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NOTES  
ON  
EUROPEAN HISTORY  
VOLUME I

By WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

## NOTES ON EUROPEAN HISTORY

This Series of Notes is designed to help Students who are preparing for Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History, or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations.

**Vol. I. The Break-up of the Roman Empire to 1494.**

Contents : — Introduction — The Carolingians — The Empire and the Papacy — Germany — Italy — France — The Crusades.

**Vol. II. The Reformation and Ascendancy of France. 1494-1715.**

Contents : — Italy — France and Spain — Germany — Hapsburg and Valois — The Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, France and Northern Europe — The Popes of the Reformation — The Revolt of the Netherlands — The Counter Reformation — France in early Seventeenth Century — The Thirty Year's War — Spain and the United Provinces in the Seventeenth Century — Northern Europe — The Turks — Louis XIV.

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Contents : — France, 1871-1914 — Germany, 1871-1914 — The Eastern Question — Russia — Austria — Italy — The Lesser States.

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NOTES  
ON  
EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY  
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AUTHOR OF « NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY »

VOLUME I  
THE BREAK-UP  
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE  
TO 1494

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## PREFACE

THE favourable reception accorded to the author's *Notes on British History* has induced him to apply the same method of treatment to the history of Europe.

The task has not been easy. The amount of material is so vast that the histories of Spain, the Eastern Empire and Scandinavia have been dealt with only when they come into close touch with those of France, Germany, Italy and the Papacy. But even with this limitation the problems of Western Europe during the Middle Ages are so many and so complex that they necessitate somewhat lengthy treatment.

The Empire of Charlemagne has been chosen as the starting-point and the story of the Holy Roman Empire takes up a large portion of the book. Much of the history of Germany and Italy has been treated in connection with that of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Empire supplies a bond of unity which facilitates study. The history of France and those parts of the history of Germany and Italy which cannot be related to the Holy Roman Empire have been treated separately. The expansion of the royal power after the accession of Hugh Capet and the growth of nationality, due partly to that expansion, give to the history of France a unity which is conspicuously lacking in the cases of Germany and Italy. In Germany the struggle between the houses of



Luxemburg, Wittelsbach and Hapsburg forms the main subject of the later Middle Ages ; in Italy the rivalry of the great cities was an important problem ; but in both cases the lack of a strong national feeling hampered political development.

The author has tried to show how modern history has been affected by mediæval. The development of absolute monarchy in France led to a system of administration and finance which was ultimately to cause the French Revolution. The failure of the Conciliar Movement in the fifteenth century was one of the causes of the Reformation in the sixteenth. Owing to their divisions in the Middle Ages, Germany and Italy had to wait for national unity until the nineteenth century.

An attempt has been made to give some account of political theory and religious controversy, and special attention has been paid to the Renaissance which substituted modern ideas for those of the Middle Ages.

Each subject is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but wherever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements.

The book is designed to help students who are preparing for Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations. The Crusades, which are often selected as a special subject,

## PREFACE

vii

have been treated fully and in this case reference has been given to easily accessible original authorities. But the author hopes that the book will also prove helpful to students of history who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book.



# CONTENTS

## SECTION I.—INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
The Break-up of the Roman Empire . . . . .	3
The Early History of Latin Christianity . . . . .	9
The Franks . . . . .	19

## SECTION II.—THE CAROLINGIANS

Charlemagne . . . . .	27
The Coronation of Charlemagne . . . . .	36
The Break-up of the Empire of Charlemagne . . . . .	42
Lothair ; Lewis the German ; Charles the Bald . . . . .	45
The Northmen . . . . .	48
The Growth of the Feudal System . . . . .	54
The Last of the Carolingian Kings in France . . . . .	57

## SECTION III.—THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

Henry the Fowler, King of Germany, 919-936. . . . .	63
Otto I. The Extension and Consolidation of the Royal Power in Germany . . . . .	68
Otto I's First Invasion of Italy, 951 . . . . .	74
Otto I's Second Invasion of Italy, 962 . . . . .	76
Otto I's Third Invasion of Italy, 966-972 . . . . .	79
The Work of Otto the Great . . . . .	81
Otto II, 973-983 . . . . .	84
Otto III, 983-1002 . . . . .	88
Pope Sylvester II, 999-1003. . . . .	91
Henry II (the Saint), 1002-1024 . . . . .	93
The Saxon Emperors . . . . .	96
The Condition of Germany in 1024 . . . . .	100
Conrad II (the Salic), 1024-1039 . . . . .	103
Henry III (the Black), 1039-1056 . . . . .	107
The Cluniac Reformation . . . . .	111

	PAGE
The Normans in Southern Italy and Sicily . . . . .	115
The Growth of the Power of the Papacy in the Eleventh Century . . . . .	120
The Investiture Dispute to the death of Gregory VII . . . . .	123
Hildebrand . . . . .	128
The Investiture Dispute from the death of Gregory VII to the Concordat of Worms . . . . .	134
Germany, the Empire and Italy, 1125-1152 . . . . .	140
St. Bernard . . . . .	150
Frederick Barbarossa, the Papacy and the Lombard Towns . . . . .	154
Frederick Barbarossa and Germany . . . . .	164
Frederick Barbarossa . . . . .	168
Henry VI . . . . .	172
The Empire from the Double Election of 1198 to the Battle of Bouvines, 1214 . . . . .	176
Innocent III and the Kings of Europe . . . . .	181
The Friars . . . . .	185
The Albigenses . . . . .	189
Innocent III . . . . .	194
Frederick II and the Papacy . . . . .	198
Frederick II and Germany . . . . .	212
Frederick II and Sicily . . . . .	218
Frederick II . . . . .	222
The Fall of the Hohenstaufen . . . . .	226
The Empire and the Papacy, 800 to 1268 . . . . .	230
The Empire and Germany . . . . .	237
The Angevins in Naples and Sicily, 1268-1302 . . . . .	240
The Later Empire and Papacy, 1268-1494 . . . . .	243
The Kingdom of Germany from 1256-1313 . . . . .	245
Boniface VIII, 1294-1303 . . . . .	253
Clement V, 1305-1314 . . . . .	261
The Emperor Lewis IV of Bavaria, 1314-1347 . . . . .	265
Pope John XXII, 1316-1334 . . . . .	270
Rienzi . . . . .	273
The Emperor Charles IV, 1347-1378 . . . . .	278
The Great Schism in the Papacy . . . . .	284
The Schism in the Empire . . . . .	291
The Council of Constance, 1414-1418 . . . . .	296
The Interval between the Councils of Constance and Basle, 1418-1431 . . . . .	305
The Council of Basle, 1431-1449 . . . . .	309
Germany, 1437-1493 . . . . .	319
The Papacy from 1447-1492 . . . . .	327

# CONTENTS

xi

## SECTION IV.—GERMANY

	PAGE
The Swiss Confederation . . . . .	339
The Hanseatic League . . . . .	344
The Knights of the Teutonic Order . . . . .	350

## SECTION V.—ITALY

Venice . . . . .	357
Florence up to 1434 . . . . .	367
The Medici . . . . .	378
The Renaissance in Italy . . . . .	390
The Revival of Learning to 1500 . . . . .	400
The Art of the Early Renaissance . . . . .	410

(i) Architecture and Sculpture, page 410 ; (ii) Painting, page 412

## SECTION VI.—FRANCE

The Accession of Hugh Capet, 987 . . . . .	421
The First Four Capetian Kings . . . . .	427
Normandy to 1066 . . . . .	426
Anjou, Touraine and Maine . . . . .	445
Louis VI (Le Gros), 1108–1137 . . . . .	449
Louis VII (Le Jeune), 1137–1180 . . . . .	453
Philip Augustus and the Plantagenets . . . . .	458
Philip Augustus and France . . . . .	463
Louis VIII, 1223–1226 . . . . .	466
Louis IX (Saint Louis), 1226–1270 . . . . .	467
The Last Capetian Kings, 1270–1328 . . . . .	473
The Causes of the Hundred Years' War, 1337–1453 . . . . .	482
The Hundred Years' War to 1375 . . . . .	486
The Internal History of France under the Early Valois Kings . . . . .	500
The Burgundians and Armagnacs, 1380–1420 . . . . .	509
The End of the Hundred Years' War . . . . .	517
Internal History under Charles VII . . . . .	527
Charles the Bold . . . . .	533
Louis XI, 1461–1483 . . . . .	541
Louis XI and Charles the Bold, 1467–1477 . . . . .	547
Louis XI, 1472–1483 . . . . .	551
The Regency of Anne of Beaujeu, 1483–1491 . . . . .	557

## SECTION VII.—THE CRUSADES

	PAGE
Causes of the Crusades . . . . .	563
The First Crusade, 1096-1099 . . . . .	566
The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1143 . . . . .	571
The Second Crusade, 1147-1149 . . . . .	576
The Latin Kingdom from the death of Fulk to the Capture of Jerusalem . . . . .	580
The Third Crusade, 1189-1192 . . . . .	585
The Interval between the Third and Fourth Crusades . . . . .	591
The Fourth Crusade, 1202-1204 . . . . .	592
The Last Crusades . . . . .	599
The Results of the Crusades . . . . .	609
INDEX . . . . .	617

**SECTION I**  
**INTRODUCTION**





# EUROPEAN HISTORY

## PART I

### THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Octavian, the nephew of Julius Cæsar, had become master of the Roman world by his victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in B.C. 31 and became Emperor in B.C. 27. His Empire extended from the Rhine and Danube on the North to the African Desert on the South, from the Atlantic Ocean on the West to the Euphrates on the East. Britain was the chief addition to the Empire after the death of Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and his successors generally were content to maintain the frontiers he had left.

#### I. The Bonds of Empire.

##### A. The Emperor.

His titles show that the Emperor was the head of every department of state. As Imperator he was head of the army, as Princeps chief of the Senate, as Pontifex Maximus high priest. Although the Senate exercised nominal power the Emperor was in practice an absolute sovereign, and the foundation of his authority was the army.

The Romans regarded the Imperial dignity with profound respect. It was the outward sign of unity, and although individual Emperors often proved incapable or dissolute, the need of an Emperor as an essential part of the Empire was never questioned. "The Emperor stood forth to the whole Roman world as the single centre and source of power and political action." (Bryce.)

<sup>1</sup> Octavian took the name of Augustus.

**B. Christianity.**

The Christian Church grew in spite of persecution and proved a valuable bond of Empire. It was adopted by Constantine the Great (306-337) as the religion of the Empire, and by that time had secured organisation and become a great political force. It proved the strong ally of the state.

- (1) It taught the duty of submission to authority since "the powers that be are ordained of God."
- (2) It united all by the doctrine of charity and universal brotherhood. "There shall be neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free."  
"Christianity as well as civilisation became coterminous with the Roman Empire."

**C. Roman citizenship.**

Caracalla (211-217) gave to the provincials the position of Roman citizens. Although he did this in order to make all liable to full state taxation, his action added another bond of union to the Empire.

**D. Other bonds.**

All Roman citizens were subject to Roman Law; commerce linked up the different parts of the Empire; Latin was the official language and was so generally used in the West that it became the basis of Spanish, French and Italian. For a long time Rome was the capital and centre of the Empire, and although it lost its political pre-eminence it continued to make a strong appeal to the imagination.

Largely owing to these causes the unity of the Empire remained unimpaired until the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180. From that time the working of disruptive forces can be easily traced.

**II. The Decay of the Old Roman Spirit.**

Even in the days of Augustus satirists like Juvenal had noted a deterioration in the national character.

Luxury and effeminaoy destroyed the "virtus" or manly courage which had distinguished the early Romans. Later emperors were compelled more and more to depend upon provincials for recruiting the armies, and Probus (276-282) and Diocletian were compelled to strengthen the frontiers with garrisons and colonies of conquered barbarians. The Greek and Latin stock, which had been the source of culture and of practical achievement, was worn out and "a perpetual leakage of civilisation went on in the Empire."<sup>1</sup>

### III. Civil Dissension.

#### A. Incapable Emperors.

A succession of weak, cruel and dissolute emperors such as Caracalla, "the common enemy of mankind," the sensual glutton Elagabalus (218-222) and the cruel savage Maximin (235-237) lowered the prestige of the Empire.

#### B. Failure of heirs.

The Roman Empire affords no "example of three successive generations on the throne; only three instances of sons who succeeded their fathers,"<sup>2</sup> and the contests of rivals for the throne often led to civil war.

#### C. The Prætorian Guards and Army.

By the end of the second century the Prætorian Guards had secured great power. In 193 they murdered Pertinax, put the imperial throne up for auction and bestowed it on the highest bidder, Didius Julianus, who gave them the equivalent of £200 apiece. The Prætorian Guards were abolished by Constantine in 312, but in a distracted Empire the soldiers continued to exert great influence. The discipline of the army was "corrupted by the ambition or relaxed by the weakness of the emperors."

<sup>1</sup> Orton, *Outlines of Mediæval History*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, I, p. 216, note.

**D. Some results.**

- (1) Of eighteen Emperors who reigned from 180 to 244 all except Septimius Severus died violent deaths.
- (2) The weakness of the Emperors facilitated local risings against the supremacy of Rome. In the reign of Gallienus (260-268) nineteen pretenders to thrones tried to assert their independence. But of these "not one enjoyed a life of peace or a natural death."
- (3) Although some Emperors, such as Septimius Severus, Aurelian (270-275), Diocletian (284-304),<sup>1</sup> Constantine the Great (306-337) and Theodosius the Great (379-395), gained victories over the barbarians, the civil strife within the Empire weakened the defence of the frontiers and facilitated the inroads of the barbarians.

**IV. The Division of the Empire.**

The extent of the Empire made the task of administration and government very difficult, owing partly to the great distance between Rome and many portions of the Empire. Although the bonds of empire described above produced some measure of unity, the persistence of local languages such as Armenian, Aramaic in Syria, Coptic in Egypt and Celtic in Britain and Gaul, showed that some parts of the Empire retained a strong measure of local feeling which, under a weak ruler, tended to become independence. It was difficult to maintain from Rome the distant frontiers of the Euphrates and Lower Danube.

**A. Diocletian.**

**292.** Diocletian realised that the Empire, assailed on every side by barbarians, required on every side the presence of a great army and an emperor. He therefore divided the supreme power between four rulers, each

<sup>1</sup> Diocletian abdicated in 304 and assured Maximian, who urged him to reassume the reins of government, that he preferred growing cabbages to ruling the Empire.

## THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE 7

with his own court, capital and army. The change led to a heavy increase of taxation, population decreased and agriculture withered ; but it did check for some time the inroads of the barbarians.

### B. Constantine the Great.

Constantine had no love for Rome. He had spent his earlier years travelling from one part of the Empire to another, spending more or less time at Trèves, Milan, Naissus and Thessalonica ; he had been crowned Emperor in Britain. When in his later years he wished to establish a permanent seat of empire he found a suitable site at Byzantium, which was situated on the borders of Europe and Asia, and was a good base of operations against the Persians and the barbarians of the Lower Danube and the Don.

Constantine thus united under his sole rule the Empire which Diocletian had divided into four portions. The foundation of Constantinople in **330** strengthened the resistance to the barbarians but made the separation of East and West inevitable.

### C. Valentinian.

**364.** Valentinian divided the Eastern and Western Empires. He retained Illyricum, Italy, Gaul and Britain, with a capital at Milan, and gave to Valens the Empire of the East from the Lower Danube to the borders of Persia, with Constantinople as its capital.

### D. The sons of Theodosius the Great.

Theodosius the Great (**379-395**) extended his authority over the whole Roman world, but on his death his sons divided their inheritance ; Arcadius ruled the East from Constantinople, Honorius ruled the West from Ravenna. Each division had its own administration, after **438** its own legislation.

### E. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus, **476**.

Odoacer, the leader of the army of the West, deposed the youthful Emperor Romulus Augustulus ; the in-

signia of the Empire were sent to Zeno at Constantinople and the Roman Empire in the West was united to that in the East. Although the change did not destroy the Empire it promoted the development of Latin as distinct from Greek Christianity, it strengthened the position of the Pope and facilitated the development of new Teutonic kingdoms.

#### V. The Barbarian Invasions.

The ever-present danger that the barbarians would break through the frontiers was aggravated by civil dissensions and the invasion of Eastern Europe by the Huns. These were a Mongolian race who had been driven from Asia by the Chinese and had formed a vast Empire, of which the capital was situated in Hungary. Their westward progress was checked by the defeat of their King, Attila, at Chalons in **451**. The pressure of the Huns was one of the causes of the Wandering of the Nations which resulted in the establishment of Teutonic kingdoms in Western Europe.

##### A. The Goths.

The Goths had long been a danger to the Empire, and had defeated and slain the Emperor Decius in Moesia in **251** and the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in **378**. About **330** they were divided into the Visigoths and Ostrogoths.

- (1) The Ostrogoths came from Western Russia ; Theodoric the Ostrogoth ruled Italy from Ravenna between **493** and **526** ; the Ostrogoths were driven out of Italy by Narses, Justinian's general, in **553** and their subsequent fate is unknown.
- (2) The Visigoths.

The Visigoths came from Dacia : under Alaric they sacked Rome in **410**. They founded the kingdom of Toulouse and established themselves in Spain early in the fifth century.

**B. The Vandals.**

The Vandals, a Germanic race, led by Genseric, established between **439-477** a strong kingdom in Northern Africa with a capital at Carthage.

**C. The Burgundians.**

The Burgundians were a Gothic tribe; they established the kingdom of Burgundy about **413**.

**D. The Suevi.**

The Suevi founded the kingdom of Lusitania in Spain about **408**.

**E. The Franks (page 19).****F. The Angles and Saxons conquered Britain.****References ;**

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vols. I-IV *passim*.

*Holy Roman Empire* (Bryce), chaps. I and II.

*Outlines of Mediæval History* (Orton, Cambridge University Press), chap. I.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY

Christianity gained converts at Rome at an early date, but the story is obscure. St. Paul was in Rome from **61** to **63**, and was martyred in **67**. Christianity gradually spread because of the zeal and high character of the Christians, the doctrine of a future life, the union and discipline of the Church, the suitability of its pure and spiritual worship to men of all conditions and all climates, the miraculous powers attributed to the early Christians, the failure of the outworn pagan creeds to satisfy men's spiritual longings. But development was hindered by persecution.



## I. Persecution.

The early Christians were unpopular owing to their confusion with the hated Jews ; to their rigid opposition to anything connected with idolatry not only in religion but in business and social intercourse ; to the austerity of their conduct ; to the secrecy of their worship and to gross calumnies as to their religious ceremonies. But at first they were regarded as a Jewish sect and enjoyed the toleration accorded to national religions.

### A. Early persecutions.

The earliest persecutions were due to alleged crime ; Nero's persecution in **64** to the assertion that the great fire of Rome had been caused by Christians ; Domitian's possibly to the Emperor's belief that the teaching of the coming reign of Christ was treason to the Emperor.

### B. Later persecutions.

#### (1) The Antonines.

Christianity was separated from Judaism, became an "illicit religion" and liable to legal punishment. But the Antonines did not love persecution, and although St. Ignatius of Antioch was thrown to the lions in the Coliseum in **115** and St. Polycarp of Smyrna was burned at the stake about **169**, persecution was local rather than imperial.

#### (2) Decius and Diocletian.

Under Decius (**249-251**) the Christians were cruelly persecuted, and although the wife and daughter of Diocletian showed an interest in Christianity he issued a general edict of persecution, and at least two thousand Christians perished between **303** and **313**.<sup>1</sup> "The Decian persecution was the birth epoch of Latin Christianity."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon, Vol. II, p. 172, and note as to accuracy of these figures.

<sup>2</sup> Milman.

## II. The Triumph of Christianity.

### A. The conversion of Constantine, c. 312.

Christianity had been preached "in every province and in all the great cities of the Empire" [Gibbon] before the reign of Diocletian and Constantine the Great. The latter did much to stop in 313 the persecution which followed Diocletian's edict; he became a Christian, and in 323 when civil war broke out between east and west fought under the sacred standard called the Labarum, in defence of Christianity against paganism.

### B. Julian the Apostate, 361-363.

Although Constantine had made Christianity the religion of the Empire he did not persecute pagans, and Julian the Apostate attempted to restore the paganism of Greece and induced the army to accept his views. Christians were prohibited from teaching grammar and rhetoric, and were ordered to give compensation for the destruction of pagan temples. Julian's successor Jovian re-established the Christian religion on his accession in 363.

### C. The final destruction of paganism.

Under Theodosius the Great many pagan temples and idols were destroyed, and in 390 paganism was prohibited and rapidly died out. "The ruin of paganism in the age of Theodosius is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition." (Gibbon.)

## III. Latin and Greek Christianity.

### A. Greek influence on the early Roman Church.

For nearly three hundred years the Church of Rome was a Greek colony.<sup>1</sup> Its language, organisation, writers, scriptures and liturgy were Greek. Pope Leo I (440-461) was the first celebrated Latin preacher, Tertullian

<sup>1</sup> Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 32.

(c. 200) the first important Latin writer. But the gradual separation between the Eastern and Western Empires led to the separation of the Churches, and strong differences appeared between Roman and Greek Christianity.

B. Differences between the two Churches.

- (1) There was, generally, a difference of theological standpoint. Greek theology showed the influence of old Greek philosophy; it was speculative and transcendental. Roman theology, probably influenced by Roman law, tended to become realistic and business-like.
- (2) The laity received more consideration in the Greek than in the Roman Church. The former allowed the Bible to be read in the vulgar tongue, and claimed less authority over the conscience of men than the latter.
- (3) The Greek Church produced a more uniform type of Christian than the Roman, and affords no example as high as that of St. Louis or as low as that of Alexander VI.
- (4) The political position of the Churches was different. The Greek Emperor was supreme in Church and State, and, as in the case of the Emperor Zeno, decided points of doctrine; the Byzantine patriarch possessed little temporal power, and the power and influence of the Church varied with that of the Eastern emperor. The history of Western Europe from 800 is largely concerned with the struggle for supremacy between Pope and Emperor; the Pope exercised great influence in temporal affairs, and the strength of the Roman Church grew with the weakness of the Empire.
- (5) Greek monks were recluses and exercised no such influence on civilisation and society as the great monastic orders of the Roman Church.

- (6) It is generally true to say that the Greek Church was more austere, more stationary in character, more devoted to learning than the Roman.
- (7) For differences as to doctrine see below.

#### IV. Theological Problems.

Theological controversy soon arose in the Christian Church.

##### A. The nature of Christ.

- (1) In the first century the Ebionites denied the divinity of Christ; the Gnostics, who tried to reconcile Christianity and Greek philosophy, denied the humanity of Christ.
- (2) The Greek Church was divided by the Monophysite heresy which declared that there was but one nature in our Lord, while the orthodox party held that both the human and divine element were fully present in His person; and by the Monothelite heresy which affirmed that Christ had only one will and not two, a human and a divine. This heresy was condemned in the Council of Constantinople in 680. Pope Martin V, who had denounced the Edict of Comprehension, called "The Type," issued by the Emperor Constantine in 648, was kidnapped and banished to the Crimea, 655. The Roman Catholics regarded him as a martyr to the orthodox cause, and his imprisonment estranged them from the Empire.
- (3) Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople (428-431), rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation and condemned the description of the Virgin Mary as "the mother of God." He said in a sermon, "Like can but bear like; a human mother can only bear a human being. God was not born; He dwelt in that which was born." Nestorianism was condemned by the Council of Ephesus 431.

## B. The Trinity.

## (1) The Arian Controversy.

The Arian Controversy was the most famous of these early disputes. Arius of Alexandria (*d.* 336) maintained that "there was only one true God, the Father, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost were created beings" (Gibbon). The Council of Nice, or Nicæa, in Bithynia, met in 325 and declared the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, and this is explained by Gibbon as "pure and distinct equality tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connexion and spiritual penetration which indissolubly unites the Divine Persons, and, on the other by the pre-eminence of the Father which was acknowledged as far as is compatible with the independence of the Son." The Council, which Constantine the Great attended, issued the Nicene Creed which was accepted as the standard of orthodoxy, and condemned the Arians. But the Arian doctrine was accepted in Egypt, by a large "majority of the bishops of Asia" and by the Emperor Constantius II (337-361), who persecuted Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, the famous champion of Trinitarian belief. The Second Council of Constantinople in 381 reaffirmed the Nicene Creed, and the Emperor Theodosius the Great took strong measures against the Arians, particularly in Constantinople.

## (2) The procession of the Holy Ghost.

The "Filioque" controversy was provoked by the question whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *and* the Son, or from the Father *through* the Son. The former was declared to be the orthodox belief by the Council of Toledo, 653, and was added to the Nicene Creed.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek Church held the latter view, and this difference in opinion caused strong controversy between the Greek and Roman Churches.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, IV, p. 152.

(3) The Donatists.

The Donatists, founded by an African bishop, Donatus, about 312, held that the Persons of the Trinity were not equal, but that the Father was above the Son and the Son above the Holy Ghost.

(4) Political importance of Arianism.

The Vandals, Goths, Burgundians and Lombards were Arians. The Vandal conquest of Africa was facilitated by the fact that the Donatists had weakened the cause of orthodoxy; in Spain difference of religion between the Visigoths and the conquered people so hindered political development that in 587 King Reccared declared himself a Catholic; in Burgundy Arians and Catholics failed to coalesce, even the conversion of King Sigismund (516-523) to Catholicism produced no union.

The Franks alone of the German races were orthodox, and this fact partly explains the close relations that sprang up between the Frankish kings and the Pope and the struggle between the Franks and Lombards.<sup>1</sup>

C. Pelagianism.

Pelagius, a Welshman whose name was Morgan,<sup>2</sup> denied the doctrine of original sin. His views were opposed by St. Augustine and condemned as heresy by the Council of Carthage, 418.

D. Iconoclasm.

(1) The edict of Leo the Isaurian, 726.

726. The Emperor Leo the Isaurian issued an edict against images and forbade the worship of statues and paintings which had been introduced into churches for popular instruction. Pope Gregory II resisted the edict, which was strongly resented by the Roman Church. The second Council of Nice declared the

<sup>1</sup> Pages 22 and 28.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, III. p. 374, note.

lawfulness of making representations of our Lord and the saints, and of paying to them not divine worship but adoration and reverence.

(2) Results.

The Iconoclastic controversy was an important cause of the separation of the Greek and Roman Churches. It hastened the disappearance of Greek literature and thought from the West ; led a number of artists to migrate from Constantinople to Italy, and these laid the foundation of Romanesque architecture and the Byzantine school of painting in Italy.

E. The marriage of the clergy.

The Greek Church sanctioned the marriage of the clergy. The Roman allowed those who were married before ordination to retain their wives, but the action of Pope Calixtus I (219-223), who allowed those already in orders to marry, aroused opposition, and even at this early date there was a strong party which advocated the celibacy of the clergy.

V. The Growing Importance of the Papacy.

A. The Pope as Bishop of Rome.

Rome, "the Eternal City," had been the head of the pagan world, the seat of the power of the Cæsars, the residence of St. Peter, who was generally regarded as the first Bishop of Rome. After the conversion of Constantinople Rome became the chief centre of Christianity, and although the foundation of Constantinople deprived it of its position as the capital of the Empire, it remained the chief city of the West. The capture of Rome by Alaric extinguished the last relics of paganism ; no barbarian king made Rome his capital.

The Bishop of Rome held a high position as the "first Christian in the first Christian city of the World," and as the successor of St. Peter, claimed the power of the keys of heaven and hell.

**B. The extension of papal authority in the West.**

- (1) With a few unimportant exceptions, the Popes were strictly orthodox. The Pope became the champion of the true faith, and Rome remained free from the heresies which distracted other parts of the Empire.
- (2) Of the five Patriarchates<sup>1</sup> Rome was the only one that was established in the West and the leading position thus obtained was strengthened by the issue of Papal Decretals which became laws for the Western Church and the first of which was issued by Pope Siricius in **385**; by the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope which was acknowledged by the Council of Sardica **347**; by the requests for assistance in matters of difficulty made by Western, African and Dalmatian Churches; by the missionary zeal of Pope Gregory the Great (**590-604**), who converted Spain and Lombardy from Arianism and Britain from heathenism; by the recognition of the Popes by the Teutonic kings as the representatives of the Catholic and Roman population of Italy.

**C. The Popes and the Empire.**

The Roman Church was the ecclesiastical counterpart of the Empire, and the idea that it should have a single head seemed natural to the men of the time. "Latin Christianity had an irresistible tendency to monarchy" (Milman).

- (1) The position of the Pope was greatly strengthened by the transference of the Western Empire to Constantinople in **476**, and by the selection of Ravenna and not Rome as the residence of the Imperial governors. Henceforth the Pope was the leading man in Rome.
- (2) The Emperors failed to maintain their authority in Italy. The Lombards swept the "imperial governors and garrisons into corners of the peninsula," and wars in the Far East and the rapid spread of Moham-

<sup>1</sup> Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.



medanism, after **622**, when Mohammed fled to **Medina**, prevented the Emperors from interfering effectively in Italy.

- (3) The Emperors claimed authority over the Popes, and Justinian, whose authority in Italy had been restored by Narses, imprisoned Pope Vigilius in **552**, but his successors lost the position Justinian had regained, and Gregory the Great was elected Pope in **590** without Imperial sanction. Constans carried off Martin V, but by stealth; Gregory II's successful resistance to Leo the Isaurian delivered the Papacy from its dependence on the Empire.

#### D. The Papacy and temporal power.

- (1) The defence of Rome.

The Popes greatly strengthened their power by defending Rome and Italy against foreign foes.

**411.** Innocent I restored Rome after the capture by Alaric in **410**. "The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of Power."<sup>1</sup>

**452.** Leo the Great persuaded Attila to give up his projected attack on Rome.

**599.** Gregory the Great defended Rome against the Lombards and ruled Rome as a temporal governor rather than as a bishop.

- (2) Papal States.

The Donation of Constantine was the forgery of a later generation, but Constantine the Great actually gave some land to the Church and thus established its right to hold landed property. In **756** Pippin the Short gave the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Pope, who thus became a temporal prince. This gift marks the beginning of the Papal States.

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

**(3) Alliances.**

The Popes concluded treaties and made alliances.

**599.** Gregory the Great made a treaty with the Lombard King Agilulf.

**729.** Gregory II made an alliance with the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, who had rebelled against the Lombard King Luitprand, and "tacked between Emperor, Lombard King and the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto with more than secular skill."

In the eighth century their alliance with the Kings of the Franks proved of the utmost value to the Popes.<sup>1</sup>

**(4) International power.**

In **754** Pope Stephen II pronounced the deposition of Childeric, the last Merovingian King of the Franks, and crowned Pippin the Short in his place. The Pope thus acted as an international power and assumed the right of deposing and crowning kings. Thus was established a very important precedent which strengthened the Papacy in its struggle with the Empire in the Middle Ages.

**References :**

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II.

Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. I.

**THE FRANKS**

The Franks were a confederacy of German tribes living on the Scheldt, Meuse and Lower Rhine. They took advantage of the weakness of the Roman Empire, which resulted from the victories of the Huns, to secure Northern Gaul and the banks of the Rhine ; they were divided into the Salian Franks, living along the Yssel or Sala, and the Ripuarian Franks, who occupied the bank<sup>2</sup> of the Rhine.

<sup>1</sup> Pages 22 and 28.

<sup>2</sup> L. rips.

## I. Clovis, 481-511.

## A. King of the Franks.

Clovis, King of the Salian Franks and a member of the famous royal family of the Merwings or Merovingians, greatly extended his dominions by successful war.

- (1) **486.** Clovis defeated the Roman general Syagrius at Soissons and conquered the valley of the Seine.
  - (2) **491.** Clovis defeated the Ripuarian Franks and, in **496**, at Tolbiac, the Alamanni; he secured the land adjoining the Middle Rhine and the valley of the Main, now called Franconia from its conquerors.
  - (3) **500.** Clovis defeated Gundobad, King of Burgundy, but failed to conquer Burgundy.
  - (4) **507.** Clovis routed the Visigoths at Poitiers and conquered Aquitaine.
  - (5) **c. 510.** Clovis secured the murder of the King of the Ripuarian Franks and took his kingdom.
- 511.** Clovis was now King of All the Franks, "and, finding no more to kill, he died."<sup>1</sup>

## B. Becomes a Christian.

**492.** Clovis married Clotilda, a Christian princess and niece of the Arian King of Burgundy. He became a Christian, and was baptized by St. Remigius at Rheims on Christmas Day, **496**. His subjects followed his example. Clovis was the only orthodox Christian King and the Franks the only orthodox German people. In spite of his immorality and cruelty, Clovis gained the strong support of the Church against his Arian opponents.

## II. The Struggle between Austrasia and Neustria.

## A. The division.

The kingdom of Clovis was divided at his death between his four sons and again reunited under the survivor, Chlothar, in **558**. Chlothar died in **561**, and his

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours.

kingdom was also divided among his four sons, but soon the Frankish lands were divided into two, the Ripuarian Kingdom stretching from Bavaria and Thuringia to the Meuse was known as Austrasia or the Eastern Kingdom ; Northern Gaul, from the Meuse southwards to the Loire, was Neustria or the New West Kingdom.

#### B. The struggle.

- (1) **567**. Chilperic, King of Neustria, murdered his wife Galswintha and married his favourite Fredegundis. Galswintha's sister Brunhildis, wife of Sigibert of Austrasia, determined to avenge her sister.
- (2) **567-613**. Fierce struggle between Neustria and Austrasia in which Fredegundis (died **597**) and Brunhildis (murdered **614**) took a leading part.
- (3) **614-638**. Neustria supreme. Dagobert King of all the Franks, **628-638**.
- (4) **687**. Pippin of Heristal, or Pippin the Young, Mayor of the Palace to the "roi fainéant" Merovingian, Theuderich III, routed the Neustrians at Testry and ensured the supremacy of Austrasia. Cologne, not Paris, became the Frankish capital.

### III. The Mayors of the Palace.

#### A. The Rois Fainéants.

The civil strife that followed the division of Frankish land between the children of a deceased king ; the cruelty and treachery of the kings, e.g. of Chilperic, the "Nero and Herod of the time" ; the utter inefficiency of the successors of Dagobert, who were called rois fainéants, or "Do-nothing" kings, utterly destroyed the power of the Merovingians.

#### B. The Mayors of the Palace.

##### (1) Their work.

The real power passed into the hands of the Mayors of the Palace who from about **640** were the relative

or descendants of Pippin the Old. The **Mayors of the Palace** rendered great services to the Franks.

e.g. Charles Martel (**715-741**), the son of Pippin of Heristal, put down the rebellious Bavarians, secured the submission of Aquitaine, strongly supported the extension of Roman Christianity, and by his victory over the Moors at Tours (or Poitiers) in **732** saved Aquitaine and checked the spread of Moham-  
medanism.

(2) The Mayor of the Palace becomes King.

**751.** Pope Zacharias approved of the deposition of Childeric, the last Merovingian king, by a national council and of the election of Pippin the Short, Mayor of the Palace and son of Charles Martel, as King of the Franks.

**754.** Pope Stephen II crowned Pippin at St. Denis. The beginning of the Carolingian kings, so called from Pippin's son, Charles the Great.

#### IV. King Pippin the Short, 751.

##### A. Pippin and the Church.

(1) The Papacy.

**756.** Pippin, whose help had been sought by the Pope, conquered Aistulf, King of the Lombards, who was besieging Rome, and gave to the Papacy the Exarchate of Ravenna.

(2) St. Boniface.

Pippin strongly supported St. Boniface in his attempt to reform the Church in the Frankish territory.

##### B. Extension of territory.

Pippin conquered Narbonne from the Arabs and annexed Aquitaine. He extended the boundaries of his territory to the Mediterranean.

**C. The importance of Pippin.**

Pippin made his kingdom the leading State of Western Europe and strengthened the alliance between the Franks and the Papacy.

**Reference :**

*The Dark Ages* (Oman, Rivingtons),  
chaps. VII, X, XV-XVII, XIX.



SECTION II  
**THE CAROLINGIANS**





# CHARLEMAGNE

## I. The Extent of Charlemagne's Empire.

“ From the ocean to the mountains of the Bohemians and the plains of Hungary and Poland, from the Baltic till he met the Arabs in Spain, the Greeks in Calabria and Sicily and Dalmatia, the continental Europe of that time owned his sway and formed his Empire.”<sup>1</sup>

During Charlemagne's reign the Frank kingdom had grown into a resemblance of the dominions of the Cæsars.

## II. Wars.

The Frankish lands from the Main to the Channel formed the basis of his power. Pippin the Short's dominions were divided on his death in 768, but the death of Carloman, 771, left Charlemagne supreme. His power was strengthened by the conquest of Aquitaine in 769.

Charlemagne's policy was not solely aggressive. The Franks regarded themselves as the champions of Christendom against heathen Saxons, Slavs and Saracens; conquest was often followed, especially in the case of the Saxons, by baptism and the foundation of bishoprics, e.g. Bremen and Paderborn. Somewhat similar ideas led Charlemagne to support the Pope against the Lombards.

From 800 his aim was to maintain his eastern and south-western borders. In the East he did not incorporate conquered territory in the Empire nor appoint counts to govern or Frankish garrisons to hold. In the South-West he drove the Mohammedans beyond the Ebro.

<sup>1</sup> Church, p. 171.

## A. The Lombards, 773-774.

- (1) The war was due to Charlemagne's desire to support the Pope, and to the resentment of Desiderius at the repudiation of his daughter, Charlemagne's first wife.
- (2) **773** and **774**. Conquest of Lombardy. Pavia was captured in **774**, but Charlemagne never finally conquered the Duchy of Benevento.
- (3) He assumed the crown of Lombardy, took the title of "King of the Franks and Lombards," added Lombardy to his dominions and confirmed Pippin's grant of the Exarchate to the Pope.
- (4) Thus he broke a power which might have formed the nucleus of a united Italy, and strengthened the temporal power of the Pope.

## B. The Saxons, 775-804.

The Saxons had no towns and were difficult to conquer. They were led by their national hero, Witikind, and eight campaigns were made before they finally submitted.

**775**. In his first campaign Charlemagne overran Westphalia and received the submission of most of the Saxons who professed Christianity. But their submission was merely formal; they detested Christianity, and only their fear of Charlemagne kept them in allegiance for a time.

**782**. Charlemagne beheaded 4500 unarmed Saxon captives at Verden.

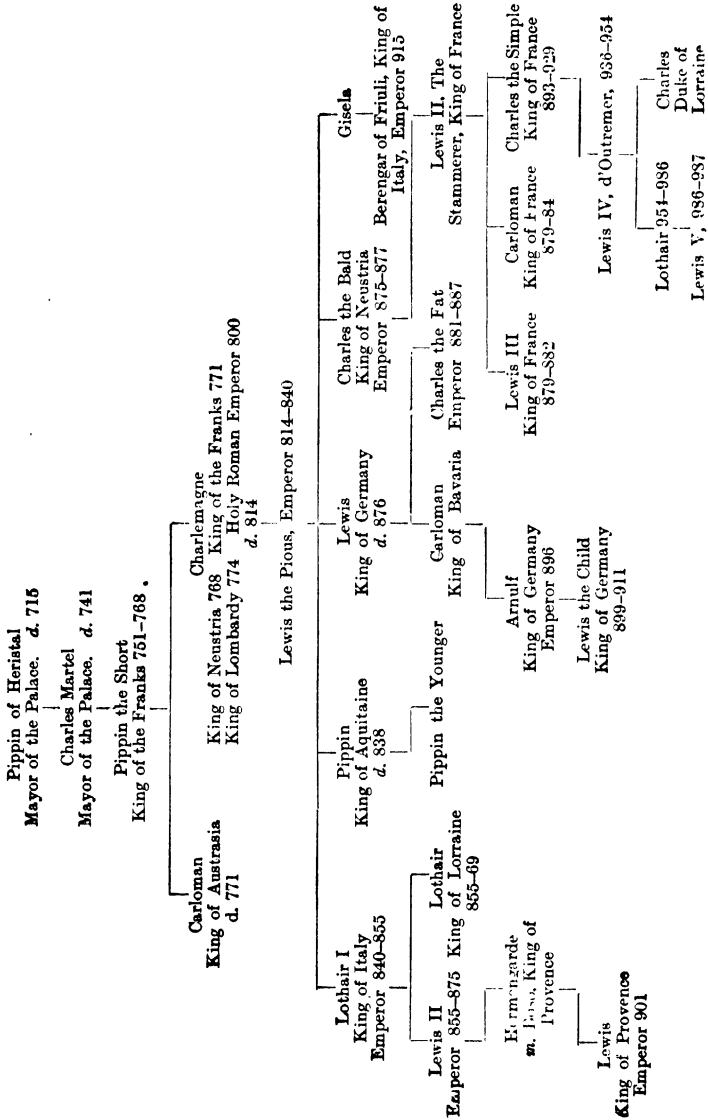
**783-785**. Fifth campaign against the Saxon. Submission of Witikind. In this struggle the fate of Saxon independence and Saxon heathendom was really settled.

**792-794**. Some loyal Saxons helped Charles to put down a revolt.

**804**. Charlemagne removed 10,000 rebel families to Neustria.

**804-806**. Charlemagne founded bishoprics at Bremen, Münster and Paderborn.

THE CAROLINGIANS



**C. Spain.**

**778.** Charlemagne's army was routed at Roncesvalles, where Roland was slain. Charlemagne founded the Spanish Mark in **795** and added to it the conquered city of Barcelona in **797**. The Ebro became the boundary. Charlemagne thus continued the work of Charles Martel, who had driven the Saracens back from the Loire by his great victory at Tours, or Poitiers, in **732**. Under Charlemagne the Saracens were driven out of Corsica, Sardinia and, in **799**, the Balearic Isles.

**D. Bavaria.**

The Duke of Bavaria rebelled. In **788** Charlemagne conquered Bavaria and incorporated it in his dominions.

**E. Slavs.****(1) Northern Slavs.**

The Abotrites, Wiltzes and Sorbes threatened Charlemagne's northern boundaries, but were weak and disunited.

**789.** Charlemagne conquered the Northern Slavs.

**798.** The Abotrites fought for Charlemagne against the Saxons.

**(2) The Eastern Slavs.**

The Bohemians were a source of danger in the East, but were conquered in **805-806**.

These Slavs were required to pay tribute and to acknowledge Charlemagne's supremacy, but were not put under the authority of royal counts.

**F. Danes.**

The Danes were a continual danger. They built the Dannewerk in **808** against the Franks; sheltered Witikind. Charles built a fleet to check the Danes and established arsenals at Boulogne and Ghent.

G. The Huns.

**796.** Charlemagne extended his Empire to the Danube by a victory over the Huns, whom he finally conquered in **799**.

H. General.

- (1) Charlemagne's wars, though utterly ruthless, "decided finally and for good the question in Germany between heathenism and Christianity, between continued barbarism or the first steps, the only ones then possible, to civilization."
- (2) They set back the line of barbarism from the Elbe to the Danube and drove the Saracens to the Ebro. "All these wars were part of a connected and persistent plan to reduce and keep under control the dangerous barbarism which hemmed in and pressed upon his kingdom."
- (3) But the ravages of the Danes who invaded Northern Germany in **808**, of the Saracens in the Mediterranean and the Greeks in the Adriatic, caused Charlemagne much anxiety at the end of his reign, and were to prove a difficult problem for his weaker successors.

III. Internal Government.

A. Worked by local officials, dukes and counts, who were removable but tended to become hereditary.

Charlemagne made his son Charles King of Neustria, Pippin of Italy, Lewis of Aquitaine.

Counts owed obedience to dukes, dukes to the under kings, the last to Charlemagne himself.

B. Charlemagne sent Missi Dominici, his personal representatives, to investigate with full powers, local government and justice.

C. Twice a year he held general assemblies or Malli for public business ; the records of these assemblies dealt with all

possible subjects ; these " capitularies " were authorised by the King. The capitularies show :

1. The confusion between political, religious and economic questions.
2. The ideas and customs of the time.
3. The existence of the idea of public right as distinct from the claims of individuals.
4. The beginnings of political institution, e.g. feudalism.

#### IV. Charlemagne and the Church.

##### A. Charlemagne judges the Pope.

Charlemagne had rendered great service to the Papacy, but had asserted his authority by presiding in the autumn of **800** at a synod at Rome, which considered the accusations against Leo III, and by declaring the Pope innocent of the charges brought against him.

##### B. Charlemagne and the Frankish clergy.

In his own dominions Charlemagne maintained his supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs.

- (1) He corrected abuses in the Church, and in his capitularies dealt with ecclesiastical as well as political questions. Bishops were forbidden to engage in battle, and ordered to enforce discipline over their clergy. Bishoprics and abbeys were feudal benefices, their holders were appointed by Charlemagne and were amenable to the law of treason ; deposition followed disloyalty. He enforced the payment of tithes, and encouraged the extension of the rule of St. Benedict. " Never in modern Europe has the union of Church and State exhibited in the supremacy of a King been carried to so high a point."
- (2) He presided at Church Councils and decided questions of doctrine.

**794.** At the Council of Frankfort he condemned the decision of the Council of Nicæa, **787** (which, with

the approval of Pope Hadrian I, had sanctioned the adoration of images) and rejected alike "adoration, worship, reverence and veneration," while admitting the use of images as ornaments.

The Council of Frankfort was "the first example of that Teutonic independence in which the clergy appear as feudal beneficiaries around the throne of the temporal liege lord, with but remote acknowledgment of their spiritual sovereign, passing acts not merely without his direct assent, but in contravention of his declared opinions."<sup>1</sup>

- (3) The clergy were his loyal supporters, and abbots and bishops became the King's representatives as well as dukes and counts.

#### C. Missionary zeal.

He did much to spread Christianity, and although the Saxons, whom he compelled at the point of the sword to accept Christianity, relapsed into heathenism, the bishoprics he established proved an effective means of later conversion.

### V. Charlemagne the Patron of Learning.

Charlemagne was a diligent scholar, a good speaker and a fair poet. He spoke Latin and German and understood Greek; was interested in music, astronomy, theology and law. But although he kept writing materials under his pillow for practice during his waking hours, he never learned to write.

He complained that the letters he received from his abbots and bishops were "very correct in sentiment but very incorrect in grammar."

Under his patronage learning revived, although the revival ended soon after his death.

#### (1) Schools.

He ordered schools to be founded in every monastery.

<sup>1</sup> Milman, III, p. 102.



## (2) Books.

He had manuscripts copied, secured the compilation of Latin and German grammars, biographies and histories, and collected Frankish ballads. The life of Charlemagne, written by Abbot Eginhard, was a great historical work.

He made Paul the Deacon revise and correct the text of the Bible, and ordered the revised version to be used in his dominions.

## (3) Teachers.

He brought to Germany "the Paladins of the literary court," Alcuin of York, Peter of Pisa and Agobard a Spaniard, to help the cause of learning and to guide the learned discussions which formed a feature of his court.

## (4) Building.

Charlemagne was a great builder. He built a cathedral at Aachen; palaces at Aachen, Nimeguen and Engelheim; a long bridge at Mainz; he constructed a canal connecting the tributaries of the Rhine and Danube. With Charlemagne's buildings the northern Romanesque style, the predecessor of Gothic architecture, started.

## VI. General.

Charlemagne, the most heroic figure of the Dark Ages, was "born for universal innovation," but his innovation was constructive and not destructive.

## A. A great conqueror.

- (1) Charlemagne undertook in person fifty-three great expeditions. He extended his power from the Eyder on the north to the Ebro, the Mediterranean and the Duchy of Benevento on the south; from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Drave and Danube on the east.
- (2) His successes maintained and extended his own frontiers; checked barbarian invasions; helped to spread Christianity among the heathen and to defend

Christendom from the attacks of Huns, Saracens, Saxons and Slavs. His Saxon wars "were avowedly religious wars."<sup>1</sup>

- (3) Under Charlemagne Germany ceased to be a land of disunited, wandering tribes. Charlemagne took the first step towards the formation of the German nation, and the Treaty of Verdun<sup>2</sup> marks the next step.
- (4) By uniting Italy and the realm of the Franks he profoundly affected the history of Western Europe.

B. A great organiser and ruler.

The political organisation of his dominions brought all parts into personal touch with Charlemagne through his local representatives and his Missi.<sup>3</sup> His power of leading and of compelling obedience, his wide interest in many varied subjects, ensured the effective working of the political machine he had constructed. "Few men have possessed the ruler's genius to the same extent as Charlemagne."

C. He introduced new political ideas.

The inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire produced new ideas of supreme importance as to the Empire and Papacy, and the relations of the countries of Western Europe to each other; it was the direct cause of theories which played a great part in later history. Although his Empire was soon broken up, and although feudalism soon became a serious rival to imperialism, Charlemagne's policy led to the establishment of kingdoms which gave some measure of union and good government, and in spite of much weakness proved a great improvement on the "shapeless chaos of the previous times."

D. Personal.

(1) Physique.

Charlemagne "was tall and stoutly built, his height just seven times the length of his own foot."<sup>4</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

<sup>2</sup> Page 46.

<sup>3</sup> Page 31.

<sup>4</sup> Eginhard.

devoted to riding, hunting and swimming ; he enjoyed excellent health.

(2) A true Frank.

Charlemagne was essentially an Austrasian Frank. The Rhine lands were his favourite dwelling place, he habitually spoke German and wore the Frankish dress.

(3) He was moderate in eating and drinking ;<sup>1</sup> generally kindly, just and generous ; energetic, shrewd, resolute and persevering. In spite of occasional acts of ruthless cruelty, in spite of his incontinence which was so glaring as to prevent his canonisation, he is justly regarded as one of the greatest figures in European history.

He died of pleurisy at Aachen on January 28th, 814, and was buried in the cathedral he had built.

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*The Dark Ages* (Oman), chaps. xx, xxi, xxii.

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 115-149.

*Outlines of Mediæval History* (Orton), chap. III, sect. 3.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Book V, chap. 1.

*Heroes of the Nations* (" Charlemagne ").

## THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE

### I. Rome and Constantinople in 800.

#### A. The Roman Empire.

Although in 476 the capital of the Roman Empire had been established in Constantinople and the Western Empire merged in the Eastern, the belief in the old Roman Empire continued in the West. " The conviction that the imperial sovereignty was the only true Imperium, that the governing power flowed from and could be transmitted by it alone, was shared with the Goths by the other Germanic princes who had settled

<sup>1</sup> Eginhard.

in the provinces that had once been Roman. The Germanic peoples could imagine no fabric of political organisation except in the Roman form with Roman institutions and laws."<sup>1</sup> Clovis received from the Pope Anastasius II the old titles of Patrician and Consul; British kings called themselves basileus or imperator.

The Roman Church and Roman Law helped to keep alive the belief in the Roman Empire although its territory had been divided into a number of barbarian states; the Roman Emperor continued to rule, though no longer from Rome, and his Empire was considered to be universal and everlasting.

#### B. Rome.

Old tradition, the vague recollection of the past glory of Rome, the growing importance of Rome as the centre of Western and orthodox Christianity and as the seat of the Popes gave to the city a commanding position in the West.

#### C. The Eastern Empire.

- (1) The Eastern Empire was partly Greek and partly Arabic; for a time the Exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives of the Emperor, exercised considerable influence in Italy, but by 800 the Pope had become the most important man in Italy. The Emperors were tainted with the Iconoclastic heresy, they had not defended the Popes against the Lombards, they had failed to maintain their hold on Rome.

- (2) The Empress Irene.

The Emperor Leo IV died in 780 and his widow, the Empress Irene, acted as regent for her young son, Constantine VI. When he tried to assert his position, Irene dethroned and blinded him in 797.

<sup>1</sup> Dollinger, *Addresses*, p. 85.

## II. The Choice of Charlemagne.

### A. The feeling against the Eastern Empire.

The Romans had long resented the authority claimed over Rome by the Eastern Emperors, and the crimes of Irene aggravated that resentment. They feared that with Irene as Empress the Empire might collapse, and longed for the revival of the strength of the Empire "lest the heathens should mock at the Christians if the name of Emperor had ceased among them." "The spiritual head of Christendom [could not] dispense with the temporal; without the Roman Empire there could not be a Roman, nor by necessary consequence (as men thought) a Catholic and Apostolic Church" (Bryce). Rome was older than Constantinople and hallowed by its associations with the apostles; an election at Rome would be as valid as at Constantinople.

### B. The connection between the Franks and the Papacy.

The Franks had always been orthodox; the help given to the Papacy against the Lombards by Pippin the Short was repeated by Charlemagne, who in 774 defeated King Desiderius and captured Pavia; Pope Stephen II had given to Pippin the Short the title of Patrician in 754, and the title implied the duty of defending the Church and some measure of actual authority in Rome. After 774 Charlemagne styled himself "King of the Franks and Lombards, and Roman Patrician."

In 795 Pope Leo III on his accession sent to Charlemagne the banner of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's shrine, and the people of Rome swore allegiance to Charlemagne as Patrician.

In 799 Leo III was driven from Rome and fled for safety to Charlemagne, who restored him to Rome. If, therefore, a new Emperor was to be appointed in Rome, the only possible candidate was the powerful King of the Franks, the protector of the Papacy and the Patrician of Rome.

### III. The Coronation.

#### A. How far premeditated.

It is probable<sup>1</sup> that the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne had been discussed by him and Leo III in 799, but the former probably did not expect the event to take place when it did, and he afterwards asserted that he would not have gone to church on the day of the coronation if he had known what was going to happen. Döllinger thought that a meeting of the clergy, nobles and people of the Franks and the Romans had decided that the coronation should take place. It is possible that by acting suddenly Leo III swept away the King's "lingering objections to the coronation."

#### B. Illegal.

The coronation was illegal, for the Pope had no right to give the Imperial crown, and "was an exercise of the sacred right of insurrection." The coronation was a recognition of the supreme position which Charlemagne had secured in Western Europe; but "it was founded upon no law, nor competent to create any for the future."

#### C. Details.

The details of the coronation are very important in view of the great controversy that arose later as to the relative position of Pope and Emperor.

- (1) The Pope actually crowned the Emperor. The Pope placed the crown on the head of the Emperor as he knelt at the high altar.

The papal party later asserted that the Imperial crown was given by the Pope to the Emperor, and claimed that the Pope had the right to take away what he had given.

- (2) The Pope "adored" the Emperor.

The Pope immediately did obeisance to the Emperor.

The Imperial party asserted later that the Pope thus acknowledged the Emperor's supremacy.

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, *Addresses*, p. 114.

- (3) The people shouted approval.

Therefore the Roman people later claimed the right of approving of Imperial elections.

But such explanations of the details belong to later times. The coronation itself was "tumultuary," undetermined, and, to a considerable extent, unexpected.

#### IV. The Nature of Charlemagne's Empire.

##### A. Charlemagne and the Eastern Empire.

- (1) The Western nations regarded Charlemagne as the legitimate successor not of Romulus Augustulus, but of Constantine VI and the whole Eastern line. Charlemagne desired to secure similar recognition from Byzantium and offered to marry Irene. But Irene was deposed and Nicephorus elected in her place. The maintenance of an imperial line among the Easterns was a continuing protest against the validity of Charlemagne's claim.
- (2) The Byzantine Emperors strongly resented Charlemagne's election, but the grave danger from the Mohammedans and Bulgarians made them unwilling to enter into hostilities with the Franks, and in 812 Charlemagne was recognised as Emperor by the ambassadors of the Byzantine Emperor Michael.
- (3) The coronation of Charlemagne ensured the separation of the Eastern and Western Empires. It "finally determined, though it did not at once accomplish, the separation of East and West, of Greek and Latin Christianity" (Church).

##### B. His Empire was both ecclesiastical and temporal.

- (1) As King of the Franks he had exercised considerable authority in ecclesiastical matters; as Emperor he magnified this authority and established a secular theocracy. He was, in a special degree, "the Lord's anointed"; he "claimed that the defence of all law and morality was involved in the Imperial name."

- (2) The new Empire was "the conscious union of Church and State for the advantage of both." Charlemagne first authorised the use of the civil power to enforce the payment of tithes ; under him bishops and abbots became an essential part of the feudal system.
- C. His Empire was both Roman and Frankish.
- (1) Charlemagne claimed the headship of the world, an acknowledged right of the Roman Emperors. The conception of his Empire was Roman, but his authority rested not only upon Imperial tradition, but also upon his power as King of the Franks. "He breathed a Teutonic spirit into Roman forms."
- (2) But Charles found in his new Empire little that was Roman except old tradition. "There was now nothing Roman left in the world : a Christian priest gave to a German soldier the title of that which had ceased to exist."<sup>1</sup>

#### V. The Effects of Charlemagne's Coronation.

The coronation of Charlemagne opened a new age in the history of Europe.

- A. Separation of Eastern and Western Empires.  
B. The beginning of the Holy Roman Empire.  
(1) The union of Western Christendom.

The idea of the Holy Roman Empire was accepted by Western Christendom. "All, even the Saxon and the Slav, had heard of Rome's glories, and revered the name of Cæsar" (Bryce), and the coronation was the consolidation of all Western Christendom under one monarchy.

The Holy Roman Empire rendered possible the fusion of barbarians and Romans.

- (2) New ideas.

Although "pure barbaric force" continued, the Holy Roman Empire gave rise to new ideas which

<sup>1</sup> Kitchin, quoting La Vallée.



lasted for the greater part of the Middle Ages. The great problem was the relation between the ecclesiastical and temporal power, and while this led to the great struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, it profoundly affected the history of individual nations owing to the authority claimed by Popes over kings and over the clergy of their kingdoms.

- (3) Thus there arose "a new theoretical world monarchy, by turns the inspiration and ignis fatuus of mediæval politics" (Orton).

### C. Germany.

The position of Charlemagne gained dignity from the "halo of vague splendour" which the coronation bestowed. But in later years the union of the Holy Roman Empire with the Kingship of Germany tended to the disintegration of both Germany and Italy.

### References :

- Holy Roman Empire* (Bryce), chap. v.  
*The Dark Ages* (Oman), pp. 372-377.  
*Outlines of Mediæval History* (Orton), pp. 142-146.

## THE BREAK-UP OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

### I. General.

Charlemagne was a Frank, i.e. German, not French. He had aimed at putting "Germans at the head of the rising civilisation of the West," and under him they became the leading nation in Europe. But his Empire was bound to break up.

- A. Its enormous extent and the slowness of communications made it impossible for the central authority to be everywhere effective, although Charlemagne's energy had overcome this obstacle.

B. National differences split the Empire into discordant elements.

(1) Germans, Gauls, Italians.

(2) The Franks were divided into—

a. The Austrasians = the true German Franks.

b. The Neustrians = the Romanised Franks of France.

C. The theory of Partition, hitherto ineffective owing, e.g. to the death of Carloman, 771, was put into operation by Lewis the Pious, and his repeated Partitions provoked discord and led to the break-up of the Empire.

D. Charlemagne's policy had tended in some respects to weaken the Frankish Empire—

e.g. By defeating the Lombards and making the Papacy a great Italian power he ensured the "triumph of Latin influence in Southern Europe" (Church).

## II. Lewis the Pious, 814-840.

A. Character.

Pious but weak, his virtues weakened his power; he was too refined for his Frankish life.

(1) The Church.

By allowing many monastic lands to be held by free alms<sup>1</sup> he diminished the resources of the State.

**833.** Lewis deposed for incapacity by a Council of Bishops of Gaul. He refused to accept deposition, but an important precedent was established.

(2) The Pope.

By allowing Pope Stephen IV to crown him in **816** (after he had crowned himself) he strengthened the authority of the Pope over the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. free of military service.

## (3) His wives.

Hermengarde, who died in **819**, led him to do things which caused him deep remorse, e.g. the blinding of Bernard, **812**.

The schemes of Judith for her son Charles (the Bald), who was born in **823**, led him to make arrangements which enraged his elder sons and provoked strife.

## (4) His conscience.

Caused him deep remorse and led him to do public penance at Attigny, **822**, and St. Medard, **833**, which was regarded as a proof of weakness by his subjects. The lenient treatment he showed to rebels who submitted, especially his own sons, led them to rebel again.

## B. Lewis and his sons.

## (1) The partition of Aachen.

**817**. The partition of Aachen made Lothair co-Emperor and King of Italy. Pippin was to have Aquitaine; Lewis the German Bavaria.

(2) The First Civil War, **829**.

**823**. Birth of Charles (the Bald).

**829**. Lewis took Swabia and Switzerland from Lothair to make a kingdom of Alamannia for Charles. This led to the First Civil War, in which the clergy opposed the Emperor. Lewis was captured, and Judith sent to a nunnery; but the Emperor was restored by his people and pardoned his rebellious sons.

(3) The Second Civil War, **832**.

Lewis deposed Pippin, King of Aquitaine, and Lewis, King of Bavaria. The Emperor was tricked at Lügenfeld, or The Field of Lies, in **833**, and deposed by a Council of Bishops called by Lothair. He refused to acknowledge deposition, but did public penance at St. Medard. He was restored in **834** by the German nobles. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, and Agobert, Archbishop of Lyons, were deposed for their action in supporting the deposition of the Emperor.

(4) Further partitions.

**835.** Lewis proposed that Lothair should lose all his dominions save Italy, and that Burgundy and Provence should go to Charles.

**837.** At a meeting at Nimeguen the Emperor gave to Charles German land previously given to Lewis the Bavarian. On the death of Pippin of Aquitaine in **838**, Lewis gave Aquitaine to Charles as well. This led to

(5) The Third Civil War, **839**.

Lewis of Bavaria and the younger Pippin rebelled. The Emperor, helped by Lothair, overran Aquitaine and conquered Lewis of Bavaria ; but the Emperor died in **840** before final arrangements could be made.

C. The Danes.

The Danes had proved a serious danger to the Frankish borders in the reign, and particularly in the later years, of Charlemagne. They profited by the Civil Wars in the reign of Lewis the Pious to invade his dominions.

**835.** Sacked Utrecht, the capital of Frisia.

**836.** Burnt Antwerp, the capital of Flanders.

**837.** Sacked Walcheren.

They retreated on the advance of Lewis, but had spied out the nakedness of the land and would return.

D. General.

Lewis dismembered the Empire, impaired the Imperial dignity, strengthened papal authority and clerical power, failed to keep the Danes from the north, or the Saracens from the south, of his dominions.

Reference : *The Dark Ages* (Oman), chap. xxiii.

## LOTHAIR ; LEWIS THE GERMAN ; CHARLES THE BALD

“ The first question to be settled was whether the Empire in the shape in which Charles the Great and Lewis in his earlier years had ruled it was to continue.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oman, p. 405.

## I. Fontenay, 841.

The new Emperor Lothair, the master of the North, the Rhine and Italy, determined to secure the whole Empire for himself, and in order to weaken Charles the Bald, promised to recognise the younger Pippin as King of Aquitaine. Lewis the German and Charles the Bald utterly routed Lothair at Fontenay, 841. This battle

- (1) Broke Frankish unity.
- (2) Overthrew the supremacy of Austrasia ; “ the balance of power was permanently transferred eastward.”

842. Lewis the German and Charles the Bald conformed their alliance by the Oath of Strasburg.

## II. Treaty of Verdun, 843.

Lothair I was compelled to agree to the Treaty of Verdun, by which—

- A. (1) Lothair kept Italy, Provence, Burgundy and Austrasia.

This territory was unwieldy and lacked a bond of union. Its inhabitants spoke different languages and were of different races. Lothair's realm was an artificial creation. But it gave to the Emperor the two capitals Aachen and Rome.

- B. (2) Lewis got all the Teutonic part of the Empire except Austrasia. His subjects were united by common nationality and language ; his territory was compact.

- (3) Charles got Neustria, Aquitaine, West Burgundy and the Spanish March.

Charles' subjects were of common nationality and spoke Romance. His territories were compact.

The Treaty of Verdun (confirmed at Thionville 844, Mersen 847) finally broke up the Empire of Charlemagne and may be regarded as the beginning of both France and Germany. The Middle Kingdom was coveted by both and led to frequent wars. The Treaty of Verdun was one of the ultimate causes of the Great War.

“ The history of modern Europe is an exposition of the Treaty of Verdun ” (Palgrave).

**III. Death of the Emperor Lothair I, 855.**

On the death of Lothair I the Middle Kingdom was divided between his three sons. The Emperor Lewis II received Italy; Austrasia passed to Lothair II, who gave it the name of Lotharingia, or Lorraine; Provence to Charles.

Continual fighting took place between the three young Kings and their uncles Lewis the German and Charles the Bald.

E.g. 858. Lewis the German won and lost Neustria.

**IV. The Partition of Mersen, 870.**

869. On the death of Lothair II, Lotharingia was divided. By the partition of Mersen, 870, Charles the Bald took Burgundy and Western Austrasia; Lewis the German took Frisia and Eastern Austrasia.

**V. Death of Lewis the German, 876.**

His later years were troubled by successful risings of the Abotrites and by rebellions of his ungrateful sons; and four rebellions broke out between 865 and 876. But "to him more than any other man Germany owed her organisation as a unified national kingdom" (Oman), for during his long reign the different nations of Germany got some idea of national unity. But by attacking his brother Charles in 854 and 858 he facilitated the advance of the Danes and "deliberately sacrificed the general welfare of Christendom to private ambition" (*ibid.*).

**VI. Death of Charles the Bald, 877.**

- (1) He was one of the main causes of discord between the Carolingians.

His elder brothers resented the grants made to him by their father, Lewis the Pious.

869. On Lothair II's death he seized Lotharingia, part of which was assured to him by the partition of Mersen, 870.

**875.** On the death of the Emperor Lewis II he invaded Italy in the hope of securing the Imperial crown. He was crowned Emperor by John VIII at Rome, but soon returned to Neustria.

On the death of Lewis the German, Charles the Bald again tried to seize Lotharingia, but was routed in **875** at Andernach by the Franconians and Saxons. He again went to Italy, but fled from the approaching forces of Carloman of Bavaria (his nephew), and died in the Mont Cenis Pass **877**.

- (2) Charles the Bald and the Danes.

Neustria was specially exposed to the attacks of the Danes. Charles' resistance to the Danes was weakened by attacks of Lewis the German, **854** and **858**, when Charles seemed likely to defeat them.

By the Edict of Pistres he showed appreciation of the best means of meeting the danger, but foolishly spent in subsidies to ensure the Danes' departure the money that might have been spent on successful defence.

- (3) "Of all the Karlings, Charles the Bald was the man who wrought the Empire the most harm," owing to his birth, his attempts to secure the lands of his kinsmen, and his failure to check the Danes.

**Reference :**

*The Dark Ages* (Oman), chap. xxiv.

## THE NORTHMEN

The Northmen, who are often less accurately called "The Danes," included Swedes, Goths and Norwegians, as well as the Danes of Jutland. Many came from the "viks" or fjords of Scandinavia, and the Northmen are sometimes called Vikings.

They came in long, narrow, open boats which had only one mast and depended mainly on oars.

The Danes were skilled warriors, well armed, fighting for their

lives; at first they came for plunder rather than to settle. Their numbers were small at first owing to the difficulty of transporting large forces in boats. Their early expeditions followed two routes—

Against Southern England and Neustria.

Against the West of England, Ireland and Wales.

### I. The Attacks Begin.

Up to about **800** they had been engaged in war with each other and with the Saxons. But now they went further afield.

**789.** Sacked Wareham.

**793.** Sacked Lindisfarne.

**799.** Raided Aquitaine.

Charlemagne tried to check them, built fleets, made arsenals at Boulogne and Ghent, but was unable to conquer the Danish King Godfred.

The Northern invasion "caused the last great change in the population of West Europe till the expulsion of the Moors from Spain" (Church).

### II. More Extensive Raids.

In the reign of Lewis the Pious the Northmen extended their raids.

From **843** to **845** they established a kingdom in Ireland, and when this was overthrown retained the ports of Dublin and Wexford.<sup>1</sup>

Germany.

Northern Germany was defended by the Saxons, the hereditary enemies of the Danes; but the Northmen sacked Hamburg in **845**.

In the reign of Lothair I they ravaged the coast of Frisia. Lothair gave them the isle of Walcheren on condition that the settlers there should protect the country, but soon the Northmen established themselves along the coast of Frisia.

<sup>1</sup> For England see *Notes on British History*, I, p. 22.



## III. France.

A. The Northmen made their attacks along the French rivers.

**843.** Wintered in the mouth of the Loire.

**845.** Plundered Paris (Seine).

**847.** Sacked Bordeaux (Garonne).

**850.** Made strong position at Givald's dyke on the Seine.

Union of the Emperor Lothair with Charles the Bald against the Northmen. But the latter made peace and gave the Northmen land at the Loire mouth in **852**.

**854.** (While Charles the Bald was fighting Lewis the German) sacked Nantes and Tours and got as far as Orleans.

**857.** Established themselves in Central France, burnt Paris, Chartres and Blois.

Charles the Bald and Lothair II attacked the Northmen. Their chance of success was

**858.** Ruined by the attack of Lewis the German on Charles the Bald.

**c. 860.** Sailed up the Rhine and devastated Provence,

B. The Edict of Pistres, **864**.

The Northmen's success was due to the rapidity of their movements, the rarity of walled towns and the absence of castles. By the Edict of Pistres Charles the Bald

1. Organised a force of cavalry—the beginning of feudal cavalry.

2. Fortified bridges to protect towns.

**[868–878.** The Danish attack on England relieved France to some extent from attack.]

**875.** Charles the Bald, anxious to secure Italy, bribed the Northmen to withdraw.

**876.** Rollo sailed up the Seine. The first permanent settlement of the Northmen in France.

## C. Charles the Fat, 881-887.

The youngest son of Lewis the German, Emperor 881-887.

**881.** The Northmen were utterly routed at Sancourt by Lewis III of Neustria, but next year they wasted inland Austrasia (Cologne, Bonn, Aachen).

**882.** Charles the Fat, although at the head of a large army, made the Treaty of Elsloo with the Northmen, paid them 2000 lbs. of silver and gave them land at the Rhine mouth.

[**884.** Charles the Fat got Neustria and became master of all Charlemagne's dominions except Provence, which was made into a separate kingdom by Boso, **879.**]

## D. The Great Siege of Paris, 885-886.

Great attack of the Northmen, who had been routed near Rochester and driven from England by Alfred, in alliance with the Vikings settled on the Lower Rhine by the Treaty of Elsloo.

Paris was attacked by 40,000 Vikings; the Emperor Charles the Fat made no attempt to relieve Paris. The siege lasted eleven months, and the Northmen were beaten off by Count Odo, son of Robert the Strong, who held the defended bridge-heads.

**886.** Charles the Fat got an army together, but gave the Northmen 700 lbs. of silver and permission to pass up the Seine into Burgundy against Boso.

**887.** Charles the Fat compelled to abdicate. Final separation of Austrasia and Neustria.

## E. Odo, King of France, 888-898.

- (1) In succession to Charles the Fat the nobles of Neustria chose as their king Odo, Count of Paris, and not Charles, the eight-year-old son of Lewis II. Odo was the son of Robert the Strong, Count of Angers. He was not a Carolingian; he owed his election to his successful defence of Paris.

- (2) **888.** Odo routed the Northmen at Montfauçon and, after having to bribe them in **890** to leave Paris, at Montpensier, **892**.
- (3) **893.** The Danes having been repelled, the Frankish nobles determined to make Charles the Simple, the son of Lewis II,<sup>1</sup> King. Odo held his own with some difficulty, but he died **898**. His brother Robert then did homage as Duke of France to Charles.

#### F. Charles the Simple, **898-929.**

- (1) The position of Charles the Simple.

Charles the Simple was energetic, but too ready to trust his treacherous vassals. The royal power was weak, and the King's authority was effective only in the domain and over the lands of the clergy. In **911** he strengthened his position owing to his election as King of Lotharingia.

- (2) Charles the Simple and the Northmen.

*a.* The Northmen encountered strong opposition in England; they had been routed by Arnulf at Louvain in **891**, and this battle marks the end of Northern penetration into Germany; they devoted all their efforts against France, which was weakened by the struggle between Odo and Charles.

- b.* The Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, **911**.

Although previous attempts to check Northern incursions by giving them settlements had proved unsuccessful, Charles determined to give Rollo a part of his dominions. By the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, **911**, Charles gave Rollo the land from the Epte to the sea (later known as the Duchy of Normandy), and Brittany when the Northmen conquered it. Rollo was to become a Christian and marry Gisela, the daughter of Charles; Rollo was to become Duke of Normandy and to do homage to the King for his duchy.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis the Stammerer.

Charles' policy was successful. "By sacrificing a part of his realm, Charles the Simple had saved the rest." It added to the Latin world a new Germanic race, gave to France a powerful western State which held the balance between French kings and nobles and resisted the attempt of Lewis d'Outremer to subdue it.

(3) The death of Charles the Simple, 929.

*a.* The nobles, fearing that Charles might become too strong, proclaimed Robert, Duke of France, as King of the West Franks. Rollo helped Charles, and Robert was killed at Soissons, 923.

*b.* The nobles then chose Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy, as King of France. Charles, instead of awaiting the arrival of powerful reinforcements from Normandy, foolishly went to a conference with Herbert of Vermandois at Peronne, where he was seized and imprisoned, 923-927.

*c.* Herbert of Vermandois quarrelled with Rudolf and released Charles from captivity. He again rebelled and murdered Charles at Peronne, 929.

#### IV. General.

##### A. Frankish dissensions.

The invasions of the Northmen were greatly helped by quarrels between the later Carolingian kings, e.g.

**843.** Pippin of Aquitaine, at war with Charles the Bald, allowed the Northmen to enter Aquitaine.

**854.** During a civil war between Lewis the German and Charles the Bald the Northmen ravaged the Loire valley.

**858.** Lewis the German invaded Neustria; consequent failure of Charles the Bald to secure the victory over the Northmen which seemed imminent.

The Northmen were further helped by the civil wars between Odo and Charles the Simple (893-898), by the weakness of the royal power, of which the nobles became more and more jealous.

## B. Frankish policy.

## (1) Bribery.

The attempts of the kings to buy off the Northmen (e.g. Charles the Fat paid Godfrey, King of the Northmen, 2000 lbs. of silver at Elsloo in 882) proved unsuccessful.

## (2) Settlement.

The policy of granting settlements was at first a failure, but the grant of Normandy was successful.

## C. Rivers.

Broad estuaries and large rivers made France specially liable to attack by the Northmen.

## D. Causes of the cessation of Northern raids.

(1) The growing power of great nobles, the erection of fortified towns, bridge-heads and castles, and the formation of feudal cavalry greatly strengthened local resistance. The fortified city of Paris was an important bulwark against the Northmen and, partly for this reason, became the chief city of Neustria and, later, the capital of France.

(2) The Northmen were satisfied with the acquisition of Normandy, Maine and Brittany.

Henceforth the great nobles, and not the Northmen, were the chief danger to the royal power.

**References :**

*The Dark Ages* (Oman), chaps. xxiv, xxv, xxix.

*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 162-176.

**THE GROWTH OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM**

Under the Carolingians the feudal system was strengthened and the rivalry between the King and the great feudal nobles, which continued for centuries, began.

The struggle between the Carolingians and the Merovingian kings may be regarded to some extent as a struggle between the nobility and the crown. In the centuries which followed the death of Charlemagne, who had asserted the royal authority over the nobles, the feudal system grew owing to the following causes :

### I. The Weakening of the Royal Power.

A. The separation of the East and West Franks by the Treaty of Verdun, 843.

B. The rise of new kingdoms.

(1) The partition of Charlemagne's dominions led to the establishment of the kingdoms of Italy, Aquitaine, Germany and Neustria, and constant wars between the sons and grandsons of Lewis the Pious (814-840) weakened the royal power.

(2) Before the end of the century further divisions took place.

879. Boso became King of Provence,<sup>1</sup> and after his death his son Lewis was recognised as King.

890. Rudolf became King of Upper Burgundy.

Although these kingdoms nominally acknowledged the authority of the Emperor, the "separation of the nations of Europe had become an accomplished fact, though the national self-consciousness was a plant of slow growth" (Orton).

C. Germany.

Largely owing to the disastrous reign of Lewis the Child (899-911) Germany was divided into five great tribal divisions—Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony, and the election of a king from one probably led to the opposition of the other four.

D. France.

In the reign of Charles the Simple the King, who exercised direct authority only over Laon and the surrounding country, was compelled to rely upon the Duke of Normandy for assistance against Burgundy and Vermandois.

E. The royal power suffered owing to the accession of weak kings who could not control their nobles, and of children.

<sup>1</sup> Also known as Arles or Lower Burgundy.

## II. The Nobles become Local Magnates.

The dukes and counts, who under Charlemagne had been royal officials, became territorial princes, anxious to secure independence. In time they secured the rights of holding their own courts, coining money and making peace and war. Local government became feudalised ; the duties and rights of government became the property of individuals. The lesser nobility followed their example. The tendency to feudalism was strengthened by

### A. Hereditary fiefs.

Fiefs gradually became hereditary.

**877.** Charles the Bald, anxious to secure the help of the nobles in his campaign in Italy, issued the Edict of Kiersy, which provided that if a count should die in Italy his son should inherit his lands.

### B. The invasion of the Northmen.

The invasion of the Northmen favoured the growth of feudalism, particularly of the lesser nobility.

#### (1) Commendation.

To secure protection men "commended" themselves to the most powerful local noble ; in return for protection they surrendered their lands, became his men and paid him homage, and owed him military service.

**847.** The Edict of Mersen required every man to have a lord.

(2) The feudal castles, which offered effective resistance to the invaders, strengthened the power of the local noble to whom they belonged.

Thus local defence became feudalised.

## III. The Church.

Great churchmen often used their influence over weak kings to strengthen the position of the nobles from whose ranks they were drawn.

#### IV. The Destruction of the Free Franks.

The Franks, who tended to support the kings, were destroyed in the frequent battles of the time, and particularly at Fontenay, 841.

## THE LAST OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS IN FRANCE

### I. The Condition of France on the Death of Charles the Simple, 929.

France at this time seemed likely to be divided into two different nations—Neustria, or West Francia, and Aquitaine; the Loire separated the two divisions. The northern portion was predominantly Teutonic, the southern Romance; the language of the former was the Langue d'oïl, of the latter the Langue d'oc.

#### A. Feudalism.

- (1) Feudalism was now firmly established as a means of local government and defence; the feudal nobles desired to secure independence, and therefore opposed the power of the kings who wished to bring the whole country under their direct authority.
- (2) The chief feudal nobles.

The most important of the feudal nobles north of the Loire were the Count of Flanders, the Count of Vermandois, ruling the country round Amiens, the Duke of Normandy, the Duke of Brittany, the Duke of Burgundy, with his capital at Dijon, the Duke of France, whose chief towns were Paris and Orleans, and whose vassals included the Counts of Anjou, Maine and Blois.

South of the Loire were the Dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony, the Counts of Toulouse, whose territory extended from the Garonne to the Rhone, and the Count of Barcelona, who possessed what remained of the old Spanish mark.



## B. The Carolingians.

## (1) Their weakness.

The power of the Carolingian kings had been broken by family dissensions, by the inefficiency of Charles the Bald, by the failure of Charles the Simple, which has been explained as due to his simplicity in trusting his feudal vassals<sup>1</sup> or to his utter folly.<sup>2</sup> But the fundamental weakness of their position lay in the fact that the resources of the monarchy were utterly inadequate, and the Carolingians (unlike the Capets in France in the eleventh century and the Hapsburgs in Germany in the sixteenth) had no resources of their own which would enable them to break the power of the local magnates.

## (2) The principles of their government.

The ideas of the Carolingians were Frankish and not French. They tried to rule on the lines of Charlemagne and failed to see that the old traditions of strong central government could no longer be applied in a country which had become feudalised.

## (3) The Carolingian tradition.

But past history gave some prestige to the Carolingian house. The feudal nobles regarded with jealousy the elevation to the throne of one of their own number such as Odo (888-898) and Robert (922-923), the sons of Robert the Strong, in spite of the great services Odo had rendered in saving Paris from the Danes in 885-886. Rudolf of Burgundy, who claimed the throne on the death of his father-in-law Robert in 923, and reigned without a rival from the death of Charles the Simple in 929 until his own death in 936, was quite unable to make his authority effective. But "even in its humiliation the Carolingian name was still one to conjure with" (Tout), and no opposition was raised to the restoration of the Carolingian house in the person of Lewis IV in 936.

<sup>1</sup> Oman, p. 500.<sup>2</sup> Kitchin, I, p. 169, note.

**II. Lewis IV, or Lewis d'Outremer, 936-954.**

Hugh the Great, son of King Robert, brother-in-law of King Rudolf, was by far the most powerful man in France. But he refused the offer of the crown and secured the election of Lewis, the son of Charles the Simple, a boy of fifteen, who was known as d'Outremer because he had been brought up at the court of his uncle King Athelstan.

Lewis created Hugh "Duke of the French" as a reward for his services, but the King's attempt to assert his independence led Hugh to rise against him.

**A. The invasion of Otto I, 940.**

Hugh the Great paid homage to Otto I; Lewis therefore established friendly relations with Gilbert of Lorraine (page 69), who had rebelled against Otto. Otto invaded France, proclaimed himself King of France at Attigny and besieged Lewis in his capital, Laon. Lewis fled to Aquitaine, and in 942 peace was made and Lewis recognised as King owing to the intervention of Pope Stephen VIII.

**B. Hugh the Great again rebels.**

On the deaths of Herbert of Vermandois and William Longsword of Normandy in 942, Lewis, in alliance with Hugh, invaded Normandy and took Rouen.

Hugh, fearing the growing power of the King, again rose and made Lewis a prisoner, and in 946 seized Laon. Otto I unsuccessfully invaded France on behalf of Lewis, who fled to Germany. At a Council at Ingelheim, 948, the Papal Legate and Otto supported Lewis, and Hugh the Great, fearing that further resistance would lead to his excommunication, submitted to Lewis and restored Laon.

Lewis IV was the greatest of the later Carolingians. He saw the need of extending the royal power and checking the great feudatories. His resources were small, his direct authority was limited to Laon and its neighbourhood; but his marriage with Gerberga, Otto I's sister, gained the support of the Emperor and the recognition of his claims by the Church strengthened

his position ; in spite of the opposition of Hugh the Great he kept his throne. He died in **954** of an accident in the hunting field.

### III. Lothair, 954-986.

The protection of his uncle, the Emperor Otto I, and the support of Hugh the Great ensured the succession of Lewis d'Outremer's young son Lothair, who soon found that Hugh Capet, who had succeeded his father, Hugh the Great, in **956**, was the real ruler of France. Lothair reversed his father's policy.

#### A. Lothair and Otto II.

**978.** Lothair, wishing to extend his domains, together with Hugh Capet, invaded Lorraine, thus breaking the alliance with the Emperor which had strengthened his father's position and assisted his own accession. Otto II repelled the invaders and marched almost to Paris.

Later, Lothair made his brother Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine.

#### B. Lothair and the Church.

Lothair quarrelled with Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been one of his strongest supporters. Adalbero therefore made an alliance with Otto II, and Gerbert, the scholasticus of Rheims, reconciled Hugh Capet and the Emperor.

### IV. Lewis V, 986-987.

Lewis secured the friendship of Hugh Capet, but continued the quarrel with Adalbero. On his death in **987** it was clear that the Carolingians, who had lost the support of the Church and Emperor, and whose power depended only on their scanty domains, could no longer maintain their position.

**987.** Accession of Hugh Capet.

#### References :

- History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 175-178.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. iv.

**SECTION III**  
**THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY**



## HENRY THE FOWLER, KING OF GERMANY, 919-936

At the beginning of the tenth century Germany was divided into five "nations"—the Franconians, Swabians, Saxons, Thuringians and Bavarians—who were united not by any feeling of German nationality, but by their submission to two non-German institutions, the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church. The dukes of the nations, partly owing to the weakness of Lewis the Child (899-911), had become practically independent, and the attempt of King Conrad of Franconia (911-918) to assert the royal authority had failed, largely owing to the resistance of Saxony.

The Saxons were the purest German stock; they had recently accepted Christianity and were an energetic warrior nation.

### I. Election.

King Conrad, seeing that "the future of the realm lies with the Saxons," and in spite of hostility between Franconia and Saxony, ordered his crown to be given to Henry, Duke of Saxony, the great-grandson of Lewis the Pious, not because he was a Carolingian, but because of his merits. Henry was crowned at Fritzlar after election by the magnates. He refused ecclesiastical anointing and coronation.

### II. The Consolidation of the Royal Power.

"As King, Henry was scarcely more powerful than as duke," but he greatly strengthened his power and became the head of confederate Germany. He made no attempt to establish Carolingian central power. His

activities were concerned mainly with Saxony and Thuringia, but he got powerful help at first from Everard of Franconia.

#### A. Franconia.

Everard, brother of King Conrad, became practically independent.

#### B. Swabia.

Burkhard submitted and was confirmed in his dukedom, but Henry assumed the right of nominating bishops in Swabia.

#### C. Bavaria.

Arnulf submitted, but retained a large measure of independence, e.g. coinage, foreign policy, nomination of bishops.

#### D. Lorraine.

Civil war broke out in France between Charles the Simple (899-929) and Robert (son of Robert the Strong), and his son-in-law Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy. Gilbert of Lorraine, after some vacillation, accepted the lordship of Henry and married his daughter Gerberga, 928. "Henceforward Lorraine was an integral part of the East Frankish dominion."<sup>1</sup>

#### E. The Slavs.

##### (1) Wends, 928-932.

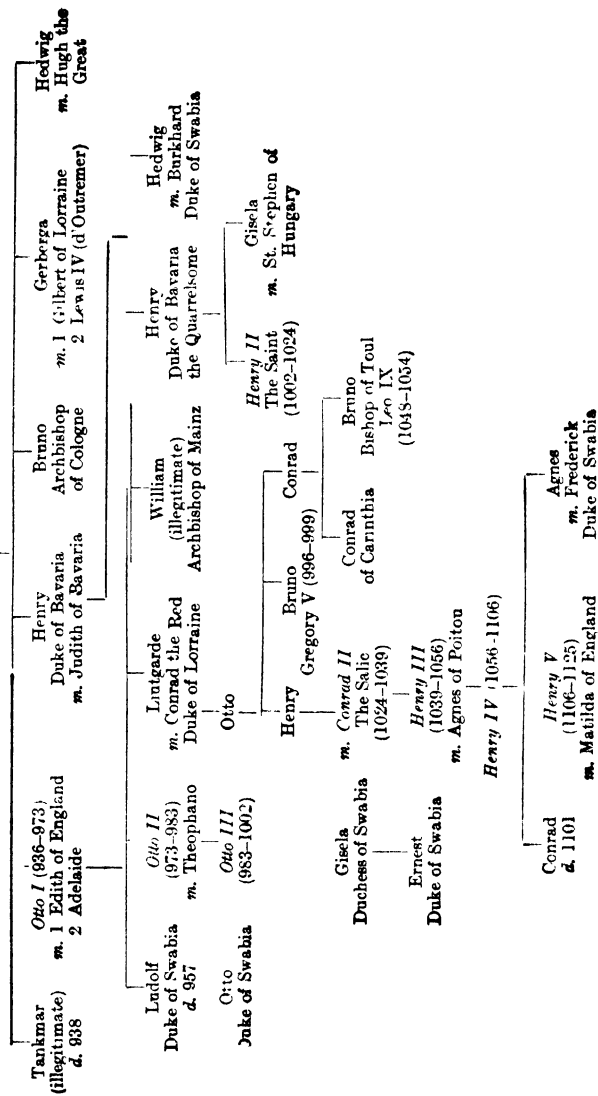
The Wends, who lived between the Elbe and the Oder, were a grave danger to Saxony. Hitherto individual nobles had resisted them. "Henry made the subject of the Wends a national concern."

During his truce with the Huns, Henry subdued the Wends (928-932), took Brandenburg, formed the Mark of Brandenburg (928) and established a robber colony at Merseburg to check the Wends.

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Med. Hist.*, III, p. 181.

# THE SAXON AND SALIAN (OR FRANCONIAN) EMPERORS

Henry the Fowler, King of Germany (919-936)



The Hohenstaufen

Emperors are indicated by *italic*s.



## (2) The Daleminzes.

Henry routed the Daleminzes on the lower Elbe and built Meissen to check them.

## (3) The Bohemians.

Henry compelled "Good King" Wenceslas of Bohemia to acknowledge his overlordship and pay tribute, 928.

## (4) The Redarii.

929. Rising of the Redarii completely crushed by Henry's lieutenants at Lenzen. They accepted Christianity and paid tribute.

## (5) The Lusatians.

932. Lusatians conquered.

"Henry thus laid the foundation for the work of his son Otto, the civilising and the conversion of the people on the eastern frontier."

## F. The Danes.

934. The Danes were compelled to withdraw to the Eider. Mark of Schleswig established to check them.

## III. The Huns.

## A. The invasion of 924.

A grave danger to Germany [and Italy].

[899. Gained a great victory on River Brenta in Lombardy.]

[900. Attack on Venice repulsed.]

924. Overran Saxony, partly owing to the lack of organised defence, of strongholds and cavalry.

Withdrew on Henry's promise of tribute. Truce for nine years.

## B. The Nine Years' Truce.

## (1) Henry, the "Builder of Cities."

a. Strengthened with fortifications existing towns e.g. Merseburg, Gozlar and Gandesheim.

- b. Built new ones, e.g. Quedlimburg.
- c. Towns were to be the centre of life and government; all meetings to be held in towns. Groups of nine families were formed, one to live in a town and repair the walls, eight to work in the country, but to retire to the shelter of a town in case of invasion.

- (2) The army was reorganised; valuable training gained against the Wends; cavalry organised.
- (3) Henry was probably influenced by the example of England.

929. Otto married Edith, daughter of Athelstan.

#### C. Merseburg. 15th March, 933.

The Huns invaded France, Italy and Germany. The Daleminzes refused to join them. Henry's new armies routed one division in Saxony, and the rest at Merseburg.

#### IV. Henry and the Church.

At the end of his life, largely owing to the influence of Queen Matilda, Henry supported the Church. He founded a nunnery and church at Quedlimburg; made the Slavs and Abotrites accept Christianity.

#### V. General.

Henry the Fowler<sup>1</sup> was a skilful general, a great military organiser and a just and far-sighted statesman.

He practically established a new German realm, of which the foundation was Saxony. He laid the foundations on which his son, Otto the Great, built the strongest of early mediæval states.

#### Reference :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. II.

<sup>1</sup> So called because he was hawking when the news of his election reached him.

## OTTO I

**The Extension and Consolidation of the Royal Power  
in Germany**

Otto, relieved from fighting Wends and maintaining the Northern boundary by the Margraves Billung and Gero, aimed at

1. Centralising the Government.
2. Extending the Royal Power.
3. Getting Italy.
4. Restoring the Empire.

**I. Otto Determined to Assert the Royal Authority over all  
Germany.****A. Causes of discontent.**

- (1) Tankmar, Otto's elder brother, was illegitimate. Henry, his younger brother, claimed the throne because he had been born when Henry the Fowler was King.
- (2) Everard of Franconia determined to maintain his independence, and the other nations resented Saxon domination. On the death of Arnulf of Bavaria, Otto recognised his younger son as Duke, resumed the right of presentation to bishoprics and appointed a Palatine as King's representative.
- (3) The favour shown to Hermann Billung and Gero angered some Saxons; the Saxons resented the favour shown to Franconians, and feared that Saxon domination would suffer from the consolidation of the Kingdom of Germany.
- (4) The bishops, doubting if Otto could maintain his power, intrigued with the rebels (e.g. Archbishop Frederick of Mainz), and
- (5) Lewis IV of France was anxious to get back Lorraine.

B. The conspiracy of the Princes. The First Civil War, **938-941**. Tankmar, Everard of Franconia, Henry, Gilbert of Lorraine rose.

(1) Hermann Billung kept Saxony in order. Tankmar was slain.

(2) Everard, Henry (supported by the Archbishop of Mainz) and Lewis IV were routed at Xanten in Westphalia by Otto's Saxons.

**939**. Everard and Gilbert were defeated and slain at Andernach. Henry fled to France.

(3) **941**. Henry, the Archbishop of Mainz and discontented Saxons and Franconians plotted, unsuccessfully, to kill Otto. Otto pardoned Henry.

(4) The Settlement, **942**.

a. Otto kept Franconia in his own hands ;

b. Gave Lotharingia to Conrad the Red, who married Otto's daughter, Liutgarde ;

c. Made his brother Henry, Duke of Bavaria ; Henry married Judith, the daughter of the late Duke ;

d. Gave Swabia to his own son Ludolf ; Ludolf married the daughter of the late Duke.

Thus Otto tried to establish a family connection with the duchies, but appointed Counts Palatine in each duchy to protect his interests. The danger from France was lessened by the struggle between Lewis IV, who married Otto's sister Gerberga, the widow of Gilbert of Lorraine, and Hugh the Great, who married Otto's sister Hedwig.

C. The Second Civil War, **953-954**.

There was widespread disaffection, due partly to national resistance to Otto's Italian policy, which seemed likely to prejudice German interests, partly to tribal feeling. Some of the new dukes, in spite of their relationship to Otto, adopted local traditions and opposed the King.

- (1) Ludolf of Swabia rebelled partly because Henry of Bavaria adopted a different policy from his own in Italy. Ludolf was supported by Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz, and by Conrad the Red, of Lorraine. Ludolf, in order to improve his chances, encouraged the Huns to invade Germany.
- (2) Ludolf was defeated at Ratisbon.
- (3) Settlement.

Ludolf lost Swabia, which was restored to the old ducal line.

Conrad lost Lorraine, and Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, Otto's brother, administered it.

Otto's son William became Archbishop of Mainz.

The second rebellion showed the great strength of tradition in the five nations, which proved too strong for the ties of family relationship by which Otto tried to bind the duchies. He therefore tried to secure a new bond of national unity and a new support for the royal power in the Church.

- (4) The settlement of 955.

Otto gave Saxony to Hermann Billung and Gero; Franconia to the son of Conrad the Red (who had been killed at Lechfeld); Bavaria on Henry's death to his son.

Thus he recognised the right of hereditary succession in the duchies.

## II. Otto I's Ecclesiastical Policy in Germany.

Unlike his father, Otto was crowned and anointed by the Archbishop of Mainz. In the early part of his reign Otto had to face the opposition of some of the nobles led by Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz. After Frederick's death better relations were established between Otto and the Church.

**A. Archbishops Bruno and William.**

- (1) The appointment of Otto's brother Bruno as Archbishop of Cologne, and of his illegitimate son William as Archbishop of Mainz, gained for the King the support of the two most important archbishoprics.
- (2) Bruno reformed monasteries, patronised learning, founded great schools at Corvey and St. Gall. He showed the value of ecclesiastics as political agents by administering the Duchy of Lorraine.

**B. Otto and the clergy.**

- (1) Otto protected the clergy, gave them great lands and privileges and created ecclesiastical fiefs; in return they served him as officials, and he made a kind of chancery out of the clerks of the palace. The Church, too, strengthened the marks which guarded Otto's borders, spread German influence over the heathen states and formed the chief basis of unity in Germany.
- (2) But Otto kept all rights of presentation and the Church was dependent on him. The dependence of the Church on the throne became "the indispensable condition of the power of the Saxon kings in Germany" (Tout).

**C. The nobles.**

The nobles saw that the alliance between Church and King would weaken their own power, and resented the action of Otto in stopping them from plundering Church lands. The Saxon nobles opposed missionary efforts among the Wends.

**D. Magdeburg.**

Otto's decision to establish an Archbishopric of Magdeburg aroused the opposition of his son William of Mainz, who induced the Pope to oppose the scheme. Otto saw that as the Pope was the head of the German clergy he must assert his authority over the Pope if he was to be supreme over the Church in Germany.

This was one reason for his invasion of Italy.

[967. Establishment of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg (page 80).]

### III. Otto's Foreign Policy.

#### A. France.

- (1) Otto was the brother-in-law of both Lewis IV (d'Outremer) and Hugh the Great.
- (2) Lewis IV had helped Henry in 939, but Otto helped Lewis against Hugh the Great in 946. Otto invaded France, captured Rheims and Laon, advanced towards Normandy, but was compelled to retire.  
948. Otto reconciled Lewis IV and Hugh.
- (3) Otto took the young King of Arles (Burgundy) under his protection, helped him to acquire Provence, and thus protected Burgundy and the south-west frontier of Germany from French or Italian aggression.
- (4) 954. The support of Otto helped to ensure the peaceful succession of Lothair.

#### B. The Huns.

- (1) 955. Otto, with the united forces of Germany, fighting in nations, together with the Bohemians and Conrad the Red, routed the Huns, who were possibly invited and certainly aided by disaffected members of the old ducal families, at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg. Although rebellion had recently broken out against Otto, all united against the Huns.

Further danger from the Huns was checked by the establishment of the East mark and the vigorous policy of Henry of Bavaria.

- (2) Results of Lechfeld.

Made the formation of Austria possible ; the Huns now settled down in Hungary and became farmers ; closed the Wandering of the Nations ; gave Otto a very strong position in Germany and helped him in his Italian schemes.

#### C. Otto ravaged Denmark and kept the Danes in check.

965. Otto defeated Harold Blue Tooth, who had invaded Saxony.

## D. Bohemia.

- 950.** Otto forced the Duke of Bohemia to pay him homage. Bohemia was not unwilling to work with Otto because of common danger from the Huns and the spread of Christianity, which formed a bond of connection between Germany and Bohemia.

## E. Greeks.

- 949.** Ambassadors from Constantinople came to Aachen. Otto's Imperial power recognised by John Zimisces, not by his predecessor Nicephorus Phocas.

## F. Russia.

- 959.** Ambassadors from Russia asked Otto to send missionaries.

Otto's main object was the extension of German influence in France (e.g. Lorraine and Arles) and Italy. The defence against the Huns was essential, but when this had been assured Otto did little in the East. The defence of the North he left generally to Billung and Gero. "The final defeat of the barbarian marauders and the wide extension of German territory through the marks are among Otto's greatest titles to fame."

## IV. The Marks.

The organisation of the marks under Otto had important effects on the future history of Germany.

## A. The marks.

- (1) The marks of Charlemagne were restored along the Ems, Danube and Elbe.
- (2) The East mark (later Austria) was established against the Huns.
- (3) The Saxon marks, east of the Elbe.
  - a. The mark of the Billungs was founded to check the Abotrites and Redarii. Hermann Billung was the first marquis



- b. The Nord mark, under Gero, lay south of the mark of the Billungs and opposed the Wilzes. South of the Nord mark were
- (4) The marks of Lausitz, Merseburg and Meissen, and these held in check the Lusizes and Daleminzes.
  - (5) The mark of Schleswig was founded to protect the frontier against the Danes.

#### B. General.

- (1) Thus "a whole ring of organised marchlands protected the northern and eastern frontiers" (Tout), and the eastward march of Germany began.
- (2) The margraves generally proved faithful to the King, notably Hermann Billung and Gero. Gero was "the real founder of German Dominion between the Elbe and the Oder."<sup>1</sup>
- (3) The political unity of the marks gave them an advantage against the disunited Slav nations.
- (4) Some of the marks, e.g. Brandenburg and the East mark, later became great states. During the tenth and eleventh centuries they extended German civilisation and Christianity among the barbarians; promoted the growth of towns, the foundation of monasteries and bishoprics (the Bishopric of Oldenburg for the Abotrites, of Brandenburg for the Wends, of Schleswig and Aarhus for the Danes); missions were sent from Hamburg to Scandinavia.

## OTTO I's FIRST INVASION OF ITALY, 951

### I. The Condition of Italy.

Italy was in a state of anarchy. The Saracens and Byzantines held most of the South, and the former plundered Provence from Fraxinet.<sup>2</sup> The Huns repeatedly attacked Italy. Feudalism had divided up the country among small rulers. Rome was in the power of the Pornocracy (page 76).

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Med. Hist.*

<sup>2</sup> Fraxinetum.

## II. The Crown of Italy.

Hugh of Provence, King of Italy, ruled only over Lombardy and died 946. His son Lothair, who had married Adelaide of Burgundy, and Berengar of Ivrea, claimed the crown. Lothair sought help from Ludolf of Swabia (son of Otto), Berengar from Henry of Bavaria (Otto's brother). Death of Lothair, 950. Adelaide appealed to Henry of Bavaria, who sought to get the kingdom of Italy and claimed Aquileia.

## III. Otto's Intervention.

### (1) Adelaide.

Berengar captured Adelaide and wished to make her marry his son. Adelaide escaped to Otto, the guardian of the young Duke of Burgundy.

- (2) Otto objected to the interference in Italy of both Ludolf and Henry, and feared the strength they would gain if successful.
- (3) Otto was affected by the Carolingian tradition and wished to be crowned Emperor in Rome.
- (4) He wished to bring the Pope under his control in order to ensure the complete submission of the German clergy.

951. Otto invaded Italy, captured Pavia, married Adelaide, took the crown of Italy, compelled Berengar to hold Italy as dependent on Germany; gave the marks of Verona and Aquileia to Henry of Bavaria. "Thus Otto, though withdrawing from Italy, kept its eastern gateway in German hands."

## IV. General.

Otto's first expedition to Italy was a failure. He did not get the Imperial crown or establish his power over the Pope. Otto's title to the Italian crown was vague; Berengar soon recovered his power, because Otto was engaged in putting down Ludolf's rebellion and fighting

the Huns. Ludolf of Swabia rebelled (page 70) owing to resentment at Otto's interference with his plans and dislike of the marriage of Otto and Adelaide ; Ludolf's rebellion (953) forced Otto to return to Germany.

Otto's first expedition affected only Lombardy.

## OTTO I's SECOND INVASION OF ITALY, 962

### 1. **The Condition of Italy** (see previous note).

#### A. Rome.

The "Pornocracy," the sons or lovers of Theodora and Marozia, had disgraced the Papacy. Alberic (died 954), the son of Marozia, was tyrant of Rome; his son and successor Octavian became Pope John XII in 955. John, whose dissolute life disgraced the Papacy, tried to unite the spiritual and temporal power, claimed the Exarchate of Ravenna, held by Berengar, and vainly tried to establish his authority over the Dukes of Spoleto and Capua. Berengar stirred up the Romans against John; John, the Lombards against Berengar.

#### B. Berengar.

Ruled Lombardy cruelly, roused the opposition of the bishops.

**957.** Death of Ludolf of Swabia, whom Otto sent against Berengar.

Ludolf was "the first German victor to lose his gains owing to the alien climate of Italy."

#### C. Otto's reasons for interference.

(1) Appeals were made to Otto against Berengar by Pope John XII (960), who resented the establishment of a strong kingdom of Italy and feared the power of Berengar; and by the Lombards, especially Walbert, Archbishop of Milan, whom Berengar had deposed.

- (2) The Germans regarded themselves as the heirs of the Carolingian tradition and held it their duty to re-establish the Empire. The invasion of Italy was approved by German nobles and ecclesiastics.
- (3) Otto wished to get the support of the Pope for his attempt to assert his authority over the German clergy.
- (4) Otto was now free to carry out his plans in Italy, as he had put down rebellion in Germany and routed the Huns.

## II. Otto's Coronation.

A. He invaded Italy without opposition ; the Lombard nobles readily submitted. He was probably crowned at Pavia, took an oath to protect the Roman Church, restore her privileges and possessions and not to alter the government of Rome without the Pope's consent.

B. February 2, 962. Crowned Emperor by John XII.

- (1) The consent of the people of Rome was still thought necessary.
- (2) The Pope crowned Otto and Adelaide.  
Both the Pope and the Romans swore allegiance to Otto, and the Romans swore to elect no Pope without Otto's consent.
- (3) But Otto's power really rested on "his host of conquering Saxons" (Bryce).
- (4) The Imperial title gave Otto a more dignified position and raised him above other sovereigns ; it increased his prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs as head of Church and State, and thus strengthened his authority over the German bishops. His new dignity added a new bond of union to Germany.
- (5) Otto's policy brought great misery on Germany, and still more on Italy, owing to the quarrels between later Popes and Emperors ; it really checked the development of Italian nationality at its birth ; it

enslaved the Papacy ; it followed Carolingian traditions and claimed the empire of the world ; but

- a. Kings (e.g. England) maintained their independence of the Empire.
  - b. Italy was always ready to break loose from German rule.
  - c. No Imperial institutions or constitution were established.
- (6) Thus Otto gained the title, not the Empire, of Charlemagne ; he was the most powerful ruler of his time, but his power was personal.<sup>1</sup>
- (7) Otto " was the founder of the mediæval Holy Roman Empire of the German nation " (Tout).

### III. The Deposition of John XII.

Otto reserved the Imperial suzerainty over papal territory and ordered that no Pope should be consecrated till he had sworn allegiance to the Emperor. John, who had become a subject, resented his subjection to the Emperor, made an alliance with Adalbert, Berengar's son, and tried to rouse the Huns to attack Otto.

**963.** John XII was deposed for murder, sacrilege and immorality at a council summoned by the Emperor at Rome. Appointment of Leo VIII, a dependant of Otto. The Romans promised not to elect a Pope without consent of Otto or his son.

**964.** At a synod at Rome attended by Otto, Benedict V, elected by the Romans in defiance of Otto, was deposed and banished. " His fall made patent the dependence of the Papacy on Otto." Otto restored Leo VIII.

### IV. Otto I and Southern Italy.

Southern Italy was under the sway of Byzantium.

Otto, in accordance with Carolingian ideas, wished to extend his authority over Southern Italy, and John XII

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, p. 131.

wished to extend the authority of the Roman Catholic Church by establishing archbishoprics at Capua and Benevento. The opposition of the Eastern Emperor Nicephorus Phocas prevented Otto from carrying out his plan.

#### V. The Importance of this Invasion.

- (1) The re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire on the foundation of German power.
- (2) The Romans (963) were forced to admit the need of Imperial confirmation, by Otto and his son, of the Pope.
- (3) Two Popes, John XII and Benedict V, were deposed.

## OTTO I's THIRD INVASION OF ITALY 966-972

### I. Causes.

The anarchy in Italy had led to a considerable increase in the power of Italian bishops over the cities of their sees. Otto, who came as the ally of the bishops and the deliverer of the Church, secured directly or indirectly the nomination to many of the bishoprics, and the support of the bishops ensured his authority in Northern Italy. He favoured the growing power of the bishops, which counterbalanced that of the feudal magnates, and he and his heirs secured "control of local government by seeming to give it away."

### A. Rome.

Otto failed to secure a firm hold on Rome. The turbulent Romans, who strongly resented his authority over them and the Pope, seized and imprisoned Liutprand, whom Otto had sent to ensure the election of John XIII on the death of the subservient Leo VIII in 965. They elected another Pope.

## B. The South.

- (1) The Greeks held Southern Italy, and Otto wished to establish his authority over the whole of the peninsula.
- (2) He resented the presence of the Saracens in Sicily.

## II. Otto in Rome.

Leaving his son Otto, who had been crowned King of Germany, as ruler of Germany, Otto went to Rome, hanged twelve tribunes and the prefect and exiled the consuls. The Romans, in fear of Otto's army, accepted John XIII, who in 967 sanctioned the establishment of the archbishopric of Magdeburg and bishoprics at Meissen and Merseburg. John XIII crowned Otto II Emperor.

- (1) Thus Otto I had "done his best to make both German Kingdom and Roman Empire hereditary" (Tout).
- (2) Otto I wished to marry his son to Theophano, Princess of Constantinople, and his son's new dignity may have been partly due to the desire to improve his status as he was to marry the daughter of an Eastern Emperor.

## III. Otto and the South.

## A. Nicephorus Phocas.

- (1) The Emperor Nicephorus Phocas resented the growth of Otto's power in Italy, and treated with marked rudeness Liutprand, Otto's ambassador. He styled Otto "Rex," not "Basileus."
- (2) Otto received the homage of Pandulf Iron Head, Prince of Capua and Benevento, and invested him with the Duchy of Spoleto.
- (3) Failure of the attempt of Otto and Pandulf to conquer Southern Italy.
- (4) 969. Murder of Nicephorus Phocas by John Zimisces.

**E. John Zimisces.**

Owing to his wars against the Russians and Mohammedans, Zimisces was willing to make an alliance with Otto. He treated his ambassador well and recognised Otto as Emperor. Possibly Otto also hoped for a union of the Eastern and Western Empires against the Saracens.

**972.** Marriage of Otto II to the Byzantine Princess Theophano.

[**972.** Otto made Benedict VI Pope.]

**C. Result.**

Otto had established friendly relations with Constantinople. He had not conquered Southern Italy or driven out the Saracens, but Capua-Benevento-Spoleto formed a strong southern mark which kept them in check.

[**972.** The Saracens of Fraisanet were annihilated. Provence saved from their ravages.]

## THE WORK OF OTTO THE GREAT<sup>1</sup>

### I. He Re-established the Holy Roman Empire.

A. He was obviously influenced by Carolingian tradition, but the Holy Roman Empire was now less universal than in Charlemagne's time; France and Spain were now outside the Empire. In order to give his "unbounded Imperial prerogative any practical efficiency, it was found necessary to prop it up by the limited but tangible authority of a feudal king," and Rome, the Imperial capital, was strongly anti-feudal.<sup>2</sup> The growing power of feudalism and, later, of nationality, was opposed to Imperialism.

B. It was less ecclesiastical. Otto was the "lay chief of Western Christendom." "The Pope was the unquestioned spiritual head of Christendom."<sup>3</sup> Charle-

<sup>1</sup> See Second Invasion of Italy, II

<sup>2</sup> Bryce, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Med. Hist.*, p. 164.



magne had been ruler of Church and State. The weakness of the Popes alone made possible the position of Otto, who "regarded the Pope only as the first of his subjects." From Otto's work sprang the struggle for supremacy between Papacy and Empire which distracted Europe. Strong Popes later vindicated their position at the expense of the Emperor. Otto paid less attention to religion than Charlemagne. "He made fewer wars for its sake and held no councils" (Bryce).

C. It was less Roman.

D. Less carefully organised.

The magnates would not now have accepted the Imperial "Missi"<sup>1</sup> of Charlemagne.

E. But it did something to perpetuate the languages and literature of Rome, extended her sway and became a uniting and civilising power that helped to diminish the anarchy of later Carolingian times.

Otto's Empire was "within narrower limits, firmer and more lasting, since based on a social order which Charlemagne's had lacked."<sup>2</sup>

## II. Otto and Germany

A. Otto did something to unite Germany and made Germany the leading nation in Europe. He was helped by the loyalty of the German Church and the glamour of the Imperial title. But he failed to establish a strong centralised power owing to the tendency to feudalism and strong tribal feeling.

B. By his victories and by the establishment of strong marks he successfully defended the frontiers against barbarians and by extending German influence, civilisation and Christianity to the North and East laid the basis of

<sup>1</sup> Page 31, III. B.      <sup>2</sup> Bryce, p. 145.

future expansion. He brought Lorraine under the suzerainty of Germany and exercised great influence over Burgundy and Poland.

- C. He gave Germany peace unknown before, and therefore commerce flourished. Growth of towns, especially those on trade routes, Ratisbon and Cologne. The connection with Italy gave Germany new knowledge and culture; she became the teacher of her neighbours.
- D. But Otto's policy hindered the nationalisation of Germany. For many years the "glittering phantom" of the Imperial crown proved a source of strife and a cause of vast expense and much misery.

### III. Otto and the Church (see previous note).

- A. He enslaved the Papacy, but paved the way for its future greatness. The authority of the Empire was not acknowledged over the whole of Western Europe, but the general authority of the Pope was universally admitted not only in Germany and Italy, but in England, France and Spain. This admission gave the Papacy a distinct advantage in its later struggles with the Empire. And the belief that "the Imperial crown was only to be won from the Pope's hands at Rome made the Emperors dependent in some sort on the Pope's favour and allowed the formation of the most far-reaching papal claims."<sup>1</sup>
- B. He made most skilful use of the higher clergy in Northern Italy and Germany as a means of counteracting the powers of the barons. But the secularisation of the bishops weakened their spiritual power. When Church Reform came, the liberation of bishops from the King's control was inevitable.
- C. He promoted learning and was a strong supporter of missions.

<sup>1</sup> Orton, p. 163.

## IV. Italy.

He did something to give more settled government to Italy. When the Holy Roman Emperor became King of Italy and was supported by German armies a new power was established which counteracted the tendency to anarchy which had been the feature of recent years. Otto "pacified Italy." But the connection between Germany and Italy led to fierce struggles in the future and prevented the nationalisation of Italy.

## V. General.

"His policy had begun a new development of Western history that was to last nearly three centuries, and was to determine its general direction up to the Reformation" (Tout). Its immediate results were generally good, but ultimately it led to discord in Church, Empire and State.<sup>1</sup>

## References for Otto the Great :

- The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. II.  
*The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. VII, VIII, IX.  
*Outlines of Mediæval History* (Orton), pp. 161-167.  
*The Cambridge Mediæval History*.  
*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. III, Book V, chap. II.

## OTTO II, 973-983

Otto I was purely German ; Otto II wished to combine Germany and Italy into a united Empire and to make his claim to rule the world effective.

Otto II had to deal with the same problems as his father.

## I. Germany.

- A. The revolt of Henry the Quarrelsome (sometimes called Henry the Wrangler) of Bavaria, 976-978.

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, chapter IX, "Saxon and Franconian Emperors."

(1) Henry the Quarrelsome was the son of Henry I (brother of Otto I) of Bavaria and first cousin to Otto II. His sister Hedvig had married the aged Burkhard of Swabia, and Henry had married a daughter of Conrad of Burgundy. Henry thus controlled—

1. Southern Germany.
2. The road to Italy.

(2) Otto II, seeing the danger of a union of Swabia and Bavaria, on the death of Burkhard gave Swabia to his nephew Otto, son of his brother Ludolf of Swabia who died in Italy, **957** (page 76).

(3) Consequent rebellion of Henry the Quarrelsome, urged on by his mother Judith. Rising of Harold of Denmark, Norway, the Slavs, Bohemians and Poles against Otto II.

[This rising is another example of the danger of union between German rebels and the enemies on the borders.]

Otto and the margraves put down the risings on the frontiers, drove Henry the Quarrelsome into Bohemia, put Judith in a monastery and broke up the Duchy of Bavaria.

(4) The settlement.

Otto II gave the East mark to Liutpold of Bamberg; the Nordgau mark to Bertold of Bamberg; made a new Duchy of Carinthia (including the mark of Verona) and gave it to another Henry of the old Bavarian line; gave the rest of Bavaria to his nephew, Otto of Swabia.

Otto thus sought to get support from faithful supporters who had some traditional connection with their fiefs. His policy weakened Bavaria and strengthened the frontiers.

## B. Lorraine, **978-980**.

Lothair of France sought to win Lorraine, which had strong Carolingian traditions, and to do this made peace

## EUROPEAN HISTORY

with Hugh the Great. Otto successfully defended Lorraine, marched into France and nearly reached Paris.

[A phase in the never ending struggle of France and Germany for Lorraine.]

C. Otto II and the German bishops.

(1) The bishops remained faithful. The Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves maintained the royal power in Lorraine.

(2) The foundation of bishoprics—

Gnesen, in Poland, under the Archbishopric of Magdeburg.

Prague, in Bohemia, under the Archbishopric of Mainz.

D. The borders.

The powerful margraves (especially the Billungs) defended the frontiers. But the neighbouring tribes remained a constant danger in spite of the extension of Christianity, and in 983, after Otto II's defeat in Italy,

The Danes rebelled ;

The Wends captured Brandenburg ;

The Abotrites took Hamburg.

E. Saxony and Franconia.

The basis of Otto II's power was the steady support of

(1) His own duchy of Saxony and of Franconia which he kept in his own hands.

(2) The German clergy.

I. Italy.

A. Rome.

(1) 980. Crescentius I, son of Marozia's sister Theodora, became Duke of the Romans and opposed the authority of Otto II. The Antipope, Boniface, was expelled. A rising of the nobles and the people.

(2) 981. Otto II came to Rome, recognised Benedict VII and compelled Crescentius to go into a monastery.

## B. The South.

- (1) Otto wished to extend his power over Southern Italy, the dowry of his wife Theophano. John Zimisces was dead and Byzantium was weak. The Saracens had gained a footing in Southern Italy and were threatening Benevento.
- (2) **981-982.** Otto II captured Bari and Taranto and other Greek towns; Otto killed Abul Kassim at Cotrone and routed his forces, but lost most of his army in an ambush in Calabria, **982.**
- (3) As a result—
  - a. Otto failed to secure Southern Italy.
  - b. The Lombard princes of Capua and Benevento wavered in their allegiance.
  - c. Revolts broke out on the northern frontier (page 86, D.).

C. The Diet of Verona, **983.**

United action of German and Italian nobles in favour of a Crusade against the Mohammedans; Otto III acknowledged as his father's successor.

Refusal of Venice to co-operate owing to her rich trade with the Mohammedans. Failure of Otto's attempt to blockade Venice.

Another rising in Rome.

D. Death of Otto II, **983**, aged 28.

The Diet of Verona shows that he had met with some success in his attempt to unite Italy and Germany. The powerful hold he had gained on Northern Italy is shown by the fact that during the long minority of Otto III Italy remained true to the Empire.

## OTTO III, 983-1002

## I. Difficultiés on Accession.

- A. Henry the Quarrelsome rebelled ; supported by Lothair of France, who wished to recover Lorraine, and by some of the clergy led by the Archbishop of Magdeburg.
- B. John Crescentius (son of Otto II's rival) controlled Rome as " Patrician " ; the degradation of the Papacy provoked the condemnation of the Council of Rheims, 995.
- C. The Wends and Danes attacked Saxony.

But—

- A. Theophano's high rank and personal character won a large measure of support.
- B. The Saxons, Franconians and the great margraves supported Otto.
- C. Willingis, Archbishop of Mainz, who claimed authority over Magdeburg, and most of the German clergy supported Otto. Otto " owed his throne to the clergy."
- D. 984. Henry the Quarrelsome was crushed and his son supported Otto.
- E. 987. Hugh Capet became King of France, and his wars against the surviving Carolingians diverted his attention from Lorraine.

## II. Otto III and the Empire.

Partly owing to the education he received from Willingis of Mainz, to his own mysticism, to the exalted ideal of Imperialism he got from his mother Theophano, to his reverence for the old glory of Rome, Otto's " mind was filled with glowing visions of a Kingdom of God on earth, in which the Pope and Emperor ruled in harmony over a world that enjoyed perfect peace and idyllic

happiness" (Tout). Otto called himself "servant of the Apostles" and "servant of Jesus Christ."

The centre of the Empire was to be Rome, where Otto built a palace on the Aventine. Greece, Germany and Lombardy were to be merely subject provinces.

He emphasised the dignity of the Empire by adopting Byzantine court etiquette and by giving his court officials Byzantine titles.

Seven churchmen formed a new body, "judices palatii ordinarii," who were to

1. Ordain the Emperor.
2. Elect the Pope.

The success of Otto's mystical, cosmopolitan Imperialism depended on the concord of Pope and Emperor and necessitated the reform of the Papacy.

### III. The Reform of the Papacy.

Otto III began the reform of the Papacy. Without this the later success of Hildebrand would have been impossible; it was one of the reasons for the weakening of the Imperial power over the Pope and Church which marked the close of the eleventh century.

A. Otto, like Charlemagne and Otto the Great, appointed two Popes.

(1) Gregory V, 996.

**996.** At the request of the Romans, tired of the tyranny of Crescentius, Otto appointed his cousin Bruno, a strong supporter of the Cluniac Reformation, Pope Gregory V. The new Pope compelled the French clergy to submit to him and censured King Robert of France for an unlawful marriage, **998**.

**998.** A rising in Rome against Pope and Emperor was put down by Saxons, and Crescentius executed.

[Another example of the necessity of German troops to maintain the Emperor in Rome.]



## (2) Sylvester II, 999.

**999.** Otto made Gerbert, Archbishop of Ravenna (page 92. III.), Pope as Sylvester II.

**1002.** Another rising in Rome. Death of Otto III, probably from poison administered by Stephanía, widow of Crescentius.

## IV. Otto III and Germany.

A. Otto II was less German than Otto I, Otto III than Otto II. He did not keep a strong hand over the German nobles, left the defence of the borders to the margraves and adopted no policy of extension in the North. His Imperial theory diminished the importance in the Empire of Germany, the main source of his power.

## B. Poland and Hungary.

(1) He made the Archbishopric of Gnesen independent of any German archbishop and (**992**) recognised Duke Boleslav the Brave as King of Poland and exempted him from tribute.

(2) Established an independent archbishopric at Gran and recognised Duke Stephen, the first Christian Duke, "Saint Stephen," as King of Hungary, **1000**.

(3) He thus offended the German clergy, especially the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and relinquished the policy of extending German authority in the East which Otto I and Henry of Bavaria had carried out.

The German clergy refused to attend a Council called by Pope Sylvester to try Willingis of Mainz, who opposed Otto's policy.

## V. General.

Otto III's visionary schemes proved unsuccessful. Rome repeatedly rebelled; he lost Southern Italy entirely. The German clergy to whom he owed his election were alienated. His policy showed the "incompatibility of the union of German kingship with Imperial claims to universal dominion" (Tout). His reform of the

Papacy was not permanent, but the revival of this policy by Henry III led to the subordination of the Empire. "Otto III was the first of that long line of brilliant and attractive failures which it was the special mission of the mediæval Empire to produce" (Tout).

### References :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 40-47.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. III, Book V, chap. XIII.

## POPE SYLVESTER II, 999-1003

### I. Early Life.

Gerbert was a poor Frenchman of humble birth ; educated in the monastery of Aurillac in Auvergne ; taken by the Count of Barcelona to the Spanish mark, where he learned mathematics and philosophy from the Moors. In 983 Otto II made him Abbot of Bobbio in Italy, but his attempt to reform his abbey caused such discontent that he returned to France, became master of the cathedral school at Rheims and secretary to Archbishop Adalbero.

### II. Rheims.

Gerbert supported the election of Hugh Capet as King of France in 987.

#### A. Arnulf.

988. Arnulf, an illegitimate Carolingian, succeeded Adalbero as Archbishop of Rheims ; Gerbert became his secretary and favoured Arnulf's attempt to make Charles of Lorraine king instead of Hugh Capet.

#### B. Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims. 991-995.

991. At the Council of Rheims, Gerbert supported the degradation of Arnulf and<sup>1</sup> declared that recent

† In a speech he composed for the Bishop of Orleans to deliver,

Popes were "monsters, full of all infamy, void of all knowledge." The Council elected Gerbert Archbishop of Rheims.

### C. Deposition of Gerbert, 996.

The people resented the election of Gerbert by the bishops; Otto III, annoyed at Gerbert's support of Hugh the Capet, induced the Pope to send a legate to inquire into the deposition of Arnulf.

**996.** Gerbert was deposed at Moisson by a synod consisting of a few German prelates; he left France, went to the court of Otto III, where he was cordially welcomed and gained the friendship of the youthful Emperor.

The deposition of Gerbert is "noteworthy as an early example of strenuous resistance to the Papacy by the Gallican clergy and King" (Kitchin).

### III. Pope.

**998.** Otto III made Gerbert Archbishop of Ravenna.

**999.** Otto III made Gerbert Pope, and he took the title of Sylvester II.

The Emperor gave eight counties to the Pope. The Romans rebelled; Otto retired from Rome accompanied by Sylvester.

**1003.** Death of Sylvester II.

Pope Sylvester II desired to co-operate with Otto III in realising the fantastic project of making Rome the capital of a Kingdom of God on earth. The realisation of this scheme was possible only, if at all, if Pope and Emperor worked in complete harmony, and such harmony existed between Otto III and Sylvester II. But the early death of Otto, soon followed by the death of Sylvester, ruined a scheme which was foredoomed to failure.

### IV. Character.

Pope Sylvester's high moral character and profound learning contrasted most favourably with the character

and learning of most of his predecessors. He possessed great mechanical skill, and made at Rheims a clock and, as it was asserted, an organ that went by steam.

But he was popularly regarded as a magician who had learned magic in Spain. Many believed that he had sold himself to the devil and owed his success in securing the Papacy to diabolical assistance.

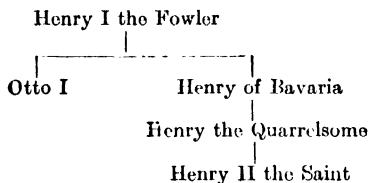
### Reference :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. III, Book V, chap. XIII.

## HENRY II (THE SAINT), 1002–1024

### I. Accession.

Henry the Saint was a son of Henry the Quarrelsome, and though Duke of Bavaria, counts as a "Saxon Emperor" owing to the fact that he was a great-grandson of Henry the Fowler.



He succeeded, not by hereditary right, but by the election of the magnates. He was supported by Bavaria, Lorraine and Franconia, and with him the predominance of Saxony comes to an end.

Hermann of Swabia, a rival, was compelled to submit in 1002, and Saxony and Swabia accepted Henry as King. The murder of Eckhard of Meissen removed a dangerous rival.

**II. Germany.****A. The nobles.**

The magnates, strengthened by the revival of the election of the King, were powerful and turbulent. Henry did not dare to rule as autocratically as the Ottos, but made more use of Diets and Councils.

**B. The Church.**

Henry relied on the Church to counterbalance the nobles. He claimed to be the "Vicarius Christi," presided at frequent synods of bishops, used churchmen as his chief ministers and, like Otto III, gave them supreme local authority. He supported the Cluniac Reformation, reformed clerical abuses and professed great zeal for religion. His pious wife Cunigunde seconded his efforts.

But he roused strong opposition by giving exceptional privileges to the Bishopric of Bamberg, which he founded in 1004, and Aribio, Archbishop of Mainz, resented the independence of the new bishopric.

The Archbishop of Mainz led the opposition in Germany to the Cluniac movement which Henry II and Pope Benedict VIII favoured.

**The Slavs.****(1) Hungary.**

St. Stephen of Hungary, Henry II's brother-in-law, was on friendly terms with him.

**(2) Poland.**

King Boleslav of Poland aimed at extending his power to the Elbe. He added Bohemia to his dominions. He supported an unsuccessful rising against Henry in the Nordgau. Henry drove Boleslav out of Bohemia and established a vassal of his own at Prague, but in 1013 was defeated by Boleslav, who had become King of Poland, and gave up to him Lausitz.

Thus Germany had on her eastern frontier a united and powerful kingdom which resented German influence and took every opportunity afforded by internal dissensions in Germany to weaken Henry II's power.

### III. Henry II and Italy.

#### A. The Kingdom of Italy.

- (1) The Italian nobles were not bound by the election of Henry II as King of Germany, and they elected Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, as King, partly through dislike of German ascendancy, partly because they hoped to profit by Ardoin's weakness.
- (2) **1004.** Henry defeated Ardoin and was elected and crowned King of Italy at Pavia. (The Ottos took the crown without election.) But Ardoin held out against him.

#### B. Rome.

Revival of the power of the nobles. The Counts of Tusculum were supreme, but the family of Crescentius opposed them.

**1012.** One of the family of Tusculum becomes Pope Benedict VIII.

**1014.** Benedict VIII crowned Henry Emperor after he and the Tusculan party had invited Henry to Rome; in **1020** he became patron of the Bishopric of Bamberg which Henry had founded.

#### C. Southern Italy, **1021.**

The Byzantines had established their authority in Apulia with a centre at Bari. "Rome was an outpost instead of the centre of Teutonic power." The Lombard dukes of Capua and Benevento had to be reduced by Henry, who made an unsuccessful expedition into Apulia, where he lost many men through sickness in **1021**. Owing to the attacks of the Saracens of Sicily and the weakness of the Byzantines there was grave danger that Southern Italy would become Mohammedan.

## IV. General.

A. During Henry II's reign he failed to check the turbulent nobles; there were bitter quarrels between leading churchmen, and the country suffered from famine, pestilence and floods. Civilisation was checked and manners deteriorated.

But, although his policy towards Poland showed weakness, by limiting his aims and discarding Otto III's fantastic schemes Henry II "brought back the German kingdom to a more national policy."

B. In Italy Henry II's policy proved a failure. The office of Count Palatine of Italy was abolished, and Henry's power was effective only when supported by a German army. The lack of a strong controlling power led to great discord between Italian princes, and the cities of Lombardy were compelled to defend themselves from their violence. The rise of the Lombard towns, who hated the Germans and resisted the tyranny of local nobles, was thus partly due to Henry II's failure.

C. By supporting the Cluniac Reformation, Henry aided a movement which was destined soon to weaken the Empire.

**Reference :** *The Empire and Papacy* (Tout), pp. 47-50.

## THE SAXON EMPERORS

## I. Germany.

In Germany they attained a large measure of success, but they founded a dynasty, not an empire or kingdom, and their Imperial policy diverted their attention to some extent from Germany.

A. They united the five nations into a confederacy acknowledging the overlordship of the King, and thus promoted the union of Germany.

- (1) The union of Germany was seen
  - a. In the combination of the tribes which, under the leadership of Otto I, overthrew the Huns at the battle of Lechfeld, 955.
  - b. In the united support given to the claims of the King of Germany to the Empire.
- (2) But tribal identity remained.
  - a. Every one of the Saxon Emperors had to face opposition which was due largely to tribal feeling.
  - b. Tribal feeling and personal ambition took an anti-national turn when rebels sought help against the King of Germany from the Huns in 955; Danes, Bohemians and Poles in 976.
  - c. Tribal feeling often proved too strong for the ties of family relationship by which the kings (e.g. Otto I) tried to bind the tribes to themselves.
- (3) Feudalism was developing, and feudalism was hostile to the establishment of a strong central power.
- (4) Thus the Saxon Emperors did not establish strong central government or national institutions in Germany. They founded a confederacy rather than a kingdom.

## B. The Church.

The power of the Saxon Emperors in Germany depended largely upon the support of their own tribes, Otto I to Otto III (Saxons); Henry the Saint (the Bavarians); upon the faithful support of the margraves, notably the Billungs; and upon the support of the Church.

- (1) They generally received the strong support of the archbishops, although Frederick of Mainz plotted against Otto I, but found that the archbishops strongly resented any attempt to diminish their authority; e.g. William of Mainz resented his father's (Otto I)



## EUROPEAN HISTORY

attempt to establish the Bishopric of Magdeburg. Aribio of Mainz resented Henry II's establishment of the Bishopric of Bamberg.

- (2) The need of coercing the great ecclesiastics of Germany was one of the reasons why the kings of Germany desired to secure the support of the Pope.
- (3) In spite of some opposition the German clergy rendered the kings great service.
  - They gained great local influence which they used on behalf of the King.
  - They supported missions to the heathen which extended German influence.
  - They were the King's "ministeriales."
  - They sometimes exercised great influence in political matters; e.g. 953, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, administered Lorraine.
- (4) Henry II claimed to be "Vicarius Christi," and as such to exercise supremacy over the Church. This was one of the causes of the Investiture dispute.

4. They had maintained and extended the boundaries of Germany.

(1) The North and East.

- a. The defeat of the Huns was an inestimable service to Germany.
- b. The marks were of supreme importance, and the first two Saxon Emperors definitely supported the extension of Christianity, which meant German influence. Lack of union between the Slavs facilitated this policy. But the success of Boleslav Chrobry meant the failure of this policy in Poland.

(2) The West.

The dissensions between the Robertian and Carolingian houses were one of the reasons why Lorraine was added to Germany.

**II. The Empire.**

Otto I revived the Holy Roman Empire, but the revived Empire was less Roman and universal than Charlemagne's, although perhaps more effective within narrower limits.

Otto II tried to make the bounds of Empire wider.

Otto III tried to establish an Empire with its centre at Rome, in which Pope and Emperor should work together for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

A. Otto I regarded the Popes as the chief of his servants and deposed and appointed them. Otto III appointed Gregory V and Sylvester II, but by raising the tone of the Papacy he took the first step towards the later assertion of papal supremacy. To a large extent the Saxon Empire required subservient Popes.

B. But awkward precedents remained.

The Pope had placed the Imperial crown on Charlemagne's head.

Lewis the Pious submitted to a second coronation from the Pope.

John VIII had declared to Charles the Bald that the Emperor owed his crown to the Pope.

C. From their attempt to assert the supremacy of the Empire arose the quarrel between the Papacy and Empire and the attempts of the German kings to conquer Italy, which involved Germany and Italy in great bloodshed.

**III. Italy.**

A. Lombardy.

(1) Dissensions between local nobles prevented them from offering strong opposition, and the Ottos secured the crown of Italy. But Henry II was elected by the Lombard nobles.

(2) In spite of the loyalty shown by the Diet of Verona in 983, and the election of Henry II, Lombardy did

not like the German rule. A local king, such as Adalbert, son of Berengar of Ivrea, and Ardoin of Ivrea, always got some measure of support, and the Lombard towns were anti-German.

- (3) But the clergy, whom the Saxon Emperors favoured, tended to support the Empire.

#### B. Rome.

The authority of Germany was resented by the nobles and the populace, who claimed the right to assent to the election of the Emperor.

The Emperor's power in his own capital was effective only when supported by German armies.

#### C. Southern Italy.

The Saxon Emperors failed to conquer Southern Italy, which was Byzantine, and to crush the Saracens. The work they failed to accomplish was soon carried out by the Normans.

In Italy the Empire was a splendid phantom. It rested on no sure foundation. The interests of no party coincided with those of the King of Germany, except occasionally those of the Pope and clergy, and any success the Saxon Emperors gained was due to internal dissensions among the Lombards and the military power of Germany.

## THE CONDITION OF GERMANY IN 1024

### I. The Church.

The Church had been secularised by the Saxon Emperors and was highly organised. The clergy were extremely powerful, as they showed at Conrad II's election; actively interested in secular affairs, acting as local administrators, supplying military forces (Henry II gave monasteries to bishoprics on feuda

tenure) and waging war particularly against brigands ; they acted, by the King's authority, as his representatives.

## II. The Empire and the German Kingdom.

(1) The general position of the Emperor was vague ; Imperial property was scattered all over Germany.

(2) The duchies.

The duchies often revolted ; private war continued ; the King nominated dukes, but the tendency to hereditary succession was growing ; the dukes were not always national, but the growth of feudalism greatly strengthened their position and gave them practically absolute control over their vassals.

(3) National assemblies proved ineffective ; the kings preferred to work through local diets, and ecclesiastical diets often dealt with secular affairs.

## III. The Growth of German Towns.

### A. Early history.

The most important of the German towns were those on Roman soil, e.g. Cologne (*Colonia Agrippiensis*), Trèves and Mainz. Those on German soil were generally less important, although Frankfort in the thirteenth century and Basel in the fourteenth were exceptions. In early times monasteries, e.g. Fulda, rather than towns were the centres of civilisation. Charlemagne built towns, e.g. Forcheim, but these were often destroyed by the Northmen, and it was not until the ravages of the Northmen ceased, and until the defeat of the Sorbes and Daleminzes by Otto I, that municipal life and municipal ideas began in the North, although in the East the towns built by Henry the Fowler, the Builder of Cities, became important. In Germany the development of towns was later than in Italy or France.

**B. Causes of development.**

- (1) The Crusades and, to a less extent, the pilgrimages, promoted the growth of towns.
- (2) The Italian towns became prosperous, German trade with Italy increased and the towns along the trade routes grew rapidly. The two chief routes were : (i) Milan, the St. Gothard Pass, Lucerne, Basel and the Rhine ; (ii) Venice, the Brenner Pass and Ulm.
- (3) The Christianisation of Hungary opened up the Danube route.
- (4) The conquest of the North led to a great extension of Baltic trade, and Bremen and Lübeck began to flourish.

**C. General.**

The merchants were tending to unite ; they armed themselves for defence against local lords ; the introduction of the knightly class formed a municipal aristocracy ; the growth of commerce led to the development of towns, especially on the trade routes. Thus " a new power had arisen, the townsmen, whose real objective was autonomy."

**IV. The Political Position in 1024.**

Boleslav Chrobry, the founder of the kingdom of Poland, was dead, and the power of Poland was weakened by internal dissensions.

Canute had united Denmark and England and formed a strong Northern Empire.

Rudolf III of Burgundy, who had promised his kingdom to Henry II, now resolved to maintain its independence.

Pavia revolted against German rule. Destruction of the Imperial palace.

The Dukes of Lorraine were wavering in their allegiance and seemed likely to get help from Robert II of France against Germany.

## FRANCONIAN, OR SALIAN, EMPERORS

### CONRAD II (THE SALIC) 1024–1039

#### I. Accession.

Henry II left no heir, therefore his successor had to be elected. The bishops, led by Aribo of Mainz, supported Conrad, great-grandson of Conrad the Red (*m.* Liutgarde, daughter of Otto I), who had married Gisela, widow of the Duke of Swabia and granddaughter of the King of Arles. Clerical support was due largely to the desire to get a king who would resist the spread of the Cluniac movement, which Henry II had favoured.

The Cluniac party, led by Pilgrim of Cologne and supported by Lorraine, favoured Conrad's cousin, Conrad of Carinthia.

Thus Conrad the Salic's election was due to the anti-Cluniac party among the great ecclesiastics. Conrad of Carinthia voted for his cousin, and the King's position was strengthened by the adhesion of Pilgrim of Cologne, who crowned Gisela, which Aribo had refused to do.

#### II. Conrad II and Germany.

Under Henry II local magnates had increased their power. Germany was distracted by private wars. Conrad, supported by all the leaders of the German nation, succeeded in establishing the royal power and extending the boundaries of his kingdom.

**1028.** Conrad's son Henry, aged ten, crowned by Pilgrim of Cologne as his father's successor.

##### A. The duchies.

- (1) He put down the rebellions of the Duke of Lorraine, supported by Robert II, and in **1030** of his stepson, Ernest of Swabia.
- (2) He made his son Henry Duke of Bavaria, Duke of Swabia and Marquis of Carinthia. Thus "Saxony

and Lorraine were the only duchies still held by independent princes ”; the rest of Germany was in the King’s power. Conrad substituted royal authority for nationality in the duchies.

- (3) He protected the lesser tenants by making their benefices hereditary, and the recognition of the hereditary principle for benefices facilitated the application of the principle to the crown, while Conrad secured the support of the lesser tenants for the crown against their dukes.

#### B. The clergy.

- (1) He used the clergy for administration and government and favoured them as a check on the secular magnates; but he instituted a new class of hereditary “ministeriales” who were devoted to the crown and rendered it independent of the help of the clergy.
- (2) He cared little for the spiritual side of the Church, neglected missions, sold benefices and was responsible for a growth of simony against which the Cluniac reformers strongly protested. His aim was to use the clergy as royal servants, and he materialised the Church.

#### C. The Eastern frontiers.

- (1) He fought against St. Stephen of Hungary without success.
- (2) **1031.** He recovered Lausitz (given up by Henry II) from Poland, and compelled Boleslav Chrobry’s son, Miecislav, to do homage for his kingdom in **1032.**
- (3) He strengthened his power over Bohemia.

These operations were against Christian states and were not entirely approved by the German clergy on that account.

- (4) Arles.<sup>1</sup>

King Rudolf III (**993–1032**) was childless, and, fearing that his kingdom would be split up on his

<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Arles is sometimes called Lower Burgundy, Upper Burgundy was a duchy.

death owing to the great power of the feudal nobles, promised the succession (already promised to Henry II) to Conrad, who had married his niece Gisela.

**1032.** Rudolf III died and Conrad became King of Arles; the nobles did homage; Arles was incorporated in the Empire. The addition of this Romance country made the Empire less German, checked the union with France and Burgundy, strengthened the tendency to hereditary succession in the kingdom of Germany, strengthened the influence of Cluny, checked French intervention in Italy.

The old Middle Kingdom thus became an integral part of the German kingdom. Conrad ruled over two-thirds of Charlemagne's Empire. But the authority exercised by the German kings over this distant part of their dominions was ineffective and the Capetian kings continually tried to bring Arles under their sway.

### III. Conrad II and Italy.

#### A. Conrad's first descent, 1026-1027.

##### (1) William of Aquitaine.

The Italian nobles, whom Henry II had failed to subdue, invited William, Duke of Aquitaine, to help them to resist Conrad. The Italian clergy, led by Aribert of Milan, supported Conrad against the nobles and frustrated William's attempt to secure the crown of Italy.

[The first case in which the Italians invited the French to enter Italy to resist their enemies.]

##### (2) Conrad crowned Emperor, 1027.

Conrad was crowned Emperor by John XIX in the presence of Canute and Rudolf III of Arles. He secured the fidelity of the Dukes of Capua and Benevento and returned to Germany.



There was a striking contrast between Conrad's determination that the Empire should not interfere with his policy in Germany and the policy of Otto III, which subordinated Germany to the Empire.

[Revolt of Ernest of Swabia during Conrad's absence.]

#### B. Conrad's second descent, 1036-1038.

Aribert wished to increase the power of his archbishopric and was supported by the people of Milan. His policy was resented by the nobles, and civil war broke out in Lombardy.

Conrad's successful policy in Germany and Italy had involved the subjection of the bishops, and the Italian bishops therefore turned against him.

Conrad entered Italy again in 1036, and in order to secure support against the powerful Aribert made fiefs hereditary in Italy and secured the condemnation of Aribert by the Pope. But he failed to subdue Aribert, returned to Germany in 1038 and died in 1039.

#### IV. The Importance of Conrad II.

His practical ability and sound policy had made the monarchy so strong that his son, Henry III, succeeded without opposition and was the first German king who did.

He extended the territory of Germany by the acquisition of Arles.

He established the supremacy of the crown over the clergy, and this may be regarded as one of the causes of the Investiture dispute, which distracted the Empire under his grandson Henry IV.

**Reference :** *The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 51-60.

## HENRY III (THE BLACK), 1039-1056

Henry III was admirably trained for his work. He received an excellent education, had had successful experience of warfare against the Slavs and valuable experience of government. During his father's life he had been crowned King of Burgundy and Germany. In his reign "the Empire attained the meridian of its power" (Bryce), and for the third and last time Emperor and Pope worked harmoniously (as under Otto III and Charlemagne) for the good of the world. Germany became "almost a nation" under his strong rule, which did something to diminish private war (a necessary result of feudalism) at home and made the German monarchy recognised as supreme over the neighbouring Slav states. "Germany effectively ruled the destinies of the world" (Tout).

### I. Germany.

#### A. Internal.

Under Henry III, Germany was united, and the union of Germany, though not comparable with national unity in the twentieth century owing to feudalism and the persistence of tribal feeling, was as real as the union of England under Edward the Confessor, and far more real than the union of France under Philip I. Henry III made general progresses through Germany which were obvious proofs of the reality of the royal power; this would have been impossible in France under the Early Capetians. He held general assemblies of the whole kingdom; some of his great subjects, e.g. the Duke of Lorraine, Godfrey the Bearded, rose against him, but always unsuccessfully, and such risings were rebellion in Germany, but foreign war in France. The clergy of Germany were faithful, the dukes were faithful.\* Henry strove to maintain peace in Germany, and his action at

the Diet of Constance, where he forgave his enemies and urged the nobles to do the same, did tend to diminish, though it by no means exterminated, private war, one of the great evils of the time. But his strong rule provoked opposition. In **1052** "the great and the small people murmured more and more against the Emperor."<sup>1</sup>

#### B. The frontiers.

- (1) **1041**. Poland, now weak and threatened by Bohemia, recognised Henry III's suzerainty.
- (2) Bohemia. Bretislav, Duke of Bohemia, wished to establish an independent kingdom and to make the bishopric of Prague into an independent archbishopric. Henry compelled Bretislav to submit in **1041**.

#### C. Hungary.

At his third attempt, Henry in **1044** deposed King Aba, under whom Hungary had relapsed into heathenism. Aba's successor, Peter, paid homage to Henry and Hungary became a vassal kingdom of the Empire, **1045**.

Thus "with a row of vassal kingdoms extending to the extremest eastward limits of Roman civilisation, the Holy Empire was fast becoming in a very real sense the mistress of the world" (Tout). But in **1049** Andrew, a relative of Aba, dethroned Peter, seized the throne and seriously weakened Henry's power over Hungary.

#### D. France.

The early Capetian kings were too weak to trouble Germany, but any attempt to establish German authority over France would have united the whole of France against Henry. He wisely adopted a peaceful policy towards France. His first wife, the daughter of Canute, died in **1038**, and he married Agnes, daughter of William, Count of Poitou. This strengthened friendly relations with France, while Agnes won Henry's support for the Cluniac movement.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Hassall, *European History Chronologically Arranged*, p. 40.

## II. Italy.

## A. First Descent, 1046-1047.

## (1) The reform of the Papacy.

The Popes were now members of the family of Tusculum which had regained its power in Rome. Benedict IX (1033-1045) brought the Papacy into disrepute, and the reform of the Papacy was a necessary condition of the reform of the Church at which the Cluniacs, supported by Henry III, aimed. Benedict IX sold the Papacy to Gregory VI, and the Antipope Sylvester III, backed by the Romans, secured election in 1044. Benedict soon tried to get back the Papacy, and the Christian world was scandalised by the presence of three rival claimants to the Papacy. A synod at Rome appealed to Henry III, and he came to Italy in 1046.

**1046.** Issued an edict condemning simony in an Ecclesiastical Council at Pavia.

**1046.** Deposed two Popes at the synod of Sutri and the third at a synod of Rome.

**1046.** Practically appointed the German Suidger Bishop of Bamberg, as Clement II. Clement crowned him and Agnes Emperor and Empress on Christmas Day.

A synod gave Henry the right of nominating the Pope, and he appointed a succession of five German Popes, including Bruno, Bishop of Toul, who became Leo IX in 1048.

## (2) Political questions.

## a. Rome.

Henry III became hereditary Patrician, and "In Rome no German sovereign had ever been so absolute" (Bryce). If a vacancy occurred in the Papacy, the Patrician nominated the new Pope.

## b. Southern Italy.

Henry recognised the Norman Drogo as

## EUROPEAN HISTORY

Count of Apulia and Ranulf of Aversa. His supremacy was acknowledged in Southern Italy.

[ (3) Ecclesiastical opposition.

**1046.** Halinard, the newly appointed Archbishop of Lyons, refused to do homage to Henry for his lands.]

B. Henry's second descent into Italy, **1055.**

The marriage of Beatrice, widow of Marquis Boniface of Tuscany, with Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lower Lorraine, united Henry's leading opponent in Germany to one of the most powerful Italian houses. On his descent into Italy, Godfrey fled; Beatrice and her daughter Matilda (afterwards the supporter of Hildebrand against Henry IV) were made prisoners. On the death of Henry the House of Tuscany regained its power.

C. General.

Henry had shown his supreme power by deposing three Popes and nominating five. He had issued edicts on ecclesiastical questions of supreme importance, e.g. simony. He had made his political power effective in Rome, asserted his suzerainty over Southern Italy, overthrown for a time the power of Tuscany.

*But* the Cluniacs were strengthened by his support and success and did not approve of lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs. The reformation of the Papacy led to the extension of Cluniac views, and thus Henry established the power of the Papacy which, strengthened by the lay help of the Countess Matilda and the Normans whom Henry had recognised, fought Henry IV in the Investiture dispute.

**References :**

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 60-64.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. III, Book V, chap. xiv, and Book VI, chaps. i and iii.

## THE CLUNIAN REFORMATION

I. **The Foundation of Cluny.**

- A. Cluny founded about **910** by William, Duke of Aquitaine ; the monastery soon became famous for its piety and strict obedience to the Benedictine rule.
- B. Each Benedictine house had hitherto been independent, but Odo (Abbot **927-941**) established the Congregation of Cluny, which made every new Clunian house dependent on the supreme authority of the Abbot of Cluny and required it to send representatives to the chapters at Cluny. Thus each house retained a large measure of independence under its prior, but all the houses were united into one organisation and followed a common policy.

II. **Revival of Religion.**

The Clunian movement in the eleventh century was a part of a wide reformation which sought to remove the disorders of the time by the influence of religion and the strict observance of monastic rule. The reformers ascribed the famines and plagues of the time to the wrath of God and strove by a revival of religion to avert these evils.

In Italy—

- c. **1022.** Romuald of Ravenna formed the hermits of Camaldoli.
- c. **1038.** John Gualbert established the order of Vallombrosa.

The names of Henry the Saint, Edward the Confessor, Robert the Pious show that the new movement found converts in the highest positions.

A notable effort of the Church to check the evils of war was the Truce of God which was instituted by the clergy of Aquitaine, or possibly Odilo, Bishop of Cluny, about **1031**, and forbade war from Saturday evening to Monday morning and during Lent and Advent.

### III. The Aim of the Cluniac Movement.

The great aim was to purify the Church, to free it from lay control, to establish the Pope as the supreme authority over all ecclesiastics.

#### A. The freedom of the Papacy.

The absolute freedom of the Papacy was an essential part of the Cluniac scheme. But the Tusculan Popes were dissolute, and the reform of the Papacy was necessary before its supremacy could be justified. This was effected by Henry III, and, although the Cluniacs opposed lay interference on principle, Henry III was so strong that they could not resist him, especially as he was a strong supporter of the Cluniac movement.

But the Papacy as reformed by Henry III was not a mere instrument of the Empire, as it had been under Otto I, and was greatly strengthened from 1058 owing to the policy of Hildebrand. The Popes became the leaders of the movement that led to the Investiture dispute.

“Leo IX was the real founder of the papal monarchy over the Church.” His visits to France and Germany enforced papal supremacy in those countries; he maintained his authority in the provinces by sending Cardinal Legates to examine and reform, and by requiring bishops to report to him in person at Rome.

#### B. Lay investiture.

- (1) In Germany the Emperor was all powerful. He appointed bishops sometimes, especially Conrad II, on payment of money, sometimes on condition of feudal service. Bishops so appointed naturally opposed the Cluniac movement, and Conrad II owed his election to the anti-Cluniac party led by Aribo of Mainz.

In France, owing to the weakness of the early Capetian kings, the clergy seem to have retained some right of election.

- (2) The secular clergy, whom the Emperors used for political and administrative purposes, were men of high, sometimes of princely and royal, rank; they were often appointed without due regard to religion or character, and were more subject to lay control than the monks.

The monks were men of humbler birth and, generally, of better character and deeper piety than the seculars. Therefore to some extent the Clunian reformation represents a struggle between the regulars and seculars.

- (3) Lay control tended to feudalise, officialise and localise the Church, and therefore to impair its religious zeal and weaken its dependence on Rome. In the time of the Counts of Tusculum the Papacy itself became a fief in their disposal.

“ Bishops were in danger of becoming barons in mitres; kings looked upon prelates as officials bound to do them service; and patrons sold benefices to the highest bidder ” (Tout).

### C. Simony.

Simony degraded the Church by making wealth the reason for promotion and gravely lowering the tone of the Church. It was a widespread evil. In 1045, Benedict IX sold the Papacy to Gregory VI.

**1049.** Simony was condemned in a Church Council at Rome by Leo IX.

### D. The marriage of the clergy.

The marriage of the clergy was very common in Italy and Germany, France and Normandy and England (where Dunstan was its strong opponent), e.g. Robert, Bishop of Evreux, and Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, were married, and Pope Benedict IX thought of getting married. The word “ episcopissa ” was used to denote a bishop’s wife, and wives and children of clergymen had the right of inheriting their property.



**1049.** Condemned by Leo IX at Rome.

The Cluniac reformation regarded the clergy as a separate caste, and to maintain this it was necessary that they should not be bound by domestic ties which would distract their attention from the Church and tended, it was thought, to the degeneracy of the order.

Clergy who had bought their livings or sees wished their sons to succeed, and a danger arose of the establishment of a clerical feudality parallel to the lay feudality. Such a body would have ruined the morale of the Church, would have crushed the lower classes and would have proved a serious hindrance to the establishment of national kingdoms and possibly a danger to the Empire.

Clerical celibacy was enforced, but in a time of low moral standards it led to grave immorality.

Thus the Cluniac reformation was a movement to prevent the secularisation, feudalisation and localisation of the Church ; to uphold the cause of piety and true religion ; to assert the power of the Pope over a united body independent of lay control.

**IV. The First Struggle about Investiture.**

**1046.** Halinard, a strong Cluniac, elected by the clergy and people Archbishop of Lyons, refused

1. To take the see without confirmation by the Pope.
2. To take a feudal oath of fealty to Henry III because the Gospel and Rule of St. Benedict forbade.

**References :**

- History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book VII, chap. 1.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. v.  
*Outlines of Mediæval History* (Orton), chap. v.

## THE NORMANS IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

### I. The Byzantines.

In the time of Charlemagne the Lombard Dukes of Benevento exercised great power, but the division of the duchy into three (Benevento, Capua, Salerno) weakened their power to oppose the Saracens, who began to conquer Sicily about 827, and completed their conquest by capturing Syracuse in 877. The Saracens established themselves on the mainland and captured Bari.

871. The common danger from the Saracens led Basil the Macedonian and the Emperor Lewis II to combine. Bari was captured 871, Lewis II died 875, and the Byzantine power was re-established in Southern Italy under a Catapan ruling from Bari.

969-970. Failure of Otto I to win Southern Italy. The Lombard duchies, under Pandulf Iron Head, protected the southern frontier of the Empire.

981-982. Otto II captured Bari, routed the Saracens at Cotrone, but failed to establish his power in the South.

1014-1015. Failure of Henry II to conquer Southern Italy. Rome was now "an outpost of the Teutonic power."

In 1017 Capua, Benevento and Salerno were held by Lombard dukes of doubtful allegiance to the Empire; and Naples, under its own Duke, Apulia and Calabria (ruled from Bari by the Catapan, the representative of the Byzantine Emperor) were Greek; Sicily was Saracen. "The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards and Saracens were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates" (Gibbon).

### II. The Coming of the Normans.

A. 1017. Some Norman adventurers under Ralph de Toeny, who had accepted the invitation of Meles, a Roman

Catholic of Bari, to support his revolt against the Byzantine Emperor, routed the Greeks at Civitate, **1017**, in Apulia, but were themselves routed at Cannæ, **1019**. The survivors took service as mercenary soldiers with the Lombards and even the Greeks.

**B. The first Norman settlement.**

**1030.** The Norman Ranulf founded a strong settlement at Aversa which the Duke of Naples gave him in return for his help.

**1038.** Conrad II recognised Ranulf as Count of Aversa.

**III. Apulia.**

**A. The foundation.**

**1038.** William of the Iron Arm, Drogo and Humphrey, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, brought the greater part of Sicily under the authority of the Byzantine Emperor. Owing to the ingratitude of Maniaces the Catapan, they seized Melfi, **1041**, routed the Greeks at Cannæ, made William of the Iron Arm lord of Apulia. The Greeks retained only Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, Tarentum.

**1046.** Drogo, William's successor, was recognised as Count of Apulia by Henry III.

Apulia was organised as a feudal state under twelve elected counts, who formed a military senate over which the Count presided.

**B. The Battle of Civitate (Civitella), 1053.**

The presence of the Normans in Apulia was resented by the Eastern and Western Emperors and the Pope, Leo IX, who formed an offensive alliance against them. Argyrus, son of Meles, failed to persuade the Normans to leave Southern Italy to fight for the Eastern Emperor against the Persians; he procured the murder of Drogo, **1051**; but Humphrey, who succeeded his brother Drogo, punished the assassins and confirmed the Norman power.

Leo IX listened to complaints of Norman cruelty in Apulia, resented their unwillingness to pay tithes, took the Lombard duchy of Benevento under his protection

and in **1052** received it as a part of the possessions of the Papacy from Henry III. He took the field against the Normans, but received only about seven hundred Swabians and a few Lorrainers from Germany, while the Eastern Emperor was too busy with Turkish wars to send help. "A promiscuous multitude of Italians" formed the bulk of his army which, in spite of the heroic efforts of the Germans, was routed at Civitate by Robert Guiscard, his elder brother Humphrey, Count of Apulia, and Richard, Count of Aversa, in **1053**. Leo IX was captured, but treated with the utmost respect by the Normans, "who beheld in their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ."

Leo IX pardoned the Normans for their resistance, but made no close alliance with them. Their position was strengthened by the final schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was due to a quarrel between Leo and the Greek Emperor, and which rendered impossible the co-operation of the two Empires against the Normans.

#### C. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia.

Robert Guiscard, although he had received a cold welcome from his brothers Drago and Humphrey, was elected Count of Apulia on Humphrey's death in **1057**, to the exclusion of his young nephews. He kindly welcomed his young brother Roger of Hauteville, who conquered part of Calabria, which he held under Robert's suzerainty. The power of the Normans was now increased by the conquest of Capua by Richard of Aversa.

#### D. Robert Guiscard and Nicholas II, **1059**.

- (1) The successors of Leo IX had been hostile to the Normans, but Hildebrand persuaded Nicholas II to secure their friendship. Hildebrand made a treaty with Richard of Aversa and Capua in **1059**, and Norman forces supported Nicholas II against the Antipope (the first instance in which the Normans fought for the Pope).

- (2) At the synod of Melfi, **1059**, Nicholas II made Robert Guiscard Duke of Apulia and Calabria and "future Duke" of Sicily. Robert promised to hold Apulia and Calabria of the Pope and to pay twelve pence for each carucate. Richard of Aversa and Capua made similar terms. Thus the Normans secured papal sanction for their lands and became "the champions of Western Catholicism" against the Eastern Church and the Mohammedans. Robert as duke was placed above the local counts; the Popes secured the effective help of a strong military power and established a long-continuing suzerainty over Southern Italy.

**E. The extension of Robert Guiscard's power.**

- (1) In Italy.

**1071.** He captured Bari, the last possession of the Greeks in Italy. He added to his dominions the principality of Salerno and the duchy of Benevento, although the town remained in the possession of the Pope.

- (2) Durazzo, **1082.**

Having driven the Greeks out of Italy, Robert crossed the Straits of Otranto and besieged Durazzo. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus tried to relieve it, but was utterly routed, in spite of the bravery of the Varangian Guard. Durazzo surrendered, Robert advanced through Albania and Thessaly towards Constantinople, but returned to Italy, leaving his son, Bohemund of Tarentum, in command.

**F. Robert Guiscard and Hildebrand, 1084.**

In **1084** Henry IV entered Rome, secured the enthronement of the Antipope Guibert and besieged Gregory VII (Hildebrand) in the Castle of St. Angelo. Robert Guiscard, enraged by Henry IV's invasion of Apulia and fearing that the Normans would suffer if their ally the Pope was captured by the Emperor, entered and sacked Rome, compelled Henry to retire and took Gregory to Salerno, where he died May 25th, **1085.**

IV. Sicily.

A. Roger, twelfth and youngest son of Tancred of Hauteville, who had established the Norman power in Calabria, conquered Sicily, 1060–1101. The Saracens of Sicily were weakened by their separation from the Fatimites of Bagdad<sup>1</sup> and the large Christian population of the island, but they received help from the Saracens of Africa. Roger was helped by Robert Guiscard and by the galleys of Pisa.

1061. Messina captured by Robert and Roger (after a failure in 1060) and the Saracens routed at Castro Giovanni. The Normans conquered the east of Sicily.

1072. Robert, who had finally established his power in Apulia by the capture of Bari, 1071, assisted Roger to take Palermo (after a failure in 1064).

Robert's suzerainty over Sicily was acknowledged by Roger, but on Robert's death in 1085 Roger became independent Count of Sicily. The union of Apulia and Sicily into a strong feudal power, the work of Roger II (*d.* 1154), first King of Sicily, was the beginning of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily which was overthrown by Garibaldi in 1860.

B. Roger I allowed the Mohammedans to retain their property and to practise their religion, and patronised their teachers of medicine and mathematics. But he organised the island on feudal lines. The supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged, bishops appointed, churches and monasteries endowed. But Roger kept the right of investiture and the appointment of the princes of Sicily as "hereditary and perpetual legates of the Holy See" made them supreme in Church matters.

Reference : *The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. v.

<sup>1</sup> So called from Fatima, daughter of Mohammed.

## THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE PAPACY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

### I. Papacy and Empire.

#### A. The belief in the supremacy of the Pope.

The Teutonic part of Latin Christendom believed in the supremacy of the Pope, regarded him as the divinely appointed successor of St. Peter, "the apostle and vicegerent of God, enveloped in the same kind of awful mystery" (Milman). The existing separation between Christian faith and Christian morality prevented the immorality of some Popes from impairing the respect men felt for the Papacy.

#### B. The Forged Decretals, composed like the Donation of Constantine before the end of the eighth century, gave the Papacy full authority in the Christian world over causes spiritual and persons ecclesiastical, and this authority was widely extended over secular cases. The Decretals and Donation were "the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the Popes" (Gibbon).

#### C. The Papacy regarded as the source of the Imperial dignity.

Although Otto I, Otto III and Henry III had nominated Popes, and often by their nominations raised the tone of the Papacy, yet the Pope alone could confer the Imperial crown; and as the first duty of the Emperor was to defend the Holy Church, the Popes asserted their right to select their champion and to degrade him if he failed to perform his task.

The power exercised by the German Emperors over the Pope was broken by minorities (Otto III and Henry IV), by the need of maintaining their authority in Germany, by the fact that the Imperial title was not legally hereditary. But the Papacy had no minorities, up to 1059 was generally supported by all clergy, and had few disputed successions.

## THE PAPACY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY 121

### II. The Cluniac Reformation.

Asserted the right of the Pope not only to be the Head of the Church, but to be a great feudal lord of whom all kings became Beneficiaries; denied the right of all lay investiture (though unable to prevent the nominations by Henry III to the Papacy); tried to purify the Church by attacks on simony, which lowered the tone of the Church, and the marriage of clergy, which involved the danger of the establishment of an hereditary ecclesiastical feudality.

### III. The German Popes.

The high character of the German Popes (especially Leo IX) strengthened the influence of the Papacy.

### IV. The Lateran Synod, 1059.

#### A. The College of Cardinals.

The College of Cardinals, a body of seven cardinal bishops with cardinal priests and deacons, was formed to choose the Pope, who should be a Roman, if worthy. The right of Henry IV and his successors to confirm the choice of the cardinals was vaguely admitted.

“Henceforth the legal rights of the cardinals to be the electors of future Popes became substantially uncontested” (Tout).

**1061.** Appointment of Pope Alexander II without any reference to Henry IV. But

**1073.** Hildebrand delayed his consecration as Pope Gregory VII until Henry IV's consent had been obtained

#### B. Marriage of the clergy.

The marriage of the clergy was declared illegal.

### V. The Extension of the Temporal Power of the Pope.

The so-called Donation of Constantine, shown to be a forgery in the fifteenth century (page 406), by which the first Christian Emperor was said to have given the Popes “the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome,



Italy and the provinces of the West," was used as the foundation of the temporal power of the Popes. Their hold over Ravenna and the Exarchate, granted by Pippin the Short, had been confirmed by Charlemagne, Otto I and III, and Henry III, and gave them the suzerainty over Benevento. But the Popes were too weak to make their temporal power effective and the Saxon Emperors and Henry III owed their successes largely to the fact that the Popes had no temporal power and had to depend upon the German forces of the Empire for protection. In the eleventh century they found other protectors and gained considerable temporal power, and were thus relieved from their dependence on the Emperors.

A. The Normans.

The reconciliation of Nicholas II and Robert Guiscard by Hildebrand's advice at Melfi in **1059** secured for the Pope powerful lay help, and established papal supremacy in the South of Italy.

**1061.** Richard of Aversa helped Hildebrand to secure the election of an Italian Pope, Alexander II.

B. Tuscany.

The steady support of the Countess Matilda maintained the papal authority in Tuscany.

C. Lombardy.

The attempts of the archbishops of Milan (e.g. Aribert, **1037 1039**) to assert their independence and to support the marriage of the clergy had been opposed by the Paterini, "rag pickers," and were finally crushed by Peter Damiani in **1060**.

D. The papal power was thus asserted over Lombardy.

Papal prestige gained considerably from the success of William the Conqueror's expedition to England in **1066**, and Roger's invasion of Sicily, **1060**, both of which were undertaken under the auspices of the Pope.

## VI. Lay Investiture, 1075.

Hildebrand, having now secured the freedom of the Church, aimed at domination.

In 1075 in a synod at Rome he denied the right of Emperors, kings or any lay person to invest with ecclesiastical office, and ordered the excommunication of offenders.

“After this decree war between the Papacy and Empire was inevitable.”

## THE INVESTITURE DISPUTE TO THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII

The Investiture dispute was one phase of the struggle for supremacy between Empire and Papacy. The position was vague. The Emperor claimed to be the successor of the Cæsars, to whom St. Paul had enjoined subjection, the Popes of St. Peter; spiritually the Emperor was subordinate to the Pope, but the Pope owed temporal allegiance to the Emperor; the Emperors had undoubtedly nominated Popes, but the receipt of the crown from the Pope and consecration by the Pope were necessary conditions of full Imperial authority.

Gregory VII, relying on the recent increase in the power of the Papacy, asserted the absolute supremacy of the spiritual power. He was not the first to assert the theory, but was “the first who dared to apply it to the world as he found it.”

The chief bond of secular government was the feudal tie which required all landholders, lay or ecclesiastical, to swear fealty to the King or Emperor. This feudal connection was the foundation of the Emperor's power in Lombardy where, except when the Emperor was present with a German army, the royal authority depended mainly on the bishops. The support of the German bishops greatly strengthened the position of the King of Germany.

But in their spiritual capacity the bishops were subject to the Pope, and the struggle for Investiture was a struggle between Emperor and Pope for domination over the bishops.

The reformers held that all Church property had been given to God, and that the donor had no further rights over it; the holder of ecclesiastical land therefore owed no homage to any secular person, nor ought he to receive the investiture of his land from any layman. This doctrine weakened royal authority by denying the feudal rights of lay sovereigns over all land held by churchmen in their dominions. For the Emperor "to give up investitures would have been to change the whole Imperial system of government" (Tout).

### I. Henry IV and the First Saxon War.

- A. On the death of Adalbert of Bremen in **1072** Henry IV's reign really began. His neglect of his wife Bertha of Turin and immorality roused the censure of the clergy; the Saxons were angry because Henry showed preference for Swabian ministers and kept the duchy of Saxony vacant; they feared that Henry meant to subject Saxony to Swabia and strongly resented the castles Henry had built in Saxony and Thuringia.
- B. **1073-1075.** Rebellion of Saxony and Thuringia led by the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Otto of Nordheim; Henry was besieged in the Harzburg, many new castles were destroyed. But the steady support of Worms, of Swabia and many of the princes of the Rhine helped Henry, who routed the Saxons at Hohenburg, **1075.**
- C. Gregory VII, who had delayed his consecration until he received Henry's consent, admonished Henry for simony and immorality, and ordered the Archbishop of Magdeburg and his allies to suspend operations until he had investigated their complaints against Henry.  
The Pope "had already erected himself into the supreme arbiter of the affairs of Germany" (Milman),

and sent an embassy to inquire into the prevalence of simony and the marriage of the clergy in Germany. Many of the German clergy were married, and relied upon the custom of the early Church, the authority of St. Peter and St. Ambrose for sanction. Great distress and bitter resentment were caused by the attempt to annul clerical marriages in Germany. Strong opposition of the German clergy, who, at the synod of Erfurt, **1074**, declared that the Pope was "a heretic or a madman." Formation of an anti-papal clerical party in Germany.

## II. The Struggle Begins.

### A. The synod of Rome, **1075**.

- (1) Deposed any ecclesiastic who should receive investiture from any lay person.

By this decree all Church land was held at the pleasure of the Pope, and the power of every temporal sovereign over a large body of his subjects holding much land was annulled.

"This decree gave the signal for the great Investiture Dispute."

- (2) The Pope censured Henry (now greatly strengthened by his victory over the Saxons) for appointing an archbishop of Milan without his consent, and summoned the King to Rome to answer for his conduct.

### B. Deposition of the Pope at the synod of Worms, January, **1076**.

Henry, realising that it was impossible to challenge the Papacy as such, attacked Hildebrand personally. The synod of Worms passed a vote of deposition, and Henry, who hitherto had written very humbly, wrote as follows: "Henry, king not by usurpation but by God's ordinance, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but the false monk. . . . I, Henry, King by the grace of God, with all of my bishops, say unto thee, 'Come down, come down,'"

**C. Excommunication of the Emperor at the Vatican synod, February, 1076.**

Gregory VII excommunicated and deposed Henry IV. "I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have sworn or may swear to him, and forbid all obedience to him as King."

**D. Excommunication of the Pope, April, 1076.**

William, Bishop of Utrecht, excommunicated Gregory VII. The sentence was repeated at Piacenza by Guibert Archbishop of Ravenna.

**III. Submission of Henry to the Pope at Canossa.**

The excommunication of Henry alienated many Germans; the Saxons again revolted; Rudolf of Swabia became the head of the new conspiracy to dethrone Henry; William of Utrecht died repentant but unabsolved; Hermann, Bishop of Metz, the Papal Legate, united all Henry's discontented subjects against the King, who was now deserted by nearly all his followers.

**A. The Diet of Tribur, 1076.**

Henry found that further resistance was impossible, and agreed to terms drawn up at the Diet of Tribur, which compelled him to submit to the Pope by February or accept deposition, and in the meanwhile to live as a private citizen at Spire.

**B. Canossa, January, 1077.**

- (1) Henry, with Queen Bertha, crossed the Alps with difficulty in the depth of winter, was welcomed by the Lombards who thought he had come to oppose the Pope, who on his approach, expecting a Lombard attack, had taken refuge in the Countess Matilda's strong fortress of Canossa.
- (2) The Pope kept him waiting barefoot in the snow for three days. On the fourth day he was admitted to

the Pope's presence and absolved from excommunication on condition

- (1) That he was to be tried by the Pope on charges made against him.
  - (2) Until the trial he was not to exercise kingly power or use royal insignia.
  - (3) He was to keep or resign his crown according to the judgment of the Pope.
- (3) Gregory VII had thus established the papal power of judging kings. But his action had alienated many. Some condemned the vindictive harshness with which he had treated Henry; the Germans resented the debasement of the Empire and the degradation of their national king; the Lombards objected to the great power of the Countess Matilda; the animosity of the simoniac and married clergy was increased by the Pope's action.

Gregory's victory was "complete but premature."

#### IV. From the Submission at Canossa to the Death of Gregory VII.

Henry remained in Italy, where the Lombards, disgusted with his submission to the Pope, proposed to depose him in favour of his son.

##### 1. The rebellion of Rudolf of Swabia.

**1077.** At the Diet of Forcheim the magnates elected Rudolf of Swabia King of Germany. Rudolf swore to allow freedom of election to bishoprics and not to make the crown hereditary.

Henry acted with vigour, recrossed the Alps in April, **1077**, found strong support in Bavaria, Burgundy, the Rhine valley (especially Worms), and even Swabia. Gregory VII took no steps to stop the war, although he had absolved Henry, but after Rudolf had defeated Henry at Flarcheim, **1080**, he again issued a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Henry. This time the sentence had little effect; many of the

German bishops supported Henry, and at the synod of Brixen, June, **1080**, deposed Gregory VII and elected Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, Pope.

**1080** (October). Henry was defeated, but the victorious Rudolf was slain at the Battle of the Elster.

#### B. Henry besieges Gregory in Rome.

The death of Rudolf enabled Henry to leave Germany. He was warmly welcomed by the Lombards, besieged Rome, **1081**, took the Leonine city, June, **1083**, wasted Tuscany, captured Rome and compelled the Pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, Christmas, **1083**. He was crowned Emperor by the Antipope Clement III (Guibert) on Easter Day, **1084**.

The help the Pope hoped to get from the Normans had been delayed by their excommunication and by Guiscard's expedition to Durazzo (page 118), but in May, **1084**, Guiscard captured Rome, released the Pope from the castle of St. Angelo, sacked and burned Rome (the worst sack the city ever experienced) and escorted Gregory to Salerno, where he again excommunicated Henry IV and his friends and died May 25th, **1085**.

#### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Book VII, chaps. II, III.

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. VI.

## HILDEBRAND

#### I. Life.

He was the son of a carpenter at Saona ; trained in the monastery of St. Mary on the Aventine, Rome ; continued his studies under Odilo at Cluny ; returned to Rome and took an active part in the dispute of the three Popes, **1046**.

**1047**. Accompanied Gregory VI to Germany on his abdication.

**1048.** After a brief stay at Cluny returned to Rome and at once began to exercise great influence. Urged on Leo IX the importance of securing free election for the Popes.

**1059.** Urged Nicholas II to create the College of Cardinals and to make an alliance with the Normans.

Ensured the election of Alexander II.

"Pope after Pope dies, disappears; Hildebrand still stands unmoved, or is rising more and more to eminence" (Milman).

**1073.** Admonished Henry IV for simony and immorality. Elected Pope Gregory VII.

**1074.** In a synod at Rome condemned simony and the marriage of the clergy, and sent an embassy to Germany to hold a council to degrade simoniacal and married clergy.

October, **1074.** Protest of the German clergy at Erfurt.

February, **1075.** Absolutely condemned all lay investiture in a synod at Rome.

The beginning of the Investiture Dispute.

Christmas Eve, **1075.** Seized by Cencius while celebrating Mass. Rescued by the people of Rome, who remained faithful to him for the rest of his life.

February, **1075.** Summoned Henry IV to Rome to appear before him for trial.

January, **1076.** Deposed by German clergy at the synod of Worms and by Lombard clergy at Piacenza.

February, **1076.** Excommunicated Henry IV at the Vatican Synod.

April, **1076.** William of Utrecht excommunicated Gregory VII.

July, **1076.** Issued letters to the clergy and people of Germany warning them to have no communication with Henry, as thereby they would incur excommunication.



- January, **1077**. Kept Henry IV waiting barefoot in the snow for three days before he accepted his submission and gave absolution at Canossa.
- 1077**. Although he had released Henry from excommunication, took no steps to stop the civil war stirred up in Germany by Rudolf of Swabia.
- 1079**. Showed weakness in dealing with Berengar of Tours, who had denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.
- 1080**. Again excommunicated Henry IV, whose success in Germany seemed dangerous to the Pope.
- June, **1080**. Deposed by German and Lombard clergy at Brixen where Guibert of Ravenna was elected Antipope.
- 1081**. Beginning of the Siege of Rome.
- Christmas, **1083**. Henry IV became master of Rome. Gregory VII was compelled to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo.
- 1084**. Gregory VII rescued by the Normans under Robert Guiscard and retired to Salerno.
- May 25th, **1085**. Died at Salerno. His last words, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

## II. Gregory's Aim.

Gregory's great aim was to reform the Church by freeing it from lay control, by removing the great abuses of simony and clerical marriage; and to make the reformed Church the mistress of the world, purging it of the evils of the time by the exercise of irresistible power.

## III. The Champion of the Supremacy of the Papacy.

- A. Gregory believed that as the successor of St. Peter he "had received from God the power to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth," and that therefore his power extended over all things temporal as well as spiritual.

He was the "Cæsar of spiritual conquest," aiming at the suzerainty of the civilised world. He claimed the right to judge kings, and to excommunicate and depose them if they disobeyed him; monarchs must regard their kingdoms as papal fiefs revocable by their suzerain, the Pope; they must allow the Pope to dictate to them on questions of peace and war and on secular matters.

- (1) Henry IV's submission at Canossa was Gregory's most conspicuous success. Soon after his election he posed as the arbiter between contending parties in Germany.
  - (2) He reproved Philip of France not only for simony but for the plunder of Italian merchants, and ordered the bishops to excommunicate him if he disobeyed.
  - (3) He claimed Spain and Hungary as the property of the Papacy.
  - (4) He warned the King of Norway not to support rebels against the King of Denmark.
  - (5) But William the Conqueror refused his demand for fealty and created bishops and archbishops at his own pleasure.
- B. Gregory felt that lay investiture was inconsistent with the supremacy of the Papacy; he therefore deprived the Emperor of the power of nominating Popes by the institution of the College of Cardinals and denounced all lay investiture in **1075**.
- C. Gregory advanced no new theories; like his predecessors he relied upon the spiritual power of the Pope, the authority of the Fathers, precedents and the Forged Decretals; but he gave a new force to old claims and showed great courage in enforcing them.
- D. But without the support of Matilda of Tuscany he could not have secured the submission of Henry IV, and he would probably have been captured by Henry IV in **1084** but for the intervention of the Normans. His success in the former case, his escape in the latter, were due to military force.

**IV. A Church Reformer.**

- A. Gregory VII was an enthusiastic supporter of the Cluniac movement and spared no efforts to put down simony and the marriage of the clergy.
- B. He claimed the right of surveillance over episcopal elections, and of suspending and deposing prelates. "At one time all the archbishops of France were under excommunication."
- C. His authority over local clergy was strengthened by the despatch of legates, whose power superseded that of the local archbishop; he received the strong support of the monastic clergy, who were keen reformers.
- D. He relied upon the Canon Law, and ordered the Law to be codified in the *Collectio Canonum*, which insisted on the supremacy of the Pope and the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal.

**V. Criticism.**

- A. Gregory VII met with a considerable measure of success. He was the true creator of the Mediæval Papacy and taught the Popes to perceive their own strength. No later Emperor exercised such power over the Papacy as Henry III.
- B. But his policy led to fierce opposition and much suffering.
  - (1) Strong national opposition was aroused, especially in Germany, where, after 1077, Henry IV received considerable support from the clergy; the second excommunication of Henry IV in 1080 had little effect.
  - (2) The civil wars in Germany were intensified by Gregory's policy.
  - (3) The opposition of the Lombards, particularly of Milan, was very strong and facilitated the descent of Henry IV in 1080.

- (4) Simoniacal clergy opposed the Pope through fear that they would lose their benefices if he were successful ; great misery was caused in the families of the married clergy and a number of their wives committed suicide.
- (5) Gregory "died in exile."

Thus his success though great was premature.

## VI. Character.

Gregory VII was a man of sublime faith and undaunted courage. The spiritual supremacy he tried to establish was a moral force superior to the feudal oligarchy, which was the main influence in temporal affairs.

But absolute domination, which denied the right of human reason to question the Pope's decrees, was not "reconcilable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity."<sup>1</sup> Gregory's methods were sometimes harsh and tyrannical and showed the "awful incongruity between the Churchman and the Christian." Power rather than the beneficent exercise of power was, at times, the object at which he strove.

He was a great practical statesman, content to wait his time but striking vigorously when the right moment came. But he was "too absolute, too rigid, too obstinate, too extreme to play his part with entire advantage to himself and his cause."

But the Roman Church which he strengthened and reformed rendered splendid service to the cause of civilisation and Christianity in the succeeding centuries, and Gregory VII, in spite of his faults, was a benefactor to mankind and one of the grandest figures in European history.

## References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, chaps. I, II, III.

*Essay on Hildebrand* (Sir Jas. Stephen).

*Empire and Papacy* (Tout), chap. VI.

<sup>1</sup> Milman gives the Protestant view.

## THE INVESTITURE DISPUTE

### FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS

#### I. The Later Years of Henry IV.

##### A. The Council of Piacenza.

- (1) The timidity of the aged Victor III, who succeeded Gregory VII, and the energy of the Antipope Guibert of Ravenna, whose troops held the castle of St. Angelo, gravely impaired the power of the Papacy. Urban II, **1088-1099**, spent the first part of his pontificate in Southern Italy under the protection of Roger.
- (2) Urban II arranged a marriage between Matilda of Tuscany and Guelf, the son of the Duke of Bavaria, and thus provided a leader for Matilda's armies in Italy, and made the powerful Duke of Bavaria the leader of Henry's opponents in Germany.  
**1092.** Henry IV was repulsed in an attack on Canossa.
- (3) **1093.** Encouraged by this repulse and by the growth of opposition in Germany to the Antipope, Henry IV's devoted supporter, the papal party persuaded Henry's eldest son Conrad to accept the crown of Italy.
- (4) **March, 1095.** The appalling charges made by the Empress Adelaide,<sup>1</sup> Henry's second wife, and accepted by the Council of Piacenza, ruined the Imperial party in Lombardy, and in **1097** Henry abandoned Italy.

##### B. Henry IV re-established his authority.

Matilda had promised to leave her possessions to the Church, and the Duke of Bavaria, disappointed that his son would not succeed to Matilda's property, supported Henry.

<sup>1</sup> Adelaide, a Russian princess, is sometimes called Praxedis.

The First Crusade, preached by Urban II at the Council of Clermont, **1095**, diverted attention from the Investiture Dispute, and by December, **1097**, only the Archbishop of Mainz continued to oppose Henry IV in Germany. He induced the magnates in **1099** to deprive Conrad of his right to the throne and to recognise his younger brother Henry as successor to his father.

**1099.** The younger Henry crowned King at Aachen.

The death of Conrad, **1101**, and the excellent results which followed the Emperor's proclamation of the Peace of the Empire, **1102**, further strengthened Henry IV's position, although his excommunication continued and was renewed by Paschal II in **1102**.

#### C. The rebellion of the younger Henry.

The nobles greatly resented the Peace of the Empire, which prevented them from carrying on private war and plundering the people. They persuaded the younger Henry to rebel, and Pope Paschal II absolved him from his oath of obedience to his father. The general desertion of Henry IV was followed by his imprisonment by his son and his abdication. He escaped, was strongly supported by Liège, Cologne and the Duke of Lorraine, and expected help from France and Flanders. But he was worn out, and died at Liège August 7th, **1106**.

## II. Henry V and Paschal II.

(1) Although Paschal had encouraged him in his treachery towards his father, Henry V claimed the full right of Investiture, and he compelled the German clergy to obey his orders.

**1110.** Henry declared he would go to Rome to be crowned, to establish order in Lombardy where the cities were waging war with each other, and to protect the Church. He compelled Lombardy to submit, and received the allegiance of the Countess Matilda. The Pope, who in vain sought help from the Normans,

received the King in Rome and they agreed that the Church should renounce all its temporal property and that the Emperor should renounce the right of Investiture and allow freedom of election.

- (2) The Pope's action caused bitter resentment among the higher ecclesiastics who objected to giving up their temporal power. The coronation of the Emperor was interrupted. Fierce fighting took place between Romans and Germans, and Henry V left Rome, taking Paschal II with him as a prisoner.
- (3) Paschal surrendered the right of Investiture to the Empire, Henry returned to Rome and was crowned by Paschal with little ceremony in St. Peter's on April 13th, 1111.

“Canossa was at last revenged,” and “the Emperor returned to Germany having extorted in one successful campaign that which no power had been able to wring from the more stubborn Hildebrand and Urban ” (Milman).

1112. Paschal repudiated his surrender of Investiture and declared that he accepted the “decrees of my master Pope Gregory.” His action showed that, while the Pope might claim any prerogative, it was fatal to withdraw a claim.
- (4) The death of Matilda in 1115 brought Henry again to Italy in 1117. He seized her possessions, secured his position in Rome by winning over the Prefect, nobles and counts of Tusculum; refused the offer of the cardinals to make peace if he would surrender Investiture by the ring and crosier. Pope Paschal died in the castle of St. Angelo, 1118.

### III. The Concordat of Worms, 1122.

Men were now tired of the Investiture dispute, which had been settled amicably in England in 1106, and had caused little difficulty in France, where freely elected bishops recognised the temporal sovereignty of the King

## A. Pope Calixtus II.

- (1) The election of Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, son of the count of Burgundy, as Calixtus II (1119–1124), marks the beginning of the close connection between France and the Papacy which had important effects during the Middle Ages.
- (2) An attempt at settlement in the Council of Rheims, October, 1119, failed and Henry V's excommunication was renewed.
- (3) In spite of this, Germany (with the exception of Saxony) remained faithful.

## B. The Concordat.

The question of Investiture was referred to a Council at Worms over which a papal legate presided. The question was settled in 1122 by the Concordat of Worms by which

- (1) The Pope granted that all elections should take place in the presence of the Emperor, who should, by his sceptre, invest the bishop with the temporalities of his see, and he should give the bishop his regalia within six months.
- (2) The Emperor gave to the Pope the right of Investiture of spiritualities by the ring and crosier, recognised the right of the clergy to free election and undertook to restore to the Church of Rome all its possessions and jurisdictions.

## C. Criticism.

- (1) The Concordat of Worms was regarded as a victory for the Papacy. The Emperor gave up the form of Investiture although he retained the substance. But the Pope gave up the claim to absolute supremacy which Gregory VII had made.
- (2) The Concordat distinguished between the spiritual and the temporal powers of ecclesiastics. It attempted



to give to God what was God's and to Cæsar what was Cæsar's.

- (3) In view of the simplicity and reasonableness of the Concordat, and the ease with which the question was settled in England, the length and violence of the struggle between Pope and Emperor seem remarkable. But really the question at issue was the whole relations of the Papacy and Empire, and it was the extreme views held on either side that made the dispute so violent.
- (4) The Concordat was a compromise which settled only one point. The dispute between Popes and Emperors continued.

#### IV. General.

Up to now the Emperors had ruled largely through the Church. This became far less easy owing to the result of the struggle; the Emperors had to depend upon lay "ministeriales" for services hitherto rendered by Churchmen, and the official nobility became an important factor in the Empire.

##### A. The extent of the dispute.

- (1) The Investiture dispute was far wider than the name implies. It involved the problem of Papal Absolutism, of the decline of the Imperial power, the Spiritual Renaissance due to the Crusades.
- (2) It exercised a considerable effect upon political questions.
  - a. The Saxon rebellions.
  - b. The position of the German nobles.
  - c. The Normans in Southern Italy.
  - d. The Byzantine Empire—the Emperor Alexius sent large sums to help Henry IV in his opposition to the Pope, the ally of the Normans who had recently attacked the Eastern Empire and taken Durazzo, 1082.

e. Towns.—The growing importance of the towns was shown by the great part played by Milan and by the Rhine towns, especially Worms and Cologne.

- (3) The Pope relied upon the Canon Law, but the civil lawyers of Ravenna and Bologna supported the Emperor. Both codes owed their development to the Investiture dispute.

#### B. The results of the struggle on the Empire.

- (1) The Empire became a feudal oligarchy. In Germany the feudal nobles became the real rulers and not the King. Their right to elect the Emperor was established and asserted in the case of Henry V's three successors, Lothair II, Conrad III and Frederick I; the Prince electors are definitely recognised as a separate body in 1156. All fiefs were now hereditary, the jurisdiction of the Crown was limited.
- (2) The Emperor, owing to the struggle, was prevented from assuming his position as the leader of Christendom in the First Crusade. The religious feeling evoked by the Crusades was aroused by the Pope, the Crusaders fought under his auspices and the Crusades thus strengthened the position of the Papacy.
- (3) The theocratic prestige of the Emperor was gravely impaired. The official character of the Empire was now asserted and theories as to the right of insurrection against him were enunciated.
- (4) Hitherto the Emperors had (with the exception of Otto III) tried to make Germany the centre of their power. Henceforward, although they tried to strengthen their power in Germany by forming a large private domain, they paid more attention to schemes for the effective conquest of Italy. This effort was directly connected with the growth of Lombard independence, especially in the case of

Frederick Barbarossa and the Conquest of Sicily by Henry VI.

Although the question of Investitures was settled it had been very bitter and had shown too clearly the fundamental antagonism between Empire and Papacy. The struggle continued, but it was now political rather than spiritual.

### C. Germany.

The struggle weakened Germany. She lost the leading position in Europe which she had held for so long, and it passed to France.

### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book IV, chaps. III, IV, V, and Book VIII, chaps. I-III.

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 132-149.

## GERMANY, THE EMPIRE AND ITALY, 1125-1152

The settlement of the Investiture dispute left unsettled the question of supremacy as between Pope and Emperor. But this question rarely arose from 1125-1152 as both were engaged in other difficult tasks.

The Popes had to deal with the growing power of Roger II in S. Italy and Sicily, and with the struggle between the great families in Rome (e.g. the Frangipani, Corsi and the new Pierleoni) which led to the appointment of the Antipope Anacletus;<sup>1</sup> the towns of Lombardy represented a new force which was destined to play a great part in North Italy.

The Emperor's power was limited by the right of election by the magnates; the old tribal jealousy continued so strongly that at the election of Lothair II (of Supplinburg) at Mainz in 1125 the Saxons and Bavarians encamped on one bank of the Rhine, the Swabians and Franks on the other; the tribal feeling was

<sup>1</sup> Peter Pierleone, son of a rich Jewish banker.

particularly strong in Saxony, which had remained united, full of national spirit and strongly opposed to interference by other tribes. Feudalism had grown stronger; such families as the Staufen of Swabia and Guelfs of Bavaria had become so powerful that they would resent the election of a strong king, while the power of the king was limited by the meetings of Imperial and local diets. The German towns, especially along the Rhine, were growing strong, and though they had supported Henry IV, were not certain to support a king of another tribe.

The accession of Lothair II in 1125 led to the outbreak of the great struggle between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Originally it was a contest between two German houses, the Guelfs of Bavaria and the Hohenstaufen of Swabia, the lords of Weiblingen whence the party took its name. But it developed into a contest between the Papacy and Empire, and divided Italy as well as Germany into two parties. The contest continued long after the struggle between the Papacy and Empire had ceased, and became in the cities of Italy a "meaningless faction fight."

Conrad III was absent on the Second Crusade from 1147 to 1149, and owing to his absence and his difficulties in Germany played no part in Italian history. He was the first King of Germany since Otto I, who was not crowned Emperor in Rome.

Conrad III was the first ruler of the Hohenstaufen line which was destined to become the bitter opponent of the Papacy.

## I. Germany.

### A. The Election of Lothair II (of Supplinburg), 1125.

Henry V's nephews (sons of his sister Agnes and Fred. of Buren or Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, the faithful supporter of Henry IV) were Frederick, Duke of Lower Swabia,<sup>1</sup> who had married the daughter of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, and Conrad, Duke of Franconia. Southern Germany supported Frederick.

Saxony supported Lothair, who had become Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Upper Swabia had passed under the authority of the Dukes of Zähringen.

Saxony owing to his marriage with the granddaughter of Otto of Nordheim.

The clergy, led by Adalbert of Mainz, who won over Bavaria, feared that Henry V's nephew might continue the family policy of opposition to the Pope; the barons thought that if Frederick succeeded his uncle the hereditary principle might be strengthened, the right of election by the magnates impaired, and the strong hand of Frederick might lessen their power; the Saxons objected to a southern Emperor.

Lothair was elected largely owing to the skilful policy of Adalbert, and did not demand the homage of the clergy for the Imperial fiefs they held. By marrying his daughter to Henry the Proud of Bavaria he secured the help of the Guelfs.

#### B. Guelfs and Ghibellines.

Lothair, **1125-1137**.

War broke out, **1127**. Conrad of Franconia, Henry V's younger nephew, was proclaimed King by the Ghibellines and crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy at Milan.

**1130**. Lothair and Henry the Proud sacked Swabia and the Rhine towns, especially Spire, which supported the Hohenstaufen.

**1134**. Submission of Frederick and Conrad.

Thus the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle began as a quarrel between rival houses.

**1135**. Lothair proclaimed a general peace for Germany.

#### C. Conrad III, **1138-1152**.

Conrad III was elected by the magnates because Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, who had obtained Saxony owing to his marriage with Lothair's daughter, was too strong. The elections of Lothair II, a Guelf, and Conrad III, a Ghibelline, showed the determination of the magnates to maintain the right of election as against hereditary succession.

Conrad deprived Henry the Proud of his two duchies and a Guelf-Ghibelline war broke out again. The death of Henry the Proud and Conrad's victory in **1140** at Weinsberg in Saxony were followed by a settlement by which Conrad kept the crown but Saxony and Bavaria remained under the authority of the Guelfs.

#### D. The North.

##### (1) Lothair, 1125-1137.

*a.* He forced the King of Denmark and Duke of Poland to pay homage, conquered the Abotrites and built Siegburg to maintain his power; he made his authority felt in Bohemia, though he failed to conquer it. Albert the Bear, whom Lothair made margrave of the North mark, and, to a less extent, Conrad of Wettin, margrave of the East mark of the North, carried on the work.

*b.* Revival of Christianity.

Lothair made Norbert of Prémontré Archbishop of Magdeburg, replaced secular canons by Premonstratensians, founded new bishoprics in Poland and favoured missionary efforts among the Slavs.

##### (2) Conrad III, 1138-1152.

*a.* Conrad III made Albert the Bear Duke of Saxony, but in **1142** gave the duchy to Henry (the son of Henry the Proud), who became the famous Henry the Lion and the rival of Albert the Bear. Thus Saxony became Guelf.  $\epsilon$

*b.* Conrad's share in the Second Crusade and, much more, the preaching of St. Bernard stimulated Crusades against the heathen of the North. The jealousy between Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear prevented common effort, but Pomerania was won over to Christianity and

Albert conquered Brandenburg, the germ of the kingdom of Prussia and of the German Empire of **1871–1918**.

Henry the Lion, having secured Saxony, was claiming his father's other Duchy of Bavaria when Conrad died, **1152**.

Thus Lothair II and, to a less extent, Conrad III, revived the policy of the extension of German power and Christianity in the North which had been a marked feature of the policy of Otto I.

## II. The Papacy.

### A. The disputed election of **1130**.

The College of Cardinals elected as Pope Anacletus, Peter Pierleone, the son of a Jewish banker who, although a former monk of Cluny, was reputed to have ensured his election by lavish bribery. He recognised Roger II as King of Sicily and thus obtained his support.

Five cardinals, supported by the Roman families of the Corsi and Frangipani and resenting the election of a man of Jewish descent who owed his success to simony, elected Innocent II.

The election of Anacletus was regular, that of Innocent II irregular, but earlier.

Innocent fled to France, was recognised by King Louis VI, the Fat, owing to the influence of Bernard, by England, and King Lothair, owing to Bernard's advice.

### B. Lothair in Italy.

- (1) Lothair promised to reinstate Innocent II in Rome and **1133** entered the city. Anacletus held the castle of St. Angelo and the Leonine city; Innocent crowned Lothair Emperor in the Lateran and bestowed on him the fiefs of Matilda. The Pope claimed to have asserted his supremacy over the Emperor, and issued a decree formally giving the Emperor "all his due

and canonical rights"; on a picture representing the coronation were put the words

"Post homo fit Papae, sumit quo dante coronam."

In spite of the papal view of his coronation Lothair gained much glory and strengthened his position in Germany by the restoration of the Pope. But he had failed to make Innocent II master of Rome and Roger soon regained the South of Italy.

- (2) On the return of Lothair to Germany Innocent II was compelled by Roger of Sicily to leave Rome for Pisa.
- (3) **1136**. At Bernard's entreaties Lothair again came to Italy to restore Innocent to Rome. He overran Ancona, Capua and Apulia, but quarrelled with the Pope, who claimed suzerainty over the conquered territory. A new duke of Apulia was appointed, who swore obedience to both Pope and Emperor. Lothair returned to Germany and died in **1137** on the way.

#### C. The Lateran Council of **1139**.

Anacletus died **1138**, his successor soon resigned by St. Bernard's persuasion. Innocent II asserted his own position and, in the Lateran Council in which he claimed feudal supremacy over all clergy, degraded those who had opposed him.

### III The Kingdom of Sicily.

- A. Roger II, son of Roger I, the conqueror of Sicily, became Duke of Apulia and Calabria on the failure of the direct line of Robert Guiscard in **1127**, conquered the principality of Capua, Amalfi and Naples and thus founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He was recognised as King by the Antipope Anacletus.
- B. **1136-1137**. Lothair overran Apulia and Calabria and captured Bari and Salerno; appointed with the Pope another duke; Roger fled to Sicily.
- C. But after Lothair's return Roger regained Apulia and Calabria and in **1139** captured Innocent II, who, seeing



that excommunication had no effect, took the field against him. He recognised Roger as King Roger I of Sicily, Apulia and Capua by the treaty of Mignano, and Roger did homage for his kingdom.

#### D. King Roger I, 1139–1154.

He ruled wisely, kept the Norman barons in order, allowed the Saracens and Greeks religious freedom, patronised Arab and Greek scholars and “combined elements the most diverse and promising into a happy and contented whole” (Tout).

He conquered Malta, captured Tripoli, and in 1148 secured Tunis and became master of a considerable part of the coast line of Northern Africa. An expedition he sent to Greece captured Thebes, Athens and Corinth, and threatened Constantinople, but made no permanent conquests and suffered serious loss from the fleet of the Greek Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, on their return. In spite of this failure Roger I is justly regarded as one of the greatest kings of his age.

### IV. The Lombard Cities.

By the accession of Frederick Barbarossa in 1152 the Lombard cities had become a very important political factor in Northern Italy.

#### A. Early history.

- (1) The Lombards disliked town life, but after the Lombard conquest the towns continued to exist (as collections of individuals, not corporate bodies) because they afforded refuge to the oppressed who found safety in numbers, and because the bishops, whose seat was always in a town, restrained the violence of the rulers and protected the people.
- (2) Gradually feudalism grew; the duke, or lord of the town, who was both “lord and judge,” tended to become a powerful independent lord, and the fact that his court was always held in a town led to the

increased importance of the town, although no traces of a "municipality" were apparent. The Lombard kings appointed representatives, "gastalds," who acted as a check on the power of the dukes and connected the local with the central government. But the power of the dukes was the most important factor in Lombard times.

- (3) In accordance with his general policy of asserting the power of the central government, Charlemagne degraded the dukes to counts and superintended them by his Missi.<sup>1</sup>

B. The growth of the power of the bishops.

The break-up of the Carolingian Empire led to the increase of localisation. The local lords became powerful, but the later Carolingians and their successors favoured the bishops, who were now regarded as the protectors of the people against the tyranny of the nobles. Emperors granted the bishops exemption from the authority of the local count, or from public burdens, and often gave them full judicial and temporal power over their cities.

C. From 951-1150.

- (1) The Lombard towns grew owing to the development of trade and industry, and the ports flourished owing to foreign trade. "Common action in business, common residence behind strong walls brought together the citizens in a common unity of feeling" (Tout).
- (2) The Saxon Emperors, the defenders of the Papacy, generally received the support of the Lombard clergy, but under Henry II, whose Italian policy had proved a failure, the local nobles recovered some of their power and the position of the bishops as defenders of the citizens was emphasised. The Lombard bishops supported Conrad II against William of Aquitaine, whom the nobles wished to make King of Italy, but the citizens of Milan strongly supported Archbishop

Aribert in his later opposition to Conrad, who resisted his attempt to assert the independence of Milan.

- (3) By the middle of the twelfth century many of the towns had become self-governing municipalities tending towards political republicanism which was advocated by Arnold of Brescia. The townsmen had, often after a severe struggle, seriously weakened the authority of their bishops, whose power was inconsistent with the development of municipal self-government; they resented strongly any attempt of the Emperors to limit their growing freedom and were generally hostile to the Germans. But they were prepared to take full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the struggle between Pope and Emperor and to use either party to promote their own interests.

#### C. The municipal organisation of the Lombard towns.

Consuls or chief magistrates were first appointed about the end of the twelfth century; with their "recognition begins the independent municipal organisation of the Italian cities." Each town had a council, and on special occasions the whole body of citizens, "communitas," met to consider important matters.

#### D. The weakness of the towns.

In spite of their growing strength and wealth, the power of the towns was weakened by continual strife between different parties in each town and by bitter jealousy between neighbouring cities, which made common action impossible.

### V. Rome and Arnold of Brescia.

#### A. General aims of Arnold.

Arnold was born about 1105 at Brescia, became the "armour bearer of Abelard," held that clergy must give up their wealth and all political power, adopt apostolic poverty and be simply ministers of religion; he wished to found a Christian republic; the sovereign was to be a

popular assembly (thus Arnold's theory was antagonistic to the Empire as well as the Papacy) and was to receive all the wealth of the Church. Arnold, who had become a monk, was condemned by the Lateran Council, 1139, and fled to France.

B. Anti-clerical movement in Rome.

During his absence, partly because Innocent II refused utterly to destroy Tivoli, the Romans founded a republic, restored the senate, elected a Pierleone Patrician, invited the Emperor Conrad III to come to Rome and rule the world from his capital, and fortified the Capitol.

**1145.** Pope Lucius II killed while storming the Capitol.

C. Arnold in Rome.

**1146.** Arnold of Brescia came to Rome, restored more fully the constitution of old Rome, tribunes were re-appointed, the laws of the Commonwealth were re-enacted, the Capitol fortified. Rome was to be a free municipality subject only to the Emperor. But Conrad III refused to go to Rome although Arnold assured him that the object of the new movement was "to exalt and glorify the Roman Empire, of which God has given you the rule."

**1148-1153.** Pope Eugenius III succeeded, to some extent, in reasserting papal authority in Rome, and Arnold gradually lost his authority over the unstable populace.

**1155.** Arnold was captured by Frederick Barbarossa and executed as a heretic after condemnation by the cardinals.

D. General.

Arnold was the "apostle of the lay spirit." He wished to limit the Church to the discharge of its spiritual duties, but his policy involved an attack on the influence of the Church and the authority of the Pope. He wished to revive the ancient Roman constitution and to make

the Emperor the head of the world. He found, like Rienzi in later years (page 274), that the fickle Roman mob could not become the foundation of a revival of ancient Roman institutions and that the power of the Church was able to resist his attack. But the Roman Commune which he founded continued to exist and remained for some time a distinct element in the political history of Rome.

### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book VII, chap. vi.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xi.

## ST. BERNARD, *d.* 1153

A member of a noble family of Burgundy, strongly influenced by his pious mother. Entered the monastery of Cîteaux, whither the Englishman, Stephen Harding, the organiser of the Cistercian movement, had removed from Molesme. At Cîteaux Bernard undertook the humblest tasks and devoted himself to study. Bernard became first abbot of Clairvaux (1115–1153) and refused any higher rank, although “from the schism in the Papal See between Innocent II and Anacletus II his name is the history of the Western Church.” In writing to congratulate his friend Eugenius III on his election to the Papacy in 1145, Bernard said, “In electing you they made me Pope, not you,” and every sort of dispute and difference was brought before his tribunal.

### I. Bernard and the Papal Schism.

Bernard supported Innocent II, although irregularly elected in 1130. He persuaded Louis the Fat and Henry I to accept Innocent, and induced Lothair to drop his claim to the full right of Investiture, 1131. He pressed Lothair to invade Italy, 1133, and in 1138 induced the

new Antipope to withdraw and the Pierleoni to recognise Innocent. The recognition of Innocent was probably Bernard's greatest success.

## II. Bernard's Defence of Orthodox Teaching.

The conditions of monastic life gave much time for solitary contemplation, which sometimes led men to question orthodox doctrine. "In every insurrection against the dominant dogmatic system, a monk was the leader" (Milman).

### A. Abelard.

- (1) Peter Abelard, a Breton, a great dialectician and teacher, and a supporter of the Conceptualist theory, dethroned the famous Realist, William of Champeaux, from his supremacy at Paris, attracted crowds of students to Laon, fell in love with and secretly married Heloise; was mutilated in revenge by her uncle's orders; greatly offended the monks of St. Denis by denying that their patron saint was Dionysius the Areopagite; was condemned at the Council of Sens, 1140, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity; founded the Paraclete, 1122, "a new philosophic community bound together by no religious vow and governed by no rigid monastic rules"; left the Paraclete (which was occupied by Heloise, who had become a nun, and wrote him the famous letters) for a Breton monastery.
- (2) Abelard asserted, "A doctrine is not to be believed because God has said it, but because we are convinced by reason that it is so." His "Sic et Non" is a story of the antagonism, inward discord and disunity of the Church. Bernard thought that Abelard's cold intellectual philosophy was dangerous, and said, "A new gospel is promulgated, a new faith is preached. Disputations are held on virtue and vice not according to Christian morality; on the Sacraments of the Church not according to the rule of faith; on the mystery of the Trinity not with simplicity and sober-

ness." He met Abelard for discussion at the Council of Sens, where Abelard avoided discussion and appealed to the Pope. The Council of Sens reported that "Peter Abelard makes void the whole Christian faith by attempting to comprehend the nature of God through human reason." Bernard wrote to Innocent II that Abelard had

1. Advanced unorthodox views of the Trinity.
2. Asserted that faith is merely opinion.
3. Denied that Christ had redeemed men by His death.

**1140.** Abelard's teaching condemned by Pope Innocent II.

#### B. Arnold of Brescia.

Bernard strongly resented the teaching of Arnold of Brescia, who asserted that all clergymen must confine themselves to their spiritual duties and give up their possessions and temporal power. After Arnold had been condemned by the Lateran Council of **1139**, Bernard repeatedly attacked him in letters sent to the bishops in whose diocese he had taken refuge.

#### C. Peter de Bruys.

Bernard saw the effect of Abelard's doctrine in the theories of Peter de Bruys, who held that the living Spirit of God was more important than the forms, ceremonies and discipline of the Church, and denounced the sacerdotal system. Bernard brought many "Petrobusians" back to orthodox views.

#### D. Gilbert de la Porée, Bishop of Poitiers.

Bernard attacked Gilbert de la Porée for unorthodox views as to the nature of God. Two councils failed to come to a decision on the subject, but Bernard induced a synod of French bishops to declare the true faith of the Church on the question.

### III. The Second Crusade.

Bernard had shown his interest in the Holy Land by drawing up a "rule" for the Knights Templars in 1128. On the capture of Edessa by Zangi in 1144, Bernard preached a new Crusade and the effect of his eloquence was increased by the miracles he was said to perform. In 1146 he persuaded Louis VII to go on the Crusade, in spite of the opposition of his minister, Suger, and at a Diet at Spire induced Conrad III and the German princes to go. At his suggestion Eugenius III promised the remission of sin and protection of their estates and families to all Crusaders. Bernard stopped a terrible massacre of the Jews which had begun in the Rhine towns when the Crusade had started.

The utter failure of the Crusade seriously weakened Bernard's influence, but he declared that he had spoken with the authority of the Pope and of God, and that the failure was due to the treachery of the Greeks and the immorality of the Crusaders.

### IV. General.

A. Bernard was the champion of orthodoxy and of Church organisation.

He opposed the rationalism of Abelard and asserted the supremacy of faith over reason. He upheld the right of the Church to her temporal power and possessions, and insisted on the need of maintaining her forms and ceremonies.

B. Bernard "represents the very triumph of the older monastic spirit" (Tout) in its self-denial and fidelity to its ideals and also in its narrowness of outlook and its distrust of secular learning. The success of the Cistercian Order was largely due to him.

C. Although he never obtained a higher position than that of Abbot of Clairvaux, he exercised a profound influence in both spiritual and secular questions and became the leader of Christendom. From 1130 to his death in 1153



his life is the history of the Roman Church. "The Popes seem almost in his leading strings." His personal influence, and particularly the sermons he preached at Vezelai in **1148**, led to the Second Crusade.

**Reference :**

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book VIII, chaps. iv, v, vi.

## FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, THE PAPACY AND THE LOMBARD TOWNS

Frederick Barbarossa was the nephew of Conrad III and the son of Frederick, Duke of Swabia, and the daughter of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria. He thus united the houses of Guelf and Ghibelline. He was elected king in **1152**.

His view that the Imperial power was as sacred as the Pope's, and that the Emperor held his authority of God alone, and his determination to restore the Empire to the position it had held under Charlemagne and Otto involved a struggle with the Papacy. But that struggle was concerned not, as in the Investiture dispute, with spiritual, but with temporal questions. Frederick determined to assert his power over Italy, and this involved such questions as the authority of the Emperor over the city of Rome, the Lombard towns, Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Under Frederick Barbarossa the German Empire attempted to "subdue the two antagonists which then threatened and were fated in the end to destroy it—Italian nationality and the Papacy."

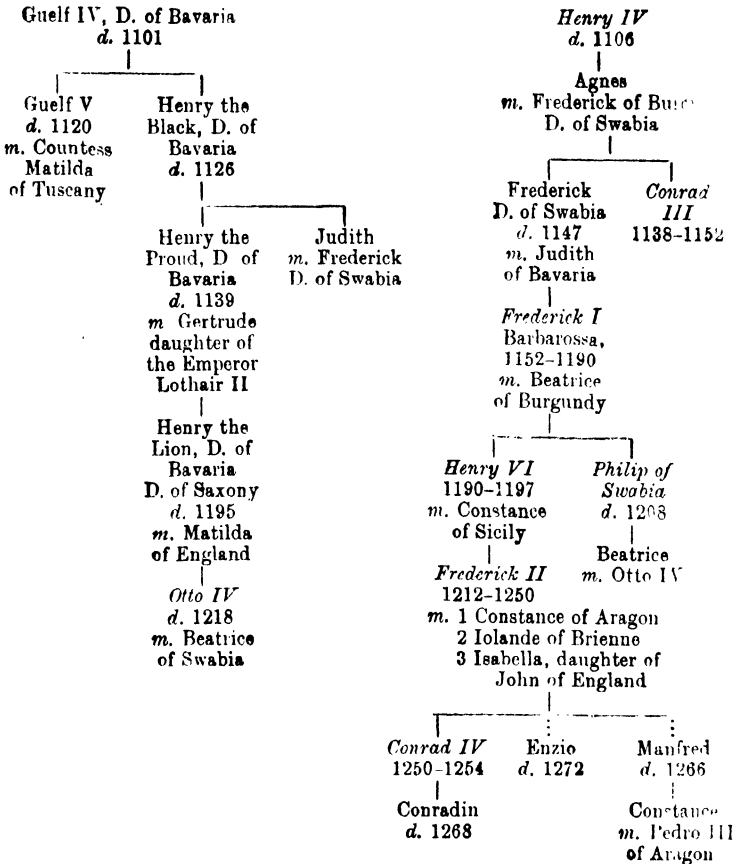
### I. From the Accession of Frederick Barbarossa to the Diet of Roncaglia.

#### A. Frederick and Hadrian IV, 1154-1159.

- (1) Hadrian's firmness had driven Arnold of Brescia from Rome, but the people resented the Pope's supremacy,

and William the Bad,<sup>1</sup> King of Sicily, was threatening Rome.

THE GUELFs AND HOHENSTAUFEN



(2) Frederick had entered Italy, received the homage of all the Lombard cities except Milan, been crowned King of Italy at Pavia. Hadrian sought his help

<sup>1</sup> Succeeded Roger I, 1154.

against William and the Romans, but Frederick's unwillingness to hold the Pope's stirrup, as Lothair had done, nearly led to a rupture and showed the determination of Pope and Emperor to enforce their claims.

June 18th, **1155**. Frederick Barbarossa was crowned Emperor by Hadrian IV. Arnold of Brescia was captured by the Emperor and executed by the Church. Withdrawal of Frederick from Italy without having subdued the Romans or William the Bad.

Hadrian accepted the Roman Commune and was allowed to re-enter Rome; by skilful diplomacy he induced William the Bad to accept his suzerainty. Anger of Frederick at Hadrian's action which he regarded as a breach of faith.

(3) Quarrel of Frederick and Hadrian.

October, **1157**. At the Diet of Besançon Roland, Cardinal of St. Mark, presented a letter from Hadrian in which he spoke of "conferring benefits" on the Emperor. Rainald of Dassel, Imperial Chancellor, translated "beneficia" in its feudal meaning as "fiefs." Strong protest of the German magnates against the implied suzerainty. Roland's inquiry, "From whom then does the Emperor hold the Empire if not from the Pope?" nearly led to his murder. Hadrian later explained that he did not use the word "beneficia" with the meaning of "fiefs."

(4) The Diet of Roncaglia, **1158**.

1. The cities of Lombardy were now divided into two opposing leagues, one led by Milan and the other, which supported the Emperor, by Pavia. Frederick reduced Milan, and in the Diet of Roncaglia resumed all regalian rights in the cities, forbade the formation of leagues between city and city, and ordered Imperial

representatives, or Podestas, to be appointed in each city who were to supersede the consuls as the supreme governors. The attempt of Rainald of Dassel and Otto of Wittelsbach to instal Podestas led to a revolt of Milan, which formed a new league. Milan was taken and its fortifications dismantled after a three years' siege, **1158-1162**.

2. Hadrian IV was alarmed at the success of Frederick, who had bought from his uncle, Guelf VI of Bavaria, the lands of the Countess Matilda over which the Pope claimed suzerainty, and compelled clergy to do homage for their temporalities. Hadrian demanded the recognition of his absolute authority over the city of Rome, the capital of the Empire, that bishops of Italy should be excused from homage though not from the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and that the lands of the Countess Matilda should be restored to the Pope.

Frederick complained that Hadrian had made treaties against him with the Greek Empire and William the Bad, and with the Lombard towns.

The death of Hadrian IV, **1159**, prevented him from excommunicating the Emperor in accordance with his promises to Milan.

3. The general effect of the Diet of Roncaglia was to inspire fear of Imperial aggression in Italy. Of this fear Alexander III made skilful use.

## B. Frederick and Pope Alexander III.

- (1) The election of Alexander III, **1159-1181**.

- a. **1159**. Roland, Cardinal of St. Mark, was elected Pope on the death of Hadrian IV and took the title of Alexander III. But some of the cardinals, instigated by Otto of Wittelsbach, claimed that Victor IV had been elected.

## EUROPEAN HISTORY

Alexander showed himself the champion of papal independence and of papal ecclesiastical authority.

- b. Frederick Barbarossa claimed the right of adjudicating between the rivals and called a council at Pavia which Alexander, who had entered into negotiations with the Lombard cities, refused to attend. The Council accepted Victor, and Alexander excommunicated the Emperor and Antipope; the excommunication was published in Milan.
- c. France, Spain, England, Southern Italy and the anti-Imperialist Italians, most monks and especially the Cistercians and Carthusians, supported Alexander; Germany, Scandinavia, Hungary, Bohemia and Imperialist Italians supported Victor. Alexander, unable to maintain himself in Rome, was accepted as Pope by the Council of Toulouse in 1160, and lived for some three years in Northern Italy and France.

[Frederick destroyed Milan.] 1162.

- d. 1165. Paschal III, a new Antipope who succeeded Victor IV, was accepted at the Diet of Würzburg, and the Emperor required all his subjects to abjure Alexander III.

(2) The coronation of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, 1167.

- a. The destruction of Milan, the excommunication of Frederick by the Pope, and resentment against the Podestas led to the formation of the League of Verona, which was joined by Venice and Milan, now refortified.
- b. 1166. Frederick invaded Italy with a strong force to crush the Lombards and support Paschal III. The Lombards offered little

resistance, Frederick took Rome, was crowned Emperor by Paschal in August, 1167. Alexander III escaped from Rome and sought refuge with the Normans. But pestilence wrought havoc in the German army; Rainald of Dassel, the Imperial Chancellor, was one of the victims. Frederick was compelled to flee from Rome, and owing to the strength of the newly formed Lombard League, had some difficulty in reaching Germany.

(3) The Lombard League, 1167.

The Lombard League was not at first republican, nor was it an expression of Italian nationality. Its resistance to Frederick was due to his attempt to enforce his admitted regalian rights, to opposition to German domination and to the assertion by the Emperor of claims weakened by long dereliction. The unity of the League was impaired by dissensions, and many towns feared the aggressive policy of Milan; there was an Imperialist party in the towns, and some, e.g. Pavia, were strongly Imperial. The support of Alexander III, who did much to keep the League together, was of great importance, and largely owing to his influence the Lombard League became the champions of the Church and an important factor in the Guelf party in Italy. The League gradually adopted the principle of free municipal self-government which, in spite of the faults of its supporters, was a nobler conception than that of feudal monarchy.

a. Frederick's heavy losses encouraged the Lombards to form the Lombard League, embracing all the cities of the Plain of the Po.

**1168.** Foundation by the League of Alessandria, so called in honour of the Pope, a strongly fortified town commanding the communication between the plain and the sea and the road to Burgundy.

- b.* **1168-1174.** Frederick remained in Germany, where Henry the Lion was becoming a dangerous opponent; growing power of the Lombard League which secured the submission of the Imperialist city of Pavia. Alexander III was now the avowed head of the League.
- c.* The siege of Alessandria, **1174-1175.**

**1174.** Frederick invaded Italy, received considerable support from the Imperialists, besieged Alessandria for six months without success. The Peace of Montebello, in which the Lombards demanded that they should pay only the customs levied by Henry V, and that Frederick should make peace with the Pope, averted a battle between Frederick and the League; but Frederick refused to acknowledge Alexander or to recognise the liberties of the Lombard towns, and war broke out again.

(4) The Peace of Venice, **1177.**

- a.* The battle of Legnano, **1176.**

Frederick, strongly supported by the Italian Imperialists but weakened by the refusal of Henry the Lion to co-operate, combined with Pavia to attack Milan. The Normans were prevented from helping the Lombard League by the expedition of Christian of Mainz into Apulia. Complete defeat of Frederick at Legnano, May 29th, **1176.** Frederick now acknowledged Alexander III, but the Pope refused to break with his allies, the Lombard League, and the Norman king William of Sicily.

- b.* Reconciliation of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III, July, **1177.**

July 24th, **1177.** In the porch of St. Mark's, Venice, Frederick fell on his knees before the Pope, who raised him and gave him the kiss

of peace. This scene "was the renunciation by the mightiest prince of his time of the project to which his life had been devoted : it was the abandonment by the secular power of a contest in which it had twice been vanquished." Venice was Frederick Barbarossa's Canossa.

c. The Peace of Venice, August, 1177.

The Peace of Venice settled the terms of reconciliation between the Pope and Emperor. Frederick fully recognised Alexander III as Pope and abandoned the cause of the Antipope ; he kept for a time the lands of Matilda, which were ultimately to pass to the Pope (the Lombards resented this arrangement) ; the Pope and Emperor were to help each other against opponents. Frederick had failed to come to terms with the Lombard cities, but at the Pope's suggestion made a truce of six years with them and fifteen with William of Sicily.

The Romans now submitted, and the senate swore fealty to the Pope, who hitherto had not dared to reside in Rome. He entered Rome, April, 1178, and the submission of the Antipope soon after ended the schism which had started at his election.

Alexander had gained a great success. He had forced the Emperor to forswear the Diet of Würzburg. "He had won back the now uncontested Papacy and the city of Rome. He was at the head of a mighty Italian interest, both in the South and in the North, Sicily and the Lombard League." The fact that Frederick knelt before the Pope at Venice made a great impression on his contemporaries, but in spite of all that had happened, Frederick's hold over Tuscany made him very powerful ; he soon took full advantage of the differences



## EUROPEAN HISTORY

that arose between members of the Lombard League, and was probably more powerful in Italy after the Treaty of Venice than before.

(5) The Treaty of Constance, 1183.

The Emperor agreed that the Lombard towns should exercise all regalian rights (including peace and war, coining and jurisdiction); they could fortify themselves and remain members of the League. The Imperial Podestas were withdrawn. Imperial assent was still required for the appointment of consuls, the right of appeal to the Emperor was maintained, and his right to levy contributions from the towns for military purposes was admitted.

“For all practical purposes the Treaty of Constance made the Lombard republics self-governing city states” (Tout). The Emperor retained only “the barest overlordship”; the Empire continued, but Italy and Germany henceforth followed their own lines of development. But the Emperor was able to weaken the power of the League by fostering jealousy between its members; he now adopted a more friendly policy in order to avoid further difficulties in Lombardy which would hamper him in carrying out his new plans against Sicily.

C. Frederick Barbarossa and the Papacy, 1181–1190.

(1) The strong position of the Emperor.

Alexander III died in 1181, and four Popes held office between that date and 1190, when Frederick died. Difficulties arose because the Emperor refused to give up the lands of the Countess Matilda, appointed bishops and seized vacant sees, and suppressed monasteries in Germany. His position was greatly strengthened.

a. Dissensions, due largely to distrust of Milan, broke out between the Lombard towns. In 1181 Cremona, Pavia and other Imperialist towns formed a league against Milan; the support

of Pisa and Lucca strengthened Frederick's position in Tuscany ; Verona refused to allow the excommunication of Frederick to be proclaimed within its walls.

- b. In Germany Frederick succeeded, with difficulty, in restraining Henry the Lion, and in 1184, by the Treaty of Augsburg, arranged for the marriage of his son Henry, King of the Romans, to Constance, heiress of Sicily. This master stroke of policy made Southern Italy strongly Imperial and deprived the Pope of the help of the Normans which had so often proved valuable. In 1186 Henry and Constance were married in Milan, which now formed an alliance with Frederick.

- (2) The weakness of the Papacy.

The Pope was threatened by the Imperialists in Tuscany and Southern Italy ; the Romans rebelled and drove out the Pope, Lucius III (1181-1185), while the senate entered into negotiations with Frederick. Urban III (1185-1187) tried to stir up Henry the Lion and Philip, Archbishop of Cologne, against Frederick, but the attempt failed, largely because the German bishops supported Frederick.

- (3) The Third Crusade.

The Third Crusade saved the Papacy from imminent peril. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 led Frederick to take the Cross, to assume the leadership of the crusaders and the position of lay champion of Christendom. He went on the crusade and was drowned in Cilicia, 1190. The energy with which the Popes advocated the crusade did something to restore the prestige they had lost in recent years.

#### References :

- The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xi.  
*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book VIII, chap. vii ;  
Vol. V, Book VIII, chaps. viii and ix.

## FREDERICK BARBAROSSA AND GERMANY

Frederick was anxious to assert his Imperial authority over Italy, and in **1153** undertook to help Pope Eugenius III against King Roger of Sicily and the Roman Commune on condition that the Pope crowned him Emperor. But he had to make sure of the support of Germany, which still remained the material foundation of the Empire. He was generally successful in Germany, although Henry the Lion was a continual source of trouble; by dividing the stronger duchies of Saxony and Bavaria he weakened the power of the Guelfs; by favouring the growing towns he secured the support of a new party.

### I. Henry the Lion.

Henry the Lion, the son of Henry the Proud of Bavaria and the daughter of Lothair, received Saxony (which he claimed through his mother) in **1142** and, in spite of the opposition of Albert the Bear, got the title of Duke of Saxony in **1150**. He claimed the Duchy of Bavaria in **1151**, but was opposed by Frederick's uncle, Henry, Margrave of Austria.<sup>1</sup> In **1156** Frederick Barbarossa recognised Henry the Lion as Duke of Bavaria, but weakened the duchy by including the eastern portion in the new duchy of Austria, which he gave to the Margrave Henry.

#### A. Saxony.

##### (1) Extension.

As Duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion carried on the policy which Otto I had started, and Lothair and Conrad III followed.

He extended the influence of Germany by defeating the Abotrites of Mecklenburg, the Wiltzes of Pomerania and the Wends. In alliance with the Danes he

<sup>1</sup> Nicknamed "Henry Jasomirgott," from his usual oath.

captured the heathen island of Rügen in **1166**. He built Schwerin in Mecklenburg to keep the conquered Abotrites in check, and strengthened Lübeck on the Baltic coast. He promoted the extension of Christianity by founding bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and supported the missionary efforts of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians.

[He adopted a similar policy in Bavaria, and founded Munich, **1158**.]

- (2) Opposition of Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg.

Albert the Bear, who had hoped to become Duke of Saxony, strongly opposed Henry the Lion, and in **1167** combined with the Margrave of Meissen, the Archbishop of Bremen, the nobles of Saxony, who found Henry too powerful, and Waldemar, the King of Denmark, to attack Henry. Frederick Barbarossa made peace, and Henry's daughter married Waldemar's son. In **1168** Henry married Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England.

- 1170.** Death of Albert the Bear.

Henry's position was now assured: his chief opponent was dead, he was the son-in-law of the King of England, closely related to the King of Denmark and the ally of the King of France; he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

B. Henry the Lion and Frederick Barbarossa.

- (1) The danger from Albert the Bear kept Henry the Lion faithful to the Emperor, whom he accompanied to Italy in **1154**. Up to **1177** the need of using all his forces to further his Italian policy prevented Frederick from breaking with Henry, although Henry refused to join in the expedition of **1176**, which resulted in the Emperor's defeat at Legnano.
- (2) The Peace of Venice in **1177** and the truce with the Lombards enabled Frederick to devote more attention to Germany. The nobles and bishops, led by the Arch-

bishop of Cologne, who stirred up a rebellion in Westphalia against Henry, complained to the Emperor of Henry's oppression. Henry was later charged with refusing to help Frederick in 1176 and with calling in the Slavs against the Germans. He refused to appear to answer the charges at Worms or Magdeburg or Würzburg, 1180.

(3) The deposition of Henry the Lion.

Frederick deprived Henry of his duchy, and although Henry resisted he got no help from France, Denmark or England. Frederick overran Saxony, and Henry was compelled to submit to the Emperor at the Diet of Erfurt, 1181. Henry was allowed to keep much of his possessions, but lost Bavaria and Saxony. Frederick gave the Duchy of Bavaria to Otto of Wittelsbach, but further weakened it by cutting off Styria and the Tyrol to make a new Duchy of Meran. He divided the Duchy of Saxony into the Duchy of Westphalia on the West, which he gave to his supporter, the Archbishop of Cologne; the eastern part, which kept the name of the Duchy of Saxony, was given to Bernard, the son of Albert the Bear.

Henry returned from England, stirred up an insurrection, 1186 1187, to secure his estates, but was again exiled. In 1190 he was reconciled to Frederick, who, owing to the recognition of Tancred as King of Sicily by the Pope and the possibility of war in the South, was anxious to avoid opposition in the North of his dominions. Henry's career shows clearly that the great power of the dukes was still dangerous to king, clergy and people, and gave Frederick an opportunity of strengthening his authority by weakening the two undivided duchies and breaking the power of the Guelfs.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Burgundy.

1156. Frederick married Beatrice, Countess of Higher Burgundy, and added the county to his dominions.

<sup>1</sup> See also page 172, I. A.

### III. The Northern Frontiers.

His interests in Italy prevented Frederick from devoting much attention to the extension of Germany in the North, although the efforts of Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear made the influence of Germany effective along the Baltic.

Poland became practically independent, although its King acknowledged Frederick's suzerainty. Frederick's intervention established Sweyn on the throne of Denmark, but though Sweyn acknowledged Frederick's overlordship, Denmark practically secured independence owing to the weakness of the successors of Henry the Lion, and the Slavs tended to come under the influence of Denmark rather than Germany. Bohemia too became an independent kingdom.

### IV. Frederick's Power in Germany.

- A. In spite of the rebellion of Henry the Lion, Frederick Barbarossa secured the general obedience of Germany. The German bishops usually obeyed him, in spite of his excommunication, and supported him in his struggles with Henry the Lion and against the Papacy.
- B. He favoured nobles of the second rank, broke up the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, gave Swabia to a loyal friend. This policy led to the establishment of local principalities and new families who supported Frederick, but later proved a danger to the peace of the country.
- C. He secured the support of the towns, rapidly growing in importance and destined in time "to counterbalance the power of the territorial oligarchy." He enfranchised many, gave rights of jurisdiction and many privileges, and thus became the founder of the Free Cities of Germany, the third order in the country. The military service he received from the towns gave him a non-feudal army, as distinct from the feudal levies contri-

buted by the magnates, and he admitted freemen to the order of knighthood.

- D. He traversed Germany, ensuring peace, and was justly termed "pacificus"; he consulted "Diets," or national assemblies, on important questions; his policy led to a great development of commerce and the maintenance of peace; national literature began in his reign with the *Nibelungen Lied* and the poems of the *Minnesingers*.
- E. But he "never seems to have thought of the necessity of an organised central administration which could steadily control local authorities, whether [royal] nominees or barons, and maintain a tradition of permanent supervision and interference."<sup>1</sup>

## FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

### I. Life.

- 1122.** Born, the son of Frederick, Duke of Swabia, and Judith, daughter of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria. He "shared the blood of both houses," Guelf and Ghibelline.
- 1152.** Elected Emperor.
- 1154.** The Lombard cities submitted at the Diet of Roncaglia.
- 1155.** Crowned Emperor at Rome by Hadrian IV.
- 1157.** Papal claim of superiority over the Empire repudiated at the Diet of Besançon.
- 1158-1162.** Attempt of Frederick to overthrow Milan and its allies. Diet of Roncaglia, **1158**. Milan destroyed, **1162**.
- 1159.** Alexander III elected Pope.
- 1165.** Frederick repudiated Alexander III and recognised the Antipope Paschal III at the Diet of Würzburg.
- 1166.** Frederick invaded Italy and captured Rome, **1167**.
- 1167.** Formation of the Lombard League.

<sup>1</sup> *Medieval History*, Orton, p. 241.

- 1168. Frederick reconciled Albert the Bear and Henry the Lion.
- 1169. Henry (VI) elected King of the Romans.
- 1174. Frederick invaded Italy, failed to capture Alessandria.
- 1176. Frederick routed by the Lombard League at Legnano.
- 1177. Treaty of Venice. Reconciliation of Frederick and Alexander III.
- 1178. Frederick secured the Kingdom of Burgundy.
- 1181. Henry the Lion submitted at the Diet of Erfurt. Death of Alexander III.
- 1183. Frederick, the Pope and the Lombard League make the Treaty of Constance.
- 1184. Arrangement of marriage between Henry, Frederick's eldest son, and Constance of Sicily. Married, 1186.
- 1187. Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
- 1189. Frederick went on the Third Crusade.
- 1190. Frederick drowned in Cilicia.

## II. Frederick Barbarossa and the Empire.

### A. The assertion of the temporal power of the Empire.

- (1) He was an Imperialist Hildebrand ; he thought that the temporal power of the Empire was as holy as the spiritual power of the Pope. "The Empire is held by us through the election of the princes from God alone, who gave the world to be ruled by the two necessary swords, and taught through St. Peter that men should fear God and honour the King." But the Empire, though essentially temporal, might be called upon to decide between rival claimants to the Papacy ; "the Divine Providence has specially appointed the Roman Empire as a remedy against continual schism." His attempt at the Council of Pavia in 1160 to terminate the schism between Alexander III and Victor failed, and the strife that followed between



the rival Popes "was in substance an effort by the secular monarch to recover his command of the priesthood." The Peace of Venice, 1177, showed that the attempt had failed.

- (2) The struggle between Papacy and Empire was now largely political. The Popes claimed the right of calling upon the Emperor to defend their possessions in Italy; the Emperor wished by gaining temporal power in Italy to secure domination over the Church; the Emperor relied upon the support of Italian nobles, the Pope upon that of the Lombard towns; congresses or diets took the place of church councils; treaties of peace and not concordats settled the points at issue.
- (3) By his leadership of the Third Crusade Barbarossa asserted the right of the Emperor to the leadership of Western Europe in secular matters.

#### B. Civil law.

His claims were strongly supported by the lawyers of Bologna, who held that to the Emperor belonged the ownership as well as the sovereignty of the world. He was master of the lives and property of all men and his will was law. He claimed suzerainty even over Saladin.

#### C. Lombardy.

Frederick Barbarossa was the first Emperor who had to face the problem of municipal freedom in Lombardy. His claims to supremacy over the Lombard cities were not only the assertion of theoretical right according to Civil Law, but the attempt to exercise authority which had been admitted in the case of his predecessors. His opposition to the League was not mere tyranny, and he found strong support within the League (notably in Lucca), while an Imperialist party was formed in nearly every town. But the victory of the towns favoured the cause of freedom, although their dissensions prevented

them from seizing the opportunity of establishing Italian nationality.

#### D. Naples and Sicily.

His claim of suzerainty over Naples and Sicily was in accordance with the principles he professed, and the idea of Imperial overlordship was accepted by a large portion of the population.

#### E. Rome.

He utterly refused to acknowledge the claim of the Roman commonwealth to the sovereignty of the city, denied that they had any right to choose the Emperor, and asserted that they owed their escape from Greek and Lombard rule to his predecessors. Rome was a part of the Empire and therefore subject to the Emperor.

#### F. General.

Frederick Barbarossa was the German Emperor *par excellence* of the Middle Ages, but in spite of all his efforts he failed to set "up again a polity which the age had outlived." The ideal German Roman Empire at which he aimed, though realised by Charlemagne, had become unreal and impossible.

Frederick tried to make the Empire hereditary by appointing his son Henry as "Caesar," but the Hohenstaufen line of Emperors ended with the death of Frederick II in 1250, as the Saxon had ended in 1024 and the Franconian in 1125.

The glamour of his career, the splendid example he gave of mediæval chivalry cannot obscure his defeat by the Pope and the Lombards, and his Sicilian policy led before long to the ruin of the Hohenstaufen.

### III. Frederick Barbarossa and Germany.

In Germany Frederick strengthened the royal power, although his devotion to the Empire prevented him from securing a full measure of success in Germany.

He increased the royal power by weakening the nobles, favoured the towns and did much to ensure peace under which commerce and agriculture flourished. A growing feeling of nationality manifested itself in Germany, and Frederick became the hero of his country. Long after his death Germans believed that Frederick was sleeping in a cave in the Untersberg, with his red beard growing through the stone table at which he sat, and that he would awake to save his country in time of need.

#### IV. Personal.

He was a man of ideas, and displayed great prudence and practical wisdom in his attempt to realise them. His life was pure, he was sincerely religious, giving on principle a tithe of his income in charity. He kept his word, he was just, but at times severe. He had great political ability, and devoted much time and thought to affairs of state. He was a great soldier, but, in Germany at least, fought in order to secure peace. He affords a conspicuous example of "high adventurous chivalry."

#### References :

- The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. XI.  
*The Holy Roman Empire* (Bryce), chap. XI.  
*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, Book VIII, chap. VII;  
 Vol. V, Book VIII, chaps. VIII and IX.

## HENRY VI

### I Henry VI and Germany.

#### A. The rebellion of the Guelfs, 1191-1194.

- (1) Henry the Lion and his son Henry of Brunswick made an alliance with Tancred of Sicily and Richard I of England, brother-in-law of Henry the Lion. Henry VI had, in defiance of the Concordat of Worms, appointed his own nominee as Bishop of Liège, and

an unsuccessful competitor, who had been recognised by the Pope, was murdered by the King's servants ; this murder strengthened the party of the rebels. The Rhine barons, afraid of the King's power, joined the Guelfs and supported a rival for the throne ; the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, Berthold of Zähringen and Ottocar of Bohemia gave their support and the Pope sanctioned the rebellion.

- (2) The capture of Richard I strengthened Henry VI, who kept him in prison at Trefels until **1193**, when, partly owing to the strong protests of the Pope, he released him. By the Treaty of Worms in **1193** Richard agreed to pay a ransom of 100,000 marks, to break his alliance with Tancred and to hold England as a fief of the Empire. Richard persuaded Henry the Lion and the Rhine barons to submit to Henry VI, and the marriage of Henry of Brunswick to the Emperor's cousin cemented the alliance between Guelfs and Ghibellines. **1195**, Death of Henry the Lion.

#### B. The hereditary Empire.

**1196.** Many of the German magnates, in spite of the opposition of Adolf, Archbishop of Cologne, agreed to make the Empire hereditary in return for the Emperor's promise to make the great fiefs hereditary and to give up all claims to the estates of the Church. An hereditary Empire would involve the loss of the right of election by the magnates, reduce Germany to the position of the defeated Italians, and greatly strengthen the Emperor in any future contests with the Pope. The principle of the hereditary succession to fiefs was already becoming established, and its formal recognition by the Emperor would not have prevented him from confiscating a fief on the plea of treachery. Henry VI was not able to make the concession of the magnates effective. The Empire remained elective, although he secured the election of his son Frederick as King of the Romans.

## II. Henry VI and Italy.

### A. Imperial coronation and first expedition to Southern Italy, 1191.

- (1) The Lombard League had split into two hostile leagues headed by Cremona and Milan. Henry VI secured the alliance of both, and Pisa and Genoa agreed to supply transports for his fleets. He gained the support of the Romans by giving them their hated neighbour Tusculum, which they utterly destroyed, and compelled Celestine III to crown him Emperor on April 15th, 1191.
- (2) Henry then attacked Tancred's kingdom, but the Sicilian fleet conquered the Pisans; Henry failed to capture Naples; the Empress Constance was captured at Salerno and handed over to Tancred. Henry returned unsuccessful to Germany; the intervention of the Pope secured the release of Constance.

### B. The conquest of Sicily, 1194.

- (1) Celestine in 1192 recognised Tancred as King of Naples and Sicily, but the death of his son and heir, Roger, was followed by the death of Tancred and the accession of his young son, William III, in 1194.
- (2) Henry VI invaded Italy, devastated Salerno, captured Naples, easily conquered Apulia, was crowned King of Sicily in Palermo on Christmas Day, 1194. On a false charge of conspiracy Henry VI blinded and mutilated William, who had submitted to him, and treated with merciless cruelty those who had opposed him. On the day after Christmas, 1194, his son, afterwards the Emperor Frederick II, was born. Constance was made Regent, Conrad of Urselingen her assistant, Podestas were appointed, heavy taxes imposed, and a rising which they caused most cruelly suppressed, 1197. But Henry VI treated Sicily as a separate patrimonial estate and did not unite it closely with the rest of his dominions.

### III. Henry VI and the Proposed Crusade, 1196.

Philip of Swabia, Henry's brother, received the lands of the Countess Matilda and married Irene, daughter of Isaac Angelus. Isaac was deposed by his brother Alexius Angelus.

Henry VI, on the plea of avenging Isaac, but really to establish his power in the East, made arrangements for a crusade against Constantinople and Palestine. Alexius agreed to give up all his territory from the Adriatic to Thessalonica. The proposed crusade won for Henry the support of the Pope, but the sudden death of the Emperor, September 28th, 1197, put an end to his schemes.

### IV. General.

Henry VI was one of the most powerful of all the Emperors owing to his alliances with the Lombards, Pisa, Genoa and the Romans, his control of Tuscany and his conquest of Sicily. He became master of Italy while he maintained his authority in Germany. The Pope was almost powerless against him, and it is possible that if he had lived he might have made the Empire supreme over the Papacy.

He resembled Otto III in his attempt to secure a universal Empire ruled from Italy and not Germany. His sagacity, wisdom and practical ability seemed likely to win for him a large measure of success.

He could act with moderation when necessary, but he was naturally cruel, and the gross cruelties with which he treated his Italian subjects caused such hatred of Germany and the Ghibelline cause that it helped the sudden revival of the papal power that marked the early years of the thirteenth century.

### References :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. XIII.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. V, Book VIII, chap. ix.

## THE EMPIRE FROM THE DOUBLE ELECTION OF 1198 TO THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES, 1214

### I. **Innocent III and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, 1198-1202.**

Lothair Conti became Pope Innocent III in **1198** at the age of thirty-seven.

#### A. Papal suzerainty over Naples and Sicily, **1198.**

On the death of Henry VI, his wife Constance, desiring to secure the crown of Sicily for their infant son Frederick, gained the protection of Innocent III by acknowledging the absolute feudal suzerainty of the Pope over Naples and Sicily, paying homage to Innocent, giving up the legatine authority which the kings of Sicily had long exercised, and paying tribute.

On her death, November 27th, **1198**, she left her son to the guardianship of the Pope.

#### B. The Germans in Sicily.

- (1) Relying upon national opposition to German rule, Constance expelled the Germans from Sicily, but on her death Markwald of Anweiler claimed the title of Seneschal of the Empire and the guardianship of the young King, and was supported by Greeks and Saracens.
- (2) Innocent III called in a Frenchman, Walter de Brienne, husband of one of Tancred's daughters, who defeated Diophold of Acerra and overran Apulia. But Walter, Bishop of Troja, jealous of Brienne, joined Markwald, who secured Palermo and the person of the young King. Markwald and Walter de Brienne died in **1202**, and Diophold, who had secured great power in Naples, submitted to the Pope on favourable terms. But by **1208** the power of the German nobles was broken and Frederick II was firmly established as King of Sicily under the overlordship of the Pope.

## II. The Double Election and Civil War in Germany.

Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick.

- (1) **March, 1198.** The infancy of Frederick led to the election of his uncle Philip of Swabia (brother of Henry VI), who saw that Frederick had no chance of election and wished to prevent the succession of a Gueff; he was acknowledged as Emperor by Philip Augustus. But the Archbishop of Cologne and the princes of the Rhine elected Otto of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion and the favourite nephew of Richard I of England. He was supported by Flanders and England, and his party was increased owing to the Gueffic tradition of alliance with the Papacy and to fear or hatred of the Hohenstaufen.
  
- (2) Both parties appealed to Innocent III. Philip of Swabia was excommunicated for his share in Henry VI's cruelties and for holding the lands of the Countess Matilda. Innocent maintained that the Empire had been "transplanted from Constantinople" and bestowed on Charlemagne by the Pope, and thus definitely formulated the theory of the Translation of the Empire which became an important factor in the dispute between Papacy and Emperor. He pointed out that without coronation, consecration and investiture by the Pope no Emperor's appointment was complete. He therefore asserted the right of the Papacy to pass judgment on the election of the Emperor, said that the infancy of Frederick II made him incapable of ruling the Empire, pronounced in favour of Otto and promised to "bestow on him the Imperial crown."

Philip denied the right of the Pope to pass judgment in the case, for "there is no higher council in a contested election for the Empire than the princes of the Empire."



## (3) Civil war in Germany, 1198-1208.

The death of Richard I weakened Otto, the Archbishop of Cologne deserted him, he was defeated near Cologne in 1206 and Philip's success seemed assured. But the murder of Philip by Otto of Wittelsbach in June, 1208, was followed by the undisputed acknowledgment of Otto IV by the German magnates at Frankfurt in November, 1208. He tried to win over the Hohenstaufen by betrothing himself to Philip's daughter Beatrice, and said that he was King "by Grace of God and the Pope."

## III. Otto IV and Innocent III.

## A. Excommunication of Otto IV, 1210.

Otto IV was crowned Emperor by Innocent III on October 4th, 1209, and "almost from that moment the Emperor and the Pope were implacable enemies." Otto claimed and seized the Countess Matilda's lands, overran Apulia, and prepared to attack Sicily with the help of Pisa, Genoa and Deiphold. Innocent III then excommunicated Otto, who, although the leader of the Guelfs, had adopted the policy of the Ghibellines in Italy.

## B. Frederick II, King of Germany.

In Germany the supporters of the Hohenstaufen stirred up opposition to Otto IV owing to the fear that he would set up a tyrannical government by his "ministeriales" and impose heavy taxation, to his ingratitude towards the Pope and his partiality for Englishmen. At Nuremberg, in 1211, the Archbishops of Trèves and Mainz, the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria offered the Empire to Frederick II. Innocent III, contrary to the general policy of the Papacy and owing to the danger from Otto, assented to the election, although Frederick was the head of the Hohenstaufen, and the union of Sicily and Germany was contrary to the interests of the Pope.

C. The battle of Bouvines, **1214**.

- (1) Frederick hurried to Germany, was welcomed by the Rhine magnates, by Swabia (partly because Otto had delayed his marriage with Beatrice till August, **1212**, and her death four days after was attributed to poison) and Bavaria; Henry of Kalden, the chief of Otto's "ministeriales," went over to Frederick, who was crowned King of the Romans at Mainz, December, **1212**.

Frederick, by the Golden Bull of Eger, **1213**, promised to restore to the Papacy the lands of the Countess Matilda and the Exarchate of Ravenna; to give up his right to seize the goods of dead bishops; to give freedom of election to German bishoprics; to be faithful to the Pope.

- (2) The struggle between Otto and Frederick was not confined to Germany, but affected a wider area owing to the alliances formed by each side. John of England, although reconciled to Innocent III in **1213**, took up the cause of his nephew, Otto; the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne helped Otto partly owing to hostility to Philip Augustus, who supported Frederick. The Count of Holland and the Duke of Brabant took Otto's side.

John proposed to attack Poitou; Otto and his other allies were to invade Northern France. The refusal of the English barons to serve in Poitou prevented John from accomplishing much; the army of Otto was completely routed at Bouvines, July 27th, **1214**, by Philip Augustus.

- (3) Results of the battle of Bouvines.

The battle ensured the succession of Frederick II to the Kingdom of Germany and the Empire. Otto withdrew to Brunswick, where he died, **1218**, and the Pope recovered the lands of Matilda. The royal power in France was greatly strengthened by the defeat of the powerful feudatories the Counts of Flanders and

Boulogne, and by the failure of the invasion of Poitou ; the defeat of John's allies so weakened his power that the barons compelled him to agree to Magna Charta, 1215.

#### IV. The Importance of the Double Election of 1198.

##### A. The Papacy.

- (1) The Pope for the first time openly advanced a claim to decide Imperial elections, and asserted that the Pope's right of crowning the Emperor involved the right of deciding between opposing candidates.
- (2) The Pope for the first time summoned foreign aid (Walter de Brienne) to help the Italians against the Germans. This dangerous policy was followed by Urban IV, who invited Charles of Anjou in 1261, and Ludovico Sforza of Milan, who invited Charles VIII in 1493.
- (3) The Pope tried to rouse Italian national feeling against Germany. He gained some measure of success, but Innocent III had to face strong opposition from the people of Rome, from some of the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany.
- (4) The struggle supplied one of the earliest examples of papal nepotism. Innocent III tried to found a Principality in Italy for his brother Richard.

##### B. Germany.

- (1) The struggle showed the great importance of the Rhine towns, especially Cologne, which was strongly connected with England and practically adopted a non-German policy in supporting Otto IV, who had little territorial interest in Germany and depended largely on English support and English gold. Richard I left him three-quarters of his treasure.
- (2) Imperial elections were now becoming of European rather than German interest, and the efforts of Philip's opponents, who were determined at all cost

to raise up a rival to a Hohenstaufen candidate, resulted in an unscrupulous electioneering policy which was often repeated in later years.

- (3) The struggle showed the growing importance of the "ministeriales" as a factor in German politics. The defection of Henry of Kalden was a very severe blow to Otto IV.

**References :**

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xiv.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. V, Book IX, chaps. II and III.

## INNOCENT III AND THE KINGS OF EUROPE

Innocent III claimed not only spiritual but feudal supremacy over the world, and attempted to assert his authority over the kings of Europe.

### I. France.

**1193.** Philip Augustus married Princess Ingeburga of Denmark, but took such a dislike to his wife that he persuaded the French bishops to disannul the marriage on the ground of remote relationship. In **1196** he married Agnes of Meran. When Celestine III intervened Philip refused to give up Agnes.

**1199.** Innocent III pronounced an interdict on the Kingdom of France owing to the King's action; the whole nation had to suffer for the sin of one man. Growing discontent owing to heavy taxation and fear of opposition on the part of nobles and bishops led Philip to acknowledge Ingeburga, **1201**, and the death of Agnes, to whom Philip was strongly attached, in the

same year relieved the position, although Philip did not give Ingeburga the full honours of a queen until **1213**.

Innocent had humbled Philip on a question of Church discipline, not of feudal suzerainty.

## II. England.

### A. King John and his wife.

John had repudiated his wife, Hadwisa of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, who had been betrothed to the Count de la Marche, without incurring any censure from Innocent III.

### B. The loss of Normandy.

John, who was the feudal subordinate of Philip Augustus, refused to appear in Philip's courts to answer for the injury to De la Marche or for the murder of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany. Philip therefore confiscated John's French fiefs and captured Normandy, **1204**. John appealed to the Pope; Philip denied Innocent's right to interfere between him and his vassal. Innocent asserted "That if throughout Christendom one of two litigant parties appeals to the Pope, the other is bound to abide by the award." Philip completely defeated John, and only then accepted the mediation of Innocent.

### C. The Archbishopric of Canterbury, **1205 1215**.

#### (1) The appointment of Stephen Langton.

On the death of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, in **1205**, Innocent III refused to accept as Archbishop Reginald, elected irregularly by the monks of Canterbury, or John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, elected with John's approval; he compelled the monks to elect Stephen Langton. John refused to accept Langton. Innocent placed England under an interdict in **1208**, and in **1209** excommunicated John. John cared nothing for interdict r excommunication.

(2) John submitted to the Pope.

But John's conduct alienated people and barons; Innocent III pronounced sentence of deposition and absolved John's subjects from their allegiance. Philip Augustus, who supported Frederick II against Otto IV and was now the ally of Innocent, undertook to dethrone John, **1213**.

May 13th, **1213**. John, fearing the hostility of his own subjects and the danger from Philip, submitted to the Papal Legate, gave up his dominions to Innocent "to be held as a fief of the Holy See on payment of annual tribute." The Legate then forbade Philip Augustus to make war on John.

(3) Langton supports the Barons.

July 20th, **1213**. John now accepted Langton as Archbishop, but Langton, who "had asserted with the Pope the liberties of the Church against the King, now asserted the liberties of England against the same King, though supported by the Pope" (Milman). He supported the barons against John, who, owing to the defeat of his allies at Bouvines, was compelled to accept Magna Charta in **1215**.

(4) Innocent III and Magna Charta.

Innocent pronounced Magna Charta null and void, excommunicated the barons who opposed John, and as the last act of his life, pronounced sentence of excommunication on Philip Augustus for countenancing an invasion of England.

Thus Innocent established his suzerainty over England and used the spiritual weapon of excommunication to protect his vassal John from the consequences of his cruelty and misgovernment.

### III. Germany.

Owing to the murder of Philip of Swabia, Innocent's candidate, Otto IV, obtained the throne; when Otto

turned against Innocent he lost the throne, which was obtained by Frederick II, whom Innocent supported.

#### IV. Spain and Portugal.

- A. Innocent upheld the Papal claim that lands won from infidels belonged to the Pope, and that he could elevate principalities into kingdoms. He compelled Sancho, King of Portugal, to acknowledge these claims.
- B. Pedro of Aragon, wishing to obtain the honour of a regular coronation instead of the knighthood which the kings of Aragon received on accession, was crowned in Rome, although he had married the wife of a Provençal nobleman during her husband's lifetime ; Pedro acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pope and swore " to be true and loyal to my lord the Pope Innocent."
- C. He excommunicated the King of Leon and placed his country under an interdict because he had married his cousin Berengaria of Castile, thus ensuring peace between Castile and Leon.

#### V. The Smaller Kingdoms.

- A. His championship of Ingeburga's cause gained for Innocent the obedience of her brother, King Canute of Denmark.
- B. Innocent censured the Duke of Bohemia for accepting the crown from Philip of Swabia ; pardoned the King of Hungary for previous opposition because of his active share in the Fourth Crusade ; claimed authority over Servia, Bulgaria and Armenia.

#### Reference :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. V, Book IX, chaps. iv, v and vi.

## THE FRIARS

By the beginning of the twelfth century the Church to some extent had lost touch with the people. The wealth and political power of the higher secular clergy had impaired their spiritual influence; their orders made priests a separate caste and the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy accentuated the difference between unmarried clergy and laity, while the censures passed by the Popes on married clergy greatly impaired their power; "though the lower priesthood were from the people they were not of the people" (Milman). The essential idea of monasticism was withdrawal from the world, and men felt that the riches and splendour of the monks, even of the recently established Cistercians, were inconsistent with the vows they had taken. New languages were being formed and vernacular literature was appearing, but the Mass was rendered in Latin, which very few understood, and preaching had fallen into disuse.

The Friars brought the common people into active union with the Church, and thus succeeded in accomplishing what secular and monastic Christianity had failed to effect.

**I. The Dominicans.—The Preaching or Black Friars.****A. St. Dominic, 1170-1221.**

Dominic Guzman, a Castilian of high rank, was born in 1170; became a canon of Osma Cathedral; settled in Toulouse, 1205; strongly opposed the Albigenses and became "Persecutor of Heretics." Innocent III, after some hesitation, gave him permission to found a new Order, and in 1216 Honorius III formally recognised the establishment of the monastery of the Preaching Friars of St. Ronain, near Toulouse; they adopted a variation of the Premonstratensian rule. In 1217 Dominic removed to Rome, where he received strong support from Cardinal Ugolino (later Gregory IX). The Order



spread rapidly in Spain, Provence, France, Germany and Poland ; in 1220 Dominic, as Master-General of the Order, presided at an assembly at Bologna at which the Order, influenced by the example of the Franciscans, took a vow of poverty and adopted the life of mendicancy. In 1221 the organisation of the Order was completed and St. Dominic died. He was canonised by Pope Gregory IX, and was regarded as the " Adopted son of the Blessed Virgin."

### B. Organisation.

The Order had eight Provinces, including England, where Stephen Langton gave the Dominicans a licence to preach. It admitted women as well as men, and greatly extended its influence by the institution of Tertiaries or Soldiers of Jesus Christ. Tertiaries were lay men or women, organised in communities under a prior, who took no monastic vows, carried on their secular work, and promoted the spread of religion by their careful observance of religious duties and their devotion to the sermons of Dominican preachers.

Within a short time the Order possessed 470 monasteries and had spread into Asia and Africa.

## II. The Franciscans.—The Minorites or Grey Friars.

### A. St. Francis of Assisi, 1182–1226.

The son of Bernardone, a wealthy cloth merchant of Assisi ; he renounced all the advantages his father could offer, took " Poverty as his bride and ever loved her more " ; became a mendicant, helping the poor and afflicted and especially lepers. He was a mystic, his life seemed almost a religious trance, and " mysticism so absolutely absorbed him as to make him unconscious as it were of the presence of his body " (Milman). He " possessed the clearest conscience, the most perfect simplicity, the strongest sense of his filial relation to the Heavenly Father " (Renan), and " was the only Perfect Christian since Christ." His body was believed

to be marked by the Stigmata, which corresponded to the five wounds of Christ. He regarded natural forces—the sun, moon, wind and fire—as his brothers and sisters, and his last words were “Welcome, sister Death.” He loved animals and preached to birds. He sprang from the popular conscience without ecclesiastical intervention; his methods were original, but his meekness and simplicity disarmed opposition. He was essentially the Saint of the People.

His devout piety and simple goodness attracted disciples whom he ordered to “sell all thou hast and give to the poor,” to “take nothing for your journey,” to “take up your cross and follow Christ.”

In 1210 he went to Rome and won the favour of Innocent III and Cardinal Ugolino. The numbers of the “Poor men of Assisi,” or the “Order of Lesser Brethren” (Minorites), increased rapidly in Europe, and Francis himself preached to the heathen in Egypt and Palestine; five Minorite preachers suffered martyrdom in Morocco.

Francis died in 1226 and was canonised.

### B. Organisation.

Francis was no organiser and cared little for ritual or learning, which he feared would destroy the simplicity of the Order. But organisation was necessary for the continuance of the Order, and in 1223 a fixed rule was established by Honorius III. The organisation, which provided for Provincial government, admitted women and recognised Tertiaries, was perfected by Elias of Cortona, who became first General before the death of Francis.

### III. Later developments.

Both Orders soon departed from the teaching of their founders, and the change was specially noticeable in the case of the Franciscans.

- A. They became wealthy. In England the Franciscans soon possessed "residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings and incalculable treasures" (Matthew Paris).
- B. Some became learned; the Dominicans Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscans Duns Scotus and William of Ockham were among the greatest scholars of the Middle Ages. The Mendicants became the champions of orthodoxy and took an active part in the Inquisition; the Dominicans at the University of Bologna and the Franciscans at Padua established famous theological schools; at Paris both Orders gained such influence that they were for a time expelled from their chairs owing to the jealousy of the secular clergy, but they were restored in **1255**.
- C. Francis' sole aim was to spread the gospel of love by mendicant preachers, but Elias of Cortona rejected the idea of mendicancy and persecuted those who rigidly followed the rule of St. Francis. Anthony of Padua attacked the worldly secular clergy; the Franciscans became at variance with the Monastic Orders; they served in the courts of kings and nobles, gained great political influence and obtained the highest positions in the Church, including the Papacy.

#### IV. Other Mendicant Orders.

The Order of "Claresses" or "Poor Clares" was founded by Clara Scifi, a disciple of St. Francis, about **1212**.

The Carmelites, or Hermit Friars of Mount Carmel, who were popularly known as the White Friars, were established in **1219**.

The Austin Friars were formed in **1250** out of societies of Italian Hermits.

**1274**. The Council of Lyons recognised the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Austin Friars, and forbade the establishment of new Mendicant Orders.

## V. General.

Although in time they fell away from their original ideals, the Friars rendered great service to the Church. By their preaching, to which they attached the utmost importance, they strengthened the influence of religion on the common people, and their work was social and evangelistic; they represent (especially the Franciscans) the democracy of Christianity. They owed their establishment and importance to Papal Charters, and showed their gratitude by fidelity to the Papacy of which they became "two great standing armies." Owing to their work at the University Aristotelian philosophy was made orthodox and became "the chief buttress to the authority of the Church" (Tout).

## References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, Book IX chaps. ix and x.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 433-449.  
*Studies in Religious History* (Renan). "Francis of Assisi."

# THE ALBIGENSES

## I. Opposition to Sacerdotalism.

The popular opposition to sacerdotalism was not finally crushed by St. Bernard (page 152), and flourished under different names after his death.

### A. The Petrobrusians.

After Peter de Bruys was burned in **1137** his work was continued by his follower, Henry the Deacon, once a monk of Cluny. Many of the Petrobrusians were won over by St. Bernard, but a number joined the Waldenses.

### B. The Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons.

Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, from about **1177** sent his disciples, the Poor Men of Lyons, to

preach against the hierarchy and ritual of the Roman Church ; declared that a virtuous layman is a priest ; denied the efficacy of the prayers of a wicked priest ; procured the translation of the Bible into the language of the country, but rejected the teaching of the Old Testament ; asserted that God alone and not the Pope or any clergyman could absolve from sin.

### C. The Manicheans.

The Manicheans represent a "vague general tendency" rather than "a definite sect or an organised body of heretical doctrine." They opposed sacerdotalism ; derived from the East the idea of two great opposing forces of Good and Evil, of whom the former, God, was the author of the New Testament, which they accepted ; the latter, Demiurge, the author of the Old, which they rejected. They were strict ascetics, and therefore called Cathari or Puritans, objected to marriage, and denied the authority of Church and State. They were not only heterodox but also anti-social.

## II. The County of Toulouse.

Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, a grandson of King Louis VI of France and brother-in-law of Kings Richard and John of England, was the most powerful noble in Languedoc. Included in the county of Toulouse were five great fiefs, the counties of Narbonne, Foix, Montpellier and Quercy, and the viscounty of Beziers. As Marquis of Provence he ruled over a part of the Arelate which lay to the east of the Rhine and belonged to the Empire and not, like Toulouse, to France. His court was the centre of a highly developed but licentious civilisation in which chivalry took the place of religion ; the Court of Love was a famous institution, and the loose songs of the Troubadours won great popularity. Raymond VI, who had three wives living at the same time, and his vassal Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, were notorious enemies of the clergy, who were

very unpopular not only in the court but in the prosperous cities of Toulouse. Innocent III found the province "in almost universal revolt from Latin Christianity" (Milman).

Heresy flourished in such a soil, and the heretics of Provence were called Albigenses or Albigeois, from the town of Albi in Beziers, where they were numerous and powerful.

### III. The Suppression of Heresy.

#### A. Peaceful persuasion.

Innocent III determined to suppress heresy and assert the authority of the Church over Toulouse. But neither his Legates nor Dominic (page 185) proved successful, and in 1208 Peter of Castelnau, the Papal Legate who had excommunicated Raymond VI, was murdered at St. Gilles.

#### B. The First Crusade, 1209-10.

- (1) Innocent deposed Raymond and urged Philip Augustus to lead a crusade against Toulouse. Philip Augustus welcomed the opportunity of breaking the power of an overmighty subject, but did not take a personal share in the crusade. But the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, Simon Count of Montfort (who became the leader) and other nobles, the great prelates of France, including the Archbishops of Rheims and Rouen, gladly obeyed the Pope's summons; and the Abbot of Citeaux took a leading part.
- (2) June, 1209. Count Raymond made full submission, surrendered seven castles, swore to respect the rights of the Church, did penance for the murder of Peter of Castelnau, and was forced to take the cross against Raymond Roger of Beziers, who refused to submit.
- (3) The crusade was marked by appalling cruelty. At Beziers, captured 1209, the Abbot of Citeaux ordered all the inhabitants, orthodox and heretic alike, to be

slain—"Slay them all, God will know His own." Carcassonne fell in August, and the Viscount of Beziers, who had given himself up as a hostage, died in prison in November ; five hundred castles or towns were compelled to submit.

C. The Second Crusade, 1212-1213.

- (1) The success of De Montfort led to further demands upon Raymond VI. At Arles, 1212, the Legates, probably at the instigation of Raymond's enemy, the Archbishop of Toulouse, demanded that he should dismiss his troops, expel all heretics, destroy all his castles, restore all tithes to the Church, go on a crusade against the Turks.
- (2) Raymond, supported by the city of Toulouse, took up arms. He was again excommunicated and a second crusade was preached. Simon de Montfort, who had been invested with the Viscounty of Beziers, carried on the war with utter cruelty and great military skill against Count Raymond and the Count de Foix, but the towns of Toulouse and Montauban held out.
- (3) Pedro II, King of Aragon, tried to mediate, but Simon de Montfort refused to stop the crusade and Innocent's scruples were overborne by his Legates. Simon gained a conspicuous victory over Raymond and Pedro at Muret, September 12th, 1213, where Pedro was slain.
- (4) Raymond, the Count de Foix and the surviving nobles of Languedoc submitted, and at a council held at Montpellier, 1215, Simon de Montfort was recognised as Count of Toulouse. The Lateran Council of 1215 confirmed Simon in his new possessions and thus asserted the power of the Church to depose a sovereign prince and to give his dominions to a stranger.

D. Raymond VII.

Raymond VII, who was not a heretic and had been

placed by his father under the protection of the Pope, supported by the people of Toulouse, declared war on de Montfort. The city of Toulouse declared for Raymond, and Simon de Montfort was killed by a stone thrown from the walls, 1218. In 1219 Prince Louis of France led another, and unsuccessful, crusade against Raymond, and in 1224 Amaury de Montfort handed over Toulouse to Louis VIII. An expedition led by King Louis in 1226 conquered most of the land, but Louis died soon after. The political questions that had arisen were settled by the Treaty of Meaux, 1229, by which Raymond VII swore fealty to the King of France, promised to punish all heretics, to restore all her possessions to the Church. Toulouse was to pass to the King of France on Raymond's death.

E. The Council of Toulouse, 1229.

This council passed statutes compelling all to abjure heresy and to report heretics to their bishop or archbishop; all houses in which heretics were found were to be destroyed; none were to possess any book of the Bible.

IV. General.

- A. The Albigensian Crusades greatly weakened the heretics, but heresy still continued and many years elapsed before the South of France finally submitted to the Church. The civilisation of the country suffered greatly—"no language of Latin descent was permanently to speak in its religious services to the people, to form a Christian literature of its own, to have full command of the Scriptures in its vernacular dialect" (Milman).
- B. The political aspect of the crusades were very important. They greatly strengthened the royal power in the South of France by asserting the suzerainty of the King over the Counts of Toulouse.



- C. The utter cruelty with which they were conducted stain the memory of De Montfort, the Abbot of Citeaux and the great prelates of France, and Innocent III cannot escape censure for his failure to check the brutality of those who fought for the Church.

**References :**

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. V, Book IX, chap. viii.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 398-402.

## INNOCENT III

Lothair Conti was the son of Count Trasimond of Segna, studied theology at Paris and law at Bologna ; was made Cardinal at the age of twenty-nine by his uncle Pope Clement III ; was only a deacon and but thirty-seven years old when in 1198 he was elected Pope and took the title of Innocent III.

He was fortunate in the time of his election. The Empire was divided by the struggles that followed the disputed election of 1198 ; the King of Sicily was an infant ; the Lombard cities were weakened by strife between Guelfs and Ghibellines ; Richard I of England was a knight errant, and his successor John was a weak tyrant ; Philip Augustus was anxious to maintain the royal authority against the great nobles of France whom he alienated by his wickedness and tyranny ; the Eastern empire was weak. The political state of Europe was thus favourable to a Pope who "as the vicar, not of man but of God himself," wished to assert the supremacy of the Papacy over all men.

### I. Innocent III and Politics.

- A. Innocent asserted that "No King can reign rightly unless he devoutly serves Christ's vicar," and held that the Pope who reigned over the souls of men was superior to

kings who reigned over their bodies. He therefore claimed

- (1) Supremacy over the Empire.
- (2) The right of feudal supremacy over kings.

As feudal superior he received the homage of Constance and Frederick II for Naples and Sicily, of John for England, of Pedro for Aragon, of Sancho for Portugal; Otto IV acknowledged that he held the Empire and the Kingdom of Germany "by the grace of God and the Pope." Innocent pronounced sentences of deposition against King John of England, Philip of Swabia, Otto IV and Raymond VI of Toulouse.

- (3) The right of intervening in quarrels between kings.

He tried to make peace between France and England; he claimed the right of intervening between Philip of Swabia and Otto IV and between the Kings of Portugal and Castile.

B. Innocent used his spiritual power to enforce his political claims.

- (1) Excommunication.

Sentence of excommunication was passed on an offending King.

- a. In some cases, e.g. Philip Augustus and Alfonso of Leon, excommunication was the punishment for moral offences. But Innocent did not excommunicate John for repudiating Hadwisa of Gloucester to whom he had been married for twelve years, nor Raymond VI of Toulouse for marrying a third wife during the lifetime of two others, nor Pedro of Aragon for marrying Maria of Montpellier, whose husband was still alive.
- b. In many cases excommunication was used to further political objects. Innocent's last act was to excommunicate Philip Augustus for supporting his son Louis' invasion of England;

Louis was excommunicated for refusing to give up the expedition to England which he had undertaken at the Pope's request; Otto IV was excommunicated in 1211 for his invasion of Naples.

(2) Interdict.

In 1200 Innocent III placed France under an Interdict because Philip Augustus had repudiated Ingeburga of Denmark; 1208-1214 England lay under a Papal Interdict because John refused to accept Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus innocent people were severely punished for the personal faults of their kings.

C. The results of his policy.

Although Innocent III succeeded in asserting his feudal claims over some countries and in securing the recognition of Ingeburga as Queen by Philip Augustus, the ultimate results of his policy, even when successful, did not tend to strengthen the papal power.

- (1) The assertion of papal supremacy was challenged by Philip of Swabia, who denied the Pope's right to decide between rival claimants to the Empire (page 177). Otto IV, having secured the Empire with Innocent's help, laid claim to the Kingdom of Apulia and to the lands of the Countess Matilda, and treated with contempt the sentence of excommunication that was provoked by his attempt to secure this territory. Innocent's claims to feudal overlordship caused strong protests from the nobles of Anjou, and roused bitter feeling in Germany and in England, where Innocent was compelled to accept the Magna Charta, which he had condemned, before he could ensure the succession to the throne of John's son Henry III. "For the first time the peoples of their realms began to make common cause with [kings] against the political aggressions of the Papacy," and national

hostility was destined to lead in time to the repudiation of the Pope by a considerable portion of Western Europe.

- (2) Innocent III found that he was sometimes unable to control the forces he had summoned to his aid. He strongly supported the Fourth Crusade and crusades against the Albigenses, the heathen of the Baltic and the Moors of Spain. In the last case his efforts contributed to the great Christian victory of Naves de Tolosa in 1212, but he protested in vain against the diversion of the Fourth Crusade from Palestine to Zara and Constantinople, and found himself unable to check the cruelty of Simon de Montfort and Arnold of Citeaux in Toulouse. His support of Otto IV added to the horrors of civil war in Germany, and would have proved unsuccessful but for the murder of Philip of Swabia; in Southern France he stirred up Christians to war against fellow-Christians.
- (3) In Northern and Central Italy Innocent gained distinct success. The Tuscan cities acknowledged his overlordship; he secured the patrimony of St. Peter; established his authority over Rome, where the Prefect became his servant; expelled Conrad of Urselingen from Italy and regained Spoleto; drove Markwald of Anweiler from Romagna. Owing to the real power he gained in Italy, Innocent found the Empire less dangerous than most of his predecessors. But he could not prevent the union of Sicily and Germany, and by his treatment of Frederick II "the seeds of evil were sown in Frederick's mind." Innocent must be held partly responsible for the fierce struggle between Papacy and Empire that broke out after his death.

## II. Innocent III's Ecclesiastical Policy.

He greatly strengthened the power of the Church by his recognition of the value of the work of Dominic and

Francis ; he followed the traditional policy of the Papacy in the strong support he gave to crusades ; he maintained the cause of orthodoxy against the heretics of Toulouse. He made important contributions to the Canon Law ; the Lateran Council of 1215 showed his sincere desire for the reform of the Church. This Council not only condemned heresy but reformed Church discipline, advocated the establishment of schools, forbade trial by battle and trial by ordeal, endeavoured to raise the moral standard of the secular clergy and to improve monastic life.

### III. General.

Innocent III was a man of wide views, great courage and untiring energy. He was an ecclesiastical statesman and exercised great influence on the political history of the times. He became the most powerful of all the Popes, but his power was more apparent than real. His own efforts met with great failure as well as great success ; his policy impaired the prestige of the Papacy by its undue attention to political problems, and provoked strong opposition which was destined gravely to weaken the papal power. His successes were those of a "conqueror and organiser rather than a priest and prophet." He lacked spirituality, and although one of the greatest of the Popes, he was never canonised.

### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, pp. 376-382.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xiv.

## FREDERICK II AND THE PAPACY

The vigorous campaign Frederick conducted in Germany in 1215, following the defeat of Otto IV at Bouvines in 1214, gave him the Kingdom of Germany in addition to that of Sicily. The union of the two constituted a grave danger to the power of the

Pope, and Frederick in **1216** promised to separate Sicily from the Empire and to make his son Henry King of Sicily under the suzerainty of the Papacy. He promised to go on a crusade. He did not make Henry King of Sicily, and repeatedly evaded his promise to go on a crusade. Owing to these immediate causes the old quarrel between Empire and Papacy broke out again, and this time it resulted in the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the triumph of the Papacy.

**I. Frederick II and Honorius III, 1216–1227.**

Honorius, whose gentle character afforded a striking contrast to the vigour of Innocent III, was devoted to the cause of the Crusades. Owing to his efforts a crusade was sent to Egypt; it captured Damietta in **1219**, but soon afterwards suffered a serious reverse. Frederick, whose position in Germany had been greatly strengthened by the death of Otto IV in **1218**, promised in **1219** to lead a crusade, and in return Honorius promised to crown him Emperor.

**A. Henry made King of the Romans, April, 1220.**

But Frederick remained in Germany, and in **1220** induced the magnates of Germany to elect Henry King of the Romans. This was done without the consent of the Pope, and showed that, in spite of his former promise, Frederick was determined to maintain the union of Germany and Sicily.

**B. Frederick's Coronation, November, 1220.**

Frederick was crowned Emperor by Honorius III and took the cross again. Honorius recognised Frederick as King of Sicily during his lifetime. Frederick restored to the Papacy the lands of the Countess Matilda, annulled all laws which impaired the authority of the Church, exempted the clergy from lay taxation and jurisdiction, passed stringent laws against heresy.

**C. Frederick renews his promises.**

The capture of Damietta by the Sultan of Egypt in

**1221** made Honorius still more anxious that Frederick should go on a Crusade, but serious difficulties in Sicily prevented him from going, and after much fruitless negotiation Frederick undertook at San Germano in July, **1225**, to set out, under pain of excommunication in case of failure, not later than August, **1227**. His marriage in November, **1225**, to Iolande de Brienne, daughter and heiress of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, supplied an additional reason for endeavouring to wrest the Holy Land from the Turks, although Frederick's assumption of the title of King of Jerusalem led to a fierce quarrel with his father-in-law.

#### D. The Lombards.

The strife of Guelfs and Ghibellines continued between prince and prince and city and city of Lombardy, and Frederick determined to support the Ghibellines and to become the Sovereign of Northern Italy. In **1226** he held a diet at Cremona, where he asserted the old Imperial rights over Lombardy. A strong Lombard League was formed to resist Frederick under the leadership of Milan; Frederick placed the league under the ban of the Empire. Hostilities were averted by the mediation of Honorius, who compelled the Emperor to annul the Imperial ban and made the Lombards promise to supply four hundred knights to fight in the Crusade.

Honorius died in March, **1227**, five months before the expiration of the time within which Frederick was pledged to sail to the Holy Land.

### II. Frederick II and Gregory IX, 1227-1241.

Cardinal Ugolino, the supporter of the friars and the relentless enemy of heretics, became Pope Gregory IX. Although he was now eighty years of age he was vigorous and enthusiastic; his great learning, eloquence, devotion to the papal cause and untiring energy made him a dangerous opponent.

Gregory IX at once urged all sovereigns, and especially Frederick II, to go on a new crusade.

**A. Frederick set out on a Crusade, September, 1227.**

Frederick had levied taxes for the crusade; he now equipped a large fleet and collected stores and provisions, but delay ensued owing to the confusion caused by the number of the vast crowd of crusaders who had assembled in Apulia. Fever, due to excessive heat, carried off many. Frederick embarked at Brindisi on September 8th, but three days later he returned to Otranto; both the Emperor and the Landgrave of Thuringia, who commanded the army, were ill; the Landgrave died, the Emperor recovered. Many of the crusaders returned home.

**B. Frederick excommunicated, September 29th, 1227.**

Gregory IX, who blamed Frederick for his delay in starting, asserted that his illness was pretended, excommunicated him for his breach of the Treaty of San Germano and placed an interdict on any place he visited.

Frederick treated the excommunication with contempt, and in an appeal to Christendom urged all temporal sovereigns to unite against the oppression of the Papacy which had "reduced the Count of Toulouse and many other princes to servitude," urged the English barons to rise against John and then "abandoned those barons to shame, ruin and death." The Papacy was "a rapacious bloodsucker . . . the whole world pays tribute to the avarice of the Romans." Frederick strengthened the Imperial party in Rome by his bribes, and although Gregory renewed the excommunication in March, 1228, an insurrection of the people drove him from Rome.

**C. Frederick's Crusade, 1228-1229.**

Frederick continued his preparations for the crusade, in spite of the action of the Pope, who, because he was excommunicated, forbade him to undertake a crusade. Owing to the need of leaving a sufficient force to maintain order in Sicily he took only six hundred knights



in twenty galleys. He landed at Acre on September 7th, 1228, and was enthusiastically welcomed; but owing to the news of his excommunication, which had been brought by two Franciscan monks, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Templars and Hospitallers and the clergy refused to support him. He fortified Jaffa, entered into friendly negotiations with Malek El Kamil, the Sultan of Egypt. In February, 1229, Frederick and El Kamil made a treaty, without consulting the Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose assent was necessary, but with the approval of the barons of Syria and the faithful Hermann von Salza, the Master of the knights of the Teutonic Order. The treaty provided that Jerusalem, with the exception of the Mosque of Omar which was retained by the Saracens, Bethlehem and Nazareth should be surrendered to the Emperor, who should defend the Sultan if Egypt was invaded. Frederick visited Jerusalem in March, 1229, but owing to his presence the city was placed under an interdict by the Patriarch, and the clergy refused to celebrate Mass in the Emperor's presence. He crowned himself King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, visited the Mosque of Omar and left Jerusalem after a stay of only two days. He returned to Italy in May.

The treaty offended Mohammedans, who resented the cession of Jerusalem, and the Syrian barons who blamed Frederick for not fortifying Jerusalem. But Frederick had rendered great service to Christianity, and would have obtained better terms but for the enmity of the Pope, the Military Orders and the Patriarch.

#### D. The Peace of San Germano, 1230.

##### (1) The invasion of Apulia.

During Frederick's absence in Palestine the Pope, owing to complaints of the conduct of Frederick's vicegerent Reginald, Duke of Spoleto, sent an expedition into Apulia under Frederick's father-in-law, John de Brienne. The papal soldiers gained some

successes and laid waste Apulia ; but on Frederick's return he drove out the invaders and settled a number of Sicilian Saracens at Nocera, where they proved a bulwark against further papal aggression.

(2) The Peace, July, 1230.

The heavy taxes Gregory had levied for his " crusade " in Apulia, the favour he showed to the Mendicant Friars who had stirred up revolt in Naples, the undoubted success Frederick had achieved in Palestine aroused strong feeling against Gregory, who failed to induce the Lombards or Germans to take up arms against the Emperor. The mediation of some of the lay and ecclesiastical magnates of Germany proved successful, and by the Peace of San Germano the Pope gave the Emperor absolution, the Emperor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pope over Sicily, promised to restore to the supporters of the Pope the lands he had confiscated and to grant an amnesty to his rebellious subjects.

But the Peace was only a hollow truce, and Frederick did not keep his promises.

E. History of the years 1230-1241.

(1) Nominal peace between Gregory IX and Frederick II.

For some years Gregory and Frederick maintained a pretence of friendship. Both made great efforts to put down heresy ; each derived advantage from the difficulties of the other.

The turbulence of the Romans compelled Gregory to leave Rome several times ; Frederick was reluctant to coerce the Romans, who included a strong Imperialist party in which the Frangipani, who used the Coliseum as their fortress, were prominent.

Frederick easily suppressed a revolt of his son Henry, King of the Romans, in 1235 and secured in 1237 the election, as King of the Romans, of Conrad, his son by Iolande de Brienne, who had died

in 1227. He strengthened his position by marrying in 1235 Isabella, sister of Henry III of England.

(2) The Lombards.

The Lombard cities, alarmed by the Emperor's obvious objection to municipal privileges, renewed the Lombard League in 1232. Gregory IX, although anxious to weaken Frederick's power, could not, owing to his agreement with the Emperor, give open support to the Lombards whose notorious heresy rendered an alliance with the Papacy more difficult. King Henry's rebellion was supported by Milan, but the Ghibelline cities Cremona, Parma and Pisa remained faithful to Frederick; the Emperor greatly strengthened his power in Northern Italy by securing the support of the feudal nobles whose position was endangered by the growth of municipal freedom. Of these Eccelin da Romano, who secured Verona, Padua and Treviso and married Frederick's daughter, was specially notorious for his cruelty.

In 1237 the Emperor returned from Germany, where he had put down a revolt of the Duke of Austria, with 3000 German men-at-arms. The Ghibelline cities, the Lombard nobles and 10,000 Saracens from Nocera joined him, and he utterly routed the Lombard League at Corte Nuova, November 27th, 1237, where he took the Carroccio<sup>1</sup> and captured Tiepolo, the Podesta of Milan, who was a native of Venice. Many Guelf cities submitted; Milan, Brescia and others offered to submit if their liberties were assured, but Frederick demanded unconditional surrender and executed Tiepolo. In August, 1238, he besieged Brescia, but failed to capture the city.

(3) Renewed quarrel between Gregory IX and Frederick II, 1238-1241.

If Frederick conquered the Lombard League he would become master of Italy and the Pope would be at his mercy. To avert this danger Gregory, in spite

<sup>1</sup> A standard fixed on a waggon.

of their leaning towards heresy, took the Guelf cities in Lombardy and Romagna under his protection; secured the help of the Venetians angered by the execution of Tiepolo, and promised them territory in Apulia and Sicily; he induced Genoa, jealous of Imperialist Pisa, to promise the help of her fleet.

March, 1239. Gregory again excommunicated the Emperor for failing to carry out the terms of the Peace of San Germano, favouring Saracens, taking the island of Sardinia which belonged to the Papacy, preventing the recovery of the Holy Land. The Pope could not state his real reason for excommunicating Frederick—the Emperor's success in Lombardy. The Emperor denied the charges, asserted that his son Enzo had become King of Sardinia by marrying the heiress, accused the Pope of condoning heresy in Lombardy; appealed to the kings of Christendom against Gregory, "a frantic prophet, a man of falsehood, a polluted priest . . . and a ravening wolf." The Pope accused Frederick of gross immorality and blasphemy, asserted that he had said "that the world has been deceived by these three impostors—Jesus Christ, Moses and Mohammed: the two of these died in honour, the third was hanged on a tree." Frederick had called the Host a "mummery"; in explaining the Mass to a Saracen he had said of the Host, "The people fable that it is our God."

Both sides appealed to the public opinion of Christendom. Neither secured a unanimous verdict in his favour. The extortions of the Papacy were greatly resented, especially in England; the ubiquitous Mendicants made the most of the Emperor's faults.

1239. Gregory failed to stir up a revolt against Frederick in Germany where the clergy strongly supported the Emperor. His attempt to make the King of Denmark King of the Romans in place of Conrad failed. He deposed Frederick from the Imperial throne and offered it to Robert of Artois, brother to

St. Louis, but St. Louis protested against the "pride and audacity of the Pope who thus presumes to disinherit and depose a King who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians."

In the war that followed, the Pope depended solely on his own armies and those of his Italian allies. No foreign prince helped him, although the papal taxation levied in France and England helped to pay his armies.

**1239.** The Emperor met with little success in Lombardy when he failed to capture Milan or Bologna. In February, **1240**, he invaded the papal territory and secured Viterbo and Ostia, the port of Rome. But Gregory held out in Rome, and summoned a General Council to meet in the Lateran Palace at Easter, **1241**, to condemn the Emperor.

**1241.** Very few prelates obeyed the Pope's summons. A number of Lombard, French and Spanish bishops embarked at Genoa for Rome, but Frederick's fleet, under Enzo, routed the Genoese at Meloria, "captured the General Council," who were imprisoned in Naples, and took the wealth which the Papal Legate, Cardinal Otho, had collected in England.

August 21st, **1241.** The fall of Rome and the capture of the Pope now seemed certain, but the death of Gregory IX, at the age of ninety-nine, ended the struggle.

### III. Frederick II and Innocent IV.

Sinibald Fiesco, a Genoese, formerly professor of law at Bologna and a supporter of Frederick II, was elected Pope in June, **1243**, and took the title of Innocent IV. He proved a strong supporter of papal claims, and Frederick soon found that "no Pope can be a Ghibelline."

Efforts were made to establish peace between Pope and Emperor, and a treaty was concluded in **1244**, but it proved ineffective, and Innocent IV soon fled from Rome and sailed to Genoa on a Genoese fleet which he had prepared for such an emergency. "Our soul is

escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler," said the Pope's friends. "The wicked," retorted the Emperor, "flees when no man pursueth." On December 2nd Innocent reached Lyons, nominally Imperial, practically a free city under the rule of its Archbishop. But St. Louis, though devotedly attached to the Church, refused to give the Pope unconditional support against the Emperor, and urged that the two should be reconciled in order that all Christendom might unite in a new crusade. The King of Aragon refused Innocent permission to enter his kingdom; strong protests came from England against papal exactions. The Pope therefore was obliged to remain at Lyons.

A. The Council of Lyons, 1245.

(1) Innocent IV summoned a General Council at Lyons, but only 140 prelates attended, of whom very few were Germans. The Council had to deal with the danger of Christianity from the Tartars (page 215), the division of the Eastern and Western Churches, heresy, a new crusade against the Turks in Palestine and the trial of the Emperor. The former charges were repeated against Frederick II, who was courageously defended by the learned justiciary Thaddeus of Suessa.

(2) Innocent pronounced judgment. "We excommunicate Frederick, and depose him from all the dignity of the Empire and from the Kingdom of Naples."

Frederick protested against "this presumption, this audacity," and declared, "I hold my crown of God alone; neither the Pope, the Council, nor the devil shall rend it from me." He unwisely attacked not only the Pope but the whole body of the clergy who, he asserted, "are abandoned to this world, and to drunkenness; their religion is choked by their riches. . . . It is the interest of all princes to deprive them of these vain superfluities, to compel them to salutary poverty." The Emperor made a grave

tactical mistake in thus giving the whole body of the clergy a common cause with the Pope.

**B. War, 1245-1250.**

(1) The Pope proclaimed a new crusade against the Emperor. The Emperor imposed heavy taxes on the clergy, ordered the deprivation of any clergyman who, in accordance with the Pope's orders, refused to celebrate Mass, expelled the Mendicant Friars from Sicily.

(2) Innocent IV and Germany.

a. Some of the nobles of Sicily, encouraged by the verdict of the Council of Lyons, rose in rebellion, but Frederick crushed the revolt. Innocent then tried to raise up a rival to Conrad in Germany; the greater princes resented his action in dethroning Frederick; but the leading German prelates, including the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves anointed Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, as King of the Romans on August 5th, **1246**. "The priest king," who received from the Pope vast sums of money largely derived from England, routed Conrad near Frankfurt, but the strong support of the German cities enabled Conrad to maintain his position, and Henry died, partly of grief and disappointment, at his Castle of Wartburg, February 17th, **1247**.

b. The King of Norway refused the Pope's offer of the Crown of Germany, but William, Count of Holland, accepted the offer, was crowned by the Papal Legate, and Germany was distracted by civil war, in which neither William nor Conrad gained a final victory.

(3) Failure and death of Frederick, June, **1250**.

Frederick now tried to secure the help of the Lombard heretics against the Pope, proclaimed his

absolute supremacy over the Church in Sicily, and punished with great severity those who denied his supremacy or in any way supported the Pope. At first the efforts of King Enzo and Eccelin da Romano gained much success in Northern Italy, and Frederick proposed to advance on Lyons and seize the Pope.

**1247-1248.** Siege of Parma. Parma, hitherto Imperialist, revolted and the Guelfs secured the city. The Emperor besieged it, treated with gross cruelty the rebels he captured, built a new city of Vittoria to keep watch over Parma to which Milan and Genoa, the native city of Innocent IV, sent help. February 18th, **1248**, the Parmesans made a sortie, destroyed Vittoria, took much booty, captured and executed Thaddeus of Suessa and raised the siege.

**1247.** Frederick arrested and blinded his chancellor, Peter de Vineca, on a charge of treachery. De Vineca committed suicide.

**1249.** Capture of King Enzo at Fossalta near Bologna. He was kept a prisoner for twenty-three years.

**1250.** The Ghibellines proved victorious in Lombardy, Conrad defeated William of Holland in Germany, Frederick set out for the North, but died at Fiorentino, December 13th, **1250**.

#### IV. General.

##### A. A struggle for supremacy.

The struggle between Frederick II and the Papacy was a struggle for supremacy between the spiritual and temporal powers, which could be ended only by the complete defeat of one of the combatants. "Cæsar would bear no superior, the successor of St. Peter no equal."

##### (1) Frederick's position.

*a.* Frederick asserted that the Imperial power was derived from God above, that it was independent of the Pope; the Emperor was God's



second vicar, and the Pope in resisting him became the Antichrist of the New Testament. Rebellion against the Emperor was rebellion against God and political heresy, such as that of the Lombard cities, could not be justified. It was the duty of the Emperor to maintain the Empire unimpaired, to assert all the Imperial rights and privileges, to make his authority effective in Germany, Northern Italy, Naples and Sicily.

- b. Frederick held that the Empire had authority over the Church as well as the State. The Emperor was the champion of the Church, and Italy had to be brought under his authority, partly in order that he might be able to render effective service to the Church against the Turks. Frederick definitely claimed to be absolutely supreme over the Church, tried to abolish papal power in Sicily, and treated papal excommunication with contempt. He wished "to bring the spiritual power under the control of the temporal, to transfer to the King the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope" (Freeman). He attempted to reform the Church; he persecuted heretics, while allowing freedom of worship to his Saracen and Greek subjects, protested against the immorality of the clergy and the avarice of Popes.

(2) The position of the Popes.

The Popes definitely asserted their political as well as ecclesiastical supremacy; maintained that the Empire was a fief of the Papacy, deposed and appointed Emperors and kings, claimed the right of arbitration in disputes between temporal princes. Gregory IX said that Constantine had wished the Pope to exercise both temporal and spiritual power, and that he had withdrawn to Constantinople to allow

the Pope to exercise his authority without limitation ; that the Papacy had transferred the Imperial power to German kings, but the fact that the Pope gave the Imperial crown showed that he was still supreme. The Emperor had no authority over the Pope, whom God alone could judge, and the humblest priest, in virtue of his spiritual position, was superior to the greatest king. Innocent IV maintained that the papal power was derived not from Constantine but from God, who had given the Pope both priestly and royal domination. He pointed out that the Empire was elective ; the Papacy had brought the Empire to Rome and the Popes could dispose of it.

#### B. Political problems.

The real causes of the struggle were political. The Popes attempted to extend their territory, but their position was endangered by the Imperial claims over Lombardy, Rome, and, still more, Sicily. If the Emperor made his claims effective in Lombardy he would probably have prevented the Papacy from securing the lands of the Countess Matilda and threatened the Pope from the North. The Emperor claimed authority over Rome, the capital of the Empire, and was supported by an Imperialist party in the city ; the populace of Rome was turbulent, and the Popes were often obliged to flee. Frederick's possession of Naples and Sicily threatened Rome from the South, and the Saracens at Nocera were a standing menace to the Pope. He tried to establish absolute monarchy in his southern dominions, but his position was weakened by the fact that " Naples and Sicily had been for some two hundred years recognised as a fief of the Holy See " ; Queen Constance acknowledged the absolute feudal supremacy of the Pope over Naples and Sicily, Frederick paid homage to Innocent III for his Sicilian crown, and the possession of Sicily put Frederick " in the false position of a liegeman resisting his lawful suzerain."

But the claims of the Popes to appoint and dethrone monarchs roused great opposition. Even St. Louis protested strongly, and the great princes of Germany refused to support the rivals that Innocent IV persuaded to oppose Conrad.

### C. The Mendicant Friars.

The Mendicants, who had gained great influence over all classes, strongly supported the papal claims, and played an important part in the struggle. "Innocent III was a mighty feudal monarch at the head of a loyal spiritual aristocracy," Innocent IV ruled as an absolute monarch, relying largely upon the Mendicants who formed "an immense standing army." They were among the most dangerous enemies Frederick II had to face. He was compelled to expel them from Sicily in 1245; they had stimulated the opposition of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Frederick in 1228; they did much to counteract the bitter feeling roused against the Popes by the heavy taxation they levied on England.

### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, Book X.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xvi.

## FREDERICK II AND GERMANY

Frederick's great object was to make himself master of Italy and to make the Papacy subservient to the Empire. Sicily appealed to him very strongly; he was one of the least German of all the Emperors and sacrificed much of his power in Germany in order to further his Italian policy. "Frederick bartered his German kingship for an immediate triumph over his hated foe" (Tout).

The power of the German king had been weakened and the

local importance of the nobles strengthened by the civil war between Otto IV and Frederick II. The towns continued to grow in wealth, and with the increase of wealth went a growing reluctance to acknowledge the authority of noble or bishop. The "ministeriales" gradually secured the right of hereditary succession to their offices and were becoming a lower order of aristocracy.

### I. King Henry VII, 1223-1235.

#### A. Concessions to clergy.

Frederick II had conciliated the Pope and spiritual magnates by the Golden Bull of Eger in 1213. This instrument renewed concessions made by Otto IV to the Church, renounced all claim to the estates of the Countess Matilda, recognised papal authority over German bishops, and gave up the royal power over ecclesiastical elections. He made further concessions by the Charter of Liberties which he issued in favour of the German Church in 1220. By this he gave up the right of taking the goods of deceased bishops; renounced the right of coinage and toll, and forbade the erection of castles in episcopal territory; recognised the absolute jurisdiction of the bishop in episcopal cities except during the presence of the King. Largely owing to the support of the prelates led by Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, Frederick's son Henry was elected King of the Romans in 1220 and crowned in 1222. Engelbert governed the country for the young King and did something to strengthen the monarchy and repress anarchy; but he was assassinated in 1225 by robbers. Henry VII proved an incompetent ruler and failed to repress disorder.

#### B. Statutum in favorem principum, 1231.

To secure the support of the German princes, lay and ecclesiastical, for his Italian policy, Frederick compelled Henry to issue at Worms the "Statutum in favorem

principum," which gave the magnates full supremacy over their territories and weakened the power of the towns which were forbidden to exercise jurisdiction outside their walls or to receive the fugitive vassals of any prince, and annulled all confraternities of artisans. In an Edict issued at Civitate in **1232** Frederick confirmed these concessions.

### C. Revolt.

Henry's inefficiency had provoked Frederick's wrath, and Henry now adopted an attitude of opposition to his father. Frederick, from **1230** to **1237** nominally on friendly terms with Gregory IX, had authorised the Mendicants to persecute heretics, and the Franciscan Conrad of Marburg had acted as chief inquisitor in Germany until he was assassinated in **1233**. Henry in **1234** checked the Inquisition and ordered that all heretics were to be tried by common law. The lesser nobility and the towns resented the favour shown to the princes and, relying on their help, Henry revolted against the Emperor, **1234**. But he received less help than he expected from the cities, and the lesser nobles were not strong enough to ensure his success. The revolt was easily crushed by Frederick in **1235** and Henry was banished to Apulia, where he committed suicide, **1242**.

### II. The Diet of Mainz, 1235.

In **1235** Frederick married his third wife, Isabella of England. At the Diet of Mainz he tried to strengthen the Imperial authority by appointing a court justiciar to try all cases not reserved for the Emperor's own consideration, including disputes between magnates; by reorganizing the Imperial court; by forbidding private war except when justice had been denied. But he confirmed the magnates in their regalian rights, recognized the authority of bishops over their towns, and limited the privileges of free towns.

The general result of this legislation was still further to strengthen the power of the magnates and to depress the lesser nobility whom Henry VII had favoured. The right of electing the King, hitherto exercised in a general assembly of barons, now passed to some of the magnates.

In 1235 Frederick made Otto of Lüneburg, the grandson of Henry the Lion, Duke of the newly established Duchy of Brunswick and reversed the Hohenstaufen policy of opposition to the Guelfs.

### III. Conrad King of the Romans, 1237.

The Duke of Austria rebelled, but in 1237 Frederick defeated him and took Vienna, where his own son Conrad, a boy of nine, was elected King of the Romans.

#### A. The Tartars.

The Tartars had conquered China and now threatened Eastern Europe. They overran Russia and sacked Kiev in 1240. Conrad took measures to resist their expected attack on Germany, but the death of the Tartar Khan in Asia led to the withdrawal of their forces from Europe.

#### B. Anti-Kings.

The efforts of Innocent IV (page 206) led to the election of Henry of Thuringia as King of the Romans in 1246; after his death in 1247 William of Holland was elected, and although he did not succeed in enforcing his claim during Frederick's lifetime, Conrad failed to conquer him and civil war raged in Germany.

### IV. German Expansion.

#### A. Denmark and Bohemia.

King Waldemar II of Denmark was compelled by Engelbert of Cologne and the local nobles to give up Schwerin, Holstein and other German territory which he had seized during the struggle between Otto IV and

Frederick II. His complete defeat at Bornhöved in 1227 prevented the Danes from checking the extension of German influence on the Baltic. The Margraves of Brandenburg conquered Pomerania and Lübeck became a great commercial town. This extension was facilitated by the weakness of Poland and by divisions in Russia.

Bohemia flourished, and, taking full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the spread of German commerce and civilisation and the weakness of Germany which followed the fall of the Hohenstaufen, became a powerful kingdom.

#### B. Livonia and Prussia.

The coast lands of the Baltic from Germany to the Gulf of Finland were occupied by heathen tribes.

##### (1) The Knights of the Sword.

In 1200 Bishop Albert, who had established the Bishopric of Bremen, founded the Knights of the Sword, who conquered Livonia and introduced Christianity.

##### (2) The Knights of the Teutonic Order.

Hermann of Salza transferred the Teutonic Order about 1230 from the Holy Land to the Baltic, where the Duke of Poland failed to resist the Prussians. The knights conquered Prussia, and Prussia, unlike Livonia, accepted German civilisation as well as Christianity. The new towns of Thorn and Königsburg became strong centres of German influence.

#### C. The Stedings.

1234. Utter defeat of the heretic Stedings who lived around the mouth of the Weser.

By the end of the thirteenth century "the Baltic bid fair to become a German lake, and the Scandinavian powers shrank back into insignificance and isolation" (Tout).

## V. Civilisation and Commerce.

### A. Towns.

The great development of commerce, their own power and the protection they afforded in time of danger enabled the towns to maintain their position in spite of the attempt of the Emperor to favour the magnates at their expense. The great towns became practically independent of Emperor and magnates, and took full advantage of the opportunities for trade in the Baltic which the recent expansion of German power afforded. Town laws were codified, and those of Magdeburg and Lübeck were copied by many of the newer towns. The development of municipal law was greatly stimulated by the *Sachsenspiegel*, the earliest code of German customary law, which was drawn up about 1230.

### B. Literature.

The German language was more widely used as a literary medium, and vernacular poetry was developed, partly owing to the patronage of the Emperor and Hermann of Thuringia. The Minnesingers, of whom the most famous was Walter von der Vogelweide, the author of *Service of Ladies*, sang of love and chivalry, attacked the evils of the times, particularly the shortcomings of the princes and clergy, and showed the influence of the Troubadours of Languedoc. Old romances formed the subject of vernacular epics which show the influence of Northern France; Wolfram of Eschenbach used the story of the Holy Grail in his *Parsifal*, Godfrey of Strasbourg sang of the love of Tristram and Isolt; these poems had a moral side, "religious sentiment now takes forms less ecclesiastic and more familiar . . . lay and chivalric literature succeed to monastic."

The Romanesque style of architecture of Germany is illustrated by the cathedrals of Mainz, Speyer and Worms, which belonged to an earlier period. The influence of French Gothic is seen in the cathedral at Trèves, which belongs to the thirteenth century.



The cause of learning suffered from the fact that Germany had no university. The law of Bologna, the science of Montpellier, the medicine of Salerno, the theology of Paris find no counterpart in Germany, and the German scholar, Albert the Great, did most of his work at Paris.

## VI. General.

Frederick II's policy weakened the connection between Germany and the Empire and greatly strengthened the power of the German magnates. German unity suffered and the local princes became so strong that the union of Germany into one nation was not accomplished until the nineteenth century. But the princes did something to maintain peace in their own territories, and the development of commerce, civilisation and literature showed that Germany "was far from being an absolute loser by the change of system." The great towns were steadily becoming an important factor, and, in spite of the limitations he imposed upon them, they remained faithful to the Emperor and supported him against Henry VII in 1235.

### Reference :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 370-380.

## FREDERICK II AND SICILY

Frederick II's policy had resulted in the strengthening of the great feudal nobles and the diminution of the royal power in Germany. His policy towards his beloved kingdom of Naples and Sicily was entirely different ; there he succeeded in establishing absolute monarchy ; in compelling all to acknowledge the supremacy of the King ; in making the crown the source of law and justice. But his strong rule proved most advantageous to his subjects. He repressed disorder, limited the power of the

feudal barons, did justice between man and man, afforded religious toleration to all except the heretics of the Roman Church, promoted commerce, patronised learning and literature.

### I. The Establishment of the Royal Power.

#### A. The Saracens.

After a severe struggle lasting from 1221-1225, Frederick broke the power of the Saracens in Sicily. He established a strong Saracen colony at Nocera (or Lucera) in conditions which won for him their unflinching support. He thus secured the adherence of a powerful community who were his personal property, who cared nothing for papal excommunication and were ready at any time to assist Frederick against his feudal barons or the Pope.

#### B. Feudal barons.

The barons strongly resented the limitation of their feudal rights which was involved by the establishment of absolute monarchy, and were ready to weaken Frederick by supporting the Pope. But Frederick crushed all rebellions, resumed all royal castles that the barons had seized, destroyed or garrisoned with his own troops castles which had been built without royal authority, forbade private war, and deprived the baronial courts of criminal jurisdiction.

#### C. The towns.

The great towns like Messina and Syracuse found their privileges threatened and, following the example of the Guelph cities of Lombardy, frequently rebelled. But rebellion was put down, and the King took into his own hands the nomination of the governors and chief officials and so strengthened his power over the towns.

#### D. The clergy.

The clergy were made amenable to secular law, especially in regard to fiefs, and liable to general taxes.

tion ; higher ecclesiastical courts were abolished and the clergy lost all jurisdiction over the laity except in cases of marriage ; appeals to Rome were allowed only on ecclesiastical questions and only when the Pope and Emperor were at peace.

But while the royal power was made supreme, valuable privileges were accorded to the King's loyal subjects. The barons' fiefs were made hereditary ; tithes were guaranteed to the clergy from all lands, even the royal domain ; the feudal payments due from barons and higher clergy to the King were limited ; the cities were exempted from the authority of nobles and clergy and gained great wealth from the expansion of commerce which was partly due to the King's patronage ; all serfs on the royal domain were emancipated.

## II. The Organisation of the Kingdom.

### A. The Great Courts.

The chief justiciar and four other judges formed the supreme court of justice. The Great Court of Accounts directed the finances of the kingdom.

### B. Parliament.

Frederick II's parliament was the first attempt at representative government. It met twice a year. The magnates attended in person on a direct summons from the King ; the larger cities sent four, smaller cities two, and towns one representative on a summons issued through provincial judges. Every member could advise as to the government of his own locality or challenge the actions of any public official.

### C. Assemblies of the magnates.

The magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, were summoned by royal writ whenever necessary.

### D. Local organisation.

Royal chamberlains were responsible for the government of provinces, justices for smaller districts, bailiffs

for villages. The local organisation was reviewed by the grand justiciar, who made annual perambulations for the purpose.

Thus the supremacy of the royal authority was asserted, but localities received a considerable measure of self-government. Frederick tried "rather to advance, enrich, enlighten his subjects than to repress their free development by busy and perpetual interference."

### III. Arts and Sciences.

Frederick founded in 1224 the University of Naples, the first university in Europe established by royal charter, revived the medical school of Salerno and liberally endowed both. His patronage led many scholars, such as Michael Scot, the mathematician, Leonard of Pisa, and learned Jews, Greeks and Mohammedans to come to Sicily. Frederick and his chancellor, Peter de Vinea, wrote Italian poetry, and his sons Manfred and Enzo favoured the development of vernacular literature in the Sicilian idiom, which became the standard of expression.

Frederick had a considerable knowledge of architecture, and bridges and palaces were built and city walls restored at his command. Painters and sculptors received his patronage.

If the Hohenstaufen had maintained their power their kingdom of Naples and Sicily might have anticipated the Renaissance of the fifteenth century.

### IV. Underlying Discontent.

Although Frederick's policy brought much prosperity to Sicily it led to some discontent. The barons objected to the limitation of their feudal rights. All classes were affected by the heavy taxation necessitated by Frederick's wars against the Lombard towns. The clergy resented their liability to legislation which weakened their position and had not been sanctioned by

the Church ; they feared that the new learning, largely drawn from non-Christian sources, might prove hostile to theology ; they objected to the religious toleration extended to Jews, Greeks and Mohammedans.

But Frederick's strong hand put down all opposition, and his administration of his southern kingdom was the most successful part of his policy.

### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, pp. 147-162.

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 360-364.

## FREDERICK II

### I. Life.

- 1195.** Born at Jesi, the son of the Emperor Henry VI and Constance of Sicily.
- 1196.** Elected King of the Romans.
- 1198.** On the death of Constance, Innocent III became guardian of Frederick.
- 1212-1220.** Frederick made himself master of Germany and secured the election of his son Henry as King of the Romans.
- 1220.** Crowned Emperor by Honorius III on condition of going on a crusade.
- 1221-1225.** Subjugation of the Saracens and the Norman lords of Sicily.
- 1225-1228.** Struggle with the Lombard towns, preparations for crusade, excommunication for failure to proceed to the Holy Land.
- 1228-1229.** Frederick's crusade, occupation of Jerusalem, treaty with the Sultan El Kamil, excommunication for going.
- 1230.** Frederick II and Gregory IX reconciled at San Germano.
- 1230-1234.** Organisation of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

**1235.** Frederick crushed the rebellion of his son Henry, strengthened his position by marrying Isabella of England, defeated the Lombard League at Corte Nuova in **1237**, secured the election of Conrad as King of the Romans, made Enzo King of Sardinia.

**1239-1250.** Struggle with the Papacy.

Frederick excommunicated by Gregory IX in **1239**, at the Council of Lyons by Innocent IV in **1245**. Henry of Thuringia and William of Holland elected Kings of Germany at Innocent's instigation. **1247.** Revolt of Parma and execution of Peter de Vinca.

**1249.** Capture of Enzo.

Dec. 13th, **1250.** Death of Frederick II at Fiorentino.

## II. Personal Qualities.

His appearance was not impressive. An Arab writer who saw him in Jerusalem says, "The Emperor was red haired and bald, with weak sight; as a slave he would not have sold for more than 200 drachmas."

He was well educated. He spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew. He was a poet, and had a wide knowledge of many literatures. He was greatly interested in mathematics, architecture, painting and sculpture, medicine, natural history, chemistry and physics. The menageries he collected, and especially his elephant, aroused his subjects' interest.

He was not strong enough to win fame as a warrior, but was a competent strategist. He was fond of hunting and hawking, and wrote an excellent book on falconry.

His morals were Oriental, and the harem he kept at Nocera caused great scandal.

## III. Frederick and his Age.

Unlike Barbarossa, who represents the highest type of the man of the Middle Ages, Frederick II was out of sympathy with his age. Intellectually he was far above, morally below, the standard of the times; his religion, even his immorality differed from those of his contem-

poraries. Nationality was becoming an important factor in Western Europe, but Frederick was raised above national sentiment by his Imperial position, and the demands of Germany and Lombardy prevented him from becoming a national king in Sicily. His leaning towards Oriental ideas offended his contemporaries, who denied to Saracen men any virtue save bravery, and regarded Saracen women as incapable of any virtue at all. The religious toleration he extended towards his Greek, Saracen and Hebrew subjects was inconsistent with the spirit of the age. He gained a great success in the Holy Land by diplomatic concessions, but warlike methods were the only means of which the orthodox approved in the crusades.

#### IV. Frederick's Statesmanship.

As a statesman Frederick had no single purpose. He supported the cause of the Empire against the Papacy, but his actions were largely due to personal resentment against the Popes. To leave himself free to oppose the Papacy in Italy he diminished the royal power in Germany and thus deprived the Empire of the German help which had proved so valuable to Saxon and Franconian Emperors. He made himself master of Naples and Sicily, but the task of conquering and organising his southern kingdom distracted his forces and caused him to oppose his suzerain the Pope.

Frederick displayed constructive statesmanship in Sicily, but he founded nothing and left little behind him. He was the last great Emperor, the last King of Burgundy, the last effective King of Italy and Germany, the last Christian King of Jerusalem. "With all his brilliant gifts he was but the most dazzling of the long line of Imperial failures."

#### V. The Religion of Frederick.

Frederick's ecclesiastical policy is variously explained. **Freeman** asserted that like Henry VIII of England, Frederick "wished to bring the spiritual power under

the control of the temporal and to transfer to the King the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope." Others hold that he saw there was a necessary difference between the Empire and the Papacy, and strove to exalt the temporal at the expense of the spiritual. Whatever is the correct explanation, Frederick was the fierce opponent of the Papacy, and the object of the bitter attacks of the Mendicants, the champions of the Popes.

Frederick always asserted the orthodoxy of his belief, but orthodoxy did not involve chastity, and his immorality and rash statements, such as that about the three impostors (page 205), weakened his cause. But he was educated under the care of Innocent III, and his early training partly accounts for his faults; much of his later life was embittered by excommunications, some of which were manifestly unjust. He would never have been a truly religious man; but his own age made him worse than he might have been. And the man who won the devoted affection of Thaddeus of Suessa, of Hermann of Salza and the Archbishop of Palermo cannot have lacked all good qualities.

## VI. General.

Most will agree with the justice of the contemporary criticism which declared that Frederick II was "stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis." In some ways he anticipated future developments, notably in his establishment of representative government; the real revival of letters in Sicily, which was due to his patronage, was an anticipation of the Renaissance. But although his example continued, his actual work disappeared. His wonderful innovations lacked permanence.

Frederick may also be regarded as closing an epoch. At his death the old Holy Roman Empire disappeared, the growing nationality of Germany was checked, the attempt to establish a monarchy over the whole of Italy came to an end.

**Reference :** *Essay on Frederick II* (Freeman).



## THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN

The struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy continued after the death of Frederick II. His second son Conrad, King of the Romans, claimed the Empire, although he was never crowned at Rome, and Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick, governed Naples and Sicily for Conrad.

### I. The Emperor Conrad IV, 1250-1254.

#### A. Innocent IV claimed Sicily.

The implacable and avaricious Innocent IV left Lyons on the death of Frederick II, was enthusiastically welcomed by the Guelf cities of Lombardy and by Genoa, and received offers of help from the rulers of France, England and Castile. He claimed that Naples and Sicily had reverted to him as suzerain on Frederick's death. A rebellion broke out against Manfred, and Capua and Naples held out against him.

#### B. Conrad IV invaded Italy.

**1252.** Conrad left Germany, where he had failed to conquer William of Holland, was well received by Manfred, recaptured Capua and Naples. But Conrad was weakened by a quarrel with Manfred, by the death of some of his leading supporters in Germany, by the death, in **1253**, of his half-brother Henry, son of Frederick II and Isabella of England. Conrad IV, who had been falsely accused by the Pope of poisoning Henry, died May 21st, **1254**. His son Conradin, only two years old, was now the only legitimate heir of Frederick II.

### II. Manfred.

#### A. Manfred and Innocent IV.

Berthold of Hohenburg, the new regent, was unable to resist the Pope, who had reasserted his suzerainty over Sicily. At the request of those who supported the

Hohenstaufen cause, or hated the Pope, or desired the independence of Sicily, Manfred became Regent. He was reconciled to Innocent IV, but, finding the Pope determined to maintain his overlordship, appealed to the Saracens of Nocera and raised an army. Innocent IV, finding that Edmund of England, to whom he had offered the crown, could not help him, offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. Innocent died December 7th, **1254**.

**B. Alexander IV, 1254-1261.**

The new Pope left Naples owing to Manfred's growing power, made a new arrangement with Henry III of England, who again accepted the throne for Edmund, who was to pay an annual tribute to the Pope of 2000 ounces of gold. The English sent no help to the Pope, and Manfred secured Naples and, in **1256**, Sicily. He made an alliance with Brancalcione, Senator of Rome, who drove the Pope from Rome, secured the support of the Ghibelline towns in Lombardy and also of Venice and Genoa.

**1258.** On rumours of the death of Conradin, Manfred was crowned King of Naples and Sicily. The power of the Ghibellines, which had been weakened by the death in captivity of Eccelin da Romano in **1259**, was greatly strengthened by the victory of Siena over the Guelfic city of Florence at Montaperto in **1260**. Alexander IV died in **1261**.

**C. Charles of Anjou.**

Manfred, the head of the Italian Ghibellines and master of Naples and Sicily, was now so powerful that Urban IV, realising the weakness of the youthful Edmund of England, followed the example of Innocent IV and offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, the younger brother of St. Louis, a powerful and ambitious prince who held Provence in right of his wife. The Romans elected him Senator, but he promised the Pope

to resign this office when he secured his kingdom, and was crowned King of Naples and Sicily, **1266**. He invaded Apulia, and Manfred was defeated and slain at Benevento,<sup>1</sup> February 26th, **1267**.

### III. Conradin.

The position of Charles was strengthened by the success of the Florentine Guelfs, who expelled their Ghibelline conquerors and elected Charles lord of Florence for ten years. The atrocious cruelty of his supporters roused strong opposition in Naples, Tuscany and Milan. Pope Clement IV protested in vain; the Romans chose as their Senator Henry of Castile. Conradin, a youth of fifteen, realising that he could do little in Germany, accepted the invitation of the people of Naples and Sicily and came to Italy with a small German army in October, **1267**. He was heartily welcomed as King of Sicily in Verona, Pavia, Pisa and Rome, and advanced south, hoping to take advantage of the revolts that had broken out against Charles among the Saracens of Nocera and the people of Sicily. But he was routed at Tagliacozzo, August 23rd, **1268**, and executed soon afterwards, at Naples, with his friend, Frederick of Austria.

### IV. General.

A. The great struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy ended with the death of Conradin, for Enzo, Frederick II's only surviving son, who had been captured in **1249**, remained a prisoner until his death in **1272**. The Papacy was victorious, the Hohenstaufen were wiped out. The Imperial power was ruined and was further discredited by the Great Interregnum, **1256-1273**.

B. The battle of Tagliacozzo finally broke the union between Germany and Sicily which had resulted from the marriage

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes called the battle of Grandella.

of Henry (VI) to Constance in 1186 (page 163). The kingdom of Naples and Sicily passed to Charles of Anjou but was soon divided, Naples remaining under the sway of Charles' descendants, Sicily passing into the power of the House of Aragon. Both the Neapolitan and the Sicilian kings called themselves "King of Sicily," and the southern dominions of Frederick II were therefore called "The Kingdom of the two Sicilies."

- C. The Papacy ultimately owed its victory to the help of Charles of Anjou, but Urban IV's action in securing French intervention set a precedent which brought disaster to Italy and seriously hindered the development of Italian nationality.
- D. The power of the Popes was impaired by the struggle; the personal hatred shown against Frederick II, the injustice with which he was treated, the avarice of Innocent IV, the claims to temporal suzerainty weakened the moral influence of the Papacy. His own capital was often hostile to the Pope, Rome declared for Manfred and later for Conradin, the Popes were often compelled to leave Rome, and Alexander IV never entered the city after his election. The statement of papal claims provoked counter assertions of national independence, and the principle of the unity of Christendom under the spiritual leadership of the Pope was weakened. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, said to have been issued by St. Louis in 1260 in defence of the Gallican Church, was a forgery, but the Babylonish Captivity, 1305-1377, was soon to make the Pope dependent on the French King.
- E. Germany. The struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy greatly weakened the German monarchy and led to the growth of the independence of princes and towns. The country was appropriately called "The Germanies"; national unity became impossible.

F. Italy. The struggle distracted Italy. The Guelfs and Ghibellines continued their strife long after the names had lost their original meaning; the divisions between the towns, e.g. Rome and Tivoli, Florence and Siena, and between parties in the same town continued. The formation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies added a new element of discord. Eccelin da Romano, and other nobles, profited by their opportunity to establish "tyrannies," and may be regarded as the first of the long line of tyrants who played a great part in the history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Popes, who soon became Italian sovereigns, "proved almost as great an obstacle as the Empire to national union."

**References :**

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. XXI.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, Book XI, chaps. II and III

## THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY, 800-1268

The death of Conradin marked the close of the age of the Empire and the Papacy. The growth of national states weakened their importance, and although they both continued to exist, the Empire had become little more than a name and the influence of the Papacy was diminished.

The struggle between the two had been a struggle about an idea—the Unity of Latin Christendom. It had been the most prominent part of the duel between the spiritual and temporal powers. It raised entirely new problems different from those which had engaged the attention of Aristotle and Plato, and of the Early Fathers. It kept alive the study of political ideals, raised important questions such as those of the divine right of

kings, of national religion, of religious toleration. It retarded the development of nationality in Germany<sup>1</sup> and Italy, and profoundly affected the growth of municipal ideals. Its effect on later history was seen in the Reformation, which was largely anti-papal, and perhaps in the growth of the Imperial idea in Germany in the nineteenth century.

The history of the Empire and Papacy is most important, but feudalism played a great part both in relation to the Papacy and to national development. It has been maintained that the great struggle of the Middle Ages was between Feudalism and the Papacy, not between the Empire and the Papacy.

## I. The Empire.

### A. Theory of the Empire.

- (1) The Empire was the mediæval continuation of the old Empire of Rome; the Emperors were the successors of the Cæsars and claimed authority over the world. But a distinction was drawn "between Feudal sovereignty, which supposes the prince original owner of the soil of his whole kingdom, and Imperial sovereignty which is irrespective of place, and exercised not over things but over men, as God's rational creatures" (Bryce).
- (2) The Emperors claimed to be the representative of God in temporal matters, asserted that they held their power of God alone. The object of their rule was so to direct the temporal policy of the world that men might "be able to pursue undisturbed the spiritual life"; it was therefore their duty to maintain peace and to act as champion or "Advocate" of the Church. It was their duty also to see that the Pope was worthy of his office, to depose the unworthy, to appoint men who would promote the best interests of the Church; Henry III (page 109) deposed three Popes and nominated five, Frederick Barbarossa declared that

<sup>1</sup> See later note on the Empire and Germany.

## EUROPEAN HISTORY

“ the Divine Providence has specially appointed the Roman Empire as a remedy against continual schism.”

- (3) There was thus an element of spirituality in the Empire ; at his coronation the Emperor took minor orders as a subdeacon ; Frederick I prefixed the adjective Holy to the title of Roman Emperor ; Luitprand called Otto I “ imperator sanctissimus ” ; Frederick II referred to his birthplace, Jesi, as “ Bethlehem nostra.” These illustrations show that the Empire was regarded as the visible Church of God “ seen on its secular side ” ; the assertion of the sanctity of the Empire was a reply to the contention that it was purely secular, and perhaps an attempt to find divine sanction for brute force. The addition of the word “ Holy ” added to the dignity though not to the power of the Empire.

#### B. The Imperial theory was ineffective.

But the Imperial idea never became effective.

- (1) The authority of the Emperor was never fully acknowledged, even in Western Europe ; no act of sovereignty was exercised by any of the Emperors in Spain or England, or by any Emperor after Otto I in France. Venice was never subject to the Empire. The supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire was emphatically repudiated by the Byzantine Emperors.
- (2) The Empire left little, if any, legislation after the death of Charlemagne ; it created no stable institutions ; it had no system of finance ; the Imperial domain gradually became smaller owing to grants made to secure the help of powerful princes ; the Emperors owed their power not to the Empire but to their German duchies, to their German or Sicilian kingdoms.
- (3) The Empire was weakened by the fact that it never became hereditary, and repeated elections and the accession of children afforded opportunities for disension and opposition.

- (4) The Empire was often opposed to local feeling, which provoked the resistance of Bavaria to the Saxon Emperors, of Saxony to the Swabian, of Italy to German rule, while the Guelfs formed a standing opposition. In course of time the growth of national feeling (of which vernacular literature was one expression), the territorial ambition of the Papacy and its own lack of material resources led to the ruin of the Empire.

C. The difference between the Empire and national monarchy.

The Empire was non-national. Its origin and Roman associations, its universal and ecclesiastical character, the fact that it was elective and not hereditary, the jurisdiction it claimed over different countries, its title, its lack of organisation and of an effective centre or capital made the Empire different from and weaker than national monarchies, even though the feeling of nationality was generally indefinite.

D. The importance of the Empire.

In spite of its real weakness the Empire survived, and sometimes flourished, from **800** to **1268**. It stood for the grandeur of Ancient Rome, the mistress of the known world. Being Roman, the Emperor was of no nation; the language of Rome was the vehicle of law, religion and diplomacy; he was the temporal head of the Church, which claimed universal dominion; the orders of chivalry centred in the Empire. Thus the Empire became international and supernational, and this position was emphasised by the Imperial right of creating kings.

Thus the Empire emphasised the unity of the Christian world, notably when Frederick Barbarossa led the Third Crusade, and kept alive the idea of a common policy of Western Europe against Greeks and Saracens.

The Empire, especially Henry III (page 109), ren-



dered great service to the cause of civilisation and Christianity by raising the Papacy out of the degradation into which it had fallen in the eleventh century.

## II. The Papacy.

### A. Growth of the papal power.

- (1) The Papacy gradually grew stronger (page 16).
- (2) The danger from the Lombards led to the coronation of Charlemagne (page 39), who insisted "on the omnipotence of his authority in all things ecclesiastical and moral as well as in civil matters." The Pornocracy (page 76) further degraded the Papacy. The Emperors maintained the supremacy Charlemagne had won, and during the eleventh century raised the Papacy from the degradation into which it had fallen.
- (3) The reformed Papacy gave the right of electing the Pope to the College of Cardinals, **1059**, condemned feudal investitures, and by the submission of Henry IV at Canossa, **1077**, extorted the recognition of the absolute superiority of the spiritual dominion of the Pope.
- (4) Gregory VII strongly maintained that the Empire was a grant from the Papacy (the fact that the Pope placed the crown on the Emperor's head was most important in this connection) and that the grant could be revoked by the Pope.

### B. The spiritual supremacy of the Papacy.

The belief in the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was universally held by Latin Christians who regarded the Papacy as a divine appointment and the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, as the apostle and vicegerent of God. The Sacraments were necessary for salvation, and these depended on the Pope, who by excommunication could deprive an individual, by interdict a community, of these essential means of grace.

By the beginning of the twelfth century the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal, the assertion of which had been one of the features of the Cluniac Reformation, was generally acknowledged, and this recognition greatly strengthened the Papacy which, at its best, asserted the eternal principles of justice, righteousness and humanity.

C. The temporal power of the Papacy.

- (1) The Popes repeatedly availed themselves of the temporal power of sovereigns to protect them; in the case of Charlemagne against the Lombards, of Otto I against the Roman barons, of Robert Guiscard against Henry IV.
- (2) The Popes tried to secure territory for the Papacy and, relying on the Forged Donation of Constantine, issued probably between 755 and 766, claimed "the city of Rome, the provinces of all Italy and of the regions of the west." Under the will of the Countess Matilda they claimed Tuscany; the homage of the Normans acknowledged their suzerainty over Sicily; the papal overlordship was acknowledged by Sancho, King of Portugal, Pedro, King of Aragon in 1204, John, King of England in 1213. Pope Nicholas III (1277-1281) made the Papacy a territorial power, while Rudolf of Hapsburg in 1275 confirmed to Gregory X all territory in Italy which had previously been ceded to the Papacy.

Leo IX led an army against the Normans; the crusades made the Pope to some extent the military suzerain of Europe.

In the struggle between Frederick II and the Papacy political questions were important, e.g. the papal suzerainty over Sicily, the success of Frederick against the Lombards, the kingship of Germany.

- (3) But the temporal power of the Pope was impaired by the hostility of Rome, in which there was always an

Imperialist party and a fickle populace on whom no reliance could be placed ; and by the great difficulty the Popes experienced in securing effective possession of the territories they claimed. The undaunted bravery of the Popes in continuing a contest in which they were often fighting against overwhelming odds was due, not to their temporal power, but to their belief that they were fighting for spiritual issues.

- (4) The Popes based their temporal authority on their admitted spiritual supremacy. Gregory IX asserted that " with his authority, in whose hands are the keys of heaven and hell, whose word can bestow eternal bliss or plunge in everlasting misery, no other earthly authority can compete or interfere : if his power extends into the infinite, how much more must he be supreme over things finite ? " He claimed that as he could bind and loose in heaven, he could bind and loose on earth and could appoint and depose Emperors and kings.

Innocent III claimed that " the priesthood is as much more worthy than the kingship as the soul than the body," and asserted that the Pope had transferred the Empire from Constantinople to Rome and that the Empire was granted as an investiture by the Pope.

Gregory IX maintained that the two keys of St. Peter represented the spiritual and temporal powers, and that the Pope, as successor to St. Peter was both spiritual and temporal lord of Christendom.

### III. General.

It is generally true that of the two tendencies of this period the Cosmopolitan, Papal, Imperial, Universal was overcome by the National, Vernacular, Local tendency.

#### Reference :

*The Holy Roman Empire* (Bryce), *passim*.

## THE EMPIRE AND GERMANY

The struggle between the Empire and Papacy had most important results on the history of Germany.

### I. The Empire and the German Monarchy.

The connection with the Empire weakened the German monarchy. The monarchy to some extent was affected by the vagueness and the "shadowy character" of the Empire; the monarchy suffered from the reverses inflicted by the Papacy on the Empire; the attempt of the Emperors to establish their claims to the thrones of Italy and Sicily drained Germany, particularly Southern Germany, of men and money, and led to the absence of the Emperors from their German kingdom. The failure of the Emperors to secure the hereditary succession to the Empire prevented the establishment of a hereditary monarchy; disputed elections led to civil war and prevented the establishment of a strong central power. "The German kingdom broke down beneath the weight of the Roman Empire."

### II. The Empire and the Race Problem of Germany.

Racial differences, which still affect German politics, played a most important part in the Middle Ages. Racial feeling was particularly strong in Saxony, where the race was purest, and was strengthened by constant wars of defence and offence against Danes and Slavs.

- A. The Saxon Emperors received the strong support of their duchy; the continued fidelity of the Billungs and constant wars against the Slavs checked tendencies to disruption under Henry II; but the Saxons plotted against Henry III, and Henry IV's attempt to break the Saxon national spirit by erecting castles in the Hartz Mountains aroused strong feeling. The Saxon revolts played an important part in the struggle between Henry IV

and Gregory VII, but did not lead to the abandonment of Saxony by the Emperors.

- B. As long as Henry the Lion remained faithful Saxony gave no trouble to Frederick Barbarossa. The suppression of the revolt of Henry the Lion and the division of the duchy (page 166) ensured the continuance of Imperial authority over Saxony, and led to an increase in the power of the Saxon nobility, especially the smaller feudal nobles.
- C. The weakening of their power in Germany which resulted from the Italian schemes of Henry VI and Frederick II led those monarchs practically to abandon the old Saxon duchy which was so fully engaged in repelling Danish attacks that it was unable, even if it had been willing, to assist the Emperor in Italy.
- D. Largely owing to Saxon influence the divergence between Northern and Southern Germany was accentuated. The conquest of the Slavs, the successful resistance to the Danes, the conquest of Prussia, the colonisation of Livland were North German and not Imperial achievements. Bishopsrics in the Slav countries (e.g. Oldenburg) depended on the Duke of Saxony and not on the Emperor.

### III. The Emperors and German Territorialism.

- A. The maintenance of the Royal and Imperial authority.
- (1) The earlier Mediæval Emperors had frequently to suppress revolts in the German duchies, especially at their accession.
  - (2) They tried to ensure a hold on Germany by appointing their own relatives to duchies (e.g. Otto I in the case of Ludolf and Conrad), but the new dukes often rebelled.
  - (3) They tried to prevent tribal dukes from succeeding by hereditary right, and this attempt gained some

measure of success. A notable example of the Imperial power of transference was afforded by Frederick Barbarossa, who took the Duchy of Bavaria from the Guelfs and transferred it to the Wittelsbachs.

- (4) They tried to give official character to the dukes, but this attempt was not successful, and later they attempted to balance the power of local dukes by the appointment of Imperial palsgraves.
- (5) They succeeded, to a great extent, in winning over the German clergy by the grant of ecclesiastical immunities, and many of the higher clergy supported the Imperial cause against the Popes and the German Guelfs.
- (6) The formation of a royal bureaucracy greatly strengthened the power of the Emperor, and the support of the "ministeriales" was of great value to Henry VI.

#### B. Concessions to the magnates.

With Otto IV, who was compelled to make great concessions to secure help against Philip of Swabia, began the capitulation of the monarchy to the territorial magnates. The tendency was strengthened by the acquisition of Sicily in 1186, which distracted the attention of the Emperors from Germany and gave them a new centre of their Empire, a source of revenue and, especially under Frederick II, a strong military force.

The Emperors renounced the *jus regale*—the right to the profits of vacant sees; the *jus spolii*—the right to the private property of deceased ecclesiastics. They granted to bishops and princes the power of fortifying their towns, of presiding in local law courts and interpreting the customary law. They exempted the magnates from the jurisdiction of royal officers, limited the royal rights of toll and coinage in favour of the princes, and tried to check the growing power of the towns which threatened

to set up a rival to the power of the magnates. Frederick II's action in renewing and confirming the "Statutum in favorem Principum," which King Henry VII had issued in 1231, may be regarded as a successful effort to outbid his son for the support of the princes.

C. The effect of these concessions.

Under the Saxon Emperors Germany was beginning to become a united nation. But their failure to make the Empire hereditary and the policy of the later Hohenstaufen checked the development of nationality in Germany. Bavaria became independent, the separation between Northern and Southern Germany was more marked, the Emperor lost his hold on Alsace, and, on the death of Frederick II, Swabia split up into a number of small states.

IV. Tendencies to Union.

But racial differences were modified and the national idea was kept alive by two forces which had no connection with the Empire; by the gradual adoption of High German as a national tongue, which was partly due to the Crusades; by the union of the different parts of Germany in the defence and extension of the eastern borders.

## THE ANGEVINS<sup>1</sup> IN NAPLES AND SICILY, 1268-1302

The battles of Benevento or Grandella, 1267, and Tagliacozzo, 1268, made Charles of Anjou master of Naples and Sicily; he was the head of the Guelfic party in Italy, he had been appointed Vicar of the Empire by the Pope during the Great Interregnum, he was supported by important cities in Lombardy and Tuscany, he seemed likely to become master of Italy. He had married his daughter to the heir of Baldwin II, the last of the Latin Emperors

<sup>1</sup> Page 331.

of Constantinople, who had been driven into exile, and was anxious to secure Constantinople nominally for his son-in-law, really for himself.

### I. The Popes and Charles of Anjou.

Up to 1268 the Popes had depended upon the support of Charles against the Hohenstaufen. But after the battle of Tagliacozzo that support was no longer necessary. The Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273-1291) confirmed the Pope in the possession of all territories in Italy which his predecessors had ceded to the Papacy, and the Popes took steps to curb the dangerous power of Charles.

Gregory X (1271-1276) tried to reconcile Guelfs and Ghibellines and to secure the acknowledgment by the West of the Greek Emperor, Michael Palaeologus, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. He gained some measure of success; the two Churches were formally reconciled at the Council of Lyons, 1274, better relations were established between Guelfs and Ghibellines, but his death prevented the full accomplishment of his purpose.

Nicholas III (1277-1281) supported the Ghibellines and, while recognising the authority of Charles in his own kingdom, desired to put his kinsmen the Orsini on two new Italian thrones which would have limited the influence of Charles.

Martin IV (1281-1285), a Frenchman, strongly supported Charles, opposed the Ghibellines, and Charles, in alliance with Venice, prepared to attack Constantinople.

### II. The Sicilian Vespers, 1282.

The appalling cruelty, avarice and immorality of the French had roused national feeling in Sicily. John of Procida, formerly physician to Frederick II, fled from Sicily to the court of Pedro III of Aragon, who had married Constance, daughter of Manfred, and claimed



Sicily in right of his wife ; Palæologus, Pope Nicholas III and the Sicilian nobles supported John of Procida's schemes against Charles.

The rebellion broke out unexpectedly on March 30th, 1282, owing to an insult offered by a Frenchman to a Sicilian girl at Palermo, where four thousand Frenchmen, including many priests and friars, were slain in one evening. The insurrection spread, Messina was captured, and by the end of April the Frenchmen had been driven from Sicily. The Sicilian towns had saved their country, a provisional government was established, the rights of the Church were respected, and the crown was offered to Pedro III of Aragon.

Martin IV excommunicated the rebels and proclaimed a crusade against Sicily. Charles of Anjou laid siege to Messina, but the arrival of Pedro of Aragon and a strong Catalan fleet under Roger di Loria compelled him to raise the siege.

### III. The Struggle for Sicily.

#### A. The death of the leaders, 1285.

Martin IV issued a sentence depriving Pedro of the crowns of Sicily and Aragon, and offered the latter to Charles of Valois, second son of Philip the Bold ; he won over the Venetians who were inclined to support Pedro. But Roger di Loria in 1283 captured Charles the Lame, son of Charles of Anjou, and in 1285 Martin IV, Charles of Anjou and Pedro of Aragon died ; the deaths of the two former and the imprisonment of Charles the Lame greatly weakened the Angevin cause.

#### James of Aragon, 1285-1291.

Pedro's second son, James, succeeded him on the throne of Sicily. In 1288 Charles the Lame, now King of Naples, was released from captivity on agreeing to renounce his claims to Sicily, but Pope Nicholas IV annulled the treaty on the ground that Charles had no right to surrender a papal fief, and the war continued.

## C. Frederick of Aragon, 1296-1337.

James succeeded his elder brother Alfonso as King of Aragon in 1291, and renounced the crown of Sicily. But the Sicilians elected his younger brother, Frederick, king; an attack on Sicily by Charles of Valois<sup>1</sup> was repulsed, and in 1302 a treaty was made by which Frederick, who married Charles the Lame's sister, was recognised as King of Sicily, but his kingdom was to pass to the Angevins on his death.

**References :**

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 24-26.  
*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, Book XI, chap. v.

## THE LATER EMPIRE AND PAPACY, 1268-1494

With the fall of the Hohenstaufen the great age of the Empire and Papacy came to an end. The rivalry between the two was no longer the leading historical problem in the West.

**I. The Empire.**

A. Germany and Italy were separated. The Emperor could no longer use the resources of the one to coerce the other. When the Emperor went to Italy he went rather as the head of the Ghibellines than as the head of Western Christendom.

B. The right of electing the Emperor passed to the Seven Electors, and the Electors were unwilling to elect an Emperor who was strong enough to deprive the nobles of the large measure of independence they had gained. Emperors so elected used their position, not to establish a strong monarchy in Germany, but to aggrandise their own families.

<sup>1</sup> See also page 255.

- C. The Empire lost something of its German character, and the candidates for the office in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries included Alfonso of Castile, Charles of Valois, Edward III of England.

### **I. The Papacy.**

Boniface VIII asserted the absolute supremacy of the Papacy, particularly in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, 1302. But on his death in 1303 the mediæval Papacy came to an end.

- A. The Papacy became weaker, and during the Babylonish Captivity the Popes were refugees in France, largely dependent upon the good will of the French King. The Papacy therefore lost to some extent its universality.
- B. The supremacy of the Papacy was now challenged, not from without the Church as in the ninth, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but from within by the Conciliar movement which asserted the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope.
- C. The Popes during the fifteenth century tended to become secular princes, aiming at securing territorial possessions for their relatives.

### **III. The Growth of Nationality.**

Community of interest, the necessity of union for effective defence against foreign foes, the growth of the royal power were some of the causes which led to the development of national feeling, particularly in France and England.

This national feeling involved growing reluctance to admit the supremacy of any foreign power, and papal claims to authority which had been enforced in early years were now repudiated as inconsistent with national independence.

Sigismund tried to restore the prestige of the Empire by making it an international arbitrator, but the attempt failed and his successors were too weak to repeat it.

- V. But the Empire and Papacy continued, although deprived of much of their former glory. They were concerned directly or indirectly with many of the political problems of the time, and their history may still be regarded as an important issue in European politics.

## THE KINGDOM OF GERMANY FROM 1256-1313

### The Great Interregnum, 1256-1273.

#### A. William of Holland.

William of Holland was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen by the Papal Legate in **1247**; after Conrad's death William's title was recognised by the Rhenish cities and the Hohenstaufen party made no attempt to assert the claims of Conradin. William was never crowned at Rome and exercised no Imperial authority; his death in **1256** led to a contested election that had important results.

#### B. The contested election of **1257**.

##### (1) Desire for a neutral Emperor.

The fall of the Hohenstaufen, the failure of William of Holland had greatly weakened the Empire, but the glamour of the title survived and there was no thought of discontinuing an institution which had played so important a part in European history, and was regarded as a necessary part of the world's order. The Hohenstaufen were too weak to bring forward a candidate; the Rhenish archbishops, who had strong sympathy with the Guelfs, longed for peace; all parties sought a non-German candidate, but feared that if the powerful King Ottocar of Bohemia was elected he might check the rapidly growing independence of the magnates and bring part at least of Germany under his sway.

(2) The candidates.

Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, was a man of high position and great wealth. He was friendly to the Pope, although Frederick II had married his sister; he possessed no land in Germany and took little interest in Italian politics.

Alfonso X of Castile was supported by the French, who feared that the election of Richard would strengthen the power of England, and by some Italian Ghibellines who wanted an Emperor who would oppose the Guelfs.

(3) The Election, 1257.

The election took place at Frankfort. In January Richard of England secured the votes of the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and of the Count of Bavaria, who voted outside the gates, as the Archbishop of Trèves refused to allow them to enter the city. On April 1st the Archbishop of Trèves, the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg voted inside the city for Alfonso. Ottocar of Bohemia, although his right to vote was not finally established, voted for Richard. On this occasion the seven magnates "first definitely exercised the power that belonged to the Seven Electors of later times," the only question was the majority of the votes in the electoral college; no other magnates claimed the right to vote.

C. Richard of Cornwall.

Richard was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen in May, 1257. Alfonso wisely remained in Castile, and from 1257-1259 Richard, by means of bribery, established his position on the Rhine and broke up the strong league which the Rhine towns had made in 1254. He visited Germany three times between 1259 and 1272, but never secured real power over Germany, although he gained the nominal support of the magnates by making them grants from the royal domain and leaving

them a free hand. "For all practical purposes Germany had no king at all," and the country was in a state of anarchy. The lesser nobility were no longer checked by the great houses, and peace could be found only in the cities. Richard died in 1272 having failed to secure coronation by the Pope at Rome.

### I. Rudolf of Hapsburg, 1273-1291.

Pope Gregory X sincerely wished to improve the condition of Germany and found that papal revenues were diminished owing to the anarchy of the country; he wished to restore the Empire as a counterpoise to the dangerous power of Charles of Anjou, and therefore compelled the electors to choose a new Emperor.

Rudolf of Hapsburg was elected because he was too weak to limit the power of the magnates. He was elected King of the Romans in 1272 and crowned at Aachen, October 24th, 1273. He promised at his election to recover the domains of the Empire.

#### A. Rudolf and Italy.

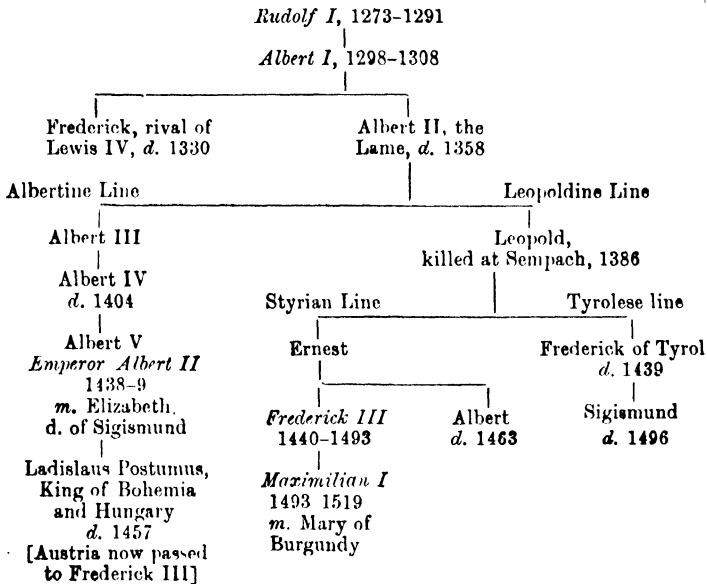
Rudolf gave up all idea of regaining the Imperial territory in Italy, to which he had no hereditary claim; he restored to Gregory X all the territory which had been ceded by Emperors to Popes; he acknowledged Charles of Anjou as King of Naples and Sicily. "To secure undisturbed freedom of action in Germany Rudolf resigned Italy to the Pope and the house of Anjou" (Lodge).

#### B. Rudolf and Germany.

- (1) Rudolf, whom Ottocar of Bohemia called "the pauper Count of Hapsburg," sought to strengthen the monarchy by forcing Ottocar to resign Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, which he had seized during the Interregnum. The inhabitants of these fiefs welcomed the opportunity of again coming under the authority of Germany, and supported Rudolf.

In 1277 Ottocar gave up the fiefs after Rudolf had captured Vienna. But fear of the growing power of the Hapsburgs led the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, the Duke of Bavaria and the Margrave of Brandenburg to support Ottocar, who in 1278 tried to regain what he had lost. But Frederick of Hohen-

### THE HAPSBURGS



Emperors (or Kings of the Romans) in italics.

zollern supported Rudolf, who defeated and slew Ottocar at Marchfield, and the four fiefs passed into the possession of his two sons and his son-in-law.

- (2) Rudolf's attempts to suppress private war and to regain the Imperial domains proved unsuccessful, and the electors refused to elect his son Albert king during his lifetime. Although Rudolf failed to make the

crown hereditary, he left the monarchy stronger than he had found it ; his son Albert soon secured Austria, Styria and Carniola, and the Hapsburg dynasty, thus firmly established, was greatly strengthened by the acquisition of Carinthia in **1335**.

#### C. Rudolf and the Swiss.

The counts of Hapsburg had long been striving to make themselves masters of the whole of Swabia, but their efforts were strongly resisted by the Forest Cantons of Switzerland, of which Uri had been declared by Frederick II independent of any power except the Emperor. When Rudolf became King of the Romans the Swiss acknowledged his Imperial suzerainty, but he was so busy in establishing the Hapsburg power in Austria that he could not make the Swiss cantons a family possession.

#### III. Adolf of Nassau, 1292-1298.

The great power and ambition of Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf of Hapsburg, who held Swabia and most of the Hapsburg territories in the East led the Electors, under the influence of the Archbishop of Mainz, to choose as King of the Romans Adolf of Nassau, who was so poor that he had to borrow the money to pay for his coronation. To secure the Imperial crown he alienated the Imperial domains in Germany ; made to the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trèves lavish promises which he could not possibly fulfil ; tried to win over the Rhine towns by abolishing tolls and to secure the support of the lesser nobles ; recognised and promised Imperial protection to the League of Perpetual Alliance formed in **1291**, on the death of Rudolf, by the Forest Cantons to maintain their independence of the Counts of Hapsburg.

He tried to restore Imperial authority in the Kingdom of Arles which Conrad II had secured in **1032** (page 105), but over which Philip IV of France was extending his



authority. For this purpose he made an alliance with Edward I, but his attempt failed, largely owing to his inability to secure the help of the princes, who resented the favour he showed to the towns and lesser nobles and his success in securing Thuringia. The princes, led by Albert of Austria, rose against him ; he was deposed by the electors and slain in battle against Albert near Worms in **1298**.

#### IV. **Albert I (of Austria), 1298–1308.**

##### A. Germany.

In spite of his wealth and power the great part Albert of Austria had played in the rebellion which overthrew Adolf of Nassau ensured his election as King of the Romans in **1298**. But he was excommunicated for his share in Adolf's death by Pope Boniface VIII, who refused to ratify his election, and he was strongly opposed by the Rhenish archbishops who resented his action in remitting tolls on the Rhine and confirming the rights of the towns. His own resources, the support of the towns and the help of Philip IV of France enabled him to crush the opposition of the archbishops in **1302**. In the same year his excommunication was annulled and his new title recognised by Boniface VIII, whose quarrel with Philip IV compelled him to secure the friendship of Albert. By the Golden Bull of Nuremberg, **1303**, Albert acknowledged that the Popes had granted the Empire to Charlemagne, that his temporal power rested on his oath of allegiance to the Pope.

##### B. Bohemia.

**1306**. Albert gave the vacant crown of Bohemia to his son Rudolf, and thus greatly increased the power of his family. But Rudolf died in **1307**, and the Bohemians elected Henry of Carinthia as their King, thus depriving the Hapsburgs of the advantage they had obtained in the previous year. While preparing to invade Bohemia Albert was assassinated May 1st, **1308**.

## C. France.

In **1299** Albert made an alliance with Philip IV who, like himself, was at variance with the Papacy: in **1305** he helped the Angevin Canrobert to secure the Kingdom of Hungary; he failed to prevent the "Babylonish Captivity" of the Pope at Avignon, which greatly strengthened the influence of France over the Papacy.

## V. Henry VII (of Luxemburg), 1308-1313.

## A. Germany.

**1308.** Philip IV succeeded in preventing the election of Frederick, the son of Albert of Austria, as King of the Romans, but failed, owing to the Electors' opposition to the spread of French influence in Germany, to secure the success of his brother Charles of Valois. Henry of Luxemburg was elected partly because his possessions were small.

**1310.** Henry VII, taking advantage of a rebellion of the Bohemians against Henry of Carinthia, secured the throne of Bohemia for his son John and thus greatly increased the power of the House of Luxemburg who kept the throne of Bohemia until **1437**.

## B. Italy.

- (1) Henry of Luxemburg announced his determination to go to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. Pope Clement V, who took up his residence at Avignon in **1305**, supported Henry's policy largely because he feared the success of Charles of Valois which, added to the power of Philip IV and the presence of Frenchmen on the thrones of Hungary (above, C.) and Naples, would have made France the mistress of Western Europe. The Ghibellines gave Henry an enthusiastic welcome; in the *De Monarchia* Dante represented him as exercising in temporal matters a universal domination, which was derived from the old Roman Empire and was sanctified by divine approval.

- (2) Papal Legates accompanied Henry, who declared that he was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, and impartially restored to the Lombard cities the exiles of both parties. He received the iron crown of Lombardy, **1311**, appointed Imperial vicars in the cities. But a levy of 100,000 florins was followed by a rising in Milan, and the example of Milan was followed by Crema, Cremona, Lodi and Brescia. The risings were easily suppressed except at Brescia, and Ghibelline Pisa received Henry gladly. But Florence, always a strong supporter of the Guelfs, refused to admit him; John of Naples, brother of King Robert, seized St. Peter's, and Henry was therefore crowned Emperor in St. John Lateran, June 29th, **1312**. Florence now formed a Guelfic League and Henry failed to capture the city. He died, either of fever or of poison administered by a Dominican monk, at Buonconvento in Tuscany, **1313**.

## VI. General.

### A. The German monarchy.

During this period the monarchy was further weakened by lavish grants of domain lands, regalian rights, advowsons of Churches made by kings to secure the support of magnates, churchmen and towns. The kings, finding they could not make the monarchy hereditary, used their position to aggrandise their families, and the foundation of the Houses of Hapsburg and Luxemburg is one of the most important events of the times. The authority of the King was nominal, and the rise of the Swiss Confederation, the beginning of the Hanseatic League, the success of the Teutonic Order in Prussia added to the divisions of Germany. The growth of these outlying parts, the development of the towns were far more important factors than the poor and powerless monarchy.

### B. The Empire.

Most of the kings wisely confined their attention to

Germany and gave up the Hohenstaufen policy; for sixty years no German monarch invaded Italy. The revival of Imperial claims by Henry of Luxemburg won the support of Clement V and the Pope became a Ghibelline, inspired Dante's noble theory of the Empire, and dazzled men with the glories of the past. But local interests proved too strong; the Emperor, who had tried to reconcile all parties under his authority, was compelled to become a Ghibelline and died in warfare against the Guelfs. "With Henry the Seventh ends the history of the Empire in Sicily, and Dante's book is an epitaph instead of a prophecy" (Bryce).

#### C. France.

The growing power of France, which, like England, had become a strong united kingdom, threatened Western Germany, particularly under Philip IV, who secured much of the Kingdom of Arles and took advantage of Henry VII's absence in Italy to secure the suzerainty of Lyons in 1312. Germany was now incapable of the strong united action which was necessary for successful resistance to France. The Hundred Years' War, in which the whole power of France was called upon to resist the English, probably saved Western Germany from conquest.

#### References :

- The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), Rivingtons, chap. I.  
*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XII, chap. IV.

### BONIFACE VIII, 1294-1303

Nicholas IV died in 1292, and dissensions between the Orsini and Colonnas in the Conclave delayed the election of a Pope. In 1294 the rival parties united to elect a pious hermit as Pope Celestine V. His utter ignorance of affairs and unsuitability for office led him to resign. Doubts were expressed as to the legality

of such a resignation, but in December, 1294, Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni was elected Pope, partly owing to his adroit management of the opposing factions, partly owing to the support of Charles II, the Lame, of Naples. To strengthen his position he kept Celestine V in prison, where he died, 1296.

### I. From the Accession of Boniface to the Papal Jubilee of 1300.

Boniface determined to make himself temporal and spiritual master of Christendom.

#### A. Italy.

##### (1) The Colonnas.

Although Boniface came from a Ghibelline city and family he believed that the support of the Guelfs was essential for the Papacy, became the head of that party and determined to crush the Colonnas, the leaders of the Roman Ghibellines, who denied the right of Celestine to resign and accused Boniface of obtaining the Papacy by fraud. In 1297 a Papal Bull excommunicated the Colonnas and confiscated all their property. A crusade was preached against them; the Orsini supported the Pope; in 1298 Palestrina, the chief Colonna stronghold, was utterly destroyed; the survivors of the family fled and Sciarra Colonna found shelter with Philip IV of France.

##### (2) Sicily.

Boniface supported the claim of the Angevin Charles the Lame of Naples to the throne of Sicily. James of Aragon, King of Sicily, had succeeded in 1291 to the throne of Aragon which Charles of Valois (page 243) claimed. Boniface formally granted Aragon to James on condition that he gave up the Kingdom of Sicily to Charles the Lame. Frederick of Aragon, younger brother of James, seized Sicily and was elected King at Palermo in 1296. He succeeded in retaining the kingdom in spite of Boniface, who

pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication on him and tried, with doubtful success, to induce James of Aragon to attack his brother in Sicily.

Boniface then invited Charles of Valois to attack Frederick. In 1301 Charles made himself master of Florence, where he broke the power of the Ghibelline party and drove Dante into exile; his military operations in Sicily failed, and in 1302 Frederick's claim was acknowledged. "Charles of Valois came to bring peace to Florence, and brought war; to wage war against Sicily, and concluded an ignominious peace."

## B. England and France.

### (1) The Bull Clericis Laicos, 1296.

- a. The seizure of Guienne by Philip IV in 1294 led to war between England and France, and the kings of both countries levied heavy taxes on the clergy to meet the cost. Edward I demanded from the English clergy a subsidy of half their annual income, and Philip IV compelled the French, hitherto exempt from general taxation, to pay their share of a general levy.
- b. In order to promote peace and to protect the clergy from taxation by their own kings Boniface issued the Bull Clericis Laicos in 1296; the Bull asserted that laymen "have no power whatever" over ecclesiastical persons and ecclesiastical property, and forbade any tax to be levied on the property of the Church without the Pope's consent.
- c. Edward I therefore declared all the clergy of England to be outlaws; the clergy, led by Archbishop Winchelsea, admitted their liability to royal taxation, but compelled Edward to confirm the Charters<sup>1</sup>; thus abandoning "their

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on British History I.*, 51.

own ground of ecclesiastical immunities they took shelter under the liberties of the realm.”

Philip forbade the export from France of any valuables without permission of the Crown, and so deprived the Pope of all contributions from the French clergy; asserted that laymen were as truly members of the Church as the clergy, and that it was the duty of the clergy to contribute to the defence of the land.

(2) The Treaty of 1297.

By the end of 1297 the resources of England and France were exhausted and Edward and Philip accepted the arbitration of Boniface, not as Pope but in his private capacity. A treaty was made by which Edward received back Guienne on condition of paying homage to Philip; disputed territories were surrendered to papal officers pending a settlement. Edward married Philip's sister Margaret, his son married Philip's daughter Isabella. The penalty of a breach of the terms was to be an Interdict on the kingdom of the offender. Boniface's decision was issued in the form of a Bull, and only the Pope could pronounce an Interdict or issue a Bull. The treaty of 1297 was therefore a triumph for Pope Boniface VIII, not for Benedetto Gaetani.

(3) Boniface VIII and Scotland.

After the defeat of Wallace at Falkirk in 1298<sup>1</sup> the Scots appealed to Boniface, who in 1299 declared that Scotland belonged to the Papacy, repudiated Edward's claim of suzerainty over Scotland, and ordered him to accept the Pope's decision as to differences between him and the Scots.

[1301. The Parliament of Lincoln denied the Pope's claims and asserted the supremacy of the King of England over Scotland; owing to his great

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on British History*, I, 138.

quarrel with Philip IV, Boniface did not persist in his claim.]

### C. The Jubilee, 1300.

The Jubilee attracted to Rome a vast number of pilgrims whose lavish offerings filled the papal exchequer. Boniface showed himself to the pilgrims seated on the throne of Constantine, wearing crown and sceptre ; he had two swords carried before him to show that he claimed temporal as well as spiritual power, and shouted aloud " I am Caesar—I am Emperor."

## II The Fall of Boniface VIII.

In spite of his apparent triumph Boniface had to face strong opposition. He had roused the hatred of the higher Franciscans by refusing to annul the statute which forbade them to hold property ; he had incurred the enmity of the Fraticelli, the devoted admirers of Celestine, by his treatment of his predecessor ; the Ghibellines hated him as a Ghibelline who had turned Guelf ; the Colonnas had powerful friends in France and Sicily ; Frederick of Sicily was the Pope's enemy. The main cause of his downfall was his quarrel with Philip IV.

### A. Philip's position.

Philip was determined to bring all France, clergy and laity, under his direct authority. He resented the authority claimed by Boniface in the Bull *Clericis Laicos* and the favourable terms granted to his rebel vassal, the Count of Flanders, by the treaty of 1297. The development of civil law strengthened Philip's cause ; his chancellor, Peter Flotte, William de Nogaret and William de Plasian defended the royal claims according to legal principles and proved worthy opponents of the canon lawyers who supported the Pope. Philip's opposition to Boniface was strengthened by the presence at his court of Sciarra Colonna, whom he had ransomed from the pirates who captured him when he fled from Italy.



## B. The quarrel.

- (1) **1301.** Philip seized and imprisoned a Papal Legate, the Bishop of Pamiers, in Languedoc, on a charge of uttering "the foulest treasons against his temporal sovereign."
- 1301.** Boniface strongly protested against the imprisonment of a legate, and declared in the "Lesser Bull": "We would have you to know that you are subordinate in temporals as in spirituals." Philip replied, "Let your fatuity know that in temporals we are subordinate to none. . . . All who believe otherwise we hold to be fools and madmen."
- (2) A Papal Bull was publicly burned in Paris in the King's presence, and the States General, summoned for the first time, April 10th, **1302**, and including nobles, clergy and commonalty, strongly supported Philip in his refusal to recognise the temporal supremacy of the Pope.
- (3) In the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, June, **1302**, the Pope claimed that both the swords were in the power of the Pope, the spiritual to be used by the Church, the temporal for the Church, and pronounced "that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." The Bull *Unam Sanctam* "forms the high-water mark of papal pretensions."
- (4) Boniface summoned the leading prelates of France to go to Rome in November, **1302**, but Philip forbade them to go on pain of the confiscation of their property ;
- (5) Therefore the Pope, who attached too much importance to his own reconciliation with Albert of Austria (page 250), and to the severe defeat of Philip IV by the Flemings at Courtrai, July 11th, **1302**, excommunicated Philip, April, **1303**.
- (6) March, **1303**. William de Nogaret, whose opposition to the Pope was stimulated by the fact that some of

his own family had been slain by the Inquisition, formally charged Boniface before a Parliament in Paris with fraudulent usurpation of the Holy See, heresy, simony and many crimes. He demanded that a General Council should meet to try the Pope and declared that the King of France had the power to call such a Council. At a second Parliament in Paris in June, 1303, William de Plasian accused Boniface of heresy (e.g. denial of the Real Presence, of the immortality of the soul), of condoning immorality, of the practice of magic, of devil worship. Philip made a formal appeal to a "Great Council and a legitimate Pope," and was supported by the clergy of France and the University of Paris.

C. The death of Boniface, October 11th, 1303.

In August Boniface denied on oath the charges of heresy, declared that no king had the right of accusing a Pope of heresy, and that "without us no General Council can be held." He repeated his former charges against Philip, adding one of entertaining the Colonnas; again declared Philip excommunicate and released his subjects from allegiance. The new Bull of excommunication was to be published on September 8th.

September 7th, 1303. William de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna suddenly entered Anagni and captured Boniface, led him, mounted on a vicious horse with his face to the tail, to prison. He was rescued and went to Rome, but the Orsini turned against him, demanded the recall of the Colonnas and, on his refusal to grant their demand, imprisoned him. He died in prison, October 11th, 1303.

### III The Importance of Boniface.

- A Boniface VIII claimed for the Papacy absolute supremacy in all things, both spiritual and temporal, and in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* the papal claims reached their height; he "surveyed Christendom with the haughty eye of a master"; he believed that the power of the Papacy

was unlimited and irresistible. In 1300 he seemed to have asserted his claims with success. He had settled the succession to the crown of Hungary, forced his mediation upon the kings of England and France, secured admissions of papal suzerainty over Scotland, Aragon and Valencia. At the Jubilee he publicly proclaimed his supremacy over Christendom.

- B. But he lacked the statesmanship to see that conditions had changed. The Papacy had defeated the Empire, but the Empire had lost its power and become little more than a splendid illusion. Boniface failed to appreciate the growth of the royal power in France, of the desire for religious and civil freedom in England, and of the development of national feeling in both countries; the growth of civil law and the rise of the civil lawyers in France supplied a new element that proved a most dangerous opponent to papal claims. The papal power had reached its zenith and the extravagant pretensions of Boniface could not be maintained in the new conditions. Boniface was the last of the Mediæval Popes, and found to his cost that nationalism was a far more dangerous opponent than the Mediæval Empire.
- C. His fall was accelerated by the personal hatred aroused by his rapacity, haughtiness and vindictiveness. Philip did not rest until he had procured the judgment of a General Council on the charges he made against Boniface, and though the Council of Vienne acquitted the Pope, the fact that a Pope was liable to trial by a General Council impaired the prestige of the Papacy which had suffered from the indignities placed upon Boniface at the end of his life. His enemies declared that "he came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog."

**Reference :** *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XI,  
chaps. VII-IX.

**CLEMENT V, 1305-1314**

Benedict XI (1303-1304) adopted a conciliatory policy, absolved Philip IV from excommunication and restored the Colonnas. But Philip's personal hatred of Boniface VIII and his determination to bring his charges against this Pope before a General Council led Benedict XI in 1304 to excommunicate all who had been concerned in the tragedy at Anagni. The renewal of the quarrel between Philip and the Papacy was prevented only by the sudden death of Benedict, July 27th, 1304. The cause was probably dysentery and not, as many asserted, poison administered by Philip's contrivance.

**I. The Election of Clement V, June 5th, 1305.**

After a delay of ten months Bernard de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected Pope and took the title of Clement V. His election was partly due to the belief that he was an enemy of Philip IV, but he secured Philip's support by promising, if elected, to absolve all who had helped Philip against Boniface and to call a General Council to try the memory of Boniface. A secret condition may have been the condemnation of the Templars. Clement at once abrogated the Bull Clericis Laicos, mitigated the Unam Sanctam, granted Philip full absolution and a tenth of clerical revenues in France for eight years.

Clement vainly tried to divert Philip from his purpose by attempting to secure the throne of Constantinople for Charles of Valois, by establishing the Angevin Canrobert on the throne of Hungary, by remitting the vast debt owed by Charles II of Anjou, King of Naples, to the Papacy, and giving absolution to William de Nogaret (page 257-8). In the hope that Philip's avarice might prove greater than his hatred of Boniface, Clement sanctioned proceedings against the Templars, on whose enormous wealth Philip, always in need of money, looked with greedy eyes.

## II. The Condemnation of the Templars.

A. The Templars, founded **1118** to protect pilgrims to Jerusalem, owed their position to Papal Charters, particularly that issued by Alexander III in **1172**, and were subject to the Pope alone. They left Palestine on the fall of Acre in **1291**; unlike the Hospitallers who conquered Rhodes in **1309**, the Templars undertook no new service for Christendom, but retired to their rich estates in France and elsewhere, bringing much treasure from the East; Du Molay, the Grand Master, was said to have brought to Paris 150,000 gold florins and a vast amount of silver. Their wealth aroused Philip's avarice, their military power, independent of any lord save the Pope, seemed dangerous to the royal supremacy.

### B. Trial of the Templars.

The Templars were accused of denying Christ and spitting on the Cross at their initiation; of worshipping idols; of gross immorality; of making alliances with the Saracens; of omitting portions of the Mass from their services; of granting, in the case of the Grand Master, absolution even when not in holy orders.

On October 13th, **1308**, all the Templars in France were arrested without warning and imprisoned. The Grand Inquisitor tried the cases in Paris, Dominican friars in many other cities. The most appalling torture led some to confess that the charges were true, though many confessions were retracted.

Pope Clement V, startled by the rapidity of Philip's action, protested against the arrest of a whole religious Order by the royal power, and Philip, anxious to secure the Pope's support for Charles of Valois' candidature for the vacant Empire, stayed proceedings. In August, **1309**, a Papal Commission met at Paris to try the whole Order. Du Molay reminded the court of the splendour of the Templars' churches, of their generous almsgiving and bravery in the cause of Christ; he asserted his own strict orthodoxy. Many knights,

though weakened by imprisonment and torture, stoutly defended the Order; the Templars insisted that they could be tried by the Pope alone.

May 12th, 1310. Fifty-four Templars, declared relapsed heretics because they had retracted confessions forced from them by torture, were burned in Paris.

April 3rd, 1312. The Order of Templars was abolished by the Council of Vienne "on the absolute and sole authority of the Pope." The lands of the Templars were granted to the Hospitallers, but they had to pay so much to the King for their title that they were poorer for the grant. Most of the rich spoils of the Templars was kept by Philip IV.

**1314.** Du Molay, after a long imprisonment, was burned as a relapsed heretic in Paris.

### C. General.

Although individual knights may have been weakened in their belief owing to the influence of the Saracens, and although the conditions of life in the East undoubtedly led to cases of immoral conduct, the condemnation of the Order as a whole was utterly unjust. The confessions, procured by torture of the Templars and supported by hearsay evidence, were worthless; most of the confessions were subsequently recanted. Confessions were obtained in Naples, where French influence was strong; in England the Templars were sentenced to imprisonment in monasteries, but the general opinion was favourable to the Order; in Spain and Germany the Order was fully acquitted of all charges. In France "the Pope abandoned the Order to the King of France that he might avert, if possible, the condemnation of Boniface."

### III. The Council of Vienne, 1311-1312.

Philip IV, enraged by his failure to secure the Empire for his brother Charles of Valois (page 251), which was partly due to Clement's opposition, was not diverted by

the sacrifice of the Templars, from his determination to secure the trial of Boniface VIII before a General Council. William de Plasian and William de Nogaret accused Boniface before a Papal Consistory at Avignon in March, **1310**, of heresy, magic and other crimes, but Philip, tired of the long struggle, agreed to leave the judgment to the Pope.

The Council of Vienne suppressed the Order of Templars, condemned the Fraticelli or extreme Franciscans, and acquitted Boniface VIII of the crimes with which he was charged.

#### IV. General.

- A. In **1309** Clement V took up his residence in Avignon which belonged to Robert, the Angevin King of Naples, who maintained friendly relations with Philip IV. The Kingdom of France surrounded Avignon and thus Clement was exposed to overwhelming French influence. The " Babylonish Captivity of the Popes," which lasted until Gregory XI returned to Rome in **1377**, impaired the power of the Papacy; it weakened the Guelfs in Italy and diminished the importance of Rome. In England, which was soon to commence the Hundred Years' War with France, it led to the issue of the Statutes of Provisors, **1351**, which forbade the " provision " of foreign clerks for English livings, and the first Statute of Praemunire, **1353**, which forbade suits cognisable in the King's courts to be referred to any foreign court. In Germany, which feared the rapidly growing power of Philip IV, the Babylonish captivity led to the denial of the Electors at Rhense in **1338** of the Pope's right to confirm the election of an Emperor.
- B. But in opposing the election of Charles of Valois as Emperor in **1308** Clement had saved Western Europe from the domination of France.
- C. Clement had succeeded in averting the condemnation of Boniface VIII. But the prestige of the Papacy was

gravely lowered by the establishment of the precedent that a King might appeal to a General Council against a Pope and prosecute him for heresy and immorality.

**References :**

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 30, 55.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XII, chaps. I, II,  
III, V.

*Historical and Literary Addresses* (Döllinger), John Murray :  
Lecture V : The Suppression of the Knights Templars.

**THE EMPEROR LEWIS IV OF BAVARIA,  
1314-1347**

In the contested election of **1314**, following the death of the Emperor Henry VII, five votes were cast for Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, the Wittelsbach candidate, and four for the Hapsburg Frederick of Austria.<sup>1</sup> Each candidate was crowned King of the Romans ; civil war broke out and lasted until Lewis defeated and captured Fréderick at Mühldorf, **1322**. Lewis' claim was formally admitted by a Diet at Nüremberg, **1323**.

**I. Quarrel with Pope John XXII.**

During the Imperial Interregnum (**1313-1314**) Clement V had claimed the administration of the Empire and appointed Robert of Naples Imperial vicar in Italy. John XXII owed his election to the Papacy to Robert of Naples, whom he wished to make King of Italy ; he wished to secure the Empire for Charles IV of France, **1322-1328**. Lewis of Bavaria was an obstacle to both these plans. John revived the papal claim to decide disputed Imperial elections, summoned Lewis to plead his cause before the papal court at Avignon and excommunicated him for not appearing.

<sup>1</sup> Two votes were cast respectively by rival claimants to Saxony and Bohemia.



**1323.** The quarrel between Papacy and Empire was thus renewed. The cause of this quarrel was the bitter hostility of the Pope due to the success of Lewis in frustrating his political schemes; no great religious or ecclesiastical difficulties arose between Pope and Emperor.

The Pope relied upon the kings of France and Naples and the Italian Guelfs. But the Church was divided, the Fraticelli (page 271), who desired the strict observance of the Franciscan rule of Poverty, supported the Emperor against John; the Dominicans therefore supported the Pope. The dependence of the Popes on the King of France and their residence at Avignon were strongly resented in Germany, and secured a considerable measure of national support for Lewis. The Ghibellines, strengthened by the visit of Henry VII in **1312** and by the absence of the Popes, had secured predominance in the North of Italy, and Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, Can Grande della Scala of Verona and Castruccio Castracane of Lucca were strong Imperialists.

## II. Lewis's Invasion of Italy.

The attempt of the Pope to secure the election of Charles IV as Emperor failed owing to German national feeling, which resented the election of "a foreigner." Lewis in **1325** was reconciled with his prisoner, Frederick of Austria, who gave up all claim to the Empire, and Lewis, secure in Germany, determined to assert his Imperial rights in Italy.

**1327.** Lewis reached Trent in January with a small force, was well received by the Lombards and accepted the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan. Accompanied by Castruccio Castracane he reached Rome, where he was crowned Emperor, January 17th, **1328**. He pronounced sentence of deposition on John XXII, and secured the election of Peter di Corvara, a Franciscan, as Antipope.

But he was forced to abandon Rome in August, **1328**; the death of Castruccio, Sciarra Colonna and Can

Grande della Scala deprived him of his strongest supporters ; the Ghibelline nobles, whose aims were mainly selfish, resented his demands for money ; Pisa, although Ghibelline, declared against him. The Antipope made humble submission to John XXII, and Lewis returned to Germany in 1330.

Lewis' failure in Italy was due partly to his own lack of steady purpose and to his inability to check the dissatisfaction caused in Italy by his exactions and the turbulence of his troops, to the loss of many men through the uncongenial climate. But the conditions of the time rendered his designs on Italy impossible. The Mediæval Empire had passed away ; the Ghibelline nobles resented the establishment of a strong monarchy in Lombardy which would have curbed their power ; for the Empire as such there was no enthusiasm.

### III. Lewis and Germany, 1330-1347.

In spite of his conspicuous failure in Italy the national opposition to the Papacy as an ally of France enabled Lewis to maintain his position in Germany. The heresy of John XXII on the question of the Beatific Vision (page 273) impaired his position and his successor Benedict XII was prevented by King Philip VI (1328-1350) from accepting the submission which Lewis offered to make, on condition of absolution from his excommunication.

1338. Lewis' position was greatly improved. The Hundred Years' War began, and Lewis made an alliance with Edward III and appointed him Vicar-General of the Empire for the West of the Rhine. The Electors of the Rhine declared at Rhense in July, 1338, that the Imperial power was derived from God alone, that the right to the Imperial crown was given by the vote of the Electors and required neither approval nor confirmation by the Pope. This statement was confirmed at the Diet of Frankfort in August, 1338. Thus a lay German Empire was substituted for the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages.

**IV. The Election of Charles IV, 1346.**

- A. **1340.** Lewis, in his earnest desire for absolution, abandoned his English alliance and came to terms with Philip VI. But Benedict XII now refused, in spite of Philip's request, to grant the absolution which Philip had prevented him from granting in **1335**.
- B. Lewis' influence in Germany was weakened by his offer to the Pope; his attempt to use his Imperial position to promote the interests of the House of Wittelsbach aroused the enmity of the magnates.
- (1) **1323.** Lewis made his eldest son Lewis Elector of Brandenburg.
  - (2) Lewis had seized Lower Bavaria and now possessed the whole duchy.
  - (3) **1341.** By Imperial decree he divorced Margaret, the heiress of the Tyrol, from her husband John of Moravia, son of King John of Bohemia, and gave her a dispensation to marry his son Lewis of Brandenburg, although this marriage was within the prohibited decrees. This usurpation of ecclesiastical authority by the Emperor led Pope Clement VI (**1342 1352**) to reject Lewis' humble petition for absolution and to issue in **1343** a new bill of excommunication.
  - (4) **1345.** Holland and Hainault came into the possession of William, son of Lewis by his second wife, Margaret of Holland.
- C. Pope Clement VI took full advantage of the dissatisfaction caused in Germany by Lewis' assumption of clerical powers and territorial acquisitions. At a meeting of Electors, July 11th, **1346**, at which only the Electors of Brandenburg and Mainz supported Lewis, the Empire was declared vacant and Charles of Luxemburg, son of King John of Bohemia, whose blindness disqualified him, was elected King of the Romans after accepting most humiliating conditions imposed by the Pope.
- D. **1346.** King John and King Charles, instead of consolidating their position in Germany, went to help Philip VI

against the English. John fell gloriously in the battle of Crecy, from which Charles, who became King of Bohemia on his father's death, escaped alive.

On his return to Germany his position appeared hopeless. German national feeling resented the action of the Pope in deposing Lewis, and objected to "the Priests' Emperor," Charles. The Wittelsbachs, strengthened by the foolish absence of John and Charles in France and by a new alliance with the Hapsburgs of Austria, were so strong that they drove Charles into Bohemia. The sudden death of Lewis of Bavaria, October 11th, **1347**, probably saved Charles from complete defeat.

#### V. General.

- A. Lewis' failure to appreciate changed political conditions led him to undertake his unsuccessful expedition to Italy, to reassert Imperial pretensions that were long out of date, and
- B. Prevented him from taking advantage of national feeling in Germany to establish a strong monarchy. German opposition to the papal subjection to France was so strong that resolute action on Lewis' part would have enabled him to defy excommunication. But his timidity and vacillation, his humiliating offers of submission to the Pope greatly weakened his position.
- C. Although the aggrandisement of his family roused strong opposition, he made the Wittelsbachs, who held Bavaria until the establishment of the republic, November 7th, **1918**, a power, but the rivalry of Hapsburgs, Luxemburgs and Wittelsbachs added a new element of discord in Germany. He made a great family, he might have made a great monarchy.

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. v.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XII,

chaps. VII-IX.

## POPE JOHN XXII, 1316-1334

The quarrel between John XXII and Lewis the Bavarian arose from far less important causes than previous struggles between the Papacy and Empire ; neither Pope nor Emperor could compare with their great predecessors, and the great days of Empire and Papacy had passed. But the questions involved were of considerable importance, and " for the first time in the long strife between Papacy and Empire the struggle involved doctrinal differences " (Lodge). Some of the greatest lawyers and schoolmen of the time took an active part in what became a war of writings of appalling length and bewildering subtlety.

I. *Defensor Pacis*, c. 1324.

Marsilio of Padua, the physician of Lewis IV, was remarkable for his knowledge of theology and dialectic skill. In his *Defensor Pacis* he attacked the Papacy. He declared that a General Council alone could interpret the Scriptures ; denied that the Pope or any ecclesiastic could exercise secular jurisdiction ; asserted that laymen and not only the clergy were spiritual ; that eternal damnation was by God alone, and that the clergy had no right to coerce heretics or infidels. The State must be supreme and the clergy must therefore be liable to civil jurisdiction.

The vast wealth of the Church was not consistent with the poverty that Christ enjoined on His disciples. It was doubtful if St. Peter was ever at Rome, and this doubt invalidated the Pope's claim to supremacy over Christendom as the successor of St. Peter. A General Council alone could decide what articles of faith were necessary for salvation, and it must be called by a secular sovereign. The sole right of choosing an Emperor rested with the Electors, coronation by the Pope did not imply the papal right to confirm the election of an Emperor. A General Council might suspend or depose a Pope.

By asserting that the clergy were amenable to the civil power and that General Councils were the supreme authority in the Church, Marsilio dealt a severe blow at the claims the Popes had advanced, and the *Defensor Pacis* anticipated some of the theories on which the Reformation was based.

## II. John XXII and the Fraticelli.

### A. Poverty.

The acquisition of property contrary to the strict rule of St. Francis, soon led to differences in the Franciscan order (page 186). Innocent IV tried to settle the question by vesting all the property of the Franciscans in the Pope, but the extreme party, the Fraticelli or Spiritualists, refused to accept this equivocation and the constitution of Nicholas III (1277-1281) declared that "the renunciation of all property, which Christ taught in a word and confirmed by his example, is pleasing to God and a proof of holiness." The schism between the Fraticelli and the less rigid Franciscans, who refused to give up their wealth, grew wider and the former withdrew to the wilds of the Apennines "to enjoy undisturbed the pride and luxury of beggary." The avarice of Clement V (1305-1314), who accumulated wealth to the value of one and three quarter million florins, and of John XXII (1316-1334), who left property worth twenty-five million florins, and the gross corruption of the papal court at Avignon provoked strong denunciations from the Fraticelli.

### B. The Eternal Gospel.

- (1) There was nothing unorthodox in the attempt of the Fraticelli to ensure the rigid observation of the rule of Poverty. The assertion of the doctrine of the Eternal Gospel, which challenged the position of the Pope and the hierarchy, was denounced as heretical.
- (2) The Eternal Gospel was first stated by Abbot Joachim of Flora, a Cistercian monk who died about 1202; it

was supported and carried further by John of Parma, John Peter Oliva, a Provençal Franciscan (c. 1297), Gerard Sagarelli of Parma (burned for heresy 1286), Dolcino of Novara, who for a time maintained his doctrine by force of arms in the Val Sesia in Piedmont, and was burned in 1304.

- (3) According to the Eternal Gospel the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had inaugurated the first religious estate of Judaism, which was set forth in the Old Testament and represented the rule of the laity; Christ and the apostles had inaugurated the second religious estate of Christianity which was set forth in the New Testament and represented the reign of the clergy; the third estate, which was to come, was that of the Holy Ghost, and in it clergy and laity were to share the rule.

Oliva spoke of seven states, of which the sixth, involving the abolition of the Papacy, prelacy and hierarchy, was at hand. Dolcino said there were seven states, of which the third was to end with the overthrow of the wealthy and corrupt Papacy.

#### C. John XXII.

The belief in the early destruction of the papal order spread widely and John XXII determined to crush it. He annulled the Bull of Nicholas III, and in 1316 condemned as heresy the teaching of the Fraticelli that there were two churches, one carnal and overwhelmed with riches, the other spiritual and "girt with poverty"; that oaths were unlawful; that wicked priests could not celebrate valid Sacraments; that the Fraticelli alone were faithful followers of Christ. By order of John many Fraticelli were burned by the Inquisition.

#### D. The importance of the struggle.

- (1) The Church was divided; many Fraticelli turned Ghibelline and supported Lewis of Bavaria. The Dominicans and the wealthy Franciscans supported the Pope.

- (2) The Fraticelli in 1328 appealed from the Pope to a General Council, thereby asserting the superiority of General Councils over the Pope, and denied the temporal power of the Papacy.
- (3) They also "first familiarised the common mind with the notion that Rome was the Babylon, the great harlot of the Apocalypse."

### III. The Beatific Vision.

John XXII about 1330 declared that saints did not enjoy the beatific vision of God until the day of judgment. It therefore followed that neither the apostles nor the Blessed Virgin had seen the Godhead of Christ, and that the saints had no power of mediation.

This doctrine was denounced as heresy by the University of Paris, the Dominicans and most of the cardinals, and the heterodoxy of the Pope gave a powerful weapon to his adversaries. He recanted his views on his death bed, but the heresy of the Pope had further weakened the influence of the Papacy among the learned and orthodox.

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 100-101.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XII,

chaps. VI and VII

*Studies in Religious History* (Renan), Joachim de Flora.

## RIENZI

Although the Popes had failed to keep in order the turbulent Roman populace and to establish firm government in the city, their connection with Rome had made it the religious capital of Christendom; their presence had brought much wealth to the citizens owing to the suitors who came to plead in the papal courts, the distinguished strangers who visited the Pope, and the



vast number of pilgrims. The removal of the Popes to Avignon impoverished Rome, which carried on little trade and failed to develop the rich country of the Campagna owing to its unhealthiness. The very slight restraint the Popes had sometimes exercised over the nobles was now removed, all attempts at municipal government had failed and the city was at the mercy of such families as the Orsini and Colonnas, who plundered and illtreated the people.

Rienzi attempted, with temporary success, to establish government on the model of the old Roman republic.

### I. Rienzi as Tribune.

- A. Rienzi, who falsely claimed to be a natural son of the Emperor Henry VII (page 251), bitterly hated the nobles who had wronged him; through study of the classical writers and of the antiquities of the city he had become inspired with admiration for the institutions of ancient Rome. He deluded the nobles by his buffoonery; won over the people by his eloquent appeals to the glories of the past and by his care for the poor. He believed that the abandonment of Rome by the Pope was one of the main causes of the prevailing misery, went on behalf of the Roman people to Avignon in 1342, but failed to persuade Pope Clement VI to come back to Rome.

Having failed to secure the return of the Pope he roused the people by meetings on the Aventine Hill, by exhibiting topical pictures he had painted, by using relics of antiquity as texts for addresses on the former power of Rome.

### B. The Good Estate.

- May 20th, 1347, Rienzi, who had been appointed  
\* Papal Notary by Clement VI and was assisted by the papal vicar in the struggle with the Roman nobles, proclaimed from the Capitol the Laws of the Good

**Estate.** These provided for the maintenance from each Rione, or district of the city, of a force of one hundred and twenty-five men to serve the State and keep order ; for the support of the poor ; for speedy justice and the prompt punishment of criminals ; for the surrender of all baronial strongholds to the State which was to garrison all fortresses, gates and bridges in the city.

- C. Rienzi became dictator with the title of Tribune ; the Senators, a Colonna and an Orsini, were dismissed ; the nobles surrendered their fortresses and promised to keep the roads secure and to protect no malefactors. Rienzi established his authority within fifteen days, and his just rule led to the reduction of taxation, the extirpation of robbers, the establishment of peace and security in Rome. Some nobles were imprisoned, one at least was executed for robbery, most took an oath to support the Laws of the Good Estate. Rienzi, the founder of the new Roman republic, arbitrated in the quarrel between Joanna Queen of Naples and Lewis King of Hungary ; received ambassadors from the King of England and the Emperor of Constantinople ; summoned the Pope to return to Rome ; claimed that Rome was sovereign of the world and that the Romans alone had the right of electing the Emperor, and, in virtue of this claim, summoned the rival Emperors, Lewis of Bavaria and Charles IV of Luxemburg, to submit their claims to him.

Rienzi now roused the Pope's opposition by asserting that he was directly inspired by the Holy Ghost ; after bathing in the font in which the Emperor Constantine had been baptised, he was crowned on August 15th, 1347, with seven crowns symbolising the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.

## II. Rienzi's Fall.

But his extraordinary success turned his head ; his ostentation and luxury led to heavy taxation ; the Pope resented the summons Rienzi had sent him, and

accusations of heresy and magic were brought against him. His power rested upon the support of the Roman people, but these were fickle, incapable owing to long servitude of making a right use of their newly won freedom; "of the old vigorous plebeian Roman they had nothing but the turlulence" (Milman).

Rienzi arrested Stephen Colonna and other nobles whom he had invited to a banquet, but released them as they were preparing for execution. His treachery and leniency both weakened his power, although a lucky defeat of a rising of the Colonnas, November 22nd, 1347, seemed to assure his position. But he lost his nerve; the Pope sent a legate to excommunicate him for declaring that the Church and State of Rome were one; the people refused to support him, and on December 15th, 1347, within seven months of the proclamation of the Good Estate, he fled from Rome.

### III. Rienzi and the Emperor Charles IV.

Rienzi took refuge with the Fraticelli in the Apennines and became a Franciscan tertiary (page 186). He came to believe that the age of the Holy Ghost (page 272) was imminent, that he and the Emperor had been chosen to reform the world. Rienzi now relied upon the secular arm. In August, 1351, he met Charles IV in Prague, urged him to rule in Rome as lord of the world, to break the temporal power of the Papacy and crush the Italian tyrants.

1352. The Emperor handed over Rienzi as a suspected heretic to the Pope, who imprisoned him in Avignon.

### IV. Death of Rienzi.

Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362), relieved by the Hundred Years' War from the control of the King of France and gravely concerned about the anarchy of the Roman nobles and the growing power of the Visconti of Milan who threatened the papal states, sent Cardinal

Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, in **1353** "to restore self-government under papal protection." Albornoz, in spite of Rienzi's previous attitude to the Papacy, took him out of prison and he gladly embraced the opportunity of establishing peace in Rome and Italy under the authority of the Pope. The Romans, tired of the tyranny of the nobles and weakened by the Black Death of **1350-1352**, received Rienzi with enthusiasm. He was made Senator by the Pope, established his power with the help of Fra Moreale, captain of a Free Company, but his ingratitude in executing Moreale and his arbitrary rule alienated the Romans, and he was murdered in a popular rising, October 8th, **1354**.

#### V. General.

Rienzi endeavoured to give peace and liberty to Rome by appealing to memories of the long-faded glories of the heathen republic. He made no appeal to democratic principles. He tried to effect his object in **1347** with the help of the Roman populace, but, finding that they were unreliable and fickle, attempted in **1351** to secure the support of the Emperor, and, when the Emperor refused to help, finally fell back upon the co-operation of the Pope. The ultimate result of his efforts was the restoration of papal authority in Rome. Rienzi's failure was due mainly to the fact that his design rested on no sure foundation; there was nothing in Rome which corresponded to the old order which he tried to re-establish. His own conceit contributed to his failure, but, in spite of his faults, he was a patriot and a man of genius.

#### References :

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XII, chap. x ;  
and Vol. VIII, Book XII, chap. xi.

## THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV, 1347-1378

### I. Charles Establishes his Position, 1350.

- A. The position of the newly elected Emperor Charles IV in **1347** was precarious. The House of Luxemburg was far inferior in territorial possessions to the House of Wittelsbach which possessed Bavaria, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, the Tyrol and much of Holland, and was devoted to the Emperor Lewis IV, who was also supported by the Swabian League, the Imperial towns and Albert of Austria, the head of the House of Hapsburg. To secure the Pope's support Charles had admitted the papal claim to confirm the Emperor, and had promised to remain in Rome only one day when he went there for his coronation, and, although these promises were not generally known, his position as the "Pfaffen Kaiser" alienated Germany.
- B. But the death of Lewis IV (October 11th, **1347**), the desire for a monarch who might check the anarchy which had resulted from the Black Death, the weakening of the influence of Lewis of Brandenburg<sup>1</sup> by the rival claims of a pretender strengthened Charles IV's position.
- C. An attempt by the Wittelsbach party to secure another Emperor in **1348** failed. The pressure of the Hundred Years' War and the opposition of the English Parliament prevented Edward III from accepting the offer; difficulties in Brandenburg compelled the Margrave Lewis to decline, and Gunter of Schwartzburg, who accepted the crown, died in **1349**.
- D. Charles conciliated his opponents; he secured the adhesion of the Imperial cities by grants of privileges; recognised Lewis as Margrave of Brandenburg; married his daughter Catherine to Rudolf, son of Albert of Austria; himself married the daughter of the Elector Palatine.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Lewis IV.

Having thus conciliated the Wittelsbachs, Hapsburgs and cities he established his position without question by 1350.

## II. Charles IV and the Golden Bull, 1356.

Charles was anxious to strengthen the power of the monarchy in Germany, and therefore, when he went to Rome for his coronation, April 5th, 1355, he left Rome immediately after the ceremony and made no attempt to restore the Imperial authority in Italy.

Germany was divided among many tenants-in-chief over whom the monarchy exercised little authority; Germany had been distracted by quarrels arising from disputed elections and by difficulties caused by doubts as to which branch could give a family vote (two rivals gave the vote for Saxony on opposite sides in 1314, 1346, 1348). The Golden Bull was intended to obviate these difficulties.

### A. The Electors.

There were to be three ecclesiastical Electors, who were to be Chancellors of the Empire, the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves; and four lay, the King of Bohemia the Cup-bearer, the Count Palatine the Seneschal, the Duke of Saxony the Marshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg the Chamberlain. The Emperor was to be elected by a majority at Frankfort, to be crowned at Aachen, to hold his first diet at Nürnberg. The electoral territories were not to be divided, and the succession of Electors must be by primogeniture. The persons of the Electors were to be sacred, they ranked above all other magnates, received regalian rights, including those of coinage and final jurisdiction. No leagues of the Emperor's subjects could be made without their lord's consent; towns were to limit citizenship to residents within their walls, and were forbidden to harbour fugitive slaves.

No reference was made to the papal claims to confirm or veto an election.

## B. Criticism.

- (1) By increasing the importance of the Electors and checking the growing power of the towns Charles made Germany a union of federal states loosely bound together by subordination to the monarchy, and the effects of this loose federal union, which was one of the reasons which prevented the establishment of a strong monarchy and of common national feeling, are still apparent.
- (2) But Charles also aimed at establishing a strong monarchy in the Luxemburg family. In **1356** he secured Brabant and Limburg for his brother; in **1363** he gave the Tyrol to Rudolf of Austria, who had assumed the title of "Archduke" as a protest against the new position of the Electors, on condition that on failure of Hapsburg heirs the Tyrol should pass to the Luxemburgs, while on failure of the latter line the Hapsburgs should receive all their possessions; in **1373** Charles IV secured Brandenburg and betrothed his son Sigismund to the daughter of the King of Hungary and Poland. In **1376** he secured the election of his son Wenzel as King of the Romans. It seemed as if the house of Luxemburg might prove strong enough to retain the crown and to unite Germany by maintaining effective authority over the powerful Electors.

But Charles ruined the chance of a powerful Luxemburg monarchy, which might have counteracted the tendency to federation which resulted from the Golden Bull, by dividing his territories. On his death, Wenzel got Bohemia and Silesia, Sigismund Brandenburg, John Lausitz; three other relatives held other portions of the family territories, and these divisions so weakened the family that it never fulfilled the destiny which Charles IV contemplated.
- (3) The Golden Bull ignored the right of the Pope to influence the election of the Emperor, and vested the

right of election in German magnates. It practically substituted a German for a Holy Roman Empire, and Charles' withdrawal from Italian politics emphasised this fact. Maximilian I's statement that Charles was "the stepfather of the Empire" seems accurate.

- (4) The league of the Swabian towns became so powerful that in 1378 Charles was obliged to recognise it, and this recognition nullified in Swabia the restrictions which the Golden Bull had placed on the power of German towns. In the north the Hanse towns had become so powerful that Charles paid a special visit to Lübeck to conciliate them.
- (5) Lord Bryce's assertion that Charles "legalised anarchy and called it a constitution" fails to recognise that in spite of the disruptive tendency of the Golden Bull the strong rule of seven powerful Electors was far better than the anarchy arising from the power of many practically independent nobles. Anarchy was lessened by the diminution of private war, and by the comparative peace and security that the Electors were able to maintain in their dominions. And although Charles failed to secure the domination of the Luxemburgs he saw clearly that the supreme authority of one powerful family was necessary for Germany; the Hapsburgs, the heirs of the Luxemburgs, relying on their family possessions, succeeded in making the monarchy an effective force and thus completed the plan of Charles. The territorial power of the House of Hapsburg "really held Germany together from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century" (Lodge).

### III. Charles IV and Bohemia.

Charles was the "father of Bohemia." He secured the establishment of the Archbishopric of Prague; in 1348 founded the University of Prague which soon became the greatest seat of learning in Germany. He gained the support of the merchants by reforming the coinage,



protecting main roads and diminishing tolls on merchandise carried through the kingdom. He fostered trade by strong protective measures in accordance with the ideas of the time.

#### IV. Charles IV and the Papacy.

##### A. Charles IV and Urban V, 1362-1370.

- (1) The continued residence of the Popes at Avignon was prejudicial to the interests of Germany and Italy. The French influence was supreme in the papal court. The absence of the Pope from Italy rendered the task of defending the papal territories more difficult, for few legates possessed the military skill of Cardinal Albornoz; the Guelfs were unwilling to support the cause of an absent Pope; the Visconti of Milan were powerful and aggressive, and the warlike Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, by securing Bologna in 1350, gained a hold on Central Italy; Albornoz saved Rome in 1353 (page 277), but the Romans strongly resented the loss of wealth and prestige they suffered owing to the absence of the Popes.
- (2) The Archbishop of Milan died and his nephew Bernabo was expelled from Bologna by Albornoz in 1360. Urban V excommunicated Bernabo in 1362, but the latter compelled the Pope's messenger to eat the Bull of Excommunication and its leaden seal.
- (3) Charles IV strongly urged Urban V to return to Rome and thus to restore papal power in Italy and its influence in Western Europe. Largely owing to his persuasion Urban, in spite of the strong opposition of his French cardinals who dreaded leaving Avignon for Rome, went to Rome where he was enthusiastically received in October, 1367. Charles visited Urban in Rome in August, 1368, and offended the Ghibellines by leading the Pope's horse in procession to St. Peter's.
- (4) But the death of Albornoz in 1367, the lack of effective help from Charles IV, the discomfort of residence in

the unhealthy city of Rome, the entreaties of the cardinals and his own desire to return to France his native country, led Urban to return to Avignon in September, 1370, nominally because he wished to reconcile the Kings of France and England. His return gave to the Visconti an opportunity of extending their power in Romagna and seriously prejudiced the influence of the Papacy.

#### B. The beginning of the Great Schism.

In 1377, partly owing to Charles' influence, Gregory XI went from Avignon to Rome, thus terminating the Babylonish captivity of the Pope. He died soon after. Urban VI was elected in 1378 and was supported by Charles. But the French and Neapolitans secured the election of an Antipope, Clement VII. Almost the last news that reached Charles IV before he died was that of the beginning of the Great Schism in the Papacy.

#### V. General.

Charles IV possessed clear vision and great practical ability. He saw that the day of the old Mediæval Empire had passed and substituted for it the idea of a German Empire resting on a strong German monarchy. He gave great prosperity to Bohemia, and although his own family failed to carry out his theory of the monarchy in Germany, and although he failed to restore the Papacy to Rome, he was "uncontestably the greatest ruler whom Europe produced in the fourteenth century" (Lodge).

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. vi.

*The History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, Book XII,  
chap. xii.

## THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE PAPACY

### I. The Beginning of the Schism.

#### A. The election of Urban VI, 1378-1389.

Gregory XI died in Rome on March 27th, 1378. A conclave of sixteen cardinals, of whom eleven were French, met in the Vatican. Several of the latest Popes had been Frenchmen; the Romans now determined to have a "Roman Pope; if not a Roman, an Italian," threatened to kill the French cardinals if their demand was refused, created a great disturbance in the city. The French cardinals were divided between two French candidates; they compromised by electing Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari. Through fear of the mob the newly elected Pope hid in the Vatican and most of the cardinals fled from Rome. On April 18th, 1378, the Archbishop of Bari was crowned Pope Urban VI in the presence of all the cardinals who assented to the coronation, accepted honours from the Pope and paid him homage. But the haughty manners and ungovernable temper of Urban VI gave great offence; his denunciation of the wealth of the cardinals, his declared intention to secure a majority of Italian cardinals, his absolute refusal to return to Avignon aroused the indignation of the French.

#### B. The election of the Antipope Clement VII, 1378-1394.

- (1) On August 9th the French cardinals met at Anagni, declared that the election of Urban VI was due to force, proclaimed him a usurper and called on him to resign. Joanna, Queen of Naples, angry at Urban's rudeness to her husband, Otto of Brunswick, and suspecting that the Pope meant to resume the fief of Naples and grant it to her rival, Lewis of Hungary, supported the French cardinals. The jewels of the Papacy were taken to Anagni by the Papal Chamberlain.

- (2) September 20th, **1378**, the cardinals at Anagni elected as Antipope Robert of Geneva, less famous for holiness than for the military prowess he had displayed as a leader of Free Companies, and he took the title of Clement VII. The Emperor Charles IV, the only man who could have reconciled the two parties, accepted Urban VI, but died in November, **1378**. Urban VI was recognised by Germany and Bohemia (partly because he had recognised Wenzel, son of Charles IV as Emperor), England and Flanders (because he opposed France), Hungary (because he supported the claim of Lewis of Hungary to Naples), Italy, excluding the Kingdom of Naples but including the Neapolitans, many of whom were created cardinals by Urban, Poland, Portugal and Scandinavia. Clement VII, who soon fled to Avignon, was recognised by France, Scotland (through enmity to England), Castile, Aragon and Navarre.
- (3) Some effects of the Schism.

The Great Schism had begun, and lasted for thirty-eight years. Its ultimate cause was the fact that France and Italy were at strife for the Papacy. The Schism greatly damaged the prestige of the Papacy. Each Pope claimed to be the rightful successor of St. Peter, excommunicated his rival and denied the validity of his actions. The theory that the power of the Papacy exists for the good of the Church and not for the advantage of the Pope gained ground. It was asserted that it was the duty of the Church, acting through a General Council, to terminate the scandal that had arisen, "hence arose the conciliar idea, which dominates all other ecclesiastical conceptions in the first half of the fifteenth century," which was strongly supported by the universities of Oxford, Paris and Prague, and led to the Councils of Pisa, **1409**, Constance, **1414-1418**; Basle, **1431-1449**.

**II. From the Beginning of the Schism to the Council of Pisa, 1409.****A. The Italian Popes.**

The position of the Italian Popes was very difficult. Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Pavia, who had murdered his uncle Bernabo and seized Milan, **1385**, was threatening Tuscany and Romagna ; the Pope was interested in the struggle between Queen Joanna and Charles of Durazzo for the kingdom of Naples ; circumstances therefore compelled the Popes to maintain Free Companies of mercenary troops, but the papal estates were wasted by war ; the schism in the Papacy led to the diversion of papal revenues, the statutes of Provisors, **1351**, and Mortmain, **1279**, and the preaching of Wycliffe seriously limited the papal income from England, and the Popes found great difficulty in raising the funds they required to pay their troops and meet other expenses. To secure money they seized the revenues of Church sees, sold Church property and the succession to livings and bishoprics. Simony again became a scandal.

**(1) Urban VI, 1378-1389.**

Urban supported Charles of Durazzo against Queen Joanna, who had favoured the election of Clement VII and from whose territories he hoped to secure principalities for his nephew. The united forces of Urban and Charles took Naples, and Queen Joanna was either strangled at her prayers or smothered with pillows **1382**. The Antipope Clement VII granted Naples, and a new Kingdom of Adria, including most of the papal territories, to Louis of Valois, Duke of Anjou, and crowned him King at Avignon, **1382**, and many Neapolitans supported him. Urban excommunicated Louis and persecuted the Neapolitan clergy who supported Clement. Louis' death in **1385** left Charles a free hand ; he quarrelled with Urban, retook Nocera which he had ceded to the Pope. Charles went to Hungary to claim the crown and was murdered there (**1386**). Urban was preparing to secure

Naples and arranging for a jubilee which would lead to large gifts from the faithful when he died (1389). His cruelty (shown particularly by the torture and murder of five cardinals whom he accused of treachery), ambition, ungovernable temper and pride led to assertions that he was insane.

(2) Boniface IX, 1389-1404.

Under the rapacious Boniface IX papal simony reached its height. He made Annates, or First Fruits, which were now calculated at triple the former rate, a permanent tax; benefices were sold over and over again, one was sold several times in one week; the Pope annulled all dispensations made by himself or his predecessors and regranted them for new fees; the Jubilee of 1390 greatly increased his wealth. He supported Ladislaus of Hungary, son of Charles of Durazzo, in his claim to Naples, and King Ladislaus saved the Pope's life in a tumult in Rome. Boniface fortified the Capitol and by firm measures kept the Romans in subjection. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, made Duke of Milan by the Emperor Wenzel (1395), aspired to become King of Italy and threatened Florence and Rome. His death in 1402 saved Rome, and Boniface, a man of considerable practical ability, recovered a portion of the papal territories. Boniface died October 1st, 1404.

(3) Innocent VII, 1404-1405.

Innocent VII swore to resign the Papacy if the Antipope Benedict XIII, who had succeeded Clement VII, would do the same. Innocent was too gentle a man to be a successful Pope in 1404. The Romans rose, the Pope fled to Viterbo. Ladislaus, now firmly established as King of Naples, then tried to secure Rome for himself, but the Romans defeated him. Innocent returned to Rome, peace was made, but the Pope died soon after.

**(4) Gregory XII, 1406-1409.**

Gregory XII undertook to resign if the Antipope resigned also. The rivals arranged to meet at Savona, but Gregory got only to Lucca, Benedict to Spezzia ; "the one, like a water animal, would not leave the seashore, the other, like a land animal, would not approach the sea." But his relatives urged Gregory to maintain his authority. Ladislaus, who had great influence over Gregory, knew that a French Pope would mean a French king of Naples. Gregory, in defiance of his previous declarations in favour of reunion, claimed unlimited pontifical power.

**B. The French Popes.**

The French Popes had to rely mainly upon France for the income necessary to maintain the papal court at Avignon. The very heavy demands they made on the French clergy and their interference with the liberties of the French Church aroused strong opposition. The desire of the kings of France, strongly urged by the University of Paris, to terminate the Schism greatly embarrassed the French Popes.

**(1) Clement VII, 1378-1394.**

Clement, "perhaps more of the French noble than the Pope," though hampered by lack of money, reigned quietly at Avignon. He recognised Louis of Anjou as King of Naples. He strongly resented the action of the University of Paris, which urged the King of France to stop the Schism and compel the rival Popes to agree to give up their claims and to submit to arbitration or to a General Council. He is said to have died of grief when his cardinals urged him to fall in with this suggestion.

**(2) Benedict XIII, 1394-1415**

To prevent the King of France from prohibiting a new election and thus closing the Schism the cardinals immediately after the death of Clement VII elected

a Spanish cardinal as Benedict XIII. The election of a Spaniard lessened the sympathy which the French King Charles VI felt for the Antipopes. A clerical council and an assembly of the states of France (1398), urged Benedict to resign; he refused. "Let the King of France issue what ordinances he will, I will hold my title and my popedom till I die." Benedict was imprisoned in his palace at Avignon from 1398-1403. In 1403 the Duke of Orleans, the leader of one of the parties into which France was divided (page 512), the University of Toulouse and Louis of Anjou, who claimed the Kingdom of Naples against Ladislaus, took up the Pope's cause. Benedict escaped from prison and was formally recognised as Pope by Charles VI. He professed a strong desire to end the Schism, but his projected meeting with Gregory XII at Savona did not take place (page 288). The assassination of the Duke of Orleans in 1407 deprived Benedict of his chief supporter. In 1408 Benedict issued a Bull accusing the King of France of perpetuating the Schism; the Bull was torn up in Paris, and Charles VI, with the strong support of the University of Paris, proclaimed the neutrality of France and declared both Popes to be perjured heretics. Benedict avoided arrest by fleeing to Spain.

### III. The Council of Pisa, 1409.

- A. The Schism had now become so grave a scandal that four cardinals in the "obedience" of Benedict XIII, and eight in that of Gregory XII, met at Leghorn and on their own authority, without sanction of Pope or Emperor, summoned a Council of Pisa to end the Schism. Their action was irregular and revolutionary; it was justified by Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, on the ground that "the Church," if it is reasonably to be expected that obedience will not be paid to [the Pope] or his successors, "may meet in General Council to elect" one definite Pope. The Popes,



anxious to prevent the meeting of a General Council, called councils of their own, which were so sparsely attended that they were called "conciliabula."

The Council was attended by 26 cardinals, 26 archbishops and 182 bishops. The Kings of France, England, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland and Portugal acknowledged the Council, in the case of Wenzel of Bohemia, on condition of his recognition as King of the Romans. The Elector Palatine, Rupert (elected King of the Romans in 1400) supported Gregory XII, the King of Spain and, less vigorously, the Kings of Scotland and Scandinavia supported Benedict XIII.

#### B. The Popes deposed.

- (1) The Council met on March 25th, 1409. The rival Popes were summoned to attend and, on their refusal to obey the summons, deposed as "notorious schismatics, approvers of this Schism . . . notorious heretics . . . involved in the crime of perjury." The Papacy was declared vacant.
- (2) The General Council thus claimed superiority over the Papacy, claimed the right of judging the Pope and of deposing him, not on account of uncanonical election, but of crimes subject to ecclesiastical censure. The principle of constitutional government was asserted in the Church.

#### C. Election of Alexander V, 1409.

The Council elected a Franciscan cardinal as Pope Alexander V. He secured the help of Louis of Anjou and recovered Rome from Ladislaus of Naples, who had seized it. In October he issued a Bull giving the friars full power of hearing confession and granting absolution; he thus annulled a regulation made by one of his predecessors, forbidding friars to hear confession without the consent of the parish priest or of his bishop. The Bull roused strong opposition from parish priests; the University of Paris, long hostile to the friars, expelled

all Mendicants and prohibited them from preaching in Paris ; the King of France forbade priests to allow the Mendicants to preach in their churches. Alexander V died May 8th, **1410**.

#### D. General.

The Council of Pisa failed to end the Schism in the Papacy. Benedict and Gregory denied its authority and refused to resign. Alexander V asserted his rights and there were now three Popes instead of two. The question of Church reform, strongly advocated by Gerson, was "postponed for consideration of a new council which was to meet in **1412**" (Lodge).

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. ix.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, Book XIII, chaps. i-v.

## THE SCHISM IN THE EMPIRE

### 1. Germany at the Accession of Wenzel, 1378-1400.

The Empire was now little more than a phantom, possessing neither domains nor revenue nor administrative system. Regalian rights and the advowsons of churches had been sold, "the Imperial treasury depended mainly on an inglorious traffic in honours and exemptions" (Bryce), the Imperial revenue hardly paid the cost of its ambassadors, and Sigismund asserted that "there was nothing more ruined or poverty-stricken than the Empire." The ruin of the Empire was one explanation of the weakness of the German monarchy, which had no judicial organisation and no central system of government ; the great vassals and the towns were practically independent of the King, who owed any power he possessed to his family possessions. There was no parliamentary organisation which would

have facilitated the redress of grievances, and little of the national feeling which strengthened the monarchy in France and England. The Turks were threatening the Eastern frontiers; the Slav Kingdom of Poland constituted a danger to the North; the Bohemians resented the rule of a German house and many adopted the opinions of Huss (page 297); the Scandinavian kingdoms were making common cause and threatening the supremacy of the Hanse towns in the Baltic; the Swiss Confederation, the Swabian League and the growing power of the Dukes of Burgundy gravely weakened German influence in the South-West.

The Schism in the Papacy which began in **1378** added to the difficulties of Wenzel, who had been elected King of the Romans in **1376**, and succeeded his father as King of Germany and Bohemia. His power was further weakened by the division of the Luxemburg territory; his brother Sigismund obtained Brandenburg, his brother John Lausitz.

## II. Wenzel's Failure.

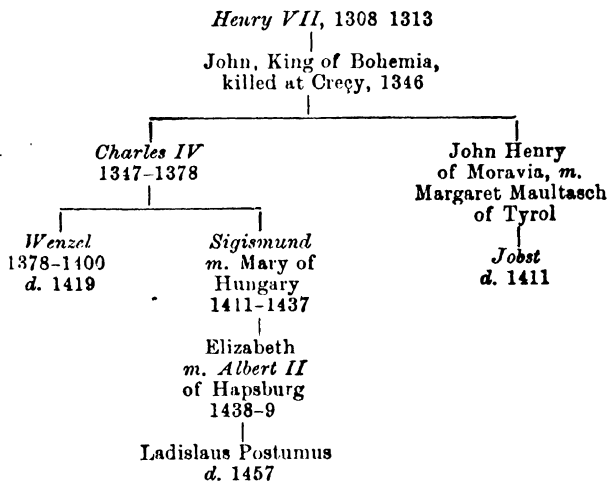
### A. The town war, **1387-1389**.

After the death of Charles IV in **1378** the towns grew stronger. In **1381** the Rhine towns and the Swabian League made an offensive and defensive alliance, thus provoking the resentment of the nobles and of the knights, who found their opportunities for plunder diminished and formed the League of the Lion to check the growing power of the towns. In **1385** the towns of Berne, Zürich, Zug and Lucerne, but not the Forest Cantons, joined the alliance and the victory of Sempach (**1386**), and Naefels (**1388**), though won mainly by the Cantons, strengthened the position of the towns. But their military power proved inadequate; the Swabian League was routed in **1388** by Count Eberhard of Württemberg at Döffingen, and the Elector Palatine Rupert routed the Rhine towns at Worms. But, strongly fortified, the towns withstood the attempts of

the princes to capture them, and the Peace of Eger (1389), arranged for the establishment of four local commissioners to settle by arbitration future disputes between towns and nobles.

The War of the Towns discredited Wenzel, who had failed to impose his authority on either party, while the newly established local commissions impaired the supremacy of the monarchy.

### THE LUXEMBURGS



Emperors (or Kings of the Romans) in italics.

#### B. Poland.

**1386.** The marriage of Hedwig, daughter of Lewis the Great of Hungary and Poland, to Jagello, prince of Lithuania, combined Poland and Lithuania into a strong Christianised Slav state and limited German influence in the North-East.

#### C. Bohemia.

Under Wenzel's feeble rule Bohemia, which had steadily supported Charles IV, repeatedly rebelled. Wenzel's cousin, Jobst of Moravia, who had obtained

Brandenburg from Sigismund, aspired to the Empire and crown of Bohemia, encouraged disaffection and in 1394 imprisoned Wenzel.

- D. Wenzel, who had offended the German nobles by creating Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan in 1395, gained further unpopularity owing to the failure of the agreement he made in 1398 with Charles VI of France, an agreement between a drunkard and a madman, to terminate the Papal Schism by deposing both the rival Popes; Boniface IX, whose confirmation had strengthened his title to the throne, now supported Wenzel's opponents in Germany.

### III. Sigismund.

Sigismund married Maria, the elder daughter of Lewis the Great, King of Hungary (*d.* 1382), sold Brandenburg to Jobst of Moravia to get money to pay his forces, and in 1387, on the death of Charles of Durazzo, became King of Hungary in right of his wife. He was prevented from helping Wenzel owing to the danger to Hungary from the Turks under Bajazet I, who routed him at Nicopolis, 1396.

### IV. Deposition of Wenzel, 1400. The Beginning of the Schism.

The authority of the House of Luxemburg was prejudiced by quarrels between Wenzel and his brother Sigismund and his cousin Jobst; Wenzel's incapacity, his breach with Boniface IX, and the anarchy which his feeble rule had caused in Germany and Bohemia led four Electors (the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves and the Count Palatine Rupert) to depose him and elect Rupert as King of the Romans in August, 1400.

But Rupert failed to conquer Bohemia, in spite of the aid of Jobst, and was routed at Brescia (1401), by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. He weakened his position by supporting Gregory at the Council of Pisa and did not firmly establish his claim to be recognised as King of the Romans.

**V. The Extension of the Schism, 1410.****A. Rupert died in May, 1410.**

September, 1410. Sigismund, who had extended his authority over Bosnia and Servia and protected Eastern Germany from the Turks, weakened by the invasions of the Tartars under Timour and the death of Bajazet I in 1403, took Brandenburg from Jobst, thus securing another electoral vote, and was elected King of the Romans by the votes of Brandenburg and the four Electors of the Rhine.

B. Wenzel asserted his right to be King of the Romans and was at first supported by Jobst.

C. In October, 1410, five Electors voted for Jobst at Frankfurt.

There were thus three rival Popes and three rival Kings of the Romans. "There could be no clearer proof of the unsuitability of mediæval conceptions to the conditions of Europe in the fifteenth century" (Lodge).

**VI. Sigismund, King of the Romans, 1411.**

The sudden death of Jobst on January 12th, 1411, facilitated the reconciliation of Sigismund and Wenzel. On July 21st, 1411, Sigismund received five electoral votes at Frankfort and thereafter acted as King of the Romans, as Wenzel, whose superior claim Sigismund had promised to recognise, confined his attention to Bohemia, where he died in 1419.

The Schism in the Empire had come to an end. Sigismund used the influence which his new position gave to secure the termination of the Schism in the Papacy.

**Reference :**

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. ix.

## THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 1414-1418

On the death of Alexander V on May 8th, **1410**, Balthasar Cossa was elected Pope and took the title of John XXIII. He had been a pirate, was a man of flagrantly immoral character, and as Cardinal Legate had recently brought Bologna under the authority of the Pope. He was elected because he seemed the only man who could check Ladislaus of Naples. But Ladislaus, although defeated by Louis of Anjou and the papal forces at Rocca Secca on May 19th, **1411**, proved so dangerous that the Pope was compelled to fly from Rome in June, and to seek the help of Sigismund, who was most anxious to end the Schism in the Papacy and reform the Church. The Pope's representatives agreed with Sigismund that a General Council should meet at Constance, "an Imperial city on the German side of the Alps." Sigismund hoped that his action in summoning a General Council conjointly with the Pope would not only end the Schism but restore the prestige of the Empire, check the separatist tendencies of such magnates as Frederick of Hapsburg, Count of Tyrol, and the Archbishop of Mainz, and re-establish the power of the German monarchy. The sudden death of Ladislaus, August 6th, **1414**, made John regret, too late, the impetus he had given to the Conciliar movement which constituted so grave a danger to papal autocracy.

### I. The Objects of the Council of Constance.

A. To terminate the Schism in the Papacy.

B. To reform the Church and thus to complete the task which Gerson had vainly attempted in the Council of Pisa (page 291). But the reforming party were strictly orthodox; they desired to remove flagrant abuses, not to make violent changes in doctrine. They maintained that a General Council was superior to the Pope, but had no sympathy with the teaching of Wycliffe.

C. To extirpate heresy and particularly to consider the case of John Huss.

John of Husinec, a man of humble birth who became Confessor to the Queen of Bohemia and, in 1409, Rector of Prague University, took an active part in two contemporary movements which divided Bohemia.

- (1) Bohemia was a Slav country which had enjoyed great prosperity under Charles IV. The Bohemians strongly resented the growth of German influence which had spread eastward owing to the power of Saxony and Brandenburg, the success of the Hanseatic League and the prowess of the Knights of the Teutonic Order ; and which was particularly strong in the University of Prague, in which the German " nations " possessed three votes and the Bohemian only one. The deposition of their King Wenzel from the Empire offended the Bohemians, and they objected to the presence of an overwhelming number of German strangers in their national University.
- (2) Heresy was spreading in Bohemia. The influence of the Pope had been weakened by the Papal Schism ; Wenzel had forbidden the payment of money to Rome and thus checked the scandalous sale of benefices by the Pope ; the Archbishops of the Rhine had taken the leading part in the deposition of Wenzel. The marriage of Wenzel's sister, Anne of Bohemia, to Richard II of England strengthened intercourse between the countries, and Bohemian scholars learned at Oxford the doctrines of Wycliffe, which had made a deep impression on Queen Anne. Huss gradually came under the influence of Wycliffe, and the University of Prague was divided in opinion between the new doctrine and the orthodox, which was strongly supported by the German nations. A majority in the University declared Wycliffe's teaching heretical and favoured Pope Gregory XII against the Council of Pisa, which Wenzel recognised.



- (3) A union of national feeling against Germans, of approval of Wenzel's ecclesiastical policy and of a favourable feeling towards Wycliffe's views strengthened the national cause of which John Huss became the champion. In January, 1409, "the contest of the three votes" was terminated by Wenzel, who gave the Bohemians three votes and three turns of office instead of one. The Germans and Poles left Prague and founded a new university at Leipsic. Huss became Rector of the University of Prague. The departure of the Germans was a severe blow to the culture and commerce of Bohemia, but it removed the chief obstacle to the new doctrines, which now spread rapidly.
- (4) Huss denounced the corruption and the wealth of the clergy, asserted that the royal power was superior to the ecclesiastical, condemned the indulgences which Pope John XXIII sold to meet the expenses of his war against Ladislaus of Naples in 1412. The Archbishop of Prague denounced the teaching of Huss, and John XXIII summoned him to attend the Council of Constance. Disregarding the warnings of his friends, he went to Constance, relying upon an unconditional promise of safe conduct from Sigismund, and armed with testimonials to his orthodoxy and strict moral life from the University and even the Archbishop of Prague.

## II. The First Period of the Council of Constance, November, 1414—July, 1415.

### A. The deposition of Pope John XXIII.

#### (1) The position of the Pope.

Pope John XXIII arrived at Constance in October, 1414, and acted as president in the earlier sessions of the Council which was opened on November 5th. But he felt anxiety as to his position. He claimed to be Pope by the authority of the Council of Pisa, but

the presence of legates of Gregory XII, who had been deposed by that Council, seemed to invalidate its authority; Peter d'Ailly in a sermon preached three days after Christmas Day, when Sigismund arrived, declared that, although a summons from the Pope was necessary to make the Council legitimate, the power of the Council after assembly was superior to that of the Pope. The Italian clergy, and especially the cardinals, supported John, but the Germans, French and English claimed three out of the four national votes and were bent on terminating the Schism. A memorandum criticising in scathing terms the Pope's personal character was presented secretly to the Council and, although it was suppressed, the knowledge that it had been presented increased the Pope's anxiety. He secured the support of Frederick of Tyrol and the Archbishop of Mainz, and determined to postpone the discussion of the Schism in the hope that circumstances might give him an opportunity of dissolving the Council. He therefore ensured the immediate consideration of the charges against John Huss.

(2) John Huss.

In spite of the safe conduct Sigismund had given him and the testimony to his orthodoxy which he presented, Huss was arrested and imprisoned. Sigismund, who had been crowned Emperor at Aachen, protested; the Pope blamed the cardinals and refused to order the release of Huss; Sigismund left Constance but was induced to return by his friends and, with reluctance, acquiesced in the violation of his safe conduct and abandoned Huss to the Council. The return of Sigismund to Constance ensured the continuance of the Council and the deposition of the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, page 254.

- (3) The conditional abdication of the Pope, March 1st, **1415**.

The demand for the deposition of John became stronger; Cardinal d'Ailly declared that "The Universal Church, represented by a General Council, has full power to depose even a lawful Pontiff of blameless character, if it be necessary for the welfare of the Church." On March 1st John publicly promised to resign the Papacy "when and so soon as Peter di Luna and Angelo Corario, called in their respective obediences Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, shall in like manner cede the Papacy."

On March 10th, **1415**, a proposal to elect a new Pope was made in the Council, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, declared that Pope John "deserved to be burned at the stake."

- (4) The flight and deposition of the Pope, March, **1415**.

a. On March 20th John took advantage of a tournament held outside Constance by Frederick of Tyrol to escape in the disguise of a groom to Frederick's castle of Schaffhausen. Sigismund suppressed the disorder that broke out in Constance on the Pope's departure.

b. The Council now declared that "it has received immediately from Jesus Christ power which every one of every estate and dignity, even papal, is obliged to obey"; and asserted its intention to proceed with "the reformation of the Church in its head and in its members." It summoned John to attend and, on his failure to appear, pronounced sentence of deposition on May 29th, **1415**.

c. The Pope was arrested by Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and imprisoned in Heidelberg Castle. Frederick of Tyrol was compelled to give up all his territories to Sigismund, who made Frederick of

Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg in return for faithful service, and thus profoundly affected the future history of Germany.

**B. The burning of John Huss, July 6th, 1415.**

The Council, though anxious to effect "a purely aristocratic and hierarchical reformation," was resolved strictly to uphold doctrinal orthodoxy. The fall of the Pope proved fatal to John Huss, who appeared before the Council on June 5th, 7th and 8th. He proved his orthodoxy on the questions of Transubstantiation, Predestination and the Trinity, but affirmed that the Bible translated into vernacular language was a higher authority than orthodox theology, and maintained that a wicked priest, however high his rank, could not efficiently administer the sacraments. Sigismund, although anxious for his personal honour to avoid the execution of a man to whom he had given a safe conduct, and afraid lest his succession to the throne of Bohemia might be imperilled if Huss was burned, declared for condemnation when Huss applied to the laity the theory that good character was a necessary condition of legitimate office.

In spite of strong protests made by Duba, Chlum and other Bohemian nobles, the Council refused to revise its decision that Huss should be burned unless he recanted, and Huss refused to accede to the entreaties of his opponents that he would save his life by withdrawing his statements. "This," he said at his last appearance, "I constantly affirm, that the surest and most safe appeal is to the Lord Jesus."

He was burned outside Constance on July 6th, 1415. "He was a martyr to the power of the hierarchy, not the power of the Pope, which the Council itself had renounced in its extreme theory; his testimony was against that supreme ecclesiastical dominion which had so long ruled the mind of man" (Milman).

C. Sigismund's absence from the Council, July, 1415, to January, 1417.

- (1) Sigismund had so far gained a remarkable success— at the price of a broken promise. But Benedict XIII absolutely refused to resign the Papacy and was supported by Spain; Gregory XII, who had conditionally promised to resign, was unimportant, but Benedict's attitude involved the continuance of the Schism. Sigismund went to Spain to induce Benedict to resign. He failed to do this, but led, in December, 1415, the kings of Spain to desert his cause and to support the Council of Constance where their representatives formed the Spanish nation and gave a fifth vote.
- (2) Sigismund also went to England, but was not allowed to land until he renounced all Imperial claim to superiority over the King; he failed to avert the impending war between England and France, and the alliance between England and Burgundy, which he supported, aggravated the horrors of the war. Sigismund failed to reconcile the Poles and the Knights of the Teutonic Order.
- (3) During Sigismund's absence the Council did little business.
  - a. June 1st, 1416, Jerome of Prague, a friend and follower of Huss, was burned for heresy.
  - b. Gerson led the attack on a book in which Jean Petit had defended the murder of the Duke of Orleans by the partisans of the Duke of Burgundy, but failed to secure the condemnation the book deserved owing to the influence of the Duke of Burgundy. Gerson could not return to France after the close of the Council owing to the bitter hostility of the Burgundians.

### III. The Second Period of the Council of Constance, January 27th, 1417, to May, 1418.

#### A. Changed conditions.

During Sigismund's absence the cause of the reforming party had been weakened. Benedict XIII still refused to resign; the Spanish nation supported the Italians in their opposition to reform; dissensions broke out between the French and English; Frederick had regained the Tyrol; the Archbishop of Mainz had renewed his intrigues, and an attempt had been made to secure the release of John XXIII. The cardinals declared that the election of a new Pope must precede reform and that no reforms would be valid without the Pope's approval. The death of Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, on September 4th was a serious blow to the cause of reform; his successor, Henry Beaufort, favoured the immediate election of a Pope, and Sigismund had to be content with a decree that another Council should meet in five years and that in future a Council should meet every ten years.

#### B. The election of Martin V, November 11th, 1417.

Cardinal Otto Colonna, a man of unblemished character, noble rank and great learning, was elected Pope and took the title of Martin V. He at once confirmed all regulations made by his predecessors (including John XXIII), and "declared that it was impious to appeal to a Council against a papal decision." By separate Concordats he offered some measure of reform to the Germans, English and French, and thus divided possible opponents. Sigismund could do nothing to secure reform, and Martin dissolved the Council of Constance in May, 1418.

### IV. General.

A. The Council of Constance was attended by 4 patriarchs, 29 cardinals, 33 archbishops, about 150 bishops, by the

leading princes of Germany and by representatives of the Free Cities of Germany. It represented secular as well as clerical interests. It was full of dramatic events; its historical importance arose from the fact that it was a trial of all the theories of the Middle Ages regarding politics and religion.

- B. The part assumed by Sigismund in summoning the Council seemed to revive the old Imperial claims to supremacy over the Papacy; his mission to Spain and England in **1415-1416** seemed to vindicate the position of the Empire as an international power.

But, largely owing to the skilful policy of Pope Martin V, the Emperor's hopes were not realised. He failed to secure the reform of the Church, to end the Schism, for Benedict XIII refused to resign, to reconcile England and France. His actions resulted in the diminution rather than the enhancement of the prestige of the Empire.

- C. The Council had shown that it had power to depose a Pope during a schism of contending candidates; but it had failed to make effective its claim to the right of reforming the Church in its head and members; every precedent of papal authority remained in force, the execution of Huss and Jerome was an assertion of the immutability of orthodox doctrine and hierarchical power. The Council had again averted reform, with the ultimate result that, when reform finally came, it came in the form of the Reformation; Concordats of Martin V strengthened the idea of national churches which found effective expression during the Reformation.

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. x.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, Book XIII,  
chaps. VIII-XI.

## THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASLE, 1418-1431

### I. The Hussite Wars, 1420-1431.

#### A. The death of Wenzel, 1419.

- (1) The Bohemians were enraged by the execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague, but no rising against Germany took place during the life of Wenzel who, since his deposition from the Empire in 1400, had devoted himself to Bohemia. Although a Roman Catholic, he had not violently opposed the new doctrines; he had strongly protested against Sigismund's perfidy in violating the safe conduct he had given to Huss.
- (2) On Wenzel's death in 1419 Sigismund became heir to Bohemia. Although engaged in repelling the Turks, and although Frederick of Brandenburg urged him to conciliate the Bohemians, Sigismund determined to crush heresy, and in March, 1420, Martin V preached a crusade against the Hussites.

#### B. The Four Articles of Prague.

The Hussites demanded in the Four Articles of Prague liberty of preaching, communion in both kinds,<sup>1</sup> the abolition of ecclesiastical property and of clerical interference in temporal matters, the liability of the clergy to secular law for crimes and misdemeanours. But the Calixtines or Pragers, the more moderate Hussites, whose strength lay in the town and University of Prague, distinguished between religious and political questions and supported gradual reform; the extreme Hussites or Taborites were more democratic and tended to republicanism, and in some cases communism.

#### C. The outbreak of war, 1420.

The repressive policy of Sigismund united all the Hussites who repudiated his claim to the throne. They

<sup>1</sup> Those who emphasised this doctrine were known as Utraquists.



found a great leader in Ziska, who reorganised their army into a most efficient fighting force, used his excellent artillery with great effect, and introduced new tactics by forming his baggage wagons "into a sort of movable fortress, equally formidable both for defence and aggression" (Lodge). "Of all wars none was so horribly, remorselessly, ostentatiously cruel as this—a war of races, of languages and of religion."<sup>1</sup> The Hussites fought in the spirit of the Old Testament; they called their strongholds Tabor and Horeb; they regarded priests, monks and nuns as Philistines, the enemies of God, whom it was their duty to exterminate. The orthodox party at Kuttenberg executed sixteen hundred men; the Hussites hanged a monk for every Hussite burned, and ruthlessly destroyed churches and monasteries.

#### D. From 1420 to 1424.

##### (1) Ziska's victories.

The German feudal armies raised from different states lacked cohesion and were utterly routed by Ziska at Wyschehrad, November 1st, 1420, Saas, September, 1st, 1421, and Deutschbrod, January, 1422. The Germans were driven out of Bohemia.

##### (2) Dissension in Germany.

Sigismund, by granting the vacant Electorate of Saxony to Frederick of Meissen, the head of the House of Wettin,<sup>2</sup> alienated his faithful supporter Frederick of Brandenburg, who had hoped to secure Saxony for the Hohenzollerns owing to the marriage of his son to the heiress of the last Ascanian Elector. The attempt of the Electors, led by Frederick, to override Sigismund's authority in 1423 led to a short civil war in Germany.

#### E. From 1424 to 1431.

##### (1) Danger of dissension in Bohemia.

Ziska's victories and differences in Germany

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

<sup>2</sup> The House of Wettin ruled in Saxony until 1919.

relieved Bohemia of the fear of foreign conquest, and the acceptance of the Four Articles by the Archbishop of Prague seemed to sever Bohemia from the Roman Church. An attempt to secure a Slav king failed, as Ladislaus of Poland refused to accept the crown of a heretic kingdom. Serious difficulties arose between the Pragers and Taborites, but all united when Martin V preached another crusade.

(2) Procopius' victories.

- a. Ziska died in **1424**, but Procopius, though blind, proved equally successful. His complete victory at Aussitz, June 16th, **1426**, led the Germans to raise a national levy, and the papal legate, Cardinal Beaufort, uncle of Henry VI, accompanied the "crusaders." In August, **1427**, an army of 200,000 men, on hearing of the approach of Procopius, fled in terror, in spite of the heroism of Beaufort, who "tore the Imperial standard in pieces and trampled it under foot" in disgust.
- b. **1427**. Procopius now invaded Germany, wasted Austria, Hungary and Saxony; burned Bayreuth, and was induced to return home by heavy bribes from Frederick of Brandenburg, now the leading member of a federal council which was exercising the power of the monarchy.
- c. In **1429** Frederick's peace negotiations with the Hussites failed and Beaufort diverted to France troops raised for a new crusade.
- d. In August, **1431**, a Fifth Crusade, with Cardinal Cæsarini as papal legate instead of Beaufort, was annihilated in the battle of Taas by Procopius.

Neither war nor negotiation availed against the Hussites, whose warlike skill enabled them to take full advantage of the dissensions in

Germany between Sigismund and the Electors, and of the provincial jealousy which impaired the military efficiency of the German armies. The only hope of a settlement lay in the recently summoned Council of Basle.

## II. The Papacy.

### A. Martin V, 1417-1431.

Martin V was in a strong position. The death of Gregory XII and John XXIII and the impotence of Benedict XIII practically ended the Schism; he reentered Rome in 1421, and by rebuilding much of the city gained great popularity; the Colonnas gave their kinsman powerful support; he succeeded in protecting the papal territories by taking skilful advantage of the rivalry of the Houses of Anjou and Aragon in Naples, and of the contest of Venice and Florence with Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan. In accordance with the decision of the Council of Constance he summoned a new General Council at Pavia, 1423, and soon transferred it to Siena. The Council, though attended by a great majority of Italians, urged the need of Church reform. It was therefore dissolved by Martin, who declared "that the Supreme Pontiff should be called to account was a perilous thing." The Council had decided that another Council should meet in Basle in 1431, and Martin V, although he objected to the place of meeting which would facilitate the attendance of Germans, realised the urgent need of putting down the Bohemian heresy and summoned on February 1st, 1431, the Council of Basle. He died of apoplexy on February 20th.

### B. Eugenius IV, 1431-1447.

On Martin's death the cardinals, whom he had kept in stern subordination, resolved that whichever of their number was elected Pope should support the reform of the Church, hold General Councils as provided by the Council of Constance, and give to the cardinals half the

papal revenue. But the new Pope, Eugenius IV, was a Celestine (page 257 B), devoted to the maintenance of the papal authority and determined that Church reform should come from the Pope. It was clear that dissension was sure to arise between Eugenius and the Council of Basle.

### III. The Growing Danger from the Turks.

The Turks had seized Gallipoli in 1354 and captured Adrianople in 1361. The victory of Kossova in 1389 made Bulgaria a Turkish province and Servia and Bosnia dependent on the Sultan. Bajazet I routed Sigismund at Nicopolis (1396), when he tried to regain the lands the Turks had won. Bajazet besieged Constantinople, but the city was saved by the defeat and capture of Bajazet at Angora in 1402 by Timour, or Tamerlane, the leader of the Tartars. But under Mohammed I the Turks regained their power, and under the Emperor John Palæologus (1425-1448) the Byzantine Empire had shrunk to little more than the city of Constantinople.

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. xi.

*The History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VII, Book XIII, chap. xi.

## THE COUNCIL OF BASLE, 1431-1449

The Council of Pisa was a council of cardinals called owing to the claims of two opposing Popes of whom Urban VI had cruelly oppressed the Italian cardinals. At Constance leaders of Christendom arbitrated between three rival Popes, one an exile at Venice, the second unable to escape from Peniscola in Spain, the third stained with crime and immorality. The Council of Basle, summoned by Martin V in 1431, and confirmed by Eugenius IV in 1433, successfully engaged in a struggle for its existence with the

latter; owing to its geographical position it was unable to force the Pope to respect its decrees but it remained safe from papal compulsion. The struggle at Basle was between the Church, as represented in the Council, and the lawfully elected Head of the Church. Unlike preceding Councils, the Council of Basle was democratic; the members were divided, not territorially into nations, but into four deputations dealing with Peace, Faith and Doctrine, Church Reform and general business; election to deputations was on a broad basis and, in consequence, the general body of the clergy became the dominant factor, not, as at Pisa and Constance, the high ecclesiastics.

#### **I. The Meeting and Acceptance of the Council by Eugenius IV, 1431-1433.**

##### **A. Eugenius IV dissolves the Council, 1431.**

The Council of Basle met on July 23rd, 1431. The victory of Procopius at Taas on August 14th emphasised the need of an immediate settlement with the Hussites, and the Council invited them to send representatives to Basle. Eugenius declared that a treaty with heretics was an insult to God and dissolved the Council, nominally because of the small attendance, the insecurity of the roads and the necessity of securing a meeting-place in Italy which would be more convenient for the ambassadors from John Palæologus, who came to suggest the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches to protect Constantinople from the Turks.

Cardinal Cæsarini, the papal legate, refused to dissolve the Council, the only means of checking the Hussite heresy and maintaining the authority of the Roman Church in Germany. In February, 1432, the Council decided that a General Council could not be dissolved without its own consent, and asserted the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope. Eugenius declared the Council to be a "synagogue of Satan"; the Council summoned the Pope to attend and declared him contumacious for not appearing.

**B. Eugenius recognises the Council, 1433.**

Sigismund, who was crowned Emperor in Rome in May, 1432, supported the Council; in 1433 Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, who also supported the Council, besieged Rome and Eugenius fled to Florence. He was unable, owing to the pressure of Sigismund and his own difficulties in Italy, to resist the Council, and in December, 1433, he annulled his Bull of Dissolution and recognised the Council of Basle as a lawful General Council.

**C. The Council and the Pope.**

An undercurrent of hostility between Pope and Council affected the proceedings. The former claimed full papal prerogative, irrespective of Conciliar action; the latter claimed supremacy over all Christendom, including the Pope, and the right of reforming the Church in its head and members.<sup>1</sup>

**II. The Compactata.**

Delegates from Bohemia attended the Council at Basle, but failed to settle the questions arising out of the Articles of Prague (page 305). Further discussion took place at Prague in 1433 and resulted in the acceptance by both parties of the Compactata by which the Bohemians received the right of communion in both kinds,<sup>2</sup> liberty of preaching was granted but made conditional on regular ordination and obedience to episcopal authority; the right of the clergy to hold property was recognised and criminal clergy were to be punished "according to the law of God and the ordinances of the Fathers." This compromise satisfied the moderate party but not the extremists; civil war broke out and the Taborites were utterly routed by their own countrymen at Lipan, April, 1434, where Procopius was slain. The Utraquist nobles recognised Sigismund as King of

<sup>1</sup> *Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, page 360.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the laity were to receive the cup as well as the bread.

Bohemia, August, 1434; he granted an amnesty for past offences and made communion in both kinds a condition of public office in Bohemia.

The Council of Basle had thus led to the end of the Slavonic Reformation which, but for its action, might have anticipated the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

### III. Reform.

The Council had greatly strengthened its position by its refusal to dissolve at the Pope's command and by the result of its dealings with the Hussites. It now undertook the task of reforming the Church. But reform did not mean any interference with doctrine; the Council was rigidly orthodox; its aim was to "reduce the arbitrary autocracy of the Pope to a constitutional monarchy in order to strengthen, not to overthrow, that monarchy" (Milman). It denied the right of the Pope to interfere with a patron's right to present to livings, forbade appeals to the Pope against the decision of a bishop, supported the establishment of synods to deal with local questions, and in June, 1435, forbade the payment to the Pope of "first fruits" or annates.<sup>1</sup> The Council then asserted that the right of electing bishops belonged solely to the chapters, and that it was heretical to appeal from the decision of a General Council to a Pope.

### IV. Growing Hostility between Pope and Council.

A. The hostility between the Council and the Pope, who continued to insist on the full prerogatives of the Papacy and repudiated the legality of the reforming resolutions of the Council, was deepened by these measures, which were due largely to Cardinal Louis, Archbishop of Arles.

B. The Eastern Emperor, John Palæologus, now sought help from Western Europe against the Turks, and in return

<sup>1</sup> The first year's revenue of a see or living.

for help was ready to surrender the independence of the Greek Church ; he sent ambassadors to and received legates from both the Pope and the Council of Basle, but objected to Basle as a meeting-place because of the difficulties of a journey over the Alps. The Council suggested Avignon ; the Pope, who was most anxious that the Council should be transferred to Italy where he could exercise stronger influence over its deliberations, advocated Florence. A suggestion of the Duke of Milan that the meeting should be held at Pavia, about half-way between Basle and Florence, was advocated by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, hitherto a strong supporter of the Council. The Council by a large majority selected Avignon, but the official record of the vote was stolen, and a statement that Florence had been chosen was substituted for it (March, 1437), probably by the contrivance of the Archbishop of Taranto, who fled from the Council and was soon after made a cardinal by the Pope.

- C. July, 1437. The Council summoned the Pope and his cardinals to appear before them within sixty days ; September 18th, 1437, Eugenius pronounced the dissolution of the Council of Basle and summoned a Council to meet at Ferrara to secure the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. October 1st, 1437, the Council declared the Pope contumacious for failure to appear and declared his Bull which summoned the Council of Ferrara to be void.
- D. The aggressive policy of the Council alienated some of its members, others resented the great influence exercised by the lower clergy ; by the early part of 1438 Cæsarini, the President of the Council, and a number of others left the Council and took up the cause of the Pope.
- E. May 16th, 1439, the Council passed sentence of deposition on Eugenius IV, and on October 28th elected as Pope, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, a layman who had been married and had children. He had been living in retire-



ment, and it was hoped that he would use his great wealth to defray the expenses of the Papacy. He took the title of Felix V.

#### V. Events Outside Basle, 1437-1439.

##### A. The Council of Ferrara or Florence, 1438-1439.

- (1) The Emperor John Palæologus and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople accepted the invitation of the Pope not that of the Council of Basle; they landed at Venice and met the Pope at Ferrara, March 8th, 1438. John was not allowed to kneel before the Pope, but Eugenius was disappointed because the Patriarch and Eastern bishops refused to kiss his foot. Owing to plague the Council was transferred to Florence, where Cardinal Cæsarini championed the Latin cause and Bessarion the Greek.
- (2) The most important question was the Procession of the Holy Ghost; the Greeks held that the Holy Ghost proceeded "from the Father" alone, the Latins "from the Father and the Son" (filioque). The Latins were obliged to admit that the words "filioque" had been added to the Creed as accepted at the Council of Nicaea; the Greeks held to the original Nicene Creed and had never accepted the addition.
- (3) Other questions at issue were the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Sacrament, Purgatory, the supremacy of the Pope. The Emperor and Pope were determined to ensure the unity of the Churches; divisions arose among the Greeks who were weakened by Bessarion's acceptance of the Latin belief which the Greeks finally accepted without conviction. It was agreed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, "but as from one principle, by one operation." Each Church was to maintain its own custom with regard to bread used in the Sacrament; the Roman doctrine of Purgatory was affirmed;

the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, was declared supreme over the whole Catholic Church, but the rights of the Greek Patriarchs were declared inviolable.

- (4) Eugenius IV claimed to have effected the reconciliation of the Greek and Roman Churches. But the decisions of the Council of Florence were repudiated by the Greek Christians, all signs of union soon disappeared, and fifteen years after John Palæologus returned Constantinople was a Mohammedan city.

#### B. Germany.

- (1) Sigismund, always a strong supporter of the cause of reform, died December 9th, 1437, and his death was a severe blow to the Council of Basle.
- (2) Under Albert of Austria, Sigismund's son-in-law and successor (1438-1439), the Diet drew up the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz (1439), which pronounced in favour of the abolition of annates and of papal provisions, and supported the organisation of local ecclesiastical synods.
- (3) Frederick III (1440-1493) was influenced by Aeneas Sylvius, who became his secretary in 1442. Aeneas Sylvius had at first strongly maintained the supreme authority of the Council of Basle and bitterly attacked Pope Eugenius IV; he became secretary to Pope Felix V, but decided that the cause of the Council was hopeless, and in 1442 adopted a policy of neutrality. Frederick III, on whose decision the fate of the rival Popes depended, seemed neutral, but in 1441 a Diet at Mainz had proposed that a new Council should be summoned, and Aeneas soon decided to support Eugenius IV. By 1445 Aeneas had received pardon from Eugenius for previous opposition and had made a treaty between the Pope and Frederick by which the former promised to make Germany acknowledge the Pope's supremacy and the latter to give to Frederick the Imperial crown. The Arch-

bishops of Cologne and Trèves therefore determined to support Felix V, and in February, **1446**, Eugenius deposed the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves. A League of Electors, formed at Frankfort in March for mutual defence, demanded that Eugenius should cancel the deposition of the Archbishops, confirm the Pragmatic Sanction of **1439**, admit the supremacy of General Councils and call a Council to meet in Germany in **1447** (Lodge). Aeneas induced the Pope to restore the Archbishops, won over the Archbishop of Mainz with bribes, and himself altered the terms of the Pope's answer to avoid offending the Germans.

A Diet at Frankfort, September, **1446**, accepted the amended answer which restored the Archbishops and acknowledged in very vague terms the ecclesiastical independence of Germany and the supremacy of General Councils—without mentioning the Council of Basle. The differences were finally settled by the Concordat of Vienna made in February, **1448**, by Frederick III and Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V (**1447–1455**), which repeated the former acknowledgment of General Councils, but restored to the Pope annates and most of the old rights of patronage and presentation. The Concordat of Vienna was a great triumph for Aeneas, whose skilful and unscrupulous diplomacy had won over the German magnates, and for the Papacy which regained much of the power lost by the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz.

### C. France.

France was anxious to assert ecclesiastical independence and to keep all possible wealth in the country, which was beginning to recover from the Hundred Years' War. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (**1438**), recognised the Council of Basle as a regular General Council supreme over all Christians, including the Pope, and accepted its decrees. It asserted the right of Chapters to elect bishops; strictly limited the papal

right of presentation ; forbade appeals to Rome and the payment of annates to the Pope (and thus checked the flow of money from France to Rome) and the marriage of the clergy ; extended the right of excommunicated persons to intercourse with their friends, and denied the justice of punishing innocent and guilty alike by an interdict.

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was a triumph of nationality. Its action in recognising the Council of Basle and accepting the decrees of that Council involved an assumption of superiority to the Council on which it passed judgment ; it maintained the plenary authority of a national Church as against the supreme power claimed by both Pope and Council. It was "the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican Church" (Lodge).

#### VI. The End of the Council of Basle.

Before his death, February 23rd, 1447, Eugenius IV had become reconciled with Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and Alfonso V, King of Naples. Germany, owing to the skill of Aeneas Sylvius, whose early life is the history of the dissolution of the Council of Basle, had relinquished her policy of neutrality and by the Diet of Frankfort had made terms with Nicholas V. France had asserted her independence ; England had not even claimed national recognition at the Council. By 1449 Nicholas V was firmly established at Rome. Felix V was living quietly at Lausanne or Geneva, only a handful of prelates remained at Basle.

Aeneas induced Felix V to resign ; Nicholas V made him a cardinal and restored Louis, Archbishop of Arles, to his see. Frederick III ordered the magistrates of Basle to dissolve the Council ; the King of France acted as mediator ; Nicholas annulled all papal censures against Felix V and the Council, and by wise moderation facilitated the termination of a Council which had long since failed to be effective.

**VII. General.**

A. The Council of Basle was the last General or Œcumenical Council; the Reformation was soon to divide Christendom, and the next Council, at Trent (1545-1563), was attended mainly by Spanish and Italian prelates, and had no representatives from Protestant states.

B. Failure of the Conciliar Movement.

With the Council of Basle the Conciliar Movement, which had arisen owing to the Great Schism, and which aimed at asserting the supremacy of a General Council over Church and Pope, came to an end. The movement had proved a failure.

- (1) The supremacy of the Pope was strenuously asserted by Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, John XXIII, Martin V and Eugenius IV, and "the Pontificate of Nicholas V is the culminating point of Latin Christianity" (Milman). By the Bull *Execrabilis* Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius) in 1460 declared that it was heresy to appeal from the decision of a Pope to a General Council.
- (2) The attempt to reform the Church and, at the same time, to preserve its unity had failed. The reform desired was not doctrinal; the Popes and Councils engaged were strictly orthodox, and it was the Council of Constance and not the Pope that burned John Huss.
- (3) The failure was largely due to the fact that new political divisions had arisen based on the feeling of nationality. National kingdoms, which were incompatible with the theory of the Medieval Empire, led to national churches which were incompatible with the ecclesiastical theories of the Middle Ages. The division into nations and the Concordats issued by Martin V at Constance, the Pragmatic Sanctions of Bourges and Mainz were a recognition of the new order. The Council of Basle had crushed the Slavonic

Reformation which was closely connected with national feeling in Bohemia. But in the sixteenth century national revolts against papal supremacy and Roman doctrine led to the Protestant Reformation.

### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. xi.

*History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VIII, Book XIII,  
chaps. xi-xvi.

## GERMANY, 1437-1493

### I. Political Conditions in 1437.

#### A. General unrest.

The middle of the fifteenth century was a time of general unrest. France was disturbed by contests between the King and the nobles, England by the Wars of the Roses; Spain was engaged in wars with the Moors.

But by the end of the century these three countries had passed under the power of strong national kings, Louis XI of France, Henry VII of England, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, whose marriage in 1479 united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

#### B. Germany.

##### (1) Failure to restore Imperial traditions.

Sigismund's attempt to restore the position of the Empire, which had gained a considerable measure of success in 1415 (page 302), had failed; the attempt, due to the danger from the Hussites, to establish a system of Imperial government in 1424 had also failed.

Sigismund ruled over Germany, Bohemia and Hungary, the second and third of which had become of supreme importance as buffer states against the

invading Turks ; from **1419** Sigismund had neglected Germany and devoted himself to Bohemia and Hungary.

(2) The Hapsburgs.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Albert II of Hapsburg in **1358** the Hapsburg territories had been divided between his sons Albert III, who received Austria, and Leopold, who received Swabia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Tyrol. The Leopoldine territories were divided again (on the death of Leopold at Sempach in **1386**) into the Styrian and Tyrolese line ; Frederick of Tyrol had been deprived of Tyrol and Swabia by Sigismund in **1415**, but had soon regained his dominions. In **1437** Albert V, grandson of Albert III and head of the Albertine line, who had married Sigismund's daughter Elizabeth, held Austria ; Frederick, son of Leopold, head of the Tyrolese line, held Tyrol and Swabia ; Frederick of Styria and his brother Albert, grandsons of Leopold, held Styria, Carinthia and Carniola.

(3) Loss of German territory.

A country so divided could not hope to retain its outlying territory. German power in Italy had come to an end ; on the west Lyons, Provence and Lorraine had passed into French hands ; Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, was securing much of the Low Countries ; the Hanseatic League was growing weaker ; the Jagellons had added Lithuania to Poland and routed the Knights of the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg in **1410** ; Bohemia was strongly anti-German.

(4) The death of Sigismund, **1437**.

Sigismund had united all the Luxemburg dominions, and the retention under one ruler of Bohemia, Hungary and Germany seemed a necessary condition of the maintenance of the eastern border against the Turks and the Slav House of Jagellon. His death

<sup>1</sup> See genealogical tree, page 248.

without a son in **1437** raised the supremely important questions of the succession to Bohemia and Hungary ; involved Germany in a new Imperial election, which Frederick of Hohenzollern, Margrave of Brandenburg hoped to control in the interests of Church reform and national organisation.

## II. Albert II, King of the Romans, 1438-1439.

### A. Election as King of the Romans, March 18th, **1438**.

Most of the magnates supported Albert V<sup>1</sup> of Austria against Frederick of Hohenzollern because his interests in Austria would prevent him from establishing in Germany a strong power which would weaken their independence. The interests of Germany were sacrificed to the selfishness of the magnates. But the election was of great importance because it placed on the Imperial throne the Hapsburgs who, except from **1742** to **1765**, reigned without a break until the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon in **1806**. During this time the Hapsburgs gave to the loosely federated states of Germany the only bond they possessed ; after the break up of the German confederation by its separation from Austria in **1866** the union of Germany was effected by Bismarck on January 18th, **1871**, when King William I of Prussia, a descendant of Albert's rival Frederick of Hohenzollern, became German Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

B. Albert II was readily accepted in **1437** as King of Hungary and crowned King by the orthodox party in Bohemia ; but the Hussites, led by George Podiebrand, opposed him and civil war broke out. Albert failed to capture Tabor, the great stronghold of the Hussites, but secured Silesia. The danger from the Turks, who were threatening Hungary, compelled him to leave Bohemia before he had conquered it. He died on October 27th, **1439**, of illness contracted during his operations against the Turks in the valley of the Theiss.

<sup>1</sup> Page 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes on British History, Part V, page 1114.*



### III. Frederick III, 1440-1493.

Albert II had held Austria and Hungary and was supported by a large part of Bohemia. His death severed the bond that bound these countries; much depended on the sex of the child that was expected by his wife, Elizabeth of Luxemburg.<sup>1</sup>

The election of the youthful Frederick of Styria, February 2nd, 1440, whose power over the Styrian lands was shared by his brother Albert, was a triumph for the selfish policy of the magnates. The death in 1440 of Frederick of Hohenzollern removed the most influential man in Germany; he had maintained the cause of the Empire and of Church Reform, and founded modern Prussia.

#### A. Internal policy.

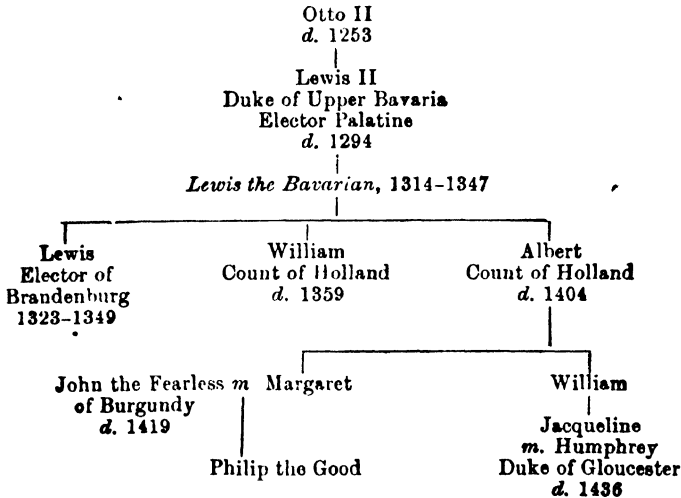
- (1) Frederick III proved inactive and lacking in decision. He persistently refused to attend diets, and a scheme to reform the administration, put forward by the Electors in 1455 owing to the King's indifference, proved an utter failure.
- (2) Serious differences arose when Frederick, owing to the diplomacy of Aeneas Sylvius, allowed Pope Eugenius IV to annul the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz in 1446, but the Electoral League, formed in 1443 to support Felix V (page 314), came to an end in 1446, and in 1447 many of the German magnates joined Frederick and accepted Nicholas V by the Concordat of Vienna, 1448. A later attempt of the reforming party to hold a General Council in Germany proved unsuccessful, and divisions between the Electors not only ruined the cause of Church Reform but also averted the possibility of the dethronement of the Emperor. The power of the Pope grew; the Papacy secured nomination to half the sees in Germany and diverted to its own use the tithes levied for a Crusade against the Turks. In 1460 by the Bull *Execrabilis* Pius II

<sup>1</sup> Page 248.

(Aeneas Sylvius) declared that any appeal from a Pope to a General Council was heresy.

Thus in Germany Frederick's inactive policy had prevented the reform of the administration, perpetuated the disunion of the country, ruined the cause of ecclesiastical reform and promoted the re-establishment of papal influence.

### THE WITTELSBACHS



### B. Austria, Hungary and Bohemia.

#### Ladislaus Postumus.

- a. Ladislaus Postumus, son of Albert II, was born on February 22nd, 1440, five months after his father's death. He was immediately recognised as Duke of Austria. He was recognised as King of Hungary in 1445, and John Hunyadi was appointed Regent of Hungary, although Frederick III was the guardian of the young King. In Bohemia Ladislaus became King after Frederick of Hohenzollern had refused the

crown, but civil war resulted in a victory for the Utraquists and the appointment of their leader, George Podiebrand, as Regent of Bohemia in **1452**.

[March 19th, **1452**. Frederick III crowned Emperor at Rome ; he was the last Emperor to be crowned at Rome.]

- b.* Ladislaus Postumus began to rule as King of Hungary and Bohemia and Duke of Austria in **1452**. His unwise adviser, Count de Cilly, involved him in quarrels with Hunyadi and Podiebrand, who continued to act as regents. The danger from the Turks, who attacked Belgrade, **1456**, united all against the common foe. John Hunyadi and Capistrano, a Franciscan friar, relieved Belgrade and utterly routed the Turks, July 22nd, **1456**, but both died soon after the battle.

King Ladislaus Postumus died suddenly at Prague, November 23rd, **1457**, of the Black Death, not, as the Austrians asserted, of poison. By this death the union between Austria, Hungary and Bohemia was again severed.

### C. New kings in Bohemia and Hungary.

- (1) By the death of Ladislaus Postumus, the last of the Albertine line of the Hapsburgs, Frederick III became head of the family and Austria came under the joint rule of Frederick III and his brother Albert of the Styrian line, and of their cousin Sigismund of the Tyrolese line. In **1463** Albert died, Frederick bought Sigismund's interests and became sole ruler of Austria.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) But the national and anti-German feeling in Hungary and Bohemia prompted the people to assert the right of electing their own kings irrespective of family claims. Hungary elected on January 24th, **1458**, Mathias Corvinus, son of John Hunyadi ; Bohemia

<sup>1</sup> See genealogical tree, page 248.

on March 2nd elected George Podiebrand. Mathias married Podiebrand's daughter.

- (3) But differences of religion arose between Hungary and Bohemia in **1468**. Mathias was strictly orthodox; Podiebrand was a Utraquist determined to maintain the Compactata of **1433** (page 311). These had been annulled by Pope Pius II in **1462**, and Paul II declared that Podiebrand was deposed for heresy. Mathias was anxious to secure the throne of Bohemia and war broke out in **1468**. But Podiebrand succeeded in maintaining his position, and on his death in **1471** the crown was accepted by Ladislaus of Poland.

Austria, Bohemia and Hungary were now under separate rulers and the eastern frontier of Germany was seriously weakened.

#### D. Switzerland and Burgundy.

- (1) The death of his uncle Frederick of Tyrol (page 248) in **1439** made Frederick III guardian of his young cousin Sigismund of Tyrol, who as lord of Swabia was opposed by the Swiss Confederacy (page 343). Frederick supported Zürich, which had broken away from the Confederation in **1442**, but in spite of his alliance Zürich in **1450** again joined their fellow-countrymen.
- (2) Sigismund in **1469** pledged Swabia to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who was defeated and slain by the Swiss in **1477** at Nancy. Sigismund, whom Louis XI had reconciled with the Swiss, regained his Swabian lands.
- (3) Frederick III vainly attempted during the lifetime of Charles the Bold (page 344) to arrange a marriage between his son Maximilian and Charles' daughter, Mary of Burgundy. But the danger from Louis XI, who desired to add Burgundy to France, alarmed Charles and, although he resented Frederick's refusal to give him a royal title, he sanctioned their betrothal and they were married in **1477**.

**E. The position of the Hapsburgs at the death of Frederick III, 1493.**

Frederick's difficulties were increased by discontent in Styria, where his capital, Neustadt, was besieged in **1452**, and later by the success of Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, who invaded Austria and captured Vienna, **1485**.

But in spite of all difficulties Frederick's policy gained a large measure of success. Maximilian was elected King of the Romans in **1486**, and the succession of a Hapsburg on the death of Frederick was assured. Frederick had secured Austria in **1463**; the marriage of Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy in **1477** added Burgundy and the Low Countries to the Hapsburg dominions; King Ladislaus of Bohemia, who had succeeded Mathias Corvinus as King of Hungary in **1490**, by the treaty of Pressburg in **1491** restored all the land that Mathias Corvinus had gained in Austria, Styria and Carinthia, and promised that, on failure of his own line, Hungary and Bohemia should pass to the Hapsburgs (this happened in **1527**); in **1493** Charles VIII of France, who had married Anne of Brittany, although she had been married by proxy as his second wife to Maximilian,<sup>1</sup> and had repudiated his betrothal to Maximilian's daughter Margaret, surrendered Artois and Franche-Comté to prevent Maximilian from interfering with his Italian expedition; in **1492** Maximilian had received the Tyrol and the Swabian lands of Sigismund of Tyrol.

Frederick had prevented the union of all the German states into a closely united kingdom. But his "patient and rather ignoble diplomacy" had laid the foundation of the power of the Hapsburgs, who were destined to play the leading part in German history for many years.

**Reference :**

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. xvii.

<sup>1</sup> Mary of Burgundy died in 1482.

## THE PAPACY FROM 1447-1492 FROM THE DEATH OF EUGENIUS IV TO THE ELECTION OF ALEXANDER VI

Eugenius IV died on February 23rd, 1447, and by this time the supremacy of the Papacy over General Councils had been assured, although the Council of Basle did not end until 1449. The Papacy passed through two distinct phases between 1447 and 1492. Under Nicholas V and Pius II its great power was used for worthy objects, to reconcile conflicting interests in Italy, to promote the cause of learning, to organise a crusade against the Turk. The short reign of Paul II (1464-1471), during which a Pope of high character looked "at affairs from an intellectual rather than a spiritual point of view" (Lodge), forms the dividing line between the two periods. With the accession of Sixtus IV, 1471, the secularisation of the Holy See begins.

### I. Nicholas V, 1447-1455.

Thomas of Sarzana, Cardinal of Bologna, was a great patron of letters whose conciliatory disposition and love of peace enabled him to make an excellent use of the supremacy which Eugenius IV and Aeneas Sylvius had won for the Papacy.

#### A. A peacemaker.

- (1) The settlement of the Council of Basle was facilitated by the moderation he showed to its supporters (page 317).
- (2) The Concordat he made with Germany re-established papal authority in the country and successfully concluded the negotiations Eugenius IV had started.
- (3) Italy was now disturbed by two wars. Filippo Maria Visconti died in 1447 and Milan was claimed by the great condottiere, Francesco Sforza, who had married

Filippo's daughter Bianca and secured the duchy in 1450; by Alfonso V, King of Aragon, who had reunited the crowns of Naples and Sicily and now claimed to be the legitimate heir of Filippo; by Louis, Duke of Orleans,<sup>1</sup> the grandson of Filippo's sister, Valentina. Florence was at war with Milan. Nicholas V kept no large armies and declared that the Cross of Christ was the only weapon he would employ. He acted, with some success, as a mediator between contending parties, and the papal territory escaped devastation. The Pope had again become a great Italian prince.

#### B. Nicholas V and Rome.

- (1) In 1450 a splendid Jubilee attracted to Rome multitudes of pilgrims whose contributions filled the papal treasury. Nicholas used much of this wealth to beautify Rome; he restored the Lateran, made plans for rebuilding St. Peter's, strengthened the bridge and castle of St. Angelo, restored about fifty churches, strengthened the walls of the city and rebuilt the Mulvian bridge.
- (2) In March, 1452, Nicholas married Frederick III to Eleanor of Portugal and crowned him Emperor. Nicholas was the last Pope to crown the Emperor at Rome.
- (3) But the turbulence of the Romans led to the rising of Stephen Porcaro, who sought to restore the Roman republic and to massacre the cardinals, and perhaps the Pope. The attempt failed; Porcaro and many of his supporters were executed January, 1453.

#### C. Nicholas V, the patron of learning.

Nicholas, who had long been a collector of books, founded the Vatican Library, which soon included five thousand volumes. He took special interest in Greek,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Louis XII of France, 1498-1515.

he collected Greek manuscripts from different parts of Europe, and arranged for translations of the leading Greek writers :—Laurentius Valla translated Herodotus and Thucydides ; Poggio, Xenophon ; Theodore of Gaza, Aristotle ; Filelfo, Homer. Nicholas secured the translation of the Fathers, e.g. Basil and Cyril, and arranged for the translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Nicholas hoped that literature would become the handmaid of the Church, but it proved one of the causes of the Renaissance, which tended to become non-Christian, and by stimulating the demand for free inquiry contributed to the Reformation.

The health of Nicholas had been impaired by illness, by his resentment of the ingratitude of the Romans. His death on March 24th, 1455, was hastened by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks on May 29th, 1453. He had done a great work, and in him one great age of the Papacy came to an end. " In Nicholas the sovereign Italian Prince and the Pontiff met in serene and amicable dignity ; he had no temptation to found a princely family " (Milman).

## II. Pius II, 1458-1464.

Nicholas V was succeeded by Calixtus III, a Spaniard. He made his nephew, Roderigo Borgia (afterwards Alexander VI), a cardinal, and showed clearly that he wished to use the Papacy to further the interests of his family. On his death in 1458 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini became Pope Pius II.

### A. Early life.

The licentious novel, *Euryalus and Lucretia*, which he wrote in his early life, was in accordance with his own character ; later " the votary of Venus became the votary of Bacchus." But his exceptional capacity for business, skill in diplomacy, eloquence and ability as a writer made him take full advantage of the exceptional opportunities for advancement which presented them-



selves. He at first supported (page 313) and then opposed the Council of Basle; at one time secretary to Pope Felix V, he became the trusted adviser of Frederick III and induced the Germans to adhere to Nicholas V in the Congress of Aschaffenberg, 1447, and the Concordat of Vienna, 1448. By this time he was papal secretary and Bishop of Trieste. He settled a frontier dispute between Frederick III and Venice; failed to induce Milan to accept Frederick III as Duke in 1450; arranged the marriage contract between Frederick and Eleanor of Portugal; visited England, Scotland and Bohemia; was appointed bishop of his native city of Siena by Nicholas V, 1450, became Papal Legate in Bohemia and Hungary.

#### B. Aeneas Sylvius as Pope Pius II.

The life of Pius II, who bade his friends "Aeneam rejicite, Pium accipite," by its austerity and devotion presented a marked contrast to that of Aeneas Sylvius. His great object was to maintain and extend the authority of the Papacy; he therefore led a great movement to unite Christendom in a crusade against the Turks; by the Bull *Execrabilis*, 1460, he declared that any appeal from a papal decision to a General Council was heretical; he denounced the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.

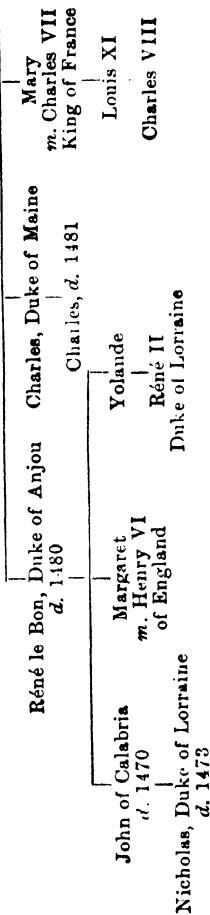
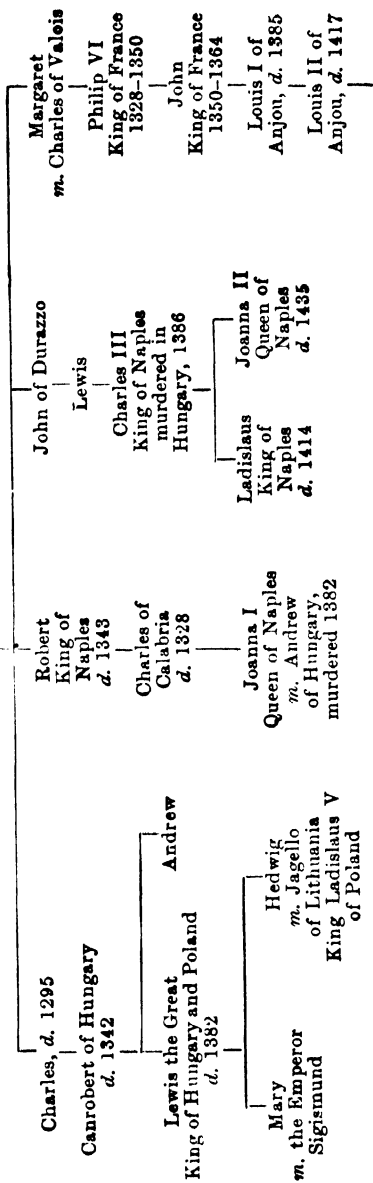
#### (1) War in Naples, 1459-1464.

On the death of Alfonso V in 1458, his illegitimate son, Ferrante, claimed Naples. Calixtus III refused to recognise him, but Pius II acknowledged him as King *de facto*. The barons asked the help of René le Bon, the head of the Valois line of the House of Anjou. René's son, John of Calabria, seemed likely to conquer Naples, but the accession in 1461 of Louis XI, an enemy of the Angevins, and the defection of Genoa weakened his cause. He was defeated by Ferrante of Naples in 1462.

# THE HOUSE OF ANJOU AND THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Charles I of Anjou *m.* Beatrice  
son of St. Louis, of Provence  
*d.* 1286

Charles II, *d.* 1309



## (2) The proposed Crusade.

- a. Pius II summoned a Congress at Mantua in 1459 to arrange for a crusade against the Turks, but the conditions of Europe were entirely different from those under which the earlier crusades had been preached. The French were angry because he acknowledged Ferrante; Frederick III resented the Pope's refusal to support his claim to the throne of Hungary; the Bull *Execrabilis*, issued from Mantua, aroused strong hostility in Germany. The Congress proved a failure and the war in Naples further impaired the prospects of a crusade.
- b. Pius sent a letter to the Sultan, Mohammed II, urging him to accept Christianity, and asserting that "nothing was wanting to make Mohammed the mightiest sovereign the world had ever seen, nothing but a little water for his baptism, and belief in the Gospel."
- c. By 1464 the conditions were more favourable. Ferrante, the ally of the Pope, was firmly established in Naples; the advance of the Turks, who had conquered Serbia in 1459 the Morea in 1460, frightened the Venetians and Hungarians, who made an alliance with Pius in 1463. He proclaimed a general crusade and went to lead it in person from Ancona in 1464. But the leaders who promised him aid failed to appear; adventurers bent on private profit made up the crusading force, and although the Pope and one of his cardinals undertook to board the Venetian fleet which had appeared, his death two days after its arrival led to the abandonment of the enterprise.

Pius II was the only Pope who was willing to take an active part in the crusades, and the

heroism of his death may justly obscure the faults of his earlier life. But as Aeneas Sylvius, who supported the limitation of papal power and recognised the importance of national feeling, he had been a better representative of his times. As Pius II, he represented the outworn tradition of the Middle Ages. His noble crusading effort proved an utter failure, and the supremacy of the Papacy, which he so strenuously defended, was soon to be used for purely secular ends.

### III. The Secularisation of the Papacy.

The possession of the Patrimony of St. Peter necessarily involved the Popes in war, and about 1280 St. John of Parma had refused the cardinalate because "in Rome the salvation of souls was of small account in comparison with wars and intrigues." Clement V waged war with utter cruelty against Ferrara; under John XXII the Papacy fought the Visconti, who were a serious danger to the papal territory; Albornoz, the legate of Innocent VI, put down with ruthless severity the rebels against the Pope.

From the accession of Sixtus IV in 1471 the Popes "became to all intents and purposes mere secular princes, to whom religion was purely an instrument for supplementing territorial weakness in the attainment of worldly ends." The powers of excommunication and interdict, the supreme authority to bind and loose which enabled the Pope to break, or to give authority to his allies to break inconvenient treaties; the huge revenues derived from annates, tithes and the sale of absolutions and indulgences were used to humble hostile sovereigns or to equip papal forces. Papal history became almost purely political, an affair of diplomacy, alliances and warfare.

Popes who ruled as secular princes naturally sought to aggrandise their families. Papal nepotism was no

new thing, but now the advancement to high position of relatives whose power might strengthen the Papacy became practically a settled policy.

#### IV. **Sixtus IV, 1471-1484.**

Sixtus IV, who succeeded Paul II (1464-1471), ruled as "a secular prince with a cynical disregard of moral considerations."

##### A. Family advancement.

###### (1) His nephews Della Rovere.

He made two of these nephews Prefects of Rome, and married Leonardo, one of these, to the daughter of Ferrante of Naples, the other, Giovanni, to the daughter of Federigo of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. He made the third, Guiliano della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II), a cardinal.

###### (2) His nephews Riario.

He made Piero Riario a cardinal and Archbishop of Florence, married Girolamo Riario to Caterina Sforza, bought Imola for him and created him Duke of Forli in 1480.

##### B. The policy of Sixtus IV.

The policy of Sixtus IV is a deliberate attempt to use the Papacy for the aggrandisement of his family.

###### (1) Florence.

To weaken the Medici and strengthen the position of his nephew Piero Riario, the Archbishop of Florence, Sixtus and Riario organised in 1478 the Pazzi conspiracy in which Guiliano de' Medici was killed and Lorenzo wounded. The Archbishop of Pisa, who had joined the conspiracy, was killed by the people; Sixtus excommunicated the Florentines and called on Ferrante of Naples to help him to crush Florence. Lorenzo de' Medici, by skilful diplomacy won over Ferrante; the capture of Otranto by the Turks in

**1480** compelled the Pope and Ferrante to concentrate their efforts on the repulse of the invaders, and the Pope withdrew his excommunication.

(2) Venice.

Sixtus had lost the support of Ferrante. Venice had been compelled, in **1479**, to cede Lemnos to the Turks. In **1482** Venice, desiring to secure new territory in Italy to make up for the loss of Lemnos, made an alliance with Sixtus to plunder the Duke of Ferrara. But when, in **1483**, Venice refused to hand over Ferrarese territory to Girolamo Riario, Duke of Forli, and when an army of Ferrante invaded the papal states, Sixtus excommunicated the Venetians and tried to secure cities which Venice had occupied. His attempt proved a failure.

(3) Rome.

The nobles of Rome, led by the Colonnas, resented the nepotism of Sixtus so strongly that civil war broke out in Rome. Sixtus sent to the Colonnas the dead body of Lorenzo Colonna, who had surrendered on condition that he was sent back to his family. "See how a Pope keeps faith" was his mother's bitter comment.

## V. Innocent VIII, 1484-1492.

Innocent continued the papal policy of family aggrandisement, but less scandalously than Sixtus IV or Alexander VI.

### A. The Pope and the Medici.

The Pope's son, Franceschetto Cibo, married a daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici and received a small principality; Giovanni de' Medici (afterwards Pope Leo X) was made a cardinal. The Medici now secured great influence at Rome and Florence profited accordingly.

## B. Naples.

Ferrante had become so powerful that, in spite of the papal suzerainty over Naples, the only tribute Ferrante paid to Sixtus IV was a white horse. He and his son Alfonso had provoked the barons to rebellion by their cruelty in 1485. Innocent VIII and Venice supported the barons, who offered the crown of Naples to René of Lorraine, the grandson of René le Bon of Anjou. Although his armies proved successful in the field, the danger of a French invasion of Italy led Ferrante to make peace with Innocent and to consent to pay the usual tribute. In spite of an amnesty the Neapolitan barons who had surrendered were executed. In 1493 those who had remained in exile offered the crown of Naples to Charles VIII of France. The death of the powerful Ferrante on January 25th, 1494, encouraged Charles to accept the invitation, and with his momentous invasion in 1494 a new chapter of Italian history begins.

**Reference :** *The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. XIII.

### THE HOUSE OF ARAGON AND THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Ferdinand I  
King of Aragon and Sicily  
d. 1416  
|  
Alfonso V  
King of Aragon, Naples  
and Sicily  
d. 1458  
⋮  
Ferrante I  
King of Naples  
d. 1494  
|  
Alfonso II  
King of Naples  
abdicated 1495  
|  
Ferdinand II  
d. 1496

**SECTION IV**  
**GERMANY**





## THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

Switzerland became a federation of states differing widely in origin, race and language, but compelled to unite for defence against the House of Hapsburg.

Switzerland formed a part of Swabia, and owed allegiance to the Dukes of Swabia, who were vassals of the Empire. The end of the old line of dukes removed the link between Switzerland and the Empire, and gave to the Hapsburgs an opportunity of extending their power in Swabia. The weakening of the Imperial power and the consequent weakening of the German monarchy, particularly on the borders, facilitated the designs of the Hapsburgs. Frederick II in 1231 had recognised Uri as independent of any lord save the Emperor, and Schwyz and Unterwalden, the two other original Forest Cantons, claimed a similar position.

### I. The Original League of the Three Forest Cantons, 1291-1318.

#### A. Rudolf of Hapsburg, King of the Romans.

When Rudolf of Hapsburg became King of the Romans in 1272,<sup>1</sup> the Swiss acknowledged his suzerainty as Emperor but not as Count of Hapsburg. He was so busy establishing the Hapsburg power in Austria, and in fighting Ottocar of Bohemia (page 247), that he had no time to bring the Swiss under the sway of his house. "The Hapsburg conquest of Austria was the first foundation of Swiss independence."

#### B. The Everlasting League, 1291.

##### (1) The formation.

On the death of Rudolf in 1291 the three Forest Cantons, realising their danger, made the League of

<sup>1</sup> Crowned 1273.

**1291.** This did not involve the establishment of federal government ; each canton was to bear the cost of its own wars, and all men of military age, not merely a fixed contingent, were to come to fight when necessary. Provisions were made relating to the punishment of crime, and " whosoever hath a lord let him obey him according to his bounden duty." The League was therefore a protection against oppression rather than a demand for independence.

(2) **Albert of Austria.**

If Albert had succeeded Rudolf in the Empire he would probably have conquered the Swiss who had risen against him on his father's death. But Rudolf's successor Adolf of Nassau, of the House of Luxemburg, gladly embraced the opportunity of embarrassing Albert, recognised the League in **1297** and promised it Imperial protection.

When Albert succeeded Adolf in **1298** Imperial affairs diverted his attention from Switzerland ; when he became free to attack Switzerland he was murdered in **1308** and Switzerland escaped invasion.

Later Luxemburg and Wittelsbach (Bavarian) Emperors favoured the Swiss through opposition to the Hapsburgs. Henry VII (of Luxemburg) confirmed the League in **1310**.

(3) **Morgarten, 1315.**

Owing to the support the Swiss gave to Lewis the Bavarian (**1314-1347**), Leopold of Austria, brother of the unsuccessful candidate, Frederick of Austria, attacked them, but was utterly routed at Morgarten by the Swiss, who again renewed the League of **1291**. Lewis the Bavarian recognised the League, and in **1318** a truce was made by which the Hapsburgs gave up all administrative authority in the Forest Cantons.

The League was now firmly established. It owed its success largely to the prowess of the Swiss infantry, but also to the pressure of Imperial engagements on

the Hapsburg Emperors and to the jealousy felt of the Hapsburgs by the rival houses of Luxemburg and Wittelsbach.

## II. The Extension of the Original League, 1330-1353.

### A. Lucerne, 1330.

Lucerne, the fourth of the Forest Cantons after whom the Vierwaldstättersee<sup>1</sup> is named, joined the League in **1330**, although continuing to recognise the overlordship of the Hapsburgs. The nobles attempted to withdraw from the League in **1343** but failed, and a new democratic council ensured the continuance of the alliance.

### B. Zürich joined, 1351.

Zürich, an independent Imperial city, was a narrow oligarchy. In **1336** Rudolf Brun led a successful rising of artisans which made him practically master of the city. An attempt of the nobles to overthrow Brun was suppressed and the neighbouring Hapsburg town of Rapperschwyl, which had supported the nobles, was destroyed. Fear of Hapsburg vengeance led Brun to make an alliance with the four Forest Cantons, May 2nd, **1351**, and the treaty provided for the meeting of a federal congress at Einsiedeln, for arbitration in case of disputes between members, for the reservation of Imperial rights over the Cantons. Thus the treaty of **1351** marks a distinct step towards federation.

### C. Glarus joined, 1352.

Glarus joined the League in **1352** to secure protection from Albert the Lame of Austria (son of Albert I) who resented the help sent from Glarus to Zürich, which he was besieging.

### D. Zug conquered, 1352.

Zug, lying between Zürich and Lucerne, was surrendered by its Austrian garrison to the Cantons, who

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the lake of the Four Forest Cantons or Lake Lucerne.

felt that its strategic position necessitated its incorporation in the League.

The war with Albert the Lame was concluded in **1352** by a treaty which required Zug and Glarus to continue to recognise the overlordship of the Duke of Austria—it was doubtful whether according to the treaty they remained members of the League.

#### E. Berne joined, **1353**.

Berne made a treaty with the original three Cantons (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden) and made mutual promises of aid to Zürich and Lucerne.

The League was now a very loose federation of eight Cantons; all were allied with the original three, but Glarus and Zug had no connection with each other or with Berne, which was only indirectly allied with Lucerne and Zürich. Berne was aristocratic; Lucerne and Zürich partly aristocratic and partly democratic; Zug, Glarus, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden were democratic. The danger from the Hapsburg dukes of Austria alone kept the League together, although Zürich once made a separate treaty with Albert the Lame, who in **1354** induced the Emperor Charles IV to pronounce that Glarus and Zug were not members of the League.

#### III. Leopold II and the Battle of Sempach, **1386**.

On the death of Albert the Lame, Duke of Austria in **1358**, the Hapsburg dominions were divided and Leopold, the founder of the Leopoldine line, received Swabia as part of his share and determined to extend the Hapsburg power over it and to crush the Swabian League. The Swiss supported the Swabian League against the nobles in the War of the Towns, and Leopold therefore attacked them. At Sempach, July 9th, **1386**, Leopold was completely routed and slain. The victory of Glarus at Naefels, **1388**, was followed by a treaty in **1389** by which the Hapsburgs recognised the independence of Lucerne, Glarus and Zug, which thus, like the rest of the League, became dependent on the Empire alone.

#### IV. The Emperor Frederick III.

During the quarrel between Frederick of Tyrol, son of Leopold II, and Sigismund (page 300, 4. c ) in 1415, the Swiss League sided with Sigismund and secured the Aargau. In 1436 Zürich seized Toggenburg, which was claimed by the League as a whole ; the League, now for the first time called Swiss because Schwyz led the movement, took Toggenburg from Zürich which therefore broke with the League and appealed to Frederick III as " both Emperor and representative of the House of Hapsburg " (page 248).

War broke out, and in 1442 Zürich was hard pressed by the League. Frederick III sent 20,000 French swashbucklers to help Zürich ; at St. Jacob's, near Basle, they were met in 1444 by 1600 Swiss ; half of the Frenchmen and all the Swiss were slain. The French evacuated Switzerland after inflicting appalling devastation, and their cruelty stiffened the resistance of the Swiss to Frederick III.

In 1450 Zürich deserted Frederick and rejoined the League.

#### V. The League and Charles the Bold, 1476-1477.

##### A. Alliance between the League and Sigismund of Hapsburg.<sup>1</sup>

In 1474, owing to the skilful diplomacy of Louis XI, who was at war with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Sigismund of Hapsburg, who claimed Alsace from Charles, made an alliance with the Swiss, who promised to help him to recover Alsace in return for his renunciation of all Hapsburg rights over the territory of the League. The Swiss joined Sigismund in a successful invasion of Alsace in May, 1474, in which Charles' governor, Hagenbach, was captured and executed. In 1475 the Swiss captured Granson, Morat and other parts of Savoy.

<sup>1</sup> Sigismund was the son of Frederick of Tyrol, and grandson of Leopold II

B. The battles of Granson, 1476 ; Morat, 1476 ; Nancy, 1477.

In 1476 Charles attacked the Swiss whom Louis XI had deserted. The desire of the Emperor Frederick III to secure the marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy led him to withdraw the support he had previously given to the League ; the position of the Swiss seemed hopeless.

March 2nd, 1476. Complete victory of the Swiss at Granson.

June 22nd, 1476. Utter rout of the forces of Charles at Morat, which he was trying to recover from the Swiss.

January 5th, 1477. The Swiss sent 20,000 men to assist René of Anjou (page 331), who had taken Lorraine from Burgundy and was now besieged by Charles the Bold in Nancy. Charles was weakened by the desertion on the field of Campobasso, the leader of his Italian mercenaries, who had fled from Naples owing to his support of the House of Anjou against Ferrante (page 336). Charles the Bold was utterly routed and slain at Nancy on January 5th, 1477.

In 1499 the Emperor Maximilian acknowledged the independence of Switzerland.

### Reference :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. vii, pp. 379-386.

## THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

Germany was from time to time exposed to danger from the Scandinavian kingdoms, and especially from Denmark, which tried to secure control of the Baltic. The aggression of Denmark was checked not by the kings of Germany, whose attention was directed to the Holy Roman Empire and the struggle between Papacy and Empire, but by local margraves such as the Billungs (page 74, B. 2), by Henry the Lion (page 164), and, after the

dissolution of the Saxon duchy by Frederick II, by the Guefts in Saxony. The Hanseatic League carried on the work of maintaining German interests in the north.

### I. The Foundation of the Hanseatic League.

#### A. The chief trading towns.

The important fishing trade of the Baltic, and especially the herring fishery off the coast of Skaania, a province on the east coast of Denmark, the North Sea trade, together with general commerce, had brought great prosperity to Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck; to Cologne, through which much of the southward trade passed; to Bruges, which became a clearing house for North and South; to the Swedish town of Wisby in Gothland, the centre of the Baltic trade, which became so rich that it was reputed that at Wisby pigs fed out of silver troughs; to Bergen in Norway, and to London. The pre-eminence of Cologne and Wisby was challenged at an early date by the "Wendish towns," e.g. Lübeck, Rostock and Stralsund, and the Baltic towns began to compete with Cologne for the North Sea trade and with Wisby for the Baltic.

#### B. The need of union.

##### (1) The Hansa abroad.

The danger from pirates and robbers compelled merchants to travel together; the difficulties of travel compelled them to make a long stay in the foreign towns they visited, to purchase rights to trade in the town market, to secure safe and permanent lodgings, to buy warehouses and wharves. The merchants were judged by their own laws in cases between themselves, by the law of the land or according to local custom in disputes with the natives. No individual was strong enough to secure privileges for trade, which local guilds guarded jealously, or to obtain justice as against native merchants. For these purposes



association was essential, and colonies of German merchants in foreign towns became "Hansas," guilds or associations. One was founded in London by Cologne before the Norman Conquest, and long remained the only example of a German Hansa in England.

(2) The Hansa Alamanniæ, c. 1282.

In 1266 and 1267 Hamburg and Lübeck founded Hansas at Lynn in rivalry of the Hansa founded by Cologne in London. About 1282 the three were united in the Hansa Alamanniæ, the members of which were called by the English "Easterlings" (i.e. little merchants from the East), a name which gives us our word "sterling." In 1283 Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund formed an alliance which may be regarded as the beginning of the Hanseatic League.

C. The danger from Denmark.

Denmark commanded the Sound and the Belt, which formed the means of communication between the North and Baltic Seas, and imposed tolls at pleasure on ships using these straits. The all-important herring fishery of Skaania was in Danish waters, and fishermen often had to land on the adjoining coast. The need of protecting their common interests against Danish aggression and the fact that they commanded the shortest overland route between the two seas led to union between Lübeck on the east of Jutland and Hamburg on the west.

D. The conditions of the League.

The danger from Denmark was a bond that united the towns of the Hanseatic League more closely than the short-lived leagues of towns, such as the Swabian League (page 292, II. A), that from time to time were formed in Southern Germany. In the Hanse towns, too, the merchant class formed the dominant party; the town nobility formed only a small element; artisans had no share in the government.

(1) No real Federation.

But different political conditions prevailed in different towns. Lübeck was a free Imperial city, but other towns were subject to some territorial magnate whose authority hampered the free action of the citizens. Towns situated near each other, or using common laws or a common currency, tended to form smaller associations within the League. There was no federal organisation; meetings were held as occasion demanded, and attended only by those interested in the question at issue.

But by about **1300** some progress had been made towards a closer union. Lübeck had practically become the head of the League; its code of laws had been accepted by most of the members; all the towns were invited to send representatives to Lübeck in **1300** to discuss commercial grievances in Flanders.

- (2) By about **1350** further progress towards union had been made. The towns were now grouped into three divisions for local affairs, the Wendish towns (under Lübeck), the eastern towns (under Wisby), the Westphalian and Prussian towns (under Cologne). Provision was made for the proper representation of each division, e.g. in the management of the German factory at Bruges.

(3) The League was purely commercial.

No town had helped another against Waldemar II, whose attempt to conquer the Baltic coasts was frustrated by his defeat at Bornhöved, **1227**.

In **1307** Lübeck sought help from Denmark against Holstein and acknowledged the overlordship of King Eric Menved. The "union was limited to the protection of mercantile interests"; but the League was able to put commercial pressure on the trade of its opponents by excluding them from import and export trade, and in **1284** Bremen was expelled from the League for refusing to join in a commercial boycott of Norway.

## II. The League becomes Political.

### A. Causes.

- (1) In the early part of the fourteenth century Denmark became too weak to assert her authority in the Baltic Sea, and the need of protecting its members, of maintaining fishing rights and of checking piracy led to a revival of the League, which about **1350** received the title of Hansa, hitherto applied only to settlements of Germans in other countries.
- (2) Denmark became stronger, and the League, hoping that a strong king would put down anarchy in the Baltic, supported the accession of Waldemar III in **1340**. In **1361** Waldemar sacked Wisby, which, although a Swedish town, was a leading member of the League and an important centre of German trade. The danger from Waldemar III compelled the League to engage in war, and it became a political as well as a commercial association.

### B. The Treaty of Stralsund, **1370**.

#### (1) The first Danish war.

In **1361** the League, in alliance with Sweden and Norway, declared war on Denmark, but suffered a crushing defeat at Helsingborg in **1362**. But the attempt of Waldemar to deprive the League of its trading privileges healed the dissensions between the Wendish and Prussian towns which had resulted from their defeat at Helsingborg, and grave danger from Sweden compelled Waldemar to make a truce by which the League received its old privileges—but only for six years.

#### (2) The second Danish war.

Waldemar broke the truce, and in **1368** the League, assisted by Sweden and Holstein, and by discontent among the Danish nobles, again declared war. The League captured and destroyed Copenhagen, overran Skaania and captured Helsingborg in **1369**.

(3) The Treaty of Stralsund, 1370.

By the Treaty of Stralsund the League received for fifteen years the custody of the castles of Skaania, thus securing control of the herring fishery ; no Danish king was to succeed to the throne without the consent of the League and until he had confirmed all its privileges.

By this treaty the League became an important political factor in Northern Europe ; it had to maintain a permanent force to hold Skaania ; it had secured a voice in the internal affairs of Denmark. A federal levy was imposed to meet the new military charges, and the League " became more concentrated and more highly organised than it had been before the war." But the authority of the League was weakened by its extent, by lack of complete representation at its assemblies, by difference of local interests, and by the continuance, in many cases, of the authority of the local noble. But when Charles IV visited Lübeck in 1375 the League had become so important that, in spite of the protests of the burgomaster, he insisted on addressing its representatives as " my lords."

### III. The Union of Kalmar, 1397.

In 1397 Queen Margaret of Denmark, acting as regent for her son Olaf, who was king of both Norway and Denmark, formed the union of Kalmar, by which Norway, Sweden and Denmark were to be united under one king. If the Union had proved effective it would have constituted a grave danger to the Hanseatic League, but the persistent opposition of Sweden to the union and the steady support given by the Wendish towns to Danish rebels made the union little more than nominal ; it cannot be regarded as one of the main causes of the decline of the League which occurred in the fifteenth century.

#### IV. The Decline of the League.

The growing opposition to Easterlings led English merchants to open up direct trade with the Baltic and Scandinavia ; serious rivalry in the Baltic trade had arisen in the fifteenth century between the Hanse towns in the Low Countries and the Wendish towns ; the migration of the herrings from the coast of Skaania to the coast of Holland about the middle of the fifteenth century seriously impoverished the League ; the discovery of America changed the centre of trade, and London gained the new trade which the situation of the Hanse towns prevented them from securing ; political conditions and commercial jealousy led the Netherland towns to break with the League.

The lack of union in Germany, due largely to the weakness of the monarchy, led to the aggrandisement of the local nobles, who successfully asserted their authority in many of the Hanse towns and thus prevented the League from maintaining its freedom of action. The Hanseatic League broke up, and although Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen were still called Hanse towns, "the name was used to express independence rather than union" (Lodge).

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. xviii.

*The Story of the Nations : The Hanse Towns* (Fisher Unwin).

## THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

### I. Foundation.

The Teutonic Order, for which only Germans were eligible, was founded by merchants from Lübeck and Bremen at Acre in 1190 to protect and give medical attention to the Germans who went on the Third Crusade. Its organisation was based on the regulations of the Hospitallers for medical purposes, of the Templars for military ; it was confirmed by Pope Clement III

and won the support of Gregory IX and Innocent IV. The Order became wealthy, but declining interest in the crusades lessened its importance and it might have come to an early end had it not found a new field of operations in Prussia.

## II. The Conquest of Prussia.

### A. General conditions.

By about 1220 German influence had been extended by the submission of Bohemia and Poland to the Emperor, by the conquest of the Wends by Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear, by the foundation of some of the towns that were soon to form the Hanseatic League, by the establishment of bishoprics in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. But the Slavs living to the east of the Vistula in Prussia, Lithuania and Livonia were heathen savages who resisted the authority of Germany.

### B. The Order of the Sword and the Bishopric of Prussia.

The Bishop of Riga founded the Order of the Sword in 1200 to impose Christianity upon Livonia ; a Bishop of Prussia, Christian, was appointed, and Duke Conrad of Masovia, who was lord of Kulm, supported him. But the Prussians overran Masovia, and Conrad appealed for help to Hermann von Salza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order from 1210 to 1239 and a most faithful supporter of Frederick II. Both Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX sanctioned the intervention of the Order ; both claimed the right of disposing of lands won from the heathen ; the former invested the Order with all the territory it might conquer, the latter allowed it to hold conquered territory of the Papacy in return for a small tribute. Thus the Teutonic Order acquired corporate sovereignty over all the lands it won.

### C. The Conquest of Prussia, 1231-1260.

The knights invaded Prussia in 1231, and their superior discipline and equipment won many victories over their more numerous opponents. They strengthened their hold on the land they had conquered by building

fortresses at Thorn, Kulm and Marienwerder; the Knights of the Sword joined them in **1237**. The Poles and Conrad of Masovia resented the growth of the power of the Order and helped the Prussians, but many Germans joined in the crusade, and the new fortress of Königsberg commemorated the valuable assistance given by Ottocar of Bohemia in **1255**. The new towns were occupied by German immigrants, the Prussian nobles who accepted Christianity became the feudal tenants of the Order, apostasy forfeited all title to land. By **1280** Prussia had been won for Germany and Christianity.

### III. Further Successes.

The fall of Acre in **1291** marked the end of the crusades, and the headquarters of the Teutonic Order were transferred to Venice. In **1309** Pope Clement V pronounced a sentence of dissolution, but the Order transferred its headquarters to Marienburg and carried on its operations without reference to the Papacy which was weakened by the Babylonish Captivity. The seizure of Pomerellen and Danzig in **1311** strengthened the Order, and Casimir of Poland, by the Treaty of Kalish, **1343**, formally recognised the sovereignty of the Order over Pomerellen. In **1346** the Order conquered Esthonia, and from **1351-1382** carried on war with Lithuania with some success. The prosperity of the Order was due partly to the lack of opposition from Brandenburg, in which Wittelsbach and Luxemburg margraves were at variance; to the lack of interest shown by Lewis of Poland (**1370-1382**) in Lithuania; to the valuable help of many soldiers, such as King John of Bohemia, who gladly embraced the opportunity of military experience the Order could offer; to the failure of the discredited Papacy to check its operations.

### IV. The Decline of the Order.

The defeat of the Teutonic Order is one phase of the anti-German reaction which led to the Union of Kalmar in Scandinavia (page 349) and the Hussite Wars in

Bohemia (page 305). "The wonder is not that the Order fell but that its rule was for a time so successful, and that it lasted so long" (Lodge).

A. The Union of Poland and Lithuania.

Lewis the Great of Hungary and Poland died in 1382. His younger daughter Hedvig became Queen of Poland, but was compelled to marry Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, who accepted Christianity and was crowned King of Poland under the name of Ladislaus in 1387. The union of Lithuania and Poland united the strongest opponents of the Teutonic Order; Lithuania became Christian, and foreign princes who had willingly supported a crusade against the heathen would not fight to extend the political power of Germany over a Christian state; the Order had therefore to hire mercenary troops.

1410. Complete defeat of the Order at Tannenberg; but Marienburg held out successfully, and by

1411, the Peace of Thorn, King Ladislaus restored most of his conquests. The defence of Marienburg averted the fall of the Order.

B. Failure of the Order as an administrative government.

The Order had no community of interest with its subjects.

- (1) The German and Slav inhabitants of Prussia gradually coalesced; the former no longer needed the protection of the Order against the Slavs, and the Order thus lost the strong support of a powerful party.
- (2) There was no system of representation by which the grievances of the people could be brought before the Order.
- (3) For a considerable time the Order remained on friendly terms with the Hanseatic League, but the hostility of the League was aroused when the knights began to trade.



- (4) Resentment at taxes levied by the Order for the Polish war led to the formation, in **1440**, of the Prussian League of nobles and towns to defend their interests against the Order.
- (5) The knights were bound by a vow of celibacy, they could not "train up successors with a hereditary knowledge of the people and country." Vacancies were often filled by the appointment of knights from South Germany who were utterly ignorant of Prussia and its language. The knights were not Prussians, and although devoted to the Order, they had little personal interest in the country. The oppression and immorality of which some knights were guilty further alienated the people.

#### C. The Revolt of the Prussian League.

The League grew stronger, and many Knights of the Order joined it secretly. In **1453** the Order persuaded Frederick III to denounce the League which offered the suzerainty of Prussia to Casimir of Poland. The town of Marienburg and the castle of Königsberg offered stubborn resistance, but the selfish German princes sent no effective aid against the Slavs, and the Order was compelled to agree to the Second Peace of Thorn, **1466**. By this Western Prussia (including Danzig, Thorn and Kulm) was given to Poland; the Order kept Eastern Prussia (including Königsberg) as a fief of Poland, and Grand Masters were to pay homage on election to the kings of Poland. Thus the union of the Order with Germany was broken.

In **1525** the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, having failed to receive the help Maximilian had promised against Poland, became a Protestant and was recognised as Duke of East Prussia under the suzerainty of Poland. In **1561** Gotthard Ketteler, the last Grand Master of the Knights of the Sword, became Duke of Courland.

**Reference :** *The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. **xx**.

**SECTION V**

**ITALY**



## VENICE

Venice owed its origin to the people of Aquileia and Padua who fled before Attila, the leader of the Huns, in 452, and found a refuge on the small islands at the mouth of the Po. The Rialto in time became the seat of government ; Venice became a maritime power, asserted her independence of the Byzantine Empire, acquired Dalmatia and Istria, and in 982 successfully resisted the attempt of Otto II to compel her to join in a crusade against the Saracens of Italy. The foreign policy of Venice was largely determined by her geographical position. To maintain her independence she had to guard against attack from the North ; this accounts for her attempt to secure Treviso and Verona, which commanded the eastern passes of the Alps, and explains her opposition to Frederick Barbarossa. Her maritime power led to the acquisition of important interests in the East, which were increased by her share in the crusades (page 563), which brought her into close relations with the Byzantine Empire and led to wars with Genoa, her great commercial rival, and the Turks. The need of procuring food supplies and protecting trade routes compelled her to maintain her authority over the neighbouring country, but her situation saved her from taking a prominent part in the struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines or becoming subservient to the Pope.

### I. Internal Organisation.

#### A. The Doge.

The first Doge was appointed in 697. The appointment was for life and originally conferred almost autocratic power. The whole people had the right of electing

the Doge. But gradually his power was limited by the appointment of a ducal council of six, by the stringent oath the Doge was compelled to take, by the increasing power of the Great Council, who secured the right of election, and by the Council of Ten. Their sovereignty became "a chain and not a sceptre," their position was ornamental, their influence was due to their personal qualities. Among the most famous Doges were Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205), one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade; Marino Faliero, executed in 1355 for treason against the State; Andrea Contarini (1368-1383), who at the age of eighty played a great part in the war of Chioggia, 1380; Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), who supported the policy of rivalry with Milan for ascendancy in Lombardy.

#### B. The Great Council.

The Great Council was instituted in 1172 and was originally elective and open to all citizens. In 1297 the "Serrata," or closure, of the Great Council took place by which membership was limited to the nobles, and Venice became a close oligarchy. The names of those eligible were entered in the Golden Book, 1315.

#### C. The Council of Ten.

The Council of Ten, first instituted in 1310, made permanent in 1335, was a court of exceptional jurisdiction which executed its own judgments and dealt with criminals of all ranks. The Doge and his six councillors were additional and ex-officio members.

#### D. The Council of Forty was the chief court of Common Law

#### E. General.

- (1) Thus the government of Venice was a close, autocratic aristocracy. The relations between nobles and people were generally friendly, "the people were not oppressed, but . . . they were systematically hypnotised into a state of utter indifference to real liberty.

## (2) Conspiracies.

Three conspiracies against the Government took place in the fourteenth century. In **1300** Marino Bocconio, a rich merchant, formed a conspiracy through resentment at the exclusion of merchants from the Great Council ; in **1310** Bajamonte Tiepolo and the Quirini formed a conspiracy through resentment at the refusal of the Council to elect Jacopo Tiepolo as Doge ; in **1355** the Doge Marino Faliero was executed for " attempting to betray the State and Commonwealth of Venice." His action was originally due to anger at the failure of the Government adequately to punish a personal injury ; he was supported by the working classes and hoped, if successful, to become sovereign of Venice.

## II. Venice and the East.

### A. The Crusades.

The Venetians, who possessed the finest fleet in Europe, not only supplied transport but took an active part in the early crusades, particularly in **1124**, when, under the Doge Domenico Michaeli, they helped to capture Tyre. In that year King Baldwin of Jerusalem promised them a street, oven and a bath in every city in his kingdom. In the Fourth Crusade they secured Zara in **1202** and assisted to establish the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople in **1204**, which " paved the way for the creation of the Venetian colonial system in the Levant."

Under the Latin Emperors (**1204-1261**) Venetians had great influence in Constantinople. They used their own weights, measures and money, built churches, convents, storehouse and markets ; paid no duty on their goods ; " during a certain length of time the importance of the Republic was almost as great in Constantinople as in Venice itself, and was a source of considerable anxiety to the Emperors " (Crawford).

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## B. The Byzantine Empire.

- (1) When Michael Palæologus recovered Constantinople in **1261** the Genoese secured a powerful position in the city owing to their alliance with the Palæologi. In **1352** they defeated, in the battle of the Bosphorus, the Venetians whom Cantacuzene had summoned to help him to drive out the Genoese. But the Venetians continued to hold the important commercial bases of Corfu, Crete and Negropont.
- (2) The Venetians sent some assistance to Constantinople against the Turks because they knew that it was to their interest to maintain the feeble ramparts of Christianity against the Turks, but their efforts failed to prevent Mohammed II from capturing Constantinople in **1453**.
- (3) In **1454** the Venetians made a treaty with Mohammed II which gave them considerable advantages over the Genoese, but Turkish conquests in Servia and the Morea, made the Turks unwilling to keep the treaty, and showed Venice the grave danger of Turkish aggression which had been facilitated by the rivalry between Venice and Genoa. Venice therefore sent a fleet to Ancona in **1464** to co-operate in the crusade of Pius II (page 332). But the crusade failed; Albania, which the heroic Scanderbeg had successfully defended against the Turks, was conquered soon after his death in **1467**; in **1470** the Turks captured Negropont and in **1479** Venice, no longer able to resist, made the Peace of Constantinople. By this she gave up Negropont, Lemnos, her territory in the Morea, and paid an annual tribute. But she kept her Levant trade and a quarter in Constantinople.

The cession of Cyprus to Venice in **1488** by Catarina Cornaro, a Venetian lady and the widow of James of Lusignan, the last King of Cyprus, was some compensation for the territory Venice had been compelled to cede to the Turks.

### III. Venice and Genoa.

#### A. Rivalry of Venice and Genoa in the East.

The maritime supremacy of Venice was challenged by Amalfi and Pisa. But Amalfi, one of whose citizens invented the maritime compass, soon lost her power. Pisa had profited by the crusades, but was hampered by the jealousy of Genoa and Florence, and the Genoese victory of Meloria in 1284 finally crushed the maritime power of Pisa. But Genoa proved a dangerous rival.

The Genoese took an active and profitable part in the crusades. They helped to capture Antioch (1098), Cæsarea (1101) and Acre (1104); Baldwin gave them streets in Jerusalem and Jaffa. In 1261 Michael Palæologus, whom they had helped to regain Constantinople, gave them the suburb of Pera and the fortress of Galata, and the possession of such a strong position enabled them greatly to extend their commerce in the Black Sea; the occupation of Chios gave them a valuable port in the Ægean. Trade rivalry in the East was the main cause of the wars between Genoa and Venice.

#### B. The conditions of the struggle.

Venice possessed valuable advantages in her isolation by water and in the stability of her constitution. But Venice was weakened by the hostility of the kings of Hungary and of the Carraras, the lords of Padua. Genoa was protected by the mountains from overland attack, and the possession of Corsica strengthened her power. But continual faction within the city greatly weakened her strength.

#### C. The war of 1350-1355.

The war was due to the desire of the Venetians to secure a share of the trade with the Tartars which the Genoese carried on in the Black Sea. Venice was helped by John Cantacuzene, the Greek Emperor, and Pedro of Aragon, who disputed with Genoa the ownership of Sardinia.

- 1352.** Defeat of Niccolo Pisani, the Venetian admiral, by the Genoese Paganino Doria in the battle of the Bosphorus.
- 1353.** The Venetians and Aragonese defeated the Genoese off Cagliari in Sardinia. The Genoese, in fear of a direct attack on Genoa, offered the city to Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan; Venice therefore made an alliance with the Lombard League, the opponents of Milan.
- November 4th, **1354.** Doria utterly routed Pisani in the battle of Sapienza (or Portolungo) off the Morea.
- 1355.** Venice, weakened by Faliero's conspiracy, made peace with Genoa and gave up its claim to the Black Sea trade.

**D. The war of Chioggia, 1378-1381.**

War with Lewis the Great of Hungary (**1356-1358**), a revolt in Crete (**1364**) and disputes with Francesco Carrara of Padua hampered Venice, and Genoa conquered Cyprus in **1373**.

But the grant by John Palæologus to Venice of Tenedos, commanding the approach to the Hellespont, led the Genoese to stir up a revolt in Constantinople which replaced John by his son Andronicus Palæologus and led to the renewal of the war with Venice.

May 7th, **1379.** Luciano Doria routed Vittor Pisani (who was imprisoned by the Venetians for his failure) at Pola and Pietro Doria took Chioggia in August.

- 1380.** The Venetians restored Vittor Pisani to the command of the fleet; he shut in the Genoese fleet by blocking the channels from Chioggia to the sea; he was assisted by the opportune arrival of another Venetian fleet under Carlo Zeno, and on June 24th, **1380**, the Genoese surrendered. Pisani was killed soon afterwards, and Zeno ended the war by driving the remains of the enemy fleet into Genoa harbour. The power of Genoa was broken and Venice became the greatest maritime power in Italy.

#### IV. Venice and Lombardy.

##### [A. Venice and Hungary.]

Venice and Hungary both desired to secure Dalmatia on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In **1381** Venice, weakened by the war of Chioggia, was compelled to cede Dalmatia to Hungary; in **1421**, after a long war with Sigismund, weakened by the Hussite wars, Venice finally secured Dalmatia and Friuli.]

##### B. Venice and the Eastern Passes of the Alps.

- (1) The control of the Eastern Passes was a most important matter for Venice, and accounts partly for her joining the Lombard League against Barbarossa in **1168**.

- (2) Verona.

The great power gained by Mastino della Scala of Verona led Venice to join a league of Lombard towns against him. In **1338** he was compelled to cede Treviso to Venice, which thus obtained much fertile territory and access to the foot of the Alps. At the same time the Carrara family were "established in Padua as a buffer between Venice and the growing power of the Visconti" (Lodge).

- (3) Francesco Carrara of Padua.

Francesco Carrara of Padua was a bitter enemy of Venice. In **1386** he bought from Leopold of Hapsburg Treviso (which Venice had ceded to him in **1381**) and Feltre and thus secured the control of the passes. But, owing to danger from Gian Galeazzo Visconti, he was compelled to restore Treviso to Venice in **1388**. On the death of Gian Galeazzo he seized Verona and Vicenza, but in **1405** Venice secured Padua and Verona and Francesco Carrara was thrown into a Venetian prison where he died.

##### C. Venice and Milan.

By **1425** Venice had become a powerful Lombard state as well as a great maritime republic. But her

conquests on the mainland had been made not for territorial aggrandisement but to control trade routes and to secure a food supply. She was now firmly established in Italy, and the Doge Tommaso Mochenigo (1414–1423) favoured a peaceful policy in Lombardy as against Milan in order that Venice might devote all her energies to extending her interests in the East. But Francesco Foscari advocated active opposition to Filippo Maria Visconti, who had obtained the mastery of Western Lombardy, was anxious to secure Verona and Padua and was a standing menace to the western frontier of Venice. In 1423 Mochenigo died and Foscari became Doge. Florence now appealed to Venice for assistance against Milan; the famous condottiere Carmagnola deserted Filippo and offered his services to Venice who, in 1424, made an alliance with Florence against Milan.

(1) Venice and Filippo Maria Visconti, 1425–1447.

1426. Venice captured Brescia.

1427. Carmagnola defeated the Milanese at Macalo; Filippo ceded Bergamo to Venice.

1432. The condottiere Francesco Sforza defeated the Venetians at Soncino in 1431, and on May 5th, 1432, Carmagnola, who had been lured to Venice, was executed for his failure to protect the Venetian fleet which had been destroyed on the Po.

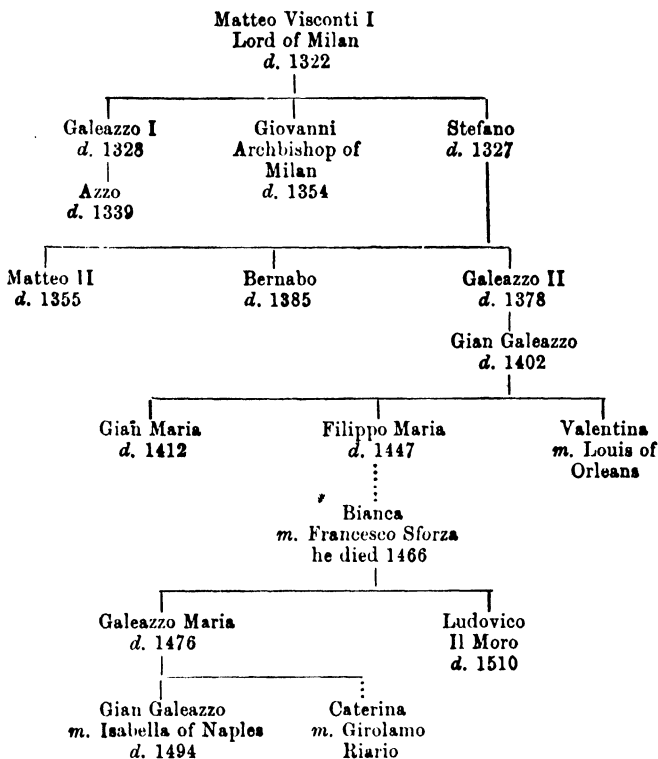
Venice now profited by the diversion afforded by Filippo's attempt to secure Tuscany (he besieged Rome in 1433) (page 311); Sforza, desiring to secure for himself a principality in Lombardy and to marry Filippo's daughter, compelled Filippo to raise the 1440 siege of Brescia, induced Venice and Florence to renew their war with Milan and defeated Filippo's general, Niccolo Piccinino, at Anghiari.

(2) Venice and Francesco Sforza.

On the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in 1447

Venice, on the advice of Foscari, resolved to attack Milan. But Sforza helped Milan, defeated the Venetians at Caravaggio and became Duke of Milan in 1450. After three years' unsuccessful

**THE VISCONTI AND SFORZA IN MILAN**



warfare Venice made the Treaty of Lodi in 1454, by which she ceded to Milan all the territory she had gained since 1428, but retained Brescia and Bergamo.

The aggressive policy of Foscari had proved a failure and he was deposed in 1457.

## V. Decline.

### A. Territorial aggression.

The power of Venice began to decline after **1457**. In the East Turkish aggression formed a serious danger, and resistance to the Turks exhausted her strength. The Venetians hoped to find in Italy compensation for losses in the East, but an attempt, in alliance with Pope Sixtus IV, to secure Ferrara led to a league between Naples, Milan and Florence which checked the designs of Venice, **1484**; and the powerful Sforzas prevented extension in Western Lombardy.

[**1488**. Venice secured Cyprus.]

In order to check the Sforzas, weaken the House of Aragon in Naples and break up the League of Florence, Naples and Milan, Venice joined with the exiles who had fled from Naples owing to the tyranny of Ferrante and invited Charles VIII to invade Italy. By this means it was hoped that Charles, who represented the House of Anjou which claimed Naples, would break the Aragon power in the south, that Louis of Orleans would assert his claim to Milan (page 328) and that Venice would profit by the general confusion. **1494**.

After some successes the power of Venice was broken by the League of Cambray, **1508**, the result of her aggressive policy.

### B. The discovery of America.

The power of the Turks greatly hindered the trade with the East from which Venice had derived great profit in the past. Attempts were therefore made to reach India by other routes; in **1486** Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape, in **1498** Vasco di Gama reached India by the same route, and in **1503** established a Portuguese colony at Cochin. Thus a new commercial route to India, quite independent of Venice, was discovered and exploited by the Portuguese. The discovery of America by Columbus in **1492** altered the

centre of commerce. The Mediterranean "ceased to be the great highway of commerce" and the commercial prosperity of Venice came to an end.

### References :

*Gleanings from Venetian History* (Marion Crawford), Vol. I. Macmillan.

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chaps. II, VIII and XII.

## FLORENCE UP TO 1434

Florence was founded towards the close of the Republic of Rome by Sulla or Julius Cæsar, and was restored by Augustus. It suffered much from the ravages of Attila about 545; it prospered under the patronage of Charlemagne, who visited the city in 786.

### I. Florence a Guelf City.

The religious zeal of the people, the commercial advantages that resulted from connection with Rome, the danger from the feudal barons of the neighbourhood who were often German by birth and interest, the attempts of the Emperors, e.g. Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI, to gain supremacy in Tuscany, rivalry with Pisa and Siena, two Ghibelline strongholds, made Florence a Guelf city.

#### A. Florence and the Hohenstaufen.

- (1) Rainald of Dassel, the chancellor of Barbarossa, had placed German Podestas or governors in the neighbouring castles and selected San Miniato (hence called San Miniato al Tedesco<sup>1</sup>) as the centre of his government; but the battle of Legnano (page 160), 1176, averted the danger of German rule in Florence.

- (2) Henry VI made his brother, Philip of Swabia, Duke

<sup>1</sup> Of the Germans.



of Tuscany, but when he went to Germany to oppose Otto of Brunswick in **1198** (page 176) Florence formed a Guelfic League, the members of which undertook to defend each other against the Emperor and to recognise no Emperor until he was acknowledged by the Pope.

- (3) The feeling between Guelfs and Ghibellines was embittered by the quarrel between Frederick II and the Papacy, and in **1249** the Florentine Ghibellines, led by the Uberti and supported by Frederick of Antioch, an illegitimate son of Frederick II, expelled the Guelfs from Florence. But the Guelfs soon returned and the Ghibellines withdrew to Siena, Pisa and other Ghibelline cities, **1250**.
- (4) The accession of Manfred, who became King of the Two Sicilies in **1258**, strengthened the Ghibellines, and Florence, Lucca, Pistoja and Volterra were utterly routed at Montaperto in **1260** by the Sienese and exiled Florentines. The proposal to destroy the walls of Florence was rejected owing to the protest of Farinata del Uberti, but a Ghibelline Podesta was appointed in Florence, the citizens swore fealty to Manfred, and many Guelfs withdrew to Lucca and other places.
- (5) The defeat and death of Manfred at Benevento in **1267** (page 228) greatly weakened the Ghibellines. The Guelfs finally regained power in Florence and made Charles of Anjou lord of the town for ten years. But Charles was too busily engaged in Sicily to establish any real authority in Florence, and the vicars he sent to represent him were controlled by the local council of twelve "Good Men" (Buonuomini).

[The Ghibellines thought that the Emperor Henry VII (of Luxemburg), who arrived in Italy in **1311** and put Florence to the ban of the Empire, would restore their position; but his death in **1313** (page 252) disappointed their hopes.]

**B. Florence and the Ghibelline cities.**

Pisa, Arezzo, Pistoja and Siena were the leading Ghibelline cities in Tuscany, which, after the death of the Countess Matilda in 1115, had split up into a number of city states.

**(1) Pisa.**

The strong rivalry between Pisa, which commanded the entrance to the Arno, and Florence was partly commercial and partly political. From 1162, when Pisa had declared for Barbarossa, the city had remained strongly Ghibelline.

**1284.** The power of Pisa was broken by her complete defeat by the Genoese in the battle of Meloria.

**1313.** The Ghibellines invited Ugucione della Faggiuola, the Imperial vicar in Genoa, to govern them. He routed the Florentines at Montecatini, 1313, and captured Lucca, but was soon expelled from Pisa owing to his tyranny.

**1325.** Castruccio Castracane, tyrant of Lucca, routed the Florentines at Altopascio, conquered Pisa and was made Duke of Lucca by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

**1329.** Castruccio, now lord of Pisa, Lucca, Pistoja and a considerable extent of coast line, prepared to attack Florence. His sudden death on September 3rd, 1328, saved Florence from grave danger.

**1406.** The Florentines captured Pisa, and thus Florence "took the first great stride towards the formation of the later grand duchy of Tuscany" (Lodge).

**(2) Arezzo.**

**1289.** Many of the Ghibellines who had fled from Florence in 1267 had taken refuge at Arezzo. The allied forces of the Ghibellines, headed by Arezzo, were routed by the Guelfs, headed by Florence at Campaldino, June 11th, 1289.

**1387.** Florence bought Arezzo from a French adventurer, Enguerrand de Coucy, who had captured it.

## (3) Pistoja.

**1328.** The Florentines captured and sacked Pistoja, but it was recovered by Castruccio Castracane.

**1330.** After the death of Castruccio, Pistoja submitted to Florence. [About the same time Florence acquired Prato, Volterra, San Miniato.]

## (4) Siena.

Siena was situated on the main road from Florence to Rome, and the Sienese were the first bankers of the Papacy. As in the case of Pisa, the rivalry between Siena and Florence was commercial as well as political. The designs of Florence against Siena were facilitated by the bitter enmity between some of the leading Sienese families, especially between the Tolomei and Salimbeni. Early in the thirteenth century Florence compelled Siena to give up Montepulciano and Poggibonsi. The Sienese victory at Montaperto in **1260** was followed by a Florentine victory over Siena in **1270** at Colle di Val d'Elsa which restored the predominance of Florence in Central Tuscany.

During the period of strife between the Guelfs and Ghibellines Florence became the leader of the Guelf party, tended to co-operation with the Pope and his allies, extended her authority over the turbulent nobles in the immediate neighbourhood of the city and over a number of the smaller cities of Northern Tuscany. But the distinction between Guelf and Ghibelline soon became little more than nominal. In **1330** John of Bohemia, the son of the Emperor Henry VII, announced at Brescia that he belonged to neither party, and tried unsuccessfully to unite Guelfs and Ghibellines; in **1332** Florence and Naples united with Azzo Visconti of Milan and Mastino della Scala and other Ghibellines against John. The Emperor Charles IV visited Italy in **1354**, but "refused to be drawn into the vortex of Italian politics."

In **1375** Florence, alarmed at the extension of papal power due to the military successes of Cardinal Albornoz (page 282), joined with Pisa and Lucca in war against Pope Gregory XI.

## II. Florence and Milan.

Milan had strongly supported the Guelfs against the Hohenstaufen but became Ghibelline under the Visconti.

### A. Gian Galeazzo Visconti<sup>1</sup> (*d.* **1402**).

Gian Galeazzo was created Duke of Milan by Wenzel in **1395**. He aimed at becoming King of Italy, made himself supreme in Western Lombardy and brought Pisa (**1394**), Siena (**1399**) and Lucca (**1400**) under his control, and threatened Florence. Self-preservation and not opposition to the Ghibelline cause compelled Florence to oppose Galeazzo, who routed the Florentines near Brescia in **1401**. Only the death of Gian Galeazzo in **1402** saved Florence from subjugation.

[The death of King Ladislaus of Naples in **1414** removed an opponent who was beginning to be dangerous to Florence.]

### B. Filippo Maria Visconti (**1412–1447**).

On the death of Gian Galeazzo the power of Milan declined. Siena and Lucca regained their independence, Florence captured Pisa in **1406**, but Filippo Maria, who became Duke in **1412**, followed his father's policy so successfully that by **1421** the Duchy of Milan extended from Piedmont on the west to the River Adige on the east. The danger from Milan and the defeat of the Florentines at Zagonara in **1424** led to the union of Florence and Venice against Filippo Maria in **1425** (page 364), and to war between the allies and Milan, which lasted from **1426** to **1447**, when Filippo died. The fact that Filippo was compelled to divide his forces between Tuscany and Lombardy proved the salvation of the allies, and Florence was saved from conquest

<sup>1</sup> For genealogy see page 365.

owing to the military skill of the condottiere Carmagnola who commanded the Venetian forces.

### C. The Sforzas.

Francesco Sforza, Filippo's son-in-law, secured the Duchy of Milan in **1450** and established friendly relations with Cosimo de' Medici, the master of Florence. Galeazzo Maria Sforza (**1466-1476**) was on friendly terms with Lorenzo de' Medici. But his brother Ludovico Sforza, Il Moro, the regent for his young nephew Gian Galeazzo, desired to secure the duchy for himself, and finding that Piero de' Medici, who succeeded his father Lorenzo in **1492**, was inclined to form an alliance with Naples rather than Milan, sought the intervention of Charles VIII and thus supplied another reason for the French invasion of **1494**.

## III. Internal History of Florence.

### A. Continual faction.

Florence was distracted by faction. "Warfare," says Villani, "became so habitual that one day the citizens fought and the next they ate and drank together, boasting mutually of their deeds of prowess"; every large house in Florence was a fortress. Although the city, and especially the wealthy merchants, was Guelf there was a Ghibelline party which included most of the feudal nobles and relied upon the help of the Hohenstaufen, and though often exiled, succeeded occasionally (e.g. in **1250** and **1260**) in expelling the Guelfs. The murder of a Buondelmonte, a Guelf, by some of the Amidei family, who were Ghibellines, in **1215** had aggravated internal discord by adding a family feud to the existing cause of difference. At the end of the thirteenth century the quarrel between the Cerci, a rich merchant family, and the Donati, a military family, divided Florence into the famous White and Black factions, neither of which was distinctively Guelf or Ghibelline.

## B. Constitutional development.

By the middle of the twelfth century the city of Florence was under a communal government with consuls as the supreme magistrates. The Florentines successfully resisted the attempt of Barbarossa to instal Imperial Podestas (page 367) in the city. The growth of the seven greater guilds and, later, of the fourteen lesser guilds, added a new political element, and the nobles steadily opposed the growing tendency to exclude them from office. The democratic, or plutocratic, government of Florence affords a striking contrast to the aristocratic autocracy of Venice.

## (1) The Priors of the Guilds, 1282.

In 1282 the chief executive power was vested in three, afterwards six, priors who composed the Signory and were elected for two months by the greater guilds. Nobles were eligible as priors if they became members of guilds.

## (2) The Ordinances of Justice, 1293.

These ordinances were intended to protect the middle class from the "grandi" or powerful families who, whether owing to noble descent, or commercial success, or previous services, had secured a predominant position. No grande could become eligible for election as prior unless he actually practised a trade or craft; no grande could testify against a citizen (popolano) or accuse him in the law courts without permission of the Signory; no grande could leave his house or receive visitors in time of disturbance; a grande who became a popolano had to change his arms. A new official, the Gonfalonier, or Standard-bearer of Justice, was appointed to carry out the ordinances; he was assisted by a military force of one thousand soldiers and by two hundred masons and carpenters to pull down the houses of recalcitrant grandi. The Palazzo Vecchio was built for the protection of the Signory.

The democratic basis of government was main-

tained by the need of securing the assent of the Parlamento, or mass meeting of citizens, for any change in the constitution, but the Parlamento could delegate to a Balìa, or committee, the power of altering the laws (Lodge).

(3) The Constitution in 1323.

By 1323 further modifications had been made. The Gonfalonier and six priors constituted the Signory or executive. Twelve Buonomini advised the Signory. The Captain of the People, the Podestà—the head of the administration of justice, and Gonfaloniers of companies, who were responsible for war and the maintenance of order in the city, ranked next to the Buonomini. Special magistracies, such as the “Eight of War” and the “Ten of the Sea,” were appointed in time of danger. The Council of the People, numbering three hundred and limited to popolani, and the Common Council, which included grandi, exercised the power of legislation. Offices were filled by lot, and possible candidates for the lottery were selected every two years at a scrutiny (squittinio) conducted by a committee of the Signory.

The unofficial but powerful and well-organised Guelfic party, which had been formed about 1267 to crush the Ghibellines, exercised great influence and strongly resisted all attempts of the lower classes to secure political power. They strongly supported a law passed in 1301 which excluded Ghibellines from office; they helped the supporters of the greater guilds to carry out the “admonitions” by which any man accused of Ghibellinism on the evidence of six witnesses could be excluded from office. Such an admonition was often used as an excuse for excluding from office members of the lesser guilds.

(4) The Ciompi, 1378.

The Albizzi family, supported by the Guelfic party, had secured predominance and by a ruthless use of

admonitions and their arbitrary taxation had infuriated the members of the lesser guilds. In 1378 Salvestro de' Medici was drawn as Gonfalonier and carried a law to weaken the Guelfic party and restore full citizenship to the "admonished." With the help of the lesser guilds and the Ciompi, the lowest class who belonged to no guild, Michael Lando, elected Gonfalonier by the mob, formed new guilds of artisans, previously unorganised; he increased the number of priors to eight, and the two additional members of the Signory were to be selected from the new guilds.

(5) The growth of oligarchy in Florence.

A counter revolution in 1382 abolished the new guilds, ordered that four of the Priors should be chosen from the lesser guilds, and four Priors and the Gonfalonier from the greater guilds, who thus became supreme in the Signory. This marks the beginning of the oligarchy of the *Ottimati* (i.e. The Best People).

From 1382 to 1434, when Cosimo de' Medici became supreme, Florence was ruled by an ever-narrowing oligarchy under the domination of the Albizzi who had been recalled from exile in 1382. The greater guilds supplied six Priors, the lesser only two; a Gonfalonier who was displeasing to the rulers could be replaced; the Signory could raise troops or levy taxes without consent of the Council. But Cosimo de' Medici used his enormous wealth to undermine the power of the Albizzi. He was exiled by the Signory, but Rinaldo Albizzi, the head of the *Ottimati*, was compelled to recall him in 1434; with his return the history of the commonwealth of Florence became the history of the Medici, the government became a tyranny.

#### IV. Commerce.

In spite of internal discord and heavy taxation the commerce of Florence prospered. The external history



of the city is largely a history of wars which ended with some advantageous treaty of commerce. Commercial rivalry with Pisa explains why Florence cultivated friendship with Lucca and Genoa. Florence became Guelf largely because Florentine bankers wished to oust the Sienese from the position of chief banker to the Papacy. The success of Florence in resisting the Visconti was due to the fact that their vast wealth enabled them to hire Sir John Hawkwood, the most famous condottiere of his day. The war against Gian Galeazzo Visconti cost the Florentines a million and a quarter florins.

The prosperity of the city was largely due to the guilds.

A. The seven greater guilds, *Arti maggiori*.

The greater guilds, "the origin of which is traceable to Roman times" (von Reumont), consisted principally of professional men, traders and the higher class of artisans. Each guild was well organised, it was ruled by consuls, it bore arms under the direction of a guild captain, and had its own guildhall. The wealth, power and organisation of the guilds made them most important elements in Florence.

- (1) The *Arte di Calimala*, or cloth merchants.
- (2) The wool merchants, or *Arte della Lana*.

Owing to the inadequate pasturage of Tuscany undyed wool was imported from Flanders and Holland and dyed by the *Calimala*, which as early as 1150 was sufficiently important to build the Church of San Giovanni. The *Arte della Lana* owed its prosperity largely to improved methods of manufacture introduced by Lombards, who about 1140 returned from captivity in Germany. In 1338 the *Arte della Lana* had three hundred factories, the *Calimala* twenty workshops. The latter were allowed to dye only foreign cloths and thus competition between the two

wool guilds was limited. The success of these guilds was due largely to the remarkable skill of the Florentine dyers, whose processes long remained a carefully guarded secret.

(3) The bankers.

The development of banking in Florence was facilitated by the wide distribution of mercantile agencies. The high standard of the Florentine coinage, especially of the gold florin, greatly assisted banking, but the heavy rate of interest charged, which sometimes amounted to 40 per cent, or double the legal maximum, diminished the high reputation of the merchants of the town.

The Bardi and Peruzzi lent Edward III a million and a half florins and became bankrupt owing to his failure to repay the loan. Later the Florentine bankers rendered substantial help to Edward IV. "The power of the republic was based upon money, existed through money, and received its death blow when the discovery of America introduced a revolution into the monetary affairs of the world." The Florentine coinage, lire, soldi, denari, gave us our £. s. d.

(4) The silk manufacturers.

Silk manufacture was introduced into Florence in 1316 by exiles from Lucca at a time when the wool trade was declining and proved a source of great profit.

(5) The physicians (and druggists), the furriers and the lawyers formed the remaining greater guilds, the members of which were known as the "popolo grasso," or wealthy folk.

B. The lesser guilds.

The lesser guilds numbered fourteen, but some were dependent on the greater; the dyers and goldsmiths were subordinate to the consuls of the Calimala, the

washers and combers of wool to the *Arte della Lana*. New guilds continually arose, and the attempt of the lesser guilds to secure political privileges led to disorder. The fact that Salvestro de' Medici championed their cause secured for his family a reputation which proved of value in future years.

### References :

- The Story of the Nations* (The Tuscan Republics), chaps. VI, VIII-X, XII-XVII.  
*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 31-36, 148-149, 288-293.  
*Lorenzo de Medici* (von Reumont), Vol. I, chaps. I-V.  
 John Murray.

## THE MEDICI

### I. Cosimo de' Medici, 1389-1464.

Cosimo de' Medici was born on September 27th, 1389. His father, Giovanni de' Medici, a wealthy banker, had received the support of the lesser guilds in his opposition to the Albizzi and was drawn as Gonfalonier in 1421. Giovanni died in 1429 and Cosimo became head of the family and chief opponent of Rinaldo degli Albizzi, the leader of the Optimati. Rinaldo's influence was weakened by the failure of an attack on Lucca, 1430, and by the heavy cost of the wars against Ladislaus and Filippo Maria ; the death of Niccolo da Uzzano in 1432 deprived him of a strong supporter of moderate views. In 1433 Rinaldo procured the appointment of a " balia " which banished for ten years Cosimo de' Medici, who went to Venice, where he was welcomed like a prince, and built the library of St. George. But the defeat of the Florentines, who supported Eugenius IV against Filippo Maria Visconti in Romagna, the dissatisfaction of his own party because he abolished the " castato,"

an equitable system of taxation introduced in **1427**, and a change in the Signory, led to the banishment of Rinaldo and the recall of Cosimo in **1434** by a new *balia*.

#### A. Cosimo and Florence.

Cosimo's vast wealth and widespread commercial interests gave him great influence in domestic and foreign affairs. Between **1434** and **1464** he spent 400,000 florins on buildings in Florence; he lent Edward IV of England 120,000 florins, and became security for Edward to the Duke of Burgundy for 130,000 more. His four villas outside Florence were worthy of a king rather than a private gentleman (Machiavelli).

##### (1) The control of offices.

Cosimo saw that old institutions were decaying and skilfully used them to disguise his own autocratic power. The *balia* which had recalled Cosimo in **1434** continued in office, and ten "accoppiatori" were appointed to select the names of candidates for office, including those of the Gonfalonier and Priors. In **1458** a new *balia* and the appointment of a commission of eight to preside over elections strengthened Cosimo's position, and although he repealed the old laws which excluded nobles from office he was able to prevent any opponents from securing office.

##### (2) Cosimo's supporters.

Cosimo, who "boasted of the humanity of his rule," but proved the truth of his own saying that one "could not rule a state by Paternosters," left to his powerful supporters, whose financial interests were bound up with his own, the task of carrying into effect the ruthless measures by which he ensured his own supremacy. These included Luca Pitti, Cosimo's principal tool, who arranged for the new *balia* of **1458**, Neri Capponi, a restraining influence, and Agnolo Acciaiuoli. Although the jealousy of these and others of his supporters caused Cosimo some difficulty, he

succeeded in establishing a close oligarchy in which he was supreme.

(3) Cosimo and his enemies.

Cosimo showed no mercy to his enemies. Rinaldo degli Albizzi and his adherents were banished in **1434** and their property confiscated. They supported Filippo Maria against Florence, but the Florentine victory at Anghiari destroyed their hopes of returning (page 364).

Cosimo used the Signory to promote his friends and oppress his enemies. He used taxes as others used daggers, abolished the castato of **1427**, and by discriminatory taxes ruined individual opponents while lightening the burdens of the lowest classes. Giannozzo Mannetti, after a life spent in the service of the State and of science, was driven into exile by taxes amounting to 135,000 gold florins.

B. Foreign policy.

- (1) Filippo Maria Visconti, the great enemy of Florence, died in **1447**. Francesco Sforza secured Milan in **1450**, largely owing to the financial support of Cosimo, who was anxious to establish friendship with Milan to check the growing power of Venice.
- (2) In **1462** he successfully supported Ferrante of Naples against John of Calabria, the Angevin candidate for the throne of Naples.
- (3) Cosimo's policy in concluding alliances with Milan and Naples was sound. The frequent changes in the Papacy made a continuous papal policy impossible, and the growing tendency of the Popes to secure territorial possessions for their families led to frequent disputes with Florence. Venice was anxious to secure in Lombardy new territory which would compensate her for her losses in the East, and Venetian aggression in Lombardy was bound to prove dangerous to Florence.

### C. General.

At home Cosimo conciliated the lowest classes by his unostentatious style of living and dress ; he had no official title, no court, no retinue, and dressed as an ordinary citizen ; by his public generosity he built considerable portions of San Lorenzo, San Marco and Santa Croce ; he admitted the lowest classes to office. But his policy, infamous but perhaps inevitable, deprived Florence of her liberty, and those who called him " Pater Patriæ " failed to appreciate the real effect of his domestic policy. But he rendered real service to Florence by establishing the alliance between Naples, Milan and Florence, which remained for many years the leading principle of Florentine foreign policy. He was one of the greatest patrons of the Renaissance (page 402).

## II. Piero de' Medici, 1464-1469.

In spite of bad health Piero " the Gouty " contrived to maintain his position, and although he lacked the ability of his father, Cosimo, he displayed sound common sense in his conduct of affairs. Piero's distinguished wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, greatly helped her husband and, later, her son Lorenzo.

### A. Piero and Florence.

Soon after Cosimo's death Florence was divided by the factions of the Mountain and the Plain. The former, so called from the hill of San Giorgio on which stood Luca Pitti's palace, was led by four of Cosimo's old supporters—Luca Pitti, Diotalvi Neroni, Agnolo Acciaiuoli, Niccolo Soderini—and aimed at overthrowing the power of the Medici. The Medici party were called the Plain from the position of Piero's residence. In 1465 the Mountain abolished the *balia* of 1458 and reintroduced the custom of filling offices by ballot. But in 1466 a new *balia* was appointed, civil war was narrowly averted, Neroni, Acciaiuoli and Soderini were

banished and Pitti, although allowed to remain in Florence, lost all influence. The power of Piero de' Medici was now firmly established.

#### B. Foreign policy.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, died in **1466** and was succeeded by his son Galeazzo Maria. Venice attempted to drive Galeazzo Maria from Milan and came to an understanding with the exiles of the Mountain, who wished to expel the Medici from Florence. Piero maintained the alliance with Milan and gave Galeazzo large subsidies; his young son Lorenzo, by skilful diplomacy, secured the adhesion of Ferrante of Naples. In **1467** the Venetians, led by Bartolommeo Colleone and Ercole d'Este, invaded the Romagna where they were opposed by the Florentines led by Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. No important victories were won by either side in this "war of the Exiles" and peace was made, with the help of Pope Paul II, in **1468**. Piero's position remained unshaken, the alliance between Florence, Milan and Naples continued.

### III. Lorenzo de' Medici, "The Magnificent," 1469-1492.

Lorenzo, the elder son of Piero and Lucrezia (Tornabuoni), was born on January 1st, **1449**. He was carefully educated by Gentile, and the instruction of Gentile was supplemented by visits to the chief cities of Italy. Piero chose a wife for Lorenzo not from one of the leading Florentine families but from the Orsini, a princely Roman house. Lorenzo married Clarice degli Orsini on June 4th, **1469**; their son Piero was born February 15th, **1471**.

#### A. Lorenzo's position.

Lorenzo, although legally too young for office, was invited, at the suggestion of Tommaso Soderini, to exercise the undefined but very real power of his father and grandfather. His marriage connection with the

Orsini, his splendid court, the guards by whom he was attended after the Pazzi conspiracy, the great deference shown to him gave to his position "a monarchical element" which was new to Florence.

**1471.** The combination of the accoppiatori with the Signory as a permanent committee, the suspension for ten years of the popular legislative councils limited the chances of securing office but strengthened Lorenzo's position owing to his influence with the new committee.

**1480.** After the conclusion of peace with Ferrante and the Pope a permanent Council, "The Seventy," was established which exercised supreme authority and made Lorenzo's position secure. The old officers continued to exist, but their power was nominal.

**1490.** Although the Council of Seventy was subservient, Lorenzo thought that a smaller body would relieve him from his heavy financial embarrassment, and created a Commission of Seven to "reform the finances." By juggling with the currency the Commission gave Lorenzo some financial relief at the expense of the citizens.

## B. The Pazzi conspiracy.

### (1) Lorenzo's foreign policy.

Lorenzo changed the traditional policy of his house. In **1471** he went to Rome to congratulate Pope Sixtus IV on his accession and was made receiver of the papal revenues. In **1474** he formed an alliance between Venice, Milan and Florence. Ferrante of Naples strongly resented Lorenzo's action, which deprived him of all allies. He therefore tried to establish friendly relations with the Pope, to whom he paid a visit in Rome in February, **1475**.

### (2) Difficulties with Sixtus IV.

*a.* Sixtus IV bought Imola from the Duke of Milan for his son Girolamo Riario who had married Galeazzo Maria's daughter, Caterina Sforza. The Florentines had hoped to secure Imola



and resented the extension of the Pope's power which followed from his new acquisition. Lorenzo refused to become security for the price of Imola and the Pope therefore made Francesco de' Pazzi, who had advanced the money he needed, receiver-general instead of Lorenzo.

- b. Florence supported Niccolo Vitelli of Citta di Castello against the papal army under Cardinal Guiliano della Rovere, the Pope's nephew, which attacked the city, **1474**.
- c. Federigo da Montefeltro now deserted the Florentines and joined Sixtus IV. His daughter Giovanna in **1475** married the Pope's nephew, Giovanni della Rovere (who soon became Duke of Urbino in right of his wife).
- d. Sixtus, in opposition to the wishes of Lorenzo, made Francesco Salviati Archbishop of Pisa in **1474**.

(3) The Pazzi.

The Pazzi were jealous of the Medici, although Lorenzo's sister Bianca had married Guglielmo de' Pazzi. Lorenzo recalled Francesco from Rome because of his loan to the Pope, and in **1476** embittered the Pazzi by unjustly preventing Giovanni de' Pazzi from succeeding to the property of his wife's father, one of the Borromei, and by ensuring the succession of Carlo Borromeo, a supporter of the Medici.

(4) The conspiracy, **1478**.

The death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, in **1476**, and the weakness of his widow, Bona of Savoy, who acted as regent on behalf of her young son Gian Galeazzo, made it unlikely that Lorenzo would receive effective aid from Milan and Girolamo Riario, Francesco and Jacopo de' Pazzi, and the new Archbishop of Pisa formed a conspiracy to overthrow the Medici with the approval of Ferrante of Naples and Pope

Sixtus IV. Renato de' Pazzi refused to join because the bankruptcy of Lorenzo, which seemed to be impending, would ensure his deposition. The Pope declared, "I tell you I will have no murder," but the conspirators determined to kill Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano, and engaged Montesecco, a mercenary soldier, to murder the Medici and seize the magistrates. The difficulty of catching the brothers together led to the postponement of the attempt, but it was decided to kill them at High Mass in the cathedral on Sunday, April 26th, 1478. Montesecco objected on principle to killing men in church, so two priests were chosen instead "because they were accustomed to holy places, and would feel less awe in them." Francesco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini killed Guiliano, but the priests only wounded Lorenzo, who found safety in the sacristy.

The conspiracy had no popular support; the people rushed to defend the Medici. The Archbishop was arrested in the Palazzo Vecchio, where he had hoped to seize the Signory, and was hanged from one of the windows; Francesco de' Pazzi and others suffered the same fate. The two priests were dragged from sanctuary and murdered by the mob. Renato, although innocent, and Jacopo de' Pazzi and Montesecco were executed, one hundred accomplices were put to death within a fortnight. One, who had fled to Constantinople, was surrendered by the Sultan and executed in 1479. The Pazzi arms were obliterated, the surviving members of the family were compelled to change their names. Piero Riario, Cardinal of San Giorgio, was imprisoned.

The conspiracy had failed, and the murder of his brother made Lorenzo stronger than ever.

### C. The war of 1478-1480.

Sixtus IV excommunicated the Florentines for executing the Archbishop of Pisa and the priests and,

in alliance with Ferrante and Siena, made war on Florence. Lorenzo soon released Cardinal Riario. Louis XI, a firm friend of the Medici, made strong representations on their behalf to the Pope but was unable, owing to difficulties in France, to send military help. Venice was hard pressed by the Turks and compelled to make with them the Treaty of Constantinople in 1479 so could do little. Milan was weakened by the attempt of Ludovico the Moor, brother of Galeazzo Maria, to secure control of the duchy; although Ludovico wished to save Florence and break the alliance between Sixtus and Ferrante he was too busy in Milan to give much assistance. The war was waged largely in Florentine territory, which suffered severely, and in 1479 Florence was in such danger that Lorenzo went to Naples to interview Ferrante.

Ferrante was the more ready to renew his old friendship with Florence because he resented the desire of the Pope to make his nephew Girolamo, Duke of Forli, and because the transference from René of Lorraine to Louis XI of the Angevin claim to Naples made the possibility of French interference a very serious matter and rendered the friendship of Florence of great value as a barrier against a French advance. Ferrante made peace with Florence, and the capture of Otranto by the Turks in 1480 showed the Pope the need of uniting all Italy, if possible, against the infidel. Florence ceded some territory to Siena, her allies in the Romagna were left to the mercy of the Pope, the imprisoned Pazzi were to be liberated, Sarzana was given to Genoa. In 1480 the Pope cancelled the sentence of excommunication on Florence.

#### D. Lorenzo's later foreign policy.

After 1480 Lorenzo adopted the policy of his father and grandfather and revived the alliance between Florence, Milan and Naples which checked the aggression of Venice and the Papacy, and diminished the danger

of French intervention. But the selfish policy and unscrupulous character of Ludovico the Moor made him an unreliable ally, and Lorenzo realised the instability of the League and the powerful influence of the Papacy. He aimed at establishing a balance of power which would prevent any Italian state from becoming dangerous to the rest. He wished Florence to make herself secure by establishing a good understanding with her neighbours. He henceforth relied upon diplomacy and arbitration rather than military operations.

(1) The war of Ferrara.

Lorenzo took an active part in concluding the war of Ferrara (1482-1484) (page 335) to the profit of Venice and Ludovico. But Lorenzo's influence saved some of his possessions for the young Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo.

(2) The Barons' war in Naples.

When Innocent VIII and the Neapolitan exiles supported the claims of René of Lorraine (not Louis XI, the friend of the Medici) on Naples, Lorenzo's arbitration was one of the main reasons for the peace between Ferrante and Innocent which, in 1485, concluded the Barons' war.

(3) Lorenzo and Innocent VIII.

Lorenzo's daughter Maddalena married Franceschetto Cibo, a natural son of Innocent VIII. After the murder of Girolamo Riario in 1488 Lorenzo tried to secure Forli and Imola for Franceschetto, but Girolamo's widow, Caterina Sforza, succeeded in ensuring the succession of her son.

To secure Lorenzo's support for Franceschetto Innocent VIII made Giovanni de' Medici (afterwards Pope Leo X) a cardinal and abbot of Monte Cassino. The Pope's action caused great scandal, as Giovanni was only eight years old.

(4) Innocent and Ludovico Sforza (the Moor).

Ludovico's obvious desire to deprive his nephew,

Gian Galeazzo, who had married Ferrante's granddaughter, Isabella of Naples, of the Duchy of Milan led to enmity between Naples and Milan, but Lorenzo's diplomacy averted war.

(5) Neighbouring cities.

Lorenzo recovered from Siena the territory ceded in 1480 and from Genoa the town of Sarzana. He secured Pietrasanta and Sarzanella, thus strengthening the northern frontier of Florence, and established Florentine influence in Faenza.

E. Lorenzo as a Statesman.

Lorenzo had made Florence a very powerful state, established friendly relations with her neighbours, and given the city peace. His later foreign policy had made him the foremost statesman in Italy. But

- (1) His "veiled and amiable despotism," exercised through oligarchic committees, deprived Florence of political liberty, and it is said that on his deathbed, although he professed belief in the mercy of God and ordered his sons to restore all he had unjustly acquired, Savonarola refused to absolve him because he would not restore their liberty to the people of Florence.
- (2) His great power was personal, and rested on no constitutional basis. There was an increasing incongruity between the outward form and the real power. On his death the government of Florence collapsed and Ludovico Sforza, realising that the death of the benevolent ally of Milan and Naples had weakened his position, called in the French to protect him against Naples. The death of Lorenzo on April 8th, 1492, was one of the causes of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494.
- (3) Unlike his grandfather, Lorenzo was a bad financier. He greatly depleted his family fortunes, used the revenue of the State for his private purposes, mis-

managed the public finances and, in spite of the commercial prosperity that Florence enjoyed in his later years, aroused great indignation by the heavy taxation he imposed.

- (4) It is said that on his deathbed three sins lay heavy on his conscience: the vengeance taken on the Pazzi in 1478, the sack of Volterra which had surrendered on promise of fair treatment in 1471, and his action in confiscating the public fund for giving dowries to poor girls.

#### F. Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Lorenzo's title of "The Magnificent" was particularly appropriate. He dazzled the Florentines by his splendid court, his magnificent town and country houses, his costly entertainments and the great position he secured in Italy. He patronised the carnival, for which he wrote special songs which, in spite of their obscenity, are important examples of early Italian poetry. The Renaissance owed much to him (page 404), and painters, poets, sculptors, architects, musicians and humanists found him a most generous and appreciative patron; he refounded the University of Pisa; he loved sport, particularly hawking and hunting; did much to help agriculture in the country districts.

He was observant of religious ceremonies and was warmly attached to his family, especially to Maddalena, "the apple of his eye." But he was flagrantly immoral.

He affords an excellent example of the "many-sided man" of the period.

#### References :

- Lorenzo de Medici* (von Reumont). John Murray.  
*The Story of the Nations* (The Tuscan Republics),  
 chaps. XXI and XXII.  
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## THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

The Renaissance denotes "the whole transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom to the human spirit manifested in the European races" (Symonds). It involved a new historical atmosphere, and a new mental attitude. It affected every human interest, and the invention of the mariner's compass and the discovery of the Cape route to India and of America must be regarded as features of the Renaissance as well as the revival of learning. But the change from mediæval to modern was gradual, and its germs may be found far back in the Middle Ages.

### I. The Renaissance and the Middle Ages.

The whole system of the Middle Ages was changed.

#### A. Politics.

The Middle Ages had been dominated by the conception of a European commonwealth regulated by rigid principles, but now the "shadowy rights of the Roman Empire melted away in the fuller modern light. To Germany it had become an ancient device for holding together the discordant members of her body, to its possessors an engine for extending the power of the House of Hapsburg" (Bryce).

- (1) The collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of national kingdoms under strong kings in England, France and Spain, substituted for the idea of universal monarchy the conception of national monarchy, which proved far more effective.
- (2) Feudalism was practically dead, and with the decay of the feudal system the problem of land tenure was completely changed.
- (3) The old non-national institution of chivalry gave place to new ideas of life and conduct. Industrial

development led to the growing political importance of cities and to the rise of great merchant families, of which the Medici were a conspicuous example.

### B. The Papacy.

The Papacy had lost much of its authority owing to the growth of national sentiment which resented ecclesiastical subjection to a foreigner and objected to papal exactions; this feeling had found expression in the Pragmatic Sanctions of Bourges and Mainz. By the end of the fifteenth century the Popes (notably Alexander VI) had become secular princes whose main object was the consolidation of the territorial power of the Papacy or the establishment of their own relatives as territorial princes.

### C. Geographical discoveries.

#### (1) North America.

**1492.** Columbus, seeking a westward route to India, discovered the West Indies.

**1497.** John Cabot discovered the mainland and landed in Labrador.

#### (2) The East Indies.

**1453.** The capture of Constantinople by the Turks made the old trade route to the East (via the Danube, Asia Minor and the Red Sea) impracticable for Europeans.

The Portuguese explorers discovered a new route round the Cape of Good Hope.

*a.* Prince Henry of Portugal (Prince Henry the Navigator), **1394-1460**, explored the West Coast of Africa (partly to get slaves, partly to extend the Christian religion) and discovered the Azores.

*b.* **1486.** Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope.

*c.* **1497.** Vasco de Gama discovered Natal, and reached Calicut in India, **1498.**



*d.* **1510.** Capture of Goa and, **1511**, Malacca by Albuquerque, and the beginning of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

(3) South and Central America.

*a.* **1500.** Discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese.

*b.* **1519.** Cortes landed in Mexico with a Spanish force.

*c.* **1520.** Magellan, a Spaniard, sailed round Cape Horn through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific.

*d.* **1532.** Pizarro invaded Peru.

(4) Results.

These discoveries of lands unknown to the ancient Romans dealt another blow at the Empire—"no one could now have repeated the arguments of the *De Monarchia*" (Bryce); they led to the foundation of European colonies and thus profoundly affected modern history; caused an extension and diversion of commerce, for the Mediterranean was no longer the centre of trade; Venice and Pisa lost their commercial importance; western ports, and especially Antwerp, profited by the changed conditions, and London, owing to its position between the New World of America and the Old, became in time the commercial capital of the world.

D. Important inventions.

(1) The mariner's compass.

Possibly brought to Europe from China by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, about **1260**. Columbus discovered the variation of the compass, **1492**.

The mariner's compass greatly facilitated geographical exploration.

(2) Printing.

1. Invented by Laurence Kostar, of Haarlem, who printed from wooden blocks about **1440**.

2. John Gutenberg, of Mainz, printed from cut metal types about **1450**.
3. William Caxton, a London mercer, erected the first English printing press in the Almonry at Westminster, **1476**. His first book *The Recuyel of the Hystories of Troy*.
4. Aldus Manutius established the *Aldine Press* at Venice, **1490**.

The invention of printing gave a great impetus to the Renaissance by substituting for costly and often large manuscripts small and cheap books. The New Learning was thus brought within reach of the people.

5. The discovery (about **1300**) that paper could be made from rags greatly facilitated the production of cheap books.

(3) Gunpowder.

1. Possibly known to the Chinese. Mentioned by Roger Bacon. Three small cannon were used at Creçy, **1346**, but it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that gunpowder came into general use.
2. It revolutionised methods of warfare, and led to the disappearance of the steel-clad knight and the bowman who had played so important a part in mediæval warfare.
3. Stone-built castles, hitherto most difficult to capture, could not resist artillery, and the power of the barons was weakened accordingly. **1535**. Capture by Skeffington, the Lord Deputy, of Maynooth Castle, the stronghold of the Geraldines, after a fortnight's siege.
4. The possession of firearms explains the easy victory of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada was largely due to the superior gunnery of the English.

## (4) Engraving.

Printing from copper plates began about **1450**; etching on copper was invented about **1500** and was developed by Dürer (**1471-1528**) and Rembrandt; engraving on wood, long known in China, began in Europe about **1400**, and may have been the invention of a Florentine.

## (5) The telescope.

The improvement of the telescope facilitated the work of Copernicus, who in his *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, **1543**, laid the foundation of modern astronomy; Galileo discovered the satellites of Jupiter, **1610**, and denied the accuracy of the Ptolemaic theory according to which the planets revolved round the earth.

## E. Scientific development.

The work of Roger Bacon shows that science was studied in the Middle Ages. He described the principle of the telescope, made experiments in alchemy and physics, published the result of his researches in his *Opus Majus*, **1266**. Similar work was done by Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and others. Under Frederick II (page 221) the work of Saracen scholars in medicine, mathematics and science received royal patronage. But the Church viewed with alarm such developments, which were regarded as inconsistent with orthodoxy, and scientific progress was hindered. The Renaissance tended to promote freedom of thought and investigation, although Galileo was imprisoned for asserting that the earth moved round the sun. Progress was made in medicine; the work of Paracelsus (**1493-1541**) ended the dogmatic age of medicine, Thomas Linacre (**1460-1524**) studied in Florence and became physician to Henry VII; Ambrose Paré (**1517-1590**) was a famous Huguenot surgeon. The study of anatomy and physiology affected not only medicine but art, and the paint-

ings of Luca Signorelli and the sculpture of Michelangelo illustrate the application to art of the new scientific knowledge. Navigation profited by the development of astronomy. The theory of the inclined plane was investigated by Cardan about 1540. The method of Induction, formally expounded by Francis Bacon in his *Novum Organon* (1620) profoundly affected scientific research.

## II. The Renaissance an Intellectual Evolution.

The importance of the Renaissance lies not so much in new discoveries and inventions as in "the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them" (Symonds).

### A. The Revival of Letters.

The Revival of Letters, perhaps the most important feature of the Renaissance, "revealed to men the wealth of their own minds, the dignity of human thought, the value of human speculation, the importance of human life regarded as a thing apart from religious rules and dogmas." It revived the study of the classics, laid the foundations of philology, encouraged literary criticism, profoundly influenced sculpture and architecture by insisting on the importance of classical models, and affected philosophy and theology. The application of the new spirit to theological criticism led to the Reformation.

### B. The new intellectual movement began in Italy.

- (1) Although other nations applied the new spirit of the Renaissance to religion and science more successfully than Italy, the fact that the Renaissance began in Italy, which always remained supreme in art and sculpture, is very important. "The Italians may be called the chosen and peculiar vessels of the prophecy of the Renaissance" (Symonds). It was not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the

genius of the Italian people that caused the Renaissance.

- (2) Various reasons made Italy the birthplace of the new movement, e.g.—the geographical position of Italy—the centre of the Mediterranean which was the centre of the mediæval world ; vague memories of the glory of ancient Rome which appealed to princes and people alike ; the fact that the Papacy had its capital in Italy ; the growth of commerce which gave power and freedom to the great cities and the leisure for study that some of their inhabitants enjoyed. The language of Italy was formed ; its climate was favourable ; its people enjoyed, in the North, a large measure of political freedom. “ All of these combined to produce the modern Italian spirit, which was destined to serve as the model and ideal for the whole western world.” (Burckhardt).

### C. The Renaissance was non-religious.

The Popes had become secular sovereigns and the spiritual influence of the Roman Church was weakened just when it had to contend with other intellectual influences. By the side of the Church there arose a new spiritual influence. The tendency to individuality which marked the Renaissance made religion subjective, and men began to apply freedom of thought to religious dogmas which had long been generally accepted. The relations of Italy with the Mohammedan world led to a more tolerant view of “ infidel ” opinions. The violent and lawless political conditions under which they lived weakened men’s belief in God. The study of ancient philosophy, and particularly Epicureanism, afforded new standards of life and conduct ; Humanism tended to become pagan, although the Platonic Academy which Cosimo de’ Medici founded in Florence “ deliberately chose for its object the reconciliation of the spirit of antiquity with that of Christianity.” Neo-Platonism was the foe of neo-Paganism.

In these circumstances it is not remarkable that character suffered. "Neither public nor private morality, in our sense of the word, existed." Immorality, appalling cruelty, treachery, wholesale murder stain the history of the time. The Venetian ambassador reported in 1500 that "every night four or five murdered men are discovered" in Rome; Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, killed three wives in succession; Pope Alexander VI died of the poison he meant for Cardinal Corneto; the Venetians basely executed Carmagnola; Ludovico Sforza, Il Moro, poisoned his nephew Gian Galeazzo. But Niccolo Niccoli, Pope Nicholas V and Vittorino da Feltré show that devotion to learning was not inconsistent with true piety, and Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (1422-1482) "the light of Italy," proved that even in Italy in the fifteenth century a man could be an honest condottiere, a faithful husband, a just and beneficent ruler. His wife, Elizabetta Gonzaga, "was no less a pattern of noble conduct."

### III. The Renaissance discovered Nature and rediscovered Man.

#### A. The discovery of Nature.

"The Italians are the first among modern peoples by whom the outward world was seen and felt as something beautiful." Dante shows the effect of nature on the human spirit; Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II) "was the first who not only enjoyed the magnificence of the Italian landscape but described it with enthusiasm down to its minutest details" (Burckhardt).

#### B. The Renaissance brought to light the full, whole nature of man.

##### (1) Poetry.

Dante in the *Divine Comedy* lays bare every shade of joy and sorrow; the sonnet, a new form of poetry used with great effect by Petrarch and Boccaccio,

afforded a valuable means of expressing human thought and emotion; Ariosto gave realistic effect to human action.

(2) Prose.

Italian drama did not attain a high standard during the time of the Renaissance although Intermezzi, or interludes, and the national *Commedia dell'Arte* dealt with popular types of humanity. The development of biography, of which the *Commentaries of Pius II* and the *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini* are conspicuous examples, and the change of history from the disconnected records of the old chroniclers to the connected story of human policy illustrate the greater attention paid to man.

The description of the outward form of man and woman, of the small events of the daily life of town and country are further illustrations of the importance attached to the study of man by the supporters of the Renaissance.

(3) "The Dignity of Man."

Pico della Mirandola in his *Oration on the Dignity of Man* gives noble expression to this aspect of the Renaissance: "I have set thee," says God to Adam, "in the midst of the world, that thou mayst the more easily behold and see all that is therein. I created thee a being neither heavenly nor earthly, neither mortal nor immortal only, that thou mightest be free to shape and to overcome thyself. Thou mayst sink into a beast, and be born anew to the divine likeness. The brutes bring from their mother's body what they will carry with them as long as they live; the higher spirits are from the beginning, or soon after what they will be for ever. To thee alone is given a growth and a development depending on thine own free will. Thou bearest in thee the germs of a universal life."

#### IV. The Development of the Individual.

“ The social unit in the Middle Ages was not the individual man but a corporation ” (Lodge). The freedom of the individual was limited by the restrictions of the manor, the commune or the guild ; his freedom of thought was limited by the authority of the Church, which viewed with disfavour not only heterodox theology but any extension of knowledge which might in any way weaken orthodox belief. The Renaissance was an assertion of the right of the individual to freedom of thought and action.

##### A. Political conditions in Italy.

The political conditions in Italy promoted the growth of individualism. The lack of national consciousness led to variety of political development, and the most capable, and unscrupulous, individual became a successful despot or condottiere. In spite of humble birth Francesco Sforza became Duke of Milan, illegitimacy did not prevent Ferrante from becoming King of Naples or Cæsar Borgia from securing the Duchy of Romagna.

##### B. The work of the scholar and artist.

The work of scholars and artists, which forms so important a feature of the period, was essentially individual. These were privileged people ; their importance was recognised by all, and won the patronage of the most powerful rulers of the time. Many, particularly in Florence, challenged the right of the Church to control their beliefs, and the Reformation may be regarded as the ultimate assertion of the spiritual freedom of the individual.

##### C. The many-sided man.

The men of the time displayed extraordinary capacity in many directions. The merchants of Florence were often students of the classics ; the artist was often a painter, a sculptor, an architect, a worker in metals ;



the despot was actively interested in the work of the scholar and artist.

Lorenzo de' Medici, who "possessed one of those rare natures, fitted to comprehend all knowledge and to sympathise with the most diverse forms of life"; Leon Battista Alberti, scientist, architect, musician, painter and Latinist; Sigismondo Malatesta, who, as Pius II said, "seemed born to all that he undertook," illustrate the varied accomplishments of the individual, but the most conspicuous example was Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). In childhood he "confounded his masters by the problems he raised in connection with arithmetic"; he sang "most divinely" to the lute; he was a skilful engineer; he was the first to make a camera obscura; he discovered the structure of the eye, and made a classification of plants according to their structure; he was a great mechanic, constructed a flying machine and wonderful zoological toys; in offering his services to Ludovico Sforza he described at length the engines of war that he could make—his painting was an afterthought, although in it he says he "can do as much as any other, be he who he may." He was a poet and a philosopher as well as an architect, painter and sculptor.

## THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING TO 1500

Although the Middle Ages were a period of ignorance they did not lack scholars, and from the twelfth century a growing desire for truth and light was apparent. This found expression in the Scholastic Philosophy, which endeavoured to harmonise all knowledge with the teaching of the Church. Under the Renaissance Humanism superseded Scholasticism, and Humanism was founded on the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome.

### I. The Beginning of the Classical Revival.

Even in the darkest of the Dark Ages the classical Latin language and literature were never wholly lost;

Greek became nearly extinct in Western Europe, but Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (*d.* 1253), brought Greek books to England; the library of Whitby Abbey in the thirteenth century contained copies of Plato and Homer as well as the chief Latin authors<sup>1</sup>; and Roger Bacon wrote grammars of the Greek, Hebrew and Arabic languages. Now the Italians felt the need of a guide to knowledge and found it in classical learning and culture. "The antique classical world entered the lists against the Middle Ages."

#### A. The forerunners.

##### (1) Dante.

Dante "initiated the movement of the modern intellect in its entirety," but "does not belong in any strict sense to the history of the Revival of Learning" (Symonds).

##### (2) Francesco Petrarca or Petrarch (1304-1374).

Petrarch was the apostle of scholarship, the worshipper of classical antiquity, "the Columbus of a new spiritual empire." By teaching the value of classical studies he gave an impetus to the new movement which his Florentine disciples carried on. Petrarch knew no Greek, but his polished Latin style, his interest in archæology, manuscripts and coins, his advocacy of the study of the classics as the key to a larger mental life inspired the beginning of the Renaissance.

##### (3) Giovanni Boccaccio.

Boccaccio, the friend of Petrarch, was the first Italian who mastered Greek, and by his justification of the carnal life introduced a new spirit into literature.

##### (4) Manuel Chrysoloras.

A noble and scholarly Byzantine, was professor of Greek at Florence from 1397-1400 and taught Greek

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, *Early History of the North Riding*, Brown & Co., Hull, p. 165.

also at Milan and Venice. His lectures had a profound effect; they revived the knowledge of Greek in Italy.

## B. The collection of manuscripts.

### (1) Collectors.

*a.* Pope Nicholas V collected five thousand manuscripts which became the foundation of the Vatican Library, which Pope Sixtus IV enlarged and arranged. Niccolo Niccoli left eight hundred manuscripts to his friend Cosimo de' Medici, who gave some to the Library of St. Mark at Florence, and some to the Library of St. George at Venice. The Medicis' agents scoured Western Europe for manuscripts. Cardinal Bessarion collected six hundred manuscripts. The Medicean Library at Florence, the library of Urbino, which Federigo da Montefeltro collected and which is now in the Vatican, were founded about the middle of the fifteenth century.

### *b.* Some special discoveries.

Poggio Bracciolini, a great collector of sculpture, gems, coins and inscriptions, discovered the first complete edition of Quintilian at the monastery of St. Gall, twelve comedies of Plautus, Cicero's Orations against Verres and the *De Oratore*.

Niccolo persuaded Cosimo de' Medici to buy the manuscript of Pliny from a monastery at Lübeck.

### (2) Transcribers.

Manuscripts were carefully transcribed. Two hundred were transcribed in twenty-two months for Cosimo de' Medici; Federigo da Montefeltro, who "would have been ashamed to own a printed book," employed twenty or thirty transcribers.

The invention of printing popularised the Renaissance, and with the publication of *Æschylus* in 1518 "no extant Greek classic of the first rank remained unprinted."

## II. The Development of Classical Study to 1500.

The interest aroused by the lectures of Chrysoloras, the keen interest shown in the Revival of Letters by the leading men of the time, and particularly the patronage they extended to scholars, as well as the general causes specified in the note on "The Renaissance in Italy," promoted the development of Classical Study.

### A. Patronage.

There was a "natural alliance between the despot and the scholar"; the charm which the Medici exercised over Florence was due probably as much to their leadership in the culture of the age as to their political capacity; the Popes generally became secular princes, and some desired to have a learned court like the Medici and Alfonso, the King of Naples; Federigo da Montefeltro and Sigismondo Malatesta showed that profound differences of personal character were not incompatible with whole-hearted support of the Revival of Letters.

#### (1) The Platonic Academy at Florence.

a. The most famous of the "Academies" which played an important part in the new movement was that founded about 1438 at Florence by Cosimo de' Medici owing to the inspiration of Gemistos Plethon, who "disputed on Platonic mysteries like another Plato." Cosimo "recognised" in the Platonic philosophy "the fairest flower of the ancient world of thought," and his Academy gave a definite direction to the Renaissance. Platonic studies flourished under Cosimo, John Argyropoulos and his greater pupil, Filelfo, who became a professor at Florence in 1429, lectured on Greek and Latin authors to a daily audience of four

hundred people, and Marsilio Ficino, who called himself "the spiritual son of Cosimo."

Ambrogio Traversari, appointed General of the Camaldolese Order by Eugenius IV in 1431, translated Chrysostom and others of the early Fathers into Latin. Traversari's pupil, Giannozzo Manetti, studied Hebrew and translated the Psalms from the original.

b. Under Lorenzo the Academy, which met in his palace at Florence or his villa at Fiesole, extended its scope. The most famous member was Count Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), who tried to reconcile Platonic philosophy with Christian doctrine. Other members were Michelangelo, Alberti the architect, Politian<sup>1</sup> and Christoforo Landino, who were accomplished Latin scholars.

(2) The Roman Academy.

The Roman Academy was founded about 1460 by Julius Pomponius Laetus, and was mainly concerned with the study of Latin antiquities. It was suppressed for a time by Pope Paul II, revived by Sixtus IV and flourished exceedingly under Leo X (1513-1521), the son of Lorenzo de' Medici. Among the Greek scholars whose names were associated with Rome were Theodore Gaza, Demetrius Chalcondylas, who came from Constantinople about 1447, and John Lascaris, who died at Rome, 1535.

(3) The Neapolitan Academy.

The Neapolitan Academy, founded about 1460, soon after the death of King Alfonso, aimed at the development of Latin style.

(4) The Neacademia at Venice.

The great printer Aldo Manuzio<sup>2</sup> founded his New

<sup>1</sup> Angelo Ambrogini of Monte Pulciano, called Poliziano from his birth-place.

<sup>2</sup> His name was Theobaldo Manucci, he is often called Aldus Manutius.

Academy at Venice about 1500 to advise him as to the books he should print and the text he should follow. The Aldine Press was an important factor in the Revival of Letters.

## B. Greek.

Greek literature "supplied those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilisation of the world would be impossible. . . . The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research; it opened philosophic horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen and the monks; it resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art and literature, and stimulated into activity the germs of science."<sup>1</sup>

The development of literary criticism enabled scholars to give correct versions of early texts and to issue accurate translations, e.g. of Aristotle. A severe blow was thus dealt at the Scholastic philosophy, which was largely based on corrupt translations of Aristotle from the Arabic.

The study of Greek was facilitated by the printing at Milan of the Greek Grammar of Lascaris in 1476, and of the works of Theocritus, Hesiod and Isocrates. The Greek Grammar of Chrysoloras was printed at Venice in 1484, and his edition of Homer was published in Florence in 1488. Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar and translations from Aristotle were printed by Aldo in 1495.

## C. Latin.

### (1) Form.

The Revival of Learning reopened the treasure of Latin literature and awakened a desire to improve the style of Latin composition which had greatly deteriorated; Latin was now studied critically, and the importance of correctness of phrase, idiom and grammar was emphasised.

Cicero's works were adopted as the model, and his

<sup>1</sup> *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 142.

Letters, and to a less extent those of Pliny, were copied in private and public letters; "Latin epistolography was now cultivated as a special branch of literature." The style of public documents, often written in Latin, greatly improved, and Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini and Poggio, who were State secretaries at Florence between 1427 and 1465, were accomplished Latin scholars. The effect of the new movement was seen also in Latin treatises and historical works.

Lorenzo Valla (*d.* 1457), one of the earliest critics of style, laid down the rules of correct writing, and Poggio and Politian wrote Latin almost as if it were a living language.

(2) Criticism.

Lorenzo Valla, private secretary to King Alfonso of Naples, published in 1440 a treatise which proved that the Donation of Constantine, the foundation of important papal claims, was a forgery. Valla's treatise is a landmark in the history of historical criticism. The *Complutensian Polyglot*, printed in 1514, contained the first printed Septuagint and the first printed New Testament in Greek. It was based on the careful comparison of manuscripts and is an important fact in the development of textual criticism.

(3) Archæology.

Poggio studied the monuments of Rome and compared them with the testimony of the Latin classics. Flavio Biondo (*d.* 1463) wrote important works on the antiquities of Rome and Italy, *Roma Instaurata*, *Roma Triumphans*, *Italia Illustrata*, and, like Poggio, was one of the founders of Italian archæology.

D. Hebrew.

The influence of Pico della Mirandola, a profound student of Jewish law and theology, fostered the study

of Hebrew, and the classical and Hebrew studies of the Renaissance played an important part in the development of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

### III. The Development of Vernacular Literature.

Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the beginning of all modern poetry, had given literary form to the Italian language, but most of the early humanists were so devoted to the classics that they despised Italian, and Niccolo Niccoli declared that Dante was a poet for "bakers and cobblers." But the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, who wrote his famous carnival songs in Italian, and the efforts of Bruni, Filelfo and Landino, who profoundly admired Dante's work, saved the Italian language as a literary medium and vernacular literature flourished. It found expression in different forms.

#### A. The Novella.

"In Italy the keynote of the Renaissance was struck by the Novella, as in England by the drama" (Symonds). The Novella appealed to the bourgeois. It was short, it depicted a striking situation or told "an anecdote illustrative of some moral quality." Boccaccio's *Decameron* was the origin of the Novella which Bandello (d. 1580) and Cinthio popularised.

#### B. The Idyll.

The Idyll, due also to Boccaccio, expressed the calm appreciation of natural beauty and rural bliss. Arcadia was the subject of the Idyll. Politian and Lorenzo wrote Idylls, but Jacopo Sannazzaro (1458-1530) first explored Arcadia.

#### C. The Romantic Epic.

Chivalrous romances, based on French sources, and particularly on the Carolingian cycle, were written by Pulci and Boiardo (1434-1494), the author of *Orlando Innamorato*, which suggested to Ariosto the subject of the greatest of the Romantic Epics, the *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1515.



#### D. Satire.

Ariosto wrote satires, but the great master of satires was Pietro Aretino (*d.* 1557), a condottiere of the pen and perhaps the father of modern journalism, whose caustic wit and sparkling style spared none.

#### E. Drama.

The drama was affected by the Renaissance ; Boiardo and Politian wrote plays ; in 1515 Trissino finished "Sofonisba," the first Italian tragedy ; Ariosto's comedy, the "Suppositi," first appeared in 1509. But the Italian drama never attained the success of the Novella. The influence of the classical writers, especially of Plautus and Terence, was so strong that it militated against the development of national Italian comedy ; the great popularity of the Intermezzi or Interludes, in which splendid scenery formed a great feature, had a disastrous effect upon the drama, and when in the sixteenth century the opera and pastoral fable made a strong appeal to the national genius of the Italians the drama was practically abandoned.

#### F. History and biography.

The period from 1494 to 1540 was the period of the great Florentine historians Machiavelli, Nardi, Guicciardini and Nerli, whose work was one of the great features of the later Renaissance. The famous biography of Benvenuto Cellini (*d.* 1559) admirably illustrates many of the characteristics of the Renaissance.

### IV. Education.

The best traditions of the Renaissance were worthily maintained by two great schoolmasters. Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446), tutor to the children of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, founded a new type of school. He instructed his pupils not only in classics, mathematics, natural history and music, but also in good manners and social accomplishments ; he en-

couraged healthy activity and riding; swimming and military exercises formed part of his curriculum. He exercised sound moral influence, and succeeded in developing the whole nature of his pupils.

Guarino da Verona (1370-1460) was tutor to the son of Niccolo d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, and was justly famous for his method of teaching and the admirable discipline he maintained among the students who attended his lectures.

## V. Summary.

The Revival of Letters stimulated classical study; both the form and the matter of Greek and Latin writers were assimilated and reproduced. Culture became Latinised. The influence of Greek supplied freedom and intellectual training; the teaching of Aristotle affected the whole method of abstract thought, and the philosophy of Plato was accepted by many as their rule of life.

The development of Italian literature led to early success in practically every form of literature; even the drama, the least successful, was not without its triumphs. "A common Italian language . . . was now practised in accordance with the rules and objects of the scholars. It was thus that the masterpieces of the *cinque cento* literature came into being" (Symonds).

The passion for antiquity, which marked the Renaissance, led to the study of archæology, which found a worthy object in the ruins of ancient Rome.

## References :

- The Renaissance in Italy* (Symonds), chaps. VII-XI, XIII.  
 John Murray.  
*The Renaissance in Italy* (Burckhardt), Part III.  
 Sonnenschein.  
*The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I. The Renaissance,  
 chaps. XVI and XVII.

## THE ART OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

### I. ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

The Ancient Greeks and the Italians of the Renaissance are the only people who have invested "every place and variety of intellectual energy with the form of art."

#### 1. Architecture.

##### A. Pre-Renaissance architecture.

- (1) Italian architecture in the early Middle Ages was very varied. Lombard architecture was the result of the Lombard occupation of the North; in the extreme South the Arabs, Byzantines and Normans made their influence felt. The intercourse of Venice with the East affected the architecture of St. Mark's.

- (2) Tuscan Romanesque.

The influence of classical models appears in the Tuscan Romanesque, of which San Miniato (about 1013) and the Cathedral of Pisa are conspicuous examples.

- (3) Gothic.

The introduction of Gothic architecture was due to the influence of the German Emperors. The cathedrals of Siena, Lucca, Florence and Milan were built during the Gothic period, but the style did not appeal as strongly to Italians as to the people of Central Europe.

##### B. Renaissance architecture.

The revival of classical studies and the interest in antiquity led to the development of the Renaissance school of architecture which combined the round arch of the Romanesque with the flat roof and lintel of ancient Rome. Symmetry and uniformity became marked features of the new style, which afforded less scope for originality and imagination than the Gothic; even the greatest architects were content "to clothe

their own inventions with classical details." The growing demand for fortresses and, later, palaces and for public buildings gave ample opportunity for artists to show their skill.

Although the beginning of the Renaissance in architecture has been assigned to Brunelleschi's visit to Rome in 1403, Arnolfo del Cambio had built at Florence, between 1294 and 1298, the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, Santa Croce and most of the Duomo (to which Giotto added the Campanile). Arnolfo knew "how to adapt his art to the different requirements of municipal and religious life."

The greatest of the Renaissance architects were Brunelleschi (1377-1446), who designed San Lorenzo for Cosimo de' Medici about 1425, and added the dome to the Duomo in 1436; Leon Battista Alberti, who in the Rucellai Palace combined "mediæval massiveness and classic simplicity" and, in 1470, completed the façade of Sta. Maria Novella; Michelozzo, the architect of the Riccardi Palace about 1430, and Benedetto da Majano, who built the Strozzi Palace about 1490. Bramante of Urbino (1455-1514), the architect of St. Peter's, instituted an important development in architecture by making the classical orders structural rather than decorative. He subordinated beauty in details to the grandeur, simplicity and unity of effect.

## II. Sculpture.

In 1260 Niccolo Pisano carved the pulpit of the Baptistry in Florence, and his pupil, Orcagna, made the famous tabernacle in Orsammichele. But Renaissance sculpture really begins with Ghiberti (1378-1455). Ghiberti's most famous work, the bronze gates of the Baptistry, are distinguished by an extraordinary facility of technique and picturesqueness of detail, and were said by Michelangelo to be worthy to be the gates of Paradise.

Donatello combined the spirit of Greece with Christian

sentiment. His most famous works, the statues of St. George and St. David at Florence, are realistic; the Salome relief at Siena is marked by dramatic intensity.

Jacopo della Quercia (1371-1438) carved the tomb of Ilaria del Caretto at Lucca, perhaps the most beautiful of all recumbent figures. His breadth and force of treatment greatly influenced Michelangelo.

Verrocchio's best known work is the equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni at Venice. The beautiful glazed terra cotta work of Luca and Andrea della Robbia is essentially pictorial and inspired Raphael. Other famous Florentine sculptors of the period were Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano, the former of whom carved the tomb of Leonardi Bruni, the latter that of Carlo Marsuppini, and both monuments are marked by dignity and the harmonious treatment of detail; Antonio Rossellino's finest work was the monument to the Cardinal of Portugal. Benedetto da Majano, Mino da Fiesole and Matteo Civitale complete a group of Renaissance sculptors who "represent a level and a fertility of artistic achievement which can only be matched in the history of Attic sculpture." But the greatest masters of Renaissance sculpture, Michelangelo and Benvenuto Cellini, belong to the sixteenth century.

#### References :

*The Renaissance in Italy* (Symonds), chap. XII. John Murray.  
*Makers of Florence* (Mrs. Oliphant), chaps. III and IV.  
 Macmillan.

## II. PAINTING

Early Christian art belonged either to the later Roman style, which originated in the Catacombs, or the Byzantine, which came to Italy from Constantinople. The latter was marked by stiffness of form, lack of perspective, unnatural attitudes, incorrect drawing, the large use of gold and brilliant colours. "Painting was

employed only for religious purposes and forced to conform to the dominant religious spirit" (Lodge).

Cimabue (1240-1302?) in Florence and Duccio in Siena continued the Byzantine tradition, and were the last of their artistic race.

The Renaissance profoundly affected painting. The love of nature; appreciation of the beauty of the human form; the invention of fresco, oil painting and copper plate engraving; the study of anatomy and perspective; and, most of all, the growing spirit of artistic freedom which allowed the painter to give free play to his own individuality; these were the main causes that led to the revival of painting, which began with Giotto.

## I. The Florentine School.

### A. Giotto and his school.

#### (1) Giotto di Bondone, 1266?-1336.

-Giotto, the pupil of Cimabue, definitely broke away from the Byzantine tradition and was the founder of Italian painting. His work was realistic and full of detail; it was based on a careful and observant study of nature; it showed appreciation of beauty, and offered a strong contrast to the asceticism and the "pietistic formulæ" of earlier work. Of the technical innovations that Giotto introduced, the most important was the representation of figures as round and not flat, as real and "tactile." Giotto's representation of rotundity and his correct "rendering of tactile values" made it possible to represent figures as living and moving; painting became free and dramatic instead of stiff and lifeless, and Giotto possessed a remarkable "power of telling a story by gesture and action."

Among Giotto's best-known pictures are "The Death-bed of St. Francis," in the church of Santa Croce, Florence; the fresco portrait of Dante in

the Bargello; the frescoes in the Arena Chapel at Padua.

[Giotto was the architect of the Campanile at Florence, "the lily of Florence," which has been compared to lacework in stone.]

(2) The followers of Giotto "Giotteschi."

The influence of Giotto was strongly marked in his immediate successors, particularly in the Florentines Taddeo Gaddi and Andrea Orcagna (1308?-1368), in Spinello of Arezzo, in Ambrosio and Pietro Lorenzetti of Siena.

(3) Fra Angelico, 1387-1455.

Although of later date the Dominican Fra Giovanni, who is always called Fra Angelico—the Angel Brother—resisted the persuasions of the Renaissance and must be regarded as a successor of Giotto. He was an emotional painter. "He never took up his pencil without a prayer, and could not paint a Crucifixion without the tears running down his cheeks" (Vasari). He had little sympathy with the external world; his faces are essentially spiritual, his pictures were "windows into heaven." But he was thoroughly artistic, and his pictures are marked by skilful control of light and shade and by the truthful representation of what he saw. The frescoes in the convent of San Marco at Florence, and especially the Crucifixion, are probably his best work.

His pupil Benozzo Gozzoli showed considerable power of perspective and foreshortening.

B. The painters of the Renaissance.

(1) Masaccio, 1401?-1428.

Taddeo Gaddi lamented that "Art left the world with Giotto." Its revival was due to Masaccio, the great pioneer of Renaissance painting. "He was the first to give his figures beautiful attitudes, natural movement, vivacity of expression and a relief similar

to reality" (Vasari). "The Tribute Money" and the "Expulsion from Eden" are his best-known pictures

(2) **Fra Lippo Lippi, 1406 ?-1469.**

Although a friar, Lippo Lippi loved this world and "the ferment and activity and tempestuous beauty of his own Florentine world in particular" (Innes). His pictures reveal imagination and power of design; in "The Nativity," unlike his other works, appears a genuine religious spirit. Filippino Lippi, probably the son of Fra Lippo, continued the style of his father with excellent technique.

(3) **Botticelli (or, more accurately, Sandro Filipepi), 1444-1510.**

Botticelli represents "the interminglement of antique and modern fancy at a moment of transition," and was the first to use classical subjects as alternatives to the old Biblical stories. The divergency of interest lends an element of indecision to his painting, and there is a touch of melancholy even in the joyous picture of "Primavera." His earlier work is original and full of charm, his later shows a return to the style of Giotto.

(4) **Paolo Uccello.**

Uccello, the painter of battles, is remarkable for his skilful use of perspective.

(5) **Domenico Ghirlandajo, 1449-1498.**

Ghirlandajo, Michelangelo's first teacher, was a master of portraiture. His pictures are marked by skilful composition and successful treatment of drapery and architecture.

(6) **Fra Bartolommeo, 1475-1517.**

Fra Bartolommeo was a disciple of Savonarola and forms the connecting link between the painters of the Early Renaissance and the golden age of painting. Raphael's early work and the paintings of Andrea del Sarto owe much to his influence.



### C. General.

The Florentine school shows how painting broke away from ecclesiastical conventions and became more human. It illustrates the growing interest in man, which was one of the features of the Renaissance. In technique the Florentines perfected form by means of the development of light and shade, of perspective and the study of anatomy.

## II. The Umbrian and Bolognese Schools.

### A. The Umbrian school.

The Umbrian painters carried on the old traditions and regarded painting largely as a method of religious teaching. The effect of their work is heightened by the use of "space-composition," or "infinity," which, "by opening out behind their figures a new heaven and a new earth, gave a heightened dignity to the human beings in the foreground" (Innes). The Umbrian school was more conventional and less individualistic than the Florentine.

The most famous of the early Umbrian painters were Simone Memmi (1284-1344) and Gentile da Fabriano (1360?-1428).

#### (1) Piero della Francesca, 1416-1492.

Francesco's vigorous, if somewhat old-fashioned style, powerfully influenced the work of his contemporaries. He was one of the pioneers of realism and anticipated the landscape painters of the nineteenth century in his endeavour to show how atmosphere changes colour impressions. The skilful draughtsmanship and profound knowledge of anatomy and perspective displayed by Francesco's most famous pupil, Luca Signorelli (1441-1523), influenced Michelangelo.

(2) Perugino (more accurately Pietro Vanucci), 1446–1524.

Perugino excelled in space-composition and delicacy of tone and colour. He “set the final touch of technical art upon the devotion transmitted from earlier and more enthusiastic centuries.” Raphael, about 1500, became a pupil of Perugino, whose influence is seen clearly in Raphael’s first or Peruginesque period.

(3) Bernardo Pinturiccio.

A pupil of Perugino, who combined the style of the Umbrian school with the faithful representation of contemporary manners.

B. The Bolognese school.

Il Francia (Francesco Raibolini, 1450–1517) founded the Bolognese school. Purity of line and colour, pathos and sincere piety mark his work, and Raphael and, probably, Correggio studied under him.

III. The Venetian School.

A. The Bellini.

The first painters of the Venetian school were Jacopo Bellini, a pupil of the Sienese Gentile da Fabriano; and the brothers Vivarini, who flourished from 1450 to 1500. Of Jacopo’s two sons, Gentile (1429–1507), in whose studio Titian received his early training, was remarkable like his pupil Carpaccio (1450–1522), for his representation of pageants; the works of Giovanni (1430–1516), the greatest of the family, are marked by “a strain of sober joy”; the wonderful colour and breadth of his later years affords a contrast to the comparative hardness and dryness of his earlier.

B. Giorgione, 1477–1510.

Giorgione is one of the great painters of the world, and exercised strong influence on Venetian painters and especially Titian. In his masterpiece, the Castelfranco “Madonna,” he reveals poetic feeling, command of light

and colour, and a remarkable power of using landscape as an instrument of expression. "Through Giorgione all the hidden springs were set flowing of romance and passion and of delight in the exquisite glory of life" (Innes).

#### C. Other Venetian painters.

Carlo Crivelli's (1430-1494) pictures are marked by charming fantasy, and his later work, like Giovanni Bellini's, shows remarkable breadth. Catena (*d.* 1531), Cima da Conegliano and Palma Vecchio deserve more than a passing reference.

#### D. General.

The Oriental magnificence of the great Venetian merchants, the love of ceremony and display which marked the people, the material splendour of the city and the freedom which marked Venetian life profoundly affected the Venetian school of painting. Its chief characteristics are colour, luminous atmosphere, a sense of the worldly grandeur of human life, a feeling of serenity and, often, of joyousness.

#### IV. Other Painters.

Painting was not limited to the great Italian schools. Andrea Mantegna of Mantua and Moroni of Bergamo, the character painter whose "Tailor" is one of the most popular pictures in the National Gallery, are two of the great painters who cannot be included in preceding paragraphs.

The greatest painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Corregio and Titian, belong to the Golden Age of the sixteenth century, although much of Leonardo's work was done in the fifteenth.

#### References :

- The Renaissance in Italy* (Symonds), chap. XII.  
*Schools of Painting* (Innes), chaps. VI-XII. Methuen.

# SECTION VI

# FRANCE



## THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET, 987

Mainly owing to the influence of Adalbero and Gerbert, Hugh Capet<sup>1</sup> was elected King of France by the magnates, led by Richard I, Duke of Normandy. He was crowned at Noyon by Adalbero.

### I. The Causes of the Fall of the Carolingians.

- A. The failure of the Carolingians to stop the development of feudalism which made military organisation, finance, government, justice and legislation local rather than monarchical. They fell because "they had no solid basis of feudal support."
- B. The ineffective claims they made to land which had passed under the sway of Germany.
- C. Their failure to realise that the royal domain was the foundation of their power and to concentrate royal fiefs as a basis of further aggrandisement.
- D. The loss of the support of the Saxon Emperors and the Church owing to the mistaken policy of Lothair (page 60).
- E. Of the first two Norman dukes Rollo had always, and William Longsword generally, supported the Carolingians. Richard the Fearless supported Hugh Capet.

### II. The Nature of the Capetian Monarchy.

- A. The Capetian monarchy the continuation of the Carolingian.

It has been asserted that the Capetian monarchy was feudal and French, the Carolingian German and resting

<sup>1</sup> So called, probably, from the cape he wore as titular abbot of St. Martin's, Tours.

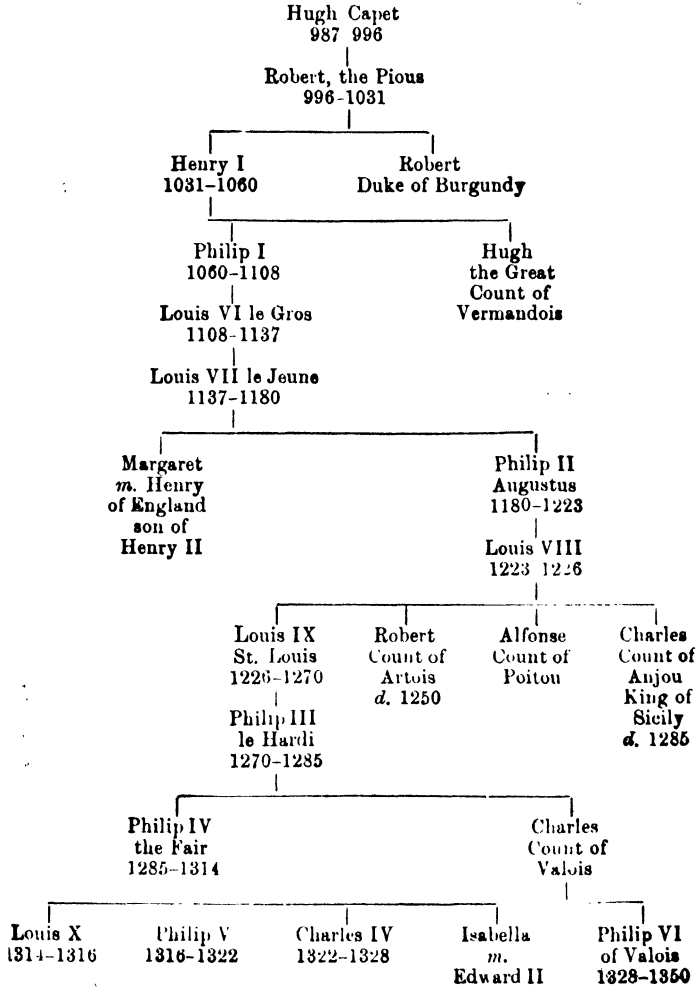
on a tradition of Roman Imperialism. But the Capetian monarchy was the continuation of the Carolingian.

- (1) Both houses maintained similar relations with Germany, sometimes friendly, sometimes unfriendly, according to circumstances. Both tried to extend their domains at the expense of Germany (Lothair in the case of Lorraine, Hugh Capet in Burgundy). It seems doubtful if the Carolingians were more German than the Capetians because, as the descendants of Charlemagne, they resented the position secured by the non-Carolingian Saxon Emperors, while Hugh Capet was the son of Otto I's sister. Both spoke the same tongue.
- (2) Both tried to extend their power over the great French feudatories.
- (3) Both tried to maintain the idea of monarchical government, and tried, with little success, to make central government effective. But the Capetians had no Imperial tradition of universal dominion like their rivals.
- (4) Both owed their thrones to something more than election by the feudal magnates, of whom the Carolingians were certainly, the Capetians probably, not the strongest. In the case of the former the election was largely due to the continuance of the Carolingian traditions, in the case of the latter to the great services rendered by the Capetians (e.g. in the defence of Paris), to the failure of the Carolingian monarchs, and the support of the Church.

#### B. It was Feudal.

- (1) The ultimate foundation of the Capetian monarchy was the feudal power of the Dukes of France. As Duke of France Hugh Capet owned a rich and compact domain extending from the Somme to the Loire, bounded on the west by Normandy and Anjou, on the east by Champagne. The domain included

THE CAPETIAN KINGS





Picardy, part of Western Champagne, Blois, Perche, Touraine, Maine and the cities of Paris and Orleans. Although the early Capetian kings had difficulty in asserting their authority over the turbulent vassals of their domain, every other great magnate had the same difficulty, and the Capetian domains were far stronger than the later Carolingian, which had shrunk to Laon and the Laonnais.

- (2) The feudal system involved a feudal king as the supreme lord, but the old Carolingian theory of monarchy continued; the Capetians spoke of the Carolingians as "our predecessors," appealed to the old capitularies and used seals and forms similar to those previously in use. But "the new dynasty saved the monarchy by strengthening it with a great fief. . . . France had become so fully feudalised that there was no room for an authority that had no basis of feudal support" (Tout).
- (3) The continuance of the Capetian monarchy was largely due to the fact that from 987 to the death of Louis X in 1316 it descended in unbroken line from father to son. Hugh Capet had his son Robert crowned during his lifetime, and this custom strengthened the idea of hereditary succession. The King never died.

#### C. How far was the Capetian monarchy a national monarchy ?

- (1) The Carolingians were not "different in tongue, ideas or policy" from the Capetians, and the idea of a national French monarchy did not arise until long after the accession of Hugh Capet. In 987 there were three clearly divided countries in France—Austrasia (including Lorraine and Burgundy), Neustria (including the Duchy of France, Champagne, Anjou and Normandy) and Aquitaine. Brittany lay outside.
- (2) But in the course of centuries the Capetian kings and their successors brought all France under their rule. Common national feeling grew owing to the subjec-

tion to one king, to united opposition to papal claims and to resistance to England. The nationality that ultimately emerged was largely due to the continuance and extension of the monarchical power. "There is no modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as France. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else."<sup>1</sup>

#### D. The Church supported the Capetians.

The support of Adalbero and Gerbert ensured Hugh Capet's accession, which was a triumph for the Church. The support of the Church was due not only to the friendly relations which had been established between Hugh and Adalbero. The Church desired a strong government which should do something to check the anarchy of the times. The organisation of the Church could be better maintained if France was united, however loosely, under one king than if it were split up into a number of independent states. The Church gave ecclesiastical sanction to the monarchy; the king became the Lord's Anointed; the Church could compel rebels to submit to their king under pain of excommunication. The Church thus gave strong moral force to the monarchy, which was also strengthened by the material assistance of the wealthy sees and abbeys.

### III. The Power of Hugh Capet.

Although the conditions of Hugh Capet's accession ultimately made the monarchy the supreme power in France, his own position as King of France was weak. The royal title gave added dignity but little additional power to Hugh Capet. He maintained his position, largely owing to a "balance of jealousy" between the great magnates. He was compelled to make grants of his feudal domain to some of his supporters.

<sup>1</sup> *The Growth of the French Nation*, p. 59.

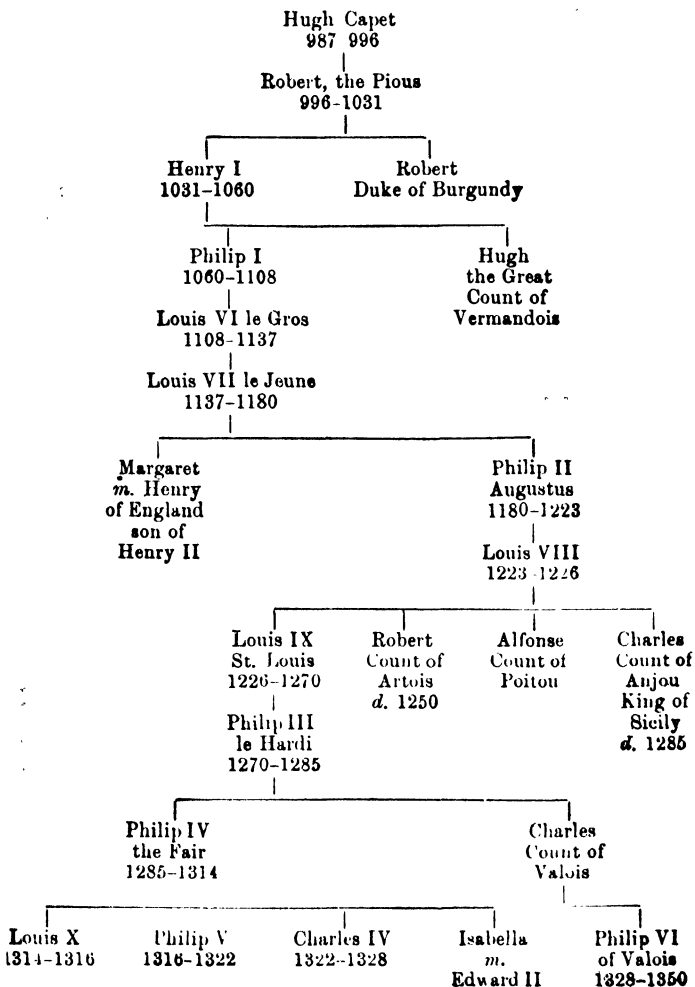
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- (3) The continuance of the Capetian monarchy was largely due to the fact that from 987 to the death of Louis X in 1316 it descended in unbroken line from father to son. Hugh Capet had his son Robert crowned during his lifetime, and this custom strengthened the idea of hereditary succession. The King never died.

**C. How far was the Capetian monarchy a national monarchy ?**

- (1) The Carolingians were not "different in tongue, ideas or policy" from the Capetians, and the idea of a national French monarchy did not arise until long after the accession of Hugh Capet. In 987 there were three clearly divided countries in France—Austrasia (including Lorraine and Burgundy), Neustria (including the Duchy of France, Champagne, Anjou and Normandy) and Aquitaine. Brittany lay outside.
- (2) But in the course of centuries the Capetian kings and their successors brought all France under their rule. Common national feeling grew owing to the subjec-

tion to one king, to united opposition to papal claims and to resistance to England. The nationality that ultimately emerged was largely due to the continuance and extension of the monarchical power. "There is no modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as France. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else."<sup>1</sup>

#### D. The Church supported the Capetians.

The support of Adalbero and Gerbert ensured Hugh Capet's accession, which was a triumph for the Church. The support of the Church was due not only to the friendly relations which had been established between Hugh and Adalbero. The Church desired a strong government which should do something to check the anarchy of the times. The organisation of the Church could be better maintained if France was united, however loosely, under one king than if it were split up into a number of independent states. The Church gave ecclesiastical sanction to the monarchy; the king became the Lord's Anointed; the Church could compel rebels to submit to their king under pain of excommunication. The Church thus gave strong moral force to the monarchy, which was also strengthened by the material assistance of the wealthy sees and abbeys.

### III. The Power of Hugh Capet.

Although the conditions of Hugh Capet's accession ultimately made the monarchy the supreme power in France, his own position as King of France was weak. The royal title gave added dignity but little additional power to Hugh Capet. He maintained his position, largely owing to a "balance of jealousy" between the great magnates. He was compelled to make grants of his feudal domain to some of his supporters.

<sup>1</sup> *The Growth of the French Nation*, p. 59.

**A. Feudal power.****(1) Over his own domain.**

As owner of his own domain Hugh exercised the ordinary feudal rights. He drew a revenue from direct taxes (e.g. the "cens," a tax on non-movables); dues on commerce; payments for the use of mills; profits on coinage, forests and fisheries; the right of prise and procuration; the Jews, who were the King's chattels; the "corvée," a system of forced labour and service; the "ost," involving the obligation of military service. In course of time many of these rights were commuted for money payments.

He received the usual Feudal Reliefs payable on succession to fiefs, and the military service which was a necessary condition of feudal tenure.

**(2) Outside the domain.**

It is doubtful how far Hugh made his feudal rights effective outside his domain. He may have received feudal dues; he found the greatest difficulty in raising a feudal army from the whole of the country, and was compelled to rely mainly upon his own domain for the armies he required.

**B. Royal power.****(1) The Barons.**

The excessive decentralisation of the Feudal System made the royal power little more than nominal. Government, justice, legislation, coinage continued, as under the Carolingians, local and not monarchical. But the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy which was made on special occasions, e.g. accessions, was of great importance. The king was regarded, however vaguely, as the ultimate source of justice. The king possessed certain rights of confirming the actions of magnates in regard to the cession and exchange of lands. The kings never dropped their

claims to these and similar rights, and as their power grew they succeeded in making these claims effective and in establishing the royal supremacy.

(2) The Church.

The authority which the Capetian kings exercised over the Church was monarchical as well as feudal. They took the revenues of vacant bishoprics, exercised powerful influence in the appointment of bishops and abbots and levied taxes on the clergy, although for some time Normandy and Aquitaine seem successfully to have resisted such action. "Every great church fief was a centre of royal influence" (Tout).

IV. General.

Thus the Capetian monarchy was partly Carolingian, partly feudal, partly ecclesiastical. It was neither powerful nor national. Its supremacy lay in the future rather than the present. But the monarchy of Hugh Capet, although weak and ineffective, contained the seeds of future greatness, and the policy of the early Capetian kings in establishing the monarchy on the strong foundation of a powerful feudal duchy led in time to the absolute monarchy of Philip the Fair.

References :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), pp. 71-75.

*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 184-189.

*The Growth of the French Nation* (Adams), chap. vi. Macmillan.

## THE FIRST FOUR CAPETIAN KINGS

### HUGH CAPET, 987-996

He married Adelaide of Poitou, daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine; the Duke of Normandy was his brother-in-law; his brother Henry was Duke of Burgundy. To strengthen his



position he had his son Robert crowned king on Christmas Day, 987.

### I. The Royal Domain.

Under Hugh Capet the royal domain was lessened by grants made to those who had supported his accession. For a time Hugh's own county of Paris was held by Bouchard of Vendôme, but Hugh recovered it on Bouchard's death. Odo I, Count of Blois, greatly extended his dominions at the expense of the royal domain.

### II. Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine.

Charles of Lorraine, the brother of King Lothair, claimed the throne as the heir of the Carolingians. He was supported by the Counts of Flanders and Vermandois and by Duke William of Aquitaine. He seized Laon and secured the election of his nephew Arnulf to the Archbishopric of Rheims on the death of Adalbero. Hugh led an unsuccessful expedition against the Duke of Aquitaine, leaving the Duke of Normandy to keep the northern rebels in check. Charles was captured by treachery and imprisoned in Orleans until he died. This was the last attempt of the Carolingians to regain the throne.

### III. The Church.

The position of Rheims, lying between France and Germany, and its ecclesiastical importance made Hugh anxious to secure the archbishopric for his friend Gerbert. At the Council of Rheims in 991 Arnulf was deposed from the archbishopric and Gerbert elected by French bishops. Owing to the influence of Pope John XV Gerbert was deposed in 995. Hugh was too weak to protect Gerbert, and this early struggle between the Gallican clergy and the Pope ended in the victory of the latter.

## ROBERT II THE PIOUS, 996-1031

Robert's high character won for him the name of the Pious ; he showed vigour and statesmanship, but lack of resources prevented him from carrying his ideas into effect. He had his eldest son, Hugh, crowned in 1017 and, after Hugh's death, his second son Henry crowned in 1027.

## I. The Domain.

A. Robert owed much to the steady support of Richard II (the Good) of Normandy, but Fulk the Black, Count of Anjou, proved a dangerous opponent and Robert had difficulty in coercing the smaller barons of the Orleansais.

B. He married Bertha, widow of Odo I of Blois, as his second wife, hoping thus to regain the lands his father had lost. But the Pope annulled the marriage and Odo II succeeded to his father's lands.

C. Robert's third marriage to Constance of Arles alienated many of Robert's vassals owing to the overbearing character of the Queen and the loose manners of her suite. Constance wished her son Robert and not Henry to succeed his father, and King Robert's difficulties were increased by war between his two sons and, later, by the rebellion of both against himself.

## II. The Church.

Robert restored Arnulf to the Archbishopric of Rheims ; he was compelled to put away his second wife, Bertha, because they were distantly related and he had acted as godfather to one of her children by her first marriage to Odo I of Chartres. The Pope condemned Robert to seven years' penance and deposed the Archbishop of Tours, who had sanctioned the marriage.

### III. The Empire.

Robert refused the offer of the crown of Italy made to him in 1024 by the Lombard opponents of Conrad II. But he tried to extend his dominions at the expense of the Empire.

#### A. Burgundy.

1002. Robert claimed the Duchy of Burgundy on the death of his uncle Henry. With the help of Richard the Good of Normandy he secured the duchy and resisted later attempts to deprive him of it.

#### B. Lorraine.

1024. Robert tried to secure the Duchy of Lorraine, the dukes of which feared the power of the Emperor. Robert's attempt was a failure.

## HENRY I, 1031-1060

Henry I was the weakest of the Capetian kings. Under him the domain was restricted, the Duchy of Burgundy became practically independent of the monarchy, the struggle between the monarchy and the Duchy of Normandy began, the Empire gained ground in the East. He gave the name of Philip to his son by his second wife, Anne of Russia, who claimed descent from Philip of Macedon, and had him crowned in 1059.

### I. The Domain.

#### A. Robert.

Henry's brother Robert, supported by his mother, Constance of Arles, tried to get the crown and was supported by Odo II of Blois. By the help of Robert the Devil, Duke of Normandy, the rebellion was crushed. Henry gave the Duchy of Burgundy to his brother Robert, who became practically independent.

## B. Odo of Blois.

Odo of Blois captured the Senonais and became a serious danger to the monarchy. He was killed at Bar in **1037**. His sons continued the struggle, but Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, helped the King to defeat them, and received from Henry Touraine, which had previously belonged to Blois.

## C. Normandy.

After his defeat at Varaville (**1058**), Henry gave to William (the Conqueror) of Normandy, Tillières, which commanded the valley of the Arve.

## II. Normandy.

## A. Alliance.

- (1) The policy of friendship between the Capetians and Normandy was continued by Robert the Devil, who helped Henry against his brother Robert.
- (2) In **1047** Henry helped the young Duke William, illegitimate son of Robert the Devil, to defeat the rebellious Norman barons at Val-ès-dunes.

## B. Opposition.

The growing power of William, who defeated Geoffrey of Anjou in **1048**, led Henry to attack Normandy and to change completely the policy of the monarchy towards Normandy.

- (1) Henry henceforth helped the Norman barons against the Duke, and in **1054** joined in a coalition of Aquitaine, Burgundy and Champagne against William. The coalition was routed by William at Mortemer.
- (2) **1058**. Henry, in alliance with Geoffrey Martel of Anjou, invaded Normandy, but was routed by William at Varaville.

### III. The Empire.

Henry failed to check the extension of the power of the Empire in the East.

#### A. Burgundy.

- (1) The Duchy of Burgundy, held by Henry's brother Robert and his successors, became practically independent of the monarchy.
- (2) **1033.** On the death of King Rudolf III the Emperor Conrad II was crowned King of Burgundy, and the kingdom was added to the Empire.

#### B. Lorraine.

Henry, as the successor of the Carolingians, claimed Lorraine and the palace of Aachen, the old Carolingian capital. His claim was repudiated by the Emperor, Henry III.

- 1046.** Failure of Henry in alliance with Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lorraine, to wrest Lorraine from the Empire.

#### C. Aquitaine.

The marriage of the Emperor Henry III with Agnes of Poitou strengthened the influence of the Empire in the South of France.

### IV. The Church.

- 1049.** Henry vainly tried to dissuade the reforming Pope, Leo IX, from holding the Council of Rheims in France where the hierarchy was feudal. The King said that bishops and abbots had been summoned for military service against Normandy. The Pope insisted on holding the Council in spite of Henry's attempt to prevent French bishops from attending, and condemned bishops who had been guilty of simony, or disobeyed the Pope's orders to attend. In spite of the King's opposition the Pope had again vindicated his authority over the French clergy.

## PHILIP I, 1060-1108

Philip was greedy and dissolute, but possessed considerable political ability and displayed much energy until his growing corpulence hampered his activity. He saw most clearly the urgent need of extending the royal domain, but the constant, and well deserved, opposition of the Church, the growing power of Normandy and weakness of his resources, combined to limit his success. His son Louis was crowned in 1100.

## I. The Domain.

Philip strengthened his northern frontier by taking Corbie from Flanders in 1074; gave the county of Vermandois to his brother Hugh the Great, whose family loyally supported the monarchy; protected Paris by acquiring the Vexin and the Valois; strengthened his position south of the Loire by purchasing Bourges. But he had not sufficient force to hold securely his new acquisitions.

## II. Normandy.

## A. The Norman Conquest of England.

William of Normandy claimed England on the ground that Edward the Confessor had promised it him, and that Harold Godwinson had sworn to support his claim. His father-in-law, Baldwin V of Flanders, the Regent of France during Philip's minority, sanctioned the expedition, which was blessed by Pope Alexander II.

## B. The Results.

William the Conqueror's success had important results on France.

- (1) It made the Duke of Normandy more powerful than the King of France, but by transferring to England the main interest of the Dukes of Normandy, lessened the immediate danger to the domain of the Capets.
- (2) It made opposition to the King of England the settled

policy of the Kings of France, who seized every opportunity of embarrassing their rivals by supporting rebellion in Normandy and England.

- (3) The union in the hands of the King of England of some of the leading feudal baronies in Northern, and later in Central and Southern France, seemed likely to lead to the overthrow of the French monarchy, but ultimately, by consolidating national defence, proved one of the causes of the supremacy the French Kings gained over the whole of France.

#### C. Normandy and Maine.

**1073.** William the Conqueror conquered Maine, hoping "by means of the Aquitanian hatred of the northern French to form a strong power which should stretch from the Seine to the Pyrenees" (Kitchin). In **1076** Philip regained Maine, and William the Conqueror died in **1087** from injuries received while attacking Mantes. In **1099** William Rufus conquered Maine.

#### D. Norman rebellions.

Philip helped Robert Curthose against his father, William the Conqueror, in **1078**. The recognition of Curthose by William Rufus as Duke of Normandy in **1091** temporarily divided Norman and English interests and improved Philip's position.

### III. The Church.

#### A. Simony.

In defiance of the attack on simony, which formed an important feature of the Cluniac Movement (page 113), Philip repeatedly sold Church preferments. He was denounced by Hildebrand for "oppressing the churches of his kingdom" and for plundering pilgrims and merchants who were going to Rome.

#### B. Bertrada of Anjou.

**1092.** Philip divorced his wife, Bertha of Holland, and

married Bertrada of Montfort, who had been divorced from her husband, Fulk Rechin of Anjou. He was excommunicated by Urban II in **1094** and summoned to appear at the Council of Piacenza.

#### C. The First Crusade.

But the Papacy was too weak to take advantage of Philip's excommunication, and in **1095** Urban II, hoping to restore the prestige of the Papacy, to help pilgrims to the Holy Land, and to give a suitable opportunity to the feudal nobles, preached the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont. Philip did not go on the crusade, but Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Alan, Count of Brittany, with Stephen, Count of Blois, and Raymond, Count of Toulouse, took the cross, and the absence of some of the leading magnates removed some of Philip's greatest vassals. The First Crusade thus strengthened the French monarchy.

#### D. Death of Philip, **1108**.

Philip practically retired in favour of his son Louis, who was crowned in **1100**. Philip did not give up Bertrada, and was never fully absolved from excommunication. He died in **1108** clad in the robe of a Benedictine monk which he had assumed in the hope that St. Benedict would protect him "lest for his sins he should be carried off by the devil."

### IV. General.

The early Capetian kings were weak, and found their resources too small for their task. They lost much of their domain, and found great difficulty in asserting their authority over the remainder. They failed to maintain their claims against the Empire, and were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. The great magnates remained practically independent.

But they often showed energy and sound statesman-



ship, and were far superior to the *rois fainéants* of earlier lines. They ensured the continuance of the monarchy in their own line and secured some measure of formal recognition from the feudal nobles. The domain they retained proved the foundation of their successors' effective authority. They builded better than they knew.

#### References :

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. iv.

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 189-248.

### NORMANDY TO 1066

The Mark of Paris, established in 861 to protect the North-West of Gaul from the ravages of the Northmen, and the successful defence of Paris in 885-886 saved the district from conquest and facilitated the formation of the Duchy of France, the nucleus of the Capetian monarchy. The capture of Rouen by Rollo and the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte (page 52) led to the settlement of Normandy.

#### I. Rollo, 911-927.

##### A. The extent of his territory.

- (1) 911. The Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte gave to Rollo the land between the Epte and the sea, with Rouen as its chief town, and vague rights over Brittany. Rouen soon became essentially French.
- (2) 924. Rollo obtained Maine, which did not remain a permanent possession, and the Bessin, with Bayeux as its chief town. The Bessin was Teutonic, and thus there arose a difference of racial interest between Rouen and Bayeux.

##### B. Rollo and the Carolingian Kings.

Rollo had paid homage in 911 to Charles the Simple ;

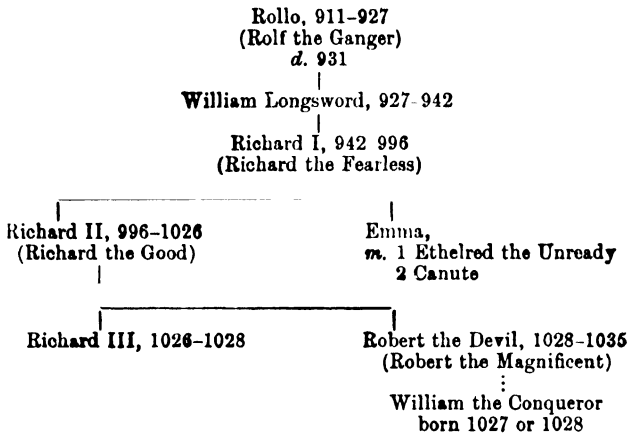
the lands he received were part not of the Carolingian domain but of the Duchy of France. It was therefore his duty and interest to support the Carolingians against the Dukes of France.

922. Rollo supported Charles the Simple against his rival Robert.

C. General.

Rollo resigned in 927 and died in 931. He was the founder of Normandy, the author of the settlement of

THE DUKES OF NORMANDY



the Northmen in Gaul which “ with their subsequent change into Normans is the great continental event of the first half of the tenth century ” (Freeman).

II. William Longsword, 927-942.

A. Wars.

(1) 931. The Bretons, encouraged by the defeat of the Northmen of the Loire by King Rudolf at Limoges in 930, rebelled. William crushed the rebellion and added the Côtentin, with Coutances and Avranches,

to his dominions. King Rudolf confirmed him in his new possessions.

- (2) **942**. He had to defend Normandy against Arnulf of Flanders, who, like other neighbouring princes, was jealous of the growing power of Normandy. He was murdered by Arnulf's orders in **942**.

I. William Longsword and the Kings of France.

William acknowledged the overlordship of Charles the Simple. He paid homage in **933** to Rudolf, who confirmed his rights to Brittany, but (**938-939**) opposed the Capetian Lewis d'Outremer who, unlike Charles the Simple, sought, in alliance with Athelstan and Hugh the Great, to weaken the power of Normandy.

C. General.

William Longsword had strong sympathies with France and professed Christianity. He put down a rising of the Danish party, but had his son Richard educated as a Dane.

III. **Richard I the Fearless, 942-996.**

A. Richard and the Carolingians.

- (1) During Richard's minority new parties of heathen Northmen came to Normandy and the Christian Normans therefore commended themselves to Hugh the Great of Paris or Lewis d'Outremer.
- (2) **943-944**. Lewis seized the young Richard and kept him at Laon. Lewis invaded Normandy, entered Rouen, but was routed and made prisoner on the Dive by Harold Bluetooth, King of Norway.
- (3) **960**. King Lothair attacked Normandy.

B. Richard and the Capetians.

- (1) Hugh Capet, Duke of France.

**946**. Otto I and Lewis fought against the Dukes of Paris

and Normandy, failed to capture Paris, but ravaged Normandy.

**956.** Death of Hugh the Great, Duke of Paris.

**960.** Richard paid homage for Normandy to Hugh Capet and thus took the side of the Capetians as opposed to the Carolingians. "The alliance of Normandy and ducal France sealed the fate of the Carolingian monarchy."

(2) Hugh Capet, King of France.

Richard supported the accession of Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, in **987**. The Normans made Gaul French, Paris the capital of France and the Duke of Paris King of France. But Normandy profited because the Capetian revolution gave Normandy an assured position in France and Europe as "the mightiest and noblest among the fiefs of the Capetian crown" (Freeman). Thus Normandy created France and France Normandy.

C. Theobald of Chartres.

**963.** Theobald, who wished to secure Evreux, attacked Normandy, which was again saved by the intervention of Harold Bluetooth.

D. Feudalism.

In the reign of Richard the Fearless the Norman feudal nobility began. The original nobles were the legitimate or illegitimate descendants of the dukes. The growth of commendation and the erection of castles strengthened their power.

#### IV. Richard II the Good, 996-1026.

A. The Peasants' Revolt, **997**.

The tyranny of the feudal nobles and the aristocratic leaning of Richard the Good, who "would have none but gentlemen about him," provoked a well-organised revolt of the peasants in **997**. It was crushed by Rudolf, Count of Ivry, the King's uncle, but Freeman suggests

that the comparatively easy conditions under which the Norman villeins lived may have resulted from this rising.

**B. Richard the Good and England.**

Richard the Fearless had quarrelled with Ethelred the Unready because the Vikings who attacked England had found shelter and support in Normandy.

- (1) **1002.** Ethelred married Emma, sister of Richard the Good. This marriage promoted friendly relations between Normandy and England, was followed by the settlement of Normans in England and "led directly to the Norman Conquest of England" (Freeman).
- (2) Richard gave shelter to Ethelred when he was driven out by the Danes, but remained on friendly terms with Canute.

**C. Richard the Good and France.**

Richard continued to the Capetian House the loyalty his father had shown, and became "the mainstay of the French kingdom."

**1003.** Richard helped King Robert to assert his suzerainty over the Duchy of Burgundy.

**D. Norman expansion.**

In the reign of Richard the Good the valour of individual Norman adventurers led to foreign adventures of considerable importance.

**1016.** The Normans landed in Italy (page 115).

**1018.** Roger de Toesny invaded Spain, but failed to establish a principality.

**V. Robert the Devil, 1028-1035.**

Richard III, eldest son of Richard the Good, reigned only two years, and was succeeded by his brother Robert the Magnificent, or Robert the Devil.

## A. Robert and Henry I.

**1031.** Robert, who continued the policy of loyalty to the Capetian House, aided Henry I of France to overthrow a coalition of the barons led by his brother, **Rol** of France, and supported by his mother, **Queen Constance** of Arles.

## B. Robert and England.

Robert did not continue the friendly relations which had existed between Canute and Richard the Good, but supported the claims of the son of Ethelred the Unready to his father's throne which Canute had seized. He proposed to invade England, but the proposal was not carried out.

C. Birth of William (the Conqueror), **1027** ?

The matrimonial relations of the Dukes of Normandy were irregular. Some married wives "according to the Danish custom,"<sup>1</sup> which was not recognised by the Church; some married their concubines after they had borne sons. Robert the Devil formed no matrimonial connection at all with Herleva, the daughter of a tanner of Falaise, the mother of his son William, who, in consequence, was often termed William the Bastard.

But Robert persuaded the barons to recognise William as his heir and successor before setting out on a pilgrimage. He died at Nicaea in Bithynia, **1035**.

VI. **William the Conqueror, 1035-1087.**

## A. Difficulties of William at his Accession.

William was only nine years old, and although the Duke of Brittany became his guardian the accession of a minor gave the feudal nobles, of whom Wm. Talvas, Count of Belesme, was one of the worst, an opportunity of extending their power. Every private landowner became a petty sovereign, built castles, waged private war, and committed murder at his pleasure. "Possibly

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, note x, page 612.

no period of the same length in the history of Christendom contains the record of so many foul deeds of slaughter and mutilation as the early years of the reign of William " (Freeman).

- (1) The turbulent nobles made the most of William's illegitimate birth, he was in danger of assassination, and his forces were often weakened by treachery.
- (2) The division between the Scandinavian and French parts of Normandy still continued.
- (3) The French King Henry I no longer, like Hugh Capet and Robert I, depended upon the assistance of Normandy, and was anxious to reduce the power of an overmighty vassal.

**B. From the Accession of William to the battle of Val-ès-dunes, 1047.**

**(1) 1039-1040.**

- a.* Failure, owing to the devotion of the Duke's servant Osbern, of William of Montgomery's attempt to assassinate Duke William.
- b.* Treason and death of Roger de Toesny.
- c.* Seizure by Henry I of the strong border castle of Tillières.
- d.* Rising of Thurstan of Goz. William captured his castle of Falaise.

**(2) Val-ès-dunes.**

Led by Guy of Burgundy, the Scandinavian lords of the Bessin and Côtentin rebelled. Rouen and the French lands east of the Dive supported William; Henry I, apparently contrary to his own interests, brought help to the Duke, and the French and faithful Normans utterly routed the rebels at Val-ès-dunes, 1047.

The victory firmly established the power of William over the whole of Normandy and confirmed the supremacy of the French element.

(3) Better government.

During this time William had reorganised the government and evolved order out of chaos. He was helped by the growing influence of the monastic houses (Lanfranc became Prior of Bec in 1045) and by the Truce of God, which was accepted at the Council of Caen, 1042.

C. From Val-ès-dunes to William's marriage, 1053.

(1) Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou.

Geoffrey was now master of Maine, which bordered on Normandy, and his growing power was dangerous to William, who joined King Henry I in a campaign against Geoffrey. Seizure by Geoffrey of the border fortresses of Alençon and Domfront.

1048. William captured Alençon, treated the people with great barbarity because they had spread skins in his sight, shouting "Hides for the Tanner." Geoffrey withdrew his troops and Domfront surrendered.

(2) William visits England.

1051. During William's visit to England, Edward the Confessor made him some sort of promise<sup>1</sup> that he should receive the crown of England on Edward's death.

(3) William's marriage, 1053.

William, having become one of the great princes of Europe, desired to marry the daughter of a princely house.

1053. William married Matilda, the widowed daughter of Baldwin of Flanders, in defiance of Pope Leo IX, who forbade the marriage; the marriage received papal dispensation in 1060.

D. Wars with France, 1053-1060.

Henry I, in accordance with his obvious interests, now adopted a hostile attitude; France and Anjou unsuccessfully supported rebellions of Norman barons

<sup>1</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, II, pp. 293-298,



such as William, Count of Arques, an uncle of Duke William, 1053.

(1) Mortemer, 1054.

Two French armies under Henry I and his brother Odo, assisted by the rebel Count of Ponthieu, invaded Normandy. Utter rout of Odo at Mortemer, retreat of King Henry.

1055. Henry made peace with William and gave him permission to conquer Anjou, if possible.

(2) Varaville, 1058.

The last invasion of Normandy by the French and Angevins. King Henry was completely defeated at Varaville and gave up Tillières.<sup>1</sup>

E. Maine.

Maine had been granted to Rollo in 924, but had passed into the possession of the Counts of Maine. The Counts of Anjou had long been anxious to get Maine, and Geoffrey Martel seized Le Mans. In 1060 the young Count Herbert of Maine commended himself to William of Normandy.

1063. On the death of Herbert, William captured Le Mans and Mayenne and conquered Maine.

The conquest of Maine, second only in importance to the conquest of England in William's life, was the first instance of the aggrandisement of Normandy. It is the first appearance of William in his character of Conqueror.

F. Breton war, 1064.

The Breton war resulted in the defeat of Duke Conan. It is interesting because Harold of England fought for Normandy. It is asserted that during his stay in Normandy, where he had been shipwrecked, he took an oath to support William's claims to the crown of England.

References :

Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. I, chap. iv ; Vol. II, chap. viii ; Vol. III, chap. ix.

<sup>1</sup> See above, B. (1) c., page 442.

## ANJOU, TOURAINE AND MAINE

## I. The Beginning of Anjou.

Tradition says that Charles the Bold set one Tortulf, a forester, to keep the Northmen out of Touraine; that Tortulf's son Ingelger obtained by marriage the fortress of Amboise; and that Ingelger's son Fulk the Red gained Loches by marriage and was made Count of the Angevin March, with "black Angers as its capital," which was established to hold the Loire against the Vikings.

Fulk the Good (942-c. 962) was a devout scholar, who told Lewis d'Outremer that "an unlettered king is but a crowned ass" and gave peace to Anjou. His son Geoffrey Greygown (*d.* 987) made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Nantes, secured a footing in Poitou by capturing Loudun, and received from Hugh Capet a grant of Maine which he failed to make effective.

The power of Anjou had grown owing to the need of concentration against the Northmen, the possession of Angers, Amboise and Loches, and the favour of the reigning king.

## II. Fulk Nerra, or the Black, 987-1040.

Fulk Nerra was the greatest of the early Angevins. "Throughout the fifty-three years of his reign Fulk is one of the most conspicuous and brilliant figures in French history" (Norgate). He had a single object, the consolidation of Anjou, and this involved opposition to Brittany and Blois. But he well deserved the name of the Black. He burned his wife in 1000; he procured the assassination of King Robert I's seneschal in the King's presence. He atoned for his many sins by making four pilgrimages to the Holy Land, during one of which he is reported to have bitten off a piece of the stone from which Our Lord was said to have ascended to heaven.

## A. Brittany.

**990.** Fulk, although a mere boy, routed and slew his brother-in-law, Conan of Rennes, at Conquereux, and thus gained the control of the Loire to the sea and secured his western frontier.

## B. Blois and Maine.

- (1) The great problem was whether Blois or Anjou was to be the chief state in Central France. Both desired to secure Touraine.
- (2) **1016.** Fulk, with the help of Herbert of Maine, routed his great rival, Odo II of Blois, at Pontlevoy.
- (3) He then imprisoned Herbert (who was nicknamed "Wake the Dog," because his nocturnal raids roused the dogs of Anjou) and compelled him to acknowledge his suzerainty over Maine. "The imprisonment of Herbert is really the first step in the path which leads from Anjou to England."
- (4) **1025.** Fulk captured Saumur, the south-western key of Touraine, and compelled the retreat of Odo II who was invading Anjou.
- (5) **1037.** Fulk, on hearing of the death of Odo II, took Langeais and Chinon.

## III. Geoffrey Martel, 1040-1060.

Geoffrey, although far inferior to his father, met with success in his early years. He routed William of Aquitaine at Montcontour in **1033** and secured Saintonge.

## A. Touraine.

Theobald of Blois rebelled against King Henry I, who gave Tours to Geoffrey Martel, who gave up his designs on Aquitaine. Geoffrey routed Theobald at Montlouis in **1044** and compelled him to surrender Touraine. Geoffrey thus completed the work Fulk the Black had begun; the superiority of Anjou over Blois was assured.

**B. Maine and William the Conqueror.**

Geoffrey then tried to secure Maine, which lay between Anjou and Normandy, and came into collision with William the Conqueror.

- (1) King Henry I, fearing the growing power of Anjou, made an alliance with William the Conqueror against Geoffrey.

**1048.** William took Alençon and Domfront and Geoffrey retreated before him. William thus secured two castles in the heart of Maine.

[**1052.** Geoffrey secured Maine.]

- (2) King Henry I turned against William, was defeated at Mortemer in **1054**.
- (3) **1058.** Henry and Geoffrey Martel were defeated by William at Varaville.

**IV. Geoffrey the Bearded (1060–1067) and Fulk Rechin, 1067–1109.**

**A.** Geoffrey Martel was succeeded by his nephew Geoffrey the Bearded, who could count on the support only of Anjou and Touraine. He soon lost Saintonge; the young Count of Maine commended himself to William the Conqueror, who seized Maine on the Count's death in **1063**. The House of Anjou was further weakened by quarrels between Geoffrey and his brother Fulk Rechin (the Quarreller), by whom he was taken prisoner in **1067** and confined in a dungeon at Chinon for many years.

**B. Fulk Rechin.**

Fulk Rechin's evil life led to his excommunication and abdication; his utter worthlessness undid the work of Fulk the Black and Geoffrey Martel. Maine recovered a large measure of independence under Elias, whose assistance helped Henry I of England to win the battle of Tenchebrai, **1106**.

**V. Fulk of Jerusalem, 1109-1128.**

Fulk, a very different man from his father, had been brought up at the Court of King Philip I, for whom his mother, Bertrada of Montfort, had left Fulk Rechin. Fulk re-established the old friendship between Anjou and the French crown, and obtained Maine by marrying Aremburg, daughter of Elias. Fulk therefore took the French side in the war that broke out between Louis VI and Henry I of England, who claimed the overlordship of Maine.

**1113.** Fulk submitted to Henry I, paid homage for Maine and betrothed his daughter to Henry's son, William the Atheling.

**1117.** Fulk joined a league against Henry I.

**1119.** Fulk deserted King Louis and made peace with Henry. Marriage of William the Atheling to Matilda of Anjou, to whom Fulk gave Maine as her wedding portion. Fulk went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land thinking that the question of Maine was at last settled and that William, on Henry I's death, would become King of England and maintain his hold over Maine.

**1120.** The drowning of William the Atheling in the White Ship left William the Clito, son of Robert of Normandy, the male heir of Henry I.

**1127.** Henry and Fulk therefore arranged for the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Fulk's son, to Henry's daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V. The marriage took place in **1129**.

**1128.** Fulk accepted the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> and left Anjou free for his son.

**VI. Geoffrey Plantagenet, 1128-1151.**

The position of Geoffrey and Matilda was strengthened by the death of William the Clito, by the oath taken by the English barons to recognise Matilda as Henry I's successor in **1131**, by the suppression of a revolt in Anjou and Touraine in **1133**.

<sup>1</sup> Page 576.

- 1133.** Birth of Henry (afterwards Henry II) at Le Mans.
- 1135.** The accession of Stephen of Blois to the throne of England merged the two great feuds of the Angevin Counts against Blois and Normandy. The civil war in England hampered Stephen; Geoffrey gradually conquered Normandy from **1139** to **1145**.
- 1151.** Geoffrey died and Henry, son of Geoffrey and Matilda, became Count of Anjou and Maine and Duke of Normandy.
- 1154.** Henry Plantagenet became Henry II of England.

**Reference :**

*England under the Angevin Kings* (Norgate), Vol. I chaps. II-V, VIII. Macmillan.

## LOUIS VI (LE GROS), 1108-1137

Louis le Gros was the greatest of the early Capetian kings. In spite of his corpulence he was a skilful warrior and was known as Louis le Batailleur. His own shrewd policy was assisted by the wise advice of his old schoolfellow, the statesmanlike Suger, who became abbot of St. Denis in **1122** and helped Louis to maintain friendly relations with the Church. Louis determined to assert his authority in the domain and, when possible, to compel the great nobles to acknowledge his supremacy. His friendly relations with the towns on his domain constituted a new departure of great importance.

### I. The Domain.

#### A. The establishment of the royal power.

The greatest service Louis le Gros rendered to France was the assertion of the royal power over the turbulent barons of the domain. In **1100** the domain included only Paris, Hurepoix, the Gâtinais, the Orleansais, half of the county of Sens, the French Vexin, Bourges and

vague rights over Rheims, Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Soissons and Amiens, but the royal power was challenged even by some of the lesser nobles.

Louis subdued the Count of Montmorenci, who threatened Paris, and the Count of Rouci, who threatened Rheims. He drove out Hugh de Puiset and thus extended his power over the Orleanais; imprisoned Thomas de Marle of Coucy who had plundered the bishoprics of Laon and Amiens; captured Montlhéry, the lord of which had tyrannised over the Isle of France.

#### B. The towns.

The King's success gave peace and made the roads safe. The towns prospered. Louis, though not particularly favourable to the development of communes, gave charters to Paris, Orléans and other towns, and deservedly gained popularity by the protection he afforded to the townspeople and to the inhabitants of Church lands. In 1111 Suger himself led the peasants of his Church lands to help Louis in his successful attack on Le Puiset. The King became the champion of the lower classes against baronial oppression and gained their strong support. In 1124 the towns of the domain sent large forces to resist the invasion of the Emperor Henry V.

#### C. Aquitaine.

The marriage in 1137 of King Louis' son, Louis the Young, to Eleanor of Aquitaine doubled the domain by the addition of Poitou, Saintonge and Guienne. But the animosity between the North and South was strong, the new parts of the domain were separated from the old by the independent counties of Anjou and Touraine, and therefore the marriage did not give the expected strength to the royal domain.

#### II. England.

His victory at Tenchebrai (1106), made King Henry I Duke of Normandy. The marriage of his daughter

Matilda to the Emperor Henry V; the strong support of his powerful nephew Theobald IV (the Great), Count of Blois, and of Theobald's brother Stephen, Count of Boulogne; and the help he expected from the turbulent barons of the Isle of France constituted a grave danger to France. Louis le Gros made a treaty with Henry I at Gisors in **1113**, but his support of William the Clito led to a renewal of war.

#### A. William the Clito.

##### (1) Normandy.

Louis upheld the claim of William the Clito, son of Robert Curthose, to the Duchy of Normandy, and was supported by Baldwin VII of Flanders and Fulk V, Count of Anjou.

**1119.** Henry I routed Louis at Breuville and thus maintained his hold on Normandy. Peace was made between Henry and Louis in **1120**. Henry's only son William was drowned in the White Ship and the Empress Matilda became the heiress of England and Normandy.

[**1124.** The Emperor Henry V, at the instigation of Henry of England, invaded France, but largely owing to Louis' effective preparations the Emperor returned to Germany.]

##### (2) Flanders.

**1127.** Louis induced the Flemings to accept William the Clito as Count of Flanders.

**1128.** William the Clito was killed at Alost. Louis was compelled to recognise Thierry of Alsace, whose claim he had previously opposed, as Count of Flanders.

#### B. Anjou.

**1129.** The Emperor Henry V died in **1125**, and in **1129** King Henry I married the widowed Empress Matilda to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk of Jerusalem, Count of Anjou. Fulk now supported Henry I against Louis, and the defection of Anjou was a serious blow to France.



**1135.** But the civil war which broke out between Stephen and Matilda for the throne of England greatly diminished the immediate danger of an attack from England, Normandy or Anjou, although Louis le Jeune was to suffer severely from the union of the three.

### III. The Church.

Unlike his father, Louis VI was devoted to the Church.

**1130.** He supported Innocent II against his rival Anacletus and welcomed him to France. He compelled William of Aquitaine to do justice to the Bishop of Clermont. But he insisted on his rights, imprisoned the monks who reported that the brethren of St. Denis had elected Suger as abbot without the King's consent, and quarrelled with some of the leading bishops.

### IV. General.

Louis made the power of the monarchy felt outside the domain, although he failed to subdue Theobald the Great, who had added the county of Champagne to his own counties of Blois and Chartres. He humbled William of Aquitaine, made the people of Flanders accept William the Clito as Count, and at different times compelled the great magnates to obey his summons. But he had less to do with the great feudal nobles than most of his line. His relations with them were international rather than domestic. He rarely left his domain, and made few royal progresses. His great work was the consolidation of the domain; the monarchy gained strength from localisation, and Louis' policy proved so successful that it enabled his incompetent successor to resist the attempt of Henry II of England, the most powerful king of his time, to conquer the royal domain.

### References :

- The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. XII.  
*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 249-260.

## LOUIS VII (LE JEUNE), 1137-1180

Louis VII, who had been brought up at the abbey of St. Denis, was pious and learned. But he was weak and vacillating; France needed a strong man, but she received as king "a child who remained a child all his life."

### I. The Second Crusade.

#### A. The Massacre of Vitry, 1144.

In spite of his devotion to the Church Louis le Jeune quarrelled with Innocent II about the appointment of an Archbishop of Bourges, and was excommunicated in 1141. Theobald, Count of Blois, supported the Pope; war broke out between Theobald and Louis, and in 1144, during the sack of Vitry, Louis' soldiers burnt a church in which about a thousand people had taken refuge. Louis was so horrified that he made peace with Theobald and Innocent's successor Celestine II, and vowed to expiate his guilt by going on a crusade. He and Queen Eleanor took the cross from St. Bernard at Vezelai in 1146.

#### B. The Second Crusade, 1147-1150.

Suger, who saw that Louis' absence would greatly weaken the French monarchy, begged him not to go, but he went on the persuasion of St. Bernard, leaving Suger as regent. The crusade proved a miserable failure. After a difficult overland march in Asia Minor Louis and Eleanor embarked at Attalia, leaving the majority of his followers, for whom there were not enough ships. They reached Antioch, where Louis refused to help Raymond, Prince of Antioch, Eleanor's uncle, to reconquer Aleppo and Cæsarea. Eleanor therefore left him in anger and returned home. Louis reached Jerusalem, where he did penance for the massacre of Vitry and, after an unsuccessful campaign against Damascus, left Palestine. On his way home he

was captured by Greeks and rescued by the Normans of Sicily. He arrived in France in **1149**.

### C. Results.

Louis was utterly discredited and humiliated. But Suger had proved an admirable regent and had maintained the royal authority in the domain against the barons who wished to take advantage of the King's absence to regain their independence. A proposal to dethrone Louis in favour of his brother Robert came to nothing, and Louis remained King owing to Suger's efforts.

## II. Louis le Jeune and Henry II.

### A. The divorce of Louis from Eleanor, **1152**.

Eleanor despised her husband alike for his weakness and his piety; they had no son; Eleanor's support of Raymond of Antioch made their bad relations worse. In spite of the advice of Suger, who died in January, **1152**, Louis and Eleanor were divorced on the ground of consanguinity, with the approval of St. Bernard, in March, **1152**. Within a few weeks she married Henry Plantagenet, and her wide domains passed from Louis to his most dangerous opponent.

### B. Henry II's dominions.

The death of his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, in **1151** made Henry lord of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. He gained Aquitaine by his marriage with Eleanor. In **1154** he became King of England. In **1159**, as the result of an expedition to Toulouse, which he spared owing to the presence of his suzerain Louis, he gained Cahors and Quercy. In **1171** his son Geoffrey became Duke of Brittany. In **1173** the county of Toulouse submitted to Henry. He was overlord of Auvergne and was an ally of the Counts of Savoy.

### C. Louis' opposition to Henry.

- c Henry's vast dominions, his ability and ambition seemed likely to lead to the overthrow of the French

monarchy. Henry's position was weakened by the fear of conquest he inspired in the feudal nobles, by the great extent of and lack of union in his territories, by the ambition of his sons who wished to be independent of their father, by the enmity of Queen Eleanor. Louis tried to take advantage of the opportunities thus afforded of weakening Henry's power.

- (1) **1152.** As early as **1152** Louis had formed an alliance with King Stephen and the Count of Champagne against Henry, but the attempt proved a failure.
- (2) **1159.** Henry led an expedition to Toulouse. In **1160** he made peace with Louis. The younger Henry married Louis' daughter Margaret, whose dowry of the Vexin was used by King Henry for strengthening the border of Normandy.
- (3) **1164-1170.** Louis gave shelter to Archbishop Thomas Becket, who fled to France owing to his quarrel with Henry II about the trial of the clergy.
- (4) First general revolt against Henry II, **1173-1174.**
  - a. Henry II had divided his dominions; Geoffrey was now Duke of Brittany, Richard of Aquitaine; the young Henry was crowned king in **1170**. In **1173** the young Henry, at Louis' suggestion, demanded an independent kingdom and rose in rebellion when his father refused his demand. All who feared Henry joined in the rebellion: Queen Eleanor; her sons Henry, Geoffrey and Richard; the King of Scots; discontented nobles in England and Normandy; King Louis; great French feudatories such as the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, Blois and Boulogne.
  - b. The rebellion was easily suppressed. In England the newly created barons, the people and clergy routed the rebels and captured William the Lion, King of Scots, without Henry II's personal interference. Henry II, with the help of

a number of Flemish mercenaries, gained a great victory at Dol in Brittany. Louis failed to capture Rouen, and made peace with Henry by the Treaty of Gisors, 1174. The peace continued for the rest of Louis' reign.

(5) General.

Louis VI had succeeded in retaining his domain lands in spite of Henry II's apparently overwhelming power. He had taken every opportunity of harassing Henry, and although his attempt in 1173 had failed, he "had broken up the unity of the Angevin power and could still count upon the support of the sons of his enemy" (Tout). In the next reign Philip Augustus continued the same policy with marked success.

### III. The Church.

After his reconciliation with Celestine II in 1144 Louis became the devoted servant of the Church. He gave Alexander III a cordial welcome in France in 1161 when that Pope was at the height of his quarrel with Frederick Barbarossa; his sympathy with Becket, the champion of clerical rights, was not due solely to a desire to embarrass Henry II; he denied Henry II's right to depose Becket in words which prove his own subservience to the Church: "I am a king, like my brother of England; I should not dare to depose the meanest of my clergy." He gained the strong support of the Church, especially of the new monastic orders.

### IV. The Royal Power.

Unlike his father, Louis revived the old Carolingian idea of the monarchy. By his marriage with Adela of Champagne in 1160 he won over her brother Theobald, Count of Champagne. His friendly relations with the great ecclesiastics strengthened his influence in Flanders and Central France. He acted as mediator between Raymond V of Toulouse and his discontented vassals. He compelled William of Auvergne to do justice to the

Bishops of Clermont and Puy. He frequently visited different parts of France and made pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James of Compostella and to the Grande Chartreuse. He built churches and abbeys; founded new towns, the Villeneuves, issued twenty-four charters to cities and confirmed the privileges of the merchants of Paris.

In 1179 Louis had his young son Philip, who had been born to him and Adela of Champagne in 1165, crowned at Rheims. The ceremony was attended by the "Twelve Peers of France." The six lay peers were the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy and Guienne, the Counts of Champagne, Flanders and Toulouse; the six ecclesiastical peers were the Archbishop of Rheims and the Bishops of Laon, Noyon, Châlons, Beauvais and Langres. Their presence was an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the King over the whole of France.

#### V. General.

Louis made two grave mistakes when he went on the Second Crusade and divorced Eleanor. But Suger's wise policy maintained the royal power in the domain in spite of Louis' absence, and on his return "Louis found France stronger and more compact than when he set out" (Kitchin). The difficulties of Henry II's position prevented him from overthrowing the French monarchy, which was formally acknowledged by the Twelve Peers in 1179. Louis' reign was marked by the growth of towns and the cultivation of forest land. The steady support of the Church counted for much, and, in spite of Louis' weakness, it may be fairly stated that he achieved a moral triumph which was the prelude to the military success of Philip Augustus.

#### References :

- The Empire and Papacy* (Tout), chap. XII.  
*The History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 261-275.  
*The Growth of the French Nation* (Adams), pp. 78-81.

## PHILIP AUGUSTUS AND THE PLANTAGENETS

Philip succeeded his father in **1180** at the age of fifteen and proved one of the greatest of the kings of France. He had a high conception of monarchy; he may have desired to regain the position Charlemagne had held, but his remarkable political sagacity enabled him to appreciate his opportunities, his sound judgment enabled him to carry his plans into effect undeterred by opposition from his feudal vassals or the Pope, his prudence saved him from hasty action. He appreciated the growing importance of the towns and secured their strong support. He allowed no scruples to hinder his plans, and showed himself treacherous and deceitful when treachery and deceit served his purpose. Although at times utterly cruel, he was capable of great generosity; although quick tempered he "was easy to appease." The statement that "he loved justice as his mother" would be endorsed by those who rendered him faithful service. He possessed great military ability and was a skilful engineer.

### I. **Henry II.**

#### A. Early friendship.

- (1) Philip Augustus married in **1180** Isabella of Hainault, niece of Philip, Count of Flanders. On the death of Louis le Jeune, Count Philip invaded France and the Counts of Blois and Anjou rebelled. Philip Augustus succeeded in holding his own, and peace was restored owing to the intervention of Henry II, Philip receiving Amiens.
- (2) In **1185** another quarrel between Philip Augustus and the Count of Flanders was ended owing to the mediation of Henry II, who arranged the Peace of Aumale, by which Philip got Vermandois and the promise of Artois.

B. Strife.

(1) The Vexin.

The younger Henry died in **1183**, and Philip demanded the return of the Vexin, the dowry of his widowed sister Margaret. But he allowed Henry II to retain the Vexin, which was to be the dowry of his sister Alice, who was betrothed to Richard of Aquitaine.

(2) Richard of Aquitaine attacked Raymond V of Toulouse, who appealed to Philip as his suzerain. Philip attacked Aquitaine but soon made peace with Richard.

(3) **1186**. Philip now tried to stir up Henry II's sons against their father. Geoffrey died, Philip demanded the lordship of Brittany, but the birth of Arthur of Brittany after his father's death settled the question. Henry II refused to recognise Richard as his heir; Richard made an alliance with Philip against his father and John soon joined them. The allies overran Maine and captured Le Mans. Henry submitted, recognised Richard as his heir, ceded Berri to Philip and died soon after in July, **1189**.

The death of Henry II was a great help to Philip. It removed the only man who could keep the Angevin dominions united. Richard "was at home nowhere," and the lack of a centre weakened the Angevin power.

II. Richard I.

A. The Third Crusade.

Richard and Philip both went on the Third Crusade, Philip with reluctance. Personal quarrels broke out on the crusade between the two kings. On the death of the Count of Flanders, **1191**, Philip returned home, having sworn to respect Richard's territories, and seized Peronne.

B. Philip invaded Normandy.

When he heard that Richard was a prisoner in Austria,



Philip, in alliance with John, invaded Normandy and took Evreux, 1193. On Richard's return peace was made. Richard ceded the Vexin and therefore built Château Gaillard to defend Normandy, 1198.

C. Renewed war, 1197-1199.

1197. Richard made an alliance with Otto, King of Germany, and the Counts of Champagne, Boulogne and Flanders, and defeated Philip at Gisors in 1198.

1199. Richard was slain at Chaluz, the count of which refused to give up treasure which Richard needed to pay for the war.

Richard's great ability as a soldier and military engineer made him a real danger to Philip. His death left only the inefficient John to maintain the Angevin cause against Philip.

III. John.

A. The peace of Goulet, 1200.

- (1) The King of England was of necessity the enemy of the King of France, and on John's accession Philip turned against his former ally. He took Evreux, received from Geoffrey's wife, Constance, the guardianship of her young son Arthur, whom Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou accepted as their lord.
- (2) But Innocent III had placed France under an interdict because Philip had repudiated his wife, Ingeburga of Denmark, and, owing to his quarrel with the Pope, Philip was reconciled with John with the help of the aged Queen Eleanor. At Goulet it was arranged that Philip's son Louis should marry John's niece, Blanche of Castile, and should receive Evreux. Philip recognised John as heir of all Henry II's dominions.

B. Causes of the new war.

- (1) John alienated his subjects by his oppression, particularly in Poitou. He carried off Isabella of Angoulême, who was betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan,

Count de la Marche, seized the castle of Driencourt which belonged to Hugh's brother, summoned the barons of Poitou to clear themselves of the charge of treason to Richard and himself. The Lusignans appealed to Philip Augustus as John's overlord.

- (2) [1201. On the death of Agnes of Meran Philip again recognised Ingeburga as his wife and was reconciled to the Pope.]
- (3) 1202. Philip summoned John, as Duke of Aquitaine, to answer these charges before a court of the great vassals of the French crown, and on his failure to appear pronounced that he had forfeited his fiefs for refusing to obey the summons of his feudal superior.
- (4) 1203. Arthur of Brittany was captured at Mirabeau and disappeared; John was generally believed to have murdered him. The murder caused an immediate rising in Brittany and left the disaffected subjects of John to choose between allegiance to him or Philip Augustus, who undertook to avenge Arthur.
- (5) 1204. The death of Queen Eleanor deprived John of one of his wisest advisers.

C. The Conquest of Normandy, 1204.

March, 1204. Philip, after five months' siege, captured Château Gaillard largely because John did not take the trouble to see that it was properly defended.<sup>1</sup> Normandy quickly submitted; Maine, Anjou and Touraine soon followed; 1206, Philip conquered Poitou.

The conquest of the Angevin territories enormously increased Philip's power, for they all passed into the royal domain and all readily accepted Philip's authority. Philip gained control of the Seine and Loire and carried his borders both to the English Channel and to the Atlantic. The King now became for the first time the greatest feudal noble of France.

<sup>1</sup> For full details see Kitchin, pp. 291-296.

D. Bouvines,<sup>1</sup> 1214.

## (1) Flanders.

**1213.** The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne feared that Philip would incorporate their territories in the royal domain, and Ferrand of Flanders refused to obey Philip's summons to join him in an attack on England which was now under an interdict. John was reconciled to the Pope, and at the suggestion of the Papal Legate Philip used against Ferrand the army he had collected to attack England.

**1213.** Philip's fleet was utterly routed at Damme by the Earl of Salisbury and the Count of Boulogne.

## (2) Poitou.

**1214.** John planned a double attack on Philip. He landed at La Rochelle and invaded Poitou, but had to retreat, partly because some of the English barons refused to serve abroad.

## (3) Bouvines.

John arranged that his allies, the Emperor Otto IV, the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, should invade France from the north. Philip was accompanied by great feudal nobles, such as the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of St. Pol and the Viscount of Melun; by churchmen, including the Bishop of Beauvais<sup>2</sup>; by representatives of many towns of the royal domain. Philip utterly routed his opponents and captured the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne.

The battle of Bouvines was of supreme importance for France.

a. It roused the national spirit; it has been called "the first real French victory"; it was the work of all classes.

<sup>1</sup> See page 179. Also *Notes on British History*, I, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Beauvais refused to fight with a sword because his vows forbade him to shed blood. They did not forbid him to crack heads and he used a heavy mace with great effect.

- b. It secured for Philip the permanent possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou. The English king retained only Aquitaine.
- c. It was a victory for the monarchy over feudalism.

#### E. Louis' invasion of England.

**1216.** The English barons were unable to resist John, and invited Philip's son Louis, whose wife, Blanche of Castile, was a granddaughter of Henry II, to accept the crown. Louis landed in England and was joined by most of the barons. But on the death of John on October 19th, **1216**, the English deserted Louis in favour of John's son, who was crowned King Henry III. Louis refused to withdraw, but his army was defeated at Lincoln and his fleet off Dover, and he therefore, by the Treaty of Lambeth, **1217**, renounced his claim to the English throne and returned to France.

## PHILIP AUGUSTUS AND FRANCE

### I. The Extension of the Royal Power.

#### A. The domain.

- (1) The domain was greatly extended by the conquest of all the Angevin lands except Aquitaine.
- (2) Philip at first refused to take part in the Albigensian crusade (page 191), but he allowed his son Louis to take the cross in **1213** and **1219**. Simon de Montfort had failed to overthrow the House of Toulouse, partly because of the strong political antagonism between North and South. Amaury, too weak to rely on his own power, offered to hold the lands he had received as a vassal of Philip, but the country was not conquered in Philip's reign. But the early result of the crusade was the addition of Toulouse to the Kingdom of France.

**B. The feudal nobles.**

The greatest feudal nobles had to submit to Philip's authority. He extended the sphere of the royal courts and claimed the right to establish direct relations with the vassals of the great nobles.

Within the domain the royal administration was improved. Hitherto the work had been carried on largely by "prévôts," who supervised the finances, the administration of justice and military levies in small areas. Philip appointed "baillis," who administered larger districts and supervised the work of the "prévôts." Strong control was maintained over the baillis who were required to make frequent reports to the King at Paris. The power of the lesser barons was weakened by this innovation which superseded in a great measure feudal administration.

**C. The Church.**

- (1) Philip took back Ingeburga by the Pope's command, stopped, though with reluctance, his projected attack on England in **1214** at the request of the Papal Legate, and established friendly relations with the Pope.
- (2) But he held high views as to the royal power, and when, in **1216**, the Pope tried to prevent Louis from attacking John, now a papal vassal, Philip denied that England was a vassal kingdom of the Papacy and declared that no king could give his kingdom to another without the consent of his barons. His withdrawal in **1214** had been due as much to his desire to punish the Count of Flanders as to obey the Pope.
- (3) He maintained the royal supremacy over the clergy and compelled all to fulfil their feudal obligations of suit and service in his courts and in the field.

**II. Towns.**

Philip was the patron of municipal liberties and of the middle classes.

**A. Communes.**

Although Louis VI and Louis VII had given charters

to towns they viewed with apprehension the development of towns on the royal domain. Philip Augustus definitely adopted a policy of effective alliance with the towns, founded on mutual interests and reciprocal service, against the feudal barons. He sanctioned communes already existing in the domain, favoured the establishment of new ones in his extended dominions, and asserted the right of the King to protect cities which were outside the domain. He encouraged trade, strengthened the fortifications of towns and invited foreign merchants to come to France. The strong contingents from the communes who fought at Bouvines showed the value of the towns as the supporters of the royal power.

B. Paris.

(1) The City.

Under Philip Augustus "Paris became the first modern capital of a centralised national state" (Tout). Philip strengthened the walls and fortifications of the city; built much of Notre Dame, the old Louvre and the Hôtel Dieu; paved the streets and improved the markets.

(2) The University.

Philip gave the first charter to the University of Paris. He freed the students from purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction and made them a corporation. The University became famous for the study of Roman Law in which monarchy found legal sanction; the civilian lawyers of Paris proved strong defenders of the royal authority against the Canonists, who supported the Pope.

[C. Serfs.

In his early years Philip had persecuted the Jews. He showed a nobler spirit in enfranchising many of the serfs of the royal domain.]

**III. General.**

The greatest service Philip Augustus rendered to France was the destruction of the Angevin power, but his organisation of the administration and his policy towards the towns were of great importance. His great work was the foundation of a strong, centralised monarchy which, although absolute, rested upon a large measure of national support. He was the first Capetian king who did not crown his successor during his lifetime; he made the monarchy so powerful that this precaution was no longer necessary.

**References :**

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xvii.

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 276-317.

*The Growth of the French Nation* (Adams), pp. 81-88.

**LOUIS VIII, 1223-1226**

During the short reign of Louis VIII his father's policy was continued.

**I. Administration.**

The addition of royal officials to the Court of Peers was the first step towards making the chief assembly of the realm a royal and not a feudal council.

**II. Aquitaine.**

**1224.** Louis led an expedition against Aquitaine, captured Niort and La Rochelle, conquered Limousin, Saintonge and Périgord. Gascony alone remained an English possession.

**III. Toulouse.**

**A. 1224.** Amaury de Montfort, unable to maintain his power against Raymond VII of Toulouse, ceded all his rights

to Louis, who undertook to carry on the war against Raymond.

- B. **1226.** Louis invaded Provence, captured Avignon, failed to capture Toulouse and died of camp fever at Montpellier.

## LOUIS IX (SAINT LOUIS), 1226-1270

### I. The Maintenance and Extension of the Royal Power.

#### A. Rebellions.

The feudal barons, thoroughly alarmed at the growth of the royal power, seized the opportunity afforded by the accession of a boy of twelve and the regency of a foreign woman, Blanche of Castile, to try to regain their old independence.

#### (1) **1226 1231.**

Philip Hurepel (son of Philip Augustus and Agnes of Meran) Count of Boulogne, Pierre Mauclerc Duke of Brittany, Raymond VII of Toulouse, Hugh de la Marche, Theobald IV of Champagne rose in rebellion. Henry III of England, hoping to regain the Angevin dominions, promised his support.

But the rebels failed to act with energy and the coalition proved unwieldy; the communes swore to support the King; the people of Paris helped him in the time of greatest danger; Blanche skilfully detached Theobald of Champagne from the coalition; an invasion of Poitou by Henry III in **1230** proved a failure.

**1231.** The rebellion ended with the Treaty of St. Aubin du Cormier.

**1234.** Submission of Pierre Mauclerc.

#### (2) **1241-1243.**

The attempt of Louis to make his brother Alfonse Count of Poitou and Auvergne led to another rising.



Hugh de la Marche took a leading part ; Raymond VII of Toulouse joined, although Alfonse had married his daughter Jeanne in 1237 ; Henry III invaded Poitou. Louis defeated Henry III and his allies at Taillebourg and Saintes in 1242 ; Hugh de la Marche submitted ; Henry III made peace and resigned all claims on Poitou. In 1243 Raymond VII, fearing a new crusade, made the peace of Lorris, by which he renewed his promise to leave Toulouse to the King of France on his death.

This was the last rebellion against Louis ; “ the barons no longer attempt to do anything against their King, the Lord’s anointed, seeing clearly that the hand of the Lord was with him.”

The extension of the Royal Power.

(1) Appanages.

By his will Louis VIII made separate provision for his younger sons, Robert receiving Artois, Alfonse Poitou, and Charles Anjou and Maine. He thus diminished the domain and created new feudal nobles who might challenge the authority of the King. But sometimes these “ appanages ” on failure of heirs reverted to the Crown.

(2) Toulouse.

**1229.** By the Treaty of Meaux Raymond VII of Toulouse gave up to the Crown the Duchy of Narbonne, dismantled the fortifications of his chief towns, promised to extirpate heresy in his dominions, to leave the county of Toulouse to the King.

**1237.** Alfonse of Poitou married Raymond’s daughter Jeanne.

**1243.** Raymond made the treaty of Lorris with Louis.

[**1244.** Capture of Mont Segur, the last stronghold of the Albigensians.]

**1249.** On the death of Raymond, Alfonse of Poitou became Count of Toulouse.

**(3) Provence.**

Of the four daughters of Raymond Berengar V, Count of Provence, Margaret married St. Louis, Eleanor Henry III and Sanchia Richard of Cornwall. Raymond VII of Toulouse desired to marry Beatrice, the heiress of Provence, and thus to unite Toulouse and Provence into a strong southern state. But in 1246 Charles of Anjou married Beatrice and (as Raymond Berengar had died in 1245) became Count of Provence. He compelled the great nobles and ecclesiastics to obey him, reduced Marseilles which had rebelled, and consolidated his position by wise laws and good government.

The acquisition of Provence extended the power of the monarchy to the Mediterranean.

**(4) Other acquisitions.**

**1234.** Theobald of Champagne, on becoming King of Navarre, surrendered Chartres, Blois and Sancerre to Louis.

**1239.** Louis bought Macon, which gave him some control over the independent Duchy of Burgundy.

**1257.** Louis obtained Perche.

**1262.** Louis added to the domain Arles, Foix and Cahors.

**C. Two important settlements.**

(1) **1258.** By the Treaty of Corbeil Louis ceded to King James of Aragon territory claimed by France south of the Pyrenees, receiving in exchange portions of Languedoc hitherto claimed by Aragon.

(2) **1259.** By the Treaty of Paris Henry III renounced the Angevin claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, and Louis recognised Henry as lord of Limoges, Cahors and Perigueux, with later succession to Saintonge, the Agenais and Quercy.

These treaties, which are conspicuous examples of Louis' justice, afford a marked contrast to the tradi-

tional policy of the Capets, and the latter aroused strong opposition in Aquitaine. But they ensured peace for the rest of Louis' reign and gave the French monarchy a legal title to most of the Angevin lands.

## II. The Crusades of St. Louis (page 604).

### III. Internal Government.

Louis' legal and administrative reforms.

#### (1) The Royal Council.

The Curia Regis was divided into three parts: the Grand Conseil, a political and administrative body; the Parliament, which sat at Paris, the supreme judicature; the Chambre des Comptes, which managed the finances. Differentiation of function led to greater efficiency, royal officials took an increasing share in the royal administration.

#### (2) The Law.

Owing to the theory of the Roman Law and to the view of the Church that the King was the Lord's anointed, the King was regarded as the sole source of justice. The right of appeal to the Parliament was established for all feudal courts as well as for the courts of the prévôts and baillis; certain "royal cases" were taken out of feudal courts and reserved for the Parliament; St. Louis abolished trial by battle and compelled the greatest nobles to appear before the royal court.

#### (3) Administration.

Central control of local administration was strengthened by the appointment of "enquesteurs" who travelled about the country and supervised the work of the baillis and prévôts. Seneschaux were charged with the royal administration in the newly gained southern lands.

The judicial and administrative reforms of St.

Louis were of great importance. He drew everything to the Crown, and his centralising policy greatly strengthened the royal power, which in consequence became more and more despotic.

#### IV. The Church.

St. Louis did much to maintain the freedom of the Gallican Church, although the Pragmatic Sanction of 1268, which limited the exercise of the Pope's authority in France and asserted the royal power over the clergy is generally regarded as a forgery.<sup>1</sup> But Louis regularly exercised his rights of presentation, resisted the extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and secured the trial in secular courts of married clerks. He supported the barons who, led by Pierre Mauclerc, agreed to defy unjust excommunication and papal exactions. He was the first French king to impose regular and systematic taxation on the clergy. He adopted a policy of neutrality in the quarrel between Frederick II and the Papacy, refused to allow his brother Robert of Artois to accept the Empire, denied the Pope's right to depose the Emperor, refused to allow the Pope to take money from France to pay for his war against the Emperor; but he compelled Frederick II to release the French prelates he had captured at Meloria in 1241 (page 206).

#### V. Towns and Trade.

Louis helped commerce by reforming the coinage. In 1263 he restricted the right of coinage for the domain to the royal mints, and ordered that royal money should circulate everywhere, even where feudal lords retained the right of coinage. The peace he gave promoted commerce. He favoured communes and built new towns, especially in the South.

<sup>1</sup> See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI, p. 395.

## VI. Character.

The King's unaffected piety and purity of life, his truthfulness, high sense of honour and his justice ; his care for the poor and the sick ; his unflinching patience and good temper justly won for him the title of St. Louis. But there was nothing weak in his religion, and he showed good judgment and sound common sense in all he did. He persecuted heretics, and in this respect was not superior to his age, but hoped by punishing their bodies to save their souls. "As a Christian and as a man, as a statesman and as a warrior, he was the exemplar of all that was best in the age." The profound reverence he inspired among his people elevated the character of the monarchy and strengthened the growing tendency to regard the King as the Lord's anointed.

His reputation for justice induced Henry III and the barons of England to refer to him the decision as to the merits of their dispute, and he was always ready to act as peacemaker between contending barons in France.

He added to the domain of the Crown, but the greatest service he rendered to the cause of monarchy was the organisation and centralisation of the royal power. This work made him one of the real founders of the French monarchy.

He was the greatest monarch of his time. The Hohenstaufen had fallen, Henry III was weak and incapable, the Kings of Spain could not be compared with him. Louis IX was not only a saint but, as Matthew Paris said, a "King of Kings."

**References :**

*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xvii.

*St. Louis* (Stories of the Nations).

*Chronicles of the Crusades* (Bohn's Library), pp. 351 *et seq.*

## THE LAST CAPETIAN KINGS, 1270-1328

### PHILIP III (LE HARDI), 1270-1285

Under St. Louis' son Philip III, nicknamed Le Hardi or The Rash, the domain was further extended and the skill of the lawyers maintained the royal authority in spite of the incapacity of the King.

#### I The Domain.

A. 1271. Death of Alfonse of Poitou, brother of St. Louis, who had obtained Toulouse through his wife Jeanne (page 468). Toulouse, Poitou, Auvergne and the marquisate of Burgundy passed to Philip III.

B. 1274. Death of Henry, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne and Brie. The widowed queen sought the protection of Philip III for the King's heiress Jeanne, then aged three years. She was brought up at the French court, betrothed to Philip's son Philip [IV Le Bel]; Philip III added Champagne and Brie to the Crown domains and occupied Navarre as guardian of Jeanne.

#### II. Spain.

His reckless expeditions into Spain gained for Philip III his nickname.

A. 1276. Utter failure of Philip's invasion of Castile to enforce the rights of his nephews to the throne of their father, Alfonse X, who died in 1275.

B. Philip's "Crusade," 1285.

The position of Philip III's uncle, Charles of Anjou, the most famous living Capetian, had been gravely weakened by the Sicilian Vespers, 1282 (page 241), and the election of Pedro III of Aragon as King of Sicily. Philip III led against Pedro an expedition which was termed a "Crusade" because Pedro had been deposed

from his kingdom of Aragon by Pope Martin IV. Philip's fleet was destroyed by Roger di Loria; he captured but failed to hold Gerona, retreated to France and died at Perpignan, 1285.

### PHILIP IV (LE BEL), 1285-1314

The chief event of Philip IV's reign was the development of the administration. The struggle with England, Philip's quarrel with the Pope, his persecution of the Templars were important owing to their relation to the position of the monarchy.

#### I. Philip IV and England.

Philip III had refused to give up to Edward I, Limoges, Cahors and part of Saintonge which St. Louis had given up to Henry III in 1259; but by the Treaty of Amiens, 1279, Edward had given up his claim to Limoges, Cahors, Perigueux, while Philip had ceded the Agenais and acknowledged the right of Edward's queen, Eleanor of Castile, to Ponthieu.

1287-1289. Edward strengthened his hold on Guienne and Gascony.

#### A. The outbreak of war.

- (1) Quarrel between the sailors of Normandy and the Cinque ports. Defeat of the former by English and Gascons off St. Mahé in Brittany, 1293.
- (2) Refusal of Gascons to acknowledge the French courts of law.
- (3) Philip IV, knowing that Edward was engaged in maintaining his claim to the suzerainty of Scotland, determined to assert his right to Gascony and Guienne. He summoned Edward I to Paris on a charge of neglecting his feudal obligations. Edward I sent his brother Edmund to represent him. Edmund surrendered Gascony to Philip for forty days in acknowledgment of his suzerainty. Philip declared that by

failing to appear in person Edward had forfeited Gascony and refused to give it up.

- (4) **1295.** Alliance between Philip IV and John Balliol. The beginning of the friendship between Scotland and France, due to common hostility to England.

B. The war.

(1) Against Edward I.

Edward made an alliance with Guy, Count of Flanders, who wished to regain his independence and whose intervention in the North would, Edward hoped, facilitate his own attack on the South.

**1295.** Edward's nephew, John of Brittany, captured Bayonne but failed to conquer Gascony.

**1296.** The conquest of Scotland and the refusal, in **1297**, of the Earls Marshal (Norfolk) and Constable (Hereford) to serve in Gascony while Edward fought in Flanders prevented Edward from carrying out his plan of invading France. Philip was hampered by his quarrel with Boniface VIII.

**1297.** Issue of the Bull Clericis Laicos (page 255).

**1298.** Truce between Philip and Edward, arranged by the private mediation of Boniface VIII. Edward betrothed to Margaret of France.

(2) Courtrai, **1302.**

**1300.** Guy of Flanders, deserted by Edward I, surrendered to Philip, who put him in prison and confiscated Flanders.

**1302.** Rising of the Flemings owing to heavy taxation imposed by Philip's governor. July 11th, **1302**, Philip was utterly routed at Courtrai by the Flemings, who had drawn up their forces behind a narrow deep canal in which many of the French knights were drowned. The victory of burgher infantry over mail-clad knights led ultimately to the adoption of new tactics and to the abolition of the military system of the Middle Ages.



**(3) Treaty of Paris.**

**1303.** Philip, weakened by his defeat at Courtrai and again at variance with the Pope, concluded the Treaty of Paris with Edward, who kept Guienne.

**1304.** Philip defeated the Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle, but the Flemings practically secured their independence, although Count Guy's son Robert paid homage. Philip secured the admission of his feudal suzerainty, and the Flemings ceded Douai, Lille and other towns in the south of Flanders.

**II. Philip IV and the Papacy.**

A. Quarrel with Boniface VIII (page 255).

B. Philip and Benedict XI and Clement V (page 261).

Philip's resistance to papal claims was due partly to his desire to make the monarchy supreme, partly to a growing sense of nationality which resented foreign influence in France. Although his policy was sound he pursued it with unnecessary vindictiveness in the case of Boniface VIII, and it is highly probable that Benedict XI was poisoned by Philip's agents because he had excommunicated the assailants of Boniface.

**III. The Suppression of the Templars (page 262).****IV. Internal Organisation.**

Philip's reforms aimed at substituting for the disruptive feudal system the centralised power of the King. He wished to make all responsible to the law of the land of which the King was the source and guardian.

A. The King's Court.

The differentiation of the Curia Regis into the Conseil du Roi, a Privy Council; the Chambre des Comptes, the Exchequer; and the Parliament had been made by Louis IX. Philip carried on his grandfather's work.

- (1) The lawyers, who were strong supporters of the monarchy, took a greater part in the government. The clergy were removed from the Parliament in 1287 and deprived of jurisdiction in temporal cases.
- (2) Philip increased the importance of the Parliament. Its business was facilitated by its division into the *Chambre des Requêtes* dealing with minor cases of first instance, the *Chambre des Enquêtes* dealing with appeals; the *Grande Chambre*, the chief branch, which tried the most important cases of first instance and dealt with the most important appeals.<sup>1</sup> The Parliament became a permanent court, sitting only at Paris.

B. Local administration.

Philip extended and organised the authority of local *baillis* and *sénéchaux* who were now charged, not only with the administration of local government, but also with the duty of sending full reports of local conditions to Paris.

C. The States-General.

(1) Establishment.

The establishment of the States-General was partly due to the example of the Great and Model Parliament which met in England in 1295.<sup>2</sup> All tenants-in-chief attended in person; cathedrals, monasteries and important towns sent representatives. The three Estates, nobles, clergy and citizens, met separately and each passed resolutions according to the King's wishes.

(2) Meetings.

**1302.** First meeting of the States-General, called to support Philip against Boniface VIII.

**1308.** The States-General supported the King's measures against the Templars.

**1314.** The States-General called owing to the renewed war against Flanders.

<sup>1</sup> Lodge, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See *Notes on British History*, Vol: I, p. 140.

**(3) General.**

The States-General may be regarded as a sign of the growing feeling of nationality, although the peasants were not represented. But it met only at the King's pleasure to carry out his wishes. It did not, like the Great and Model Parliament, lead to the development of parliamentary government.

**D. Finance.**

The King's revenues, hitherto derived from feudal payments and the profits of the domain, were inadequate to meet the heavy cost of new administration, and Philip's constant need of money was one of the main causes of his quarrel with Boniface, who resented the King's determination to rob the clergy; the condemnation of the Templars was due largely to the King's desire to obtain their possessions. Philip imposed new taxes on the sale of goods, debased the coinage, thus earning the nickname of "The False Coiner"; used the Jews as a means of extorting money from the people; banished the Jews and seized their goods and, later, allowed them to return on payment of heavy fines; he sold freedom to slaves and privileges to towns; imposed sumptuary laws; caused great hardship by farming out the collection of taxes to his creditors, who extorted all they could from the unfortunate taxpayers.

**V. General.**

The general result of Philip's reign was that the power of the monarchy, greatly extended owing to the territorial acquisitions of his predecessors, was strengthened by the establishment of centralised government which asserted its authority over the feudal magnates and the Church. Government now became "the undisguised and constant action of an absolute sovereign."

But his unsound financial measures proved the beginning of the financial embarrassment which always hampered his successors and ultimately proved one of the main reasons for the overthrow of the monarchy.

LOUIS X, 1314-1316; PHILIP V, 1316-1322;  
CHARLES IV, 1322-1328

I. The Feudal Nobles.

A. Reaction, 1314-1316.

Owing to the weakness of Louis X (Le Hutin, or the Quarrelsome) the nobles, led by the King's uncle Charles of Valois, succeeded in compelling the King to grant provincial charters which restored many of the old feudal privileges. The communes and the Church had supported the nobles, but the latter, by using their victory solely in the interests of their own class, alienated the communes and broke up a national union which might have gravely weakened the power of the King.

B. Recovery of royal power, 1322-1328.

Philip V (Le Long) restored the royal supremacy; the lawyers became again the most important element in the administration, and the nobles lost the advantages they had secured from Louis X. Philip showed strong sympathy towards the Third Estate, although his excellent plans for establishing uniform coinage and weights and measures were not successful, and the commercial classes again became the supporters of the royal power.

II. The Salic Law.

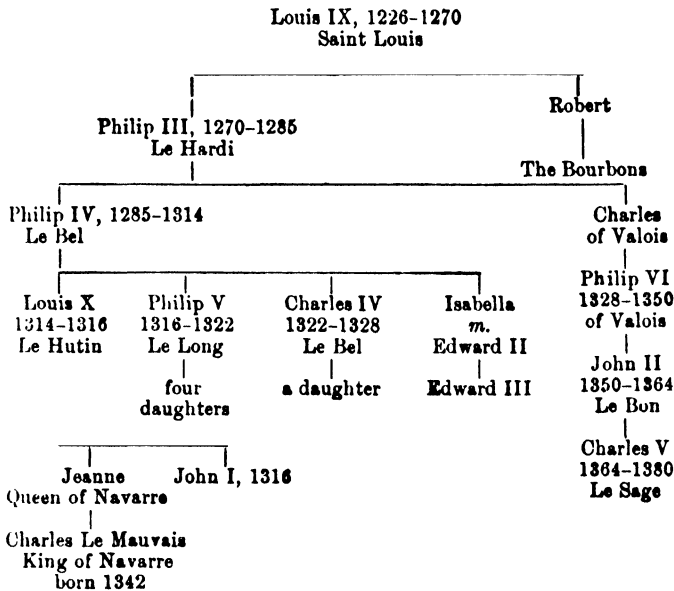
A. Death of Louis X.

- (1) Louis X died in 1316, leaving a daughter, Jeanne, by his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy. Five months after his death a son was born to his widow; the infant, known as John I, lived only a few days.
- (2) Pending the birth of Louis' posthumous child his brother Philip had acted as regent, and Odo IV of Burgundy, the uncle of Jeanne, made an agreement with Philip which provided that if the expected

child was a son he should succeed to France, Champagne and Navarre ; if a daughter, then Jeanne was to hold Navarre, Champagne and Brie until her majority, when her claims to these territories and to the crown were to be considered.

B. The accession of Philip V, 1316.

- (1) On the death of John I, Philip won over Odo of Burgundy by the gift of Franche Comté, and seized the French crown to the exclusion of Jeanne.



- (2) After Philip's accession the lawyers, to support his claim, quoted a passage from the laws of the Salian Franks which asserted "that concerning Salic land no portion of an inheritance may fall to a woman, but the whole succession to the land passes to the male sex." They applied to the succession to the throne a clause which really applied only to succession to land.

This was the origin of the Salic Law; "but the exclusion of women from the throne of France rests, not upon any ancient rule, but upon the precedent of Jeanne's exclusion in 1316, followed and confirmed by further exclusions in 1322 and 1328" (Lodge).

C. The accession of Charles IV, 1322.

On the death of Philip V his brother Charles secured the throne and also Navarre, Champagne and Brie, which Jeanne should have held.

D. The accession of Philip VI, 1328.

Philip the Fair and his three sons died within fourteen years and popular feeling regarded their death as punishment for the execution of the Templars. The death of Charles IV meant the end of the direct line of male succession from Hugh Capet. Important questions arose :—

- (1) The further exclusion of Jeanne of Navarre and the daughters of Philip V and Charles IV confirmed the precedents of 1316 and 1322.
- (2) Edward III of England claimed the throne through his mother Isabella on the ground that though a woman could not succeed she could transmit her claim to her male heir. According to this theory, as Charles the Bad was not born until 1332, Edward was the nearest male heir to his uncle, the last King.
- (3) The barons, "the notables of Paris and the good towns," gave the crown to Philip of Valois, son of Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair. In so doing they consulted the best interests of France; national feeling, though not as strong as it afterwards became, would have resented the election of a foreigner, and particularly of a foreigner whose house was the hereditary enemy of France.

**Reference :**

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 63-65.

## THE CAUSES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, 1337-1453

### I. The Main Cause.

Philip VI (Philip of Valois) rightly continued the policy of absorbing the great fiefs, which was essential for the development of a strong monarchy in France, and in 1329 attempted to weaken the power of the English in Guienne. Edward III, on paying homage to Philip for his French possessions, said he was willing to swear fealty "so far forth as he was holden," but could promise nothing without reference to his Parliament. Edward was determined to keep all that England held in Guienne and Gascony.

This difference between the two kings was the main cause of the war. The English possessions in France made war inevitable.

### II. Philip's Supporters.

#### A. Scotland.

Philip VI, in accordance with national policy, helped the Scots against Edward III, who was thus hampered in his attempts to maintain and extend his possessions in Gascony and Guienne.

**1333.** Philip VI gave support and shelter to David Bruce.

**1346.** David Bruce, whose invasion of the North of England was a diversion in support of Philip, was utterly routed at Neville's Cross.

#### B. Bohemia.

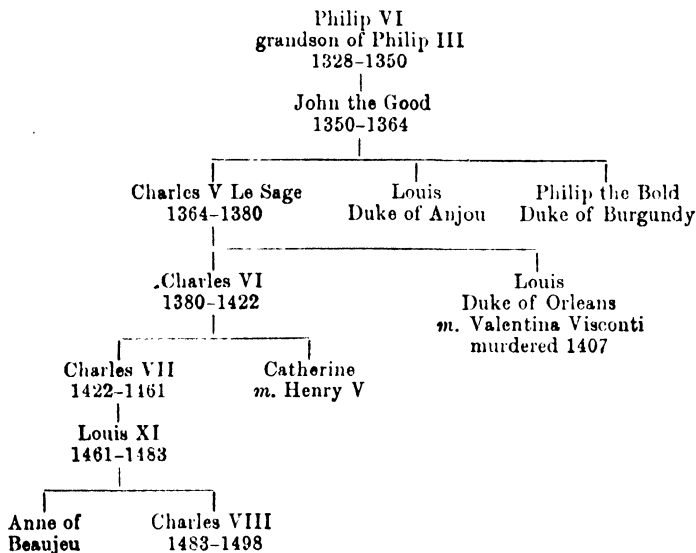
**1330-1333.** Philip favoured the attempt of King John of Bohemia to intervene in Italian politics<sup>1</sup>; John's son Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV, married Philip's daughter Blanche of Valois.

<sup>1</sup> See Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 144-147.

C. Flanders.

Philip supported Louis, Count of Flanders, in his attempt to assert his authority over the towns of West Flanders and particularly over Ypres and Bruges. A French army helped Louis and routed the burghers (who got no support from Ghent) at Cassel in 1328. Louis fully acknowledged his feudal dependence on Philip.

THE HOUSE OF VALOIS



D. The Popes.

The Babylonish Captivity of the Popes at Avignon lasted from 1305-1377. The Avignonese Popes were Frenchmen, under the influence of the Kings of France, and regarded as allies of France. Hence Edward III was unwilling to accept the mediation of Benedict XII (1334-1342) or his successor Clement VI (1342-1352).



### III. Edward III's Supporters.

#### A. The Flemings.

- (1) The Flemish cloth trade depended on English wool, which supplied the looms of the towns, particularly Ypres, Bruges and Ghent.
- (2) **1336.** Count Louis, at Philip's suggestion, ordered the arrest of all English traders in Flanders. Edward therefore prohibited the export of wool from England. The Flemings of Bruges, Ghent and Ypres united against the Count of Flanders; led by James van Artevelde, who "showed them that they could not live without the King of England," they made an alliance with England.
- (3) But the Flemings felt bound by an oath of allegiance they had sworn to the King of France, and Edward, in order to remove their scruples, renewed, in **1337**, the claim he had made to the French crown in **1328**, although, on his own reasoning, Charles of Navarre, the son of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, who was born in **1332**, had a better claim. Thus Edward III's claim to the French crown was not one of the main causes of the war; it was an afterthought due to his desire to secure the support of the Flemings.
- (4) But it is doubtful if Edward would have gone to war on account of the trade with Flanders alone, although the support he gave to the Flemings gained the strong approval of English merchants who cared little for Guienne. Edward's main object was to keep Guienne, and the Flemish alliance helped this object by compelling Philip to fight in the North as well as the South of France.

#### B. The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

Lewis IV (page 267) had married a sister of Edward's Queen, Philippa of Hainault. In **1338** Lewis concluded an alliance with Edward, whom he made Vicar-General of the Rhine. This alliance ensured for Edward the

opposition of the Papacy, for Lewis IV had been excommunicated by Benedict XII, and was again excommunicated by Clement VI in 1343.

C. Robert of Artois.

**1334.** Edward gave shelter to Robert of Artois, from whom his brother-in-law, King Philip, withheld the County of Artois. Edward's action cannot be regarded as an important cause of the war, but it made war more probable by impairing the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between the kings.

D. Brittany.

Brittany was unfriendly to Philip, and afforded Edward an opportunity of attacking France from a neighbouring country. "Edward found in Brittany a faint counterpart to Scotland."

IV. General.

A. France.

At first sight the advantage seemed to lie with France, which was far larger than England, possessed many fortified towns, had a warlike nobility, owned allegiance to a king who dominated the Papacy and exercised strong influence in Western Germany. But the Valois kings injured trade by their oppressive financial policy; lack of money made it difficult for them to raise effective mercenary armies to strengthen their feudal levies, which were often inefficient, and regarded themselves as the servants of their feudal lord, not of the King. The great nobles, though brave, were turbulent and headstrong. National sentiment was not strong; the country lacked the class of yeomen who played so important a part in the English armies.

B. England.

England, though far smaller than France, was united in obedience to the King. Wales and Ireland gave 1.0

trouble, Scotland was kept in check. National life had made great progress, and the nation favoured war with France ; the clergy, owing to resentment at the dependence of the Papacy on France ; the nobles, owing to the opportunities of fame and plunder the war would afford ; the merchants, owing to the injury done to English shipping by French privateers and to the interference of Count Louis with the Flemish wool trade. The wealth of the merchants of England and Flanders assisted to finance the war, " the secret of the battles of Crecy and Poitiers lies in the counting-houses of London, Bordeaux, Bruges." Edward, although sometimes hampered by financial difficulties, was able to hire large, well-equipped mercenary armies who owed obedience to him alone and to no feudal lord ; the yeomen of England supplied the archers who rendered such valuable service.

At the beginning of the struggle the countries were fairly well balanced. The victories of Crecy and Poitiers were due, not only to the bravery and skill of the English soldiers, but also to some measure of good fortune and to the foolish mistakes of the French.

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. iv.

*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 391-399.

## THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR TO 1375

### I. First Period, 1337-1340.

#### A. The First Confederacy against France.

Edward tried to unite against France the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian, the wavering Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Guelders and Hainault and the Flemish towns, who were concerned about restoring their trade and curbing the power of the Count of Flanders, but cared little for Edward's political aims.

**1337.** The Earl of Derby, largely owing to the English longbowmen, routed at Cadzand the fleet of the Count of Flanders which had been holding up the trade of the Flemish ports.

**1338.** The French sacked Portsmouth in June and Southampton in October.

**1338** (July). Edward landed at Antwerp. Reluctance of the Duke of Brabant and other Flemish nobles to join him until he had been formally recognised by the Emperor. The Emperor put Philip of Valois to the ban of the Empire and made Edward III Imperial Vicar of the Rhine. The Duke of Brabant now promised support.

**1339.** Edward, supported strongly by Hainault but teebly by the other Flemish forces, invaded Picardy, failed to capture Cambrai and fell back on the approach of Philip. At Brussels, by the request of the cities and lords of Flanders, he took the title of King of France and quartered the arms of France with those of England

#### B. The Second Confederacy.

Edward now received strong assurance of help from the Flemish cities, led by van Artevelde and the Duke of Brabant.

**1340.** Louis' fleet was routed at Sluys owing to the English archers and to the fact that it lay too close to the shore to manoeuvre freely. Many Frenchmen slain by Flemings from the land. This victory gave the English the command of the Channel. Edward invaded France but failed to capture Tournai and St. Omer.

**1340.** Partly owing to his inability to meet the heavy cost of the war Edward made a truce with Philip.

#### C. General.

In spite of his naval victory at Sluys Edward's campaigns were failures. The Emperor Lewis was too weak to give him help ; the Flemings proved unreliable allies ; Edward's operations on land were unsuccessful. • The Flemings gained the chief advantage from these early

operations, which weakened the power of the Count of Flanders and strengthened the organisation of their communes.

## II. The Succession in Brittany.

### A. Rival claimants.

**1340.** Death of the Duke of Brittany. The duchy was claimed by John de Montfort, his half-brother, who was supported by the Celtic population as heir male, and by Philip's nephew, Charles of Blois, who had married the late Duke's niece, and was supported by the French inhabitants. Philip, who had succeeded to the throne as heir male, supported Charles of Blois in spite of the Salic Law. De Montfort did homage to Edward III, who recognised him as Duke of Brittany, although he claimed the duchy as heir male, a claim which Edward had repudiated in the case of the French crown.

### B. War.

**1342.** War between Charles of Blois and John de Montfort in Brittany. Charles captured Nantes, John de Montfort was made prisoner. The Countess of Montfort carried on the struggle and the Earl of Northampton defeated the French at Morlaix. The murder of Oliver Clisson and other Breton lords at Paris led to a general rising of Brittany in favour of Montfort.

### C. Edward's plans for 1345.

**1345.** Edward III planned a threefold invasion of France: from Guienne where the Earl of Derby was carrying on a successful campaign, from Brittany and from Flanders, where van Artevelde was trying to persuade the cities to receive the Prince of Wales as their Count. Edward's scheme was checked by the deaths of van Artevelde, who was killed at Ghent owing to his sympathy with England, of John de Montfort and of Edward's brother-in-law William of Holland and Hainault. The Emperor's son William obtained Holland and Hainault (page 268).

**III. Crecy, 1346.**

A. John of Normandy (afterwards King John) had conquered much of Guienne and was besieging the English army in Aiguillon. Edward III sailed for Bordeaux, hoping to relieve Aiguillon, but, owing partly to adverse weather, landed in Normandy, which he ravaged, and advanced along the Seine towards Paris. Philip, who was joined by King John of Bohemia and his son Charles IV (page 268), raised a large army to defend Paris. Edward retreated before superior forces, crossed the Seine at Poissi, and advanced into Picardy to join the Flemings. The French destroyed the bridges over the Somme, but Philip's vanguard failed to prevent the English army from fording the river at Blanche Taque, and Edward thus avoided a battle with a larger army in an unfavourable position where retreat was impossible. His army was too weary to continue the retreat, so he posted it on rising ground at Crecy, near Abbeville, where he awaited Philip's attack.

**B. The battle, August 26th, 1346.**

- (1) Froissart says that the English army consisted of 4000 men-at-arms and 1200 archers and the French of 63,000. French historians estimate the English army at about 25,000.
- (2) The English fought on foot in three battalions commanded by the young Prince of Wales, by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, and, a reserve force, by the King. Archers were posted on each side of the two former. The English position was strengthened by shallow holes dug along the front of the lines. Edward's forces, which had rested the previous night, did very little marching on the day of the battle.
- (3) The French nobles compelled Philip (who utterly failed as a general) to attack the English, although their main army had not yet come up and their men were tired out with a long day's march and had the

sun in their eyes. The shafts of the Genoese cross-bowmen, whose strings were wetted by rain, failed to reach the English, whose longbows did great execution. The French men-at-arms rode down the Genoese, but failed to reach the English lines. Fifteen charges made by the French were all unsuccessful, although the Prince of Wales—the hero of the day—was at one time very hard pressed. The French were utterly undisciplined, but fought with great bravery. The French were completely routed, and lost the blind King John of Bohemia, Count Louis of Flanders, nearly a hundred nobles, 1000 knights and from 15,000 to 20,000 men. The English lost less than 1000 men.

- (4) The tactics of the battle are of great importance.
  - a. “ It was a combat of infantry against cavalry, of missile weapons against heavy armour and lances, of trained professional soldiers against a combination of foreign mercenaries with disorderly feudal levies ” (Lodge).
  - b. The English archers won the day, and the success of the English archers, mixed with footmen, led to the elimination of the armed knight as a factor in mediæval warfare.
- (5) The political results of the battle.
  - a. Edward was not strong enough to pursue the French but turned north and laid siege to Calais. Philip hoped that the new Count of Flanders, Louis de Mâle, would reconcile the Flemings and the French, but on Louis' refusal to marry an English princess in accordance with the treaty between Edward III and the Flemings, his subjects turned against him and sent a powerful force to support Edward at Calais. Philip, who had collected an army to raise the siege, found the besieging forces too strong to attack and retreated without fighting, 1347. Calais submitted to Edward III, who,

on the entreaty of Queen Philippa, spared the lives of the chief citizens. Calais became an English town and for two hundred years afforded the English an easy entrance into France.

- b. In Guienne the siege of Aiguillon was raised. John of Normandy was summoned to help his father, King Philip; Henry of Lancaster recovered Guienne and invaded Poitou, and "all the land as far as the Loire trembled before the English" (Froissart).
- c. The French were too weak to help Charles of Blois, who was defeated and captured by Thomas Dagworth at La Roche in 1347. The Montforts, the allies of England, became supreme, although upper Brittany remained faithful to Charles of Blois.
- d. The battle illustrates the radical difference between France and England. The English army was a national army in which the middle-class yeomen played a conspicuous part. The French army was largely a loose combination of feudal levies, and its defeat was largely due to the failure of the King to enforce discipline on the turbulent barons who "rushed heedlessly on their ruin, and perished fighting like blind heroes" (Kitchin).

### C. Neville's Cross.

**1346.** Defeat at Neville's Cross, near Durham, of David of Scotland who tried to help his ally, Philip of Valois, by invading the North of England.

### D. The Truce of Calais, 1347.

In spite of his victory at Crecy and the capture of Calais, Edward was impoverished by the cost of the war, his subjects longed for peace, he did not get the help he expected from Flanders, and the Netherlands



and a considerable part of Brittany continued hostile. He therefore, at the request of the Pope and "through his reverence to the apostolic see," made the truce of Calais on September 28th, 1347, which gave peace to England, France, Scotland and Brittany. The capture of Calais was the only permanent result of his operations.

#### IV. From Crecy to Poitiers.

Both England and France were exhausted by the war, and the Black Death led to great mortality in England and greater in France. In spite of the truce war continued in Brittany, where the French gained some successes owing to the skill of Bertrand du Guesclin and the failure of Edward to send reinforcements. Philip of Valois died in 1350. His son and successor, John the Good,<sup>1</sup> was violent and reckless.

##### A. Charles the Bad.

King John was jealous of his son-in-law, Charles the Bad, who, on the death of his mother Jeanne,<sup>2</sup> had become King of Navarre and lord of parts of Normandy and the Isle of France and had claims on Champagne.

1354. Charles the Bad procured the assassination of Charles of Spain, Constable of France, and fearing the vengeance of John, made overtures to Edward III, who arranged that the Prince of Wales should lead an expedition to Gascony, Henry of Lancaster should act in Brittany and he himself should land in Normandy. King John made terms with Charles the Bad and Edward gave up his idea of landing in Normandy, but made some ineffective raids from Calais.

1355. The Prince of Wales invaded Gascony, captured the towns of Carcassonne and Narbonne and took much booty.

1356. King John treacherously seized Charles the Bad at Rouen where he was dining with Charles the Dauphin,

<sup>1</sup> The nickname is better translated "good fellow."

<sup>2</sup> See genealogical tree, p. 480.

Duke of Normandy, executed some of his friends and took Charles the Bad a prisoner to Paris. Philip of Navarre, brother of Charles, therefore made an alliance with Edward, and co-operated with an English force under Henry of Lancaster, which took Cherbourg.

**B Poitiers, September 19th, 1356.**

- (1) The Black Prince with a force of 7500 men marched north from Bordeaux to join Lancaster and Philip of Navarre in Normandy. He found his force inadequate and retreated, but was cut off by King John at Poitiers with an army variously estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000 men.
- (2) The battle.
  - a. The English were drawn up in three "battles," two in front under Suffolk and Salisbury, and Oxford and Warwick, and one in the rear under the Black Prince.
  - b. The English position was well chosen on higher ground than that held by the French. The left flank was protected by the River Miausson, the front by a hedge, a ditch, and bushes and vineyards affording cover to the archers. Thus the advantage of superior numbers enjoyed by the French was somewhat diminished.
  - c. The French fought mainly on foot and the battle was stubbornly contested. The English victory was due to the skill of the archers, the difficulty the French found in delivering an attack owing to the narrowness of the lane leading up to the English front, the timely help brought by the Black Prince to the two leading "battles" when hard pressed by King John, and a successful attack made on the French flank by a small force of cavalry led by the Captal de Buch, a Gascon nobleman. King John and his

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son Philip (afterwards Philip the Bold of Burgundy) were captured, and the French lost heavily, but, as at Crecy, the English were too weak to follow up their victory.

- d.* Eleven thousand Frenchmen, including 2426 men of noble birth, were slain. The nobles were greatly discredited by the battle. Those "who returned from the battle were so hated and abused by the Communes that they scarcely could venture to set foot in any of the good towns" (Froissart).

## V. The Condition of France, 1356-1360.

### A. The Regent Charles.

King John was a prisoner in England, his son Charles became regent. But an attempt to use the States-General to restore the finances utterly failed, Paris gained a large measure of independence under Etienne Marcel (page 504). Charles the Bad, who began to make vague claims to the throne, joined the Parisians, but the murder of Marcel and the desertion of the popular cause by Charles the Bad, who was bribed by the Regent, enabled the latter to re-establish his authority in Paris, 1358. Civil discord made effective military operations against the English impossible.

### B. The Free Companies.

The country, devastated by war, was now harried by bands of marauding soldiers who had been disbanded when a truce was made in 1357. An English company under Robert Knolles ravaged Normandy; another, led by Griffith, a Welshman, held the country between Paris and Orleans; the largest, numbering 16,000 men, known as the Tardvenus or Last Comers, wasted Champagne.

### C. The Black Death, 1357-1358.

The Black Death spread from Italy into France, devastated Provence, reached Paris, where as many as

800 died in one day. In some places half the population perished, at Avignon three-quarters. Much of the country, deprived of its cultivators, became a wilderness ; grass grew in the streets of Paris.

#### D. The Jacquerie, 1358.

The evils of the time fell heaviest on the peasants. Many had perished in the Black Death, and the labour of those who survived had been increased accordingly ; they were compelled to contribute out of their scanty resources towards the ransom of their lords whom the English had captured ; they found it impossible to make a living out of the devastated country. In desperation they now rose against their old tyrants the nobles. " It was a blind raging of wild beasts bent on vengeance." Led by William Callet, they captured castles and treated the nobles, their wives and families with utter brutality. The rising started near Beauvais and spread over Champagne and Picardy. The nobles united against them and were helped by the Captal de Buch. The peasants, numerous but badly armed, received some help from the people of Paris, but were utterly routed by the Captal de Buch at Meaux. Charles the Bad captured and executed Callet, and the rising was put down with ruthless cruelty. Jacques Bonhomme was the nickname of the peasants, and the Jacquerie was the rising of Jacques.

### VI. The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.

#### A. Edward III's original terms.

King John, still a prisoner in England, agreed, as the price of his release, to cede to Edward in full sovereignty and without the obligation of homage Gascony, promised by St. Louis to Henry III in 1259 (page 469), Normandy and Calais. The regent Charles referred the question to the States who refused to accept terms which would have established the English power dangerously near to Paris.

**B. English invasion, 1359.**

Edward invaded France ; the Dauphin refused to fight a battle ; Edward failed to capture Rheims ; he invaded Burgundy but was bribed to withdraw ; he found such difficulty in securing supplies from the devastated country and lost so many men through sickness that he agreed to the Treaty of Bretigny.

**C. The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.****(1) The terms.**

Edward renounced his claim to the throne of France and the Angevin dominions north of the Loire ; he received as absolute owner Calais and Ponthieu in the North, Guienne, Gascony, Poitou and Saintonge in the South. King John was to be ransomed for 3,000,000 crowns payable in six annual instalments.

**(2) King John.**

It was impossible to raise King John's ransom in France, but Galeazzo Visconti advanced 600,000 crowns on condition of the marriage of his son Gian Galeazzo to John's daughter Isabella, and John returned to France. But when his son Louis of Anjou, who was one of his father's hostages, escaped from Calais, John returned to a nominal captivity in England in 1364 and died soon after.

**VII. From the Treaty of Bretigny to the End of Edward's Reign.**

Unlike his father John, Charles V, who became King of France in 1364, was a sagacious prince, determined as far as possible to avoid pitched battles. The military ability of Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman, famed for his ugliness and physical strength, proved of great value to the French cause.

**1364.** Bertrand du Guesclin defeated the supporters of Charles the Bad at Cocherel.

**1365.** By the Treaty of Pampeluna Charles the Bad surrendered Mantes and Meulan in the North in exchange for Montpellier in the South of France.

A. Brittany.

- (1) **1364.** Du Guesclin led a force into Brittany to support Charles of Blois but was captured by Sir John Chandos at Auray, where Charles of Blois was slain.
- (2) **1365.** By the Treaty of Guerande Charles V recognised John de Montfort as Duke of Brittany on payment of homage and on condition that, on failure of the Montfort line, the duchy should pass to the eldest son of Charles of Blois.

B. Castile.

- (1) Expulsion of Pedro the Cruel.

Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, was on friendly terms with the Black Prince now governing Aquitaine. Charles V therefore supported Pedro's half brother, Henry of Trastamara, and sent Bertrand du Guesclin to help him. Many of the "free companions" who were still plundering France joined Du Guesclin. Henry was crowned King of Castile, Pedro fled to Bordeaux to seek English aid.

- (2) Najara, **1367.**

The Black Prince, realising the danger to Aquitaine from the presence of a friend of France on the throne of Castile, took up Pedro's cause and in **1367** marched through Navarre, with the permission of Charles the Bad; routed King Henry at Najara (or Navaretta), where Du Guesclin was captured, and restored Pedro to the throne. The Black Prince was financially embarrassed by Pedro's dishonourable refusal to bear his share of the expenses of the expedition, and his health was ruined by a fever contracted in Spain from which he never recovered.

- (3) Restoration of Henry of Trastamara.

In **1368** Charles V made an open alliance with Henry; in **1369** Pedro was defeated and stabbed by Henry in Du Guesclin's tent. Henry again became King of Castile.



Charles V derived great advantage from these operations. His ally was King of Castile; the departure of the free companies relieved France of an intolerable burden; ill health weakened the efficiency of the Black Prince.

C. War between England and France, 1369-1375.

- (1) Charles V, realising his opportunities, listened sympathetically to complaints made against the Black Prince by the people of Aquitaine, where the nobles were jealous of the English officials and all resented the taxation the Black Prince had imposed to meet the cost of the expedition of 1367. In April, 1369, he declared war on England. He absolutely forbade his generals to fight pitched battles and the English met with no success in the field.
- (2) 1370. The Black Prince recaptured Limoges from the French and gravely tarnished his reputation by allowing a general massacre of men, women and children.
- (3) 1372. The Earl of Pembroke, who had gone to succeed the Black Prince as Governor of Aquitaine, was utterly routed and taken prisoner off La Rochelle by a combined French and Castilian fleet under Henry of Trastamara. Du Guesclin easily reduced Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois. The English lost the command of the sea they had gained at Sluys in 1340 and could no longer sail direct to Guienne. Therefore a relieving force under John of Gaunt was compelled to land at Calais and march overland to Bordeaux, 1373. The French declined a pitched battle, abandoned open towns and villages to their fate, but harassed the invading army by guerilla warfare. The English lost two-thirds of their force and "reached Bordeaux a beaten and disorganised rabble." "Without fighting a battle Du Guesclin had put the enemy out of action." On their early return to England most of their territory in France fell into the hands of Charles V; Edward III kept only Calais, Bordeaux and Bayonne.

## (4) Brittany.

Du Guesclin, now Constable of France, invaded Brittany in **1373**. John de Montfort IV remained faithful to the English, but many of the nobles and the townsfolk supported the French. Rennes, Dinant, Vannes and the whole of French Brittany readily submitted. Hennebon was taken and the slaughter of all the English garrison was only one of the acts of cruelty of which both sides were guilty. But Brest held out, and in **1375** an English army under the Earl of Cambridge gained some successes and besieged "Butcher" Clisson in Quimperlé.

(5) The Truce of Bruges, June, **1375**.

Largely owing to the intervention of Pope Gregory XI a truce was concluded for two years.

[**1376**. Death of the Black Prince.]

## (6) The renewal of the war.

The English wished to extend the truce in **1377**, but Charles V refused and renewed the war. Charles the Bad was defeated in Navarre and compelled to make peace with Henry of Castile. The English failed to capture St. Malo. Charles V, instead of clearing the English out of France, now tried to make Brittany dependent on the Crown. In **1379** Brittany rose in revolt; John de Montfort returned from exile in England, regained his duchy and was welcomed even by the widow of Charles of Blois. Du Guesclin and Clisson, both Bretons, undertook with reluctance the subjugation of their native land; the rising proved successful and Brittany maintained its independence.

[**1378-1380**. The townspeople of Flanders rose against their Count Louis; strong feeling in Languedoc owing to the oppression of the Duke of Anjou. Charles V refused to help the Count of Flanders, but pacified Languedoc by recalling the Duke of Anjou.]

**1380**. Death of Charles V.

## VIII. General.

In attempting to conquer France Edward was attempting the impossible. The resources of England were quite inadequate to the task. The English were too weak to make use of the opportunities afforded by the victories of Crecy and Poitiers. The interior of France was defended by many castles and "good"<sup>1</sup> towns which could be captured, if at all, only after a long siege. By the treaty of Bretigny Edward gained an important part of the coast, but many of his new subjects had very strong French sympathies, and as the national spirit grew stronger the idea of a foreigner ruling over any part of France grew more and more intolerable.

At Edward's death in 1377 the English held only Bordeaux, Bayonne, Ponthieu and Calais. But the possession of these ports enabled them easily to invade France. They used their opportunity later to renew a struggle in which they were bound to fail whenever France united against them.

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*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. iv.

*The Political History of England* (Tout), chaps. xv-xviii.  
Longmans, Green & Co.

## THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY VALOIS KINGS

### PHILIP VI (OF VALOIS), 1328-1350

## I. General Policy.

Philip of Valois, a great feudal noble who owed his accession to the support of the barons, and especially of Robert, Count of Artois, his brother-in-law, reversed the policy of the Capets and favoured the nobles. He

<sup>1</sup> i.e. well fortified.

gave the nobles privileges which were inconsistent with the absolute monarchy the Capets had established, exempted the subjects of the Duke of Brittany from answering appeals in the royal courts, and allowed the great nobles to levy war subsidies in their own domains. He pleased them by the splendour of his court and by the help he gave to the Count of Flanders against his rebellious subjects.

But his quarrel with Robert of Artois, to whom he refused to restore his county, drove Robert into alliance with Edward III, and although the feudal levies of the nobles fought for France at Crecy, the failure of Philip to control the leaders was one of the reasons for his defeat.

He "scorned the middle class," showed enmity towards the towns, suppressed municipalities and greatly injured commerce by tampering with the coinage.

Philip's internal policy thus may be regarded as reactionary and contrary to the policy of the Capets.

## II. Flanders.

Philip supported the Counts of Flanders against the Flemish towns.

1328. Philip routed at Cassel the Flemings of West Flanders, led by Bruges and Ypres, who rebelled against Count Louis.

1336. Philip ordered Count Louis to imprison all Englishmen in Flanders, and thus caused the alliance of the Flemish towns with Edward III.

1348. Louis de Mâle asserted his authority over the Flemish towns, and helped France by weakening the connection between England and Flanders.

## III. Navarre.

1328. Philip recognised Jeanne, daughter of Louis X, as Queen of Navarre. Jeanne renounced her claim to the French crown and gave up Champagne and Brie to Philip.

#### IV. Dauphiné.

**1349.** Philip bought Dauphiné from Humbert, the last Dauphin of Vienne. Dauphiné soon became the appanage of the heir to the throne who took the title of "The Dauphin."

#### JOHN, 1350-1364

The two great needs of France were a national army, as distinct from the collection of feudal levies which had fought at Crecy, and a sound system of finance to meet the expenses of the war. John could supply neither. "He was a thoroughly feudal King" (Adams), he had no idea of finance and was prodigal and careless.

France was in a deplorable condition; the monarchy proved inefficient; the battles of Crecy and, later, Poitiers discredited the nobles; the country districts were devastated by war; only in the "good," that is strongly fortified, towns could the people find any safety, and the towns, and particularly Paris, now became very important.

#### I. The States-General, 1355-1356.

**A. 1355.** The ordinary resources of the State could not defray the expenses of government in time of peace and were utterly inadequate to meet the cost of the war. John, returning to the policy of the Capets, summoned to Paris the States-General of Languedoil in November, **1355.** The Third Estate, the most numerous, chose Etienne Marcel to speak for them, and the assembly decided to impose the "gabelle," a tax on salt, to levy a tax on all sales of goods, to appoint officials to supervise the collection, to appoint three representatives from each Estate to control expenditure. The assembly forbade purveyance and any attempt to tamper with the coinage.

## B. March, 1356.

The gabelle and the tax on sales proved so unpopular that the States-General repealed them and imposed instead an income tax which fell more heavily in proportion on small than on large incomes. But the revenue from the income tax proved totally inadequate, and therefore in

## C. May, 1356,

The States-General reimposed the gabelle and sales tax and in June and August increased the income tax.

The States-General thus "took advantage of the financial difficulties of the Crown to impose constitutional checks upon the royal power," but their ignorance of sound principles of finance and their inability to ensure payment of the taxes they voted nullified their efforts.

## II The States-General, October, 1356.

Owing to the defeat of John at Poitiers in September, 1356, the States-General became more revolutionary. The States-General were summoned by the Dauphin Charles, acting for his father, King John, who was a prisoner in London. Very few nobles attended. The Third Estate was largely represented, and the influence of Robert Lecoq, Bishop of Laon, gained for them the support of the clergy. The States-General now declared that all, whatever their rank, were liable to taxation, and demanded not only the power of collecting and expending the taxes they voted but the right of superseding the King's ministers by a council of thirty-six, twelve from each Estate, who were to exercise all the functions of government. The Dauphin now debased the coinage; this led to a rising in Paris, and he was compelled to accept the Ordinance of 1357, which confirmed the decisions of October, granted a tax to maintain a force of 3000 men, forbade private war and authorised the arrest of any nobles who broke this Ordinance.

### III. Etienne Marcel.

#### A. To the murder of the marshals.

Etienne Marcel was Provost of the merchants of Paris. He had taken a very active part in the States-General of 1356-1357, but when the Ordinances of 1357 were annulled by King John he felt that no reliance could be placed on the Dauphin. He therefore fortified Paris, took Charles the Bad out of prison (page 493) in November, 1357, in the hope that he would maintain the cause of the citizens. The Dauphin was in Paris raising an army against Charles the Bad, and in 1358 Marcel and his followers entered the Louvre where the Dauphin was staying, slew in his presence the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, and forced the Dauphin to put on the blue and red cap his party had adopted.

#### B. Marcel in power.

The Dauphin was terrified; Marcel directed the government as President of the Council of Thirty-Six and effected some sort of reconciliation between the Dauphin and Charles the Bad.

#### C. The fall of Marcel.

- (1) Marcel's power rested on no sure foundation. The murder of the marshals caused a reaction in favour of the monarchy; all the nobles and most of the clergy left the States-General, and the attempt of the representatives of the towns, and the few clergy who continued to attend, to carry on the government infuriated the nobles. As a counterpoise to Marcel's position the Dauphin was nominated Regent in March, 1358. He escaped from Paris to Meaux, convoked the Provincial Estates of Vermandois, Champagne, Auvergne, Dauphiné and Languedoc, who declared in his favour, summoned the States-General to meet at Compiègne. Many refused, some obeyed the summons, and there were now two States-General, each claiming supreme authority.

- (2) Marcel supported the Jacquerie and sent assistance to the peasants who were besieging the Regent in the citadel of Meaux. The forces which annihilated the peasants now joined the Regent, and Marcel, fearing an attack, strengthened the fortifications of Paris and persuaded Charles the Bad to become captain-general of Paris.
- (3) But Charles the Bad did not trust the Parisians. He withdrew to St. Denis, where he was reconciled to the Regent by the Queen and the Archbishop of Sens.
- (4) Marcel's position was hopeless. He lost his hold on the citizens of Paris who were starving ; had no money and no soldiers. The citizens invited the Regent to enter Paris, but he refused while Marcel, who was responsible for the murder of the marshals, still lived.
- (5) Marcel, in desperation, invited Charles the Bad to return to Paris, and promised to proclaim him King, but was slain on July 31st, 1358, by one of the sheriffs of the city while preparing to open the St. Antoine gate to admit Charles the Bad, who was waiting outside.

Three days later the Regent entered Paris and took summary vengeance on his opponents. The fall of Marcel and the destruction of his party ruined any chance Charles the Bad had of securing the crown, and he returned to Normandy. In 1359 the Regent and Charles the Bad came to an agreement.

#### General.

Although his reputation was tarnished by the murder of the marshals, Marcel was a great popular leader. He appreciated the grave danger arising from financial anarchy and the position of the nobles, and strove to meet it by strengthening the power of the Third Estate which, under his leadership, passed from a constitutional check on royal autocracy into something approaching republican government. His fall was due to the inability of the people to direct the government, to the



lack of civic strength in France, to jealousy felt towards Paris by other parts of the country, to his want of an efficient force which compelled him to try to secure the help of the treacherous Charles the Bad, and to the bitter hostility between the Third Estate and the nobles which rendered national co-operation impossible and ultimately proved a most important factor in the French Revolution.

### CHARLES V (THE WISE), 1364-1380

Charles V suffered from chronic ill health, possibly due to poison administered by Charles the Bad in his youth ; he was a scholar and founded the library of Paris ; his physical condition and personal tastes prevented him from taking an active part in the warfare of the times. But his cool, calculating sagacity enabled him to see what his country needed. The Fabian tactics he imposed on his generals proved most successful ; he nearly expelled the English from France, but the end of his reign was clouded by his failure to secure Brittany (page 499). He restored to the Crown the commanding position which the Third Estate had tried to usurp from 1355-1358, and although he failed to put the finances on a satisfactory footing, he gave to France strong government, which enabled the country to recover from the disasters of the two previous reigns and to gather strength to face the troubles that lay in the near future. He " was a shrewd lawyer . . . and he knew his times." He believed that " lordship is more than glory " ; he " is the greatest of the Valois kings before Louis XI, and must be reckoned among the founders of modern France " (Lodge).

#### I. Charles V and the Hundred Years' War (page 498).

" Never," said Edward III, " was there a King of France who wore so little armour, yet never was there one who has given me so much to do."

## II. The Restoration of the Royal Power.

### A. Administration.

Charles V returned to the Capetian policy of administration through royal officials responsible to the King alone, and thus swept away the constitutional limitations which the States-General had tried to impose.

### B. Finance.

- (1) He imposed taxes by his own authority, reimposed the gabelle and the tax on sales of **1355** and summoned the States-General only once in his reign, in **1367**.
- (2) To meet the heavy civil and military expenses he compelled every family to purchase salt from the royal store and thus increased his income from the gabelle.
- (3) He introduced two grave evils by granting exemption from taxation to favoured individuals and places, and by levying customs on goods carried from one province into another.
- (4) He stopped the debasement of the coinage.

But although he failed to establish a satisfactory financial settlement, although he introduced abuses which ultimately helped to cause the French Revolution, the orderly regulation of the collection of taxation and the improved system of accounts he introduced had a good effect in his own reign. He imposed very heavy taxes, but gave his people peace and security.

### C. The nobles.

- a. He extended the principle of paying the nobles for their military services, even for garrisoning their own castles and defending their own lands. The nobles fought, not as feudal lords commanding their own levies, but as paid servants of the King. In addition the King

hired mercenary troops of his own. The commanders of this army were appointed by the King, and the appointment of Du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman of humble position, is one of the signs that the feudal system was no longer the chief means of raising an army large enough to withstand the English. The King further weakened the power of the barons by destroying a number of feudal castles which were no longer needed to defend the country.

- b. He superseded the feudal nobles where possible by royal officials whom the nobles scornfully nicknamed "marmosets," and used his brothers, "the Princes of the Lilies," to govern Burgundy and Languedoc.

#### D. The towns.

Although the importance of the Third Estate was impaired by the refusal of Charles V to use the States-General to help in the government, the towns benefited from his wise rule. Commerce was helped by the reform of the coinage. The Ordinances which Charles granted to towns improved their position and were intended to detach them from the English cause and to make them less dependent on the nobles. He granted titles of nobility to the Provosts of Poitiers in 1372 and Paris in 1377.

### III. The Great Schism.

1378. Charles V supported the Antipope Clement VII against Pope Urban VI and thus helped to start the Great Schism (page 284).

#### References :

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), chap. iv.

*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 454-473.

*The Growth of the French Nation* (Adams), pp. 119-123.

## THE BURGUNDIANS AND ARMAGNACS, 1380-1420

### I. The Princes of the Lilies.

Charles V had fixed the majority of Kings of France at thirteen and separated the regency of the kingdom from the personal guardianship of the King. Charles VI was only eleven when he succeeded his father in 1380, and the Princes of the Lilies, the Dukes of Anjou, Berri and Burgundy (the brothers of Charles V) and the Duke of Bourbon (the brother of the Queen) seized the opportunity to advance their own interests. Their selfish policy was anti-monarchical; they desired to restore feudalism; they opposed the growing power of the towns which were inspired to resist aggression by the examples of the Swabian towns (page 281), the Swiss (page 339), the Flemings and the rising of Wat Tyler in England.<sup>1</sup> Anjou became President of the Council of which the four dukes were the chief members, but his claim to both regency and guardianship was rejected; Burgundy took the administration of Normandy and Picardy, and Bourbon undertook the education of the young King; Berri ruled with royal authority over Languedoc and Aquitaine.

#### A. Paris.

Risings in Paris were caused by the imposition of the tax on sales which Charles V had promised to remit. The mob, known as "Maillotins," or hammerers, compelled the princes to promise that all taxes imposed since 1314 should be abolished, and received a free pardon in 1382.

#### B. Flanders.

- (1) 1382. Philip van Artevelde of Ghent, son of James van Artevelde (page 484), defeated Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, at Bruges; secured the independence of Ghent and laid siege to Oudenarde.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on British History*, Vol. I, p. 182.

- (2) **1382.** French help was sent to Count Louis owing to the influence of his son-in-law the Duke of Burgundy. The men of Ghent were utterly routed and van Artevelde slain at Roosebek. The siege of Oudenarde was raised, Courtrai was sacked by the French.

His victory enabled the Duke of Burgundy to crush the Maillotins, destroy the fortifications and annul the privileges of Paris. Heavy taxation was imposed on Rheims, Troyes, Châlons and Orleans.

The battle of Roosebek was a triumph of the nobles over the cities.

- (3) **1383.** An English army of "crusaders," levied to support Pope Urban VI in a crusade against the Antipope Clement VII, went to Flanders under Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, to help Ghent. It took Dunkirk, failed to capture Ypres and was compelled to retreat to Calais on the approach of Charles VI.

**1384.** Death of Louis de Mâle. Flanders, "the richest land in Christendom, passed to Philip of Burgundy, the uncle of Charles VI, who had married Louis' heiress Margaret."

#### C. Louis, Duke of Anjou.

**1385.** Anjou seized the royal treasure, used it to fit out an expedition to win Naples and Sicily, called himself King of Sicily and went to Italy. Death of Anjou in **1385** after unsuccessfully besieging Charles of Durazzo at Barletta (page 286).

#### D. The King dismisses the Princes.

**1386.** Extensive preparations were made to send an expedition against England from Sluys. Utter failure of the scheme "which did more harm to France than ten years of actual war would have done" (Martin).

**1387.** Failure of an expedition to Germany.

These failures, heavy taxation and general misgovernment made the regency of the Princes most unpopular.

**1388.** Charles VI assumed the government, dismissed his uncles, selected his advisers from the lesser dignitaries, "the marmousets," made Oliver de Clisson Constable of France.

**1389.** A truce for thirty years was made with England.

**1390.** Charles VI deprived the Duke of Berri of the governorship of Languedoc.

## II. The King's Madness, 1392.

While leading an expedition to Brittany, where a criminal who had attempted to assassinate Clisson had taken refuge, the King was seized with a fit of madness in which he killed four of his servants. His insanity continued for the rest of his life but was intermittent, being much worse in hot weather than cold. In his intervals of sanity the King transacted State business and no formal regency was established, but the attempt of Philip the Bold to regain his authority and to exclude Louis of Orleans, the King's younger brother, led to the division of France into the Burgundians and Armagnacs, which for many years distracted the country and helped the English cause.

## III. The Burgundians and Armagnacs.

### A. The Burgundians.

Philip the Bold, son of King John, had been created Duke of Burgundy in **1361** by his father and confirmed in his duchy by his brother, Charles V. He obtained Flanders and the County of Burgundy on the death of his father-in-law, Louis de Mâle, in **1384**, and in **1406** Brabant passed to his second son Anthony.

Part of Flanders and the County of Burgundy were fiefs of the Empire; commercial interests united Flanders and England, and the Duke of Burgundy had thus important connections which were not French. He soon came to regard himself as an independent prince rather than a subject of the King of France.

- 1396.** The Burgundians were seriously weakened by the defeat by the Sultan Bajazet at Nicopolis of John the Fearless, son of Philip the Bold, who was trying to defend Hungary against the Turks.
- 1399.** Philip the Bold strengthened his position by supporting Henry of Lancaster in his successful attempt to secure the throne of England.
- 1404.** Death of Philip the Bold. John the Fearless became Duke of Burgundy and succeeded to all his father's dominions except Brabant, Limburg and Nevers. His daughter married the Dauphin.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. The Armagnacs.

- Louis, Duke of Orleans, was the younger brother of King Charles VI and gained the support of his Queen, Isabel of Bavaria. Louis in **1386** had married Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo (page 471), who brought him a dowry of 500,000 francs. He failed to secure Luxemburg, although Wenzel agreed to sell it.
- 1407.** Louis of Orleans was assassinated in Paris by the agents of John the Fearless, who acknowledged his responsibility for the murder. Jean Petit, a member of the University of Paris, issued a defence of the murder, and Gerson, the chancellor of the University, tried to get the Council of Constance to condemn Petit's treatise (page 302). The murder of Louis of Orleans left his son Charles the head of the family, but owing to his youth the leadership of the party passed to his father-in-law, Bernard, Count of Armagnac, from whose title the party became known as the Armagnacs.

#### C. Principles involved.

The origin of the parties was due to the personal rivalry of Philip the Bold and Louis of Orleans, each of whom wished to secure the supreme power when Charles VI became mad in **1392**. The outbreak of civil

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Louis who died 1415. Not Charles who became Charles VII in 1422.

war between the Burgundians and Armagnacs was due to the desire of Louis' sons to avenge his murder. But gradually each party adopted a more or less definite policy. The Burgundians secured a large measure of support from the towns, especially Paris and the Flemish towns; they represented the North and East or Frankish part of the country; they supported Pope Urban VI; they had connections with Germany and inclined towards friendship with England. The Armagnacs (or Orleanists) were supported generally by the feudal nobility; their strength lay in the South, which hoped through them to throw off its dependence on the North; they supported the Antipope Clement VII and, in opposition to the Burgundian University of Paris, patronised the southern universities of Montpellier and Toulouse.

#### IV. Civil War, 1411-1414.

John the Fearless, through the Dauphin, directed the government after 1407, but war broke out in 1411.

1410. League of the Orleanist princes, the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon and Brittany, Count Bernard of Armagnac against Burgundy.
1411. Owing to the influence of Prince Henry,<sup>1</sup> English help was sent to the Burgundians, who were strongly supported by the Paris mob, now called Cabochiens from their leader Caboché, a butcher.
1412. Thomas of Clarence, after Prince Henry had been dismissed from court, sent English help to the Armagnacs who besieged Paris but were routed at St. Cloud by the Burgundians. The Treaty of Auxerre made Burgundy supreme in France and the Cabochiens masters of Paris.
1413. Issue of the Cabochien Ordinance, drawn up probably by the lawyers, a remarkable code which provided for the reform of abuses and the better organisation of government in all departments.

<sup>1</sup> Later Henry V.



**1413.** The brutality of the Cabochiens, whose actions offered a striking contrast to their Ordinance, led to their overthrow, to the admission of the Armagnacs to Paris and the appointment of the Duke of Berri as Captain of Paris. John the Fearless fled from Paris, was pursued by the Armagnacs as far as Liège and, in **1414**, compelled to agree to the Treaty of Arras which left Paris, the Queen and the Dauphin in the power of the Armagnacs. In despair John now reopened negotiations with England.

#### V. Agincourt, October 25th, 1415.

##### A. Henry's terms.

Henry IV had been too much engaged with domestic politics to take advantage of the opportunity for intervention in France which the civil war offered. Henry V soon after his accession demanded the hand of Catherine, daughter of Charles VI, and the cession of Normandy, Maine and Anjou as her dowry. His demand was rejected. He refused Charles VI's offer of the marriage with Catherine, whose dowry was to be Aquitaine and 800,000 crowns, and renewed Edward III's claim to the throne of France.

##### B. Harfleur.

August, **1415**. Henry landed at the mouth of the Seine and besieged Harfleur; he lost many men from dysentery; the French sent no help to Harfleur and the town capitulated.

##### C. The march to Agincourt.

Henry's army numbered only 15,000 men and was "weak with want of victuals." But he foolishly resolved to "ride through France," and instead of waiting for reinforcements at Harfleur, marched towards Calais. The bridges of the Somme had been broken and the ford at Blanche Taque was strongly guarded; Henry got across near Nesle but found that a French army

under the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans lay between him and Calais. The French army consisted mainly of Armagnac nobles and their followers; they had refused the assistance of the Burgundians, although two brothers of John the Fearless were present, and of the burghers of Paris. The Dukes of Berri, Burgundy and Brittany were not present.

D. The battle.

- (1) The French army numbered some 70,000, consisted largely of heavy-armed men-at-arms, was drawn up in three divisions in a defile between two woods.
- (2) The English army was drawn up in one line, equal in length to the French; each flank rested upon a wood; the front was protected with strong stakes.
- (3) The French made a grave mistake in not attempting to outflank the far smaller English force; the arrangement of their forces gave them inadequate room to manœuvre.
- (4) The French men-at-arms in the first line charged over muddy ploughed land in which they sank "up to the thick of their legs" and were shot down by the archers posted on Henry's flanks. Their wounded horses threw the second line into confusion. The lightly clad English footmen utterly routed the second line of the French. The English gained a very easy and complete victory. The French lost not less than 10,000 killed, and the number was increased owing to a massacre of the prisoners ordered by Henry, who had been told that a new French army was attacking his rear. The slain included the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers (brothers of John the Fearless), the Dukes of Alençon and Bar and the Constable of France. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were among the prisoners.
- (5) Henry V's brilliant victory secured his retreat to Calais, but his army was too small to follow up its success.

**VI. Henry V Conquered Normandy.**

**1417.** A most skilful campaign resulted in the capture of Caen, Bayeux and Lisieux by Henry, whose operations were facilitated by a quarrel between Queen Isabel and the Count of Armagnac and by the determination of the Duke of Burgundy to regain Paris. Owing to these causes little help was sent to Normandy, which submitted the more readily owing to the humanity with which Henry conducted his campaign.

January, **1419.** The capture of Rouen completed the conquest of Normandy.

**VII. The Murder of John the Fearless.**

The failure of the Armagnacs to relieve Harfleur, the gross incompetence they showed at Agincourt aroused strong resentment. The death of the Duke of Berri left the Count of Armagnac head of the party; he was supported by Prince Charles, now Dauphin, who sent his mother, Queen Isabel, from Paris owing to her scandalous life. She claimed the regency and made an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy.

**A. The capture of Paris.**

**1418.** The Burgundians were admitted into Paris; general massacre of the Armagnacs, of whom 2000 were slain, including the Count of Armagnac. The King was captured by the Burgundians, but the Dauphin and his chief supporter, Tanneguy du Châtel, escaped, and established at Poitiers a rival parliament to that which continued to sit at Paris.

**B. The murder.**

**1419.** The fall of Rouen, which John the Fearless did not try to relieve, the capture by Henry V of Pontoise and the consequent danger to Paris tended to unite all parties in opposition to the English. The Dauphin and John the Fearless met in conference on the bridge of Monttereau. Tanneguy du Châtel, who feared that his own

position would be prejudiced if a reconciliation was effected between the Dauphin and John the Fearless, foully murdered the latter as he knelt at the Dauphin's feet in September, 1419.

#### VIII. The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

The young Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, determined to exclude the Dauphin from the throne; he and Queen Isabel made terms with Henry V, and the people of Paris readily agreed to any terms which would save them from the Dauphin and the Armagnacs.

May, 1420. The Treaty of Troyes was made which provided

- (1) That Henry V should act as regent to Charles VI and should become King on Charles' death.
- (2) That Henry should immediately marry Charles' daughter Catherine.
- (3) That the Dauphin should be excluded from the succession.
- (4) That Henry should maintain the Parliament, the laws and privileges of France and should, on becoming King, restore Normandy and all conquered districts to France.
- (5) That Henry should bring under the authority of the French king all place which were in the hands of the Dauphin and the Armagnacs.

June, 1420. Henry married Catherine of France at Troyes.

## THE END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

### I. From the Treaty of Troyes to the Appearance of Joan of Arc.

The Treaty of Troyes was a treaty with the Burgundians, not with France. It necessitated war with the Armagnacs in order to bring all France under the

authority of Charles VI and, later, Henry V. The Armagnacs held most of the country south of the Loire and some strong positions, notably Meaux, to the north ; they were helped by a force of Scots led by Douglas and Buchan.

A. To the deaths of Henry V and Charles VI.

**1420.** The English captured Sens, Montereau and Melun.

**1421.** Thomas of Clarence was defeated and slain by French and Scots at Baugé in Anjou.

**1422.** Henry V captured Meaux but died of dysentery at Vincennes at the age of thirty-four on August 31st. Charles VI died soon afterwards. The Dauphin was proclaimed King Charles VII ; the infant Henry VI was proclaimed King of England and France and his uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, was appointed regent.

B. Bedford's regency to **1429**.

(1) John, Duke of Bedford.

Bedford was a great soldier and a great statesman. He governed through the States-General, appointed few English officials and no English bishops. He strengthened the connection with Burgundy by marrying Anne, the sister of Philip the Good, in **1423**, and in the same year an attempt of the Armagnacs to stir up the Bretons against their Duke made the Duke of Brittany join Bedford and Burgundy.

But Bedford's English troops were not enough to hold the country and carry on war against the Armagnacs. His position depended upon the support of Burgundy.

(2) Charles VII.

Charles was weak, indolent and unwarlike. He had "lost nerve" owing to the murder of John the Fearless ; and the notorious immorality of his mother, Isabel of Bavaria, harassed him with doubt as to the legitimacy of his birth. But his position as the

direct male successor to Charles VI made him the champion of France against the invading English. For the first time Southern France gave strong support to a Valois king. He married Mary of Anjou, and thus gained the help of her house and owed much to the powerful influence of his mother-in-law, Yolande of Aragon, Duchess of Anjou, who gained for him the help of Charles of Lorraine and of Provence, which belonged to Anjou. He soon dismissed Tanne-guy du Châtel, the leader of the extreme party, and his policy became national rather than Armagnac.

The development of national feeling north of the Loire and the defection of Burgundy were the two grave dangers with which Bedford had to contend.

(3) Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

**1423.** Bedford's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, married Jacqueline of Hainault.<sup>1</sup> To keep her possessions in the family Philip the Good had secured her marriage to his cousin, John IV, Duke of Brabant. She left her husband and married Gloucester by special papal dispensation. Philip was very angry, private war broke out between Gloucester and him, and English forces required for service against the Armagnacs were used to maintain Gloucester's cause in Hainault. Gloucester soon repudiated Jacqueline, and Bedford pacified Philip the Good by ceding part of Picardy. But the Burgundian alliance had been badly shaken.

**1425.** Gloucester quarrelled with his uncle, Henry Beaufort. Bedford went to England to reconcile them and did not return until early in **1427**. His absence weakened the English cause in France.

(4) The war.

a. Crevant.

**1423.** The English and Burgundians defeated the French and Scots at Crevant.

<sup>1</sup> For genealogy see page 323.

*b.* Verneuil.

**1424.** Bedford routed the French and Scots at Verneuil and overran Maine.

*c.* Orleans.

**1427.** Bedford returned from England. The Duke of Brittany now paid homage to Henry VI. Philip the Good, intent on extending his dominions in the Netherlands, was willing to co-operate with Bedford, especially as Jacqueline had promised him the succession to Holland, Hainault and Zeeland. Strong reinforcements came from England under the Earl of Salisbury. The conditions seemed favourable, and Bedford determined to attack Orleans, which was the key to the South, and commanded Touraine, Berri and Poitou.

October 12th, **1428.** Salisbury commenced the siege of Orleans.

February, **1429.** Sir John Fastolf routed at Rouvray a French force which tried to cut off English supplies. "The Battle of Herrings."

Further resistance seemed hopeless. King Charles VII thought of seeking refuge in Scotland or Spain. The townspeople of Orleans offered to surrender to Philip the Good, but Bedford "would not beat the bush that others might catch the birds," and the Duke of Burgundy, in anger, therefore withdrew all his forces from the siege.

April 29th, **1429.** Joan of Arc entered Orleans.

## II. Joan of Arc, 1429-1431.

### A. Domrémy to Chinon.

Born at Domrémy in Champagne; she was uneducated and worked on her father's farm until she was seventeen, when, inspired by the voices and visions of St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Marguerite, she left

home to secure the coronation and recognition of Charles VII as King of France. At Chinon, where the court was, she picked out Charles, although he wore no distinctive dress, and won his support by giving him divine assurance of his legitimacy. Although La Tremouille, the King's favourite, disbelieved her, the King's mother-in-law, Yolande, Duchess of Anjou, and the Duke of Alençon supported her; bishops examined her and testified to her orthodoxy; matrons gave assurance of her character. She was commissioned to lead a force to the relief of Orleans.

## B. The successes of 1429.

### (1) The Relief of Orleans.

Joan entered Orleans on April 29th. The coming of "La Pucelle" inspired the garrison, for whom she secured much needed supplies, and dispirited the English. She speedily broke the English fortifications, captured the Tournelles, the key of the position, on May 7th, and on May 8th, nine days after she entered the city, the siege, which had lasted nineteen months, was raised. Joan now made a grave mistake in allowing the broken English forces to retire unmolested.

### (2) Further victories in 1429.

The Constable de Richemont captured Jargeau.

June 18th. Talbot and Fastolf were routed at Patay. After a remarkable march through hostile country Joan captured Troyes and entered Rheims.

### (3) The Coronation of Charles VII.

July 17th. Charles VII was crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. Joan held the royal standard at the coronation.

## C. The death of Joan.

- (1) 1429. Joan now urged the King to advance on Paris, but the bitter jealousy of the court party, led by La Tremouille, caused delay which enabled Bedford, now strengthened by a force which had been raised



by Cardinal Beaufort to fight the Hussites (page 307) but had been diverted to France, to secure the active help of the Duke of Burgundy who had been won over by the cession of Meaux. But, after some delay, the French advanced and captured Compiègne, Beauvais and St. Denis. Château Gaillard and other fortresses in Normandy were reduced, and a local rising compelled Bedford to retire to Rouen, leaving only a small force in Paris. Joan attacked Paris but was repulsed; by the King's orders a bridge across the Seine which would have facilitated a further attack was broken down and Alençon, who was Joan's strong supporter, was sent to fight in Normandy.

- (2) **1430.** Bedford promised Champagne to the Duke of Burgundy, who had been negotiating with Charles VII. Burgundian soldiers besieged Compiègne and captured Joan, who tried to relieve it. The Duke of Burgundy sold her to the English in November, **1430**, for ten thousand francs, and she was sent in December to Rouen. French victories in Champagne further incensed the English against Joan. She was tried for heresy and sorcery before a court presided over by Pierre Cauchon, who was the instrument of Beaufort and Bedford, and burnt at Rouen, May 28th, **1431**. The burning of Joan was a great mistake. Her work was done, it is doubtful if she could have won further successes. Her martyrdom made her a saint and strengthened her influence in France.

#### D. The importance of Joan of Arc.

- (1) The career of Joan "was one of those points where history has approached most nearly to the miraculous." But Dean Kitchin says (page 527), "It was no magic, no special intervention, no prophetic insight; but the irresistible forward movement of a perfectly fearless spirit, which calculated no chances, felt no doubts, knew what it desired, and firmly believing in a divine mission moved on serenely towards its aim."

- (2) Joan gave France leadership. The occupation of Northern France by a foreign foe gave an impetus to the development of national consciousness which the policy of the French monarchy had started. The rising in Normandy, where the feeling in favour of the English had been strongest, was a sign of the times. Joan's leadership enabled national feeling to find expression and gave the confidence and determination which made that expression effective. "She simply led, and France freed herself."
- (3) "Heaven help us! We have burnt a saint," said an English soldier at Rouen. There have been few saints more tender, more sincerely pious, more pure amid moral corruption, more honest and truthful than Joan of Arc.
- (4) Her martyrdom disgraced all concerned. It was due to the ruthlessness of Bedford and Beaufort; to the servility of Pierre Cauchon; to the treachery of the jealous French courtiers; to the shameful ingratitude of Charles VII who abetted the plots of La Tremouille against "The Maid" who had rendered such signal service to France, and made no efforts to secure her liberation by exchange.

### III. From the Death of Joan to the Congress of Arras, 1435.

#### A. Changed conditions.

The war dragged on. The French held out in Compiègne and gained successes in Champagne; the English re-established their authority in Normandy. But conditions were changing.

#### (1) Paris.

There was growing opposition to the English occupation of Paris, and although Bedford had the young King Henry VI crowned King of France in Paris in 1431, the prominent part played in the ceremony by Cardinal Beaufort caused strong resentment. The death in 1432 of Bedford's wife, who had

been very popular with the Parisians, weakened the English hold on the city. The people complained of heavy taxes; famine broke out because the French commanded the rivers along which supplies were brought, and wolves were seen in the suburbs in 1434.

(2) Philip the Good.

The death of the Duchess of Bedford, Philip's sister, in 1432 weakened the connection between Philip and Bedford. Philip was very angry because Bedford soon married Jacquetta of Luxemburg, daughter of his vassal the Count of St. Pol, and did not obtain his permission, which was necessary according to feudal custom.

Philip was getting tired of the English alliance which he had maintained only on account of the territory Bedford had ceded to him. He thought he could get more from France than England, and in 1434 agreed, on condition of receiving Amiens and Ponthieu, to abandon the English cause if Bedford refused to come to terms with Charles VII.

(3) Charles VII.

A conspiracy against Charles VII's favourite, La Tremouille, formed by Yolande, Duchess of Anjou, aided by the Constable de Richemont, resulted in the overthrow of La Tremouille. Richemont conducted the war energetically and, although no important battles were fought, the English steadily lost ground. Possibly owing to the influence of his mistress, Agnes Sorel, Charles displayed greater activity. It is said that France owed her salvation to two women, one a saint, the other a sinner.

(4) England.

The English were tired of the war and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, became the leader of a peace party. The turbulence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, added an element of discord, and lack of whole-hearted support from England increased Bedford's difficulties.

B. The Congress of Arras, **1435**.

- (1) A great congress met at Arras in August, **1435**. Two cardinals presided, representatives of the Empire and the leading states attended. Beaufort was the chief representative of England.

The French offered to recognise Normandy and Aquitaine as fiefs of England if Henry VI would give up his claim to the throne of France. Beaufort unwisely refused these terms and the congress came to an end.

- (2) September 14th, **1435**. Death of the Duke of Bedford. The loss of the great leader was an irreparable blow to England.
- (3) September 21st, **1435**. By the Treaty of Arras Philip the Good broke the English alliance which had lasted since **1419** and came to terms with Charles VII. Auxerre, Macon, Peronne, Mondidier and some towns on the Somme (which might be repurchased by France) were ceded to Philip, who was freed from homage to Charles VII during their joint lifetime.

If Charles failed to carry out the conditions his own subjects might be called upon by Philip to compel him to observe the treaty.

C. Charles VII regains Paris, **1436**.

April, **1436**. The Constable de Richemont entered Paris and was welcomed by the citizens. The English garrison retired to the Bastille but soon capitulated. The Parliament and Royal Courts returned and Paris again became the capital of France.

IV. The End of the War.

A. Little activity from **1436** **1449**.

The success of Joan of Arc in stimulating national feeling, the defection of the Duke of Burgundy and the death of Bedford ensured the ultimate failure of the English. But neither Charles VII nor Henry VI loved

war; France was exhausted, the English were tired of fighting, and the strength of England was weakened by strife between Gloucester and Beaufort; Charles was engaged in domestic reforms which led to the Praguerie in 1439-1440, and in putting down the bands of free lances that were plundering France.

Philip the Good gave far less help to the French than Charles VII had expected. He made an unsuccessful movement against Calais in 1436, but Bruges revolted in 1437, and he made a treaty with England. Ghent revolted in 1448, and, as Charles VII could send no help to Philip owing to the renewal of the Hundred Years' War, held out until 1453, when Philip routed the Gantois at Gavre.

The war therefore languished between 1436 and 1449, although in 1441 Charles captured Pontoise and took Ponthieu from the English.

**1445.** Beaufort arranged a marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Count René and niece of Queen Mary of France, hoping that peace would follow the marriage.

**1447.** Death of Beaufort and Gloucester. Suffolk became the leader of the peace party.

#### B. The renewal of the war, 1449.

In England the cession of Maine to Queen Margaret's uncle, Charles of Maine, in accordance with the terms of the marriage treaty of 1445 aroused such feeling that Suffolk and the relatives of Beaufort changed their policy and advocated the renewal of the war in order to disarm opposition.

##### (1) Normandy.

**1449.** In spite of a truce which had been made between England and France some English adventurers attacked Brittany. The Duke, hitherto neutral, appealed to Charles VII, who seized the opportunity to send an army under Dunois into Normandy, where

Talbot and Somerset commanded the English forces. The people of Normandy welcomed the French. Rouen opened her gates, and the French captured the whole of the duchy except Caen, Cherbourg and Falaise.

**1450.** The Constable de Richemont routed at Formigny an English force from Cherbourg and captured Caen, Falaise and Cherbourg. End of the English occupation of Normandy.

(2) Guienne.

**1451.** Dunois invaded Guienne and captured Bordeaux and Bayonne. But the old jealousy between North and South continued, the commercial connection between Guienne and England was very profitable, the French imposed heavy taxation. Bordeaux revolted against Charles VII in **1452**; Talbot, now eighty years old, was sent with five thousand men to help Bordeaux and recover Guienne but was defeated and slain at Châtillon, **1453**. Bordeaux submitted and the Hundred Years' War was ended.

. Of all their conquests the English retained only Calais and Guisnes; the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses saved France from further English attacks.

#### References :

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 512-557.

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 333-358.

## INTERNAL HISTORY UNDER CHARLES VII

From about **1435** Charles VII showed great activity and, with the help of faithful servants, did much to diminish anarchy in France, to found a royal standing army and to reorganise the finances. "Old at twenty, Charles VII seemed young and vigorous at forty," and he began the revival of the French monarchy which marks the fifteenth century.

### I. Church.

**1438.** The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (page 316) was an assertion of the liberties of the Gallican Church with reference to the Pope and of its dependence upon the King of France.

### II. The Ordonnance sur la Gendarmerie, 1439.

Jacques Cœur, a very wealthy merchant who became Treasurer of the Household, lent money to Charles VII when the taxation proved inadequate, restored the currency, improved the financial system. The Constable de Richemont, who, after some time, won the favour of Charles, advised that the States-General of Languedoil should be summoned to Orleans, and this assembly passed the important Ordonnance sur la Gendarmerie.

#### A. Military.

France was devastated by companies of adventurers called "écorcheurs," or flayers, because of the way they pillaged the people. The Ordonnance provided that a royal licence was necessary for raising a company, that the King should appoint all captains of companies, that companies should be amenable to the royal courts and that private war and pillage should be forbidden.

#### B. Finance.

To pay the troops a land tax, the "taille," was granted to the King, and from this time forward the taille was levied and increased at their own discretion by the Kings of France. The nobles were forbidden to levy taxes on their domain lands.

#### C. Criticism.

- (1) The Ordonnance gave the kings a permanent standing army and a permanent revenue. The French monarchy became a despotism. Charles VII had summoned the States-General several times before **1439** ;

he summoned them only once afterwards, and Louis XI summoned them only once in his reign. The nobles, who did not cultivate the lands themselves, were exempt from the payment of the *taille* and did not trouble to ensure future meetings of the States-General. Exemption from the *taille* separated the interests of the nobles from those of the people and accentuated the rigid class distinctions which prevented the union of all to limit the despotism of the King.

- (2) The feudal nobles strongly resented the abolition of their own rights of levying troops, imposing taxes and making private war.
- (3) The people readily agreed to any increase in the power of a King who could protect them from the *écôrcheurs*.

### III. The Praguerie, 1439-40.

The Praguerie was a general rising of the nobles to preserve their rights which the Ordonnance had destroyed. The Dauphin Louis, who resented the influence Agnes Sorel exercised over his father and wished to secure more power for himself, joined the conspiracy, in which the Dukes of Bourbon, Alençon and Dunois took an active part. La Tremouille now reappeared and supported the movement, largely out of hatred of the Constable de Richemont. But the Constable and the King's brothers-in-law,<sup>1</sup> René, Count of Anjou, and Charles, Duke of Maine, remained faithful. Risings in Flanders kept Philip the Good engaged, and he refused to help the rebels.

The King enlisted free lances, marched at once against the rebels and the Praguerie collapsed owing to his energetic action. The Dauphin was sent to rule Dauphiné.

<sup>1</sup> Charles VII married Mary daughter of Louis II of Anjou and Yolande of Aragon.



**IV. Further Organisation.****A. The break-up of the free lances.**

**1441.** King Charles VII, by a number of expeditions, broke up many companies of free lances, particularly in Gascony.

**1444.** About 50,000 free lances were used in foreign war by the King in an attempt to conquer Metz, Toul and Verdun; by the Dauphin against the Swiss (page 343) at the request of the Emperor Frederick III. The Swiss were routed at St. Jacob, near Basle, but inflicted such heavy losses on their opponents that the Dauphin was glad to return to France. Charles VII captured Verdun, but the three cities retained their independence. France was relieved of some 25,000 free lances who fell in these two campaigns.

**B. The carrying out of the Ordonnance of 1439.**

The suppression of the Praguerie enabled Charles VII to carry out the Ordonnance of 1439.

**(1) The Gens d'Ordonnance.**

Establishment of the Gens d'Ordonnance, a force of 9000 men divided into fifteen companies, each of one hundred men-at-arms with five attendants for every man-at-arms. The captains of companies were nominated by the King.

**(2) The Free Archers.**

Each parish supplied and maintained, when not on active service, one archer who was termed "free" because he was exempted from the taille.

**(3) The Scottish archers.**

Charles VII organised the famous Scottish archers as a royal bodyguard under John Stewart d'Aubigné.

**(4) The artillery was greatly improved by Gaspard and Jean Bureau and became a most effective force.**

## C. Results of the King's policy.

The measures proved most successful.

- (1) Pillage and oppression were stopped ; commerce and agriculture revived ; the private warfare which the nobles had so long waged came to an end.
- (2) The establishment of a royal standing army, numbering in all about 60,000 men, supplied a sure foundation for absolute monarchy in France and added to political relations a new element which was destined in time to lead to the idea of the Balance of Power, which was, largely, a question of the balance of national armaments.
- (3) The new army easily conquered Normandy and Guienne when the Hundred Years' War was renewed.

## V. Last Years of Charles VII.

After the death of Agnes Sorel in 1450 Charles VII lost much of the vigour which had characterised his actions since 1435. His last years were clouded by a revival of the old fears as to his legitimacy, he was afraid of poison and is said to have died of starvation. He became timid and suspicious, and it is possible that he suffered to some extent from the madness that had afflicted his father.

## A. The Dauphin Louis.

**1446.** The Dauphin had returned from Dauphiné, but, partly owing to his opposition to Agnes Sorel, partly because the King refused to make him governor of Normandy, the quarrel between him and his father broke out again, and in **1446** the Dauphin was again exiled to Dauphiné. He proved a competent ruler, reformed the coinage, established a university at Valence and a parliament at Grenoble, forbade the local nobles to wage private war, but caused discontent by arbitrary and heavy taxation imposed without consent

of the Estates. To strengthen his position against his father he married without the King's consent Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, in 1451.

(1) The flight of the Dauphin.

**1456.** The royal general, Anthony de Chabannes, Count of Dammartin, invaded Dauphiné; the Duke of Savoy made terms with Charles VII, nobles and people turned against the Dauphin and he fled to Flanders.

**1457.** Dauphiné was fully annexed to France.

(2) Genappe, 1456-1461.

The Dauphin was kindly received by Philip the Good who relieved his poverty by generous grants and allowed him and his wife to live at Genappe. While there he established an understanding with Philip's influential servants, the Croys, and, partly for this reason, partly owing to differences of taste and character, found himself at variance with Philip's son, the Count of Charolais. "Philip," said Charles VII, "is nourishing the fox who will one day devour his chickens."

#### B. Burgundy.

Charles VII was weary of war and refused to take up arms against Burgundy, which was now a dangerous rival of France. He tried to redeem the Somme towns in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Arras (page 525), but Philip refused to give them up; he resented the welcome given to the Dauphin in Flanders but, although urged by Dunois and Dammartin, refused to join in a projected confederacy of Charles of Charolais, England and the Empire against Philip.

#### C. Jacques Cœur.

Charles VII basely condemned to perpetual imprisonment Jacques Cœur, of whose wealth the courtiers were jealous.

## VI. General.

Charles VII rendered great service to France. In his reign the English power was broken, the military and financial systems were greatly improved, France gained peace and consequent prosperity. But all this was accomplished by the establishment of absolute government which, although at the time it promoted the development of nationalism, was destined in the distant future to lead to the French Revolution.

Much, perhaps most, of the credit belongs to the servants who served Charles so faithfully and whom he sometimes treated with gross ingratitude. A King who was served by Joan of Arc, Jacques Cœur, Richemont, Dunois, Dammartin and the brothers Bureau, was justly named "Charles Le Bien Servi."

July 22nd, **1461**. Death of Charles VII.

## References :

See page 527.

## CHARLES THE BOLD<sup>1</sup>

### I. Early Life and Character.

Charles the Bold, Count of Charolais, the son of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal, granddaughter of John of Gaunt, was born at Dijon on November 10th, **1433**. In **1436** he was betrothed to Catherine, daughter of Charles VII, but the little princess died in **1446**. Charles married his first cousin, Isabella of Bourbon, in **1454**, and his daughter and heiress Mary was born in **1457**. His long struggle with Louis XI began with the ill-feeling that arose between the two during the Dauphin's stay at Genappe (page 532). He succeeded his father in **1467**.

<sup>1</sup> "Le **Hardi**" is usually translated "The Bold." "The **Rash**" is much more appropriate.

He was well educated, a good musician, a skilful chess player. He excelled at manly sports. His manners were courteous and polished. His life was pure. "He did not take the name of God or the saints in vain, and held God in great fear and reverence." But he was proud, quick tempered and obstinate.

He was a skilful knight, and after Monthéry, 1465, displayed a liking for military operations which, owing to his rashness, often proved disastrous. In his early years he tried to make war without brutality and to keep his promises. Later he changed for the worse. At Nesle (1472), on seeing the church filled with slaughtered townspeople, he remarked, "Verily I have good butchers with me."

Exasperated by Louis XI's chicanery, Charles tried to meet him with his own weapons and his policy degenerated into barefaced lying.

He never became a national hero; his courtiers resented his insistence on wearisome ceremonial and his interminable harangues; the Flemings objected to the heavy taxes he imposed on them; to the people of Lorraine and Alsace he was only a foreigner and a tyrant. He was "hot, active and impetuous," and his lack of prudence and vision accounts for his failure in war and politics.

## II. The Position of Charles the Bold at his Accession.

### A. Possessions.

In 1467 Charles became master of a wide domain. He was Duke of Burgundy, which had been granted to Philip the Bold, the first of the Valois dukes, by King John in 1361 on the failure of the old line; Count of Burgundy, Flanders and Artois owing to the marriage of Margaret of Flanders to his grandfather, John the Fearless; he was lord of Brabant, Hainault and Luxemburg. Thus Charles was one of the greatest princes of Europe.

**B. Difficulties.**

- (1) But the different parts of his dominions were independent of each other. Their sole political union lay in the fact that they were subject to one ruler, but he had to be crowned separately in each, e.g. at Ghent as Count of Flanders, at Louvain as Duke of Brabant, at Dijon (as late as **1474**) as Duke of Burgundy, before he was fully vested with the sovereignty.
- (2) His dominions were separated by Lorraine and Champagne which were independent of Burgundy.
- (3) He could count on the steady enmity of Louis XI, who was anxious to reduce the power of so dangerous a neighbour, and in **1463** had induced Philip the Good to restore the Somme towns.

**C. Policy.**

Charles therefore desired to extend his power in France by the recapture of the ceded Somme towns ; to secure recognition as King of Burgundy or King of the Romans, and thus secure a single title to all his lands ; to conquer Lorraine and Champagne and thus unite all his dominions.

**III. Policy in the West.****A. France.**

- (1) **1465**. Charles of Charolais supported the nobles in the War of the Public Weal (page 544).
- (2) **1468**. Louis XI visited Charles at Peronne and was compelled to sign a treaty which gave Champagne and Brie to the Duke of Berri.
- (3) **1470**. Louis XI captured Amiens and Charles failed to recapture it.
- (4) **1471**. Charles the Bold made a truce with Louis. He hoped to form an alliance with Charles of Berri against Louis, but the death of Charles of Berri (**1472**) prevented this.

- (5) **1472.** Charles captured Nesle, a small town on the Somme, and massacred the inhabitants, but failed to capture Beauvais. In November he made a truce with Louis, against whom he waged no more war. In **1472** Philip de Commines, Charles' most trusted minister, took service with Louis XI.

#### B. England.

- (1) **1468.** Although, owing to his descent from John of Gaunt, his sympathies were Lancastrian, Charles made a treaty with Edward IV in **1467** and married his sister, Margaret of York, in **1468**.
- (2) **1470.** Charles gave shelter in Flanders to Edward IV when he fled from England on the return of Warwick from France (page 549, B. 2.).
- (3) **1475.** Edward IV invaded France, but Charles the Bold failed, owing to the siege of Neuss, to give the help he expected, and Edward made a truce for seven years with Louis at Pecquigny.

#### C. The towns.

##### (1) Liège.

Philip the Good had made his youthful nephew, Louis of Bourbon, Bishop of Liège, but his immorality and extortion exasperated the Liègois who received promises of aid from Louis XI. On the false rumour that Charles had been defeated at Monthéry the men of Liège and Dinant rebelled.

**1466.** Charles compelled Liège, hitherto a free Imperial town, to acknowledge its dependence on Burgundy and sacked Dinant.

**1467.** Charles routed the Liègois at St. Tron.

**1468.** Charles compelled Louis, whose promises had led the Liègois to rise again, to co-operate in the capture and punishment of the town and imposed ruinous taxes on the devastated city.

“The treatment of Liège was a step towards Charles' final disaster.”

(2) Ghent.

**1467.** During Charles' first visit to Ghent after his accession a revolt broke out. Charles was compelled to restore the old privileges of Ghent. Other outbreaks occurred at Mechlin, Antwerp and Brussels, but were speedily quelled. The Estates at Louvain showed some hesitation in accepting Charles as Duke of Brabant.

**1469.** Ghent, terrified by the devastation of Liège, submitted to Charles and undertook to win his favour "by keeping your promises and being good children."

(3) The Estates of Flanders.

**1473.** Generous grants were made to the Duke.

**1475.** Refusal of the Estates at Bruges and **1476** at Ghent to supply the funds needed to meet the cost of Charles' campaigns against the Swiss.

#### IV. Policy in the East.

From **1472** Charles the Bold adopted a new policy, henceforth he remained at peace with Louis XI. although each lost no opportunity of intriguing with his rival's enemies, and directed all his efforts to building up on the Rhine a new dominion which might bring him a royal, perhaps an Imperial crown.

##### A. The acquisition of new territory.

(1) Alsace and the Breisgau.

**1469.** By the Treaty of St. Omer Sigismund of Tyrol<sup>1</sup> mortgaged Alsace, Ferrette and the Breisgau to Charles the Bold for 50,000 florins to raise the money he had promised to the Swiss League. Charles thought the money would never be repaid and took possession of the mortgaged lands. But the cost of putting them into a sound state was a heavy addition to the original payment, and Peter von Hagenbach, Charles' governor, put down lawlessness with a strong

<sup>1</sup> Son of Frederick of Tyrol, p. 248.



hand and imposed very heavy taxes. The Swiss viewed with alarm the establishment of Burgundian power so near to their own borders.

(2) Guelders.

**1473.** Charles strengthened his hold on the Lower Rhine by seizing the Duchy of Guelders on the death of Duke Arnold to the exclusion of Adolf the son of Arnold.

(3) Lorraine.

**1473.** On the death of Nicholas, Duke of Lorraine,<sup>1</sup> Charles compelled the new Duke René to recognise him as "protector" and occupied some towns on the Moselle with Burgundian troops.

(4) Cologne.

**1473.** Charles the Bold took up the cause of Robert, Archbishop of Cologne, who had been deposed.

(5) Meeting of Charles and Frederick III at Trèves, **1473.**

**1473.** The Emperor Frederick III wished to secure a marriage between his son Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. Charles met Frederick at Trèves and demanded that his Duchy of Burgundy should be erected into a kingdom which was to include Lorraine, Savoy and Provence which had belonged to the old Kingdom of Burgundy. Frederick III, in fear of the impetuous Charles, and perhaps influenced by Louis XI, ignominiously slipped away from Trèves on November 25th and Charles' hopes were frustrated.

B. War.

(1) Cologne.

**1474.** To help Archbishop Robert, Charles the Bold besieged Neuss. The siege lasted a year. Charles failed to capture the city and lost many men; he was seriously inconvenienced because the siege of Neuss gave his enemies an opportunity of attacking him elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas was the son of John of Calabria, p. 331, who died in 1470, and the grandson of René le Bon, Count of Anjou and titular king of Naples. On the death of Nicholas without issue in 1473, Lorraine passed to René, his first cousin, the son of Yolande, daughter of René le Bon.

## (2) Alsace.

**1473.** Great resentment at the oppressive rule of Peter von Hagenbach in Alsace, particularly his imposition of a tax on wine called the "Bad Penny." Formation of a union of Alsatian towns, "The Lower Union"; alliance between the Lower Union and the Swiss Confederation.

**1474.** Louis XI, who was on friendly terms with the Swiss, now gained a great diplomatic victory. He reconciled Sigismund, who gave up Hapsburg claims in Switzerland, with the Swiss, and the Swiss promised to help Sigismund against Charles the Bold. The Swabian towns provided the money necessary to pay off the mortgage to Charles; Alsace rose, Hagenbach was executed.

## (3) Lorraine.

**1475.** Louis XI persuaded René of Lorraine to break off his alliance with Charles and invaded Luxemburg. Charles secured the help of Yolande, Dowager Duchess of Savoy and sister of Louis XI, and she induced Galeazzo Maria Sforza to join Charles, who hoped that the invasion of France by Edward IV would weaken the power of Louis. Charles overran Lorraine in November.

[The Count of St. Pol, who had proved a traitor to both Burgundy and France, was executed in Paris in December; Charles therefore re-established his authority in Picardy.]

Charles was now in a strong position, he was master of the Netherlands and Picardy; strongly supported by Savoy and Milan, and the conquest of Lorraine supplied the link that formed his dominions into a continuous state. He determined to regain Alsace and to overcome the Swiss who had declared war on him and invaded Franche Comté.

C. The defeat and death of Charles the Bold.

(1) The battle of Granson, March, 1476.

Charles captured Granson, which had revolted from Savoy, and hanged the garrison. But a Swiss army completely routed him a few days later, retook Granson and captured the baggage and artillery of Charles.

Charles' position was badly shaken by this defeat. Galeazzo Maria Sforza opened negotiations with Louis XI; Yolande of Savoy doubted the wisdom of continuing her alliance with Burgundy.

(2) The battle of Morat, June, 1476.

Charles attacked Morat which the Swiss had recently captured, but was utterly routed and lost two-thirds of his army. Yolande of Savoy now made peace with the Swiss. Charles demanded from the Netherlands strong reinforcements and a large subsidy, but the States-General, which met at Ghent, refused to comply with his demands. An appeal to Burgundy proved nearly as unsuccessful. René of Lorraine, with the goodwill of Louis XI, made a close alliance with the Swiss, invaded Lorraine and captured Nancy.

(3) The battle of Nancy, January, 1477.

Charles, with only 4000-5000 men, tried to recover Nancy, but a much larger force of Swiss, Lorrainers under René, and Alsatians advanced against him. His wisest councillors advised him to raise the siege and renew the campaign at a later date when conditions would be more favourable. He determined to fight, but Campobasso's Italian mercenaries deserted him on the field and he was utterly routed. His naked body, frozen to the ground and bitten by wolves, was identified by the scar of an old wound received at Monthlère, by its long finger-nails and by the missing teeth which corresponded to those Charles had lost. It was buried with honour at Nancy. The news of his death was brought to Louis XI, who "was so much surprised with joy that scarcely could he contain his countenance.",

## V. General.

The failure of Charles was due partly to mistaken policy, partly to personal characteristics.

### A. Policy.

In the Netherlands Charles possessed a very rich and compact territory. "His was naturally the leadership of the Low Dutch branch of the Germanic peoples." But he tried to establish a Kingdom of Burgundy with its capital at Nancy. The constituents of his proposed kingdom cared nothing for such a scheme; each was intent on its local concerns, and Charles found that the extension of his territory weakened his effective power.

### B. Le Téméraire.

Charles' imprudence and lack of control ruined any chance he had of becoming King of Burgundy. He could not cope with the subtle diplomacy of Louis XI, who skilfully used the enemies that Charles' policy aroused to weaken the power of Burgundy. Charles' rashness in war contributed to his defeat, and he repeated at Nancy the tactics which had proved an utter failure at Morat.

## Reference :

*Charles the Bold* (Ruth Putnam). Heroes of the Nations.

## LOUIS XI, 1461-1483

### FROM 1461-1466

## I. Early Life and Character.

### A. Early life.

Louis XI, the eldest son of Charles VII, was born in 1423 and at the age of thirteen married Margaret of Scotland, aged twelve.<sup>1</sup> Louis showed great activity

<sup>1</sup> It was Margaret who kissed the lips of the poet, Alan Cartier, when he was sleeping because they had "said such beautiful things. She died broken-hearted in 1435.

from early youth. He attended the Council of Bour (page 528), took a leading part in the Praguerie of 1439-1440; was banished to Dauphiné, where he ruled well; fought against the English; defeated the Swiss at St. Jacob in 1444; married Charlotte of Savoy without his father's consent in 1451; fled to Philip the Good and lived quietly at Genappe from 1456-1461.

#### B. Character.

Louis, "the universal spider," was a great and utterly unscrupulous diplomatist. He was innately false. He had no sense of honour; when it suited him he willingly broke oaths and promises, except those sworn on the True Cross of Angers; he believed that "he who has success has honour," and asserted "qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare."

On his accession he acted imprudently, and his vindictiveness and rashness led to the War of the Public Weal, 1465. But he soon saw that the increase of the royal power, which he made his supreme aim, demanded prudent and calculated action. Prudence and sagacity marked his later years.

Commines says that Louis "laid himself out to gain anyone who might be either serviceable or harmful to him," and he did not spare flattery, promises or money to secure efficient service. But he suspected everyone; his ministers were his servants, he listened to their counsel but formed his own plans and carried them out efficiently and ruthlessly.

His religion was little more than superstition. He attached great importance to talismans and charms; he made a great show of outward worship, but he bribed, used or neglected "the Virgin and Saints as if they had been neighbouring princes" (Kitchin).

His appearance was unattractive. His physique was poor, his legs thin, his gait unsteady. He dressed meanly, and wore in his old hat leaden images of saints. "His horse and dress altogether are not worth twenty

francs," said the citizens of Abbeville when they saw him in 1461.

Dean Kitchin says, "If he was humble in dress and speech it was because the soul within was mean. . . . Louis is one of the few men destined to do really great things, and yet not himself to be great."

## II. Early Years to 1464.

Louis' early acts roused general discontent.

### A. The Church.

**1461.** Louis annulled the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and thus alienated the clergy and the Parliament of Paris which maintained the Gallican liberties against Pope and King.

### B. The Nobles.

#### (1) Bourbon.

Louis deprived the Duke of Bourbon of Guienne.

#### (2) Brittany.

Louis quarrelled with the Duke of Brittany, who asserted the independence of his Duchy and tried to renew the old alliance between England, Brittany and Burgundy against France. Owing to this Louis took from Charles of Charolais<sup>1</sup> the Duchy of Normandy, with which he had recently invested him.

#### (3) Alençon and Armagnac.

Louis unwisely released the Duke of Alençon and the Count of Armagnac whom his father had imprisoned for disloyalty.

#### (4) Hunting rights.

All the nobles were infuriated by Louis' declaration that the right of hunting was vested in the Crown alone.

<sup>1</sup> Charles the Bold.

## C. The citizens.

The citizens, particularly of Paris, were angry because of the new tax on wine the King imposed and because he established a new Parliament at Bordeaux in **1462**.

## D. England.

**1462**. After the accession of Edward IV in **1461** Queen Margaret (of Anjou) fled to France; Louis XI took up her cause, and Edward IV therefore supported Brittany and Burgundy.

Louis later won over Warwick the Kingmaker and hoped with his support to arrange for a marriage between Edward IV and a French princess. But in **1464** Edward IV married Elizabeth Woodville, niece of the Count of St. Pol, who was arranging to invade Picardy on behalf of Burgundy.

## E. Burgundy.

Louis, with the help of the Croys (page 532), in **1463** at Hesdin induced Philip the Good, on payment of 400,000 crowns, to restore to France the Somme towns which he had ceded at the Treaty of Arras. This was a great success, for the towns had afforded an easy approach from Flanders into France.

**1464**. Charles of Charolais, resenting the influence of the Croys and the friendship between his father and Louis XI, had left Flanders after a violent quarrel with his father. In **1464** he returned, assumed the government, expelled the Croys and prepared to assist the discontented French nobles against Louis.

## III. The War of the Public Weal, 1465.

A. The formation of the League, **1464**.

**1464**. Louis, realising the danger from the nobles, summoned an assembly at Tours which effected nothing. A general rebellion broke out, nominally to reform the Government and for "the public weal." The figure-head was Louis' brother Charles, the heir to the throne,

whom he had recently appointed Duke of Berri; the real leader was Charles of Charolais who wished to strengthen the local power of the nobles and thus to weaken the King. "Instead of one King of France I would like to see six." The Dukes of Brittany, Nemours and Bourbon, the Count of Armagnac, many soldiers, including Dunois and Dammartin, joined the League which numbered about five hundred nobles. It was estimated that the Leaguers could put 60,000 men in the field.

Louis was supported by Dauphiné, his uncle Charles of Maine, his brother-in-law the Duke of Savoy, and the people of Paris whom he had won over. The powerful military force which his father had formed (page 531) was of the utmost value to the King.

Louis won the help of Francesco Sforza of Milan by the cession of Genoa. John of Calabria, the Angevin candidate for the throne of Naples (page 330), therefore returned to France, joined the League and brought Italian and Swiss mercenaries to oppose the King.

## B. War, 1465.

### (1) Plan of campaign.

The Leaguers planned a fourfold attack on Paris, the Count of Charolais from the north, the Duke of Brittany from the west, Bourbon from the south, Calabria (who claimed Lorraine through his mother) from the east.

### (2) Monthléry, July 16th, 1465.

Louis acted promptly. He defeated Bourbon and thus averted the danger from the south; the Duke of Maine checked Brittany on the west; the Duke of Calabria advanced slowly from the east. From the south Louis returned to Paris, which was threatened by the Count of Charolais, who had reached St. Denis, and by the Count of St. Pol. Louis, attempting to enter Paris, was compelled to fight at Monthléry. The battle was "a confused skirmish" in which a



considerable part of both armies fled and the leaders displayed great incapacity. Charles claimed the victory because he held the ground, and his apparent success led to the desire for military glory which, combined with his inefficiency as a general, led to his ultimate overthrow. Louis got safely into Paris, which was now besieged by the combined forces of Calabria, Brittany, Berri and Burgundy. But Louis had secured the support of the citizens by restoring the privileges of Paris and lowering taxes.

(3) Normandy.

Louis, leaving Paris in the hands of the Count of Eu, went to Normandy, where he secured reinforcements of 12,000 troops and provisions. He got safely into Paris, but the news that Rouen had surrendered to the Leaguers compelled him to make terms.

#### IV. The Treaty of Conflans, October, 1465.

By the Treaty of Conflans "the Public Weal was turned to private gain."

A. Terms of the Treaty.

(1) The Duke of Berri received Normandy.

Thus the heir to the throne received one of the most important provinces of France which lay between Brittany and Burgundy. The new arrangement, which Louis accepted only with great reluctance, so strengthened Louis' chief opponents that they could easily overawe Paris.

(2) The Duke of Burgundy received back the Somme towns (including, in addition to smaller towns, Peronne, Roye, Montdidier, Abbeville, St. Quentin, Amiens) and Guines and Boulogne. The cession of these towns, the acquisition of which was the main reason why Charles of Charolais joined the League, would greatly facilitate a Burgundian invasion of France.

- (3) The Duke of Brittany received Montfort and Etampes' the right of coining money and other sovereign rights.
- (4) The Duke of Calabria received some places on the frontier of Lorraine; Bourbon, Dunois, Dammartin received substantial payments; St. Pol was made Constable of France.

#### B. Criticism.

The Treaty of Conflans seemed to be a great victory for the nobles, especially for the Princes of the Lilies, whose royal descent did not prevent them from securing all possible local independence at the expense of the monarchy. But Louis' concessions broke up the League. The Dukes of Berri and Brittany quarrelled about the division of Normandy; Louis concluded the Treaty of Caen with Francis of Brittany and easily recovered Normandy in 1466. He stirred up the people of Liège to rebel against Burgundy. He made an alliance with Warwick and thus lessened the danger from England. The death of the Duke of Savoy was a serious loss, but Louis now won the valuable support of Dammartin, henceforward one of his most faithful subjects.

**For References** see page 556.

## LOUIS XI AND CHARLES THE BOLD, 1467-1477

Charles of Charolais became Duke of Burgundy in 1467. He was hostile to France, partly as a matter of policy, partly owing to personal feeling against Louis. His possession of the Somme towns, his friendly relations with the Dukes of Brittany and Berri, and (after his marriage to Margaret of York in 1468) his connection with England made him a most dangerous enemy.

## I. 1467-1472. A Period of Active Hostility.

## A. Peronne, 1468.

(1) Louis' improved position.

**1467-1468.** Louis strengthened his hold on Paris; secured from the States-General at Tours in April, **1468**, an assertion that the King had no right to alienate to a foreigner any part of France; invaded Brittany and compelled the Duke to submit, and came to terms with the Bourbons and the House of Anjou. Burgundy alone remained in opposition.

(2) Peronne.

**1468.** By the advice of Balue, Bishop of Evreux, and in spite of the support he was giving to the Liègeois against Charles, Louis XI went to meet Charles at Peronne, one of the ceded Somme towns, where he was lodged in the tower where Charles the Simple had been murdered (page 53). The news of a new rising in Liège so enraged Charles the Bold that Louis, in fear of his life, agreed to the terms that were offered

1. Louis promised to give Champagne and Brie to his brother Charles of Berri. Normandy had become less valuable to Burgundy owing to the submission of Brittany to France, but it was important that Champagne and Brie, which afforded easy communication between Flanders and the Duchy of Burgundy, should be in friendly hands.

2. Louis was compelled to join Charles the Bold in his attack on Liège, which had revolted largely owing to Louis' promise of help.

(3) Evasion of the terms.

Acting on a hasty remark of Charles the Bold, Louis gave to his brother Charles of Berri not Champagne and Brie but Guienne; he thus separated Charles from his ally Charles the Bold and made him the opponent of England, which maintained a claim to Guienne.

But the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the leaders of the feudal nobility, still remained powerful and independent and a real danger to France.

[Louis imprisoned Cardinal Balue, who had carried on treacherous negotiations with Burgundy, in an iron cage hung outside the castle of Loches.]

**B. England.**

**(1) Burgundy and England.**

The marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York in July, **1468**, secured for him the alliance of Edward IV.

**(2) The Lancastrian restoration.**

In **1470** Edward defeated the Lancastrians at Losecoat Field and his brother Clarence and Warwick fled to France. Louis XI reconciled Warwick and Queen Margaret (of Anjou); Margaret's son Edward was married to Warwick's daughter Anne; Warwick, now the supporter of the Lancastrians, returned to England in September and restored Henry VI to the throne. Edward IV fled to Flanders.

**(3) Barnet, 1471.**

Edward defeated and slew Warwick at Barnet in April, **1471**, and in May defeated Margaret at Tewkesbury. Prince Edward and his father, Henry VI, were murdered. The Lancastrians were crushed and Edward IV, the ally of Burgundy, was firmly established on the throne.

**C. Renewed war between Burgundy and France, 1471 1472.**

**(1) St. Pol and Amiens.**

The Count of St. Pol had married Mary of Savoy, Louis XI's sister-in-law, and was Constable of France. He held much land in Picardy and hoped, by playing off Burgundy against France, to strengthen his own position. He advised Louis to recapture the Somme towns.

**1471.** St. Pol, on behalf of Louis, captured Amiens and St. Quentin, but a truce was soon made between Louis and Charles the Bold.

(2) Guienne.

Charles the Bold now promised his daughter Mary of Burgundy in marriage to the Duke of Guienne, and the marriage was approved by the Duke of Brittany and the treacherous Count of St. Pol, who hoped that a new league of nobles would be formed against Louis. But in May, **1472**, the Duke of Guienne died. Louis at once overran Guienne. Charles the Bold broke the truce, captured Nesle, but failed to take Beauvais.

November, **1472**. Another truce was made between Charles the Bold and Louis, and this marks the end of open war between them. Philip de Commines deserted Charles the Bold and joined Louis XI.

## **II. From 1472 to the Death of Charles the Bold.**

Charles the Bold was now engaged in his great attempt to establish a strong kingdom on the Rhine (page 537) and could not afford to go to war with France. Louis wisely took the advice of Commines to leave Charles "to break his head against Germany" and abstained from open hostility, but skilfully used the opportunity of embarrassing Charles by secretly supporting his enemies, the Swiss, René of Lorraine and Sigismund of Tyrol.

### **A. Edward IV's invasion, 1475.**

Edward IV now revived the English claim to the throne of France; arranged for joint action with Charles the Bold and invaded France. But his operations on the Rhine, and particularly the siege of Neuss (page 536), had so weakened Charles the Bold that he failed to help Edward, who found the Somme towns garrisoned against him by the Count of St. Pol.

August, **1475**. Edward IV therefore made with Louis the Treaty of Pecquigny, "the business treaty"; Edward undertook to withdraw from France on condition that the Dauphin Charles married his daughter Elizabeth, and that Louis paid him 75,000 crowns in cash and an annuity of 50,000 crowns a year.

**B. The Count of St. Pol.**

Louis XI, enraged by the discovery that St. Pol had entered into treacherous correspondence with Edward IV and Charles the Bold, agreed to make common cause with Charles against the Count of St. Pol, who had proved unfaithful to both. St. Pol was captured by the Burgundians, handed over to Louis XI and executed December, **1475**.

**C. Death of Charles the Bold.**

January, **1477**. Death of Charles the Bold at Nancy.

**For References** see page 556.

## LOUIS XI, 1472-1488

### **I. The Extension of the Royal Domain.**

The death of Charles the Bold relieved Louis not only of a powerful and dangerous neighbour, but also of the leader of the French nobles in their attempt to regain their old privileges and to weaken the royal power. Louis made good use of his opportunity.

**A. Burgundy.**

(1) The Duchy.

**1477**. The Duchy of Burgundy, on failure of male heirs, reverted to Louis as feudal overlord.

(2) Franche Comté.

**1477**. Louis also seized Franche Comté, although it was a fief of the Empire, and, as it had passed into the power of the Dukes of Burgundy through a female, Charles' daughter Mary was obviously entitled to succeed.

(3) The Somme towns.

**1477.** The Somme towns, in which the succession was in the male line, reverted to Louis, whose forces were welcomed by the inhabitants.

(4) Artois.

**1477.** Louis' armies seized Artois and captured and devastated Arras, which resented the domination of France.

(5) Flanders.

**1477.** The French invaded Flanders, but met with strong opposition, especially from Valenciennes. The citizens of Ghent, who had welcomed the weakening by Louis of the power of Burgundy from which they had suffered severely in recent years (page 537), viewed with alarm the extension of French power in Artois and strongly resented any attempt to establish the authority of Louis in Flanders. In spite of Mary's earnest entreaty they slew two ministers of Charles the Bold because they were negotiating with Louis. They objected to the proposed marriage of Mary and the Dauphin, urged her to marry Adolf of Guelderland (page 538), and on his death supported her marriage to Maximilian of Austria, the eldest son of the Emperor Frederick III (page 325). Mary married Maximilian in August, **1477**.

The marriage of Mary and Maximilian profoundly affected European history. The acquisition of valuable territories in the Netherlands made Austria the great rival of France and was one cause of the struggle for the Balance of Power which lasted for more than two hundred years. But the Hapsburgs, unlike the Valois dukes of Burgundy, were complete foreigners to France; the French nobles did not look to them for such help against the King of France as they had received from Charles the Bold, and "the contest with the Hapsburgs served to strengthen, not to destroy, the national unity of France" (Lodge).

**(6) The Treaty of Arras, 1482.**

Maximilian took up arms on behalf of his wife, but the citizens of Flanders were unwilling to help to re-establish the old power of Burgundy, and Maximilian's poverty hampered his efforts.

**1479.** Louis' Swiss mercenaries ravaged Franche Comté.

**1479.** A French army of free archers was routed by Maximilian at Guinegate.

**1482.** Mary of Burgundy died in March, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. Maximilian's position was greatly weakened in the Netherlands, and he concluded the Treaty of Arras with Louis in December.

The Treaty of Arras arranged for the marriage of the Dauphin Charles to Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy; Margaret's dowry was to include Franche Comté and Artois. Louis retained Burgundy and the Somme towns, which were not mentioned in the treaty, and thus broke up the territory that had acknowledged the authority of Charles the Bold. The treaty settled the northern frontier of France and strengthened France against invasion from Flanders. But Louis gave up his claim to Flanders, and the continued connection between Austria and Flanders was destined to prove very dangerous to France.

**B. Anjou and Provence.**

**1480.** Death of René le Bon of Anjou. **1481.** Death of Charles of Maine, to whom René had left Provence.

Louis now added to the domain Anjou and Maine, which "stretched from the flank of Brittany into the very vitals of the kingdom," and Provence, which, like Franche Comté, was a fief of the Empire.

**C. Roussillon and Cerdagne.**

**1462.** By obtaining these territories from the King of Aragon Louis XI extended his dominions to the Pyrenees.



**D. The overthrow of the Nobles.**

The German policy of Charles the Bold and his death in **1477** enabled Louis to take strong measures against his rebellious nobles.

**1475.** Execution of the Count of St. Pol (page 551).

**1476.** Death in prison of the Duke of Alençon. The Count of Armagnac slain in battle.

**1477.** Execution of the Duke of Nemours.

The Duke of Bourbon remained faithful after **1465** (page 545), and his brother Pierre de Beaujeu married Louis' daughter Anne.

By the end of Louis XI's reign Brittany was the only one of the great fiefs of France that retained any measure of independence.

**II. Internal administration.****A. Absolute government.****(1) Taxation.**

Like his father, Louis XI imposed taxes at his own pleasure; during his reign the taxes were increased until they brought in three or four times as much as in the preceding reign.

**(2) Military organisation.**

The failure of the free archers at the battle of Guinegate in **1479** led to a change in the military system. The organisation established by the Ordonnance de la Gendarmerie (page 530) was discontinued. Towns were required to contribute money, not men, and Louis replaced the free archers by mercenary troops, largely Swiss, who were dependent on the King alone.

**(3) States-General.**

Louis XI repressed the States-General which met only once in his reign at Tours in **1468** (page 548), and in place of it held assemblies of such notables as

he chose to summon. But he favoured Provincial Estates, even in Normandy and Languedoc ; established local Parliaments at Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon ; and often confirmed local customs. But the royal power was now so strong that the extension of such local privileges was not likely to cause such a disruption of the kingdom as the nobles had repeatedly tried to effect.

(4) Centralisation.

**1464.** Louis XI established a central postal service. Post-houses, with relays of horses, were placed at intervals of twelve miles on the main highways. Thus communication was facilitated, but the system was reserved for the royal service.

B. Towns and trade.

Louis was " a natural friend to men of middle condition." He supported the towns against the nobles. He established a Merchant Guild in Paris, founded the silk industry, opened new roads and canals, gave permission for markets and fairs.

C. Learning and religion.

(1) Universities.

Louis favoured the University of Paris and established Universities at Valence, Bourges, Caen and Besançon.

(2) Printing.

He gave permission for printing presses to be set up at the Sorbonne in Paris in **1469**, and at Lyons, Caen, Poitiers and Angers.

(3) Religion.

Louis showed much liberality to churches and monasteries and founded a number of hospitals.

### III. General

#### A. Absolutism.

Louis XI finally established centralised, absolute monarchy in France. He crushed both the feudal nobles and the Princes of the Lilies, and brought the whole country, except Brittany, under the direct rule of the monarch who controlled the finances, military system and foreign policy and "was the real as well as the nominal lawgiver of France."

#### B. The parting of the ways.

Louis XI was the last king of feudal France. The risings of the nobles in his reign may be regarded as the last attempts of the feudal nobles to secure some measure of the independence which the great feudatories had enjoyed under the early Capets.

But he was also "the first king of the modern era, who governed without a constitutional check upon his will and who set in motion the machinery of foreign diplomacy for the aggrandisement of France" (Adams).

#### C. The Renaissance.

Although under Louis XI the Renaissance made little progress in France the favour he showed to learning may be regarded as contributing to its later development.

#### D. But the burden of taxation grew, no sound system of finance was established, the people possessed no constitutional rights as in England, the government was administered by a vast number of officials dependent only on the King.

### References :

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. II, pp. 1-102.

*The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 361-390.

*The Growth of the French Nation* (Adams), pp. 137-143.

## THE REGENCY OF ANNE OF BEAUJEU 1483-1491

Charles VIII was only fourteen when he succeeded his father, and for eight years his sister Anne of France acted as regent. She was twenty-two years old, and had married Peter de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu, and her father had made her guardian of the young King.

### 1. Reaction.

The accession of a boy and the regency of a woman seemed to give an opportunity of reversing the policy of Louis XI.

#### A. The States-General of Tours, 1484.

##### (1) Constitution.

The States-General met at Tours in 1484; it included representatives of the Three Estates, and rural districts for the first time were represented in the Third.

##### (2) Grievances.

- a. The nobles demanded the restoration of their hunting rights (page 543) and exemption from military service, and supported the claim of Louis of Orleans, great-grandson of Charles V and husband of Louis XI's younger daughter Jeanne, to the regency.
- b. The clergy demanded that the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (page 528) should be put into effect.
- c. The Third Estate protested against heavy taxation, the rapacity of mercenary soldiers and the exactions of the Papacy.

The right of the people to govern, the responsibility of the monarch to the people, the need of the consent of the Estates for taxation were asserted. A demand was made that the States-General should meet every two years.

## (3) Result.

The Estates could pass resolutions, some of which anticipated the decrees of the French Revolution, but they had no power to enforce them. They were dissolved and did not meet again for about a hundred years.

## B. "The Fools' War."

## (1) The opponents of Anne.

Louis of Orleans then took up arms against Anne. He was supported by Duke Francis of Brittany, the Prince of Orange and some of the nobles; Maximilian promised help, and there was a danger that Richard III of England and Duke René of Lorraine, who claimed his grandfather, René le Bon's, lands in Bar and Provence, would join the movement.

## (2) Anne's policy.

Anne won over René by giving him Bar; she supported Henry of Richmond against Richard III, and when in **1485** he routed and slew Richard at Bosworth and gained the throne of England he made an alliance with France. In Brittany the unpopularity of the minister Landois gave her a chance of weakening the power of the Duke.

## (3) War.

Maximilian was hampered by his interests in Germany and by opposition in Flanders. He broke the Treaty of Arras (**1482**) (page 553) and invaded Artois, but made little progress. The cities of the South readily submitted to an army led by King Charles VIII.

**1488.** Complete defeat of Louis of Orleans and Francis of Brittany at St. Aubin. By the Treaty of Sablé Francis submitted. Louis of Orleans was captured and imprisoned at Bourges and soon acknowledged the authority of Anne.

Anne's position was now secure.

## II. Brittany.

Duke Francis died in September, 1488, leaving his duchy to his daughter Anne, who had been married by proxy to Maximilian in 1490. Anne of Beaujeu saw the importance of securing for France the only province which still retained its independence, and appreciated the danger that would arise from a union of Austria and Brittany. She sent an army into Brittany; Maximilian was busy in Hungary and could not help. Nantes opened its gates, and Charles married Anne in December, 1491, thus bringing the whole of France under the authority of the King.

## III. Anne's Work.

Anne now resigned the regency. She had checked reaction, secured Brittany, lightened the burden of taxation and checked the outrages of the mercenaries. She left to Charles an efficient army and a full exchequer. She had proved a most capable and successful regent and her nickname of Madame la Grande was well deserved.

## References :

- The Close of the Middle Ages* (Lodge), pp. 390-391.  
*History of France* (Kitchin), pp. 101-111.



SECTION VII  
THE CRUSADES





## CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES

The idea of warfare between Christians and Mohammedans was familiar in Western Europe. Charles Martel had checked the northward march of the Moors at Tours or Poitiers in **732**; they held the fortress of Freinet<sup>1</sup> in Provence from **888** to **972**; their ships were a grave danger to Mediterranean trade; the history of Spain in the Middle Ages is the story of a continuous crusade against the Moors.

### I. The Mohammedan Conquerors of Palestine.

#### A. The Saracens.

##### (1) Omar.

Mohammed died in **632** and his successor, Abubeker, in **634**. Palestine was conquered by Omar (**634-644**), who captured Jerusalem in **637** and built the Mosque of Omar on the site of the Temple but allowed Christian pilgrims freedom of access to the Holy Sepulchre, which he refused to enter.

##### (2) El Hakim.

El Hakim, the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, oppressed Christian pilgrims, and in **1010** ordered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed. But after the death of El Hakim Christian pilgrims enjoyed their former privileges in Jerusalem.

#### B. The Seljuk Turks.

The Seljuk Turks came originally from Asia Minor. They were a ruthless race of soldiers, they accepted Mohammedanism but had no sympathy with Arab civilisation. They conquered Armenia, routed the Greek Emperor at Manzikert in **1071**, overran Asia Minor, made Nicæa the capital of their new Sultanate of Roum, and in **1076** captured Jerusalem. They treated Christian pilgrims with the greatest cruelty;

<sup>1</sup> Or Fraxinetum.

they interrupted the commerce which had sprung up between East and West ; they seriously threatened the Greek Empire.

## II. Pilgrimages.

The sacred associations of Jerusalem appealed strongly to Western Christians, and from early times many went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land ; “ reverence for the Holy Places was an inseparable part of mediæval Christianity ” (Milman). Pilgrimage secured pardon for all sin ; the shirt the pilgrim wore on entering Jerusalem was kept for his winding sheet and ensured immediate entry to heaven ; valuable relics could be obtained in Jerusalem, and some pilgrims made large profits out of Eastern trade.

The Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, was reputed to have found the True Cross at Jerusalem in 326 ; Gregory the Great built a hospital for pilgrims in the Holy City ; Charlemagne ordered that they should be given lodging, fire and water throughout his dominions.

In the eleventh century the conversion to Christianity of Hungary under St. Stephen in 997 facilitated the journey of pilgrims across Europe ; the religious revival, due partly to the belief that the world would come to an end in 1000 or 1033,<sup>1</sup> and the Cluniac Reformation (page 112) intensified the interest in the Holy Land. Fulk the Black of Anjou (page 445) made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem, during one of which he was said to have bitten off a piece of the stone from which Christ ascended to heaven, and this he gave as a precious relic to the Abbey of Beaulieu. Robert the Devil (page 440) of Normandy died at Nicæa on returning from the Holy Land.

In 1093 Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, found the Christians in Jerusalem so cruelly persecuted that he promised the Patriarch that “ the nations of the West shall take up arms in your cause ” and, on his return, secured the help of Pope Urban II.

<sup>1</sup> The millenary of the death of Christ.

### III. Pope Urban II.

The idea of a war to recover the Holy Land was not new. It had been advocated by Popes Sylvester II (Gerbert) and Gregory VII (Hildebrand), but more favourable conditions enabled Urban II to carry the idea into effect.

The Papacy was now the leading power in Europe, for the Emperor Henry IV was at variance with the Pope; Philip I of France was under excommunication; the Kings of Spain had their own crusades against the Moors; William Rufus cared nothing for the Holy Land. Urban II was a Frenchman, a native of Rheims, and appealed successfully to his fellow-countrymen. The misery of daily life was such that men were more ready to undertake the hardships of the crusade, while many turbulent feudal nobles gladly embraced the opportunity of warfare and plunder which it afforded.

#### A. The danger to the Greek Emperor.

**1095.** Envoys from the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus met Urban II at the Council of Piacenza and asked for help against the Seljuk Turks. The appeal of Alexius caused but little interest, but the preaching of Peter the Hermit roused Western Christendom, and especially France, and was one of the main causes of the success of the Council of Clermont.

#### B. The Council of Clermont, **1095.**

By placing himself at the head of the new movement Urban secured the supremacy over Latin Christendom and proved his superiority to the Antipope and all temporal sovereigns. But his action was due also to a sincere desire to promote the cause of God by wresting the Holy Places from the infidels and by protecting pilgrims from harsh treatment.

In his sermon at the Council of Clermont in November, **1095**, he told his hearers of the cruelty of the Turks, the profanation of the Holy Places, and the sacred history of

the Holy Land. He promised that Christ would be their leader ; assured them that crusaders would be absolved from all sin, would gain great wealth if they lived, and would go straight to heaven if they perished. The audience shouted " Deus vult," and declared itself the army of God. " Never, perhaps, did a single speech of man work such extraordinary and lasting results as that of Urban II at the Council of Clermont " (Milman).

The main cause of the First Crusade was the instigation of the Pope acting on popular imagination which had been stirred by the preaching of Peter the Hermit.

### References :

*The Crusades.* The Story of the Nations, pp. 1-34.

*History of France* (Kitchin), Vol. I, pp. 210-219.

*The Crusades.* Epochs of History (Cox), chaps. I and II (Longmans).

## THE FIRST CRUSADE, 1096-1099

### I. Preliminary Expeditions.

The Council of Clermont fixed August 15th, **1096**, for the departure of the crusaders, but earlier in the year some undisciplined mobs set out for Palestine.

A. Walter the Penniless led 15,000 French pilgrims from Cologne ; many were slain by the Bulgarians, the remainder awaited Peter the Hermit at Constantinople.

B. Peter the Hermit collected a German host at Cologne ; he lost many men in Hungary, where his followers attacked Semlin, and more in Bulgaria ; he reached Constantinople on August 30th, **1096**, and crossed over to Civitot in Asia Minor, where Alexius supplied them with food. Many, including Walter the Penniless, were slain by the Turkish Sultan of Roum, Kiliç Arslan.

- C. Gotschalk, a priest, led another German host, most of whom were slain by the Hungarians owing to their turbulence and plundering. A fourth army was cut to pieces in Bohemia and a fifth in Hungary.

## II. The Leaders of the First Crusade.

No European king took part. At Clermont, Count Raymond of Toulouse and Bishop Adhemar of Puy, appointed Papal Legate to the crusade, were the only magnates who took the cross, but others soon followed. Owing to their great numbers the crusaders went to Constantinople in five divisions.

### A. Godfrey de Bouillon.

Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, led a German army of Lorrainers, Flemings and Rhinelanders through Hungary, where he gave his brother Baldwin as a hostage to King Carloman, whom the conduct of the earlier pilgrims had enraged; at Constantinople Godfrey compelled Alexius to release Hugh of Vermandois whom he had taken prisoner; he crossed over to Nicomedia in January, **1097**.

### B. Hugh of Vermandois.

This division, the army of Languedoil, included French and Burgundians. The leader was Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, brother of King Philip I.

They went through Italy, crossed from Brindisi to Durazzo, where Hugh was made prisoner by the Greeks, and proceeded to Constantinople.

### C. Raymond of St. Gilles.

Raymond, who became Count of Toulouse on his brother's death, led the men of Toulouse and Provence, the army of Languedoc. He was accompanied by the Papal Legate, Adhemar of Puy, and passed through Lombardy and Servia to Constantinople.

**D. Bohemund of Tarentum.**

Bohemund, a son of Robert Guiscard, led the Normans of Naples and Sicily. His cousin Tancred accompanied him.<sup>1</sup>

**E. Robert of Normandy.**

Robert mortgaged Normandy to William Rufus to raise money for the crusade. He started in September or October, 1096, was accompanied by Stephen, Count of Blois, Robert, Count of Flanders, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. He spent the winter in Calabria, disembarked at Durazzo and proceeded through Thessaly to Constantinople.

The total strength of the crusaders was estimated by William of Tyre at 600,000 footmen and 100,000 horsemen. Alexius feared that his own authority might be weakened by the presence of so large a force, especially as differences arose between him and Godfrey de Bouillon. Raymond of Toulouse, whose men had been attacked by the Greeks, tried to persuade the crusaders to sack Constantinople. Alexius therefore induced the leaders to cross over into Asia Minor as soon as possible. He got them to take an oath of fealty to him for any lands they should conquer, although Raymond and Tancred strongly objected, and made Bohemund Prince of Antioch.

**III. Asia Minor.**

1097. The crusaders besieged Nicaea but were disappointed because the city submitted to Alexius. They then set out overland for Antioch, and on July 1st routed Kilij Arslan at Doryleum, where Robert of Normandy saved the day.

Tancred and Baldwin turned aside into Cilicia and conquered Edessa, of which Baldwin became Count in 1098.

<sup>1</sup> Some authorities say that Tancred was nephew of Bohemund.

#### IV. Antioch, 1097-1098.

##### A. The Capture.

After a terrible march, during which many died of heat and thirst, the crusaders reached Antioch in October, 1097, and laid siege to the city. Their numbers were too small to surround the city and they suffered from lack of food. Stephen of Blois deserted. In February, 1098, Bohemund beat off a Turkish force that tried to raise the siege and captured Antioch in June.

##### B. Corbogha.

The crusaders in the city were then besieged by a large army of Seljuk Turks under Corbogha. They endured such privations that Robert of Normandy begged for bread in the streets and Ivo of Grantmaisnil fled. They were encouraged by the discovery of the Sacred Lance which had pierced our Lord's side; this was found in a church and was said to have been revealed in a dream by St. Andrew to Peter Bartholomew, a follower of Raymond of Toulouse. On June 28th, 1098, the crusaders, bearing the Sacred Lance, made a sally and utterly routed Corbogha. "This battle broke the power of the Seljuk Turks in Syria." Henceforth the Fatimites of Egypt proved the chief opponents of the crusaders. Bohemund became Prince of Antioch in spite of the protests of Raymond of Toulouse.

August 1st, 1098. Death at Antioch of Adhemar de Puy.

#### V. The Capture of Jerusalem, 1099.

The crusaders set out from Antioch in November, 1098, and captured Marra, where another quarrel broke out between Raymond and Bohemund. Differences arose between the men of Languedoc and those of Languedoil as to the authenticity of the Sacred Lance, which the former asserted and the latter denied. The march was continued along the coast from Tripoli to Jaffa, whence the crusaders turned inland to Ramleh; they first saw Jerusalem from Emmaus.



Jerusalem, which had passed into the possession of the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt probably in 1096, was besieged on the north by Godfrey, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy, and on the west by Raymond; the crusaders, who now numbered only about 40,000, were too few to surround the city.

The first assault failed; the besiegers suffered terribly from thirst but received food from Jaffa. Siege engines were built of wood brought from Shechem, thirty miles away. The crusaders, like the army of Joshua, marched round the city barefoot in obedience to the instructions of Adhemar de Puy, who appeared in a vision to Peter the Hermit. On July 15th, 1099, Godfrey's men stormed the city on the north, and Raymond's, encouraged to renew the attack by the vision of a knight waving his shield in triumph on Mount Olivet, broke in on the west.

"No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities of cruelty as the wearers of the Cross of Christ on the capture"<sup>1</sup> of Jerusalem. Nearly 70,000 were slain; "in all the streets and squares there were to be seen piles of heads and hands and feet"; no mercy was shown to women, and babies were torn from their mothers' arms and dashed against walls or thrown from the ramparts; horses waded knee-deep in blood. Tancred, who had seized the gold hangings of the Temple, promised safety to those who had taken refuge there.

The crusaders, barefooted, bareheaded and clad in white then gave thanks for their victory in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Adhemar and others who had died on the march appeared to share their joy.

Next day the massacre was renewed, Tancred's captives were all slain in spite of his promise; Raymond of Toulouse concealed a few to sell as slaves. The few surviving Saracens were compelled to clean the city and to carry outside the dead who were "heaped up in mountains." "None knows their number save God alone."

<sup>1</sup> Milman, IV, p. 188.

## VI. Results of the First Crusade.

The First Crusade broke up the Turkish kingdom of Roum, restored to the Greek Empire the coastline and some of the interior of Asia Minor and led to the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

## References :

*The Crusades.* The Story of the Nations, chaps. III–VI.

*The Crusades* (Cox), chap. III (Longmans).

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM,  
1099–1143

## I. Godfrey de Bouillon.

## A. Election.

The jealousy between the men of Northern and Southern France rendered impossible the election of Raymond of Toulouse. Bohemund was Prince of Antioch, Baldwin Count of Edessa. Hugh of Vermandois had returned to Europe, Robert of Normandy wished to return to his duchy. Godfrey de Bouillon was therefore elected King on July 22nd, 1099, but his sincere piety made him declare that he "would not wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had been crowned with thorns." He refused the title of King, and took that of Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

## B. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

## (1) Extent.

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem included the Kingdom of Jerusalem proper, Bohemund's Principality of Antioch, Baldwin's County of Edessa and the County of Tripoli which Raymond of Toulouse secured. The King of Jerusalem, whose royal domain consisted of the town of Jerusalem and the neighbouring country with Tyre and Acre, was feudal lord

of the whole country, but the three great fiefs were practically independent at first.

(2) Organisation.

The kingdom was organised on strict feudal principles, partly because the feudal system seemed to afford the best means of defence.

The great fiefs were subdivided, e.g. Jerusalem was divided into four great baronies (Jaffa and Ascalon, Kerak and Montreal, Galilee, Sidon) and twelve lesser lordships. Strong castles were built, and of these Kerak des Chevaliers in Tripoli was the most famous.

The officials of the Kingdom of Jerusalem included the Seneschal, Constable, Marshal, Chamberlain, Butler, Forester and Chancellor, and similar appointments were made in the case of the other great fiefs and even in some baronies.

The leading barons had the right to hold courts, to coin money and do justice. At Jerusalem the King presided over the High Court, the customs of which were binding on the baronial courts; his viscount presided over the Court of Burgesses, and courts were established to deal with questions of commerce and shipping, while the Syrian Court dealt with cases between natives. The judicial arrangements in the other three great fiefs were similar to, although less complete than, those of Jerusalem.

The regulations as to the relations between lords and their vassals, wardships, judicial combat, villeinage and slavery resembled those of Western Europe, but were more detailed. But military service was constant and not, as in Europe, for a limited period, and regulations were drawn up to ensure full military service from every fief.

The feudal organisation, originally largely due to Godfrey, grew gradually. It was fully recorded in the Assizes of Jerusalem, which were drawn up by Godfrey and codified by the lawyers of the thirteenth century.

## C. Further victories.

August 12th, **1099**. Godfrey, assisted by Raymond, Tancred and Robert of Normandy, utterly routed near Ascalon an Egyptian army which was advancing against Jerusalem. This battle overthrew the Fatimite power in the South of Palestine and greatly strengthened Godfrey's position. Consequent submission for a time of Acre and Tyre. By the end of the year Godfrey captured Arsuf and fortified Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem.

July 18th, **1100**. Death of Godfrey de Bouillon.

## II. Baldwin I, 1100-1118.

In spite of the efforts of Dagobert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to secure the crown, Baldwin of Edessa was elected as Godfrey's successor. He was a typical knight-errant, his courage and military skill led to the extension of his territory, but his rashness led to a serious defeat at Ramleh. He was hampered by lack of money, which he tried to obtain by plunder, and by inadequate forces, which, however, were augmented by reinforcements from Europe. He profited by divisions among the Seljuk Turks, which prevented common action against the Christians, but Southern Palestine was continually harassed by the Fatimites, who found a valuable base of operations in Ascalon.

## A. Assistance from Europe.

## (1) Military help.

In **1101** a number of crusaders set out for the Holy Land, but very few reached it. Stephen of Blois, who had deserted previously, returned owing to the reproaches of his wife Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, but lost most of his followers in Asia Minor. William, Duke of Aquitaine, and William, Count of Nevers, reached Antioch in March, **1102**, with the scanty remnants of their armies.

## (2) Naval help.

The naval help proved far more effective, and the conquest of the coast towns, the most successful feature of Baldwin's reign, was due to the co-operation of fleets from England, North Germany, Norway and especially from Genoa, Venice and Pisa.

## B. The conquest of the coast.

Baldwin, with foreign help captured Cæsarea, Tortosa, Acre in **1104**, Tripoli in **1109** and Sidon in **1110**.

## C. The struggle with the Fatimites.

The Fatimites of Egypt were defeated near Jaffa in **1101**, routed Baldwin at Ramleh, where Stephen of Blois was slain, in **1102**, but were prevented by Baldwin, assisted by an English fleet, from capturing Jaffa. Baldwin failed to reduce their stronghold at Ascalon, and died owing to an illness contracted in an expedition to Egypt in **1118**.

## D. Northern Palestine.

## (1) Antioch.

Bohemund was captured by the Turks in **1100** and Antioch was administered with conspicuous success by Bohemund's cousin Tancred, who routed the Turks at Tellbasher. Tancred died of wounds in **1112**. His successor Roger established the supremacy of the Christians in Northern Syria by a victory over the Turks at Sarmit in **1115**, and threatened Aleppo, but was slain in battle in **1119**. Antioch was saved from the Turks by Baldwin II, who routed the Turks at Danit in **1119**, and became dependent on Jerusalem.

## (2) Edessa.

Tancred for a time ruled Edessa, but Baldwin de Bourg, who became Count of Edessa when his namesake became King of Jerusalem, reasserted his authority.

## (3) Tripoli.

Bertram, son of Raymond of Toulouse, became Count of Tripoli. In **1109** King Baldwin I, Bertram and the Genoese captured the town of Tripoli and Bertram acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Jerusalem.

## E. General.

Baldwin I greatly extended the Christian territory. "Even at the time of Godfrey's death the Franks held little besides Jerusalem itself, together with the communications with the Byzantine dominions, which they had established in the course of their march south."<sup>1</sup> Baldwin conquered the coast, helped to extend the Christian power in the North and secured the recognition of the suzerainty of Jerusalem over Tripoli while his successor secured similar recognition from Antioch in **1119**.

## III. Baldwin II, 1118-1131.

Baldwin de Bourg, Count of Edessa, succeeded his cousin, Baldwin I, and made Joscelin de Courtenay Count of Edessa. He adopted a vigorous policy, defended Antioch and Edessa against the Turks, but was captured by the Turks in **1123** and kept a prisoner for sixteen months.

**1124.** Eustace de Grener, lord of Cæsarea and Sidon, who was acting as Regent during Baldwin's captivity, and a Venetian fleet captured Tyre. In return for their help the Venetians were promised a street, oven and bath in every city of Palestine. Baldwin II received valuable help from the two military orders. The Templars were founded about **1118**, the Hospitallers, who rendered great service at Danit, were founded about **1100**. Both orders became rich and powerful, and "formed the most permanent and indestructible element in the Latin Kingdom" (Tout).

<sup>1</sup> *Kings'ord and Archer*, p. 110.

IV. **Fulk, 1131–1143.**

Baldwin II had no sons ; he was succeeded by Fulk V, Count of Anjou (page 448), who had married his daughter Melisend. In his reign Cæsarea Philippi (Banias) was surrendered to the Christians, but Fulk aimed at maintaining rather than extending his territory. Although the Emperor John Comnenus attempted to regain Antioch, although Fulk was routed by Zangi the atabek, or governor of Mosul, in **1137** while defending Tripoli from a Turkish attack, he succeeded in his aim. But after his death the decline of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem began.

**Reference :**

*The Crusades.* The Story of the Nations, chaps. VIII–XII.

## THE SECOND CRUSADE, 1147–1149

I. **The Fall of Edessa.**

After the defeat of the Turks outside Antioch in **1098** the Turkish sultanate of Roum was divided into a number of states, often at variance one with another. Their differences prevented common action and facilitated the task of maintaining and extending the Christian power in the north of Syria.

Zangi, the son of a trusted minister of the Seljuk Sultan Malek Shah,<sup>1</sup> was made atabek of Mosul in **1127**. He asserted his authority over neighbouring Turkish chiefs and became supreme on the Tigris. He secured Aleppo in **1128**, and in **1129** the conquest of Hamah gave him control of the upper part of the Orontes which flowed through the principality of Antioch. Joscelin de Courtenay I, Count of Edessa, checked Zangi's schemes, but Joscelin II left Edessa "for the comfort and pleasure of Tellbasher . . . and Edessa was left to the unwarlike Armenians and a few Latin merchants"<sup>2</sup> and defended by mercenary troops. Zangi captured Edessa in **1144**.

<sup>1</sup> Died 1092.

<sup>2</sup> *Kingsford and Archer*, p. 202.

## II. St. Bernard.

### A. Louis VII.

The fall of Edessa caused deep sorrow in the West. Pope Eugenius III urged Louis VII to go on a crusade, and he took the cross at Vezelay at Easter, **1146**, owing to the preaching of St. Bernard and in the hope that by going on a crusade he might atone for the massacre of Vitry, **1142** (page 453). At Vezelay St. Bernard so moved the people that he had to tear up his clothing to supply crosses.

### B. Conrad III.

The Emperor Conrad III (page 153) was unwilling to go on a crusade owing to serious difficulties in Germany, but powerful sermons delivered by St. Bernard at Spire and Ratisbon at Christmas, **1146**, induced him to take the cross also.

## III. Conrad's March.

The German crusaders massacred many Jews in the Rhine cities, but St. Bernard stopped the massacre.

Conrad started from Ratisbon in April, **1147**, passed through Hungary and Bavaria; the Greeks murdered many of his men in anger at the indiscriminate pillaging of the crusaders; many were drowned owing to sudden floods of the River Melas; Conrad encamped in the suburbs of Constantinople. He crossed into Asia Minor and marched past Doryleum into Roum. But Manuel Comnenus cheated the crusaders by mixing chalk with the flour he sold them, and Greek guides led them astray. They were compelled to retreat before the fierce attacks of the Turks, and only about a tenth got back with Conrad to Nicæa.



IV. **Louis' March.**

Louis received from Pope Eugenius III himself the banner of St. Denis at Whitsuntide, 1147, and Suger was appointed regent of France. His army was collected at Metz, where some Normans and a few English (including Roger de Mowbray of Thirsk, and William de Warenne, third Earl of Surrey) joined the crusade. He followed the route Conrad had taken, but provisions were obtained with difficulty owing to the distrust aroused by the conduct of the Germans. Louis reached Constantinople, rejected the advice of some of his followers to attack Manuel, who was strongly suspected of negotiating with the Turks. He did homage to Manuel, who then supplied him with guides, and crossed over to Nicæa, where he met Conrad and the remnants of his army.

The combined armies of Conrad and Louis proceeded along the coast to Ephesus, whence Conrad, on the rumour of an impending Turkish attack, returned to Constantinople. Louis forced the valley of the Maeander in spite of strong opposition from the Turks, but his army was utterly routed near Laodicea and the survivors, with difficulty, reached Attalia early in February, 1148.

Louis and Queen Eleanor and some of his chief followers took ship at Attalia and reached Antioch in March, but lack of transport compelled him to leave behind most of his followers, who tried to march by land to Jerusalem and perished miserably on the way.

Raymond of Poitou, Count of Antioch, the uncle of Queen Eleanor, urged Louis to help him against Aleppo, but Louis, who was anxious to reach Jerusalem and who suspected the relations between his wife and Raymond, refused. A similar request from the Count of Tripoli was also refused.

Louis reached Jerusalem and did penance for the massacre of Vitry.

Louis then joined with King Baldwin III (1143-1163) and Conrad, who had come by sea to Acre, to besiege Damascus. Success seemed certain, when the Syrian barons, enraged by the proposal to give the city when captured to Thierry, Count of Flanders, accepted bribes from the Vizir of Damascus and treacherously advised that the camp should be moved to a disadvantageous position. The siege was given up, and when a proposal to attack Ascalon was defeated owing to the opposition of the Syrian barons Conrad returned to Germany in disgust.

Louis VII left Palestine at Easter, 1149, was captured at sea by Greeks, rescued and conveyed to France by Sicilian Normans.

#### V. The English Capture Lisbon.

1147. An English fleet, accompanied by German and Flemish ships, took Lisbon from the Moors and gave it to King Alfonso of Portugal.

#### VI. General.

The Second Crusade was an ignominious failure, of which the English victory at Lisbon was the only redeeming feature. It promoted the unity of Islam and diverted "the enemy from the North to Jerusalem, where the Christian position was weak" (Tout). It discredited St. Bernard who had done so much to promote it, and he vainly endeavoured to escape censure by blaming the treachery of the Greeks and the immorality of the crusaders for the failure. It greatly increased the estrangement between Louis VII and Queen Eleanor, and was soon followed by their divorce and the separation of Aquitaine from the royal domain (page 454).

#### Reference :

*The Crusades.* The Story of the Nations, chap. xiv.

## THE LATIN KINGDOM FROM THE DEATH OF FULK TO THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM

### I. The Weakness of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The successors of Godfrey de Bouillon, in spite of their bravery and skill in war, generally showed a lack of statesmanship. They were hampered by the jealousy of the great feudal lords and by the inadequacy of their forces. The royal power was weakened by the disputes as to the guardianship and succession; Baldwin III quarrelled with his mother Melisend, some nobles supported the King and others Melisend, and the quarrel led to a division of the royal domain; Amalric quarrelled with some of the nobles and there was some opposition to his accession; the guardianship of Baldwin IV, the accession of Guy of Lusignan led to serious differences which facilitated the victory of Saladin.

#### A. The Kings.

- (1) Baldwin III (1143-1163), son of King Fulk and Melisend, who acted as his guardian during his minority, proved an efficient ruler. His marriage with Theodora Comnena, niece of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, secured the support of Constantinople; he captured Ascalon in 1153 and thus strengthened his power in the South, and did something to check the growing power of Nureddin, the son of Zangi, in the North.
- (2) Amalric, 1163-1174.

Amalric, brother of Baldwin III, married Maria Comnena, grandniece of the Emperor Manuel, and thus continued friendly relations with Constantinople. The power of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt had been greatly weakened, and Amalric in 1168 invaded Egypt, but a Greek fleet that appeared off the Nile rendered

no help and the campaign proved a failure. In spite of this failure of the growing power of Nureddin, Amalric was able to maintain his kingdom.

**(3) Baldwin IV, 1174–1185.**

Baldwin IV succeeded his father, Amalric, at the age of thirteen, but he became a leper and Raymond of Tripoli acted as regent. Philip of Flanders reached Acre in 1177, but rendered no help, while his conduct led to the withdrawal of a Greek fleet that had also arrived at Acre.

Baldwin's sister Sibylla, who had had a son, Baldwin, by her first husband, William of Montferrat, married as her second husband Guy de Lusignan, of whom the nobles, and especially Raymond of Tripoli, were jealous. Two parties were formed, one led by Guy, supported by the Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers and by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which advocated strong resistance to the Saracens; the other led by Raymond of Tripoli, which wished to make terms with Saladin.

**(4) Baldwin V, 1185–1186.**

Sibylla's infant son Baldwin succeeded his uncle, but died one year later.

**(5) Guy of Lusignan, 1186–1192.**

Sibylla then crowned her husband Guy as King of Jerusalem, and Raymond of Tripoli, who had hoped to become King, therefore entered into negotiations with Saladin. Civil war between Guy and Raymond was averted, but their quarrel gravely weakened the kingdom at a time when Saladin's power had become a serious danger.

**B. Dissension.**

**(1) The barons.**

The feudal system led inevitably to family feuds between the barons, and jealousy one of another

often prevented united action against the infidel. Many barons fell in battle, and the guardians who administered their fiefs on behalf of widows and minors used their position to promote their own interests. The Syrian barons were jealous of new arrivals, and the failure of the siege of Damascus in 1148 was due to this cause. The death of Amalric in 1174 removed the only man "who could unite the scattered forces of Christendom." In Palestine the feudal system "was a brilliant pageant, an unsuccessful experiment in colonisation; it had neither adequate basis nor practical result" (Stubbs).

(2) The people.

The strength of the kingdom was impaired by differences that arose between the inhabitants. The men from Languedoil and Languedoc continued their dissension; French, English and Germans often quarrelled; disputes between Genoese, Pisans and Venetians sometimes led to bloodshed.

(3) The Templars and Hospitallers.

The Templars and Hospitallers were exempt from the minorities and disputed successions which weakened the feudal barons' and became very powerful and wealthy. The former possessed eighteen fortresses, and in 1187 lost more than three hundred brethren in battle within a few weeks. The Hospitallers owned one hundred and thirty-five villages and sent five hundred knights to support Amalric in Egypt in 1168. But bitter jealousy between the Orders diminished their effectiveness. The Templars refused to join in Amalric's expedition to Egypt because the Master of the Hospital was one of the leaders.

Loss of moral tone.

The effects of the climate and the luxury of the East lowered the morale of the crusaders, many of whom had

taken the cross to escape punishment for crimes committed at home. Many, and especially the half-castes or "pullani," were utterly immoral. Licentiousness and luxury diminished military efficiency; the siege of Harenc in 1177 failed solely because "the allurements of gambling and the luxurious pleasures of Antioch, that lay so close, proved fatal to military discipline" (Kingsford and Archer). William of Tyre said that the crusaders had forgotten God and God forgot them.

## II. Mohammedan Union.

But the crusaders were not more degraded than the Mohammedans, new pilgrims brought reinforcements and, although the kings lacked "a strong policy or any fixed principles of administration to guide it" (Stubbs), they maintained their position owing to the lack of union among their opponents. Nureddin and Saladin united the Mohammedans, and this union was an important factor in the overthrow of the Latin kingdom.

### A. Nureddin.

Nureddin, a son of Zangi, became atabek of Aleppo on his father's death in 1146. He captured Damascus in 1154, defeated the Franks near Antioch, 1161, and then endeavoured to get a hold on Egypt, where the power of the Fatimite caliphs had greatly diminished, and thus to threaten the Latin kingdom from the South as well as the North. His lieutenant Saladin suppressed the Fatimite caliphate in 1171 and the acquisition of the ports of Damietta and Alexandria enabled Nureddin to cut off the pilgrim fleets. Nureddin died in 1174.

### B. Saladin.

Saladin, already master of Egypt, captured Damascus in 1172, but was routed at Ascalon by Baldwin in 1178.

He secured Aleppo in 1183 and thus became "the head of the Mohammedan world." His skilful diplomacy established all along the frontier of the Latin kingdom reliable servants on whom he could depend for a combined attack on the Christians. His position was greatly strengthened by the differences that arose among the feudal nobles owing to the coronation of Guy of Lusignan in 1186. The immediate cause of his invasion was the plunder by Reginald of Châtillon, Prince of Antioch and Lord of Kerak, of a rich Saracen caravan in 1187.

(1) The battle of Hattin, July 4th, 1187.

Saladin was besieging the Countess of Tripoli in Tiberias and King Guy marched out to raise the siege.

Guy was utterly routed at Hattin, he was taken prisoner together with the Grand Master of the Temple and Reginald of Châtillon, who was promptly beheaded; the True Cross was among the spoils.

This battle broke up the Latin kingdom. Acre, Cæsarea, Jaffa and, a little later, Ascalon submitted to Saladin. Only Tyre, bravely defended by Conrad of Montferrat, and Jerusalem, where Balian of Ibelin held out, were left.

(2) The capture of Jerusalem, October 2nd, 1187.

Jerusalem was crowded with fugitives and had only a small garrison. Saladin besieged Jerusalem and Balian refused to surrender. The siege lasted only fourteen days, and after their submission Saladin treated the people with great clemency.

**References :**

- Memorials of Richard I.* The Rolls Series. Edited by Stubbs.  
Introduction.  
*The Crusades.* Story of the Nations, chaps. xv-xviii.

## THIRD CRUSADE, 1189-1192

By the end of the twelfth century the crusading ideal had decayed in Europe ; national kingdoms were growing, and their kings were too busy at home to go on crusades ; when Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, asked for the help of Henry II of England against Saladin, Henry asked whether it was his duty to govern and protect his subjects at home or to fight the Saracens on behalf of the tottering Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Papacy, the leader of the First Crusade, was discredited owing to its unsuccessful struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, who greatly strengthened the position of the Empire by the marriage of his son Henry to Constance of Sicily (page 163) ; national kingdoms showed growing reluctance to acknowledge papal claims.

But the news of the loss of the True Cross and of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 aroused great feeling. Men resented the loss of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, not only because of its sacred associations but because it was a bulwark of Western civilisation and culture and an important commercial centre.

Pope Gregory VIII urged Western kings to make up their quarrels and unite in a crusade against Saladin. Henry II and Philip Augustus were reconciled and, with the Counts of Champagne and Flanders, took the Cross in 1188. But a fresh war broke out between them which ended in the death of Henry II at Chinon in 1189. Frederick Barbarossa took the Cross, and King William of Sicily, who had been preparing to attack Constantinople, sent the fleet he was preparing to the Holy Land in 1188, where it rendered good service. The Third Crusade was the work of the Great Kings of Europe.

Richard I raised money by the Saladin tithe which his father had imposed in 1188, by the sale of offices and of the homage of Scotland, and by the plunder of the Jews.



**I. Frederick Barbarossa.**

**1189.** Barbarossa started from Ratisbon, secured an easy passage through Hungary, but found a difficulty in obtaining provisions in the territories of Isaac Angelus, the Greek Emperor who was negotiating with Saladin. Barbarossa spent the winter at Adrianople, crossed into Asia Minor in March, **1190**, compelled the Sultan of Roum to supply provisions, and was drowned on June 10th, **1190**, in the River Saleph in Cilicia. The army, now led by Barbarossa's son, Frederick of Swabia, after great losses reached Antioch.

**II. The Voyage of Philip Augustus and Richard I.****A. Sicily.**

**1190.** Philip and Richard met at Vezelay; Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, Theobald V, Count of Blois, Henry, Count of Champagne, and Philip, Count of Flanders, accompanied them. They reached Sicily in September; Richard, who had been delayed because his fleet had stopped at Lisbon to help the King of Portugal against the Moors, arrived a week after Philip. Richard took Messina "quicker than a priest could chant matins" because Tancred, the new king, had seized Joanna, widow of King William and sister of Richard.

**B. Cyprus.**

From Sicily Philip sailed for Acre, which he reached in April, **1191**. Richard went to Cyprus, where he married Berengaria of Navarre in spite of his betrothal to Philip's sister Alice; he conquered Cyprus and imprisoned the "Emperor" of Cyprus who had ill-treated English pilgrims; he reached Acre in June, **1191**.

**II. The Siege of Acre.**

Guy of Lusignan had promised Saladin to renounce his crown, but had been absolved from his promise by the clergy. Conrad of Montferrat refused to admit him into Tyre, and he started the siege of Acre in August,

**1189**, with an inadequate force of 9700 men. The decision to besiege Acre was wise. Acre was the safest harbour on the coast except Tyre, commanded the communications between Tyre and Jerusalem, and, if captured, would make an excellent base for further operations.

Reinforcements came from France (under James of Avesnes, Robert of Dreux and the Bishop of Beauvais); from Germany (under the Landgrave of Thuringia, who secured the help of Conrad of Montferrat); and from England, and these brought up the total of the besieging force to nearly 40,000 men.

The siege went on but the city held out. Saladin was compelled to send troops to face Frederick of Swabia at Antioch. The vanguard of the armies of Philip Augustus and Richard I and Frederick of Swabia's Germans now appeared; Henry of Champagne, the nephew of both Philip and Richard, became commander instead of James of Avesnes and the Landgrave of Thuringia. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, was horrified at the wickedness of the crusaders, who were now suffering from hunger, and died soon after his arrival. The famine was relieved by supplies of corn brought over sea.

In March, **1191**, Saladin's army surrounded the besiegers, but the arrival of Philip Augustus in April and of Richard in June greatly strengthened the attacking force.

July 12th, **1191**. Acre surrendered, half was given to Richard, who threw into a ditch the banner the Duke of Austria had displayed, half to Philip. Saladin promised to return the True Cross and to pay 200,000 pieces of gold; on his failure to do this Richard massacred 5000 Turkish hostages.

#### **IV. Disputes between the English and French.**

##### **A. Richard and Philip.**

A personal quarrel broke out because Richard broke his engagement to Philip's sister Alice and married Berengaria; because Richard believed that Philip had conspired with Tancred to attack the English in Sicily.

**B. The crown of Jerusalem.**

**1190.** Sibylla died leaving no heirs. Her sister Isabella divorced her first husband, Henfrid of Toron, and married Conrad of Montferrat, who asserted that the death of Sibylla deprived Guy de Lusignan of any right to the throne, which he claimed himself in right of his wife Isabella. The English (and Pisans) supported Guy, the French (and Genoese) Conrad.

**C. The people.**

Great jealousy broke out between the French and English, and in consequence "they did less together than they would have done separately."

Philip returned home from Acre in July, **1191**, having sworn to do no harm to Richard's lands or subjects. Conrad waived his claim to the throne, but henceforth offered bitter opposition to Richard.

**V. Richard's Operations after Acre.**

Richard determined to make Acre the headquarters of the crusade, to secure the coast from Acre to Jaffa, to strike inland from Jaffa against Jerusalem.

**A. Arsuf, September 7th, 1191.**

During the march the crusaders, sorely tried by the heat and the weight of their armour, were continually harassed by the attacks of the lightly armed Turks, by hunger (they were compelled to eat horses that had died) and thirst; they were bitten by poisonous tarantulas. The journey from Acre to Jaffa, less than sixty miles, took nearly three weeks. They went through Haifa and Cæsarea, and at Arsuf utterly routed the Turks, who lost 7000 men and thirty-two emirs. James of Avesnes fell in this battle.

**B. Jaffa.**

September 10th. The crusaders reached Jaffa, where they stayed for six weeks (during which Saladin dismantled Ascalon, which he was too weak to hold). They fortified Jaffa and received ample supplies by sea.

**C. The first march to Jerusalem.**

October 31st. Richard, after staying six weeks at Jaffa, set out for Jerusalem. The crusaders suffered greatly from wintry weather, hunger and sickness, but came almost within sight of Jerusalem, and could have taken the city if they had pushed on. But the Templars and Hospitallers opposed a further advance, the Syrian Franks were more anxious to get back their own possessions than to regain Jerusalem, the French resented Richard's authority and many deserted. Richard therefore retreated and reached Ascalon on January 20th, 1192. He rebuilt Ascalon and thus secured a valuable strategical point whence he could march towards Jerusalem or attack Egypt.

**D. Negotiations.**

- (1) Saladin, whose armies were difficult to control, who had difficulty in restraining the descendants of Zangi in Mesopotamia, appreciated the military skill and admired the personal heroism of Richard and was not unwilling to negotiate.
- (2) Richard, whose health had broken down under the strain, in addition to his other difficulties, was hampered by the opposition of Conrad of Montferrat, who was supported by some of the Syrian Franks. Conrad's negotiations with Saladin failed because of the impossibility of real friendship between the Turks and Syrian Franks, and Conrad refused to send to Ascalon the help which Richard demanded. The French left Richard and went to Acre, where they supported the Genoese against the Pisans. But Richard, disturbed by bad news from England, where John had rebelled with the help of Philip Augustus, recognised Conrad as King of Jerusalem. Conrad was murdered by the Assassins<sup>1</sup> on April 29th, 1192, and the marriage of Henry of Champagne to Conrad's

<sup>1</sup> A tribe of fanatical Mohammedans, living in the mountains of Lebanon and owing obedience to the Old Man of the Mountain.

widow, Isabella, made Richard's nephew King of Jerusalem and greatly improved Richard's prospects in Palestine. Richard gave the Kingdom of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan as compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

- (3) Early negotiations failed. Saladin refused to restore the territory over which Baldwin IV had ruled. Richard's sister Joanna refused to marry Saladin's brother because he was a Mohammedan.

#### E. The second march to Jerusalem.

A new advance on Jerusalem interrupted negotiations. The crusaders left Ascalon in June, 1192, and captured a rich caravan. A council of war resolved to attack Egypt in spite of the opposition of the French, who now, contrary to their former policy, advocated an advance on Jerusalem.

In July Saladin took Jaffa, but Richard recaptured the town and routed Saladin.

Fresh negotiations resulted in an agreement which gave the Christians for three years the port of Jaffa, liberty to visit the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the right of trade over the whole country.

Richard left Palestine on October 9th, 1192.

### VI. Results of the Third Crusade.

Owing to national and personal differences Richard failed to capture Jerusalem and the Latin Kingdom sank into a barren title. But something had been done to prevent Saladin from reaping the full reward of his victory at Hattin; Jaffa, Acre and a considerable strip of coast had been secured; the diminished Kingdom of Jerusalem had been saved from extinction, and the new Christian Kingdom of Cyprus was destined to prove a bulwark of Christianity. These results were utterly disproportionate to the magnitude of the effort that had been made, and the romance of Richard's heroic deeds has tended to obscure the poverty of his success.

In Europe the Third Crusade saved the Papacy from imminent peril and gave Philip Augustus an opportunity of weakening the Angevin power.

### References :

*The Crusades.* The Story of the Nations, chaps. xx-xxii.

*Memorials of Richard I.* Rolls Series.

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## THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CRUSADES

### I. The Death of Saladin.

Saladin died in March, 1193, and his dominions were divided among his relatives. But his brother El-Adel, or Saphadin, secured a considerable amount of territory and became the champion of the Saracens.

The death of Saladin and the weakening of the Mohammedan power seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for a new crusade, which was strongly advocated by the Hospitallers, and Pope Celestine III urged the Kings of Europe again to take the Cross. Richard and Philip Augustus were at variance and refused the Pope's request. The Emperor Henry VI undertook to go on a crusade.

### II. Henry VI.

Henry VI had already formed plans for an attack on Constantinople and led a large army into Italy, intending to subdue Sicily (page 174) and then to proceed to Palestine.

El-Adel captured Jaffa and King Henry of Champagne died. Queen Isabella then married as her fourth husband Amalric de Lusignan, who had succeeded his brother Guy as King of Cyprus, and strong German

reinforcements under Conrad of Wurzburg arrived at Acre to strengthen the Christian cause. El-Adel was routed near Tyre, Jaffa recaptured and Beyrout taken. An attack on Thoron failed owing to mismanagement and lack of discipline; the news of the death of Henry VI led the German nobles to return home; El-Adel again took Jaffa in 1197.

Thus an expedition which had gained a considerable measure of success ended in failure; El-Adel, now master of Egypt, proved a source of constant danger to the Christians in Palestine till his death in 1218.

## THE FOURTH CRUSADE, 1202-1204

### I. The Weakness of the Greek Empire.

The Greek Empire had lost the most fertile portion of Asia Minor, and the commercial prosperity of Constantinople had been greatly damaged by the Venetians, Pisans and Genoese, who had received valuable concessions in Palestine and secured much of the lucrative trade of the East. Under Isaac II Angelus, who seized the throne in 1185, Bulgaria revolted and Cyprus was conquered by Richard I. Isaac was deposed and blinded in 1195 by his brother, Alexius III, Angelus, who proved inefficient, and the weakness and anarchy of the Greek Empire was such that Henry VI hoped to conquer it.

### II. The Gathering of the Fourth Crusade.

Innocent III (1198-1216) urged the Kings of Europe to go on a new crusade, but the growing spirit of nationality had weakened the influence of the Pope, the results of earlier crusades had not justified the enormous expenditure of life and money they entailed. No king accepted Innocent's invitation. But the powerful preaching of Fulk of Neuilly gave effect to Innocent's

appeal, and some of the leading nobles of France took the Cross. They included Theobald, Count of Champagne, who was chosen leader; Louis, Count of Blois; Simon de Montfort; Walter de Brienne; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who wrote the history of the crusade; Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and his wife and brothers. The crusade was to attack El-Adel in Egypt, not to effect a landing in Palestine in the first instance.

The Venetians, on the advice of the blind doge Dandolo, undertook to provide transport on condition of receiving 85,000 marks of silver and half of any territory that might be conquered. Genoa and Pisa refused to help.

Theobald of Champagne died, and Boniface of Montferrat, brother of Conrad of Montferrat, was chosen leader.

### III. Zara, 1202.

The chiefs of the crusade could raise only 51,000 marks, and Dandolo offered to remit the balance of 34,000 if the crusaders would conquer for Venice the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which had long harassed Venetian merchant ships. Simon de Montfort and Pope Innocent protested against diverting the crusade from the infidels in Egypt to a town belonging to the King of Hungary, who was a Roman Catholic and a crusader.

The crusaders left Venice in October, in four hundred and eighty ships and took Zara in November, 1202. They wintered in Dalmatia, where provisions were easy to obtain and where they would be available to resist any attempt of the King of Hungary to recapture Zara.

Boniface of Montferrat now joined the crusaders.

Innocent III accepted the excuse of the crusaders that they had been compelled by circumstances to attack Zara. He passed sentence of excommunication for the part they had played on the Venetians, who took no notice of the sentence.



**IV. The First Capture of Constantinople, July, 1203.****A. Prince Alexius.**

At Zara Alexius, the son of the deposed Emperor Isaac, sought the help of the crusaders to restore his father to the throne of Constantinople. He offered to provide provisions for the army, to pay 400,000 silver marks, to make the Greek Church submit to the Roman, to assist in person or to supply 10,000 soldiers. His petition was strongly supported by his brother-in-law, Philip of Swabia, and granted in spite of the strong protest of Guy, Abbot of Vaux Cernay, against waging war with Christians instead of infidels. Much dissatisfaction was caused in the army by the change of plan and many deserted.

**B. The Pope.**

The Pope protested at the further diversion of the crusade: "Ye took not the cross to avenge the wrongs of the Prince Alexius; ye are under the solemn obligation to avenge the Crucified, to whose service ye are sworn"; but many felt that the Pope would really approve of the conquest of Constantinople both because Prince Alexius had sworn to bring the Greek Church under the authority of the Roman, and because the conquest would greatly facilitate further operations against Palestine. But Simon de Montfort now left the crusade and went to the Holy Land.

**C. The first capture of Constantinople, July, 1203.**

The Greek fleet, consisting of only about twenty ill-found ships, was too weak to prevent the approach of the crusaders, who passed the Dardanelles and encamped at Scutari. The usurper Alexius offered to help the crusaders in their march through Asia Minor; his offers were rejected. An attack on Constantinople from the land failed, but it was captured from the sea by the Venetians, Dandolo, although blind and ninety years old, being the first to land. Alexius fled, Isaac was

brought from prison and restored to the throne, and Prince Alexius shared in his father's dignity as Alexius IV. To avert strife the French and Venetians were quartered in Galata.

#### D. Death of Alexius IV, 1204.

But the Greeks bitterly resented the loss of their capital; they were infuriated by the exactions imposed by Alexius to fulfil his promise to the crusaders, and especially by the use of Church treasures for this purpose; the friendly relations of Alexius with the Frank aroused their contempt, and they suspected his secret promise to establish the authority of the Pope in Constantinople. A fire, kindled by some Flemish pilgrims, became a conflagration which continued for eight days and nights. A rising under Alexius Ducas, or Mourzoufle<sup>1</sup>, resulted in the murder of Alexius IV; his father, the Emperor Isaac, died suddenly, possibly of fright; Mourzoufle seized the throne and became the Emperor Alexius V in February, 1204.

#### V. The Second Capture of Constantinople, April, 1204.

Although Alexius IV had shown some reluctance in carrying out his agreement with the crusaders, the latter resolved to avenge the murder of their friend. But Alexius V proved himself a strong leader; he made himself master of Constantinople, restored discipline in the Greek army, reorganised the finances, and endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to burn the Venetian fleet with fireships. After nearly three months of preparations the crusaders again attacked the sea wall of Constantinople. After earlier attempts had failed they forced their way into the city on the fourth day. Alexius V and his mercenary army fled, but the Emperor was soon captured and executed. The Greeks submitted to Boniface, and for three days Constantinople lay at the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the man with shaggy eyebrows.

mercy of the crusaders. Gibbon<sup>1</sup> stated that two thousand Greeks were murdered, but thought that the tale of unbridled lust and cruelty told by the Greek historian was exaggerated. But "an order of rapine was instituted," an enormous number of works of art were wantonly destroyed, churches were profaned and pillaged of valuables and relics, and the Pope lamented that the Greek Church would be unwilling to be reconciled with the Roman since "they have seen in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness." The total value of the booty was 900,000 silver marks, which, according to Gibbon's estimate, was equivalent to £1,800,000.

## VI. The Latin Empire of Constantinople.

### A. The Emperor.

The crusaders agreed that a Latin Emperor and Patriarch should be elected, the Franks electing one, the Venetians the other. A committee of six French bishops and six Venetian nobles was appointed to elect an Emperor. Dandolo was the first choice, but he refused the office partly through personal unwillingness, partly because the Venetians thought it undesirable that one man should be Doge and Emperor. The objection the Venetians felt to the election of an Italian ruined the chances of Boniface of Montferrat. Baldwin of Flanders was chosen and at once invested with the Imperial robes in the Church of St. Sophia. He was crowned soon after by the Papal Legate.

### B. The Patriarch.

The Venetians appointed some of their clergy Canons of St. Sophia, and these elected Thomas Morosini as Patriarch. Innocent III claimed full ecclesiastical authority in Constantinople, censured the crusaders for seizing Church property, annulled the irregular election of Morosini. He then formally appointed Morosini

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi., page 565.

Patriarch and, as his superior, granted him the right of wearing the pallium (except in the Pope's presence and in Rome), of anointing kings and of disposing of Church property. Innocent thus asserted his power and confirmed a *de facto* arrangement.

### C. Other arrangements.

The new kingdom was organised on feudal lines. All landowners owed obedience to the Emperor, whose domain included Constantinople, except the Venetian quarter, most of Thrace, including Adrianople, and Samothrace, Lesbos, Samos and other islands of the eastern part of the *Ægean*.

Boniface of Montferrat became King of Thessalonica, in which he claimed to be independent of the Emperor, and secured part of Macedonia and Thessaly.

Dandolo was made Lord of Roumania, of which Villehardouin became marshal.

The Venetians held their quarter in Constantinople in absolute sovereignty, many islands, a considerable part of the coastline of Southern Greece, and extensive territory north of the Gulf of Corinth. They bought Crete from Boniface. They practically secured a monopoly of the trade of the Empire.

Louis of Blois became Duke of Nicæa and Nicomedia; Villehardouin's nephew, Prince of Achaia;<sup>1</sup> Odo of La Roche, Lord of Athens; and many others of the leaders of the expedition received grants of land with titles of count, marquis or duke.

But the newly appointed nobles often had to conquer the territories granted to them, and the new fiefs in Asia Minor were never effectively established. In Europe the vassals, whose assistance was necessary to secure the land, obtained a large measure of independence, and the authority exercised by the Emperor over the magnates was often nominal. Boniface soon refused to pay homage for Thessalonica. "No feudal state was ever so weak as the Latin Empire in the East" (Tout).

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, vii., page 1, note.

**VII. The Weakness of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.****A. The weakness of the Kings.**

The departure of the local magnates to their new territories greatly weakened the fighting power of the Empire. The Bulgarians proved dangerous foes, they routed and slew Baldwin I in **1205** and Boniface of Montferrat in **1207**; Peter of Courtenay, the third Emperor, was captured by the Bulgarians and died in captivity. John de Brienne,<sup>1</sup> formerly King of Jerusalem, who acted as regent for and became co-Emperor with Baldwin II (**1228-1261**), checked the Bulgarians, but after his death Constantinople alone remained in possession of Baldwin.

**B. The Greek Emperors.**

Theodore I Lascaris established himself as Emperor at Nicæa (**1204-1222**). In **1223** Theodore Angelus took Thessalonica and also assumed the title of Emperor. The rivalry between the two Greek houses postponed the fall of Constantinople, but in **1241** John III Ducas, of Nicæa, conquered Thessalonica from the Angeli.

Baldwin II was so poor that to raise the money for the defence of Constantinople he sold to St. Louis of France and others such relics as the Crown of Thorns, a portion of the True Cross, the baby-linen of Christ and the rod of Moses. In spite of his weakness the Venetian fleet, which commanded the sea, long averted hostile attack.

August 15th, **1261**. The Greek Emperor Michael VIII, Palæologus, suddenly attacked Constantinople in the absence of the Venetian fleet and the city capitulated.

**C. The Greeks and the Franks.**

No attempt was made to unite the Franks and Greeks. The latter lost much of their property, their lands were confiscated, they were excluded from all office. The former despised the Greeks as incapable warriors, the Greeks regarded their conquerors as barbarians. "It was impossible to combine French feudalism with Byzantine officialism." The wholesale destruction of works of art aroused the resentment of the artistic Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> Page 601.

**D. Religious differences.**

The Greek and Roman Churches remained completely separated. The expulsion of the Greek priests from their churches in which the Latin Mass was now sung, the seizure of Church property and the assertion of the superiority of the Pope infuriated the Greeks and widened the breach between them and the Franks.

**VIII. Results of the Fourth Crusade.**

The Fourth Crusade established the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but that Empire rested on no sure foundation, and Gibbon says it "was at once in a state of childhood and caducity." Constantinople fell in **1261**, but outlying parts of the Empire continued longer, and the House of Brienne, which obtained the Duchy of Athens, maintained its position until **1310**. The Fourth Crusade made the separation between East and West permanent. It greatly increased the power and commerce of Venice, which established factories along the coasts of Greece and in the islands.

**References :**

*Gibbon*. Vol. V, chap. xx ; Vol. VI, chap. xxi.  
*The Empire and the Papacy* (Tout), chap. xv.

**THE LAST CRUSADES****I. The Position at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century.****A. Europe.**

During the thirteenth century a number of crusades took place ; Innocent III. in spite of the results of the Fourth Crusade, continued to urge upon the monarchs of Europe the duty of regaining Jerusalem and, in the Lateran Council of **1215**, declared his intention of accompanying the crusaders. Many kings and nobles took the Cross, and heavy taxes were imposed for crusades. But crusaders could no longer hope for rich rewards,

“ to most the crusade was a pious aspiration, or at best an incidental pilgrimage ” (Tout). The great age of the movement ended with the Fourth, perhaps with the Third Crusade ; men were tired of expeditions which involved terrible hardship without prospect of great gain ; no great crusading schemes materialised, and the century saw the fall of Acre, in 1291, and the final end of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

#### B. The Syrian Franks.

The Syrian Franks were anxious to enjoy in peace the scanty territory that remained to them ; their power was weakened by the growing dissension between the Templars and Hospitallers, which resulted in a pitched battle in 1259 in which the Templars were routed ; and by the claim of the Prince of Antioch to supremacy over the Kingdom of Armenia, which led to war between the two countries. The rivalry between Venice and Genoa led to a naval engagement off Acre in 1259, in which the Genoese were routed. In 1267 the Genoese, who had been compelled to withdraw to Tyre, made an attack on Acre, of which the Venetians controlled the trade. A series of earthquakes, which ruined many of their towns and castles, seriously depressed spirits of the Syrian Franks.

#### C. The Mohammedans.

The Mohammedan power had been weakened by the break up of Saladin’s dominions after his death in 1193. The news of the capture of Constantinople alarmed El-Adel and led him to avert a possible extension of the crusade to Palestine by making a truce for six years with the Syrian Franks.

#### II. The Children’s Crusade, 1212.

Stephen, a shepherd boy of Vendôme, preached a crusade ; 30,000 children set off to Marseilles under his leadership, but one-third deserted or were lost on the march. Those who reached Marseilles expected the sea

to be divided so that they could proceed on foot to Palestine. Some merchants offered to convey them without charge and sold them for slaves at Alexandria and Algiers.

In the same year 20,000 German children led by one Nicholas set out from Cologne, but only 5000 arrived at Genoa; some had gone home, some had gone to Brindisi, whence they sailed for Palestine, and were never heard of again. But another account says that the Bishop, realising the futility of the scheme, forbade them to sail. Those who reached Genoa were kindly treated, many settled in the city, where some attained high positions.

### III. The Fifth Crusade, 1216-17.

#### A. John de Brienne.

On the death in **1205** of the energetic Amalric II, his wife Isabella (page 591) and, in **1206**, of his infant son Amalric III the crown of Jerusalem passed to Mary, the youthful daughter of Isabella and her second husband Conrad of Montferrat. By the advice of Philip Augustus she was married in **1210** to John de Brienne, a French "warrior of great experience and energy." But he brought only three hundred knights, and appealed to Innocent III for help.

The pertinacity of Innocent III, the preaching of his legate, Robert of Courzon, the support of the Lateran Council of **1215** led to the Sixth Crusade.

#### B. The Crusade.

Andrew, King of Hungary, sailed in Venetian ships to Cyprus, and at Acre was joined by the King of Armenia, John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and Hugh de Lusignan, King of Cyprus. King John had been compelled to make a truce with the Saracens owing to his weakness, but the arrival of new forces led to the renewal of war. An attack on the Mohammedan stronghold of Mount Tabor failed, and the Kings of Hungary and Armenia left Palestine in consequence. **1217**.



**IV. Egypt, 1218-1221.**

A number of German crusaders reinforced the Templars and the Knights of the Teutonic Order (page 350) in 1218, and John de Brienne resolved to invade Egypt.

**A. Damietta, 1218-1219.**

The strongly fortified town of Damietta was besieged in May, 1218. An outlying tower was captured, and reinforcements appeared from France under the Counts of Nevers and La Marche, from England under the Earls of Chester, Winchester and Arundel; from Italy under the Bishop of Albano. The new sultan, El-Kamil, who succeeded his father in 1218, received reinforcements from Damascus, but famine and disease weakened his army and also that of the crusaders.

Damietta was captured in November, 1219, but John de Brienne quarrelled with Pelagius, the newly arrived Papal Legate, and withdrew to Syria. The Count of Nevers left Egypt and returned home. El-Kamil offered to restore Palestine, except Kerak and Montreal, in exchange for Damietta, but the crusaders most foolishly "preferred a town to a kingdom" and refused the offer.

**B. Cairo, 1221.**

Pelagius then determined to attack Cairo, and by a liberal payment secured the assistance of John de Brienne. But the Nile rose, El-Kamil cut the dykes and the crusaders' camp was flooded. El-Kamil, fearing further crusades, and knowing that Syria was threatened by the Tartars, proved lenient, and the crusaders were allowed to return to Palestine after giving up Damietta.

John de Brienne visited Europe and appealed for help to the Pope and the Kings of England, France and Spain. He married his daughter Yolande to the Emperor Frederick II, who conducted the next crusade.

**V. Frederick II's Crusade in 1228-1229 (page 201).**

**VI. The Crusades of 1239-1240.****A. Theobald the Great, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, 1239.**

The death of El-Kamil in 1238 led to serious dissensions between the Mohammedan princes and to open war between the lords of Damascus and Egypt; the attacks of the Charismians, a Turkish tribe driven westward by the Tartars of Ghenghis Khan, further weakened the forces of Islam. The truce for ten years made between Frederick II and El-Kamil had been often broken and had now expired, and the opportunity seemed favourable for a new crusade.

- (1) Theobald of Navarre led a French army to Palestine. He was accompanied by Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Bar and Nevers and also by Amaury de Montfort, whom King Louis IX sent as he could not go himself.
- (2) The quarrel between Pope Gregory IX and Frederick II led the former to forbid the crusade and the latter to withhold help.
- (3) August, 1239. Theobald sailed from Marseilles and landed at Acre. He determined to recover Ascalon, but the Counts of Bar and Montfort, who had made a raid of their own in spite of Theobald's prohibition, were utterly routed near Gaza. Theobald returned home.

**B. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 1240.**

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, accompanied by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, landed with an English force at Acre. But he was hampered by the quarrel between the Templars and Hospitallers and by differences as to the policy to be adopted towards the rival sultans of Damascus and Egypt; his support of the claim of Frederick II to the throne of Jerusalem offended the clergy. He succeeded in obtaining the release of the prisoners taken at Gaza and then returned to England.

**C. Jerusalem, 1243-1244.**

- (1) About 1243 the quarrel between Damascus and Egypt and the pressure of the Charismians led the lords of Kerak and Damascus to conclude a treaty with the Christians. Jerusalem was restored, and after an interval of fifty-six years Mass was again celebrated in the Holy City.
- (2) But Es-Saleh Ayub of Egypt, eldest son of El-Kamil, secured the help of the Charismians, who captured Jerusalem and at Gaza in October, 1244, utterly routed a combined force of six thousand Christian knights under Count Walter de Brienne and a Mohammedan army sent by the lord of Damascus. In this battle the Military Orders, the mainstay of the Christian power, were broken; "of the Templars, who numbered three hundred, only four knights survived, of the Hospitallers only nineteen, and but three men-at-arms of the Teutonic Order" (Kingsford and Archer)

With this battle the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem was practically destroyed. A few cities on the coast were all that remained.

**VII. St. Louis and the Sixth Crusade, 1248-1254.****A. General.**

Christendom was little moved by the capture of Jerusalem in 1244. The crusading ideal had been lowered by the "crusades" against the Albigenses and Frederick II; new national problems had arisen, and the extension of the royal power, the development of towns and the attempt of nobles to maintain their feudal position made men less willing to go to Palestine; the quarrel between the Empire and Papacy was at its height; the Tartars were threatening Eastern Europe.

**B. St. Louis' departure.**

St. Louis' sincere piety had made him anxious to accompany Theobald of Champagne in 1239; he had

taken the Cross on recovering from a severe illness in **1244**, but was not able to sail from Marseilles until August, **1248**. He went to Cyprus, spent the winter there and arrived at Damietta in May, **1249**. Damietta immediately surrendered.

#### G. Damietta and Mansurah.

In October, **1249**, the remainder of the King's fleet, which had been scattered in a storm, reached Damietta. A number of English knights under William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, joined St. Louis. By the advice of the King's brother, Robert of Artois, the crusaders advanced on Cairo. But their morale had been impaired by their delay at Damietta, their progress was stopped by the canal of Ashmun; a causeway they constructed was destroyed by the enemy, but a Bedouin showed a secret ford and the crusaders crossed the canal. In spite of the protests of the Master of the Templars and the Earl of Salisbury, Robert of Artois insisted on advancing on Mansurah without waiting for King Louis. The crusaders were defeated at Mansurah, where Robert of Artois and the Earl of Salisbury perished. The valour of Louis and his faithful seneschal Joinville, the author of the *Vie de St. Louis*, saved the Christian army from annihilation.

#### D. The captivity of St. Louis.

Louis retreated, with great loss, towards Damietta and was made prisoner, and the news of his capture led to the premature birth of his son "Tristan"<sup>1</sup> at Damietta where the Queen had remained. The Christian prisoners who refused to accept Mohammedanism were put to death; a few saved their lives by apostasy. Turan Shah, who had succeeded his father Es-Saleh in **1249**, demanded that Louis should surrender the fortresses of Syria; the King refused because they belonged to Frederick II, the King of Jerusalem. Louis was

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the child of sorrow.

threatened with torture and with the degradation of being exposed to the sight of all people in the cities of Egypt and Syria ; he only answered, " I am your prisoner, ye may do with me as ye will." He finally agreed to surrender Damietta and pay half a million French livres for the freedom of his men, but objected to paying a million besants for his own ransom. Turan Shah reduced the latter sum by one-fifth.

Turan Shah was murdered in May, 1250, by the Mamelukes, who required Louis to confirm the recent treaty by an oath that if he violated it he should " be dishonoured as a Christian who had denied God and his Holy Mother . . . or, in mockery of God, had spat on the Holy Cross and trampled it under foot." Louis, although threatened with death, refused to accept the last clause. Louis' firmness proved successful, and the favourable terms he secured were due partly to the effect his noble conduct produced on Musa, the new Lord of Egypt. Musa, who had to crush a rising led by the princes of Aleppo and Damascus who objected to the liberation of Louis, made a truce of fifteen years with the French king. The friendly relations between the two led to incorrect rumours that Musa proposed to embrace Christianity.

#### E. St. Louis in Palestine.

Louis then went to Acre. He appealed for help to Henry III of England and offered to surrender Normandy as the price of English assistance ; he urged the Pope to become reconciled with Frederick II and to rouse Christendom to embark on a new crusade. His appeals failed ; nearly all the French nobles, including Louis' brothers, Alfonse, Count of Poitou, and Charles, Count of Anjou, returned home ; but Joinville remained with Louis during his stay in Palestine from 1251-1254. Louis and Joinville made a pilgrimage in sackcloth to Nazareth, failed to secure a grant of land beyond Jordan from the lords of Aleppo and Egypt, converted many

Saracens, assisted to strengthen the fortifications of Caesarea, Jaffa and Acre; but Louis refused the offer of safe-conduct for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem because he could not save the Holy City from the Mohammedans.

June, 1254. Louis returned to France owing to the death of his mother Blanche of Castile.

#### VIII. St. Louis' Second Crusade, 1270.

Bibars, who became Lord of Egypt in 1260, routed the Tartars and then turned his arms against the Syrian Franks. He captured Arsuf, Jaffa and, in 1268, Antioch, which the Christians had held since the First Crusade. Acre and Tripoli were in imminent danger.

St. Louis set out from Aigues Mortes in 1270 with an army of 60,000 men. Joinville refused to go, but the Counts of Flanders, Brittany and Champagne accompanied the King. James of Aragon sailed to join St. Louis, but a storm scattered his fleet and he returned home.

Charles of Anjou, now King of Sicily and a friend of Bibars, persuaded Louis to sail not to Syria or Egypt but to Tunis, the sultan of which had refused to pay to Charles the tribute he had paid to his predecessors. The French were blockaded in their camp at Carthage, and St. Louis died of plague on August 25th, 1270. His son Philip the Bold compelled the Sultan of Tunis to promise to pay to Sicily double the former tribute, and returned to France.

#### IX. Edward of England.

Edward of England, afterwards Edward I, arrived at Tunis in October, bringing with him the Earl of Gloucester and other nobles who might have caused disturbance at home in his absence. He wintered in Sicily, and went with his English forces, whom the French refused to accompany, to Acre, where he landed early in May, 1271. He saved Acre from capture by the

**Saracens.** Some minor successes induced the barons of Cyprus and many Syrian Franks to support him, and enabled him to capture Nazareth, where he massacred the inhabitants. An assassin, sent by a Saracen emir who pretended that he was willing to embrace Christianity, stabbed Edward with a poisoned dagger at Acre, but the skill of an English surgeon and the careful nursing of his wife Eleanor, who did *not* suck the poison from the wound, enabled him to recover. Henry III's health failed, and he urged Edward to return. He left Palestine in September, 1271, after concluding a truce for ten years with Bibars, but did not reach England until 1274, nearly two years after his father's death.

#### **X. The Fall of Acre, 1291.**

Bibars was killed in 1277, but his successors continued the war against the Syrian Franks. Tripoli was captured in 1289, and the safety of Acre, the only important town now held by the Christians, was threatened. The city was crowded with fugitives, but the utterly immoral people were intent on pleasure; different communes of the city were held by different nations, by the Templars, Hospitallers and Syrian nobles, and "there were in one city seventeen independent powers"; the quarrel between the two great Orders continued.

Pope Gregory X tried to promote a new crusade; the Council of Lyons in 1274 imposed a tax for the purpose on the Church, but much of the proceeds was seized by the Kings of Europe, including Edward I.

Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292) sent seventeen hundred mercenaries to Acre; these plundered Saracen merchants who were trading, under a truce, in Acre. The merchants appealed to the Sultan Khalil, who besieged Acre on March 25th, 1291. The defence was sadly hampered by lack of unity, by the flight of Otto de Grandison, whom Edward I had sent with reinforcements, of Henry II, King of Cyprus, and the Master of the Hospital. The Templars fought bravely, but the city was

captured on May 18th and 60,000 inhabitants were butchered or sold as slaves.

Cyprus, where the Lusignans ruled, and Rhodes, which the Hospitallers held till 1522, were the only Christian possessions remaining in the East.

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## THE RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

Gibbon asserted<sup>1</sup> that "the lives and labours of millions, which were buried in the East, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country; the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East."

Most historians take a more favourable view. Although the crusades failed to wrest Palestine from the Mohammedans their results proved generally beneficial to Western Europe. In some cases, notably in the development of commerce, the crusades were the direct cause; in others, as in the growth of the royal power in France, the crusades strengthened an existing tendency; their effect in broadening the minds of men and thus preparing the way for the Renaissance and Reformation is more difficult to estimate. But "as for the indirect consequences of these great undertakings," wrote Bishop Stubbs, "it is not too much to say that they have affected, and still remotely do affect, almost every political and social question."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vii., page 39.



**I. Political Results.**

The crusades were an effort of united Christendom to secure a high ideal. The struggle between Christians and Mohammedans emphasised the idea of the union of Christendom, although national differences and the struggle between the Empire and Papacy prevented the idea from being translated into fact.

**A. The progress of the Mohammedans was checked.****(1) The East.**

At the end of the eleventh century the conquest of Constantinople by the Seljuk Turks seemed imminent. The First Crusade saved Constantinople; the Latin Kingdom, in spite of its weakness, kept the Mohammedans in check; Rhodes held out until 1522, Cyprus until 1571.

The crusades averted the capture of Constantinople from c. 1096 to 1453 and saved Eastern Europe from Turkish invasion for three hundred and fifty years.

**(2) The West.**

**1147.** The capture of Lisbon from the Moors strengthened the Christian Kingdom of Portugal.

**B. The final estrangement of Eastern and Western Europe.**

The early crusades led to increased political connections between East and West; a sister of Philip Augustus married the Emperor Alexius II, Philip of Swabia married Irene, the daughter of Isaac II. But the Eastern Empire was impoverished by the acquisition of the Eastern trade by the Italian cities; the turbulent crusaders plundered the European provinces of Constantinople; the crusaders accused the Greek Emperors of inhospitality, deceit and treachery; victorious crusaders held, as their own dominions, land in the East which the Greeks regarded as part of their Empire. The capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204 broke all connections and led to bitter hostility between East and West. This hostility facilitated the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

C. The development of national monarchy.

“ On the national life of Europe the crusades acted both as a combining and a disruptive force ” (Kingsford and Archer).

- (1) The departure of many barons removed a source of danger to the kings of Western Europe. In France the crusades helped the absorption of feudal fiefs in the royal domain, and to some extent “ modern France is a creation of the crusades.”
- (2) But the crusades strengthened the power of the Papacy and thus contributed to the victory of the Papacy over the Empire, which tended to disintegration in Germany and Italy and delayed the establishment of national kingdoms in these countries until the nineteenth century.

D. Towns.

The growth of commerce led to the development of towns and strengthened the movement which made the merchant class an important political factor.

Venice, Pisa, Genoa and Marseilles gained great advantage from the increased demand for transport and the development of trade with the East. The capture of Constantinople in **1204** proved highly advantageous to Venice ; on the restoration of the Greek Empire in **1261** the Genoese secured important commercial privileges and were enabled to open up trade with the Euxine. The commercial rivalry between Venice and Genoa (page 361) was intensified by the crusades.

The overland trade from Venice passed through the towns on the Rhine and Danube and helped to promote the prosperity of the Hanseatic League.

E. Serfs.

All serfs who took the Cross became free, and those who remained at home benefited by the milder sway of the monks, to whom many of the crusading barons transferred their property.

**II. The Church.****A. The power of the Pope was strengthened.**

- (1) The crusades took place under the auspices of the Papacy ; the Popes lost no opportunity of preaching the crusades, and their efforts were supported by popular preachers and Church Councils. The religious privileges granted to crusaders came from the Pope, who alone could remit the vows they took. The Pope relieved crusaders from feudal and civil obligations.
- (2) The Holy Roman Emperors did little to promote the success of the crusades except Frederick II, whose efforts resulted in excommunication. The Pope was the leader of Christendom, "the Pope was general-in-chief of the armies of the faith . . . he became the liege lord of mankind" (Milman).
- (3) No Pope went on the crusades and the Papacy thus escaped the ignominy of their failure.
- (4) The Legatine authority of the Popes was extended owing to the work of the Papal Legates who accompanied the crusades ; by the establishment of new bishoprics in the East ; by the strong support of the military orders, especially the Templars ; by the crusades preached against heretics in the West, e.g. the Albigenses, and the enemies of the Pope, e.g. Frederick II ; the contributions imposed by the Pope for the crusades on all ecclesiastics established the "principle of taxation for foreign purposes and by a superior authority."

**B. The Church.**

Many crusaders sold their estates to meet the expenses of the crusades, and these were often bought by the monasteries, which greatly added to their wealth by such purchases.

## C. Some ultimate results.

But the crusades led to results which weakened the power of the Papacy and Church. The heavy taxes levied by the Popes aroused strong opposition in national kingdoms and strengthened the growing opposition to papal autocracy ; the wealth of the monasteries aroused the jealousy of needy kings and barons ; the prospects of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches were shattered by the conquest of Constantinople.

The Manichean doctrines accepted by the Albigenses were introduced into Western Europe by the crusaders ; the wider outlook gained by travel in the East made men more critical of old institutions at home, and "there can be no doubt that the doctrinal, political and social causes which led to the Reformation all sprang from seed that was sown in the times of the crusades."<sup>1</sup>

## III. Chivalry.

The combination of warfare and the Christian religion led to a great development of chivalry. The Church now hallowed warfare and directed it to noble ends. The candidates for knighthood took solemn vows to protect the poor and weak ; to honour and defend women, especially "Notre Dame," the Queen of Heaven. Before knighthood was conferred the candidate spent the night in prayer, confessed his sins and attended Mass. To such as these the crusades made a special appeal ; a knight could find no worthier object than the defence of the Holy Places against the infidel, and the crusades afforded endless opportunities for daring deeds.

Although knights proved often cruel and immoral, chivalry raised the standard of manners by setting up an ideal of courtesy, honour and self-sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

#### IV. Commerce.

The crusades led to a great increase in commerce.

##### (1) Maritime development.

Although the Italian cities<sup>1</sup> and, to a less extent, Marseilles, profited most by the new opportunities of trade, fleets from England often appeared off the coast of Palestine, a Norwegian fleet helped to capture Sidon in 1110, and a North German fleet assisted Baldwin I in 1107.

To meet the new conditions Richard I in 1194 drew up the Laws of Oleron, the first code of maritime law, and the Assizes of Jerusalem provided for the regulation of shipping.

##### (2) Banking.

The need of transmitting large sums to the East led to the development of banking and exchange in which Jews, Italians and, to some extent, the Templars took an active part.

##### (3) Commodities.

Through the Holy Land trade was opened up with the Far East. The introduction of silk and cotton goods, of sugar, of spices, perfumes, Indian jewels and Chinese porcelain raised the standard of living in Western Europe.

#### V. The Extension of Learning and Knowledge.

##### A. General.

The crusades necessarily led to an intimate knowledge of the lands visited by the crusaders, of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, of new trees and animals, and valuable contributions were made to geography, ethnology, botany and zoology. But intercourse with Constantinople did not lead to a revival of classical learning, and the knowledge of science, mathematics and medicine which Europe gained from the Mohammedans came from the Saracens of Southern Italy and the Moors of Spain rather than through the crusades.

<sup>1</sup> See above I. D.

**B. History and Literature.****(1) History.**

The crusades afforded ample material for the historian. The works of Raymond of Agiles, Fulcher of Chartres, Ralph of Caen are of interest and value although they are Chronicles rather than History. William, Archbishop of Tyre, who wrote an account of the Third Crusade, displayed a power of arrangement, of lucid statement and artistic treatment and made a skilful use of the works of other writers. He may be regarded as the first historian of the Middle Ages and the Father of Modern History. Joinville's *Vie de St. Louis* wins for the saintly King the profound admiration of the reader.

**(2) Literature.**

“Mediæval poetry was indeed the creation of Frenchmen and the crusades which supplied the minstrel with many subjects.” Long historical poems, such as the *Chanson d'Antioch* which Richard I composed, were the result of the crusades. The influence of the crusades is seen in the romances which were so popular in the Middle Ages.

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## INDEX

- Aba, King of Hungary, 108  
 Abelard, Peter, 151, 152  
 Abotrites, 30, 47, 68, 86, 143, 164,  
     145  
 Abubeker, 563  
 Academy, Platonic, 403  
 Acciaiuoli, Agnolo, 379  
 Accopiatori, 379  
 Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, 60,  
     91, 428  
 Adalbert of Bremen, 124  
 Adela of Champagne, 456, 457  
 — daughter of Wm. the Conqueror,  
     573  
 Adelaide, Empress, 134  
 Adhemar of Puy, 567, 569, 570  
 Adolf, Archbishop of Cologne, 173  
 — of Guelders, 552  
 Adria, Kingdom of, 286  
 Agnes of Meran, 181, 461  
 — — Poitou, 108, 461  
 Agobard, 34  
 Ailly, Peter d' (Cardinal), 299, 300  
 Aistulf, 22  
 Alamanni, 20  
 Alarie, 8, 16, 18  
 Alberic, son of Marozia, 76  
 Albert the Bear, 143, 161, 165, 167  
 — — Great, 188  
 — of Hohenzollern, 354  
 — the lame, of Austria, 341, 342,  
     351  
 — II, King of the Romans, 321  
 Alberti, Leon Battista, 400, 404,  
     411  
 Albigenes, 185, 189-194, 197, 208,  
     613  
 Albizzi, 374, 375  
 — Rinaldo degli, 378, 380  
 Albornoz (Cardinal), Archbishop of  
     Toledo, 277, 282, 333, 371  
 Albuquerque, 392  
 Alcuin of York, 34  
 Aldine Press, 405  
 Alençon, Duke of, 521  
 Alfonse, King of Aragon, 328  
 — of Castile, 246  
 — Count of Poitou, 467, 468, 473,  
     606  
 Alice, daughter of Louis VII, 459  
 Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, 313  
 America, Discovery of, 350  
 Andrew, King of Hungary, 601  
 Angelico, Fra, 414  
 Anjou, Counts of—  
     Charles, 227, 229, 241, 242, 247,  
         468, 473, 606  
     Fulk the Black, 447  
     — — Good, 445  
     — — Rechin, 447  
     — — Red, 445  
     — of Jerusalem, 451  
     Geoffrey, the Bearded Count of  
         Anjou, 447  
     — Greygown, 446  
     — Martel, 443, 444, 446  
 Annates, 287  
 Anne of Beaujeu, 557  
 — — Brittany, 569  
 — — Bohemia, 297  
 — — Russia, 430  
 Anthony of Padua, 183  
 Antioch, Chanson d', 615  
 Antipopes—  
     Anacletus, 140, 144, 145  
     Benedict XIII, 288, 289, 300, 302,  
         303, 308  
     Clement VII, 128, 282, 286, 288,  
         508  
     Felix V, 314, 316, 317, 330  
     Gregory XII, 297, 299, 300, 302,  
         308  
     Guibert, 118, 130  
     Paschal III, 158  
     Sylvester III, 169  
 Appanages, 463



- Aquinas, Thomas, 188, 394  
 Aquitaine, Pippin of, 44, 45  
 — William of, 147  
 Archers, Scottish, 530  
 Architecture, Italian, 410  
 Aremburg of Maine, 448  
 Aretino, Pietro, 408  
 Argyropoulos, John, 403  
 Aribert of Milan, 105, 106  
 Aribo of Mainz, 98, 103, 112  
 Ariosto, 398, 407  
 Armagnacs, 509, 513  
 Arnold of Brescia, 148, 149, 152, 154,  
     156  
 — — Guelders, 538  
 Arnulf of Bavaria, 64  
 — — Flanders, 438  
 — Archbishop of Rheims, 91, 428,  
     429  
 Arslan, Kilij, 560, 568  
 Arte della Lana, 370  
 Arte di Calimata, 370  
 Artevelde, Philip van, 487, 488,  
     509  
 Arthur of Brittany, 182, 459, 461  
 Assassins, 589  
 Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria,  
     14  
 Attila, 8, 18, 357, 367  
 Augustine, St., 15  
 Austin Friars, 188  
 Austrasia, 21, 46, 47, 51  
 Ayub, Es-Saleh, 604  
  
 Babylonish Captivity, 224, 229, 283,  
     483  
 Bacon, Roger, 393, 394, 401  
 "Bad Penny," 539  
 Baillia, 464, 477  
 Bajazet I, 309  
 Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury,  
     587  
 Baldwin V of Flanders, 433, 593  
 Balia, 378, 379  
 Balue, Cardinal, 548, 549  
 Banking, 614  
 Barbarossa (*see* Frederick I)  
 Bartholomew, Peter, 569  
 Bartolommeo, Fra, 415  
 Battles—  
     Adrianople, 378—8  
     Agincourt, 1415—514  
 Battles—  
     Alost, 1128—451  
     Altopascia, 1325—369  
     Andernach, 875—48  
     Antioch, 1098—569  
     Arsuf, 1191—588  
     Ascalon, 1099—573; 1178—583  
     Aurai, 1364—497  
     Aussitz, 1426—307  
     Barnet, 1471—549  
     Basle, 1444—343  
     Baugé, 1421—518  
     Belgrade, 1456—324  
     Benevento or Grandella, 1267—  
         228, 240, 368  
     Bornhöved, 1227—216, 347  
     Bosphorus, 1357—360, 362  
     Bouvines, 1214—179, 183, 198,  
         462  
     Brenville, 1119—451  
     Brescia, 1401—394  
     Cadzand, 1337—487  
     Cagliari, 1353—362  
     Campaldino, 1289—369  
     Cannac, 1041—111  
     Cassel, 1328—482, 501  
     Castro Giovanni, 1061—119  
     Chalons, 451—8  
     Châtillon, 1453—527  
     Chioggia, 1380—362  
     Civitate (Civitella), 1053—116  
     Cocherel, 1364—496  
     Colle di Val d'Elsa, 1270—370  
     Conquereux, 990—446  
     Corte Nuova, 1237—203, 223  
     Cotrone, 982—115; 981—87  
     Courtrai, 1302—258, 475  
     Crecy, 1346—489  
     Crevant, 1423—519  
     Damme, 1213—462  
     Danit, 1119—574  
     Deutschbrod, 1422—306  
     Dol, 1173—456  
     Doryleum, 1097—568  
     Elster, 1080—128  
     Falkirk, 1298—256  
     Fontenay, 841—46  
     Formigny, 1450—527  
     Fossalta, 1249—209  
     Gavre, 1453—526  
     Gaza, 1244—604  
     Grenson, 1470—344, 540

**Battles—**

Guinegate, 1479—553  
 Hattin, 1187—584  
 Helsingborg, 1372—348  
 Herrings, 1429—521  
 Hohenburg, 1075—124  
 Jacob, St., 1444—530  
 Jaffa, 1101—574  
 Jargeau, 1429—521  
 Kossova, 1389—309  
 Laodicea, 1148—578  
 Lechfeld, 955—72, 97  
 Legnano, 1175—165, 367  
 Lenzon, 929—66  
 Limoges, 930—439  
 Lincoln, 1216—463  
 Lipan, 1434—311  
 Losecoat Field, 1470—549  
 Louvain, 891—52  
 Mahé, St., 1293—474  
 Mansurah, 1249—605  
 Manzikert, 1071—563  
 Marchfield, 1278—248  
 Meloria, 1241—206. 1284—361,  
 369, 471  
 Merseburg, 933—67  
 Mons-en-Puelle, 1304—476  
 Montaperto, 1260—227, 368, 370  
 Montcontour, 1033—446  
 Montecatini, 1313—369  
 Montfaçon, 888—52  
 Monthéry, 1465—534, 545  
 Montlouis, 1044—446  
 Montpensier, 892—51  
 Morat, 1476—344, 540  
 Morgarten, 1315—340  
 Morlaix, 1342—488  
 Mortemer, 1054—431, 444  
 Mühlendorf, 1322—265  
 Murot, 1213—192  
 Naefels, 1388—292, 342  
 Najara, 1367—497  
 Nancy, 1477—325, 344  
 Naves de Tolosa, 1212—197  
 Nicopolis, 1396—294, 309, 512  
 Patay, 1429—521  
 Poitiers, 507—20; 1356—493  
 Pontlevoy, 1016—446  
 Ramleh, 1101—574  
 Rocca Secca, 1411—296  
 Roche, La, 1347—491  
 Rochelle, La, 1372—498

**Battles—**

Roncesvalles, 778—30  
 Saas, 1421—306  
 Saintes, 1242—468  
 Sancourt, 881—51  
 Sapienza (or Portolungo), 1354—  
 362  
 Sempach, 1386—292, 342  
 Soissons, 486—20  
 Sluys, 1340—487  
 Taas, 1431—307  
 Tagliacozzo, 1268—228, 240  
 Taillebourg, 1242—468  
 Tannenberg, 1410—320, 353  
 Tenchebrai, 1106—447, 450  
 Testry, 687—21  
 Tewkesbury, 1471—549  
 Tolbiac, 496—20  
 Tours, 732—22  
 Tron, St., 1467—536  
 Val-ès-dunes, 1047—442  
 Varville, 1058—431, 442  
 Verneuil, 1424—520  
 Weinsberg, 1140—143  
 Wyschebrad, 1420—306  
 Xanten, 938—69  
 Zagonara, 1424—371  
 Bavaria, Arnulf of, 64  
 Beatific Vision, 267, 273  
 Beatrice, Countess of Higher Bur-  
 gundy, 166  
 Beaufort, Henry (Cardinal), 303,  
 307, 519, 522, 523, 524, 525  
 Beauvais, Bishop of, 462  
 Becket, Thomas, 455  
 Bellini, Jacopo, 417  
 Berengar of Ivrea, 76  
 — — — Tours, 130  
 Berengaria of Castile, 184  
 — — — Navarre, 586  
 Bernard, Count of Armagnac, 512,  
 513, 516  
 Berthold of Zähringen, 173  
 Bessarion, Cardinal, 314, 402  
 Bibars, 608  
 Billung, Hermann, 68, 69, 70, 73  
 Billungs, 237, 344  
 — Mark of, 73  
 Black Death, 492, 494  
 — Prince, 489, 490, 497, 498, 499  
 Blanche of Castile, 460, 467, 607  
 — — Valois, 482

- Boccaccio, Giovanni, 397, 401  
 Bocconio, Marino, 359  
 Bohemund, 568, 569, 574  
 Boiardo, 407, 408  
 Boleslav the Brave, 90, 94, 98, 102  
 Bologna, University of, 188  
 Bolognese School of Painting, 417  
 Bon, René le (of Anjou), 336, 529, 553  
 Bona of Savoy, 384  
 Bondo, Flavio, 406  
 Bonhomme, Jacques, 493  
 Boniface, St., 22  
 Borgia, Roderigo, 329  
 Boso, King of Provence, 55  
 Botticelli, 415  
 Bouillon, Godfrey de (*see* Kings of Jerusalem)  
 Bourbon, Peter de, 557  
 Bourges, Pragmatic Sanction of, 316, 318, 330  
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 402  
 Brancaloneo, 227  
 Brescia, Arnold of, 148, 149, 152, 154, 156, 252  
 Bretislav, Duke of Bohemia, 108  
 Brienne, Yolande de, 200  
 — John de, 200, 601  
 — Walter de, 176, 180, 593, 604  
 Bruce, David, 491  
 Bruges, Truce of, 499  
 Brun, Rudolf, 341  
 Brunelleschi, 411  
 Brunhildia, 21  
 Bruni, Leonardo, 406, 407  
 Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, 71, 98  
 Bruys, Peter de, 152, 189  
 Buch, Captal de, 493, 495  
 Bull, Clericis Laicos, 255, 475  
 — Execrabilis, 318, 322, 330  
 — Unam Sanctam, 244, 258, 259  
 Buondelmonte, 372  
 Buonomini, Twelve, 374  
 Bureau, Jean, 530  
 Burgundy, Mary of, 325, 326  
 Burkhard of Swabia, 14  
 Cabochiens, 513  
 Cabot, John, 391  
 Cesarini, Cardinal, 307, 310, 313, 314  
 Calabria, John of, 330  
 Caliphs, Fatimite, 580, 583  
 Calixtines or Pragers, 305, 307  
 Callet, Wm., 493  
 Camaldolese, 111  
 Cambio, Arnolfo del, 411  
 Campobasso, 340, 344  
 Canon Law, 132, 139, 198  
 Canrobert, 251, 261  
 Capet, Hugh (*see* Kings of France)  
 Capistrano, 324  
 Capponi, Neri, 379  
 Carloman of Bavaria, 27, 43, 48  
 Carmagnola, 372, 397  
 Carmelites, 188  
 Carrara, Francesco, 362  
 Carroccio, 204  
 Casimir of Poland, 354  
 Castracane, Castruccio (of Lucca), 266, 369, 370  
 Catherine of France, 517  
 Cauchon, Pierre, 522  
 Caxton, William, 393  
 Celestines, 309  
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 408  
 Chambre des Comptes, 476  
 — — Enquêtes, 477  
 — Grande, 477  
 Charlemagne, 27, 42, 45, 177, 234, 235, 367 (*see* Holy Roman Emperors)  
 Charles the Bad, 481, 492, 493, 494, 504, 505, 506  
 — of Berri, 535, 544, 548, 550  
 — VII, le Bien Servi (*see* Kings of France)  
 — of Blois, 488, 497  
 — of Charolais (the Bold), 325, 343, 344, 533, 541, 544, 551  
 — — Durazzo, 286  
 — Emperor IV (*see* Holy Roman Emperors)  
 — of Lower Lorraine (Duke), 60  
 — II (the Lame) of Naples, 242, 254  
 — of Maine, 526, 529, 545, 553  
 — — Valois, 243, 251, 255, 261, 262, 263, 264, 479  
 Châtel, Tanneguy du, 516, 519  
 Childeric, King of the Franks, 19, 22  
 Chlothar, 20  
 Chlum, 301  
 Christian of Mainz, 160  
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, 405  
 Cibo, Franceschetto, 335, 387  
 Cilly, Count de, 324

- Cimabue, 413  
 Ciompi, 374  
 Civil Law, 257  
 Civitale, Matteo, 412  
 Clarence, Thomas of, 518, 513  
 Claresses, 188  
 Clisson, Oliver, 488, 499, 511  
 Clotilda, 20  
 Clovis, King of Salian Franks, 19, 22  
 Cœur, Jacques, 528, 532  
 "Coiner, the False," 478  
 Collectio Canonum, 152  
 College of Cardinals, 121, 131, 235  
 Colleone, Bart. Tommeo, 382  
 Colonna, Lorenzo, 335  
 — Stephen, 276  
 Colonnas, 254, 259, 261, 274, 335  
 Columbus, 366, 391  
*Comedy, Divine*, 397  
 Commines, Philip de, 550  
 Commission of Seven, 383  
 Communes, 450, 471, 492, 536  
 Comnena, Theodora, 580  
 Compactata, 311  
*Complutensian Polyglot*, 400  
 Conan, Duke of Brittany, 440  
 Conciliar Movement, 318  
 Concordats, 318  
 Conegliano, Cima da, 418  
 Congress at Mantua, 332  
 Conrad, son of Henry IV, 135  
 — of Marburg, 214  
 — — Masovia, 351, 352  
 — the Red, 69  
 — of Urselingen, 197  
 — — Wettin, 143  
 Conradin, 226, 227, 228, 229, 245  
 Conseil, Grand, 470  
 — du Roi, 476  
 Constance of Arles, 430, 441  
 — — Brittany, 460  
 — — Sicily, 136, 176, 195, 211, 229, 585  
 Constantine, Donation of, 18, 120, 235, 306  
 Constantinople, Peace of, 360  
 Contarini, Andrea, 358  
 Corbogha, 569  
 Corvinus, Mathias, 324, 326  
 Coucy, Enguerrand de, 369  
 Councils, etc.—  
   Arras, Congress of, 1435—525  
   Councils, etc.—  
     Basle, 1431—1449—309, 319  
     Brixen, Synod of, 1080—128  
     Carthage, 418—15  
     Clermont, 1095—565  
     Constance, 1414 1418—296, 304, 309  
     Constantinople, 680—13; 381—14  
     Ephesus, 431—13  
     Erfurt, Synod of, 1074—125  
     Ferrara or Florence, 1438—1439—314, 315  
     Ingelheim, 948—59  
     Lateran Synod, 1059—121  
     — Council, 1139—149; 1215—599  
     Lyons, 1245—207, 208; 1274—188, 241, 608  
     Melfi, Synod of, 1059—118  
     Nicæa, 325—14; 726—15; 787—32  
     Pavia, 1160—167; 1046—109  
     Piacenza, 1095—134, 565  
     Rheims, 1049—428, 432  
     Rome, 1049—114  
     — Synod of, 1075—125  
     Sardica, 347—17  
     Sens, 1141—151, 152  
     Toledo, 653—14  
     Toulouse, 1160—158; 1229—193  
     Vienne, 1311—263  
     Worms, Synod of, 1075—125  
   Council of Forty, 358  
   — — Ten, 358  
   Court of Love, 190  
   — — Poers, 466  
   Courtenay, Joscelin de, Count of Edessa, 576  
   Crescentius I, 86  
   — II, 88, 89  
   Crivelli, Carlo, 418  
   Croys, 532, 544  
   Crusade, the First, 366  
   — — Second, 153, 453, 576, 577, 578, 579  
   — — Third, 163, 170, 233, 535, 592  
   — — Fourth, 184, 197  
   — — Fifth, 601  
   — — Sixth, 604  
   — St. Louis' Second, 607  
   Curia Regis, 470

- Cyprus, 360, 362  
 — Kingdom of, 590
- Dagobert, Patriarch of Jerusalem,  
 21, 573
- Dagworth, Thomas, 491
- Daleminzes, 101
- Damiani, Peter, 122
- Dammartin, Count of, 532, 545,  
 547
- Dandolo, Enrico, 358, 593, 594, 596,  
 597
- Danes, 45, 47, 48, 54, 86, 88
- Dannewerk, 30
- Dante, 401, 407
- Decameron*, 407
- Decretals, Forged, 120, 131
- Desiderius, 28, 38
- Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, 510
- Diaz, Bartholomew, 366, 391
- Diephold of Acerra, 176, 178
- Diets—
  - Besançon, 1157—156, 168
  - Cremona, 1226—200
  - Forcheim, 1077—127
  - Frankfort, 1338—267
  - Mainz, 1235—214 ; 1441—315
  - Roneaglia, 1158—156
  - Spires, 1146—153
  - Verona, 983—87
  - Würzburg, 1165—158, 161
- Doge, 357
- Dolcino of Novara, 272
- Dominic, St., 186, 197
- Dominicans, 185, 186, 188, 266
- Donatello, 411
- Donati, 372
- Donatists, 15
- Doria, Paganino, 362
- Pietro, 362
- Drogo, 109, 116
- Duba, 391
- Dunois, 526, 532, 545, 547
- Duns Scotus, 188
- Easterlings, 346, 349
- Eastmark, 73, 74
- Ebionites, 13
- Ecorcheurs, 528
- Edict of Mersen, 56
- — Pistres, 48, 50
- Eger, Peace of, 293
- Eginhard, Abbot, 34
- Eight of War, 374
- El Adel Saphadin, 591, 592, 593,  
 600, 602
- El Kamil, Sultan, 202, 222
- Eleanor of Aquitaine, 450, 453, 454,  
 455, 460, 461, 578
- Electors, 139, 246, 279, 316, 322
- Elias of Cortona, 187, 188
- — Maine, 448
- Emperors, Greek—
  - Alexius, 138
  - Angelus, Alexius II, 610
  - — III, 592
  - — IV, 595
  - — V, 595
- Baldwin II, 598
- Basil the Macedonian, 115
- Comnenus, Alexius, 118, 565, 568
- John, 576
- Manuel, 146, 577, 580
- Courtenay, Peter of, 598
- Ducas, John III, 598
- Lascaris, Theodore, 598
- Palæologus, Andronicus, 362
- John, 309, 310, 312, 314, 315,  
 362
- Michael, 241, 360, 361, 598
- Phocas, Nicephorus, 73, 79, 80
- Zimisceus, John, 73, 80, 81
- Emperors, Roman—
  - Arcadius, 7
  - Augustulus, Romulus, 7, 40
  - Aurelian, 6
  - Caracalla, 5
  - Constans, 13
  - Constantine the Great, 5, 6, 7, 11,  
 18
  - VI, 37, 40
  - Constantius, 11, 14
  - Decius, 8, 10
  - Diocletian, 5, 6, 10
  - Gallienus, 6
  - Honorius, 7
  - Irene (Empress), 37, 40
  - Jovian, 11
  - Julian the Apostate, 11
  - Justinian, 18
  - Leo the Isaurian, 15, 18, 37
  - Maximin, 5
  - Nero, 10
  - Pertinax, 5

**Emperors, Roman—**

- Probus, 5  
 Severus, Septimus, 6  
 Theodosius the Great, 7, 11  
 Valens, 7, 8  
 Valentinian, 7  
 Zeno, 12

**Emperors, Holy Roman—**

- Adolf of Nassau, 249, 340  
 Albert I of Austria, 249, 250, 258  
 — II, 315, 321  
 Barbarossa (Frederick I), 137, 149, 154, 172, 233, 238, 239, 357, 456, 585, 586  
 Charlemagne, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 49, 56, 177, 234, 235, 564  
 Charles IV of Luxemburg, 268, 275, 278, 283, 285, 342, 349, 370, 482  
 Charles the Bald, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 53, 56, 99  
 — — Fat, 50, 51, 53  
 Conrad II (the Salic), 103, 104, 105, 106, 112  
 Frederick I (*see* Barbarossa, H. R. E.)  
 — II, 174, 176, 178, 179, 183, 197, 198, 232, 235, 238, 249, 351, 394, 471, 605, 612  
 — III, 315, 322, 326, 330, 354  
 Henry II (the Saint), 93, 95, 174, 176, 178, 179, 183, 197, 198, 232, 235, 238, 249  
 — III (the Black), 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 315, 322, 326, 330, 432  
 — IV, 120, 121, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 235, 237, 565  
 — V, 135, 136, 451  
 — VI, 172, 175, 229, 238  
 — VII (of Luxemburg), 251, 253, 274, 340, 365  
 Lewis II, 47  
 — IV (the Bavarian), 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 340, 484, 486, 487  
 — I (the Pious), 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 55, 99  
 Lothair I, 45, 46, 47, 49

**Emperors, Holy Roman—**

- Otto I (the Great), 59, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 115, 120, 232, 235, 238  
 — II, 60, 84, 87  
 — III, 88, 91  
 — IV, 177, 178, 179, 183, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 213  
 Philip of Swabia, 367, 594, 610  
 Rudolf of Hapsburg, 235, 241, 247, 248, 249, 339  
 Sigismund, 280, 295, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 311, 315, 319, 320  
 Wenzel, 280, 287, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297  
 Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, 213, 215  
 England, Kings of—  
 Edward I, 250, 255, 307, 474, 608  
 — III, 267, 278, 481, 482, 484  
 — IV, 379, 536, 544, 550  
 Henry I, 450  
 — II, 126, 165, 449, 454, 585  
 — III, 409  
 — VII, 319  
 John, 182, 190, 194, 455, 459, 460, 586, 587, 589, 590, 591  
 Richard I, 172, 177, 190, 194, 455, 459, 460, 586, 587, 589, 590, 591  
 Stephen, 449, 455  
 William the Conqueror, 131  
 — Rufus, 565  
 Engraving, 394  
 Enquesteurs, 470  
 Enzo, 205, 209, 221  
 Estate, the Third, 502  
 Este, Ercole d', 382  
 Eternal Gospel, 272  
 Ethelred the Unready, 440, 441  
*Euryalus and Lucretia*, 329  
 Everard of Franconia, 64, 68, 69  
 Everlasting League, 339  
 Exarchate of Ravenna, 37, 179  
 Fabriano, Gentile da, 416  
 Faggiuola, Ugucione della, 369  
 Faliero, Marino, 358, 359  
 Fastolf, Sir John, 520  
 Feltre, Vittorino da, 397, 408  
 Ferrand of Flanders, 462, 464

- Ferrante, King of Naples, 330, 332,  
 334, 335, 336, 344, 366, 380, 382,  
 383, 386  
 Fiesole, Mino da, 412  
 Filelfo, 403, 407  
 Filioque Controversy, 14, 314  
 Florentine School of Painting, 403  
 Fools' War, 558  
 Forest Cantons, 339, 341  
 Foscari, Francesco, 358  
 France, Duchy of, 436  
 France, Kings of—  
   Capet, Hugh, 88, 91, 421, 422, 439,  
   442  
   Charles IV, 481  
   — V (Le Sage), 496, 497, 498, 499,  
   506, 507, 508  
   — VI, 289, 294, 509, 514  
   — VII, 518, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526,  
   527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533  
   — VIII, 180, 326, 336, 366  
   — the Simple, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58,  
   436  
   Henry I, 430, 431, 432, 441, 444  
   John I, 479, 489, 502, 503, 504,  
   505, 506  
   Louis II, 52  
   — IV (d'Outremer), 58, 59, 68, 72  
   — V, 60  
   Lothair, 85, 436  
   Louis VI (Le Gros), 190, 449, 450,  
   451, 452  
   — VII (Le Jeune), 153, 453, 454,  
   455, 456, 457, 577, 578, 579  
   — VIII, 193, 466  
   — IX (St. Louis), 467, 472, 607  
   — X, 424, 479  
   — XI, 319, 325, 529, 531, 532,  
   533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 542, 543,  
   544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550,  
   551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556  
   Odo, 51, 53, 58  
   Philip I, 131, 433, 434, 435, 436, 565  
   — II, (Le Hardi), 473, 585, 586,  
   589, 591  
   — IV, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256,  
   261, 263, 267  
   — V, 479  
   — VI (of Valois), 268, 482, 500  
   Robert, 58  
   — II, 429, 430  
   Rudolf of Burgundy, 53, 58, 437
- Francesca, Piero della, 416  
 Francia, 417  
 Francis, Duke of Brittany, 517, 538  
 Franciscans, 187, 188  
 Frangipani, 203  
 Franks, 19, 38  
 Fraticelli, 257, 264, 266, 272, 273  
 Fredegundis, 21  
 Frederick of Aragon, 243, 254  
 — — Austria, 266  
 — — Archbishop of Mainz, 68, 70  
 — — of Tyrol, 343  
 Free Archers, 530  
 — — Cities of Germany, 167  
 — — Companies, 286, 494  
 Freinet, 74, 81, 563  
 Friars (*see also* Mendicants), 187, 188,  
 187, 188, 189  
 Fulcher of Chartres, 615  
 Fulk of Neuilly, 592
- Gabelle, 502, 503  
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 414  
 Gaillard, Château, 460, 461, 522  
 Galileo, 394  
 Galswintha, 21  
 Gama, Vasco di, 366, 391  
 Gaza, Theodore, 405  
 Gendarmerie, Ordonnance sur la, 528  
 Genseric, 9  
 Gentile, 382  
 Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, 455  
   — of Villeharlouin, 593  
 Gerberga, 59, 64, 69  
 Gero, 73  
 Gerson, Chancellor of the University  
   of Paris, 289, 291, 296, 302, 512  
 Ghibellines, 178, 200, 230, 241, 243,  
   252, 266, 282, 357, 368, 370, 372  
 Ghiberti, 411  
 Ghirlandajo, Domenico, 415  
 Gilbert of Lorraine, 59, 61, 69  
 Giorgione, 417  
 Giotteschi, 414  
 Giotto, 413  
 Gisela, widow of Duke of Swabia,  
   103  
 Givald's dyke, 50  
 Gnostics, 13  
 Godfrey the Bearded, 107, 432  
 Golden Bull of Eger, 179, 213, 250,  
   279

- Gonfalonier, 373, 374, 375, 379  
 Gonzaga, Elizabeth, 396  
 Good Estate, 274  
 Goths, 15  
 Gotschalk, 567  
 Gozzoli, Benozzo, 414  
 Grande, Madame la, 559  
 Grandison, Otto de, 608  
 Great Interregnum, 1256-1273—  
     228, 245  
 — Schism in the Papacy, 283, 284,  
     285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291  
 Grey, John de, Bishop of Norwich,  
     182  
 Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 401  
 Gualbert, John, 111  
 Guelf VI of Bavaria, 157  
 Guelfs, 141, 142, 200, 233, 239, 241,  
     252, 282, 345, 357, 368, 372  
 Guesclin, Bertrand de, 492, 496, 497,  
     498, 499, 508  
 Guicciardini, 408  
 Guiscard, Robert, Duke of Apulia,  
     117, 118, 122, 130, 235  
 Gunpowder, 393  
 Gunter of Schwartzburg, 278  
 Guzman, Dominic, 185  
  
 Hadwisa of Gloucester, 182, 195  
 Hagenbach, Peter von, 539  
 Hakim, El, 563  
 Hahnard, Archbishop of Lyons, 110  
 Hallam, Robert, Bishop of Salisbury,  
     300, 303  
 Hansa, 345, 348  
 — Alamannia, 346  
 Hanseatic League, 252, 297, 320, 611  
 Hapsburg, Frederick of (Count of  
     Tyrol), 296  
 Hapsburgs, The, 269, 279, 281, 320,  
     321, 324, 326  
 Harold Blue Tooth, 72, 438, 439  
 Hauteville, Roger of, 117  
 Hawkwood, Sir John, 376  
 Hedvig, Queen, 353  
 Helena, Empress, 564  
 Heloise, 151  
 Henfrid of Toron, 558  
 Henry, Duke of Bavaria, 69, 75, 103  
 — of Brunswick, 173  
 — — Carinthia, 251  
 — — Champagne, 589  
  
 Henry II of Cyprus, 608  
 — the Fowler, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 101  
 — of Kalden, 179, 181  
 — — Lancaster, 491, 492, 493  
 — the Lion, 143, 144, 160, 163, 164,  
     166, 167, 173, 344, 351  
 — King of Navarre, 471  
 — Prince of Portugal, 391  
 — the Proud, 142  
 — — Quarrelsome, 84, 85, 87, 88, 93  
 — of Thuringia, 215  
 — — Trastamare, 497, 498  
 Heraclius of Jerusalem, 385  
 Herbert, Count of Maine, 444, 446  
 Heristal, Pippin of, 21  
 Hermann, Bishop of Metz, 126  
 — of Salza, 216, 225  
 Hermengarde, 43  
 Herring fishery, 349, 350  
 Hildebrand (*see* Pope Gregory VII)  
 Hohenstaufen of Swabia, 141, 178,  
     226  
 Hohenzollern, Frederick of, 300, 305,  
     306, 307, 321, 322  
 Hospitallers, 202, 262, 350, 575, 582,  
     589, 600, 603, 604, 607  
 Hugh the Great, 59, 60, 69, 72  
 — — of Vermandois, 567  
 Hugh of Provence, 75  
 Humphrey, Count of Apulia, 116  
 — Duke of Gloucester, 524  
 Hundred Years' War, 253, 264, 267,  
     276, 278  
 Huns, 8, 31, 66, 72  
 Hunting Rights in France, 543, 557  
 Hunyadi, John, Regent of Hungary,  
     323, 324  
 Huss, John, 292, 297, 298, 299, 301,  
     304  
 Hussite wars, 305  
 Hussites, 319, 321  
  
 Iconoclastic controversy, 16  
 Ignatius, St., 10  
 Ingeburga of Denmark, 181, 184,  
     196, 460  
 Investiture Dispute, 106, 123, 128,  
     129, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139  
 Iron crown of Lombardy, 142, 252,  
     266  
 Isabel of Bavaria, 516, 518  
 Isabella of Angoulême, 182, 460



- Isabella or Bourbon, 533**  
 ——— England, 204, 214  
 ——— Hainault, 458  
 ——— Naples, 388  
 ——— Portugal, 533
- Jacquerie, 491, 505**  
**Jacquetta of Luxemburg, 524**  
**Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, 293, 353**
- James of Aragon, 469**  
**Jeanne of Navarre, 471, 478, 480, 481, 501**  
**Jerome of Prague, 302, 304, 305**  
**Jerusalem, Kings of—**  
   **Amalric, 580, 582**  
   **Baldwin I, 571, 573**  
   — II, 574  
   — III, 578, 580  
   — IV, 581  
   — V, 581  
   Bouillon, **Godfrey de, 570, 571, 598, 601, 602**  
   Brienne, John de, 598, 601, 602  
   Fulk of Jerusalem, 451, 576  
   Lusignan, Guy de, 580, 581, 586, 588
- Jerusalem, Latin Kingdom of, 571**  
**Jews, 10, 153, 478, 577, 585**  
**Joan of Arc, 520, 522, 525**  
**Joanna, Queen of Naples, 275, 284, 286, 590**
- Jobst of Moravia, 293, 294, 295**  
**John, Duke of Bedford, 518, 520, 522, 523, 524, 525**  
 — of Bohemia, 268, 352, 370, 482, 490  
 ——— Burgundy, 512, 514, 516  
 ——— Calabria, 380, 545, 547  
 ——— Gaunt, 438  
 ——— Moravia, 268  
 ——— Parma, 272, 333  
 ——— Procida, 241
- Joinville, 606**  
**Jubilee, Papal, 257, 260, 328**  
**Jus regale, 239**  
 — spoli, 239
- Kalmar, Union of, 349**  
**Kassim, Abdul, 87**  
**Ketteler, Gotthard, 354**  
**Knights of the Sword, 351**
- Knights of the Teutonic Order, 216, 297, 302, 350, 354, 692**  
**Knolles, Robert, 494**  
**Kostar, Laurence, 392**
- Ladislav of Bohemia, 326**  
 ——— Hungary, 287, 288, 289  
 ——— Naples, 290, 296, 371, 378  
 ——— Poland, 307, 323, 325, 353  
**Lactus, Julius Pomponius, 494**  
**Landino, 407**  
**Lando, Michael, 375**  
**Landois, 558**  
**Lanfranc, 443**  
**Langton, Stephen, 182, 183, 186, 196**  
**Languedoc, 57, 569, 582**  
**Languedoil, 57, 569, 582**  
**Lascaris, John, 404, 405**  
**Lausitz, Mark of, 104**  
**League of Cambray, 366**  
 — Electoral, 322  
 — Lombard, 159, 160, 161, 162, 169, 170, 174, 200, 204, 236, 332  
 — of Perpetual Alliance, 249  
 — Prussian, 354  
 — Swabian, 278
- Lecoq, Robert, Bishop of Laon, 503**  
**Lesser Guilds of Florence, 377**  
**Lewis the Great of Hungary and Poland, 275, 284, 285, 294, 353, 362**
- Linacre, Thomas, 394**  
**Lincoln, Parliament of, 256**  
**Lippi, Fra Lippo, 415**  
 — Filippino, 415  
**Lombard Cities, 146**  
**Longsword, Wm., 421, 437, 605**  
**Loria, Roger di, 242, 474**  
**Lorraine, Gilbert of, 59, 64**  
 — René of, 336
- Louis, Count of Blois, 593, 597**  
 — of Brandenburg, 268, 278  
 — Cardinal, Archbishop of Arles, 312  
 — of Flanders, 483, 486, 490, 501  
 ——— Orleans, 286, 289, 366, 512, 557, 558  
 ——— Valois, Duke of Anjou, 286, 289, 510  
**Louis, Vie de St., 605, 615**  
**Lower Union, The, 539**  
**Ludolf of Swabia, 70, 76**

- Luitprand, King, 19, 80**  
**Lusatians, 66**  
**Lusignan, Amalric de, 591**  
 — Guy de (*see* Kings of Jerusalem)  
**Luxemburg, Elizabeth of, 248, 322**  
**Luxemburgs, The, 269, 280, 281**
- Machiavelli, 408**  
**Magdeburg, Archbishopric of, 71, 80**  
**Magellan, 392**  
**Magna Charta, 180, 183, 196**  
**Magnus, Albertus, 394**  
 "Maillotins," 509, 510  
**Mainz, Pragmatic Sanction of, 315, 318**  
**Majano, Benedetto da, 411, 412**  
**Malatesta, Sigismondo, 397, 493**  
**Mâle, Louis de, Count of Flanders, 490, 499, 509, 510, 511**  
**Malli, 31**  
**Manetti, Giannozzo, 404**  
**Manfred, 221, 227, 229, 368**  
**Maniaces the Catapan, 116**  
**Manicheans, 190**  
**Mantegna, Andrea, 418**  
**Manutius, Aldus, 392, 404**  
**Marcel, Etienne, 294, 502, 504, 505**  
**Marche, Count de la, 461, 468**  
**Margaret of Anjou, 549**  
 — — Burgundy, 553  
 — — Denmark, Queen, 349  
 — — Flanders, 510, 534  
 — — France, 455  
 — — Scotland, 541  
 — — York, 536, 547  
**Mark of Austria, 73**  
 — — Brandenburg, 74  
 — — Paris, 436  
 — — Schleswig, 66  
 — — Verona, 75  
**Markwald of Anweiler, 176**  
**Marmosets, 508, 511**  
**Marriage of Clergy, 16, 113, 121**  
**Marshals of Champagne and Normandy, 504**  
**Marsuppini, Carlo, 406**  
**Martel, Charles, 22, 563**  
**Martin V, Concordats of Pope, 303**  
**Mary of Anjou, 519, 526**  
 — — Burgundy, 344, 538, 550, 551, 552, 553  
**Masaccio, 414**
- Matilda, Countess of Anjou, 369, 448**  
 — — — Tuscany, 110, 122, 135, 136, 162, 178, 179, 199, 235  
 — Empress, 165, 451  
**Maulerc, Pierre, 467, 471**  
**Maultash, Margaret, 268**  
**Maximilian, 325, 326, 538, 558, 559**  
**Medici, Cosimo de', 372, 375, 378, 396, 402, 403, 411**  
 — Lorenzo, 372, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 404, 407  
 — Maddalena, 387, 389  
 — Piero, 342, 381, 382  
 — Salvestro, 375, 378  
**Melisend, 580**  
**Memmi, Simone, 416**  
**Mendicants (*see* Friars), 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 203, 205, 208, 212, 225**  
**Menved, Eric, King, 347**  
**Merovingians, 54**  
**Mersen, Edict of, 56**  
 — Partition of, 47  
**Michelangelo, 395**  
**Michelozzo, 411**  
**Mieclslav of Poland, 104 [148**  
**Milan, Aribert, Archbishop of, 113,**  
**Minnesingers, 168, 217**  
**Minorites, 187**  
**Mirandola, Count Pico della, 404, 406**  
**Missi of Charlemagne, 31, 82**  
**Mohammed II, 332, 360, 563**  
**Molay, de, 262**  
*Monarchia, De, 392*  
**Monophysite heresy, 13**  
**Monothelite heresy, 13**  
**Montefeltro, Federigo da, 382, 397, 402**  
**Montferrat, Conrad of, 586, 587, 589, 601**  
 — Boniface of, 593, 596, 597, 598  
**Montfort, Amaury de, 193, 463, 466**  
 — Countess de, 488  
 — John de, 488, 497, 499  
 — Simon de, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 463, 603  
**Moreale, Fra, 277**  
**Morosini, Thos., 596**  
**Mountain, The, 381, 382**  
**Mourzouffe, 595**  
**Mowbray, John de, 578**

- Naples, University of, 221  
 Nardi, 408  
 Narses, General, 8, 18  
 Neacademia, 404  
 Neapolitan Academy, 404  
 Neo-Paganism, 396  
 — Platonism, 396  
 Neroni, Diotisalvi, 381  
 Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, 13  
 Neustria, 21, 49, 51, 53, 57  
 Niccoli, Niccolò, 397, 402  
 Nicholas, Duke of Lorraine, 538  
 Nogaret, Wm. de, 257  
 Norbert, 143  
 Nordheim, Otto of, 124  
 Nordmark, 73  
 Normandy, Dukes of—  
   Longsword, William, 421, 437  
   Richard I (The Fearless), 421, 438  
   — II (The Good), 429, 430, 439, 440  
   Robert (The Devil), 430, 431, 440  
   Rollo, 431  
   William the Conqueror, 431, 433, 441, 447  
 Northmen or Danes, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56  
 Nureddin, 581, 583  
  
 Odilo, Bishop of Cluny, 111  
 Odo, Abbot of Cluny, 111  
 Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 568  
 — I, Count of Blois, 428  
 — II, Count of Blois, 430, 431  
 — IV of Burgundy, 473  
 Odoacer, 7  
 Oleron, Laws of, 614  
 Oliva, John Peter, 272  
 Omar, 563  
 — Mosque of, 202  
 Orcagna, Andrea, 411  
 Ordinance, Cabochien, 513  
 Ordinances of Justice, 373  
 Ordonnance, The Gens d', 530  
*Organon, Novum*, 395  
*Orlando Innamorato*, 407  
 Orleans, Relief of, 521  
 Orsini, 241, 254, 274  
 — Clarice degli, 382  
 Osbern, 442  
 Ostrogoths, 8  
  
 Otto of Brunswick, 368  
 — — Nordheim, 124, 142  
 — — Wittelsbach, 157, 166, 178  
 Ottocar of Bohemia, 173, 215, 246, 247, 248, 339, 352  
 — — Lunenburg, 215  
  
 Pandulf Iron Head, 80  
 Papacy, Power of, 120  
 Paracelsus, 394  
 Paraclete, 151  
 Paré, Ambrose, 394  
 Parliament, 470, 476  
*Parsifal*, 217  
 Paterini, "rag pickers," 122  
 Patrician, Pippin the Short, 38  
 Patrimony of St. Peter, 333  
 Paul, St., 9  
 Pazzi, Conspiracy of, 383, 389  
 Peace of Empire, 135  
 Pedro II of Aragon, 184, 192, 195  
 — the Cruel, 497  
 Pelagius, 15, 602  
 Pembroke, Earl of, 498  
 Perugino, 416  
 Peter of Castelnau, 191  
 — the Hermit, 564, 566, 570  
 — of Pisa, 34  
 — St., 16, 120, 123, 236  
 Petit, Jean, 302, 512  
 Petrarch, 397, 401  
 Petrobusians, 152  
 Pfaffen Kaiser, 278  
 Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 320, 493, 510, 511, 512, 533  
 — Count of Flanders, 458, 586  
 — the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 320, 366, 517, 519, 520, 522, 524, 525, 526, 533, 544  
 — of Navarre, 493  
 Philippa of Hainault, 484, 491  
 Philosophy, Scholastic, 400  
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius (*see* Pope Pius II)  
 Pierleoni, 140, 144, 151  
 Pilgrim of Cologne, 103  
 Pinturicchio, Bernardo, 417  
 Pippin of Aquitaine, 45, 53  
 — — Heristal, 21  
 — the Short, King, 18, 22, 38, 122  
 Pisano, Niccolò, 411  
 Pistres, Edict of, 48, 50

Pitti, Luca, 379, 381  
*Pius II, Commentaries of*, 398  
 Plasian, *Wm. de*, 257, 259, 264  
 Plethon, Gemistos, 403  
 Podestas, 158, 174, 372, 374  
 Podiebrand, 321, 324, 325  
 Poggio, 329, 406  
 Pol, Count of St., 539, 547, 549, 551  
 Politian, 404, 408  
 Polycarp, St., 10  
 Popes—  
   Alexander II, 129  
   — III, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162,  
     169, 456  
   — IV, 227, 229, 391  
   — V, 290, 291  
   — VI, 391  
   Benedict V, 78  
   — VIII, 95  
   — IX, 109, 113  
   — XI, 261  
   — XII, 267, 268, 485  
   Boniface VII, 86  
   — VIII, 244, 250, 253, 254, 255,  
     256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 475  
   — IX, 287, 294  
   Calixtus I, 16  
   — II, 137  
   Celestine II, 456, 591  
   — III, 174  
   — V, 253  
   Clement II, 109  
   — III, 350  
   — IV, 228  
   — V, 251, 253, 261, 262, 263, 264,  
     265  
   — VI, 268, 274, 485  
   Eugenius III, 164, 577  
   — IV, 308, 310, 313, 315, 317, 327  
   Gregory I (The Great), 567  
   — II, 15, 19  
   — V, 89  
   — VI, 109, 123  
   — VII (Hildebrand), 117, 118,  
     121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129,  
     132, 137, 234, 565  
   — VIII, 585  
   — IX, 186, 200, 203, 204, 205, 206,  
     210, 214, 236, 350, 351  
   — X, 235, 241  
   — XI, 284, 499  
   — XII, 288, 289

## Popes—

Hadrian I, 33  
 — IV, 154, 156, 157  
 Hildebrand (*see* Gregory VII)  
 Honorius III, 185, 199  
 Innocent I, 18  
 — II, 145, 452  
 — III, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182,  
   183, 184, 185, 191, 194, 195, 196,  
   197, 198, 212, 236  
 — IV, 206, 212, 215, 226, 350  
 — VI, 176  
 — VII, 287  
 — VIII, 336  
 John VIII, 48  
 — XII, 76, 77, 78  
 — XIII, 89, 99  
 — XIX, 105  
 — XXII, 265, 270, 271, 272, 273,  
   333  
 — XXIII, 298, 303, 308  
 Leo I, 11  
 — III, 38, 39  
 — IV, 109, 112  
 — IX, 114, 116, 117, 129, 135  
 Lucius III, 163  
 Martin IV, 241, 242  
 — V, 303, 304, 307, 308  
 Nicholas II, 122, 129  
 — III, 235, 241  
 — IV, 242  
 — V, 316, 317, 327, 328, 339  
 Paschal II, 135, 136  
 Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius), 325, 326,  
   329, 397  
 Sixtus IV, 366  
 Stephen II, 19, 22, 38  
 — V, 43  
 — IX, 59  
 Sylvester II (Gerbert), 90, 91, 92,  
   93, 428, 565  
 Urban II, 134, 565  
 — III, 163  
 — IV, 180, 227, 228, 229  
 — V, 283, 333  
 — VI, 284, 285, 286  
 Victor III, 134  
 Vigilius, 18  
 Zacharias, 22  
 Porcario, Stephen, 328  
 Porée, Gilbert de la, 152  
 Pornocracy, 76, 234

- Portugal, Eleanor of, 328, 330  
 Postumus, Ladislaus, 323, 324  
 Praemunire, 264  
 Pragers or Calixtines, 305, 307  
 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 229,  
 391, 471, 528, 543, 556  
 — — — Mainz, 391  
 Prague, Four Articles of, 305  
 Pragerie, 529  
 Preaching Friars, 185  
 Premonstratensian Rule, 185  
 Premonstratensians, 143  
 Prévôts, 464  
 Princes of the Lilies, 508, 509, 556  
 Procopius, 307  
 Provisors, Statutes of, 264  
 Prussia, Bishopric of, 351  
 Puy, Adhemar de, 567, 569, 570  
  
 Quercia, Jacopo della, 412  
  
 Rainald of Dassel, 156, 157, 159, 367  
 Ralph of Caen, 615  
 Ranulf, Count of Aversa, 110, 116  
 Ravenna, Exarchs of, 17, 76  
 Raymond of Agiles, 615  
 — Prince of Antioch, 453, 578  
 — Berengar V, Count of Provence,  
 469  
 — V of Toulouse, 456, 567, 570, 571  
 — VI of Toulouse, 190, 192  
 — VII of Toulouse, 192, 466, 468  
 — of Tripoli, 581  
 Reccared, King, 15  
 Redarii, 66  
 Reformation, 304, 312, 319, 329  
 — Cluniac, 110, 111, 564  
 — Slavonic, 312, 318  
 Reginald of Châtillon, 584  
 — Duke of Spoleto, 202  
 Rembrandt, 394  
 Remigius, St., 20  
 Renaissance, 329, 381  
 — in Italy, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394,  
 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400  
 René of Lorraine, 344, 386, 538, 539,  
 540, 558  
 Revival of Learning, 395, 400, 401,  
 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408,  
 409, 410  
 Riario, Girolamo, 383, 384, 387  
 — Piero, 385  
  
 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 246, 603  
 — I, The Fearless, 421, 438  
 Richemont, Constable de, 524, 525,  
 527, 528, 529  
 Rienzi, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277  
 Robbia, Andrea della, 412  
 Robert of Artois, 205, 463, 471, 500,  
 501, 605  
 — Count of Flanders, 568  
 — Duke of France, 53  
 Roger Raymond (Viscount  
 Beziers), 190, 191  
 Roi fainéants, 21  
 Roland, 30  
 Rollo, 50, 52, 53, 421  
 Roman Academy, 404  
 — Commonwealth, 171  
 — Commune, 164  
 — Law, 4, 465  
 Romano, Eccelin da, 204, 209, 227,  
 230  
 Romuald of Ravenna, 111  
 Rossellino, Antonio, 412  
 — Bernardo, 412  
 Rostock, 346  
 Roum, Sultanate of, 563, 571, 576  
 Rovere, Giuliano della, 384  
 Rudolf III of Arles (Burgundy), 102,  
 105, 432  
 — Count of Ivry, 439  
 — of Swabia, 126, 130  
 Rügen, 165  
 Rupert, Count Palatine, 294  
  
 Sachsenspiegel, 217  
 Sacred Lance, 569  
 Sagarelli, Gerard, 272  
 St. Augustine, 15  
 — Bernard, 189, 453, 454, 477  
 — Boniface, 22  
 — Francis of Assisi, 144, 145, 186  
 — Ignatius, 10  
 — Peter, 16, 120, 123, 236  
 — Polycarp, 10  
 — Remigius, 20  
 — Stephen, King of Hungary, 90,  
 04, 104, 455  
 Saladin, 170, 583, 586, 587, 589, 591  
 Salic Law, 480, 488  
 Salimbeni, 370  
 Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, 384  
 Salza, Hermann von, 202, 351

- Sarcho, King of Portugal, 184**  
**Sannazzaro, Jacopo, 407**  
**Saracens, 30, 31, 570**  
 — of Sicily, 119  
**Sarzana, Thos. of (see Pope Nicholas V)**  
**Savonarola, 388**  
**Saxon Emperors, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100**  
**Scala, Mastino della, 370**  
**Scanderbeg, 360**  
**Schism in the Empire, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295**  
 — Great, 508  
**Schwyz, 339, 342**  
**Sciarra, Colonna, 254, 257, 259, 260**  
**Scot, Michael, 221**  
**Seneschaux, 470, 477**  
**Serfs, 465, 611**  
 "Serrata," 358  
**Service of Ladies, 217**  
**Setignano, Desiderio da, 412**  
**Seventy, The, 383**  
**Sforza, Caterina, 383, 387**  
 — Francesco, 327, 372, 383, 545  
 — Gian Galeazzo, 387, 397  
 — Galeazzo Maria, 372, 382, 384, 539, 540  
 — Ludovico, 372, 386, 387, 388, 397  
**Shah Turan, 605, 606**  
**Sibylla, 581, 588**  
*Sic et Non, 151*  
**Sicilian Parliament, 220**  
 — Vespers, 241  
**Sicily, Kings of—**  
 Roger I, 119, 122, 145, 146  
 — II, 119, 140, 145  
 Tancred, 166, 174  
 William III, 160, 174  
 — the Bad, 155, 156, 157, 160  
**Sieges—**  
**Acre, 1189-1191—586**  
**Alençon, 1048-443**  
**Alexandria, 1174-1175—160**  
**Antioch, 1098—569**  
**Brescia, 1238—204**  
**Calais, 1347—490**  
**Cambrai, 1339—487**  
**Carcassonne, 1209—192**  
**Constantinople, 1203—594; 1204—595; 1261—598; 1453—329**  
**Damietta, 1218-1219—602**  
**Durazzo, 118**
- Sieges—**  
**Jerusalem, 1099—569; 1187—584**  
**Limoges, 1370—498**  
**Lisbon, 1147—579. 610**  
**Messina, 1190—586**  
**Moisson, 995—92**  
**Neuss, 1474—538**  
**Neustadt, 1452—326**  
**Orleans, 1427—520**  
**Otranto, 1480—334**  
**Palermo, 1072—119**  
**Parma, 1247-1248—269**  
**Pavia, 774—38**  
**Toulouse, 1218—193**  
**Tyre, 1124—575**  
**Vienna, 1485—326**  
**Zara, 1202—593**  
**Sigismund of Tyrol, 343, 537, 539**  
**Signorelli, Luca, 395, 416**  
**Signory of Venice, 373, 374, 379, 383**  
**Simony, 113, 286**  
**Skaania, 346, 349, 350**  
**Soderini, Niccolo, 381**  
 — Tommaso, 382  
**Somme towns, 525, 535, 544, 546, 548, 549, 550, 552**  
**Sorbes, 30, 101**  
**Sorbonne, 555**  
**Sorel, Agnes, 524, 529, 531**  
**Spanish Mark, 30**  
**States-General, 477, 478, 494, 502, 503, 504, 507, 528, 554, 557**  
**Statutum in favorem Principum, 213, 240**  
**Stedings, 216**  
**Stephania, widow of Crescentius, 90**  
**Stephen, Count of Blois, 568, 574**  
**Stigmata, 187**  
**Strasburg, Godfrey of, 217**  
**Styria, Frederick of, 320, 322**  
**Suevi, 9**  
**Suffolk, Duke of, 526**  
**Suger, 153, 449, 450, 457**  
**Swabia, Burkhard of, 64**  
**Swabian League, 278, 281, 292**  
**Swiss Confederation, 292, 325**  
**Sword, Order of, 351**  
**Syagrius, 20**  
**Sylvius, Aeneas, 316, 317, 322, 327, 329 (see also Pope Pius II)**

Taborites, 307, 311  
 Taille, The, 528  
 Talbot, 527  
 Talvas, Wm., 441  
 Tancred, King of Sicily, 568, 586, 587  
 Tankmar, 68  
 Tardvenus, 494  
 Tartars, 216, 361  
 Telescope, 394  
 Templars, 202, 262, 264, 350, 575, 582, 589, 600, 603, 604, 607  
 Ten of the Sea, 374  
 Tertiaries, 186, 187  
 Tertullian, 11  
 Teutonic Order, Knights of, 252, 350, 354, 602, 604  
 Thaddeus of Suessa, 207, 225  
 Theobald IV (the Great), 452, 453, 456, 467, 469, 593, 603, 604  
 — V, Count of Blois, 586  
 Theodore of Gaza, 329  
 Theophano, Princess of Constantinople, 80, 81, 88  
 Theoderich III, 21  
 Thierry, Count of Flanders, 451, 579  
 Thorns, Crown of, 598  
 Three Imposters, 205, 225  
 Thurstan of Goz, 442  
 Tiepolo, Bajamonte, 359  
 — Jacopo, 359  
 Timour, 295, 309  
 Toesny, Roger de, 442  
 Tolomei, 370  
 Tornabuoni, Lucrezia, 381  
 Tortulf, 445  
 Traversari, Ambrogio, 404  
 Tremouille, La, 521, 523, 524, 529  
 Treaties—  
   Aachen, 817—44  
   Arras, 1482—553  
   Aubin, St. du Cormier, 1231—467  
   Augsburg, 1184—163  
   Auxerre, 1412—513  
   Bretigny, 1360—495  
   Clair-sur-Epte, 911—436  
   Conflans, 1465—546  
   Constance, Peace of, 1183—162  
   Corbeil, 1258—469  
   Elaloo, 882—51  
   Gisors, 1113—451, 456

## Treaties—

Guerande, 1365—497  
 Lambeth, 1217—463  
 Lorris, Peace of, 1243—468  
 Meaux, 1229—193, 468  
 Montebello, Peace of, 1174—160  
 Omer, St., 1469—537  
 Pampeluna, 1365—496  
 Paris, 1259—469  
 Pecquigny, 1475—551  
 Presburg, 1491—326  
 San Germano, Peace of, 1230—202, 203  
 — — Treaty of, 1225—201  
 Stralsund, 1370—348  
 Thorn, Peace of, 1411—353  
 Troyes, 1420—517  
 Venice, Peace of, 1177—160, 161, 165, 170  
 Verdun, 843—35, 46, 55  
 Worms, Concordat of, 1122—136, 137  
 — Treaty of, 1194—172, 173  
 Trissino, 408  
 Tristan, son of St. Louis, 605  
 Troubadours, 190, 217  
 Truce of God, 443  
 True Cross, 564, 584, 585  
 Tunis, Sultan of, 607  
 Turks, 309, 332, 335, 360, 386, 391  
 — Seljuk, 569, 573, 601  
 Tusculum, Counts of, 113  
 Twelve Peers of France, 457  
 Type, The, 13  
 Tyre, William, Archbishop of (*see* William)  
 Tyrol, Frederick of, 299, 300, 320, 325  
 — Sigismund of, 225, 326  
 Uberti, Farinata del, 368  
 Uccello, Paolo, 415  
 Ugolino, Cardinal  
   (*see* Pope Gregory IX)  
 Umbrian School of Painting, 416  
 University of Leipsic, 298  
 — — Paris, 273, 288, 289, 465, 513, 555  
 — — Pisa, 389  
 — — Prague, 281, 297, 298  
 Urselingen, Conrad of, 174  
 Uzzano, Niccolo da, 378

- Valla, Laurentius, 329, 406**  
**Vandals, 9, 15**  
**Vatican Library, 402**  
**Vecchio, Palazzo, 373**  
**Venetian School of Painting, 417**  
**Vermandois, Herbert of, 53, 59**  
**Verona, Guarino da, 409**  
 — Leagne of, 158  
**Verrocchio, 412**  
**Vexin, 433, 455, 459, 460**  
**Vezelai, 154, 453**  
**Vienna, Concordat of, 316, 322, 330**  
**Villeneuves, 457**  
**Vinci, Leonardo da, 400**  
**Vinea, Peter de, 209, 221, 223**  
**Visconti, Azzo, 370**  
 — Bernabo, 282  
 — Filippo Maria, 308, 311, 327, 371, 378, 380  
 — Gian Galeazzo, 266, 286, 287, 294, 371, 376, 384  
 — Giovanni, Archbishop, 282, 286, 287, 294, 362, 387  
**Visigoths, 8, 20**  
**Vitelli, Niccolo, 384**  
**Vitry, Massacre of, 577**  
**Vogelweide, Walter von der, 217**  
  
**Walbert, Archbishop of Milan, 76**  
**Waldemar, King of Denmark, 165, 215, 347**  
**Waldenses, 189**  
**Waldo, Peter, 189**  
**Walter, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 182**  
 — the Penniless, 366  
**War of Exiles, 382**  
 — Public Weal, 534, 542, 544  
**Warwick the Kingmaker, 544, 547**  
**Weiblingsen, Lords of, 141**  
**Wenceslas, Good King, of Bohemia, 63**  
  
**Wendish towns, 345, 347, 349**  
**Wenda, 54, 71, 86, 88, 351**  
**White Ship, 451**  
**Whites, 372**  
**William of Aquitaine, 428, 446, 573**  
 — the Atheling, 448  
 — of Champeaux, 151  
 — the Clito, 448, 452  
 — the Conqueror  
     (*see* Kings of England)  
 — Count of Holland, 208, 209, 245, 488  
 — of the Iron Arm, 116  
 — the Lion, King of Scots, 455  
 — Archbishop of Mainz, 70, 71, 97  
 — of Montferrat, 581  
 — Count of Nevers, 573  
 — of Ockham, 188  
 — I, King of Prussia, 321  
 — of Sicily, 585  
 — Tyre, 568, 583, 615  
 — Bishop of Utrecht, 126, 129  
 — de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, 576  
**Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, 88, 90**  
**Wiltzes, 30, 74, 164**  
**Winchelsea, Archbishop, 255**  
**Witikind, 28**  
**Wittlesbachs, The, 269, 278, 279, 323, 340, 341, 352**  
**Wolfram of Eschenbach, 217**  
**Woodville, Elizabeth, 544**  
**Wycliffe, 286, 297**  
  
**Yolande of Aragon, Duchess of Anjou, 519, 521, 524**  
 — Duchess of Savoy, 539, 540  
**York, Alcuin of, 34**  
  
**Zangi, 576**  
**Zara, 359**  
**Zeno, Carlo, 362**  
**Ziaka, 306, 307**



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