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SHORT HISTORY
OF
THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

JOHN F. HURST, D.D.



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FLORENCE.

SHORT HISTORY
OF
THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

BY
JOHN F. HURST, D.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



CHARLES THE GREAT

NEW YORK
CHAUTAUQUA PRESS

C. L. S. C. DEPARTMENT

805 BROADWAY

1887

SHORT HISTORY

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THE MEDICAL CHURCH

THE HISTORY OF

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH.

A.D. 750-1517.

CHAPTER I.

THE MEDIÆVAL TRANSITION.

1. The Significance of the Middle Ages lies in their transitional character. The Ancient Period was the time of the planting, organization, and doctrinal establishment of Christianity. The Modern Period was to witness the application of Christianity to the social, intellectual, and moral needs of the world. Between these two lay the Middle Ages. It was the far-reaching mission of this remarkable period to test the power of Christianity for meeting the wants of new nations; to withstand the shock of philosophical schools; to sift and preserve the best that remained of the ancient world, and pass it safely down for modern use; and, above all, to prove the ultimate power of Christianity to rise above the infirmities of those who professed it, and to lay the foundations of a new spiritual life by a return to the pure apostolic example. The office of the Mediæval Church was to conduct man from the narrow limits of the Pagan to the Protestant world. The scattered threads of the eighth century were caught up and combined into unity. Baur says: "This whole period can only be regarded by the observer as one of transition,

at the close of which the varied elements which appeared in different quarters concentrate into unity, and thus show forth the Church of the Middle Ages in the full significance of their universal grandeur."

2. The Three Periods. The *first* period of the Mediæval Church extends from Charlemagne to the Papacy of Gregory VII.—A.D. 768–1073. This was the time of the full appropriation and unification of the Germanic and other Northern elements. Mohammedanism, lying at the border-line between the ancient and the mediæval time, arose as a counterforce to Christianity. Papal supremacy in Church and State culminated.

The *second* period extends from Gregory VII. to the removal of the papal see into France—A.D. 1073–1305. Here the absolutism of the papacy was broken, and the freedom of the people dawned. The monastic orders assumed larger proportions. Speculative science was introduced into theological inquiry. This was Scholasticism. It perished in the same age which produced it. The Crusades were organized during this period.

The *third* period continued from the removal of the papal see into France to the Reformation—A.D. 1305–1517. The papal unity was shattered. Humanism arose, which reacted upon the old order, and made possible the revival of vital Christianity and a momentous activity of mind.

3. The Literary Transition. With the thorough break-up of the pagan conditions there arose a new order. The introduction of Christianity among the rude nations of the North had the effect of increasing a new literary spirit. No department of thought was left in its old stagnation. The quickening was intense. With the beginning of the Middle Ages there was a departure from the old modes of historical statement.

The old Frankish chronicles had been monosyllabic, and the roughness continued in the successors of Tredegar. But with the ninth century there came a smoothness and beauty, in which one can see the effect of the close and finished masterpieces of the Greek and Roman period.

4. **Progress in all Fields.** Scientific inquiries arose, in part original, and in part derived from the introduction of Arabic science through the Moslem invasion of Spain. Monasticism preserved the great works of the fathers, and saved to the world, by patient copying, the richest productions of the masters of Greek philosophy and the drama, and Roman history and poetry. The knightly poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attained to beautiful forms, and became the foundation and inspiration for much of the poetry of the most recent centuries. New and bolder types of architecture were applied to sacred buildings, and the most impressive edifices of modern times here took their origin. The plastic arts were developed for the first time in Christian directions. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were at once children of mediæval thought, and prophets for all the future. The Italy of to-day is not less their creation than it is that of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel. Political solidification was in progress. The love of liberty, and its certain possession by the world's numberless millions, were born in the time which has passed by the name of the Dark Ages. Looked upon in retrospect, there is almost no priceless intellectual or political treasure of the nineteenth century whose precious seeds were not cast in the ready soil between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

1. **The New Order.** The process of centralization north of the Alps began with Charlemagne. His rule was the signal of death to the tottering Roman Empire. It was also the first prophecy of the ascendancy of the new Gothic nations of the North and of their firm place in the later life of Europe. In him the old classic conditions disappeared, and the new political life began its career. Charlemagne, called by the Germans Karl der Grosse, ascended the throne on the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768. He divided with his brother Carloman the Frankish Empire, Charlemagne taking Austrasia, Neustria, and other parts of the eastern Frankish dominions, while Carloman ruled over the western parts, or France, and a large part of Germany. Carloman died in 771, and Charlemagne united his own empire with that of the rest of the family, and claimed rule over all, without regard to the rights of his brother's family. The soil was now prepared for the new European life—the Church and the State working hand in hand for universal dominion.

2. **Charlemagne's Methods** were the creations of a masterful shrewdness. He regarded himself as a theocratic lord. His notion of himself was not that he was a mere successor of Constantine or Augustus Cæsar, but of David or Solomon—the head of a vast theocracy. But the Roman bishop must not be offended. He must be



**THE EMPIRE
OF
CHARLEMAGNE**

SCALE
0 50 100 150 200 Miles
Boundary of the Empire
of Charlemagne in 814

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outwardly treated as high-priest, though Charlemagne secretly regarded himself as the real possessor of the highest religious functions. But the pope must be made to feel that his rights were respected ; yet, at the same time, must remember that kings and conquerors have their rights, and that without temporal rulers there can be no successful and safe Church. Towards the pope, Leo III., he acted with unfailing respect, and was at the same time constantly receiving from him such favors as strengthened his hold upon both his subjects and the Church. Charlemagne's motto was : "The Church teaches ; but the emperor defends and increases." To Leo III. he made the following declaration of their mutual relations : "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen, and every devastation caused by unbelievers ; and, inwardly, to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God, as Moses did, and to support my military service by your prayers." Leo III. accepted this declaration in the most complaisant manner.

3. The Preparations had been laid in the preceding movements. Rome was constantly at the mercy of the bold and ferocious Lombards. They threatened to sack the Holy City, and possess themselves of its vast wealth. In 734 Gregory III. induced Charles Martel to help him against the attacks of Luitprand, King of the Lombards. Again, when Charlemagne's father, Pepin, was aspiring to destroy the Merovingian dynasty, Pope Zacharias gave his official approval to the deposition of the Merovingian king, Childeric III., and in this way caused Pepin to be placed upon the throne, and to become

the founder of the Carolingian dynasty. This obligation of the Emperor of the Franks to the pope was never forgotten during Pepin's reign. Later, Pope Stephen II. personally visited Pepin, in France, and secured his pledge to come down with his army, and defend him against the new Lombard chief Astolph, who had invaded the Greek Exarchate—a group of five cities and the interlying territory along the eastern coast, extending from Rimini to Ancona. Astolph was also besieging Rome. Pepin defeated the Lombards, took possession of the Exarchate himself, and appointed the pope as patrician of the Exarchate. The pope was thus made a temporal ruler. It mattered not that the Exarchate was a part of the Byzantine Empire, and that protests were made against it. Pepin gave, and Stephen II. took. This was the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the papacy, which only came to an end after a reign of eleven centuries, or in 1871, when Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel marched into Rome.

4. **Pope and Emperor.** The final and complete cementing of papal and imperial interests took place under Charlemagne. Desiderius, the new Lombard king, invaded the pope's territory and laid siege to Rome. Adrian I., the now reigning pope, appealed to Charlemagne for help. It was given, and Charlemagne invaded Italy with a great army, and defeated the Lombards. He confirmed and enlarged the previous gifts to the pope, went to Rome, and was received with great pomp by Pope Leo III. By a clever piece of stage management, in the midst of the magnificent Christmas festivities of the year 800, Leo III. advanced towards Charlemagne, and placed upon his head a golden crown, with these words: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pa-

cific emperor !” It was a well-laid plan, and faithfully carried out. The bells from the many domes of the Eternal City preached the new gospel of the brotherhood of pope and emperor ; the multitude shouted their glad acclaim ; and the city ran wild with new joy.

5. **The Meaning of the Coronation** was clear enough. Charlemagne had lacked the endorsement of the Church. He had long coveted it. Such an attestation of his imperial rights would forever silence the claims of his brother Carloman’s children, and give him such prestige as would defy all opposition. Then, as compensation for this vast papal service, he enlarged the papal territory and placed the papacy itself, as a temporal sovereignty, on a plan entirely new to history.

6. **The later Relations** of Charlemagne and the pope were fraternal—always a part of the general policy of mutual advantage. The emperor was no sooner crowned than he threw off his Northern costume, and put on the tunic, the chlamys, and the sandals of the Roman. When he came to leave Rome, and Leo III. exchanged kisses with him, and he was lost to sight behind the hills of the Campagna, Europe entered on a new career. The Northern empire was to strengthen and protect the papacy in every emergency. On the other hand, the papacy must give its spiritual approval to the empire. Beautiful as this management appeared, it had its dangers. Each was slave to the other. The papacy could only be upheld by imperial arms. The empire would be in constant danger of strifes of succession without the participation and coronation of the papacy. The time came, later, when it would have been convenient for both parties if Charlemagne had never seen Rome, and no pope had put upon his head the crown of the Cæsars.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH AND STATE UNDER THE LATER CAROLINGIAN RULERS.

1. **The Example of Charlemagne** was on the side of imperial predominance. He never meant the least surrender to the pope of absolute control over the Church. He knew the ancient power of the Roman emperors over the religious affairs of the State, and adhered to his notions of theocratic responsibility. It was convenient to have a pope crown him, but the august ceremony produced no restraints. He regarded himself the full suzerain of Rome, and of Rome's pope. How little importance Charlemagne attached to the papal coronation may be seen in the fact that, in 813, when he wanted to associate his son Louis with him, in the government of the empire, he, with his own hands, placed the crown upon the young man's head.

2. **The Carolingian successors** to Charlemagne were a group of steadily dissolving lights. The family intellect diminished to a lamentable degree. But there was no relaxing of imperial claims. Each ruler asserted his sovereignty over the religious functions of Europe. All the Carolingians adhered to the appointment of bishops, as their father and his predecessors had done. The civil rulers frequently sold the episcopal office to the highest bidder. The Council of Orleans, in 549, and that of Paris, in 557, had protested against such methods. But the evil continued. Dag-

Robert I., in 631, appointed his treasurer, a layman, to the see of Cahors. All the barbaric rulers ignored the authority of the Roman bishop. Even Boniface was made Archbishop of Mainz by royal hands. Charles Martel rewarded his soldiers with the best sees in his realm. The brightest dream of many a bronzed warrior was to spend his last years with the peaceful crozier in his scarred hand. As the Carolingian line continued there was a rise of papal prerogative. No exception was taken to Charlemagne's appointments, because of his prestige and of his service to the Church. But his weaker descendants had no such claims, and were regarded with no such awe.

3. The Result of the imperial appointment of Church officers was, that the incumbents should feel that, their authority coming from the civil ruler, they were not directly subject to papal mandate. The trend was to create an independent episcopacy. This was of the greatest concern to the popes. The bishops would not obey orders. They had direct contact with the people, and the matter must be changed. The popes, during the later Carolingian rulers, succeeded in good measure in getting the episcopal appointments dependent on Rome rather than on the civil ruler. The effect was to strengthen the papacy at the expense of the empire. Why not? No Charlemagne now wore the crown.

4. The Government of the Church was, under the Carolingians, a part of the general machinery of the State. Under both Pepin and Charlemagne the body which legislated for the State did the same for the Church. The clergy were represented, but they only served ornamental purposes, just as the bishops now do in the British Parliament. Charlemagne divided his general legislative assembly into three bodies—bishops,

abbots, and counts. The first two attended to ecclesiastical matters, while the last regulated political affairs. The showing was fair. There was the appearance of political liberty. The fact was, the emperor controlled all three orders.

5. The Clergy and the Army. Charlemagne required the bishops and abbots to furnish a contingent of soldiers for his armies in proportion to the amount of property which they held officially. In 801 he forbade the clergy all direct participation in military life.

6. The Extinction of the Carolingians was simultaneous with the complete ascendancy of the papacy. In about one century there had been pleasant understandings, which were of great mutual advantage. Charles the Fat was a slender shadow of the great Pepin and the greater Charlemagne. In 855 we find the Neustrian bishops declaring to Louis the German that they were not obliged to do homage, or swear fidelity, to their sovereign. Synods, councils, and popes were now growing clamorous for the primitive mode of electing bishops. By the time the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as mere weak functionaries in the palace of Laon, the Church found herself proprietor of more than all her old prerogatives, and holding her new territory with a grasp which only relaxed when she reached farther for a larger slice. She paid back the princely gift of land from Pepin and Charlemagne by an independence and haughtiness quite new even on the bank of the Tiber.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FICTITIOUS ISIDORE.

1. **The Papal Appeal to the Past.** Every period of religious ferment exhibits a disposition to fortify the opinions of the present by an appeal to the past. The tendency applies to the evil as well as the good. During the first period of the Middle Ages there prevailed in the whole of Latin Christendom a calm and subdued desire for papal elevation, which, notwithstanding the outward fraternity between emperor and pope, was preparing to assert itself whenever the right hour struck. The papacy had advantages over the imperial rule of a family. The son might be a poor and weak successor to his father; but no man could seat himself on the episcopal chair of Rome without at least some measure of ability. There was a division within the narrow rule of the ecclesiastical government. The metropolitan bishops were appointed by the emperor, but the bishops in general were supposed to be appointed by the pope. The classes were thus arrayed against each other. By a shrewd manipulation of public sentiment the papal interests received a strong support in a skilful forgery.

2. **The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals.** A Spanish archbishop of the seventh century, Isidore of Hispalis, performed for the German Church the distinguished service of making it acquainted with a number of important classical and patristic works. He died in 636, and left

behind a name of great repute for mental and moral endowments. His name and fame were used as authority for a forgery, in favor of Roman authority as against the political ruler. The entire Church was deceived. But it was a most welcome deception. The secret lay concealed long enough to fortify every branch of ecclesiastical authority, to make political rulers tremble, and to make Rome ready, when the Carolingians ran out, to extend her spiritual sceptre over all rulers.

3. The Prevalence of Decretals. The pseudo-Isidorean Decretals combined all the qualities of a perfect deception. They represented a class, and yet were the best of their order. A collection of canons and epistles of Dionysius Exiguus, for example, had been generally used in the West. Isidore of Hispalis had written a collection of important canons not found in that of Dionysius Exiguus, and by his work had contributed greatly to the centralization of ecclesiastical authority in Rome. How could this same work be carried further, now that the Carolingian empire had gained such great prestige and threatened to eclipse the Roman bishop, and had been implored to come and help him fight his battles against the Lombards? Isidore, now in his grave, was, therefore, used to build up this endangered cause. It was pretended that he had left behind a set of decretals—the doings of former councils—which had never seen the light. Now, thanks to good-fortune, they had been discovered. They were soon scattered as widely as rapid copyists could multiply them. No compiler had dared to go back further than the authority of Siricius, whose pontificate extended from A.D. 384 to 398. But this forger was no timid character. He boldly rushed back to alleged decrees of unknown councils, and to letters claiming to be

written by Clement and Anacletus—bishops of Rome contemporary with the Apostles—and by nearly thirty of the apostolic fathers themselves.

4. The Contents of the forged work were enough to condemn it. It was divided into three parts. The *first* contained, in addition to the authentic fifty apostolical canons, fifty-nine spurious decretal writings of Roman bishops from Clement I. to Melchiades, or from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fourth. Even the reputed donation of territory by Constantine to the papacy—a thing which never took place—was brought in to help the common interest. The *second* part comprised only authentic synodal canons. The *third* presented some real Decretals, but, besides these, there were thirty-five spurious ones, which were held to have been written at various times from Pope Sylvester I., who died in 335, to Gregory II., who died in 731. The one purpose pervading the entire work was to prove, by early authority, the independence of the Church. The Church must protect herself and her priesthood. The bishop must be made independent of his metropolitan. When a bishop is tried, it must not be before a metropolitan or a secular tribunal, but before the pope alone. Even a clerk must be tried before an ecclesiastical court. An offence against a priest is an offence against God himself, for a priest is very dear to God, the very apple of his eye. No charge against a bishop can be declared sustained unless supported by seventy-two witnesses. The court must consist of twelve other bishops. Only the pope can convene provincial synods, and his approval is necessary for the efficiency of their decrees.

5. The Authorship of the Decretals has remained a secret. That Isidore never wrote the collection can be

seen in the barbarous Latin of the ninth century, citations from works of late authorship, clumsy anachronisms throughout the collection, the absence of all testimony to the authority of the more ancient portions of the Decretals, and the attempts to meet contemporaneous prejudices. Never in the whole history of literature was a fabrication obscured by more doubt or permitted to pass so long without challenge. The date of publication ranged between A.D. 829 and 857. It was probably written in the Frankish Empire or Rome, but the evidence is not decisive. The most plausible theory of authorship is, that Archbishop Riculf (A.D. 786-814) brought the genuine Isidore from Spain; that this was enlarged and corrupted by the Archbishop Autcar, and published at Mainz, and that the copying was done by the Benedictine monk Levita, who may have had no suspicion of the fraud he was perpetrating.

6. **The Influence** of the false Decretals was such that popes, councils, synods, and minor ecclesiastical officers appealed to them as final authority. They were brought out to decide questions which shook the Christian world. After the year 864 they were habitually used in papal rescripts as having binding force. Their genuineness was never questioned until the twelfth century. The first doubts were raised by Peter Comestor. But the fraud was never proven until the sixteenth century, when the first Protestant Church historians, the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries, exposed the successful trick. Since then the better Roman Catholic historians have abandoned the Decretals as authentic, but hold them to be a pious fraud. Moehler calls their author a "Romanticist." Cardinal Newman, however, goes further, and with his characteristic candor calls the Decretals a "forgery."

CHAPTER V.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

1. **Mohammed**, the founder of the faith which bears his name, was born in Mecca, Arabia, about A.D. 570. He sprang from the Coreish tribe, who were the rulers of Mecca and the surrounding country, and protected the Kaaba, an ancient temple and the centre of the old national worship of Arabia. His parents died when he was young, and he was left to the care of his grandfather. He exhibited his warlike taste when twenty years of age. Of these first experiences he afterwards said: "I remember being present with my uncles in war. I shot arrows at the enemy, and do not regret it." He followed the vocation of a shepherd, and said: "Truly no prophet hath been raised up, who hath not done the work of a shepherd." His youth was spent in better ways than was the case with most young men about him. He avoided the prevailing licentiousness, was reserved, and very early showed signs of hostility to the usual idolatry. Khadija, a rich widow, put him in charge of her caravan, which was about to start for Syria. On his return he married her. He was at this time twenty-five years of age, and she was forty. The wealth which was at his disposal gave him opportunity for meditation, and for carrying out his plans as the founder of a new religion.

2. **Entrance on his Career.** Mohammed claimed that he fell into rhapsodies, during which he had his alleged

revelations. His wife was one of the first to accept his claims to the prophetic calling. Forty or fifty



THE KAABA AT MECCA.

others rallied about him, even before he made public his claims to special revelation. He called his religion "Islam," or "surrender" to the will of God. He de-

spised idols of every kind, and appealed to his countrymen to return to the old Abrahamic faith. He preached the fundamental doctrines of Judaism—the resurrection of the human body, the final judgment, and rewards and punishments according to the life on earth. Great opposition was soon developed, and he, with fifteen adherents, went across the Red Sea to Abyssinia. This was the first Hegira, and he was forty-seven years of age at the time. In three months he returned. In a moment of weakness, or for purposes of the final success of his new faith, he yielded to the popular idolatry so far as to say of the three idols, Lat, Ozza, and Manat: “These are the exalted goddesses whose intercession with the Deity is to be sought.” But he soon recovered from this position, and denounced idolatry, root and branch, more bitterly than ever. He made a second flight into Abyssinia, where the Christian king, Negus, gave him a favorable reception. In fact, the religion of Mohammed, so far, was not antagonistic to Christianity, but friendly to it. But in due time the difference could be seen, and when once Mohammedanism was on its full career of conquest there was no further friendship. There are traces, however, in the Koran, of Mohammed’s acquaintance with the main facts of the life of Jesus. He probably acquired it when on his caravan journeys in earlier life to Syria. There were, also, Christians living in various parts of Arabia, and probably in Mecca, through whom he must have become conversant with Christian doctrine.

3. Further Advance of Mohammed. After Mohammed arrived at his fifty-second year his success was more decided than before. Mecca was slower to accept his creed than the distant places. At Medina

the new faith gained great strength. Mohammed removed thither A.D. 622, and shared in building the Grand Mosque, which afterwards occupied an important place in Mohammedan history. Mecca and Medina were at swords' points, the former being opposed to Mohammed, and the latter favoring him. The battle of Bedr was the result. Mohammed was victorious. Though the first blood was not shed here, this was the real beginning, on a large scale, of the sanguinary career of Mohammedanism. Mohammed gained steadily on his enemies. He conquered one tribe after another, until he became feared throughout Arabia. He sent legates to foreign courts, and received answers and gifts in return. He died, while making preparations for a campaign on the Syrian border, when sixty-three years of age.

4. **The Koran** contains the system of Mohammed. He claimed to have received his communications miraculously, and that they should be the law of faith and practice for his followers for all time. "This day," said Mohammed, at his Farewell Pilgrimage, "have I perfected your religion unto you." And from that day to this the Koran has never undergone any change, and is the standard of faith and life of the one hundred and seventy-three millions who constitute the Mohammedan world. It is a medley of legend, history, Jewish patriarchal traditions, and sensual doctrine. It permits polygamy, and awakens the courage of Mohammedans by promises of worldly pleasures in the future life. It is severe on idolatry, and declares the unity of God. There is a great confusion of chronology. Many of the moral precepts were mere accommodations to Mohammed's infirmities. Polygamy is allowed by the Koran, at the mere whim of the

husband. Divorce takes place with equal ease. Slavery is recognized as a civil institution. The Mohammedan is obliged to fight for the extension of his cause. The Church and the State are one and the same. Fatalism abounds throughout the system.

5. Mohammedan Conquests. Under Abu Bekr and the later successors of Mohammed, the new faith was propagated with amazing rapidity. Arabia was conquered by the prophet himself. The caliphs who came after him subdued Egypt, all North Africa, Syria, Persia, Asia Minor, Northern India, Spain, the south of France, and the Danubian principalities. The progress in Western Europe was arrested by the victory of Charles Martel, at Tours, A. D. 732. The conquests in the countries around the eastern portion of the Mediterranean Sea were more easy, because of the strifes of rulers and the dissensions of Christians. The progress of the Mohammedans into Central Europe was not arrested until 1683, when John Sobieski, the Polish king, defeated the Turks, with great slaughter, at Vienna.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCHOOLS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

1. The Rulers immediately before Charlemagne were of barbarian origin, and had no sympathy with the classic treasures. They could not appreciate the literary wealth of the countries which they conquered. They even had little respect for the poetic literature of their own countries. Theodoric could not even write his own name.

2. Charlemagne introduced a new order. He was the first of the barbaric rulers to see the importance of learning, and, while not educated himself, he knew the value of education as a source of prosperity for his dominions. He surrounded himself with learned men. Alcuin, of England, was his adviser in all literary matters. Charlemagne intrusted him with the organization of schools, and had him report constantly concerning the state of education among his subjects. Guizot calls Alcuin the "intellectual prime-minister of Charlemagne." Longfellow draws the following picture of Alcuin in the Palatine School :

"In sooth, it was a pleasant sight to see
That Saxon monk, with hood and rosary,
With inkhorn at his belt, and pen and book,
And mingled love and reverence in his look ;
Or hear the cloister and the court repeat
The measured footfalls of his sandalled feet,
Or watch him with the pupils of his school,
Gentle of speech, but absolute of rule."

But Charlemagne had other scholars about him, such as Clement of Ireland, Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, Eginhard, Paul of Aquileia, and Theodulph. These were the "true paladins of his literary court."

3. The Episcopal Seminary. The old universities of the classic world had been located in the lands overrun by the Saracens, and were now blotted out of existence. Their place was occupied by seminaries, where only theology was taught. The education of the better part of Europe was in the hands of the Church. The episcopal seminaries had been seats of clerical learning from the primitive period, but these had been interrupted by the onslaughts of the barbarians. Charlemagne saw their value, began to restore them to their old importance, and enlarged the curriculum of study. Out of these episcopal seminaries grew, four centuries afterwards, some of the great universities of Modern Europe.

4. Other Schools. Charlemagne took pains to establish grammar and public schools. Those were purely secular, and were of popular character. They were preparatory to the seminaries and to all the secular professions. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, was deputed to establish village schools for all classes. Then, for the first time in Europe, learning was made free for all. For the children of his court, Charlemagne had schools connected with his palace, or the School Palatine. To enrich the more ignorant portions of his empire, he provided endowments for the support of schools. England, Italy, and Greece were drawn upon to furnish manuscripts for the new libraries.

5. Course of Study. A special imperial constitution was adopted, which regulated the course of study and all other matters connected with the schools. The old

trivium and *quadrivium* arrangement was adopted. Under the former were embraced philology, logic, and rhetoric; under the latter, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Here the average monk, like Eginhard,

“Grew up, in Logic point-device,
Perfect in Grammar, and in Rhetoric wise;
Science of Numbers, Geometric Art,
And lore of Stars, and Music knew by heart;
A Minnesinger, long before the times
Of those who sang their love in Indian rhymes.”

A strong theological bias was given to all the studies. Music was largely limited to chanting, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.

6. Location of the Schools. The emperor took great pains to locate his schools in proper places. That he was wise in his selection can be seen in the fact that some of these schools have existed ever since. He established about fifty schools of high grade. Italy, Germany, and France were most favored. Among the schools which he established are the following: Paris, Tours, Corbie, Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Clugny, Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Utrecht, Fulda, Paderborn, and Hildesheim.

7. The Cultivation of National Literature by Charlemagne was a favorite pursuit. He ruled over a heterogeneous people. Some of the tribes were advanced, and already had a taste of the classic fountains. But the most were in dense barbarism. The emperor caused grammars to be compiled in the languages of his Teutonic subjects, and collected the bardic lays of Germany. He required that the sermon should be preached in the vulgar tongue, and that the common people should have the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their own languages. Stripes and fasts were the penalty of neglect.

8. Circulation of the Scriptures. Special measures were taken for the circulation of the Scriptures. Copies were multiplied by the monks, and were distributed among the schools. Many found their way into private hands. Theological literature received a strong impetus. The monasteries became busy places, and many of the monks became authors. Their works were largely reproductions of the Fathers, but occasionally the quiet atmosphere was disturbed by an original manuscript.

9. The Decline in literary activity began immediately after the death of the great Charles. The Church fattened on his educational beginnings. The bishops and other clergy took education into their own hands. The Carolingian kinglets were unable to cope with Rome when it began to grasp for the possession of the schools. From the sixth century to the eighth the education of Europe had been ecclesiastical. Under Charlemagne it had broadened to a remarkable degree, and struck its roots deeply into the popular life. It was made the affair of the State, and contributed infinitely to the development of the Church. But now a return to the old order took place. The clergy having secured the school, its broad scope was destroyed. Its general adaptation to the professions and popular education was destroyed. The State lost it, and never regained it until the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER VII.

THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS.

1. **The Procession of the Holy Ghost.** The antecedents to this controversy are to be found in the Trinitarian strifes of the earlier centuries. It was a discussion between the Greek and Latin Christians, and was called the *Filioque* (and from the Son) controversy. The Eastern Church contended that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only. The Latin contended that he proceeded also from the Son (*Filioque*). Augustine had been the chief defender of this view, he having carried the doctrine of the Trinity to its logical sequence. If Christ were divine, then the Holy Ghost must proceed from Him not less than from the Father. The argument was complete. But the Eastern Church gradually adopted the other view—that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone. The discussion was animated. The result was, that this question was an important factor in the division of the Eastern and the Western Church. Its results, therefore, extended far beyond the early mediæval period. They have had their bearing on the theology of the Greek Church in modern times, which is the same now as when all Europe was divided on the *Filioque* question.

2. **Adoptianism.** This doctrine, also, was a result of earlier theological discussion. The Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, had declared that in Christ there is one person, but two natures. This became the doctrine

of the Church in both East and West. But in the eighth century a new interpretation was made in Spain by the Archbishop Elipandus, of Toledo. He claimed that Christ, in his divine nature, is the real Son of God, but that in his human nature he is only Son of God in an adopted sense, as a name and title. Etherius and Beatus opposed Elipandus, and defended the orthodox view. Great excitement was created throughout Spain, where the Mohammedan rulers troubled themselves little concerning the ecclesiastical conflicts, but were delighted to see Christians devour each other. The heresy of Felix spread into the Frankish dominions, and finally attracted the attention of Charlemagne. The Narbonne Synod of 788 was indefinite. Felix appeared before the Synod of Regensburg in 792, and, his doctrine being condemned, he recanted and made his peace with the Church. On his return to Spain he recalled his recantation. The Frankfort Council of 794 reaffirmed the condemnation of that of Regensburg. In the year 799 Felix once more repudiated his adoptionism, but enjoyed thereafter little favor from either party. Elipandus lived in Moorish Spain, and never renounced his adoptionism. The heresy lived but a short time after the death of the chief promoters.

3. Anthropology. The doctrines relating to human salvation came up for new consideration. Chief emphasis was placed on the elect. Augustine had declared that God determines the number of the saved; but his teaching on the divine reprobation was negative—that God passed over the non-elect. Gottschalk taught that the wicked are as fully predestinated to damnation as the righteous are to salvation. His was a doctrine of twofold predestination—*bipartita praedestinationis, electorum ad requiem, reproborum ad mortem* (a double pre-

destination, of the elect to salvation, and of the reprobate to death). Erigena opposed Gottschalk's doctrine, on the ground that it was an abandonment of the saving power of God's grace and an abolition of the functions of the human will.

4. The Lord's Supper. The Greek Church was the first to teach a doctrine approaching consubstantiation, or the change of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of our Lord. The work on "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," by Paschasius Radbertus, which appeared in two editions (A.D. 831 and 844), was the first book which pronounced unequivocally for the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This view was opposed by vigorous theologians, with Ratramnus at their head. By the end of the tenth century, however, the doctrine of consubstantiation gained such official favor in Rome that it was accepted by the Church.

5. The Image Controversy. The use of images in the church was a subject of violent controversy. Traces of undue reverence for them can be found as early as the fourth century. Not only were the Eastern and Western churches divided on the subject, but in each there were subdivisions of disputants—three being in the Eastern, and as many in the Western. The periods of controversy in the Greek Church are as follows: First, A.D. 726-754; second, 754-813; third, 813-843. In the Frankish empire, three parties were represented at the Synod of Paris, A.D. 825.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RULE OF THE POPES.

(LEO IV., A.D. 855, TO GREGORY VII., A.D. 1085.)

1. **The Fluctuations in the Papacy.** The reign of the Popes of Rome was never uniform. Where one was learned, and was alive to the wants of his times, another was devoted entirely to the building up of his authority. The same absence of uniformity applies to their moral character. One might be virtuous, and command the respect of the whole Church; but his immediate successor might be just the opposite. The tendency was towards the evil side. The temptation was to resort to corrupt measures, not only to secure the office, but to administer it when secured. Between Leo IV. (A.D. 855) and Benedict III. it was alleged that a female pope, Joanna, was elected, and ruled. John XX., for this reason, called himself John XXI. There is doubt, however, as to the authenticity of the belief. The chronicles of the thirteenth century were the first to make full mention of it. Protestant historians are divided, some claiming that the proof is certain, while others hold that there are better means of proving the growing immorality of the papacy than the brief rule of a pope of another sex. We do not find sufficient proof in favor of a female pope. But the moral methods in use were dark enough for that, or any similar violation of ecclesiastical precedents. Nicholas I., Hadrian II., and John VII. were involved in complica-

tions with the Frankish rulers. The new gift of temporal possessions was now bearing its legitimate fruit. It was easy to see that the attention of the popes was directed just as much towards political as spiritual matters.

2. The Pornocracy, A.D. 904–962. No period in the history of the papacy has been more corrupt than this. Italy was divided between hostile factions. The noble families were arrayed against each other. The ruling pope was strong or weak, according to the success of the nobles whose cause he had espoused. For a half century a wicked woman, Theodora, ruled the papacy. She was the daughter of a noble family. Her daughter Maria was almost her equal in genius and crime. These two women put into the papacy whom they chose. Theodora caused John X. to assume the papacy. After her death he endeavored to throw off his dependence upon her daughter. But he failed. Maria was too strong for the ungrateful successor of St. Peter. She put Peter, the pope's brother, to death before the pope's eyes, and then smothered the pope himself in the Castle of St. Angelo (A.D. 928). She immediately placed her son John XI. in the papal chair.

3. The New German Power. We now come to the opposition of the German emperors to the papal authority. Henry I. was the first to assert a measure of independence. But the popes were constantly in need of help from the emperor's army. On the other hand, the emperor was in need of the pope's approval and coronation; because, if the pope released the citizens from fealty to the emperor, his power was broken. The excommunication of an emperor by the pope was sure to bring untold evils to the former. There were, generally, competitors to the succession, and the man who had

the pope's favor was almost sure to be winner in the imperial game. The misconduct of certain popes was so flagrant that the people would not endure it. For example, Benedict IX., while a boy, became pope, but his crimes caused the people to eject him. They put Sylvester III. in the papal chair. Benedict aimed to get it again. But he could not hold it, and sold it outright to Gregory VI. There were now three rival popes. Henry III. of Germany was invited in to settle matters. Clement II. was elected, and he paid back his benefactor by crowning him Emperor of Germany and Patrician of Rome.

4. Gregory VII. was the son of a mechanic, and arose from the humblest monastic life. He bore the name of Hildebrand. He could easily have been pope at an early period of his life, but chose to gain power, and add to the papal authority, by getting men of his choice in office. He was the Warwick of ecclesiastical history—the maker of popes. On the death of Alexander II. the time had come when he could safely throw off the mask. The people cried out: "Hildebrand is pope; St. Peter has elected him!"

5. The Strife between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. of Germany was one of the most bitter in the whole history of temporal and spiritual authority. Gregory asked Henry's permission to assume the tiara. This was a fine piece of flattery. Gregory meant no compliment to Henry, but he did not want an anti-pope, and this was a good precautionary measure. Gregory determined to elevate the papacy at all hazards. His course brought him into collision with Henry IV. For oppressing the Saxons, and permitting the sacred vessels to be despoiled of their jewels, which were now worn by the favorite women of Henry's court, Gregory

threatened the emperor with excommunication. Henry resented the insult with great promptness and spirit. It was now a struggle of authority. All Europe was interested in the duel. Henry called a synod at Worms, A.D. 1076, which deposed the pope, as a violator of imperial rights. Gregory cast back upon the emperor his anathema of excommunication, and declared all his subjects released from allegiance. Henry's princes, who were fast losing respect for him, declared that they would have another sovereign if the anathema were not removed by the pope by a certain time.

6. **The Result** of the strife was the division of the whole Western Church. Henry saw that the reins of power were fast slipping from him, and he resolved on penitence. He made a journey to Italy, to regain the favor of the pope. At Canossa he humiliated himself by doing the pope the menial service of holding the stirrups of his saddle. The result was pardon. But the end was not yet. Henry repented of his repentance, and withdrew it. Parchment depositions flew back and forth. Henry deposed the pope, and, in turn, Gregory deposed Henry. The affair took a larger form than writs of ejectment. It came to bloodshed. Armies were summoned, campaigns were conducted, and Italy and Germany swam in blood. Henry captured Rome A.D. 1084, and the pope became a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo. But Gregory spoke no word of surrender. He withdrew to Salerno, where he died. The outcome was a victory for political independence.

7. **The Later Fortunes** of the papacy were fluctuating. The result of the long and bitter struggle between the empire and pope was to create an independent spirit north of the Alps. After Henry's triumph the emperors were always disposed to assume more control, and

a larger independence of the papal authority. The charm of Rome's rule north of the Alps was broken forever. The ban of excommunication had lost much of its terror. Here, in this long struggle between Henry of Germany and Pope Gregory VII. lies the entering wedge of the Reformation. For six centuries there lingered in Germany a doubt of the papal authority. The political rulers never forgot the example of Henry. His capture of Rome, and his deposition of Gregory, were of great force in all the religious struggles of Germany. They proved a powerful example for the Saxon princes in their support of Luther and the Reformation six centuries after Henry IV. stood all night barefooted in the snow at Canossa before the pope's palace, and held the stirrups when the august successor of St. Peter chose to mount his horse, but atoned for it all by capturing Rome itself, deposing Gregory, and shutting him up in the castle beside the Tiber.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREGORIAN REFORM.

1. **The Moral Decline** of the tenth century was so great that not even the most extreme apologists for the papacy have been able to present a defence of it. When the Carolingian dynasty died out in 887, and a new one took its place, this decline began in full force. The papacy had been gaining strength with every year, and when the tenth century began, such evils prevailed in the Church as to threaten its very life. The most far-sighted of the leaders saw the danger, and that the Church itself had become only a vast piece of political machinery, using unholy measures to advance its ends. Even so warm a eulogist of Rome as Baronius says, that in that period "Christ was as if asleep in the vessel of the Church." Rome, the very heart of the Church, presented a repulsive picture. The churches were neglected, and a dissolute life distinguished the priesthood.

2. **Newman's Confession.** Cardinal Newman makes the following admissions: When Hildebrand was appointed to the monastery of St. Paul in Rome he found offices of devotion neglected, sheep and cattle defiling the house of prayer, and monks attended by women. The excuse was, that there were predatory bands from the Campagna, which gave trouble. But in Germany, where there was no such apology, things were even worse. In France the same evils of spiritual decline

were apparent. The offices of the Church were sold, almost as at an auction. An archbishop of France, who tried to silence the powerful witnesses against him when arraigned for simony, confessed his guilt, and forty-five bishops and twenty-seven other dignitaries or governors of churches came forward and confessed the criminal mode by which they had obtained their offices. Hincmar thought it necessary to issue a decree against the pawning by the clergy of the vestments and the communion plate. The nobles had their younger sons and relatives ordained for the sole purpose that they might be put in charge of lucrative benefices. Others had their dependants ordained that they might be willing instruments for any service in the household. The domestic priests served the tables, mixed the strained wine, led out the dogs for the chase, looked after the ladies' horses, and superintended the tilling of the land.*

3. Hildebrand, when he became pope, bearing the name of Gregory VII., addressed himself to remedy the evils. He, more than any man of his times, saw the necessity of a thorough moral awakening. The long experience through which he had passed, and his intimate acquaintance with the clergy and the laity in Rome and throughout the Church, had given him rare opportunity for learning the real life of the time. Hence, when the power was once in his hands, he wielded it with great vigor. He strove in every possible way to eradicate simony, and all the other ecclesiastical crimes, from Latin Christendom. He looked after the conduct of the clergy, and attempted to bring it up to a loftier moral plane. There was no depart-

* "Essays Critical and Historical," vol. ii., pp. 255 ff.

ment of discipline which he did not observe with keen eye, and which he did not attempt with vigorous hand to improve.

4. **The Marriage of the Clergy** was almost universal. The canons of the Roman Church had long before enforced the celibacy of the clergy. In the reply of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians (A.D. 860), in the conclusions of the Synod of Worms (868), in Leo VII.'s Epistle to the Gauls and Germans (938), in the Councils of Mentz and Metz in 888, in the decrees of Augs-burg (952), and in Benedict VIII.'s speech and the decrees at Pavia, in 1020, the practice of clerical marriage was severely condemned.* The entire official record of the Church for two centuries, but not before, had been against the marriage of the clergy. Gregory, before anything else engaged his attention, set himself to work to correct the custom. But he little dreamed of the opposition which he had to encounter. His canons were met with the bitterest opposition. In Germany the opposition was intense. In France the Archbishop of Rouen was pelted with stones when attempting to enforce the new Gregorian reform. In Normandy many churches had become heritable property to the sons and daughters of priests.†

5. **Condition in Rome.** In Rome the antagonism to the canons of Gregory was even more violent, if possible, than elsewhere. Many of the churches had become scenes of wild nocturnal revelry. Priests, and even cardinals, celebrated the Lord's Supper at irregular hours for the sake of gain.‡ Clerical immorality was universal. The enemies of the Gregorian canons,

* Newman, "Essays Critical and Historical," p. 289.

† Newman, *ibid.*, p. 294.

‡ Dowden, "Life of Hildebrand," vol. ii., pp. 42, 43.

under the very eyes of Gregory himself, met his reformatory measures with relentless fury. It was not so much a rebellion against the war made on the marriage of the clergy, but of rebellion against the whole system of reform in the life of the clergy, from bishops, up or down, as one may think, through all the clerical strata. The clergy saw that they were watched as by the eye of an eagle. They knew, too, the vigor of Gregory's hand. But he received only threats for his pains. One year of this kind of work was enough for him. He effected but little, except that he sowed some good seed for later times.

6. Gregory's Sorrow. Gregory was now sixty years of age, and was afflicted by an illness so severe that he thought himself dying. But he recovered. These were his words: "We were reserved to our accustomed toils, our infinite anxieties; reserved to suffer, as it were, each hour the pangs of travail, while we feel ourselves unable to save, by any steersmanship, the Church which seems almost foundering before our eyes."* In the midst of his sorrows, on witnessing the violent opposition in every quarter, at home and north of the Alps, he cried aloud: "I live as it were in death, shaken by a thousand storms."

* Dowden, "Life of Hildebrand," vol. ii., pp. 42, 43.

CHAPTER X.

MORAL LIFE AND ECCLESIASTICAL USAGES.

1. **The Morals of the Higher Clergy** were, thus, the darkest feature of the times. The example of the papacy, leaving out Gregory, and now and then another pope, was not favorable to episcopal purity. As many of the bishops secured their office by purchase or political intrigues, the effect of their administration could not be expected to be of an elevated spiritual character. Gregory VII. was the first of the popes to order clerical celibacy. But even with all his efforts the clergy of the more remote territory were slow to yield to his command. In Spain the marriage of the clergy was not held to be unlawful until the twelfth century, and, in the northern kingdoms of Europe, not until the thirteenth. The tenth century was especially distinguished for the general immorality of the clergy.

2. **Penance.** The original jurisdiction of the bishop extended over the matter of all penances within his diocese. But the tendency was to withdraw this lucrative trade from the episcopacy, and let it be a matter for the pope to regulate by special agents. The legates whom the bishops had sent to Rome with reference to penances were clothed with special powers by the popes, and even papal absolution was declared to individuals on whom penance had been pronounced by the bishops. The tendency was to increase the authority of the pope. The nobles were on the side of the

bishops. It was the question of a territory against Rome. The Council of Pavia, A.D. 876, declared in favor of the papal anathema as against that of a bishop. The papal management of penances went on with undisguised force. The profits were enormous. They added vastly to the papal treasury, and were in full force down to the time of Martin Luther.

3. **The Reverence for the Virgin Mary** was one of the peculiarities of the times. The rise of chivalry tended to increase the respect for woman throughout Europe. The reverence for the Virgin Mary had some bearing upon the growing custom of giving woman a larger place in social life. Learned writers indulged in speculations as to the Holy Mother's divinity. She was the "Queen of Heaven," the "Mother of God," and her praises went far and wide. The miraculous achievements and lofty virtues of some of the pagan divinities of the North, such as Freya, were transferred outright to her.

4. **Relics** came into use far more than in the preceding period. The pilgrim to Palestine, on his return, brought with him enough sacred relics of the saints to supply a church. Each relic was the centre of a throng of associations, and was supposed to be endowed with great power. The chapel became famous which could boast a single one. Diseases were supposed to be easily curable by touching a relic. The imagination never had a larger field for play than here. The saints of the whole past were drawn upon to help the ills of the present. The Eastern countries furnished many of the most precious relics, but Italy was most productive of the holy manufactures. The Frankish monastery of Centula, for example, was so highly favored that it could boast a miniature cottage belonging to St. Peter,

a handkerchief of Paul, some hairs from St. Peter's beard, some souvenirs from the graves of the murdered innocents at Bethlehem, some of the Virgin Mary's milk, and some of the identical wood which Peter did not use, but which he would have used, to build the three tabernacles impulsively proposed by him on the Mount of Transfiguration.

5. **The Church Festivals** increased during this period. The saints' days grew to an alarming number, for the motives to enlarge the calendar were very strong. The day of commencing the year was changed from Easter to Christmas. In the ninth century the All-Saints' festival was made general throughout the Church.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

1. **The Sermon.** During the period of aggressive missionary life the sermon assumed a larger place than usual. The missionary was compelled to teach orally, in order to instruct the people in the rudiments of Christian doctrine. Charlemagne saw the inaptitude of the Frankish preachers for their public office, and, to remedy the difficulty, commanded Peter Diaconus to prepare a *Homiliarium*, or collection of sermons from the Fathers. This was to be a model for homiletic composition, if not a work which the preachers might directly use in preaching. This is the first instance, of which we have account, in which encouragement was given from an authoritative source, for the homiletic fracture of the Eighth Commandment. The *Homiliarium* was designed to be used especially on Sundays and feast days. There was no pulpit as yet. The preacher continued to stand on the platform in front of the high-altar.

2. **Music** was diligently cultivated. The old Gregorian chant was supplanted by the Ambrosian melody. In Germany, during the latter part of the ninth century, short verses in the rude German language were sung by the people. This was the earliest trace we have of the later rich German hymnology. Charlemagne paid great attention to music. He founded singing-schools throughout his dominions—especially

at Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Paris, Lyons, and other central places. The first knowledge we have of an organ in the West was the gift of one to Pepin, A.D. 757, by the Byzantine emperor, Copronymus. Another Byzantine emperor, Michael I., made a present of one to Charlemagne, who placed it in the imperial church at Aix la Chapelle. These instruments were of robust quality, as they had but twelve keys, and required the vigorous use of the performer's fist to make the keys produce the desired melody. Charlemagne gave strict orders that the people should unite in the singing at the public service, especially in the Gloria and Sanctus, but his orders had only small effect. Among the more noted hymn-writers, between the seventh and ninth centuries, were Paul Wernefried Theodulf, of Orleans, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus. The Pentecost hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus," was popularly ascribed to Robert of France, who died in the year 1031:

"Veni, Sancte Spiritus, Et emitte coelitus
Lucis tue radium.
Veni, Pater pauperum, Veni, Dator munerum,
Veni, Lumen cordium :
Consolator optime, Dulcis hospes animae,
Dulce refrigerium.
In labore requies, In aestu temperies,
In fletu solatium !
O lux beatissima, Reple cordis intima
Tuorum fidelium !
Sine tuo nomine Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium.
Lava quod est sordidum, Riga quod est aridum,
Sana quod est saucium ;
Flecte quod est rigidum, Fove quod est frigidum,
Rege quod est devium !
Da tuis fidelibus, In te confidentibus,
Sacrum septenarium !
Da virtutis meritum, Da salutis exitum,
Da perenne gaudium !
Amen."

3. Chapels and other Additions. The great increase in relics and the enlargement of the number of saints, led to a multiplication of chapels. Each chapel had its name, according to the saint to whom it had been dedicated. No confessionals had as yet been erected. With all the increase in superstition, this masterpiece

of decline had not as yet been invented. The baptistery, which had previously been outside of the church building, now began to be included within the church. Bells came into use. The tower, which had hitherto been an independent structure, became connected with the church edifice. The christening of bells was not as yet an ecclesiastical usage.

4. **The Arts** were now departing from the classic models, and undergoing the influence of the new Northern nations. The Byzantine architecture, as exemplified in the rich buildings of Ravenna, was employed to some extent. In Italy the basilica still prevailed. North of the Alps there was no disposition to be confined to either Roman or Byzantine style. Einhard was the most celebrated architect of the times. Shrines for relics, candelabra, and other adornments of the sacred buildings, were of elaborate and rich workmanship. The imperial treasury spared nothing, in order to add to the splendor of the sanctuary and the copiousness of the ritual. Great wealth was expended in copying the Scriptures. The miniature paintings in the devotional books of the times were models of painstaking and costly outlay. Even in the British Isles much care was bestowed on the copies of the favorite authors of the patristic times. The Irish monasteries produced some of the finest specimens of early Christian art which have come down to our own times. On the Continent the monasteries of St. Gall and Fulda took the lead as patrons of the arts. Tutilo, of St. Gall, was architect, painter, sculptor, poet, and scholar—the Michael Angelo of his age.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WRITERS OF THE TIMES.

1. **The Classic Masters** of Greek and Roman thought were at no time entirely forgotten. It is a peculiarity of the age that all the temporal rulers, beginning with Charlemagne, though often profoundly ignorant, were never wholly forgetful of the debt of their people to the creators of literature. Now and then even a barbaric ruler surrounded himself with scholars, who not only reflected their learned light on the court, but were of influence in promoting a thirst for knowledge throughout the dominions. The example of the Goth Ulfilas, one of the most thorough scholars of his times, was powerful over rulers and the scholars of their courts, in the later times.

2. **Scholars before Charlemagne** were numerous, and yet, because of the general distractions of the times, were not of wide influence. The most learned men were servants of the Church, and hence science was confined chiefly to theology. Boethius and Cassiodorus, who flourished under the patronage of the Ostrogothic court, contributed largely to the preservation of both the classic and patristic writings. The monasteries of Scotland and Ireland produced many scholars, whose fame went into all lands. The communication between those countries and Rome was frequent, and many treasures were taken back to them from Italy, which proved of great value for the study of the Greek

and Roman writers, and of the Fathers as well, for many centuries. Theodore of Tarsus, the Venerable Bede, and the scholar Hadrian, were at the head of Anglo-Saxon learning. The most powerful promoter of learning in Britain was Alfred the Great. The war of races had done much to destroy all taste for scholarship. The ravages of the Scandinavian piratical tribes made the land a waste. But that wise king restored science to its former elevated position. His own example was a model of literary aspiration.

3. The Scholars of Charlemagne's Court constituted a bright galaxy of masters in literature. The emperor was constantly in search of learned men. He did not care where they came from or what their opinions were. The brightest ornament of his reign was Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon. While this man was on a journey to Rome, he was introduced to Charlemagne. This was in 781, and down to his death, in 804, Charlemagne would not permit the calm and learned scholar to leave his service. He commanded Alcuin to superintend all the educational movements of his broad dominions. He sent him on important diplomatic missions, and found that he could trust him in the most delicate duties. In 796 he gave him the Abbacy of Tours, which became, through Alcuin, a celebrated seat of learning. Paul Diaconus was of Lombard origin. He had been a member of the court of the Lombard king Desiderius. Yet Charlemagne, after subjugating the Lombards, won him to his service. But the scholar was ill at ease. The loss of his country was a sorrow which he could not overcome, and, after getting released, he withdrew to his former monastery, Monte Cassino, and died there. Leidrad of Lyons, Theodulf of Orleans, and Paulinus of Aquileia, were also bright lights of Charlemagne's court.

4. The Scholars of the later Carolingians proved of eminent service to the general cultivation of knowledge. Louis the Pious, who reigned A.D. 814-840, was a patron of learning. The learned men whom he drew about him were Agobard of Lyons; Christian Druthmar, of the monastery of Corbey; Amalarius; Walafriad Strabo, of Reichenau; Fredegis, an Anglo-Saxon disciple of Alcuin; Jonas of Orleans, and Claudius of Turin, a Spaniard. The principal scholars of the reign of Charles the Bald (A.D. 840-877) were Robanus Magentius Maurus, of Roman origin before the removal of the family to Germany; Paschasius Radbertus, of the Corbey monastery; Hinemar of Rheims; Florus Magister, of Lyons; Ratramnus of Corbey; Haymo of Halberstadt; Servatus Lupus and Prudentius, of France; Anastasius of Rome; Regino of Prum; and, brightest light of all, John Scotus Erigena, who was either a Scotchman or an Irishman.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW MISSIONS.

1. **The Spread of Christianity** continued steadily. From the centres in Germany and France missionaries went out, and labored in the darker European countries. There was constant communication between Britain and the Continent. Missionaries from Ireland, the "Holy Isle," and from England, crossed the channel into France, and co-operated with Continental missionaries in founding missions among the heathen dwelling in the remoter parts of Europe. The monasteries kept up a close brotherhood. That there was great missionary fervor in them can be seen in the number of monks who went out from them, and threaded the forests and climbed the mountains of rude and barbarous peoples, and spent their lives amid all possible dangers, in endeavoring to extend Christianity. Many of them fell by violent hands. No people parted with their ancestral idols without regarding the first Christian preachers worthy of immediate death. Sometimes the rulers were the first to accept the gospel, but often it ascended from the poor and the lowly, step by step, until the throne was reached, and Christianity was publicly proclaimed as the faith of the State.

2. **Denmark.** Harold, King of Jutland, was aided to the throne of his fathers, against his competitors, by the Carolingian emperor, Louis le Debonnaire. Harold

and his queen were baptized in the cathedral of Mentz. There is no knowing how much conscience was in this proof of their espousal of Christianity. But it is a fact that the Danish king and queen ever afterwards befriended the gospel, and did their utmost to plant it throughout their dominions. Anskar, a monk of Corbey, accompanied them back to Denmark, with a view to organize the Christian Church in that country. The mission in Denmark was resisted by the people. A rebellion was excited against Harold, and he was obliged to flee from the country. Anskar was also compelled to leave, but, instead of giving up his missionary work, turned his eyes towards the still more savage Sweden, and determined to plant missions there.

3. Sweden. In the year 831 Anskar, with Witmar, a brother monk, as companion, proceeded to Sweden with gifts for the king of the country. They were attacked by pirates while on their voyage, and lost all their possessions, such as the gifts for the king, their sacred books, and their priestly robes. They barely escaped with their lives. They reached Birka, on the Malar lake, and were hospitably entertained. The king welcomed them, and in a short time his counsellor, Herigar, became a Christian convert. A few Christians were found already there, but there was no organization. Anskar remained a year and a half in Sweden, and then returned to Louis, to whom he brought friendly letters from the King of Sweden, and gave a full account of his experiences. Louis established an archiepiscopal see at Hamburg, with a view to operating directly upon Scandinavia. Anskar went to Rome, where he was consecrated to the archiepiscopal office and deputed to preach the gospel to the Northern nations. Hamburg was desolated by a Dan-

ish army, and the see was united with Bremen. Anskar removed to the latter place. He made a second visit to Sweden in 855. He died in 865, but before his death had the pleasure of seeing Christianity taking firm hold throughout Scandinavia. He was one of the most beautiful characters of the whole mediæval period. In charity, personal exposure, fearlessness of danger or death, and sublime devotion to his work, he was surpassed by no one of his times. He said: "One miracle I would, if worthy, ask the Lord to grant me, and that is, that by his grace he would make me a good man."

4. Norway. The first positive accounts we have of the introduction of the gospel into Norway is that it was carried thither by some seafaring youth. It is not unlikely, however, that the Norwegian pirates who organized and made expeditions along the western coast of Europe came in contact with Christianity, and that some of their prisoners were the means of preaching it afterwards in the country to which they were taken. Olaf the Thick, King of Norway, was the first to organize the Church on a permanent basis. This he achieved in 1019.

5. Iceland and Greenland. The gospel reached Iceland from Norway, about the year 1000. There was no formal organization of a mission there, the first preachers being merely transient missionaries. Olaf Trygvesen established Christianity permanently in the country. This was secured at a public assembly of the people. They accepted the gospel, but reserved the right to worship their former national gods in private, if they wished. From Iceland Christianity extended to Greenland. A bishopric over that country was established shortly after the introduction of the gospel

into Iceland. Even from this remote country Rome was careful to gather gifts for her treasury. The Greenland Christians paid their tithes to Rome in walrus teeth.

6. **The Slavic Peoples.—Bulgarians.** Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, were the first to introduce the gospel among the Bulgarians. These people had conquered the tribes along the lower Danube, and had settled there, and also in Macedonia and Epirus. The Bulgarian prince, Bogoris, was besought by Greek, Roman, and Armenian missionaries to adopt each of those forms of Christianity. He looked towards the pope, Nicholas, for advice, and, during this formative period of the Bulgarian Church, its relations were with Rome.

7. **Moravia** was, in the ninth century, a large and powerful kingdom. In 863 the king, Rostislav, requested the Greek emperor, Michael, to send him learned men, who should translate the Bible into the Slavonic tongue, and explain it to the people. Cyril and Methodius were accordingly sent. They composed a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the Psalms, and other parts of the Bible. This procedure awakened the opposition of the German missionaries, who regarded it as a measure hostile to their own language and methods. For many years the Moravians suffered greatly. The archbishopric of Prague was established in 973. Their misfortunes culminated when they were attacked and overrun by the Magyars. When peace came they were no more a nation, but a mere province of the kingdom of Bohemia.

8. **Russia.** The Russian princess, Olga, in 955, went down to Constantinople, where she embraced Christianity. She endeavored to convert her son Swia-

toslav to Christianity, but he was proof against all her importunities. Her grandson, Vladimir, however, was more accessible to the truth. After a long period of reflection, and the sending out of messengers into different lands to examine all the various faiths, he accepted Christianity, and caused churches to be organized, and the people to be instructed in the use of the Slavonic Scriptures and liturgy.

9. The Wends lived between the Saale and the Oder, and were distinguished for their wildness and their fidelity to their idolatrous worship. They were divided into many tribes. The emperor, Otho I., conquered them, but they regained their independence A.D. 983, and in 1047 Gottschalk united them into one kingdom. He strove to introduce Christianity among his people, but was assassinated, and the land reverted to idolatry. The restoration to Christianity was not finally effected until 1168, when the last Wendic idol was burned by Absalon, Bishop of Roeskilde, amid the rejoicings of the people.

10. Poland received the gospel through Christian refugees from Moravia, when that kingdom was broken up. When (A.D. 966) Miecislaus, Duke of Poland, was married to a Bohemian princess, it was the signal for the formal adoption of Christianity in place of idolatry. Relations with the Roman Church were established. The rude peasantry, however, fondly cherished the memory of their pagan rites for a long time.

11. Hungary first became acquainted with Christianity through the instrumentality of certain of her princes while visiting Constantinople. Many German slaves, who had been captured by the Hungarians in war, brought their religion with them, and contributed largely towards its establishment in their new country.

Duke Geysa, who reigned A.D. 972–997, was a mixed character, for he both sacrificed to the gods of his people and built churches for Christian worship. Under Stephen, his son, who reigned A.D. 997–1038, Christianity became the religion of the country. Stephen was successful in developing, as well, the material interests of his country, and in bringing it into close relationship with Germany. Strong measures were taken by the ruder Hungarians, after Stephen's death, to restore the old idolatry. But they were unsuccessful.

12. **The Finns** were conquered by Eric the Saint, King of Sweden, A.D. 1157. The forests were vast, and the population far away from the current of European life. Hence the attachment to the ancestral idolatry was intense. The ignorant peasantry were largely under the control of the magicians some time after Eric's labors to introduce Christianity. From Livonia and the German districts along the Baltic the Christians passed over into Finland, and labored assiduously for the conversion of the people. The Esthonians, a people along the Baltic, were forced to accept Christianity A.D. 1211, through a powerful religious order, the Brethren of the Sword, whose aim was to see that the Northern idolaters should become Christians at all hazards—if not by peaceful measures, then by the sword.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCHISM BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

1. **Early Differences** existed between the Church in the East and West. They were due in part to political relations, and in part to antagonism of temperament. The removal of the Roman capital to Byzantium brought political considerations into predominance over religion, while in Rome the growth of episcopal power gained supreme ascendancy. The Greek was speculative, fanciful, excitable, and wandered wildly into doctrinal paths. The Roman Christian was practical, steady, and conservative. He was slow to accept any novelty, but, having once admitted it, it was next to impossible to induce him to surrender it.

2. **The Doctrinal Divergence** between the East and West was first perceptible in the variety of teaching on the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Council of Constantinople decided, A.D. 381, that the Holy Ghost is equal in essence with the Son, and that both are consubstantial with the Father. The Western teaching, guided chiefly through the clear and logical intellect of Augustine, held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In 589 the Toledo Council, in accordance with this view, added to the symbol of Constantinople the term *Filioque*.

3. **Roman Primacy** was also a ground of violent antagonism. The Bishop of Rome held that his decisions should apply to the entire Christian Church. The

growth of the papal primacy was rapid, and subject to only temporary interruptions, and was therefore looked upon by the Eastern Church with grave suspicion. The Eastern Church held that the Patriarch of Constantinople was equal in rank to the Roman bishop. But this was not only not admitted in Rome, but indignantly rejected. There was no dependence upon Roman approval of the decisions of Eastern councils and synods. What was regarded as orthodox on the Bosphorus might be promptly decided very heterodox on the bank of the Tiber. Here was a large field for bitter antagonism. The entire political and ecclesiastical life of the two regions grew more discordant with the years. Often the animosity was as intense between them as though neither East nor West professed the Christian religion.

4. **The Ecclesiastical Laws and Usages** were also calculated to widen the chasm. The Greek Church accepted eighty-five of the apostolic canons, while the Latin Church acknowledged but fifty. The controversy on images in the sacred buildings fluctuated with great violence and during a long period. The result was that the Greek Church rejected them, while the Roman endorsed them, and gave the type for the abuse throughout Western Christendom. The Latin Church declared against the marriage of the clergy, while the Greek Church permitted all its clergy, excepting bishops, to remain in the marriage relation, provided at the time of their ordination they were already married. The eating of animals strangled, the use of the figure of a lamb to represent Christ, and fasting on Saturday, were permitted by the Latin Church, but rejected by the Greek. The second Trullan Council, A.D. 692, so sharply defined these differ-

ences that its action was a violent factor towards the great schism. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, invited all the Eastern patriarchs to a council, which convened in 867. Here he formulated the points of difference between the Greek and Latin Christians, and gave a catalogue of the doctrinal and other vagaries which the Western Christians had committed. The pope was even declared deposed, and the information extended to the Western Church.

5. **The Complete Schism** took place A.D. 1054. Constantine Monomachus, the Byzantine emperor, having in view a war, applied to the Roman pope for friendly support. This overture awakened the wrath of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and of Leo of Achrida, Metropolitan of Bulgaria. They wrote a letter to the bishops of the Latin Church, charging it with grave doctrinal errors, and urging it to renounce them. This letter reached Pope Leo IX. He was intensely excited, and bitter letters passed between Rome and Constantinople. The pope sent three delegates to the latter city. But only a fiercer animosity ensued. The closing signal of an open and final rupture was given by the issuing of a public excommunication of the Patriarch by the legates, in the Church of St. Sophia, and their withdrawal to Rome.

6. **Attempts at Reunion** were subsequently made. But the divergence increased with time. The doctrinal differences became more prominent, while the constant growth of the papal authority in the Latin Church made conciliation impossible. During the Crusades, which united all Christendom, strong attempts to restore the unity of the East and West were made, but in the end proved fruitless. The Council of Lyons, in 1274, declared the reunion complete. The Eastern

delegates accepted the Roman confession of faith, and acknowledged the primacy of the Roman pope, while the Roman delegates agreed that all the existing usages of the Eastern Church might in future be conceded to it, while the Nicene Creed, without addition or comment, might remain in permanent use. This pacification was brought about by the Eastern emperor, Michael Palæologus. But when he died, and another took his place, the old schism reappeared in full force. Efforts at restoration continued to be made until the middle of the fifteenth century. But when the Byzantine Empire went down, A.D. 1453, all serious and general attempts ceased.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

1. **The Conflict of Tribes and Races in Britain** was violent during all the early Christian centuries. There was nothing in the condition or pursuits of the people to give the least indication of the later controlling influence of the Anglo-Saxon race in modern civilization and the evangelization of the world. There was enough of booty in the land to attract warring tribes and free-booting sailors from the western part of the Continent. The native races in Britain were at war with each other. An invasion made the conflicts only more intense. Scandinavia and Germany furnished the chief assailing elements. Probably no place has ever been the scene of more bitter tribal warfare, or contained a greater number of tribes to the square mile, than the British Isles. The tendency was towards unity. Alfred succeeded in conquering the Danes, and driving them into the territory about the present London. Harold, the last Saxon king, was defeated at the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066, by William, Duke of Normandy, who founded the present dynasty. This was the great historical event which first gave unity to the English people.

2. **Independence of the British Church.** There are no positive data as to the means by which Christianity was propagated throughout Britain. But the evidence is clear that it secured a strong footing in many parts of the country during the domination of the Romans.



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY (CRADLE OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY).

During the early centuries the relations between British Christianity and the Churches of Gaul and Rome were very intimate. But the Saxons, in their great invasion, A.D. 449, destroyed the Christian worship practised in the eastern parts of Britain. Christianity, therefore, was professed chiefly along the western coast. The relations between this limited type of Christianity and the Continental churches became sundered for a time. There was little communication between them. In the meantime, the British Church developed on an independent basis. Its Christianity was a continuation of the apostolic type, and exhibited but little harmony with that of Rome. In the year 597, the Church of

Rome sent legates to Britain, to resume the old relations of daughter and mother. There was strong opposition on the part of Britain to accept any overtures.

3. The Points of Difference. The divergence of the British Church from that of Rome consisted more in usages and details than in fundamental doctrines. The British clergy did not adopt the tonsure of their Roman brethren, but shaved the fore part of the head instead of the crown. The Church of Britain did not acknowledge the primacy of the Roman pope, or the confessional, or purgatory, or the Easter Cycle of nineteen years adopted by Dionysius Exiguus, or the sacramental character of marriage.

4. Rome the Conqueror. Whether the Briton or the Roman would conquer in matters ecclesiastical, depended largely on the native princes. By the year 660 the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy was overspread by the Christian religion. This entire territory was intensely British in its profession. Kent alone was favorable to Rome. The kings of the whole country, with all their preference for a native Church, without any control from the Continent, were induced by Oswy, King of Northumbria, to accept the sympathy and protection of Rome. The diplomacy in behalf of Roman ascendancy was managed with great shrewdness. Oswy called the Council of Whitby, A.D. 664. Both interests were represented by able advocates: Rome by the gifted Wilfrid, and Britain by Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The result, however, was easy to foresee. The king was intent on affiliation with Rome. The council decreed accordingly, and Oswy took care to see that the decrees were rigidly enforced. The union of the British kings under the Roman banner led Scotland and Ireland in the same direction. Ireland

surrendered to Rome A.D. 701, and Scotland A.D. 800. The monks of Iona were the last to yield. They finally surrendered A.D. 716, and thus passed away the last remnant of the early British National Church.

5. **Alfred the Great** was the most powerful agent for building up and extending Christianity during the early period of the British Church. He was King of the West Saxons, and was born A.D. 849. After his conquest of the Danes he made it one of the conditions of their surrender to him that their chiefs should receive baptism. Fearless in battle, Alfred was not less wise in government. He reduced the Saxon laws to a code, encouraged commercial activity, and spared no pains to educate and elevate his people. He saw the necessity of spreading good books among his people, and composed several himself, for the special purpose of contributing what he could towards their intellectual development. He deplored the ignorance of his subjects, and declared that almost no one living north of the Thames could translate a Latin letter or comprehend the Church ritual. He fostered clerical education. He rebuilt the old monasteries, founded schools, gathered books from every possible quarter, and invited learned men from abroad to settle within his dominions, and aid in the educational and ecclesiastical development of his people. In the Christian works which proceeded from his own pen, less regard was paid to original thought than to the reproduction of Christian classics. The chief of these were the translations of Boethius's "Consolations of Philosophy," and of Gregory's "Pastoral Care." To the English of all later times, Alfred remains the ideal ruler—"the wisest, best, and greatest king that ever reigned in England."

CHAPTER XVI.

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

1. A New Force. The long quarrel between Henry IV. and the papacy gave rise to a new force in Italy, which was now felt far and wide. The claims which the pope made to supreme authority awakened the alarm of certain serious minds, who saw here an element of great danger to the spiritual interests of all Christendom. In addition to this a desire for local independence was awakened. A process of violent disintegration went on, especially in the Italian cities. The people arose against the high claims of an ecclesiastical rule, and cities vied with each other in an attempt to cut loose from these restraints. That the clergy should hold such power, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy, was considered a curse which must be done away, and the sooner the better.

2. Arnold the Representative. It requires but little time for a great popular aspiration to find its incarnation. The strong desire of many thousands in Italy to reduce the prerogatives of the clergy and the papacy to the primitive status of voluntary poverty and purely spiritual life and government found its representative in Arnold of Brescia, born about the end of the eleventh century. He had been taught in a good school. Though an Italian, he had gone to Paris, and placed himself under the care of Abelard, whose spirit he had imbibed. He possessed rare gifts of eloquence and popular lead-

ership. He returned to Italy, where he boldly proclaimed against the excesses of the priesthood and, indirectly, against the bold claim of the pope to secular authority. He was guarded in his expressions concerning the papacy, but against the universal life of the clergy he proclaimed inveterate hostility. He held that the priests should renounce all holding of property, and live on the free-will offerings of the people. His fearless method and defiant exposure of the prevailing vices of the time rallied to his standard a multitude of adherents. Among them were many cultivated people and nobles, who saw in him a safe and pure leader. But when the awakening which he produced became alarming to the existing authorities he was opposed by the pope, Innocent II., who banished him from Italy. He fled to France, and then to Switzerland, and in both countries continued to preach the need of a universal reform, and the return of the Church to its original simplicity.

3. Return to Rome. Arnold had accomplished a great work in Rome. The popular sentiment was in his favor. The needful reform which he had preached gathered strength during his absence, and the people whom he had influenced now revolted against the pope. Arnold returned to Rome, and stood at their head. He was not only the spiritual leader of the city, but, in a certain sense, also the political head. In the Eternal City he was what Calvin was four centuries later in Geneva—the “administrator of civil and ecclesiastical affairs.” Arnold’s eloquence was overwhelming. The multitudes gathered about him with increasing enthusiasm. The citizens revolted against the rule of the pope, established a Senate, drove the pope out of Rome, passed laws requiring the pope to live on voluntary offerings

and throw off his temporal authority, and invited the German emperor to come down to Italy, and re-establish the old imperial rule on the banks of the Tiber. Lucius II. led an army against the Romans, but was killed during the siege of the city by a paving-stone. Eugenius III., who succeeded him, fled to France, and placed himself under the guidance of Bernard of Clairvaux. Eugenius was brought back to Rome by Roger, King of the Normans. But he was helpless. Arnold was still supreme, and the Romans were devoted to him. A young Englishman, who commenced life as a beggar, turned his attention to the priesthood, advanced through all subordinate stages until he became Bishop of Albano, and, on the death of Eugenius III., succeeded to the papacy as Hadrian IV., 1154. He hit upon a novel method of opposing the revered Arnold. He prohibited all public worship in Rome. This one act produced a powerful impression, and the people could not say that it was not within his province and a purely ecclesiastical deed.

4. **Martyrdom of Arnold.** The pope was now in the ascendant. Arnold was compelled to flee from Rome a second time, and was afterwards seized by the Emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, who gave him up to his enemies in Rome. No mercy was now shown him. He was hung in Rome, the scene of his greatest triumphs, in 1155. To give additional indignity to his memory, his body was afterwards burned, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. During all the latter part of Arnold's career the most powerful enemy he had to contend with was Bernard of Clairvaux. The latter not only opposed his doctrines and the general drift of his teachings in political matters, but shaped the policy of the papacy. He was the real adviser of the popes who,

one after another, had to contend with Arnold, and, because of his weight with the Catholic masses, probably did more than all of the popes to undermine the influence of Arnold.

5. What Effect? To study the career of Arnold, and its unhappy end, one would conclude that it was simply a revolutionary episode in the turbulent age in which he lived. But we must take a broader view. He greatly weakened the confidence of the people in the strength of the papacy. He proved that it was possible for one man, endowed with energy, to overthrow, for at least a time, the temporal sovereignty of the popes, introduce a new political life in Rome itself, and mass the people to support his views. His most bitter enemies could not find any flaw in his moral character. His purity of life was in perfect harmony with the gospel which he preached. His personal worth, and the temporary changes which he wrought, were the great forces which continued to work long after his martyrdom. In every later effort for reform, and even in the Reformation in Germany and other countries, the name of Arnold of Brescia was a mighty factor in aiding towards the breaking of the old bonds. Even in these latest times it has its historical value, for in the struggle of the Protestantism of New Italy for mastery over the thought of the people, that name is a comfort to all who are endeavoring to bring in the new and better day, from the Alps down to Sicily.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

1. **The Moral Reaction of the Laity.** More than once in the history of the Church there has arisen from among the laity a bold and fearless reaction against the moral decline of the priesthood. The most notable illustration is to be found in the rise and growth of the Waldenses. They represented the protest of the private members against the prevailing corruptions in the Church. The Waldensians took their name from Peter Waldus, of Lyons, in France, who appeared as a bold and fearless preacher of reform in the second half of the twelfth century. He was a private citizen of large means, and with no relation to the clergy. He gave all his wealth to the poor, circulated religious books among the people in their own language, and exposed the vices of his time.

2. **The Waldensians and the Church.** This strong protest from the laity soon awakened the hostility of Rome. Neither Waldus nor his followers had any thought of seceding from the Church. Like the Pietists of Germany in the last century, they hoped to produce reform within the Church. But their efforts soon met with fierce opposition. The Archbishop of Lyons issued a decree against them. The pope, Alexander III., in 1179, treated them with the same bitter hostility, and five years afterwards they were formally excommunicated by Pope Lucius III. They grew rapidly in numbers, however, but were compelled to seek the mountain

fastnesses of Piedmont, in Italy, where they found comparative security. They also established societies in Germany and in the mountain regions of France, but their existence out of Piedmont was always insecure. In some instances they existed as individual believers, but knew each other by secret signs, led a pure and devout life, and labored, by such methods as defied discovery, to produce a better life around them. They regarded ordination as unnecessary, preached against purgatory, the worship of saints, and priestly absolution, and held that the real Church of Christ embraced many more believers than the papal Church.

3. Warfare on the Reformers. The Waldenses were reinforced by the Catharists, who had arisen about the beginning of the eleventh century, and had preached fearlessly against the corruptions of the times. Rome had employed vigorous measures against the Catharists, who had rapidly gained strength in France, Germany, and even in England. The first Catharist martyrdoms took place in Orleans, in 1022. When the Waldensians were gaining strength, notwithstanding the bitterness of Rome, the Catharists regarded their cause as identical with their own, and combined with them. The Waldenses were, at first, much less opposed than the Catharists had been, but in due time they stood alike, as injurious and threatening, in the eye of Rome. By and by a relentless warfare was declared against, not only these heretics, but all similar reformatory bodies. Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers and Albi, represented the cause of the reformers, who were grouped under the general term of Albigenses. Simon de Montfort, one of the pope's legates to carry on the crusade against the reformers, conquered them in battle, and was declared lord of the conquered territory.

4. **Foreign Sympathy.** It is a beautiful illustration of the bond between Christians of all lands that when these reformers were persecuted on the Continent their sufferings awakened a universal sympathy. In all the nations of Europe there were pure people who were praying for a better life throughout the Christian world. They watched with fear and trembling the persecutions of the believers in France and Piedmont, and believed that, though conquered to-day, they would be victorious to-morrow. In England this sympathy was intense, and the parties to the persecution were made to feel it. Milton, at a later day, put into ringing and immortal verse the English protest against the crusade made upon the Waldensians, not only in the time of Waldus, but many times afterwards:

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints, whose bones
 Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
 Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old
 When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones.
 Forget not: in thy book record their groanes
 Who were thy sheep, and in their antient Fold
 Slayn by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
 Mother with Infant down the Rocks. Their moans
 The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
 To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
 O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
 The triple Tyrant; that from these may grow
 A hundred-fold, who having learnt thy way
 Early may fly the Babylonian wo.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THOMAS À BECKET.

1. The English Church underwent important changes during the twelfth century. The central figure was Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England. During the reign of the more capable Norman kings who succeeded William the Conqueror, the English Church was under the full control of the throne. The popes had little to do except to watch and wait. When Stephen became king it was at once seen that he lacked the capacity to rule, and more especially to oppose the vigorous policy of such of the English clergy as wished to ally themselves with Rome as against the authority of the kings of England. There was a complete sundering of the relations of the clergy with the crown. The pope was claimed to be the ecclesiastical head of England. When Henry II. came to the throne he undertook to restore the old relation, and to break up the bondage to Rome. The Diet of Clarendon, which met in 1164, carried out his wishes. Its principal act was to order the election of bishops in the royal chapel, with the king's consent; in civil matters and in all disputes the clergy should be amenable to the king; no cause could be carried to a foreign jurisdiction for decision without the king's consent; the same condition was required when any clergyman left the kingdom; and no member of the royal council could be excommunicated. This was a direct thrust at

the power of the papacy over England. The battle now began in great fierceness.

2. Becket in the Strife. Thomas à Becket was born in 1118. His education was purely secular, and he never became a theologian. His tastes were all in the line of military and diplomatic life. The pope wanted Stephen's son, Eustace, to be Stephen's successor to the throne, and to Becket belongs the responsibility of preventing it. For this service Henry II. appointed him Chancellor of England. He was now Henry's most willing agent. He went on a foreign campaign, in the war of Toulouse, and led the English soldiers to success. He spared no foes. He went again to France to secure the marriage of Henry's son to the daughter of the King of France. He was the most intimate and trusted friend of the king, and there was no difficult or delicate service in which he was not called upon to take the lead. In 1162 he was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, and was thus the ecclesiastical head of England.

3. The Change in Becket. We now find this man of the world in a new position. He had no more fitness for a religious office than the average soldier or diplomat. But he felt his new position, and immediately placed himself on the side of the pope, in his conflict with the king. Henry could hardly believe his own eyes. Becket, from being the fastidious courtier, the luxurious diplomat, threw off all his old methods, and assumed the appearance of the saintly character. He was at once "transformed into the squalid penitent, who wore hair-cloth next his skin, fed on roots, drank nauseous water, and daily washed the feet of thirteen beggars." He surrendered to the king his office of chancellor, and placed himself at the head of the party

of the pope. It was a duel of giants. Henry had, on his side, the Norman nobility and the decrees of the Diet of Clarendon. Becket had with him the Saxon masses and the agents of the pope. It was a grave question, long undecided, which should win. Becket made due penitence for endorsing the decrees of Clarendon, and was granted pardon by the pope. A charge for an old offence was brought against Becket by the king, at a council in Northampton, to the effect that when Becket was chancellor he had appropriated to himself forty-four thousand marks. Becket replied that he was not going to answer to charges for offences while he was not consecrated to the service of the Church. He appealed to the pope for justice, and fled to France.

4. Becket's Death. While in France Becket's cause gained great strength. The pope aided him in every possible way, and he had many supporters at home. Henry consented to an interview with him, but failed to appear. The king had agreed that Becket should return to his see, and that he would pay all Becket's debts and the expenses of his journey. Becket returned to Canterbury, and met with a cordial reception. Henry was frightened. He exclaimed: "Of all the cowards who eat my bread, is there not one who will free me from this turbulent priest?" Henry's agents, four knights, went to Canterbury, and, finding Becket unwilling to compromise, slew him in the Canterbury Cathedral, in 1170.

5. Reverence was paid the memory of Becket in a way new to England. The popular indignation amounted to a national uprising. Henry was regarded by the people as a murderer, though no proof has ever yet been produced which can convict him of intending

that crime. His remark was made in great anger, and it is unfair to suppose that by getting rid of the priest his murder was meant, much less endorsed and directed. But the people are never logicians. They rush to conclusions; and so charged Henry with the crime. The king, to conciliate them, made a pilgrimage to Becket's grave, and did ample penance. Two years later Becket was canonized as St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henceforth his tomb in the cathedral became the most popular place of pilgrimage in the whole Christian world, Rome alone excepted. Miracles were claimed to be wrought at his grave. At one time, it is alleged, that as many as a hundred thousand pilgrims worshipped at the tomb of St. Thomas. These pilgrimages were warmly encouraged by the court of Rome. They were regarded as helpful to the cause of papal supremacy in the British Isles, and plenary indulgence was granted every pilgrim to the shrine of the latest English Saint.

CHAPTER XIX.

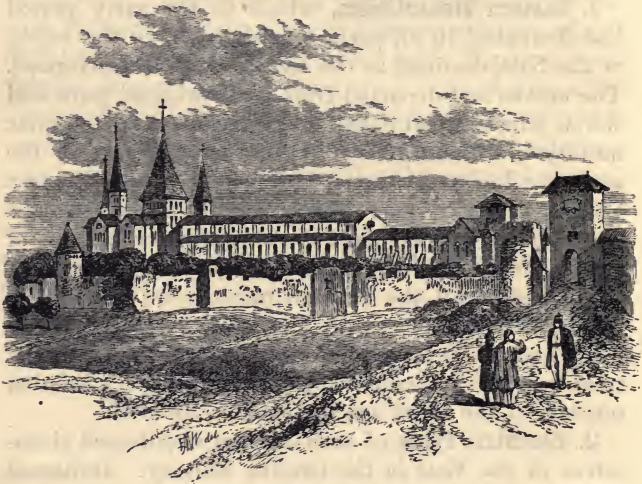
THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

1. **Eastern Monasticism**, which in the early period had flourished in all parts, especially along the valley of the Nile, declined as the mediæval period advanced. The monks had departed from their original pure and simple life, and had ceased to be examples for popular imitation. Eustathius of Thessalonica describes the monastic decline of the twelfth century in the Eastern Church as deplorable. He speaks of the monks as a hypocritical and ignorant class, no longer worthy of the confidence or support of the Church. The most celebrated of all the Eastern monasteries were those of Mt. Athos. They still exist, are held in high esteem, and are supposed to contain important literary treasures, still in manuscript, with which the Christian scholars of the West are as yet unacquainted.

2. **Eccentric Types** of monasticism manifested themselves in the East in the twelfth century. Imitators of Simeon Stylites arose in large numbers. Many anchorites spent their lives in the tops of trees, or in caves. Numerous devices were resorted to, such as the wearing of an iron shirt, or other articles inflicting physical pain, in order to make the self-abnegation complete in the eye of God. Some of the monasteries were enlivened by theological discussions, though the general tendency was towards sloth and ignorance. In the cloisters on Mt. Athos the disposition towards

mysticism and quietism prevailed for some time. As the Byzantine Empire declined, and the Roman Church gained strength, the Eastern monastic life lost its place in the general life of the Church.

3. **Western Monasticism** developed with amazing rapidity. The Benedictines and Cluniacensians occupied a prominent place in the great body of the Latin Church. The wealthy and noble were attracted tow-



ABBEY OF CLUGNY.

ards them. Not only were fabulous gifts made to them, but the nobility even left their estates, took on themselves the vows of poverty, and in all menial service placed themselves on a level with the monks. They became cooks, shepherds, carpenters — anything and everything which the monastic order required of its humblest members. Peter of Clugny, born 1096,

and Hildegard of Bingen, born 1104, were distinguished for monastic zeal. Bernard of Clairvaux, born 1091, was very successful in extending the work of the Benedictine order. He encouraged the reclaiming of waste lands and other works of material improvement. During the thirteenth century there were no less than thirteen hundred Benedictine abbeys, this large increase from very humble beginnings being due chiefly to the reformatory energy and pure example of Bernard himself.

4. **The Mendicant Orders** were a reaction against the vast wealth which was poured into the abbeys of the Latin Church. The adoption of the monastic life by the nobility had, no doubt, its effect in introducing a new and more dangerous taste than had hitherto reigned in those simple abodes. The orders which now arose repudiated all wealth, and professed to live on alms alone. The *Fratres Minores*, or Franciscans, arose from Francis of Assisi, who was born A.D. 1182. He was distinguished for his zeal and popular eloquence. He was a model of poverty. Without money, shoes, or staff, he went through the country, and preached the blessings of poverty to the multitudes. He applied to Pope Innocent III. for authority for a separate order, and gained the object of his desire. The early stages of his career were without decided result, disciples growing but slowly in number. But after a certain point his success suddenly broke upon him. By the year 1219 he had won five thousand men to his order, and by 1264 there were, throughout Europe, eight thousand Franciscan cloisters, which were occupied by two hundred thousand monks. The Dominicans were founded by Dominic, who was born A.D. 1170. The order was approved by Pope Honorius III. The tastes of its mem-

bers were scientific. They were fond of theological discussion. In the year 1230 they had a theological school in Paris, which became a great centre of sacred learning.

5. Obscure Orders. Besides these chief orders there were others, which were obscure imitations. Among them were the Carmelites, the Augustine Hermits, and the Servites—*Servi beatae virginis Mariae* (servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary). The Beguins and Beghards were peculiar to the Netherlands. Lambert le Begue, of Louvain, is said to have founded the Beghard order about 1180. Both these orders drifted into theological vagaries, and were finally condemned and persecuted by the Roman Church. The Council of Lyons reduced the mendicant orders from twenty-three to four—Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

6. The Knightly Orders were an outgrowth of two forces—the regular monastic life in the Church, and the physical needs called forth by the Crusades. The Knights Templar were founded by Hugo of Payens, A.D. 1119, and Godfrey of St. Omer. Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, opened his palace for their occupation. They were greatly strengthened by the eloquence and influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, who, in 1128, gained an ecclesiastical confirmation of them by the Synod of Troyes. The Knights of St. John, though originally founded for purposes of benevolence, became also a famous military order. Schiller, in his “Knights of St. John,” thus portrays their prowess in war and their sacrifice for the suffering:

“ Oh, noble shone the fearful Cross upon your mail afar,
 When Rhodes and Acre hailed your might, O lions of the war!
 When leading many a pilgrim horde through wastes of Syrian gloom,
 Or standing with the cherub’s sword before the Holy Tomb.

Yet on your forms the apron seemed a nobler armor far,
When by the sick man's bed ye stood, O lions of the war!
When ye, the high-born, bowed your pride to tend the lowly weakness,
The duty, though it brought no fame, fulfilled by Christian meekness—
Religion of the Cross, thou blend'st, as in a single flower,
The twofold branches of the palm—Humility and Power."

But from this high estate there was a sad decline. When the knights became strong, and were the objects of universal love and admiration, they began to depart from their original charity and poverty. They became wealthy and immoral, and finally lost the respect of the Church and the nations. After the Crusades they settled on the island of Cyprus. In the year 1309 they removed to Rhodes. In 1530 Charles V. ceded to them the island of Malta, which they held until 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte took it. It is now a British possession.

7. **The Brothers of the Common Life** arose amid the distractions of the papal exile in France and the terrors of the Black Death. The order was the crystallization of a general desire in the Church for a new spiritual life. It was founded by Gerhard Groot, and produced such pure members as Thomas à Kempis, of the monastery of Agnesburg, and other men of similar spiritual life.

CHAPTER XX.

MONASTERIES AS CENTRES OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

1. **European Learning** had a safe refuge during the Middle Ages in the monasteries of the Latin Church. Some of the orders paid special attention to one science, and others to another, while still others occupied their whole time in ascetic discipline and works of charity. The monks of Monte Cassino, in southern Italy, were distinguished above all others in Europe for their scholarly taste. They possessed a very valuable library, and utilized it in the production of works which commanded the respect of learned circles throughout Europe. But the popes never looked upon the monks of Monte Cassino with favor. The great monastery was a very hotbed of liberal thought. From that place proceeded many an appeal in favor of greater intelligence, less superstition, purer morals, and papal reform. The appeals were fortified with a powerful array of thorough scholarship. The reputation of this famous monastery for liberal ideas was never lost. The monks continued from generation to generation in the same path of independent thought. It is believed that their attitude, even in these later times, has contributed largely towards the growth of those aspirations which have resulted in the abolition of the temporal power of the pope and the unity of Italy, with Rome as the capital.

2. **The Works of the Fathers.** The most frequent em-

ployment of the monks was the copying of the patristic literature. This class of works was very large, and the monks were so skilled in the use of the pen that their achievements in this department are still a bibliographical wonder. They wrote on parchment, and were acquainted with all the arts necessary for permanent transcription. They knew how to make ink from vegetable materials, which remains firm to this day. They prepared the skins for writing, and knew all the details of firm and artistic binding. They were capable of exquisite illuminating. In the production of doctrinal works they were at their best. Many of the illustrations, in purple, silver, and gold, are still masterpieces of delicacy and finish.



MONTE CASSINO.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHRISTIAN ART.

1. **Christian Art** in the mediæval Church was patronized in all the centres of thought. The monasteries were not wanting in even this larger field of intellectual development. St. Gall, in Switzerland, and Fulda, in Germany, excelled all places north of Italy. For some time the former stood at the head. Tutilo lived there. He was the Michael Angelo of his time, being architect, painter, poet, and sculptor. The furniture for the sacred buildings grew into more artistic shapes as the Middle Ages advanced. The brass candelabra were of rich details; the wooden stalls and seats for the clergy and choir were richly carved in all possible devices; the pulpits grew to be a vast mass of exquisite stone or wooden sculpture; and the screen between the nave and high-altar was frequently a piece of metallic open work at once rich and beautiful. Each part of the sacred building was adorned with all the skill known to the art of the times.

2. **The Churches**, during the early part of the Middle Ages, were modelled after the classic type. The basilica ruled throughout Christendom. But in time the pointed ceiling and arch came into use, and marked the final transition, north of the Alps, to the magnificent Gothic. The Goths, who ruled in Ravenna, employed the Byzantine style. These churches are still preserved, and, because of their rich and numerous mosaics, are



MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF KING CHARLES V., FROM A DOCUMENT DATED A.D. 1379. NATIONAL ARCHIVES, PARIS.

the best sources for the study, from ecclesiastical structures, of the earliest Christian usages.

3. Stagnation and Revival. The tenth century was the darkest period, so far as art is concerned, in the Middle Ages. There was universal stagnation. There was a pause in the building of churches, and a disposition to depart from the Romanesque style, and to adopt the Gothic. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a great revival, not only in architecture, but in all departments of art. There was a general casting away of classic models, and the Gothic style became universal. The Christian mind seemed disposed to abandon all relationship with the Greek

and Roman public buildings. The very reminders of them were avoided. The place where the Christian worshipped was, to the believer of the later mediæval period, a rich and living growth. There must be flowers and leaves and vines, in all the rich luxuriance of a German forest. The great window must not be of transparent glass, but colored with all the tints of the rainbow, so that the rays falling on the stone floor of the cathedral might suggest the falling of the light through the leaves and branches of great trees upon the forest floor. Then the window itself must be a repetition of nature in her happiest mood. The Rose window became, in all Gothic architecture, the particular object in which the poetic fancy and artistic skill succeeded in the creation of one of the most beautiful objects ever used for the advancement of a sacred building. During this period the cathedrals of Cologne, Strasburg, Speyer, and other places were built. The Cologne cathedral was modelled after designs of Conrad of Hochstaden. It was begun in the thirteenth century and finished at the end of the fifteenth. Erwin of Steinbach was the architect of the Strasburg minster. It was begun A. D. 1270, but Erwin died before the completion of his undertaking. His daughter Sabina took his place and carried on his work. The minster, however, was not finished until the fifteenth century.

4. **Glass Painting**, for the ornamentation of sacred edifices, came into use in the eleventh century, with the growing taste for Gothic architecture. It was first used in the monastery of Tegernsee, on a lake of that name in the Bavarian Highlands, and from that beginning it extended wherever the Gothic style was used in architecture.

5. **The Plastic Arts** revived simultaneously with the



PALACE OF THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

mediæval architecture. Nicolas of Pisa, who died A.D. 1274, was the master in the ornamental uses of gold and copper. His genius made such rich and beautiful adaptations of these metals as to attract many into the same profession. Painting came into use, largely for the ornamentation of the interior of the sacred edifices. The Germans learned the art from the Italians, the latter having derived their models from Byzantium. But the Italians improved upon their Byzantine originals. These were stiff and formal. But in Italian hands they became soft and pleasing. Giunta of Pisa, Cimabue of Florence, and Guido of Sienna were the first Italians to take away the sharpness of the Byzantine style, and to clothe the images of Jesus and the Mother with that gentleness and attractiveness which culminated in the masterpieces of the school of Raphael.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

1. **The Pilgrimages to the Holy Land**, and the progress of the Crusades, increased the importance of church building. Relics brought back to every part of Christendom awakened a desire to construct beautiful chapels, and even great cathedrals, as fit depositories for such priceless memorials of early Christian life; and when these places were erected, the images were adorned with such stores of gold, silver, and precious stones as to bewilder the worshipper.

2. **The Sermon.** The prevalence of monasticism added largely to the importance of this part of public worship. To establish a new order, or to found a new crusade, there must be a vigorous appeal to the people. The monks were close students of human nature, and were acquainted with all the mysteries of popular oratory. Many of them could sway an audience in the edge of a great forest, on the shore of a lake, or in a market-place, with infinite ease. The religious fervor added vastly to the rhetorical effect. Peter the Hermit, when preaching his crusade, placed religious motives in the foreground. His audiences consisted of many thousands. He would preach until so wearied that he was compelled to lie upon the ground. He would then gasp his words, and these inaudible speeches were even more powerful in awakening sympathy for his cause than his loudest utterances. He was vener-

ated as a saint while yet alive. His very hairs were preserved by the pious, and regarded with peculiar sanctity. Bernhard, also, was a celebrated preacher, and the people never tired of listening to his magnetic appeals. Berthold of Ratisbon, however, was the greatest of all the mediæval preachers. His audience sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand people. He was a voice crying in the wilderness. Like Tauler, of a later period, he declared in favor of a revival of spiritual life. He denounced indulgences, and all Romish errors, with all the fire and indignation of Luther. The general preaching in the sacred buildings was in the Latin tongue. But the Crusades, and the advocacy of the orders, and all the preaching to the great out-door audiences, were in the vernacular.

3. Sacred Music. As in art, so in sacred music, there was the same disposition in the Latin Church to depart from Eastern models. The Gregorian chants, so long in use, grew into neglect in the West. The music became more varied and involved. The Ambrosian melodies took the place of the older models. Duets became common. Constant improvements were going on, and the choral service in the cathedrals was cultivated to such an extent that it eclipsed all other parts of the devotional exercises. Hucbald, who lived about A.D. 900, Reginus (920), Odo, Abbot of Clugny, and Guido of Arezzo (1000-1050), stood in the front rank as leaders in the development of sacred music in Western Christendom.

4. Hymnology increased in importance commensurately with the melody. There was not only a copious recasting of the earlier Greek hymns into the Latin, but also into the popular languages. There was, besides, a disposition towards original composition. The

tendency towards sacred hymns was promoted by the Minnesingers, many of whose popular rhymes were interwoven with religious threads. Among the best Christian poets of the mediæval period we may mention Robert, King of France, Abelard, St. Bernard, Adam of St. Victor, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Thomas of Celano, and Jacoponus. Thomas of Celano wrote the celebrated "Dies Iræ:"

"Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat saeculum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla."

Jacoponus wrote the "Stabat Mater:"

"Stabat mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius:
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam ac dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CRUSADES: A.D. 1096-1272.

1. **The Origin of the Crusades** is to be found in the occupation of Palestine by the Mohammedan conquerors. The pilgrims from Europe cherished the warmest attachment to the sacred places. The Mohammedans not only now occupied them, but persecuted the pilgrims. The sanctuaries were profaned, and the venerated patriarchs thrown into prison. Christian merchants from Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa, and other rich Italian ports were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. The evil reports came back to Europe, and took practical form in military expeditions against the Mohammedans. These were called *Crusades* because of the cross (*crux*) worn by the warriors.

2. **Peter the Hermit** was the apostle of the first Crusade. Pope Gregory VII. was the first, it is believed, who conceived the idea of sending from Europe an armed expedition, not only to punish the Mohammedan rulers, but to occupy the country, and rule it as a Christian nation. His successors, Victor III. and Urban II., indulged the same strong hope. All that was wanting was a popular leader—some one to fire the heart of Christian Europe. This man was Peter the Hermit. He had been a soldier under the counts of Boulogne, but forsook his military career, made a journey to Palestine, and saw the indignities suffered by the pilgrims. Here he was aroused to great enthusiasm in favor of

the conquest of the country by Christians from Europe. To Simeon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was comparatively helpless, the Eastern emperor not being able to do anything for the Christians, Peter said: "The nations of the West shall take up arms in your cause." Peter was true to his pledge. He returned to Europe, travelled through the German countries, and aroused the people to a frenzy of indignation against the Moslem faith. He presented a singular spectacle. He was a dwarf, wore neither shoes nor hat, and rode through Central Europe on an ass. His appeals were irresistible. The multitudes regarded him as the representative of a holy cause, and through him organized the first Crusade.

3. The Varied Fortunes of the Crusades furnish a striking historical picture. We find a rich combination of light and shade. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless were the humble organizers of the great movement. Some military leaders rallied to their standard. The best blood of Europe was burning with sympathy with Christians in their aspirations to kneel beside the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and rule over the land in which Jesus had lived. Six different armies constituted the first Crusade. They numbered six hundred thousand people, who were led by Godfrey, Hugh the Great, Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy. This Crusade, begun A.D. 1096, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem within two years, with Godfrey of Bouillon as king of the sacred city.

The next Crusade was on a still more magnificent scale. The kingdom of Jerusalem was threatened. St. Bernard was the apostle. The kings became leaders. Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany led one million two hundred thousand men against the

Saracens. The great object was to reduce Damascus, as a support to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was a failure, and only the mere fragments of the armies reached Europe again. Saladin, the great Mohammedan chief, conquered Jerusalem A.D. 1187, and this was the signal for a new attempt to rescue the Holy



JERUSALEM: SIDES ATTACKED BY CRUSADERS.

City and the entire country. Germany under Frederic Barbarossa, France under Philip Augustus, and England under Richard Cœur de Lion, united in a great Crusade. This was a failure, because of division among the leaders. But they succeeded in gaining from Saladin one concession—namely, the freedom of Christians

from taxes. A fourth Crusade, begun by the Knights of St. John, proved a failure. The Boy Crusade, organized A.D. 1212, shows the extent to which the wild fanaticism of the times could go. Thirty thousand boys, united under the leadership of a shepherd boy, Stephen of Vendome, set sail from Marseilles for Palestine. Some of the vessels were wrecked, while the rest were driven ashore on the Egyptian coast, where the deluded boys were sold as slaves. The sixth Crusade, under the direction of Frederic II. of Germany, proved a success. Palestine was ceded to the emperor and became a Christian land. The seventh Crusade lost all that the preceding had won. The Mohammedans recaptured the country. The last Crusade was under the guidance of Louis IX. of France, commonly called St. Louis, because of his deep piety and high moral principle. Keble, in his "Christian Year," thus describes him :

"Where shall the holy Cross find rest ?

On a crown'd monarch's mailed breast :

Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,

Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene."

After his death Edward I. of England took the leadership. But this Crusade also was a hopeless failure. The land was in undisputed possession of the Mohammedans. Europe was exhausted. The cause was lost.

4. The Arrest of Mohammedanism. While the direct object of the Crusades was not gained, there were important indirect results. First of all, it is likely that, but for this important diversion to the Moslem conquerors, they would have invaded Europe in such vast masses as to gain a permanent foothold. The bravery of the Christians, their ungovernable enthusiasm, and

their self-denial, as shown in the Crusades, proved to the Mohammedans the character of the foe with which they had to deal. They found that the Western and Northern Christians were far different from those populations of the Eastern Empire which they had easily conquered. The Crusades, with all their waste of men and treasure, seem to have saved France and Central Germany and Scandinavia, and even Britain, from the hand of the Saracen. They arrested him, held him at bay, and inspired in him a healthy terror of the Christian soldier from which he has never been relieved.

5. **The Positive Benefits** of the Crusades towards the development of the people are numerous. The old feudal system of private warfare had long been a curse to the empire. The knight, with his retainers, could make war on his brother knight. All of Central and Western Europe was torn up by this feudal and predatory system. The Crusades broke it up, and bound the people together by a common law. When the last Crusader came home from Palestine he found himself the member of a broad commonwealth, and not the head of a clan. The cruelty of rulers was arrested. The voice of the people was heard for the first time, and kings learned that there was a limit to their authority. Commerce took larger and freer shape. The far Eastern countries were brought into close relationship with the Western. Some new sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, were introduced into Europe. As a field for literature, the Crusades have inspired many writers in all subsequent times. As an aid for comprehending their spirit and the age in which they were organized, we may reckon Sir Walter Scott's novels, "The Talisman," "The Betrothed," and "Count Robert of Paris," the scenes of which are laid in those heated times.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ARABIC PHILOSOPHY.

1. The Literature of the Arabs developed in an extraordinary manner during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With the thirteenth century it went into decline. There was a strong bond of unity between the Jew and the Arab. They were both alike hostile to Christianity, and the monotheism of the Jewish system was a fundamental factor in the Mohammedan creed. When the Arabs conquered Spain they gave prompt attention to education. The universities of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Salamanca became, through them, centres of thought, which affected not only the whole Iberian peninsula, but extended to the remotest learned circles of Europe. The Aristotelian philosophy was peculiarly attractive to them. The Arab scholars caught up its threads, interwove them with their own Oriental speculations, and produced a system of dialectics which Christian scholars were not slow to utilize. The Platonic system, with its warmth, had also its charm, and was interpreted with great vigor and skill.

2. Algazel, who died A.D. 1127, in Bagdad, was a learned Arab, who gave proof of the speculative power of the Arab mind even without the quickening influence of contact with European thought. In his "Destruction of the Philosophers" he showed the glaring inconsistencies of philosophical systems, vindicated supernaturalism, and defended the inspiration of the

Koran. His work was a skilful putting of the Mohammedan case, perhaps as plausible a plea for it as has ever been made.

3. The Spanish Transplantation of Arab speculation is to be found in the work of Tophail, who died in Seville, A.D. 1190. In his "Life of a Young Yokdan" he undertakes to show that true philosophy is not the product of education, or of any force from the external world, but of an effort of the mind from its own resources.

4. Averrhoes, who died A.D. 1206, was the most gifted of all the Arab thinkers resident in Spain. He wrote against Algazel's work, calling his own book the "Destruction of the Destruction of the Philosophers." He brought the Arab speculation out of the narrow affiliations with the Mohammedan system, and gave it a universal application. He held that true religion and a thoroughly logical speculation belong together, for the reason that the divine and human reason are naturally united. He expounded the philosophy of Aristotle, and gave it a neo-Platonic coloring. His system was a grouping of the better elements in both Plato and Aristotle. The systems of Christian scholasticism were based largely on his speculations.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE HOHENSTAUFENS IN ITALY.

1. **The Italian Rule of the Hohenstaufens** is one of the most romantic episodes in European history. Frederic II., otherwise called Frederic Barbarossa, or the Red Beard, was a man of remarkable genius. Since the time of Charlemagne he was the most gifted occupant of the German imperial throne. He gave profound attention to his dominions in Sicily. He had advised the settlement there of a colony of Saracens. The little affair was an outgrowth of the Crusades. Here he had a small army which stood ready to defend his cause. When he was crowned at Aix la Chapelle he took upon himself the vow of the Crusader. His wife, Iolante, was heiress of the crown of Jerusalem, and in 1228 he set sail for Palestine. Here he was crowned King of Jerusalem. His possessions in Italy were, meanwhile, in danger of being blotted out, through the vigorous management of Pope Gregory IX. Gregory had excommunicated him, ostensibly for delaying his departure for Palestine, but really, as we believe, to make him so unpopular with his people in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies that his rule could be terminated. But here Gregory failed. He was compelled to acknowledge Frederic as rightful ruler over the Two Sicilies. However, the struggles between Frederic and the popes continued from year to year. The popes used their utmost influence to weaken the force of the emperor, not only among his Sicilian subjects, but in Germany as well.

2. **The Fall of the Hohenstaufens** in Sicily was only a question of time. When Frederic died the case was hopeless. Pope Innocent IV. declared that Sicily was really a part of the States of the Church, and so took possession of it. Conrad IV. left Germany to take care of itself, and undertook to regain the hold on Sicily. Conrad died before the struggle was over, and his son Conradin found not only a slender hold on Sicily, but only a mere tithe of the ancestral possessions in Germany as his inheritance. At first, Manfred, a natural son of Frederic, took possession of the Two Sicilies, and held them against the forces and manipulation of the Roman pope. What should the popes now do? They followed one another in rapid succession, but each one kept a careful eye on Sicily. They gave up the struggle at last, because of the fidelity of the Sicilies to the Hohenstaufens, and sold their alleged right to the Sicilies first to England and then to France. Pope Clement IV. aided Charles of Anjou to take possession of the Sicilian kingdom. Charles was crowned king, after the battle of Benevento, in 1266, when Manfred was slain. Conradin now came down from Suabia, and appeared upon the scene. He was defeated in the battle of Tagliacozzo, and taken prisoner and put to death in 1268.

3. **The End.** This put an end to the German rule south of the Alps. The popes were once more at ease, so far as Italy was concerned. It had been a bitter struggle. Though their rule was restored, the bitter hostility which it had engendered on the part of Germany did not die out. The German rulers never forgot the affair, and, in the later centuries, lost no opportunity to put their bitter memories in practical form against the papacy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY.

1. **The Development of Jewish Speculation** was contemporaneous with the Arabic, being confined to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the old neo-Platonism of Alexandria coming to life again, and re-appearing with intense vigor in Spain. There was no special attachment to the Old Testament, but a gathering into one of the various threads of Plato and other Greek thinkers, and their interweaving with Jewish theology. The result was a philosophical theology made up of the Old-Testament Scriptures and the philosophical systems, but with a warm sympathy with Mohammedanism. It was of so complex a nature that neither Moses, Plato, nor Mohammed would have recognized himself in any one of its fundamental principles.

2. **Grammatical Exegesis** was one of the main departments of Jewish philosophy. The leading representatives were Solomon Isaaki, of Troyes; Aben Ezra, of Toledo, and the three Kimchi, of Narbonne. These men flourished between A.D. 1075 and 1232. There was nothing brilliant in the achievements of any of them, or of those who imitated them. But their critical tastes and the application of exact methods to the expounding of the Scriptures were of great influence upon Christian scholars. There is reason to suppose that this school of Jewish thinkers, though far re-

moved from the great centres of Christian learning, were influential on the later rise of Humanism and the general awakening of a taste for the philological examination of the scriptural languages.

3. Philosophical Speculation was the other wing of the Jewish eagle in the mediæval period. Here the Jewish thinker dwelt with greatest pleasure. His field was broad. All systems and lands were combined. Christianity, Greek philosophy, and Mohammedanism were a confused molten mass. These elements produced the later cabalism.

4. Jehuda Levi, of Andalusia (died 1153), had less sympathy with other systems than with the Jewish. His "Book of Cossi" was a romance. It represents a king of the Cosaræans and a rabbi, Isaac Sangar, who conduct a dialogue. The outcome is a vindication of the Jewish religion.

5. Maimonides was the most gifted Jew of the whole mediæval period. He stands related to Jewish speculation as Averrhoes does to Arabic—each supreme in his own field. There was a close bond of sympathy between them. The Jew was the disciple of the Arab. Maimonides was born A.D. 1135, in Cordova. He mastered the Greek and Arabic systems of philosophy, and became an industrious author and profound thinker in many fields. Besides his devotion to philosophy, he was skilled in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and Talmudic lore. He was an earnest and serious moral and religious character. His works were very numerous, in both Arabic and Hebrew. But his most influential book was of popular character—"The Guide to the Perplexed." It was a well-planned attempt to reconcile Jewish theology and heathen philosophy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

1. **General Qualities.** Scholasticism derived its name from the monastic and catholic schools—*scholae*. It was a system of philosophy which emanated from those schools, and gave color to the thought of Europe from the tenth century down to the sixteenth. It was based on the dialectics of Aristotle, and aimed to prove the truth of Christianity by the process of logic. Its history was varied. At one time scholasticism was sceptical, refusing to admit as truth what could not be proven by dialectics. Again, it became orthodox, and was a stout defender of the supernatural element. In the thirteenth century it reached its highest stage.

2. **Mysticism** appeared in the twelfth century as the competitor of scholasticism for the attention and endorsement of Christian thinkers. The two represented opposite tendencies. Scholasticism declared that the intellect must be the umpire of truth, while mysticism held that the feelings are our highest judge of the truth. Scholasticism was to the Middle Ages what rationalism is to the modern period—what cannot be proved must not be believed. Mysticism bore to the same period the relation which Schleiermacher's philosophy of religion does to the German theology of the present century—the heart is the seat of all true theology. Scholasticism had but slight bearing on the great spiritual movement which culminated in the Reforma-

tion, while the Mystics were among the most powerful agents in preparing the way for Luther.

3. Nominalists and Realists. The Nominalists held that general conceptions, such as man, horse, and the like, are abstractions of the intellect, derived from the properties of the intellect, and possessing no existence beyond the intellect; that they are logical conveniences of expression—*nomina mera, voces nude, flatus vocis* (mere names, simple sounds, the breath of the voice). The system has its modern supporters in Hobbes, Berkeley, Hume, Adam Smith, Stewart, and Hamilton. The Realists held that general conceptions have an existence beyond the mere intellect of man; that such general terms as man, horse, and the like have a real existence apart from the manifestations to our senses. The Nominalist believed, for example, that, taking man as a general conception, “humanity existed only in Socrates, Plato, Phædo, and other individuals; that the term was only an intellectual device for indicating the common properties characteristic of Socrates, Plato, and Phædo, by giving them the general name Man, and thus embracing them in one class.” The Realist, on the other hand, believed that, “before Socrates, Plato, and Phædo, or any other individual men existed, *Man*, as an abstract idea, had an essential and immutable reality, and that Socrates, Plato, and Phædo were men solely in consequence of possessing this ideal manhood.” Between these two classes, the Nominalists and the Realists, the whole scholastic system was divided.

4. Fulbert and other Schoolmen. Fulbert, who was Bishop of Chartres after A.D. 1007, was the first notable Schoolman. His disciple, Berengar of Tours, started a controversy on the Lord’s Supper. He held that the

elements were changed, that Christ's body is present, but only in the form of bread and wine, and not in substance. The participant must have faith, for by this alone can the elements become effective. Berengar was opposed by Lanfranc, whose views were condemned by the Church at the Synod of Rome, A.D. 1050. Anselm, in his "Why the God-Man?" held that Christ made an active vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the world. But Anselm does not declare that Christ endured the actual punishment for men's sins. Abelard represented the critical and sceptical element in scholasticism. As to the schools, he was a Nominalist, rather than a Realist. Bernard arrayed himself against Abelard, and triumphed. A moderate compromise was effected between mysticism and scholasticism by Peter Lombard. But the elements were too antagonistic to be of large or permanent influence.

5. **The Thomists.** The Thomists and Scotists were two culminating schools within the broad domain of scholasticism. Thomas Aquinas, the "Doctor Angelicus" of his age, taught in the University of Paris, and died in Rome A.D. 1274. His "Summary of Theology" was an attempt to represent theology as a complete science. He held that revelation is necessary; that the knowledge of God is, in a measure, intuitive in man; that redemption is relatively, not absolutely, necessary, and that baptism has regenerative power. He claimed that true theology is derived from the union of religion and philosophy. His system represented the orthodox element of the scholastic philosophy.

6. **The Scotists** derived their name from the founder, John Duns Scotus, the "Doctor Subtilis" of his time. He died A.D. 1308. While Aquinas represented the Augustinian Theology, and was a defender of the es-

tablished doctrines of the Church, Duns Scotus followed in the footsteps of Pelagius, and represented the free-thinking wing of scholasticism. He held that by our natural powers we can know the Trinity; that it was God's own good pleasure that there should be a redemption through Christ; but that God does not command good and forbid evil because they are good and evil; they are good and evil because he has commanded and forbidden. Nothing is sinful or righteous in itself. Duns Scotus gives large place to human merit, after the semi-Pelagian example. Johnson, in his English Dictionary, suggests that our word *dunce* is derived from Duns—an achievement of his opponents, the Thomists.

7. **Raymond Lully** (died A.D. 1314) was called by his contemporaries the "Doctor Illuminatus." He saw in the course of scholasticism only injury to the general cause of truth, and aimed at a thorough reform. He devised a plan for teaching the truths of the gospel, and called his method the *ars magna*, or great art. He used certain letters to represent certain ideas. His plan was mechanical, not only to retain knowledge, but to prove the truths of Christianity. He was of devout spirit and led a pure life. Neander says of him, that he possessed "the enthusiasm of a most fervent love to God, a zeal equally intense for the cause of faith and the interests of reason and science." Lully misconceived the emptiness of scholasticism. Even with all his enthusiasm he could not galvanize it into an hour's thorough life. For his pains he was stoned to death.

8. **Opponents of Scholasticism.** Some clear thinkers, seeing no prospect of advantage to the Church from the Scholastics, declared for the teaching of religion by the Scriptures, and not by pagan dialectics. Roger

Bacon, of Oxford (died A.D. 1294), held that the only relief from the wretched quibbles of the speculations of the times lay in a thorough study of the word of God. Robert, founder of the Sorbonne, in Paris, wrote in defence of the same necessity for a close study of the written word. Hugo à Santo Caro likewise insisted on the study of the Bible as the only solution for the evils of the times. He wrote a *Postilla* or Commentary, and "Concordance" of the Biblical books. To him we owe the present division into chapters and verses.

9. The Decline of Scholasticism. The philosophic strife of the times had long been bitter, and productive of little good. Both the Nominalist and Realist had sought to find in the ancient philosophy some support, but had leaned on a broken reed. The air was filled with war-cries. The universities fought each other with a spirit not less hostile than that of the Crusader when he marched to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. Manuscript books and pamphlets were hurled at each other with a relentless fury. Towns and villages, circles of the learned and the ignorant, and court and camp, were divided by bitter quarrels on the force of logical definitions. Not since the theological controversies of the fourth century had Europe seen such a picture of the warfare of syllables. The only relief to the waste of words lay in the fact that it gave proof of the awakening of the European mind. Even scholasticism was better than inertia. In time it had done its work. Luther, with his strong besom, swept away the thick mass of Aristotelian dialectics, and sowed, instead, the seeds of Christian doctrine.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ABELARD AND HIS FORTUNES.

1. **The Early Career of Abelard.** Of all the leaders in the great scholastic movement there is no one to whom so great a personal interest attaches as to Abelard. He gave promise at an early age of the remarkable abilities which distinguished his entire career, and attracted the profound attention of all Europe. His first plan for life seems to have been the career of a soldier, but he soon devoted himself to theological studies, and here achieved such success as to astound alike his preceptors and companions. He left his home, where he had enjoyed the teaching of the famous Roscelin of Compiègne, and repaired to Paris.

2. **William of Champeaux** was at this time at the head of the Abbey of St. Victor, which he himself had founded, and stood in the front of the theological and philosophical movement which had concentrated in that city. He was the first to give to the schools of Paris a university character, and to admit the laity as well as the clergy, and foreigners as well as natives, to the privileges of the highest education within the walls of a school of the Church. His liberal movement in this direction was the death-knell of exclusionism in education, and the real preparation for the recognition, in all later time, of the rights of the poorest and humblest to all the wealth of science. Abelard placed himself under the charge of William and developed with

amazing rapidity. But in two years' time the young student differed so essentially from his master that he broke off his connection, and established the Abbey of St. Genevieve close beside his master's renowned Abbey of St. Victor. Abelard emptied the walls of St. Victor. The multitudes gathered about him.

3. Giving up Philosophy for Theology. The eloquence with which he taught, the mastery of language, the skill in logic, and the magnetism of his personality, attracted a constantly increasing audience. To the multitudes who came from various countries all Paris was as nothing. He was the one man for whose wisdom and example students from all parts of France, England, Spain, and even Rome itself, had come with eager search. The success of his teaching, and the decline of William's school through that success, awakened the opposition, not only of William, but of his friends and sympathizers. To get away from the persecution Abelard left Paris, went to Melun, and began to teach with the same success which he had enjoyed in Paris. He went thence to Corbeil, and taught as before. Here his health failed, and he retired for several years to his native place, Palais, near Nantes. He then returned to Paris. From this time he devoted himself entirely to the study of theology. He left Paris and went to Laon, where he had as his preceptor the celebrated Anselm. This man soon became unable to withstand the boldness of Abelard's ideas and the power of his eloquence, and secured his expulsion from Laon.

4. Return to Paris and New Prestige. Then Abelard returned to Paris and established a new school, which was overwhelmed, in a short time, by throngs of students. He was now at the head of the theological world of Europe. His students were devoted to him,

and his opinions were accepted by his admirers as final. This school became the very centre of education for such of the clergy of Europe as desired a thorough scientific training. Guizot says of its success: "In this celebrated school were trained one pope (Celestine II.), nineteen cardinals, more than fifty bishops and archbishops, French, English, and German, and a much larger number of those men with whom popes, bishops, and cardinals had often to contend—such men as Arnold of Brescia and others. The number of pupils who used at that time to assemble round Abelard has been estimated at upwards of five thousand."

5. Abelard's Misfortunes. This man was now at the zenith of his power. He was employed by Fulbert, a canon of the Cathedral of Paris, to be the private teacher of his niece, the rarely gifted Héloïse. He had an improper relation with her, and his name was stained by the crime of which not even his bitterest foe could have had a suspicion.

"Desire of wine, and all delicious drinks,
Which many a famous warrior overturns,
Thou couldst repress; nor did the dancing ruby
Sparkling outpoured, the flavor or the smell,
Or taste that cheers the hearts of gods or men,
Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream;
But what availed this temperance, not complete,
Against another object, more enticing?
What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another to let in the foe,
Effeminately vanquished?"

Abelard married Héloïse, but the affair was kept a secret, at her request. She was willing to suffer disgrace that his preferment might not suffer. He now took the vows of a monk, and entered the convent of

St. Denis, while Héloïse took the veil as a nun in the convent of Argenteuil. He continued to teach and to write, with broken spirit, but with a multitude of admirers. He was charged with heresy for certain remarks in his "Introduction to Theology," and at the Council of Soissons, in 1121, he was compelled to burn his book with his own hands. He afterwards returned to his monastery of St. Denis, but left it and built an oratory in the name of the Holy Trinity, which he called the Paraclete. At his death, in the year 1142, he left his oratory to be conducted by Héloïse.

6. **The Theological Position of Abelard.** He exalted the Church Fathers to a still higher position than they already occupied, great as it was, and made no concessions to sceptical writers. Here lay the most difficult point in the opposition by the ecclesiastical authorities to the direct teaching of Abelard. Nothing could be proved, save by inference, against his orthodoxy. While he assumed the unity of the Divine Being, he held that there were diversities of his relations, in which the Divine Persons consist. He also affirmed a knowledge of God to be arrived at by the reason. But he never claimed that this was either complete, or accurate, or independent of the full scriptural revelation. His works consist of "Letters to Héloïse," "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," "Exposition of the Apostolic Creed," "Exposition of the Athanasian Creed," "Book against Heresies," "Commentary on Romans," "Sermons," "Introduction to Theology," "Epitome of Christian Doctrine," and various works of correspondence. The general effect of his teaching was to promote a critical and thorough method in the investigation of truth.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

1. Literature and Religion. The example of Charlemagne in rescuing the elder popular myth of the Franks from oblivion became very influential upon the popular taste. Poets vied with each other in tracing back the legends to their sources, and recasting them in their own style. The tendency was towards the marvellous and exciting. A decidedly religious character was added, in many instances, to the purely heathen thread. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the poets used the religious factor to a remarkable degree. Wolfram of Eschenbach added religious poetry to his romantic verse. His "Parceval" contains frequent allusions to the efficacy of the atonement and the excellence of the Christian life. The Church had its warm eulogists in the troubadours of Southern France. Walter of the Vogelwaide sang panegyrics to the Holy Virgin. Gottfried of Strasburg celebrated the glories of voluntary poverty and the longings of the soul for heavenly joy.

2. Historians. The taste for legend was closely allied to the historical spirit. The treatment was far from orderly or philosophical. The best of the histories were mere chronicles. The whole of the thirteenth century was distinguished for its historical spirit. Arnold of Lübeck (died 1212) wrote the "Chronicles of the Slaves," a work continued to 1241 by Alberich of Liege. An important larger history was produced by

Matthew Paris, of England, who died A.D. 1259. Chronological works were written also by Martin Polonus and William de Naugis, of St. Denis, France.

3. **Religious Theatricals** were employed to divert the people, and at the same time to instruct the popular mind in some of the more dramatic portions of the Scriptures. The passion of Jesus was represented with a realism which produced great popular effect. Multitudes thronged from distant parts to witness, in the open air, all the details of the crucifixion. These have disappeared, with the single exception of the "Passion Play," which is still performed, every decade, in the Bavarian village of Ober-Ammergau. These theatricals were likewise used for a different purpose—to hold up the weaker side of the priests, and even of bishops and popes, to popular ridicule. The Feast of the Innocents was modelled after the heathen December festivities.

4. **The Three Florentine Poets**, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, introduced a severer taste, and elevated poetry to a dignity entirely new to mediæval Europe. Dante's soul was stirred by the theological disputes and papal misdoings of his day. He saw the needs of the people, and was their champion. He regarded the Church as utterly fallen, its doctrines thrown into the background, and its holy functions performed by unworthy hands. He believed in God's final justice, and in his "Divine Comedy" portrayed the certainty of rewards and punishments according to the deeds done in the body. His whole life was a tragedy, due to his heroic espousal of the cause of justice in Church and State. He led the people away from the dark present to a beautiful future. Without knowing it, he was the real prophet of the better day of the great Reformation.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GREAT SCHOOLS.

1. **The Decline after Alfred and Charlemagne** was very marked. The latter established fifty great schools throughout his dominions. Alfred organized Oxford, and spared no pains to make it the centre of Anglo-Saxon thought. He enriched the foundations by securing from the Continent the best possible teachers and the richest literary treasures. But schools suffered a fearful decline throughout the tenth century. With the eleventh century, however, there came a revival of literary taste, which continued until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. **The Rise of the University.** Some of the monastic schools now assumed larger proportions, and became, like Paris and Oxford, full-fledged universities. But the most of the universities seem to have taken their origin independently of both Church and State. They were the popular creation of a taste for learning. Great teachers appeared in certain cities, and their fame attracted students from every quarter, and even distant countries. The teachers and the students were united by a common bond. The term *Universitas Magistrorum et Scholarum*, or the Community of Masters and Pupils, became the origin of the general word University. At first, each great school was distinguished for its devotion to one science, as theology at Paris and Oxford, law at Bologna, and medicine at Salerno. In

time the university divided into the four great faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. This division arose first in Paris, where the mendicant orders were proscribed by the other teachers in the university, and constituted themselves a separate faculty. This division in the faculties tended to increase the attendance of students. So great was the number that they constituted an important part of the population. The number ranged from ten thousand to twenty thousand in some of the universities. They were divided, not according to the studies which they pursued, but the nationalities which they represented, and were called *Nations*. Traces of this mediæval division into nations and languages can be seen in the present German universities, especially the more provincial, where some of the clubs of students bear the names of the old tribal divisions.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DIVIDED PAPACY.

1. **The First Great Blow** against the solidarity of the papacy was struck by France. Germany was now submissive to Rome. England was likewise brought into a docile attitude. Of all the great powers France alone remained independent, and continued disobedient. The traditional independence of the Gallican Church was a rich inheritance of the kings, and, while some were less exacting, others brought it into a prominence at once troublesome and threatening to Rome. Philip IV. of France was of the latter class. He claimed to be head of the French Church, and rejected all interference with his royal prerogatives.

2. **The Outbreak.** Pope Boniface VIII., who ruled A.D. 1294–1303, resolved on a vigorous policy towards France. He determined to humble that country, and make it fall into line with all the other nations of Europe. He found his match in Philip IV. The two were not unlike. Each was ambitious, selfish, and intent on perfect independence. France was at war with England, then under the rule of Edward I. Each of those countries had its strong and interested allies. On the side of England were the German king Adolf of Nassau, and the Count of Flanders. On the side of France was the King of Scotland. Boniface saw in this great conflict an opportunity to follow in the great Gregory's footsteps, and play the *rôle* of umpire. Edward, in or-

der to carry on the war, had burdened his people with heavy taxes. Boniface boldly issued, in 1296, a special Bull, the *Clericis Laicos*, in which he threatened Philip with excommunication if he levied such taxes. Philip replied indignantly with the words: "The Church does not consist alone of the clergy, but also of laymen; the freedom of the Church is divided between the clergy and the laity." The pope saw that the subjects of Philip were in sympathy with their king. He was, therefore, powerless in his threats. He found himself deprived of his revenues from France, and feared most serious consequences. He accordingly resolved on mild measures. He hoped to conquer Philip by flattery. He even canonized Louis IX., the grandfather of Philip. A truce was patched up between the two, each making concessions. Philip accepted the arbitration of Boniface, but as a friend, and not as pope. Boniface decided against Philip, and in favor of Edward. This was the final blow to peace. France was defiant.

3. The Removal of the Papacy to Avignon. Boniface, already advanced in years, now died. He was succeeded by an Italian pope, who reigned but a short time. He, in turn, was succeeded by Bertrand de Got, who ruled as Clement I. This man, though he had been a favorite of Boniface, was already in secret relations with Philip, and had made pledges to support his policy against that of Rome. Clement, of his own choice, removed the papal see to Avignon, in France, A.D. 1309. The papacy remained in France until 1377, or a period of nearly seventy years. In Roman literature it is called the "Babylonian Captivity." Gregory XI. restored the papacy to Rome. The papacy during its French residence was frivolous and corrupt. It was the mere tool of the French court.

4. **The Schism in the Papacy.** Gregory dying, Urban VI. was elected in his place. He was in the Roman interest. The French electors declared the election illegal, and chose an anti-pope, Clement VII., who ruled in Avignon. This singular picture was now presented—two popes, each independent of the other, one ruling in France and the other in Rome, each hurling anathemas at the other, and each surrounded by a court, a full quota of cardinals, and an obedient clergy. It was a disgrace to all Europe.

5. **The Councils.** The quarrel was violent. Immorality increased. The only hope lay in general councils. But the popes wanted no general councils. Their hope to restore peace and prestige to the papacy lay in a personal government. But the reformatory spirit in the laity and a large part of the clergy demanded the general voice of the Church, as it might express itself in a council. A council was accordingly ordered to meet in Pavia, in 1423. The place of meeting was changed, by Pope Martin V., to Sienna. But there were only a few sessions. Reformatory decrees were feared, and it was thought best in Rome to put it out of existence. Seven years later another council was called, to meet in Basle. It was of a highly reformatory character. The pope dissolved it by direct order. But enough delegates remained to carry on its work. The pope afterwards recognized it, but removed it, first to Ferrara and later to Florence. The delegates, however, acknowledged no removal. On the contrary, they continued their work, for which the pope excommunicated them. The council, in return, deposed the pope, and chose another in his stead, Felix V. This measure was fatal to the council. The delegates grew tired and disbanded.

6. **The Outcome** of all these troubles was the triumph of the papacy and the restoration of the old solidarity. The immorality continued the same as before. The last popes before the Reformation were no improvement upon their predecessors. The decrees of the reformatory councils were condemned. Superstition was the order of the day. Clerical offices were at the highest bidder. Indulgences were sold throughout Germany. The people were neglected. The clergy seemed to think the Church existed for their use and convenience. But the clock now struck for a new life. A strong voice from Wittenberg was heard. The old issues were dead. A new order was now established, and Europe had something else to think about besides the wrangles of schoolmen and the counterblasts of rival popes.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RETROSPECT.

1. **The Condition of the European Church** at the close of the Mediæval Period was in marked contrast with that at the beginning. The uncertainty as to whether Christianity could adapt itself to the universal spiritual needs of Europe was now solved. The East and the West changed places. The East, overridden by internal divisions, and trampled by the Saracen conquerors, passed into an oblivion which has lasted until modern times, and has only been in part relieved by the rise of the Russo-Greek Church. Had the Eastern Church adhered to orthodox standards, and preserved its spiritual unity, it is not at all likely that its vast territory would have been overrun by the Saracens. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that from Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and other centres, the whole of India, China, Japan, and other Oriental countries would have been evangelized many centuries ago, instead of, just now, becoming great mission-fields for Western Christianity to rescue from paganism. The transfer of universal interests to the Western Church was complete at the close of the Middle Ages. No questions were asked of the Eastern patriarchs. Rome held the power in its own hands, until a stronger force, the Reformation, appeared in Germany.

2. **The Stages of Progress** are well defined. From

the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh the German peoples became evangelized, and gave full promise of their future large place in universal Christian thought and life. From the middle of the eleventh century to the thirteenth the papacy grew into enormous proportions. There never floated before the mind of Julius Cæsar or Trajan a larger empire than that to which Gregory VII. and other occupants of the Roman see aspired.

3. The Saxon and the Latin Christian, at the end of the Middle Ages, confronted each other. The Latin represented the past; the Saxon, the future and the permanent. The force which destroyed the old and strong Roman conditions was titanic. The Saxon hammer was irresistible. The Germans of the North were kinsmen to the Saxons and the Angles of Britain. Wycliffe and Luther were from a common cradle of Teutonic honesty and liberty. The Norman conquest of Britain was political; the spiritual conqueror, in all later history, was still the Saxon. Every triumph of religion and liberty in the England of modern times can be traced back to the Teutonic element in the English race. In the great advance of modern peoples the Latin is inferior to the Saxon in all spiritual upbuilding. The sad moral condition of South America, Mexico, Spain, Italy, and the Jesuit missions in India and other Eastern countries, is a striking proof of what the world would be to-day had not the Saxon been at the head of the world's greatest affairs. The tree must be tested by its fruits. We have only to examine the map of the conquests of the Saxon Christian, and compare it with that of the Latin Christian, in order to see where the honor of all great modern advancement belongs.

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