This he had been bidden to blow thrice if ever he came to be in dire need. This he did at Roncesvalles, but when Charles came upon the scene it was too late, Roland was dead. The story goes on to tell how the sun stood still in the heavens for three days while Charlemagne pursued his foes. Many legends and stories about Roland were written down in prose and verse ; and one of them, the *Chanson de Roland*, is very famous indeed. All this fighting happened in the year 778.

By his conquests Charlemagne thus extended his rule in many directions, and he used untiring industry and energy in organizing his conquests and arranging for the good government of the people who thus fell under his rule. His wars with the Lombards on behalf of the Papacy, however, have perhaps affected European history more than any other part of his work, and for this reason. Though his constant wars against heathen people had given his own particular race, the Franks, a sense of unity, because they had grown accustomed to the idea of being united for one common object, it was the expeditions of Charlemagne to Italy which at last gave to him the idea of linking the history of the Frankish people to the old tradition of the Roman Empire. In Italy he had many reminders of the old civilization of the past, and perhaps in Rome itself he learnt to wish to link himself and his people to the history of bygone generations, and to show that he and his Frankish people were in very deed the heirs of the past and the hope of the future.

The first occasion upon which he descended into Italy was in 774. In that year he was called upon to help the Pope, just as his father Pepin had done. The Pope was in desperate straits, owing to the incursions of Didier, the Lombard King, who was settled at this time at Pavia. Then Charlemagne, 'the king of iron' as he was called, chastised Didier in battle. In after years Frankish minstrels told how Charles marched on to battle

to the great dismay of Didier. In their songs, a friend of the Lombard King is made to say to him, 'When you see the plain bristle with a harvest of spears, and rivers of black steel come pouring in upon your city walls, then you may look for the coming of Charles.' 'While yet he spoke, a black cloud arose in the west and the glorious daylight was turned to darkness. The Emperor came on; a dawn of spears darker than night rose on the leaguered city. King Charles, that man of iron, appeared. Iron his helmet, iron his armguards, iron the corslet on his breast and shoulders. His left hand grasped an iron lance. . . . Iron the spirit, iron the hue of his war-steed. Before, behind, at his side rode men arrayed in the same guise. Iron filled the plain and open spaces, iron points flashed back the sunlight. "There is the man whom you would see," said Otger, the King, and, so saying, he swooned like one dead.'[1]

Pavia surrendered in 774, and then Charlemagne took the title of 'King of the Lombards'. At Eastertide in the same year, Charles visited Hadrian, the Pope at Rome. He entered the city in great triumph, and perhaps it was in the midst of the pageants and feastings which followed, that he began to feel some of the magic of the old traditions of Rome.

Charlemagne learned to think of himself as a conquering Emperor, quelling the barbarian tribes, and making them ready to receive meekly the teaching of Christianity from the priests, the messengers of the Pope. Perhaps Charlemagne did not leave Rome with this idea cut and dried in his mind; but here, in this ancient city, the seed of the thought was planted, and it grew up and bore wonderful fruit in after years, for sixteen years later, after long years of warfare and organization, and all the manifold tasks which such a tireless ruler as Charlemagne would undertake, Charlemagne again found himself in Rome. Again he had come to the rescue of the Pope, whom again the Lombards were mercilessly attacking. It was not that same Hadrian—indeed, by this time he was dead and gone—but a certain Leo. Charle-

[1] See Davis, *Charlemagne*, p. 80. Quoted from a Latin translation of a Saga by the Monk of St. Gall.

magne again subdued the Lombards, and, on Christmas Day in the year 800, occurred an event which has stamped its memory upon the history of Europe. It will be remembered as long as Western civilization continues, for on that day, in the Church of St. Peter at Rome, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West by a grateful Pope. The Eastern Empire having been seized by Irene, who blinded her son, the Romans gladly seized upon this excuse to cast off the yoke of the East.

In this ceremony, men were reminded vividly of all the old memories and traditions of the greatness of Rome. This act was to their hopeful minds a symbol of a new age that had begun. Then indeed perhaps no one guessed, and it was well they did not, that the simple and moving ceremony of which they were the eager spectators was to be the source of many bitter quarrels between future Popes and Emperors, quarrels which were for centuries to rend Europe and Christendom. Here is a description of the ceremony, as it is written by a great modern historian. After describing the Church, he says, 'Out of the transept, a flight of steps led up to the high altar underneath and just beyond the great arch, the arch of triumph as it was called; behind, in the semicircular apse, sat the clergy, rising tier above tier around its walls; in the midst, high above the rest, and looking down past the altar over the multitude, was placed the Bishop's throne, itself the curule chair of some forgotten magistrate. From that chair the Pope now rose, as the reading of the Gospel ended, advanced to where Charles, who had exchanged his simple Frankish dress for the sandals and chlamys of a Roman patrician, knelt in prayer by the high altar, and as in the sight of all he placed upon the brow of the barbarian chieftain the diadem of the Caesars, then bent in obeisance before him, the Church rang to the shout of the multitude, again free, again the lords and centre of the world, 'To Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and peace-giving Emperor, be life and victory.'[1] So was Charles crowned Emperor of the West. The ancient Roman Empire was again restored.

[1] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 49.

The next fourteen years of Charlemagne's life were occupied in organizing his vast Empire ; in 814 he died, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at Aachen. On his death, his dominion was divided among his sons, after the custom of his day ; and it soon fell to pieces, owing to their quarrels and to the attacks of the Norsemen who ravaged the coasts of Europe, and those of the Mohammedans and Turks.

AACHEN CATHEDRAL

But though his Empire fell to pieces, Charlemagne had revived the idea of a united Europe, and his vision of Empire was handed down to generation after generation of statesmen, and for hundreds of years afterwards Charlemagne was the model of a ruler which ambitious men, of smaller or greater intellects, strove to copy.

In the days of his grandsons it was divided up at the Treaty of Verdun (843) into three main divisions : (1) Gaul ; (2) Italy and the lands of the Rhine ; (3) Germany or the Eastern lands.

Though these divisions did not remain permanent it is on the divisions of the treaty of Verdun that the modern nations of France and Germany are founded.

CHIEF DATES

714–41. Charles Martel.
732. Battle of Tours.
754. Donation of Pepin.
774. Surrender of Pavia.
778. Roncesvalles.
800. Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome.

VII. THE EMPEROR HENRY IV

(1056–1106)

AND

POPE GREGORY VII (HILDEBRAND)

(1073–1085)

THE central interest of mediaeval history is undoubtedly the story of the rivalry between two great institutions, the Empire and the Papacy. The representatives of both these powers aimed at being acknowledged the chief authority in Europe. Moreover, they quarrelled not only over theories, but over territories also; for no matter how far the Emperors extended their borders on the Eastern frontiers, they were never satisfied. Nothing could make up for the fair lands of Italy which they always coveted, and they incessantly claimed overlordship of these lands, along with their demand of controlling the Papacy. But the Popes, on the other hand, looked upon Italy as their own particular sphere of influence, and viewed all interference with jealous eyes, demanding at the same time that the Emperors should do them homage. Thus an impossible situation between the two powers was created. The quarrel seemed to be perpetual. It ran through the centuries, and was stated and re-stated in different forms year after year, and age after

age. Learned men exhausted their wits and spent their energies finding arguments to support the one side or the other.

When analysed, these arguments are always found to centre round certain propositions. The papal party maintained, on the one hand, that the duty and office of an Emperor was to protect the lives and property of Christian men, and on the other that the nobler duty of the Popes was the charge of souls. They argued, therefore, that just as the soul is of greater worth than the body, so the Pope's worth was greater and nobler than the Emperor's, and in consequence his office was more exalted and his dignity greater. The Pope, they said, should be reverenced above all men. The Imperialists on the contrary maintained that because the Popes were only able to carry on their religious work in times of peace, and because this peace was procured by the arms of the Emperor, the Popes should pursue their holy tasks and cease to meddle in political matters ; showing due deference and honour to the Emperor, whose might enabled them to pursue their high calling. In short, because the Emperor enabled the Pope to live and work, the Imperialists maintained the Emperor was the greater man of the two. It has been suggested that the Imperialists wished the Emperor to be regarded as the policeman of Europe, and the Pope as his chaplain. The Pope, on the other hand, said in effect, ' I am the chaplain, and the Emperor is my policeman '. And so the never-ending quarrel went on, and we might continue it even nowadays, if we cared to discuss the rival theories.

About the year 1046, it seemed as if the Empire had triumphed in fact, if not in theory. When there was a quarrel over the election of the Pope, the Franconian Emperor, Henry III, descended into Italy, and having deposed all the rival claimants appointed a German Pope. The three following Popes were also Germans. In 1056, this sturdy Emperor died, and because he had been so strong, the Imperial dignity went without question to his little son Henry IV, a boy six years old. Troublous times then began, the almost inevitable result of a minority in those turbulent days. The boy Emperor was at first under the guar-

dianship of his mother Agnes, a well-intentioned, amiable, and weak creature, but when he was only twelve years of age, his hard and bitter experience of ecclesiastics began. First he was kidnapped by Hanno the Archbishop of Cologne, an ambitious and unscrupulous man. Having been decoyed to a barge on the Rhine, the boy was carried off, although he made a plucky attempt to escape by jumping into the river. He was, however, with difficulty, dragged back to safety. His mother, weakly accepting the inevitable, went off to a religious house in Italy and left him to his fate. Hanno, his new guardian, was both harsh and peremptory. Then when Henry was about fifteen another cleric, the Bishop of Bremen, seized him. This Bishop, unlike Hanno, allowed the boy every indulgence. Thus Henry grew up without education, and without wholesome discipline. He was intelligent, but passionate, headstrong, and obstinate. Small wonder that with this sort of preparation for life his early attempts at ruling were not always successful. He was to learn only in the bitter school of adversity those lessons which a good upbringing might have taught him. Moreover, with this experience behind him it is little wonder that in later life Henry had scant respect for the clergy. He had seen the worst side of them, as politicians and as unscrupulous self-seekers. All his training, if it could be called training, made him value material ends, and made him despise the Church. It was, indeed, no easy task he took up when he came of age; and his preparation for it had been wretched. The German lands were torn by rivalries and dissensions, and it was not until the year 1075 that Henry had shaken himself free, for a time at least, from troubles at home. Two years before that date Hildebrand, or Gregory VII, his great antagonist in the years to come, had been elected to the Papacy.

During the years of Henry's struggling minority, the Papacy had been regaining strength. New ideals of freedom and vigorous men to champion these ideals had arisen among the clergy. Europe was again on the eve of a fresh outburst of the old struggle between Empire and Papacy. The two rivals, Henry and Gregory, were not evenly matched in character and training.

We have already seen the deficiencies in the education of Henry. In 1075, he, an ill-disciplined young man of twenty-three, found his will pitted against that of a man of fifty-five, whose whole training had been one of self-discipline, and who had the advantage of working for clearly defined aims, instead of being tossed about by varying ambitions. To free the Church from lay control, to purify it, to make it all-powerful in Europe, to make the Pope an absolute ecclesiastical monarch, were the undisguised aims of Hildebrand. And, moreover, he was prepared to work as slowly and relentlessly as Fate in his task, and to take all rebuffs with serenity.

Hildebrand, this remarkable man, was the son of a well-to-do Tuscan peasant. He received his early education in a monastery near Rome, and then as a young man he had proceeded to the monastery of Cluny, the very heart and centre of Church reform. Returning to Rome after some years, he served as a high ecclesiastical official under five successive Popes. Thus the Church, its troubles, its future, and its organization had been the subject of his conversation, his thoughts, and hopes for years. For the Church he lived, he moved, and had his being.

It was doubtless the teaching that Hildebrand imbibed at Cluny that was a decisive factor in his career. It is, therefore, interesting to us to know a little of that monastery. The monastery of Cluny in Burgundy was in those days a most famous institution. From the days of its foundation in 909, it had been ruled by a series of wise and saintly abbots. It had founded many daughter houses, and it exercised great influence as the advocate of stern simplicity among the clergy of the day. The opinion of its abbots was sought by high and low on all manner of questions. Here, in this house, Hildebrand must have often discussed the evils that beset the Church, and especially those evils which arose from lay powers having too much authority in the Church, and from the sale of preferments high and low, for the evils which resulted from this system were many and plainly apparent. When, in 1049, Hildebrand left Cluny and went back to Rome, he was filled with the idea that the

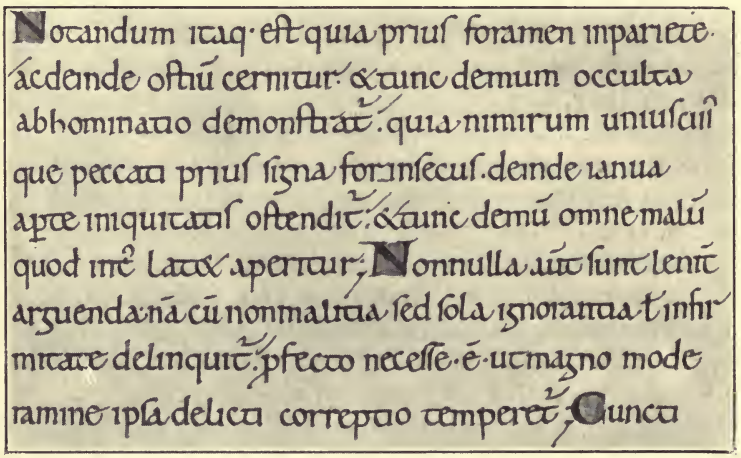
authority of the Church must be an authority independent of secular power and that the Pope must be supreme within the Church. To accomplish these ends became the aim of his life; though it is said that later on he went beyond the prudent limits that the men of Cluny advocated. Hildebrand was to be no half-hearted partisan of this policy. He was an undaunted champion of an absolute monarchy for the Church. As Pope in 1073, he was a man without weapons, save words, personal authority, and a great tradition. No armed force was his to command, save the soldiers of Matilda of Tuscany, an ardent champion of the Papacy, and the forces of the Normans of Southern Italy, who were sometimes his faithful supporters and sometimes his dangerous enemies. Remarkable as it may seem, it was this man who pitted himself against an Emperor who, in theory at any rate, had all the armies of Germany behind him. Clearly, even if Hildebrand had the advantage in character, he had the disadvantage in material support. Faith in himself and faith in his cause were the foundations upon which he built. No wonder the men of Hildebrand's day, and indeed those of all ages, have reverenced the force of character in such a man, even if they have deprecated his ideas and his policy.

Hildebrand, a little man, plump with short legs, and of insignificant appearance, was indeed a man of rare energy and genius. It may be said he was not original, and it is true that the ideas he tried to carry out were not woven of his own thoughts. He was a man who had looked to the past and to history for guidance. But once he had convinced himself of the need for the increased authority of the Papacy, he was able to find scattered in old records, in histories of Church laws, in records of Councils, in the letters of dead Popes, and above all in the False Decretals, statements which supported his theory of the Papacy. Shortly after his election to the Papacy in 1073, he caused these to be collected in a Document called the *Dictatus*. Here are some of the quotations upon which he based his line of action. They, indeed, serve well to illustrate his attitude :

' The Roman bishop alone is properly called Universal.'

'He alone may depose bishops and re-instate them.
'He alone may dispose of the insignia of Empire.'
'The Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes.'
'His title is unique in the world.'
'He may depose Emperors.'

Upon these and similar propositions culled from history Gregory founded his work, and he was original in that he was determined,


Notandum itaq; est quia prius foramen in pariete
ac deinde ostiu cernitur. & tunc demum occulta
abhominatio demonstratur: quia nimirum uniuscuiu
que peccati prius signa forinsecus. deinde ianua
aperte iniquitatis ostenditur: & tunc demu omne malu
quod intus latet aperitur; Nonnulla aut sunt leniter
arguenda. nam cu non malitia sed sola ignorantia vel infir
mitate delinquitur: profecto necesse est ut magno mode
ramine ipsa delicti correptio temperetur; Cuncti

THE *DE CURA PASTORALI* OF POPE GREGORY.[1]
An early eleventh-century manuscript.

fearless, and disinterested. But, besides making the Papacy all powerful in the Church, Hildebrand, too, recognized that the Church must be cleared from many grave abuses. In his eyes, two great abuses were the root cause of many troubles, namely, simony and the marriage of the clergy. Simony was the buying

[1] (Notandum itaque est quia prius foramen in pariete | ac deinde ostium cernitur. et tunc demum occulta | abhominatio demonstratur: quia nimirum uniuscuius|que peccati prius signa forinsecus. deinde ianua | aperte iniquitatis ostenditur: et tunc demum omne malum | quod intus latet aperitur; Nonnulla autem sunt leniter | arguenda. nam cum non malitia sed sola ignorantia vel infir|mitate delinquitur: profecto necesse est ut magno mode|ramine ipsa delicti correptio temperetur: Cuncti).

and selling of ecclesiastical preferment, so-called from the story of that Simon Magus who in the 'Acts of the Apostles', we are told, wished to buy the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. This practice of course led to many unsuitable and scandalous appointments. Hildebrand also wished to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, because he did not wish the great ecclesiastical statesmen or indeed any ecclesiastics to found families, and to spend the best of their lives and energies in scheming and providing for these families.

Such was Gregory VII, and such were his ideals when he was elected to the Papacy in 1073. Trouble soon broke out between him and Henry IV, and the great quarrel of mediaeval times, known as the Investiture Contest, burst forth. The Investiture question was a political problem for the Emperor, and not a spiritual one. It was a serious matter for Henry IV if he allowed his bishops to disown him as overlord, as they would if they were invested by the Pope. The majority of the bishops of Germany were really territorial princes and scheming politicians. To break their feudal ties with the Emperor would mean that a large proportion of his most powerful subjects did not owe him even nominal obedience. This was the argument which appealed to Henry IV, constantly struggling as he was to hold his own against the princes, and this was why he wished to invest his bishops himself.

In 1075, Gregory opened the quarrel. He issued a decree against Simony and Lay Investiture. To this decree the words were added that 'if any Emperor, King, Duke, Marquis, Count, or any lay power or person has the presumption to grant investitures let him know that he is excommunicated'. This was meant to be a direct hit at the Emperor. In reply to this challenge, Henry IV summoned a council of German bishops. The claims of the Pope in this matter were repudiated, and he sent a letter declaring that the Pope was deposed. He made a good case weak by called in the aid of abuse. He called Hildebrand, no pope 'but a false monk', threatening him with curses. This retort is not surprising: it was violent, but so was Henry, and it was unlikely that Henry, who could not control himself, would

[1] Investiture = Formal investing of a person with office.

submit to the authority of another man, and that man a cleric, and an Italian. This was in January 1076. Gregory, undeterred, formally excommunicated Henry, that is he expelled him from the Christian Church, and bade all Christians regard him as a criminal to be shunned and hated. Gregory also encouraged the Emperor's subjects to revolt. This was an easy task, for they did not want much encouragement in any case, for we have already seen something of the troubles of the early days of Henry's reign. The unfriendly princes had not forgotten how to give trouble, and were glad of what seemed a respectable excuse for flouting the Emperor. At first it seemed as if Gregory had triumphed. The German nobles came together in a Diet at Tribur (1076) and here they suspended Henry from his royal office, until such time as he should have received absolution from the Pope. The Emperor was now really alarmed. He delayed some months and then he began to think that unless he wished to abdicate and to be deposed he must make his peace with the unfriendly Pope. In the winter days of 1077, therefore, he crossed the Alps, taking with him his wife Bertha, and his young son Conrad. After a journey of great difficulty and danger, and having refused offers of armed assistance from the northern towns of Italy, he sought out the Pope at the Castle of Canossa, a fortress high up among the Appennines, where the Pope was taking refuge from little local troubles of his own. Here an episode took place which is famous throughout all history. At first Gregory refused to grant the Emperor an audience. For three long days in the bleak January weather, the Emperor waited outside the castle, standing in the snow, bare footed, fasting, and in the garb of a penitent. On the fourth day the Pope, persuaded by Matilda of Tuscany, in whose castle he was, and whose womanly feelings overcame her political views, and also by the Abbot of Cluny, at last admitted the Emperor to his presence. Bare footed, ' still in the garb of penitence stood the King, a man of singularly tall and noble person, with a countenance accustomed to flash command and terror upon his adversaries, before the Pope, a grey-haired man bowed with

years, of small unimposing stature'. So writes the historian. Henry threw himself at the feet of the Pope. The Pope then, raising him up and absolving him, entertained him as his guest. Henry was sent away pardoned, but not forgiven. The terms were humiliating; for the time being Henry's power as Emperor was to be held under the Pope. Hildebrand had indeed reached the summit of his powers. But the quarrel was not yet ended. On Henry's return home he found that the enemy Princes had declared him deposed, and that they had set up in his stead, his brother-in-law, Rudolf of Suabia. Civil war between the rival parties ensued, in spite of the fact that the Pope demanded that the two claimants should leave their quarrel to be settled by him. War raged until 1080, when at last Rudolf was slain in battle.

Even before Henry's quarrel with Rudolf was ended, the Emperor had so far recovered his power as to be determined to set up a rival Pope when the fighting was over. He was determined to take vengeance upon Gregory, because when his fortunes had been at their worst in his struggle with Rudolf, Gregory had seized the opportunity to excommunicate him a second time and to declare that he was deposed. Such meanness made Canossa a mockery.

In 1081, therefore, Henry descended into Italy for vengeance, and during the years 1081–4 there was a war between him and the Pope. Gregory was besieged in Rome, and at last forced to seek refuge in his Castle of St. Angelo, and then Henry IV had himself crowned as Emperor in the Church of St. Peter by an anti-Pope whom he had set up. There is a story which says that Gregory, rather than allow Henry to be crowned by a rival, let down a crown by a string from his castle. At last in his dire necessity Gregory turned to the Normans of South Italy. They quickly came to his rescue, driving off Henry and his German troops; but here their piety ended, for they themselves to the anguish of the Pope sacked the city of Rome. Gregory could not face the people of Rome after this terrible episode. He had been their pride. He was the Pope who had been elected by their shouts in 1073. They had cried 'he has exalted the Roman

Church, and freed our City, we cannot find a better Pope than he'. Now the city of these trusting people was in ruins, and this was their reward for their election of Gregory.

Shamed and humiliated, the courage of Hildebrand at last broke down. Sadly he followed the Normans and went into exile with them at Salerno. This was in 1084. In 1085, he died, a worn-out man of sixty-five; 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile' were his last bitter words. We are tempted to think that by 'righteousness' he meant the Church, and the office of Pope. However, whatever our opinion of Gregory's policy may be, we are bound to admit that he was indeed a great man. We have seen how he wrestled with Henry IV, but this was not the only scope for his action, for all Europe felt his power. For instance, the question of Investitures was raised with France; William the Conqueror was taken under his protection, though William indeed refused him formal submission; he claimed authority in Spain, and in the far parts of the East, and in Russia. It is true that at Gregory's death the quarrel about Lay Investitures had not been settled, but he had indeed dealt a deadly blow to the prestige and the power of the Empire. Men could not forget quickly the scene at Canossa, nor the significance of that scene.

And what about Henry IV? He had by no means come to the end of his troubles when his old foe died. He lived for twenty-one years after the death of his antagonist, and he did not live happily. First of all his elder son, Conrad, rebelled against him, and then when he died the younger son Henry rose up. At last Henry IV was forced to abdicate at the feet of his son, and to acknowledge the iniquity of his acts before a papal legate. He died in 1106, a miserable old man. For five years his bones, lying under a curse, did not find a resting-place.

The contest over Investitures dragged on and was not settled until 1122, when by the Concordat of Worms, a compromise was arranged. The Pope was allowed the right of investing Bishops with the ring and the crozier, but the election was made in the presence of the monarch or his representative and the new bishop then did homage to the monarch before his consecration.

IMPORTANT DATES

1056–1106. Henry IV.
1075. Beginning of Investiture Contest.
1076. Diet of Tribur.
1077. Submission at Canossa.
1085. Death of Gregory.
1104. Rebellion of Younger Henry.

VIII. ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

(1091–1153)

AFTER the death of Gregory VII, there were for a while no Popes nor Emperors of commanding personality. The history of Europe, therefore, does not centre round either the Empire or the Papacy as heretofore. Strange as it may seem, a Burgundian monk, Bernard of Clairvaux, by sheer force of character and disinterested goodness came to stand head and shoulders above his contemporaries and for a while was almost a dictator in European politics. This monk, one of the noblest examples of those men who in the eleventh and twelfth centuries sought to live faithfully and literally such a life as St. Benedict had expected from his monks, for over twenty years was practically the ruler of Europe. He showed judgement so vigorous, and so wise in all the private and local disputes that came before him for arbitration, that in time he became famous throughout the length and breadth of Europe, his advice being sought by Popes, Kings, and Scholars, as well as by more humble folk. Thus, much as he loved seclusion, he was driven to take a leading part in most of the burning questions of Church and State. It is impossible for us to admit that his opinions were always right, but at any rate they were as right as he knew how to make them ; and once made, he acted upon them unflinchingly.

St. Bernard came of noble parentage. His father was a wealthy knight, and his mother a beautiful and well-born lady. Tescelin was the name of the former, Alith of the latter. Bernard was born in the year 1091, the third of a cheerful family of six boys

and one girl. Unlike his brothers who seemed knights by nature, he was a studious child and 'marvellously cogitative'. He was his mother's favourite, perhaps because of his good looks, perhaps, as it has been suggested, because of his delicacy. However, even if he looked frail as a boy, he must have developed a very tough constitution in later life. For as a monk, he subjected himself to such privations and hardships, that had he been a delicate man he could not have survived them for a week.

THE ABBEY OF CÎTEAUX[1]

It was probably his mother's piety and the shock of her death when he was about eighteen, which decided his career. That he did not wish to be a knight he was quite clear. For a short time he was ambitious to become a famous preacher and disputer, like the great scholars of Paris, of whom he must have heard. Suddenly, however, he determined that he must enter a monastery. We are told that his convictions took such hold of him that he at once began to preach and teach about the monastic life,

[1] H. Guest Houses and Abbot's quarters. N. The Church. I. The Kitchen. K. The Refectory. M. The Dormitories. P. Rooms for Scribes. R. The Hospital.

with such good effect that two of his brothers determined to give up their warlike pursuits, and to become monks. His eloquence and powers of persuasion were so great, that many

FOUNTAINS ABBEY. Restoration of the Kitchen

people became afraid of his influence. It was said 'mothers hid their sons, wives their husbands, companions their friends' lest they too should become monks.

At last in the year 1113, Bernard and about thirty companions

determined to enter the monastery of Cîteaux in Burgundy This monastery was chosen because it was the strictest one o which they knew, and their spirit of adventure demanded tha they should face and overcome great difficulties. In the previou century the Burgundian monastery of Cluny had been looke upon as the home of strict living and the centre of the spirit o reform. But now prosperity had come to this monastic house and laxity and luxury were gradually taking the place of it original stern ascetism. Cîteaux was the home for those disciple of utter simplicity and hardship that in this new generatio had come to the fore as a protest against the slackening of al standards. The monks of this monastic foundation are ofte spoken of as Cistercians, Cistercium being the older Latin nam for Cîteaux.

In the year 1113, the monastery of Cîteaux was strictly rule under its third Abbot, an Englishman, Stephen Harding. Stephe made his monks keep the whole of the Rule of St. Benedict quit literally and exactly. They were allowed only one meal a day and even before they got that, there was twelve hours' work t be done. They dressed in the coarsest wool, and led a severe life full of hardships. Even the strict discipline of Cîteaux, howeve did not satisfy the zeal of St. Bernard. He wanted to become as the phrase goes, ' a very athlete of the faith ', that is a maste of self-denial and prayer. Further and above the discipline o Cîteaux he imposed severe hardships upon himself, fastin to such an extent that he almost lost the sense of taste, an denying himself the most innocent pleasures. For instance finding that he was inclined to be too much entertained by th conversations of his friends, he padded his ears, so that he migh neither hear them, nor offend the rule of charity by seeming t avoid them. St. Bernard indeed pushed the ideals of his age t heroic ends, merry chatterers will think.

Two years after the arrival of St. Bernard and his friends a Cîteaux it was found that the place was becoming overcrowded and so he was sent forth with a faithful band to found a siste monastery for some of the newcomers. In the same heroi

spirit in which they had begun their monastic life, they chose a wild and desolate valley, to which St. Bernard gave the name Clairvaux, 'the valley of Brightness'. Here, even before they could set to work to build a house, the forest had to be cleared away. In this barren spot they were like colonists in a new country. It was warm sunny weather when they left Cîteaux; winter and its hardships came before they had finished their work, and they were then indeed in a sorry plight. However, they bore all their troubles and discomforts with such patience and fortitude that they soon became well known and loved in the neighbourhood. 'They are plainly to be seen to be God's companions and friends,' said one who knew them well. Another said of them 'They appear little less than angels, but much more than men', and another 'To judge from their outward appearance, their tools, their bad and disordered dress, they appear a race of fools, without speech or sense, but a true thought in my mind tells me that their life in Christ is hidden in the heavens'. Such were the general opinions of their neighbours and friends, whose charity was soon to give them practical and generous support.

In the same year Bernard was made Abbot of Clairvaux. Hitherto each Benedictine house had managed its own affairs, but now, Stephen Harding formed the plan of forming a league of all those monastic houses which sprang from Cîteaux. This idea was actually carried out about the year 1119. Every year a meeting, or Chapter, was held of the heads of the several monastic houses. This meeting lasted about five days. The rules which guided the Abbots in their work of government were called 'the Charter of Charity'. So popular did this system become that in fifteen years, between 1130 and 1145, no less than ninety-three monasteries in all parts of Europe were connected with Cîteaux.

In the early part of his career Bernard very seldom left his monastery. However, his reputation for wisdom and his undoubted powers of acting as a peace-maker between quarrelsome parties soon became widespread. We learn that he carried on

an enormous correspondence with people of all sorts of conditions, high and low, rich and poor, dull and clever. Over 500 of his letters have been preserved, ' on subjects ranging from the most elevated and spiritual raptures, on the welfare of the soul down to the stealing of pigs '. In these early days he only took journeys at the command of his superiors. In later life he travelled all over Europe, taking a leading part in the most important political matters.

It was in the year 1130 that Bernard really stepped from his seclusion into public politics ; and from that time till the day of his death he saw little of the solitude he so deeply loved. In this year there was a dispute over the election of the Pope. Some of the cardinals chose a certain Peter Pierleone, who had once been a monk at Cluny, but who had none of the reforming zeal of the monks of that great house. This Peter was said to have used bribery to attain to the Papacy. He took the name of Anacletus II. Others chose another candidate, who took the name of Innocent II. In the dilemma which arose both popes appealed to the Emperor; but as he was a weak man, nothing was done, and as the King of France had far more power now in Europe than the Emperor, Innocent II appealed for protection to Louis VI of France. Louis VI summoned a council of the archbishops and bishops of the French realm at Etampes to decide between the rival Popes. By this time, such was Bernard's reputation for judgement and holiness that he also was ordered to attend the meeting. Once there the whole burden of the decision was put upon his shoulders. At once it was decided that ' business which concerned God, should be entrusted to the man of God ', and St. Bernard was recognized as ' that man '. He decided in favour of Innocent II, who was henceforth recognized as Pope (1130–43). After this it was small wonder that the grateful Pope sought to honour the abbot and monks of Clairvaux. Thus when Innocent came to France, he received the homage of German prelates ; he was received with honour by the French King near Orleans, and the English King Henry I at Chartres. Then an Embassy arrived from Germany saying that the Emperor at last acknowledged

him. At all these pageants and councils, St. Bernard was ever at his side. St. Bernard too accompanied the Pope to Liège to be received by the Emperor, and the Pope and his retinue afterwards visited the monastery of Clairvaux. The poverty and plainness of this place, however, was not pleasing to the Pope and his cardinals. Bread and vegetables was the sole fare—except one little fish which was procured for the Pope. We are told 'they had little desire to sojourn long at Clairvaux'.

But St. Bernard was deeply interested in other matters besides practical politics. He took a keen interest in the religious disputes of the day, and he was ardent in the suppression of heresy. One of the greatest contests of his life was with Peter Abelard, the acutest theological disputer of his day. Abelard was a Breton monk, though he was not a sternly disciplined devotionalist like St. Bernard. His interests were not interests of the spirit, but interests of the mind. In his day he was famous in Paris as the greatest logician of his age. At first he was contented with discussing philosophical questions; later on he turned to theology—and he shocked orthodox people, like St. Bernard, by the freedom with which he discussed sacred doctrines. Abelard contended that men should use their reason in religious matters, that they should not accept blindly all that they were told to believe by authority. He made a book called *Sic et Non*, which consisted of statements collected from the works of the Fathers of the Church, whose works were looked upon in those days as authoritative documents which should not be questioned. Many of the statements which Abelard picked out of these works were contradicted by statements chosen from the same sources. Abelard thus showed without comment that individual men ought to use their reason. If the Holy Fathers, he argued, had done this, and had not always agreed, what was there to prevent the present generation of thinkers doing the same? Abelard did not wish to prove that he himself was a heretic, nor did he wish to make others heretics. What he wanted to prove was that if the Christian Religion be true, it can never be

upset by reasonable arguments. However, St. Bernard was convinced that the influence and teaching of Abelard was harmful, in particular he greatly objected to Abelard's monastic school, 'the Paraclete', where his pupils argued and discussed all such matters freely during the years 1122–5. It was quite unlike any other monastic establishment of his day.

The opposition of St. Bernard and others irritated Abelard—who had led a sadly tragic and bitter life. In the year 1140 he challenged St. Bernard to meet him in a debate at a council. This council was held at Sens in 1140. St. Bernard was an honest, eloquent man with a personality that charmed, convinced, and awed his fellow creatures, but he was no match in intellect or powers of argument with the skilful Abelard. He must have gone to Sens to meet his opponent in some trepidation. St. Bernard referred to Abelard as 'this huge Goliath', referring of course to his brain and not to his stature. However, the incredible happened at Sens. Abelard, to the surprise of all, refused to debate. His courage seemed to have failed him at the last. He merely said, 'I appeal to Rome'—and left all accusations against him unanswered. St. Bernard was left the victor of the field. However, the Saint was determined to vanquish his antagonist thoroughly whilst he was about it, and to that intent he caused the more daring passages of Abelard's writings to be read to the assembly. We are told that the assembled bishops and princes were more bored than shocked. A famous historian thus describes the closing scenes of the council of Sens:

'The wine and weariness brought on sleep: the drowsy assembly sat, some leaning on their elbows, some with cushions under their heads, some with their heads dropping on their knees, at each pause they murmured sleepily "damnamus" (we condemn), till at length some cut short the word and faintly breathed "namus".'[1]

Abelard's appeal went to Rome. But very naturally the Pope, who was under the influence of Bernard, condemned him. He was forbidden to preach and his disciples were to be excommunicated,

[1] Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, vol. iii, Bk. VIII, c 5.

Abelard now fled to the Abbey of Cluny for refuge. Here he was sheltered by the Abbot until his death in 1142. The Abbot of Cluny was no friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, for the monks of Clairvaux were known to consider Cluny as a luxurious place;

THE VIRGIN APPEARING TO ST. BERNARD, PERUGINO

thus perhaps his charity to the broken Abelard was tinged with a suspicion of spite towards St. Bernard.

St. Bernard was considered by all to have won a great victory at Sens. The truth is that Abelard was a shattered and broken man, with a tragedy and a broken life behind him. St. Bernard overawed him with his vigorous personality, rather than with argument, but the great principle for which Abelard strove,

the supremacy of reason, was to be championed by many another at the time of the Reformation. St. Bernard represents all the old conservative forces. Abelard was a brilliant and unhappy forerunner of the new.

St. Bernard had yet another contest with the thinkers of his time. This time it was an Italian monk, Arnold of Brescia. Arnold had crossed the Alps and become a pupil of Abelard, and whereas Abelard questioned the authority of the Church on points of doctrine, Arnold questioned its authority in secular matters.

He wished the clergy to return to a state of primitive poverty, and his arguments were appeals to the plain words of Christ. He was also a revolutionary in another respect. He taught that the Pope should govern in all spiritual matters, but that Rome itself should be ruled as a Republic, as it had been in the olden days. When Arnold returned to Italy from France, and began to preach these doctrines, he was considered a dangerous man, and he was condemned to silence by the Lateran Council (1139).[1]

Arnold fled across the Alps. But he was regarded with active suspicion by St. Bernard ; wherever he took shelter, St. Bernard followed him with angry letters, ordering his protectors to give him up. St. Bernard was not a man who wished for riches ; like Arnold we know that he preached a life of poverty, but he saw in his teaching an attempt to undermine the authority of the Church ; the Church he thought should hold wealth as a trust for useful and charitable purposes.

Arnold at length returned to Rome in 1145 to help the newly-formed Republic which had been set up in the previous year. But even then he was not out of the range of St. Bernard's influence. Innocent II, St. Bernard's friend, had died in 1143, it is true three popes following him in rapid succession, but the last of these, Eugenius III (1145–54), happened to be a former Cistercian monk, so that when Arnold and the Republicans became too much for the Pope in Rome, and he took refuge

[1] One of the five General Councils of the Western Church held in the Cathedral Church of St. John Lateran in Rome.

beyond the Alps, he inevitably became the convenient mouthpiece of St. Bernard. Even when Eugenius III summoned up enough courage to return to Rome he was primed with advice by St. Bernard from time to time as to how to deal with the Republicans. In this way St. Bernard fought the political ideas of Arnold untiringly, till his death in 1153. Arnold himself died two years later. The Republican had a tragic end. In 1155 the Pope and the Emperor became reconciled, and Arnold having been taken prisoner by the Emperor, was handed over to the cardinals, who condemned him to be burnt as a heretic. Thus he died, a martyr for his cause. One is glad that the reproach of having actually brought Arnold to the stake cannot be put on St. Bernard, though he was undoubtedly Arnold's deadly enemy. St. Bernard describes Arnold 'as the man whose word is honey, but whose doctrine is poison, whom Brescia has spat out, Rome abhors, France drives out, Germany curses'.

But long before this quarrel with Arnold of Brescia was finished St. Bernard was engaged upon what some regard as the chief work of his life, namely, the preaching of the Second Crusade. The First Crusade, or Holy War, had been proclaimed in 1095. Previous to this date, the Saracens had for many years been in possession of the Holy Land, and had allowed Christians to visit Palestine unmolested; in the year 1058, however, the Saracens were attacked and overcome by fierce enemies, the Seljuk Turks. These Turks persecuted the Christian pilgrims with great brutality. At last the Eastern Emperor and the Pope stirred up the indignation of all Europe against the Turks so that a holy war was undertaken. In 1144 came the news of the Conquest of Edessa, and other disasters and defeats of the Christians. Bernard, thoroughly aroused, sought to stir up all Christendom to a second effort, just as Peter the Hermit had done for the First Crusade. He wrote many letters, and made innumerable sermons and speeches in many places. At a great council held at Vézelay (1146) with Louis VII of France at his side, he stirred up the people to great enthusiasm. Later on St. Bernard passed into Germany, and even the Emperor Conrad III was

overcome by his eloquence. The King of France and the Emperor both set out and Europe was drained of men who went off to fight. But the Second Crusade, the result of this tremendous effort of enthusiasm, was a failure. We are told 'At least thirty thousand lives were sacrificed, and there was not even the consolation of one glorious deed achieved. The Emperor, the King of France returned to their dominions the ignominious survivors of their gallant hosts'. The fault perhaps lay with the Crusaders themselves. All the good and bad of Europe had swarmed eastward, without discipline, and without control. The blame of the failure, however, was laid by many on St. Bernard. His defence was only this—'he did not much mind any slander of himself so long as people did not speak against God.'

St. Bernard is an example of a man who achieved greatness by sincerity and sheer strength of character. His religion gave him determination and discipline; his deep thinking cleared his mind, and his sympathy developed a marvellous insight into the characters of his fellow men. His point of view is perhaps strange to us. He always looked upon this world as a place of banishment and trial, and as a sorry prelude to the joys of Heaven. And if he sometimes seemed ruthless in his dealings with others, at least we know he was as ruthless with himself when he detected wrongdoing within, and there was besides in him a fine strain of charity and tenderness. His strength was never exerted for the cause of personal ambition, but only for the 'City of God'. No wonder that St. Bernard in his age stands out like a rugged oak in a wild copse, a veritable king of men.

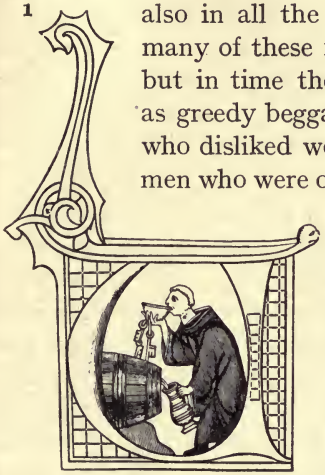
IMPORTANT DATES

1095. Council of Clermont.
1100–37. Louis VI of France.
1130. Election of Innocent II.
1137–80. Louis VII of France.
1146. Council of Vézelay. Second Crusade.
1153. Death of St. Bernard.
1155. Arnold of Brescia burnt.

IX. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

(1182–1226)

At the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, it was no uncommon thing to meet with wandering monks or friars, not only in England, Wales, and Scotland, but also in all the countries of Europe. Now at first many of these friars were good, hard-working men, but in time they came to be disliked and ridiculed as greedy beggars, and as lazy and dishonest people who disliked working for a living, in other words, as men who were only fit to be laughed at and despised.



[1]

There were originally two great brotherhoods of friars; the Franciscans or Grey Friars, and the Dominicans, or Black Friars. The Franciscans were men who worked and taught amongst the very poorest of the people in cities and towns; the Dominicans were a great brotherhood of preachers, who tried to instruct the ignorant classes, and to confute those intellectuals who disputed the teaching of the Church. St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscans, the 'little poor man' of Assisi as he was sometimes called, was one of the saintliest and holiest men that ever walked upon this earth. He was so much loved in his day that he rapidly made friends and attracted followers. The story of his life explains his real aim and unfolds his tragedy, for we learn how the society which he founded quickly drifted away from its original aims, so that even before his death, to his deep grief he saw the Franciscans had become a by-word in Europe.

Giovanni Bernardone was born in 1182, in the small town of Assisi which is situated in the north-east of Italy. He was the

[1] The Cellarer at Work, from an illuminated initial of the early fourteenth century.

son of a rich man, Pietro Bernardone, a cloth-merchant, who traded much with France. It was during one of his absences in that country that Giovanni was born, and for this reason he was nicknamed Francesco. Bernardone was ambitious for his son and willingly lavished money on him. He gave him every comfort and luxury, but a very poor education, so that to the end of his days he could hardly read or write. As a boy Bernardone was eager that Francis should be the friend and playmate of all the young nobles of the neighbourhood; he encouraged him to vie with them in every extravagance, in merrymaking and riotous living. It seemed as if he had no better thought than to make his son appear to be boon-companion of those of higher rank than himself.

Francis was deservedly popular as a youth, he was handsome and attractive, short, slender, and dark. He was gay, lovable, and full of high spirits, and always more than able to take his share in feasting, carousing, and riotous living. He was for ever making himself conspicuous by his boisterous behaviour and high spirits with his friends in the streets of Assisi. Perhaps when we read of all this, it is hard to realize that this was the boy who later on vowed himself to a life of simplicity, who in later days served the ideal of Poverty with the same devotion that a knight would have shown for his lady. Yet all his life St. Francis had much of the chivalrous knight in him. Doubtless he learned from the songs of wandering troubadours the spirit of romantic devotion, and when he gave up worldly desires, he translated his romantic fervour to his devotion and religion.

No one in the days of his boyhood guessed at the promise of his future except his mother, who said 'I will tell you how this son of mine will turn out: he will become a son of God'. She alone with the insight of love knew the truth.

The days in which Francis lived were days of constant fighting: for then the Italian cities were ever at war with one another on pretexts that nowadays are somewhat difficult to understand. And so when Francis was about twenty years of age, he took part in a petty war between his native city and Perugia. It happened

that he was captured and we are told that he remained a prisoner, and merry at that, in Perugia for over a year, until peace was patched up between the two cities and all the prisoners were released and sent home again. After this experience, and perhaps because of the hardships he had endured, Francis had a bad illness. He nearly died, and as he lay on his sickbed, he began to think of the foolishness of his past ways of life. Of what use was it all? What did it lead to? What good was he doing either to himself or to others? Perhaps these were some of the questions which he put to himself. When he recovered, however, in spite of these serious searchings of heart the love of fighting and adventure had not left him. He wanted to copy Walter de Brienne who was fighting in the south for the Church and Pope Innocent III against the Emperor. Once again at great expense his father fitted him out to join the Papal army in Apulia, and off he started on this new expedition. But to the surprise of all, he suddenly returned home, without having seen any fighting. Whether his companions, disliking his boasting about his grand equipment, had played some trick upon him or whether his conscience blamed him we cannot tell. Home he came, and, from that time onwards, he was an entirely changed man. Francis spent long hours by himself in a little cave near Assisi, thinking and meditating. His former companions did all they could to bring him back to the old gay life, but all real interest in it seemed to have left Francis. We know, as his friends did not, that he was gradually making up his mind that he ought to devote his life to the service of God and his fellow creatures. He was finding signs of God in Nature and Humanity, for St. Francis was always a poet. The beauties of sky, mountain, river, and plain were gaining new meanings for him, and he was beginning to find friends in birds, animals, and fishes, in a way which was new and wonderful to him. Although Nature is glorious and splendid in Italy, perhaps Francis had been until this time almost like a blind man. 'Having eyes, he had not seen.' Now, for the first time, he was learning to admire and wonder at the glories which were around him on every

side, and to love human nature. He made friends with the poor and unhappy in his city, for, in those who suffered, he found much that was lovable, admirable, and companionable, and qualities which were often hidden in the thoughtless, careless, prosperous people whom he had hitherto been accustomed to meet.

About this time Francis went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Perhaps he thought that there, in the home of the Pope if anywhere, he might find some answer to this puzzle he was trying to solve—How was he to spend his life ? He found the answer in Rome it is true, but not in the way he expected. It was given to him by no great Churchman, but it was taught him by the sight of the beggars who swarmed in the streets of Rome. He was interested in their lives, and he suddenly knew that he must serve God, by helping his fellow creatures. On his return journey his determination was soon tested. St. Francis met with a leper, who was such a revolting sight, that awe-stricken he at first turned aside. However, determined to fight this feeling of disgust, and to conquer himself, he turned back and meeting the leper again kissed his hand, giving him all his money. A few days afterwards to make certain of his conquest of himself and to test his endurance he visited the leper hospital. The victory was his and, from this time forth, St. Francis always worked among the lepers. Leprosy was a common disease in mediaeval times, because villages and towns were dirty and insanitary—but it was such a loathsome disease, and men stood in such fear of it, that lepers were treated with great cruelty as outcasts, just as they were in Palestine in the time of Christ.

St. Francis had now made clear to himself what he wanted to do with his life. ' The little poor man ' had determined that he would make his life as close an imitation of the life of Christ as was possible. Unlike other religious men of his day he did not fly from his fellow men, but he saw in them revelations of goodness and opportunities for service. Difficulties soon thronged upon him. When he returned home, and explained what he wanted to do, he found that his father did not in the

least understand him. Although Bernardone had lavished money on his son when he was living a life of pleasure, he hated to see him spending it in charity; so Francis became very unhappy at home. He spent much of his time wandering in the

CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF ST. FRANCIS, ASSISI

fields near Assisi. One day by chance he came to the little ruined chapel of San Damiano and this he made up his mind to repair. He gave the priest who lived near by all the money he had, and then went home and, after having collected some of his father's merchandise, he sold it in a neighbouring town for the good of the little chapel. This money the priest wisely

refused to take, but Francis flung it down in the church. Then he hid from his father, until deep meditation made him brave enough to appear once more in the streets of Assisi; haggard and worn and distraught as he was, no wonder his neighbours took him to be mad. The news of his return soon came to his father's ears, and Pietro Bernardone dragged his son home once more. Here he was indeed treated as a dangerous lunatic. He was locked in a dark room, and his feet were put in chains. Luckily for Francis, his mother took compassion upon him when her husband had departed once more upon a business journey. She released him, and allowed him to return once more to his haunt near the little chapel of San Damiano. But he was not allowed to remain long in peace; his father again pursued him—though curses and reproaches and even blows were of no avail. At last Bernadone agreed to allow Francis to go his own way, if he would renounce his inheritance, and return the money he had made by his dishonest sale of goods. Francis claimed that the money was no longer his, as it had been given to the Church.

At last Pietro Bernardone in desperation induced the Bishop of Assisi to call Francis before him. The Bishop decided that the money had been unlawfully given, that God did not wish as alms, money that had been 'gotten by injustice'. Whereupon St. Francis rising up in Court, and handing back the money, declared that he was willing to give up all claims to his father's property. All that he wanted, he said, was to be left alone to live as his conscience dictated. He even went so far as to cast off all the clothing which he had received from his father, and he left the Bishop's palace clad only in an old cloak which had been given him out of charity by the Bishop's gardener. Truly the adventure of his life had begun.

As Francis journeyed up into the hills, he knew not whither, he was attacked by robbers. These men took away his cloak and threw him into a ditch full of snow. He managed to make his way to a neighbouring monastery, where in return for service in the kitchen he was given food, and a few days later a friend gave him some clothes, a tunic, a leather girdle, some shoes, and

a staff. Then he went back to San Damiano and bit by bit he managed to beg materials to restore the little chapel. In his first visits to the little ruin Francis thought he heard a Voice saying ' Francis, go and repair my church, which as thou seest is wholly a ruin '. Later on he did not attach a literal meaning to the vision, but he thought the voice meant he was to repair the whole Church of God. Francis also visited his friends the lepers again, for there was a leper settlement near ; and lest he should get proud and dainty, he begged his food from door to door feeding on such scraps as the goodwill of the neighbours gave to him. Whenever he met his father in the streets of Assisi he was met with curses and abuses. Thus St. Francis spent his days. When he had finished repairing the chapel of San Damiano, he went on to rebuild two others which had fallen into disrepair. At last in 1209, St. Francis began to give a wider interpretation to his work of ' repairing the Church '. As he chanced to hear some words read from the Gospel, he determined to make them his Rule of Life, and to fulfil their meaning literally. The words were : ' Wherever ye go, preach, saying, " The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither silver nor gold nor brass in your purse, neither scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staff, for the labourer is worthy of his meat.' He determined that he would carry out these words as exactly as possible.

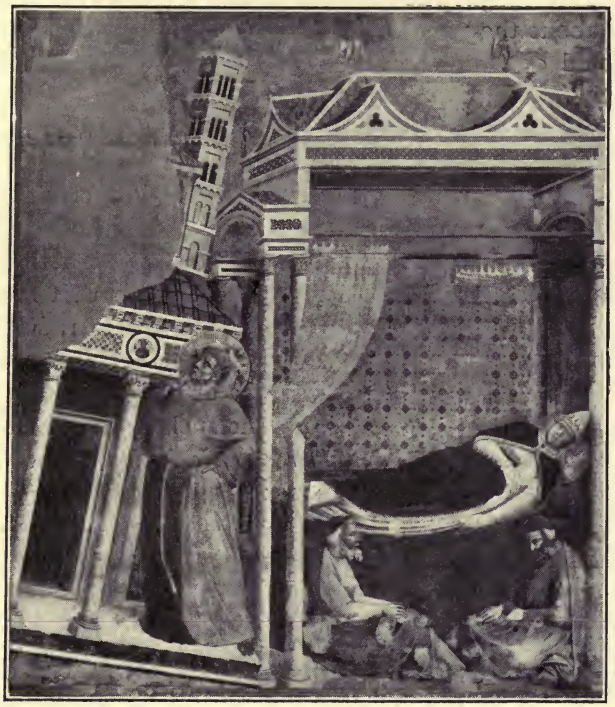
And so Francis began to preach on the country side trusting to charity for his support. It was not long before friends began to collect round him. In time three of these men settled with him at Porzuncula, where he had made his new home. They built themselves cabins of boughs, and made themselves brown, or ' beast colour ' tunics, as they were called by the country people. Here the brethren lived and worked, moving about among the poor beseeching them and all men to live at peace with one another. Many people thought that Francis and his friends were mad, others admired them, perceiving that they really did all their works for charity, or ' holy love '. Within

a year the numbers of the brethren had grown greatly and, because the jealousy of the neighbours caused many difficulties, St. Francis set out with twelve of the brethren on a journey to Rome. This was in order that there they might obtain permission from the Pope to go on unmolested with their preaching. Pope Innocent III was at first nonplussed at the request. He did not know whether he could grant this permission. At first he advised St. Francis and his followers to join one of the existing Orders of Monks, for, at present, they were still laymen. The Pope was perplexed how to deal with this new enthusiasm, but when St. Francis declined to join an Order, Innocent III gave way. The Franciscans were formed as a separate Order and St. Francis was chosen as the Superior.

Having gained their end, the Brothers departed home. For a time they lived in the little caves which are to be found on the banks of the Rivo Torto, between Perugia and Rome, and from this centre they preached all round the neighbourhood. They soon became known as the Brothers Minor, from their desire to hold lowly positions. It happened too, at this time, that there was much quarrelling in the city of Assisi, between the well-to-do and the poor classes, the Majori and Minori as they were called. St. Francis made peace between the two bodies, and, as he and his followers were always friends of the poor, they thus obtained their name.

The first Franciscans had no churches of their own; any that they used were lent to them by other bodies of men; nor had they any settled houses. Thus the Benedictine monks, in these early days, lent them a church near Porziuncula, called Santa Maria degli Angeli, or St. Mary of the Angels—round this little poor church the Brothers built themselves rough huts, and here they lived for ten years, often saying their prayers and making their meditations in the beautiful forests of the neighbourhood. The Brothers were supported partly by charity and partly by labours of their own hands, for though gifts were never lacking, St. Francis meant his companions to toil for their own living, and not to be ordinary beggars or mendicants. The laziness of the friars of later days was never what he had

contemplated or wished. He thought that each man should go on with his trade after he became a friar. If he had not a trade when he joined, thought St. Francis, he should learn one as soon as possible. Thus the Brothers occupied their time, preaching,



POPE INNOCENT III DREAMS OF ST. FRANCIS SUPPORTING THE CHURCH[1]

praying, and working, and, in particular, looking after the wants of the lepers, each man developing his particular gifts, and thus each man helping mankind in his own particular way.

St. Francis not only taught the people of Italy, but he went off on missionary journeys to foreign lands, as did other Franciscans. St. Francis himself had many adventures; he was once

[1] From a fresco by Giotto in the Upper Church, Assisi.

wrecked on the coast of Dalmatia; he journeyed to Spain and to Syria, and to Morocco, for he felt that he had a mission not only to those who lived among believers, but also to those who lived in the very midst of infidel teaching. His methods were simple. He taught no complicated doctrines, nor difficult theories about the world and good and evil, but he taught that men should quickly repent them of the wickedness that filled the earth, remembering the shortness of life, and that they should look to the example of the Lord of Life Who had conquered Sin and Death because in love He sacrificed Himself. They should serve Him, as He served them. Francis also taught that it was by prayer, made in silence and solitude, that he gained wisdom and strength for his work. And both he and his brethren preached in such an attractive way that men were glad to listen. From the first, Franciscans were radiant with mirth and happiness, St. Francis himself deliberately teaching that, to be happy and joyous, was one of the duties of religious people. He disliked long faces and melancholy lives. Thus the following story is told in the *Mirror of Perfection*, an account of St. Francis by his own companions:

'On a certain occasion he reproved one of his companions who appeared sad of face, and said to him, "Why makest thou an outward show of sorrow and sadness for thy offences? Let this sadness be between thyself and God, and pray to Him that of His mercy He may spare thee, and may restore to thy soul the gladness of His salvation, which is taken from thee on account of thy sin; but before me and others study always to have joy, for it becomes not the servant of God to show before his brother or another sadness or a troubled face."'

St. Francis not only loved his fellow creatures but he also loved birds, animals, and flowers. We often find him speaking of them quaintly as if he and they were tried friends and comrades. One of the most famous legends tells of how he preached to the birds. This story runs as follows:

'The most blessed Father Francis once made his way through the valley of Spoleto, and he came to a place near Bevagna where the birds of divers kind had gathered together in a great

multitude—crows, doves, and others which are called, in the vulgar tongue, bullfinches. Now Francis most blessed servant of God was a man full of zeal and moved to tenderness and gentleness towards all creatures, even those that be lowly and without reason. So when he had seen the birds he did run to them quickly, leaving his companions upon the way.

When he had come near to them he saw that they awaited him and he made salutation, as he was wont to do. Wondering not a little that they did not take flight, as is the habit of birds, he begged them humbly, yet with great joy, that they would hear the word of God. And among many things which he said unto them was this as follows: "My brother birds, greatly should ye praise the Creator and always serve him, because he gave you feathers to wear, wings to fly, and whatsoever ye needed. He exalted you among his creatures, and made for you a mansion in the pure air. Although ye sow not, neither reap, none the less he protects you and guides you, and ye have not any care." At this the birdlings—so one said who was with him—began to stretch out their necks, and raise their wings, to open their mouths, and to look upon him. He went and came, passing through the midst of them, and his tunic touched their heads and bodies. Then he blessed them, and made the sign of the Cross, and gave them leave to fly to other places.'[1]

In his little garden at Porziuncula, he would have flowers growing, as well as vegetables and useful herbs; as he said, 'you must reserve one corner for our sisters, the flowers of the fields.' And in his later days, he made a very famous song called 'The Canticle of the Sun';[2] in this song he shows that he feels himself to be one of God's family, along with the sun, the moon and the stars, wind, water, fire, and so on. Here are a few of the opening words:

'Praised be my Lord God with all His creatures, and specially our brother the sun, who brings us the day and who brings us the light; fair is he, and shining with a very great splendour: O Lord, he signifies to us Thee.

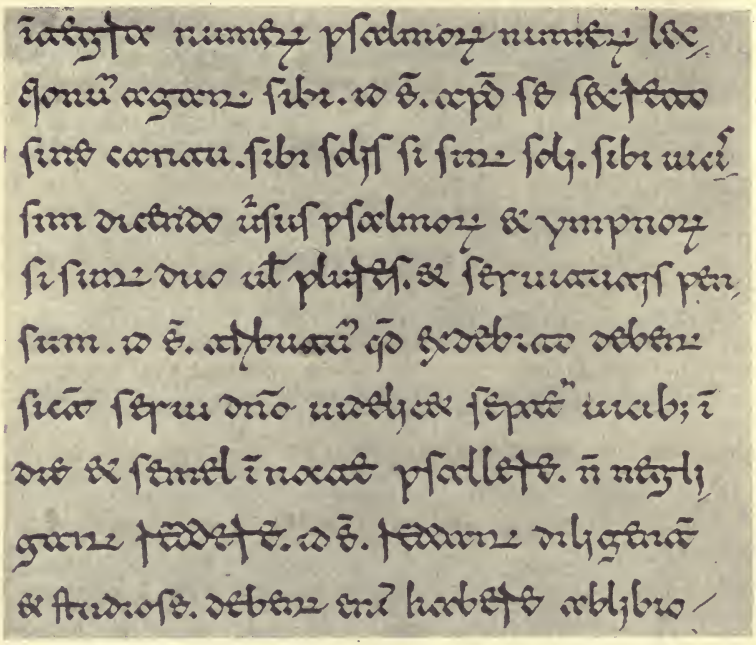
'Praised be my Lord for our sister the moon, and for the stars, the which he has set clear and lovely in heaven. Praised be my Lord for our brother the wind, and for air and cloud, calms and all weathers by the which Thou upholdest life in all creatures.

[1] From Thomas of Celano, *Legenda Prima*.

[2] Quoted in J. M. Connell, *A book of Devotional Readings*, p. 69.

'Praised be my Lord for our sister water, who is very serviceable unto us and humble and precious and clean.

'Praised be my Lord for our brother fire, through whom Thou givest us light in darkness; and he is bright and pleasant and very mighty and strong.'



COMMENTARY ON MONASTIC RULES, thirteenth century.[1]

The world to St. Francis was indeed a friendly, happy place. But as life went on, clouds and difficulties gathered round the 'little poor man'.

[1] (integra numerum psalmorum numerum lec|tionum agant sibi. id est, apud se secreto | sine cantu. sibi solis si sint soli. sibi vicis|sim dicendo versus psalmorum et ympnorum | si sunt duo vel plures. et servitutis pen|sum. id est. tributum quod ex debito debent | sicut servi domino videlicet septem vicibus in | die et semel in nocte psallere. non negli|gant reddere. id est. reddant diligenter | et studiose. debent enim habere a blibio[theca].)

The early Franciscans managed their affairs with great simplicity, but as their numbers increased very rapidly the matter soon became more complicated. Soon the Brethren numbered many hundreds and St. Francis had no genius for business and organization. He had also two dangers to fear. First of all, it became clear that the ecclesiastical authorities were trying to get control of his Order. Now the organized Church in those days was in a bad way, and St. Francis felt that the work of his followers would be much hampered if he was checked at every turn by complicated rules. Then, secondly, many of the newcomers wanted to have some say in the management of affairs. They resented obedience to the words and wishes of St. Francis. This they made clear at the Chapter meetings, or gatherings of the Franciscans for business matters. At some of these meetings, when St. Francis was absent on missionary journeys, the whole nature of the society was subtly and gradually changed. The vow of poverty became neglected. In the year 1220, St. Francis was asked to draw up a new and fuller Rule. Much against his will, he was persuaded to leave out the words ' Carry nothing with you ', and, from this time onwards, the Franciscans became owners of property. And as St. Francis thought that he was perhaps taking too much authority upon himself, from 1220 onwards another Brother was appointed the Head of the Order. At first it was a certain Peter of Catana, and after his death one Brother Elias.

About the same time that the Order of the Franciscans was founded, St. Dominic, a Spaniard, founded his Order of Preaching Friars, in order to confound the teaching of heresy. We are told how, at the time of the Lateran Council, he met St. Francis at Rome, and afterwards came and visited him at Porziuncula. St. Dominic learned much from St. Francis, and, without doubt, copied what he saw among the Franciscans in many ways. The Pope was extremely anxious that the two Orders should join, but as neither St. Francis nor St. Dominic was willing to do this, their Orders remained separate. Each saint rightly thought that each Order must develop independently in its own way. In 1221, the year that St. Francis completed his Rule for the Society,

he founded the Order of Tertiaries, or the new Third Order, as it was called. This was a society of men and women who were living in the world, who did not give up all, as the Franciscans, but who sought to live in extreme simplicity and at peace with one another in the spirit of the Franciscans.

St. Francis, though not an old man, was now drawing to the end of his life, worn out with hardships. His anxiety in these

CHURCH AND CONVENT OF ST. CLARE, ASSISI

later days as to the future of the society which he had founded was very great. He was very often filled with despair. He once said : ' The time will come when our Order will so have lost all good renown that its members will be ashamed to show themselves by daylight.' Gradually his words proved to be true; within his lifetime the Order became more and more worldly, and less and less like the ideal of its founder.

It is of the last years of St. Francis's life that one of the most wonderful legends is told. St. Francis is said to have spent so much time meditating on the Passion and sufferings of Our Lord, that at last, in his own body, he bore the marks of the Stigmata—that is, the wounds made in Our Lord's body at the time of the

Crucifixion. It was in the last year of his life, too, that he wrote the wonderful Canticle of the Sun, to which reference has already been made.

During his last illness his misery was very great. He believed that he was responsible for his Order becoming worldly and greedy. He blamed himself for having given up its direction, for selfishness and for idleness; over and over again he thought of this matter, but tragic as was his despair we know he found peace at the end. Almost his last words to the Brothers were: 'I have done my duty—may the Christ now teach you yours.' We are told that as he died a multitude of larks were heard singing in the twilight, which was held to have a beautiful significance.

The 'little poor man' died on October 4, 1226, and he was buried at Porziuncula.

No life of St. Francis would be complete without some mention of the Order of Poor Clares. This was an Order of women which was founded by St. Clare. St. Clare had been greatly influenced by the preaching of St. Francis when she was quite a young girl; she gathered together a band of women and girls, hard by Porziuncula, who lived as nearly as it was possible according to the Rule of St. Francis. She survived him many years, and till the end of her life she was a doughty champion of the ideals of St. Francis.

On July 16, 1228, nearly two years after his death, St. Francis was canonized as a Saint and on July 17, the day after this had been done, the foundation stone of San Francesco, the great church which was raised as a memorial to the Saint's memory, was laid. Perhaps the world never understood St. Francis; even Brother Elias, who knew him well, tried to immortalize him with this costly building. The church sums up the tragedy of his life—he asked for poverty for himself and his fellows—and the world gave him and them instead—riches, and nearly broke his heart.

DATE.

Innocent III. 1198–1216.

X. COLA DI RIENZI

(1313–54)

In Europe of the fourteenth century, the French Kings were gradually becoming more and more powerful. Their power and influence was gradually rivalling that of the Emperors, especially as they managed to get control of the Papacy. After several quarrels with the Pope, a Frenchman was eventually elected Pope in 1305. His name was Clement V. He wandered from one French town to another, till at last he took up his permanent home at Avignon, a city now in France, then just outside French territory. From 1309 till 1376 this city was to be, with one short interruption, the home of the Papacy. The luxury, and sin, and worldliness in which the papal court was settled, added righteous indignation to the jealousy of the Italians at the removal of so great a man from their midst. A famous poet gave to this period the name of the 'Babylonish Captivity',—a nickname which has not been allowed to die out.

The state of affairs during these years was indeed miserable in Italy, and especially in Rome. Lawlessness, strife, violence, and every form of wickedness and sin flourished. Reformers arose who hoped to change the hearts of men by altering their institutions. One, Rienzi by name, hoped first to bring the Pope back to Rome, and then to set up a republic in Rome itself. The other, a woman, St. Catherine of Siena, hoped to heal the whole mischief by bringing back the Pope from Avignon. Both failed to cure Italy of her woes, though we shall see that Catherine did manage to bring back the Pope to his old home.

Cola di Rienzi was born in the year 1313. He was born in a time of misery and disorder, and he grew up to be a man who, far from being callous about what he saw around him, wished to reform and regenerate the State. As a diligent student of history, he was constantly led to compare the glorious days of Rome with the squalor and misery of his own times; and this he put down to the form of government in Rome. In his

day there was indeed no order and no justice there. Oppression and greed flourished; men went in constant danger of their lives; property was never safe. Rienzi became fired with a burning desire to alter these things; he thought that he would get to the root of the matter if the people were once again free, as in the old days of the Republic. The Roman people in his day were at the mercy of the nobility. Though Rome was nominally governed by a Senator, supposed to be chosen by the people, this man was in reality generally a nominee of the Pope.

Rienzi was only a humble notary when he conceived these ideas, and it may have seemed wildly extravagant of him to hope that he could ever be a leader of the people, but his hopes and ambitions were so high that no difficulties daunted him. He seems to have imagined that in some way he was destined to help Italy. He often affirmed that he was connected by birth with the Imperial House, though, on the other hand, his enemies said he was but a low born man, that his mother was a washerwoman, and his father an innkeeper, and that he had no royal blood in his veins. But, after all, his origin was not of much account, for it was his personality that helped to make history. His beliefs inspired him to do great things, and he was a great orator, and a born leader of men. His ideas were, perhaps, fantastic and unpractical, but he was so attractive, and he was a speaker of such persuasive power, that he was able, if only for a short time, to impress and lead the people of Rome.

Rienzi first became important in the year 1342. In that year he went, with other Roman citizens, on an Embassy to the Papal Court at Avignon. This Embassy entreated the newly-elected Pope, Clement VI, to return to Rome, and thus help to bring back the former greatness of the city. They were successful in obtaining this promise from the Pope; and this was hailed with great joy, for it was felt that if the glory of Rome had for the moment been eclipsed by the Papal retirement, good days of peace and prosperity must of necessity with his return come again to the city. Rienzi himself managed to obtain the favour of the Pope, and he was given an official post at the Papal Court,

and was able to return to Rome a more powerful man than he had set out.

For the next three years, Rienzi did all he could to make the people of Rome conscious that their evils might be remedied. First of all he tried to rouse their interest. For this purpose,

THE PALAIS DES PAPES, AVIGNON

he had recourse to many strange expedients. He tried to attract the attention of the nobles to himself by all manner of means, hoping that, when they had once noticed him they would listen to his teaching. He also tried to teach the common people by speeches, and by showing them large allegorical or emblematic pictures. One of them has been described thus :

'On a sinking ship, without mast or sail, sat a noble lady in widow's weeds, with dishevelled hair, and her hands crossed over her breast.' Above was written, 'This is Rome'. She was surrounded by four other ships, in which sat women who personated Babylon, Carthage, Tyre, Jerusalem. 'Through unrighteousness', ran the legend, 'these fell to ruin.' An inscription hung above, 'Thou, O Rome, art exalted above all; we await thy downfall.' Three islands appeared beside the ship; on one was Italy, on another, four of the cardinal virtues, on the third, Christian Faith. Over Faith was written, 'O highest Father, Ruler and Lord! when Rome sinks, where find I refuge?' Bitter satire was not wanting. Four rows of winged beasts stood above, who blew their horns, and directed the pitiless storm against the sinking vessel. The lions, wolves, and bears denoted, as the legend explained, the mighty barons and traitorous senators; the dogs, the swine, and the bulls were the counsellors, the base partisans of the nobles; the sheep, the serpents, and foxes were the officers, the false judges, and the notaries; the hares, cats, goats, and apes, the robbers, murderers, adulterers, thieves among the people. Above was written, 'God in His majesty come down to judgment, with two swords, as in the Apocalypse, out of His mouth.'[1] St. Peter and St. Paul were beneath, on either side, in the attitude of supplication. Pictures taught the people that which speech was at first unable to do, they looked when they would not listen, and in May 1347 Rienzi at last stirred the people up to Revolution. No blood was shed, but a new form of government was set up, with Rienzi at its head as tribune. As tribune, Rienzi issued many laws with the object of reforming disorder. He gave out that he was the chosen representative of the Roman people, and that the Roman people were those who ought to rule the Empire, in this way, of course, flattering the common people and encouraging their vanity. His words made them feel that they were more important than other folk. Rienzi also sent letters to the chief cities of Italy, asking them to send representatives to an assembly which would be held under the

[1] Milman, vol. v, Bk. XII, c. 10.

headship of Rome. A number of cities actually sent representatives and this assembly began at once to try and prove their power. The two rival Emperors, Lewis IV and Charles IV, were both summoned to appear before this meeting to explain their claims, a summons which they both, however, disregarded. Nevertheless, other crowned heads showed some deference, even sending representatives to appear before the assembly. Rienzi was careful all this while to show respect to the Church in order to gain its support. His increasing vanity, and his desire for pomp and distinction, however, in a short time began to lose him friends and supporters. He became anxious for titles and honours. Among the titles which he assumed were 'Nicholas' (for Cola was short for Nicolas); 'the Severe and Merciful', 'the Deliverer of the City', 'the Zealot for the freedom of Italy', 'the Friend of the World', and 'the August Tribune'. With these high-sounding phrases he sought to buttress up his reputation. On August 15, he was crowned with seven crowns, of oak, ivy, myrtle, laurel, olive, silver, gold, all of which were supposed to serve some symbolic purpose. At his coronation, Rienzi used these words, 'As Christ in His thirty-third year, having overthrown the tyrants of Hell, went up crowned into Heaven, so God willed that in the same year of my life, I, having conquered the tyrants of the city without a blow, and alone given liberty to the people, should be promoted to the laurel crown of the Tribune.' He certainly believed, or pretended to believe, that his work had been ordained for him by God. His power, however, soon began to wane. There always had been a bad tradition of fickleness behind the Roman people, and now they lived up to it, and gradually turned against Rienzi. He tried to thwart the nobles, but they rose in arms against him, though in November they were defeated just outside Rome, not by any skill or bravery of his own, for he was nothing of a soldier, but by the bravery of his supporters. His success, however, was short lived. In spite of this victory, he was obliged to abdicate in December, after a rule of only seven months, and soon we learn that he was wandering as an exile in

Italy, the prey of superstitious fears. By this time, too, the Pope, his former friend, had withdrawn his support; for he now suspected that Rienzi wished to claim the Empire for himself. The Pope declared him to be 'a Belshazzar, the wild ass in Job, a Lucifer, a forerunner of Anti-Christ, a man of sin, a son of perdition, a son of the Devil, full of fraud and falsehood, and like the Beast in the Revelations, over whose head was written "Blasphemy".' Clearly the Pope could never again claim him as a friend. Rienzi too had lost the support of the people. He had used his power in a tyrannous way, and they had grown to hate him. So deserted on all sides he wandered first to Naples, and at last took refuge in the Apennines, with the Fraticelli, a very strict branch of the Franciscan monks.

COLA DI RIENZI

This life with the monks marks a new phase in the career of Rienzi. He donned their humble dress and he lived with them for over two years and a half, sharing their life of hardship. Then once more he emerged into public life. These two years of his exile fell during a terrible time in the history of Europe. Europe was being ravaged by a pestilence known as the Black Death. In his retreat during this time of horror and terror, Rienzi came under the influence of a strange monk, who persuaded him that he had a further mission to perform for the good of mankind; that hitherto he had only laboured to satisfy his own ambitions, that henceforward he was destined to work for others. He was persuaded by this monk to visit the Emperor, Charles IV, at Prague, in order to acquaint him that a new age was at hand, that a chosen man had arisen who, with the help of the Emperor,

would reform the world. After much persuasion, Rienzi set off. But, although he obtained an audience of the Emperor Charles IV, he was thrust into prison, and later on, as he was known to have constantly exhorted Charles to occupy the city of Rome and to deprive the Pope and the clergy of their temporal power, his old enemy the Pope demanded that he should be given up to him at Avignon. This was at last done by the Emperor, and Rienzi's prophetic mission was ended by his being sent to the Papal authorities at Avignon. There again he was thrown into prison (1352). This was indeed an ignominous end to his high hopes.

The Poet, Petrarch, thus describes his entry into the town : ' Humble and despicable that man entered the Court, who, throughout the world had made the wicked tremble, and filled the good with joyful hope and expectation : he who was attended, it is said, by the whole Roman people and the chief men of the cities of Italy, now appeared between two guards, and with all the populace crowding and eager to see the face of him of whose name they had heard so much ' (1352). Rienzi was then tried before three Cardinals ; he was sentenced to death, though the sentence was reduced to one of imprisonment. Whilst he was in prison, we are told that he undaunted continued to revive his knowledge of Roman history, and to dream more dreams of a glorious future for himself and Rome, and strange as it may seem, Rienzi was to have yet another period of adventures. On the death of Pope Clement VI, Innocent VI caused him to be released from prison in order to make use of him. The Roman people were in a state of great disorder, and it was thought that his influence with them would be very great. Rienzi, therefore, was sent to Italy in 1354, with Cardinal Albornez, to whom the task of quelling the disorders in Rome had been given. For a short time Rienzi seemed to have returned to his old pinnacle of glory. But his pride, his vain-glory and the harshness of his rule soon made him enemies. He had also lost much of his former greatness of character, and now spent much of his time in excessive eating and drinking. This conduct justifiably earned him the contempt of the Romans. At last the people

rose up in 1354, and murdered him, treating his body in the most shameful way.

Thus ended the attempt of Cola di Rienzi to restore the ancient power of Rome, and to give the rabble, its citizens, those liberties of which he had loved to read and to dream. He was ruined, we may say, by his vanity and his ambition. Undoubtedly there was good in him. He had tried to bring back the ancient glories of Rome, to turn into action the dreams that many others after him wrote down in poetry, musings, and vain regrets.

IMPORTANT DATES

1309–76. The Babylonish Captivity.
1342. Rienzi's Embassy to Avignon.
1347. Revolution in Rome.
1352. Rienzi imprisoned at Avignon.
1354. Murder of Rienzi by the Romans.

XI. ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA

(1347–79)

ST. CATHERINE, or Caterina Benincasa, was the daughter of a dyer of Siena. She was born on Lady Day, March 25, 1347. Her father was a fairly rich man, and all the family, which was very numerous, lived in the large house over his workshop. Her mother, Lapa, was sprung from the same mercantile class. Catherine was the youngest of a large family, of whom eleven are known to have survived. She seems to have been a general favourite, not only among her own family, but in the whole neighbourhood. Her gaiety and charm won her, we are told, the somewhat fanciful pet name of 'Eusfrosina'. We know that Catherine kept this charm all her life, and that wherever she went happiness and peace were radiated. She seems to have been a good, lovable little girl, much occupied with pious stories and fancies and visions. She grew up without any education from books, but only that education that can be picked up from talking with kindly, intelligent folk. Catherine could not even read till

she was nearly nineteen, and she only learned to write three years before her death.

When Catherine was about fourteen or fifteen, then considered the marriageable age in Florence, she determined that she would not marry. This annoyed her family, who considered that she ought to make a good match. Her mother Lapa especially took this decision to heart and Catherine suffered a considerable amount of petty persecution on this account. Her little room was taken away, and she was made to do a good deal of the household drudgery.

To Catherine's indomitable spirit this was but a great and signal opportunity for the service of her fellow creatures; so happily did she take her punishment that her father, who was always inclined to be lenient to Catherine, relented. She was again given a little room, which she now practically turned into a cell. At the age of sixteen she joined the Mantellate, or the Third Order of the Dominicans. The Mantellate were not nuns, but they were an order of women who lived under a Rule in their own homes. From this date, St. Catherine wore the habit of the Order—'the white robe of innocence, and the black mantle of humility', in which we see her clad in her pictures. After joining this Order we are told that she entered into a prolonged retreat in her little cell, scarcely speaking to any one. Here she lived a life of the greatest austerity, eating little beyond a few herbs, and only drinking water and sleeping on a bare board. So hard a life did St. Catherine live, that in spite of all the remonstrances of her family there is no doubt but that she ruined her constitution, and eventually brought herself to an early death.

Catherine, during this time, thought she had many visions. They have been handed down to us, expressed in language and ideas which are hard for us to understand. The ideas and symbols of one age are not those of another. It is sufficient to say that they are the crude expression of Catherine's overpowering sense of the love of God for man, and her profound desire to please him and work for him on earth.

After three years' retreat, Catherine made up her mind that she must not live a solitary life, but that she must come out and work among her fellow creatures. For six or seven years she worked among the citizens of her town, taking her share in the household drudgery, visiting the poor and the sick, and even tending the lepers. She, too, during these years gathered round her a band of devoted men and women friends.

In 1374 Catherine had an opportunity of showing her true worth. In that year the plague visited Florence and Siena. This plague was the same disease as the Black Death, which had scourged Europe the year after Catherine was born. It spread with frightful swiftness in the narrow, unhealthy streets of Siena; Catherine herself lost two brothers, a sister, and eight of the little nephews and nieces who were living in their home under the care of their grandmother Lapa. This was indeed a fearful toll for one household. The Plague was followed by a famine, and it is estimated that practically a third of the population of Siena was wiped out in these years.

THE MYSTICAL MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA [1]

Catherine and her companions behaved in this time of dread with the utmost bravery. They visited the most infectious districts of the city, nursing the sick, comforting the dying. Small wonder it was that Catherine herself fell ill in 1374, so ill indeed that her recovery was looked upon as little short of miraculous.

[1] From the Sforza Book of Hours.

After the city of Siena recovered from the visitation of the Plague, Catherine still pursued her career of usefulness quietly, becoming gradually known as a woman of great wisdom and notable as a peacemaker. For Siena, like other Italian towns at this period, was often torn with the disputes and feuds of its rival families.

We must now try to understand how it was that Catherine obtained such an influential position in Siena, and how it was that she was chosen by the citizens of Florence to go to Avignon as their ambassador, as she was in the year 1376.

Gradually Catherine had come to take an interest in the general politics of her country, as well as the local affairs of Siena. As early as 1372 she had felt compelled to write to Cardinal d'Estaing, the Papal Legate, imploring him to do what he could to restore order in Italy. Italy was the scene of bloodshed, tyranny, quarrelling, and crime. State was fighting against state ; the mercantile classes were quarrelling with the nobles, and to make matters worse, bands of mercenary soldiers overran the country ; she had written to Du Puy, another Papal Legate, and she had had correspondence with Bernabo Visconti, the wicked ruler of Milan. She also became convinced that the return of the Popes to Rome would cure all evils.

We have already seen how it was that the Pope came to be living at Avignon. Already during Catherine's life one of them, Urban V, had attempted to return to Rome, but he had only made a short stay of two years, finding the problems and difficulties too great for him ; Catherine had taken upon herself the task of urging his successor, Gregory XI, to return. She had frequently admonished him to live a ' manly ' life, and to take his courage in his hands, and come home. The Pope had at all events considered her letters, even if he had not acted on her advice. It was pretty well known that Catherine was held in esteem at Avignon by the year 1376.

In that year the Florentines were embroiled in a quarrel with the Papacy. They had their just grievances against the legates ; but the Pope would not listen to their complaints, and the city was put under an Interdict. At last in despair, fearing that

the Pope would never even listen to their case, one of the chief citizens of Florence, Nicolas Soderini, came to Siena to Catherine. She was well known as one to whom the Pope might listen. Catherine was now asked if she would undertake the journey to Avignon to intercede for the Florentines. She consented to do this, and after a short stay in Florence, she set off with a company of men and women to Avignon. She arrived there on June 18, 1376. Two days afterwards she had an audience with the Pope.

At first Gregory XI was not inclined to listen favourably to Catherine ; but in time she influenced him greatly, and peace might have been made. But the Florentines behaved very badly. They delayed their coming, quarrelling among themselves at home, and when at last they reached Avignon, they had the effrontery to repudiate Catherine as their envoy. Though this was barefaced treachery, Catherine still had the nobility to intercede with the Pope on their behalf, but peace was not made.

Catherine now turned her attention to the task of persuading Gregory to return to Rome, for this alone, she thought, would restore peace to the distracted country. Little by little she persuaded him to do this, for though he was weak, he was also timorous and obstinate. At last, however, he set out on his adventurous journey. From Marseilles he took boat to Genoa ; there he again met Catherine, who had journeyed by land with her company of men and women. At Genoa, Gregory's heart nearly failed him, but encouraged by St. Catherine he again set out, and at length reached Rome, after many long delays, on January 17, 1377.

Peace was by no means the immediate result which attended the Pope's return to Rome. The Florentines were still obdurate, and the Interdict was not removed. The Pope, who seems to have turned against Catherine, was not above making use of her in this difficulty. Catherine took up her residence in Florence during this time, and acted on his behalf, living it appears at times in great personal danger. Peace never came in Gregory's lifetime ; it was on the point of being negotiated when the news came to Florence that Gregory had died (March 27, 1378).

At his death the choice of the Cardinals fell upon an Italian,

Urban VI, a Neapolitan. A more unsuitable man for the moment could hardly have been found. Urban VI was extraordinarily harsh and violent in disposition. However, largely owing to the influence of Catherine, he made peace with Florence, and that difficulty was ended for the time being. But in the eyes of Catherine a worse thing was to befall. The French cardinals became alienated almost at once, and they chose a rival pope, Clement VII, a Frenchman. Clement soon made himself a French party, and in time, as we shall see, he went back to Avignon. Thus arose the Great Schism, or the division of the Western Church, which lasted down to the Council of Constance.

After the death of Gregory, there were still two years of life left for St. Catherine, full of busy, intense activity. Catherine now took up the cause of Urban with all her old enthusiasm. As he had lived at the Court of Avignon, she had there become acquainted with him. So when he was elected, she wrote to him, exhorting him to live a fearless life, and to choose good honest men as his legates. Her exhortations were well received, and after a time Urban besought her to come to Rome to help champion his cause. So Catherine went there in 1378 with a large band of devoted men and women, who lived a life of voluntary poverty, begging their bread, and preaching for the cause.

All Christian Europe was now dividing itself into two camps, Urbanists and Clementists. Catherine was particularly anxious to be sent on an embassy to the Queen of Naples, to win her over to the side of Urban; and she was bitterly disappointed when this was refused, because she never feared danger. For instance, her confessor, Fra Raimondo, was sent to France—but he, having turned back when he heard there was a plot against his life, was bitterly reproached by St. Catherine, who could not understand any one refusing a chance of the martyr's crown. St. Catherine now devoted her energies to writing letters to many of the important rulers and princes in Europe, urging them to withdraw their support from Clement. It was not until the end of the year 1378 that Clement and his supporters were defeated, and driven out of the Castle of St. Angelo. Clement fled to

Naples, and then to Avignon, where he arrived (June 20, 1379). Shortly afterwards St. Catherine died worn out with her labours.

From this date began what is known as the Great Schism in the Church; for the division between the Popes at Rome and the Popes at Avignon lasted down to 1417. Many attempts were made to heal this division. A council was held at Pisa in 1409; but it was eventually the work of the Council of Constance, summoned in 1414, which healed the breach.

Catherine had achieved her life-work. She brought back the Popes to Rome—but the consequences of her work were exactly the opposite to those for which she had hoped; disunion in the Church was aggravated, and the way paved for the Reformation movement.

IMPORTANT DATES

1377. Gregory XI reaches Rome.
1378–1417. Great Schism.
1409. Council of Pisa.
1414–18. Council of Constance.

XII. ERASMUS

(1466–1536)

IN Europe, there were two great popular movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, generally known as the Renaissance and the Reformation. The word Renaissance literally means re-birth, or renewal. It is used to describe a revival of interest in all forms of art and learning, and a period of great development. Many people began about this time to study the Greek and Latin Classics, and they were astonished at the great practical wisdom of the men of old, and also with the beauty of their writings. They began to realize with astonishment that the men of their generation were behind the ancients in many achievements, chiefly because their minds were fettered by conventional, hard and fast ways of thinking. Men had grown afraid of expressing their thoughts spontaneously; instead, they followed custom blindly.

The renewed interest in the wisdom of the ancients influenced Europe in many ways, and not the least important was the effect that it had on all Christian institutions. Many men used their newly-acquired learning in order to read the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek. Then they found that the teaching the Bible contained was very different to the distorted and twisted doctrines which had been handed down from one generation to another. This discovery gave rise, in time, to the movement in the sixteenth century which had as its aim the reform of abuses in the Catholic Church.

The early beginnings of the Renaissance were in Italy, but the men who were interested were so enthusiastic that their influence spread widely over Europe. One of the most ardent disciples of the new learning was a Dutchman named Erasmus. He began by being a scholar, but we shall see that, as he gradually obtained great influence over many of the chief religious thinkers and leaders of his day, he became an important character both in the history of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Erasmus was born about the year 1466, at Gouda, near Rotterdam. He was educated, as a small boy, at the town school, later on he was sent to a larger school at Deventer. During an interval in his schooldays he was a chorister in the Cathedral choir of Utrecht.

The school at Deventer was a great and famous institution. Some few years later, we are told it numbered 2,200 boys, who were divided into eight forms, that is, that there were something like 275 boys to each form. The boys probably were ranged in no ordered way round their master ; some sat on the floor, some perched on the steps of his desk. In these days there were few printed books, very likely the only one was possessed by the teacher, so that the lessons were very slow. Probably the text was dictated, then the punctuation, and lastly the words were explained. All this must have been a very tedious process with so large an audience. The only subject taught in such a school was Latin, thus it was very unlike our modern schools. Neither was knowledge made very attractive in Erasmus's day. This

school had not been influenced by the Renaissance, but such was his love of learning and so great was the inquisitiveness of his mind that the scholar's love of knowledge developed in him.

When Erasmus was about eighteen, both his parents died, and he and his brother were left under the care of guardians. These guardians took no thought of the lads' real wishes or desires

A SCRIBE AT WORK[1]

for a profession, but they decided that they should both become monks. The boys were then sent to the school of the 'Brethren of the Common Life', at Hertogenbosch, a place of education

[1] From a fifteenth-century manuscript at Paris, written by Jean Mielot, secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and showing himself writing on a roll of parchment. He holds in his left hand a knife for erasure, or possibly an instrument to keep the parchment steady without contact of the hand. By his side are three ink bottles and hanging on the wall, to the right of the manuscript to be copied, are some paint pots. In the open drawer is apparently a double magnifying glass. The volumes lying about give examples of binding.

for those who intended to become monks. These Brethren were Societies of men who lived under the same roof, but were bound by no vow. They lived as austerely as the monks, but they relied for support, not on alms or on charity, but on the work of their own hands. They owed their origin to the teaching and preaching of one Gerard Groot (1340–84). The chief interest of the Brethren was education; and so they assisted in the work of the town Grammar Schools, and, in time, set up schools of their own. They also carried on a large trade in the copying of manuscripts. Thus it was only natural, that among such men, Erasmus should find his love of and interest in learning increasing. Although the idea of becoming a monk was distasteful to him, he began to think that, perhaps, by becoming one, he would at least have leisure enough to read and to write. On the other hand, however, he wished to see something of the world, and the more he thought of spending his life shut up in a monastery the more he began to rebel at the idea. By this time, too, he had begun to hear stories of how men were learning Greek, and of the wonderful books they were able to read, and the marvellous wisdom to be found therein. Erasmus begged his guardians to send him to a University; but there was no money to be had. His brother gave way to arguments and consented to enter a monastery. In time Erasmus too was obliged to give in, and he joined a monastery at Steyn, near Gouda. He was ordained as a priest on April 25, 1492.

Erasmus lived in the monastery of Steyn for about seven years. At last a lucky chance came to him. The Bishop of Cambrai wanted a secretary who could write good Latin letters, as most of the important business of those days was carried on in Latin. Erasmus was recommended to him as a good scholar, and as a young man who was not likely to make many mistakes. Then Erasmus had some more luck. In 1495 he succeeded in persuading this Bishop to give him a small amount of money, and he went off to Paris to take his degree in Theology. He had already heard many things of the learning of the people connected with the University of Paris.

Erasmus had a very hard time in Paris. He was poor, and he

only managed to earn a scanty livelihood by taking pupils and by writing. Most of the time, too, he was ill, and he had rough lodgings and bad food. Time after time he must have felt very miserable. He was also older than most of the other students and found the lectures he was obliged to sit through very dull. 'You wouldn't know me', he wrote to a friend, 'if you could see me sitting under old Dunderhead, my brows knit and looking thoroughly puzzled.' In time, as he heard there were good scholars in Oxford, he thought, perhaps, that the next best thing to going to Italy would be to visit England. This he did, in 1499, when he came across with a pupil, Lord Mountjoy.

When Erasmus at last came to Oxford, he met a learned and good man, John Colet, and they became friends almost at once, because there were many things in which they were both interested. John Colet was afterwards made the Dean of St. Paul's. He had been to Italy, but he loved learning for this reason, not only because he was inquisitive and anxious for knowledge, like Erasmus, but because he thought that, the more he learned and the more he studied, the better would he be able to find out the meaning of the Bible; and then the more clearly could he explain its teaching to ignorant people. Now Erasmus came to Oxford feeling very bitter against all priests and monks and teachers of Theology. His whole education and career had been carried on among them. He disliked the monasteries, and, when he was in Paris, he had grown weary of listening to men who argued about Theology for the sake of arguing; and who were always trying to make out that only the learned could really understand the teaching of Christianity. When Erasmus found that Colet, a teacher of Theology, did not despise a man who used his brains, but that he thought such a one should work hard to make things plainer for the simple and ignorant, he began to have new hope and interest. Colet was giving lectures at this time on some of the writings of St. Paul, and he tried to make his audience understand what sort of times were the days of St. Paul, and what the countries he travelled in were like, and what the words of the Bible really meant.

It did not take Erasmus long to find out that, in order to talk so delightfully and to make his audience see true and vivid pictures with his words, that Colet must have worked hard, and that he truly was a learned man and a scholar. Colet also taught Erasmus a lesson which he never forgot; namely, that the best way to cure people of stupidity, cruelty, and wickedness is to educate them, and to teach them to understand the real teaching of Christianity. Colet thought it was no good to knock down this custom and that, but he thought that each individual should be educated, and then, when his wits were sharpened, he would readily see for himself what had reason behind it and what had not; which ceremonies had become superstitions and which could still teach a truth. Colet also thought that the right way to change the people was to get hold of them as boys and girls. 'Let the boys and girls be taught Greek, then they will be able to read the New Testament in Greek, and see what is its real meaning', is what he really taught. Colet wanted Erasmus to do for the Old Testament what he himself was doing for the New.

At first Erasmus thought that he was not wise enough to do work like this; besides, he was somewhat afraid of all the people who would come and argue with him, and call him a false traitor to the Church. For there were then, as in every age, a great many lazy people who did not like new ideas; and who were still less ready to admit that they themselves were old-fashioned, and that they must turn up their sleeves and begin to work again at their books if they did not want to get more and more rusty; perhaps, too, many were really frightened at the new-fangled scholars. But Colet was very sensible. He tried to explain that all knowledge was a good thing. 'Why,' he might have said to these timid folk, 'all true knowledge will help you to understand Christianity! You may not see why or how, at first; but it will, for you cannot injure an everlasting truth.'

Though Erasmus did not set to work on the Old Testament at once, as Colet wished him to do, he thought about this task a great deal. In 1500 he returned to Paris, and determined to spend all the strength of his mind on the study of Greek and

Hebrew, and especially on the study of Theology. Though, for one reason or another, he wandered from place to place for the next five or six years, all the time he was working at Greek,

JOHN COLET, Dean of St. Paul's.[1]

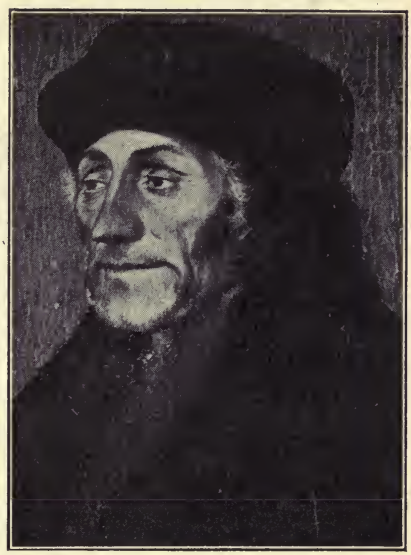
[1] A contemporary portrait from a manuscript at Cambridge, showing Colet kneeling, with the words *Effigies ipsa D. Iohis Coletti Decani S. Pauli*, written above his head. On the left is St. Matthew with his angel. The manuscript, a copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark from an older Latin manuscript of the New Testament, was made by Meghen at Colet's expense in his own house at St. Paul's, and finished in 1509. The older manuscript Colet lent to Erasmus to assist him in his revision of the text of the Bible.

hoping that, at some future day, he might be able to carry out his promise to Colet. He visited Cambridge, Paris, and, eventually, he went to Italy. All the time he was working hard, studying Greek; though he was often very ill and very poor, and books were scarce. One thing is very interesting about him. As he travelled about, he noticed the sort of people he met, and, as he was a very witty, humorous man, he often had a great many jokes to tell about what he had seen and heard. He often wrote down his experiences and adventures, and one day his fun was turned into a book in a most unexpected manner. One of his great friends in England was Sir Thomas More, who was also a friend of Colet's. Once, in 1508, when Erasmus was ill, and was resting at Sir Thomas More's house, he wrote down some of his stories, just to give his friend a good laugh. He pretended that he was writing a lecture, which was to be given by one 'Folly', who got up in cap and bells and then made fun of every one in turn, from Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and Monks, to merchantmen and scholars. Because More thought the book intensely amusing it was afterwards printed and very many copies of it were sold. Nowadays if we read it, it does not make us laugh, because jokes soon grow stale and we sometimes cannot see what Erasmus was driving at. But in those days everybody understood at once, and Erasmus soon became a famous man and people became very ready to listen to what he said.

Although Erasmus liked poking fun at others, he was still really a very serious man, and all this while he had been writing books explaining what he thought the life of any good man should be like. One work (1503) was called the 'Enchiridion, or Dagger of a Christian man'; in it, he showed how, for every person, life is a battle, and that the warriors must be disciplined like good soldiers. In another book, which he wrote for no less a great person than that Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor, Charles V, he explained how Princes should rule for the good of the people who were placed under them, and not for the sake of their own enjoyment, glory, or renown. He also made a new edition of the Greek Testament, with a Latin translation

alongside. He said in his preface, in words that have become famous,

'I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospel—should read the Epistles of St. Paul. And I wish these were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood, not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens. To make them understood is surely the first step. It may be that they might be ridiculed by many, but some would take them to heart. I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey.'[1]



ERASMUS

He wanted all to be able to get at the meaning of the New Testament. It was not fair, he thought, to have it under lock and key, so to speak, for the learned alone. He taught that however you may think about Christianity and argue about it, that you will always find it reasonable—more reasonable than any of the old philosophies of Aristotle or Plato. What was needed, he said, was 'only be teachable'. This New Testament appeared in March 1516.

Now, this teaching made a great stir—for it meant that Erasmus thought everybody had a right to real knowledge and that the Vulgate was not a correct translation of the Bible—that he believed there were no class distinctions, that Christianity was the possession of all alike; that, if its teaching got hidden or inaccessible, it was the duty of learned men to dig it out, and

[1] Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 203 [Everyman].

give it to all freely. The reformer Luther read his book, and, though he disagreed with some things Erasmus taught, he was most anxious to become friends with him. But Erasmus did not wish to have anything to do with Luther. Though he thought him to be a good and brave man, he thought that he was mistaken in his violent ways. He knew as well as Luther did that there were many things which had become covered up with superstitions, just as snow will drift and hide the shape of any building. But Erasmus thought the building was good. He wanted to go slowly, and to melt down ignorance gradually, by means of education, and not to pull the Church down to get rid of a temporary snow-storm. He thought sound learning and plain common sense were two good weapons to use against superstition. He detested the violence of Luther, and his wish to destroy the organization of the Catholic Church.

In his later years, between 1517–24, he paraphrased the whole of the New Testament, with the exception of the Book of Revelation. These paraphrases had a tremendous influence in England. In 1548, a translation of them was made, and it was ordered to be chained up in all parish churches alongside the Bible. Erasmus made many visits to England throughout his life ; but his later years were spent at Basel, in order that he might be near his printing-press, for he wrote many other books besides those which have been mentioned. He died in the year 1536, in the seventieth year of his age. He had done a great work in Europe : for he had shown that the New Learning as it was called could be used for good purposes, and that it could be made the servant of Christian teaching and good government, and that it was not necessarily the property of those who wished to live careless, self-indulgent, purposeless lives. Many people blamed Erasmus ; the Catholics said he had set people against the Church ; the Reformers said that he had first stirred up trouble, and then was afraid to take his stand by the new Leaders. The truth was that Erasmus never wished to leave the Church—he called himself a true son of it until the day of his death ; but he believed that the paths of reform and of perfection are paths that are slowly

trodden by mankind; that all the efforts possible of intellect and brain are needed for those who aim at progress; and that firebrands and those who stir up ignorant folk do more harm than good in the long run.

DATES.

1466. Erasmus born.
1495. Erasmus goes to Paris.
1499. Erasmus first comes to England.
1516. The New Testament of Erasmus.
1548. His paraphrases put in English Churches.

XIII. MARTIN LUTHER

(1483–1546)

OF all the Protestant Reformers in Europe the most famous was Martin Luther. Luther was the man who was the mouthpiece of one of the most bitter quarrels that has ever rent Europe, a quarrel which beginning in the sixteenth century lasted for over a hundred years. It was between those who, on the one hand, hated the old order of things, both in religion and in social life, and those who, on the other, wished to keep everything as it was; between violent reformers, and moderate men who, although they saw like Luther that the times were very evil, did not think his plain speaking and violent methods were at all wise.

Martin Luther was the son of a poor German miner. As he was brought up in humble circumstances he was always able to understand the difficulties of the peasants, and to perceive how dishonesty and wickedness in Church and State affected their lives. All the same, we shall see that later on history proves that he did not understand the peasants' characters quite as well as he thought he did. He knew what would please them and how to make them listen; he knew their hopes and fears and so on; but he did not realize that they were uncivilized and capable of little self-restraint, and that, once they began to struggle and fend for themselves, a horrible state of civil war would ensue, and that in the long run they would not listen to or use reason, but would use force to get what they wanted. But

that is the end of a long story. We must first see how Luther came to be a hero of his nation ; how he gradually grew to be impatient with much that he saw around him ; and how, though he had much the same education as Erasmus, their opinions took quite different shapes: Luther, learning to believe in rapid and defiant changes, whilst Erasmus loved peace and hated war, as one of the greatest evils which could befall mankind. Erasmus thought that, in an evil world, knowledge and sincerity should work like leaven, but Luther was like a man who believes that the surgeon's knife is the best remedy for all bodily ailments. Luther owed much to Erasmus and admired him greatly, as we shall see. He longed to have him as a helper in his work ; but Erasmus thought that Luther, though a brave man, was really doing harm in the world, and he detested people thinking that he and Luther agreed about methods of Reformation.

Martin Luther was born in 1483, in a little Saxon village, and his early years were spent at Mansfeld, a small town in central Germany. His father, a hard-working, industrious man, was anxious to give his son a better education than he himself had had. Both his parents brought up Martin very strictly. For instance, he himself tells us that ' my mother once beat me till the blood flowed, for having stolen a miserable nut '. Perhaps this harsh treatment made Luther kindly towards his own children in years to come, for he was a most indulgent father, and we shall see what delightful letters he could write to his little son Hans. As a small boy Luther went to the village school, where he learned Latin ; and then, at the age of thirteen, he was sent off to a school at Magdeburg, where, like many other boys at that time, he had to find the money for his schooling by begging. In a year's time, he passed on to a school at Eisenach, where he lived with a kind family named Cotta. When he grew up he went on to the University of Erfurt. Here he worked hard, and took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. (1505). He meant to study law, but suddenly changing his mind, he determined to become a monk. His father was bitterly angry with him for doing this, but still Luther determined that it was

the right course for him to take. Once a monk, he was diligent to do all that he could to become a better man ; he prayed, he fasted, he scourged himself, he endured cold until he nearly killed himself, and he worked hard ; by these means trying to find peace of mind and understanding of God. But it was all of no avail. Luther could never get rid of the sense of being a wicked man ; he thought that he had failed miserably, and, in after years, when he condemned all monasteries, he probably never realized that these years of training, self-denial, and thought and hardship had at least made him a brave and unselfish man. His life as a monk taught him much ; one of the lessons of these years which shocked him most was the discovery that the City of Rome was not the home of the Saints, that it was not a Heaven upon Earth, as he, and many other people, had fondly imagined, but that it was at that time little less than a den of wickedness. He made this discovery when he was sent to Rome by his Prior on business. Luther was horrified and amazed by what he saw and learnt there, ' for I never would have believed the true state of affairs, from what other people told me, had I not seen it myself.' ' There,' he said, ' neither God nor man, neither sin nor shame, is feared. All good men who have seen Rome bear witness to this : all bad ones come back worse than before.'

Long before Luther set out to Rome and long after he came back, he had been reading and thinking. Suddenly he thought out what he believed to be the answer to all his riddles : he caught hold of the words of St. Paul, ' the just shall live by faith '. Faith in Christ and God is what is wanted, he taught, and then good works will follow. That was to be the sum of his creed. He thought religion was far too elaborate and complicated as it was commonly taught. And here he was to quarrel with Erasmus, who thought Luther's was far too easy an answer to difficulties. Erasmus taught that the whole of a man's life is a struggle, that he must fight evil all the days of his life, and that he has the power to choose whether he will be a good fighter or not, and that he is always learning some new virtue. Erasmus taught, too, that many of the abuses

which Luther was so soon to begin preaching against, were caused by the misuse of good things which were misunderstood; of things that had been meant to be helps to men in their warfare, but that men having forgotten their original purpose, had turned them into stumbling-blocks. Erasmus thought too much trouble was taken about things that were not really essential.

In 1508 Luther was made Professor at Wittenberg, a new university which had been recently founded by Frederick, the Elector of Saxony. Here he lectured to students upon the Bible; he read widely, and was much influenced by the writings of Erasmus. Already he was beginning to show, by many lectures and sermons, that he saw the need of reform on all sides. He was gradually preparing himself for the crisis of his life.

The occasion when Luther first stood out before the civilized world as the champion of a new order, came in 1517. During that year, everybody was talking about the doings of a certain friar named Tetzel, who was travelling round the country for the Pope selling parchments which were called 'indulgences'. These 'indulgences' need some explanation. In olden days, when sinners confessed their sins to a priest, it was the sensible custom to make them do something which cost some sacrifice, in order to show that their penitence was real, and not merely a form of words; and, gradually, this had slipped into the practice of their giving money; then, from giving money, people went on to buy pardons—and so a very harmful and evil custom had grown up; ignorant people began to think that they could buy pardons for sins, and then it began to appear as if, when a man earned a quantity of money, he could buy the right to commit sins. Now, the Popes of the time, instead of combating this ignorance, made use of it in a very wicked manner. One of them, Leo X, was building St. Peter's Church at Rome, and he wanted more money. He sent round agents selling pardons in order to raise money for this purpose, and one of them, Tetzel, come to Germany. People became very angry with Tetzel; partly because he collected much German money, which was used for Italian purposes, and partly because some

of them, like Luther, saw that he and his fellows were not only deceiving poor ignorant persons and robbing them of their money, but that also, in reality, they were helping to make them more wicked; for, instead of teaching the people how they should struggle and wrestle with sin, they were really making the pathway of wickedness seem pleasant instead of dreadful. Luther thought that it would be a good thing if some of the more sensible people came together, and argued among themselves about indulgences, in order to see why they were useless and wrong. So, following a custom of his day, he drew up a list of the points he wished to discuss with any one who came along, and nailed up his list, the ninety-five Theses, as they were called, upon the church door at Wittenberg. A great uproar arose at once; perhaps Luther himself was astonished at the fury of it. He found that he had said just the things about indulgences which many people had in their minds, and which they had not dared, or had not known how to express. This encouraged Luther to push on farther. He wrote a book, explaining exactly what he meant by his theses; and he dedicated this book to the Pope. The Pope soon came to hear of the commotion in Germany, because the sale of indulgences began to decline; but he did not think much of it at first, saying that he thought Luther was envious, that he was drunk, and that he would think more clearly when he was sober, and so on. But, as the disturbance continued, he began to take it more seriously. First of all he put Luther under a 'ban', which Luther, by the way, did not mind at all. He was always brave, and often very discourteous; now he said, disrespectfully, that 'bans flew about like bats, and were not much more to be regarded than those blind little pests'. The Elector of Saxony, however, took Luther under his charge, and, when the Pope going further ordered first one Cardinal and then another to summon Luther and to argue with him, the Elector of Saxony took care that Luther set out and returned home in safety.

Perhaps the quarrel might have been quietly settled, had not a certain learned Dr. Eck, who was a great debater, and who loved squabbling, stirred up further strife. After reading Luther's

works, he insisted upon arguing with him in public, in 1519, till at last he made Luther say far more than he originally meant to say, namely that he wanted the Germans to have a Church which was not managed by Italians, which was not cluttered up with foolish superstitions, and that he wanted men to realize that they were all brothers, that no man was any better than another because of money, or rank, or position.

Now, these thoughts were just what thousands of the poor peasants in Germany were thinking, and so they were delighted with Luther. The government of the country districts was so weak and bad, that life was wretched and miserable; people were poor and uncomfortable, and those who had wealth oppressed those who had none; therefore there were constant fightings and tumults and miseries of all sorts. When men looked to the Church to teach goodness, unselfishness, and other Christian virtues, they saw very often that the Churchmen were just as bad as their neighbours, and that Church teaching had gradually become so difficult and complicated that men forgot that to love God and one's neighbour is the whole duty of man. Everything seemed hopeless, until Luther stood forward, appearing to sound a brave call to all men who were down-trodden, sad, miserable, and unhappy.

Luther now began to write and talk a great deal more for his ready audiences, for he hoped that some of the young, high-spirited nobles would rise up, and say that Germany must be properly governed by Germans; and he wrote, what he called in fun 'his other little Song about Rome', saying that the Pope had no business to claim his rulership over the whole Christian world, and that many of the practices he taught were wrong, and so on. People became more and more excited; they were only too glad to have some one to blame for all their miseries; and they did not stop to think what were the real reasons of their troubles. Thus a storm arose. It was easier to stir up trouble than to calm it. This Luther was soon to find out; for when he wrote another book, saying what he considered the life of a Christian man should be like, people did not listen to that;

they were far more eager to upset other people than to set to work to train themselves. Luther, to his great disappointment, soon found this out. He discovered that no one wanted to learn, but that many wanted to teach their neighbours by force. Things began to look so angry in the country that at last the Pope decided that the whole matter must come to an end; so he sent a 'Bull' to the Elector of Saxony, ordering him to deliver up the heretic Luther.

Erasmus now tried to do what he could to keep the peace; even then he thought the matter should be argued out—but Luther, on the other hand, determined to settle the matter once for all. With great ceremony he burned the Papal Bull at a public bonfire in Wittenberg, before the students of the University, along with some books of the Canon or Church Law. That violent deed meant that there was a definite quarrel between the Reformer and the Pope (1520).

Erasmus was very sad about it. He wrote, 'Now, I see no end of it, but the turning of the whole world upside down.' And he spoke truly, because, not only had Luther defied the Pope, but he had stirred up the poor people to rebel, before they had become educated enough to manage their own affairs, or even to state exactly what their troubles were.

As the Emperor Maximilian died suddenly in 1519, the Pope now ordered the new Emperor, Charles V, to deal with Martin Luther, and so Luther was ordered to appear before his first Diet, or Parliament, at Worms (1521). Many of Luther's friends tried to persuade him not to go: they told him that he would be put to death, just as one John Huss, a famous reformer, had in years gone by, been put to death by the Council of Constance, although he had been given a safe conduct by the Emperor Sigismund. But Luther insisted upon making the journey, and at last he stood before the Diet of Worms. In the midst of that vast assembly, he was asked if he would recant the words that he had written; and his reply was that, unless he was convinced by the texts of the Bible, he could not do so. How great an ordeal it must have been to him to stand up and

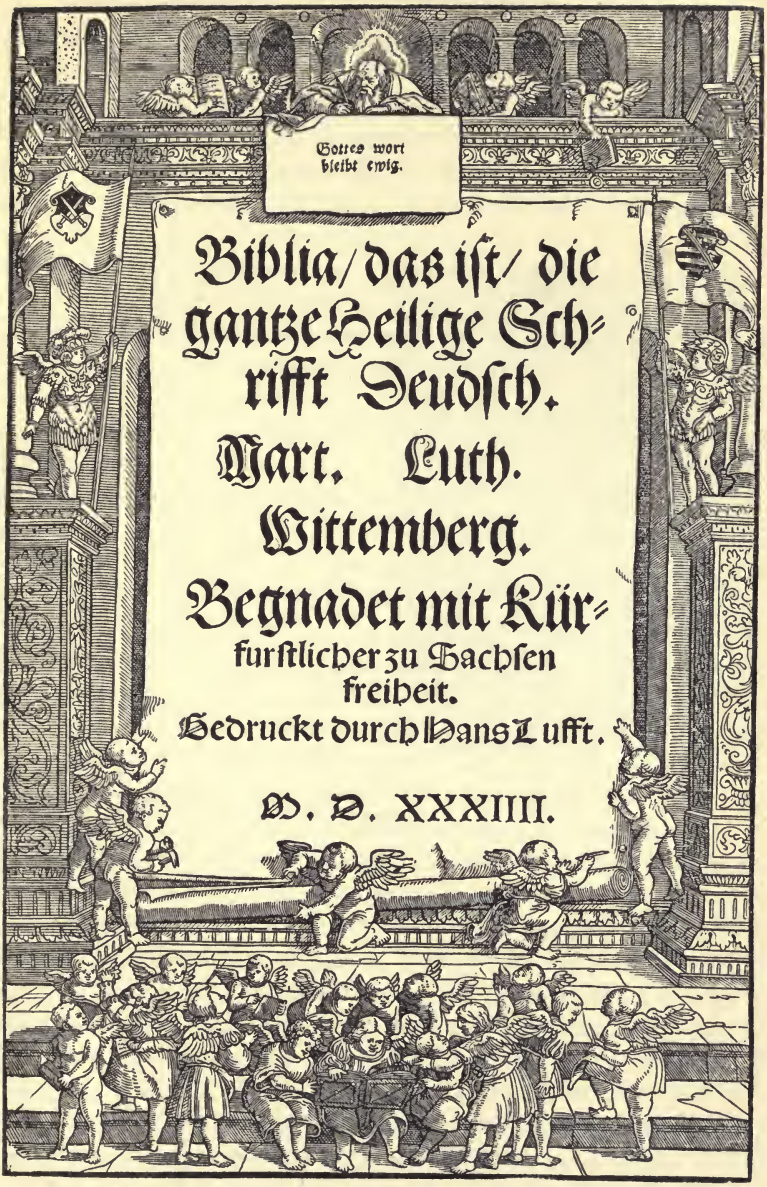
defy that large assembly is gathered from his joyful incoherent words ' I am through, I am through ', when he reached his cell.

An Edict was then issued, which condemned him as a heretic ; he was also put under the ban of the Empire, that is, it was forbidden to any one to give him shelter, and any one who could catch him was ordered to hand him over to the civil authorities. People were also forbidden to print, sell, or read his books.

The Elector of Saxony was still Luther's firm friend. He took him under his shelter, and for nearly a year Luther remained hidden in the shelter of the Wartburg, a castle of Frederick's. This castle was situated on the top of a hill, surrounded by a moat, and guarded by a drawbridge and portcullis. Here Luther spent his time, reading the Greek and Hebrew Bible, and amusing himself as best he could. We are told that he wandered in the woods searching for strawberries and even hunting in the castle forests. ' I am very idle and very busy here. I study Hebrew and Greek and write without cessation,' is how he described his enforced imprisonment.

As a matter of fact, very little notice was taken of the Emperor's Edict. Luther was the popular hero of the hour, and his books were read more than ever, and he made a translation of the New Testament into German from the Latin edition of Erasmus, which Erasmus had published side by side with the Greek text, showing how the Vulgate was often wrong in its readings.

Meanwhile, many were interpreting the teaching of Luther after their own desires. Men began to throw off all the old restraints, and to declare that life must be rearranged afresh, On all sides there was confusion and violence ; every one had his own ideas as to what should or should not happen ; uneducated men strove to form parties ; lawlessness and unrest were everywhere. Some thought that Luther was the only man who could quiet the uproar and riots. So at last he came out of his retreat in the Wartburg and returned to Wittenberg. Here he preached vigorously to the people, exhorting them to good sense, moderation, and, above all, to charity. He laid down the great principles that mob violence is not the way to reform the Church ;



THE TITLE-PAGE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S FIRST BIBLE

that sedition, even when provoked, is always wrong, and that the people—in presuming to regulate spiritual matters—usurp an office which does not belong to them. He had come to believe in authority but not the authority of the Pope.

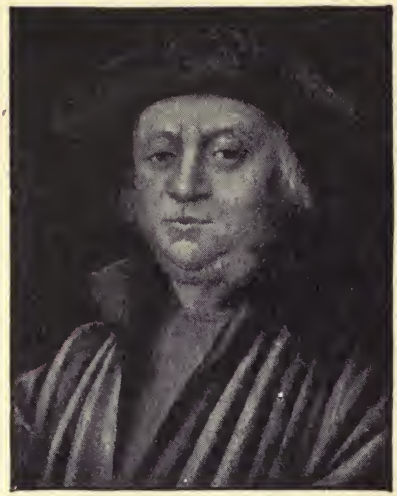
Luther then visited Weimar, Erfurt, and other places, pacifying fanaticism, but the Wittenberg agitators only went on to other places.

In 1525 a dreadful revolt of the peasants broke out. The chief cause of their rebellion was the misery of their everyday lives. To this trouble they were only too ready to add religious grievances. Luther was horrified at their violence, and the excesses which they committed, and he exhorted the nobles, in passionate language, to settle the peasants once and for all by war. In his oft-quoted words, he says, 'Wherefore, my lords, free, save, help and pity the poor people: stab, smite and slay all that ye can. . . . I implore every one who can to avoid the peasants as he would the Devil himself. I pray God will enlighten them and turn their hearts. But if they do not turn, I wish them no happiness for evermore. . . . Let none think this too hard who considers how intolerable is rebellion.' Small wonder that Luther, when the insurrection was put down, was afterwards accused of having turned upon the people he had first misled.

In 1525 Luther married Catherine von Bora. He had long ago given up calling himself a monk, and Catherine was one of the many nuns who had forsaken their convents owing to the teaching of Luther. Their married life was a happy one. Luther still went on teaching at Wittenberg, trying to make plans for the better education of the people. Now he thought, when it was too late, that reformation should be carried out by means of schools; and that in these schools Latin, Greek, and Hebrew should be taught in order that the Bible might be read with intelligence by the coming generations. Meanwhile his followers were throwing off all form of obedience to the Catholic Church.

One result of the Peasants' revolt was that the Emperor was bound to recognize that the religion of Germany was now divided into two camps. He therefore held two Diets at Speyer. At the

first, 1526, each State was commanded to 'live religiously as it hoped to answer to God and the Emperor'—but at the second, which was held in 1529, it was declared that all the old constitutions were to continue. This meant that the Lutherans were to desist from organizing their Churches, as they had now begun to do—and it was against this decision that they protested, and so earned the name of Protestants. The Protestants now began to be divided among themselves. Other reformers had arisen, chief of whom were Zwingli and Calvin, and Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists could never agree. In 1530, the Emperor summoned another Diet; at it the Lutherans presented their confession of faith—the Augsburg Confession, as it was called. Meanwhile, as Luther was still an outlaw, his place as leader of the Protestant party was taken by Melancthon, the scholar. The Protestants now leagued themselves together as a fighting body in the League of Schmalkalden (1531). Owing to the difficulties of the Emperor, hostilities did not break out for some time. Luther died in 1546, just on their eve.



MARTIN LUTHER

It is hard to draw a picture of Luther in words. He must have always looked more or less like a peasant; we are told that he was short and dark, with dark flashing eyes. When he was young he was thin, but in later years he grew stout. When he left off calling himself a monk, he wore the ordinary jerkin and tunic of a peasant. In character he was cheerful, fond of laughter, talking, and music. Much of Luther's conversation would have seemed rough and coarse to us, according to our usual standards, and he was often violent and abusive in his

speech; he seems not to have risen above the men of his age in this respect. He was always a man of the peasants—but he was a man who had an over-mastering sense of the presence of God, though he had not the finer perceptions of some of the earlier monks whom we have studied. No one can question his great personal bravery; he dared as much as any man has done for his convictions. Yet he did not foresee the storm he was rousing. He led a life of incessant industry, though activity was made difficult by bad health. The life of close study which he led, the lack of exercise, and the general ignorance in those days on matters of health, made his life a sore trial to him at times. He did and dared much—and though he may have been accused of having brought warfare and misery for a whole generation to Germany, he stood as a living protest against the commonly accepted denial of the right of each man to think for himself, and to live an individual spiritual life.

Copy of Letter written by Luther to his little son Hans, aged 4, 1530

Grace and peace in Christ, dear little son. I am glad to hear that you are studying and saying your prayers. Continue to do so, my son, and when I come home, I will bring you a pretty present.

I know a lovely, pleasant garden where many children are; they wear golden jackets and gather nice apples under the trees and pears and cherries and purple plums and yellow plums, and sing and run and jump and are happy and have pretty little ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked the man who owned the garden whose children they were. He said 'They are the children who say their prayers and study and are good.' Then said I, 'Dear man, I also have a son whose name is Hans Luther; may he come into the garden and eat the sweet apples and pears and ride a fine pony and play with these children?' Then the man said, 'If he says his prayers and is good, he can come into the garden and Phil and Justy too, and dance and shoot little cross-bows.' Then he showed me a fine

large lawn in the garden for dancing, where hang real golden whistles and fine silver cross-bows. But it was as yet early, and the children had not finished eating, and I could not wait to see them dance, so I said to the man : ' My dear sir, I must go away and write at once to my dear little Hans about all this, so that he will say his prayers and study and be good, so that he must come into the garden, and he has an Auntie Lena whom he must bring with him.' Then the man said, ' All right, go and tell him about it.' So, dear little Hans, study and say your prayers and tell Phil and Justy to say their prayers and study too, so you may all come into the garden together—God bless you. Give Auntie Lena my love and a kiss from me.

Your loving father,

MARTIN LUTHER.

DATES.

1483.	Luther born.	1524–5.	Peasants rising.
1517.	Tetzel sells indulgences.	1530.	Confession of Augsburg.
1517.	The Ninety-Five Theses.	1531.	League of Schmalkalden.
1521.	Luther before the Diet of Worms.	1545.	Council of Trent.
		1546.	Death of Luther.

XIV. SAVONAROLA

(1452–1498)

GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA was born at Ferrara in the year 1452. His name is generally associated with the History of Florence, but that was only the city of his adoption. There he came to live, in 1481, when Lorenzo de Medici, the great merchant prince, was ruling Florence as a benevolent despot (1469-92). Savonarola lived in the days when a great revival of learning had been going on in Italy and Europe for very many years. Men read and learned all they could of the past. One result of the study of the glories of the past was, as we have seen, that men became dissatisfied with their own lives and began to crave for change and development. They wished to break down the hard and fast customs and traditions which held sway over everyday life, over religion, art, education, music, and all other means by which men

express their thoughts and characters. Thus, though this movement on the one side expressed a desire to find and follow truth, it had also another, and that a bad side. Men became self-satisfied and incredulous, and began to refuse to obey any laws except their own wishes and desires, whether they were for good or whether they were for evil. We shall find that it was the misery and wickedness that prevailed in Italy, partly for these reasons and partly for others, that at length stirred up Savonarola to preach and prophesy, and we shall further see how it was that from being a preacher he gradually became a politician.

We learn that Savonarola's grandfather had been the court physician at Ferrara, and it is believed that his father intended him to follow that profession too. However, at the age of twenty-two Girolamo decided that he must become a monk. He was already learned in most of the sacred learning and history of his time. In 1474 he went off 'secretly like a fugitive',[1] leaving 'a little paper amongst his books at the window' to inform his father of his step and entered a Dominican monastery at Bologna. Two years before he had written a poem describing how the world seemed upside down with wickedness and 'virtue and good customs were sapped to the foundations'.

After seven years' work with these monks, Savonarola was sent by them to Florence, to live at San Marco, one of their convents (1481). He soon began to preach to the Florentines in the Church of San Lorenzo. At first he was not a success, and his sermons attracted few hearers; for neither was he eloquent, nor was he attractive to look upon. His portrait has been described thus: 'There is nothing of beauty about the face except the deep set and far gazing eyes, which seem to contain a world of care within their yearning steadfast gaze. The thick black brows emphasize the flashing of the dark grey eyes beneath, giving forth red flashes sometimes. The eyes redeem the face from what may almost be called grossness and vulgarity. Indeed, the more we look at it, the more it succeeds in impressing us by virtue of the mingled energy and restraint which is stamped upon

[1] *Letters of Savonarola*, p. 6. Randolph.

it. Though his countenance had no beauty of line it expressed a severe nobility of character.'[1] Such a face was not likely to impress a crowd favourably until the man himself was known.

For the next five years Savonarola remained at Florence for his head-quarters; though he was absent from time to time on missionary journeys in the neighbourhood. In 1484 he began to attract attention by prophesying. He was preaching at San Gemignano, not far from Siena, and here he made three prophetic utterances: (1) that the Church shall be scourged; (2) that it shall be regenerated; (3) that these things will quickly come to pass. These three prophecies he constantly reiterated, and he claimed that they had been directly revealed to him by God. His fame gradually began to spread—and he was a much-talked-of man. From 1486–9, he was absent from Florence, but then he was recalled, some say by Lorenzo himself. In 1491 he was elected Prior of San Marco.

SAVONAROLA [2]

It was in 1491, ten years after his first appearance at Florence, that he really became famous as a preacher. People now realized that he was terribly in earnest, and that he was a fearless speaker of the truth. In the Lent of this year, Savonarola preached a course of sermons in the Duomo, or Cathedral, thundering against the vices and wickedness of the Florentines, and the abuses and

[1] Horsburgh, *Life of Savonarola*, p. 5.
[2] Frontispiece to Savonarola's *Regola del Ben Vivere*, 1498.

scandals in the Church. He plainly said that there could be no betterment in the city until the Florentines regained their liberty, until they threw off the chains of the despotism of the Medici, that only free men could live noble lives, and that slavery, even if enjoyed, was deteriorating to the character. Savonarola preached thus, disregarding the fact that the Florentines had themselves chosen this form of government, and that the Medici had not forced themselves or their rule upon the city. Although he was speaking against the Government, he was at first tolerated by Lorenzo.

Lorenzo in fact did all that he could to conciliate Savonarola. But Savonarola would pay no heed and no deference to him. 'Tell your master', he said to the messengers who came to him, 'that I am a humble stranger, and he the lord of Florence, yet I shall remain, and he shall depart.' These words were taken as a prophecy, and in the very next year, 1492, Lorenzo died, and Savonarola's sinister words were fulfilled. The story goes, and it may only be a story, that Lorenzo sent for Savonarola to come to his death-bed to minister to him; and that after he had confessed his sins, Savonarola refused to absolve him unless he would fulfil three conditions: firstly, that he should have a great and living faith in God's mercy; secondly, that he should restore his ill-gotten gains; thirdly, that he should give back liberty to Florence. We are told that when Lorenzo heard the third of his conditions he turned away his face and said nothing. Therefore Savonarola left him without absolution, for he said he would not pardon a tyrant.

A few months after Lorenzo's death Pope Innocent VIII died, and in his place was elected Cardinal Borgia, as Alexander VI, one of the wickedest men who have ever held rule upon earth. These two events marked a new phase in the preacher's life.

The year 1492 was indeed a year of crisis in Europe when we remember that it was also the year of the discovery of America. Savonarola's preaching now became more fiery. The fate of the Church must have seemed worse to him. He was now almost universally held as a prophet, and he told that doom was coming upon the earth. We are told that he had visions, 'He heard voices proclaiming God's mercy on the good, His vengeance on the

guilty, and he saw, as he thought, the sword bent towards the earth . . . the sky darkened, thunder pealed, lightning flashed, and the whole world was wasted by famine, bloodshed, and pestilence' ; and to this effect he preached.

After Lorenzo's death, many changes came over Florence. His feeble son Piero succeeded him, and at last the doom which Savonarola had been so constantly preaching seemed to come upon the city. It was indeed to be scourged, with the whole of Italy. The whole land was to suffer from an invasion.

In 1494, Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, in order to press his claim to Naples, the throne of which had just fallen vacant. Charles VIII entered Italy in the spirit of an ambitious worldly man ; he had no illusions that he was fulfilling a Divine purpose ; and until Savonarola put the idea into his head, he did not regard himself as sent by God to scourge Italy, or as fulfilling Savonarola's prophecies. Charles VIII's motives for the invasion were doubtless simply the desire of earning great military glory, and providing a field of action for the more turbulent French nobles, so that they might not observe his doings in France. He had been encouraged in his ideas of an invasion of Italy by Ludovico il Moro, the tyrant of Milan, who on his side had private reasons for wishing to do Naples an injury. And so it came to pass, that as he had many circumstances in his favour, he literally made a triumphant progress through Italy. Piero de Medici, who might have put up some resistance, allied himself at first with Naples, and afterwards retracting threw himself wholeheartedly on the side of the French, and ended by handing over the principal Florentine fortresses and paying large sums of money to the invader. Savonarola saw in Charles the scourge that Italy needed and he managed to impress Charles at last with his supposed Divine Mission ; *Missus a Deo*, 'Sent by God', were the words which he had inscribed on his banner. Shortly afterwards Piero was driven out from Florence by a popular revolution ; and Savonarola was left as its ruler. Small wonder that superstitious people remembered his prophecy of 1491 again.

Savonarola now induced Charles VIII to leave Florence, and

when he had obtained the chief power in the city, he set about a complete moral reformation. After stirring up the people to a sense of sin and wickedness, he began to carry out extremely practical reforms. The very appearance of the streets became altered; gambling was put down, luxury was discouraged, religious emotions were stirred to such an extent so that people of all ranks hastened to become monks. Even the children of Florence were pressed into the service of the work of reform. Savonarola formed among them what he called the 'blessed bands'. These groups of children were ruled by a kind of military discipline. 'We are told that the girls thought no more of their dresses, but urged their mothers to give to the poor what would have been expended on their adornment.' Truly Savonarola was a wonderful man!

'Among their duties were the collection of alms for the poor, house-to-house visitations for the collection of "vanities" or useless ornaments to serve as fuel for the "bonfire of vanities" which was to be one of the great attractions of the carnival (half-week or week before Lent). Savonarola also wanted these children to stimulate religious zeal for the services of the Church, to repress the passion for gambling, and to give information to the authorities where they found any infractions of existing laws, to reprove ostentatious or unbecoming modes of dress, to repress the prevalent habit of throwing stones, to be diligent themselves in their attendances at the Duomo.'[1]

No wonder that many objected to this part of Savonarola's work. While he was quite right in believing that children should be educated, he made a mistake in encouraging them to be prigs and tale-bearers, instead of minding their own manners and correcting their own faults, but it was the error of a well-meaning and good man who did not understand child-nature.

Savonarola now began to be regarded by Pope Alexander VI with great disfavour; Alexander was too hardened to object to him because he was a reformer and because he rebuked wickedness in high places, even the wickedness of the Pope himself; but he feared and hated Savonarola because he was pursuing a political

[1] Horsburgh, p. 134.

policy which Alexander himself detested. For Savonarola was now the champion for the French Alliance, and this alliance was just that to which the Pope objected most. Alexander had been largely instrumental in forming a League to turn out the invaders. The League was composed of Milan, Venice, and the Papacy, and it had been joined by Ferdinand of Spain, and by Maximilian, the Emperor. Florence, alone of the northern Italian powers, stood aloof from the League, and thus prevented Italy from showing a united front to the invaders. As Alexander believed that it was Savonarola who prevented Florence joining this League, it was for this reason that he began to try and undermine his authority. When he failed to do this Alexander took more desperate measures. He did not act from personal spite because Savonarola attacked his character, though perhaps it is not altogether to his credit that his enmity to Savonarola grew out of political motives. It means he was too callous and hardened by wickedness to be sensitive to rebukes for sin.

In 1495, Savonarola was summoned by a Papal Bull to Rome, the pretext being that thus he was given a chance to expound his claims to the gift of prophecy. Savonarola refused to obey. The Pope then summoned him a second time; still he did not go, but instead openly preached his reasons for defying the Pope. He said that he distinguished between commands given by a Pope and commands given by a man, and that in any case he thought it his duty to resist commands which were contrary to the law of charity. This teaching expounded by so prominent a man as Savonarola was a great blow to the authority of the Pope. Unquestioning obedience to his commands was supposed to be one of the duties of a Christian. When a famous and good man like Savonarola claiming the rights of conscience as a bar to obedience to the Pope, it must have emboldened many others, less brave than he, to give vent to their thoughts. It was the setting up of the right of private judgement against the authority of the Pope. In this, Savonarola was before Luther.

It was not surprising that in 1497 Savonarola was excommunicated by a Papal Bull. Just about this time, too, when

he needed all the support he could get, his popularity in Florence began to wane. He still disregarded the sentence of excommunication. However, at last, the Pope in desperation threatened to place Florence under an Interdict, that is, all religious services would be forbidden within her walls, if Savonarola were not sent to Rome (1498).

The prophet now took a daring step. He had long thought that the best way to curb the undue authority of the Pope would be to summon a General Council, or a Parliament of the Church. He therefore prepared letters which were to be sent to the sovereigns of Europe urging upon them the necessity of undertaking ecclesiastical reforms. One of these letters, which was destined for the King of France, fell into the hands of Ludovico Sforza of Milan. He, out of enmity to Savonarola, handed it to the Pope. From that moment Alexander VI had in his hands a very good proof that Savonarola was acting in a way which was hostile to the national spirit of Italy. This proof gave him great power and it meant that Savonarola's downfall was imminent, though we shall see that it eventually came about owing to a quarrel which arose between the Dominicans and the Franciscans in Florence.

The Franciscans and the Dominicans had for long been jealous of one another, not only in Italy, but wherever branches of their respective Orders might be found. In 1497, the Franciscans had begun to dispute the sincerity of Savonarola's prophecies, and said that he was dishonestly laying claims to be greater than he really was. Probably we should explain his claim to be a prophet something in this way. Savonarola, with the true insight of a good man, realized the wickedness of his age, his courage made him ready to rebuke what many others tolerated from either laziness or cowardice. He saw clearly that evil deeds in the long run bring evil consequences—and in this sense he was a prophet—just as every good man or woman who thinks deeply upon the troubles of their day has it in themselves to be one, either to a greater or less degree. This, however, was not the point of view of the Franciscans. They demanded that

Savonarola should prove his sincerity by a miracle, hoping to place him open to ridicule, and thus to lessen his popularity and his influence. The words of the prophecies to which they objected ran as follows: 'The Church of God needs reform: it will be scourged: it will be renewed. Florence, after the scourge, will be renewed and will prosper. The infidels will be turned to Christ. These things will happen in our time.' A certain Franciscan friar challenged Savonarola to prove the truth of his words by the ordeal of fire, that is by offering to be burnt unless a miracle intervened and put out the fire. Savonarola refused to have anything to do with it, but the proposal was taken up against his will by certain of his disciples, and the contest was arranged. The Signory, or Government, of Florence actually permitted this barbarous thing to take place.

SAVONAROLA WRITING IN HIS CELL [1]

It was decided that, if the Dominican friar perished, Savonarola should be banished; if the Franciscan perished, the chief representative of their order should go. If both perished, the Dominicans should go.

The ceremony was fixed to take place on April 7, 1498. On that day the contending parties met on the Piazza. Delay after delay was caused by argument, and perhaps by the very natural reluctance of the monks who were about to be burned to make any haste with the matter in hand. Then a commonplace miracle happened, a heavy thunderstorm came on, and the

[1] Frontispiece to Savonarola's *Libro della Semplicita della vita Christiana*, 1496.

vast crowds which had assembled to be entertained by the ghastly exhibition went home in the rain, disappointed and furious. They were so much enraged that they actually went and besieged Savonarola and his followers in San Marco. The next morning Savonarola was arrested by the Signory with his two friends, Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro.

The Signory hastened to inform the Pope that Savonarola was their prisoner. He was tried, but the trial was unfair as the judges were his enemies; then he was tortured. It is somewhat hard to find exactly of what Savonarola was really accused. His sin really was that he had become thoroughly unpopular. He was vaguely charged with stirring up rebellion against the State, and more seriously that he had written to European sovereigns urging them to summon a General Council. Two commissionaries of the Pope were sent to help to conduct the trial, as he was also accused of heresy and schism.

At last a sentence of death was pronounced on Savonarola and his two companions. They met their fate with bravery and composure. When the Bishop pronounced the sentence, he said, 'I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant.' 'Militant,' answered Savonarola, 'not Triumphant, that rests not with you.' The three friars were first hung in chains and then burnt. So on May 22, 1498, ended the life of the great Renaissance preacher and political reformer.

Savonarola was a sternly practical man. He was a reformer who wished to work from the inside of the Roman Catholic Church. He had intensely clear-cut ideas of what was right and wrong. His personal letters to his friends show that he was no visionary in everyday matters, but a practical and sane critic of conduct. That politics were the concern of all good men, that vice and wickedness must be rebuked in high as well as low, that freedom is to be loved with a passionate love, these were the definite and clear aims which he set before himself. His political views were doubtless short-sighted. He was in the wrong when he worked for French invasions against the development of Italian nationality. But he acted on what he

believed to be honest lines ; and he was fighting against organized wickedness which had most of the material power of the State on its side. It has been pointed out that one of the strangest facts in history is that Savonarola should have been burned as a heretic at the same time that Alexander VI should have been deemed worthy of sitting in the chair of St. Peter of Rome as the representative of God on Earth.[1] Truly it was a topsy-turvy time, Evil was ruling in the place of Good.

DATES

1469–92. Lorenzo the Magnificent.
1494. Invasion of Charles VIII.
1498. Savonarola burned.
1512. Medici reconquer Florence.

XV. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

(1491–1556)

BEFORE Luther died, there was born into the world one of the greatest champions of the Catholic Religion Christendom has yet seen ; this was Inigo (afterwards Ignatius) Loyola, who was born in 1491 in a little village in the Pyrenees. He came of a noble family, and he was educated and trained in the ways of Spanish knighthood, spending some of his boyhood at the Court of the great Ferdinand of Spain, and seeing service in war against the French with his uncle, who was Viceroy of Navarre, in the place of its king, who had lately been dispossessed. In this country, when Ignatius was aged about thirty, he received terrible wounds at the siege of Pampeluna, one leg being crushed by a falling rock, the other being wounded by a cannon ball. He was taken prisoner, too, by the French, who kept him for fifteen days and then gave him back again to the Spaniards. He suffered terribly in hospital, but with a grim determination. We must remember that in those days chloroform and other anaesthetics had not been discovered. If pain was necessary,

[1] Horsburgh, p. 219.

a man had to face it without help; for instance, if you had your teeth extracted, there was no gas, nor any freezing mixture. The surgeons said that if Loyola wished to avoid deformity, his legs must be broken again, and it shows how brave he was that when he allowed them to do it, 'He bore the operation with no sign save the clenched hand, to show his suffering'. He always was this sort of man. When his limbs were healed, yet another operation was necessary, this time part of the limb was sawn off. But it was not these operations which were really important in his life; the books which he read during his illness changed his life. He was given a *Life of Christ* and some *Lives of the Saints*. As he read he began to ask himself the question, 'Why should not I do as this one or that under that sweet Captain, Jesus Christ?' Then he made up his mind once and for all, that his life work must be devotion to the Founder of the Christian Religion. So when he left hospital after long vigils, prayer, and fasting, he escaped from his relations, and went off to live at Manresa near Montserrat in Catalonia. In the Church of Our Lady at Montserrat, 1522, he took his vows. And here, living in a cave, he thought out his famous book, *The Spiritual Exercises*. It has been said, 'he fought out his fight alone, like the first Fathers of the deserts', or the early hermits.

During this time of solitude, Ignatius more or less made up his mind as to the nature of his work, though he had not decided on its scope. Soldier as he was, his mind was filled with the idea of the 'Free Companies', or bands of soldiers which, under adventurous leaders, used to take part in whatever war happened to be going on in Europe. He set his mind upon forming a band of men, 'The Company of Jesus', who should do work in any sphere which would prove useful to the cause of religion and the Papacy. At one time he dreamt of going to the Holy Land, as so many saints before him. He did indeed at first go to the East, through Venice and on to the Holy Land; but once there it became clear to him that his work must be in Europe and that, to carry it on successfully, he must give himself a proper education. He, therefore, made his way

back to Spain, and began right at the very bottom of the ladder in a school, working with little boys as class-mates, although he was well over twenty years of age by this time, in order that he might learn the very foundations of education. This was at Barcelona. Loyola afterwards went on to the University of Alcala. Here, his zeal for preaching and teaching was such, that his education made slight progress. And it also happened that, as his teaching began to excite suspicions in Spain, he was obliged to quit this country. In 1528 he went off to the University of Paris, where he found many of his countrymen, and in Paris he made a second effort to lay the really solid foundations of a good education. Here he was more successful. Loyola also made those friends in Paris who were afterwards to help him in the foundation of his society.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA [1]

In 1534, a little band of men met together in a church in Paris and vowed that in three years' time they would meet in Venice, and found their great Society. They bound themselves to work, not against the Turk but against the teaching of the Reformers, and the leaders of the New Learning, who, they believed, were undermining belief and faith in the teaching of the Catholic Church.

Ignatius Loyola and his friends kept their word. On January 6, 1537, they all assembled at Venice; after being admitted to Holy Orders, they then began their work of preaching in the streets. They taught the children, they preached to the poor;

[1] From the painting by Coello from the death-mask.

they took the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. Thus was founded the famous 'Company of Jesus', or the Jesuits, as they were afterwards called. In 1540, the Society was placed under the authority of the Pope, and, from henceforth, all its members were pledged to implicit obedience to his orders, as given through the General of the Society.

The Jesuits became great educationalists; they aimed at influencing all those who held high positions in Europe, and so they worked hard at building and perfecting schools. Their success was enormous. Had it not been for the Society of the Jesuits, the Reformation movement would probably have spread all over Europe. And it is interesting to notice, that it was not only the teaching of Luther which, to their minds, had spread the reformation principles in Europe, but the bad lives and the low example which the clergy had set the people.

Ignatius Loyola died in 1556. There is an oft-quoted prayer of his, running 'Teach us, good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou deservest; to give and not to count the cost; to fight and not to heed the wounds; to toil and not to seek for rest, to labour and not to ask for any reward, save that of knowing that we do Thy will'. Whatever we may think of Loyola's teaching and methods, it would be hard to deny that this little prayer is a brief summary of his ideal of work, and that it might well be the basis for his own epitaph.

We have travelled over much ground in this book. Many gallant men and brave women have been passed by without a glance, many whose lives are full of entrancing interest; and whose careers might well be pondered upon. Some will exclaim 'Where are Godfrey de Bouillon, Jeanne d'Arc, Louis XI, Margaret of Anjou, Christopher Columbus, Galileo, and a score of others?' But if this work has roused any one to search for the histories of these favourites, this book will at least have done part of its work. If, again, it has cleared the vision of any school-boy, or school-girl, by showing them the importance of Empire and Papacy in mediaeval times, and the central position

of the Catholic Church in later-day politics, it will have done still more. Lastly if it provokes its readers to quote these lines of R. L. Stevenson, it will have completed its task.

'Such a life is very fine,
But it 's not so nice as mine.'

The following books are recommended for further study:

Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*
Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.*
Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.*
Hodgkin, *The Invaders of Italy.*
,, *Theodoric the Goth* (Heroes of the Nations).
Butler, *Benedictine Monachism.*
Davis, *Charlemagne* (Heroes of the Nations).
,, *Mediaeval Europe* (Home University Library).
Stubbs, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages.*
,, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages.*
Morrison, *St. Bernard.*
Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis.*
Cuthbert, *Life of St. Francis.*
The Little Flowers of St. Francis.
The Mirror of Perfection.
Gardner, *St. Catherine of Siena.*
Scudder, *Letters of St. Catherine of Siena.*
Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers.*
Allen, *The Age of Erasmus.*
Smith, *Life and Letters of Luther.*
Horsburgh, *Life of Savonarola.*
Thomson, *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola.*
Robinson, *Readings from European History.*

INDEX

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press

HISTORICAL BOOKS

Text-books of English History, &c.

August, 1921

The Story of England for Junior Forms, by MURIEL O. DAVIS. 1913. Illustrated with sixteen maps. 4s. n. Also in two parts, 2s. 6d. net each.

'Attractive and easily readable, arranged in excellent form and order.'
Birmingham Daily Post.

A School History of England, by C. R. L. FLETCHER and RUDYARD KIPLING. 1911. Crown 8vo, with twenty-three illustrations by HENRY FORD, and seven maps. 2s. 6d. Crown 4to, with additional illustrations, 7s. 6d. net.

Teacher's Companion to the above, giving authorities, sources, &c., by C. R. L. FLETCHER. 1912. Pp. 64. Limp cloth, 1s. net.

A School History of England, by O. M. EDWARDS, R. S. RAIT, H. W. C. DAVIS, G. N. RICHARDSON, A. J. CARLYLE and W. G. POGSON SMITH. Second edition, 1911. Two volumes, 3s. net each. Also in one volume, 5s. net.

'The treatment of the subject, though scientific, is by no means dull, for the matter is well arranged and presented in a crisp, vigorous, scholarly English that carries one along, and frequently suggests the rapid style of Macaulay.'
Guardian.

Outlines of Modern History, by J. D. ROGERS. 1913. Pp. 216, with sixteen illustrations and two maps. 4s. net.

'The work is one of real excellence.'
Preparatory Schools Review.

Outlines of European History, by M. O. DAVIS. 1913. Pp. 146, with sixteen illustrations, thirteen maps, and an index. 3s. 6d. net.

'A valuable, straightforward account, covering the wide field in a simple way.'
Times.

Saints and Heroes of the Western World, by M. O. DAVIS. 1921. Pp. 144, with 36 illustrations and an index. 2s. 6d. net.

An Analytical Outline of English History, by W. E. HAIGH. Pp. xvi + 332. 4s. net.

Primarily intended for the use, in conjunction with fuller text-books, of students who are reading English History for Examinations. The central purpose of the book is to teach clearly the evolutionary character of English history.

Lessons in English History, by H. W. CARTER. 1917. Pp. 208, with sixty-seven maps, plans, and illustrations; bibliography, extracts from contemporary writers and chronological chart. 4s. net.

Sixty-eight outlines upon which a teacher can construct lessons for a two years' course for middle forms.

The Teaching of History, by C. H. JARVIS. Pp. 240. 5s. 6d. net.

Pages of Britain's Story, A. D. 597–1898. From her Historians and Chroniclers. Edited by J. TURRAL. 1917. Pp. 326. 2s. 6d. net.

'It should certainly find a place in every school library.'—*School World.*

Illustrations to British History, 55 B.C.–A.D. 1854, being extracts from contemporary documents and literature. Edited by J. TURRAL. 1917. Pp. 314. 3s. net.

'It is unique in its choice of material. . . . Teachers of social history are in need of just such books.'
Political Science Quarterly.

History as a School of Citizenship, by HELEN MADELEY. 1920. Pp. 106, with 12 illustrations. 4s. 6d. net.

A New History of Great Britain, by R. B. MOWAT. Part I, To the Death of Elizabeth. 1920. Pp. xii + 308, with 116 illustrations. 4s. 6d. net. Part II, To the Congress of Vienna, pp. xvi + 372, with 133 illustrations. 5s. net. Also in three Sections: (1) B.C. 55–A.D. 1485; (2) A.D. 1485–1714; (3) A.D. 1688–1815. Each 3s. 6d. net.

Oxford [redacted] History

Crown 8vo [redacted]

ach

Vasa, 1610–1715

complicated history of
ar and straightforward
necessity an abundance
it it is handled skilfully
se of the general out-

of Europe, 1715–
EDALLA.

k introductory to the
entury European his-
re acquainted.'
Daily News.

Old Order, 1763–
LUNKET.

living history . . .
ly useful work.'
Educational Times.

n to Bismarck,
CECIL JANE.

. . . Mr. Jane's book
d instructive in the
ds.'—*Guardian.*

&c.

B. BUTLER and
Portraits chosen
he complete set
. Vol. I, 1400–
00–1850.
them full-page.
biographies the
he development

ited by F. P.

920. Pp. xii +

1914, by C.
enty-nine full
d explanatory

inety coloured
gue.

pplication.

A New Series of Histories of the Nations

The Evolution of Prussia, the Making of an Empire. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT and C. GRANT ROBERTSON. 1915. Second Impression 1917. Pp. 460, with eight maps. 6s. 6d. net.

'There is no other publication that gives the whole story of Germany in such a handy form, and that embodies the best results of historical research.'—*Newcastle Chronicle.*

The Balkans, a History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, Turkey. By NEVILL FORBES, A. J. TOYNBEE, D. MITRANY, and D. G. HOGARTH. Third impression 1918. Pp. 408, with three maps. 6s. 6d. net.

'A most [illegible] addition to the history of the war. [illegible] Balkan peo[illegible] knowledge [illegible] sanely sym[illegible] credit not [illegible] British sch[illegible]

France, [illegible] History [illegible] Impressi[illegible] seven ma[illegible]

'A quite [illegible] French his[illegible] useful alik[illegible] convenient[illegible] of high pra[illegible]

A Histo[illegible] Varangia[illegible] C. Ray[illegible] FORBES, [illegible] an introd[illegible] Pp. xxii[illegible] net.

'Far and away the best Russian history in French or English that we have yet come across.'—*New Statesman.*

'We welcome the very timely publication of this admirably designed and composed book.'—*Times.*

Italy, Mediaeval and Modern, a History by E. M. JAMISON, C. M. ADY, K. D. VERNON, and C. SANFORD TERRY. 1917. Pp. viii + 564, with eight maps and a preface by H. W. C. DAVIS. 7s. 6d. net.

'The best short history of Italy we know.' *Irish Times.*

Portugal Old and Young: An Historical Study by GEORGE YOUNG. 1917. Pp. viii + 342, with a frontispiece and three maps. 6s. 6d. net.

'A very timely and serviceable work of reference, the whole book is readable and good.'—*Guardian.*

The Guardians of the Gate: Historical Lectures [illegible] Serbs. [illegible]e- [illegible]u- [illegible]y- [illegible]s.

[illegible]ue [illegible]an [illegible]as [illegible]gs

[illegible]r. [illegible]p. [illegible]d

[illegible]he [illegible]nt [illegible]ne

[illegible]y. [illegible]o, with two maps. 6s. 6d. net.

Belgium: The Making of a Nation. By H. VANDER LINDEN. 1920. Pp. 356, with five maps. 7s. 6d. net.

The Eastern Question. An Historical Study in European Diplomacy. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT. 1917. With eleven maps. 8s. 6d. net.

'Its value to students of contemporary politics is practically incalculable.'—*Daily Telegraph.*

Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations. By D. P. HEATLEY. 1919. Pp. xvi + 292. 7s. 6d. net.

The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Sir AUGUSTUS OAKES and R. B. MOWAT, with an introduction by Sir H. ERLE RICHARDS. 1918. Pp. xii + 404, with ten maps. 7s. 6d. net.

'Indispensable to the student and of the highest value as a work of reference.' *Glasgow Herald.*