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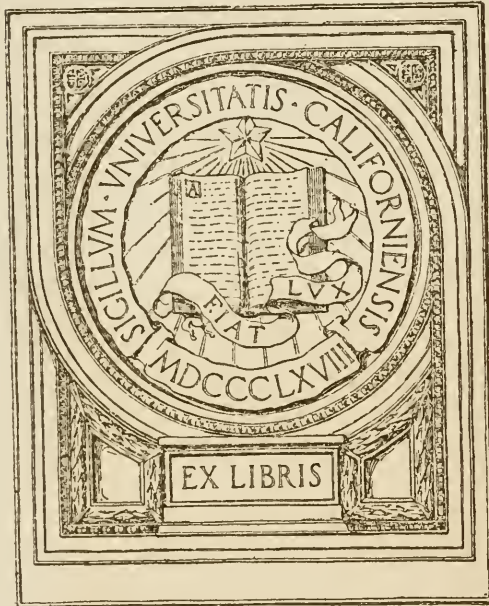
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THE
EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY

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BOOK I.

THE WESTERN PEOPLES.

THE WESTERN PEOPLES.

CHAPTER I.

THE KINGDOM OF THE LANGOBARDS (LOMBARDS).

THE period of history known as the Early Middle Ages—which extends from the collapse of the Roman Empire to the re-establishment of universal dominion in the West by Charlemagne—falls into two grand divisions,—that of the Great Migrations, which has been treated in the preceding volume, and that of the history of the peoples of the West and East after the migrations, which is the main subject of the present volume. Few epochs are equal in importance to this period: in it the Germanic tribes, leaving their ancient seats, occupied Western and Central Europe; in it were established the nationalities upon which were ultimately laid the foundations of Modern Europe. As earlier the Roman and the Greek, and later the Roman and the Celt, so now the Roman and the Teuton were brought face to face, and in the great conflict that ensued, partly peaceful and partly warlike, were determined the issues of modern history. In this epoch the Christian Church came into its inheritance, and, though feeble at first and rent by controversy and schism, ultimately extended its sway over the whole of Central and Western Europe and of the Mediterranean littoral. The Roman Empire, disintegrated in Rome and the West, maintained a formal existence in Constantinople and the East, where also the learning, arts and civilization of classical antiquity were perpetuated in different forms by a Christianized people. In the farther East a new civilization, with a new religion—that of the Arabs and their subjects—was taking form and entering upon a career of conquest.

Of the history of the Northern tribes, whose migrations and final settlement within the territory that once belonged to the Roman Empire led to the establishment of different kingdoms, that of the Vandals, Goths (both the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths), and Burgundians has already been narrated. It remains for us to take up in the present volume the history of three other groups of tribes and peoples—the Langobards, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons—whose institutions and civilization, partly through happy combinations with those of Rome, and

partly through a native power and vitality, were destined to a greater permanence and to more commanding position than those of the other peoples.

The first of these tribes or groups to be considered will be the Langobards (Lombards), who, after many wanderings and vicissitudes, finally became settled at the very centre of the ancient Roman Empire, in Italy itself.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

Of all the Germanic tribes there is none that has been so fortunate as the Langobards in having preserved with equal faithfulness their early history, tradition, and legends. To begin with, we are indebted for valuable information to the historians of the time of the Empire—to Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Dio Cassius. Then follow the “Lives of the Popes” and the Ravenna Annals of the Sixth Century. The latter, unfortunately, we do not possess in their full text, but only at second-hand through works derived from them, and the case is much the same with the Byzantine Annals compiled in Milan. Of course, we learn much also from the works of contemporary neighbors, notably from Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, Johannes of Bielaro, Jordanes, Procopius, Agathias and his continuators, and the continuation of Prosper.

But the main sources are supplied neither by foreigners nor provincials: they spring from the people themselves. About the year 670, a Langobard compiled a history of the “Origin of the Langobard Nation” from the songs still alive in the land, availing himself little of written authority. Occasional glimpses of history are to be found in the code of laws of King Rothari, though this, too, shared the fate of the Ravenna Annals. The history compiled by Abbot Secundus of Trent, who died in 612, fared still worse; we know it only from occasional references to it by Paulus Diaconus.

This Paulus comes distinctly in the foreground with his “History of the Langobards.” Born about 720 of a noble Lombard family owning lands in Friuli in Northeastern Italy, he was probably, according to old German usage, trained at the court of Rachi at Pavia, where, on entering the royal civil service under Desiderius, he became tutor of one of his daughters. After the overthrow of the kingdom, he remained a time beside his pupil in Benevento; later, as a monk, he retired to the quiet Monte Cassino, to be, in 776, involved along with his family in a revolt of the Friulians against the Franks. Then, in 781, came Charlemagne to Rome, wisely and mildly ordering matters, whereupon Paulus addressed

an elegy to him, in which he sued for mercy for his brothers. Shortly thereafter he moved to the court of the Frankish ruler, the rendezvous of the most eminent scholars. Here he was busy in many directions, writing, among other things, a history of the Bishops of Metz (the earliest example of such episcopal histories) and a biography of Gregory the Great. After 787, we find him again in Monte Cassino, engaged on the main work of his life—the six books of the history of the Langobards.

Unfortunately, this work was never completed. It reaches only to the death of Liutprand (744), and so is silent in regard to the compiler's own time. Paulus's style is clear, pleasing, and of unadorned simplicity, his narratives resting on both verbal tradition and written authorities. His chronology is unreliable at times, but this is compensated for by his spirit of truth, his earnestness, and his love for the old legends and sagas which, in a way peculiar to himself, he interweaves with his story. By no other writer of the time are fancy and fact so agreeably intermingled, and this in such a manner that the latter suffers nothing. His historical sense is limited in the extreme; thus he tells us, quite ingenuously, how King Kuninkpert was one day standing at his palace window meditating a scheme of murder. Peevishly he tried to kill a great fly with his knife, but cut off only one of its legs. Immediately a cripple, limping on a wooden leg, meets the people he had doomed and warns them of their danger. Thus warned, they flee for refuge into the church. "Then the king recognized that the fly whose leg he had cut off had become an evil spirit, and had betrayed his secret thoughts." In everything Paulus appears a true type of his race, warlike, delighting in legends, but with the critical faculty undeveloped. The value of his work is beyond estimation. Wanting it, we should at times know next to nothing of the history of the Langobards.

Luckily, exactly where Paulus is silent, other sources speak out more fully and unreservedly than they do elsewhere. These supplementary authorities are "The Lives of the Popes" (*Liber Pontificalis*), the "Chronicle of Novalesse," that of the Monk of Salerno, and letters of the popes. To all these sources must be added charters and other documents (numerous from the time of Liutprand), inscriptions, verses, coins, etc., and, though last, not least, the collection of the laws of the Langobards.

THE LANGOBARDS AND THEIR WANDERINGS (A. D. 5-565).

"The glory of the Langobardi," says Tacitus, "is the smallness of their numbers, since, though surrounded by many powerful nations, they

ensure their safety not by obsequiousness, but by their spirit of martial enterprise." In these words he has embodied the essence of Langobard history.

Their national legend makes as their birthplace the island of Scandinavia. There lived the old "Winili" with many other peoples amid snow and ice, and surrounded by the gloomy North Sea. One day the duke of the Vandals said to them: "Either pay us tribute or arm for combat." They chose war, and addressed themselves for help to Wodan's spouse, Freya. She counselled them that at the rising of the sun the Winili should come with their wives, who let their hair hang over their faces like beards. They obeyed, and when dawn cleared the sky, Freya turned Wodan's countenance toward the East, and awoke him. Looking up, he saw the figures whose hair waved around their faces. He demanded: "Who are these Longbeards?" Thereupon Freya replied: "My lord, thou hast given them a name; give them also victory." He granted her prayer, and from that day the Winili were called Langobardi. Philology suggests a very different etymology. It derives the name from the long lances (Germ. *Hellebarden*, 'halberds') that constituted their main national weapon.

The people clung to their close relation with the chief Teutonic divinity. As masters of Italy, they, for more than a hundred years, maintained sacred groves in the old land of the Samnites, sacrificed to Wodan, and with holy awe approached their prophetic groves. Their thirst after military protection and the secrets of nature was met by the figure of St. Michael, which gradually blended with that of Wodan. St. Michael's church in their capital, Pavia, was regarded as a national shrine, wherein down to a late period the Berengars were crowned. Their national coinage bore the impress of the saint, his figure appears even to have fluttered on their battle-flags, and tradition says that the heathen people conquered Italy under the leading of the archangel. In Lower Italy, where native customs maintained themselves most persistently, shrines dedicated to St. Angelo are to be found almost everywhere.

When the tribe waxed too numerous for the narrow bounds of their original island, the people divided themselves into three sections, and decided by lot which of them should wander forth and seek new settlements. Those destined to wander chose two brothers—the champions Ibor and Agio—for their leaders, and set out. To increase their fighting force they made freemen out of foreign slaves, and that these might be looked upon as freeborn, their masters strengthened the ceremony by delivering them a javelin, according to custom. Once, on seeing powerful masses of enemies, they spread a report that in their own camp were

men with dogs' heads, who, savage as berserkers, thirsted for human blood. Their passage of a river was stopped by Amazons on horseback, till their king, swimming into the water with his bravest, fought with and slew them.

History speaks much more soberly. According to it, the Langobards belonged to the Suevian High German group, dwelling on the left bank of the Lower Elbe in a district to which the name of Bardengau (beard-district) adhered. Velleius, the first to make mention of them,



FIG. 1. — Lombard Coins. Nos. 1-7, gold; No. 8, silver. Nos. 6 and 7 are coins of the city of Milan. Original size. (Berlin.)

says that "they were wilder than the wild German folk," and had been subdued with difficulty by Tiberius in the year 5 A. D. Soon thereafter they must have fallen under the sway of Marbod. In common with the Semnones they revolted from him, and fought on the side of Arminius (Hermann) the Cheruscan, to whose tribe they were closely allied.

The pressure of the peoples in the Second Century affected also the Langobards, and detachments in the Mareomannian war reached even the Danube. We find the main horde, about 500 A. D., in the land of the Rugii, and also north of the Danube between Vienna and Linz. Here King Agelmund was raised on the shield,—the ceremony practised in making a king—and was the first really historical ruler. The people made no long stay either in Bohemia or on the Middle Danube. Under King Tato they wandered to the wide, level “field” (probable the flat country between the Theiss and the Danube) where they came into collision with the Heruli, overthrew them in a bloody fight, and took possession of their settlements. Tato’s successor, Wacho, had already become the renowned leader of a people mighty in arms. In the spring of 539, Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, asked their help against the Emperor Justinian. This they rejected, as they had already allied themselves with the Byzantines. Wacho stood in close relation to the Thuringians, the Heruli, the Gepidae, the Franks, and Warns (Varini).

Auduin, the second in succession to Wacho, led the Langobards across the Danube into Pannonia in close proximity to the Gepidae. War soon broke out between them, which, complicated by Byzantine policy and interrupted by treaties, was constantly renewed till, in 551, it resulted in a great battle which was disastrous to the Gepidae. Paulus Diaconus tells that in the midst of the struggle, a hand-to-hand conflict ensued between the sons of the rival kings, in which the Gepidan prince fell, whereon his army fled in dismay, pursued by the Langobards. The latter people, on reaching home, proposed to their king that he should make his son Alboin, who had thus proved his manhood, his table-companion. The king, however, replied: “You know that the king’s son may not sit at table with his father before he has received arms from the hands of the king of a strange nation.” When Alboin heard this, he went to the Gepidan king and told him his desire. This monarch then invited him to table, and set him on his right hand in the place where the son Alboin had slain was wont to sit. During the banquet, memory overpowered the old man. He groaned aloud and said: “The place is dear to me, but the face of the man who now sits in it is heavy to me.” This moved his trusty friends, above all, the king’s second son. Hot words were spoken, and swords gleamed in their hands. But the king separated the brawlers, for the slaughter of a confiding guest appeared to him a work by no means pleasing to God. Well-entertained, Alboin returned home, bearing not only the arms of honor, but Cupid’s arrow in his bosom, for during his visit he had seen the beautiful Rosamunda, daughter of Kunimund, later king.

Alboin the son of Auduin first espoused, from political motives, the Frankish princess Chlotosvinda, then, on her death, he turned to his first love, the Gepidan princess, and as she would not follow him of free will, he carried her off by violence. In vain did Kunimund demand back his ravished daughter. In the ensuing war the Langobards were defeated, the Emperor Justin II. having espoused the Gepidan cause. Rosamunda had to be delivered up. Impelled by necessity and thirst for revenge Alboin looked around for allies, and at length found such in the savage Avars, east of the Pruth. In vain did the Gepidæ call on Byzantium for help. Assailed at once from east and west, in desperation they hurled themselves upon the Langobards. In a frightful conflict they were so utterly routed that scarcely a messenger was left to tell of their defeat. The booty was immense. What the Langobards spared fell under the hard yoke of the Avars. At Byzantium there was joy and jubilation because the enemies thus destroyed each other, so that victors and vanquished should at last be slaves at the court of the emperor.

One prize of the war was Rosamunda, whom Alboin now took for his spouse. It is said he slew her father on the battle-field and made a beaker out of his skull.

Soon were the Langobards to learn that the neighborhood of the Avars was more dangerous than that of the Gepidæ; that their own land, open on all sides, lay untilled; and that only a mountain-range separated them from alluring, sunny Italy. Through countrymen serving in the Byzantine army and through travelling merchants, they learned that it had just been in the possession of another German people. True, the Emperor Justinian had, on August 13, 554, issued his Pragmatic Sanction for Italy, which united it with the rest of the Empire, settled the legislation and administration, repressed the abuses of the inferior officials, and maintained the institutions for the study of grammar, rhetoric, medicine, and jurisprudence. But this edict had not brought peace, and the Eastern financial system kept the inhabitants in poverty. Finally, the vigorous Narses—a terror to every foe—was deprived of his governorship,¹ and the most formidable obstacle in the way of an attack removed.

¹The dominion of the Byzantine emperor in Italy was organized as an exarchate, with an exarch or governor, who had civil, military, and often ecclesiastical authority. The exarchate was first established in 568, with Narses as exarch, fifteen years after this distinguished general of Justinian had conquered Italy from the Ostrogoths. The exarchate at first comprised the whole of Italy but was soon restricted to Ravenna and the adjacent districts (Exarchate of Ravenna). It was finally destroyed by the Lombards in 752; but three years later King Pepin the Short, of France, conquered Ravenna and the Lombards and ceded Ravenna to the pope.—ED.

All these things co-operated to provoke the Langobards to an inroad, and they sallied forth, followed by numerous swarms of various races, even Saxons, and protected in their rear by a treaty with the Avars.

Here the legend again takes up the story. It tells how the Langobards were called into the land by Narses. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Narses summoned them because the Romans cried out against his harsh rule; according to Isidore of Seville, because he was alarmed by the threatening expressions of the Empress Sophia. Others make her even send the governor a spindle, with the derisive remark that he, as a eunuch, must prefer managing the weaving-chamber to ruling nations. Narses answered that he would weave a web for her that she would not unravel in her lifetime; thereupon, he sent an invitation to the Langobards to leave their niggard fields in Pannonia and take possession of Italy, so rich in treasures. Gleelessly they listened to the summons. Still, south of the Alps, terrible tokens were visible; nightly, fiery conflicts in the heavens presaged a bloody future.

THE LANGOBARDS IN ITALY (A. D. 568-774).

In May, 568, the main mass of the Langobards reached the Italian frontier. There Alboin is said to have ascended a hill and looked far and wide over the land of promise. The hill afterward bore the name of "Königsberg" (the king's mountain). In reality, the legend grew out of the name.

The conquerors came in the nick of time. An idea had become general among the provincials that they had better be subject to German caprice than ground to the earth by the oppressive rule of Byzantium. Narses had been recalled, and plotted revenge; the natives were at variance with the troops quartered on them; Aquileia, the frontier province of the Church, was discontented with Rome and Byzantium; North Italy, the old Gothic head-quarters, at no time to be relied on, had just suffered from a devouring pest. Disorder and trouble prevailed everywhere; the arm of no great captain protected Italy, and the imperial court had neither the earnest will nor the ability for a determined defence. Everything prognosticated the issue of the war. The Byzantine rulers, indeed, in many towns, offered resistance, assisted by the unskillfulness of the barbarians in conducting a siege. On the other hand, the Langobards were not numerous enough to overrun all the land, so that the old masters were able to maintain themselves, especially on the coasts, with Ravenna on the Adriatic, Rome and Naples on the Mediterranean, as their chief strongholds.

Friuli fell without resistance into the hands of King Alboin, who

made over this important province, which covered his line of retreat, as a duchy to his nephew Gisulf. The patriarch Paul of Aquileia fled to the fortified island of Grado; Honoratus, Archbishop of Milan, hurried over the Apennines to Genoa. Felix, Bishop of Treviso, acted differently; he went to meet the king, and was accordingly maintained in his possessions. Verona and Milan surrendered without a stroke, and all North Italy was soon subdued, save some strong places, as Parma, Monfelicce, Cremona, Piacenza, and, above all, the strong Pavia—the Gothic capital—which resisted for three years. Alboin, in his wrath, had vowed to deliver over the whole population to massacre. As he entered, however, his horse stumbled under the gateway and could not be raised till he promised mercy. All the people streamed to the new ruler as he sat in Theodoric's palace, "and again, after so much misery, conceived hope."

During the siege, the subjugation of the land went on apace. The Ligurian coast-towns defended themselves stoutly, yet Tuscany seems to have fallen rapidly. Without delay, the invaders pressed southward. Individual offshoots made good their footing in the Apennines, and, in the midst of foes, founded the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, the latter probably in 571. The king conferred the duchy on Zotto. The exuberant strength of the barbarians sought vent in another direction, namely, against an old antagonist—the Franks. As early as 569, certain bands had crossed the Alps and been hurled back. A second army followed, overthrew a Franco-Burgundian force, and brought home a rich booty. A third attempt ended in disaster.

Alboin seems to have perished in 573, foully murdered by night in the palace of Verona by members of his own household, who had been instigated by his wife, who still brooded revenge. It is said that one day, while deep in carousal with Kumimund's skull as his beaker, he commanded the queen to drink jovially with her father. This filled the measure of her wrath. The man whom she selected for the black deed shrank back. She then got him to go to bed, as he thought, with her favorite waiting-woman, slept with him herself, and thereafter disclosing herself, said: "Now thou hast done a deed such that either thou must slay Alboin or thy blood will stain his sword." He yielded to necessity. When the king retired to rest she removed all his weapons save his sword, which she bound fast in its sheath. The murderer entered. The king, recognizing his danger, grasped for his sword. It refused to be drawn. He then seized a stool and defended himself till he sank overpowered. The lamentation of his people followed him to the grave. His wife set free the assassin Helmichis, but had to flee from the wrath of the Langobards to Ravenna. Here the governor Longinus sued for

her favor. She listened, and reached her paramour a cup of poison. As soon as he realized that he had drunk the cup of death, he drew his sword and compelled his accomplice to drain the remainder. "And thus the sacrilegious pair died in the same hour, by the judgment of God."

The Langobards were more violent in their conquest than their predecessors, the Goths. Rejoicing in an unbridled military spirit, they looked down with contempt on Byzantine culture. They were, and they felt themselves to be, victors and conquerors. With the avidity of unchained barbarians they stormed forth to seize and to enjoy; plundered all they came on, and struck down all that offered resistance. Religious questions had no part in their warlike impulses. It was not religious fanaticism which prompted them to plunder churches, but rather the wealth that these possessed. Even their main opponent, Pope Gregory I., ever ready to malign them, had to acknowledge: "God's grace so tempers the savageness of the Langobards, that it does not permit even their sacrilegious priests to persecute the faith of the Orthodox." Hand-in-hand with the seizure of new possessions, went their settlement, the adjustment of relations between Germans and provincials, and the insertion of Langobard provisions and institutions in the pre-existing social framework (see p. 279, Vol. VI.). Instead of, like other Germans, permitting the races who accompanied them—Gepidae, Suevi, Bulgarians, Sarmatians, etc.—to govern themselves by their own laws, they compelled all, even such as settled apart by themselves, to submit to the Langobard code, which thus became the law of the land. Such as could not accommodate themselves to it, as the Saxons, were free to depart.

No less pregnant of consequences was the establishment of duchies, which moulded Langobard history in a peculiar fashion and came to be a source of dissension and decadence. The ducal order had its root in remote antiquity. It was a development from the *gau*-chiefs (*principes*), along side of whom, in the course of long wars and wanderings, monarchy was gradually evolved from the earlier dukes (*duces*) and, for a time, pressed this order into the background. After the conquest of Italy, which elevated monarchy to its supreme pitch, the king appointed the dukes for life, selecting them mainly from the nobles. The sphere of their functions comprised the highest military, judicial, and police power, their official districts coinciding with the old Roman municipalities, so that the *civitas* (city with its district) and the dukedom were the same political unit. Beside the duke stood the *gastalde*, or royal steward, who had the care of the royal interests proper, administered the crown-property, and gradually arrogated to himself the management of finance and certain judicial and police powers. In the crown-lands he appears

to have been the chief official, and for this reason did not ordinarily reside in the ducal capital, but in another, usually a distinctly royal city. The duke and steward controlled in conjunction in the entire district; a number of Langobard kinsmen, settled therein, offered ready support to them. The capital of the kingdom was at first Verona; under Agilulf, Milan; then Pavia, whose royal palace constituted the focus of royal power. Here were the crown-treasures (cf. Figs. 1-4). In accordance with the ancient disposition, the city districts mostly coincided with episcopal

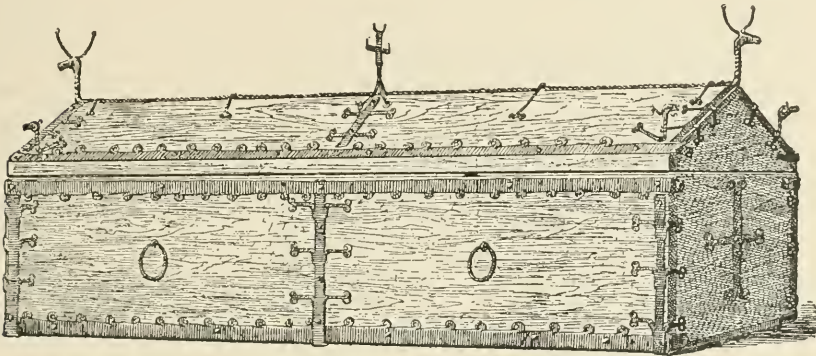


FIG. 2. — Coffin from a royal Lombard grave. Discovered in 1885, in the cemetery near the village Civezzano, east of Trent. Restored. The iron mountings were preserved, and though the woodwork had decayed, fragments showed that it was of larch. Length—determined by the length of the spear—7 ft. 9 in. ; width—determined by that of the shield—2 ft. 7 in. ; greatest height, 2 ft. 7 in. The skeleton was well preserved, and lay with its face to the east; at its side, a long two-edged sword, three arrowheads, and near the head a leaf-shaped lance-head. At the left side of the skeleton lay a short sword with one cutting edge (scramasax), a richly ornamented shield-boss, an iron bracelet, and an iron pair of shears. On the breast lay a cross of pressed gold; above the abdomen bronze objects of a pyramidal shape, and meshes of gold thread; upon the lower parts of the thighs a large bronze basin. Other objects were also found with the body. Over the whole lay the iron mountings of the coffin; upon the six corners of the cover were represented the heads of stags and of rams. (From Wieser.)

dioceses, so that the city proper was at once the seat of the duke, of the foremost Langobards, and of the spiritual head. This distribution of Italy into city-states was of the more importance in that it conferred on the kingdom a greater power of resistance in war. On the other hand, it conferred on their rulers a dangerous facility for concentrating their strength when the crown was weak. We may here observe the prototype of the later German Empire, where the lustre of the crown paled before the aspiring territorial lords.

Alboin's sudden death already interfered with the previous development of the state to the prejudice of the royal authority. He left no

son, and his only daughter fell into the hands of the Byzantines. His murderer, Helmichis, had expiated his aspirations with his life. There seems to have been no one who had a legitimate claim to the crown. Those, therefore, who stood next to the monarch in power and prestige came to the foreground, that is, the dukes. Yet it is not surprising that they regarded one elevated from their own body in a different light from a ruler of the royal line.

Five months after Alboin's death, the eminent Duke Klef (573-575) was by universal suffrage installed in Pavia. To repress revolt he caused a number of the powerful Romans to be put to death. In a year and a half he himself fell by the sword of a slave, leaving a son, yet a minor. According to old German usage a minor was incapable of succeeding,

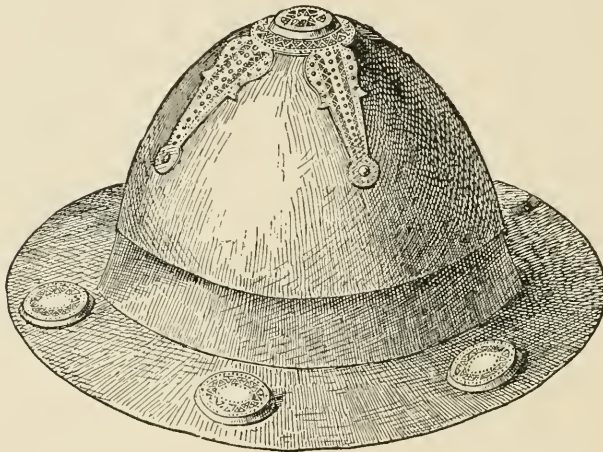


FIG. 3. — Iron shield-boss with gilded bronze mountings. From the Lombard grave at Civezzano. (From Wieser.)

and the power of the dukes prevented a regency. Thus the throne stood unoccupied for ten years, and this interregnum the thirty-five (or thirty-six) ducal potentates utilized for their own enrichment, the extension and securing of their domains. Noble Romans and priests were slain, churches plundered, cities seized, the crown-lands taken possession of and settled with Langobards, much to the prejudice of the provincials, who themselves were reduced to serfdom or rendered tributary. For a long time Langobards lay encamped near the renowned monastery of St. Maurice-en-Valais, till they were decisively defeated by the Franks near Bex, in 574. The check had no effect, for soon three dukes were again ravaging with their folk, laying waste Provence with fire and sword, till they, too, succumbed to the Franks under Mummolus. More

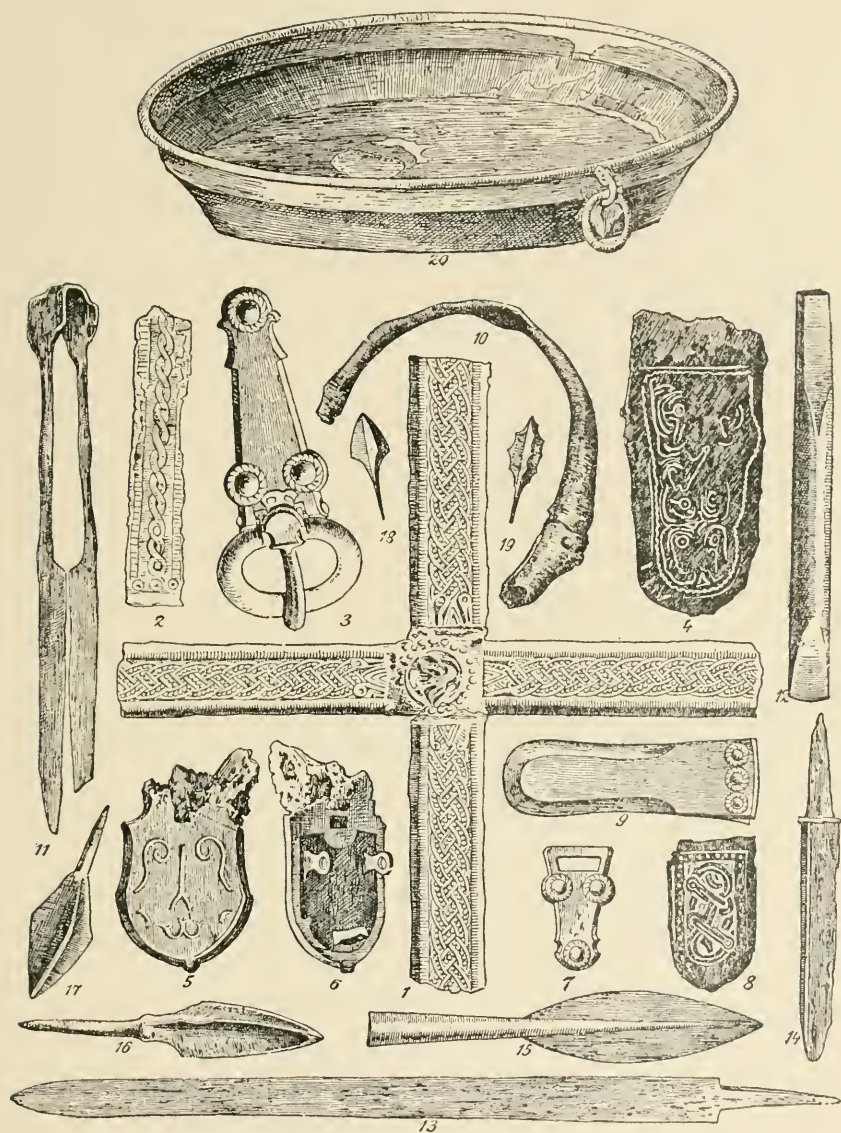


FIG. 4. — Weapons, jewelry, and other objects from the royal Lombard grave at Civezzano. (From Wieser.) 1. Gold cross, found on the breast of the dead prince. The arms are 5½ in. long, and about ¾ in. wide; made of sheet-gold with stamped ornaments. Weight, 8.6 grammes. 2. Mouth-piece of the scabbard of the long sword; bronze. 4, 5, 6. Strap-mountings; iron and bronze. 10. Iron arm-ring. 11. Iron shears. 13. Long sword (*spatha*); of iron: total length 3 ft. 4 in.; width, 2½ in. 14. Short sword (*scramasax*); of iron; blade 1 ft. 3 in. long. 15. Iron spear-head; about 10.6 in. long. 18, 19. Arrow-heads, with three lobes; in No. 19 the edges of the lobes are notched. 20. Bronze basin with two handles; diameter, 1 ft. 4.9 in.; depth, 3½ in. Objects from other graves at Civezzano: No. 3. Bronze belt-buckle. Nos. 7, 9. Strap-mountings of bronze. No. 12. Bronze chisel. Nos. 16, 17. Iron spear-heads.

successful were their struggles against the Byzantines. Rome was hard pressed, and would probably have fallen had not the emperor come to the help of the old capital of the Empire with provisions and money. When Pope Benedict died, in the midst of disorders, the city was hemmed in by enemies. The dukes defeated the emperor's son-in-law; the Duke of Spoleto captured the seaport of Ravenna, and a part of the exarchate; even Naples was besieged. At length a rally was made against them. The Church appealed to the spirit of Catholicism against the infamous heretics; Byzantines and Franks entered into alliance against the common oppressor; Frankish armies appeared in the field.

In this emergency, Authari, son of Klef, was made king (584-590), as it seems by a decree of the people against the will of the self-seeking dukes. One of them, rather than submit to the king, went over to the Greeks, and others showed themselves prepared to recognize their country's enemy. On the other hand, a solid foundation was secured for the throne by the surrender of half the possessions of the dukes—that is, of their stolen crown-lands, and possessions wrested from the Romans. As regards the sorely oppressed provincials, the crown now set itself on a basis of law, which found expression in the adoption of the title "Flavins." The last distribution of lands was soon arranged, and peace began to set in between the conquerors and the subject race. The monarchy, again centering a number of functions in itself, became the defender of the common weal; yet the ducal order remained its dangerous rival.

Authari's reign was marked by incessant wars with Byzantines and Franks. Letters and messengers passed incessantly between the Merovingians, the exarch, the pope, and the emperor. In Constantinople, the papal apocrisiary, Gregory, resided as a permanent ambassador, and exerted himself to the utmost to direct the power of the Eastern Empire toward the West. The energetic exarch, Smaragdus, resided in Ravenna, and, after a short war, concluded an armistice for three years, which all parties utilized for renewed preparations. The Franks made several inroads, which were all the more formidable because the co-operation of the exarch seemed probable. Even thus, however, they were overthrown in 588 in an extraordinarily bloody fight, and, yet again, in 590, when, after a full understanding, a campaign was entered on in common. In the spring of this year the Austrasians, under twenty dukes, overran Italy in two directions—toward Milan and the Adige. To the western army the Langobards did not dare to offer any resistance, but shut themselves up in their cities. Delegates reported that the imperialists were within three days' march, and had captured Modena and Mantua in the rear of the Lombards. To the eastern host a series of towns had capitulated.

lated, and it already threatened Verona. The Langobard kingdom shook to its foundations, especially as it was not sure of the Avars, and as the dukes of Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio nell' Emilia promised to acknowledge the imperial supremacy. King Authari sat in Pavia. Hither the Frankish army pressed on from the north; a Byzantine one advanced from the south; the Po and Ticino began to be alive with blockading ships—when suddenly the terrible menace collapsed. The Frankish eastern host, instead of joining the Byzantines, entered into negotiations with Authari; the exarch Romanus held back his western contingent, and without regard to him, the Franks concluded a ten-months' armistice and withdrew. The land was delivered. The protracted sieges, sickness, hunger, dissensions among the Franks, and mistrust of the Byzantines, seem to have co-operated with Authari's promises, and probably also bribes, in bringing about this result.

Notwithstanding this miscarriage, the exarch did not give up the cause, and the loss so when he heard that Childebart was displeased with the conduct of his generals. He wrote the latter urging him to send a new army under more reliable men next year, before the Langobards had gathered their harvest; he himself advanced on Istria and subjected it, assembled fresh forces at Ravenna, and all the time kept plying the Franks. Matters were in such a condition that the bishops of Aquileia hoped for success to the imperial arms. But Authari was not idle. He sent messages to the Burgundian king, Guntram, and, at his suggestion, to Childebart. When matters were at this stage, Authari died at Pavia (September, 590), as it was supposed, by poisoning.

Elsewhere, also, there was great activity. In 587, Authari had sent an army to Istria and plundered the peninsula. He himself had captured the island Comacina, on the Lake of Como, which had offered a resistance of twenty years, and, according to the saga, had pressed on to the southern extremity of the peninsula, even to Reggio. Here, mounted on horseback, he dashed forward to a pillar in the sea, struck it with his lance, and cried: "Hither shall the dominion of the Langobards extend!"

Constant wars, combined with religious dissensions, terrible dearth of water, famine and pestilence, gave the land no peace, wherefore the boast of Paulus Diaconus, that under Authari no act of violence took place, is really presenting the bright side of the shield. That, however, this king was not only an able soldier and adroit politician, but a law-abiding prince, prompt to suppress the very show of illegal resistance, may well be inferred.

Especially charming is the saga that sings the hero's romantic bridal expedition. King Garibald, of Bavaria, had a lovely daughter, Theode-

linde, whose hand Authari had sued for through envoys, and received the promise of. Out of longing to see his betrothed, he joined himself, seemingly as a subordinate, to a second embassy. She appeared, pleased him well and, kissing the wine-cup, presented it to him. Authari drank and returned the goblet, and then lovingly stroked her brow and cheeks. The maid blushed before the youth of noble figure, shining yellow locks, and ruddy countenance. She told her foster-mother what had occurred and received for an answer: "If he were not himself the king and bridegroom, he durst not have toyed with you thus." The Langobards took their homeward way, accompanied by a Bavarian escort. When they reached the Italian frontier, Authari raised himself on his saddle and struck his battle-axe deeply into a tree, with these words: "Such are the blows Authari deals;" and now the Bavarians knew who he was. Soon thereafter Garibald fell into straits through the Franks. Theodelinde flew to her bridegroom, who received her royally, and amid universal rejoicings, celebrated his nuptials at Verona. Politically, it was of great importance to Authari to ally himself with the powerful Bavarian dukes who covered his northern frontier, while his union with Theodelinde, sprung from an old Langobard royal stock—the Lethings—gave a yet higher sanction to his still young ruling house. Theodelinde was Catholic and full of zeal. Her husband adhered to the Arianism of his race, and issued an edict forbidding the baptism of Langobard children, an act that roused the fiercest wrath of Gregory I. Shortly thereafter, the king, still a young man, died, leaving no children.

His relative, Ansul, had been murdered and the kingdom stood in sore need of a ruler. It is said the Langobards permitted Theodelinde to retain the royal dignity and choose a husband capable of ruling with vigor. She decided for one of the royal house, Agilulf (Ago), of Turin. Him, all unconscious of her thoughts, she summoned to her; went forth to meet him; gave him words of kindly greeting; and, calling for wine, after herself drinking, passed the cup to him. When he took the cup and reverently kissed her hand, she laughingly, yet all aglow with blushes, said: "He that could kiss the mouth, had no need to kiss the hand." The espousals followed in November, 591, and in May were sanctioned by a general assembly. In point of fact, Theodelinde was probably not absolutely free to choose. Agilulf, Authari's blood-relation, stood nearest to the throne, and his interests and those of the queen perfectly coincided (Fig. 5).

The first act of the new ruler was to conclude a peace with the Franks, and one with the Avars quickly followed. The Byzantines were thus isolated, thrown back on their own resources and the doubtful

help of the refractory dukes. At first, the king was involved in conflict with these, perhaps because all of them did not acknowledge him, especially the Duke of Bergamo, a relative of Authari. A passage of arms between the imperialists and the Spoletans also ensued. In 592, the latter wasted the southeast of Tuscany, and then their duke, Ariulf, made a threatening attack on Rome. In his straits, the pope came out to the duke, and, through prayers, presents, and personal weight of character, prevailed on him to raise the siege and consent to an armistice. At the same time, Naples was hard-pressed by the Beneventans and its territory was plundered; the important town of Perugia also fell into the hands of the Langobards. The exarch Romanus now appeared on the scene. Perugia was given over to him through treachery, and other towns yielded to force. He spent the winter in Rome, and in the spring of 593 renewed the campaign, reinforced by papal gold and troops. But now he encountered a mightier foe than the duke. King Agilulf had hurried southward from Pavia, recaptured Perugia, and pressed the capital on the Tiber hard, the surrounding inhabitants being dragged forth "like dogs with cords around their necks." Want was soon felt within the walls. The pope again entered into negotiations, and purchased Agilulf's withdrawal to Pavia by a heavy ransom and a yearly tribute. It is highly probable that a contemporaneous revolt of the dukes in North Italy really effected the rescue of Rome. In 595, the emperor sent the arrears of pay due to the Roman troops, and so pacified their discontent. Agilulf, through the mediation of the pope, was well enough disposed for peace; but the negotiations, notwithstanding all Gregory's pains, did not prosper, for the holy father was not on good terms with the exarch, and interchanged letters the reverse of friendly with the emperor.

The war burst forth anew, and South Italy suffered especially. The Spoletans and Beneventans along with robber-bands scoured Lucania

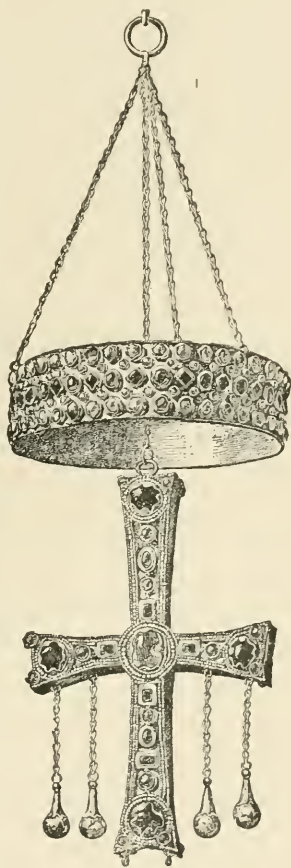


FIG. 5.—Votive crown of Queen Theodelinde and cross of King Agilulf. Property of the Cathedral of Monza. (From Bock.)

and Bruttium. The towns of Capua, Croton, and Locri were captured; Naples threatened; many captives carried off; others driven in flight to Sicily. The Langobard bands swept over to Sardinia. At length, in the autumn of 598, the exertions of the pope, favored by a change of exarch, effected, not an enduring peace, but, at least, an armistice.

In the spring of 601, hostilities again began. By a bold stroke the exarch got the daughter of Agilulf into his power, probably in the expectation of holding her as a pledge for favorable conditions. He was to be mistaken. The king threw himself on imperial Padua, compelled its surrender, and levelled it with the ground. Pestilence imposed rest for a time, except in Istria, which was wasted by an Avaro-Slavic host. In the territory of Spoleto the Byzantines also fought unsuccessfully. To counterbalance this, the pope gained a real triumph in the conversion of Duke Arichis of Benevento to Catholicism. The strained conditions continued, though without noticeable conflicts, till the Emperor Phocas mounted the throne in Byzantium and sent his favorite Smaragdus as exarch. Then King Agilulf sallied forth, won, in 603, the fortress Montfelice, captured (reinforced by Avars) Cremona, Mantua, and Vulturina, and finally threatened Ravenna itself. The exarch's resolution melted away. He speedily concluded a peace, restoring the king his daughter and all that he had seized.

The peace was brief. In 605, swords again clashed in Tuscany. The strong Orvieto fell. In November, Smaragdus purchased a renewed armistice, which proved introductory to a series of treaties that paved the way for better relations between the emperor and the king. In 609, Agilulf even sent his notary to negotiate in Byzantium. Phocas responded by an embassy with presents. At length the Langobard attained what he had aimed at. His domains were rounded off; the hostile enclaves and frontier insertions incorporated. About 610, a general peace prevailed between Byzantines, Langobards, and Franks, which was never again disturbed. What had been seized by force time converted into lawful possession.

Only his enduring good relations with the Franks and Avars had rendered Agilulf's success possible. Even an alliance between King Childebert and the Emperor Maurice did him no special harm. This he balanced by the betrothal of the Langobard crown-prince with Theudebert's daughter. Meanwhile Langobards and Avars had come nearer to each other. Their common enemy was Byzantium. Agilulf sent artisans to the khan of the Avars, who in return repeatedly supported him with troops. Toward the end of Agilulf's reign, matters became changed. The Avars had gradually become too powerful and preten-

tious, and the king had concluded a peace with the emperor. Countless swarms overflowed the Venetian territory; these Duke Gisulf of Friuli dauntlessly confronted, only to be defeated and slain. The Langobards retreated within their fortified cities, only one of which—Cividale (cf. Figs. 165-167)—was lost, and that through treachery. After devastating the cultivated districts, the hordes had to draw off, having achieved but little.

Besides external foes, Agilulf had internal ones to contend with—his own dukes. Again and again he had to measure his strength with theirs, and to cast them, bleeding, to the earth. Several were put to death, others were imprisoned. In St. Giulio, Perugia, Bergamo, Verona (cf. Figs. 161-164), and Pavia, peace was established through terror. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, on the other hand, shook off the royal authority, and Agilulf seems to have taken no pains to check them. The weight of his power lay in the north.

Here, too, a new symbol of the royal authority manifested itself—the beautifying of Monza through Theodelinde. In 602 she caused the cathedral of St. John the Baptist there to be consecrated—a church rich in relics and gold and silver furniture, and endowed with great possessions (cf. Figs. 5-8). Near this arose a palace adorned with pictures from Langobard history. Here Theodelinde bore the crown-prince, Adelwald, who was dedicated to St. John in baptism, and proclaimed king in the circus of Milan (604).

Monza was the Catholic capital, in contradistinction to Pavia, with its Arian past. St. John was the patron-saint of the whole people. His church was decorated by a statue of Pope Gregory I., which was regarded as the palladium of the kingdom. So long as it was honored, the nation was invincible; when it was neglected, ruin must follow.

Theodelinde the Catholic introduced the influence of woman into Langobard history and, with that, the bias toward Orthodoxy. She lived in close relation to Pope Gregory, and was a zealous mediator for peace. The ransom and surrender of a number of Langobard captives is probably likewise connected with a question of faith. She effected the restitution of stolen possessions of the Church, and restored its hitherto oppressed bishops to their proper position of honor. She elevated the taste for art and science by fostering architecture, painting, and goldsmith's work, and took a lively interest in the "Three Chapters" controversy.¹ Like Theodoric the Great, she strove to amalgamate the

¹ A controversy over the question whether the three bishops (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyros, and Ibas of Edessa) declared orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon, 451, were not really Nestorian heretics. The controversy continued till the Council of Constantinople in 553.—Ed.

dominant race with the subjugated Romans, not by enforced legislation, but by mutual intercourse and accommodation.

At that time came to Italy St. Columban, an Irish missionary, who had won great fame in the kingdom of the Franks. King Agilulf received him graciously, and accorded him a position of confidence at the court, and permission to settle in the kingdom. Columban chose Bobbio in the Apennines; where there soon arose a splendid church and a much-frequented monastery of his countrymen, who devoted themselves zealously to the extirpation of heresy and to calligraphy. They washed parchments bearing Gothic and classic literature, to cover them with the works of the fathers, and by so doing involuntarily rescued the sheets and enabled later generations to decipher them. Everywhere we meet with evidences of Agilulf's toleration, who, nevertheless, did not renounce the

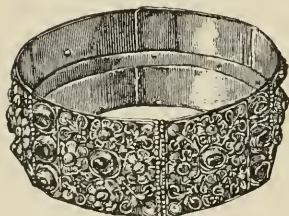


FIG. 6.—The iron crown of the Lombard kings. Property of the cathedral of Monza. (From Bock.)

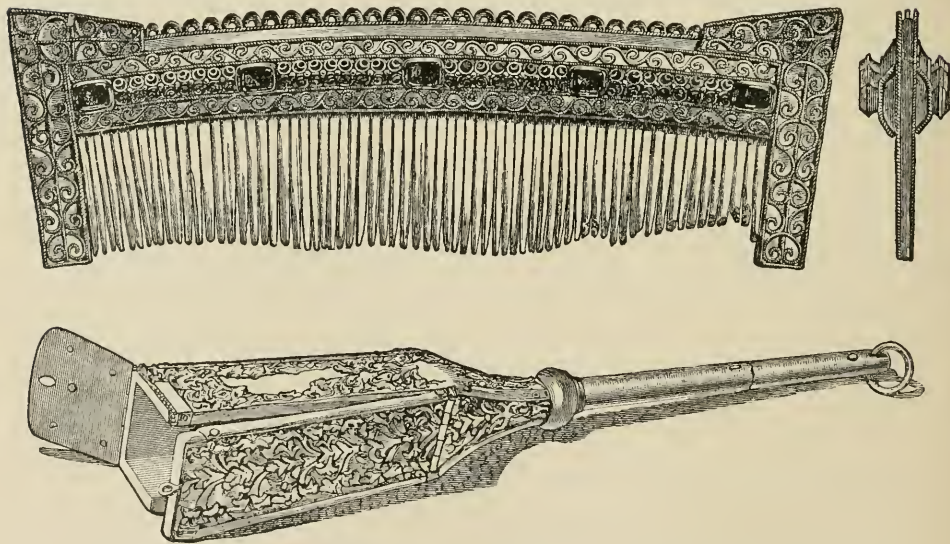


FIG. 7.—Fan-holder and comb of Queen Theodelinde. Property of the cathedral of Monza. (From Bock.)

Arian faith of his fathers. It was different with his son Adelwald (Fig. 8). Theodelinde had him baptized.

After the death of his father, the boy, who was scarcely thirteen,

came to power under the regency of his mother. He reigned from 615 to 625. At first all went on in the usual course. When the exarch, Eleutherius, began war, he was defeated and compelled to a peace with payment of tribute. This Eleutherius, an ambitious, energetic man, devised a plan, which, if successful, would have had a deep influence on the conditions of Italy. He put himself on a good footing with the pope, conquered insurgent Naples, won over the troops through rich gifts, and proclaimed in Ravenna the independence of the remaining Byzantine possessions. He was already on his way to his coronation at Rome, when he fell by assassination. His successor, favored by the occurrences in the kingdom of the Langobards, pursued a different policy.

In this kingdom the Romanizing-Catholic tendency was in the ascendant, encouraged by the pope and soon also by the emperor, whose ambassador exercised great influence at the royal court. The Abbot of Bobbio found, in the king and pope, support against his diocesan, the Bishop of Tortona, and the zealously orthodox Visigoth, Sisebut, wrote a letter to the regents, calling on them to imitate his Catholicizing example. On the other hand, a Langobard-Arian reaction spread, taking form in the opposition of the dukes, several of whom were executed. Civil war ensued, under the leadership of Ariowald of Turin, which turned out so unfavorably for the king, that he had to flee to his friend, the exarch, at Ravenna, where he shortly thereafter died of poison.

His victorious antagonist, Ariowald (625-636), ascended the throne to which he seemed called, not only as a successful rebel, but also as the husband of Gundeberge, daughter of Theodelinde, and as a member of an illustrious house, probably akin to royalty. He, too, seems to have had trouble with the dukes, and the exarch is said to have assassinated the Duke of Tuscany out of favor for him. The history of his spouse, like that of her mother, is told with fanciful coloring in the legends.

On Ariowald's death, the legend says, all the Langobards swore fealty

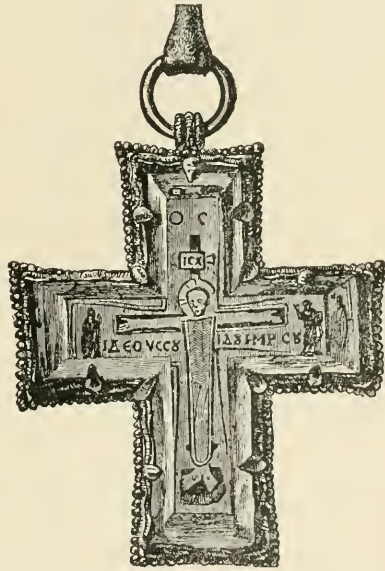


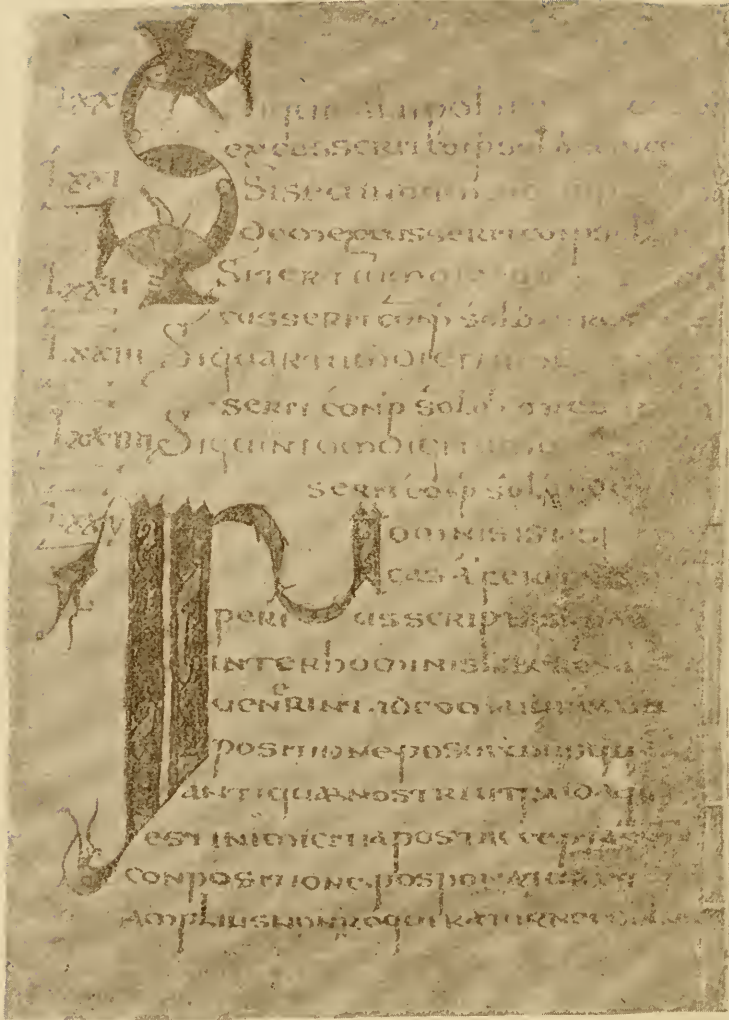
FIG. 8.—Crucifix of King Adelwald.
Property of the cathedral of Mouza.
(From Boeck.)

to her, whereupon she chose Duke Rothari of Brescia for her husband on condition of his putting away his former wife. Rothari gave his promise, and was placed on the throne. But he kept not faith, but shut up Gundeberge in prison, which she left only after five years' confinement, on the interposition of the Franks. Clad in royal robes, the sorely-tried woman passed through the streets of Pavia to pray at the several altars of the saints, and lived thenceforth in the happy enjoyment of her high estate.

Paulus Diaconus only knows that Rothari, of the house of Arodus, came to the throne (636-652). "He was a strong, brave man, and walked in the paths of righteousness." He is said to have put many of the foremost, but refractory, Langobards to death, and to have spread a reign of terror over the land. On the other hand, he lived on excellent terms with his three most influential subjects—grand-dukes, we may name them—especially with him of Benevento. The duchies of Benevento, Spoleto, and Friuli, lay remote from the centre of the kingdom; indeed, on its frontiers and exposed to enemies. They therefore developed into military marches, whose rulers concentrated extraordinary powers in their hands, and were accordingly nearly independent of the crown. The reason for this lay in the provinces themselves, whose beginnings reached back to the times before there was a king. Benevento, in particular, was raised to eminence through Duke Arichis. In 592, he, in alliance with Ariulf of Spoleto, enlarged his domains, subjugating Capua and Calabria, and threatening Naples. When the king and pope had concluded peace, he still bestrode his war-horse; when, later, he became Catholic, he kept peace. About 625, the important district of Salerno fell into his hands, by which the duchy attained the extent it has since virtually maintained. When the Byzantines, about 650, attempted to pillage the Langobard national sanctuary on Monte Gargano, Duke Grimoald fell on them and inflicted a bloody defeat on them.

In Spoleto (Fig. 11), the first duke, Faroald, was succeeded by Ariulf, who compelled Saona to give hostages; in 592, he stood before Narni, and, a few weeks later, before Rome, whose territory he devastated. Subsequently, he fought zealously against the Greeks, and, in alliance with Arichis—who was ready for new assaults—opposed the peace of 599. For Friuli, the dukes, Taso and Kako, subjugated the territory northeast as far as Styria, and made it tributary. In these three grand duchies hereditary succession developed at an early period. On Arichis's death, his son, Ajo, although of weak mind, succeeded; after him, the two brothers ruled in common. The king, out of fear of incensing such powerful potentates, appears to have stopped making his influence felt. The

PLATE I.



Facsimile of a page of the manuscript of the
Edict of King Rothari.

From the original (Cod. 730) in the Library of the Monastery at St. Gall,
Switzerland.

monarch's influence rested now, indeed, solely on his personal character. The administrative districts had become territorial lordships.

So long as Rothari ruled, there was no fear. From the Byzantines he seized the west coast of Upper Italy—the Genoese and the Lunigiana—and made conquests also toward the east. To oppose him the exarch rallied all his force. On the Tanaro, in Emilia, a decisive battle ensued—the first Germano-Roman conflict since Tejas's overthrow—and this time the successors of the Goths had a complete victory. Henceforth, the exarchate remained limited to its fixed bounds.

This king appeared at the pinnacle of his fame, when, in the following year (643), at the advice of his magnates and judges and with the approval of his whole army, he published a code embodying the Langobard common law and legal usages with reforms demanded by the times (PLATE I.). In contradistinction to the Ostrogoths, he anxiously shunned all Roman rules, but he combated the warlike usages of the Langobards by abolishing or limiting the legal evidence derived from trial by battle and the right of private revenge. Capital punishment and other legal penalties were increased in an extraordinary degree. The strong accentuation of the power of the crown tended to the strengthening of the commonwealth. This power was confirmed by every possible guarantee, and a foundation laid that withstood the storms breaking in upon it. We see, as it were, the national war-monarchy standing with its army in the midst of the conflict.

This accentuation of Langobard peculiarities comes to the foreground also in Rothari's attitude toward the Church, for under him there came a reaction against Arianism. In almost every city an Arian bishop had been able to hold his own against the Catholic. Now the latter had the predominancy. Siena had its own orthodox spiritual overseer, and an Arian bishop of the capital, Pavia, went over to the Catholic faith. Even the king could not evade the drift. He confirmed the monastery of Bobbio in all its privileges, and directed that he should be interred with his spouse in the Catholic basilica of St. John the Baptist, which the latter, following the example of her mother, had built at Pavia.

Stormy times followed on Rothari's death, in which the power of the crown suffered much abasement. Again and again the dukes rose in open revolt. It was a great piece of good fortune that prevented the neighboring enemies from troubling.

Rodoald (652), Rothari's son, was murdered after reigning scarcely six months. Again the ruling house was extinct. With no regular rule of succession and, with Catholicism predominant, the preference was for the orthodox family of Theodelinde, and so her brother's son, Aripert

(653-661), was raised to the throne. With him a Bavaro-Catholic dynasty took the lead. Little as we know of Aripert himself, we learn that under him the followers of Arius succumbed to those of Athanasius, and that the Langobards vied with each other in their zeal for the new faith, as the pious gifts, the founding of churches and religious houses, the spread of monachism and relie-worship, suffice to testify. Even an example of a royal monk was not wanting.

Aripert left the kingdom to his two sons, Pertari and Godipert, still mere youths. They, following a kind of Frankish rule of succession, divided it. Godipert made Pavia his capital; Pertari chose Milan. Concerning the nature of the division we have no information. It continued but a short time, and was in no way suitable for a commonwealth menaced by rebellious dukes. Strife broke out between the brothers, and the one tried to oust the other. Godipert was the more energetic. He sent Duke Garibald of Turin to his most powerful vassal, Duke Grimoald of Benevento, calling on him for help and promising him, in return, his sister for his wife. But his envoy was treacherous and urged Grimoald to seize the kingdom, thus split up between two half-grown boys, while he was of ripe age, powerful and able, and in every way qualified to be a ruler. Trusting to his own strength and the general discontent, Grimoald elevated his son, Romoald, to be his representative as duke, and used all means to attract the public favor to himself. He came with a strong army to Pavia, where, by Garibald's management, an opportunity offered, which Grimoald seized, to cut down Godipert with his sword. On receiving the terrible tidings, Pertari was struck with dismay; he left Milan and fled precipitately to the Avar khan. Thus Grimoald became sole ruler without a conflict (662-671). Garibald of Turin alone expiated his faithlessness. One of Godipert's kin struck off his head in church.

To give a color of legitimaey to his violently acquired sovereignty, Grimoald married the sister promised him by Godipert. A portion of his Beneventans he retained as his personal body-guards and endowed them with rich possessions.

Grimoald was one of those masterful natures that are endowed with reckless energy and unscrupulousness. In the fugitive Pertari there lived a dangerous rival, who had open partisans in Asti (Fig. 9) and elsewhere. His aim was to get him into his power. By assurances of friendship, he inveigled him into coming to Pavia and induced him to settle. When, however, the citizens began to take up his cause, Grimoald took fright and determined to slay him. Pertari's house was surrounded, but he escaped, though with the greatest difficulty, and fled to the Franks.

Grimoald had repeatedly to deal with external foes, first, with the Franks, who, having pressed on from Provence to Asti, were waylaid by the Langobards and annihilated; then, with the Byzantines, whose emperor, Constans, had in mind to reconquer Italy. He rapidly occupied the greater part of Benevento and invested the city. Grimoald hastened thither from Pavia. His nation had so little confidence in his cause that many deserted on the march, but only to feel his revenge later. Meanwhile, the emperor had become wearied out by the resistance of the Beneventans; now threatened in his rear, he raised the siege and withdrew toward Naples. Shortly thereafter he was assassinated.

The events in the south were to be repeated in the north. During his absence Grimoald had entrusted the royal palace at Pavia to Duke Lupus of Friuli. The duke believed the king would never return, and ruled most arrogantly. On the king's reappearance, he rose in revolt out of sheer dread of punishment. Grimoald, fearing a civil war, called the Avars into the land against Lupus. A four-days' fight ensued, which terminated in the flight of the Langobards. Those who were left occupied and fortified Friuli. Now the king himself had to take the field; yet, before he fought, he opened negotiations, in which he so deftly hoodwinked the Avar envoys, that they induced their people to withdraw. Assaults of the Slavs were fruitless. An alliance with the Frank, Dagobert, covered the Langobard kingdom in the rear.

The Roman town, Foropopoli, had inflicted many injuries on the king during the Beneventan war. With the old hate against the Romans in his heart, he surprised it on Easter-day, and did not even spare the priests before the baptismal font. Another Roman city he also caused to be destroyed. A Bulgarian horde that came over to him he settled in the south. Their posterity lived there till the time of Charlemagne.

Notwithstanding all his successes, and notwithstanding his enrichment of the Langobard legal code, Grimoald's throne rested on slippery foundations. He was and remained an upstart, to whom the hearts of the people refused to go forth. For this reason, he sought support in the dukedoms, which he conferred almost exclusively on relatives and partisans. He is supposed to have died from the effects of a burst blood-vessel. He left behind him a boy born in the purple—Garibald—whom King Aripert's daughter had borne him. In accordance with old Germanic principles, a minor was incapable of ruling; and, besides, Aripert's son, Pertari, was still alive.

This prince had sojourned for a time as an adventurer in the land of the Franks, and on finding himself no longer secure there, had taken refuge on the remote coasts of England. He now returned. Even in

the defiles leading into Italy he found partisans ; unopposed, he entered the capital, drove forth Garibald, and in the third month after Grimoald's death, was set upon the throne. He was a faithful, God-fearing Catholic, good-natured, easy, and corpulent, in the first period of whose reign (seven years, 672–680), all that has come down is the report of the building of two churches and a single boundary-charter. Under him the "Origin of the Langobard Nation" was compiled. In 680, he associ-

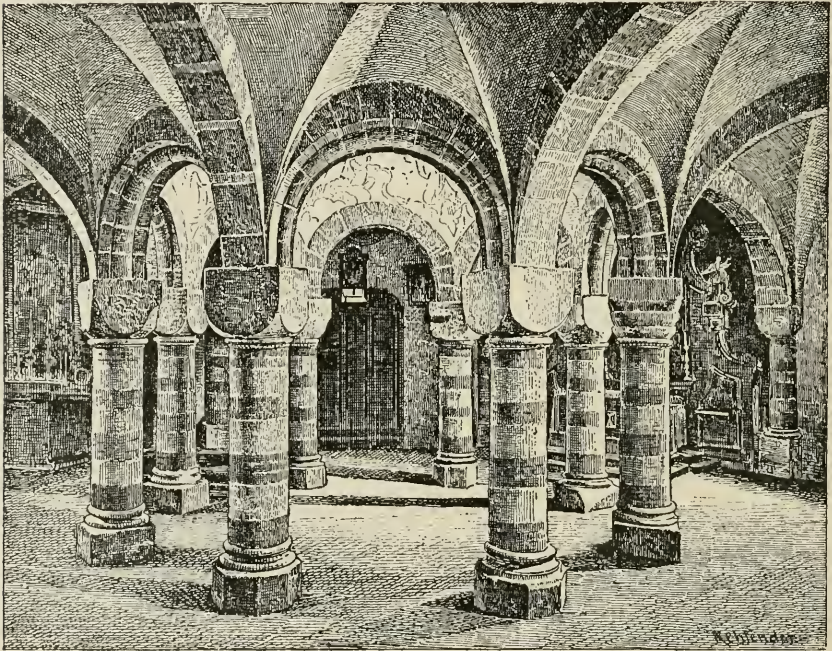


FIG. 9. — Baptistery of the Church of St. Peter, at Asti. (From a photograph.)

ated his son Kuninkpert (Kunibert) with himself as co-regent (680–688–700), with the view of securing the succession for him as against Garibald.

Peace prevailed everywhere, when it was broken by intestine strife. Duke Alachis of Trent, arrogant on account of a Bavarian victory, and trusting probably to Kuninkpert's sympathy, rose in revolt. Pertari marched against him, but was defeated, whereupon an understanding was arrived at through Kuninkpert, by which the duke received Brescia with its district. In vain had Pertari raised his warning voice against this aggrandizement : Kuninkpert believed in the loyalty of the friend of his youth. But Alachis schemed mischief ; no sooner was Pertari

dead than, in the absence of Kuninkpert, he surprised the capital, took possession of the palace, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. The desertion to him was so general that Kuninkpert fled to the frontier and entrenched himself on an island on the Lake of Como. Again a revolt of the baneful ducal power had been successful. Monarchy was crippled, its bearer degraded, and the Catholic tendency of the ruling family greatly disliked. Alachis was a sworn foe to the clergy. But his good fortune was of short duration. As he had won Pavia by treachery, he lost it by the same agency. By the use of all means he had collected a great force in the eastern district of Venetia; Kuninkpert advanced against him, and both pitched their camps near Corna, not far from Como. Kuninkpert sent the usurper a challenge to single combat, so that God might decide whose should be the crown. This, Alachis, conscious of guilt, declined. The battle which ensued was glorified in an ecclesiastical legend. According to it, a deacon presented himself to Kuninkpert and counselled him to change armor with him, which was done. The struggle began; Alachis encountered the spurious king and slew him. But as he was cutting off the head to affix it to a lance, he discovered his error. The royalists even believed their leader had fallen and were giving way, when Kuninkpert discovered himself and restored confidence to the ranks. Both sides addressed them anew to the conflict. Kuninkpert sprang in front of his array and, a second time, called on Alachis to come forth and fight him. The usurper's counsellors urged his acceptance of the challenge, but he answered: "I cannot fight, for among their spears I perceive the archangel Michael, in whose name I pledged my troth." A general engagement was to decide the battle. Amid the blare of trumpets men rushed on; the struggle was long and doubtful, till, at length, Alachis fell. Then his men gave way, to perish either by the sword or in the river Adda.

The Friulians had remained aloof and neutral. Ansfrid had here attained the ducal dignity, and aimed at the crown. At Verona he fell into the hands of the royalists, was blinded and banished, and his dukedom committed to a governor. While Friuli was thus made a mere dependency, Benevento waxed in power. Romnald, who had defended its capital against the emperor, had improved the opportunity afforded by the Greek war to seize Tarentum, Brindisi, and the adjoining territories.

Kuninkpert's reign was an era of many calamities. An eruption of Vesuvius of several days' duration covered all vegetation with its scorching ashes. In Pavia a pestilence broke out, of such virulence that its inhabitants fled to the mountains, and its streets were green with

herbage and weeds. The terrified imagination depicted two angels—one good and one evil—passing through the streets by night, and as many times as the evil spirit touched the gate of a house with his rod, so many of its indwellers were to fall victims to the pest. After being sole ruler for twelve years, Kuninkpert died in 700, a strong-bodied, well-meaning, short-sighted ruler, under whom the general disorder and clerical domination grew ever greater.

In such threatening circumstances he left behind him a son who was still a minor, and therefore incapable of ruling; consequently a Langobard nobleman, Ansprand, became regent. The dethroned line took the opportunity to put forward its claims. Raginpert, son of King Godipert,

was Duke of Turin (Fig. 10). In open battle he overthrew Ansprand and mounted the throne of his father, but died the same year. His son, Aripert, felt himself to be the legitimate successor. In Pavia an embittered struggle ensued. The party of Kuninkpert was defeated; Ansprand fled, and the child Liutpert was shut up in prison. Thus the royalists were deprived of their head, and Rothari of Bergamo, their main representative, made an attempt on the throne. His ruin came at once. Aripert (the second of the name, 701-712) overcame and slew him, and, with him, all had to suffer who might have become dangerous. Liutpert was put to death in the bath; the kindred of Ansprand were blinded, mutilated, and punished in various ways; his younger son, Liutprand, was first imprisoned, and thereafter, as being harmless, banished

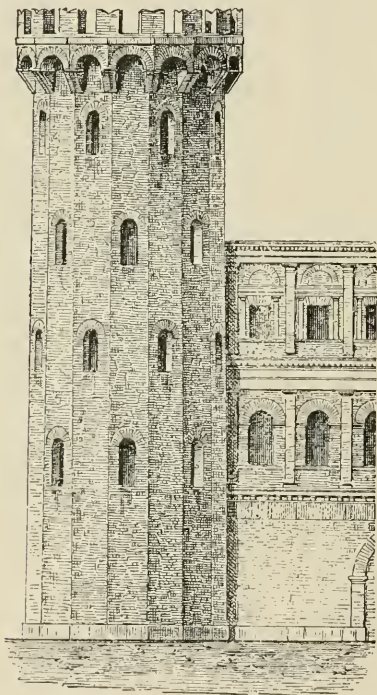


FIG. 10.—Tower of the Palazzo delle Torri in Turin. (From Mothes.)

to his father in Bavaria. Still, Aripert remained mistrustful and ruthless. His own brother fled to the Frankish kingdom, while, on account of some offence, he had Duke Corvulus of Friuli blinded. He was wont to steal through the land by night to listen to what people said of him. In order to disarm envy, he appeared before foreign envoys in

mean attire, and never in royal apparel. To propitiate the pope, he confirmed his apostolic jurisdiction over the Cottian Alps by charter. He likewise strictly enforced the administration of justice.

The sole mischance abroad in his reign was a victory of the Slavs over the Friulians, which their duke and the flower of their nobility had to expiate with their lives. The Duke of Benevento extended his domain, and, in a transient way, threatened Rome.

In the ninth year of his reign, his misfortune broke in upon Aripert from the quarter against which he had taken such precautions. Ansprand induced his host, Teutpert, Duke of Bavaria, to assail him with war. Teutpert invaded Italy and delivered an undecided battle, to which night

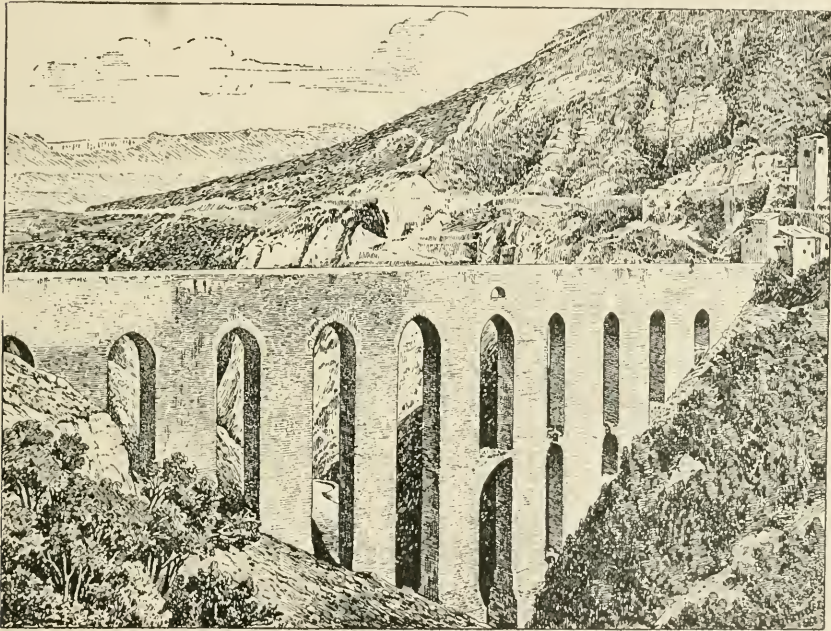


FIG. 11.—Aqueduct and bridge at Spoleto. The latter traditionally the work of Liutprand; in fact, built in the Eleventh or Twelfth Century. (From a photograph.)

alone put an end. Aripert, feeling himself insecure in his camp, betook himself to the strongly-fortified Pavia, and by such a display of cowardice alienated his already wavering army. In his flight he was drowned in the Ticino (712). His brother, Gumpert, put forth no claim, and Ansprand ascended the throne. Within a few months, he, too, died, and “when the Langobards saw that his end was at hand they elevated his son, Liutprand.”

With Liutprand (712-744) a new spirit seemed to come over the land.¹ Out of all its disorders he conducted it to a height of power hitherto unknown to it, at the same, however, leading it toward its doom. His aim was the unification of Italy under Langobard supremacy. To effect this, several things were necessary: the humiliation of the grand-dukes; the conquest of the Byzantine possessions and the confirmation of this by law; peace with his neighbors, especially with those who could cause him trouble—the Avars and Franks. A policy so comprehensive united the adverse elements against him—the dukes of Spoleto (Fig. 11) and Benevento and the pope, of whom the last ultimately called the foe into the lists.

Almost simultaneously there was a rise in the power of the states on



FIG. 12.—Stone tablet in the front side of the altar of Pemmo, Duke of Friuli, father of Rachis, Lombard king in 744 A. D. (Ann. arch. Didron. XXV.)

both sides the Alps—on the farther side, with the Frank mayor of the palace, Charles Martel, at its head; on the hither, with Liutprand. Charles sent his son, Pepin, to the Langobard, who, by having his locks shorn, formally adopted him. When the Moors appeared in Southern Gaul, Liutprand went in person to aid in driving them off. Both cultivated mutual friendship and good neighborhood.

The Avars remained tranquil. It was different with the Slavs, who

¹ Examples of Lombard architecture near Verona, are given in Figs. 161-164; of Lombard architecture and art at Cividale, in Figs. 17-19.

again made their appearance in Friuli, without, however, effecting anything. Duke Pemmo (Fig. 12) is said to have made peace with them on the battlefield. Later, a Langobard inroad was made into Carinthia.

At home Liutprand was occupied rather with legislation than with arms. First of all, he strengthened himself in his own house, and essayed a policy of conciliation. He confirmed the pope in his pos-

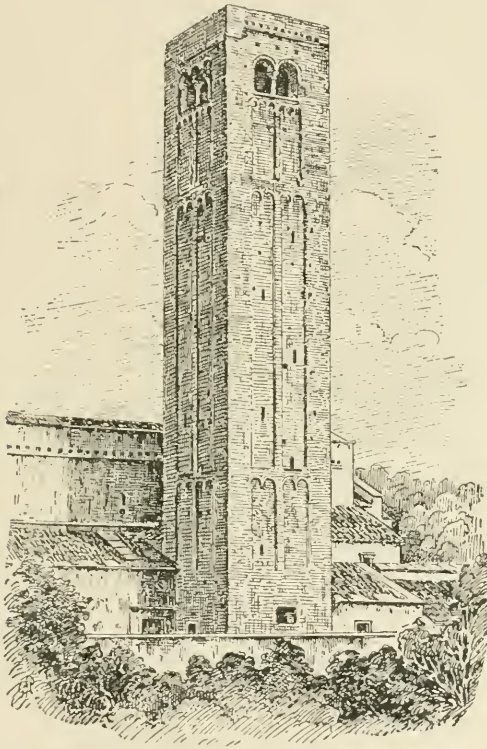


FIG. 13.—Tower of S. Giorgio Inganna-poltron near Verona. (From a photograph.)

session of the Cottian Alps, passed without notice the failure of the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to appear at the first national diet, and gave the latter his niece to wife. Notwithstanding all this, affairs in South and Middle Italy remained unpropitious for a strong monarchy, and this all the more because Byzantine politics became mixed up with those of the Langobards. Rome and Ravenna repeatedly became centres of intrigue for the turbulent dukes, and dissensions over the iconoclast controversy bred such disorders in portions of the Byzantine territory as to directly invite to the improvement of them. The imperial power in Italy was in decadence. Affairs, spontaneously as it were, called for

a new and more national head, and this could only be the pope, the exarch, or the king. The exarch, as an imperial official, naturally stood on the side of his master; the Langobard was a stranger and foe to the Byzantine Italians; more and more, therefore, the pope came to the foreground, and cultivated alliance with the unruly elements of the Langobard nation. Circumstances on all sides called for a decisive solution. For the king, the acquisition of Rome was the condition for the unification of Italy; and things took a favorable turn in that direction, for the pope and the emperor were at feud. Instead of supporting

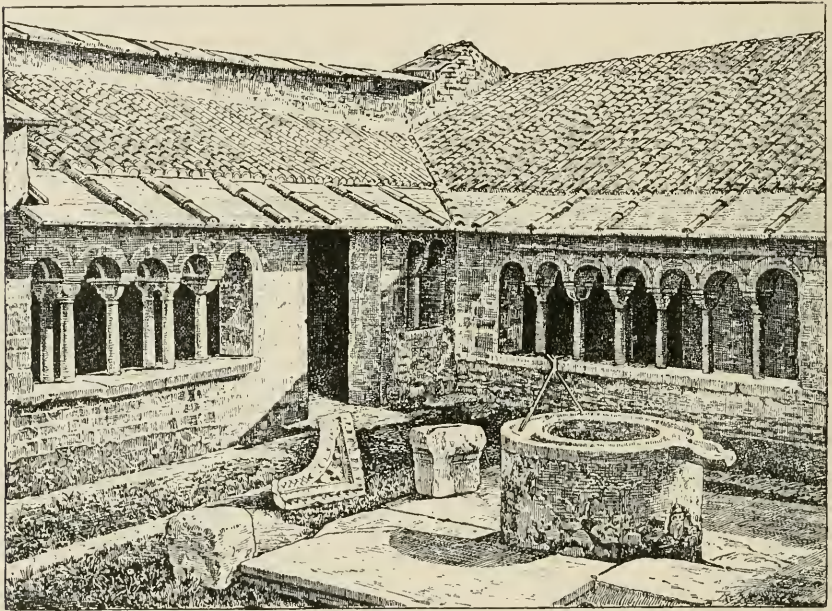


FIG. 14.—Cloisters in S. Giorgio Inganna-poltron in the valley of Policella near Verona. Built by the Lombards about 720 A. D. (From a photograph.)

each other, they mutually wasted their strength. In 726, Liutprand took possession of Narni, of the seaport of Ravenna, and of the towns of Emilia; in 727, of Sutri; and in 729, in conjunction with the exarch, he encamped on the Field of Nero before Rome. The city could ill have resisted an earnest investment. In his straits, Pope Gregory II. came forth to the conqueror, and appealed to his conscience. Liutprand (Fig. 15) fell at the holy father's feet, and consented to withdraw. At the sepulchre of St. Peter he laid down his mantle, coat of mail, sword, crown, and a silver cross, prayed, and turned homeward. An equally favorable opportunity for winning Rome never recurred. Whether unknown circum-

stances, or whether pure devotion, hindered the decisive step, who can determine? According to the legend, pious awe doubtless played a part in this episode to the prejudice of his kingdom; for, otherwise, Rome would have come into the hands of the Langobards, the pope would have become a Langobard subject, and, in consequence, the history of Italy would have shaped itself differently from what it did. But political reasons may also have prompted the action of Liutprand. In their search for a national head, the Byzantine Italians had gone so far as to elevate an anti-emperor, only, to be sure, to be dethroned by the pope. If by concessions, his Holiness could be drawn over to the Langobard side, it probably seemed to the king that in this way he could most easily attain his end, for on account of the reverence paid him, Peter's successor was likely to be more dangerous as a prisoner than as a friend. Whatever the facts may have

been, there is no doubt but that Liutprand, short-sighted as he was in this case, was the founder of the temporal power of the popes.

Under Gregory III., we find Liutprand once more in the Roman territory, and at the same time in a fluctuating conflict with the exarch, in which Classis, the seaport of Ravenna, seems to have been lost. The pope and the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento formed an alliance against the king. The war waxed in dimensions and in bitterness. Liutprand appeared in the Roman duchy, when the city had to suffer severely. Then he threw himself on Spoleto, drove forth its duke, Trasamund II., elevated another, and incorporated several Roman towns in the Langobard domains. In 739, he encamped anew before the seven hills. The surrounding villas were torn down, the cattle driven off, and all the adjoining territory wasted and pillaged. But

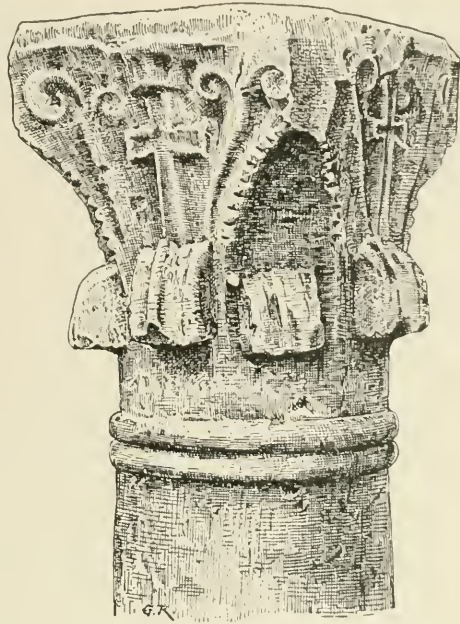


FIG. 15.—Capital of the columns of the Ciborium, (or altar-baldachino), in S. Giorgio Ingannapolttron, near Verona. According to the inscription, erected in the reign of Liutprand. (From a photograph.)

nothing decisive was attained, and, in August, the king was back in Pavia.

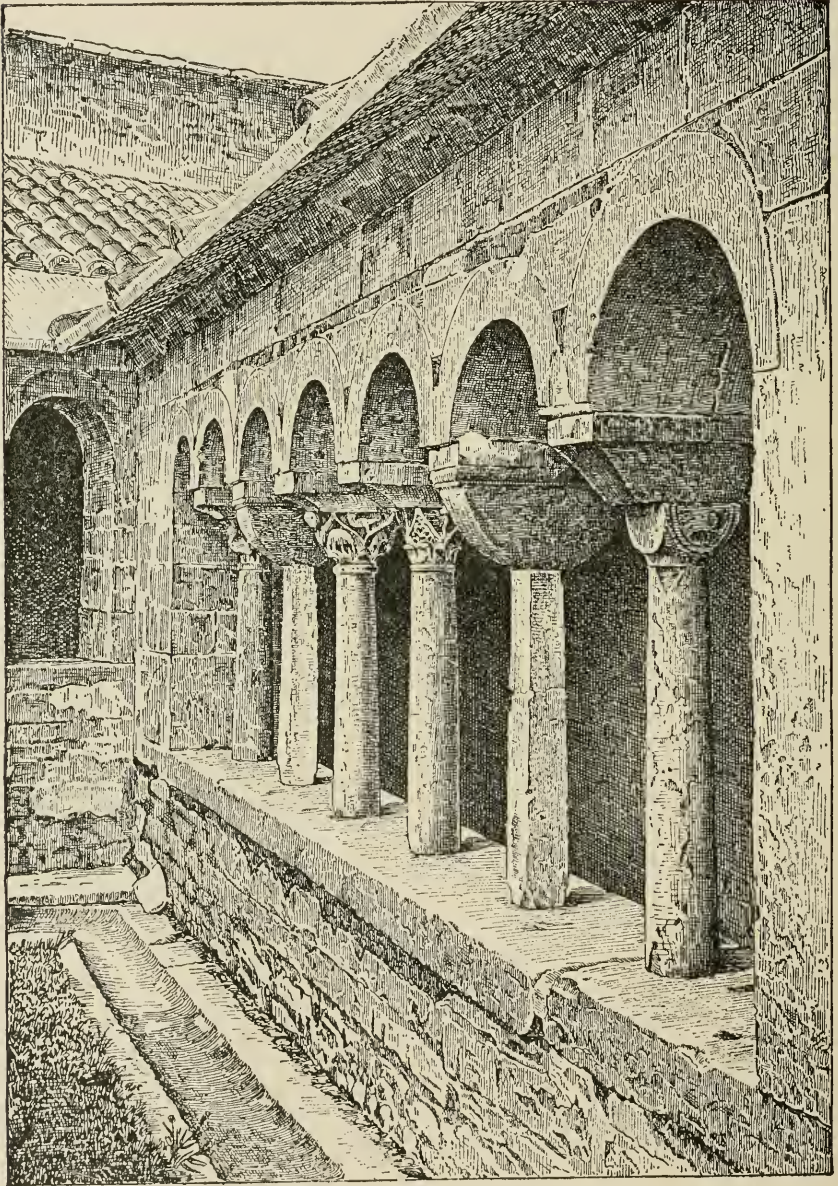


FIG. 16. —The cloisters of S. Giorgio Inganna-poltron, near Verona. (From a photograph.)

The pope's extremity was to have the weightiest consequences, for it was this that brought about his intimate union with the Franks.

Scarcely was the king's back turned, when Trasamund, with the help of Roman troops, resumed possession of his duchy. Beneventans, as well as Spoletans, were in close alliance with Rome. Liutprand at once armed for a new campaign, when Gregory III. died, and was succeeded by the conciliatory Zacharias, who mediated the restitution of the captured cities. Roman troops were prepared to aid in the overthrow of Trasamund, when he submitted without a struggle, was deprived of his dignities, and shut up in prison. Shortly afterwards Liutprand's nephew, Agiprand, became duke of Spoleto.

Now Benevento had its turn. There already, in 732, serious internal disorders had broken out, which brought the king into the city, and were the cause of its long discontinued relation of dependence being renewed. Six years later the loyally disposed duke came to a violent end, and the Beneventans elevated a prince of their own choosing—Gotschalk—who ruled just until Liutprand advanced from Spoleto. He then fled, but was overtaken and slain. Gisulf II., a nephew of the king, who had been brought up at the court of Pavia, now received the high office. The unity of the Langobard empire seemed at length established, and an end put to the arrogance of the crown-vassals, for even in Friuli the heavy hand of the over-lord was felt. Its duke had seized the Patriarch of Aquileia, for which he was deposed and made to appear before the supreme court of Pavia.

Again the relations with the pope became strained. The towns promised were not given over. At length Zacharias had recourse to the expedient practised by Gregory II. Arrayed in his sacerdotal vestments he repaired to the king, who was lying not far off at Terni. He was ceremoniously met by envoys, dukes, and, at last, by the king himself. Essentially he gained what he aimed at, and, in addition, large gifts of lands throughout all Middle Italy, restitution of all war-prisoners, and a twenty years' peace. State motives must have allied themselves with piety, to induce the purchase the favor of the holy chair at so high a price. And they were to work still further. When the Langobards threatened Ravenna, the pope did not hesitate to repair again to the king—this time to Pavia—although it was made tolerably clear to him that his coming was not desired. With naïve presumption he made the claim that Liutprand should no longer vex the province of Ravenna, but should deliver back the cities wrested from it as well as the fortress of Cesena. And even this time he did, in a great measure, effect his object, except that it did not ripen into full peace.

On taking a review of the results attained by Liutprand, we see that he more than once reclaimed Spoleto and Benevento, as integral parts of the kingdom, and deposed and restored their princes as scarcely any other king had done. But yet, in the end, the opposing influences remained victorious, and the duchies in exceptional positions. We have no means of determining whether Liutprand here worked with a determined aim and attained what was possible; certainly his policy, in relation to the succes-

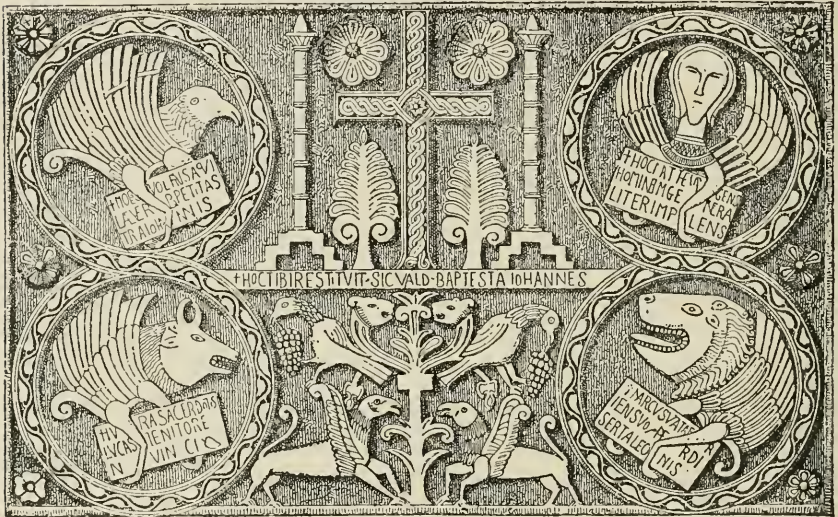


FIG. 17. —Stone tablet, with sculptures, from the Baptistery of Calistus, Patriarch of Aquileia, contemporary of Gregory III., at Cividale. It belongs to the first half of the Eighth Century. (From *Ann. arch.* xxv.)

sors of Peter, was wavering and sustained complete defeat. Instead of winning Rome, he gave his conquests almost entirely away, and thus weakened his state, which the encroachments of the spiritual head threw into confusion. Exterior circumstances may have contributed thereto, notably Pepin's accession; while the internal condition of his kingdom and his own advancing age may also have had to do with it. Repeatedly attempts were made on his life. In 735, he was seized with sudden weakness, and the Langobards, in the expectation of his death, made his nephew, Hildeprand, king. But Liutprand recovered, and had, half against his will, to bear with Hildeprand's co-regency. The people's independent manner of acting indicates the augmentation of their power, or perhaps deep opposing influences. A struggle over the succession was feared, and already two tendencies made themselves manifest—one

Romanizing, one Langobardo-national. Liutprand seems to have aimed at a middle course. His sympathies were, however, with his people. He died after a reign of thirty-one years.

His nephew, Hildebrand—who as co-regent had taken only a secondary place—gained no fast foothold, and, after a few months of sole rule was driven forth, as the *Liber Pontificalis* says, “by wicked men”—that is, probably by the nationalist party.

He, like Liutprand, was sonless, and the Langobards elevated the powerful Duke Rachis of Friuli (744–749), a partisan of Liutprand, to the throne. His wife was a Roman, he made donations according to Roman law, occasionally to Roman religious houses, and on his accession concluded a twenty years’ peace with the pope. What he lost by this he sought to compensate through war with the Byzantines. He purposed to conquer the Pentapolis, and laid siege to Perugia. Then Zacharias had recourse to his old expedient. Accompanied by high ecclesiastics, he betook himself to the king in his camp and induced him to withdraw from the city. This, with his expensive piety and Romanizing tendencies, seems to have provoked the discontent of the national party to an outburst. They compelled Rachis to resign in favor of his patriotically disposed brother, Aistulf. The deposed monarch entered Monte Cassino as a monk.

Aistulf (749–757) was crowned, July, 749, at Milan, and at once a strong favorable reaction set in. A national diet met and declared all the donations of Rachis and his spouse, made after Aistulf’s accession, invalid, except in so far as the king confirmed them. This obviously refers to donated crown-property. The most of the other decrees point to a war with Rome and Byzantium. The defiles were ordered to be occupied by garrisons, and military service to be extended to non-possessors of land. In July, 751, Aistulf was at Ravenna, in possession of the exarchate and the Pentapolis; thence he advanced on Rome, where Stephen II. ruled. The city was hard beset. Peace was granted and broken, heavier tribute and jurisdiction demanded. In vain did the pope send two abbots. Aistulf relegated them to their monasteries. Only when an imperial envoy appeared did he declare himself ready to enter on negotiations. Meanwhile the deepest anxiety prevailed in Rome. Stephen repeatedly called on the emperor for help, and instituted solemn processions. When nothing helped, he followed the example of his predecessors, and secretly dispatched letters to Pepin, the Frank, begging him for relief. In the weak condition of the Byzantine empire Aistulf confidently hoped to subjugate Rome; but the pope resisted, and turned from the East to the West for a protector. Practically, Aistulf was master

of North and Middle Italy, in one continuous stretch, as none of his predecessors had been. The powerful duchy of Spoleto he retained under his own direct rule.

Pepin sent Abbot Droktegang to signify his willingness to befriend the pope, and the emperor bade him treat personally with Aistulf in regard to Ravenna. Immediately on Stephen's receiving the assurance of a peaceable reception from the latter, there came a second Frankish



FIG. 18. —Statues of princesses in Byzantine costume of the Eighth Century, in the Chapel at Cividale in Friuli. (From Gailhabaud.)

embassy to conduct him to Gaul. In Pavia, he met the Langobard king, who gave up nothing, and only through the energetic interposition of Stephen's foreign convoy was prevailed on, with an ill grace, to permit his proceeding farther. Aistulf knew how much this imported. But what could he do? His relations with Pepin were cold, the Frank was his superior in power. Turning the pope back or imprisoning him almost certainly implied war. So fortune took its own way. The pope

and the Frankish king were close friends ; the former desired help against the Langobards and relief from the tribute and imposts unjustly imposed on the Romans. In vain did Aistulf endeavor to counteract him through



FIG. 19.—Oratory of the ancient Benedictine Monastery at Cividale in Friuli. A Lombard structure of the Eighth Century, ascribed to Gertrude, Duchess of Friuli. (From Gailhabaud.)

Pepin's brother Carloman. Essentially, the pope's prayer had to be granted. He crowned Pepin and conferred the title of patrician upon him, whereby the Frank attained the position which the Langobard was striving for. Pepin gave the much contested "Donation of Quierzy," and required of Aistulf that he should not again enter Roman territory with hostile intent and should abandon his demands. Aistulf refused compliance. War was the result.

Accompanied by the pope, the Frankish army advanced, defeated the Langobards in the valley of Susa, and besieged Aistulf in Pavia. Driven by necessity, he concluded peace, and saved his life and kingdom. But the conditions were hard: acknowledgement of Frankish over-lordship, renunciation of the Romano-Byzantine acquisitions, and compensation for his encroachments upon the rights of the pope. Forty hostages guaranteed the fulfillment of the compact, and the conquerors marched homeward.

Aistulf had no intention of keeping his word. He not only gave back no land, but he oppressed Rome as much as ever. On New Year's day, 756, he suddenly appeared with troops before the city and invested it. The embittered Germans, reinforced with Beneventans, ravaged fiercely. The fighting was incessant, and the city was again in dire straits. At length, at the end of two months, Stephen managed to smuggle through a letter to Pepin. The siege was raised, and resulted only in a second war with the Franks. These, in 756, forced the passes of the Alps and a second time obliged Aistulf to make peace before Pavia. This time Aistulf really had to deliver up the towns belonging to the exarchate and Pentapolis, to pay over a third part of the royal treasures as well as a yearly tribute, and swear never again to revolt against Frankish supremacy. He did not long survive his humiliation. A fall from his horse proved fatal.

All the evils of a distracted, half-dependent kingdom and an ill-regulated succession, came now to light. Desiderius, an upstart who had made himself Duke of Tuscany, grasped, with insolent audacity, at the crown. Rachis, leaving his tranquil Monte Cassino, opposed him, and, at first, was successful. He took possession of the palace of Pavia, and was on many sides acknowledged. In return, Desiderius, by the promise of cities and implicit obedience, bought the support of the pope. Desiderius was the weaker, Rachis, a runaway monk—the pope decided for the one who would be most dependent on himself. A Frank army hastened to aid Desiderius; he could, in case of need, lead out a strong Roman army; the Spoletans and Beneventans took the pope's side. Under such circumstances Rachis's following melted away. Desiderius mounted the tottering throne—the first Langobard king to bear a Latin name and

the last of Lombardy's long series of monarchs (757-774). Weak at home and under obligations to external powers, he nevertheless strove for support and respect among his own people, and so fell out with his papal patron, now Paul I. He surrendered only in part, and ravaged the papal possessions at the head of an armed force. He made the Duke of Spoleto his prisoner, deposed the Duke of Benevento, and appointed another in his place, to whom he married his daughter, and began negotiations with the Beneventans. He planned nothing less than the co-operation of the imperial and Langobard forces. The pope was once more in straits and, as formerly, addressed himself to Pepin. Frankish envoys came on the scene, and to them Desiderius pledged himself to respect all the rights and territories of St. Peter. But again he failed to keep his pledge. Fear of the Byzantines led Paul to temporize for a time, but the old quarrel soon broke out again, occasionally into open violence. Nevertheless, Desiderius was shrewd enough to shun all serious embroilments with the Franks, to strengthen his army, and to have his son elevated to the co-regency.

Matters went on thus till 767, when events occurred in Rome which deeply affected Langobard history. Paul died, and faction at once showed its head. The nobles elected a pope, whom the Langobards, whose aid had been called on, expelled. They, in turn, nominated a pope who was as little able to maintain himself, whereupon their late confederates set up a third successor of St. Peter, and in the frenzy of triumph raged against their late coadjutors. The result was strengthened aversion to Desiderius and increased leaning toward the Franks.

At this juncture, Pepin's widow came over the Alps and chose Desiderius's daughter as a wife for her son, Charles (known to history as Charlemagne), to the no small dismay of the pope; for easily might the crown of Lombardy derive strength from this alliance, to the prejudice of Rome. Pope Stephen seems, on this account, to have entered into a secret compact with Desiderius, for the latter came to Rome and set him free from the dominant faction of the nobility. But it was impossible for the pope and the king of Lombardy to remain on good terms long. The latter aspired after power within Rome; the former wished to rule independently, and sought the restitution of the ever-contested cities. If Desiderius should continue in good relationship with Charlemagne, then the pope must lower his tone. But the king of the Franks altered his policy. Hardly had a year elapsed, when Desiderata was back in Pavia with her father.

So strained were the relations, that Gerberge, Carloman's widow, sought and found a refuge for herself and children from Charlemagne at the court of Desiderius. Pope Stephen died, and the high-born Adrian be-

came his successor. With him Desiderius opened negotiations, but obviously only as a pretext, for he forthwith appeared in the exarchate at the head of an army, subdued several cities, and beset Ravenna. Charlemagne was his personal enemy, who had a confederate in the pope, and he knew that the Franks had enough to do with the Saxons. Ambitious plans seem to have taken hold of him, under the influence of Gerberge and her sons. The pope must be got to anoint these as kings and recognize their claim to the throne of their father, and thus place himself in antagonism to Charlemagne. The occupied cities were to serve as pledges, and if the pope should not prove accommodating, then Afiarta, a partisan of Desiderius, was to bring him to the camp by force. At the same time, he succeeded in winning a following in Carloman's old kingdom—the Gallic south. But his plans were detected, and Afiarta was made prisoner and executed. Desiderius proceeded all the more recklessly. Even Rome seemed threatened. Envoys went and came. The king desired a personal interview with the pope; the latter required, as a preliminary condition, the restitution of his conquests. This proposal fell to the ground, and Desiderius resolved to seek the pope in his own house. Two bishops met him on his way thither and threatened him with excommunication if he went a step farther. Probably Desiderius did not expect such determination. Rome was strongly fortified and garrisoned; and the Langobards, disconcerted and awe-struck, went homeward. Besides, envoys from Charlemagne were already under way. To these Desiderius professed his readiness to give up the Roman "duchy," but refused any further concessions. A second Frankish embassy he would not even listen to. Personal animosity and the Saxon war combined to make him resolute.

He reckoned amiss. At a conference of Charlemagne with the magnates of his empire it was agreed to listen to the unceasing entreaties of the pope. The Franks were quickly in the field with two hosts. In the strongly-guarded passes of the Alps they encountered a vigorous resistance, and already contemplated return, when a chosen band succeeded in passing around the enemy. Desiderius could no longer keep the field. A portion of his troops were unreliable, and, in despair, he threw himself into Pavia. And now, when everything depended on unity, the duchy of Spoleto deserted him and swore fealty to the pope. Other places followed its example. Benevento declared itself independent. Internal dissensions worked in unison with the arms of the foe.

Pavia, indeed, defended itself desperately, but the land fell more and more completely into the hands of the enemy, even strong Verona. So preponderant was Charlemagne's power that he was able to leave his army

and proceed to Rome. The power of resistance came, at length, to an end. For more than eight months Pavia had borne up against hunger and sickness, and no relief was near. In June, 774, it surrendered. The fall of the capital implied that of the state, which collapsed without further resistance. Desiderius was carried off to France, and vanishes from history. He is said to have spent the remainder of his days in prayer, vigils, and fasting in the monastery of Corbie.

The saga, which has incorporated nearly the whole of Langobard history, remains loyal to the nation, even in its downfall. It says: "In the battles in the Alpine passes, Adelehis, the king's valiant son, had slain many Franks, when a Langobard gleeman entered their camp and led them by a side-path—'the Franks' path'—into the low country. For reward, he had bargained to get all the land and the people that were within the sound of his pipe. When Charles was besieging Pavia, Desiderius betook himself constantly to the churches at midnight to pray. On his mere appearance, the doors opened of themselves. But he had an ill-conditioned daughter, who wrote the besieger a letter offering him possession of the city if he would make her his wife. The maid stole the keys from her father while he slept, and admitted the Franks. But as she sprung joyously forward to meet them, she fell under the hoofs of their horses and was trodden to death. In still St. Gall there sat, later, an aged monk, who knew that Desiderius, with a Frankish deserter, mounted a high tower and awaited the approach of the dreaded Charles. There came bands, and bands on the back of these, but Charles was not among them. At length, sorrowful in heart, he would descend to hide himself under the earth, when his companion said: 'When you see the fields bristling with an iron crop and the Po and the Ticino rolling their dusky waves against the walls of the city, then comes Charles!' Scarcely had he uttered the words when a dark cloud arose out of the west, which shrouded the clearest day in frightful gloom. And as the emperor gradually drew near, a day gleamed on the besieged from the glance of his weapons that was darker for them than any night. There stood he beaming light in helmet and harness—the mighty hero. Desiderius's companion fell lifeless to the ground."


In the place of the conquered prince stepped Charlemagne, "King of the Franks and Langobards," who regarded himself as the successor of the old rulers, and, in the unsettled state of the succession, came to be regarded as such by the people. But a reaction was threatening.

In 775 a compact was entered into between the dukes of Spoleto, Benevento, Friuli, and Chiusi on the one hand, and the Greeks and Adelehis on the other, to put an end to Frankish supremacy and restore

Adelchis to the throne. The pope betrayed the plot before it was ripe, and Charlemagne hurried over the Alps. He met with effective resistance only in Friuli, and this he quelled, and occupied its revolted cities with Frankish garrisons. The other dukes seem to have been won over by negotiations. Benevento alone remained independent. Its duke, Arichis, had concentrated his efforts on his capital. It was not till 787 that Charlemagne forced him to acknowledge his supremacy. But his submission was only apparent. In 788, the pope again wrote the king that Adelehis was sojourning with the envoys of the emperor in Calabria, and that Arichis had sent envoys to Byzantium, begging succor, the title of patrician, and the dukedom of Naples, in return for which he would acknowledge the emperor's supremacy. The death of Arichis alone prevented the execution of his menacing plans. Virtually Benevento maintained a position of almost entire independence—the last remote relic of the empire of the Langobards.

When Charlemagne, in 781, returned for the third time to Italy, he set up his son Pepin as king of the Langobards, and ordered the arrangements of his kingdom. Except in the cases of Spoleto and Benevento, the administration was entrusted, after Frank fashion, to counts who were royal officials, and whose doings were controlled by *missi dominici*. The Frankish regulations in regard to military service were introduced, but the old legal code was retained for the former inhabitants. The state founded by Alboin became henceforth a member of the empire of the Franks, whose fortunes it shared. For the conqueror Charles it became a step toward the imperial throne.

But though the Langobard kingdom was thus overturned, it remained, in its expressions of life, its name, its laws, and its people, down to our own time. Late into the Middle Ages, a section of the Apennine population continued to live according to Langobard laws. Precisely there, where the power of the Langobards was mainly concentrated—in the region of the Po—the burghers first grew into a power, and became formidable to the emperors of their original homeland. A great portion of the Italian nobility is of Lombard extraction; in the Berengarii and in Arduin the old Lombardo-Italian monarchy came again to life; Lombard blood flows in the veins of the Guelfs, who returned north from sunny Este to their old seats, and founded the duchy of Lüneburg. Even Italy's latest national hero, Garibaldi, is of German blood. And to-day over Salerno towers the castle of the old Langobard dukes, famous for its artistic pictorial relics, and the wide-spreading plain between the Alps and the Po still preserves, as Lombardy, the name of the grim heathen who came from the far-distant Bardengau.


CITUR CHRODICILDIS REGINA
 plenadierum·bonis que operibus pre-
 dita, **N**putur bēn turonicam obiit,
 tempore iniuriosie piscopi, **Q**uæra
 risius cum magno psalento de por-
 tatus sacratio basilicae sc̄i petri ad
 latus chlodouechi regis sepulta est
 a filius suis childeberto atque chlo-
 thario regibus, **N**am basilicam illam
 ipsa construxerat in qua et ceneue
 uabeatissima est sepulta **†††**
MENIGUE CHLOTHARIUS REX INDI XE

AD RATUM OMNES AECLESIAE RECNISUI
TE RIAM PARTEM FRUCTUUM FISCO DISSOL
UERENT, **Q**UOD LICET IN IURICUM OMNES E
PISCOPI CONSENSISSENT ATQUE SUBSCRIP
SISSENT, **U**IRILITER HOC BEATUS IN IURIO
SUS RES PUENS SUBSCRIBED EDIGNATUS
EST DICENS, **S**I QUOLUERIS RES DITOLLE REDONS
RECNUM TUUM VELOCITER AUFERIT, **Q**UIA
INIQUUM EST UT PAUPERES QUOS TUO DEBES
ALERE HORREO ALBEORUM STIPE TUARE PLE
ANTUR, **E**PT RATUS CONTRARECEM NECUA
LEDICENS ABSCESSIT **T**UNC CONMOTUS REX
TIMENS ETIAM UIRTU TEM BEATI MARTINI

Faensmile of a page of Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks: manuscript written about 675 A.D.
Book iv. cc. 1 and 2.

Formerly at St. Peter's of Beauvais, now in the National Library, Paris.
History of All Nations. Vol. VII., page 63.

CHAPTER II.

THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

TO the world-wide importance of the history of the Frankish people corresponds the abundance and variety of its historical sources. The records of none of their neighbor-nations can be compared with theirs in richness, and only those of the Anglo-Saxons vie with them in intrinsic value.

Foremost of all their writers is Gregory of Tours, the Herodotus of his time. Descended from an illustrious Roman family, to which nearly all the bishops of Tours and many saints belonged, he was born at Clermont-Ferrand about 540. There he received but an indifferent education, and in 573 he was elevated to the episcopal chair of St. Martin. His important functions brought him into close connection with affairs of state, so that he was one of the most influential men of his time. He died, respected and revered, on November 17, 594. The events which he witnessed on all sides, awoke in him the wish to record them for posterity. Thus, while he wrote "Lives of the Saints," and commemorated miracles, he labored indefatigably on his most important work, the "Ten Books of Frankish History."¹

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

Facsimile of a page of Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks: manuscript written about 675 A. D. Book iv. cc. 1 and 2.

The manuscript is now in the National Library at Paris, having formerly been at St. Pierre de Beauvais, and afterward in the library of Notre Dame: it is written on parchment, the pages being 11½ in. by 8½ in.

TRANSCRIPTION.

IGITUR CHRODIC(H)ILDIS REGINA
plena dierum, bonisque operibus prædita,
apud urbem t(Tr)unicam obiit, tempore
i(In)juriosi episcopi, quæ p(Par)isius cum
magno psallentio deportato in sacario basilicæ
s(Sc)i (Sancti) p(Per)etri ad latus Chlodow-
u(v)echi regis sepulta est a filiis suis e(C)hil-
deberto atque e(C)hlothar(cha)rio regibus,
Nam basilicam illam ipsa construxerat in
qua et genuueua (Genofeva) beatissima est
sac(e)pulta !!!

TRANSLATION.

Then Queen Clotilda, full of days and rich in good deeds, died at the city of Tours, at the time of Bishop Injuriosus [about 545: the bishop probably died in 546]. With great psaltering she was borne to Paris, and buried at the side of King Clovis, under the high altar of the Church of St. Peter, by her sons, kings Childbert and Clotaire. For that church she had herself erected; in which also the blessed Geneviève is buried.

His subject was the present. But that he might appear competent to treat this, he prefixed to it a confession of faith, and a survey of the world's history from the creation, which, with the founding of the Gallic Church, led up to the establishment of the Frankish kingdom. For the earlier period of this kingdom, down to about the death of Clovis, he avails himself of written records as well as of oral tradition, making use more and more of the latter, till it, with his own experience, becomes his only source. In no way troubling himself about rhetorical flourishes, he tells his tale, in somewhat barbarous speech, in an artless memoir-like fashion, without any of the ability of the historian. Incidents of everyday life stand side by side with the greatest state events. But it is just this that lends value and charm to his work. He is entirely objective, presenting us simply with a true mirror of his times. Naïveté, credulity, and simplicity, with a strong religious bias, are the traits of his character. The latter characteristic betrays him occasionally into prejudiced judgments. A Clovis he reveres as a chosen champion of Christ, a Chilperic is to him a Nero and a Herod, because he dealt rigorously with his clergy. His judgments on questions of morals and manners partake of the obtuseness of his time. The merit of his work lies in its contributions to the history of civilization. No other German people enjoys an approximately equal delineator of their inner life. Romans and Franks in his pages coalesce into one people. He is, as it were, already French, and yet the last representative of the old Gallic provincial nobility.

We appreciate the value of Gregory when we come to 591, where he sinks into silence, and the investigator is thrown back upon meagre, fragmentary traditions, and the fustian Lives of the saints.

Older annals—such as those of Arles, Angers, and Burgundy—which

II. Denique c(C)hloth(cha)rius rex indixerat ut omnes ae(e)clesiae regni sui tertiam partem fructuum fisco dissolu(v)erent, Quod licet inu(v)iti cum omnes episcopi consensissent atque subscripsissent, U(v)iriliter hoc beatus i(D)njuriosus respuens subseribere(re) dedignatus est(,) dicens, ("Si u(v)olueris res dī (Dei) tollere dñs (Dominus) rec(g)num tuum u(v)elocitor aufert, Quia iniquum est ut pauperes quos tuo debes alere horreo ab eorum stipe tua repleantur.") Et iratus contra dī regem nec u(v)aledicens abscessit Tunc con(m)motus rex timens etiam u(v)irtutem beati m(M)artini

II. Now King Clotaire had ordered that all churches of his kingdom should contribute a third part of their annual income to his treasury. This edict, which all the bishops, though against their will, had consented to and subscribed to, the blessed Bishop Injuriosus rejected in a manly fashion, and refused to sign, saying, "If you purpose to take what is God's, the Lord will speedily take your kingdom; for it is unjust that while you ought to sustain the poor from your granaries, these granaries should be filled by their offerings." And in anger against the king, he departed without saying farewell. Then the king was disturbed: for he feared the power of Saint Martin . . .

Gregory and others made use of, are lost. On the other hand, we have a continuation of Prosper by Marius, Bishop of Avenches (Lausanne), which comes down to 581; dry indeed, and meagre, but honest and containing matter of value, as also for Burgundy. To this work, a continuation to the year 624 was added, which gradually assumes more and more of a Frankish tone, while Marius, on the other hand, regarded the emperor as the true lord of Christendom.

The only real history of the Franks of the Seventh Century bears the name of Scholasticus Fredegar, which, however, does not appear in the manuscripts. Therefore the critics have tried to prove that it is not a single work, but consists of several which have been patched together. First of all, it contains Burgundian annals, reaching down to 613; then comes the real Fredegar, a native of the same land, who continued the work to 642. He revised the earlier portion, and enriched it with fables of all kinds. What came under his personal observation may be relied on. Then, about 658, came a third hand—an Austrasian—supposedly an inhabitant of Metz. He enlarged the chronicle in various directions, but added no independent continuation. This was left for the next age. Though the style of the whole is barbarous in the extreme, yet, in the absence of all other sources, the collection is of high value.

To Fredegar there succeeded a period of more than a half century, during which only a few Lives of saints saw the light. Not till the last years of the Merovingians, when the literary genius of Austrasia was turning toward the rising sun of the Carolingians, did there appear a work in Neustria, and its meagreness is in harmony with the moribund condition of the dynasty. It is entitled *Gesta Francorum*, the author of which does not tell us his name, but he seems to have been a monk of Paris. His details are Neustrian, and he magnifies the Merovingians; he has an antipathy to Austrasia, and mentions it only on rare occasions. His history, based mainly on the first six books of Gregory, was written in 727. When Gregory failed him, he continued independently, for Fredegar's chronicle evidently was unknown to him. So far as the latter reaches, this chronicle is of little account, but for a long period he offers the only continuous narrative. Although always bald, it becomes more trustworthy as it goes on. A continuation brings it down to 736, which we know only in its remodelled condition, as the first continuation of Fredegar.

The state and historiography alike received new life and a new direction through the Carolingians. With the year 687, that of Pepin's victory, the annals of St. Amand begin. Naturally, they emphasize Austrasia. Here Fredegar's chronicle found its last remodelling and completion

(to 752), which Childebrand, Pepin's uncle, took charge of. He caused Fredegar to be carefully transcribed, partially recast, and, by degrees, supplementary matter regarding the house of the Arnulfings to be introduced. After him, his son, Nibelung, continued the work with a partially contemporaneous account of the reign of Pepin. This is supplemented by a record from St. Denis concerning the consecration of Pepin by Pope Stephen II.—the so-called *Clausula de Pippino*. As the kingdom fell to the Carolingians, so this only chronicle of the Franks became a family record of the Carolingian house. It maintains throughout an official character, with all the advantages and drawbacks incident to such productions: an intimate knowledge of affairs, and the art of silence. Completeness, and absence of party-spirit, are not to be looked for in these continuators of Fredegar. But their chronicles are enriched from various sources of the time of Charlemagne, of which the Metz annals go back far, while those of Lorsch are distinguished for copiousness. Here, too, however, everything is colored in favor of the Arnulfings and to the prejudice of Ebroin and other rivals.

From the above, it appears, for certain periods, our information is incomplete. This is the case particularly for the period between Gregory of Tours and the more expanded supplements to Fredegar—that is, from 591 to about 600—and still more, from Fredegar to the chronicles of the Frankish kings, or from 642 to 656. The chronicles are chiefly supplemented by a great number of Lives of Saints. As a rule these are mere eulogies, scarcely touching temporal matters. Many date from later times, or are revised without regard to the conditions which prevailed when they were first written. There is almost nothing to be gleaned from most of them. A few such productions, however, have some historical value, such as the Lives of St. Amand, St. Leodegar, St. Prix (St. Praejectus), St. Hubert, and St. Arnulf—the last because it deals with the forefather of the Carolingian house. For Germany we draw from the biographies dealing with Scottish (that is, Irish) and Anglo-Saxon monks. The Lives of St. Columban and his colleague, Gallus, contain many an important notice of the history of civilization. Others deserving notice are the Lives of St. Rupert, St. Emmeran, St. Corbinian, St. Kilian, and the Lives of others, who, though partly Franks, made conversions in the manner of the Scottish monks. But as the Anglo-Saxons surpassed these in effectiveness, so the narratives of their deeds are of surpassing value. Among them we meet with Archbishop Wilfrid of York, Bishop Willibrord of Utrecht, St. Suitbert, founder of Kaiserswerth, the brothers Willibald and Wynnebald—the former, Bishop of Eichstedt, the latter, Abbot of Heidenheim—the Abbess Lioba of

Bischofsheim, and, above all, St. Boniface with his disciples, Archbishop Lull of Mayence and Abbot Sturm of Fulda.

The Franks essayed, also, Latin historical poetry. Of the Seventh Century, we have a rhymed description of the world by an unknown author, in whom some recognize Abbot Theodofried of Corbie. More noteworthy is a song on the victory of Clotaire II. over the Saxons in the year 622, of which, however, we have only a fragment.

Letters furnish incomparably richer materials, and develop into important sources for the time of the last Pepin. To this section belong the great collection of the letters of St. Boniface, portions of the *Codex Carolinus*, and occasional epistles of the popes.

The Charters grow more abundant with every century, many of them still existing in the original, especially those of the royal monastery of St. Denis near Paris. Then there are collections of legal formulas containing models for charters which were for practical use, for there was no corporate and hereditary class of scribes in the Frankish kingdom. Such collections are numerous, the earliest seemingly belonging to the beginning of the Seventh Century. Most of them had their origin in Neustria, on account of the amalgamation of Roman with Frankish law there. Moreover, there are the Acts of Councils and the Capitularies, and for the earliest period the Salic code (*Lex Salica*), the oldest and most important source of the laws of the German peoples. This venerable monument goes back in its elements to the time of Tacitus, and is a code of tribal and customary law proper. The law of the Ripuarian Franks was constructed from the Salic law; its origin is dark, and its value small.

Antiquarian finds, too, are of high value, the most important of them being that of the grave of Childeric, Clovis's father. The products of Frankish civilization are now to be seen in the great European museums, especially in those of Paris and Mayence. To the domain of antiquities also belong coins, church-edifices, manuscripts, drawings, and the like.

FROM THE ENTRY OF THE FRANKS INTO GAUL TILL THE DEATH OF
CLOTAIRE I. (circ. A. D. 340-561).

The Franks were the heirs of the Romans and the representatives and apostles of Teutonic national development. Their kingdom and its association with Catholicism constituted the pivotal point of mediæval history. They were a martial peasant-folk, adventurous, wily, ruthless, regardless of the rights of others, notorious for treachery and faithlessness. But they had an eye for the attainable, a sort of practical instinct. It was of great value to them to have a purely Germanic land to fall

back on, a land which always supplied them with fresh strength for their wide-reaching enterprises, and counteracted that tendency to decomposition by which Burgundians, Visigoths, and allied Gallicised tribes were affected. It was a great advantage to have been ushered into history by a mighty king, whose conversion opened a promising future for his people. Furthermore, it was of great benefit that they had an ordered law of succession, all the sons being entitled thereto, which formed a great bond between the king and people. With unexampled tenacity the Franks held fast to their royal house, even when its members had long become unworthy and others had seized the real power.

Just before the middle of the Fourth Century, when Magnentius was leading the frontier legions against Constantius, the Germans began to cross the middle Rhine into the territory of the Empire. Apparently these were the tribes into which the Ripuarians had become broken up. Soon their Salian brothers of the lower Rhine followed. Though Roman allies, they pressed on, leisurely, it is true, but irresistibly. The two main branches of the Franks—the Salians and Ripuarians—had become subdivided into septs, at the head of each of which stood a prince—its chief or king. This did not, however, prevent the occasional union of several such districts under one head (see p. 211, Vol. VI.). Such a ruler probably was Chloio, the first of his class to stand more clearly out from the mists of tradition. He traversed the Kohlenwald, seized Cambrai, and extended his domains to the Somme. The contest for the throne on his death resulted in the elevation of the Merovingians and Attila's attack (see p. 220, Vol. VI.).

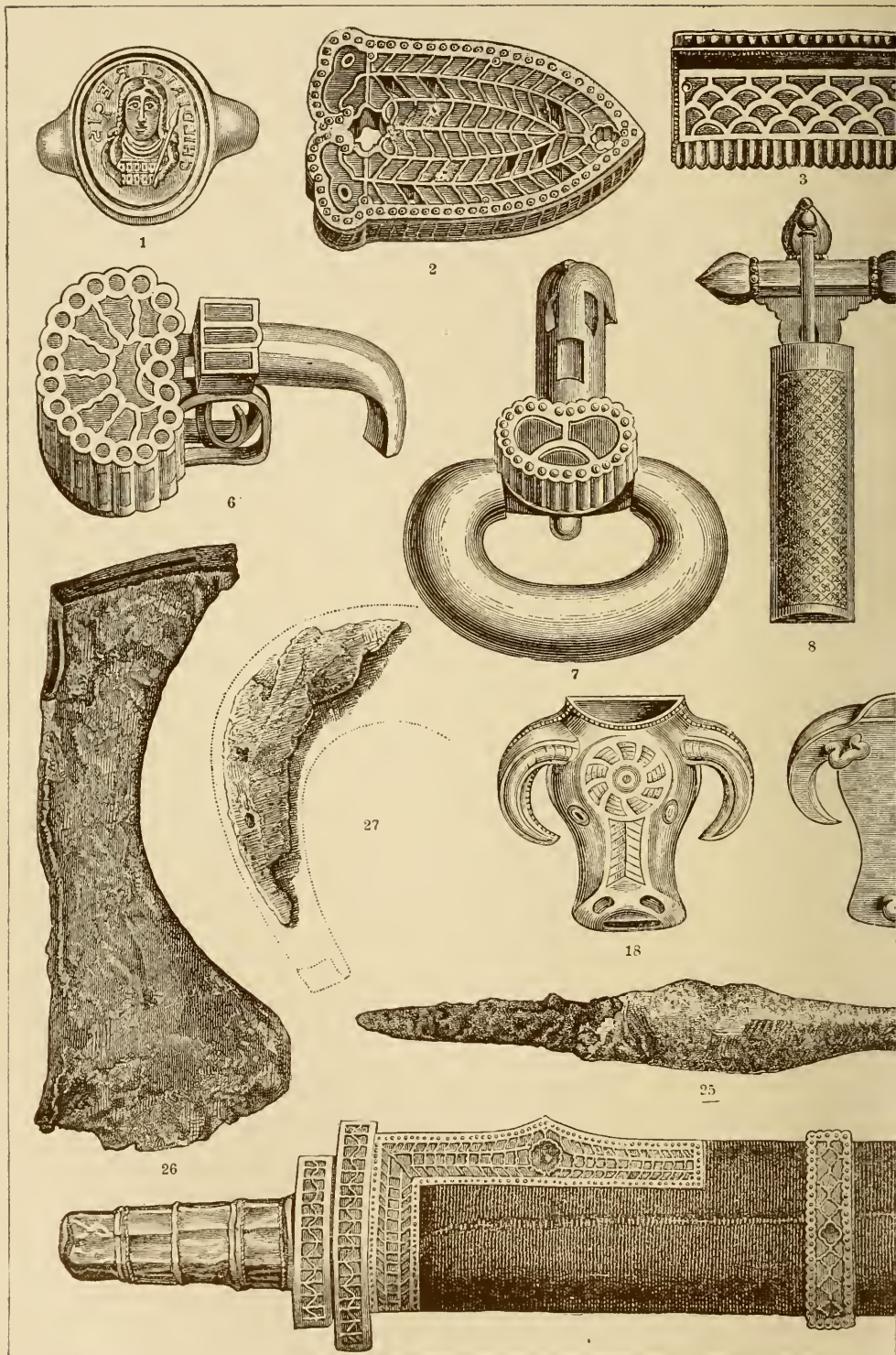
From 457 to 481 Childeric ruled in his capital, Tournai. At first, according to doubtful tradition, he was deferential to the Roman governor Aegidius, even fighting as an ally against the Visigoths and Saxons. And as with the Empire, so he stood in good relationship to the Church. All this, however, does not seem to have prevented him aggrandizing himself, even at the cost of the Romans, or making himself master of their greatest cities on the Rhine—Cologne and Treves. Then it was that the Western Empire was extinguished. The Franks took their place by the side of the Visigoths, wherefore Childeric has been named the founder of the kingdom of the Franks. More than a thousand years later—in 1653—his grave was found at Tournai, where he lay buried with his war-horse, weapons, and treasures (PLATE III.¹).

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

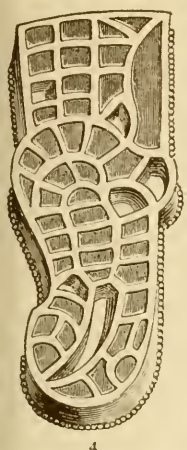
Objects from the grave of King Childeric I.

(From Peigné-Delacourt; Chiflet; Cochet; and Lindenschmit.)

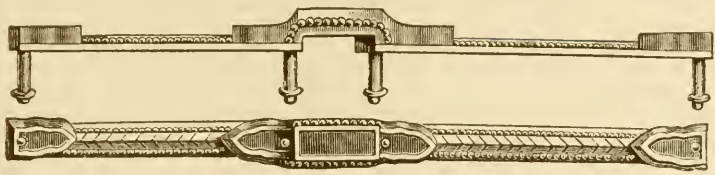
This grave was discovered in 1653, in the graveyard of the church of St. Brixius in Doornick or Tournai, in Belgium. In it were found skulls of two human beings and



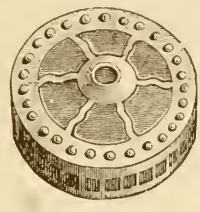
Objects from the Gr
(From Peigne-Delacourt, C)



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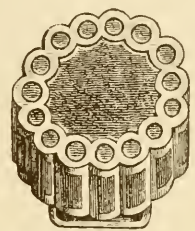
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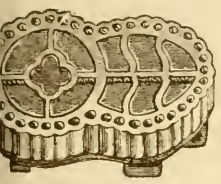
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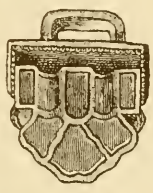
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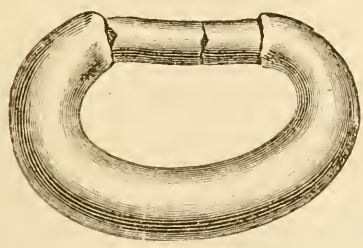
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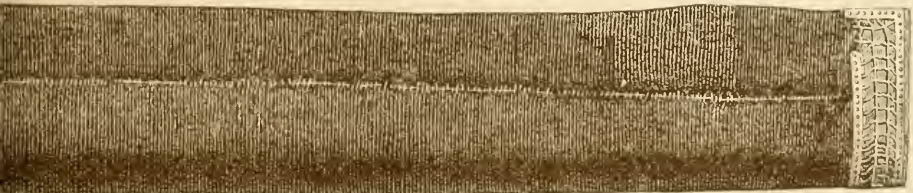
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The power founded by him would have been of short duration, had it not been confirmed and enlarged by a mightier ruler than he. This was his son Clovis (Chlodwig, Chlodovech), who, at the age of fifteen, seized the kingly lance with a firm grasp (481-511). Unfortunately, in the accounts of his deeds, fancy and fact are commingled. His greatness, alike in virtue and in crime, was early magnified.

So long as the powerful Visigoth, Euric, lived, Clovis kept in the background. Scarcely, however, was he freed of him by death, than he threw himself on Syagrius, Aegidius's son, who as an independent patrician held the last remnants of Gallo-Roman power together around his capital, Soissons. The provincials, unused to arms, succumbed before the hostile onslaught; Syagrius was conquered and fled to the Visigoths, who delivered him up.

Up to this time Clovis had been king of only a few septs. He

of a horse, weapons, remains of garment embroidered with gold thread, many ornaments of gold, including a seal-ring with the name of the king.

The contents of the grave, so far as they have not been lost since their discovery, are now in the Louvre. They were originally in the royal library, but in 1831 were removed and only partially restored. Fortunately, very soon after the discovery of the grave, J. J. Chiflet, a learned physician, wrote a large work upon them, in which he gave full descriptions with drawings.

The most notable object is the king's seal-ring (No. 1); the legend is *CHILDERICI REGIS*. In the centre is a representation of the head and shoulders of a warrior with long braided hair; on his breast is a breastplate made of separate pieces or disks; in his right hand a spear.

Among the objects of gold are several pieces which belong to garments (Nos. 2, 3); mountings for weapons, pendants for belts (No. 4), clasps (Nos. 6, 7), brooches (No. 8), and smaller objects used as mountings for straps and bands (Nos. 9-14). No. 5 was probably part of the cover of a casket.

The golden bees, inlaid with red jewels, are especially interesting. They were attached to the royal robe, which was itself threaded with gold, and are of two kinds, distinguished by the design of the upper part of the body (Nos. 15 and 16; No. 17 is No. 15 in profile). The golden model of the head of the ox (Nos. 18, 19, front and rear view) formed part of the ornamentation on the caparison of the king's battle-horse, and was worn on his brow. Among the many gold coins found in the grave some were set in ivory rings with handles (Nos. 20, 21, gold coin of the Emperor Leo), so as to be used as ornaments. Finger-rings and bracelets were also found, some of them of a sort usually occurring only in the graves of women, such as the armlet, No. 22. No. 23 is a globe of rock crystal. All the jewels were set with precious stones, and in some cases incrustated with coloured glass paste.

Among the weapons found in the grave were two swords, respectively long and short. The former is figured in No. 24, as restored by Chiflet—perhaps not quite correctly—from the fragments of handle, sheath and mountings. The knob at the end of the handle lacks the two animals' heads that once adorned it. No. 25 is an iron spear-head, and No. 26 a battle-axe. Until recently No. 27 has been supposed to be a fragment of a horseshoe belonging to Childeric's horse. This is unlikely, since no iron horseshoes have ever been found in graves of the same period; in fact, the shoeing of horses in the Merovingian period has not been proved. Probably this fragment is part of the binding or frame of a shield; this explanation is sustained by the presence of nail-holes in the iron, and by the fact that a shield is to be looked for among the weapons of the king.

had ventured on the war without support, and already he had won a predominating prestige. As a commander he enforced discipline and compelled obedience, protected the natives as well as the Church that had grown up among them, and extended his domains to the Loire. Soissons, the capital of the patrician, was now the centre of the new Germano-Roman kingdom. In 491 he reduced the Thuringians to obedience, and in 496 he marched against the Alamanni. Among this people, a change, analogous to that among the Franks, had come about. A great monarchy had swallowed up the petty kings. In the course of making their power predominant abroad, these two masterful peoples came naturally into collision, for the Alamanni had already reached Zülpich¹ in the neighborhood of Aix-la-Chapelle. Their tenacity seemed to prevail on the battlefield; then fortune changed. They fled, and their king fell. A great part of their land, as far as the Lower Neckar and Main, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who occupied it with Frankish settlers. A German territory on the east was thus fused into one with the Roman on the west. Frankish preponderance on the right side of the Rhine was founded. Of still greater importance was the fact that the Alamannian war caused Clovis's conversion to Catholicism. He thus set himself free from his own people and his own kin, placed himself in antagonism to the Arian kings of Germany, and won the hearts and the hopes of the Romans, decidedly the most numerous class in Gaul. They stood by him at all times. (Cf. p. 301, Vol. VI.)

This was evidenced in the disorders breaking out afresh in Burgundy, in which Clovis took a part. Although victorious, at first, over Gundobad (500), the latter was nevertheless successful in winning back the unified kingdom without the Frank assailing him with a new war. Dread of the Arian Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and the fact that Clovis was not sole master in his own house, co-operated in this result. It was essential that he should rid himself of these obstacles—especially of the Visigoths—and in effecting this he cleverly brought the Burgundians over to his side. In vain did the great Theodoric strive for peace. The most eminent of the Franks assembled in Paris decreed that the issue must come through arms. The poorly-led Visigoths were not able to sustain a double attack. At Vouillé (Vouglé) they were decisively defeated, and only saved from annihilation by the Ostrogoths. But they lost most of their Gallie possessions. To many contemporaries this victory of the Franks seemed at the same time a victory for orthodoxy. The East Roman emperor made Clovis consul.

¹ Recent investigation has shown that Zülpich was probably not the scene of the battle.—Ed.

His power was now so absolute that he no longer kept himself within bounds, but deposed the Frankish joint and petty kings and thus concentrated the whole nation under his rule. To effect this, he used deceit and violence indifferently, and (unless the legend early embellished his story) shunned no enormity. If he were, as alleged, son of the faithless wife of the Thuringian, who cohabited with Childeric, this would furnish an explanation. As the Merovingians owed their origin to adultery, so they came to ruin through family scandals. The son of Sigbert, of Cologne, Clovis instigated to the murder of his gray-haired father, and then sent messengers to inspect his treasures, one of whom, when the parricide was bending over a coffer of gold, sunk a battle-axe in his skull. Through craft he got King Chararic and his sons into his toils, then caused them to be shaven like priests and finally beheaded. With counterfeit gold ornaments he bought over the people of Ragnachar of Cambrai. When this chief and his brother were brought before him bound, "Wherefore," exclaimed the monster, "hast thou, of our own race, let thyself be thus abased and manacled? Better were it for thee to die!" and with his battle-axe clave his skull. Then, turning to the brother, "Hadst thou stood by him, he had not been thus fettered," and struck him also to earth. The results of these atrocities were: the Frankish monarchy, insurance against civil war, the securing of the succession for Clovis's posterity; and, in these, we find the reasons why the people accommodated themselves without a struggle. At the side of the dynasty of Clovis there was room for no other.

But he assured the unity of the state by other measures as well. He codified anew the Salic law, ordered the relations of the Germans to the Romans and of the crown to the Church; the Frankish military and judicial organization was carried out, while he granted the Romans the rights of wergild and citizenship and, with these, an interest in the state. He—a German king—made himself the head of the Gallo-Roman clergy, and, by making their creed his own, elevated it into being veritably "Catholic" and "universal." Thus he secured the clergy; it was the bishops who, in after days, supported the monarchy and protected the person of the king. With artless ingenuousness Gregory of Tours writes: "God overthrew all Clovis's enemies before him." Clovis appeared to him as the instrument of the Lord. It affected him in no way that his hand was bloody and his heart polluted with sin. In the last year of his life Clovis summoned the first ecclesiastical assembly at Orleans, and thirty-two bishops attended. For the conclusions arrived at they craved the ruler's assent, that thereby they might have greater validity.

Thus Clovis stood in closest alliance with people and Church,

when he died at Paris, in November, 511, in the forty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-first of his reign. Constant strain and excitement had borne him to the grave before his time.

Like Genseric, Clovis represented the consummation of the characteristics of his race and was its hero. At first a German sept-prince, he was, in accordance with early usage, chosen by the people as son of the king. He left at his death a powerful state and settled law of succession, and was the ancestor of monarchy in France and in Germany. His ultimate capital, Paris, remains the capital to the present day. In him met two religions and two ages of the world. At his birth the Roman world was still a power; his death marks the dawn of the Middle Ages. He stepped into the vacant place of the Eastern emperor, and paved the way for what Charlemagne perfected—the fusion of Roman and German civilization, the alliance of Church and State, the subjugation of the Germans to Frankish supremacy.

The upward tendency did not end with Clovis, although the sons in no way equalled their father, and, although the law of succession called four of them to the throne (Fig. 20). The eldest, Theuderic I. (Theodoric, 511-533), born before the marriage with Clotilda, received the eastern part (the so-called Austrasia), the German territory on the right bank of the Rhine, and portions of the southern and southwestern conquests. His capital was Metz, and sometimes Rheims. The kingdom of Clotaire I. (Chlothachar, —561) stretched from Soissons on the south of the Kohlenwald to the Seine and the North Sea. Childebert I. (— 558) got possession of Paris and the western districts with the exception of the still independent Brittany. South of this, and to the west of Theuderic's inheritance, was that of Clodomir I. (— 524) with its capital at Orleans. The four residences did not lie far from one another; with the exception of Metz, they were all within the last limits of the Roman Empire, and admitted of easy union. Notwithstanding these partitions, the idea of a unified Frankish nation remained constant, of which the four separate kingdoms constituted parts. This found concrete expression in the common management of Church affairs, and a legal one in the recognition of the law of mutual succession. Assemblies of the magnates of the various kingships were even held, and the solidarity was especially pronounced in their dealings with subject peoples and foreign states.

The Greek Agathias emphasized the good discipline and concord of the Franks. He tells us that on no occasion did bloodshed arise between the various provinces. There were not wanting, indeed, disputes between the princes, and, sometimes, the field was taken, but controversies died away at the sight of the opposing hosts, and were left to the decision of

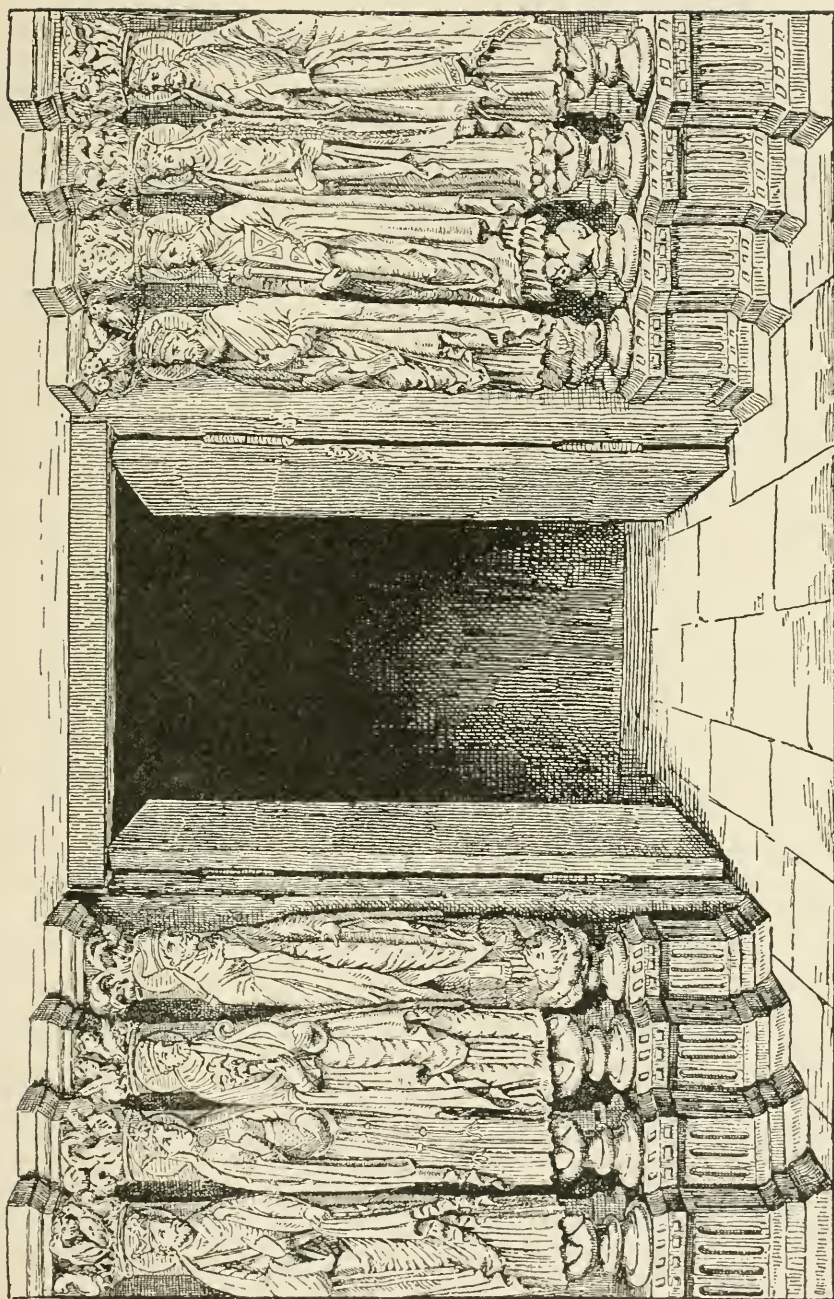


FIG. 20. — Statues of Clovis and his sons at the ancient main door of the church St. Germain-des-Prés. (From Montfaucon.)

single combat or of law. Thus it might have appeared to the outer world; in reality, wild wars raged among the relatives. But even this resulted in good—in the amalgamation of the Germans and Romans in the various kingdoms.

In 523, the three sons of Clotilda overran Burgundy with war. After initial successes, they were defeated at Véséronce, and Clodomir was slain. His two brothers divided his kingdom. Clotaire received Touraine; Childebert, the district of Orleans. To obviate future danger, Clotaire slew the two youthful sons of Clodomir with his own hand, and the third deprived himself of his royal looks and became a monk. The foundation of the renowned monastery of St. Cloud is traced back to him.

A more prosperous issue awaited Theuderic's war against the Thuringians. These constituted a powerful nation to the east of the Main and reaching to the Unstrut and Danube. War had broken out between their three kings, which, in 516, had already given Theuderic a pretext for interference. Now, in 531, when the dreaded Ostrogoth, Theodoric, had died, he allied himself with the neighboring Saxons and his brother, Clotaire, against the surviving king, Hermannfrid, who had seized the whole Thuringian dominion. A fluctuating campaign ensued, in which the superior strength of the Franks gradually asserted itself. They conquered on the Unstrut and stormed the fortress Scheidungen. Then the Auvergnese rose in their rear and Theuderic's half-brother, Childebert, left the land and made war on the Visigoths, in the course of which Auvergne was reconquered. Nevertheless, the Thuringian campaign continued uninterrupted. In order to put an end to it, Theuderic invited Hermannfrid to visit him in a friendly way, pledging his word that no mischief would befall him. After his arrival, he engaged him one day in a seemingly harmless conversation, on the wall of Zülpieh. Suddenly the guest received a push from behind which hurled him down and killed him. This conflict of the Franks, Saxons, and Thuringians was decisive for interior Germany and the Frankish supremacy. A northern stretch of the Thuringian land was occupied by the Saxons; the region along the Main was seized by the Franks and named after them. The name of the Thuringians and their nationality lingers in the districts from the Unstrut to the mountain regions of the South.

Meanwhile, Clotaire and Childebert had fallen upon Burgundy, which succumbed to this third onset and was partitioned. Such easy incorporation of considerable kingdoms into the Frankish is almost surprising. The reason for this lies in the unconsolidated conditions everywhere, and the weakly-developed feeling of nationality. The king, rather than the

people, was the representative of this latter conception. As soon as he was expelled or killed, the people left masterless easily united themselves to the kindred race of the conqueror.

Although Theuderic had taken no part in the Burgundian war, he had not been idle. His son, Theudebert, led an army against the Visigoths of Septimania and was making great progress, when the deadly sickness of his father summoned him home. His uncles showed a disposition to shut him out of the inheritance; but Theudebert withstood them, secured possession, and was adopted by Childebert.

Theudebert I. (534-548) ruled justly, honored the priests and endowed churches. He was enterprising, aspiring, energetic, and not without occasional promptings of magnanimity; but, like almost all the scions of his race, he was voluptuous, covetous, and devoid of truth and faith. Haughtily he stamped his own image on his gold coinage, instead of that of the emperor (see p. 274, Vol. VI.). Conditions were favorable to him. The main body of the distracted Visigoths had transferred themselves from Gaul to Spain; the Ostrogoths were involved in a struggle for existence with Byzantium. Theudebert was just the man to avail himself of the situation. He and his uncles, in consideration of a heavy subsidy, allied themselves with Justinian against the Ostrogoths, but did not let this prevent them from making terms also with the latter, who made over to them Ostrogothic Provence, a portion of Alamannia, and 2000 pounds, for which they received the promise of secret help through non-Frankish troops. In point of fact, swarms of Burgundians appeared in Italy, in 538, and succored the Goths during the siege of Milan. It was certainly the policy of the Merovingians to prefer the neighborhood of kindred Germans to that of the Byzantines, and to prolong the war till both parties weakened themselves, and then to fish in the troubled waters. First, the Alamanno-Gothic Rhaetia was incorporated, then (531) Theu-



FIG. 21.—Coins of Theudebert (see p. 273, Vol. VI.).

debert crossed the Alps with a strong force, apparently in alliance with the Goths. No sooner did he feel himself on solid ground than he attacked them and their enemies in common, subdued a large portion of North Italy, and pressed forward into the district of Ravenna (see p. 377, Vol. VI.).

Only pestilence compelled him to withdraw, but he kept possession of a number of towns by means of garrisons, especially in Venetia, which Totilas later conceded to him. The neighborhood of the two German peoples gradually developed into friendship, till ultimately the Franks reinforced the Gothic ranks. For himself, Theudebert sought a richer prey in Germany. Here, he fought and negotiated with such success that he could boast that his dominions reached from the Danube and the frontiers of Pannonia to the coasts of the ocean, so that he even threatened the Byzantine emperor with an attack on Constantinople. It was an empire that Theudebert had conquered.

And as Theudebert had widened his dominion toward the east, his uncles, Childebert and Clotaire, wished to extend theirs toward the west. In 542, they overran Septimania and pressed forward, with fire and sword, into Spain. But strong Saragossa withstood them. The Visigothic commander overcame them and, menaced on all hands, they had to take their way homeward. On the one hand, Old Germany fell more and more a prey to the development of the Frankish empire; on the other, the Roman civilization began to blend with it and to enter into its high state offices. Adopting Roman principles, Theudebert, under the guidance of a provincial, attempted to impose a land-tax on the Franks. But they rose in revolt, and stoned the tax-collectors. Clotaire had as little success with an impost on the Church.

Theudebert died in 548, leaving his kingdom to his son Theudebald (548-555). The Franks still stood in North Italy, without taking any decisive steps. Not until the kingdom of the Goths was overthrown did two Alamannian dukes make an effort to win it for themselves, but both fell. The last Frankish fortresses were lost to the Byzantines (see p. 392, Vol. VI.), ingloriously, indeed, but not to Theudebald's disadvantage. While yet in his prime, the king sickened and died. His widow married Clotaire, who later made her over to Duke Garibald of Bavaria, whose land, since Theudebert's days, was subject to the Franks, but enjoyed its own princes.

Clotaire became heir to the eastern kingdom, in which the consequences of a weakened rule were already apparent. The Saxons, supported by the Thuringians, would no longer pay tribute, and revolted. Repeatedly, and with varying success, the king had to take the field against them, for they found support in Childebert, who had instigated the revolt. This Childebert, always craving more, entered into an agreement with Clotaire's son Chramm, a good-for-nothing, who ruled in Auvergne and was quite ready to enlarge his domain at the cost of his father. As the latter was engaged with the Saxons, he sent his two other sons—Charibert and Guntram (Guntchramm)—against the misguided

youth. But he was wily enough to induce them to return, and continued his conquests the more zealously, advanced to Dijon, and threatened Paris, while Childebert, induced by the report that Clotaire had been slain by the Saxons, pressed forward on Rheims. The cause of the rebels so far prospered that a duke had to flee for refuge to a church. Then came a reaction. Childebert sickened and died in Paris. Chramm, now without support, submitted to his father, who reunited the whole kingdom of the Franks (558-561).

Irrespective of the development of the power of the sole monarch, it was a matter of vast import that the German east was brought into immediate union with the Roman west. The kingdom was again disturbed by a new revolt of Chramm, who found help in the Celts of Brittany. The wager of battle decided against him. He fell into his father's hands, who caused him to be strangled, his wife and daughter to be burned. A year and a half later Clotaire, too, was in his coffin. A fever seized him while hunting, and he breathed his last at Compiègne. Clotaire was a masterful, violent spirit, without dread of bloodshed and murder; externally a Christian; at heart, a heathen. The kingdom had become twice the size it was in Clovis's time, and possessed a circumference not essentially enlarged till the days of Charlemagne.

THE TIME OF INTESTINE WAR (A. D. 561-613).

Four groups of lands gradually grew out of the realm of the Franks, partly by the bequests of the kings, partly through internal peculiarities; but they neither took their rise at one time, nor ever had sharply defined boundaries. The old home-lands of the race, between the Scheldt and the Rhine, were comprehended under the name of the Eastern Kingdom (*Auster, Austrasia*). This was a tolerably pure German district. Adjoining it on the west, was the former domain of Syagrius, stretching beyond the Loire. This was the West- or New-land (*Neuster, Neustria*), inhabited by Franks and Romans. Out of the Burgundian acquisition, enlarged by pieces of Neustria and the Visigothic lands (the districts of Orleans, Sens, Troyes, and Bourges) arose Burgundy. Here the Roman element predominated, especially in the west, while the German element comprised fewer Franks than Burgundians. Next lay Aquitania, which had been won from the Visigoths. This the Goths had left for the most part, and but few Franks had settled in it, so that it bore an almost entirely Roman character, which received a peculiar coloring, when Vasconia (Gascony)—still longer Visigothic—was added, with its pure Basque population. In the Eighth Century, this Romano-Basque character acquired, also, political expression, through the region

becoming a separate duchy—Aquitania. This was wanting to the earlier Visigothic and later Ostrogothic Provence, which, although historically little prominent, had yet a distinctive position in a high degree, as had also the pure German tracts on the right bank of the Rhine. These constituted an adjunct of Austrasia. Celtic Brittany remained tolerably independent. The centre of gravity of the kingdom lay neither in the Eastern German portion, nor in the Roman south and west, but in cosmopolitan Neustria. This comprised the capital cities of Rheims, Soissons, Paris, Tours, and Orleans. It early acquired the name of Francia, which name was sometimes also applied to the whole empire. The *Franci* became French. The different sections met in Neustria, or rather took their point of departure from their capitals situated within it. This gave rise to much interlocking of frontiers—especially in Aquitania—wherefore it was difficult to decide whether a claim were well-founded or not—a fruitful source of land quarrels. In its position of eminence Neustria developed a nationality somewhat at variance with that springing up in the German, Roman, and Celtic territories. But Neustria also became broken up by partitions and Romanizing, so that, in the Eighth Century, we find in conjunction, on the one hand, the districts of Neustria and Burgundy, where the Romance tongues were already spoken; on the other, the German-speaking Austrasia and Germany proper.

The conception of national unity had, up to this time, prevailed among the sons of Clovis. There now followed a period of almost uninterrupted civil war, which distracted the land within, and weakened it without, and this at a time when warlike neighbors appeared in the Avars, Slavs, and Langobards. The Avars were cognate to the Huns, and had come, about the Fifth Century, in the form of wild hordes of horsemen, into the steppes of the Volga, from which they pressed into Hungary and farther toward the southwest, and the Slavs soon did the same in the northeast. But such perils could no longer arouse the Merovingians. In sensuality and debauchery this robust race was thoughtlessly consuming itself.

A struggle was to break out over the partition of the kingdom, which had been newly united for only three years. There were four sons and as many heirs; among them was Chilperic, the most insatiable of all. He seized on his father's treasures and sought to lay hold of all he could reach, but had to succumb before the law of succession and the union of his brothers. So the empire was again partitioned, as on Clovis's death, but this time the boundaries were widely different. The eldest, Charibert I. (561–567), received Aquitania with Paris. He gave himself up to the city life of the Gallo-Romans with all its enjoyments and its

refined, peaceful culture. Burgundy, with Orleans, fell to Guntram (561–593); Austrasia with Rheims, to Sigebert I. (561–575). Intellectually and morally, the last was the foremost of the brothers, and possessed a preponderating influence. Chilperic I. (561–584) finally obtained Armorica and the Salic land south of the Kohlenwald, with Soissons. He, too, showed restless avidity and energy. Moved by the spirit of Rome, he would rule as a despot in his own land. Guntram, good-natured, vacillating, and churchly, let the ecclesiastics forge to the front.

Most exposed of all was Sigebert's kingdom, and accordingly, in 562, it had to sustain a dangerous attack from the Avars. These Sigebert confronted and routed. Chilperic took advantage of his absence to invade his brother's land and seize Rheims. The conqueror of the Avars came down on him like a thunderbolt, overcame him, and drove him off, seizing even Soissons, so that Chilperic hereafter had to hold his court in Tournai. The fratricidal war seems to have had a retroactive effect, for in 565 or 566 the Avars were again in the field, and this time with a much stronger force. The Frankish army was defeated. Sigebert himself was surrounded, and would have been captured had he not bribed the khan to make peace and a treaty. The Emperor Justin II. had already cancelled his alliance with the Avars; he now received a German embassy that renewed the old relations. It was not long till German soldiers in Byzantine pay contributed to gaining a great victory over the Persians.

In Gaul everything was changed by the death of Charibert of Paris. According to rule, his territory must be divided amongst the three surviving brothers, which was arranged by treaty. Burgundy seems to have secured the lion's share by acquiring the cities, Melun, Saintes, and Périgueux. The two younger brothers got tracts in southern Francia. In regard to the greater cities—Marseilles, namely, and Paris—they could not agree, wherefore these remained in common. How much they dreaded dissensions is showed by the fact that the terms of arrangement were left to three eminent saints, whose wrath was to overtake the disturber of the peace.

But Chilperic soon considered himself injured, fell upon Austrasia, and took Tours and Poitiers. Sigebert then allied himself with Guntram. They chose Mummolus for their general, and he drove Chilperic's son, Clovis, out of Tours, defeated him at Poitiers, and recaptured this city also. A dissolution of morals—licentiousness, incest, violence—more than repulsive to think of, had more and more infected the Merovingians. Sigebert was disgusted with all this, and decided to lead a chaste life with one worthy spouse. He sued, therefore, for the

hand of Brunehilde (Brunichildis) the daughter of the Visigoth king, Athanagild—an amiable, highly-gifted woman—whom he led to his home. When Chilperic saw this, he married Galswintha (Gaileswintha), Brunehilde's elder sister. Both marriages were celebrated with great pomp. The people were delighted, and the warriors swore fealty.

Brunehilde lived happily. Not so Galswintha, who had come unwillingly and with sad forebodings. Chilperic still retained many concubines, among them Fredegunde (Fredigundis) who, above all, enthralled him. In vain did Galswintha complain and beg to be sent home to her father. One day she was found dead, to the grief of all. The king, who, utterly unconcerned, took Fredegunde again to wife, was looked upon as her murderer. Fredegunde was a clever, passionate, imperious woman, and, throughout, the sworn foe of the Austrasian court. Brunehilde felt toward her bitter hatred and contempt. She was the avenger of her sister, and was further enraged by territorial complications. Chilperic, on his marriage, had endowed his wife with several cities, namely, Bordeaux, Limoges, and Cahors. These Brunehilde claimed, as her sister's heiress. An end was put to this threatening dissension by Guntram and an assemblage of Frankish grandees. Brunehilde was to receive Cahors at once; the other cities, after their temporary administration by the Burgundian king.

It seems that Brunehilde's husband was not content with this. He took up arms and captured Guntram's city, Arles. Guntram, in turn, summoned an army. A battle was fought before the walls of Arles, and the Austrasians were worsted. The gates of Arles were treacherously closed against them; on their flank streamed the Rhone. Swimming, or seated on their shields, they sought to gain the farther bank, but many sank in the flood. It is quite possible that the campaign in regard to Tours and Poitiers was associated with these disorders. In any case, the quarrels attracted notice abroad, particularly across the Alps, where the Langobards were grasping at all within their reach.

In 568 or 569, this people appeared on French soil, reinforcements followed, but, in 572, they were surrounded by Mummolus at Embrun and all but annihilated. Scarcely was the land free from these foes when swarms of Saxons entered. They had assisted the Langobards in their conquest of Italy, but thereafter quarrelled with and deserted them. They were now encamped in the Provençal district of Riez. There Mummolus suddenly fell on them and fought with them till night. Next morning the ranks were again arrayed, when a compact was arrived at. The Saxons returned to Italy, brought thence their wives, children, and goods, spent the winter in Provence, then crossed the Rhone into Sige-

bert's kingdom, who settled them in the land which they had previously left. In 574 another horde of Langobards invaded Valais. Although they, too, were largely destroyed, rest was not yet attained, for next came three dukes with unusually strong armies, and harried nearly the whole of Provence. Mummolus attacked first the one, then the second, routed both, and compelled the third, with the scanty survivors, to a disastrous retreat through the snow-covered valley of Susa, which was still partially under Byzantine control.

Meanwhile the quarrels of the royal brothers over their possessions had assumed a serious aspect. Chilperic's son, Clovis, driven forth from Tours, fortified himself in Bordeaux, which had been pledged to Brunehilde. Here he was surprised by a partisan of Sigebert, and only with extreme difficulty escaped to his father at Angers. This opened a war full of vicissitudes. Incensed, Chilperic sent his older son, Theudebert, against the Austrasian territory on the left bank of the Loire, that is, against Tours and Poitiers. Sigebert's general was overthrown, and the conqueror, burning, plundering, and slaughtering, marched southward. "Then there was more of wailing in the churches than in the days of Diocletian's persecution." Such is the doleful testimony of the contemporary Gregory of Tours. This success of Chilperic had been facilitated by dissensions between Sigebert and Guntram, which the bishops sought in vain to conciliate. Ultimately, the Burgundian even made an alliance with Chilperic. But Sigebert had improved the time to raise a force in the old German lands on the right of the Rhine, with which he approached threateningly. Before this danger, the vacillating Guntram collapsed, and again took the side of Sigebert, who drove Chilperic before him and demanded that he should name a battlefield. Instead of this he sued for peace and restored the towns occupied by Theudebert. There was a feeling that a conflict of the peoples imported peril for the kingdom. This conviction moved Sigebert also to shun an appeal to arms, but he permitted his men to perpetrate violent outrages. These were mostly heathen, and thought only of booty. What did it concern them how Gaul fared? Later, Sigebert caused a number of them to be stoned to death.

A year had scarcely passed when war broke out again. Chilperic once more inveigled Guntram to take his side, and advanced with an army to Rheims. Sigebert annoyed them in front with his Trans-Rhenish troops, in the rear with his men from the Loire, who last encountered Chilperic's son, Theudebert, overcame and slew him, and robbed his corpse. Sigebert himself, advancing to Paris and Rouen, again won over Guntram. In his straits Chilperic threw himself, with

wife and children, into Tournai, which he fortified. His followers were weary of the struggle. Their king, through his inefficiency and bad fortune, seemed to them no longer entitled to rule. They invited Sigebert to Vitry and there elevated him on the shield as their lord. The war between the brothers seemed over, two-thirds of the state united under a strong hand, and Chilperic lost; when in a moment the situation was changed. Fredegunde instigated two servants, who, on some pretext, gained admission to Sigebert and plunged their poisoned daggers into his body. Thus he died, forty years old, and in the fourteenth year of his reign. He lies interred beside his father in the church of St. Medard in Soissons. He was the best of the brothers, and protected the state from foes within and without. His premature death brought bloody retribution, and favored the rise of an official nobility.

Sigebert's son, Chilbert II. (575-596), was but five years old, so the Neustrians again declared Chilperic their king. Willingly would he have made an end of his nephew, and thus have won Austrasia also. But the Austrasian nobles rescued his life and crown. Chilperic wished at least to ruin the female members of Sigebert's family. Brunehilde was banished and her daughter shut up in Meaux. By force of arms he sought to grasp as much as possible of his brother's land. Impoverished and deserted, the royal blood boiled in Brunehilde's veins, and she began that struggle which made her name one of terror. Chilperic's son, Merovech, won her affections, married her, and entered the lists against his own father. To her was attributed an attempt on Chilperic's capital, Soissons, meant, probably, to strike Fredegunde, who was sojourning there. But the project miscarried. The father overpowered the son and had his head shaved for the priesthood. As he was being conveyed by a small escort into the monastery, his followers liberated him and brought him to the sanctuary of St. Martin's at Tours. He put on secular clothing, and declared explicitly that his aim was to win his paternal kingdom to the exclusion of Fredegunde's children. In vain did Chilperic strive to get him into his power; in vain did Fredegunde try to seduce his confidants. The quarry escaped all snares. Then his father sent an army against Tours, which occupied the town, perpetrating many outrages. But before its arrival Merovech had fled to his wife. The Austrasians, however, would not recognize him as regent, and he had to keep himself concealed in Rheims. Before this, Guntram's general, the patrician Mummolus, had burst into the district of Limoges and defeated Chilperic's general, Desiderius.

The antagonism of the two rulers and the potency of the Austrasian magnates received formal expression in 577, at the diet of Pompierre on

the Meuse. Thither the nobles brought the young Childebert II., and Guntram adopted him as a son. He seated him on the throne, and gave over to him the kingdom, saying: "Let one shield cover us, one spear defend us both." A continuation of the war, calamitous to all, was threatened. The Austrasians sent to Chilperic and demanded restitution of those parts of their kingdom that he had seized, otherwise he should name the place for decision by wager of battle. Chilperic answered evasively. He felt insecure in his own house; besides discontent in many quarters, Brunehilde and Merovech were busy there. The latter, through his marriage and ambitious views, had fallen into the most unfortunate position. His father sought his life, and the Austrasians would know nothing of him. At length his star appeared to brighten. The people of T erouenne announced to him that they would desert his father and submit to him. The whole was a web of deceit, woven, probably, by Fredegunde. When Merovech arrived, glowing with hope, the house he entered was suddenly beset and his father summoned. In that house he was disposed of—either murdered by order of Fredegunde or, at his own request, slain by his friends. Brunehilde lost both her husbands through one woman.

Merovech's death appears to have lent Chilperic courage for stronger measures, even for external war. He seized Poitiers and sent troops against the Celts of Brittany. But one of his contingents suffered defeat, and, three days later, peace was made with these almost independent tribes. They promised to pay the wonted tribute; their real object was the withdrawal of the royal force. When this took place, the almost uninterrupted frontier war was renewed.

To make matters worse, an alarming pestilence broke out, to which Guntram's wife and Fredegunde's children succumbed. She now plotted the death of her husband's last son, Clovis. He did not love his stepmother, and often boasted that he would soon be in possession of the whole power. It was even whispered that it was not the plague, but he who had taken off Fredegunde's children. Filled with malice, she caused him first to be sent to Braine in the hope the plague would carry him off. This failing, she instigated the king against him, and he caused him to be fettered and delivered over to her. Fredegunde had him carried to a lonesome house, and there murdered and buried. The corpse was sunk in the Marne. Accidentally it was seen by a fisherman, who laid it under a mound of turf, and later informed Guntram. He caused the remains to be again disinterred, and buried with all honor in the church of St. Vincent, in Paris. Those of his brother Merovech were laid beside his. Fate overtook Clovis's relatives also.

His mother suffered a cruel death, his sister was defamed and shut up in a convent. In order to secure herself, Fredegunde even had the woman who had testified against Clovis condemned to the stake. Fredegunde collected the treasures of all these victims, and had it proclaimed that Clovis had destroyed himself.

Everything ran to riot, and a complete revolution in the relations of the several states was imminent. Childebert passed over from Guntram to Chilperic. He himself was still a minor. The magnates of his kingdom, especially the ambitious and turbulent Archbishop Aegidius of Rheims, had the government in their hands, which the queen-mother, supported by Duke Lupus of Champagne, sought to vindicate for herself. The magnates summoned their forces. The hostile ranks stood arrayed for battle, when Brunchilde, girt with a sword, and in male attire, confronted her antagonists. Their leader addressed her: "Woman, out of our way! under your husband you wielded the chief power; now that your son rules, the kingdom is under our guardianship, not yours." Nevertheless, Brunchilde's appearance had an effect. Negotiations were begun, but Lupus felt so insecure that he fled to Guntram, who received him kindly. The following contrasts are apparent: the queen's party adhered to the Burgundian; that of the nobles, to Chilperic, which concluded a treaty with him, whereupon he declared Childebert his heir. Guntram was to be driven out from his kingdom, which was to be divided between his brother and nephew.

The real grounds for such violent measures are not clear. The self-seeking nobility had probably fallen out with Guntram, who inclined to favor Brunchilde; the flight of Mummolus into Childebert's kingdom seems even to indicate that he had to contend with foes in his own land. Besides, the estrangement between the German and Roman territories, and the struggles for possession must be considered. It was said that Guntram wished to get possession of the city of Tours. Childebert demanded restitution of the half of Marseilles that had been entrusted to him on the death of his father. The quarrels were so well-known and threatening that envoys whom Chilperic had dispatched to the Emperor Tiberius at Byzantium did not venture to enter the harbor of Marseilles, but preferred to sail to the Goths at Agde. Alarmed at the aspect of affairs, a synod of bishops met at Lyons and treated with Guntram in regard to the flight of Mummolus and his dispute with Childebert. In vain: Guntram kept fast hold on Marseilles. Childebert also had a party there, and finally an open rupture ensued. The Neustrian saw this with pleasure, for now he felt secure at home, and could begin hostilities. A Neustrian army fought successfully in Aquitania, and seized

whatever it came on. But it suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Basques, and Burgundians were rioting in the districts of Tours and Paris. War, small-pox, and leprosy spread death and ruin. Precisely at this time Spain was convulsed by Hermenigild's revolt against Leovigild (see p. 336, Vol. VI.). The former's ally, the Suevian king, sent envoys to Guntram, while Leovigild won Chilperic's friendship and his daughter for his second son Reccared. It is probable that the fight with the Basques had to do with these matters.

The Neustrians were already on the eve of again invading Burgundy when the moderate party effected a truce, by the terms of which Chilperic kept what he had won, seeking to secure it through the imposition of taxes and the appointment of counts as officials. The situation was such that Gundovald, an alleged son of Clotaire I., who had long lived in Constantinople, was able, by his mere appearance, to arouse the suspicion that his aim was to win the Frankish kingdom for the emperor. With wile and violence Guntram strove to lay hands on the faithless Mummolus, who, however, maintained himself in Avignon. Chilperic celebrated Easter in Paris, although this was contrary to the compact.

Once more open war broke out, this time through an Austrasian embassy under the leadership of the Archbishop of Rheims. This concluded a new alliance with Chilperic and concerted a common attack. The district of Bourges suffered frightfully through a double assault. Chilperic himself occupied Paris, and stormed up the Seine, laying everything waste, till he was one evening attacked by Guntram near Melun, and defeated with great bloodshed. Next morning commissioners met and concluded peace. But the savage Neustrians did not cease their ravages till the king, with his own hand, struck down the chief offender, the Count of Rouen. The besiegers of Bourges, also, left a depopulated waste behind them and could scarcely be restrained, even in their own land. All discipline and respect for authority were subverted during the long civil war. Meanwhile, Childebert had remained at peace and left his uncle to fight alone. Suddenly, one night, he arose, avowedly with the purpose of beginning a war with Guntram. Self-will manifested itself here, also, though in a different way. The common soldiery rose against the king's generals—against Aegidius of Rheims and the dukes—and so menacing was their attitude that the archbishop sprang on his horse, and with all speed made for his capital, to secure himself behind its ramparts. This seems to have worked a change in Childebert's policy. He turned once more to Guntram's side, who gave him back his portion of Marseilles. Fate overtook the rebellious Mummolus, while Brunhilde came prominently to the foreground as the regent of Austrasia.

Under her influence the understanding between Childebert and Guntram developed into an alliance, whose object was the recapture of the towns that Chilperic had got into his power. But after all, they seem to have recoiled before the prospect of another fratricidal war. Chilperic shut himself up, with his treasures, in Cambrai, and Childebert led his host against the Langobards. The Emperor Maurice had given him 50,000 pieces of gold to drive them out of Italy. Nevertheless, with them, also, a peaceful understanding was reached, and an undertaking against Spain was nipped in the bud. Obviously, this had been planned in consequence of the relations of the Visigoths to Chilperic, for soon thereafter, his daughter departed as Reccared's bride, with enormous treasures. A small army of 4000 men constituted the escort. While the bridal procession moved south, plundering and making exactions, her father met his fate. Chilperic was engaged in the chase near Chelles. One evening, when he came back in the dusk and was being assisted from his horse, a man stepped forward and poniarded him. History is silent in regard to the perpetrator and his motives. Chilperic's retinue disbanded the moment he was dead. A bishop who had been awaiting an audience, alone remained by the body, washed and clothed it, and sent it to Paris, where the widowed Fredegunde was staying. Of the four brothers, Guntram alone remained.

After Sigebert's death Chilperic had been by far the most noteworthy figure. In him were embodied the characteristics of the Merovingian house—restlessness of spirit, avidity, lust for power and for war, cruelty, violence, cunning, and a love of sensual enjoyment, which subjected him to the passions of a woman. In the last respect he was the forerunner of a long series of French kings. He thought only of himself; knew neither duty nor love. Power, possessions, gold—these were the objects for which he strove, and to gain these every means was justified. A new tax imposed by him was so oppressive that many emigrated; the people of Limoges gathered in a mob and burned the tax books. Nor did the churches escape his exactions. The high position of the bishops was offensive to his autoeratic feelings. Furthermore, he had literary leanings; he composed hymns and poems, and enlarged the alphabet by four letters. Nay, he engaged in dogmatic studies, and wrote a treatise on the Trinity, at variance with the teachings of the Church. In everything, he was a dilettante, and yet no insignificant ruler, for in spite of all counter-pressure, he held the aspiring magnates down, if not with their good will, then through intimidation.

Chilperic's sudden death brought the continuance of his kingdom into question, for all his sons were dead save only one four-months-old



FIG. 22.—Jewelry from Merovingian graves. In Mayence. (From Lindenschmit.) 1. Fibula, reduced. From the Frankish cemetery at Sprendlingen in Rhine Hesse. Sheet-gold with filigree work, and glass paste; centre blue, the little squares of the inner band red, the circles white. On the margin four blue disks, and four green squares, of glass paste. 2. Back of No. 1, enlarged. Bronze disk: two fantastic animals in repoussé, touching with their paws a bearded human face; between the face and the animals, a bow; spaces filled with arabesques. 3. Casket in form of a ball, consisting of two hemispheres of thin bronze, connected by hinges; ornamented by incised lines. 4. A golden ear-ring, from the grave of a woman at Alzey. The piece attached was set with pearls and red glass paste. 5. Sphere of rock-crystal, mounted with gold. 6. Silver-mounted sphere of iron pyrites. Probably an amulet; it was anciently believed that certain forms of iron pyrites had the power of staying the flow of blood. 7. Hair-pin; silver, plated with gold; rich filigree ornament. From the Frankish graves near Sprendlingen. 8. Golden needle-case. 9, 10. Strap-mounting, of silver; upper part gilded. Front and rear view. 11, 12. Gold finger-ring. An engraved Roman chalcidony representing Jupiter seated. From a woman's grave at Alzey.

boy. If Childebert got this offspring of the hated Fredegunde into his hands, the child's fate was surely sealed. He was already approaching with an army. The mother acted with decision. She summoned Guntram to her aid. Anxious for the house of the Merovingians, the Burgundian came to Paris, and had scarcely arrived when Childebert appeared on the other side. Negotiations proved fruitless. Every condition seemed favorable for the Neustrian nobles to assert their power. They elevated the child, Clotaire II. (584-628), to the throne, and commanded all the cities in the land to swear fealty to him, and to Guntram as his guardian. Guntram was now the head of the Merovingian race, and, as such, in a certain sense over-lord of the entire land. But he was in no respect the man for the crisis. If Chilperic's brutality and sensuousness were not alive in him, this was less because he was better than because he was weaker. Undecided and timid, fickle and unreliable, he was at once paltry and avaricious, without force to repress the craving of the moment, and devoid of any trait of greatness of spirit.

Quarrels arose over the cities that Sigebert had acquired of Charibert's share—Tours, Poitiers, and Limoges—the officials of both Childebert and Guntram asserting their right to take charge of them. A convention was held to settle the dispute. The Austrasian deputies, Aegidius of Rheims at their head, demanded the surrender of these cities and of Fredegunde, in order that Childebert might take revenge on her for the death of his father, uncle, and cousins. Guntram refused both, and made countercharges of favor shown to the pretender, Gundovald. Hot and bitter recriminations ensued, during which Guntram was warned of the fate which had overtaken his brothers. The king durst no longer go out unless surrounded by armed men. On the other hand, Fredegunde could not forgive the demand for her surrender. She sent a priest to the presumed instigator of the demand—to the hated Brunhilde—to put her to death. When he returned with his commission unexecuted she cut off his hands and feet.

The Austrasian authorities were decidedly in no position to cope with the Burgundo-Neustrians. They appear, therefore, to have kept themselves in the background, and used Gundovald for their purposes. This man professed to be a son of Clotaire I. He had had a youth of many vicissitudes, and had lived sometimes as an acknowledged prince, again as a shaven monk; now flaunting at courts, now wanting for food, till ultimately he fled to Constantinople, where the emperor acknowledged him as a Merovingian prince. About 581, certain nobles of influence—in particular Duke Mummolus (not the general of the same name, who had died earlier) and Guntram-Boso—summoned him back to France.

Faithless, they left him to his fate, so that Gundovald had to keep himself in hiding. His case rested till the death of Chilperic, when the complicated conditions enabled him to come forth. In Aquitania—ill affected to Guntram—he raised the standard of his claim, supported not only by the Austrasians and other individual magnates of influence, but by the Greek emperor. At the head of a considerable force he won a number of towns, even the important town of Toulouse, and dreamed he was already in Paris. Troops sent out against him suffered a reverse and had to retreat. He had friends even in Guntram's own kingdom, with whom he communicated; nay, he dispatched an embassy to the king himself to demand from him his share of his kingdom, and in the event of refusal to declare war. When Guntram stretched his envoys on the rack they confessed that Gundovald had been pitched on by the Austrasian nobility as king, especially since Guntram-Boso, some years before, had visited him at Constantinople and invited him to Gaul. Probably we are to associate with this the fact that in the Burgundian cities of Arles and Marseilles money of the Emperor Maurice was coined. Seemingly the Frankish magnates and the emperor were working hand in hand.

Before such a danger, that threatened the very existence of the ruling house, its internal dissensions sank out of sight. Guntram called Childebert to himself, delivered to him the kingly lance and said: "This is the sign that I herewith deliver over my whole kingdom to you. In virtue of this take the field and subdue my cities for yourself." Childebert was then entering his fifteenth year and was, therefore, still a minor. For this reason his uncle gave him advice as to independent government. It was of moment to both of them to shake off the dangerous yoke of the nobles. The concentration of the Merovingian power worked an immediate change. A strong force advanced against Gundovald, before which he retreated to the Pyrenees and shut himself up in the strong fortress of Comminges. The place was invested in vain till treachery came to the aid of the besiegers. The very nobles whom Gundovald had advanced now betrayed him to save their own heads. He was struck down with a stone before the city, and the men rushed on him, transfixed him with lances, and binding his feet together, dragged him through their camp, and finally left him to lie unburied. It is difficult to determine whether Gundovald was an impostor or a dupe, or whether he was a legitimate Merovingian. Early next morning the traitors stealthily opened the gates, the royalists rushed in and slaughtered all indiscriminately. The traitors did not escape, however, their merited fate. By Guntram's order they also were put to death.

It is clear how intent Guntram was upon the restoration of order and allegiance. With this end he made a



FIG. 23.—Coin of Childebert II. —Obverse: head of the king, surmounted by a cross; legend, HILDEBERTVS. Reverse: a victory; legend, the name of a mint superintendent: CHRAMNVS. In exergue CONOB. (Ann. arch. VIII.)

sort of progress through his kingdom, and in anxiety for the continuance of the ruling house, and placing all his hopes on Childebert, he strove to humble the self-willed nobles, and, above all, the bishops, and the queen-mothers, Fredegunde and Brunehilde. Of the latter he said openly that she was seeking his life. In his later years, especially, his dread of assassination nearly amounted to monomania. He had had Fredegunde sent to a country-house; she was thought to have been willing to enter into a league with

Gundovald. One main ground for the alienation lay in the growing suspicion that her son was supposititious. Guntram declared that he could not recognize him till three hundred men came forward to swear he was the genuine offspring of Chilperic. Apparently for the same reason Childebert also held back. His mother and the nobles seemed to have influenced him, above all, the bishops, who thought in this way to bring pressure to bear on Guntram in favor of their colleague, Theodore of Marseilles. They unanimously declined to attend a council at Troyes, and Childebert created a duke who was offensive to his uncle.

From the general council and otherwise it appears that Guntram aimed at the co-regency in Austrasia. We are actually informed that he wished to conduct the government of the kingdom of Clotaire II. In both cases he met with resistance. We are led to infer that he had intended to send many prelates into exile, but ultimately gave in to the demand of the Austrasians, recalled Theodore and took Desiderius, who had revolted to Gundovald, into favor. He was naturally vacillating, devout, and obsequious to the clergy because he needed them; and all this they knew well. A synod at Mâcon, in 579, which at Guntram's behest twenty-one bishops attended, remained essentially a Burgundian assembly. Somewhat defiantly Childebert II. held at the same time a diet in the wood of Ardennes, and when his tutor died, no one was put in his place, because the queen-mother thereafter had charge of her son.

Brunehilde had been in a position of extreme difficulty, with no one to rely on but herself, and with enemies on all sides. At first the growing independence of her son supported her influence. At the Ardennes assembly she had in vain complained to the nobles of the imprisonment of her daughter, Ingunthis, the wife of the Visigothic prince Hermenigild.

Now that she was dead and Hermenigild executed, Guntram dispatched an army reinforced by Austrasian auxiliaries. It succeeded in conquering Septimania. On the other hand, the Visigothic ruler, Leovigild, renewed his earlier relations with Fredegunde, who had again made an unsuccessful attempt on the lives of Childebert and Brunhilde. In two great columns the Franks rolled on toward the south. They succeeded in capturing some cities, but the whole campaign was so devoid of plan or purpose, and all discipline and feeling of duty were so completely destroyed, that it went to pieces (see p. 336, Vol. VI.). It was to no purpose that Guntram had the leaders summoned before the court; for it did not diminish the disgrace, nor were the Visigoths, led by Reccared, thereby deterred from laying waste the Frankish marches. Nevertheless, Leovigild craved peace, but died during the negotiations. That the Austrasian auxiliaries did not take a more active part, is accounted for by the fact that the hoped-for conquests were assigned to Guntram, and that they themselves, in alliance with the ancient enemies of the Visigoths, the Byzantines, had involved themselves in an inglorious affair with the Langobards, which endured for several years—namely, from 584 to 590 (see p. 33). Their object was to drive the latter out of Italy and divide their land between Byzantines and Franks. Guntram was distracted by many annoyances. Fredegunde had caused the Bishop of Rouen to be poniarded and a Frank of eminence to be poisoned. This was too much. He believed he had found an opportunity for making his over-lordship of effect, and sent three bishops to the Neustrians, who, with threats of war, summoned the author of these scandals before his court. She made her nobles declare that culprits of her kingdom were under the cognizance, not of the king of Burgundy, but of their own judges, and sent her answer through a man who confessed on the rack that his real mission was to assassinate Guntram. Feeble and timorous, the latter let Spanish, as well as Neustrian, affairs go as they would, without having the self-command to accept the peace that the new Catholic king, Reccared, offered. Some pleasure, at least, fell to his lot. A son was born to his nephew, Childebert, who received the name of Theudebert, and a second shortly followed who was baptized Theuderic. A Neustrian duke, too, who believed himself degraded, came over to him, had himself invested anew with dual authority and then set out on devastation, but was slain. Meanwhile, the situation on the southern frontier was as bad as possible. The Basques overran the country with war, and the Goths made a marauding advance nearly to Arles. Guntram, now an old man, seemed resourceless enough, for already a storm was gathering within his kingdom more menacing than any former one.

In Austrasia, Childebert II., under the influence of his mother and with the approval of his uncle, began to draw the reins of authority tighter. He cast the Duke Guntram-Boso, one of the ringleaders of the nobility, into prison. This gave the signal for uproar, the object being the maintenance of authority as at present distributed, if not through peaceable means, then through violence. The Neustrian nobles lent a hand. The design was to slay Childebert, and set up his two boys as co-regents, to the exclusion of Guntram—i. e., the nobles meant to rule in their name. But Guntram detected the plot and warned Childebert, who had the leader quietly assassinated. The nobles had already levied an army. Retreat was now impossible for the nobility, so it was driven onward. Thus threatened, Childebert and Brunehilde had an interview with the former's uncle in Andelot (587), where they entered into a bond of amity and of reciprocal inheritance. Childebert promised, verbally, to call on his uncle for counsel on every affair of consequence. It was obvious that the real points at issue were the maintenance of the dynasty and of the unity of the empire, the determination of the seat of supreme power, and of the claims of the nobles. Thus strengthened, the royal house acted with vigor. The Burgundian decided that Guntram-Boso must die. A building into which he escaped was set on fire, and he himself was struck down with missiles. The insurgents had betaken themselves with their families and retainers to a place of safety. This was surrounded by a superior force, and nearly all of them were slaughtered. Punishment or flight was the fate of the remainder. The incipient revolt was quenched in blood; the crown triumphed. Aegidius of Rheims had shrewdly held back from open participation, although strong suspicion rested on him. He craved and bought forgiveness from the king.

Guntram's next acts were in the same direction—the consolidation of the entire empire. He entered into relations with Fredegunde; sought to compose the old strife between her and Brunehilde; and insisted on a council of all the Neustrian bishops, on the type of the Spanish synods. Almost everywhere he met with resistance. His stolid good-nature, which made him willing to mediate between Neustria and Austrasia even at the cost of a few cities to himself, brought even the whole treaty of Andelot into question. Childebert had concluded a peace with the Goths; Guntram had not. When the Gothic King Reccared now sued for the hand of Clodosinda, Childebert's sister, the uncle was talked over into giving his consent, though this did not hinder him from making a last attempt on Septimania, which ended only in inglorious defeat. His relations to Austrasia, now allied, through marriage, with Spain, were not bettered thereby. Out of pure anger, Guntram gave his tongue free

scope against Brunchilde. When a false report reached him of the death of the young Clotaire of Neustria, he set out at once for Paris. In return, Childbert sent his son to Soissons, the bone of contention between him and his uncle. And all the time, unity was the one thing essential. Several Austrasian nobles again plotted revolt. An Austrasian force came home from the Langobard war half annihilated (see p. 33), and the king had to submit to an accommodation. Powerful peace-breakers remained unpunished, and nearly every year the Bretons harried the borders. When Guntram at length sent an army against them, the result was the same as in Septimania. Discipline disappeared everywhere. The two commanders fell out. First, the army of the one was inveigled into a morass and destroyed, then that of the other was taken by surprise and, during its retreat, was harassed by its own countrymen, who had been plundered. Nevertheless, the monarchy was so far strengthened that Aegidius of Rheims was brought to account before the peers for high treason, and by them sentenced to deposition and banishment.

The wily Fredegunde well knew how to turn the coolness in the relations between Gun-

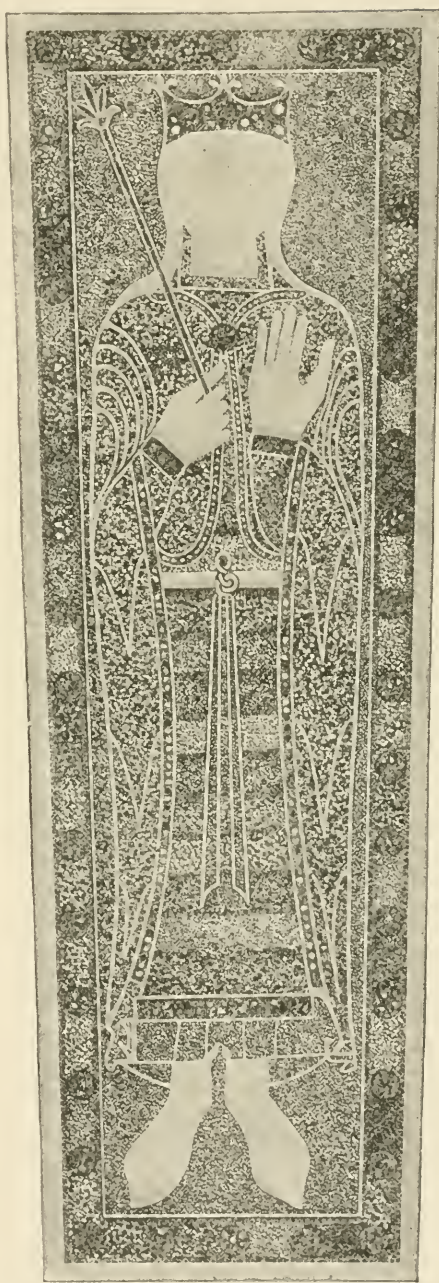


FIG. 24.—Primitive Merovingian tombstone of Fredegunde (?). In the Church of St. Germain-des-Près, near Paris.

tram and Childebert to account. She won over the uncle by an appeal to his weak side—the maintenance of the Merovingian house—and had him stand sponsor to her child. Shortly thereafter, the aged Guntram died, in the thirty-third year of his reign.

In accordance with the treaty of Andelot, Childebert II. became his successor, and, uniting Austrasia with Burgundy (593–596), forthwith took the field against his cousin. The Neustrians held their ground; a bloody battle was fought, in which they were victorious. Conflicts with the Bretons were equally unsuccessful. After a long interval, reports came once more from the interior of Germany. There the Swabians had defeated the Saxons, a rising of the Varini (under which name we are to understand the Northern Swabians on the Bode) was suppressed. The Bavarians too were emerging somewhat from the mists of tradition. This race, mainly the result, probably, of an admixture of Marcomanni and Quadi, had, about the year 500, wandered up the Danube to its later settlements. From the first, it had cultivated friendship with the Langobards, which ultimately ripened into a formal alliance against the Franks. The tribe was held together by its constituting one dukedom, which Childebert conferred on Thassilo, who became involved in a bitter feud with the Slavs. Apparently, the Germans were in a condition to act very independently; among them, as everywhere else, the Frankish overlordship was sadly crippled. And before Childebert had attained an age at which he might have secured it, he departed, in his twenty-sixth year, from the land of the living. His premature death was eventful, for with him vanished the hand, even though guided by his mother, which had held down the nobles.

Childebert's wide-extended dominions fell to his two infant sons. Theudebert II. (596–612) received Austrasia with Metz as its capital; the younger, Theuderic II. (596–613), Burgundy with Orleans. Brunehilde became their guardian—the best proof of how far the aristocracy had been repressed. But precisely this circumstance, their unexpectedly good opportunity, turned them against petticoat rule. In this they found support in Neustria. With resentment had Fredegunde seen the advancement of her foe. Her troops stormed forth against Austrasia; took Paris and other cities. Assailed in their own kingdom, hard pressed from without by the Avars, the forces of Brunehilde succumbed to the Neustrians at Laffaux, near Soissons. Soothed with the sense of victory, Fredegunde died on her sick-bed (597), while Brunehilde, compelled to buy peace from the Avars and threatened on all sides by her nobles and deserted, had to flee in hot haste to Theuderic, who was in Burgundy. Here she was received with joy, but had none the less to struggle against the elements rising around

her. The alliance between Austrasia and Burgundy seemed to be threatened by her very presence. She was, however, successful in uniting the sister-kingdoms against the insatiable Neustria. At Dormelles, near Paris, a decisive battle took place, at which the sixteen-year-old king, Clotaire, was present. He was defeated, and had to submit to a treaty by which he relinquished the greater part of his domains to the conquerors, retaining only twelve districts between the Oise, the Seine, and the sea. Who would have thought that he was to become ruler of all the Frankish state?

Theuderic and Theudebert at once set forth on a common career of conquest. In 602 they subjugated the restless Basques, and placed over them a duke, who kept them in check. Through the mediation of the pope they again made overtures to the court of Byzantium. Best of all was the understanding between Brunehilde and her grandson Theuderic. On the other hand, the rulers of the neighboring kingdoms remained estranged from her, if not hostile. In the year 604, the Neustrian mayor of the palace, Landeric, burst suddenly forth and seized the greater part of the region between the Seine and the Loire. At Étampes he encountered the Burgundians, who obtained a victory on a hard-contested field. They reconquered Paris, and concluded a peace at Compiègne, induced thereto seemingly either by the appearance of Theudebert or, more probably, by that of the Austrasian nobles. In the very next year an army was led against them by the Burgundian mayor of the palace, Protadius, a man who steadfastly upheld the rights of the crown. For this reason the nobles regarded him with rancor, compelled King Theuderic to peace, and, as he still remained true to the counsels of Protadius, fell upon the latter in the royal tent, and cut him down. Theuderic yielded to their demands. His brother sought support among the Langobards, marrying his daughter to their crown-prince, Adalwald. Theuderic himself espoused Herminberga, daughter of the Visigothic king, Witteric; but sent her back within a year, stripped of her treasures. Mad with rage, her father sought to form a league with Clotaire, Theudebert, and the Langobards, against his son-in-law. It came to nothing, however, but in 610 Theudebert fell upon his brother, wrested Alsace and other districts from him, and, as it seems, incited the Alamanni against him.

Theuderic, under the guidance of his grandmother, sought his revenge. He assured himself of the neutrality of Clotaire, collected a great army in 612, and marched at its head into Austrasia, spreading the report before him that Theudebert was a bastard. It is possible this had an effect on the foe. Conquered at Toul, Theudebert fled to

Cologne, where he gathered Saxons, Thuringians, and other peoples, and ventured another battle at Tolbiac (Zülpieh); it was his last. It must have been bloody beyond expression. Again must Theudebert seek safety in flight. Captured and stripped of his royal robes, he was led before his brother, who sent him in chains to Brunehilde. She made him a



FIG. 25.—Coin, with the name of Theudebert. Perhaps Theudebert II., A. D. 612. Reverse: LEOBOMONETARI, name of the mint superintendent. In the field, AR (Arelatum?) In the exergue, CIVIT, instead of the imperial CONOB. (Ann. arch. VIII.)

monk. A few days later he was put to death, the brains of his infant son dashed out against a rock, and his kingdom taken possession of by Theuderic. Master of Burgundy and Austrasia, he now began war with Clotaire, when death put an end to his career at Metz before his time. He left behind him four sons, minors, among whom according to law the kingdom should have been divided. But Brunehilde—the civil strifes and the power of the nobles before her eyes—strove to make the eleven-year-old Sigebert II. sole king of Austrasia and Burgundy. But in vain, for the magnates, constantly averse to her, called in Clotaire. Against him Brunehilde sought

to levy a force on the right bank of the Rhine. Treason broke out among her own adherents. The soldiers from the Rhine were held back from her. Even the Burgundians were rendered hostile, while the mayors of the palace in both kingdoms were in collusion with Clotaire. Before a battle took place her army was alienated from her great-grandson, and turned its back without striking a blow. Clotaire pursued it, and three of Theuderic's sons fell into his hands. Two were murdered; the third, to whom he himself had stood sponsor, died some years later. The fourth disappeared from sight. The end had come for Brunehilde herself. Her nobles dragged her from her hiding-place, and delivered her to Clotaire. Fredegunde's son had the hated old woman tortured for three days on the rack, then carried ignominiously through the camp on a camel's back, and finally bound to a horse's tail, and there dragged to death.

Brunehilde is one of the prominent figures in Frankish history, though she has been made the target for calumny and hatred. Morally she was incomparably purer than the majority of those around her. Her policy and her whole conduct manifest traits of strength and magnanimity. She was assiduous in her administration, constructed highways and fortresses, built churches and palaces; Pope Gregory was her close friend. But she was far from happy or fortunate. The burdens she had to bear were more than heavy, and she was but a woman, and went down in the

conflict with her nobles. Fredegunde's offspring triumphed. Dripping with the gore of his kinsfolk, he had, with true Merovingian atrocity, once more unified the kingdom of the Franks.

But a destructive storm cloud already lowered in the distance. At the head of the Austrasian nobles who had treacherously called in Clotaire stood Pepin and Arnulf, the ancestral heads of the house thereafter to be known as the Carolingian.

THE RISE OF THE CAROLINGIANS (A. D. 613-768).

It was soon to appear that the Merovingians had so dissipated their strength through unrestrained debauchery, that their very vices ceased to be great. A power, formidably effective, was thus able to develop itself side by side with the legitimate one, exactly as in the Roman Western Empire of the Fifth Century. What the master of the army was in the latter state, the mayor of the palace was in the Frankish, with this difference, that the Empire of the Caesars, in a state of dissolution within and irresistibly assailed from without, afforded no scope for the real power to develop into the legitimate, while among the Franks this development culminated with comparatively no disturbance.

Between the two Clotaires whom fate had called to be rulers over the reunited Frankish kingdom there was a great difference. The one (558-561) had to thank himself and his sword for everything; the second (613-628) was the creature of circumstances, elevated through the absence of a head anywhere. His rule corresponded to the changed conditions, and, while wisely and prudently aiming at peace and reconciliation, and visiting evil-doers and disturbers of the peace with condign punishment, marked, on the whole, a retrogression in the power of the monarch. Power passed more and more to the office of mayor of the palace (*major-domus*), now become permanent, and to the Council of Paris.

Each of the three kingdoms was administered by a mayor of the palace. The office arose from small beginnings. Originally, the mayor of the palace was simply what the name implies, overseer and administrator of the royal household and court. Such we find him not only among the Franks but the other German kingdoms as well. As comptroller of the court he acquired influence in all its affairs, and thus became the first court official. To the house and court belonged in a wider sense the family property (*domanium*, or "domain" as it came to be called) with its income and administration. But as yet there was no distinction between the royal domain and the domain of the state. The mayor, therefore, gradually got the administration of the whole revenue of the kingdom, even of the allocation of taxes and the donations of lands and people.

The kingdom being regarded as essentially the private property of the crown, those about the king (his *leudes*) took part in national affairs of all kinds, and a trusted servant such as highest court official naturally became the foremost man in the realm—its minister and, as it were, viceroy. The minorities and female guardianships served to enhance his influence, for there were many functions a woman could not execute, above all, the military ones. Now, as the three divisions of the kingdom still remained intact under Clotaire II., each with its own mayor of the palace, this representative of the crown, as intermediary between the crown and the nobility, was able to arrogate the full guidance of affairs to himself.

As the ruling house sank lower and lower, the power of the Leudes grew greater, and these naturally desired (and were able) to elevate persons agreeable to themselves to this great office, so that from being representatives of the crown its holders came to represent the aristocracy also, and finally controlled both king and nobles alike. This tendency first showed itself in Burgundy. Brunehilde, far-seeing here as in all else, seems to have preferred Romans for mayors, for in them she found some support against the rapacity of the Franks. A German mayor, named Warnachar, was her betrayer, and after her fall the nobility set up a claim for a certain right of nomination to the office. Yet of greater consequence was the change in Austrasia, where the Leudes, already far too powerful, had risen to a participation in the supreme power, and where the mayoralty had become inheritable in one house, namely, that of the Arnulfings or Carolingians. A vigorous, potential stock, it had been, from an early period, in close alliance with the Church—no contemptible lever wherewith to enhance its power.

In October, 614, a great clerico-secular assembly—representative of the unity of the entire realm of the Franks—convened at Paris. The nobles made use of the bishops present to secure immunities and privileges for themselves. Whatever the council decreed, the king proclaimed as law. The encroachments of the crown were nullified and its functions limited in various directions. It was now to have only the confirmation of regularly elected bishops, and could select higher officials, especially counts, only from the resident land-owners. A sort of independence for the separate divisions of the realm was acknowledged, an acknowledgment that was to have weighty consequences. Monarchy gave ground before a clerico-secular provincial movement—the first effective approach toward government through estates. What was thus begun in Paris was separately carried out for Burgundy the next year at a diet at Bonneuil, and in 622 a step further was taken by Clotaire giving up Rhenish

Austrasia to an independent administration under his young son, Dagobert I.

Dagobert's prime advisers were the two heads of the nobility—Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and Pepin the Elder, grandfather of Pepin of Heristal, mayor of the palace, both powerful by reason of their large possessions, which constituted the heart of Austrasia. Their whole position made the crown in some measure dependent on them and tended to maintain the ancient individuality of Austrasia. That they could act with energy was shown in the case of the Bavarian Agilolfing, Chrodoald, whose head was cut off at the command of the king. How they understood to mediate is seen in the convention at Clichy, where Dagobert acquired the district of Austrasia north of the Loire, and that through the arbitrament of the Leudes, among whom Arnulf of Metz was the most prominent.

The whole kingdom enjoyed peace, so that the king's authority could be confirmed in the districts on the right of the Rhine. On the frontiers, however, there were still ferment and effervescence. In the east

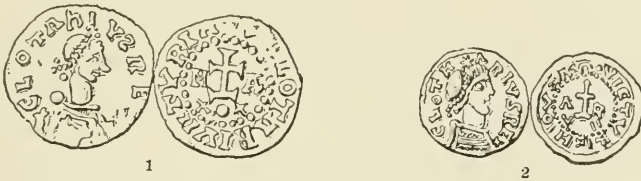


FIG. 26.—Coins of Clotaire II. (Ann. arch. VIII.) 1. Obv.: head, with wreath of pearls: CLOTARIVS REX. Rev.: a cross between M and A, or Marseilles. VICTVRIA CLOTARI. In the field XX. Gold coin. 2. Obv.: head, with wreath of pearls and star: CLOTHARIUS REX. Rev.: VICTVRIA CHLOLOA (victoria Gothica).

the Slavs had long been pressing forward, till, in the Sixth Century, they occupied all the territory—once German—between the Vistula and Elbe, as far south as the Pusterthal. Here they sat, subject to the Avars. But now these immigrants had risen against the severe yoke and shaken it off with the help of a Frank merchant, Samo, whom they therefore made their king. Thus there arose on the Upper Elbe, in Bohemia and in Moravia, a considerable Slavic kingdom, which soon tried to extend itself by strength of arms.

How the power and dignity of the mayors were enhanced is evidenced by the occurrences following on the death of Warnachar of Burgundy. At a conference at Troyes the Leudes of this kingdom declared that they wished for no successor, clearly only because this official had become too powerful. Notwithstanding this, Warnachar's son, Godinus, had so powerful a following that an army had to be levied against him, and he

himself had to be done away with by an assassin. In 627, the heads of Clotaire's realm—temporal and spiritual—held a diet at Clichy near Paris. Soon thereafter Clotaire II. died in his forty-fifth year.

Of him an annalist says: "He was patient, skilled in the sciences, a great endower of churches and bishops, charitable and mild." He lived almost constantly in the district of Paris. His reign and that of his heir constitute the prime of the Merovingian kingdom.

Clotaire left behind him two sons—Dagobert and Charibert. The former was the elder and more energetic, and in possession of a kingdom, which advantage he was resolved to utilize. He summoned the army, and sent envoys to Burgundy and Neustria, calling on them to choose him for their ruler. To this double persuasive the Burgundians at once submitted, as well as the majority in Neustria, although here Charibert had a party. Dagobert could easily have overpowered it, but the constantly growing aversion to civil war, and the moderateness of the price induced him to listen to the counsel

of his magnates, and buy off his brother with a great slice of Aquitania. Charibert chose Toulouse as his capital, and through successful conflicts with the Basques extended his territory, which, by reason of his premature death, fell back to Dagobert in 630 (Figs. 27–29).

Despite the temporary dismemberment of the empire, Dagobert I. (628–639) could be regarded as monarch of the Franks. Primogeniture had supplanted the older pernicious law of succession. In Dagobert breathed the true spirit of the ruler. His arrival in Burgundy thrilled the great with such fear that men "were amazed at it; . . . to the poor, on the other hand, who lived honestly, he brought great joy." Unwearied, and dispensing justice without regard to parties, he traversed his dominions, fixing at last, like his father, the permanent seat of his government at Paris. Dagobert reminds us of Louis XIV. Despotie and capricious, pious and amorous, fond of pomp and not without a feeling for art, the coarser elements of his character developed themselves disproportionately through the sense of power, through luxury and inaction. Eagerly he accumulated a state-treasure, for which he ruthlessly seized on even the property of the Church. His counsellor, Pepin, though not approving all his measures, remained true to him; but he became more and more hard pressed, between the aristocracy as a class and his compatriots and kinsmen, until ultimately he could no longer maintain his position, and was reduced to a sort of bondage outside Austrasia.



FIG. 27.—Coin of Charibert II. Obv.: head of the king; CHARIBERTVS REX. Rev.: cup; BANNACIACO FIIT, 'made at Bannassac.' (Ann. arch. VIII.)

Generally speaking the king seems to have been mistrustful of the magnates of this land. The two main houses—that of Pepin and that of Arnulf—became united through intermarriage.

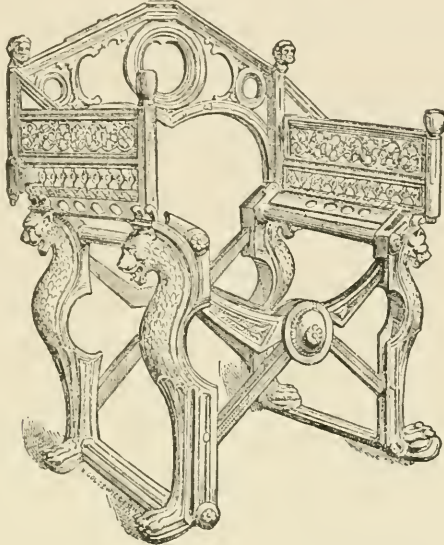


FIG. 28. —“Throne of Dagobert”: of gilded bronze. Paris. (From Lacroix.)

Besides internal menace, a perilous war threatened from without. The Slavonic (Wendish) kingdom of Samo had gradually grown in strength.

Through commercial dissensions, religious animosity, and Frankish claims of suzerainty, an open rupture occurred. Dagobert seems to have taken steps for isolating the foe, that he might crush it by overwhelming strength. An alliance was concluded with the Emperor Heraclius and the Langobards, and these latter with the Alamanni advanced against it, while the *coup de grâce* was to be delivered by the embattled columns of the Franks.



FIG. 29. —Coin of Dagobert (Ann. arch. VIII.) Obv.: head of the king, surmounted by a cross. . . . OBERTVS RE. Rev.: ELEGIVS, mint superintendent.

But these suffered discomfiture in a three-days' fight before the fortress of Wogastisburg, due, it is said, to the bad feeling of the Austrasians. Leaving their tents and baggage, the Franks hurried from the field.

Evil consequences were not long in showing themselves. Devastating hordes of Wends poured over the borders, especially toward Thuringia, and seized new districts. Independent Slavic tribes, like the Sorbs,

joined them. Instead of confronting these with his full power, Dagobert dissipated his strength by supporting the Visigothic insurgent Sisinanth, turning, after his affair was concluded, again toward the East. But

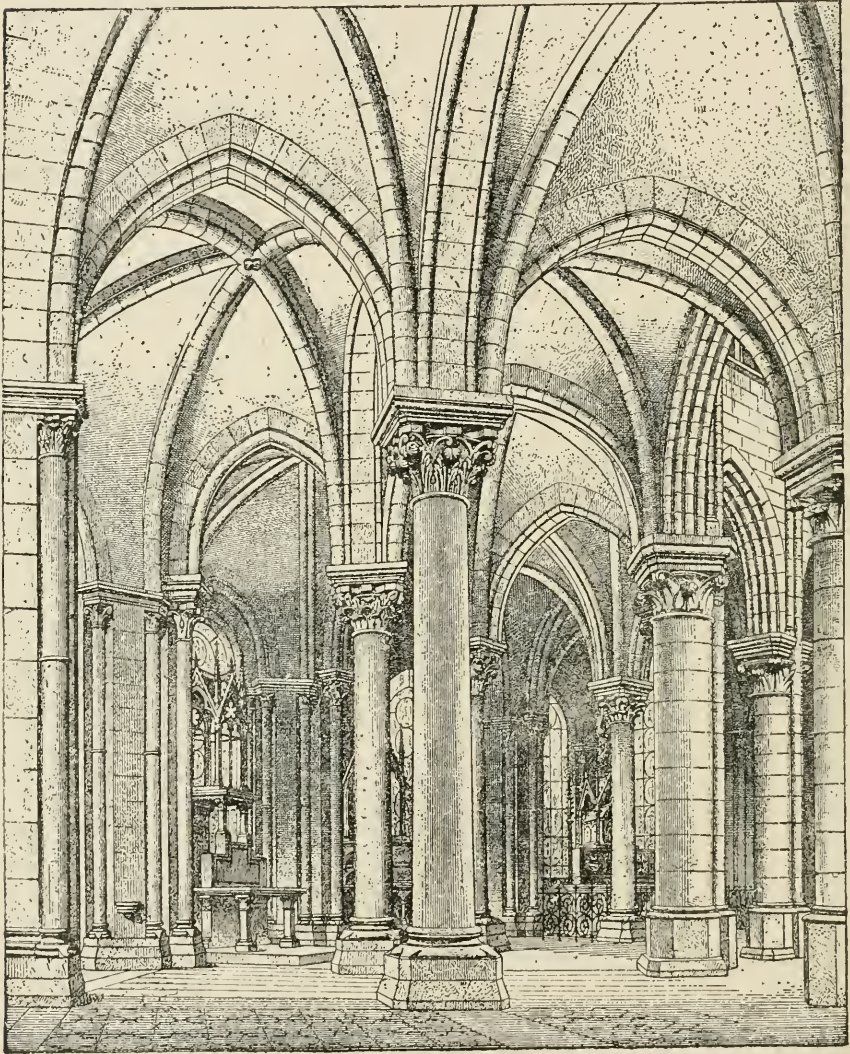


FIG. 30.—Interior of the Church of St. Denis, near Paris. Founded in 613 A. D.

neither he nor the Saxons effected anything. It constantly became more evident that a sole monarch was not able to sustain the burden of so widespread an empire, and that Romanized Neustria inclined more and more

toward the West, and German Austrasia toward the East. Under the pressure of Wendish successes, of threatening proceedings in the interior of Germany, and of the special Austrasian trouble, Dagobert, in 633 or the beginning of 634, was prevailed upon at Metz to constitute the eastern part of his realm into a kingdom, and give it to his son, Sigebert II. (to 656). The young king's minority rendered a tutelary administration necessary, and this fell into the hands of Kunibert of Cologne and Duke Ansegisel, the former the friend and follower of Pepin, the latter his son-in-law. This was a manifest victory for the Arnulfings and the Austrasian magnates, as opposed to the latterly preponderating Neustria. An opportunity for paying them back soon offered. A son, Clovis II., was born to Dagobert. At the advice and solicitation of the Neustrians, his father entered into an agreement with the Austrasian government by which Neustria and Burgundy should fall to the last-born. There was dread of the recurrence of the conditions of 628, and there was uncertainty as to whether they would not fall out in favor of Austrasia this time.

Shortly thereafter—in January, 639—Dagobert died, and was interred in the Church of St. Denis, which he had munificently endowed. He was the last great Merovingian. After him only children or puppet kings sat on the throne, and there was a bitter struggle for power among the great houses. On his death-bed, Dagobert commended his son Clovis II. (639–656) to Aega, who as mayor of the palace was associated with the queen in the administration of the state. Aega was rich, powerful, and upright, and maintained, during the years of his administration, a firm rule and a good understanding with Austrasia.

The death of the dreaded Dagobert had important retroactive results for Austrasia. Pepin and the other magnates, whom he had rendered submissive, betook themselves with one accord to Sigebert's court at Metz, where Pepin at once took the first place. With his friend Kunibert, he received at Compiègne a share of the royal treasures. But he died in 640, and with his death there arose a turmoil which threw everything into confusion. Grimoald, Pepin's son, demanded his father's office as his by inheritance. Otto, son of the king's tutor, opposed him. Each had a powerful following.

Such discord within the palace was a provocative for outsiders to claim independence. Thuringia was subject to its duke, Radulf, who had been invested with his dignity by Dagobert, as warden of the marches against the Slavs, in which office he had discharged his heavy task successfully. Confident, and yielding obedience to no one, he allied himself with the then disaffected Bavarian Agilolfings, and broke out in

open revolt. An army marched against him, led by Grimoald, but accompanied by the king. The Agilolfings were overthrown and Radulf's strong fort on the Unstrut invested. Several dukes now treacherously promised neutrality to Radulf. He made a sortie, and a large number of the royalists fell under the sword. Negotiations followed, as a result of which the Thuringian nominally submitted and acknowledged the Frankish suzerainty; in reality, he regarded himself as independent, and, the better to strengthen himself, made friendship with the Wends and the other peoples in his neighborhood. A movement tending to disintegration had laid hold of the eastern kingdom of the Franks.

It seemed imperative to secure order at least in the interior. This was effected by the duke of the Swabians, who freed Grimoald of his rival, Otto, through assassination, so that the former entered into full possession of the mayorship of the palace (643). His king was still young, and must always have been very much of a puppet. For fourteen years Grimoald accustomed himself to exclusive rule, and, on Sigebert's death (656, (Fig. 32), he boldly took measures for continuing it. He caused the son of the deceased (Dagobert II.) to be tonsured and shut up in a monastery in Ireland. His own son, who bore the Merovingian name of Childebert, he elevated to the kingship. Thus the ancestral royal house was supplanted by another. The independence of Anstrasia seemed secured, and the long-continued unity of the Frankish state shattered.

But the plan failed. Public opinion declared itself against this breach



FIG. 31.—Coins of Clovis II. (Ann. arch. VIII.) 1. Obv.: head of king, with wreath of pearls, and long hair. CLOTHOVECHVS REX. Rev.: MONETA PALATI, or "palace coins," the mint being in the palace. In the field ELIGI, or Elegius, the mint superintendent. 2. Obv.: head of king, with long hair. CHLODEVEVS REX FR., "Clovis, king of the Franks." Rev.: cross of a peculiar form. . . . IVS IN CIVIT, perhaps for *Parisius in civitate*. Also, as in No. 1, ELIGI.

of faith and in favor of legitimate succession. It gave little pleasure to a great portion of the nobility to see an insolent, high-handed, dictatorial figure like that of Grimoald in the place of the weak Merovingians. He was overpowered by the nobles and brought before the king of the Neustrians, who caused him to be executed. Thereby the Arnulfings received a blow of the heaviest kind, and for a considerable time disappeared from history, till they rose again in the person of Pepin of Heristal, and gave

evidence afresh of their vitality and vigor. One consequence was that Neustria again attained the predominance and that its capital, Paris, with the youthful Clovis II., became once more the centre of the whole state. Like most of the Merovingians this scion died young. He passed away (657) in his twenty-third year. A worthy son of his father, he is said to have been a glutton, a drunkard, and lecherous debauchee, nay, latterly, almost an idiot (Fig. 31).

His queen, Balthildis, after her husband's death, undertook the regency in the name of her eldest son, Clotaire III. (657-671), and this at first for the whole state. Diligently did she found religious houses, as those of Chelles and Corbie, and endowed others, enriching and making them independent. To simony, as to the slave traffic, she was bitterly opposed. In the first year of her rule, at the nomination of the nobles of the three kingdoms, she received Ebroin as mayor of the palace.

But precisely this man who had been selected by the nobility, elevated by his innate vigor from a humble station, became their most dangerous foe. Once in possession of power he knew how to maintain it, and that by close alliance with and strengthening of the crown. This twofold object—the confirmation of the monarchy and, with it as a stepping-stone, his own rise to power—Ebroin pursued unscrupulously, with the energy of passion and all the appliances of the violence of a violent time. It seemed as if the mayoralty and the crown thus closely bound together were to represent in tangible form the unity of the state. Neustria was his base of operations. Thence he wished to extend his sway over the other parts. It is specially noteworthy that precisely at this time, Neustrians, in contradistinction to Austrasians and Burgundians, took the name of Franks (French). But it was soon to become evident that the multiplicity of tasks was only to overwhelm Ebroin, and that his object was no longer attainable in this way.

For four years (657-661) he exercised sway over the three separate kingdoms. Then he was compelled, "on the council of the magnates," to let Austrasia go, and make it over to Clotaire's younger brother, Childeric II. (661-673), and to a mayor of its own, by the name of Wulfoald. A few years later, Balthildis, who had played the part of mediatrix, withdrew from the government, and Ebroin bore himself all the more imperiously. He banished his political antagonists, and sought to estab-



FIG. 32.—Coin of Sigebert II. of Austrasia. A. D. 628. Obv.: head, with wreath of pearls. MARSILIA, or Marseilles. Rev.: SIGIBERTVS REX. The seven points in the field signify the number VII. (Ann. arch. VIII.)

lish the throne on a surer foundation by enriching the state-treasury. This incensed the nobles, of whom Bishop Leodegar of Autun was the representative. As he was a Burgundian dignitary, so Burgundians, in accordance with the old rivalries of the three kingdoms, constituted Ebroin's main opponents. To prevent machinations behind his back, he gave strict order that no Burgundian should come to the court. So long



FIG. 33.—Coins of Childeric II. (Ann. arch. VIII.) 1. Obv.: head and shoulders, with imperial apple. CHILDER(IC)VS REX. Rev.: MASILIE CIVITATIS. In the field, six points. 2. Like No. 1, though smaller, and without the six points. 3. Obv.: head of the king under an arch surmounted by three crosses. MASSILIA, or Marseilles. Rev.: HILΔERICVS REX. From its mixed alphabet, perhaps copied after a Byzantine coin.

as Clotaire III. lived he retained a firm grasp on the reins of government; but Clotaire died in 670, and Leodegar at once hastened with his following to the palace to negotiate concerning the future king. Ebroin would have no dealings with him, but simply elevated the next legitimate heir, Theuderic, the third brother. If this appointment held good, Ebroin's sway was confirmed. But this did not please many of the Austrasians, who were disaffected. The opposition united, called Childeric of Austrasia to the throne of the whole realm (Fig. 33), and enforced their decision by fire and sword. Ebroin's following crumbled away, he surrendered himself to Childeric, and was, like Theudebert, shut up in a monastery.

Once again the realm had arisen united out of turmoils, an example of how the craving for unity and that for autonomy existed, as it were, side by side, and really crossed each other. A sort of election compact was wrung from Childeric, nearly identical with that of 614. It provided for the maintenance of the laws and usages of the three kingdoms, and for the filling of offices only with natives, the highest of which, that of mayor of the palace, should be subject to the supervision of the nobles, and liable to be changed by the vote of a majority. A potentate like Ebroin was no longer possible; even Wulfoald could not tread in his footsteps.

If everything went well a government by estates would result. King Childeric united the three kingdoms by a personal union, his power

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Facsimile of a Decree of Theudebert III, King of the Franks, A. D. 680
 Paris, National Archives (Paleontographical Society London)
 Plate 9 of the *Antiquities*, Vol. 1, 22, page 107

being limited in each by that of the magnates. In Burgundy Leodegar attained predominating influence, and probably the office of mayor. But the power of the higher clergy was reflected in him, and precisely for this reason the unfettered nobility resisted domination. His position became insecure. Impeached, he was to appear before the king for judgment, but he felt so little security that he sought safety in flight. He was caught and shut up in the same monastery, Luxeuil, that imprisoned his antagonist, Ebroin. There they are said to have become reconciled. New aspirations filled both of them, and these were soon to be satisfied. Childeric made enemies. While engaged in the chase, he



FIG. 34.—Coins of Dagobert II. 1. Obv.: in front of the king's head the initial letter of his name, where $\Delta = D$. Rev.: MASILIA CIVIT. 2. Obv.: head of king. DAGOBERTVS. Rev.: DEVS REX, 'god alone is king' and V. C. = Victoria Crucis, 'victory of the Cross.'

was assassinated (673)—probably not without the cognizance of the former Bishop of Autun. No son had been born to the king, and his queen, who was pregnant, died in the catastrophe.

A number of turbulent nobles who had been banished returned, seized their former possessions, and retaliated on their foes with savage cruelty. Partisans of both the captives appeared before Luxeuil, released them, and accompanied them to Autun, where they were honorably received. But in the very next night, Ebroin hurried away to put himself at the head of his old party, while Leodegar, with the new mayor Leudesius, assumed the guidance of Burgundy. Here Theuderic III., released from the monastery, was raised to the throne (673–691) (cf. PLATE IV.¹). In Austrasia Wulfoald, the mayor, had bethought

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV.

Facsimile of a decision of Theuderic III., King of the Franks, A. D. 680. Paris, National Archives. (Palaeographical Society, London.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

† theudericus rex francorum uir inluster
 cum 'ante dies' in nostri nel procerum nostrorum presencia compendio in palacio nostro
 ibique ueniens fimena nomene aechildis amalgaro interpellauit dum dicerit
 eo quod porcione sua in nilla noncobanti baetiliono ualle quem de parti genetri
 ci sua bertane quondam libebus obuenire debuerat post se malo ordine reteni
 rit qui ipse amalgarus taliter dedit in respnsis eo quod ipsa terra
 in predicto loco baetiliono ualle de annis triginta et uno inter ipso amalga
 rio uel genetore suo gaetramno quondam semper tenuerant et possiderant sic eidem nunc

him of Dagobert II. in his Irish exile, recalled him, and had him proclaimed (Fig. 34), in opposition to whom his antagonists set up Clovis (III.), a reputed son of Clotaire II.

Ebroin seems at first to have countenanced Clovis's party. He overthrew Leudesius, but left Theuderic on the throne, requiring him only to recognize him as mayor. Afterward Leudesius was assassinated, Leodegar blinded, and his brother stoned to death. With nervous hand, Ebroin again held Neustria and Burgundy together, merciless to all who could bring danger upon him. His glance already swept the horizon for greater power. King Theuderic was to be king of Austrasia also, and to be in consequence ruler of the entire realm. In 678, he opened the war with the sister-land. But it seemed to settle nothing; other means had to eke it out, and so Dagobert and Wulfoald were assassinated.

The autoerat stood at the summit of his power, and yet even now he found his most dangerous opponent, whose posterity attained what he himself had been striving for, the rule over the empire of the Franks. This was Pepin of Heristal. In face of the danger of destruction through this frightful mayor of the palace, this grandson of Arnulf with a relative (?), Martin, succeeded in gaining the leadership of the hostile Austrasian nobles. Not far from Laon a bloody fight ensued. The Austrasians were defeated: Pepin fled to his home, and Martin to Laon. Ebroin invested the city, and invited him, with a promise of safety, to meet Theuderic. So soon as Martin issued from the walls, he and his followers were cut to pieces. Ebroin seemed to have reached the goal, and Austrasia's spirit of independence broken. But the excitement had run too high. Early on a Sabbath morning fate overtook the victor. A Frank named Ermenfried sunk a sword into his skull

a nostris procerebus ipsius amalgario fuisset indecatum ut de nouo denomenatus aput sex sua mano septima dies duos ante 'istas' kalendas iulias in oratorio nostro super cappella domni martine ubi reliqua sacramenta pereurribant hoc dibirit coniurare quod antedicta terra in predicto loco baetillione ualle inter ipso amalgario uel genetore suo gaeltramno de annus trigin [ta] et uno semper tenuissent et possedissent nec eis diger numquam fuisset nec ali ut exinde non redebirit nisi edonio sacramento sed ueniens antedictus amalgarriu[s] ad ipso placito lusareca in palacio nostro una cum hamedius suos ipso sacramento iusta quod cidem fuit iudicatum et nostras equalis precepionis locuntur in *quantian inluster uir dructoaldus comes palati noster testimoniauit ligibus uisus fuit adimplissit et tam ipse quam et hamediac suae diliguas eorum derexsissint propteria iobimus ut ipsa porcio ne in predicto loco baetillione ualle unde inter eus orta fuit intencio memoratus amalgarius contra ipsa acchilde nel suis heredibus omne tempore abiat euinde cata*

† odiinberthus recognouit

† datum sub die segundo kalendas iulias annum vii rigni nostri lusareca in dei nomene feliciter

from behind, and fled to Pepin, who received him with all honor. After Ebroin, no mayor arose in Neustria to rule the whole Frankish state. Austrasia, concentrating itself around the offspring of Arnulf, now took the lead.

Scarcely was Ebroin's heavy hand removed from the necks of the nobles when they resumed their turbulence. Their choice for a mayor fell on Waratto. Pepin allied himself with him and sent hostages: he had always combated the dictator rather than the crown. Probably at the instigation of enemies of Pepin, Waratto was overthrown by his own son, named Gislemar. At a conference between the latter and the Austrasians before Namur, many of their nobles were put to death, in consequence, it is said, of a false oath he had sworn. He was killed shortly after. Again Waratto rose to the chief place, made peace with Pepin, and died (686). Then the old quarrel broke out afresh. Waratto's son-in-law, Berthar, became mayor, and, imperious and self-willed, wished to tread in the footsteps of Ebroin. His adversaries arose, sought and found support in Pepin, the master of Austrasia. Appeal was made to arms, and a great battle was fought in 687 at Tertri (Testri) in which Pepin was victorious. Yet Berthar maintained himself for a time, till he fell through the machinations of his mother-in-law, who had been the agent in his elevation. She recognized the supremacy of the Arnulfing, and deemed it expedient to come to terms with him. The marriage of her daughter with Pepin's eldest son demonstrated the completeness of the change. This was the third powerful family that had allied itself to the Arnulfings.

Supported by all Austrasia, upborne by his wide possessions and the ancient prestige of his line, Pepin, trusting in his own strength, had climbed the highest round in opposition to the representation of the crown. Theuderic, with all his treasures, fell into his hands. He was master of all. Whether he immediately assumed the title of mayor of the palace is by no means clear. It had had its day, and regularly aroused opponents. In any case, the Arnulfing must take active measures to confirm what he had won, if he did not wish to sink in the universal vortex. Within, he had to restrain the nobles without rousing them against him; abroad, he had to restore the prestige of the empire. South of the Loire and east of the Rhine, the dukedoms of Aquitania and Bavaria had made themselves independent; the Thuringians and Alamanni sought to disunite themselves from the realm; the Saxons and Friesians had done this long ago, and the latter had overrun the Netherlands. Pepin did full justice to these various tasks. With him (687, 688-714) begins (despite occasional checks) the rise of the

Arnulfings. One after another appear powerful, energetic figures, statesmanlike and warlike, prudent, and of persistent tenacity, if, on occasions, arrogant and little fastidious as to means. That the state was inspired with new strength is shown by the rapidity with which the work of conversion went on in the east, supported and promoted by the mayors of the palace. Cross and lance pressed on to a common object—the domination of the Franks.

It is regarded as an evidence of the security of Pepin's authority that he forthwith left Thenderic and marched eastward, first against the



FIG. 35.—Coin of Dagobert III. Obv.: head of king, with wreath of pearls; GEMELLVS, perhaps the name of the small town, Rebais. Rev.: DAGOBERTVS REX. (Ann. arch., VIII.)

heathen Friesians. These, under their chief, Radbod, suffered so severe a defeat that all West Friesland was lost to them. Next year the work of conversion could be set on foot, and Radbod married his daughter to Pepin's younger son, Grimoald. Shortly afterwards, Theuderic III., the Merovingian phantom-king, died. All but unheard of, his puppet-successors followed each other: his son (a minor) Clovis III. (691–695), Childebert III. (695–711), and his grandson, Dagobert III. (711–715), Childebert's youthful offspring (Fig. 35).

Till 695, Pepin's trusted adherent, Norbert, was in charge of Neustria. When he died, Pepin made over the guidance of affairs to his younger son, Grimoald, who, later, took the title of mayor of the palace, while the elder, Drogo, as Duke of Champagne, ruled Burgundy for his father. The over-lordship of Austrasia, though resting, in point of fact, only on the personality of the ruler, was undisputed. Unweariedly did Pepin busy himself, chiefly in the interior of Germany; in East Francia, Thuringia, and Alamannia he was often in arms. With the princely house of Bavaria he was allied through marriage. Contrary to the usage of the times, he (as well as his sons) seems to have been upright in the administration of justice, even in cases unfavorable to himself, and thus to have won confidence and peace for himself. Yet the evening of his days was overclouded. When a fever laid him, now stricken with age, on a sick-bed, he summoned to his side his able, universally beloved son, Grimoald. But on his journey, Grimoald was murdered by a Friesian, in a church at Liège, a blow which the feeble octogenarian never overcame, for Drogo was already dead. Ill luck would have it that he should name Grimoald's six-year-old son Theudoald for his successor in the Neustrian mayoralty, under the tutelage of his spouse, Plectrude. This nomination, in harmony with royal custom, but in direct violation of that

in regard to the mayoralty, seems to show how far Pepin had outgrown the powers of an official. The nomination was not to be a happy one, and probably was made at the wish of Plectrude, who, possessed of much influence, was altogether averse to his younger son Charles, as born of a concubine. In December, 714, Pepin died, and with him was broken the prop which his last action stood in need of.

Neustria was now under a woman, with a minor mayor and a minor king. The *Gesta* tell us that she ruled with ability, but it soon appeared that unity was on the point of dissolution, and that in Neustria there still lived too much national feeling for it to submit long to the rule of an Austrasian woman. The Neustrians rose in revolt, and at Compiègne a battle with the Arnulfing following ensued. After a bloody struggle it was defeated, and it was with extreme difficulty that Theudoald was rescued. The victors, under the leadership of a mayor of their own, Raganfrid, pressed forward toward the Meuse, the young King Dagobert in their midst. From the other side the Friesian Radbod stormed in and conquered back West Friesland. The Saxons too broke loose; while the Bishop of Auxerre sought to establish a kingdom of his own. And now Dagobert, too, died, leaving also an infant son. The times demanded a man, and him the Neustrians believed they found in a son of Childeric II., who lived in a monastery, under the name of Daniel. He was brought forth and raised to the throne as Chilperic II. (715-720). Disorder and disaster ruled everywhere, while the Visigoths had succumbed to the Saracens, who, intoxicated with victory, crossed the Pyrenees.

In this moment of peril arose the man who was to be the saviour of the kingdom, and consequently of the West. This was no other than Pepin's illegitimate son, Charles, now twenty-five years of age, whom later times have surnamed "Martel" or the "Hammer." His step-mother, Plectrude, had held him, by way of precaution, in safe keeping. He escaped, and sought a following in Austrasia. The magnates of his house hailed him with joy. But as he had no Merovingian there to give a color to his pretensions, and Chilperic II. had a claim on the entire realm, his appearance was really a revolt. He must be suppressed. The Neustrian sent new forces to operate with Radbod, who had sailed up the Rhine to Cologne. Charles took a position along their route, but was driven back, and lost many soldiers. The Neustrians and Friesians formed a junction at the fortress, got a portion of Plectrude's royal treasures in their power, and then separated without attempting anything further. The alliance with the heathen and the struggle with his war-like adversary were matters of equal concern to the Merovingian. But

already Charles had rallied fresh forces, had surprised and dispersed a band of the retiring Neustrians, and, March 21, 717, defeated the royal main force at Viney to the south of Cambrai. The battle was bloody, and determined the future of the realm. Chilperic fled with his mayor, Raganfrid, to Paris and beyond, pursued by the victor, who then turned back, took Rheims, invested Cologne, and there compelled the still defiant Plectrude to give up his father's property. The Saxons were harried as far as the Weser, and Frankish sway restored over the Friesians. All the chiefs who had not stood by Charles were relentlessly driven out. Everyone who could, now hurried to testify his unconditional submission. Meanwhile, negotiations appear to have been renewed with Chilperic II., which had been opened before the day of Viney, the conditions being that Charles should acknowledge the king, while the latter should confer on him Pepin's principality, and, moreover, depose Raganfrid. Chilperic, in close alliance with the mayor, declined compliance, whereupon Charles, in order to give a background of legitimacy to his real power, created another Merovingian, Clotaire IV., king. The sword was the last court of appeal. The Neustrians felt that alone they could not cope with Austrasia. By the acknowledgment of his nearly complete independence, they bought the support of the powerful Eudes, duke of Aquitania, who had raised himself in the southwest, by much the same means adopted by Charles in the northeast. Reinforced by him, they re-entered the field. But conflicting interests soon manifested themselves. The Aquitanian could not allow a serious passage at arms involving loss of troops while the Saracens threatened him in the rear. He withdrew, therefore, whereupon Charles triumphed over Raganfrid near Soissons. As a fugitive the latter wandered around, while the Austrasian pressed southward. Eudes, accompanied by Chilperic, retired before him. Then Clotaire IV. died (719). Charles's hands were free, and Eudes could maintain himself only in concert with him. They soon came to terms. Enriched by presents, Duke Eudes delivered up his king to the Austrasians, who acknowledged him, and thereby attained the long desired sway of the entire realm. Shortly thereafter, Chilperic died, and Theuderic IV. (720-737), the seven-year-old son of Dagobert III., reigned in his stead. Which Merovingian sat on the throne was a matter of indifference; he was but a shadow—a sort of decorative background for the all-powerful mayor. One incident that found emphatic expression in the Metz annals was that the king once a year (but no more) was brought forth from his state of custody, conveyed to the Field of March, and there publicly exhibited.

From the beginning Charles had kept his eye fixed anxiously on the

East—on half-heathen, half-independent Germany. He now made his assault. The Saxons and Alamanni were overwhelmed with war, Duke Grimoald of Bavaria-Freising overthrown and replaced by Hukbert, son of the elder Agilolfing, who had claimed a kind of lordship over the land. Bavaria retained its own prince with a separate administration, and ranked as a sort of sister-land, which recognized the supremacy of the Frankish king. The latter could summon the army, pardon convicts, and depose the duke. Personal ties attached it to the mayor. Schwanhilde (Swanachilde), the daughter of a Bavarian prince, became a concubine of Charles. Everywhere he urged conversion. It was now that Boniface came on the scene (see p. 533). Germany yielded to the threefold persuasives—the sword, the preached word, and the ties of intermarriage. The confirmation of Charles's power here reacted among the Franks. It was not too soon, for while the State and the Cross triumphed in the East, a peril was maturing in the South, which threatened the existence of both.

After some preliminary attempts the Saracens, in 720, passed the Pyrenees. At first they threw themselves on Septimania and reduced its capital, Narbonne, which they converted into a strong fortress. The males were slaughtered, the women and children dispatched to Spain. They then invested Toulouse, till Duke Eudes came on the field and drove them back. None the less they maintained their hold on Septimania, strengthening themselves with auxiliaries and repeatedly forcing their way into Aquitania and even into Francia proper. The administration of Spain was in the hands of the brave commander, Abd-er-Rahman; the Berber chief Munúsa (Othman) held sway on the Gallie frontier as his representative. Eudes entered into an alliance with the latter and gave him his daughter in marriage, whereupon he fell out with Charles. It is said he no longer observed the terms of his compact with him. The duke's real motive probably was, now that he was covered in the rear, to make himself independent. Charles passed the Loire, overran his land, and then turned homeward. He, as well as Eudes, shunned open warfare. But when the Aquitanian seized Bourges, Charles attacked him in earnest and compelled him to flight. Embittered and hard-pressed, Eudes called on his son-in-law for help. But fate overtook the latter from another quarter. Munúsa had revolted against Abd-er-Rahman, was overthrown, and preferred suicide to imprisonment.

Far in the East sat the energetic Calif, Hashem, indulging dreams of the conquest of the world. Before the walls of Constantinople these were shattered by the heroism of the Emperor Leo III.; how much might be attained through assaults from the west? Accordingly, his Spanish gover-

nor advanced in the spring of 732, invaded Gaul, besieged Bordeaux, and inflicted a bloody defeat on Eudes. The track of the Saracens was everywhere marked by fire and blood. In this extremity the quarrels between Christians were hushed. Eudes subordinated himself to Charles, and took the field along with him. Already the Mussulmans, following the old Roman road, had reached Poitiers, reduced its world-renowned Church of St. Hilary to ashes, and were moving in the direction of Tours. Confronting them lay the consolidated strength of the Frankish empire in the hands of the mayor of the palace. From all quarters Charles had providently rallied his fighting strength; above all, he had summoned the Northern tribes, robust of body and sinewy of arm—Saxons, Friesians, Thuringians, and Alamanni. The nucleus of his army was decidedly Austrasian. On October 25, 732, a Saturday, the decisive battle was fought—a conflict of races and religious beliefs, such as that

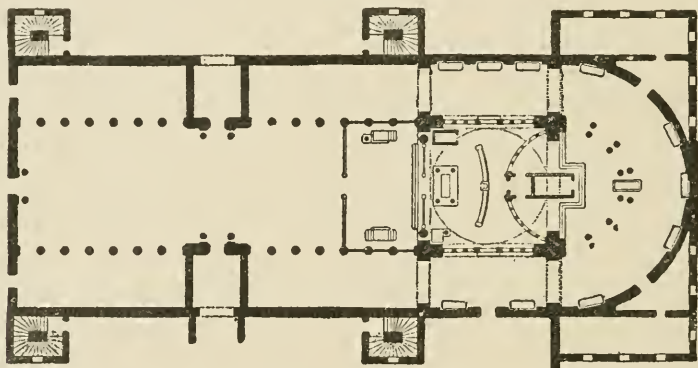


FIG. 36. —Ground plan of the Basilica of St. Martin at Tours. (Rev. archéol. 1869.)

on the Catalaunian Fields had been. We have but a meagre record of both.

The continuator of Fredegar tells: "Already the Saracens were preparing to destroy the temple of St. Martin (Figs. 184, 185), when the Prince Charles bravely sallied forth against them to battle; fell upon them here, and, with the help of Christ, destroyed their camp." The day was decided by the "Northmen," who, towering over them,clave the sons of the desert from head to breast. In the tumult of the fight, Abd-er-Rahman fell, seemingly when leading an onset to break the inflexible line. Night alone separated the combatants. The Franks betook themselves to their camp, contemptuously threatening their foes with their brandished swords. With the dawn of Sunday, they were again in their ranks to fight in honor of their Lord upon his sacred

day. But no Mussulman was to be seen; only their white tents gleamed far and wide. Scouts, who cautiously crept near to their camp, found it empty. Under cover of night the infidel had vanished. One portion of his force Charles sent off on their joyous homeward march; with the other he set out after the foe to complete its discomfiture. Still the red

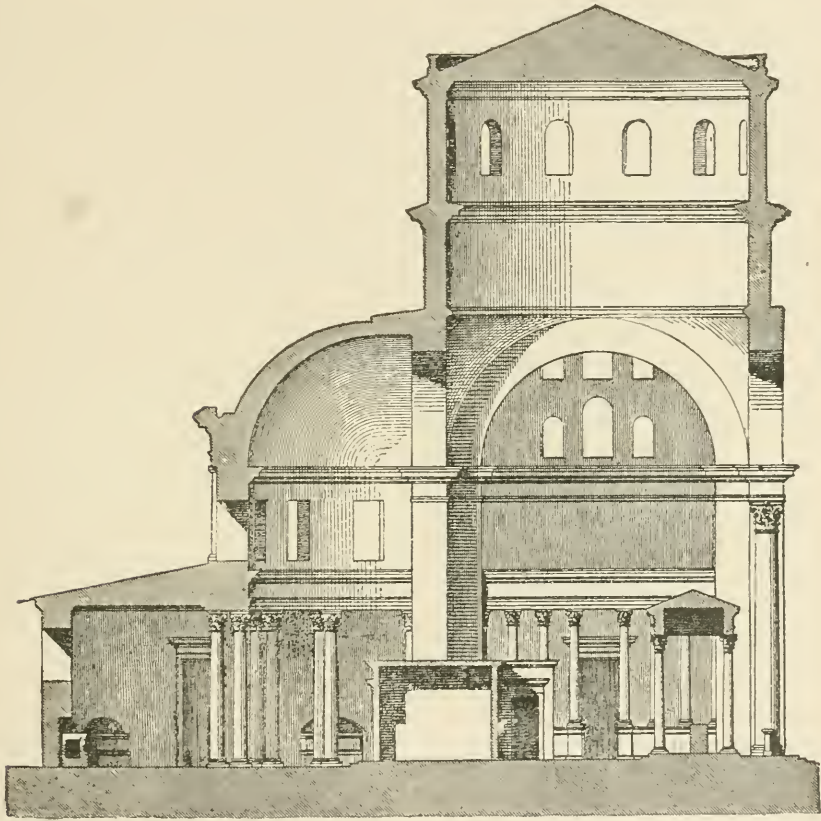


FIG. 37.—The Basilica of St. Martin at Tours. Restored. Interior longitudinal cross-section. (Rev. archéol.)

glare of flames illumined the track of the miscreants, and Narbonne and Septimania remained in their possession.

It is difficult to determine where the great battle was fought, for all accounts of it are more or less legendary. The Frankish chronicle defines the battlefield by the phrase, "The outskirts of Poitiers;" according to an Arabian source it was at the little town of Cenon, at the influx of the Clain into the Vienne, close by old Poitiers. There is a

plausible theory that the Franks had taken their position in the fork of the Vienne and Clain with the former in their rear, and their flanks covered by the two streams. But the objection to be made to such a position is that a good general never likes to fight with streams behind his line, because he is thereby impeded in his movements, and, in case of defeat, runs the risk of being cut to pieces.

The greatness of this struggle between the Cross and Crescent corresponded to the importance of its results. The day of Poitiers rescued the civilization and liberties of the West. What was begun before Constantinople was finished at Poitiers. Islam was not simply checked; it was driven back. And he who accomplished this was not the king of the Franks, but the mayor of the palace. Charles had earned the kingdom for himself and his posterity.

A further consequence of this onslaught from without was unification within. Germans and Romans had stood shoulder to shoulder, and mutually defended each other. The breach between Aquitania and Francia was healed, and Eudes, left in his dukedom, remained faithful to the Arnulfing till his death. Charles made a progress through Burgundy, putting its affairs in order, and settling trustworthy followers in it to unite it more closely with his chief domain. The Bishop of Orleans, the head of an overweening, self-willed house, had to go to Cologne for safe-keeping. The refractory elements were everywhere held in check, and Christianity propagated eastward. With this latter view a campaign was undertaken (733-734) against the Friesians, who had fallen back into idolatry, slaughtered their priests, and harassed such neighbors as were well affected to the Franks. They were attacked by land and water, their duke Bobo slain in fight, and they themselves compelled to accept Charles's iron yoke.

But his main attention had to be directed toward the Arabs, who, with the untamable spirit of the desert, had recovered from their defeat, and had started on a new career of conquest. Their governor had crossed the Rhone, and seized Arles and Avignon, as well as, apparently, the greater part of the southern coast of Gaul, without meeting with any special resistance. Whoever refused to submit cheerfully was put out of the way. Their movements were encouraged through the death of Eudes and the dissensions resulting between the mayor and Eudes's sons. After advising with his Leudes, Charles appeared in Gascony, pressed across the Garonne, and became involved in a long struggle, the outcome of which was the recognition of one of the sons, Hunold, as duke of his paternal land. Charles next addressed himself to the infidels who had advanced far up the Rhone. Avignon had to be given up, and they had

to recede till they saw the hosts of their mighty adversary before the walls of their chief fortress, the strong Narbonne. Charles pressed it hard; environed it with strong works, and blocked even their access to the sea. Advances so rapid, and the evident distress of the defenders, aroused and alarmed the Moors in Spain. One of their kings, Amor, appeared with a large fleet off the coast of Provence, and threatened the Frankish outworks by land. Charles was sorely endangered in the rear. He seized the resolution that wrought his deliverance. Leaving one portion of his force to maintain the investment, he threw himself with the other upon the relieving army. Near the swampy mouth of the Berre a battle took place, and the Saracens were all but annihilated. But Narbonne still held out. The means of attack did not, at that period, equal those for defence. On his homeward march Charles made many towns, Nîmes, Agde, Béziers, and others pay the penalty for their wavering attitude. They lost their gates and walls, and many had to deliver hostages. Yet the Frankish sway over Provence and Aquitania remained feeble, if not simply nominal.

During the long war with the Saracens, King Theuderic IV. found his grave. What a contrast between the young emasculated Merovingian, and the veteran, indefatigable, iron mayor of the palace! His death seemed so unimportant that no chronicle records it, and Charles was able to leave the throne empty, as if it belonged to him and to no other.

In 738, we find him far in the north curbing the Saxons, when the storm again broke out in the south. The Saracens flooded Provence, and did not shrink back before the Alps themselves. They overran the vale of Susa and harried the country round Novales. The Franks and Lombards in common resolved to call them to account (p. 432), but the foe did not await the double onset, but withdrew when Charles had arrived at Marseilles.

Constant strain and excitement gradually undermined his health. The life so rich in events neared its end, and he deemed it advisable to set the affairs of his house in order, in accordance with Frankish views. With the counsel and assent of his Leudes he divided the empire into two parts for his two legitimate sons, Carloman (741-747) and Pepin (741-768). Carloman, the elder, received Austrasia, with the domain on the right of the Rhine; the younger had Neustria and Burgundy. The former may be regarded as the groundwork of Germany; the latter, as the origin of France; Bavaria and Aquitania remained as sister-lands under their own dukes. To guard against all contingencies from Burgundy, which was not yet thoroughly Carolingian, Pepin garrisoned its marches. On October 22, 741, Charles succumbed to an attack of

fever at Quierzy. His last act was a pious gift to the abbey of St. Denis, in whose church he was buried.

Charles Martel is one of the foremost of the heroic figures in early German history—great in council, great in deed. Having risen by force, he ruled by force. Might constituted his right, for simple legitimate right had become powerless in the lands of the Franks. Einhard, the annalist of his grandson, says: “Charles annihilated the men of violence who, throughout the whole empire, had usurped the power to themselves.” Within and without he had constituted the realm into an effective state, subdued the seceded peoples, diffused Christianity, and rescued the West, with its special civilization, from the tempest of Islamism. He is the founder of the Carolingian monarchy. As a warlike layman he repressed the Church, and made use of it for purely state purposes. It was different under his successors. Under them she rallied and became a special power, allied to the state and strengthened by it. The history of the Frankish kingdom grew more and more to be that of the Occident.

Even before Charles's death strife had arisen over the succession. Grifo, a third son by the Bavarian Schwanhilde, made a claim, and his father would have willingly recognized it by conferring on him an independent principality, but his elder brothers seem to have been averse to further partition. Before the controversy was settled, Charles died. Grifo, enterprising and embittered, made himself master of fortified Laon. The quarrel became threatening, when a third power interposed to decide it—that of the *arrière-ban*, developed into mighty proportions during the last times of war. It would not see the empire weakened, seized its weapons and carried both brothers forth with it. Grifo had to succumb, and was shut up in a castle in the Ardennes. His mother was disposed of in a monastery.

Such promptitude and decision in action was all the more necessary, because as soon as dread of “The Hammer” was buried in his grave, revolt appeared on all sides—among the Aquitanians, the Alamanni, the Bavarians, and the Saxons. Before weapons quelled it, Carloman took a step in internal administration of far-reaching importance. In concert with Boniface he summoned the first Austrasian National Council, April 21, 742 (see p. 151). Then he forthwith united his army with that of his brother and crossed the Loire. The races engaged were strongly contrasted. Our source characterizes the Aquitanians, in contradistinction to the Franks, as Romans. The brothers pushed far into Aquitania, took a number of forts, harried and devastated, yet attained no real success, for the Aquitanians, with their Duke Hunold at their head, kept

retreating, and evaded any decided engagement. Meanwhile affairs on the right bank of the Rhine had become threatening. Before the autumn was over the brothers turned upon the Alamanni, pushed forward to the Danube, and compelled submission, receiving hostages, and gifts. More menacing yet was the state of matters in Bavaria, where pride of race was interwoven with the interests of the house of the Agilolfings. Schwanhilde had married her step-daughter to the Bavarian duke, Odilo, who formed an alliance with the Aquitanians, Saxons, and Slavs. Disaffected Alamanni joined him, nay, even Pope Zacharias was well-disposed to him, and sought to arrange a peace. The brothers found their greatly reinforced foe in a well-intrenched position on the Lech. Odilo was defeated, and the former condition of affairs restored. Then followed the reckoning with his allies. The Alamanni, in 744, suffered a defeat at the hands of Pepin, and when this was not sufficient to quiet them, Carloman burst in upon them and subdued all resistance. The convulsions of so many wars, the absence of any prospect of unification after the Carolingian partition of the empire, the murmurs of the discontented, who placed their hopes on a Merovingian monarchy—all these things probably contributed to the refilling of the long vacant throne. This was done in 743, through the person of Childeric III. (-751). Not one of our narrative sources holds the thing worthy of mention; it is preserved only in the formulæ of charters. In an edict of 744, this last scion of the once mighty house of the Merovingians says that Carloman, the steward of the palace, had placed him on the throne, but he had nothing to rule.

The elevation of Childeric must, with the assent of Pepin, have taken place at the Austrasian Synod of March 1, 743, at Lestinnes (Liftings) (see p. 153), and on March 3, 744, followed a Neustrian synod, which accepted the greater part of the resolutions of the former one.

Though Carloman and Pepin went thus hand in hand, the prospect of unity really rested on the Merovingian, for both these had male children, which implied a manifest danger for the future. Suddenly, this disappeared. Carloman withdrew from the government. His grounds for this act are unknown. This is certain, that he made over his office and his son to his brother and betook himself to the pope, who before this had been in accord with him in Church matters. He remained some years in Rome, assumed the monk's cowl, built a monastery on Mount Soracte, and then sought the rest he longed for on the precipitous Monte Cassino. This withdrawal from the world was in accord with the spirit of the times. Originating in Ireland, it was taken up by the Anglo-Saxons, and now affected the potentates of the continent. Humold,

of Aquitania, and Rachis, king of the Lombards, followed Carloman's example.

Pepin was now sole lord of the Franks (747-751); a man as tenacious and indefatigable as his father; less original, less impetuously warlike, but more calculating, moderate, churchly, and essentially a reformer. One might say he had a more legal head. (PLATE V.¹).

His first act of importance was the release of his brother Grifo, whom he sought to pacify with gifts of counties and a reception in his palace. But in Grifo's heart glowed the proud feelings of a born prince who could not surrender his hereditary claims. He collected a distinguished following, and with it betook himself to the Saxons. Pepin collected an army, strengthened himself by Slavic auxiliaries, and advanced so irresistibly into the threatened region, that the Saxons, venturing no passage of arms,

¹ TRANSCRIPTION OF PLATE V.

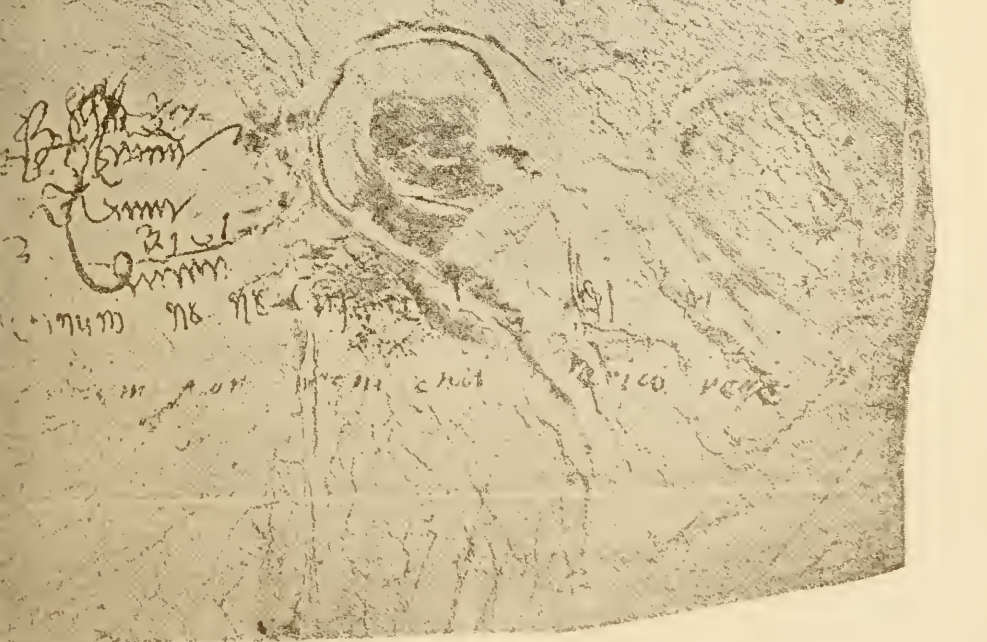
Facsimile of a decision of Pepin, as Majordomus. Dated June 20, 750 A. D. Paris, National Archives. (Palaeographical Society, London.)

✠ Cum resedisset inluster uir pippinus maiorem domus attiniaco in palacio publico ad uniuersorum causas audiendum uel recta iudicia termenandum ibique ueniens fulradus abba de monastherio sancti domni dionisii ubi ipsi preciosus domnus in corpore requiescit aduocato ragane abbatissa nomine legitimo interpellabat repetebat ei eo quod ipsa ragana uel agentis monasterii sui septemolas res sancti dionisii post se malo urdine retenebat iniuste in loco qui dicitur curbrius in pago tellau quem chairebaldus et coniux sua aillerta per eorum testamentum ad casa sancti dionisii condonarunt sed ipsi legitimus in presente adistabat et ibidem ostendebat cartas de nomine francane qualiter ipsas res ad septemolas condonassit unde et nos acc causa pro ueritate inquesiuimus quod ipsas 'ris' per drietum ad casa sancti dionisii aderant et ipsi legitimus nulla habuit quod contra ipsa instrumenta sancti dionisii dicere aut obponere dibuissit unde et de presente ipsa strumenta in omnibus ueraces esse dixit et postea per suo uuadio ipsi fulrado abbat de ipsas res in curborio per suo uuadio in causa sancti dio[ni]siii uisus fuit reuestisse et per suo fistugo sibi exinde dixit esse exitum tam pro se quam pro ipsius raganam abbatissa uel agentis monasterii sui septemolas proinde nos taliter una cum fidelibus nostris id sunt nibulfo dadone diddone chagnerico braicone et uuineram qui in uicecomete palato nostro adistare uidebantur uel relicus quam pluris nisi fuemus iudicasse ut dum ipsi legitimo aduocata ragane abbatissa de monastherio septemolas in presente adistabat et nulla potuit tradere rationis per quid ipsas ris sancti dionisii in curborio ipsa ragana aut agentis sui habere dibuissit et de presente fulrado abbat exinde per suo uuadio uisus fuit reuestisse et per suo fistugo sibi exinde dixit esse exitum Propterea iobemus ut dum ac causa sic acta uel perpetrata fuit ipsi fulradus abba uel casa sancti dionisii seo successoris sui ipsas ris in corborio de quantum quod chairebaldus et coniux sua aillerta per eorum instrumentum manus postestadiuas ad casa sancti dionisii condonarunt contra ipsa raganane abbatissa uel agentis monasterii sui septemolas uel in contra ipsius legitimo seo successoris eorum habiat euindicatus adque elidiatas et sit inter eos in postmo dum ex ac re omneque tempore subita causacio

✠ Uuinerannus recognouit et subseripsit

datum quod fecit mensis iunius dies uiginti annum nono . . . childerico rege

This section contains several lines of extremely faint, handwritten text in a cursive script. The ink is very light and the paper is aged and stained, making the characters difficult to decipher. The text appears to be a list or a set of instructions, possibly related to the 'Tajordomus' mentioned in the caption.



renewed the old treaties. Grifo fled to Bavaria, his mother's country, where Odilo was dead and his son Thassilo, a minor. The situation seemed auspicious for him. Supported by Lantfrid, duke of the Alamanni, he seized the dukedom. The Bavarians followed the example of the Saxons. His victory did not make Pepin overweening. He invested the young Thassilo in his paternal dignity; left Lantfrid unmolested; and assured Grifo of a princely position by the gift of the town of Le Mans and twelve counties. But Grifo remained irreconcilable. Rejecting all that his brother had given him, he betook himself now to Waifar of Aquitania. When the latter refused to give him up, Pepin left him for a time in peace. He was content so long as Grifo brought no danger upon the empire—the empire that he now began to regard as formally his own.

A hundred years had taught people to regard it as a meaningless show, when—a real potentate exercising all the rights of a monarch—every year an unknown wight, with long hair, unwieldy and placid, arrived, seated on an ox-wagon, on the Field of March, took the seat of precedency, and yet did only what he was directed; when edicts were published in his name, whose subject-matter he had not determined, very probably knew nothing about.

The Merovingians became more and more strangers to the people, since the fundamental conception of their office—personal administration of the army and of justice—had slipped from their hands into those of their mayors of the place. With ever-increasing consciousness of mastership, these had made their authority, as it were, hereditary, and none had possessed such well-organized power as Pepin. The ambiguity in regard to the head of the commonwealth had furnished a pretext for every insurgent, and the dependent peoples on the frontiers possessed in their tribal dukes dignitaries who legitimately were subject only to the king. Voices were already loud in condemnation of this unnatural government, the abolition of which had become a necessity. Pepin could now reap what his forefathers had sown with the sweat of their brows.

He acted with tact. That the change might be carried out in an orderly manner, it was necessary to have it sanctioned by consecration, which, moreover, would satisfy the popular conscience, and perhaps even Pepin's own, who was not free from taking part in the elevation of Childeric. For these reasons he turned to the highest moral and spiritual authority—the pope—who, through his wide influence in the Frankish Church, enjoyed the full position of “a holy father.” Two prelates—one from either half of the empire—Bishop Burkhard of Würzburg and

the Abbot Fulrad of St. Denis proceeded to Rome, and there, before Pope Zacharias, debated the question whether it were good or not that the king of the Franks should possess no kingly authority. This theoretical question, it is affirmed, the pope answered by saying that it was better that he who possessed the power should be called king rather than he who had none, and that he, therefore, in virtue of his apostolic authority, "ordained" that Pepin should be king. Fulrad was Pepin's counsellor and chaplain; Burkhard, a countryman and friend of Boniface. The whole transaction reminds one of the latter, and his clerical co-operation has been inferred therefrom. This, however, is nowhere reported, although his unction evidences that the change was not displeasing to him.

Still the "ordaining" of the pope had only moral force in the Frankish kingdom; effective power was vested only in the magistracy and the folk-assembly. This assembly, consisting of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, met in November of 751 at Soissons, and, deposing Childeric, raised Pepin on the shield. The latter was now king in name as well as in fact. The last Merovingian, shorn of his hair, had to bury himself in a monastery.

Many books have been written over this change of dynasty that contemporaries held as of so little consequence that it does not once appear in their annals. And yet the whole matter seems very simple. The Merovingians ceased to reign because they had ceased to rule—because they were no longer capable of discharging the essential function of monarchy. The "folk" resumed its ancient prerogative and elevated one in every way capable. We find this right existing among all the German peoples, and its continued assertion by the adjoining Anglo-Saxons and Langobards had, no doubt, had influence on the Franks. An election had thus broken the tradition of the hereditary monarchy.

The change showed itself in another way. In place of the pure Germanic monarchy of the Merovingians, we have now one united with the Church through the consecration of unction. Based on seeming Old Testament authority, consecration by anointing had first become customary among the later emperors, and then among the Visigoths, where the priesthood had large influence and had to eke out the elective law repeatedly. An old Anglo-Saxon coronation formula likewise shows the co-operation of the priesthood, which appeared in the elevation of Eardulf of Northumbria in 796. Therefore, it was scarcely an accident which led Boniface to anoint Pepin with the assistance of other bishops. The union of the crown and Church corresponds to his mental bias. A halo of sanctity illumined the whole transaction that far outshone the obselete claims of the Merovingians.

The commencement of the new dynasty was propitious. In 741, a frightful Berber revolt had taken place, which for a long time lamed the strength of Islam. Consequently, a reaction appeared in Septimania that handed over several important cities to the Franks. Eastward, also, the Franks made progress. The Saxons alone were recalcitrant. They broke into Boniface's diocese of Mayence and burned more than thirty churches. Pepin's campaign of 753 was probably connected with this. At Osnabriick, he overcame their obstinate resistance, wasted their land as far as the Weser, and compelled them to peace and the payment of tribute. Another piece of good fortune was the death of his half-brother, Grifo. But his relations to the two sister-kingdoms began to become troubled, and Pope Stephen II., after great solicitation, came as an agent of peace, crowned him, and made him a patrician. There were more reasons than one for Pepin's desire for this weighty sanction. Carloman, who up to this time had lived on Monte Cassino, appeared, at the instigation of the Langobard king, in the royal palace, to mediate in behalf of the Langobards and in favor of his sons, who possessed natural claims. But this amalgamation of interests was unhappy. To the pope, the Langobard claims were displeasing; those of the sons, to Pepin. Successors of the line of Carloman threatened the unity of the realm, and in consequence, the position of the Church. The two masters of the situation—the spiritual one and the secular—easily arranged matters. Stephen anointed not only Pepin and his spouse, but also his two sons, as kings of the Franks, and made them patricians. Furthermore, on the bestowal of his blessing to the magnates, he announced to them that the crown, in all future time, was limited to the line of Pepin, and threatened all enemies to the succession with the ban of the Church. For additional security, Carloman had to withdraw into the monastery of Vienne; his sons were compelled to receive the tonsure, and became monks. The action of the pope in the Cathedral of St. Denis was the conclusion of that of Boniface at Soissons, and joined in closest union the successors of St. Peter and the dynasty of the Carolingians. The conjunction of the patriciate with the crown was especially shrewd. As protector of Rome and Romans, the Frank king could now be called on in case of need. The adoption of Pepin's sons by the pope bound the tiara and the crown together by a personal bond. The union of Church and State was perfect. The former gave to the latter a political life of incalculable consequences, while it, in turn, gave to St. Peter a new foundation of power and independence—for at this the pope had aimed, and the Langobards especially had threatened it.

A Frankish army soon appeared in Italy to enforce the new alliance,

and compelled King Aistulf to hard conditions. When he, despite these, assailed the pope, Pepin had to interpose a second time. Step by step, the agreement between the king and the pope was fulfilled, the culmination being the final exclusion of the Merovingian and elder Carolingian lines from the throne, and the establishment of an independent papal state in Italy.

But this alliance of the pope and monarch had a retroactive effect. In July, 755, most of the bishops of Gaul assembled on the summons of Pepin at Verneuil, to consult regarding the religious life of the people, and how to make the principles enunciated in the councils since the Fourth Century of real effect in the rejuvenated state. Again, as already in earlier synods, the attention of the bishops was mainly directed toward the regulation of their power within their dioceses, and to the powers of the metropolitan. The purchase of bishoprics, as well as simony in any form, was inhibited; the synod was to meet twice yearly; Sunday to be observed; the freedom of the Church to be carefully guarded, and no cleric to be made to answer to a secular court. The assemblies at Verberie and Compiègne, which were attended by papal legates, carried matters further. The discussion of marital relations came to the foreground, the resolutions here passed becoming of importance for the future canon law. As yet, priests were allowed to marry within the degree of relationship allowed by the Church. It is noteworthy that all these reforms emanated from the monarch, although doubtless conceived in concert with Rome. The enactment which removed the clergy from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts gives expression to the leading conception in the legislation of the period—the complete distinction between Church and State.

The diet of Compiègne (757) is otherwise noteworthy. It met in May, under the pressure of the Italian successes, after the Field of March had been changed into a Field of May, two years before. Besides legates from the pope, deputies from the emperor were present, having brought gifts and desiring friendship. But the Italian patrimony, which had become papal, and the interests of the Church were averse to union. At Compiègne there also appeared the powerful and half independent Bavarian duke, Thassilo, who had taken part in the last Lombard war. He and his following became vassals of the king. Vassalage, long established as a private right of the patron over his beneficiaries, was now made a state right, and feudalism became the fundamental principle of the empire. The most obstinate conflict Pepin had to sustain—that against Waifar of Aquitania—was connected with it. Its object was the reduction of this prince to the position of the Bavarian.

An end was put to the hostility of the Saxons. In 758, Pepin stormed the strong fortress, Sithen, near Münster, and compelled them to pay a yearly tribute of three hundred horses, to repair all injuries, and to promise that they would fulfil the desires of the king—that is, evidently, that they would receive missionaries.

Henceforth, southern affairs came to the foreground. After many fruitless efforts Narbonne was finally taken, and the unbelievers driven (759) across the Pyrenees. Geographically, as well as religiously, the conquest was of great importance, for the empire now embraced Aquitania to its southern border. Formerly this land had belonged to the Frankish crown; but, under Eudes and his successors, it had gradually fallen off, and assumed an almost independent, nay, hostile, attitude. Grifo, and other adversaries of Pepin, had found asylum with Waifar, who, as well as the Frankish king, had had an eye on Septimania, and, above all, had laid hold of the possessions of the Church; for Aquitania remained ecclesiastically associated with the rest of the empire, and Frankish church property extended into the ducal domains. But Waifar did not recognize its immunities, and incensed the Frankish bishops by burdening it with his officials. Another barrier was the national feeling of the Romano-Basque population, which sought expression in the independence of their principality. Political, ecclesiastical, and national motives inspired the war, and explained its inveterate obstinacy. For nine years it was carried on with varying success (760–768); and, after all, the struggle came to an end only on the death of Waifar.

The Roman feeling remained particularly vigorous in Auvergne and the district of Bourges, where Waifar had supported it through strong fortifications. Thither Pepin directed his first attack. Clermont and Bourges were taken, and the Basques worsted in a great battle, Waifar escaping with only a handful. He began to negotiate, and offered to pay the wonted tribute of his ancestors, if Bourges with the other towns should be restored. By the counsel of the Franks the king rejected his proposals. A virtual armistice followed, due seemingly to Thassilo. He had taken part, as a vassal, in the campaign, but during its progress had withdrawn. His wishes were not in accord with Pepin's; he did not desire the complete subjection of his brother duke, although not daring to interpose in his favor. When Pepin felt secure in regard to him, he sent a second great army into Aquitania, in 766, which subdued most of the land as far the Garonne. Already, he felt so assured of possession that he had a palace built in Bourges, which he made a favorite residence for himself and wife, probably on account of its being convenient for war purposes. In the spring of 767 hostilities were renewed. The objective

now was the strong cities in the extreme south. Experience had taught the Franks the art of besieging. Toulouse, Albi, and other places were captured. Then the conflict was transferred to the mountain recesses and hill forts, but Waifar eluded all attempts at capture. The troops wintered in Burgundy, to be at hand in spring. Pepin was resolved to make an end once for all, when suddenly a short reaction came. The duke's uncle, Remistan, who had come over to Pepin, changed sides again, and wasted the districts of Limoges and Bourges. At first he had success, but soon fell into the hands of the royalists, and died the death of a traitor. Waifar, too, was unceasingly chased from place to place, but evaded capture, till, June 2, 768, he fell at the hands of his own people, not, as it is said, without the connivance of Pepin. The continuator of Fredegar reports: "Now all Aquitania was rewon; all came to Pepin and submitted to his rule as they had done before of old." Probably at Saintes an important capitulary was issued, which settled the affairs of Aquitania, with strong accentuation of the regal power. Then Pepin died on the 24th of the following September.

His latter days were crowned with much glory. In the year of peace—765—he held a formal diet at Attigny and sent envoys to the Calif, who, in the Spanish head of the Omayyads and the Byzantine emperor, had the same enemies as himself. The Western embassy was honorably received. The great dissension which then divided the Arabian world had essentially favored Pepin's success, in a great measure, indeed, made it possible. Nor was intercourse with the Greeks broken off, for, in 765, Greek envoys attended Pepin's court. Nay, the Emperor Constantine V. wished to marry his son to a daughter of the Frank. In 767, Greek and papal deputies disputed at the synod of Gentilly on the subject of the worship of images and the Trinity. By having these religious controversies brought before his bishops to be decided for Rome, Pepin reached the pinnacle of his temporal power.

He had the good fortune to die when at this height. Seized with sickness at Saintes, he made his way through Poitiers and Tours to St. Denis, which he had loaded with favors and gifts. Shortly before his end he summoned a great assembly, in which was decreed the partition of the empire into two halves. The elder son, Charles—known to history as Charlemagne—got the greater part of Austrasia with Neustria and the western half of Aquitania, while the remainder fell to the younger, Carloman. The father wished to see the matter settled while he was alive, for the brothers were not on good terms. This effected, his life's work was finished. He died in his fifty-fourth year. The abbey of St. Denis, the burial-place of his Merovingian predecessors,

received his remains. Since the Eleventh Century, as if to enhance his greatness, he has been designated "the Short," a title originally belonging to Pepin of Heristal. He is the last of that stately line which succeeded in elevating the sunken realm of the Franks, till the mightiest of the race, Charles the Great (Charlemagne), accomplished the work for which he was destined.

THE FRANKISH CHURCH AND THE CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS.

According to the Christian doctrine, the individual belongs no longer to the state alone, but also to that higher communion that is not of this world. The surrender of spirit involved in this demands a bent of mind completely alien to the Franks. They lived as children of the moment, for victory and enjoyment, and thought of the beyond only with dread. Even when they nominally accepted the gospel, their old religious life and beliefs lay deep in their hearts. But Christ seemed mightier than these, and they were willing to make trial of him that he might be of service to them, and because their king and the emperor of Constantinople prayed to him. Consequently the change could be easily effected without a desperate struggle on the part of the old faith. There were no martyrs, whether Christian or pagan, although the nature of the race disposed it to violence; but, despite their signs of the Cross, sorcery and divination by animals' heads flourished as heretofore. A good deal of heathenism, indeed, passed over with them into Christianity. Their change of creed was coincident with their political expansion over Northern Gaul. In the community of the Church the Romans ceased to be regarded as conquered, and thus all the elements of the decaying universal empire passed over into the Frankish state. No purification was wrought by Christianity, for it was in want of it itself. Nevertheless, the clergy strove after some of the aims of civilization. Through their instrumentality popular rights were embodied in laws, taking their rise, mostly, with provisions for their own protection. Any distinction between State and Church, such as had been effected in the Roman Empire through the spirituality of the latter, found no recognition among the Franks. But precisely for this reason the Frankish Church became commonplace and worldly. The crudity of the Merovingian state, the feeble recognition of inward piety, the strong distinction of castes, and the multiplicity of distracting interests operated to engender a tendency toward the worldly, and this especially in the spiritual potentates, the bishops. The bishops were often of noble birth, not infrequently the chiefs of their city and great landowners, and lived, therefore, as the legitimate lords and protectors of the Roman section of the people,

attracting, in return, all its reverence and devotion. The Church alone had survived all changes, and became the guardian of ancient culture, and the asylum for art and learning.

Clovis had understood how to engraft the Roman episcopate upon the German state, to place the crown irrevocably superior to the crozier, or rather to subordinate state and Church officials alike to it. The organs of temporal and spiritual legislation were the same. The king was the centre of the state, Church and state being only a branch of the national administration. Admission into the clergy, as well as the summoning of synods, were dependent on the ruler's assent. He also prescribed, or approved of, the subjects to be considered at Church councils, controlled the election of bishops, and protected and fostered the clergy, but only on condition of their perfect obedience and loyalty as his officials. Church property had to pay taxes, churchmen had to render military service. His main consideration was never the welfare of the Church, but the strengthening of the crown. Gregory of Tours makes Bishop Bertram say: "Listen, brethren and co-bishops! You do not enjoy the favor of the king, and cannot have our love till he vouchsafes you forgiveness." Any revolt of the clergy as such, or even any episcopal plot, was unknown throughout the Frankish realm. The pope himself was forced into the background. It was a sort of Gallo-Frankish national Church, subject to civil law, of which Clovis laid the foundation.

His immediate successors enhanced the regal authority, and the bishops declared it to be unlimited. The caprices of the rulers grew with their power. Many were absolutely arbitrary, especially in the appointment and deposition of the princes of the Church; others, as Guntram and Clotaire II., were more moderate and gave way to ecclesiastical election.

It remained the duty of the monarch to make gifts to the Church at the cost of the state. Its wealth, therefore, increased inordinately, and that all the more because canonical law, with scrupulous anxiety, pronounced church property inalienable. It has been estimated that the third part—if not the half—of the land fell ultimately into the hands of the clergy. Clovis's grandson, Chilperic, was already forced to declare that the state treasury was impoverished because all went to the Church. The importance and value of church property was further enhanced by immunities of various kinds. In order to lighten the burden of managing the enormous estates, as well as to evade the condition of inalienableness, the system of so-called *precariae* was devised, in accordance with which the person who presented a piece of land to the Church, received it back in usufruct augmented by another piece. The *precarii* were

legally free, but actually dependent on their landlords. Then there were hordes of slaves and *coloni* which belonged to the Church. As the bishop, the greatest of these landowners, likewise had authority over the whole clergy of the diocese with all their property, he often possessed a positively harmful power. No secular administration had such dependent officials as the Church had.

Wealth, power, and high prestige soon operated to make the service of the Church attractive, not only to the Romans, but to Franks as well. In a council of the year 584, among sixty-one bishops we find only seven Frankish names; in one of 624, of forty-two bishops twenty-four were already Franks. Germans became monks also. The *Gesta Trencorum* names several in the last quarter of the Sixth Century who had attained the odor of sanctity. There may be doubt in regard to individual cases, but that the Church ceased to be essentially Roman is certain. The higher German ecclesiastics were of noble race, as a rule, and the clergy felt themselves as an order apart. These two conditions co-operated to gradually build up an aristocratic corporation, whose sentiments and aspirations were essentially worldly. When the crown at any time took measures against this Church of the nobility, the quarrel was liable to assume dangerous proportions, as the imperious Brunehilde found to her cost. In the course of the almost constant civil wars, the once all-powerful Merovingians had often to seek support in the Church. Those who afforded it could make their own conditions and claim a share in the government. Thus the higher clergy became more and more secularized.

The Church dignitaries were wont to meet in synods, either of the whole realm or of its separate kingdoms, and so constituted imperial or national assemblies, in the face of which the provincial synods could not gain any power. Strongly as the conception of a national Church was thus brought into prominence, it failed to materialize through want of co-operation. The synods met irregularly just as the case demanded. Diets were often held at the same time, or even coalesced with them, for, as a matter of fact, temporal and spiritual affairs were not distinct. And so a lay official could attain the dignity of a bishop; a bishop, that of a count. The secular judge decided in ecclesiastical cases, as, in return, the spiritual judge did in civil cases. Bishop and priest officiated as members of the court of the count, and sometimes were given the honor of presiding. The penalties at their disposal had a far-reaching effect, even in a secular point of view. Bishops could take cognizance of defaulting lay officials. Priests were wont to appeal in the first instance to the episcopal court, which bore more of a private character—that, namely, of a friendly arbitrator. A legally binding sentence could

be pronounced only by the usual tribunals. Of criminal matter alone the bishop had full cognizance. In such the count conducted the investigation, but the bishop gave the verdict. By an edict of Clotaire II. (614), this procedure was extended to the lower clergy. Marriage was still a civil contract. Not till later did the Church take it into its jurisdiction, in virtue of its sacramental character. The same held in regard to testamentary cases, as well as those touching the poor widows and orphans.

The clergy had to pay a terrible price for the absorption of such vast temporal powers by their office. It fostered all the social abuses of the time—savagery, negation of virtue, intemperance, riotous indulgence in sensual pleasures, ignorance, and superstition. Worship was little more than service of works. When the bell rung on Sunday mornings for matins, the whole people arose, even the king from his camp, and betook themselves to God's house. On the feast-days of favorite saints the church could not contain the crowds. Even men- and maid-servants were free to leave their work for processions. The assembled congregation partook of the Eucharist, not seldom daily. Its denial was a severe punishment. Prayer was offered before sitting down to table, and the sign of the Cross was made over the drinking-vessels. No betrothal, marriage, or interment could take place without churchly sanction. The poor were anxiously cared for. The churches kept lists of such as required regular help, who even constituted a sort of brotherhood. In 567, the third synod of Tours declared that "every place must provide for its needy ones." Numerous poor-houses arose. King Chilperic composed hymns, prayers, and dissertations on the Trinity. Another Merovingian disputed with a Jew concerning the true faith. Bishop Germanus of Paris admonished Childebert I. that in the midst of this world's life we must constantly think of the future.

As a consequence, the inner spiritual life remained feeble. Instead, there was the predilection for a tangible religion—for relics, for the bones and teeth of saints. A child-like appetite for miracles provoked the grossest deception. Men alternated between stolid acquiescence and fanatical arrogance toward the Arians. Naïvely they regarded themselves as the foremost of God's people, while materializing the ideal in the purest heathen fashion. Christ became the national god and St. Martin of Tours the national saint, not, however, without occasional competition from other local heroes, especially St. Denis of Paris. In closest juxtaposition lay their feeling of powerlessness before their over-king, Christ, and of arrogant confidence in their own strength; of deepest contrition, and contempt for all that is sacred. When Clotaire I. came once to

Tours he visited the grave of St. Martin, reviewed his sins, and earnestly prayed for the saint's intercession. On his death-bed he cried out: "How powerful must that heavenly king be who can slay so mightily a monarch as I!" In the most trivial matters one recognized a special providence, sometimes displayed openly, sometimes veiled under signs and wonders. Through prayers and pious foundations men sought to compel the Almighty to sell them grace and reconciliation. Like prayers were offered to the martyrs to whose relics they made pilgrimages. As demi- or subordinate gods they assisted their votaries on all occasions. Heaven was simply the Frankish court glorified. There sat the king enthroned as lord of lords, surrounded by the saints as the Frankish king by his magnates, who there as here had a share in his power. The heavenly prince was endowed with earthly qualities, somewhat akin to those of a better autocrat. The creed deduced from this conception was tolerably simple. The orthodox who obeyed the king of heaven were rewarded with prosperity and victory; to all others he was a wrathful tyrant.

In view of these material conceptions it cannot arouse wonder that this chosen people bore themselves toward God as toward a king. In their moments of calm reflection they followed His commands; their lusts and passions drowned His voice. God's house became an asylum for the fugitive, who, as a guest of the Highest, was there inviolable, because by the sacredness of the "guest-right" his almighty Host was his guardian. The right of asylum was, therefore, generally respected; sometimes the attempt was made to deceive the fugitive and his protector through wile and specious promises. Occasionally men threw all respect to the winds and drenched the church with blood. The Lord's wrath was then to be bought off by prayer, fasting, gifts, and the payment of wergild. The feeling of sin and of sanctification through inward purity was lost.

Laymen and clergy were much of the same way of thinking. The priest was rarely content to invoke the aid of God to redress his wrongs, as Germanus of Paris did when he called down vengeance on his enemies. Much more frequently they took matters into their own hands and compensated themselves by seizing all they could lay hands on—riches, land, slaves, even saintly relics. Bishop Cautinus of Clermont buried a priest alive in order to get his property; a bishop of Le Mans, declared it senseless that he should forego his revenge because he was a clergyman. The synod of Mâcon (581) had to forbid the carrying of arms by the clergy.

The lower orders of the clergy were no better than their superiors.

It was among the priests that Fredegunde sought her tools for assassination. Synodal decrees repeatedly censure their lewdness, cursing, thefts, and forgeries. In drinking they not seldom surpassed the seasoned German laymen. At the king's public table they openly maintained their right of adultery and perjury. The somewhat partisan biographer of St. Columban writes that the Christian life had nearly vanished and only the outward profession remained.

Yet we must not believe that such a state of things was universal. There were ecclesiastics enough who strove after the right, or what they believed to be right. And they imposed no small check on excesses. Behind the warning and denouncing servant of God, men saw Diety himself arise as a threatening spirit. Orally and by letter the bishops admonished kings of their duties. When this did not avail they had recourse to other means. Germanus of Paris excluded King Charibert and his concubine from the Lord's table, Nicetius of Treves did the same to Theudebert I. and Clotaire I., both preferring exile to compliance. The energetic Theuderic bowed himself before the uncompromising earnestness of Nicetius, and honored him because he dared to reproach him. And, naturally, they dealt yet more boldly with the humbler folk. In the unsatisfactory state of the law, in regard both to state and private rights, the penal power of the Church often brought its moral force to bear, and involuntarily strove to unite all men in brotherhood and to lessen or bridge over the chasm between the free and the slave.

The bishops still felt they were preachers, and on Sundays and feast days mounted the pulpit. Church music was sedulously cultivated; we learn that clergy and congregation sang responsively. Nor was the instruction of the young, low as it may have sunk, entirely neglected. The power of the Church was strengthened by the enforced keeping of the Sabbath, by the increase of churches, and the creation of parishes. Most difficult of all was it to accustom the Franks to the observance of the Lord's day, and this only through the constant threat of heavenly punishment. Many went too far, and maintained that on this day men should neither ride nor drive, cook, nor in fact do anything at all. The third synod of Orleans, by way of mediation, ordained only cessation of all field-work, so that there might be no impediment to visiting church. Courts were, nevertheless, held on Sunday, until the co-operation of the spiritual and temporal power might succeed in restoring order.

On the fall of the Roman Empire, Sidonius Apollinaris had reason to complain that, not to speak of the erection of new churches, the old ones were scarcely preserved. From the day the Franks assumed the sway

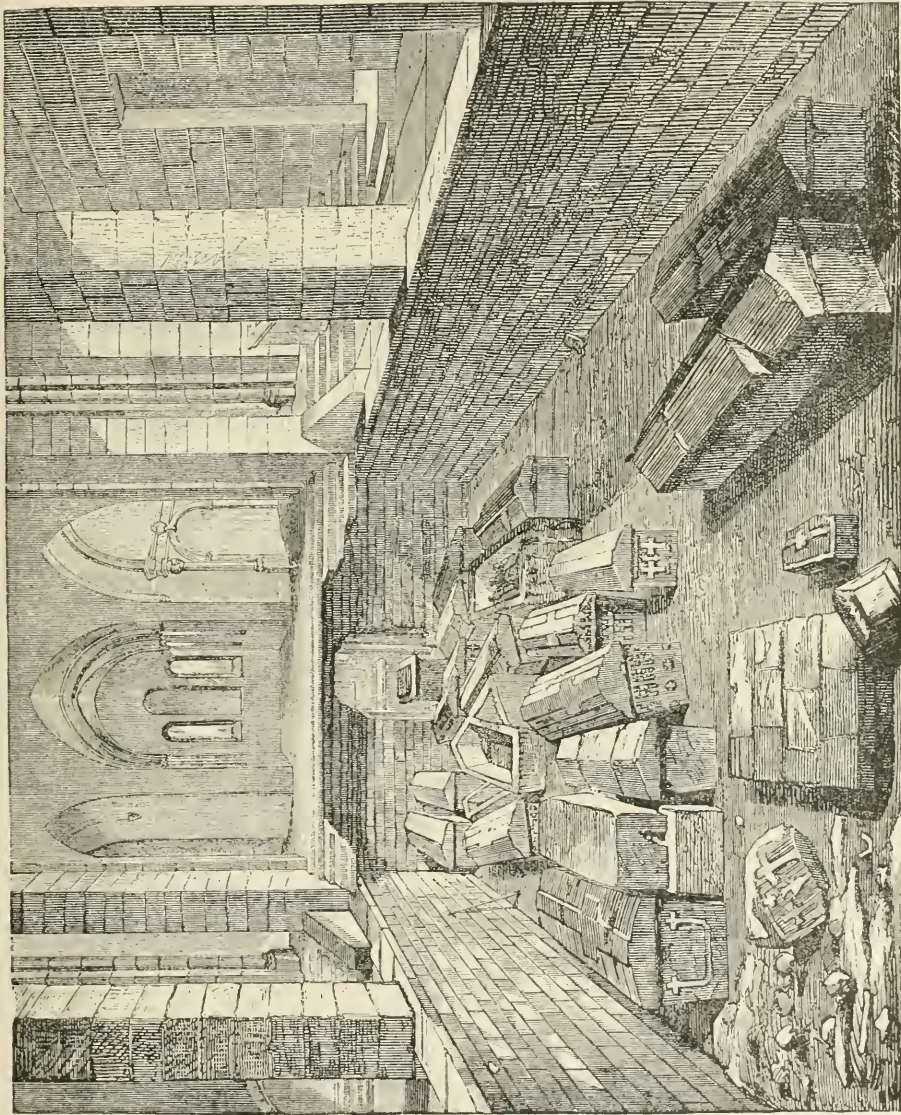


FIG. 38. —Crypt of the ancient Church of St. Geneviève in Paris, with stone coffins of the Merovingian period. (Ann. archéol. XIV.)

all this was changed. Each locality not only had a church, but the rivalry was whose should outshine the others. Clergy and laymen put their hands to the work, and where this did not suffice, architects were brought from Italy. Leontius of Bordeaux, for example, built and repaired nine churches, and his wife equipped them with furniture. No cost was spared on marble pillars, marble lining for the walls, glass windows, pictures, etc. Nowhere was the greatness and power of the Church so clearly symbolized as in her magnificent edifices; and what a man did for the glory of God contributed also to his own salvation. A document of Chilperic says: "It is our duty to found houses of God, for we thereby please the Lord, and shall reign with the saints forever." (Cf. Fig. 38).

More important still was the multiplication of parishes. In the Roman Empire the Church was essentially a civic institution. The bishopric and city district were coextensive; the bishop was the only priest, the others were his assistants. For agricultural Gaul, especially the north, this could not suffice. In addition to the cathedral, other churches with full cure of souls had to be built. Such independent parishes one finds over all Gaul from the Sixth Century, each with an archpriest at its head. Pious zeal extended the system. The landowners built religious houses, and often got into trouble with the bishop for appointing priests. The yearly diocesan synod was inaugurated by the bishop to keep the lower clergy under his control. It did not, however, meet regularly. But the bishop continued to make visitations to exercise the sole right to ordain and the administration of spiritual discipline. The congregation must have presented an imposing appearance when the culprits, gentle and simple, standing covered with rough cowls, on the left side of the altar, at the behest of the bishop, pledged themselves by elevation of their hands to forsake their sins in order to receive absolution from his episcopal hand.

The synods devoted great attention to church discipline, the bettering of laymen and clergy, and a union of the metropolitan clergy in a common life, which does not seem to have been rare in the Sixth Century. Literary culture was almost exclusively in the hands of the clergy, to which class every writer of the Sixth Century belonged. Their learning was indeed little enough, yet it implied great gain, inasmuch as when literature passed from the laymen of the Roman period to the clergy of the Frankish empire, rhetoric was driven out of the Lives of the saints. The author no longer wanted to show off his culture, but to write for the sake of edification and the advancement of piety.

With the spread of piety and the growth of doctrine of good works

is associated the spread of monachism. In the turmoil of the passion-tossed Frankish empire, there grew up a desire for seclusion from the world and for introspection. Thus the one extreme produced the other, as is evidenced by the great number of saints in this stormy time.

Once the monastic communities had been composed of pious lay brotherhoods, whose gloomy, world-fleeing asceticism often contended against the episcopate of the busy world. During the Sixth Century this antagonism ceased, and the monastery became a branch of the

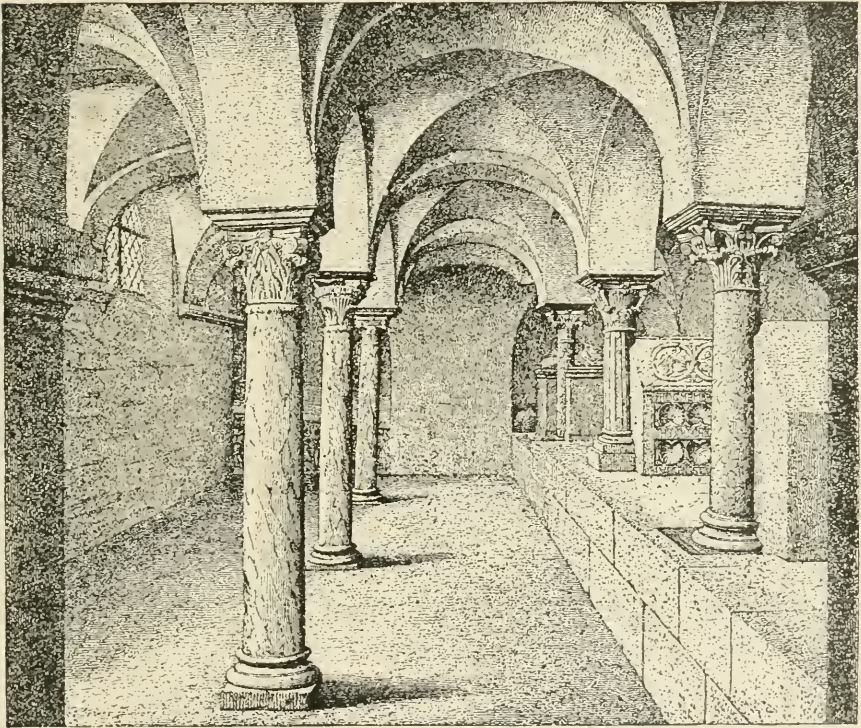


FIG. 39. —Crypt of the Chapel at Jouarre. Built about 700 A. D. (Ann. arch.)

Church. The objection to the selection of monks for bishops disappeared; some of the more serious bishops became eager partisans of monachism, because religion had preserved its greatest strength and vitality in it. The bishops' solicitude was the more appropriate, as the monastery was as much under their authority as the parishes of their sees. The bishop had the supervision of all connected with the monasteries, internal or external, spiritual or secular, and even claimed the

right of removing unworthy abbots—a right often contested by the convent or the proprietor of the house.

Clovis had already recognized the power in asceticism, and had won it over for the crown and his house. The monks showed themselves as good Franks as the bishops. From being fanatical moral preachers they became advocates, and, instead of denouncing the affairs of the world, they prayed for it. They became popular and highly favored. Clovis founded the abbey of Micy; his queen was unwearied

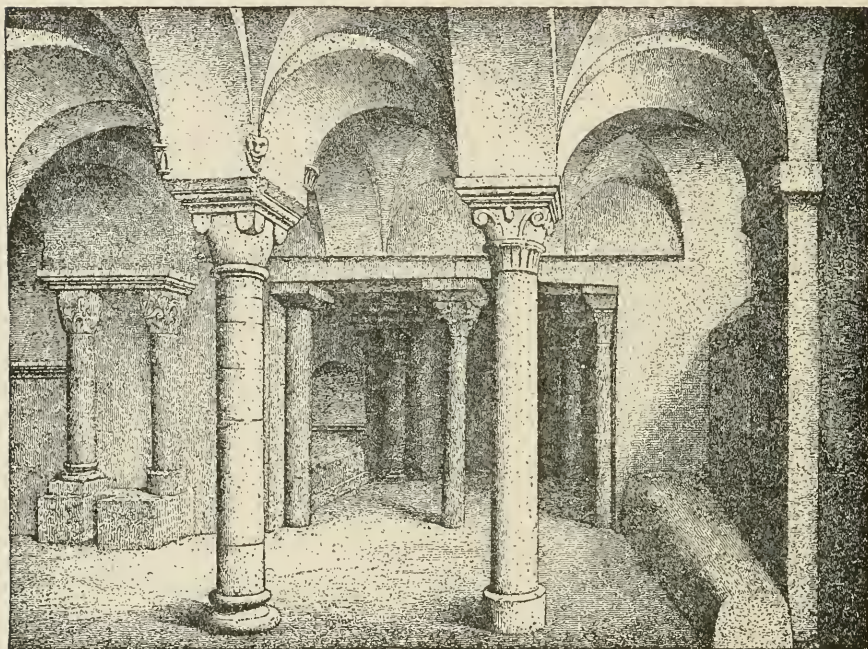


FIG. 40. —Crypt of the Chapel of Jouarre. Built about 700 A. D. (Ann. arch.)

in the same direction, so that the whole Frankish empire was soon covered with religious houses, several of which have become universally known. Such are, for instance, Andely-sur-Seine, St. Ouen of Rouen, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Medard of Soissons, St. Marcel of Chalon, and Jouarre (Figs. 39, 40). In the Sixth Century the see of Clermont counted twelve abbeys; that of Tours, seventeen. In the east there were comparatively few, but among these probably were St. Maximinus of Treves and St. Arnulf of Metz.

Such foundations varied much in magnitude. Fécamp in Normandy numbered 360 nuns, St. Radegunde of Poitiers about 200; St. Euronil

of Lisieux, as many monks. Certain houses were or became immensely wealthy. The estates of St. Martin of Tours were spread over the whole empire; those of St. Denis reached even to Britain. In the century between 650 and 750, St. Vaudril acquired 4800 hides of land; about the year 800, St. Germain-des-Prés owned 8000 hides, and had an enormous yearly income. Naturally the smaller and poorer houses were more numerous than the great. Church buildings were mostly of wood; out of separate cells there was often evolved a common hall.

There was no union nor a universally accepted rule for the monasteries. The rules of Caesar of Arles, of Cassian, and of Basil were in high repute, but there were many others. The older, freer forms of asceticism fell out of vogue, even councils declared against anchorites, who, however, could not be rooted out. There was a different spirit in the religious houses which contained persons of rank, both male and female, who had been imprisoned in them. Besides, the double monasteries, comprising both sexes, which sprang up in the middle of the Sixth Century, gave rise to coarseness and slander. The oldest of this sort, those of St. Radegunde and St. Durin, were in Poitiers. The monastery was essentially a retreat, sufficient unto itself, and with no wish to influence the Church.

With the Irish-Scotch monks a new element was introduced into monastic life. In Ireland and the Scotch Highlands the old British Church had developed in its own peculiar way to the amalgamation of the recluse and missionary spirit. It was the only Church in the West distinct from the Roman Church, little as it differed from it in essentials, and was moved by opposition to it. Had it confined itself to its own remote marches, its peculiar constitution would have had little influence. But it now entered the world, attracted adherents, and sent missionaries abroad. When learning was dying out in the Occident, it found an asylum in Ireland. The religious houses there developed into a sort of higher schools for Anglo-Saxons and even for Franks. Aspiring youths seemed to have flocked to Ireland, where they were cordially received and gratuitously nurtured and instructed. It came to be a recommendation to have studied in that land.

Through missionaries, the Irish-Scotch spread their influence abroad, especially into England and France (Fig. 41). In the latter country religious Bretons, properly belonging to the diocese of Tours, first appeared. Thus, the ascetic Winnoch reached Tours in 577. Rejoicing in his pious converse, Bishop Gregory detained him there, but unfortunately, he became a victim of intemperance. In course of time, true Irishmen followed, of whom Walafrid Strabo said that pilgrimage had



FIG. 41. —Ornamentation in a Merovingian manuscript. Symbolical portico in a manuscript of St. Augustine's Latin commentaries on the first seven books of the Holy Bible. About 700-750 A. D. Formerly in the Abbey of Corbie; now in National Library in Paris. (From Bastard.)

become their second nature. An uncontrollable impulse urged them onward. Like Christ, they would be "strangers" in the world. Like the apostles, they journeyed in twelves under a leader, carrying long sticks, leathern wallets and drinking-vessels, with a writing-tablet, and had long streaming hair and dyed eyelids. As foreigners they enjoyed their native British law in France. Their chief leader, Columban (Columbanus), born in Leinster about 543, appeared in France in 583. Rich in learning, ardent, impressive, and full of the desire to work and do good, he was just the man to impose the rigor and burden of Irish monastic life on the continent. After long wanderings about as a preacher, he founded the Abbey of Luxeuil on the southwest slope of the Vosges mountains, to which, after his native fashion, he annexed two subordinate houses. He compiled a rule with an Irish penitential, of extreme asceticism and violence. Never before had men seen monasticism presented with so frightfully earnest an aspect.

The sanctity of Luxeuil was carried so far that no stranger, not even the king himself, might set foot in it. But along with its mortifications in the monastery, Irish monasticism showed its other aspect, that of unwearied activity without. Preaching and exhorting, the monks travelled everywhere, even as far as Bavaria. St. Columban stayed at the royal court.

His determined adherence to his native usages, even in the matter of Easter, and his small regard for all he found established, brought him into collision first with the episcopate, and later with the crown. In vain did he beg Pope Boniface III. for protection; he was seized and brought to Nantes. Lucky enough to make his escape, he died, after long wanderings, south of the Alps (see p. 38).

But he had not labored in France in vain. Luxeuil was regarded as one of the foremost foundations, to which parents gladly entrusted their sons to perfect themselves in learning and self-discipline. Many of his scholars and disciples attained episcopal and abbatial rank, and founded or reconstituted houses on the model of Luxeuil, some of which, as the important abbey of Solignac, in accordance with Irish use, stood in the relation of daughter to its mother institution, which exercised a degree of oversight over its child. The mother monastery acquired power over the sister foundation which unconsciously encroached on episcopal authority.

The council of Chalcedon had subordinated conventual houses to the bishops, and this had been received as a matter of course. Matters changed under the new influence. In the charter of Solignac it is said, "Neither bishop nor any other shall have any right or authority in the

abbey whether as regards property or persons." Columbanian houses were guaranteed full freedom of property, the privilege of choosing their abbot, the right of placing themselves under bishops of their own choice. In the case of irregularity or decadence of discipline, the monks might address themselves to another house, in order with its help to reform their own. Such was the origin of monastic freedom, which became of such importance in the later Middle Ages.

Even the final step was taken in the adoption by the continental monasteries of the Irish custom of election of bishops by the monasteries. At first only the Columbanian houses did this. The others followed as soon as they recognized how completely they could thus dispense with their diocesan. In the West, where established usages had a firmer hold, this could be carried out only by those conventual churches which rivalled the princes of the Church in power and prestige. Such were St. Martin's of Tours and St. Denis's of Paris. In both these we find conventual bishops; at St. Martin's, in genuine Irish fashion, the bishop being at the same time abbot. But the arrangement was far more general eastward, where the people were but in process of conversion and the dioceses newly-formed, and where the Irish-Scotch were in much greater numbers. In the course of the Seventh Century the Rhine districts became filled with monasteries, of which a considerable proportion were Irish. Chronicles and Lives of saints record Celtic names; the *Lorsch Annals* alone record the death of Irish abbots in the years 704, 705, 706, 726, 729.

Everywhere monasteries were established, and their institution gained stronger foothold. In the diocese of Vienne there were some sixty houses, each having a hundred or more inmates. Jumièges is said to have had nine hundred. The daughters of King Guntram and King Dagobert took the veil. The growth was fostered by the order and rule of St. Benedict, which crossed the Alps just as St. Columban entered Italy.

The Irish rule, adapted as it was to the imperious Irish nature, was imperfect in some essential points. It regulated neither the constitution, administration, nor daily functions of the monastery. Benedict of Nursia's rule was introduced to supply these defects, even into houses where the Columbanian rule had been previously observed. The latter with its extreme rigor and want of method had to give way to a milder and less autocratic one. By 663 the Benedictine rule appears everywhere victorious. Without infringing on the freedom of the convent, it recognized the supervising power of the bishop. These dignitaries must, in turn, have been well affected to it, and none the less that it relegated the monks back from the cure of souls and preaching to their

cloister, and by so doing checked encroachments on the sphere of the priest. The expediency of the rule, and the favor of the bishops and Pope Gregory, together led to its acceptance.

But the Irish-Scotch had kindled a flame. Their rigorous discipline and care of souls had produced an effect upon the monks, unheard of before among the Franks, and, only centuries after, outrivalled among the mendicant orders. St. Columban was one of the stoutest adherents of confession; the first abbot who bore the title of "father-confessor" was trained in Luxeuil.

The ascetic, impassioned nature of the Irish infected the people. The conviction of sin shows itself more forcibly in the Seventh Century than in the Sixth, beginning with anguish of soul and spiritual martyrdom. Columban's disciple, Eligius, says: "The whole Christian life of necessity consists of contrition and penance." It was the fashion to add "sinner" to one's name. The first half of the Seventh Century has been regarded as the golden age of the Frankish Church. Then the frightful civil wars intermitted, and for a quarter of a century the land enjoyed peace.

The exuberant strength of state and Church sought expression abroad. Their mission was to extirpate heathenism in their border-lands and so Christianize the East. The German peoples as a whole still worshipped idols, although Arnobius tells us that as early as 304 Christians were to be found among the Alamanni. Intercourse, warlike as well as peaceful, had transported the new Roman faith across the borders, as it had Roman culture to some extent. Its centres were the cities on the Rhine, which by the middle of the Fourth Century were the seats of episcopal sees. But for a time the Franks had too much to do in their own kingdom to have time to think of their remote compatriots. Besides, the Merovingians had no mind for proselytizing. In the homeland the prestige of the old families was closely bound up with their gods, and was hallowed by the association. For all these reasons the Christians east of the Rhine were to be found only on the Frankish settlements and the manors and estates of the crown.

Still, the dissemination of the new teaching was only a question of time. Here and there weak attempts had even been made, as we learn from the legend of St. Lubentius, about the middle of the Fourth Century, and of St. Goar, on the Middle Rhine, at the beginning of the Sixth.

Along the coast, on the northeast, dwelt the Friesians, among whom appeared Amandus, a priest, who was patronized by Clotaire II. (613-628) and closely connected with Rome. The king caused him to be con-

secrated a bishop without a see. He chose Ghent for his centre of action. Despite an edict of Dagobert commanding baptism, the natural unamiability and violence of Amandus interfered with his success. In 647, he was appointed to the bishopric of Maestricht, but resigned it after three troublous years, to preach in the region around the mouth of the Scheldt, whence he ultimately withdrew to Elno. His successor, Remaculus, was not much more fortunate. It was not till the beginning of the Eighth Century that the last relics of paganism were rooted out from the diocese of Maestricht, or, as it is now called, Liège. From Cologne, too, a Friesian mission was dispatched, with the countenance of Dagobert, and a church established by it at Utrecht was incorporated with the province of Cologne. Here labored Eligius of Noyon, "whom Christ helped to make a conquest of the West Friesians."

The next people on the eastern frontier were the Alamanni, who down to the beginning of the Seventh Century sacrificed horses, destroyed churches and the most sacred relics. Yet there were some bishoprics among them, founded in the period of Roman rule. The seat of the old Vindonissa was now transferred to the neighboring Constance; that of Augst, to Basel. The Merovingians took an interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of this people, and the work of conversion was initiated by them under no less distinguished a saint than Columban, who, when he had to leave Burgundy, had this work given to him by Theudebert. He collected a number of monks and wandered up the Rhine valley as far as Bregenz, where he found that baptized and unbaptized were wont to assemble in a friendly manner around animal sacrifices to Wodan. Here he remained some years on the Lake of Constance, thus uniting the Irish-Scotch with the Alamannian mission. When he left, one of his ablest associates, Gallus, remained behind and founded the abbey of St. Gall, which in time grew to be a distinguished seat of learning. Besides Gallus, we hear of Fridolin and Trudpert, but most of the names have disappeared in the mist of the legends. The Irish must have come to considerable numbers. Wherever they settled they were wont to enclose a piece of ground with a ring-fence, and within this to erect wooden huts and a wooden chapel. Fishing and tillage furnished them the means of livelihood, but their real work was preaching by word and example. The desire to receive converts merely by the outward symbol of baptism was weak in them or altogether absent, and this sometimes became a source of confusion, for in default of the sign, persons did not always know whether they were Christians or not. Favored by Clotaire II. and Dagobert the Gospel made steady progress, and a reform of Alamannian law led to a closer union with the Frankish king-

dom and to the strengthening of the Church. The state prescribed Sabbath observance, church discipline, and the election of Christian judges. The partition of the land into bishoprics and parishes, with possessions tilled by slaves or protected aliens, was initiated. But pagans and Christians still lived intermingled, the latter confident of triumph, the former defiant and ready for opposition. When Abbot and Bishop Pirmin (probably an Anglo-Saxon or an Irishman) labored in the reign of Charles Martel, he had no longer to contend against heathenism, but only with heathen sentiments overlaid by Christian faith like a thin film. In 724, he founded the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau. Driven forth by Duke Thentbald, he betook himself to Alsace, where he became a sort of monastic reformer. From the middle of the Eighth Century rich gifts were made to St. Gall, a proof that the Alamanni had become accustomed to the new faith.

Bavaria, too, had to recognize Frankish supremacy. In Roman times, Noricum, its southern part, had become purely Latin and Christian, but during the period of the great migration it had been inundated by paganism, and only relics of its former state were preserved. Catholic Romans, heathen and Arian Germans, and even individual Catholic Germans, lived side by side, yet the substratum remained Pagan-German. At length the dukedom passed to a Frankish Catholic family, which cherished the Orthodox faith, while the Frankish Church kept pressing in from without, above all, Luxeuil. The abbot of this house had labored among the Bavarians, and on his return, had induced his disciples and others to go forth on the same mission. Paganism and Arianism gradually succumbed before the Irish-Scotch and Franks, whereby the Church assumed a monastic character which was inimical to parochial subdivision. This weakness in the Irish-Scottish rule coincided with the agricultural tendency of Bavaria, where only the residence, Ratisbon, thrived. Duke Theodo called in Bishop Rupert, of Worms, who journeyed about the country till he fixed his abode on the ruins of ancient Juvavum. There, with the help of the prince, he founded a church, a monastery, and a convent. Of these, the monastery so gained the ascendancy, that on Rupert's death, only his abbot's chair was refilled. Emmeran, of Ratisbon, too, can be regarded only as a founder of monasteries, and even Bishop Erhard of Ratisbon, and Bishop Corbinianus (who was later regarded as first pastor of Freising) possessed no sees, but were conventual bishops like the others. The Irish-Scottish system ruled absolutely, although, in 716, Duke Theodo had already visited the apostolic seat in Rome and opened negotiations with the pope. The result is noteworthy. A papal nuncio was to repair to Bavaria,

erect three bishoprics and an archbishopric there, and institute a searching scrutiny of the clergy, for neither their orthodoxy nor the legitimacy of their consecration was unquestioned. Henceforth, Roman worship was to obtain: but the attempt remained fruitless. Ecclesiastically, Bavaria remained confused as ever.

Let us now take a glance at Thuringia. Its ruling house, which had been Christian from the time of Theodoric, fell into two groups, Arian and Catholic. For a century the land had been allied with the Franks, who settled the Main region in such numbers that their name clung to it (Franconia). Now these Franks were Christians. Notwithstanding this, the most honored spiritual hero of the Thuringians was again a Celt—Kilian, of Würzburg. Though we have little positive knowledge of him, innumerable churches bore his name. From the Eighth Century, Thuringia was held as converted and essentially belonging to the Irish-Scottish mission, for the Celts constituted almost the only spiritually quickening element among the heathen. Yet their great defect remained, the want of a fixed constitution and of organizing ability. They were monks, not pastors. They had no general system of working or definite plan of any kind. In virtue of their peculiarities they were not *en rapport* with Catholicism, and often were not in touch with the people—a loss not to be compensated by any concession of degenerate Franks. Their system of erecting monasteries instead of bishoprics and parishes produced disorder, and this was aggravated by these missionary itinerants maintaining they had episcopal ordination, as, indeed, they may have had after their Celtic fashion. Notwithstanding all this, it was essentially the Irish who converted the Germans to Christianity, and laid the foundation for the future structure.

The decadence in their effectiveness is largely to be attributed to the degeneracy of the national Church. On Dagobert's death, there followed an era of minor kings and of struggles of ambitious magnates. The clergy necessarily became involved in the vortex, for they had become the most important landowners. To the influence of property they added that of their office and higher culture. More and more the bishops, as the spiritual aristocracy, took rank with the secular nobles. Many of them, members of the foremost families, had risen to high offices at court and been used by the kings in the management of affairs of state. The episcopal office was no longer regarded as a charge, but as a possession worth striving for. Their duties became secondary to their prerogatives. Head-foremost they plunged into the affairs of the world and became subject to all its fluctuations and vicissitudes. Care for souls or the due administration of their office died out amid the din of arms. Decay in

high quarters spread contagion everywhere. It was now that a man could appear like Bishop Leodegar of Autun—a veteran alike in council, arms, and intrigue—who, with overweening audacity, strove to domineer over kings, and found death under the executioner's axe.

Potentates conferred Church offices as the price for partisanship. Simony, which had never been completely rooted out, was usual, and no means, in short, were shunned to attain the episcopate—surreptitious seizure, violence, forgery of title, even the baseness of taking an oath without thought of observing it, were not thought too low. The worldliness and perfidy of many bishops showed itself in their debauchery, ferocity, and rapacity. Degeneracy was at work even behind the silent cloister-walls. Monks revolted against their abbots and drove them out or murdered them. Columbanian houses seem to have specially signalized themselves through their want of discipline. Priests and monks returned back to the world or lived after the world's ways. In layman's garb, or with warrior's mantle, sword, and lance, they took part in the chase and the foray. Cathedral and cloister-court re-echoed with the baying of hounds; one bishop lost his life in a boar hunt. At the head of their vassals, they entered the battlefield and fell before the foe. One abbot followed another who could not read, not to speak of writing; nay, there were sometimes two abbots in one abbey and two bishops in one diocese who divided the spoils between them. Plunder was the watchword of the day; drunkenness, common. License reached such a height that deacons who had four, five and more concubines, attained the highest dignities, nay, that priests had to be forbidden living with their mothers and sisters. Bishops and secular magnates enriched themselves at the expense of Church and cloister. The cathedral of Auxerre reached at length such a point of decay that it had no clergy of its own, but service had to be performed by the priests of the see weekly in rotation. In the rich St. Wandrille, the monks were famished because the abbots squandered its income. The synods, once so effective, ceased after 695 for fully fifty years. Even Pepin of Heristal was unable to check the disorder, and looked on while bishoprics became hereditary in certain families, nay, even when the son succeeded the father, as in Mayence in 743. To secure the succession, those selected were consecrated during the ruling bishop's life-time, so that the see had two bishops at the same time. On the other hand, several bishoprics were sometimes concentrated under one head—a position well-nigh sovereign. That bishoprics were ecclesiastical offices was all but forgotten. Pope Zacharias wrote: "With them there is no distinction between laics and priests." And the churchly possessors were treated accordingly, especially by Charles Martel, who col-

lated, deposed, and conjoined sees in the most vigorous manner. Important sees remained vacant. Charles needed large armies, and as no rich crown-lands were longer in existence, he laid hold of the church-lands and used them for political ends. And in this he did nothing unprecedented, for before his day the Merovingians had laid hands on church properties, but, in their case, only in emergencies and in the form of *precariae*. Charles used the right to an extent that threatened the existence of many houses, and, at the same time, as it appears, with omission of the forms that protected the claims of the proprietors in the future.

But worse than all this was the internal dissolution at work in the episcopate. For this the Irish-Scotch were responsible, whose system, though deepening the religious feeling of the individual, tended to dissolve the organization of the Church, chiefly on account of the informal character of their bishops. We saw before how the missionary spirit of this people led to the inundation of the Frankish empire. The "wisest teachers" came, but of all sorts. The homeless strangers sometimes attained positions as conventual bishops, sometimes they were one thing, sometimes another. During the Eighth Century, such itinerant and conventual bishops were common sights, especially in the east of the empire. Generally, in these cases, the abbot and the bishop was one person, whereas the itinerant bishops came and went, so that, e. g., a charter for the abbey of Honau bears the names of seven such dignitaries. A conventual bishop enjoyed episcopal rank and was for the foundation and its property what the diocesan was to his see; but, if he were not also abbot, he remained subordinate to and circumscribed by the latter. The conventual episcopate was a purely monastic institution to secure the independence and internal peace of the house. Nevertheless, its relation to the diocesan pastors was exposed to much friction, while its relation to the abbot seemed indefinite and antagonistic to Catholic sentiment. The constant coming and going of the conventual bishops caused great disturbance in the foundations. Sometimes there was a superfluity of bishops, who were not always on the best terms, and sometimes there was a dearth, so that needful business again fell to the head of the diocese.

The increasing worldliness of Church princes co-operated to secure the favor of the regular bishops for those of the monasteries. The former regarded the latter as persons who lightened the burden of their office. It seems the Frankish suffragan or local episcopate (*chorepiscopatatus*) arose out of this condition of affairs. Now that there were numbers of men with episcopal functions, but without the office, nothing was more natural than for the regular bishops to make use of them and let them do their

work. Eventually, in some cases, a suffragan bishop would administer a diocese for years like a legitimate bearer of the crosier. Thus arose an institution without a fixed form or well-defined limits, which, like the conventual and wandering episcopate, with which it too often amalgamated, became a source of disorder and injury.

This evil grew, for no one knew whether these men really possessed episcopal consecration, or whether they were impostors, which might easily be, as the truth was hard to be ascertained. People of all sorts thrust themselves into the highest Church offices—Irish, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, free and bond. Many tonsured slaves escaped from their masters, became servants of Christ and won over the lower classes. These held their services, not in the church, but in the open fields and the huts of the country-people.

Thus all that was once sacred and revered was now in utter disorder; the Church was in full decomposition. Then came the reaction associated with the name of Boniface, and the joint activity of the crown and of the pope.

Up to the present the Frankish church had developed as a national church without the intervention of Rome and under the leadership of the king. The former connection of the pope with Burgundy, and especially Arles, had ceased when, in 595, he had for the last time conferred the deeply sunken vicariate of Gaul on Bishop Virgilius of that city. Hereupon, the crown took up the pope's functions, and Rome's influence was only moral. Even the energy of a Gregory the Great effected little. Then all intercourse ceased; the pope found enough to do at home, and the Franks, become unmanageable, refused his bridle.

The Anglo-Saxons finally appeared as saviours, at first as humble preachers in the German mission. It is eminently noteworthy that while the Irish-Scotch kept as far away as possible from the kindred tribes of their foes at home and addressed themselves to the Middle- and South-Germans, the Anglo-Saxons did directly the reverse. They constantly cultivated communion with Rome as they were wont to do at home, or because they recognized that their labors would require the support which the secularized Frankish church neither could give them, nor, at first, would give them. Success increased their influence. Their Roman Catholic spirit spread from the East over the whole kingdom.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire in its Merovingian days, the Friesians had won back their lost district, and reverted to paganism. An accident brought Bishop Wilfrid of York to their coast. Well received by King Aldgild, he passed a winter there, preaching,

baptizing, and making many converts. The Apostle of the Friesians, Willibrord, was Wilfrid's disciple.

Egbert's view of conversion was broader and more systematic than Wilfrid's had been. Like so many Anglo-Saxons, he was trained in Ireland, and was a model of monkish virtue. As he could not himself travel, he sent, about 688, his disciple Wietbert. The latter effected nothing, and returned home discouraged. Egbert then sent other disciples—twelve of them, after the old Irish fashion, with the priest Willibrord at their head. Trained for a time in the Northumbrian abbey of Ripon by Wilfrid, Willibrord betook himself later to Egbert, with whom he remained twelve years. At the time he set forth for Friesland Radbod was at war with the Franks, whom a common faith made the natural allies of the new-comers. Willibrord addressed himself, therefore, to Pepin and the pope, and received protection and license to preach. The journey to Rome seemed a trivial affair enough, and yet, as the first link in a long chain, it had weighty results.

The work began among the Frankish Friesians, and made such progress that there was need of an organization for the young church. This was set on foot by Pepin, who, in 695, caused Willibrord to be consecrated archbishop of the Friesians, with his seat at Utrecht. Here matters were managed very differently from what they were by the Irish. The latter founded monasteries; the practical Anglo-Saxons founded bishoprics, and thus secured not only order, but the object aimed at—the training of native clergy. Willibrord's labors seem to have extended over all North Germany. We find him among the Danes and in Heligoland. But all his efforts there were in vain. He narrowly escaped death, and when, on Pepin's death, in 714, Radbod conquered all Friesland, his see of Utrecht entirely collapsed. Bishop and priests had to flee, the greater part of the churches were destroyed, and heathen shrines arose all around. The Anglo-Saxon Winfrid came across in vain. Not till Charles Martel's victory in 718 was there any reaction. When Radbod died the next year the work could begin anew. Willibrord returned to Utrecht, and, with Winfrid's help, succeeded in banishing paganism from West Friesland, while it continued to survive in East Friesland. On November 8, 739, died the founder of the Friesian Church.

About this time the Gospel was brought to the Saxons from across the sea by the black and white Ewalds, so called from the color of their hair. They were succeeded by Liawin, who braving death preached at the folk-meeting at Marklo on the Lower Weser. Others whose names are lost to us doubtless took part in the Saxon mission.

The most famous was Willibrord's youthful friend, Winfrid. Born

in Wessex, about 675, the son of a noble Saxon landowner, he entered, at an early age, the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Exeter, leaving it afterwards for the more important Nutscelle. Gifted and studious, he became so thoroughly learned that he was made head of the abbey school, and was thus brought into contact with the eminent and learned Abbot Aldhelm. But learning and culture constituted only one side of his nature; the other strove after perfection in monastic character, and the impulse for action drove him out into the world. He united the restless zeal of the Irish with devotion to the principles of the Anglo-Saxon Church. First he went to Friesland, then came home, and went to Rome in 718, where he remained till May, 719. He gained the confidence of Gregory II. On May 15, the Pope conferred on the priest-monk Boniface (as he was henceforth called) the commission to proclaim, in virtue of the authority of St. Peter, the kingdom of God to all unbelievers. At the same time he bound him to baptize according to the Roman rite, and to report difficulties as they arose.

Thus Boniface was sent to Thuringia, which, although regarded as a Christian land, was, as an Irish-Scottish district, urgently in need of more fixed forms. Winfrid recognized that without state support he could effect nothing, and determined to seek that from Charles Martel. On his way he heard of the death of Radbod. The hopefulness of youth awoke within him and drove him to Friesland, where Willibrord would fain have appointed him his successor. Boniface declined, preached to the Hessians, and won his first successes amid privations and want. His following grew steadily, and with it the necessity for a regularly ordered church. When the missionary broached the subject to Gregory, he received instructions to come to Rome in person. He obeyed, journeying southward through France, where he seems to have conferred with Charles Martel. On arriving at Rome, he put himself at the disposal of the pope, and on November 30, 727, received consecration as bishop of Thuringia and Hesse. In turn he took the oath of loyalty, binding himself never to consent to anything that might prejudice the primacy of Peter. Thus the missionary became a church-reformer, a papal bishop in the Frankish empire, and champion of what was declared in the Lateran to be Church law. This transformation was worked by the pope. The mission to the pagans remained Boniface's ideal, although the requickenings of the Frankish Church was the more important.

In order to introduce him in his double capacity, Gregory sent out several letters—one to Charles Martel, one to the Thuringians and Hessians together, and one to the Thuringian Christians. In the last he

admonished everyone to listen to the bishop he had ordained, for the advancement of the faith was possible only through docility to the papal see, the spiritual mother of all the faithful.

Charles Martel confirmed Boniface's episcopal dignity, permitted his return to his place of duty and gave him a letter of protection. The spread of Christianity was in his eyes equivalent to the confirmation of Frankish supremacy, and Boniface was to be his agent.

The bishop set to work among the Hessians with renewed vigor. With his own axe he hewed down the sacred oak at Geismar and erected in its stead a little Christian church. Instead of contending with words, he demonstrated to the heathen the powerlessness of their gods by his act. The toleration of the Anglo-Saxon Church for German usages, and its sympathy with popular rights, worked in its favor. Soon the gospel was so well established that Boniface could occasionally visit Thuringia. Here he encountered the opposition of the Celtic missionaries and overcame it. He declared that behind the Anglo-Saxon order stood the state and pope. Confusion reigned everywhere uncontrolled. Many did not know whether they had been regularly baptized or not, or whether they followed Christian or heathen usages. Everywhere the cure of souls was undertaken, but always with a regard to the attainable. In one decade the Hessians and Thuringians were definitely won.

When Boniface, in 732, communicated to the new pope, Gregory III., that he was no longer able to bear the burden of his duties alone, the latter made him archbishop with the power of appointing bishops for his missionary districts. At once Boniface set to work with his wonted energy; he attracted especially English helpers, among whom were Lull, his successor in Mayence, and Burkhard, who later became bishop of Würzburg. The English missionaries transplanted the higher civilization of their native land to the forest of Middle Germany, a sort of provincial church arose, which in point of discipline, purity, and piety far surpassed the Frankish Church proper. Difficulties were, indeed, to be encountered. The Germans obstinately resisted the rigor of the Romish laws regulating marriage.

The position of Boniface was now so assured that he was able to turn his eyes toward Bavaria, where he preached and organized, probably as papal legate, without, however, attaining anything worth naming. His poor success here, and the restlessness of his nature, directed him to Saxony. With the view of devoting himself to this land, he went to Rome, for the third time, in the summer of 738.

A thorough consultation was there held concerning the condition of Church in Germany. The pope would not consent to Boniface's giving

up his Thuringian bishopric in favor of Saxony, but preferred that from there he should once more devote his attention to South Germany. Therefore he wrote the bishops of Bavaria and Alamannia to accept Boniface as papal legate, to follow his instructions, and to attend a synod which he would summon. Besides this, Gregory must have enjoined a partition of Middle Germany into dioceses, and so far have given in to the plans for a Saxon mission that Boniface, already in his lifetime, was granted a successor.

The archbishop remained nearly a year in Rome. He rested, too, for a time with King Liutprand in Pavia, and then proceeded to Bavaria, in order to bring the refractory Irish-Scottish elements under Romish discipline. The duke was still Odilo, warlike and pious. He was aware that the Church stood in need of systematic organization, and he saw that this implied an increase in his own power. He entered, therefore, into relations with the legate, which resulted in an understanding with the native clergy, the repression of the Irish, and the adoption of not too strict a course with regard to baptism and consecration. Thus supported by the government, success was certain. Vivilo got the diocese of Passau; Gaubald, Ratisbon; Johann, Salzburg; Erimbert, Freising. The first provincial synod soon met.

Now affairs in Thuringia and Hessa could be brought to a close, likewise with state support. Buraburg, near Fritzlar, was made the ecclesiastical capital of Hessa; Würzburg and Erfurt, of Thuringia. The establishment of bishoprics in a German province was equivalent to its formal engraftment into the empire. State and Church now went hand in hand in their interests. The former lent physical strength; the latter the sanction of a recognized authority.

Boniface was now sixty-five years old when he began his second great task, the reformation of the Frankish clergy. This was closely associated with the death of Charles Martel and the succession of his sons. Charles had possessed a strange double nature from the ecclesiastical point of view. For the internal affairs of the Church he had neither inclination nor understanding; they were simply to serve him and make him powerful. But for this very reason he had become a bulwark against external foes. He rescued the clergy from Moslem inundation, and made it possible for Anglo-Saxon missionaries to make a definite conquest of Germany.

His two sons seem to have been educated in the monastery of St. Denis, where Carloman acquired high-church views, which finally drove him into a monastery. Full of zeal for reformation, he had long ago selected the man for the work. He called on Boniface to gather a reform-synod. The first Austrasian national church council, afterward known

as the *Concilium Germanicum*, met April 21, 742. Of bishops only those of Würzburg, Buraburg, Strasburg, Cologne, and possibly those of Utrecht and Erfurt were in attendance. But the important bishops whose dioceses were west of the Rhine—those of Treves and Mayence—were absent, certainly out of disinclination to what was proceeding. The sanctity of Boniface and the power of Carloman lent weight to the council, whose aim was the “re-establishment of the divine law and the purification of the Church,” which objects were, on the advice of clergy and laymen, declared to be an affair of the state. Here the regular subordination of the priesthood under the bishop was settled, the deposition of unworthy members enacted, the encroachments of foreign clergy interdicted, the bishop confirmed in his higher rank, the support of the secular arm guaranteed him, and Archbishop Boniface appointed supreme head of the newly-established bishoprics. It was further enacted that the clergy should be debarred from military service and the chase, their immorality bridled, the alienated Church property restored, the rule of St. Benedict observed in all religious houses, and that a synod should meet yearly in the presence of Carloman.

The Church was affected in its very essence. Up to this time it had been “militarized;” the army was now spiritualized, for henceforth it was to be accompanied by an adequate number of priests, the prince by one or two bishops along with chaplains. At the same time the synod manifests one of the leading characteristics of Boniface—his antipathy to the British itinerant preachers and bishops, against whom its fourth canon was directed.

It is particularly noteworthy that through this synod the German-Bonifacian Church emerged from its isolated position and became a member of the Frankish state. It was not summoned by the papal legate, but by the secular prince. The former sat in it only as an archbishop of the kingdom. Naturally, the spirit of the Church and its close alliance with the papacy reacted on the kingdom and enhanced the prestige of Rome in the eyes of the Franks.

At first all the decrees were simply formulated. How strongly they were opposed by the worldly clergy is evidenced by Boniface’s words: “Everywhere care; everywhere trouble. War without; within vexation. The deceit of false brothers far transcends the wickedness of unbelieving heathens.” The relations between Boniface and the pope (then Zacharias) seem to have been troubled. The state remained the bulwark of the whole work, and from the closeness of the relations between it and the old Frankish Church and the riches of the latter the counter-current was to the last degree dangerous. It incensed the haughty

Franks that a foreigner should be the head of the German Church. Willingly would they have gotten rid of him.

Still the stone was kept rolling. Several bishoprics were refilled, and that of Metz was occupied by the renowned Chrodegang. On March 1, 743, the second Austrasian synod, again made up of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, assembled at the royal villa of Lestimmes. The decrees of the former year were confirmed, supplemented, and modified, especially the one in regard to Church-lands. It had been found impossible to take these from the possessors, so they were now declared precarial. Each manor was to pay a shilling to the church which owned the property, and the whole was to revert to it on the death of the present occupant.

Though the Church of the then independent Bavaria was transiently somewhat weakened by political complications, it yet continued in the path of progress. The bishopric of Eichstädt was erected and occupied by the Anglo-Saxon Willibald, while his brother, Wunnibald, founded the double monastery, Heidenheim. Here, as elsewhere, the Anglo-Saxon influence was triumphant. Boniface exercised metropolitan rights over Bavaria.

In Neustria, too, the Anglo-Saxon influence was felt, only that here Pepin headed the new movement, so that its aims were less radical and more political. Certain archbishoprics and bishoprics were filled, and for the former their princes asked the pope for the pallium. On his showing that he regarded the application as an acknowledgment of his right of confirmation, he was quickly reminded that Pepin was head of his own church. On March 2, 744, Pepin convened a synod at Soissons, which was attended by twenty-three Neustrian bishops besides lay lords. It accepted essentially the decrees of the two Austrasian synods, but in a form more favorable to the state, and with more emphasis on the morality of the people. The canon in regard to Church-property provoked much controversy, and was modified in favor of state ends. Threat of secular penalties accelerated the decisions.

In this way reform was initiated in the Neustrian Church also, and within three years the work was, step by step, accomplished. With true instinct it had begun with the episcopate, which was restored to its proper position by making the bishop the sole head of his diocese, hereby eliminating his would-be colleagues, the monastic and itinerant bishops, from the Church. First, bishops of the class just named were inhibited from ordaining priests; then, in 755, from undertaking any duty whatever without direct instructions from the head of the sec. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, seem to have engrafted a sort of subordinate

episcopate upon their system, which, with strictly regulated functions, was to assist as suffragan bishops. Willibrord and Boniface had coadjutors of this class.

As soon as the framework of the structure was in some measure secure, the old structure itself, the priesthood, was examined into. The struggle between the old and new, between the naturalized Irish-Scottish rite and the Anglo-Saxon-Romish one profoundly convulsed the Church, and occasionally found peculiar individual expression, as in the two itinerant bishops, Clemens and Aldebert. The former labored in quite an independent spirit with leanings toward the Irish Church, and probably also toward the Greek, which at the (second) Trullan¹ council had allowed marriage to the inferior clergy. The former denounced celibacy, and was himself living with a second wife, while he gave expression to novel views in regard to Christ's descent to hell, and would have nothing to do with some of the saints of the Latin church. Aldebert was more of an enthusiast. He condemned pilgrimages to Rome, auricular confession, and the dedication of churches to saints, believing in the immediate union of God with his creatures through Jesus. He seems to have been subject to ecstacy; the people revered him, and streamed in masses to him. Both of these preachers were condemned, first at a Frankish synod, and then at a Roman one.

Nothing could permanently resist the reform. Sanctioned by the king, it resulted in the transformation of the state. Beginning in Germany as a purely ecclesiastical movement, it spread thence, first to the Rhenish church, and then to the French. Boniface's personality was everywhere reflected in it, Rome maintaining more of an attitude of observation. Away from his native England, and with no tie of nationality between him and the people whose spiritual guide he had become, his home was the Church. The reform did away with the provincial synods, and united the Frankish Church into a whole. Its first national council met in the spring of 745, and here Boniface appeared to reap the reward of his labors. His archbishopric, hitherto personal, was converted into a permanent one. Cologne was selected for its metropolis, and confirmed as such for all time by the pope.

The papal court was the legitimate court of last resort in all matters of dogma, and Carloman and Pepin recognized this. Appeals to Rome were again revived. Boniface and his antagonists referred their controversies to the head of the Church, and so an alliance was established between him and the Frankish Church, which developed so far as to

¹ From *trullus*, the domed hall in the imperial palace of Constantinople in which the sixth ecumenical council was held.—Tr.

include the disciplinary function of the pope, certainly at first without recognition on the part of the state.

And the latter seems to have gone even farther. Not Boniface, but Agilolf, was installed in the see of Cologne, while to the former Mayence was assigned, not as a metropolitan see, but as a bishopric, although

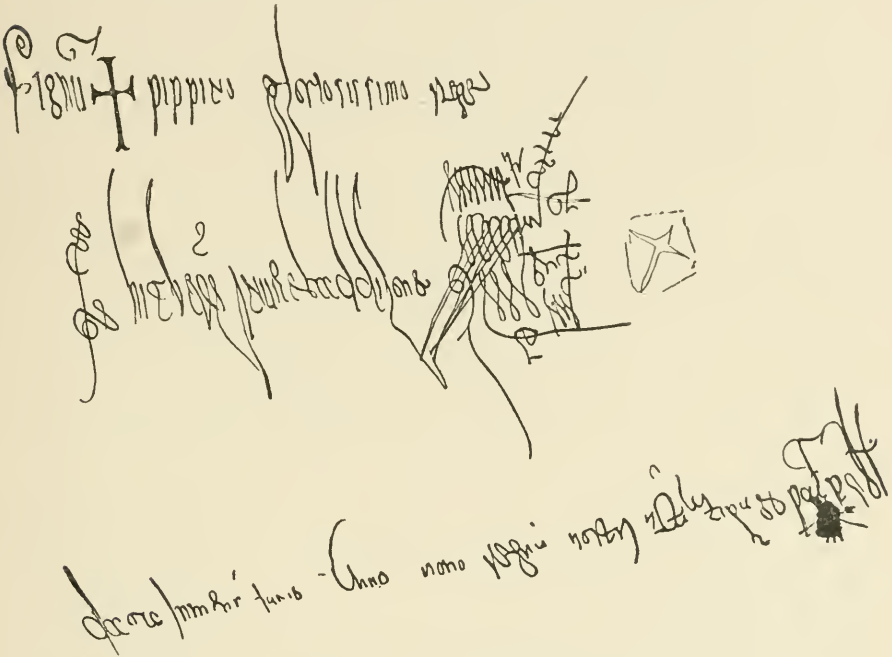


FIG. 42.—Signatures to an official document issued for the monastery at Fulda in 760 A. D. Original in the Royal archives at Marburg. (From Sickel.) Reduced facsimile of the close of an official document of Pepin, by which the villa Deinigen is granted to the monastery in Fulda. Issued at Attigny, in June, 760. The signature is probably that of the Chancellor Hitherius, while the document is in the handwriting of the secretary, Wigbald. The official confirmation of the act, on the part of the king, is confined to a single point in the sign of the cross. The seal, affixed by the chancellor, who was its responsible custodian, has been lost. The document becomes authoritative in the line containing the king's name (*Signum † Pippino gloriosissimo rege*); in the attestation by the chancellor (*Ch[rismon]. Hitherius in vice Baddilone*: where the sign of attestation is followed by *Hitherius subscripsi* in short hand); and the line indicating the date (*Data in mense Junio anno nono regni nostri. Actum Atiniago palatio publico*).

his archiepiscopal rank, as well as that of legate, remained to him. State policy must have suggested this change. Be that as it may, reform, at first so rapid in its pace, proceeded now at a slower rate. Even Pope Zacharias and his legate did not see always eye to eye. Secular politics became mixed up with ecclesiastical.

In the spring of 747, Boniface held his last assembly, which was composed of thirteen bishops from either half of the empire. The deliberations concerned synods, metropolitans, the duties of bishops, and the like. It offers a picture of the Church-constitution which floated before the mind of Boniface; the metropolitans were conceived as middlemen between the pope and the bishops, yet the king had largely exercised their functions, wherefore they could not become effective. Those present subscribed a declaration pledging themselves to maintain unity with Rome, subordination, and obedience; but the decree was Bonifacian, not Frankish. In reply to it the pope wrote: "When we opened your decree our heart was filled with joy, and we return unspeakable thanks to God, the Father Almighty." Boniface himself saw in the synod the dawn of a new era for the Frankish Church. The meeting is noteworthy as having been held without the presence of the princes, but precisely herein lay its weakness. None the less the tendency of thought introduced by Boniface remained a force, and the questions regarding the change of dynasty and the coronation in the Cathedral of St. Denis were its sensible exponents. It was not only he who anointed the new king, but to him it was largely due that the whole matter was carried through as it was.

The whole atmosphere became more spiritual. The papacy, as the visible representative of a higher kingdom, came, as it were, nearer to men. Pilgrimages to Rome, so customary in England, began now to be Frankish as well. Not Anglo-Saxon kings only, but a Frankish monarch and a Langobard one assumed the cowl.

But Boniface, who lived in the centre, nay, was the centre of the whole movement, began to grow old. Dispirited and self-accusing, he sometimes looked back on his former self and his past. In 744, he had founded in the beech-forests of Bochohia the abbey of Fulda (Fig. 42). Here the axe and spade were to co-operate in confirming what preaching had initiated; untamed spots were to be subdued through tranquil and pious surroundings, and haply a priesthood reared. Here he wished to be buried. Sturm was raised to the abbotship, and at Boniface's request the pope granted the house a charter, which in the form in which it is preserved, conferred on it the privilege of complete independence from the diocesan bishop. As, however, no such privilege was ever before granted, either in Germany or France, nor for a century afterwards, and as Fulda became later the head-quarters from which forgeries proceeded, the bull, in the form we have it, is of doubtful authenticity.

Year after year Boniface was wont to withdraw for a season to Fulda, and the great affairs of state and Church began to be transacted

without his co-operation. When Pope Stephen came over the Alps he did not so much as meet with his legate, a slight the latter could not have expected but for the most settled purpose. Tradition tells that there had been differences between the two spiritual princes, and heated oral recrimination. Boniface's old associates were neglected, and king and pope united in displacing him from the leadership of a great movement and in converting him, from being an international reformer and organizer, into a commonplace official with strictly limited functions. Strange to his surroundings, and unaccustomed to the every-day duties and business of a settled office, Boniface was made simply Bishop of Mayence. He seems never to have felt at ease in his episcopal chair of Mayence. Although the archbishopric of Cologne had been conferred on him, the pope had seen fit to leave him only the title of archbishop and papal legate, while relegating him to his old see. Here a Frankish party, the partisans of his deposed predecessor, made life unpleasant for him. So he reverted to the dream of his youth, the conversion of the Friesians. Pepin gave his assent, in 752, after Lull had been made suffragan bishop of Mayence and successor of Boniface. The latter set out on his journey with a presentiment of death.

Since Willibrord's death, Christianity had become stagnant in Friesland, and Utrecht had had no bishop. In despite of the opposition of the Bishop of Cologne, Boniface filled the chair and began his labors with success. On his second tour he had summoned his newly-won converts to the river Boine for confirmation. There, in the gray dusk of morning, he was slain by the heathen. The old man, it is said, held up the Gospel over his head as a defence. To this day the supposed copy, with its sword-slashed cover, is shown at Fulda. His companions fell with him. His remains were laid to rest in his favorite abbey, Fulda.

He owed his influence and success to the system in which he had grown up at home, and to his imposing personality. He was the right man appearing at the right time. The region of the Upper Rhine had from the time of Charles Martel been an integral part of the empire and imbued with new life. Christian officials entered it, and the native hosts called to the field obeyed Christian commanders. Above all, the conflict with Islam, in which Christian and pagan Franks fought and conquered side by side for, and under, the true Cross, must have been powerfully effective in preparing the way for the new faith. And its representative, who came under the protection and with the sanction of the mightiest powers, secular and spiritual, was personally the man to give it victory. Simple and pure in life, loyal to duty, sincere and lovable, firm in purpose and rich in knowledge, a faithful friend and counsellor, undaunted and with-


out thought for himself because of his serene faith, and, as it were, divine inspiration, and with his eye ever immovably fixed on his one grand aim, he attracted these sons of the forest and bound them fast to himself and his cause. By nature Boniface was more of a monk and preacher than a Church politician, yet when he had to become such he showed soundness of judgment, indefatigable power of work, and inborn capacity, proving himself equally by act and word. As Clovis in the domain of politics had concentrated all the elements of the empire and impressed them with the stamp of endurance, so had Boniface done in the domain of the Church. The result was the founding of the German Church and the reform of the Frankish, and the union of both under himself with the Church of Rome.

His activity was directed toward the good of the Franks, the lands to the left of the Rhine, and the papacy. The German Church was based on Catholicism and the Frankish empire. In adopting the world-religion the German peoples entered into a mutual bond of unity. The action of the papacy to bring about this result redounded to its advantage. Boniface became the pioneer of the Mediaeval Church, and as such inaugurated the power of the apostolic throne. Thus did the Anglo-Saxon repay the debt his country owed to Rome. (PLATE VI.)

Map of the KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE MEROVINGIANS AND UNTIL CHARLEMAGNE.

486 - 768 A. D.

SCALE 1:7,200,000

 Kingdom of the Franks in 486.

Later acquisitions underlined in red.

Scale of English Miles.



Map.—The Kingdom of the Franks under the Merovingians.
History of All Nations, Vol. VII., page 158.

from 6° Greenwich 8° 10° 12° 14°



The Cantons (Gau) are named after their chief towns, here underlined.

vingians and until Charlemagne, 486-768 A. D.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

A LACK of the historic sense, which characterizes the early Britons, is the reason why, notwithstanding their comparatively high state of culture, they have left us no memorials of their wars with the Anglo-Saxons. Only in later times, when they appreciated the greatness of the loss, did they attempt to supply the vacuum by a compilation of reports of all kinds, whose artificial origin is made evident by their co-ordination into periods of eight years. These are supplemented by old songs of bards, which glow with love for the fatherland, hatred of the Anglo-Saxons, and abound in vainglorious exaggerations, but are in fact of little historical value.

The oldest British historian known to us is Gildas, a travelled monk, born in 516. His "Lamentation over the Downfall of Britain," was completed in 560. Much later is the *Historia Britonum* of the Welsh priest, Nennius, who wrote about 822. His work was afterward revised, in which form alone we have it. He names as his sources ancient traditions, written and oral. We have also a meagre Welsh Chronicle from *circa* 444 to 954, subsequently continued till 1286. Its loose chronology is the more to be regretted, because the Chronicle conveys valuable information. About 1130, Geoffrey (Galfridus)-ap-Arthur of Monmouth composed his "History of the Britons," partly from known sources, partly from fanciful legends, but largely from the resources of his own over-fertile genius for romance.

Of far higher value are the contributions of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors. The series is opened by the many-sided Venerable Bede, who died in 735. The foremost scholar of the transition period, he became the source of enlightenment for all the Middle Ages. His "Martyrology" forms the groundwork of all later works of the class; his "Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World" (726) was disseminated everywhere, and his "Ecclesiastical History of England" (till 731) is the standard, almost the sole, authority for the period. Only the first twenty-two chapters, treating of the heathen period, are partially borrowed from known sources; the greater and more important section details the events

since the introduction of Christianity. His sources for this were church archives, narratives of trustworthy informants, controversial writings against the Britons and their Easter cycle, and the meagre historical fragments before his day. Bede's perception is keen, his arrangement and style lucid, and everywhere he is guided by a desire to represent the truth. In contrast to Gregory of Tours, with his strong hatred of the Arians, Bede depicts the Celtic Church almost without a shade of prejudice, willingly recognizing the good in it. Being a son of Northumbria, Northern England naturally occupies the foreground of his narrative; while the important, but later Christianized, Wessex receives comparatively little attention. He composed, besides, a biography of Bishop Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, and a valuable history of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in which he was himself a monk.

As additional sources we note several extant genealogies of early royal houses, lists of bishops, abbots, and the like. Necrologies were kept at Canterbury and Durham, and the death of national saints recorded in the Old English Calendar. Moreover, for the Eighth and Ninth Centuries there are brief Annals, which were partially incorporated in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." After Bede, this Chronicle is the leading authority for the earlier history of England, and one of the best for the history of Northern Europe generally. It is the oldest historical work in the Germanic tongue, having been written in sections, and embracing the period from the earliest times to the middle of the Twelfth Century. Seven of the manuscripts, or rather revisions, and a copy of an eighth are in existence, all varying, more or less, from one another. Of these the Winchester manuscript is the oldest, while that of Peterborough comes farthest down. As far down as 893 the various manuscripts are in the main accordant. Doubtless a scholar at the court of Wessex, probably prompted by King Alfred, was at work on them. It appears that events occurring between 754 and 828 are regularly dated two years too early, a fact to be explained on the supposition that the mistake was made in the manuscript from which the extant copies are derived.

As in Bede's time, the Northumbrians later wrote history, which four lesser annals remain to testify. The earliest is the supplement to Bede, reaching from 731 to 766. The Annals of Lindisfarne reach from 532 to 993, but they are surpassed in value by the "Additions" to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (a relic of Northumbrian tradition), and a "History of the Kings of the Angles and Danes," which was used by Simeon of Durham. The annals and chronicles of later origin are entirely derived from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Northumbrian Annals.

The life of the times is illustrated by the Anglo-axon laws and by poems. For the centuries before Alfred we possess five compilations of laws, the oldest bearing the name of Aethelberht, the first Christian king of Kent, and going back, according to its own statement, to the time of Augustine, about 600. Like the great Chronicle, its ninety brief enactments are expressed in old English. They consist

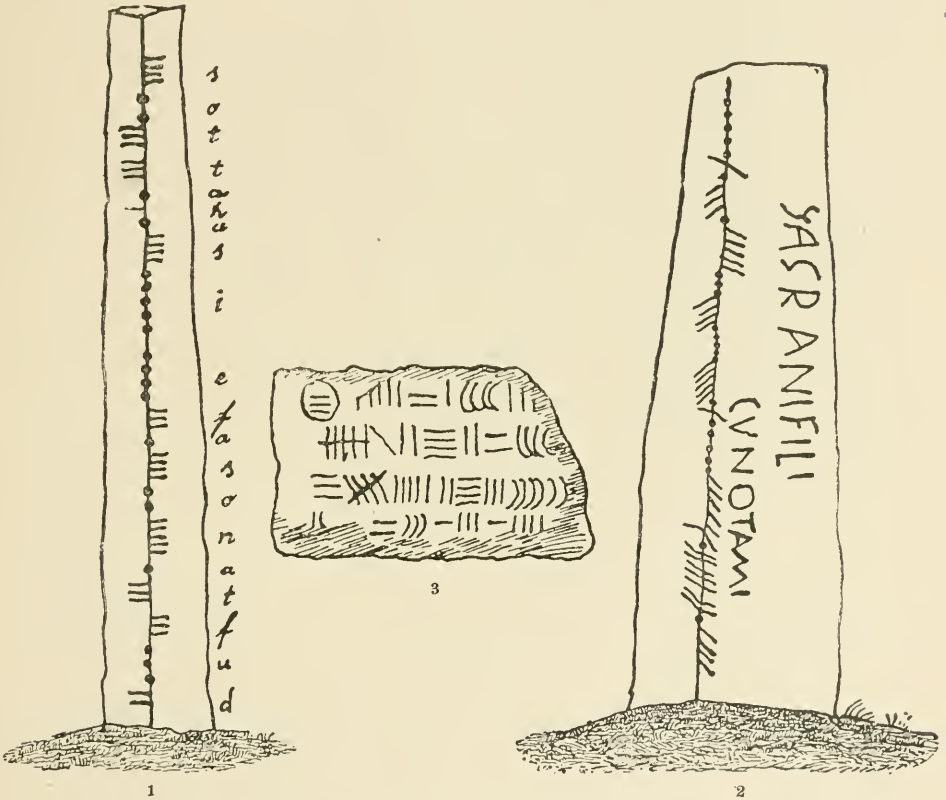


FIG. 43.—1. Inscription of Killeen Cormac, Kildare, Ireland. *Duftano[s] safei shattos*, 'the wise Duftan's' (?) on the back IVVENEDRVVIDES. 2. Inscription in St. Dogmael's Abbey, Pembrokeshire: *Sagranni maqi Cunotami* (?) *Sagrani filii Cunotami*. 3. Inscription from Hackness near Scarborough, Yorkshire: not yet deciphered. (From Gaidoz, and from Hübner.)

almost exclusively of money penalties for bodily injuries. The laws of the Kings Hlothar, Eadrik, and Wihtraed of Kent are of the same character, being mere supplements of the provisions of their predecessors. Those of King Ine of Wessex (688-726) are of wider scope. Other codes, as those of Offa of Mercia, are lost, but enough remains to show



FIG. 44. — Anglo-Saxon vases, etc. (From photographs, and from Jervitt.) 1. Glass vessel from an Anglo-Saxon grave in Kent. 2. Glass vessel from an Anglo-Saxon grave at Bungay, Suffolk. 3. Helmet surmounted by a boar; framework of iron bands overlaid with horn. 4. Drinking vessel with handles. 5. Bucket, found in Northamptonshire; handle, frame, etc., of bronze. 6. Bucket, found near Fairford in Gloucestershire; also of bronze.

the rapidity and many-sided character of the national development and the growing humanity of its sentiment. The ecclesiastical penitentials, side by side with the secular laws, manifest how great was the influence of the Church on the development of English law. To this national historiography and legislation correspond a national poesy and the drawing up of charters in the native tongue. All this invests the literature of early England with an atmosphere altogether different from that which surrounds that of the Romanized continent, and brings us far more closely face to face with the original conditions of its people.

Numerous manuscripts by Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks, in part finely illuminated, contents of graves and other finds (Figs. 43-45), help to throw light on the industrial occupations of the islanders. Their coins are much more abundant and instructive than those of other German states. These are found in extraordinary numbers in Scandinavia, in the lands of the Slavs, and in Rome, whither they came as Peter's pence.

THE INDIVIDUAL ANGLO-SAXON STATES (*CIRC.* A. D. 450-830).

From the time of the Emperor Antoninus, Germans had been attracted to Gaul as settlers and warriors, and attained there at times a powerful influence. Constantine the Great was elevated to the throne through the aid of Alamannian princes. In addition, there were the seafaring German coast-people, who settled independently. As early as the beginning of the Fifth Century we find a stretch of coast-country, both in Gaul and Britain, known as the Saxon shore (*Litus Saronicum*). The Saxons were becoming a power on both sides of the channel.

The Britons, hard-pressed by their northern neighbors, the Picts and Scots, are said to have reported to Aëtius: "The barbarians drive us into the sea, and the sea to the barbarians. We are either slaughtered or drowned." But as the Romans, in their own straits, could render them no help, the Britons turned to the Saxons. They were to pay terribly for their rash appeal. Their allies became stronger than themselves, and the island saw a repetition of what had happened on a large scale on the continent. Fighting for very existence, the natives were driven back. (Cf. p. 212, Vol. VI.)

With the brutality of barbarians, and the lust of a peasant people for land, the Germans came to Britain, bringing with them fresh customs of their native land. Wide tracts lay depopulated, and there the scanty population forthwith joined in a bitter conflict with the new-comers, who were free to implant in the new land the institutions of their forefathers—the tribal kingship, the distinction of castes, the blood-bond of kinship,



FIG. 45.—Anglo-Saxon vases of a brownish-grey pottery. 1. From Shropham, Norfolk. 2. From Frilford, Oxfordshire (British Museum). 3. From a cemetery in what was anciently Mercia; height, 6.2 in. (From photographs, and from Jervitt.)

etc. The Anglo-Saxon constitution combines the ideas of the army and the tribe.

The Jutes, Angles and Saxons perhaps came at first in single bands of seafarers, but soon, with their wives and children, in septs, which conferred their names on their settlements. The blood-bond was not dissolved by their change of soil, and its claims and duties continued to be recognized in the later Anglo-Saxon laws. It required them to defend their clansmen and vindicate their rights, and to protect the hereditary property of the individual, while setting limits to his disposition of it. For a considerable time these hardy sea-folk maintained close relations with their brethren across the gloomy main, and received reinforcements from them.

All classes were represented in the immigration. Nearly the whole race of the Angles came over. The nobles were the leaders of the expeditions and became the princes of the new land; the freemen made up the army. The Eorl, Ceorl, and Laet (or tiller of the soil), of the oldest Anglo-Saxon laws extant, correspond to the Aethelings, Frilings, and Lazzi of the continental Saxons, and in the original assignment of the landless (laets) these distinctions seem to have been regarded. Theoretically, each fellowship of freemen divided the land among its members, so that the number of hides, or homesteads, corresponded to that of the families; practically, the noble received more than a hide and the laet received less. In process of time these differences were modified, often to the aggrandizement of the more powerful. The state was based on the possession of land and the position of each individual was determined thereby. Beside the folk-land or common land, there was the boeland (*ager privatus*), the possession of which alone conferred the full right of citizenship.

The village commonly constituted the primary unit of the state. Besides this, there was the fortified place or "burgh," which might be a captured Romano-British town, or have grown out of a fenced-in place of encampment, royal or ecclesiastical manors, or the like. A certain number of manor- and village-communities (townships) constituted the "hundred," above which was the *gau* or petty state or lordship, which afterward sometimes developed into a "shire" or county. Monarchy was a new growth sprung from various roots, but became a necessity through the wars of the settlers and their craving for national independence. Uniformly, it referred its origin immediately to the gods, and attained its wide-reaching powers not so much by express laws, as through the natural course of events. The oldest period of Anglo-Saxon history consists chiefly of the development and wars of the various kingdoms.

By slow degrees individual rulers here and there acquired a sort of predominance over their neighbors, who bore the Latin titles of *Imperator* or *Rector totius Britanniae*, and the old English ones of *Bretwalda* or *Brytenwealda*. Bede names seven English Bretwaldas, but there were more. The mediæval predilection for sacred numbers is doubtless connected with this statement. The German immigrants founded little states—not seven or eight, but an indefinite number—and naturally first along the coast. Thus Hengist founded the Jute Kingdom of Kent, in the southeast. He was succeeded by his son, Eric Aesk, after whom the later rulers named themselves Aeskings. Under Eric's great grandson, Aethelberht (563–616), Christianity was introduced. To the west of Kent, Aella, in Hengist's time, erected the Saxon kingdom of Sussex and left it hereditary in his house. Legend speaks more fully of Wessex. Here ruled Cerdic and his son, Cynric, of the race of Woden. After effecting a landing they fought many a battle—now victors, now defeated—but pressed ever inland. Arthur, the legendary hero of the Round Table, was their most resolute antagonist. At Bath, where the Britons had rallied themselves for a concentrated effort, he is credited with a great victory. Yet the coast-region still remained in Cerdic's possession, and here he fixed his capital, the ancient Venta, whose name was preserved in Wintanceaster (Winchester). Cerdic's son, Cynric, fought at first successfully, but was afterward overthrown by the British fighting in Roman order of battle. To him succeeded, in 560, his son, Ceawlin, who first conquered Aethelberht of Kent, and then pressed on in a career of conquest till he reached Gloucester and Cirencester and the northwest sea. Fate overtook him on the pinnacle of his fortunes. Malcontent nobles concluded an alliance with Britons, Scots, and Aethelberht, and a great battle occurred at Wodnesbeorg, south of Marlborough, in which he was so utterly defeated that he had to leave his power to his nephew, Ceobric, and himself eat the bitter bread of exile. The enmity between him and the Kentish ruler originated in a strife for the dignity of Bretwalda. Aella of Sussex was the first to attain it, then Kent put forth its claim, which was challenged by the aspiring Wessex. Out of this grew the first and last battle between Ceawlin and Aethelberht. After his victory the latter received the obstinately contested prize.

Concerning the establishment of Saxon sway in Essex, on the north bank of the Thames, we have little reliable information, and as little concerning that of the Angles, whom we find divided into two groups—a Northern and Southern (Norfolk and Suffolk)—on the peninsula named after them, East Anglia. From one of their earliest kings, named Uffa, their rulers derived the title of Uffings. Their settlement in the regions

between the Wash and the Humber is also shrouded in darkness, though there they must have had many a conflict. Later we find there a series of principalities combined under the suzerainty of Mercia, whose authentic history opens with Cridda and Wibba, his son, who began to reign in 593. Mercia remained comparatively thickly inhabited by Britons.

Especially worthy of notice are the two long stretches of land north of the Humber, which later constituted the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, the former reaching to the Tyne, the latter to the Firth of Forth. In this latter section the Saxons appeared repeatedly as the allies of the Picts and Scots against the Britons. It is possible, therefore, that these Saxon Northumbrians were earlier settled than their tribesmen in Kent. Their first historical king was Ida of Bernicia, whom the princes of the Angles chose in 547. Several of his sons followed, and then his grandson Aethelfrith, who proved himself a mighty warrior and subduer of the Britons, whom he drove out or exterminated. The Scottish king, Aidan, took the field against him, and was worsted in 603 at Daegsastan (probably near Carlisle). The victory was so complete that from that day forth the Scots ceased their inroads into England, while Aethelfrith extended his sway unimpeded. In 604, Deira, which from Aella's time had been ruled by its own kings, submitted to him. Eadwin, son of the last of its kings, was long a houseless wanderer, till he found an asylum among the East Anglians. The Northumbrian now advanced against the West Britons, who had concentrated their power at Chester. Frightful was the havoc the sword made among the monks of Bangor, which was destroyed with Chester. At the time when Aethelberht of Kent, by his victory over Wessex, attained the over-lordship of the south, Aethelfrith united the whole north in his powerful grasp. But vengeance overtook him in the person of his exiled son-in-law, Eadwin, whose surrender he had in vain, by threats and promises, sought to extort from his protector, Raedwald. The East Anglian not only refused the demand, but took the field in behalf of his protégé. In 616 a battle ensued near Retford on the Idle. Aethelfrith fell, and Eadwin mounted the northern throne.

Thus in the early decades of the Seventh Century two powerful kingdoms had fought their way to pre-eminence in England, the one essentially Anglie, the other Saxo-Jutic. Over against these were the Britons who had been driven back to the mountainous West, the source of their weakness being the same that has always proved disastrous to the Celt and helpful to his foes—want of concert among his chiefs. The kingdom of Damnonia—the land of King Arthur—seems to have maintained its ascendancy in the southwest only a short time.

Weakened by the assaults of the West Saxons, discord and division reasserted their sway and brought ruin. Moreover, the Germans now made their advances in wedge-form so as to isolate the branches of the race. On the Severn they intervened between Wales and Cornwall, on the Mersey between Wales and Cumberland (Strathelyde), so that the Britons were split up into three sections.

Religious strife soon broke out beside the national one. When Catholicism was brought by Augustine into Aethelberht's kingdom of Kent it found there the old British Church, which had its origin in the days when Britain was still a portion of the Roman Empire. Bishoprics had been erected and intercourse opened with Gaul, even with the pope, who made his influence felt in the internal concerns of the island Church. Soon stone churches appeared among the Picts, and first Palladius, and then Patrick, both probably commissioned by Pope Celestine (*circa* 432), betook themselves as missionaries to heathen Ireland.

Then came the hostile Germans, whose successes implied a victory for northern paganism also. In many names of places, in those of springs and water-sheds, as well as in the days of the week, their German gods are still commemorated. Their sagas and songs gave bodily form to their strife with the elements—the sea, the storm, and the terrors of the mountain. While Christianity succumbed in the east of Britain, it gained ground in the west. There, Patrick, filled with unshaken confidence that he was an instrument in the hand of God, pursued his work in want and peril, thus becoming the first apostle of the Irish. Colleagues came to help him, and by the end of the Fifth Century the country was won to Christianity, while at the same time, its situation, peculiarities, and, above all, the foes pressing in upon it, shut it out from participating in the general development of the Roman Catholic Church. With the secular clergy, a peculiar monasticism took root in Ireland. Not bishoprics, but great religious houses, became the centres of ecclesiastical organization and of a culture that in many respects stood higher than that of Gregory the Great, because it was developed in unbroken sequence from that of the Fourth Century. Church fathers and classics, both Latin and Greek, were read and artistically copied and illuminated. When learning seemed to die out in the sunny South, it found a city of refuge under the gloomy skies of the emerald isle of the West. But everything here centred in the Church; the whole nation seemed to have entered into its service. Ireland deserved the name of the Island of the Saints.

This spirit of devotion and glow of sentiment were equally manifested wherever there was a kindred Celtic people. In the beginning of the

Seventh Century, when the Welsh were fighting for their very existence, their monastery of Bangor numbered 2000 monks. In Gallie Brittany and Spanish Galicia the Irish church-system found a warm welcome, but its acceptance by Scotland proved of the greatest importance. There the Irish Columba, "the Apostle of Caledonia," about 565 founded on a little Hebridian island the monastery of Hii or Icolmkill (now Iona), which soon collected a most valuable library, became the burial-place for the Scottish, Irish, and Norwegian kings, and grew up into a great ecclesiastical metropolis (Fig. 46). Thence, missionaries went out to all parts of the main island, to labor with such zeal and effect that, on Columba's death, in 597, fifty settlements had been formed, all under the rule of the presbyter-abbot of Hii. Zeal for conversion impelled the disciples of Columba to penetrate into the land of the hostile Anglo-Saxons, and thence over the sea, as far as Tarentum in the south, to the Faroe Islands and Iceland in the north. Even at Kieff, in the far east, we meet with traces of them.

In the ecclesiastical province of Hii, certain peculiarities were developed, which spread thence over to Ireland. The doctrine of this reformed Irish-Scottish Church was in harmony with that of Rome, as were its various orders of clergy—deacons, priests, and bishops; but it differed in its form of service and in being of an essentially monastic character. The monastery was the animating heart of church life, the centre of spiritual effort and of administration. Within its walls the craving for self-sacrifice was satisfied by the most rigorous, almost cruel, discipline. On the other hand, since every cleric regarded himself as a member of a common brotherhood, the dioceses were ill-defined and often without settled heads.

This pre-eminence of the monastery naturally tended to diminish the importance of the bishop; hence, the Irish-Scottish Church had no episcopal hierarchy. True, the episcopal ordination was the highest of all, but this lent no superior authority. If the abbot were also bishop, he discharged episcopal functions; if he were not, he had a bishop under him. It sometimes happened that one house had several such, who, in authority, were scarcely superior to the ordinary priest. As a rule, they were attached to a monastery, although there was also a secular clergy.

The methods of these Irish-Scots corresponded with their monastic character. Aidan, their first episcopal abbot, used to traverse the country on foot, with a few followers, busy with baptizing and exhorting. Austere and self-sacrificing, poor, with but few wants, these men took their lives in their hands and undauntedly proclaimed the doctrine of

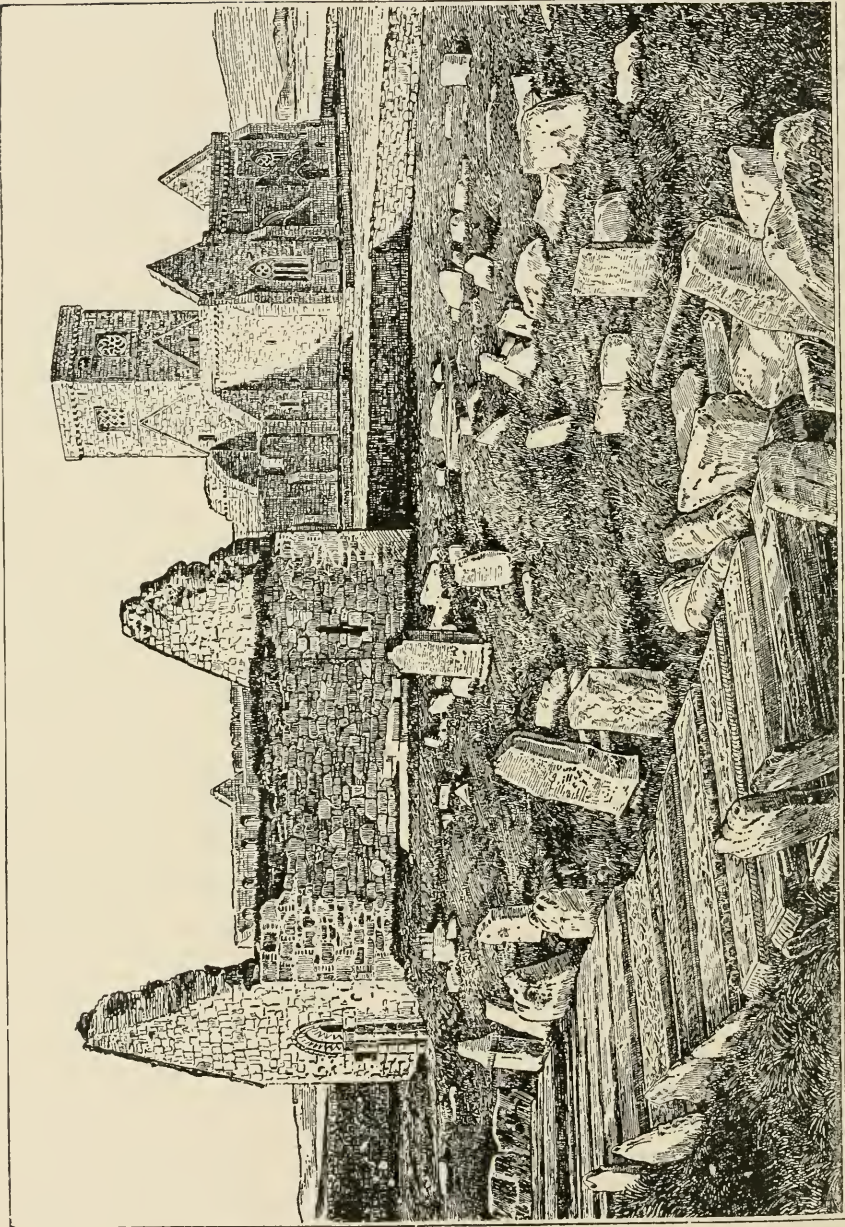


FIG. 46. — Ruins of the Monastery of Hii, on Iona island. In the foreground the graves of the kings. (From a photograph.)

the Crucified. They did not, however, identify themselves with the people to whom they preached, but remained as aliens to them. But what a contrast did their gloomy and almost repulsive system present to that of the Romish Church with its captivating magnificence! The British Church appalled men's hearts; Catholicism attracted them. Above all, the latter showed an incomparably better ordered organization, and had the stronger races on its side. Everywhere it identified itself with the natural life and recruited itself from it; it was the religion of the world and had assimilated the culture of the West, nay, was itself a factor in it. It offered more to the state by making over to it the appointment of its spiritual heads, the bishops, while the independent abbot of Hii ruled the British Church like an autocrat. When the systems collided, there could be no question where the victory would rest, and many circumstances provoked the conflict—differences in divine service, in church organization, in the tonsure, and, above all, in the Easter cycle.

As Anglo-Saxon Catholicism was introduced by Rome, it naturally stood in close relation to the holy see. Otherwise its fortunes were largely dependent on political events, often on the issue of battles. The temporary over-lordship of the first Christian king, Aethelberht, passed to the East Anglian Raedwald, who did not scruple to pay respect to both faiths by calling on Christ and the gods indifferently. On Aethelberht's death in 616, he was succeeded by his son, Eadbald, who was still a heathen. In great number the unconverted and half-converted returned to the worship of Woden, to whom they felt themselves specially bound through his relationship to their kings. But again the scale turned. At length Eadbald of Kent accepted baptism; his capital assumed a Christian aspect and became a bulwark of the faith and a centre of the propaganda.

The most powerful man in the North at this time was Eadwin of Northumbria, whose ambition impelled him to the sea for the conquest of the isles of Man and Anglesey. Returning, crowned with victory, he espoused Eadbald's sister, Aethelburh, and, with her, introduced Christianity into Northumbria. At first the Angles would not hear of it, but the queen and her counsellor, Bishop Paulinus, did not relax their labors. The tall, slender, and stooping figure of this man, with his black hair streaming around his worn face, impressed the fair-haired, lusty barbarians, and filled them with reverence and awe. At length Eadwin declared himself ready for baptism. He took the step cautiously, and called, beforehand, an assembly of his "Witan" to deliberate concerning the old and the new faiths. The king's wish prevailed, and with the heathen high-priest at their head, they proceeded in a body to destroy

the temples and altars. The priest himself dealt the first blow upon one of the main temples near York, and here the baptism of the king and his nobles occurred on Easter-day, 627. Paulinus was appointed bishop, and soon, in the place of the little wooden chapel, there arose a stately edifice of stone. Slowly as the conversion of the masses went on, the way was broken, and Christianity began to be the mode among the higher classes.

But all depended on Eadwin's personality and the permanence of his power. The mighty ruler had the standard of the Roman emperors borne before him in token of his over-lordship. His arrogance provoked dis-

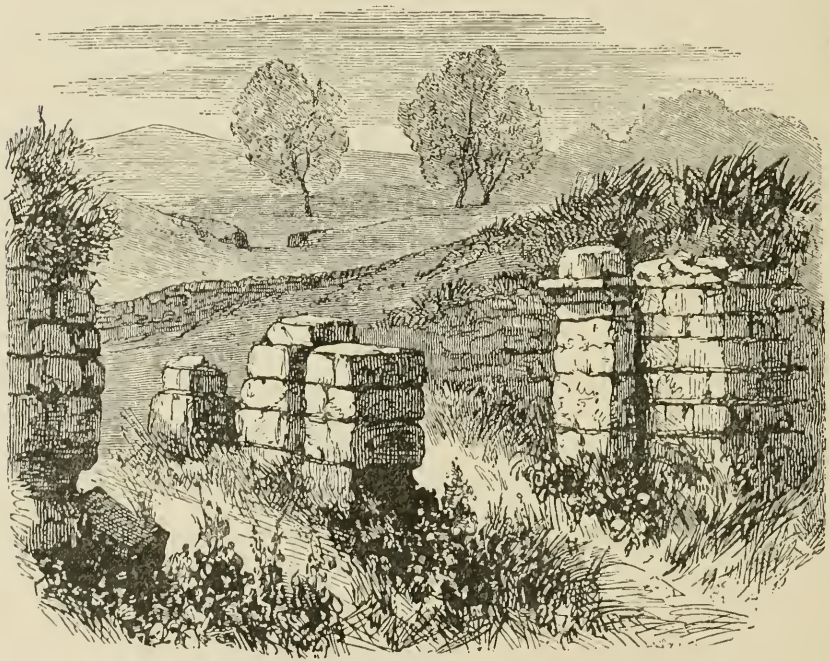


FIG. 47. —Eastern Gate of the Roman Camp at Birdos Wood: near the Wall of Hadrian.
(Ill. London News, 1882.)

satisfaction and united all the elements against him. The Welsh king Cadwallon revolted and found support in King Penda of Mercia. Celt went hand-in-hand with Anglo-Saxon, the heathen with the follower of Columba. On October 12, 633, the die was cast at Heathfield. The Northumbrians were defeated; their king, after seeing his son cut down, was left on the field, and his dynasty came to an end. All his children, with the exception of one daughter, were slain, and Aethelburh and

Paulinus fled to Kent. The heathen gods appeared to have conquered, and Christianity seemed vanquished with the great Northumbrian potentate. Eadwin's kingdom split up into its original divisions. Osric seized power in Deira; the sons of the earlier king, Aethelfrith, who had been in exile among the Scots and accepted their form of faith, returned home to Bernicia. The two kingdoms were hostile, and, refusing to combine, succumbed to Cadwallon. The Celt seemed to threaten the very existence of the Anglo-Saxons, and had already pushed his conquests to Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 47), when he was surprised at Heavenfield, near Hexham, defeated and slain. With Cadwallon fell the last legendary hero of his race.

Oswald was his conqueror. Before engaging in the conflict he had erected a wooden cross and with his own men knelt in prayer before it. He was now raised on the shield and the cross along with him. Oswald reigned not only as conqueror, but as legitimate heir to the throne, being son of Aethelfrith of Bernicia and a nephew of Eadwin of Deira. Accordingly, he was the legitimate king of Northumbria. The Germanic race was saved, and with it, Christianity, but the latter in Oswald's own form. In Scotland, he had accepted the old British confession, and now sought to implant it on his people. He called monks to his aid from Hii (Fig. 48)—earnest, uncompromising preachers, above all, the indefatigable Aidan, whom he made conventual bishop of the island of Lindisfarne (Holy Island). Churches, religious houses, schools, arose, but the divisions of the Germans were multiplied, for they now fell into three sections—Scottish-Church Northumbrians in the north, pagan Mercians and East Saxons in the middle, and Kentish Catholics in the south. Disputes, aggravated by questions of faith, began to arise, especially between Mercia and Northumbria. Oswald assumed the rôle of a Defender of Christianity, and, as Bretwalda of Angles, Picts, Scots, and Britons, the title of Emperor of all Britain. His claim to the latter distinction was contested by Penda of Mercia (626–655), the champion of heathenism—an uncouth, heroic figure. A fight ensued between these rivals in 642. The Christian was defeated and slain, his head, arms, and hands were severed from his trunk, and hung up on trees as offerings to the gods of the victors. Later they came to be esteemed precious relics, over which hung the halo of martyrdom.

Northumbria fell to pieces once more. Oswald's brother, Oswy, held Bernicia; Oswin, son of Osric, got Deira. The latter seems to have banded himself with Penda in fighting against Bernicia, which was so hard pressed that its capital was once all but in the enemies' hands. Otherwise Oswin was unwarlike. When Oswy took the field against

him in 651, he showed himself a coward, and was betrayed and murdered accordingly. But the conqueror did not win Deira.

Penda of Mercia, surnamed "the Strong," remained predominant. He was fifty years old when he came into power, and he maintained it for thirty years, in the course of which he raised his kingdom to an unexampled height. He expelled the king of the West Saxons, slew

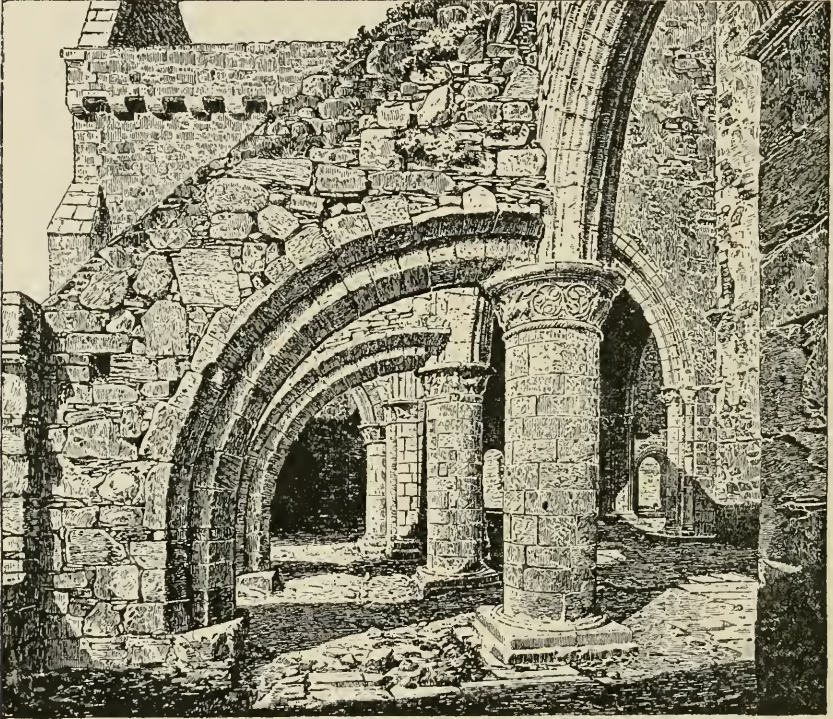


FIG. 48.—View in the ruins of the Monastery of Iona, on Iona Island.

three kings of East Anglia, and subjected Wessex, East Anglia, and Deira. The storm gathered with increasing force around the head of Oswy, for the hostile Deirans had advanced far into his land. It is said that in his extremity he offered tribute, but that this was rejected, so that nothing was left him but to appeal to heaven by wager of battle. Penda, now eighty years of age, at the head of a mighty host, advanced against Oswy, whose sole hope was that Christ would not desert him in his extremity. On November 15, 655, a battle was fought on the river Winwed, near Leeds. As soon as the fight began a part of the Deirans retired from the field, and thereby disorganized Penda's army; the Prince

of Gwynedd, too, proved untrustworthy, and withdrew his force. The mighty Mercian, confounded by such treachery, was defeated and slain with most of his sons. What the sword spared perished in the river.

The fall of the aged warrior was the death-knell of heathenism, and the signal of victory for the Northern Church, which had already shown itself so strong that Penda had been unable altogether to repress it in his own domains. When Penda's dominions fell into the hands of Oswy, this Church, in its Scottish form, gained complete ascendancy. Nor was it long before it found entrance among the East Saxons also, whose king, Sigbert, received baptism.

Oswy now ruled as Bretwalda, in room of Penda, and, directly or indirectly, all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms north of the Thames acknowledged him, as well as a considerable section of the Picts. But his glory was short-lived. In 658, the Mercian thanes raised Penda's son, Wulfhere, to the throne, and he not only broke the Northumbrian yoke, but won back for Mercia its ascendancy over the smaller states of the region. He became a Christian, and reigned till 675.

About the middle of the Seventh Century it seemed as if all England were about to revert to the early British Church. Already nearly all the region north of the Thames belonged to it, and, on account of the preponderance of Northumbria and Mercia, the conquest of the southern states seemed only a question of time. English Catholicism, yet undeveloped and struggling, depended largely for support on the Frankish Church and Rome, and as in the present disorganized state of the former and the weakness of the papacy it had little or nothing to hope for from these once efficient allies, it seemed altogether too feeble to withstand the proselyting zeal of its spiritually and intellectually superior rival. The successors of Aidan, on the other hand—the bishops of Lindisfarne—had attained a metropolitan position in all the converted German countries. They consecrated the bishops and abbots who were extending their influence southward, remaining all the time in intimate connection with Hii, the mother-house of the mission.

The beam was quivering in the balance, when a reaction in favor of Romanism took place in that region where its apostles had first made their appearance. In Kent, King Eareonbert (640) rooted out the relics of open heathenism. The cult of its gods and neglect of the fasts were, apparently through Frankish influence, declared penal. Wessex was ruled by Coinwalch, who, after much disorder, enabled Catholicism to gain a footing. In 670, the Frank, Eleutherius, was consecrated Archbishop of Kent, as head of the see of Wessex. Essex had been won in 663. The British bishop, Cedd, had left this kingdom, and into his place stepped

the orthodox Anglo-Saxon Wini, who through Wulfhere's influence was made Bishop of London.

Even Northumbria participated in the reaction. A little Roman flock, held together by Paulinus's disciple, Jacob, still maintained itself in Deira, and more influential still was the king's spouse, Eanfled, a Kentish Catholic, who was assisted by her counsellor, Wilfrid, a bishop consecrated in Gaul. Under their combined influence her eldest son favored orthodoxy, while the monastery of Ripon, hitherto British, received Romish monks. At every step the discordant usages of the two Churches clashed, especially in regard to the Easter cycle. It was seen that while the king was celebrating this festival, the queen was still keeping Lent. Such a state of matters could not endure, and the Bretwalda, Oswy, brought them to an issue. In 661 he convened a synod at Streonshalh (Whitby) to settle the vexed question. Colman advocated the British cause, Wilfrid the Catholic. The one party pleaded the alleged usage of St. John, tradition, and the example of St. Columba; the other relied on the teaching of St. Peter. The king decided. When he heard the well-known words of the Gospel: "Thou art Peter," etc., they seemed conclusive to him. He did not dare to maintain his superstition in the face of the door-keeper of heaven. The assembly converted his verdict into a formal decree by unanimous declaration, and the Roman church had gained the victory. Wulfhere of Mercia joined it. The recalcitrant Scots had to leave the land on which they had labored so indefatigably and to which they left so goodly a heritage. A great mortality that supervened appeared to many as a judgment for the expulsion of the pious, self-denying Northerners. For a time even the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury was unoccupied, and the East Saxons, disgusted with the Christians' god who had not averted the sickness, fell back into paganism. Nevertheless, the future belonged to Catholicism.

The old German nature entered into hearty alliance with the Roman ecclesiastical culture. In 669, the Greek monk Theodore, consecrated by Pope Vitalian, and accompanied and counselled by Adrian, Abbot of Naples, made his solemn entry into Canterbury. Theodore had before this sojourned at different times among the Franks, and from Angilbert, Bishop of Paris, who had long labored in England, had learned much of the people whose spiritual guide he had become. He was the founder of the English hierarchy, the first to introduce the Saxons to classical literature, and, as it were, the intermediary between the Roman world and the island kingdoms of the North. He set to work everywhere, administering and organizing. Church visitations were initiated,

vacant sees refilled, dioceses established, and their boundaries clearly defined. To enable the Saxon Church to vie intellectually with the British, schools were called into existence where grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, Latin, and Greek were taught. Prominence was given to the Roman manner of singing—the *Cantus Romanus*, or Roman chant. England re-entered the circle of civilized states from which it had fallen out since the withdrawal of the legions. In the place of British simplicity and abstemiousness came Romish pomp and profusion. Stately church edifices arose at York, Ripon, and Hexham. Men like Bishop Wilfrid of Northumberland and Abbot Benedict of Wearmouth began to play a prominent part. The latter was as much at home in Italy as in England, and never returned from a journey without bringing manuscripts, statues, and paintings, as well as teachers and skilled handicraftsmen. Wilfrid was of a more practical turn, and has left his impress on almost every department of art and science, as well as on church organization and the cure of souls. On September 24, 673, Theodore convened the first national synod at Hertford, to which all the states, save Essex and Sussex, sent representatives. Decrees were passed in regard to the celebration of Easter after the Roman fashion, the distribution of dioceses, the prohibition of itinerant preaching, and of the assumption of priestly functions without permission from the diocesan. The bishops were to meet yearly. The growing number of converts soon called for an increase in the number of bishoprics, whereby the system of dioceses prevalent to-day was gradually reached and the last relics of heathenism subdued. Paganism had maintained itself most obstinately in Sussex. Thither came Wilfrid of Northumbria whom his king, in 678, had driven from his home. Wilfrid erected a monastery on the peninsula of Selsea, and thence urged on the work of proselytizing from 680 to 685.

The great successes of Catholicism had been made possible only by the harmonious co-operation of three powerful Bretwaldas, who died in rapid succession in the seventh decade of the century—viz., Oswy, of Northumbria, in 670; Egbert, of Kent, in 673; Wulfhere, of Mercia, in 675. Under their successors the internecine wars were renewed. Wessex, oppressed by Mercia, and torn by internal dissensions, had sunk very low and lost part of its territory to Sussex; but in the eighth decade, after Ceadwalla succeeded in winning the throne, it forged once more to the front. Ceadwalla threw himself on Kent, and yet more savagely on enlarged Sussex. This, and even the still pagan Isle of Wight, he ravaged mercilessly; it seemed as if he meant absolutely to exterminate the population. But Wilfrid drew all the nearer

to the unbaptized men of Wight, for Ceadwalla's fury worked in favor of the Church, to which he gave the fourth part of the island.

Everywhere the Church began to work a deep change in the Anglo-Saxon manner of life and thought. Hitherto the clergy had been a subordinate class; this was now entirely revolutionized. The bishops became leading members of the royal council, and they and the abbots took their place in the national assemblies along with earls and ealdormen; even the common priests assumed a leading part in the management of the affairs of their communities. This sudden rise affected, above all, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as primate of all England, had an international position in regard to the separate kingdoms, and was, in a certain sense, the exponent of their essential unity. It is especially noteworthy that the *weregild* of an archbishop was the same as that of a king—7200 shillings. Theodore (died 690) had already dared to interfere in the royal privilege of appointing and deposing bishops. Yet ecclesiastical influence was not all-powerful; laymen still maintained influence in Church affairs, and the clergy remained subject to the secular tribunals. Even the recognition of the authority of the papal primate could become a matter of doubt, if his decision did not harmonize with the wish of the potentates, as was exemplified in the renewed deposition of Bishop Wilfrid, in 703, with its consequences. This illustrious man, the foremost champion of Romish supremacy, died in 709.

The power of Catholicism grew so great that it crushed out the Scottish Church, even in its own country. Measures were first taken in a hesitating manner through Adamnan, priest-abbot of Hii. There was passionate resistance till, in 716, a monk named Egbert settled in the monastery and became its abbot. Egbert was the first Anglo-Saxon who conducted mission-work abroad on a systematic plan, and thus the Irish system was attacked in its strongest fortress. A bishopric could be erected among the southern Scots. Hii itself was laid waste by piratical Northmen. Only the Welsh maintained for a time the ancient creed, for with them their Church and national freedom were bound into one.

But though the British Church was thus at an end as an organized system, its influences were far from being extinct. Just as heathen usages and ways of thinking passed into and modified Christianity, so did Celtic peculiarities inoculate and affect Anglo-Saxon Catholicism. We observe this particularly in its accentuation of monasticism, and of the Celtic instinct for itinerancy and conversion. The word "Monastery" received in England a wider meaning than on the continent. It became customary for parents to dedicate their children to it in their tenderest years, and let them grow up shut up within its gloomy walls. The



Back of a casket upon which is carved upon whalebone a scene representing the capture of Jerusalem. London, British Museum.

(From a photograph.)

The inscription, in part in Anglo-Saxon Runic characters, in part in Latin letters, reads as follows, beginning at the lower left-hand corner:

Her feġtað	Titus end Giuðcau	Hic fīgiant Hiernsalām	aftatores (= habitatores)
Here fight	Titus and the Jews.	Here flee Jerusalem's	inhabitants.

The words *Dom* (judgment), at the left, and *Gisæl* (torture), at the right, of the lower band, refer to the scenes there figured.

Frankish monastery, however, served as a state-prison, into which only throneless princes withdrew of their own accord; but in England, Sigbert, the East Anglian, already assumed the monkish garb. The time was passing away when the offspring of Woden considered death on a sick-bed the greatest ignominy. Compunction seized even the red-handed Ceawalla of Wessex, who went as a penitent to Rome, where he was baptized, under the name of Peter, and entered a convent, in which he died in 689. The blessing of the pope, and a grave in St. Peter's, such as was accorded to him, were already attracting many kings of the island to the Tiber, who brought thither rich gifts, of which the Roman soil has even in our own days yielded significant testimony. Less illustrious Anglo-Saxons also sojourned—many for a long time—in the Holy City, and on Monte Cassino. Formal pilgrimage-caravans traversed the empire, and some went as far as the Holy Land. (Cf. PLATE VII.) The same people, who but a short while before had to receive their priests from the mainland, were now passionate in their efforts for the conversion of continental pagans. Nay, the Irish-Anglo-Saxon mania for pilgrimages seized the people of the mainland, also, and even the English royal passion for the monastic life found imitators in the Frankish Carloman and the Langobard Rachis. The great English revival resulted in transforming the constitution of both Church and state among the Franks, and the character of the peoples of inner Germany.

The laity was sometimes simply carried away by the Gospel. The low-born Caedmon was stricken with it and translated the substance of Scripture into song. Of his great epic poems in the Northumbrian dialect, unfortunately only one hymn on the Creation remains to us satisfactorily authenticated. Another poem, on the same subject, which has been recently ascribed to him, shows that he had poetic gifts of no mean order. We quote a few lines:

“Earth was yet
As to grass ungreen. Ocean lay
In sempiternal night—wan waves
Far and wide. Then was Heaven-ward's spirit
Borne glorious-bright over the sea
With great speed.”

Over against this description of nature let us set the wild fury of the Battle-song:

“Then the lances rang loud; together the battle-armies
Leapt in their wrath. The black raven sang,
The feather-bedecked bird, amid the arrow-showers,
Hoping for warrior-corses. There was the hard war-game,
Interchange of death-implements, the mighty battle-cry
And loud-resounding crash of hosts. With their hands whirled
The giants from their sheaths the ring-variegated swords.”

Cædmon died in 680, probably. He opened the field of national sacred poetry for his people, especially for the West Saxon Aldhelm, and the Northumbrian Cynewulf, the father of the great cycle of song having Christ as its subject. Aldhelm was a pupil of Theodore's companion, Adrian of Naples—a learned man who stored his knowledge in Latin works, partly prose and partly verse. Aldhelm's productions show the painstaking elaboration of the school, with a decided talent for form. Of his Old English poems none are extant, but their characteristic alliteration appears in his Latin productions. By his side stands Bede (Baeda) the first German to master the sum of ancient learning which was then preserved. He was a thoroughly practical man, and endowed with the highest faculty for effective work. He left behind him an almost immeasurable number of works, which form a sort of encyclopedia of the knowledge of his period—theology, history, poetry, geography, chronology, physics, music, philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, medicine, etc.

It was a time of incredible literary activity. Literature was then in the bloom of youth among the Anglo-Saxons, whose devotion to it far exceeded that of their continental contemporaries. People of all countries and classes, and books of all kinds streamed to Bede's Northumbrian monastery, affording him material for his works. A lively epistolary correspondence took shape, and this largely with countrymen across the sea. Those sojourning in foreign lands brought or sent falcons, weapons, vestments, books, even transcripts, out of the papal archives, of the briefs of Gregory the Great, and received in return knives, bells, parchment, books, etc. Boniface, busy as he was, found time to divert his home-staying sister by propounding poetical riddles symbolizing the virtues and vices, and to show his skill in the art of intricate verse. York developed into a centre of culture from the time that Egbert, who was of royal descent, assumed the crosier there in 732. In 735, he received the archiepiscopal consecration from Rome, by which Canterbury's claim to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of all the land was nullified and England divided into two church-provinces. A few years later, Egbert's brother, Eadbert, attained the Northumbrian throne, as a result of which the rulers in the Church and state labored in hearty unison for nearly twenty years. A school was founded in York, of which a relative, Aelbert, was made master. Like Bede, he was a man of wide culture, acquired not only by study of books but by extensive travel. On Egbert's death, in 766, he became his successor, and completed the stately cathedral begun by Wilfrid, while, in Alcuin, he gave the school a head of the foremost rank. The school-library was said to contain "all that Rome had produced, what the Greeks had transmitted to the Latins, and what the

Hebrew people had received through revelation from on high." Not long did Alcuin remain the teacher of Northumbria; in 781, Charlemagne called him to his court. Notwithstanding all efforts in favor of polite literature, the native speech maintained itself side by side with the Latin much more effectually than on the Continent. The Bible, and, in particular, the Lord's Prayer, were translated into the vernacular, the baptismal formula and the sermon were couched in homely phrase, and even the mass was not entirely recited in Latin.

Notwithstanding the general spread of biblical knowledge and culture, the people kept their love for the ways of their forefathers. Years later edicts had to be issued against the worship of idols and the adoration of the sun, moon, fire, water, trees, and stones. Yet in the half-pagan Anglo-Saxon we recognize the true, though rude, type of the modern Englishman—capacity for labor, perseverance, practicality, love of travel, an earnest craving for faith, a deep affection for family and home, a passion for collecting, and a keen desire for gain. Freemen could become members of the official nobility (thanes) by the acquisition of five hides, and, at a later period, merchants could become such by three foreign voyages. At length, in point of faith, of state-constitutions and laws, the various kingdoms found themselves in accord, so that the path seemed prepared for unification; and yet the Eighth Century was a time of splitting up. Not even a Bretwalda could gain predominance.

Kent, comparatively insignificant in size, had early acquired predominance, through the bravery of its first kings, its relations with France, and the establishment of the archbishopric. But since Egbert's death, in 673, it had had much to suffer. His son, Eadric, was supplanted by his own brother, Hlothar, who, in turn, had to maintain an adverse struggle with Aethelred of Mercia, and finally, in 685, died of a wound received in a fight with the South Saxons who were in alliance with Eadric. The latter rewon his throne, but only held it for a short time. The West Saxons, under Ceadwalla, Mul, and Ine, burst into his land, and devastated it till he bought peace with a large ransom. Internal distraction following on Eadric's violent death in 686 seemed to complete the ruin of Kent, which, for a time, ceased to be a recognized kingdom. Even the archbishopric remained vacant for two years after the death of Theodore. Ultimately, on the appointment of Berktwald as his successor on August 31, 693, and the accession of Egbert's second son, Wihtraed, order was so far restored that he was able to reign for thirty-nine years—till 725—his son, Eadbert, till 748, and then his second son, Aethelberht, till 762. At this last date the little kingdom

split in two—the districts of Canterbury and Rochester, out of which it had been formed—and lost all cohesion. The archbishopric remained the sole memorial of its unity.

Its petty neighbors fared even worse. Sussex was made by Ceadwalla into a province of Wessex and disappeared from history. Of Essex we know scarcely more than the names of its kings. One of these, Offa, is known to us as having gone to Rome; of another—Sveabraed—a charter is extant (PLATE VIII.¹). At times two brothers

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

Charter of King Sveabraed of Essex: dated June 13, 704 A. D. $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. London, British Museum. (From Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

✠ In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi saluatoris. Quamuis solus sermo sufficeret ad testimonium, attamen pro cautella futurorum temporum, ne quis forte posterum fraudulentam ignorantiae piaculum perperam incurrat, ideirco scedulis saltim uilibus pro ampliore firmitatis supplemento necessarium reor adnectere, quapropter ego Sveabraed rex Eastsaxonorum et ego Paecgthath eum licentia Aedelredi regis comis aliquantulum agri partem pro remedio animarum nostrarum Uualdharo episcopo in dominio donare decreuimus id est xxx. cassatorum in loco, qui dicitur Tuicanhom in provincia, quae nuncupatur Middelseaxan. Haec autem terra his locorum limitibus designatur: ab oriente et austro flumine Tamisae terminata, a septentrione plaga torrente, cuius uocabulum est Fiscesburna. Possessionem autem huius terrae taliter, ut supra diximus, cum campis sationalibus pascualibus pratis palludibus piscuariis fluminibus elusuris omnibus quae ad eam pertinentibus in dominio supra dicti episcopi possidendum perpetuale iure tradidimus et liberam habeat potestatem agendi, quodcumque uoluerit. Porro ut firmior huius donationis largitio iugiter seruaretur, etiam testes adiunximus, quorum nomina subter tenentur inserta. Si quis uero successorum nostrorum hanc donationis nostrae munificentiam augere et amplificare maluerit, auget dominus partem eius in libro uitae. Si quis e diuerso, quod absit, tyrannica potestate fretus infringere temptauerit, sciat se ante tribunal Christi tremibundum rationem redditurum maneatque nihilominus in sua firmitate haec kartala scripta Anno ab incarnate domini nostri dcc.iiii., indie. ii., tertia decima die mensis iunii, quod est idus iunii.

✠ Ego Coenredus rex Merciorum hanc terram Waldharo episcopo pro remedio anime meae in dominio donare decreui in loco, qui dicitur Tuiceanham, et libenti animo propria manu erueem infixi.

✠ ego Headda episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego Cotta abbas con. et sub.

✠ ego Sveabraedus rex Eastsaxonum propria manu.

✠ ego Peohthat sig. ma. imposui.

✠ ego Friodoret sig. m. ✠ Eadred sig.

✠ Coenheard sig. m. ✠ Cymmj sig.

✠ Cudraed sig. m. ✠ Pagara sig.

✠ Uilloc sig. m.

✠ ego Ciolred Merc. hanc donationem quam aute donauit propinquus meus Coenraedus rex, et ego confirmari in loco Arcencale et signum sancte crucis expressi.

✠ Aelrie sig. m.

✠ Lulla sig. m.

✠ Cynrie sig. m.

✠ Eadberht sig.

✠ Seeftwine sig.

✠ Wulf hat sig.

✠ Tuduna sig.

TRANSLATION.

✠ In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Although a word alone would be sufficient as evidence, I have, with a view to security in future times, deemed it proper, in order that none of posterity might fall into the misfortune of deceitful ignorance, even to commit to this sheet with a view to greater security the statement that I, Sveabraed, king of the East Saxons and I, Paecgthath, with permission of Aethelred, the king, his earl,

ruled in common. The ancient royal house of East Anglia became extinct with Alfvold in 749, and in 794 it lost its independence to Offa of Mercia, in conflict with whom Aethelberht, its last king, fell.

In the North, Northumbria and Mercia remained pre-eminent, but at the cost of constant warfare. Oswy's son Ekfrid succeeded, indeed, in repressing the insurgent southern Piets, and in wresting the province of Lincoln from Wulfhere of Mercia, but he gained no enduring predominance, for the Mercian retained his conquests in Wessex, Sussex, and Essex. His brother Aethelred, who succeeded him in 675, after waging a victorious war with Kent, rewon Lincoln. At length an armistice was brought about through the mediation of Archbishop Theodore, and a marriage arranged between Aethelred and Ekfrid's sister, Ostryth.

Ekfrid, thus protected in his rear, directed his attention to the Celts. He sent an army to Ireland, which ravaged the island, while he himself marched against the Piets, but, falling into an ambush, was slain with most of his forces (685). This gave rise to a reactionary movement. The Piets pressed southward and reoccupied their old territory south of the Forth, whereby Northumbria was again reduced to its

have determined to bestow, in fee, upon Bishop Waldharius for the good of our souls, a piece of land, viz., thirty farms in the place called Twickenham, in the region named Middlesex. Now this territory is designated by the following boundaries: on the east and south it is bounded by the river Thames, on the north by a brook named Fischesburn.

This land, as above recited, with its sown fields, moors, meadows, marshes, streams with fish, and all the enclosed spaces which belong to it, we have so handed over to the bishop named above as to be his by perpetual right of possession, and he shall have free power to do with them whatsoever he wills. Furthermore, that this gift may be maintained the more securely, we have added witnesses whose names are subjoined. If any one of our successors will increase and enlarge this splendid gift the Lord will increase his portion in the Book of Life. If, however, which God forbid, he shall, relying upon his despotic power, seek to diminish it, let him know that before the awful judgment-seat of Christ he must make his reckoning, and that this charter shall, in spite of him, remain in full force, which was written in 704, since the incarnation of our Lord, in the second indiction, on the thirteenth of the month of June, i. e. on the Ides of June.

✠ I, Coenred, king of the Mercians, have caused to be given to the Bishop Waldharius for the good of my soul, this land in the place called Twickenham, and have gladly, with my own hand, added the cross.

✠ I, Bishop Headda, consent and subscribe my name.

✠ I, the Abbot Cotta, consent and subscribe.

✠ I, Sveabraed, king of the East Saxons, with my own hand.

✠ I, Peohthat, add my sign manual.

✠ I, Friodoret, sign manual.

✠ Coenheard.

✠ Eadred.

✠ Cudraed.

✠ Cymmi.

✠ Villoc.

✠ Pagara.

✠ I, Ciolred, the Mercian, confirm this gift, which my kinsman, King Coenraedus had formerly made, in the place Arencale, and have written upon it the sign of the Holy Cross.

✠ Aelric.

✠ Seaftwine.

✠ Lulla.

✠ Wulfhat.

✠ Cynric.

✠ Tnduna.

✠ Eadberht.

original limits. Ekfrid's illegitimate brother, Aldfrid, an educated man of the Irish school, now assumed the leadership, and fought, but without success, against the Picts. On his death in 705 the power of Northumbria, weakened through internal disorders, began to wane. Eadwulf, dispossessing the deceased's minor children, seized the throne, but was able to hold it only two months against the legitimate claims of Aldfrid's eight-year-old son, Osred. Berhtfrid, the foremost ealdorman of Northumbria, and the vindicator of Osred's rights, now really conducted the government, though, nominally, it was in the hands of the queen-mother. A contest that had broken out, on Aldfrid's expulsion, over the Northumbrian bishoprics, was, during the minority, composed through Berhtfrid's accommodating spirit, yet order was not thereby restored. The nobles remained rapacious and unbridled, and Osred, when he grew up, proved overbearing, violent, and dissolute—debauching the very nuns. In 716 he was assassinated by his relatives. His successors, Coenred (718) and Osric (729), also met with violent deaths, and with them the princely house of Northumbria came to a close.

Henceforth the crown sank into being elective, and the prize of the most powerful. In 729 Ceolwulf, Coenred's brother, was chosen king, only to be tonsured in 731, and shut up in a monastery. His party, however, soon regained the ascendancy, and reseated him on the throne. He was a man of intellectual acquirements to whom Bede dedicated his "History of the English Church." He promoted the erection of York into an archbishopric, an event of high import for Northern England. But these, and similar peaceful labors, were of no effect in this troubled time. Ceolwulf could not repress the turmoils that distracted his kingdom, and, after eight painful years, withdrew in 737 into sea-girt Lindisfarne, where he died in 760. His cousin, Eadbert, who, largely through the help of his brother Egbert, Archbishop of York, next ascended the throne, was of an altogether different temperament. Impetuous and war-loving, he at once fell on the Mercians, to chastise them for an irruption made in his absence, and after repeated campaigns he reconquered the Pictish territory, as far as the lower Clyde. So powerful did he appear that Pepin himself thought it worth while to propitiate him through gifts, and make him his friend. But fortune deserted him, and he suffered a severe defeat. Like his still-living predecessor, he ultimately sought refuge in a monastery in 758, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his best friends. And they were right, for the very next year his son Oswulf was taken off by his own followers. Even the powerful Aethelwald Moll, though the choice of the people, was able to maintain himself but for a few years (until 765), while his successor,

Aethred, was quickly deserted by his very relatives and driven forth from his capital, whereupon he abdicated the throne in 774. He had sought to confirm his position through marriage with a daughter of Oswulf, had cultivated relations with France, and in a formal synod, commissioned the Northumbrian Wilthead to preach to the pagan Friesians. But the refractory spirit of his nobles and their party-intrigues ultimately beat down all his bulwarks. In 788 they defeated the ealdormen, who were faithful to the new king, Aethelred, the son of Aethelwald Moll, and compelled him to abdication and flight. His main antagonist, Oswulf's son, Alfwold, seized the throne and strove to maintain himself there by a life of piety and justice. But his efforts were vain. His great-earl (patrician), Beorn, was burned to death by malcontents, and he himself overthrown and slain in 788 by a band of conspirators with the great-earl Siegan at their head. Aethelred's nephew and successor, Osred II., met with no better success. Aethelred, son of Aethelwald Moll, left his prison; the king was tonsured and was fain to flee. Aethelred's reign was a period of uninterrupted turmoil. Malcontents called on Osred to return; he came, was defeated, and executed. To fill the cup of the land's woes plague and famine wasted it, and in 793 the Northmen landed at Lindisfarne, plundered the abbey and church, and slew or enslaved the monks. Next year they returned and assailed Jarrow, the scene of Bede's tranquil labors, and though they were foiled here, they had shown the way to their brothers at home. Aethelred's bloody rule was brought to a close in 796 by his falling at the hand of an ealdorman. Osbald was called by the conspirators to the throne, but after a reign of twenty-seven days had to make way for Eardulf.

Eardulf endeavored to give stability to his throne through the sanction of the Church. His election on May 26, 796, was followed by his coronation in the cathedral of York, the first Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony of which we have any record. For a time order appeared to have been restored, and a great synod was convened at Pincomheath. But gradually the relatives of the former king stirred up revolt, in hope of spoils. The king triumphed over them, while a quarrel with Mercia was composed by his friends the bishops. Nevertheless he was dethroned by a conspiracy in 806. Eardulf now turned for support to Charlemagne and Pope Leo III., and with such success that he received back his crown, and was able to leave it to his son and his grandson. The union of the crown and the Church gave a new direction to the whole current of Northumbrian history; but its long period of unintermittent turmoil had deposed Northumbria from its once pre-

eminent position, and left thus to the contention of its old rivals, Mercia and Wessex.

At first Mercia also seemed doomed to ruin. Aethelred, its king, lost to Ceadwalla his West Saxon conquests as well as the over-lordship of Sussex and Essex, and like so many of his royal brothers, assumed the cowl, abdicating in favor of his nephew, Coenred, who was already king of the district south of the Humber. Five years later Coenred resigned the crown in favor of Aethelred's son, Ceolred, and with Offa of Essex, repaired to Rome to take the vow of monkhood before the pope. Ceolred, an enemy of the Church, died of a debauch in 716. With him the house of Penda the Strong became extinct. But the hereditary principle was stronger in Mercia than in Northumbria, and Aethelbald, the nearest relative in the side-line, was raised to the throne. He had sought refuge from Ceolred in the marshes, and there, sacrificing self-esteem, had submitted to the teaching of a pious settler. His long reign (716-757) inaugurated a second period of greatness for Mercia. As its ruler he assumed the title of King of Britain, and justified the assumption by the vigor of his dealings with Britons, Northumbrians, and West Saxons.

In 726, Ine of Wessex abdicated and went as a pilgrim to Rome. His successor, Aethelhard, maintained a conflict of four years' duration with a suitor to the throne, and lost the county of Somerset to Aethelbald of Mercia. In his successor, Cuthred, Aethelbald met with a more dangerous rival, but he too, as it seems, had to submit to his over-lordship. A reaction, however, followed. The West Saxons rallied around their king, and at Beorgford, in Oxfordshire, an obstinately contested battle ensued. The powerful ealdorman, Aethelhun, was banner-bearer on the West Saxon side, and in the crush of the fight came in conflict with Aethelbald himself, who gave ground before him, and so dispirited his men. This was the turning-point in Mercia's fate, for although outwardly promoting peace and justice, Aethelbald had lived a life of wild irregularity, which led to imitation and consequent disorder. Notwithstanding, he had once again rallied his people for an effort, when he was treacherously murdered at Seckington, in 757. Beonred, his successor and probably the author of his death, had to retire quickly in favor of Offa, who, like Aethelwald, was a descendant of Penda's brother, Eawa.

The course of events in Wessex corresponded to those in Mercia. Cuthred, on his death, was followed by his relative, Sigbert (Sigebriht), whom his nobles deposed within a year, elevating Cynewulf in his stead. Meanwhile Offa of Mercia secured his throne and made East Anglia and Essex subject. He thereupon attached the Hestings, who evidently

belonged to Sussex, and then addressed himself to Kent, which he subdued at Ottonford, in 775. Thus strengthened at the cost of his weaker neighbors, he began war with Cynewulf of Wessex, who was then engaged in a struggle with the Britons, and did not have a very firm footing at home. In 779, Cynewulf was vanquished by Offa at Bensington, and a year later was murdered at the instigation of Sigbert's brother. His death was a great gain to Offa, who forthwith turned toward the old enemies of his race—the Britons—wresting from them a large tract of land west of the Severn. He settled this tract with Anglo-Saxons and secured it by a strong wall, known as Offa's Dyke, which long constituted the boundary between Wales and England. He felt strong enough to behead the king of the East Angles and leave his throne unoccupied. Thus Wessex was humbled. Beorhtric, its king, married a daughter of Offa, as did Aethelred of Northumbria. Mercia ruled the island almost from sea to sea.

“The mightiest ruler of the West” could not fail to enter into relations with Charlemagne, “the mightiest monarch of the East.” Church and commerce, literary intercourse and mission work among the heathen formed so many ties uniting England and France. At first Charlemagne seems to have taken up a threatening attitude toward Offa in regard to Kent. But when the latter had disposed of it, Charlemagne changed his tone and sought a union between one of Offa's daughters and his son Charles. In return, the Anglo-Saxon demanded the Frankish Bertha for his son Eefrid. This offended the pride of the Arnulfing, who closed some of his harbors, whereupon Offa paid him in his own coin. The situation became so strained that the Archbishop of Canterbury was charged with having encouraged a landing of Franks, and peace was maintained only through the efforts of Aleuin. From that time the two potentates lived as friends. The Englishman presented gifts to St. Denis, and Charlemagne to the churches in Offa's kingdom, and to him sent a shoulder-belt, sword, and silk mantle from the spoils of the Avars (Fig. 49).

His position brought Offa into connection also with Pope Adrian I. In 786, the latter sent two Italian bishops to order Church matters in England, and these instituted two synods—one at Corbridge for Northumbria, and one at Chelsea for Canterbury. At both twenty decrees were submitted by the legates and accepted by the

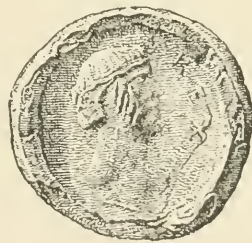


FIG. 49.—Seal of King Offa (?).
(From an impression in the British Museum.)

synods under the presidency of the king and the respective archbishop. Offa availed himself of the second synod to establish an archbishopric for Mercia at Lichfield at the cost of Canterbury, which was now limited to the south of the Thames. The pope he won over to his scheme by the promise of sending yearly 365 gold pieces to Rome. In 788 Bishop Higebyrlt was invested with the pallium—the first and last Archbishop of Lichfield, for at the death of Offa and Adrian no successor was appointed.

The mighty Mercian was a man not altogether unworthy to be the rival of Charlemagne, whom he especially resembled in his care for the codification of folk-law and the advancement of learning. Alcuin celebrates his austerity, self-denial, integrity, and godly fear. To these he added courage, energy, high generalship, ambition, and unscrupulousness where these qualities seemed called for. Ruthlessly he secured the succession to his son, Ecfred, already king of Kent; but to no purpose. At his death in 796, power departed from his house. His wife was murdered, and his son sickened and died a few months afterward.

The kingdom now passed to a cousin, Coenwulf (Fig. 50), whom the clerical annalists depict as able, generous, and upright. From this we infer that the clergy were, at first, friendly to him, and this is confirmed by the course of events in Kent. The people of Kent had raised to the throne a former priest with the title of Eadbert II. Archbishop Aethelhard declared against him, put him under the ban, and then fled to Coenwulf. He, advancing with a strong force, made the priest-king prisoner, and cruelly mutilated him. Powerless to resist, Kent had again to accept its kings from the hands of Mercia. Coenwulf expressed his thanks to the prelate by making over to him the archbishopric of Lichfield, with the purpose, however, of transferring the united see from Canterbury to London. This scheme Aethelhard foiled by a pilgrimage to Rome, when he prevailed on Leo III. to declare in favor of a simple restoration of the earlier order of things, which was formally restored on Aethelhard's return, in 803, at the synod of Clofesho. This so greatly chagrined the king that he gave expression to his feeling by keeping Aethelhard's successor, Wulfrid, six years out of his chair, as well as by extorting from him money compensation and surrender of land. Even the Archbishop of York seems to have been involved in the quarrel, and complained of maltreatment, and Leo himself was overawed by the dread that England might cut entirely loose from the papal see. Such complications could not but weaken the kingdom. Against Eardulf of Northumbria Coenwulf could effect nothing; an inroad into Wessex resulted in total discomfiture, and, finally, he was himself slain

in a campaign against the revolted East Anglia. Thus collapsed, in a moment as it were, the powerful kingdom of Mercia. Coenwulf's son Kenelm was murdered, and, on his brother Ceolwulf's being driven forth and replaced by a man of unknown origin named Beorwulf, the royal



FIG. 50.—Seal of Coenwulf, king of the Mercians. Legend: COENVVLF REGIS +, Rev.: MERCIORVM. From an impression in the British Museum.

house of Mercia ceased to reign. Its latest scion, Baldred of Kent, succumbed in 825 to the arms of Egbert of Wessex, who was destined to reap the fruit of the seed sown by Offa.

It was a consummation little to be expected. Egbert's predecessor, Beorhtric, had had to contend against foes both internal and external, the latter being especially increased by the formidable Northmen, who made their first appearance on the West Saxon coast in 787. Through his wife, Offa's daughter, he became involved in Mercian politics, and through her he perished. She, suspecting a friend of her husband of undermining her influence, mixed for him a cup of poison. The king, all unsuspecting, partook also of the draught, and she, dreading vengeance, fled over-seas with a rich treasure. She met with a friendly reception from Charlemagne, and was endowed with an abbacy, but so scandalous was her life that he hounded her forth, and, at length, she sank so low that she begged her bread in the streets of Pavia. Charlemagne had at first planned to marry her to his son, and so to extend his empire over England also. He now released Egbert, who for thirteen years had lived with him as a refugee from Beorhtric, and he, as a scion of the old royal house of Cerdic, was chosen by the nobles to be his enemy's successor (802–839).

Of the first ten years of Egbert's reign we know little. It is said that, as if in anticipation of the future, the day of his coronation was signalized by a victory over the Mercians. For a length of time he seems to have been engaged in confirming his rule and concentrating his strength. In 815 and 825 he ravaged the British districts of the West, and in this way drew war with the Mercians down upon himself.

At first the Mercians were successful, but were defeated at Ellandun. The battle proved one of the turning-points in English history, because it shifted the Anglo-Saxon hegemony from Mercia to Wessex.

Egbert followed up his victory by compelling the petty states of the South, which had hitherto been under Mercia, to do homage to Wessex. To offset these victories Mercia strove to maintain its over-lordship at least in East Anglia, the king of which sought shelter in Wessex. In 825 Beorwulf threatened them with his army, but fell in the conflict, as his successor, Ludecan, did in 827. The great Mercian state, only recently so predominant, now stood on the brink of ruin. Its people with one voice, indeed, elevated Wiglaf, a member of the side branch of the royal house, to the throne. But in 829 he had to retreat before Egbert's warriors into a convent, and the victor continued northward on his triumphant career. The Northumbrians acknowledged his over-lordship unresistingly, and pledged themselves to tribute. Next year he compelled North Wales to accept the same conditions. It is possible that it was on this occasion that the British name "Mona" was exchanged for the Anglo-Saxon, "Anglesey."

The year 830 marks the date of the birth of the kingdom of England. Egbert's success is to be attributed partly to his training under Charlemagne, but no less to the fact that almost all the royal families of England had become extinct; consequently as a descendant of Cerdic and representing the last family with a hereditary title to the crown, he only took that position which legitimately belonged to him. What for centuries had been the object of struggle, was now attained. Not, indeed, yet in perfect form, for East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, the states of North Wales, Kent, Sussex, and Essex still retained their princes—the last three in the person of Egbert's eldest son. The aim of the predominant West Saxon was not a monarchy, but only a Bretwaldship (over-lordship) of a firmer form than any preceding and on a more enduring basis. That may account for the fact that the land received its name, not from the victorious Saxons, but from the more numerous and long ruling Angles. As early as the Eighth Century the Langobard, Paulus Diaconus, had made use of the expression "Anglo-Saxon," and in the Tenth Century this appears in the royal title in England. Egbert continued to call himself simply King of Wessex. Side by side with the Francia of the Continent there now appears a united island, Anglia.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAPACY.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

AS the power of the early papacy rested, not on territorial domains, but on its dignity and the idea it embodied, the material for its history differs from that for the kingdoms contemporaneous with it. For the latter, our best sources are works recording actual historical occurrences; for the former, documents emanating from the parties interested and constituting immediate memorials of their acts.

Christianity almost immediately on its origin gave rise to church-libraries, wherein books and ecclesiastical documents were deposited. The earliest mention of such for the Church of Rome is made in the *Liber Pontificalis* in its Life of Anterus (235–236), under the name of the Holy *Scrinium* or Archives. Pope Damasus transferred it to the basilica of St. Laurentius, whence it came to the palace of the Lateran, where it rested one thousand years. The Archives soon recognized the world-embracing mission of the papacy, and took pains to give it expression by making excerpts from the more important decretals, which, co-ordinated into epochs, were collected into packets or books—the so-called registers or regests. Under Innocent I. (402–417) numbers were already assigned to the separate rolls, in order to facilitate finding them. With the expansion of the apostolic sphere these grew in importance till they finally comprise the history of Western Christianity. Unfortunately, the registers up to the time of Innocent III. (1197) have been lost, only fragments of those of earlier date remaining. Among these are to be mentioned the collections of the letters of the illustrious Leo I. and Gregory I., and of the *Liber Karolinus*. The first number far over a hundred; Gregory's over nine hundred. The *Liber Karolinus* contains ninety-nine documents. The Bonifacian collection of letters also comprises a series of papal decretals, the earliest of which, dated 719, bears the name of Gregory II.

Much is also to be learned from collections of canon and ecclesiastical law, which are still extant in large numbers. Of these the most important is the collection made by Dionysius Exiguus, which, shortly

after its appearance, became the official code of the Roman see. The so-called "Hispana" was so widely disseminated in its native land in the Seventh Century that the Fourteenth Council of Toledo (684) determined to enlarge it by several canons. In the Frankish empire, from the year 774, the "Dionysio-Hadriana" compilation nearly entirely superseded all others, till it was supplanted in the middle of the Ninth Century by the spurious Spanish one of the Pseudo-Isidore, and thereafter by the later systematic books. Ultimately, Gratian's decretals gained almost exclusive authority. Reference may be made also to a great compilation lately discovered in the British Museum, consisting mainly of papal writings of the Sixth, Ninth, and Eleventh Centuries, among which are more than a hundred hitherto unknown.

Besides briefs, bulls—i. e., formal decrees of the popes, privileges and the like conferred on churches and conventual houses—come into consideration. Having been written on papyrus instead of the more durable parchment, none have come down to us in their original form. The earliest original belong to the period of Pope Paschal I.

There remain to be mentioned collections of formulas for the use of archivists, chapter-officials, and the like. Of those of Roman origin there are the *Ordo Romanus*—of special use for the ritual and priestly office—and the *Liber Diurnus*, rather designed for the administration of affairs. The latter in its present form may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the end of the Seventh or the beginning of the Eighth Century.

These documentary sources are supplemented and elucidated by narrative sources, among which the "Lives of the Popes"—the *Liber Pontificalis*, or *Pontificale Romanum*, is the most important. In imperial Rome a state calendar was occasionally issued. This work, according to a copy of the year 354, comprised a calendar proper, lists of consuls, Easter tables, a list of the city prefects, the death days of Roman bishops and martyrs, a catalogue of the popes, a brief chronology of the world, along with a history of the city of Rome and a description of its districts. There are other and later annals, such as those of Ravenna, which, meagre at first and disconnected, become in the Fifth Century more fruitful and precise, and of an official character. Such chronicles were occasionally revised, enlarged, and continued. The Ravenna Annals had an extraordinary circulation down till the Ninth Century, almost all the West Roman chroniclers, and one East Roman one, availing themselves of them for the chronological groundwork of their productions. The catalogue of the popes had a similar development. Widened in its scope and enlarged it gradually grew into the source already named—

the *Pontificale Romanum*. This has been commonly ascribed to the papal librarian, Anastasius, who flourished in the Ninth Century, but older manuscripts show that it was begun as early as the Seventh. By reason of its semi-official character, whatever affected the city of Rome comes somewhat too prominently to the foreground. With the life of Pope Zacharias (741) it becomes of more general interest and supplements Paulus Diaconus.

For the oldest period we have the scantiest materials—for the first three centuries, indeed, essentially only lists of the popes. These have been divided into Graeco-Oriental and Latino-Occidental. To the former belong the lists of Hegesippus and Irenaeus (of the Second Century), and those of Eusebius; to the latter, those of Augustine and Optatus.

The section of the calendar recording the deaths of martyrs and popes marks the dawn of a peculiar branch of literature—that, namely, of Martyrologies, in which not only the names, but sketches of the lives and sufferings of the saints are given. The oldest martyrologies are attributed (probably erroneously) to St. Jerome; the most widely disseminated was that of Bede. From England this sort of historiography passed over to Gaul, where it attained great popularity in the Ninth Century. But the notices were too short, and the age demanded longer ones, such as were offered by the legends of the saints. Soon there were such for every day, out of which Wolfhard of Herrieden made a collection in the Tenth Century. This and other compilations were supplanted by the Golden Legend of Jacob of Genoa, which was found very convenient. It has little historic merit, but the detailed sketches of a few saints are found of value. Allied to the martyrologies, and often bound up along with them, are the necrologies—that is, records of the deaths of all those whose memories were to be held in honor by their respective churches.

With the above the Church historical literature proper is tolerably exhausted. We have, of course, in addition the works of the secular historians—of Cassiodorus, Procopius, Gregory of Tours, the Venerable Bede, Paulus Diaconus, and others.

In monuments of Christian art and culture, Rome, notwithstanding the vandalism of two thousand years, is richer than any other city.

THE DEPENDENT PAPACY OF THE EARLIEST TIMES (A. D. ?—590).

Ancient Rome, as capital of the Empire to which she lent her name, was the centre of a universal sovereignty. When her material power collapsed, she, with equal justice, laid claim to moral supremacy, in virtue of her Church as the centre of spiritual life, and in her own right as the embodiment of culture and civilization. In her, tradition, secular and

spiritual, blended harmoniously. Rome was venerated, not only as the cradle of Romulus and Remus, but yet more as the apostolic see, halloved by the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul.

We cannot overestimate the influence which the importance of Rome had on the development of the papacy. Even after the halo of her worldly glory had waned and faded and her once revered senate had sunk to the level of a town council, she still remained the geographical and ideal centre of Italy, as well as one of its greatest cities, glorious with the architectural memorials of bygone greatness. Nowhere did Romanism (which began to be synonymous with Orthodoxy) come more prominently to view than in Rome herself. Here the imperial power was enthroned (or had lately been enthroned); hither flocked the foremost intellects; whoever would make anything known to the world had to promulgate it in Rome. The era of classical architecture had come to a close with the building of Aurelian's Walls, and the construction of the Baths of Diocletian and Constantine. In place of structures of this class churches and chapels began to appear, simple at first even to meanness, but gaining by degrees in richness and splendor, till they culminated in the renowned basilicas of St. John of the Lateran, St. Peter of the Vatican, and St. Paul before the Walls. The growing veneration for saints and martyrs increased their number extraordinarily, while in the Catacombs there was developed a second Rome—subterranean and purely Christian—stretching around the city in a circle of from fifteen to thirty miles (Figs. 51-65).¹ Innumerable confessors and believers lay there interred, making it a point of attraction for pilgrims, who streamed thither from all parts of the world, every one eager to carry away some precious relic. When genuine relics, or the supposedly genuine ones, no longer met the demand, a brisk trade in manufactured ones sprang up, and soon attained such proportions that their manufacture had to be prohibited by law. Nevertheless it was very important that this veneration for the saints should make the Holy City into the capital of Christendom, and that she possessed the means for satisfying this feeling.

Doubts have fallen upon even her first apostles. Many regard only Paul's residence as sufficiently authenticated, that of Peter as at best barely probable. In effect, this was a matter of indifference, for the conviction soon took shape that the Romish Church was founded by Peter and Paul, and that both suffered under Nero. Later centuries placed their heads on the seals of their successors, the popes, or, more accurately, of the successors of Peter, who was regarded as the first pope.

In virtue of Christ's commission ("Thou art Peter, and on this rock

¹ Figs. 51-65 are illustrations of the Catacombs, and are taken from Roller.

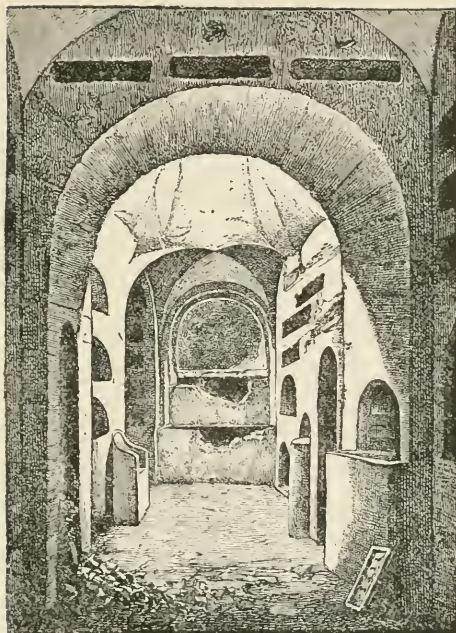


FIG. 51. —Place of worship with episcopal throne; crypt of St. Emerentia. In the wall excavated places for burial (*loculi*).



FIG. 52. —Grave (*loculus*): partially opened, the cover being removed.

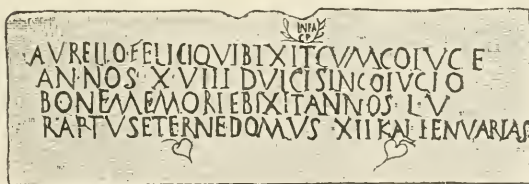


FIG. 53. —Inscription upon a grave: above, an olive-branch. with IN PA | CE.

I will build my church") Peter held the plentitude of apostolic power, and he transmitted it to the wearers of his dignity, irrespective of the fact that the Saviour had bestowed the like dignity on all the apostles.

This passage it was that gave rise to the idea that there was an

essential difference between the bishop of Rome and other prelates, that he was endowed with functions denied to them, and that he had prece-

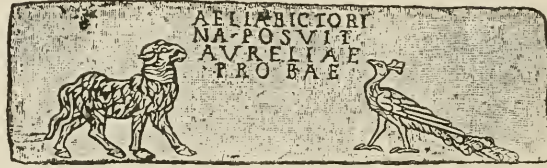


FIG. 54. —Inscription upon the grave of Aurelia Proba, placed there by Aelia Victorina. At the sides a lamb and a peacock.



FIG. 55. —Mural painting: a *fossor* or *fossorius*, grave-digger in the Catacombs.

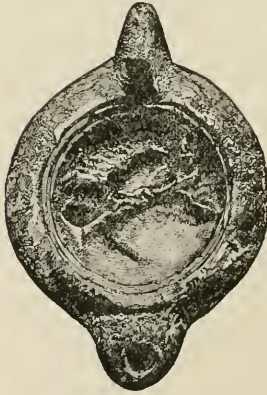


FIG. 56. —Lamp with a bird and a branch. Perhaps of heathen origin, since the bird is hardly a dove, and the branch is not an olive-branch.

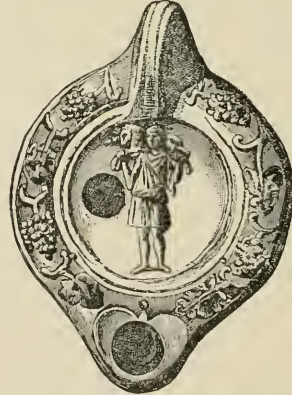


FIG. 57. —Early Christian lamp, with the Good Shepherd. Found in a house in Ostia, burned down in the Third Century.

dence over all, or, in other words, was primate. The patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem might, indeed, have made similar

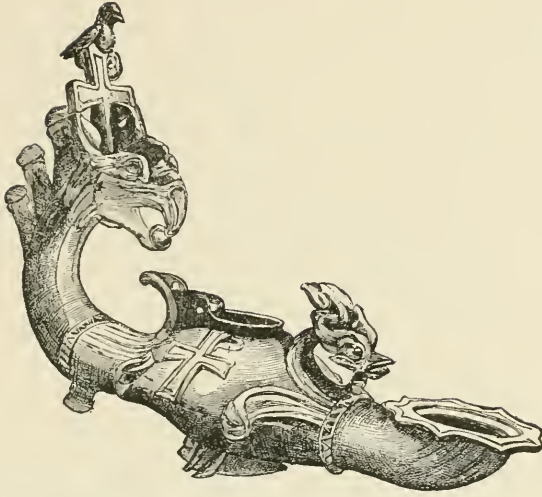


FIG. 58. —Late Christian lamp. The handle terminates in a dragon's head on which rests a cross with a bird mounted upon it. Found at Oporto.

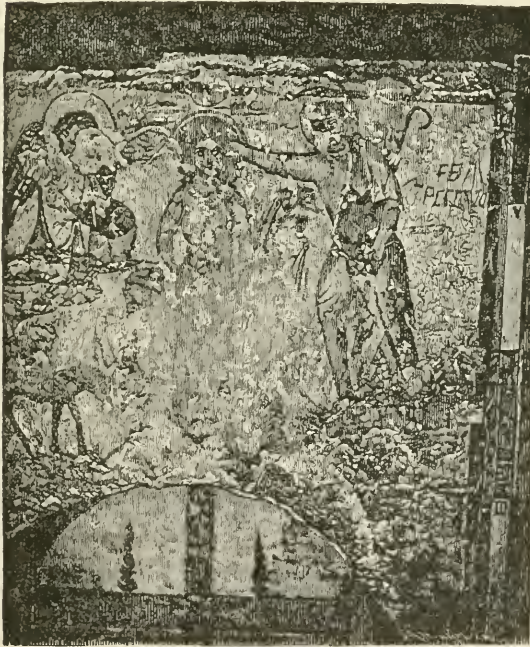


FIG. 59. —Mural painting. A baptism.

claims, but they labored in the East, which had none of the political importance of Rome. Then the extent of his diocese came into play.

The authority of the Roman metropolitan extended over the ten provinces subject to the *Vicarius Urbis*—i. e., over the Islands, over South Italy, and a part of Middle Italy. In the other districts ruled by the *Vicarius Italiae*, Milan, the occasional second capital, claimed from the time of St. Ambrose (374–397) a similar authority, without, however, being able to vindicate it. In the course of the Fifth Century the third



FIG. 60. —Mural painting in a burial place. Jesus and the Samaritan woman.



FIG. 61. —Mural painting in the catacombs of Callistus. Christians offering prayer: above each figure a name, with the words IN PACE.

metropolis, Ravenna, along with Emilia, branched off, and ultimately Aquileia also, with Venetia and Istria. The weakening of Milan told naturally in favor of Rome, especially as it submitted to the Langobards, while the city on the Tiber successfully resisted them. Despite all this

Milan held to its claim with peculiar tenacity, for as late as the Tenth Century its prelate ventured to designate himself as "pope," and even the two other Italian metropolitan cities repeatedly placed themselves on a level with, instead of in subordination to, Rome.

For Rome's ecclesiastical history down to the end of the First Century, the letters of Clement to the Corinthians afford reliable material; at that time no bishopric existed there. About seventy years later, under Anicetus (155?-166)—and not earlier—it appears in outline, soon to develop under unusually favorable circumstances. The craving for unity, the monarchical character of Catholicism, and the need for an authoritative head, all worked in favor of Rome. The preponderance of power still lay in the hands of the emperors, while the East and not the West was at the head of the religious movement. Almost all the



FIG. 62.



FIG. 63.



FIG. 61.

FIG. 62. — Engraved gem, with representation of a fish as a symbol of Jesus Christ. The letters spelling the Greek word for fish, ΙΧΘΥΣ, are the initial letters of the words in the phrase *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ* (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour).

FIG. 63. — Christian symbol: two doves facing the monogram of Christ; they typify souls approaching their Master.

FIG. 61. — Christian symbol: two doves upon the branches of an olive tree, with olive-twigs in their beaks, facing a Latin cross, which probably signifies the crucified Christ.

technical terms of the earlier theological controversies are Greek, paganism maintaining itself fast-rooted on the Tiber. But it was precisely this trait of conservatism that attracted men's eyes thither, and this all the more because the intellectual fervor of the East was only too consistent with a fatal proneness to bickering and theological quibbling. It was different with Rome. Here there was less care taken to remodel and expand the creed than to conserve it and give it a practical character. Not a single essentially dogmatic decretal has come down to us from the first four centuries. Eastward, there prevailed disorder and a passion for meddling, muddling, and experimenting; everything was in a state of flux and uncertainty. On the Tiber there was certitude and constancy. Thus we find at Rome, from the very beginning, a thoroughly adroit manipulation of circumstances and a rising spirit of assumption.

The weightiest claim of Rome was to be regarded as the first bishopric, foremost in rank and authority over all Christendom. In the West she

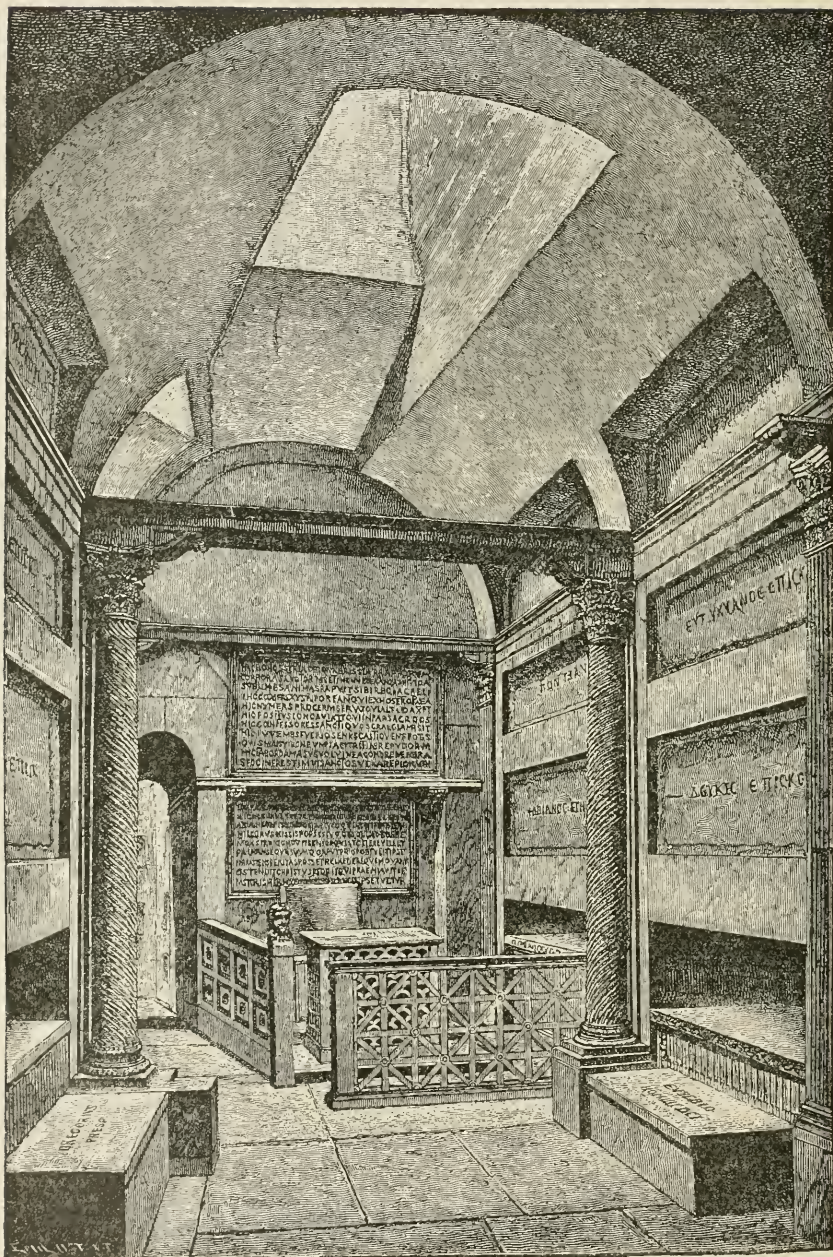


FIG. 65. —From the catacombs of Rome. Burial-place of the popes of the Third Century.

had no rival, and here, naturally, the idea of her supremacy first found recognition. Just about the time when the Roman primacy began to develop, Constantine the Great declared Christianity the state religion,

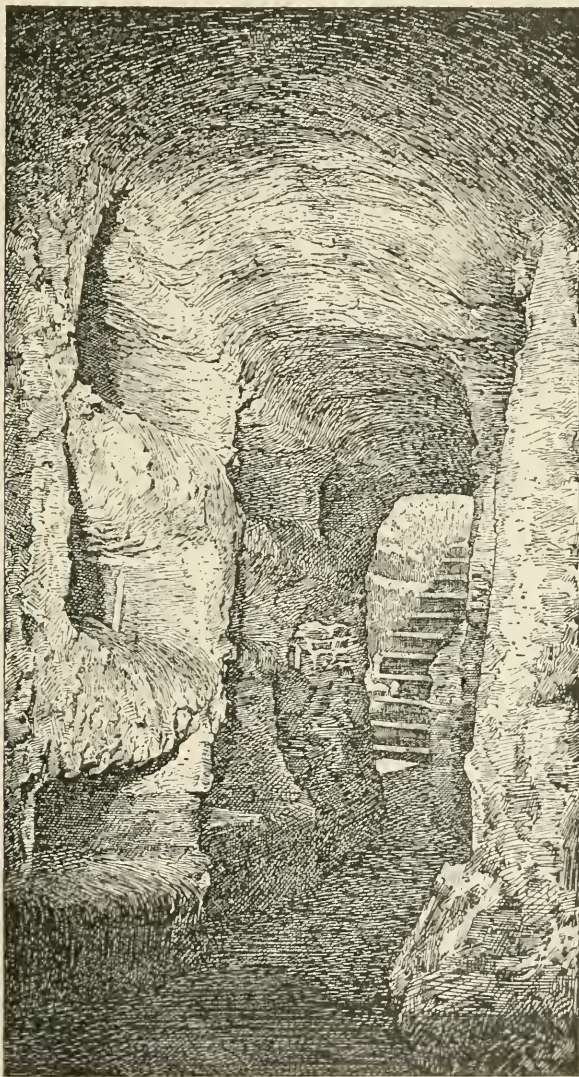


FIG. 66.—Entrance to the Catacombs of Pontianus, Bishop of Rome. From a photograph. (Backhouse-Tylor.)

and removed the seat of empire to Byzantium. Political preponderance was thus transferred to the East, wherewith the Church was relieved of

an oppressive rival authority, and the halo of the tiara no longer paled before the lustre of the diadem. Toward the end of the Fourth Century the separation between the East and the West became continuously wider, and the latter began to shake itself free from theological dependency. This change St. Jerome furthered by his translation of a great portion of the sacred writings, thus making advance in doctrinal knowledge independent of an acquaintance with Greek. Ambrose and Augustine were pre-eminent over all their contemporaries, and the latter boldly declared that the Church stood higher than the state and that the emperor was its servant, not its master. Still that was not actually the case.

The edict of Constantine, which, in 325,¹ called the Fathers to the Council of Nice, placed the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch on an equal footing. But this arrangement, too, was modified; the old patriarchal chairs of the East were overshadowed by the new capital on the Bosphorus. As Rome was the metropolitan Church of the West, so did that of Constantinople grow to be the foremost in the East, only that it remained dependent on the emperor.

The Romish precedency implied no functions, but was purely moral. These claims were first introduced at the Council of Sardica (343), and this from the conception of the Church being founded on the sure rock, Peter. In the course of the bitter dogmatic controversies of the time, many bishops had been unjustly accused and suspected. Now, according to a decree of this council, every condemned cleric could address himself to Rome, which could give the case to be investigated anew to the synod of a neighboring province. The Council of Sardica was not universally recognized; and in order to make this decision valid in Africa it was appended without modification to the decrees of the Council of Nice. This manipulation does not appear to have been instigated by conscious dishonesty, and on its expediency becoming obvious to the popes, they sustained it and caused the composite instrument to be disseminated in the West. The secular arm also came to their help. From political motives Theodosius, in 380, commanded that the empire should accept the faith which St. Peter had delivered to the Romans—an edict that became conclusive in regard to creed and teaching. The Roman bishops became increasingly occupied with matters of dogma; in the heated controversies over Augustine's views on predestination they were constantly appealed to for their decision. Their verdicts were adroit, with careful accentuation of their duty in regard to the whole Church. Thus their official sphere widened rapidly. Damasus I. (364-384) and Innocent I.

¹ In FIG. 66 is represented what was originally the tomb of Constantia, Constantine's sister, built early in the Fourth Century.

(402–417) were men of eminent ability. One step only remained now to be taken, and this was accomplished by the edict of the weak Valen-

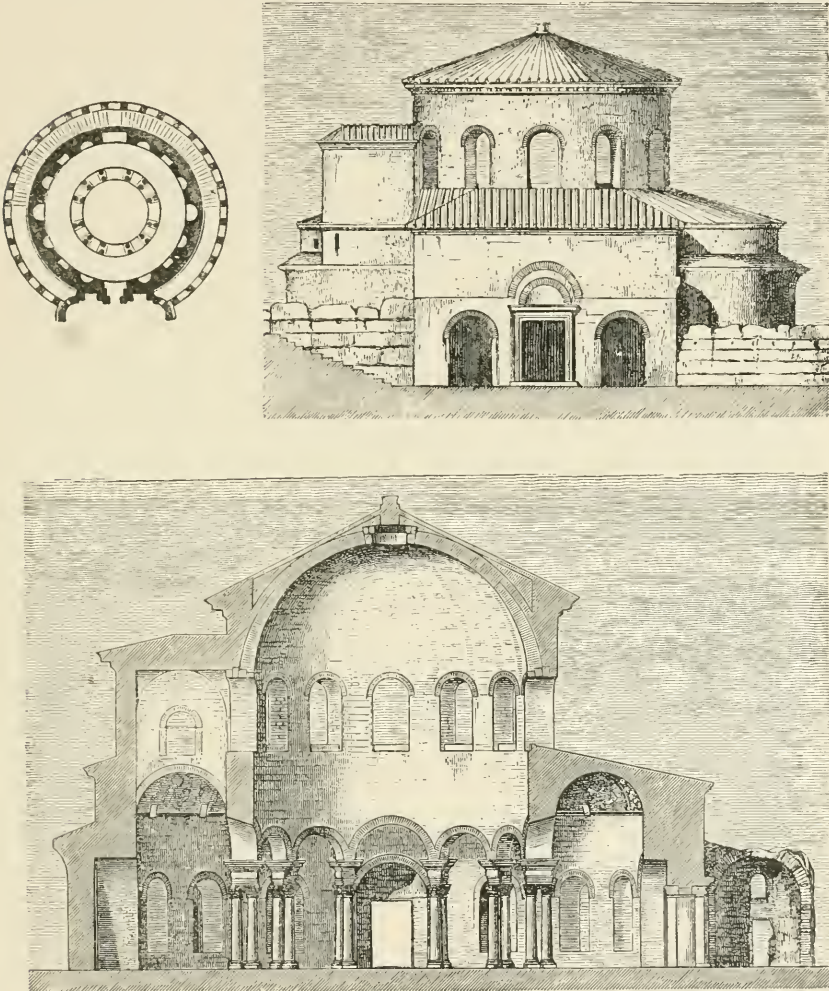


FIG. 67.—St. Costanza in Rome. Ground-plan, exterior view, and cross-section. The modern church of St. Costanza was originally the tomb of Constantia, sister of Constantine, and was built after her death, in 328 A. D., on the Via Nomentana. In spite of a hardness in the treatment of the form, this edifice exhibits combinations of architectonic features, wholly non-classical, yet full of promise. It consists in an elevated hemispherical dome, whose circular supporting walls rest upon an arcade of pairs of columns. The central structure is surrounded by a lower gallery, with arched ceiling.

tinian III. (445), which transferred the highest legislative and judicial functions to the apostolic chair.

Where now were the days when a Bishop of Corinth dared recall the fact that his see, like that of Rome, was planted by Peter and Paul; when a pope declined to pronounce on a question of heresy as having no authority to judge autocratically; when Carthaginian synods admonished him of becoming humility, inhibited him from all interference, and formally rejected his teaching concerning original sin; when Cyprian claimed equal authority and honor for all apostles; when the zealot, Sulpicius Severus, in his "History of the Church," would know nothing of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome; and when an ecumenical council was held (381) that established the dogma of the Holy Ghost without the apostolic chair being represented? A new era was now inaugurated. It was begun by Leo I. (440-461), the first pope of universal importance in the history of the world.

Loyal to his office, imposing, a fervid orator, deep-read in theology, discreet, far-seeing, and bold, Leo knew how to use circumstances for the aggrandizement of authority, and courageously determined to avail himself of them to the utmost. Abroad, the prospect was desolate and dismal enough. The Roman Empire had crumbled to pieces under the iron tread of its German conquerors. Attila with his Huns was rioting at will on the frontiers, while at Ravenna, a woman, Placidia, and an imperial weakling, ruled. Ecclesiastical dissensions were no less rife; everywhere Manicheans, Priscillianists, Pelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and others, strove and struggled. Under the circumstances the ship of St. Peter had to be safely steered through the buffeting surge.

The unusually large number of his letters show that Leo busied himself with everything. He wrote to the Italian bishops, to the African, Spanish, and Sicilian, to the bishops of Thessalonica, Constantinople, Ravenna, Aquileia, Narbonne, Alexandria, etc. He tried to compose the Nestorian controversy, his decision showing better judgment than that of anyone else; he proceeded with decision against the Priscillianists, and the refractory Church of Illyria he firmly held. The heavy hand of the Vandals in Africa drove crowds of fugitives to Rome, and compelled the long-dissentient African clergy to recognition of his supremacy. But this very zeal brought him into collision with two parties, namely, the Gallic bishops and the Patriarch of Constantinople, the consequences of which showed themselves in varying form for centuries.

In Gaul, Arles had become the capital and the chief commercial emporium. Thither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the diet of the seven provinces, and his protégé, Bishop Patroclus, sought to elevate it into the metropolitan see of twenty-eight bishoprics of the provinces of Vienne and of Narbonne I. and II. He had obtained a

letter from Pope Zosimus declaring the apostolic chair of Arles to be the oldest in Gaul. Hence the faith had been promulgated over the land, and consequently it deserved the exclusive right of ordination to the above sees. The Gallic bishops, with the bishops of Narbonne, Vienne, and Marsilles at their head, remonstrated, and succeeded in having the independence of each separate Church-province virtually established by Pope Boniface I. Things remained thus till the energetic Bishop Hilary anew initiated movements for the supremacy of Arles. The political situation favored his efforts, which further had the support of the secular officials and the strong hand of force. But now the appeal was made to Leo I., who convened a synod which proceeded in the sharpest manner against the arrogant Hilary, vindicated the independence of the separate metropolitan sees, and conclusively set aside the idea of an uncontrolled Gallic primate. Not Arles, but Vienne, was declared the ecclesiastical capital of the province. Gradually, however, the old longing again found expression among a number of South Gallic bishops, who in 450 addressed themselves to Leo, with the declaration that of old not only did the right of consecrating the bishops of the three provinces belong to the pastor of Arles, but that, inasmuch as the representation of the apostolic chair had been delegated to him, he was really supreme over all Gaul. So much Leo would not concede, but he divided the province of Vienne into two metropolitan dioceses, the greater for Arles. On its bishop was conferred the prerogative of summoning the suffragan bishops to councils, as well as the rights and duties of a papal vicar in Gaul. In this way the Bishop of Arles enjoyed a precedence over his Gallic brethren, and was able to hold them together despite the predominating Arian rule, and to become the connecting-link between the Gallic Church and Leo's successors, who fairly ruled the Gallic Church for a time. But dissensions continued. On the partition of the Frankish empire into three kingdoms, the great bishop sunk into being vicar of only one of these, and the kings were as little inclined as the Frankish Church to recognize the papal claims.

The development was more violent in the East. On October 8, 451, the Synod of Chalcedon convened to settle the Eutychian controversy. Leo had expected that his legates would have the presidency, but this fell to the imperial commissioners, a sort of precedence being granted to the former only through courtesy. The decision of the council, however, coincided essentially with the mind of the pope, as did its settlement of the doctrine concerning the personality of Christ. The synod thus became the symbol of the unity of the West and East, the pope being recognized as the supreme authority for both. We cannot wonder that his successors elung so tenaciously to the decrees of Chalcedon. Still,

the matter was not entirely disposed of. On its fifteenth sitting (October 31) the emperor's wish proved strong enough to secure for the Church of New Rome (Constantinople) an equal precedency with that of Old Rome, and to place both on a level in Church affairs. It is probable that the legates, seeing what was impending, and feeling themselves impotent to avert it, remained absent. But on the sixteenth sitting they entered their protest against the canon, relying on the Nicene decrees (325) as later enlarged (at Sardica, 343), by which Rome was already guaranteed the primacy. Leo, too, gave voice to his complaint in four letters, deploring that the peace was thus disturbed through ambition, and calling on the Patriarch of Constantinople to enter his protest also against decrees contrary to that of Nice, while he, at the same time, in virtue of the authority of St. Peter, declared them null and void. In this strained state of affairs, the patriarch, to obviate a yet more serious rupture, sent a conciliatory reply. But the synod's decree stood, and the rivalry between these princes of the Church was perpetuated.

Leo was more fortunate in Italian affairs. He moved the terrible Attila to spare Rome, and so stood for the saviour of his country and defender of the faith against paganism. A few years later, the Vandals, also, stormed against Rome; the imperial power collapsed, and again only the pope was found brave enough to stand by duty and to extort forbearance by prayer. The people in their woes sought forgetfulness in the games of the circus; Leo bent himself to his task. He restored churches, and established, in the Vatican, the first monastery of SS. Paul and John, admonished men of the nothingness of earthly things and urged them to look for consolation to the inexpressible compassion of the Almighty. Although to the outward eye less imposing than when he influenced Attila, yet here, too, he was worthy of his great office.

After an illustrious rule of twenty-one years of terror and trial, Leo died, commemorated by a grateful Church as "the Great" and a saint. He was the first pope to be buried in the vestibule of St. Peter's. In him seemed concentrated all those rays which long had streamed separately from Rome. When the city fell as a secular power it arose afresh as a spiritually paternal one, helping and humanizing its subjects. And this position it owed not only to the veneration of its children but also to its material resources, for, in the Fifth Century, its possessions were nearly conterminous with those of the empire and conferred on it the means of maintaining its place as a power, and of making effective the doctrine emphasized by Leo in regard to the primacy of Peter.

Troublous times had vexed his pontificate; more troublous were to follow. In 472, Rome succumbed to the hordes of Ricimer, who, for

weeks, ravaged the afflicted city. A few years later, the Empire was overthrown. The Arian Odoacer and Theodoric lorded it at pleasure. But the rule of these impious heretics had its special advantages. They held themselves aloof from matters of dogma, and the eyes of the orthodox recognized in the papacy the last star in a cloud-bedarkened sky. Peter's successors kept up intercourse, as their letters evidence, with Spain, Gaul, Africa, and the East. But, in spite of this, the seed that had been sown in the days of Leo bore fruit. East and West again fell to bitter strife.

When Basiliscus had overthrown the Emperor Zeno, he issued, with the view of strengthening his party, a circular against the Council of Chalcedon and did his utmost to make it ineffective, without Pope Simplicius (468-483) venturing to interpose. Matters grew worse when Zeno again attained to rule, for he declared by law the Church of Constantinople the mother of all orthodox Christians and its bishop supreme over all. The powerful Monophysites he strove to conciliate by an ambiguous unifying formula, the *Henoticon*, that evaded as far as possible the points at issue. Rome, of course, stood by the Council of Chalcedon, and, under the pliant Simplicius, things dragged on till Felix III. (483-492) ascended the papal throne.

Felix summoned the Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius, to Rome, to answer for his conduct. The latter paid no attention to the summons, and even corrupted the papal envoys. A synod then met in Rome in July, 484, which condemned, deposed, and anathematized him. The patriarch answered by striking the pope out of the diptych, that is, out of the list of those for whom prayer was made. Felix now went a step further. At a new Roman synod of October, 485, he, as ruler and head of the universal Church, declared the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch to have forfeited their offices, as partisans of Acacius, and excommunicated them also. Still, the bishops retained their positions, Zeno stood by the *Henoticon*, and his subjects conformed themselves. Even Acacius's death (489) proved of no effect, for the emperor looked out for a like-minded successor. Monophysitism and the rank of Constantinople, Church dogma and Church politics, had become bound together inextricably. In vain did Euphemius, the third patriarch, endeavor to effect a reconciliation through compromise.

Felix vacated his see in favor of Gelasius I. (492-496), an impassioned African, who, secure of the protection of the German potentates, asserted his pontifical prerogatives with unmodified rigor. "There are two powers, O Emperor," he wrote to Anastasius, "through which this world is specially ruled—the sacred authority of the bishops and the

secular arm of the king. Of these powers that of the bishops implies more responsibility and is the higher and weightier, inasmuch as they have to give an account for the kings themselves on the Day of Judgment. The faithful have to submit to them, especially to the pope, who is set by God over the whole episcopate. Human arrogance may challenge God's order: to overthrow it is beyond the power of man." While to the outside world Gelasius showed himself thus high-handed, constant wars had reduced him to sore straits at home, and had re-awakened the faith in the heathen gods with their divinations, and deeply convulsed the Church everywhere throughout Italy. He complained that he was all but overwhelmed with tribulation, and with his own hand wrote a treatise against the *Lupercalia*. The very boldness of his self-assertion, the sincerity of his convictions, and the prestige of his office endowed him with unbounded confidence, and enabled him to surmount all difficulties. To the bishops of South Italy and Sicily he issued a disciplinary decretal, looked after the administration of the revenues of the Church, did not yield an inch in what he regarded as his right, and did his utmost to weaken the hostile Church of the Orient. Even at the close of his life he summoned a Roman synod in which the principles of the confession of faith and of Church order were settled in circumstantial detail. Its result was the *decretum de recipiendis libris*, out of which grew the first *index librorum prohibitorum*—that is, a list of books condemned by the Church.

The canonist, Dionysius Exiguus, says of Gelasius: "He regarded the pontifical office rather as a service than a lordship, and mollified the harshness of discipline by the graces of literature. It is said of him that his whole day was devoted to prayer and study. He bore all trials with wonderful discretion and patience. Poor himself, he maintained nearly all the poor. He was a man morally and intellectually illustrious, immaculate in life, eminent in affairs, and of awe-inspiring exterior."

The conversion of Clovis, so momentous in the history of the Church, brought to a fit close the pontificate of Gelasius. The new pope, Anastasius II. (496-498), saluted the royal convert as follows: "The love of many waxes cold and the machinations of the wicked impel our bark upon the tempestuous ocean, and threaten to overwhelm it amid the foaming billows; do thou, then, O illustrious Son, gladden the heart of thy mother, the Church, and be to her as a column of iron" (cf. p. 299, Vol. VI.) And yet, important as the baptism at Rheims was for Catholicism, its consequences were disastrous to the pontiffs at the supreme authority. So long as Gaul was under Arian rulers, the papacy constituted, as

it were, the rallying point for all the orthodox. But this now ceased to be the case. The Frankish Church found its central point in the king, as the Spanish did, somewhat later, in the Council of Toledo.

The wish of Anastasius was to draw nearer to the court of Constantinople. He expressed, therefore, to the emperor his desire that the alienation should not continue, and despatched an embassy accompanied by the senator, Festus, which succeeded in renewing relations and in instituting in the East the celebration of the Romish festival of SS. Peter and Paul in orthodox form. But further they could not advance, on account of their mandatory insistence on the question of the precedence over the whole Church. Nevertheless, there seemed still so much ground for hope that the emperor dealt with the senator to move him to accept the Henoticon; and Festus appears to have promised that on the next vacancy in the papal chair it would be filled by one who would subscribe this formula of reconciliation.

The vacancy occurred shortly after his return. Both parties—the extreme-church party and that of compromise—elected a man of their own: the former, the deacon Symmachus, the latter (Festus at their head) the archpriest, Laurentius. Bloody conflicts dyed the streets of Rome, till at length the combatants appealed to King Theodoric as arbiter, who declared for Symmachus (498–514). To avert such disorders for the future, the new pope convened a synod which decreed that when a pontiff died so suddenly that he could not designate his successor the majority of the clergy should decide. Pledges and promises, as well as canvassing, were interdicted on pain of anathema. King Theodoric appears not to have troubled himself about these decisions, but when policy demanded it, he, as well as his successors, interposed freely in virtue of their secular authority.

The German government had already interfered more than once in Rome. Even in Odoacer's time, his commissioner, at the papal election of 483, demanded that it should be made in concert with the monarch, and seems to have carried his point (cf. p. 355, Vol. VI.). Now party intrigues offered a new occasion for interference. The partisans of Laurentius strove to oust Symmachus, and, summoning their candidate home from Nocera, accused the pope to the king of crimes both ecclesiastical and moral. Theodoric appointed Bishop Peter of Altino as "visitor," who eagerly took part against Symmachus and laid hands on the property of the Church. The situation became critical again. Violence ensued, and three synods were called in succession to consider the charges against the pope and to decide whether he or Laurentius was the legitimate pontiff. The second synod was wildly disorderly. Symmachus and his followers

were attacked, several were slain, and he himself was maltreated and with difficulty rescued by the royal officers. But of yet more moment than the temporary excesses was the question now mooted, whether a synod could sit in judgment on a pope. Perplexed beyond measure, the assembled fathers prayed the king to be dismissed to their homes, "for their simplicity could not cope with the wiles of the men of the world." Theodoric replied that he knew very well how to deal with court-officials, but would have nothing to do with Church questions. Thus each party sought to shift the responsibility on the other.

Finally, on October 23, 501, came the verdict of the "Palm Synod,"¹ acquitting Symmachus and restoring him to all his episcopal rights. Notwithstanding this, Laurentius maintained his cause for four years longer, while to the extreme papal party the whole proceedings of the court were an abomination. Bishop Avitus of Arles declared that the synod had acted unrighteously in sitting in judgment on a pope, for this was not within the functions of inferior clergy, and to the same effect was the decision of a synod convened by Symmachus himself, November, 502, declaring that judgments pronounced by laymen on clerics were illegal and void. Theodoric, in accordancè with his principles, declared himself content to leave Church matters to be dealt with by churchmen. In order to establish the enhanced claim that a pope could be judged by no man, and that even the emperor could not decide in ecclesiastical affairs, precedents were forged under the names of Marcellinus, Xystus III., and Jovian. It was soon accepted that God alone was judge over popes, and, some twenty-five years later, the Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, compiled a code of canon law, wherein the decisions of synods and papal decretals are given equal authority. The work was widely disseminated, and in the explanatory commentary it is said: "The Church administers divine things; the emperor, worldly; by his baptism the emperor is bound to the priest."

Symmachus's victory over Laurentius implied that of Rome over the East. There was no longer any hope of accommodation. The pope, with the approval of the senate, excommunicated the Emperor Anastasius, who retorted with a bitter written invective, which in turn called forth a coarse rejoinder from Rome. Thus the schism remained unhealed. The emperor's efforts for the Henoticon and Eutyehianism began to encounter more and more opposition, even in the East, till the contest issued in blood. The bishops of the middle party fell into such straits that they addressed themselves as suppliants to the pope. Symmachus

¹ So called from its place of meeting, "a portu beati Petri Apostoli, quae appellatur 'ad Palmaria.'"—TR.

thereupon issued an elaborate paper upon the schism, wherein he proved that those who contemned the apostolic chair were justly unhappy, while those who returned to obedience would be received back gladly; but that the obdurate recusants could escape by no wile.

Even in the East, there was a constantly growing demand for the unity of the Church. The Scythian, Vitalian, appeared with a host before Constantinople and demanded the holding of a council, in which the Bishop of Rome should take part. The emperor confirmed his assent by an oath, and accordingly sent letters and messengers to the Tiber. Here, also, every one was weary of the long struggle, while in Hormisdas (514-532) a peaceful nature had ascended the chair. He gladly accepted the invitation, declaring himself ready to appear at the appointed place, Heraclia, on condition that the decision of his predecessors regarding the oneness of Christ's person should be held fast. The assembly never took place, and the time was consumed in new and resultless negotiations. Meanwhile, the Metropolitan of Epirus, with his bishops, returned to obedience to Rome, and Hormisdas improved the occasion to issue a special confession of faith, wherein he affirmed that the papal chair had preserved the Catholic religion without spot or stain, and that stability of the faith depended on it. When the pope renewed his efforts to attract Constantinople to his side, the emperor informed him that "he held it superfluous to extend further invitations, for they would be rejected. He had already let himself be contemned and insulted, but not domineered over." This said, he continued his persecution of the orientals in union with Rome.

Ultimately Anastasius died, April 9, 518, and was succeeded on the throne by a Thraecian, Justin I. The new emperor was disposed to peace, and began his rule with an edict by which full validity was given to the Chalcedonian decrees, and their antagonists excluded from all positions, whether in Church or state. On July 20, he summoned a synod for the unification of the Church. In the name of this synod, the Patriarch of Constantinople wrote to Rome that he recognized the four ecumenical councils, had caused the names of Popes Leo and Hormisdas to be inserted in the diptych, and invited an embassy. The legates set forth provided with ample powers and Hormisdas's confession for subscription. The clergy flocked to Constantinople from all quarters. So assured seemed success that men regarded the whole as a miracle of St. Peter's. No less a personage than the emperor's nephew conducted the legates into the city. The patriarch subscribed, followed by the bishops and archimandrites. Every one gave way to expressions of joy, and throngs flocked to Holy Communion. Before the eyes of the legates the names

of Acacius and his associates were erased from the diptych. The emperor himself notified the pope that he had issued a command to his empire, calling on every one to espouse unity. Resistance and a demand for



FIG. 68.—San Vitale in Ravenna; A. D. 526-547. (From Gailhabaud.)

milder terms were encountered in many quarters, but, under the pressure of the papacy and the empire, schism and dissent collapsed.

Rome had won a great dogmatic victory over the East and its ecclesiastical representative, the Patriarch of Constantinople. A letter of the Gallic Avitus to the latter gives expression to his own, and the common, joy that the two apostolic princes were again in harmony, and prays that "their two Churches might shine like a double star in heaven, and that they might watch like fathers over the Church." The peace thus concluded completely revolutionized the pope's relations to the king and emperor. Up to this time, Theodoric had stood in close relation to the Roman clergy; the one could not well do without the other. Now, on the other hand, the pope and the emperor found themselves allied as the defenders of orthodoxy, whereby the former was naturally alienated from the Arian ruler of Italy, and this the more because the persecution of the emperor had driven the heretics to seek refuge under Theodoric. The king forbade the Romans to carry weapons, even a knife, and exerted himself to have the emperor's edicts recalled. As this proved of no avail, he summoned Pope John I. (523-526) to Ravenna (Fig. 68) and ordered him to proceed to the Bosphorus and put a stop to the persecution. In vain did John remonstrate; Theodoric saw in him only a subject bound to himself by gratitude. Nay, the king is said to have put him on shipboard by force and to have threatened to take vengeance, in case of his failure, on the Catholics. Forced to go, John—the first Bishop of Rome ever in the East—entered Constantinople, sick and with gloomy forebodings. He was received with a studied show of ceremony. The emperor knelt before him and had his crown placed on his head by him. John celebrated high mass after the Roman fashion, throned upon a seat higher than that of the patriarch. In the end he did not attain what Theodoric required. A pope could not well co-operate in the reconversion of Arians who had become Catholics. On his return he was cast into prison, and there died, May 18, 526. (Cf. p. 368, Vol. VI.)

Tumults broke out in Rome over the new election, and these Theodoric made his pretext for nominating Felix IV. (526-530) to the exclusion of all other candidates. He knew what it imported to have a creature of his own in the apostolic chair. At the same time Theodoric promised unrestrained freedom of choice if only the right of ratification was conceded to him. Felix kept aloof from the Byzantine court, but was on a good footing with that of Ravenna. He tried to work for the future interests of the rulers of Italy by designating his successor on his deathbed. This was Archdeacon Boniface, who was born in Rome, but was of German descent.

The designation was not to take effect uncontested, for even before Felix died, Dioscurus, formerly a deacon of Alexandria, entered the field

as the candidate of the Byzantine party. Both pretenders had themselves consecrated on September 22, and the issue seemed to quiver in the balance, when Dioscurus suddenly disappeared, probably through violence, and left the office free to his rival. In the turmoil the body of the late pope (Felix) was left unburied for three weeks.

At a Roman synod Boniface II. (530-532) pronounced the ban over the dead Dioscurus, and compelled sixty Roman priests to subscribe his condemnation, while the Roman senate issued a decree which declared all promises and gifts made to secure the office illegal, and the party making them thereafter ineligible. This ecclesiastical decree was the last ever promulgated by this body, whose word once awed the world. Thus ancient Rome had been swallowed up by Christian Rome; its senate had shrunk into a subordinate council of state that scarcely dared to take even a half-independent step.

Boniface's pontificate was brief. He favored the teaching of Caesarius of Arles in regard to the efficacy of faith, and convened several synods. At one of these he designated the deacon, Vigilius, as his successor, but at his last synod he recalled this, and declared himself guilty of high treason for making the nomination.

But a settled mode of election was as far off as ever. On the death of Boniface, several candidates intrigued against one another, and, during the fourteen days that preceded the accession of John II. (532-535), the disorder became inexpressible. Men seized the funds of the poor, and even auctioned the sacred vessels. To such a height, indeed, had corruption come that King Athalaric, in confirming and widening the scope of the senate's law against simony, sanctioned a certain amount of bribery. John's rule is noteworthy inasmuch as it was in his time that the Gothic empire began to disintegrate under Amalasantha and Theodahad, and Justinian began to weave his schemes of conquest. The pope was naturally courted by both parties. The Emperor Justinian sought to win him by a submissive letter whose effect was enhanced by costly presents, addressing him as the Head of all Churches, whose prestige and honor he would spare no efforts to enhance. Holding fast by the teaching of the Roman Church that the incarnate Son of God is a member of the Trinity, he submitted to him a new heresy based on a denial of this. Probably the difficulty of the question, certainly yet more the commotions in the empire of the Goths, induced the pope to withhold his answer for a twelvemonth. He then expressed his fullest concurrence with the emperor's views, praising his orthodoxy and dutifulness. Of course, Justinian followed the path thus fortunately paved for him, and shortly before his death John received a financial privilege

and the flattering assurance that "Old Rome is the climax of the pontificate, the fatherland of law, the fountain of priesthood."

The papacy spared no trouble in doing the same. On John's death, the first act of his successor, Agapetus I. (535-536), was to drag Felix's decree of excommunication against Dioscurus out from the archives and solemnly commit it to the flames. Precisely at this time Belisarius had reconquered Africa for the emperor and orthodoxy, and sent to St. Peter a golden cross, on which his victories were engraved. He further, according to old practice, convened an African general synod of 217 bishops, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Carthage, which addressed itself respectfully, but, at the same time, with perfect frankness, to the pope. And now Belisarius appeared on Italian soil to prepare for the Goths the fate that had overtaken the Vandals. Theodahad, mistrusting his own strength, sent the mightiest mediator of his land, the pope, to Byzantium to effect a peace, with heavy threats in case of failure. Agapetus, like John before him, was received with all due ceremony, without, however, being able to influence the imperial policy—which at bottom was his own. On the other hand, the emperor allowed him free scope in Church matters, and he did not scruple to make the best use of his opportunity. He evicted Anthimus from the patriarchal chair of Constantinople and consecrated Mennas in his stead. The Patriarch of Jerusalem he assailed with bitter reproaches; even Justinian saw himself constrained to submit his creed to him and to subscribe to the formula of Hormisdas. Such triumphs emboldened many bishops and other clerics to petition "the Holiest Father of Fathers" to expel the Monophysites from the Church. In the midst of such Church reforms the pope died at Constantinople, April 22, 536. His remains were conveyed to Rome with extraordinary pomp, and such was his prestige, even in death, that a synod on the Bosphorus, in accordance with his wish, took further steps against the Monophysites. Mennas declared he would hold communion only with such as the apostolic chair recognized.

With this rise of the temporal power of the papacy a new period of ecclesiastical literature set in. In Rome literary culture had sunk to a very low pitch. Scarcely anyone understood Greek. Agapetus in conjunction with Cassiodorus sought to remedy this by founding a theological school, but the disorders of the times foiled his purpose. Cassiodorus then did what he could by compiling his *Historia Tripartita*, and by translating a series of Greek works into Latin. Along with him worked his accomplished friend, the Abbot Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus, a Scythian by birth, who contributed several works, among them a valuable collection and translation of ecclesiastical laws. To him we are indebted for

our mode of reckoning time from the birth of Christ, although his system was somewhat at fault.

All this time an institution was developing which was to be of the highest importance for the papacy and the Church—namely, monasticism. This is that product of Christianity in one of its aspects—renunciation of the world—which had constituted one of its main tendencies since Tertullian's days. Anguish of soul over what occurred in the state and society took possession of this saint and he sought to withdraw himself from them by negation of earthly things and by seclusion from the world. This characteristic feature was first developed in the East, where life was more under spiritual influences, and which from primitive times had been prone to mystical speculation. In Egypt the sun's glow seems to have quickened the fervor of faith. The ascetics, in their endeavors to find the true way to salvation independently of dogma and clergy, drew back from the world and formed brotherhoods as early as the Third Century. Of this class Origen was the most prominent, who, however, recognized the need of a common Church. His disciple, Hieracas, went further, by setting up celibacy in direct opposition to the married life, but usage was so little settled on this point that Athanasius declares he knew bishops who had never been married, and, on the other hand, monks with children. Before 335, we hear from a contemporary letter of "monasteries" in the Thebaid, but the greater number of the monks inhabited houses in the towns and villages, many wandered restlessly about, others buried themselves in caves and tombs amid the rocks and sands of the desert. As a type of this class legend presents us with St. Anthony, who lived in imagination in constant conflict with the progeny of hell, and who held it sin to experience pleasure in satisfying hunger. As time advanced the demands of fanaticism rose ever higher, and the technique, as it were, of suffering became more perfect, and this largely through the influence of analogous institutions in the cult of Serapis, which offered examples of a very complete monastic system.¹ Thus in Egypt monasticism became a fashion, and quickly spread over the whole oriental world. In the latter half of the Fourth Century, we find it naturalized everywhere in the East and warmly countenanced by the most influential teachers of the Church. About 340, Pachomius in Upper Egypt gave the world a rule for conventual life; Macarius soon followed him, in the Scythian desert; Hilarion, in that of Gaza; and Basil the Great, at Neo-Cæsarea.

¹ Jacob Bernays has demonstrated that this tendency was also much strengthened by the lives and teachings of the Later Cynics, several of whom, though pagans, easily became Christian monks and ascetics.—ED.

As the clergy remained attached to particular churches, and as the members of the orders were at first exclusively laymen, it became necessary that each monastery should have its own church and priests. One of these priests, or the founder of the house, was wont to become its superior or abbot. Each neophyte had to submit to probation and conform to the rule, clothe himself in a simple black gown, wear short hair, which last, however, was gradually superseded by the tonsure already customary in the cult of Serapis. Of vows of chastity and poverty, we hear nothing at first, though they were actually practiced. Complete submission to the superior, full surrender of one's own will and property, mortification of the appetites, and a life devoted to God and his service—such constituted the rule for these nascent communities. Their members strove after a degree of piety far higher than that aimed at by the ordinary Christian, and this often through extravagances that ended in suicide or insanity. Their ecstatic trait, combined with indolent existence, made them a spiritual army easy to be roused, and recoiling before nothing in their contempt for self and the world.

In the more tranquil lands of the West asceticism made but slow progress and encountered heavy obstacles. Here and there anchorites existed, and even free societies of such, who differed from other men both in manner of thought and action. The most notable western anchorite was St. Martin of Tours, whose life is represented as an uninterrupted prayer. His being was thrilled by a sense of the close nearness of the divine and by a craving for the hereafter, where he should be free from sin. He saw the lords of heaven and hell in bodily form. His daily saying was that man ought to give up the pleasures and cares of the world in order to follow Jesus freely and without impediment. To isolate themselves from all sympathy with their fellows, his followers often bore themselves arrogantly and were harsh in judgment and bitter in speech. To the cultured heathen this sort of piety was strange and unintelligible, and even Christians, as a rule, held themselves aloof from it. For Martin's successor the Church of Tours chose the most outspoken opponent of asceticism, and his miracles nowhere met with so little acceptance as among his colleagues. Matters went so far that he withdrew from all intercourse with his fellow-bishops. The Spanish council of 380 even threatened with exclusion from the Church every cleric who deserted his office and became a monk.

Yet, despite all this, asceticism made progress. The very troubles of the times worked in its favor, as well as intercourse with the more highly-developed East, and also the closer cohesion of its members in their monasteries. Shortly after 360, Martin founded, outside the

gates of Poitiers, the house of Locociacum (later Ligugé), the first establishment in the West; and again in the last years of his eventful life he erected in the neighborhood of his metropolis the monastery of Marmoutier (*Martini Monasterium*), where he died in 400, in the community of more than eighty monks. According to the report of his enthusiastic disciple and friend, Sulpicius Severus, two thousand monks followed him to the grave; but this is probably overdrawn. The path was now paved. A series of houses arose in the neighborhood of Tours; in 413 the renowned Lérins, on an island near Toulon; a few years later the great St. Victor of Marseilles, which is said to have had five thousand inmates; in the Southern Jura there was a whole colony of settlements, the chief of which was Condat; and in the valley of the Rhone, where the river issues from the Alps, stood the richly-endowed Agaunum (St. Maurice-en-Valais). Not only in Gaul the movement gained ground, but also in Spain, Italy, and, above all, in Ireland, as we have already seen.

The life of the monk was essentially that of the solitary ascetic—seclusion from the world to strive in community after perfection. At first the western monks imitated the rules of the East, especially that of St. Basil, but their excessive requirements could not be permanently complied with by men of another climate. Though Athanasius had declared the fast to be the food of the angels, the Gauls discovered that such a regimen was altogether unacceptable. They were more susceptible to the rule of Benedict of Nursia, who, in 529, gathered a community around him on Monte Cassino, and held them together by a mild but well-ordered rule. This bound the brothers by an indissoluble vow, declared idleness to be the enemy of the soul, and, therefore, occupied them in handicraft and spiritual exercises, each at fixed hours. This rule was soon adopted in all Roman lands, and the monastic order of Benedictines took shape—a community of many houses under one head. The monks in the foundations of St. Martin had already devoted themselves to making copies of books. In 538 Cassiodorus retired into his monastery of Vivarium near Squillace in Bruttium, where he immersed himself in literary labors and inspired his brothers to like industry. The Benedictines took kindly to the work, and thus preserved for us many memorials of classic antiquity. They further gave monasticism a practical character by engaging in the work of education, intellectual and moral, and by converting barren wastes into fruitful fields. But, in contradistinction to the original practice of the East, they entered into holy orders and were subject to the bishop of their diocese, except that he could not infringe on the constitution of the order. Thus the order

constituted one grand intellectual and spiritual army, with far-reaching branches, which might become a great power in the hands of the pope.

Silverius, the successor of Agapetus, filled the apostolic chair in 536-537. He did not attain the dignity without the co-operation of the Gothic king, the main object of whose life it had become to have a partisan in Rome. But scarcely had Vitiges withdrawn and Belisarius appeared when the pope went over to the latter. He may have hoped to find favor and preference from his brethren in the faith, but he miscalculated, for with the Byzantines came Justinian's iron rule and cabals of all kinds. Side by side with the emperor stood the Empress Theodora, an ambitious woman of high ability, who, unlike her husband, favored the Monophysites. She it was who placed their head, Anthimus, on the patriarchal throne of her capital, to be afterward ejected by Agapetus. Now in possession of power, and supported by the deacon Vigilius, she attempted to force, through Belisarius, the pope's recognition of her favorite's re-elevation as well as of the Monophysite doctrine. The pontiff resisted, and in his straits re-allied himself with the Goths. This settled his fate. Belisarius put him into the garb of a monk, and banished him to Asia Minor, and, despite all remonstrances, raised the protégé of the empress, Vigilius (537-555), to the vacant see. Hitherto the court of Byzantium had dealt more deferentially with this chair than with that of Constantinople, which it filled and, on occasions, vacated according to its mood. Now even ecclesiastical matters were altogether withdrawn from papal cognizance, for the ruler on the Bosphorus devoted his later years almost exclusively to theology, and did not wish to be mastered by anybody.

Hard-pressed on all sides by contending powers, parties, and creeds, stormy times were ahead of Vigilius, which he was not the man to cope with. First came war; Rome was again and again besieged, captured, and depopulated, till grass grew within its walls and sheep pastured on its streets. The weak pope helped as he could and made for peace, occupying himself largely in restoring the ruined tombs of the saints. As if this were not enough, the doctrinal conflicts of the East came to fill up his cup of troubles. Bound by his earlier promises to the empress, Vigilius, at her request, condemned in a secret instrument the doctrine of the dual nature of Christ. But on Justinian's demanding from him a confirmation of his ban of Monophysitism he dared as little refuse him, and pronounced for orthodoxy. Nay, his envoy, Pelagius, even co-operated in urging the emperor further on to the condemnation of the teaching of Origen. Thereupon, in 544, Justinian issued his renowned "Three Chapters" edict (see p. 37). This he did for the sake

of unity, while he struck out certain matter from the Chalcedonic decrees that was offensive to the Monophysites and Origenists, especially those portions in which the leaders of the Nestorians were half acquitted, while the Monophysites declared them to be heretics. Their writings were now condemned by the emperor also. Such were the bases on which it was hoped that peace should be restored.

The Eastern bishops and patriarchs accepted the emperor's decree, whereas in the West it provoked considerable opposition. The Roman deacon, Stephen, successor of Pelagius in Constantinople, even refused to hold communion with the patriarch. Vigilius himself vacillated at first, till an African deacon succeeded in convincing him that the emperor was not justified in pronouncing on questions of dogma, but that Scripture and ecumenical councils were the sole authorities thereon. In this spirit he must have replied to Constantinople, whereupon Justinian summoned him to a council.

Vigilius, braving all danger, obeyed. The Romans were involved in war and driven to despair, while the pope had repeatedly been compelled to acts of violence without winning the love of his people. He began his eventful journey probably in the spring of 546, leaving the deacon Pelagius as his vicar. On January 25, 547, he landed at Constantinople, and was met by the emperor with every mark of affection. In secret, Vigilius conformed to Justinian's wishes, not so publicly. He excommunicated Mennas along with the other bishops who adhered to the "Three Chapters." The patriarch retorted with the anathema, and Justinian required the retraction of the papal decretal. On Vigilius's hesitating, he was shut up in prison, where he became so pliant that he made peace with Mennas and promised the emperor to recognize the "Three Chapters." He allowed nearly a year to pass before he convened a synod with this object, whereupon the orthodox immediately sounded the note of alarm, and by unwearied assiduity succeeded in rousing the whole West against the decisions of this body. The African bishops excommunicated the pope till such time as he made expiation. Vigilius himself sought to maintain his position through admonitions and letters, and, where these were ineffectual, had recourse to the ban and deposition, which fell upon his own nephew, the deacon Rusticus.

He ultimately weakened in face of the unanimous protest of the West, and prevailed on Justinian to revoke the provisions in reference to the "Three Chapters," and to summon a new council to Constantinople. But before this met, he quarrelled with the emperor and fled for refuge to the church of St. Peter. Soldiers burst in and dragged him from the altar, to which he clung, and which fell in the struggle and nearly killed

him. He then received orders to confine himself to his lodgings, where he was kept closely watched. In his extremity he resolved again to attempt flight, this time to the church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon, the city whose renowned council had given rise to the long-protracted struggle. Sick with grief and excitement, he refused to leave his asylum, but sent out an encyclical to the whole Church explaining the situation. The only result was new outrages, he himself was maltreated and the priests accompanying him were shut up. He now lost all regard for consequences, and had a decree made public deposing an imperial partisan, while he caused information to be conveyed to the Frankish envoys, so that they might report "in the province how the pope was treated." The emperor did not venture to drive matters to extremes, but relented and concluded peace. All was now left to the proposed council. This the pope wished to be held in the West under the influence of Rome. Justinian, on the other hand, had in view a Græco-Imperial assembly, and, against the will of the pope, such a one was opened, May 5, 553, under the presidency of Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople. This was the fifth œcumenical council.

In his note addressed to the assembled bishops, Justinian reminded them of the precedent set by earlier emperors of repressing heresy and maintaining the peace of the Church by the power of the true faith through assemblies of prelates. The council condemned the "Three Chapters" and lauded the emperor for his care for the united Church. In vain had the pope striven to counteract its decrees by a written *Constitutum*. The emperor rejected this as worthless, and prompted the council to decree that "the name of Vigilius should be erased from the diptychs because he had departed from the Catholic Church," but the union with the apostolic chair as such should not be broken off. Exile was to be the penalty for the non-observance of the decree. The crushed pope purchased his liberation by the acceptance of the decrees of the council. His submission won the emperor's favor and he was allowed to intercede in the matter of the "Pragmatic Sanction," which granted Italy privileges and immunities. He probably hoped thus to win back the West, which he was never again to see. After an absence of some nine years he set out on his journey homeward, but sickened and died in Sicily.

Under Vigilius the prestige of the Roman Church suffered most severely. The emperor had usurped the place of the pope and compelled him to abject submission. In 541 the Roman consulate had expired with Basilus.¹ Hitherto papal instruments had borne the year of the

¹ The last consul at Rome was Decimus Theodorus Paulinus, A. D. 534, and at Constantinople Flavius Basilus Junior, in A. D. 541.—ED.

consulate; from 550 they bore that of the emperor's reign. As Rome's ascendancy had been vastly enhanced through the fourth ecumenical council (Chalcedon), so it sank to its lowest point through the fifth. And yet Vigilius's pontificate contained the germ of its revival. He it was, who, by a letter dated April, 550, and by his appeal to the Frankish embassy at Byzantium, first pointed out the future alliance with the Frankish king so pregnant of consequences in the future. Many disasters are no doubt to be ascribed to his weak nature, yet we must not judge him with unjust severity. In Rome he found no support; he was ever the prey of the conqueror of the hour. On the Bosphorus he was overshadowed by the emperor. He was further long sick of the painful disease of which he died—the calculus. His sufferings abroad may possibly be regarded as the punishment for his early undue ambition, but, be this as it may, he was an unfortunate man.

Justinian held the reins firmly in his hand. No emperor had ever exercised so much influence on a council as he on the fifth. In his Pragmatic Sanction he had constituted the bishops and primates of every province of Italy boards of control, who should appoint and supervise the minor officials. He thus made direct use of the Church for administrative purposes, to which end he had to have a compliant pope, and that all the more because in the West the decrees of Chalcedon were still regarded as in force. He compelled, therefore, the election of the expert but pliant Pelagius I. (555–560), who, like Vigilius, had professed submission to him. But the Romans did not greet the new pope gladly, and the requisite three bishops could not be gotten together to consecrate him. Calumnious reports about him were spread, and the pope found it necessary to appear in St. Peter's, accompanied by the Byzantine general, Narses, to purge himself by oath of the suspicion of having murdered the deceased pope. Moreover, he issued a confession of his faith to prove his orthodoxy.

The emperor's main object in the elevation of Pelagius had been the enforcement of the decrees of the fifth council in the West, and to this the pontiff devoted himself with all his energy. A portion of the Church renounced its connection with Rome; excommunications flew fast and free, and disorders of various kinds broke out, especially in North Italy, where Milan and Aquileia held to the "Three Chapters." Pelagius had to call on the governor, Narses, to repress the schism by the secular arm, demanding that the participators should be punished with banishment, confiscation of goods, and imprisonment. How little he presumed to put himself on a level with earlier popes is shown by the fact that he often spoke of secession from "the apostolic chairs," thus placing

Rome on the same footing with the other patriarchal sees, as well as by his statement to the Frankish king Clovis that he was bound to give no cause of suspicion to kings, to whom, according to the teaching of Scripture, he was subject. We cannot but observe that, anxious as Pelagius was to be on good terms with the emperor, he was equally eager to stand well with the Frank. Several of his letters to King Childebert are extant, and he sent him a confession of his faith along with precious relics.

The frequent devastations of Rome and Italy called on him to labor earnestly for the restoration of Church order, of ecclesiastical moral legislation, and of the means of the Church. He caused the vessels and pallia to be restored to the churches, clothing to be provided for the poor out of the Gallo-Roman church-properties, and decreed that while clerics could cite laymen before the secular tribunal, laymen could bring the clergy only before the bishop or a priest. If a bishop were apprehended his advocates must call on not only the secular power but that of the Church as well, to stand by him. His care extended even to the mowing of meadows.

Pelagius I. died in 560, at an advanced age. In him also we recognize a striving for the enhancement of his power, but this he sought not in the independent spirit of his predecessors, but through alliances with potentates. After a vacancy of over four months he was succeeded by John III. (560–573), of whom, notwithstanding his long pontificate, we know but little: a sufficient evidence of the decadence of the papal authority. New religious controversies afflicted the restless East, without, however, Rome taking any part in them, while orthodox Italy was overrun by Arian Langobards. The troubles consequent on this were of some advantage to the pope—schism was repressed, and menaced orthodoxy looked to him as its main bulwark. He was able to award the pallium to the Bishop of Ravenna; even the leader of the opposition party—the Bishop of Milan—entered into relations with him.

On the death of John, the situation was so distracted that the chair stood empty for a year, and the accession of Benedict, who occupied it from 574 to 578, worked no reform. The office was well-nigh moribund. Not till the time of Pelagius II. (578–590) did the alarming retrograde movement cease. The new pope was a Goth, born in Rome, of a father named Vinigild. His election rested essentially on the free choice of the clergy and people, for the threatening Lombards prevented his getting the sanction of Constantinople for some time. He wrote in vain to the Franks, invoking their aid for the sake of the faith. Nor could the emperor or exarch afford aid, because their hands were full.

Besides the dread of war, the schism occupied men's minds. The eccle-

siastical province of Aquileia had transferred its seat to the Byzantine islet, Grado, from dread of the Langobards, and renounced connection with Rome. The pope tried to move the schismatics by remonstrance and admonition, nay, he declared himself ready to convene a synod in Ravenna to compose the strife. The Istrian bishops remained aloof. He then induced the exarch to proceed against them with force, but attained no better result. The Three Chapters controversy ultimately issued in the separation of Grado from Aquileia, and bitter jealousy between the neighbors, with the result that Aquileia held tenaciously to schism.

In the East the pope seemed well-nigh forgotten. From without, the Byzantine empire was threatened by Persians, Avars, and Langobards; within, it was afflicted by excess of taxation and maladministration, while its throne was occupied by a series of blood-stained, intriguing despots. It was at this juncture that the Monophysite, John of Ephesus, wrote a history of the Church, in which he only incidentally refers to the successor of Peter. In the Oriental synods, after 518, it became more and more customary to speak of the Patriarch of Constantinople as the "ecumenical bishop," and the Emperor Justinian addressed him as "The Most Sacred and Blessed Archbishop of this imperial city, and Ecumenical Patriarch." It was left to the Patriarch John, in 588, to take the last step, by summoning a synod to Constantinople in the encyclical for which he styled himself "Ecumenical Patriarch," in the sense of "Bishop of the Empire." And the situation justified him in assuming the title. Constantinople was the actual capital; Rome a mere provincial town, half given up to the Arians that stormed around it, while the sphere of its authority was circumscribed to the last degree by the uprise of new national churches. At this very time such a church was taking form in Spain through Reccared's acceptance of orthodoxy. The Byzantine Synod met without asking the pope's assent, but Pelagius, mindful of the claims of his predecessors, protested against the meeting and quashed its proceedings, and treated the Illyrian Church as subject to him. The result of all this was the retention of the interdicted style at a second assembly in Constantinople, the patriarch's object being to affirm that the headship of the Church belonged in him.

At home, Pelagius administered as best he might. He decorated St. Peter's, converted his house into a hospital, constructed the cemetery of Hermes, and permitted the fugitive monks from Monte Cassino to take up their quarters in the Lateran, thus forming new ties with the Benedictines. He died in 590, and was laid to rest in St. Peter's.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDEPENDENCE (A. D. 590-795).

The Sixth Century was one of high import for the Church and the world. Men had witnessed the collapse of a great past, and believed, accordingly, that the end of the world had arrived. In 608, the pillars of Phocas were erected in the ruined Roman forum, the last meagre memorials, as it were, of a dead time, and while groves of statues and columns have perished all around, the Nemesis of history has spared these to stand erect over débris and rubbish. By a peculiar dispensation this same Phocas caused the Pantheon, which for a long time had remained secular, as the property of the emperor, to be converted into a Christian church. If the Germanic peoples had destroyed the political system of Rome, the war of creeds dissolved its spiritual unity. In Gregory the Great it saw the last of the Church fathers who embraced the whole West in Catholicism. But while he was being carried to his grave, Mohammed arose in the East, an Arabian merchant, with his message: "There is no god save Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." At the point of the sword his disciples banded together the whole East. Two hierarchies lorded it over the ruins of antiquity, and their hostile encounter was to determine the fate of the world. Rome and Mecca—the Cathedral of St. Peter's and the Kaaba—became the symbolical temples of the new covenants.

Rome had been visited by a great inundation whose vapors bred a frightful pestilence; from without it was threatened by the Lombards; ecclesiastically it was at strife with Byzantium, to which it could look for no secular aid, and the ecclesiastical affairs of the West were in confusion. In this critical moment, Gregory I. (590-604) grasped the helm. Well was he justified in exclaiming: "From all sides the floods pour in on us, and the rotten timbers, daily assailed by the tempest, presage our speedy wreck." Sprung from the eminent senatorial house of the Anicii, he early entered on an official career and had attained the rank of praetor, when he suddenly exchanged his gold-embroidered robes for the monk's cowl, and the palace of his ancestors for the monastery of St. Andrew. In his frail body there lived a mighty soul; he was a born ruler, with the learning of a scholar, the dignity of a nobleman, the patient endurance of a monk. He had few wants, but toward the poor he was liberal to lavishness. He was the first pope to begin his papers with the lowly formula, which afterwards became the so proud "Servant of the servants of God." He wore the simplest clothing and thought little of self, but all the more highly of the dignity of his office, which, on occasions, could make him fanatical and intolerant. He had no scruple in invoking the secular arm against heretics and schismatics. "Persecute

them to the uttermost," so ran his directions in regard to the Manicheans of Sicily. Though equipped with all the accomplishments of a Roman noble, and competent to write simply or heroically, as the case required, he so scorned pedantry as not to shrink from the use of bad grammar, for he considered it an unworthy act to make words of heavenly wisdom submit to the rules of Donatus. He even forbade the Bishop of Vienne to inculcate the learning of grammar, inasmuch as it was unseemly that the praise of Christ should be expressed in the same style with the glorification of Jupiter. On the other hand, he was complaisant and far-sighted in practical affairs. To the narrow-minded Augustine he wrote in relation to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons: "It is a matter of indifference whether the Romish, the Gallie, or other use is introduced so long as it is suitable to the country and conformable to the divine will." He forbade the destruction of the temples of the Goths, but directed that they should be used as churches of the true God, and the people were permitted to slay victims at the dedication of churches and on saints' days, only no longer as offerings to heathen gods, but in honor of Christ. Under green arbors beside the house of God should the joyous feast be celebrated, so that the hard spirits might be won over, through their wonted usages and enjoyments, for the inward joys of the new teaching. To the Spanish bishop, Leander, he explained that triple immersion in baptism was certainly as orthodox as single, but that the latter, as the more simple, was preferable for the Goths. To the Jews of Terracina he showed true magnanimity by exhorting the bishop to allure these non-Christians to the true faith by gentleness, not to alienate them through violence. They should not be interfered with in any of their peculiar usages, only they must not hold Christians as slaves. Everywhere we recognize a spirit of true practicality far removed from pettiness. His fundamental principle was that to the reverence paid to the apostolic chair must correspond its care for the weal of others. Accustomed to the forms of courts, he flattered Brunchilde and Phocas with all the extravagance of his age, of which he was a true child, as he was in his simple faith in miracles and the supernatural generally. He tells, for example, with all earnestness, how, on the dedication of an Arian church, the devil, in the form of a swine, ran hither and thither among the legs of the people, finally escaping out of the door when a fragrant vapor as of incense descended on the altar. His writings were read everywhere, and undoubtedly fostered a spirit of credulity.

Formerly man of the world, then a prince of the Church, Gregory was at home in both stations. As a deacon he had for six years been papal legate in Constantinople, and had learned to appreciate the situa-

tion there, and formed useful connections. Returned home, he was first chosen abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew, and then, by the unanimous voice of clergy, senate, and people, successor to Pelagius II. Modesty, and perhaps monkish shyness, prompted him to try to evade consecration by flight, but once consecrated, he assumed all the functions of the office.

As an adroit politician he first covered his rear against Byzantium, and improved the situation in Rome and the country to secure himself at home. To the Oriental patriarchs he announced his elevation without raising the question of precedence, or, in any way, recognizing the fifth council. To the emperor's sister and the Patrician Narses he sent letters and greeting. The subdeacon Peter went as vicar to Sicily to administer the property of the Church there, while the praetor of the island was strictly required to make the statutory shipments of grain. All over Italy Gregory tried to introduce order into the management of Church- and poor-funds and in restoring neglected discipline. The Aquileian schism, however, he was not able to compose.

But all these matters were cast into the background by the struggles with the Lombards, who repeatedly appeared before the city. Here we see the pope in quite a different aspect. He issued commands and admonitions to his generals, prescribed the plan of campaigns, kept them advised of the movements of the enemy, and apprised governors, generals, and bishops of the menacing dangers. No priest was permitted to evade the duty of defending his country under the pretext of God's service. Yet in his desire to establish peace he negotiated without intermission, again and again bringing his personal influence to bear on the Lombards, and when the worse came to worst he used the rich incomes of the churches to purchase the freedom of prisoners and a cessation of hostilities. To his provident care it was due that the city was saved from the Lombards, while the emperor's authority and territory were, in many respects, guarded more effectively by him than by the exarchs.

It was clearly to the interest of Byzantium to keep the friendship of Rome by wise and kindly treatment, and yet it was not long before their relations again became strained. The unsettled questions as to which of the two chairs would gain the primacy, and the territorial extent of their jurisdiction, were, as usual, the source of their strife.

On the Tiber the supremacy was claimed as a right and all but won under Leo I., but the ease had ultimately gone in favor of Constantinople. Gregory now came to the fore, and in 593 dispatched the deacon Sabini-anus as his plenipotentiary, with an instrument complaining of the attitude of the Patriarch John, but professing his readiness to live at peace

with him if he would only observe the canons. The command of the Empress Constantia that the head of the Apostle Paul should be transferred to Byzantium, to demonstrate its parity with Rome, was scouted by Gregory. His ambassador had instructions to prevail on the patriarch to desist from using the style "Ecumenical Bishop." On this proving unavailing, Sabinianus withdrew from church-fellowship with John, whereupon the Emperor Maurice addressed himself to the pope. The latter now lost patience, and on June 1, 595, wrote the patriarch remonstrating temperately but firmly against his assumption of the style, not of "Father" merely, but of "Universal Father." He addressed the emperor and empress to the same effect, while he gave vent to his displeasure with Sabinianus: "Against the swords of his enemies no one had known how to protect him, while he, from love to the empire, had sacrificed gold, silver, and slaves; was he now to be called on to sacrifice the faith, also, through the Greeks? This was surely too shameful, for assent to the scandalous title implied nothing else than shipwreck of the faith." He considered acquiescence to the patriarch as equal to surrender of faith, and had to force himself to use a moderate tone in his letter to the emperor. Nor is his moderation less manifested in his refraining to assume the contested style to himself from fear of offending his brothers, the patriarchs. But he would nowise concede a precedency to Byzantium, and this resolution he communicated to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, admonishing them, at the same time, neither to call themselves ecumenical bishops nor to receive letters bearing that address.

The Lombard difficulties aggravated the complication. Hard pressed on all sides, Gregory concluded a special peace with King Ariulf, of which the Emperor Maurice would know nothing. In bitter tones Gregory defended his action, with the remonstrance not to forget his reverence in his rule over the bishops, for Scripture called priests sometimes gods, sometimes angels.

With John, also, his contest had become heated and personal, when the latter died, in 595, venerated by the Greek Church as a saint, scorned by the West for his ambition. His successor, Cyriacus, received the hard-contested title, which was made all the more offensive by the emperor's seeking to make him Gregory's equal in all respects. The Patriarch of Antioch did not venture to address Gregory differently, and even if the Patriarch of Alexandria protested that he would not tolerate the use of the title, he did not act upon his word. The preponderance was entirely on the side of Gregory's rival, wherefore it was impossible for him fully to vindicate the claims of earlier popes, but a great point seemed to be

gained if only those which Constantinople raised could be set aside. The Roman prelate, therefore, sought to establish dogmatically that no bishop was entitled to claim the universal primacy, for such a prince would destroy the foundations of the Church. With blunt frankness he declared whoever assumed to himself the title of "Universal Bishop" to be the precursor of antichrist, inasmuch as he arrogantly elevated himself above all other priests. According to his view, the four patriarchs were the heads of the Church, on a parity among themselves; thus he surrendered the claim to universal headship in order to secure the West for Rome. His plenipotentiary in Constantinople was directed to continue to absent himself from divine worship, while it seemed to him a matter of most serious moment that the bishops of Illyria attended a synod summoned by Cyriacus. The relations remained strained, and many new difficulties arose to further complicate matters, when suddenly, in 602, the Emperor Maurice was overthrown and slain by Phocas, the commander of his body-guard. The pope hoped for a change of system, and congratulated the new potentate in extravagant terms. But the thorny question of the title neither Gregory nor Phocas attacked again.

The Western capital, Ravenna, also prepared trouble for Rome through its straining after independence. An ecclesiastical controversy arose in this city, which it was proposed to adjudicate without reference to Rome. Still more menacing seemed a complication with Istria, where Gregory ordered that the schismatics should not "in these uncertain times" be compelled to re-enter the Church. Only after many efforts the province of Aquileia sided with the pope. It was in Illyria that vent was given most wildly of all to passion. There, despite the opposition of Rome, Maximus was consecrated Archbishop of Salona, the prefect causing such as tried to hinder the ceremony to be cut down. Gregory then interdicted the intruder from every spiritual function on the pain of excommunication; Maximus tore his letter to pieces in the open street. The emperor was behind him, and for this reason Gregory was cautious, summoning Maximus merely to answer to him personally. He did not appear. The pope renewed the invitation and remained quietly tenacious, winning over one powerful ally after another, till finally, the recusant submitted, and on August 27, 599, lay prostrate three hours long on the streets of Ravenna, exclaiming: "I have sinned against God and the holy pope, Gregory!" He was now taken back into favor, and himself received the pallium. In short, on the whole Eastern frontier, so far as the power of Byzantium reached, Gregory everywhere met with difficulties, which he overcame through the judicious exercise of his authority.

It was different in the West. Catholicism had become the state religion of the Visigoths, but in an entirely independent form. Not until ten years after the decisive council of 589 did King Reccared announce it to the pope, and then emphasized only their fellowship in faith and love. Gregory sent a flattering reply, calling the monarch a preacher who drew hosts of converts after him. Gregory's truest helpmate and friend was Leander, archbishop of Seville. In one of his earliest letters to this confidant Gregory expresses his joy over this happy conversion; he sent to him his *Moralia* and *Regula Pastoralis*, and later the pallium. He seems to have exercised no authority as supreme bishop over the land; but, on the other hand, there seems to have been considerable secret correspondence between the heads of the Church and the state, concerning the Byzantine conquests in Southern Spain.

From 595 Gregory made greater advances to the Franks. As early as 591 he had formed a sort of alliance with the perpetual vicar, the Bishop of Arles. But the latter was a subject of the king and cherished particularistic plans, and generally does not seem to have been in harmony with the views of the pope. The latter sought, therefore, to win direct influence, for which the possessions of the apostolic chair in South Gaul offered an excellent pretext. Hitherto these had been administered by the Patrician of Marseilles and the Bishop of Arles. Gregory changed this and appointed a priest named Candidus his steward. He sent him with an earnest recommendation to the royal court, thus instituting a sort of papal embassy in the Frankish empire. His main object was to win over Brunehilde, and to this end he sent her relics, pallia, and privileges along with a flattering message, asking for her good offices in the interest of the possessions of Rome and the missionaries of the faith on their way to England. He complained, moreover, of the serious abuses in the Frankish church, urging the more frequent holding of synods for the abatement of such and of the practice of heathen usages. Nor did he scruple to take part in purely secular questions, especially with the view of bringing about a good understanding between the Franks and Byzantines. To this end he furthered secret negotiations between the courts. Yet Gregory exercised no commanding influence in the Frankish kingdom.

Frankish support was above all needful for his most promising enterprise, the conversion of England. While yet a monk, he saw in the market of Rome some young English slaves, and was so charmed with their beauty that he himself set forth to convert their people and had to be brought back by Pelagius. When pope, he did not forget his purpose. The Anglo-Saxons, though pure heathens, maintained good relations with

their neighbors across the channel, and Aethelberht, king of Kent, married Bertha, daughter of the foremost of the then Frankish kings, Charibert of Paris, who, however, gave his consent only on the condition that she be entitled to the free exercise of her religion and to take a bishop with her. The old church of St. Martin's of Canterbury was raised anew from its ruins. Whether Gregory was stimulated to action by England itself, is not clear. In any case, in 595, he commissioned his steward in Gaul to buy up young Anglo-Saxon captives, in order probably to learn the speech and manners of the people from them. A year later he sent Augustine, provost of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, with two companions, to the island, richly provided with recommendations to the dignitaries of the Frankish church, the Austrasian king, and Brunehilde. Increased to the number of forty, they landed on the Kentish Isle of Thanet, from which the Germans were wont to make their inroads into Britain. The king granted them full liberty of preaching and of settling in his capital, Canterbury. They entered the city in procession, chanting litanies, and displaying a silver cross and the picture of the Saviour. On Whitsunday, 597, the king accepted baptism. Augustine received episcopal consecration in Arles, and on Christmas day baptized 10,000 persons, as Gregory with exuberant pride reported to Alexandria. Soon the new bishop began to work miracles, and was joined by fresh preachers who brought the pallium for the great apostle. With unceasing care the pope watched over and directed the work, guiding the narrower monkish spirit of Augustine, and counselling him in regard to baptism, confession, attendance at church, marriage and the like. Constantly he kept his eyes fixed on the grand result and the attainable, rejecting all petty considerations, and using persuasion rather than force. With daring foresight, but perhaps over-estimating what had been gained, Gregory promulgated an ecclesiastical scheme for Britain in June, 601. According to this, London and York were made the metropolitan sees, each with twelve suffragan bishoprics. In point of fact it was long before the framework was filled out, and then to the disadvantage of York.

While the envoys of Rome were thus struggling with heathendom, they encountered an obstacle of a different character, namely, the old British Church (p. 169). The struggle began while Augustine was still at the head of the mission. King Aethelberht was prevailed on to summon the Abbot of Bangor to a conference, at which Augustine sought to inculcate the Roman mode of reckoning Easter, but, in spite of stern insistence and miracles, he did not succeed. A second disputation only widened the breach, and from that time the contest continued more or

less openly for centuries, until the last relics of opposition were finally crushed out by the superior power of the English.

Gregory's successes abroad and his commanding position in the world reacted favorably on his relations to Italy, where he came to be regarded as the mainstay of orthodoxy and Roman civilization. There the Church had not suffered so severely from the Langobard inroads as might be supposed, and Rome, in preserving its independence, not only maintained its power and prestige, but also grew visibly over the heads of its subject churches. His most dangerous rival, the Metropolitan of Milan, fled before the Langobards to Genoa, where he was supported and consecrated by the pope. Gregory influenced the episcopal elections all over Italy. In her proper province and in Sicily the Church owned extensive possessions (*patrimonia*), the incomes from which she drew, whose officials she appointed, and which gradually expanded into a state. Her other estates were also in the hands of reliable stewards. In this way she became rich enough to be not only independent of state aid, but, on occasions, to aid the state. From Justinian's days the bishops discharged important administrative functions, and the chief of the bishops was the pope. It was no wonder that he towered above the governor of Ravenna. This was a fertile source of dissension, for the exarch remained the leader in military matters. That the imperial officials in Rome, who officially still exercised military, political and municipal power, had lost all real authority, goes without saying.

The development of events in Italy led to the expectation that orthodoxy would win over the Langobards also. True, King Authari forbade the Catholic baptism of children, but Gregory opposed this in fiery epistles to all the bishops of the country.

Theodelinde was an ally in the enemy's camp, only tinctured by a leaning toward the "Three Chapters," and, therefore, requiring to be treated with discretion. At the same time Gregory sought to eradicate the last memorials of Arianism in Rome, by consecrating its churches, now nearly all closed, to the true faith.

Nor is his keen perception less manifest in his attitude toward the monks. How easily might they, from a host of Christ, be converted into an army for the pope! At a synod he caused their rights to be definitely determined. The property of a religious house was not to be disturbed; the choice of the abbot of a convent must be entirely free, without the interference of bishop or secular ruler; during the lifetime of an abbot no other head should be imposed on the convent, and no monk should be consecrated or employed in any way without his consent; and, finally, the diocesan bishop was in no way to interfere without orders, in

the affairs of the house, or to offer masses or erect pulpits there. Little wonder that the monks declared, to a man, for the papacy.

Most of Gregory's letters are preserved. They number nearly a thousand (928), as many as nine a day having sometimes been sent out in all directions. And this by no means exhausted the activities of this pontiff. He is the author of a pastoral inculcating excellent principles for the care of souls, and of dialogues replete with miraculous tales expressed in conventional bombast. He devoted much time to the improvement of worship. Through the institution of a school of song, he elevated the standard of church music; to the Romish service he lent that symbolical magnificence which has contributed so much to its spread; he gave to our Lord's Supper the form of the sacrifice of the mass; he is the author of the doctrine of purgatory; and he introduced the principle into the Church that supererogatory good works are made serviceable to dead souls through masses. The worship of the Virgin Mary and of relics attained full maturity during his rule. In fine, it may be said that he introduced the keystone into the structure of patristic dogma, by incorporating in the Latin Church all the contributions of the East to Christian learning, and of Africa to the doctrines of free will and divine grace. Gregory was the last Church father, and one of the most many-sided, the founder of the temporal greatness and political independence of the successors of Peter, as well as of the mediæval papacy. He died March 12, 604, and was buried in St. Peter's. He was the second pope known to history as "the Great," and in his epitaph he bears the title "Consul of God."

How the papacy had been raised only by his personality, and how ruin reigned far and wide, became evident under his immediate successors. Their reigns were short and separated by long vacancies, so that their influence abroad fell off, while in non-Lombard Italy the exarch was predominant. In Rome party passion must have raged more wildly than we know of. The imperial influence was again supreme, and each new pope had to pay the court a fairly heavy money tribute until it was lightened under the later Agatho. For the office those were preferred who had filled that of nuncio at Constantinople, and in this way Sabinianus came to occupy the chair (604-606). Famine came, and in their extremity the people cast the blame on the dead pope, and, that his memory might perish, desired to burn his writings. Sabinianus, unfeeling and avaricious, held corn at a high price, declaring he could not maintain those whom his predecessor, out of vanity, had supported. On this, it is said, the latter appeared and struck him on the head so that he died. After Sabinianus's rule of a year and a half, the chair stood vacant for a year,

when it was filled by Boniface III. (February to November, 607), who convened a council for the ordering of papal elections, and who seems to have fallen heir to Gregory's quarrel in regard to the title of Ecumenical Bishop. After a vacancy of ten months, Boniface IV. (608-615) was consecrated. The leading events of his time were bitter controversies, fostered by the ruling house of Lombardy, over the "Three Chapters" question, and that of the Old-Irish Church embodied in St. Columban. On his death came a vacancy of five months, when Deusdedit (615-618), the son of a Roman subdeacon, ascended the chair. He received the Exarch Eleutherius honorably, who shortly thereafter dared to grasp at the purple, and replaced clerics in their lost positions. A vacancy of more than a year intervened before the elevation of Boniface V. (619-

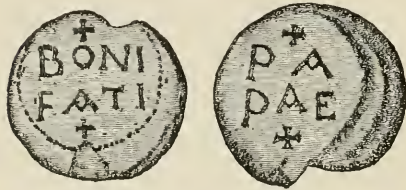


FIG. 69.—Lead seal of Pope Boniface V.
(From Pflugk-Hartung.)

625). This pope (Fig. 69) took a lively interest in the English Church, admonishing Eadwin, king of Northumbria, with success, to accept Christianity, and decreeing Canterbury to be the perpetual ecclesiastical metropolis of England. He renewed the right of asylum to churches, and sought

to bring some degree of order into the elevation of new relics, etc.

The administration of the aristocratic Honorius I. (625-638) was longer and more eventful. He strove to enhance the authority of his office abroad, beautified Rome, built a cathedral of St. Peter's, as well as the first church in the forum. He won over the Metropolitan of Epirus, and the clergy of Sardinia to his side; appointed a Romish ecclesiastic to the schismatic chair of Grado, and granted a charter to the convent of Bobbio, which placed it immediately under the pope—a most important instrument, for with it begins the immunity of monasteries. He maintained close relations with the Anglo-Saxons, taking great interest in the mission and congratulating Eadwin on his acceptance of the true faith, while he conferred the pallium on Bishop Paulinus of York, and constituted the prelate of Canterbury primate of England. He dealt also with the Irish, to induce them to give up their mode of reckoning Easter, and urged the Spaniards to a more zealous persecution of heretics. Besides all this, he issued several decretals regarding the patrimony of the Church, and against the too extended use of the pallium.

But his eye was directed chiefly to the East. In Persia the religion of Zoroaster not only maintained itself, but had developed and taken on a national aggressive spirit. The enemies pressed on, even to the Bos-

porus, and besieged Constantinople, and in 614 Chosroes II. captured Jerusalem, carrying away with him the Cross of our Saviour. Gradually the Emperor Heraclius gained the upper hand, and after a victory at the ruins of Nineveh, bore back the sacred Cross on his own shoulders to the hill of Golgotha. His triumph was short-lived. A terrible storm-cloud gathered on the Arabian peninsula. Semitism revived in Islam. With a mighty shock it struck the worn-out Byzantine empire and won Jerusalem. Heraclius had to yield. Yet with this peril staring them in the face, men gave themselves up as heretofore to controversies regarding the nature and will of Christ (Monophysitism and Monothelitism). The Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople strove to reconcile the contestants on the doctrine that although potentially there were two wills in Christ, the divine and human, virtually there was but one, the human will being exercised in accordance with the divine. His solution met with much approval, but at the same time provoked opposition, specifically from the monk Sophronius, who afterwards ascended the chair of Jerusalem. Anticipating a new contest, Sergius addressed himself to the pope, who was incautious enough to censure Sophronius unheard, and to expose himself to the charge of heresy in the form of Monothelitism. The emperor took the matter in hand, and caused the Patriarch Sergius to prepare an exposition or rule of faith—the *ecthesis*—which, virtually in harmony with the utterances of Honorius, forbade the discussion of the question of one or two wills. The Exarch Isaae brought the document to Rome, where Honorius had, meantime died, and Severinus been chosen to succeed him. Disorders ensued which the exarch took advantage of to plunder the palace without confirming Severinus, probably because he declined to subscribe the *ecthesis*. An embassy was dispatched to the emperor to get his ratification. More than a year and a half elapsed before its return. Within two months Severinus died, after, in antagonism to his predecessor, having recognized a dual will-power in Christ. Again several months passed before the emperor's assent could be got to the consecration of his successor, John IV. (640–642), during which the higher clergy of the metropolis, through their archpriest as “Vicar of the Roman chair,” answered an address of the Irish bishops and abbots. From this we see how matters were administered during the constantly recurring vacancies. John, as well as his successors, took up the position of Severinus in regard to dogma, and the Emperor Heraclius, not to alienate the West, let the *ecthesis* fall. Within six months of John's death, Theodore I. of Jerusalem received confirmation (642–649). He fell out with the Patriarch Paul, who held the oneness of Christ's will (Monothelitism). A synod of Cyprus, as

well as the African bishops, took the side of the pope, and the patriarch, intimidated, betook himself to Rome to read his solemn recantation. But on his return he sojourned in Ravenna, and there abjured his recantation. Theodore, incensed, held a council in St. Peter's, descended to the dark grave of the prince of the apostles, took of the blood of Christ from the consecrated chalice, and mixing ink therein, dipped a pen in it and subscribed the excommunication of the so lately acknowledged brother. Fortified by the zealous support of the Africans, he sent an embassy to Constantinople, to which Paul gave a half concessory explanation. But this did not satisfy the pope, who pronounced Paul's deposition, and named a sort of anti-patriarch for Palestine. Paul, on his part, maltreated the envoys, till the Emperor Constans II., weary of these strifes, through an edict called the "Type," or model of faith, commanded that all controversy over the operations of the will in Christ should take end on pain of the most severe punishment.

On the whole he favored the Monothelites, and thereby came in collision with the somewhat hot-headed successor of Theodore—Pope Martin I. (649–653, 655), who held the first Lateran synod, and formulated the decree that there is in the Saviour a dual power of will, the divine and human. A storm of curses was showered down on those teaching otherwise; three patriarchs of Constantinople were among the denounced; but it was deemed judicious to forget the Roman Honorius. The decrees of the synod were circulated for assent, and letters were sent to the king and bishops of Neustria, asking that they should send Frankish prelates to accompany the papal envoys to Constantinople—the first instance of a pope asking support from the Franks against the East. The emperor was not disposed to promise much, and this all the more because reports were in circulation that Martin had been in correspondance with the Mohammedans in Africa, and sent them money. Even before this, during the synod, Constans had commanded the Exarch Olympius to imprison the pope. This he either did not dare to do, or purposely neglected, in the hope that the pope would support him in a revolt he had planned. But in June, 653, the new Exarch Caliopa appeared with an armed host, and forcing his way by night into the Lateran church, where the pope lay on a sick-bed, took him prisoner, and dispatched him to Constantinople, where he was arraigned before a secular tribunal as a traitor. Half-naked, bleeding, and laden with chains, he languished in prison through the rigors of a severe winter, and but for the intercession of the Patriarch Paul, would probably have been executed. He was banished to the Crimea, where, deserted by all the world, he miserably perished. His impulsive nature had carried him

too far, even to the imperilling of the empire, and his encyclical to the clergy against the "Type" had denounced it in terms unjustifiably violent.

The deposition of a pope by a Byzantine secular tribunal was something unheard of, and shows, by its unimpeached proceedings, the subjugation of the papal see. While Martin was still alive, Eugenius I. (654-657) was, in the face of all remonstrances, appointed his successor. He proved so subservient to Byzantium that both the clergy and people of Rome rose in protest, and in the rest of Christendom men spoke of apostolic heresy. He began then to be less compliant, but was removed by death from any bitter experiences.

We see that the papacy was reduced to dire straits. It could not act in harmony with imperialism, and it was too weak to maintain an independent position. The new pope, Vitalian (657-672), announced his accession to the emperor and patriarch in so conciliatory, even so subservient, a tone, that, as a token that peace was restored to the Church, his name was inscribed in the diptych. And peace was very needful. The Mohammedans had overrun Egypt and Africa, and their swift barks had landed on the coasts of Sicily. The Lombards kept encroaching on the territory of Byzantium. To check these the Emperor Constans came to Rome, July 5, 663, and was magnificently received by the pope. A series of solemn festivals followed. The Greek laid a gold-embroidered pallium on the altar of St. Peter's, to reimburse himself afterwards by carrying away all the bronze works of art, even the gilt-bronze roof tiles, of the Pantheon. He posed as sovereign lord of the land, and no one found it advisable to remind him openly that he was a monothelitic heretic and the murderer of Pope Martin. The result was prejudicial to Rome, because, actuated by political motives, the emperor's wish was to aggrandize his secular capital, Ravenna. Inspired by long-standing ambition, and relying on powerful support, the Archbishop Maurice declared himself independent. Vitalian laid the ban on him. He responded in kind, and procured from the emperor an edict sanctioning his claims. The inscription on his tomb boasts that he freed the Church of Ravenna from the yoke of Rome. Notwithstanding these grievances, Vitalian remained true to the imperial house, even when the army elevated a usurper, and this won for him and his successor the favor of Constantine IV., who soon was undisputed ruler.

The situation in England at this time was significant for the papacy. After a struggle Catholicism had gained the upper hand there, and allied itself more closely than before with the holy chair. An Anglo-Saxon priest came to Rome to receive consecration as Archbishop of

Canterbury, and, on his dying there, Vitalian elevated the monk Theodore of Tarsus in his place. Bede celebrates the fact that he was the first archbishop to whom the whole English Church submitted. The pope confirmed him as primate, and renewed the privileges of his church. Through him and his co-operator, Abbot Adrian of Naples, was inaugurated the golden age for the clergy of England. (See p. 176.) Nor was the remote island neglected by Vitalian's successor, Adeodatus (673-676); but before the latter's successor, Donus (676-678), could be consecrated, there appeared in the eastern heavens a portentous comet presaging deadly pestilence and sore trouble in the Orient. Constantinople had long been besieged by the infidels. Under such circumstances the emperor was constrained to make for the peace of the Church, even at the cost of the now long valid "Type." The Archbishop of Ravenna he enjoined to receive consecration in Rome, and addressed a missive to the "Universal Pope" desiring him to send discreet and learned men to a conference for the composition of differences, inasmuch as there was no time for a complete council.

Before the letter could be delivered, the Sicilian Agatho (678-681) occupied the papal chair. The plague still claimed its victims, but the pope found consolation in the subjection of Ravenna. The main matter was still the Monothelite question, which the emperor had brought up in so conciliatory a spirit. That there might be no schism in the West, Agatho caused synods to be held everywhere, even in distant England, whose bishops sent to him through his legates a digest of the proceedings at their orthodox assembly at Heathfield. The final synod, consisting of one hundred and twenty-five bishops, met in Rome, March 27, 680, and concluded to send an embassy and letters to Constantinople. The missive of the pope to the emperor was at once detailed and respectful. It said that the emperor was more deeply versed in the true sense of Scripture than he, the pope, yet that under the guidance of St. Peter the Roman Church had never and nowhere erred from the truth. The epistle of the bishops treated the question as no longer an open one, but wished it to be solved in the spirit of the unchanged faith, which had been handed down in the Western Church. The embassy was honorably received by the emperor, and on his behest, George of Constantinople, the "Ecumenical Patriarch," summoned a great synod to meet November 7 in the capital; it became the sixth ecumenical council. All the four patriarchs were represented, but the council sat under the dominating influence of the secular potentate. The council condemned Monothelism and declared for the dual power of will in Christ. Rome had gained a triumph, but not without receiving a heavy blow. Among the

names of the condemned Monothelites was that of Honorius. Perhaps this would not have happened had not Agatho died while the council was sitting, leaving the chair vacant for a year and a half, during which the emperor was free to act according to his will. Agatho's successor was Leo II. (681-683). (See Fig. 70.)

When the legates returned with an imperial rescript and accompanied by the leaders of the Monothelite party, Leo at once undertook to convert the heretics, but finding this fruitless, shut them up in various convents. He graciously accepted the decrees of the council, extravagantly glorified the emperor, and declared Honorius to have incurred everlasting condemnation as a traitor to the apostolic church. He was zealous in disseminating the new decrees, while he cultivated closer union with the church of Ravenna, which delivered up the charter of its independence.

Apparently, the election of Benedict II. (683-685) followed closely on Leo's death, though his consecration was delayed for a year. To obviate such inconveniences, Constantine, well disposed toward the papacy, decreed that in the future the person elected Bishop of Rome should be consecrated without waiting for imperial confirmation. Valuable as this concession appears, it was of the less practical effect because the elections, vitiated by party intrigues, had fallen largely into the hand of the exarchs, who ratified them down to 731, so that a series of foreigners, mostly of shady characters, occupied the chair in rapid succession.

The Roman people took advantage of a change of the imperial throne to vindicate their lost right of choice, and, after a long interval, to elevate John IV. (685-686), whose early death gave rise to fresh dissensions. Finally, the clergy and army united on Conon (686-687), a pious man of venerable appearance. He was the first pope to establish closer relations to the Irish-Scotch mission to Germany and consecrated Kilian as bishop, but the old strife with Constantinople appeared anew. The Emperor Justinian II., in a brilliant assembly there, emphatically asserted that he alone was defender of the faith and, therefore, only he could guard the acts of the sixth council, so as to preserve them from forged interpolation. It is possible that such had already been attempted in the case of Honorius.

Scarcely was Conon stricken down with sickness when the Archdeacon Paschal managed to procure from the exarch a nomination as his successor. Theodore opposed him, whereupon the majority of the clergy and people decided for Sergius I. (687-701), and in the face of powerful opposition placed him in the chair. He had, nevertheless, to pay the exarch one hundred pounds of gold for the office, while Paschal lan-

guished in a monastery. The Easter of 689 brought a great festival for Rome. The Anglo-Saxon Ceadwalla had come as a pilgrim, soon followed by King Coenred and King Sighere's son, Offa. The affairs of the

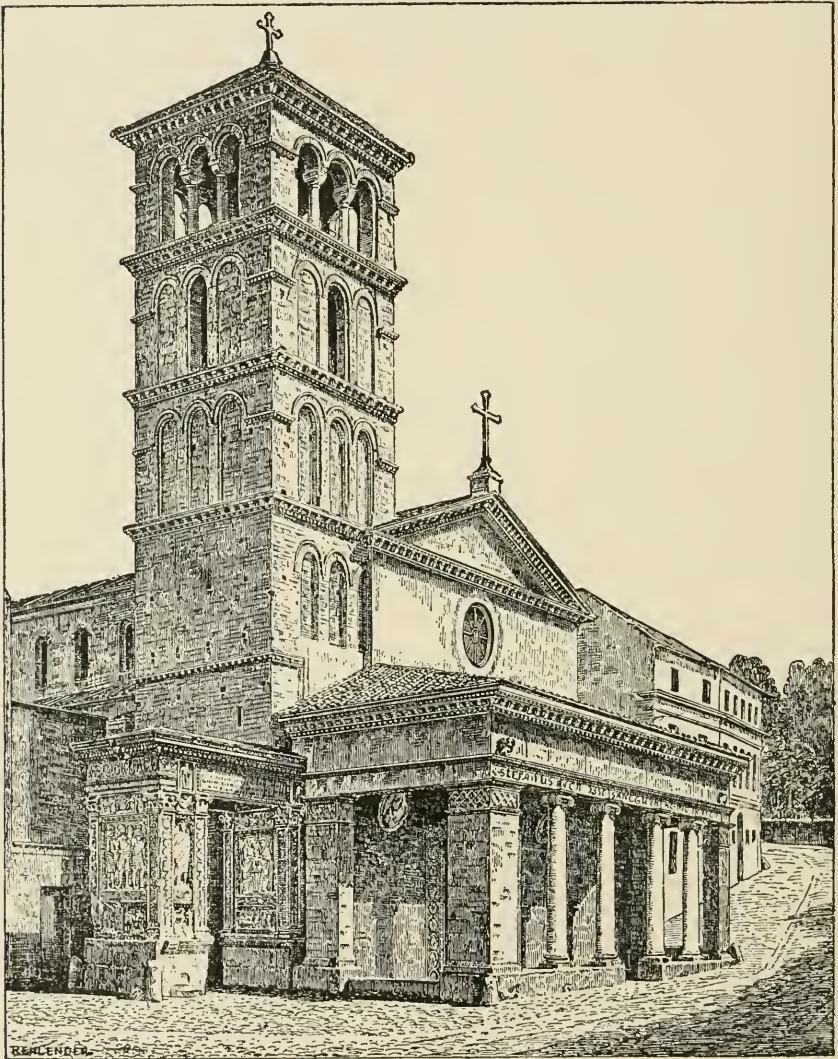


FIG. 70.—Basilica of St. George in Rome. Built by Pope Leo II.; restored in the Ninth Century by Pope Zacharias. (From a photograph, and from Gailhabaud.)

far-off island interested Sergius deeply. He wrote concerning the Archbishop of York, consecrated the Archbishop of Canterbury, confirming

him as primate, and conferred privileges on several religious houses. Of still greater importance was the fact that the Anglo-Saxon mission began to turn to Rome. Willibrord came thither in 692 to crave the pope's sanction and blessing for his work of conversion in Friesland, and on his return in 696 he was consecrated by the pope as archbishop of the Friesians. In strong contrast to the devotion of the English Church stood the independence of the Spanish. Ever since the promulgation of the acts of the sixth council there had been enmity between it and the papal chair. Now the Archbishop of Toledo accused the chair of superficiality and misconception, and threatened if it deviated further from the teaching of the fathers that the Spaniards would tread in the footsteps of their ancestors. The complications with Constantinople were still graver. Justinian summoned a council there as a continuation of the sixth, to codify and supplement the ecclesiastical legislation of the East and West, not, however, in the spirit of the sixth and in favor of Rome, but in favor of the East. Among the numerous canons of this Constantinopolitan council some were not in consonance with papal traditions; some were in direct antagonism thereto. The Bishop of Constantinople was invested with the same rank and prerogatives as his Roman rival. This was too much, and when they were laid before the pope he refused to subscribe them. Justinian sent his first sword-bearer to imprison the recalcitrant prelate. Then it became evident how the reputation of the emperor had sunk in Italy and how the conviction of self-help had developed. The militia of Ravenna and the Pentapolis marched to Rome to defend the pope. Through him the Byzantine envoy succeeded in escaping alive. The feeling of Italian unity had risen to such a pitch that Aquileia renounced its peculiar views in regard to the fifth council. The bishops of the province betook themselves to the pope, and after being counselled by him were graciously dismissed.

The decadence of Byzantium became more and more evident. When John VI. (701-705) was chosen, the exarch came to depose him, and again the Italian militia appeared, to the Byzantine's imminent peril. An attempt of Justinian to get the pope's sanction, in part at least, to the canons of his council failed entirely. After the brief pontificate of Sisinnius, the emperor tried to win over his successor, Constantine I. (708-715), who, in response to a summons, made a journey to Constantinople, the last ever made by a pope. He was received with all pomp of ceremony. The emperor's son with the whole court went forth to meet him; the monarch prostrated himself before him and kissed his feet. An understanding seemed to have been reached, but all remained without result, for scarcely was the pope home when Justinian was deposed and put to death by

Philippicus Bardanes, who sought to rehabilitate the long-abjured Monothelitism. With this view he summoned the pope to his presence. Constantine promptly refused. Bardanes's name was erased from the diptych, no document bearing his signature, no money with his image was received, and the people refused obedience to the newly-appointed duke of the Roman duchy, a title which now first appears. The danger blew over, for the orthodox Anastasius II. forthwith mounted the throne, who had the patriarch send a submissive letter to Rome.

Constantine died in 715, and was succeeded by Gregory II. (715-731), a man who strove to rival his great namesake. During his pontificate a decided theological revolution took place in Byzantium. With the warlike Leo III., the Isaurian, a new heresy, that of the Iconoclasts, sprang up. A vigorous orthodox pope in Rome, a vigorous iconoclast emperor in Constantinople! Such was the situation, and it could not but precipitate the long-foreshadowed divorce of the rival powers, as well as a great change of system in the apostolic policy, its shifting from the East to the West. Directly consequent on this was the origin of the States of the Church, favored by the decadence of the Lombard kingdom and the spread of Roman power in the West, and affected by the alliance with the Franks and the work of conversion in Germany.

We observe this trend distinctly during the rule of Gregory II. His efforts had three main objects: resistance to the Langobards, independence of Byzantium, and the mission of the Anglo-Saxons to Germany. An inundation devastated his capital, and Spain was subdued by the Saracens, whose leader boasted that, crossing the Pyrenees, he would cause Mohammed's name to be proclaimed in the Vatican. The bulwark found in the kingdom of the Franks shook to its foundations, while, in Italy, the energetic King Liutprand seized what he could. Disorder and confusion prevailed, and danger threatened the Church on all hands.

Through all the encircling gloom there pierced but one ray, that, namely, which gleamed from the Cross now being raised aloft in the German forests. In 718, the Anglo-Saxon Boniface appeared in Rome, and formed that spiritual band which was ultimately to bind the whole Church of the West into one. In his oath of allegiance to the pope, the pledge of loyalty to the emperor was purposely left out, for already in the East were heard the notes which heralded the decisive struggle between hierarchy and an imperial papacy—that, namely, over images. Despite the Second Commandment, the Church, through the reflex influence of heathendom, had developed a lavish image-worship. Against this, Islam, in virtue of its fundamental principle of monotheism, had taken a decided

stand. The Emperor Leo had been in intercourse with the Saracens, and had from them derived the impulse that inspired an edict, issued in virtue of his supreme episcopal authority, against image-worship as idolatry. He had the support of the greater part of the army, but the majority of the clergy, among them the patriarch and pope, favored images. The latter, especially, accompanied his protest with a declaration that the emperor had nothing to do with cases of faith. Leo threatened to imprison him and to destroy the image of St. Peter, whereupon Gregory summoned a synod to Rome, before which he laid his complaint. A severe, almost contemptuous, missive was addressed to the emperor, while Gregory forbade the payment of taxes to Byzantium. Enraged beyond measure, the emperor sent his sword-bearer, who, in conjunction with the exarch and some malecontents, was to depose the pope. But the Romans stood by their head, and even the Lombards took sides with him. The power of the West was arrayed against the East. The emperor had once more to resort to enticement and intimidation. Gregory stood firm, without, however, desiring the separation of Italy from the Empire, and when the elevation of an anti-emperor at Ravenna was mooted, he prevented it, hoping always for the return of the apostate. The latter remained unreconciled, and planned, it is said, the assassination of the pope. Things went from bad to worse. The imperial and papal parties came to open strife. In Ravenna the exarch expiated his loyalty with his life. A certain Tiberius Petasius now appeared in Tuscany as the new emperor. Again, it is said, the pope interposed and made him harmless, but in vain. In 730, Leo issued a second and more rigorous edict, deposed the refractory patriarch, and elevated his partisan, Anastasius, in his stead. Gregory renewed his warnings and threats, but was removed from the conflict by death. The Lombards were the principal gainers from the disorders, and would have won even more than they did had not their king, Liutprand, from pious or political motives, recoiled before the resolute attitude of his most dangerous antagonist, the pope. (See p. 49.)

Italy was crushed under the load of Byzantine taxation and bureaucracy. Gregory appeared as its shield against oppression and its mainstay in its strivings after freedom and independence. The Byzantine governor was driven off by the people, and the pope, quite naturally, assumed his functions. His position seemed so altered thereby that Liutprand, in 728, made over to him the little town of Sutri (near Viterbo), thus raising him to the rank of an independent territorial lord. This seemingly insignificant nucleus was to wax into a great mass, and yet it was pregnant with fate for future pontiffs. In Sutri there sat later a powerful dynasty violently hostile to the chair; in it the German Henry III. decreed

the deposition of three popes, and in it the concordat was concluded with Henry V., which delivered over Paschal II. prisoner.

The estates of the Romish chair, the gradual acquisition of the sovereign rights of the highest official in Italy, and its growing political power,—from these three factors grew the States of the Church. These comprised at first the stretch of coast from Corneto to Gaeta, penetrating more or less inland, and known generally as the Roman duchy. The pope became the *de facto* head of this district. It was conceived as a theocracy, as the possession of St. Peter.

Under Gregory II. the political influence of the papacy was prodigiously enhanced. The iconoclast controversy, especially, brought to light the advances it had made in the North and West. No one realized this more clearly than Gregory himself, who saw, in the not remote future, the day when all the Churches of the West would coalesce into one, with Rome as its centre. He died in February, 731. During his funeral, the people chose a Syrian, Gregory III. (731–741), his successor, a keen-sighted, learned man, who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. He was the last pope whose election was ratified by the emperor.

Gregory III. took the field with vigor. He sent a letter to Constantinople, treating the image-question without reserve. On his envoy being imprisoned, he convened a synod, which, showing a singular unity in the clergy and laymen of Byzantine Italy, pronounced anathema on all image-breakers. This was somewhat extreme. The questions treated were no longer purely religious ones, they had entered on the domain of politics. Italy began to cut itself loose from the Byzantine Empire. The emperor sent a fleet to retain it in subjection (which was, however, shattered by a storm), confiscated the revenues of the Roman patrimony to the state treasury, and, releasing East Illyria from papal rule, attached it to Constantinople. To the Saracens, who kept the imperial army constantly employed, and to Gregory's own discreet silence, alone was it due that the pope was not assailed in his own capital. The situation was further complicated by a war with the Lombards, who again stormed forward to Rome (see p. 434); and even the Saracens became a menace. Their ships dominated the Mediterranean and ravaged its coasts; in dense masses they pressed over the Pyrenees till they were brought to bay and overthrown by the Frankish army. The eyes of Christendom, and above all, those of its spiritual pastor, were now turned to the West. Imperialism demanded only duties without being able to afford protection, while the Franks had won two triumphs for the faith: the victory over Islam and the conversion of the trans-Rhenish Germans through

Boniface. In all this the soldier and the pope were in closest alliance, but when Gregory, hard pressed by the Lombards, sent an embassy to Charles Martel bearing the keys that had lain in the tomb of St. Peter—the consecrated symbol of the papal power of the keys—the embassy was received well enough, but won no aid. Gregory sent a second and third deputation, with letters bewailing the encroachments of the Lombards, and begging Charles to send trustworthy men who might convince themselves with their own eyes and compel a cessation of hostilities. Nay, according to Frankish sources, he offered to renounce allegiance to Constantinople and acknowledge Charles Martel as his over-lord. But Charles remained the friend of the Lombards; a new direction, however, had been given to papal politics.

Nor did these exertions exhaust Gregory's energies. He conferred the pallium on the rival archbishops of Canterbury and York, and on the former the title of Patriarch and Vicar of the Pope. He convened in Rome a synod of all the bishops of the diocese of Grado to compose a quarrel between Grado and Aquileia over some possession granted to the former. He sent Willibald, a monk of Cassino, on the German mission; confirmed Boniface's ecclesiastical partition of Bavaria; decorated the churches of Rome with images; founded several religious houses. Besides, he completed the restoration of the city walls, and fortified Centumcellae. Politics, war, administration, God's service, all in turn, busied his mind.

Gregory's successor, the Italian Greek Zacharias, was pliant and not too scrupulous (741–752). The new pope made peace with the Lombard foe and Liutprand made over to him the lately occupied patrimony along with four Middle Italian towns which were properly Byzantine, thus widening the papal domain at the expense of the legitimate lord. Of this seeming generosity the holy chair was able to avail itself, because Constantine Copronymus was so hard pressed at home that he was glad to purchase the good-will of his powerful half-subject by the further gift of two other patrimonies, in return for which Zacharias sought to mediate between him and Liutprand and induced the latter to promise submission. (See p. 53.) It was of the utmost consequence that the empire should command its full strength in its conflict with Islam. Zacharias interposed with greater energy in German affairs. Boniface incurred his displeasure and had to submit to his encroachments in Bavaria. When the Bavarians and Franks stood arrayed against each other on the Lech, a legate was courageous enough to command peace—unfortunately with no effect. But the pope, through all, maintained his good relations with both the emperor and the Lombard king. The latter even conceded him a twenty

years' peace and gave up the siege of Perugia. This was all changed when Aistulf became sovereign and renewed the old inroads. He had already occupied Ravenna, and his advance upon Rome was awaited with dread, when the memorable embassy from the Franks announced the transference of sovereignty from the Merovingians to the Carolingians. (See p. 122.) The mere fact that the pope was called on for counsel is evidence of the enhancement of the apostolic influence in the West. Through the support granted to Pepin on that occasion, the pope won a claim to protection from him and his successors. The history of the world was progressing on new lines. It is peculiar that it was under a pope of Byzantine origin that the Western tendency became decisive. In comparison with this, his acts in other directions retreat to the background. In 743 he convened a great synod in St. Peter's, at which a part of the canons enacted under Gregory II., in 721, were renewed and supplemented—those, namely, on Church discipline, celibacy, suppression of heathen usages, intermarriage with Jews, etc. He embellished Rome with fine edifices and statues, especially the Lateran, where he caused a chart of the world to be shown, and, further, translated the dialogues of Gregory I. into Greek.

At the death of Zacharias, the choice fell on Stephen, who, however, died within four days, without consecration, whereupon another Stephen, generally known as Stephen II., was elected (752-757). Aistulf invested Rome, and although the relations to Byzantium had become precarious, it was thither the pope turned with earnest supplication for help. Instead of soldiers the emperor sent envoys and letters, and thus cut away the last ground of union. Finally, the Frank stepped in the place of the Byzantine. As in former years the popes had journeyed toward the East, so now Stephen, accompanied by a nephew of Pepin, betook himself over the Alps to France. He devoted more than a year to the journey, which was so full of honor to the Franks and of fame and advantage to himself. The reverence shown to this, the first successor of St. Peter who ever trod Gallic soil, was immeasurable. The king, with wife and child and many nobles, came to meet him, cast himself before him, and walked a space at the bridle-rein of the mounted pontiff. The melody of hymns greeted his entrance into the royal palace of Ponthion. Here Pope Stephen implored help against the Lombards and the rehabilitation of the Roman commonwealth. Pepin pledged him protection and evacuation or restoration of the exarchate and the places in the duchy belonging to St. Peter. An assembly of nobles at Quierzy, April, 754, confirmed the king's pledge, whereupon a declaration to this effect was issued by Pepin and his sons, Charles—afterward Charlemagne—and Carloman, which further dealt with districts formerly

Byzantine, but now, by right of conquest, in the possession of the Lombards.

Pepin's gift to the Church became at once the corner-stone of the pope's secular sovereignty and the subject of a renowned and endless controversy. Formerly it was thought that the instrument, the original of which is lost, conferred rights and possessions which the king could not bestow, and was based on a bare-faced forgery submitted to him, namely, a so-called deed of gift of Constantine. In the Fifth Century a legend originated in Rome of the cure of this emperor from leprosy, out of gratitude for which he presented to the city Italy proper with its western provinces (North Italy), and conferred on it great privileges. According to this instrument the pope is supreme over all bishops, has power over the four patriarchates of the East, can pronounce conclusively on all questions of faith, and is entitled to the insignia of imperialism. On the other hand, it has been maintained that Constantine's so-called charter had its origin not far from Paris in 850, and was closely associated with the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.

In point of fact, the sole object in view was simply the evacuation of the Roman territory and the exarchate in favor of the pope. Pepin was crowned anew, along with his sons, in the Cathedral of St. Denis, by the hands of the pope, who declared energetically in favor of the new dynasty, the price being the subjugation of the Lombards. This followed quickly. Stephen accompanied the Frankish army and took part in the negotiations for peace, the articles of which assured him possession of Ravenna and other cities. Triumphantly he returned to the Tiber.

But scarcely had Pepin left Italy when Aistulf, renouncing his obligations, took up arms, seized Narni, and laid siege to Rome. The strife was the bitterest he had yet waged. On pain of storming the city and massacring the inhabitants he demanded the opening of the Salarian gate and the delivery of the pope. To no purpose: Zacharias's walls resisted staunchly and most urgent letters were dispatched across the Alps. One of these was written in the name of St. Peter himself and characterized the assailed land as the property of the Franks. It reminded Pepin that the apostolic prince had anointed him and his sons as kings, and that a reckoning would be demanded of them at the last judgment as to how they had supported the Church and its head. Pepin came and conquered with ease (756). Then the Byzantine came once more on the scene. Envoys of Constantine Copronymus appeared in the camp at Pavia, with the purpose of purchasing back by rich gifts the exarchate and Ravenna. The path was thus paved for a good understanding between the East and the Frankish monarch, but the latter had something else

in view. He declared he had undertaken war not for the sake of a man but in expiation of his sins. The territory was again made over to St. Peter; a Frankish commissioner accompanied Aistulf's envoys to each of the cities and received their keys, which he laid as a donation on the tomb of the prince of the apostles. The cities comprised those of the "Italian province," the exarchate, the Pentapolis and the Roman duchy. A land once Byzantine thus passed over to the Roman Church, and the pope took the place of the emperor. The States of the Church were washed by the waves of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Po.

The pope was now transformed into a temporal prince, and he forthwith made use of his sovereign right to name Pepin and his sons patricians of Rome—a prerogative hitherto belonging to the emperor alone. And yet the latter was still nominally acknowledged; at least till the time of Adrian the bulls bore the date of his reign. The duke was regarded as properly the chief temporal magistrate of Rome. Had the pope conferred this dignity on the king of the Franks he would have put himself under a master. The patriciate implied duties rather than rights, especially toward the place which conferred the distinction. The king was not lord but lord-protector, and was represented on the Tiber by Abbot Fulrad, his commissioner, who counselled the spiritual prince and acted as his minister of war.

In the altered circumstances the dissensions among the Lombards could be used to advantage. Desiderius promised, in return for the papal support of his claim to the throne, Ferrara, Imola, Ancona, Bologna, and other places. The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento swore allegiance to the pope and the ruler of the Franks. Before all these matters could be arranged, Pope Stephen II. (III.) closed his momentous pontificate.

Immediately on his death his brother, Paul I. (757-767), was elevated to the chair. His election was dispatched with haste, because a counterparty, probably with leanings toward the Lombards and Byzantium, desired the archdeacon, Theophylact. All the more anxiously did Paul cleave to the Frankish alliance, whose ruling house he bound to himself as closely as possible by subserviency, gifts, and other means. His first act was to address a letter to Pepin, wherein he pledged himself and his people to "the Helper and Defender," to remain loyal to the bond of peace and friendship which his brother, Stephen, had concluded with him. The note attached to a synodal brief bore the date of the emperor's reign and that of Pepin, "King of the Franks and Defender of Rome." But this policy was to breed danger. Still Desiderius, the Lombard king, did not give over the possessions he had promised, but sought to rehabili-

tate himself once more by force of arms. With the pope he fought and negotiated alternately; from the Byzantines he craved support. The latter had dispatched an embassy to Pepin; the pope, legates. The two deputations were present at an assembly of the states of the kingdom at Compiègne in May, 757. The Byzantines entered into relations with Desiderius, for a common foe brought the century-long antagonists together. It was already noised about that six patricians with three hundred ships from Constantinople, as well as the fleet from Sicily, were on the way to Rome and would descend on Ravenna also, while the Byzantine Venetians were in correspondence with its archbishop. Time and again Paul turned to the Frank, whose envoys came and went, and finally extorted a new pledge of surrender from Desiderius, who regarded it as little as he had done his former one. The Greeks and Desiderius also were busy at the Frankish court; Pepin himself did not cross the Alps and Paul felt called upon to warn him against being led astray by the diplomacy and misrepresentations of the enemies of the true faith. There came, even, a rumor that he would no longer defend the pope. Embroiled in wars at home he counselled reconciliation with the Lombards. For a time the exarchate came to the foreground. Paul wrote he would meet Desiderius in Ravenna and treat concerning the Greeks, who daily threatened to fall upon that city. This object is said to have been attained, but the popular mind was roused against him even to assassination. On his return to Rome the ringleaders were seized and sent to prison to die. Byzantium understood better to intrigue and negotiate than to act. There came no fleet and no army, but, instead, the wonted embassies who again betook themselves, with the pope's legates, to Pepin and remained with him till the meeting at Gentilly decided against the Greeks. Paul's thanks to Pepin were fulsome. The orientals complained of bribery, falsehood, and forged documents. Substantially, the victory was with the Franks. Their bishops and their council decided between pope and emperor. The foundation for the independence of the Gallic Church was laid. In the autumn of 765, Desiderius sojourned a time in Rome and agreed to commissioners for the contested cities. To what a pitch party-feelings were roused is evident from the circumstances attending Paul's death. (Cf. Fig. 71.)

The powerful city nobles of Rome now made themselves prominent,



FIG. 71.—Spurious lead seal of Pope Paul I. (From a cast in Berlin.)

one party relying on the Franks, the other on the Lombards. Paul, though sick to death, was still alive when Toto, Duke of Nepi, burst through the Paneratian gate and, at the head of a band of armed noblemen, compelled the consecration of his brother, Constantine II., a layman. Constantine entered (767-768) into an alliance with the Franks, but he had powerful enemies at home—at their head, Christophorus, the highest curial official, and his son, the treasurer, Sergius. The latter called on Desiderius for help, and suddenly the Lombards under his leadership and that of a priest, Waldipert, stormed into Rome. The papal partisans opposed them, and there was a bitter conflict in the streets in which Duke Toto was slain, and Constantine was made prisoner. He had occupied the chair for more than a year. Single-handed, Waldipert proclaimed the priest Philip as pope, but this representative of the Lombard faction could not maintain himself and retired into his convent, whereupon Christophorus assembled his party and elected a Benedictine monk under the name of Stephen III. (768-772). They celebrated their victory by perpetrating the most barbarous cruelties. Many of Constantine's adherents were inhumanly mutilated, and he himself was dragged from his cell, and, after being subjected to indignities and outrages of all kinds, was deprived of his eyes and left to languish in the streets. Even Christophorus's former allies had to expiate their alleged misdeeds. The rumor spread that Waldipert had wished to play into the hands of the Lombards. A furious mob rushed on him and his confederates. He fled to the Pantheon and laid hold of the image of the Virgin, calling aloud for mercy. But he, too, was blinded, deprived of his tongue and left to die. Such were the thanks returned by the Romans for help in their need. The party was more powerful than its creature, the pope.

These ferocities were rivalled by those of a great synod opened in the Lateran, April 12, 769. It was to decide about the deposition of Constantine, the framing of rules for the election of popes, and the relation to the Greeks. The poor, blinded Constantine was brought before it, and because he did not speak in accordance with its wishes, was again shamefully maltreated and then thrust out of doors. To prevent such scandalous elections as the last, it was voted to deprive laymen of a voice in the choice of a pope, the right being now limited to prelates and the clergy of Rome. To the people was left only the right of assent and homage. Posterity was to learn that it is easier to enact such laws than to enforce them. The synod wound up by sanctioning veneration of images and anathematizing the refractory Greeks.

The unity of spirit manifested by the Romans and Franks indicated alienation from the Lombards. A lay partisan of Desiderius seized the

chair of Ravenna, and squandered the contents of the Church treasury, till the Ravennese, under the pressure of a Franco-papal embassy, drove him forth. But gradually it seemed as if these relations were to turn about. The young Frankish king, Charlemagne, repudiated his wife, and, in defiance of the impassioned remonstrances of the pope, married the daughter of Desiderius. The Holy See thus lost its most reliable stay, while the position of the ruler of the Lombards, as father-in-law of the Frank, was essentially changed. Furthermore, the domineering nature of the pope's partisans, Christophorus and Sergius, began to be a source of trouble and even of danger. They were the sworn foes of the Lombards, and aspired to be the pope's rulers rather than his counsellors, circumstances which probably led Desiderius to plan their overthrow. In 771, he appeared suddenly with a force before Rome, not only with the connivance of his friends, but probably not without the concurrence of the pope. On his invitation Stephen came out to meet him, treated with him regarding the contested cities, received half promises of surrender, and took steps to win his favor. The threatened men, reinforced by Franks under the leading of Carloman, broke out in open revolt, but fell forthwith into the hands of the Lombards. The pope sought to save their lives by keeping them in St. Peter's under ward of the king. A band of their Roman enemies dragged them out of the church and deprived them of their eyes. Christophorus died within three days, and Sergius was slain later.

The head of the Church was in a position of extreme anxiety. When he claimed from Desiderius the promised cities, he was given to understand that he ought to consider himself happy that Christophorus and Sergius were out of the way, and that the Lombards had not withdrawn their protection, for in that event Carloman would certainly make him prisoner out of revenge for the death of his friends. A feeling of mutual coldness set in, when suddenly the situation was changed by events that occurred in France. Charlemagne sent Desiderius's daughter home, and, on the death of his brother Carloman, took possession of his kingdom. Stephen's personal foe was thus removed, while the unified Frankish kingdom became a menace to the Lombards. The attitude of the future pope became doubly important for the latter. Shortly before Stephen's death their partisans seem to have set to work to manipulate the impending election in their favor. But to no effect, for on the very day of Stephen's death, Adrian I. (772-795) was chosen his successor.

Adrian (Fig. 72) was the scion of an eminent Roman house, a man of beautiful character. Reared in the service of the Church, he wore himself out with prayers and fastings, and robbed his own body to benefit

the poor. He was talented, far-seeing, impressed with his high office, and, despite his ecclesiastical training, a born politician, frankly avowing that to rule one must sow dissension. His consecration was signalized by the liberation of all prisoners.

As a matter of course, the affairs of the Lombards came to the front. Desiderius, setting out with negotiations, soon took to arms, and hoped through the co-operation of a partisan, Paul Afiarta, to become master of the pope's person, and thus force him to act as he chose. But the plot miscarried. Archbishop Leo of Ravenna took Afiarta prisoner, and, although Adrian desired only his banishment, caused him to be put to death. In his wrath, the Lombard king marched on Rome. Adrian, drawing strong reinforcements from the surrounding districts, made every preparation for a vigorous defence, and, as usual, sent envoys to Charlemagne, while he intimidated Desiderius with threats of excommunication. For a time matters hung in suspense. Then came the Frankish king and besieged his late father-in-law in Pavia. Forgetful of his oath of allegiance to the Lombards, the Duke of Spoleto came to Rome, took the oath of fealty to the pope, and, in further token of submission, had his head shorn. Adrian confirmed him in his duchy, and soon other dukes, as those of Osimo and Ancona, followed his example.

The siege of Pavia was protracted, and, during its continuance, Charlemagne, with a brilliant following, appeared unexpectedly in Rome at the Easter festival of 774. The astonished pope received him with all honor. Before the sacred standard of the Cross, the Frank, with his following, dismounted, and, on foot, approached the Cathedral of St. Peter's. On his knees he ascended the outer stair, kissing each individual step, and at the top was received by the pope, and conducted by him into the interior. A thousand voices saluted him with the jubilant shout: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" After Charlemagne had prayed at the apostle's grave, and exchanged oaths with the pope, the two returned to the city. For three days, one festival followed on the other, when at length matters of state were spoken of. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Adrian laid Pepin's deed of gift before Charlemagne, who not only confirmed, but enlarged it. The exact extent of the enhanced gift is undetermined, but a chronicler tells us it comprised all the lands south of the northern point of the Adriatic, along with Corsica and Istria, thus covering districts to which the pope never before laid claim. In any event, the gift in this form never took effect.

From Rome Charlemagne betook himself to Pavia, made Desiderius prisoner, and caused himself to be crowned king of the Lombards in his stead. A great change was wrought in his relations to the pope.

Formerly the protector of the pope against his German plunderers, he now found himself at the head of these and the rival of Rome. His withdrawal from Italy was the signal for disorder; and a danger often threatened, but never absolutely realized, again took shape—that, namely, from the side of Ravenna.

Its ambitious archbishop, Leo, aspired to found an ecclesiastical state. Whether Charlemagne gave his assent thereto is not quite clear. In any case Leo took possession of a number of towns in the Romagna and Emilia on the pretext that the king had given him them. The papal officials were driven out, and Adrian, with truth, complained that the Church suffered more injustice than in the time of the Lombards. Both he and the archbishop appealed to Charlemagne, who seems to have temporized. Leo continued refractory, and persevered in his plans on his own responsibility. The pope's remonstrances were unavailing; he accused Leo of acting in concert with the Lombards, who were plotting subversion of all authority, and in feverish anxiety awaited the arrival of envoys. Not until later does he appear



FIG. 72. —Lead seal of Adrian I. (From v. Pflugk-Harttung.)

to have gained the ascendancy. In two letters he speaks as if he were the assured ruler of the lands, and instructs the archbishop not to tolerate Venetian merchants in the district of Ravenna. In 777 the dangerous man died, Charlemagne, however, claiming voice in the filling of the archiepiscopal chair. Other difficulties arose. Hildebrand of Spoleto opposed the pope as an independent potentate. Frankish envoys visited first him and then the equally hostile Duke of Benevento. The king regarded these duchies as originally Lombard, and consequently now Frankish.

In the struggles for sovereignty in Middle Italy, the pope seems to have known no better means of helping himself than by advancing new claims. He required from Charlemagne the restoration of all the possessions which pious people had made over to St. Peter, in Tuscany, Spoleto, Benevento, Corsica, and the Sabine territory, submitting the relative documents preserved in the archives of the Lateran. At first he met with little encouragement. His purpose had been to lay these before the king in person when he came to Rome, as expected, at the Easter of 777; but Charlemagne did not appear, probably for good reasons.

Adrian was, above all, at pains to maintain amicable relations, outwardly at least, with the king, but he was not at all times guarded in his expressions, and busy tongues were at hand to carry tales. His subordinates were still less cautious. The legate Anastasius made use of such unseemly words to the king that he had him cast into prison, to the great delight of the Lombards and Ravennese, who believed they saw in this the death-knell of the dreaded alliance. They deceived themselves. The king and the pope were natural allies, and this all the more because the Greeks, reinforced by Lombard malecontents, had now taken up arms, conquered Terracina, and meditated yet more ambitious designs. Charlemagne saw the necessity for a longer sojourn in Italy.

A general pacification seems to have signalized his visit to Rome along with his family, at the Easter festival of 781. He had his youngest son, Pepin, baptized, and, with his elder brother (Louis), anointed and crowned. His daughter was married to the young Emperor Constantine, and the affairs of Bavaria seem to have been so dealt with, that, shortly thereupon, its duke, Thassilo, renewed his oath of fealty in presence of the legates. Italy was thus covered on the north and east; Charlemagne was in harmony with the pope, who supported his foreign policy, and he, in return, was well satisfied to adjust the pending territorial questions in an amicable way. The Sabine territory and the Tuscan patrimonies were made over to St. Peter in enlarged dimensions. The duchy of Benevento, claimed by Adrian's predecessors, presented difficulties. The pope did not get possession of the whole district, but seems to have got the matter accommodated largely to the advantage of the Church. Spoleto was lost, and remained so. On the whole, if the papal claims were not conceded in all their extravagant extent, Rome held the territories she acquired on a much better guarantee than hitherto.

But amid all this striving after worldly gains ecclesiastical affairs also claimed attention. And first of all those of Spain, whose Church, under the tolerant sway of Islam, had developed in a somewhat independent direction not altogether uninfluenced doctrinally by the teaching of Mohammed. A new heresy, *Adoptianism*, had there developed in the form of a dogma formulated by the primate, Archbishop Elipand of Toledo, and supported by Bishop Felix of Urgel, to the effect that Christ was the son of God only in respect of his divine nature, but that as man he was only a son by adoption. In 785, Adrian issued an energetic admonition to all the Spanish bishops, warning them to remain constant to the chair of St. Peter and its teaching.

The East, too, claimed attention. A lively intercourse had sprung up with it in the form of an approximation between Byzantium and Rome.

The empress-regent, Irene, in concert with the new patriarch, Tarasius, was desirous to regulate the use of images, and accordingly requested the pope either to appear in person at a great council at Constantinople, or to allow himself to be represented by legates there. Adrian responded that he would consent to the council if it would anathematize that of 754, and restore the patrimonies of the Church and the papal right of consecration throughout the whole patriarchal see. He further urged that, since St. Peter had been made custodian of the Keys and had bequeathed the true doctrine as well as the primacy to his successors, it was ignorant folly or (worse) heresy for Tarasius to entitle himself "Universal Patriarch." The second council of Nice—the first general council since the great change in the Byzantine Empire and the seventh ecumenical—was opened September 24, 787. Two Roman legates took part and gave their sanction to its canons in precedence to the patriarch, although he presided. The papal brief was recognized, Monothelitism, as well as the synod of 754, condemned, and veneration of saints and their images, as well as of the Cross and relics, reaffirmed. Tarasius wrote exultingly to the pope that images were restored and heresies extirpated. Rome had again triumphed in the East—reason enough for her to be accomodating in subsidiary matters.

Otherwise, the last years of Adrian saw many dangers arise. In South Italy, Duke Ariehis of Benevento sought to extend his domains, as imperial patrician and vassal-prince. The papal relations to the Frankish king became again troubled; calumny was rife everywhere; the territorial claims were the cause of endless frictions; Ravenna remained half-refractory, its citizens repeatedly appealing to Charlemagne against the pope. Besides, the king's influence became conspicuous in Church matters, so that a sort of court theological party, led by Alcuin and Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier, took shape and acted with great independence.

This influence came clearly to light in the controversy over Adoptianism. In 792, one of its main representatives, Bishop Felix of Urgel, presented himself before the synod of Ratisbon, which body sent him to Rome. Here he professed, indeed, recantation, but only to persevere more resolutely in his conviction at home. So far from being repressed, the heresy, under the advocacy of the Primate Elipand, seems to have gained ground. At his suggestion, the Spanish bishops sent two missives to the Franks, one to the clergy, another to the king. The latter supported the pope, and thereupon summoned a great synod of the empire at Frankfort, over which he presided in person in presence of two legates. The missive to the clergy was read to it, and Charlemagne required the judgment of those



FIG. 73.—Tombstone of Pope Adrian I. The inscription was composed and engraved in the kingdom of the Franks by order of Charlemagne. (From M. Rossi.)

present regarding it. They condemned it unanimously. Among the many documents addressed to the Spanish bishops there appears one from the king, wherein he adopted the opinions of his clergy and denounced the recalcitrants as heretics. King and pope steered toward the same goal, but the temporal prince and not the pope was at the helm, exactly as the Byzantine ruler had been in days bygone, and the decisive word was spoken not in Rome but at Frankfort.

More decisive yet was the operation of other canons adopted at Frankfort. These struck at the seventh council. Charlemagne sent these canons to the learned Alcuin, in Britain, who forthwith produced a treatise on the veneration of images, which, in the name of the Anglo-Saxon princes and bishops, he forwarded to the king. Charlemagne caused a capitulary to be drawn up, wherein the points objectionable to him and his clergy were rejected. The rejected points were based on the so-called *Libri Karolini*, composed about 790, and dealing most severely with Irene and Constantine on grounds both political and religious. With it he sent his confidant, Abbot Angilbert, to the pope to move him to a change of the Nicene decisions. Adrian evaded this and wrote a defence, further offering, if it were agreeable to the king, to return the emperor thanks for the rehabilitation of images, but to declare him a heretic in case he did not restore the plundered provinces, thus maintaining his position dogmatically, while politically he put himself in accord with the Frank. But the Frankfort Synod refused to recognize the second Nicene council, and condemned unanimously its decrees regarding image-worship. The Roman prince of the Church found himself in the singular position of being at variance with his Western defender and brethren in the faith on a question of dogma and of being ready to condemn the Eastern emperor for political grounds.

How strained the relations had become is shown by a rumor that the English king, Offa, had counselled Charlemagne to depose Adrian and appoint a pope of Frankish origin. The Frank was too good a son of the Church and too much the personal friend of the pope to think of anything of the kind. Both had for the first time exemplified the union of Church and state in the West.

On Christmas-day, 795, Adrian, his authority undiminished, and deeply and widely lamented, died. The court theologian, Alcuin, at Charlemagne's request composed his epitaph, which, engraved on marble and in letters of gold, was sent to Rome (Fig. 73.)

Adrian's rule of twenty-four years rivals in importance that of Gregory the Great. Peace was restored to the Church in the East and West. In the North, Charlemagne was disseminating, through blood and

iron, the Gospel among the Saxons; in England, a papal legate ordered the constitution of its Church; in Francia, the last relic of its peculiar church-music vanished before the Roman; in Italy, Adrian reigned over a state second only to the Franco-Lombard, and this under constant peril from the rivalry of an all-powerful king, the point of which he blunted by outward friendliness and real tenacity to principles. The object of his unwearied efforts had been attained. Rome had become the one great spiritual power, and all but a great temporal one. A series of elegant structures owed their origin to him; there was no titular church or deanery he did not decorate. To the cathedral of St. Peter's he presented a chandelier with 1370 lights; hundreds of artists in gold, silver, and lapis lazuli, wrought, embroidered, painted, and chiselled at his bidding.

The Lateran was the real centre of life. Here, under Stephen III., the seven cardinal-bishops appeared to perform mass on successive Sundays, and here, almost certainly, was introduced the *Ordo Romanus* for the regulation of public worship. Near it was the palace, the residence of the pope. This Adrian ornamented with a tower, pillared halls, statues and marble. He had a court, regal in its appointments, with the *Primicerius* or chief state-minister at its head politically, and the *Vicedominus* or court-marshal over his household. The seven chief officials bore the name of *Judices Palatini* (judges of the palace), and were all clerics of a lower rank engaged in temporal matters. It was in accord with such earthly grandeur that in the gifts of Constantine to the pope, the imperial insignia—the diadem and crown—were allotted to him, and that the Romish clergy were granted senatorial rank and corresponding badges. Adrian had once proudly written to Charlemagne that it belonged to the chair of St. Peter to loose what any other bishops might have bound, that the care for the whole Church was concentrated in it as in a focus, and that the Roman Church was the head of the world. The papal chancery had long reckoned according to the years of the imperial reigns; this now ceased. In its place came the rule of the Trinity with the year of the pope's sway. Thus the papal charters averred that the successor of St. Peter recognized no master but God alone.

CHAPTER V.

PEOPLE, STATE, AND LAW.

TWO races, widely differing in character, are, in respect of the evolution of law, of world-historic importance. These are the Romans and Germans. To the former, law conveyed the idea of generally accepted principles; to the latter, that of customary usages. Subjectivity and a natural disposition to synthesis conferred on the Germans a consciousness of the worth of the individual and gave rise to a high sense of honor strange to the Greeks and Romans. While the Romans regarded the individual in the light of abstract principles, the Germans saw in him rather an embodiment of personal, national, and class characteristics.

For the investigation of this subject the narrative sources are naturally secondary to the purely legal which present us with material, rich indeed, but the subject of much controversy. These legal sources fall under the heads of "folk-laws" (*leges barbarorum*), capitularies, collections of charters, and formulas. The first ("folk-laws") constitute the earliest basis of written law, being supplemented by the Roman codes of the German kingdoms. The edicts and capitularies of the Frankish kings and mayors of the palace form a later stratum.

The recording of "folk-laws" began among the most of the peoples of Germany, from the Franks to the North Germans, at various dates from the Fifth to the Ninth Century. From the Central German Hessians, Eastern Franks, and Thuringians, we have no trace of written law, though such may have existed and been lost, as were the *Lex Frisionum* and the edict of Theodoric, while of the *Lex Angliorum et Werinorum* only one manuscript is extant. Furthermore, the Vandals and Ostrogoths are the only races who formulated no "folk-laws"—the former, probably, because they had not reached the stage of written law; the latter, because of their fusion with the Romans. With them, therefore, legislation was, from the first, designed for both races, as shown in the edict of Theodoric, issued between 511 and 515, which is based on Roman law.

The Christian-Roman culture gave everywhere the decisive impulse to recording laws, so that it is by no means accidental that most codes had their origin precisely as the peoples became Catholicized. The laws were codified first by the Franks, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons, and

Lombards; then by the Alamanni (709–730?); later by the Bavarians (744–748?); and, finally, by the Friesians, Saxons, Anglo-Varini or Warns, Chamavi, and the Angles in the Carolingian period.

From the kingdom of the Visigoths there remains a Parisian palimpsest showing fifty-five partially mutilated chapters (the Parisian Fragments and *Leges Antiquae*), probably of the days of King Euric. This, then, may be regarded as the earliest memorial of German legislation, and was not without influence on the Salic law, and on that of the Burgundians, Bavarians, and Lombards. Essentially later is the *Lex Wisigothorum* proper, still extant in several revisions, the earliest dating back to King Recesiwinth (649–672). The code of the Burgundians is also an official collection, mainly the work of King Gundobad (474–516), though this is not in its original form. We are especially fortunate as regards Lombardy. Here, King Rothari, in 643, prepared a comprehensive work. In its preface he declares it to be a reform of the laws in force, while in the *Epilogue* he assigns the traditional, long-unwritten, statutes as its sources. Rothari's "edict" has been called the foremost legislative production of its age. It is precise in form, systematic in arrangement, free from the marks of compilation shown by most analogous works, and exhibits pure German law, not without affinity to Saxon and Scandinavian; while it shows little affinity to Roman, and none to Catholic ecclesiastical law. In 668, King Grimoald, at the desire of the Lombard judges, added nine chapters, and Liutprand continued the work in the most complete manner. As early as 600, King Aethelberht of Kent began the codification of Anglo-Saxon laws, to be afterward enriched by various additions (see p. 161). The Frankish code ranks historically as the most important, with the venerable Salic law in its forefront (see PLATE IX.¹)

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

Facsimile of a page of a manuscript of the *Lex Salica*. St. Gall, Library of the Monastery, cod. 731.

TRANSCRIPTION.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi incipiunt titulus legis salice:

I. De mannire.

Si quis ad mallum legibus dominicis mannitus fuerit et non nenerit, se eum sunnis non detenerit, sol. XV. culpabilis iudicetur.

Illi uero, qui alio manit ipsi non nenerit, se eum sunnis non detenerit, sol. XV. ei cui manuit, componat.

II. De furtis porcorum.

Si quis purcellum lactantem de cranne furauerit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, **malb. chranne chalti, rechalti**, sol. III. culpabilis iudicetur.

Si quis purcellum furauerit, qui sine matre niuere possit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, **malb. himnes theca**, sol. I. culpabilis iudicetur, excepto capitale et dilatata.

ANNONIAE TONT NPT.
 Thū. q̄i incipiunt tralusta issalica
 I. DE ANONIA RE.
 Iquis cedmællū legib; dominicis.
 maniaur. futria & non utru
 aya. seū. sunnis nond& inue
 re sōt. xv. cut iud;
 Illud quialio manit & ipsi non
 usitit seū sunnis nond& inue
 re sōt. xv. a eu. manuit componat;
 II DEFUNCTIS PONCO IUDOS
 Iq̄r. purcellum locatiam de crone
 furcuarit & ei. fūmæ. ad p̄b̄ ætum
 mat. chæone chæta ychæta sōt. III
 cut iud; Si q̄r. purcellū. furcuarit quisi
 nānæp̄t. uiuare possit & ei. fūmæ. ad p̄b̄
 ætum. mat. himner. chæca. sōt. I. cut iud;
 rēcēp̄. capt. & æt;. Si q̄r. bimū. postū
 furcuarit. mat. in. Limis. suæni. sōt. xv.
 cut iud. rēcēp̄. capt. & æt;.

Facsimile of a page of manuscript of the *Lex Salica*.

St. Gall, Library of the Monastery, cod. 731.

The *Leges* comprise the earlier customary laws, supplemented by later statutes so far as they are not borrowed. Their compilation and codification were effected in various ways. In the case of the Salic law it is said that four men, probably appointed by the kings, formulated it at three distinct moot-meetings, to be thereafter amended by Clovis and his successors. The supplementing of the "folk-laws" by statutes was originally the prerogative of the people, but gradually this was more and more usurped by the rulers, so that of the provisions of the Carolingian period it may be said, they had their origin in the will of the king and not in the wants of the people. For this reason they never rivalled the earlier in volume or effectiveness.

"Folk-law" and "king's-law" rested on the common basis of usage and statute. It was different with the law of a third party—the clergy, with their canonical decrees and ecclesiastical penalties—which dealt mainly with the marriage law and penal law. This last was in many respects milder and more humane than the secular law, and was best developed among the Anglo-Saxons. Where it was expedient, as in Spain, the Church supplemented secular law by its disciplinary law, and it was not improbably due to its influence that in spite of the prevailing barter in kind, the Roman gold *solidus* was adopted as the standard of punishment. The growth of antagonism between the two main factors, particularly the encroachment of "king's-law" on "folk-law," consti-

Si quis bimum porcum furaverit, **malb. in zimis suiani**, sol. XV. culpabilis iudicetur, excepto capitale et dilatura.

NOTE.—The phrases in black-faced type are the so-called Malberg Glosses—i. e., ancient Teutonic legal terms, introduced with the Latin text, so named from their being used by the Germans on the Malberg, or in the court held under the open sky. They are not included in the following translation, there being some doubt as to their meaning.

TRANSLATION.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ begins the Record of the Salic Law.

I. Of the Summons before the Judicial Court.

If any one is summoned before the court according to the laws of the lords of the land and cometh not, if so be no detention (unavoidable) hath prevented him, he shall be condemned to (a penalty) of 15 shillings.

He, however, who hath summoned another and cometh not himself, if so be no detention has prevented him, he shall pay 15 shillings to whom he hath summoned.

II. Of the Stealing of Pigs.

If any one hath stolen a sucking pig from the pen, and it shall have been proved upon him, he shall be condemned to a penalty of 3 shillings.

If any one hath stolen a pig that can live without its mother, and it is proved upon him, he shall be condemned to a penalty of 1 shilling, besides capital and dilature [an unintelligible expression].

If any one have stolen a two-year old pig, he shall be condemned to a penalty of 15 shillings, besides capital and dilature.

tutes the most significant, if not the most important, element in the progress of legislation. The laws of the Anglo-Saxons are the only ones written in the tongue of the people.

Concurrently with the Germans the Romance peoples were busily at work, but, unlike the former, they produced a superabundance of written law. This was therefore sifted, condensed, and arranged, and abridgments thus produced appeared in the Ostrogothic, Visigothic, and Burgundian kingdoms. But even the most serviceable of these—the Visigothic breviary—appeared too voluminously circumstantial for ready use and had to undergo further recension and abridgment.

For four centuries juridical material was produced in an abundance in sharp contrast with the dearth in the foregoing and succeeding periods. When the impulse for national states began to operate about the middle of the Ninth Century, the sources of written law dried up, scarcely to reappear in the four centuries during which Germany and France were developing a peculiar form of civilization.

It has already been repeatedly remarked that in the transition period of the three kingdoms, state and people were by no means synonymous. Side by side with the dominant Germans lived the older Roman settlers and many elements besides. Thus, on the German frontiers sat the German *laeti* or military colonists; in Italy the Ostrogoths found the German hordes of Odoacer; the Lombards found relics of the Ostrogoths. The Suevi intruded on the kingdom of the Visigoths; the Franks subdued Burgundians, Visigoths, Alamanni, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Friesians. The Anglo-Saxons subjugated the Celts, who yet maintained themselves tolerably independently in Brittany, and entirely so in Scotland, Ireland, and parts of Wales, with offshoots even in Gaul. Many parts of East Germany were settled by Slavs (Wends), and the Jews, true to the customs of their fathers, were to be found everywhere, chaffering and peddling, frequently accumulating great wealth, but universally disliked and more or less despised.

The aristocratic constitution of the German state had to take account of the various classes. It did this by means of the *weregild*. The fine for slaying a free Frank was 200 shillings; a non-Frankish German, 160; a Roman landowner, 100; a landless Roman, only 45. In respect of taxation, too, the German asserted his supremacy, for, while the Roman had to pay in accordance with the ancient usage of the Empire, the victorious German was tax-free. Yet with all this gradation of ranks there was associated no abatement of freedom. At first, the Franks had settled their relations to the Romans in districts where they were complete masters, but now they subdued the South with its entirely different con-

ditions. In Burgundy, for example, the Germans and Romans lived on an equal footing, and were classified into the same ranks and enjoyed the same privileges in respect to compensation as the weregild. This necessarily reacted on the Franks, and that all the more because their military system was based on property and not on nationality. In Middle and Southern Gaul there were rich Romans, who as the representatives of culture often made up the clergy, and were distinguished by high honors and corresponding weregild. The mere fact of being in the king's service conferred threefold weregild, no matter of what sort the service was. The word "barbarian" began to be increasingly applied to Germans devoid of Roman culture, not, however, in its offensive secondary sense. The land-tax originally paid by provincials only, now passed over, as a burden affecting certain estates, to their German owners, while, on the other hand, Romans (and especially the Church) acquired German lands, and were, in virtue of privileges attached to them, free from imposts or had influence enough to evade payment. The more the tax-system, like everything else, fell into confusion, the more closely did the two elements approximate. That this was the case with the lower classes was assured by the democratic equalizing power of poverty. The meaner Frankish peasantry sank to the condition of the landless Romans. Everything cooperated to renew the conditions of the Empire in its stage of collapse. Nationality and hereditary rank were as nothing compared with the grand distinction between rich and poor. Even so early as 600, Gregory of Tours reports these conditions. We do not hear of a single revolt of the Romans as such; they felt intuitively that the reconstitution of society had overshadowed the letter of the law.

In the German states the principle of personal law was in full force. There, accordingly, every one lived under his native laws. This was the case even with the rigidly German Lombards, while the tolerant Burgundians permitted the Romans to adopt either their own or Burgundian law at pleasure. The consequence was that the most various laws existed side by side, thus giving rise to infinite complications and contradictions. Germanic law penetrated, for instance, the provincial common law to such an extent that it was less compatible with the legal tradition than with existing circumstances, while, on the other hand, as among the Burgundians and Visigoths, the native law became so permeated with Roman as to form an intermediate link. Among the Visigoths and Lombards, indeed, Germans and Romans lived as one people. Nor did the various German systems influence one another any less. Thus, the oldest Visigothic had made itself felt in the Salic and Burgundian. The earliest statutes of the Alamanni bear a strong Frankish

impress, and, in a general way, Frankish law, as that of the predominant race, had a wide influence, although this did not cause the Alamanni to become Frankish, nor did it effect a disintegration of their tribal laws. Even Frankish law itself was not uniformly the same. In the times of the Merovingians the Salic law predominated; in that of the Carolingians, the Ripuarian. Saxon law was divided into that of Eastphalia, of Engern, and of Westphalia. Nay, so minute did this division become, that there was scarcely a country that did not have its local customs. With almost legitimate exaggeration, Agobard, of Lyons, says that when five men met, each was under a different law. The principle of personality in law is not to be regarded as essentially Old German, but rather as necessitated by the exigencies of colonization, which afterward hardened into usage. For foreigners personal law did not obtain. These were legally *ferae naturae*, and could be slain or enslaved with impunity. But redress developed itself in the form of the statute of royal protection for all, according to which the law of his patron became that of the stranger.

Jewish and Slavonic laws never acquired the standing of recognized national laws, and remained simply tolerated. The Frankish tribunals were in no way bound to regard them, but decided according to the local law. Nevertheless, the Jews at least persistently made use of the laws of their fathers. Under the Carolingians a special law for the protection of Jews seems to have developed, in return for which they paid tribute to the royal chancery. To weregild they had no claim that was recognized by "folk-law."

Among the Germans, and especially the Low Germans, the blood-bond was still recognized, and showed its strength by some of its features, as the kin-feud, weregild, and the oath of purgation, which made their way into the legal usages of the Roman population. But the bond showed signs of weakening, and this through two causes: in new lands the members of the septs no longer resided together, and the Church opposed the sept-system as necessarily involving marriage of relatives, which it forbade within certain degrees. The people struggled against the inhibition vigorously, but their opposition died away toward the end of the Sixth Century, when secular legislation gave way before that of the Church, and social relations underwent a change.

In the Roman Empire the kind of occupation and official rank had determined a man's position in the social scale; now it was birth. The original text of the Salic law knows (beyond the few elevated by the king) only the great mass of the free folk; but soon we hear, from sources only a little later, of gradation among the freemen and of the great land-owners. According to these, the Frankish folk fell into three classes—

the fully free, the less free, and the unfreed. Among the other German peoples there was also a nobility with exclusive rank and with definite weregild; these were known as the *ingenui majores*, or *nobiles*. The law expressed by the weregild the value it attached to the person, making the weregild rise in accordance with elevation in rank. But the position of the nobles was not the same among all races. It was most highly developed among those who remained in their original seats and had not undergone democratizing wanderings. This was particularly the case with the tribes of the northeast. In the north, somewhat later, the Jarls constituted a nobility invested with authoritative powers, and, under an over-king, lorded it over both land and people. The weregild for a Saxon noble was six times that for a simple freeman, while for a Suevian the difference was only that between 240 shillings and 160 or 200. Among the Saxons, too, marriage was forbidden between the nobles and the freemen. The case was very different in Burgundy, where the German noble stood on the same level with the Roman, and enjoyed no prerogatives besides those of a higher weregild and greater credibility before a court. He required only twelve purgators, while a freeman required eighteen, and the half-free, thirty-six.

Beside the old nobility there sprung up everywhere a new aristocracy of official and personal nobles. This class had its origin in the late imperial principle that the office ennobles, and was constituted by the great officers of state (counts, dukes, etc.), and those immediately about the person of the monarch (*antrustiones*, later, *vasalli*). Among the Franks this aristocracy of officials and great land-owners acquired the social position of the born nobles. Nor was access to it closed for men of lower grade; even the unfreed man could, through his sovereign's favor, attain high dignities. There was, however, a distinction; the nobility of birth was hereditary; that of office at first, not. But gradually the more powerful of the latter class began to aspire after full equality, while the older nobility entered the royal service to share in its profits and honors. Naturally, the distinction in time vanished, and the classes become fused. Among the Anglo-Saxons the official nobility so completely crushed out that of birth that the title of Aetheling was restricted to members of the royal house. In the Roman lands, a Roman nobility, vested in the so-called senatorial families, took its place beside the German. The power of this new, mixed nobility was most strongly developed in Spain, where they not only constituted a disproportionate majority of the higher dignitaries and palace-officials, but took part in councils, and in the election of kings, and threatened the state with their power.

The mass of the people consisted of the fully free and the middle-free (*ingenui mediani*), who, forming the standard of value for the weregild, neither enjoyed the privileges of the nobles, nor lay under the restrictions of the less-free. They had to be the legitimate children of free parents. At first full proprietors of their holdings, their best element entered the official nobility. Many, however, lost their holdings and sank into rent-paying tenants, and this all the more frequently as the estates of the nobles and the Church grew vaster in their proportions. Although the change did not in itself imply loss of freedom, yet their absolute dependence, and the interests of their landlords, actually brought this in its train. This tendency was increased through the Roman country-people having already lost their freedom. It was only in un-Romanized England that the German freeman was able perfectly to maintain himself. There he had to appear in person at the army-musters and the moot, and answered for himself as against a third party.

The half- or less-free (*laeti* or clients, *ingenui minores*) stood a step lower. Among the Franks their weregild was only 100 shillings—the same as that of the provincials. Each required a patron (*advocatus*, *mundebordus*), be it a voluntary one, or a royal or ecclesiastical official, or the person to whom he belonged by birth. Clientship arose out of the condition of birth, manumission, or the pledging of one's self to a man of influence to secure his protection in case of the inefficiency of authority. These *laeti* were especially numerous among the Saxons, where they performed military duties, and were here, and elsewhere, probably, relics of subdued races. The *haldii* of the Bavarians and Lombards were in a yet lower position. The *coloni*, too, continuing from the Roman times, were of this status. The manumission of slaves increased the class greatly.

Manumission might take place according to either tribal or Roman law, the latter being particularly affected by the king and the Church, which latter tried to get the whole business into its own hands. The latter was the lower sort for the slave, because he thereby became the bondsman and tax-payer of the Church (*tabularius*). The former (*cartularius*) conferred territorial freedom. The Church freedmen remained under the protection of the Church; the royal, under that of the king or state-officials; the private, under that of their former, or another, lord. The born half-free and the freedmen were thus much on a level, but the former could now obtain full freedom through manumission. Among the Franks the symbolic act consisted in the *laet's* offering, in the presence of the king, a denarius to his master, who brushed it from his hand so that it fell on the ground. Later, this took the form of enfranchisement through the king, to whom his lord made over the new freemen, so that the head

of the state himself renounced his claim to him. Out of this original enfranchisement of the laet grew that of the slave. He also became, by the offer and rejection of money, a full-freeman, and received in fee the holding he had hitherto tilled in subjection to another. This later form of Frankish enfranchisement through the denarius spread through the other German races.

The duties and rights of the less-free corresponded to their subordinate position. As a rule they were liable to offerings and services to their lord, who could not, however, increase these arbitrarily. They owed him obedience, followed him to war and the civil court, could take an oath, and, among the Franks, did not require to be represented by their lord, though this was different with the Lombards. The lord, in return, protected his laet and maintained his cause, and, since the latter was not his chattel, he could not sell his person, but could dispose of his holding and services. In the case of the *colonus*, however, the land could not pass into other hands without the man, nor the man without the land. The laets, therefore, owned their lands and families, while they were outwardly distinguished from the lowest class by their right to wear long hair and carry arms.

The last or lowest class was that of the serfs or slaves (German, *schalks*), who constituted the laboring population proper. At the time of the Frankish conquest the provincials owned many slaves, and the class was now increased by captivity and poverty. The impoverished laet, or peasant, entered bondage (especially to the Church) to escape from want; the bankrupt gave himself up to his creditor or was adjudged to him by the courts. The person who surrendered his freedom knelt before his new master, delivered to him his shorn hair or laid his head and hand in the hand of his master, and received from him a mattock in token of servitude.

According to Roman and Salic law the slave was a chattel on a level with an ox. But soon among the Franks, and still more among the other Germans, a patriarchal conception was developed in accordance with which the lord regarded his slave as a person, not as a thing; thus limited legal rights were conferred on the unfreed. Such could acquire money and land subject to the over-lordship of the master and contract a legal marriage. But their means of defence as against their owners were imperfect, because they could not plead in the freemen's court.

Yet, notwithstanding all the increasing restrictions imposed by the Church, the state, and folk-law upon the master's power over his slaves, in respect of sale, punishment, work, property, etc., we know that slaves were occasionally barbarously maltreated. Gregory of Tours reports

that Duke Rauching caused two slaves to be buried alive, and had wax-tapers applied to the naked limbs of his servants, repeatedly extinguishing and rekindling them. But barbarity did not always go unpunished. When Sicharius, of Tours, cruelly treated one of his slaves in the field, the wretch snatched his sword from its sheath and cut him down. The retaliation was terrible; limb after limb, his hands and feet were cut off, and his bleeding body was then hanged on a gallows. If an unfreed man wished to sue another at court, his master not only had to make the accusation for him, but also received the compensation-money. On the other hand, complaint could not be brought directly against a slave; it had to be made against his owner, who, according to the folk-laws, was partially amenable for his offences; in the Lombard kingdom, entirely so. In some respects, however, the slave was treated as a person. The Church established the revolutionizing principle that slaves could be admitted into the priesthood. In consequence, the fine for killing them (blood-wite) lost the character of a mere payment of value and approached that of the nature of weregild.

The masses of the unfree fall into various classes, at first according to the nature of their occupations, and then from a legal standpoint. Lowest of all were the slaves, who, settled on the land, were regarded in some measure as one with it. A second class comprised handiercraftsmen—smiths, carpenters, and even vine-dressers and hunters, and, above all, the servants or retainers of the family, who acquired, among other titles, those of vassals and *ministeriales*. Like kings, the temporal and spiritual magnates began to surround themselves with their retainers as a body-guard, and for this end called first on the servants of their household, and before long on both free and half-free. The terms “vassal” and “*ministerialis*” acquired distinct senses at that time—the former designating a freeman bound to service of a higher kind, the latter, the former unfree elevated by military service. Toward the end of the Merovingian dynasty, the cavalry service began to cast the free-peasant infantry into the shade: the former fell naturally to the professionally disciplined and completely equipped vassals and ministerials. Similarity of calling placed men more and more on an equality, till birth came to be of less account than the kind of profession, the military one forming the bond of union and source of nobility. The bonds of caste became gradually decomposed. The nucleus of the people—the free commons—gave numerous members to the classes both above and below them; slaves rose in the scale, and they and the half-free followed the same occupation and received the same consideration and treatment from their lords. Here and there the freemen sought to rescue their class by a vigorous in-

terpretation of the marriage law, so that intermixture of blood infallibly involved loss of freedom.

Already the germs of that development began to operate which was to separate the profession of arms from that of the tiller of the soil, and to establish hereditary professional classes. The profession of arms grew continuously until it crushed the free peasant down to a mere serf, and deprived him of his ancient prerogative—the right of bearing arms. From this vassal warrior-class arose the lesser nobles of modern times; from the Frankish bureaucracy, the higher nobles, but with the latter the idea of office stepped back while that of nobility remained.

The unity of the state was based on the monarchy, which lost that earlier democratic character which the Salic law shows it to have possessed. In it we see the king standing over the people, not in his own right, but as the executive of the common will, and supreme lord only in war and at the head of the army. Many things co-operated to his elevation. On him devolved the main tasks in forming new settlements—those, namely, of the partition of the land, the reconciliation of two long hostile peoples, and the decision of the endless questions therewith associated, even those of faith. His prestige was thus eminently enhanced, and this the more because during the period of migrations the folk-moots could either not be held at all or in a very perfunctory way, while the new states were of such dimensions as to cripple their efficiency or again make them impossible.

Wide domains, riches, retainers and subjects of various nationalities combined to exalt the ruler to a position far above his former one; while, standing on Roman soil, he became heir, as it were, to the traditional glories of imperialism. Then came Christianity, with its doctrine that rulers were an ordinance of God, and obedience to them a Christian duty. Everything conspired to perfect the royal supremacy, and in its train a change in its relations to the people and officials. As regards the former the idea of subjection arose; the latter were regarded royal, at least in so far as they took part in the affairs of state. Only on the marches and in the communities did office retain its ancient character, so that there grew up a distinction between officials of the state and those of the communities. The people's-peace became the king's-peace which guaranteed law; land was no longer the "common-land," but "state-" and "king's-land." The sense of power made some kings tyrants, but even these were unable to live entirely above the law. In the constitution the ruler was only the executor of functions entrusted to him, and beside him there grew up an aristocracy with controlling influence. The codes of the Lombards, the Alamanni, and Bavarians, make mention of the concurrent working of

magnates and people; in the Frankish and Visigothic kingdoms nobility grew to overshadow monarchy. These conditions, and the conflict of interests, came clearly to light on the occasion of succession to the throne. From Clovis's days the Frankish kingdom was a divisible inheritance, yet even in its partitions the idea of unity was preserved. But when the incapacity of the Merovingians became self-evident the Franks returned to their original principle of election, and Pepin was chosen by a seemingly popular vote. The Lombards, Burgundians, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths, were also at first inclined to the hereditary principle in the succession, but fell into almost the opposite extreme, especially the Visigoths, who lost all regard for the principle. The consequence was the wildest disorder and violence. In certain states more than half of their kings were deposed or murdered. To this were added among the Visigoths, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards, frequent partitions of the kingdom. The struggle between the two principles—the hereditary and elective—was waged during the whole period, in the West as well as in the East, from Toledo to Constantinople.

The original marks of royalty seem to have been Germanic—long hair and the lance. But the aggrandizement of monarchy soon made itself conspicuous by the assumption of the grander Roman and Byzantine symbols—the diadem, the crown, the throne, purple robes, and, possibly, shortened hair with curled ringlets. In the theocratic, absolute monarchy of the Visigoths anointing was first introduced. Procopius succinctly indicates the externals of royalty by saying: "Godas named himself king, invested himself in kingly robes, and surrounded himself with a body-guard." Germany and Rome coalesced in the garniture of a sovereign. The monarch was further distinguished by a higher *wergild* and compensation for injury, and all his household, kin, and *protégés* enjoyed the same privilege; nay, even his place of residence was sacred. In Anglo-Saxon England the "king's-peace" extended twelve miles around his court.

The royal authority bore the name of the "king's-ban," and had in the Middle Ages a threefold meaning: first, the power of command and prohibition; second, actual command and prohibition in virtue of this power; third, punishment for the infringement of his order (banishment). The power of the ban was not a legislative but an administrative function; but, in time, the ordinance of the king attained the force of law. The older money-fines, too, expanded to mutilation and capital punishment.

To the king belonged the prerogative of the army-ban; he decided upon war and peace, called out the national army, and was its comman-

der. During war-time the wergild and other money-fines were increased threefold so as better to secure peace at home. Among the Franks and Visigoths every freeman, Roman as well as German, was bound to join the army, the amount of his property determining the services due. The Ostrogoths and Vandals led only free Germans into the field; and, as a rule, it may be said that in early times the German served with his blood, the Roman with his gold; but with the heightening of the land-tax a change took place. Besides being commander-in-chief in the field, the king was also supreme judge, conservator of peace and legal order (this all the more that the provinces of law and administration were not yet distinguished). Furthermore, he was the head of the administration, police, and the Church, the latter chiefly as successor of the emperor. He was the natural guardian of all in need of protection, could alone summon national assemblies and councils and ratify their decrees, had the chief voice in the nomination of bishops, and could call on every one to act as his agents.

The king drew revenues from various sources, and these had to meet claims of all kinds, without distinction of public and private, so that the treasury was at once that of the state and its ruler. The main source of income was the crown-property (*demesnes*) which was hereditary in the royal house, and supplemented by all unclaimed lands and such as for fiscal reasons fell to the state. In addition, there were tribute from subject peoples and princes, taxes, custom duties, tolls, emoluments of the courts, contributions in kind for public ends, gifts more or less voluntary, and the like. As yet there were no royalties. Every man was free to hunt, to fish, to dig minerals, and make salt on his own property.

As the kingdom expanded the need of officials arose, but there was a wide distinction between them and their Roman counterparts. Rome distinguished sharply between military and civil authority; the Germans made no such distinction. Roman officials had a fixed income, the Germans compensated themselves otherwise; Rome placed the smaller administrative districts under city magistrates, the Germans, under the customary royal officers, who seem to have been a development from the earlier house-servants and other attendants, modified according to existing circumstances.

As central court- and state-functionaries may be named the seneschal, who had the supervision of the menials and the table; the marshal, who was also commander of the cavalry; the cup-bearer or butler; and the chamberlain, who was at the head of the financial system. Of particular importance was the office of the chancellor (*referendarius*). Under the Merovingians he was a layman, and the sole minister who prepared the

royal edicts, subscribed and sealed them, being also keeper of the seal. His office was, however, overshadowed by that of the mayor of the palace, while the count palatine, an office borrowed from Byzantium, seems among the Goths and Langobards to have been essentially a judicial assessor of the king. Later the functions of the mayor of the palace fell to him—that is, the management of secular affairs and the representation of the king at court. As extraordinary officers we may mention the royal messengers, who were the king's envoys on special missions, and, as such, plenipotentiaries.

Besides these central officials there were the local ones. First of all, the dukes. Of these there were two kinds, embracing tribal dukes (mostly hereditary) over separate tribes, and official dukes appointed by the king. The former were practically viceroys. The latter were nominated only when it appeared needful for wider districts, and were endowed with the power of counts, their authority being mainly military. Of yet higher rank were the dukes of the Lombards and Visigoths. Among the latter they were the chief representatives of the crown for a province; among the former, for a *gau* (county); but, in both cases, full princes, limited only on the one hand by the folk-meetings, on the other, by the tribunals and the legislative authority of the king (see p. 28). With these may be classed the margraves—the military commanders on the frontiers.

But the real nucleus of the system of local administration was constituted by the count (*graf*). The whole Frankish empire was divided into districts called *gaue*, and each was administered by a count who was appointed by the king. His official district frequently corresponded on German soil to the tribal district of Tacitus; in Roman lands, to the ancient city-district. These great city-*gaue* (coincident with bishoprics) could be subdivided into minor districts (*untergaue*) with the name of counties. In early times the count's authority was much more limited than it afterwards became. Down to the time of Clovis he was only chief administrative officer, then he came to be at once principal judicial, military, and finance official. He sat as president in the *gau-court*, issued summons and executed its sentences, promulgated the royal levy of troops, and was leader of the troops of the district; but he could not of himself employ the army for any save police purposes and the preservation of the public peace. He had further to levy taxes, customs, and money-fines. From the beginning of the Seventh Century the king had to select the count from the great landed proprietors of the *gau*. As the count was the supreme executive of the district under the king, the administration of the royal demesnes within it lay in the hands of

a steward (*domesticus*) who was also in charge of the king's seignorial rights.

In England, where the "shire" maintained itself still more independently, its head, the ealdorman, appears at first in a different character. He seems to have been chosen at the shire-moot, and could rise, through success in feuds with the neighbor shires, even to the dignity of king. Or, *vice versa*, the elected sovereign of a little independent state saw himself, at times, overpowered by a mightier neighbor, and reduced to the status of an under-king. But time operated here as on the continent, and the power of the king grew greater and greater, while the ealdorman sank to a state-functionary.

Among the Ostrogoths and Visigoths it would seem that the office of local head-man was evolved out of the combined functions of the German *graf* and the Roman *comes* (count), and was not rarely held by a Roman grandee appointed by the king. In Burgundy the native *grafen* and Roman counts maintained themselves often apart, yet the former had the preponderating influence. In Lombardy the *graf* was superseded by the duke.

The ancient "hundred" is a subdivision at once of the tribe and the *gau*, the word designing a hundred united families and the locality occupied by them. If the *gau* was the administrative unit, the hundred was the judicial one. The hundred-moot was the only folk-assembly in the Frankish empire and met mainly for judicial purposes, although at times for others, as taking the oath of fealty, army-musters, the public announcement of laws, and the like. Across the channel, the hundred frequently appears to have been older than the shire, though this too, as already indicated, had its own popular meeting, which was simply designed the "folkesmot" or folk-moot. At first all the freemen of the comprised hundreds sat in it, but later only their committees. Among the Lombards we find no trace of either shire- or hundred-assemblies.

Regarding the head of the Frankish hundred, opinions vary. Down to the date of the *Lex Salica* the hundred-man (*centenarius, thunginus*) was probably a village official chosen by the people, whose functions extended to all matters not reserved for the king. He was assisted by the bailiff (*schultheiss, sacbaro*), a royal functionary appointed by the count, his duty being to collect the fines. As monarchy gained in dignity and power, all the officers of the hundred, including the centenar himself, became royal officials. The count nominated him, probably at the suggestion of the hundred, and he exercised his judicial and other functions in the name of the count. But just in proportion as the centenar grew

into a government official, the hundred lost its communal character and took that of an official district.

The case was much the same in England. There, the members of the hundred chose its officials—the *hundred's ealdor* and the *hundred's man*—the former presiding in the meeting and court of justice, the latter having supervision of police matters and the carrying out of sentences. Beside these there was the sheriff (*shire-gerefa*), who administered the royal demesnes and revenues, but who more and more became the representative of the supreme jurisdiction now centering in the head of the state, and reduced the people's officials to subordinates. Among the widely-scattered Lombards the royal nomination played an important part from the beginning.

Notwithstanding the manifold folk-rights within a kingdom, the bureaucracy, though by no means systematically ordered and often affected by an intermixture of German and Roman elements, was still uniform in one thing—viz., desire for power. In the Visigothic kingdom, for instance, a bureaucratic spirit after the Roman type developed itself that sought to gain control of everything, and had even a sort of postal system at its disposal for use in state matters.

The hundred constituted the elementary unit in the constitution of the Frankish empire. Outside of the constitution were the city and village communities, constituted by and for the people. These free communities preserved their hereditary constitution and were composed of fully-privileged members—all proprietors of their holdings—and tax-paying aliens enjoying protection. Besides these there were communities of dependent people, with the lord's manor as their centre, and an overseer appointed by their lord.

The transformation of the monarchy affected also the people and their will as expressed in their assemblies. The members of the communities still met in the old manner to discuss communal affairs, those of the marks for the discussion of their own. The hundred still met, especially for holding courts; probably also the tribe, for the army-musters, recording of folk-laws, and the like. The real business of the state, however, was transacted at the royal court and the national assemblies. At the latter appeared, especially, the magnates temporal and spiritual, summoned by the ruler, the meetings being generally held in the palace. The king or his representative presided, and determined the matters to be considered. At first such meetings could do no more than give counsel; in course of time, however, the diet of the empire became customary and its assent became requisite.

This is seen much more distinctly in the Visigothic kingdom than

among the Franks. There the German army and folk-moots had fallen much more into desuetude, the Church-councils, on the contrary, expanding into national diets in which the united nobles and clergy not seldom overruled the king.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, too, the ruler remained largely dependent on the assent of his people, but this was given, no longer directly, but through certain representatives, who, as incorporating the hereditary rights and wisdom of the whole, received the name of "the wise" (*witan*), and their assembly that of the *witenagemot*. The members of the *witenagemot* consisted of three classes—the bishops and greater abbots, the ealdormen, and the royal vassals or thanes. Meetings were held three or four times a year, and its sphere of action was unlimited. The *witan* served the king as assessors and justices in the supreme court, and as his counsellors for war and peace. There was, indeed, no public business in which they had not, at least, an advisory voice, so that they constituted a powerful and most influential corporation.

Like their early German predecessors, the kings of the transition period were generally surrounded by a following. (See p. 89, Vol. VI.) These constituted no exclusive or hereditary class, but undertook certain duties, and pledged fealty and obedience. In the Merovingian times there was an independent allotment of royal demesne, apparently according to no fixed principle. From a combination of the two, the granting of land for definite services, did feudalism, with its attendant system of vassalage and benefices, arise in the Carolingian kingdom.

In imitation of the king, other magnates, especially the dukes, began to draw a following around them. The custom became especially prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons, while the strongly Romanized monarchies of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths show no trace of it. There the place of the following was probably filled by courtiers and body-guards.

In the Roman Empire freedom from taxation (*immunitas*) had been customary. The practice was adopted and further developed by the Frankish kings, and, under the name of "privilege," conferred on particular large land-owners. The extent of their immunities is matter of controversy, and was probably not uniform. The most common immunity consisted in release from the authority of the administration of the *gau*, so that in these cases the supreme judicial power was vested, not in the state-officials, but in the privileged lord and his commissioners.

There were royal and folk tribunals, the latter such as those of the community and the landlord. Concerning the communal tribunal we have no express evidence; the latter decided in the name of the privileged

landlord in cases affecting his tenantry, whose continually increasing numbers made his court of great importance.

The ancient *gau*-court of Tacitus appears to have continued to exist for a time, but ultimately became merged in the hundred-court, over which the *graf* presided with authority over the whole *gau*, holding his sittings in the open air. All the freemen who were of age were bound to act as assessors in the court. At the customary meetings they had to appear unsummoned, at extraordinary ones, on receiving a summons.

In virtue of his ban-power the king was the supreme judge of all the land, and as such held a court in his palace, the grandees present (in England, the *witan*) giving the verdict. Theoretically every one could bring his complaint before this court. In effect, however, this was found impracticable, and the court reserved for itself only a certain class of cases—namely, those affecting the commonwealth, as the decision upon the life and death of freemen, on desertion from the army, on matters regarding the privileged class and the royal officials, and the like. Besides this, an appeal could be made to it from the folk-moot before the judge's decision was pronounced, and in special cases even after the verdict.

The judicial procedure of the Frankish period presented certain features which were retained through the whole Middle Ages. Its proceedings were public, oral, and rigorously formal. Defect in form vitiated the case however just, and this alike in civil and criminal trials. The process was conducted like a word-battle between the parties, and could be converted into an armed combat when appeal was to be made to the judgment of Heaven. In such a case the actual parties fought out the case, the judge requiring only to watch that all was fair.

The proceedings opened with a formal act. The plaintiff had to go to the house of the defendant and there to call on him before three witnesses to fulfil his claim. In the case of refusal he summoned him before the court. In place of this summons according to folk-law (*manitio*), there came in process of time the *bannitio* of the state-law, whereby the plaintiff applied to the royal official, who issued a summons on pain of the king's ban. To this regular mode of procedure there were two exceptions:—first, a criminal caught in the act could be seized by the aggrieved party or his neighbors, fettered, and dragged before the court; secondly, if an animal or other movable thing were stolen and traces of it discovered within three days leading toward a house, the loser could forthwith institute a search of the house. Among the Visigoths the complaint was made orally to the judge, who thereupon issued a written

summons bearing the seal of the court. The Ostrogoths followed the Roman forms.

The evidence given in the case was not in respect of truth or untruth, but was purely formal. The question was not as to with whom the burden of proof lay, but who had the privilege of proof; he who had this right was at an advantage. The "*schöffen*" (aldermen or assessors) found the verdict. The ordinary mode of proof was by oath; the extraordinary, by judgment of God. In general, the right to swear belonged to the accused party, who could thus purge himself of the charge; but there were cases in which the plaintiff enjoyed the preferable claim. The oath was not taken by the party alone, but was fortified by compurgators, who testified that according to their conviction it was sworn honestly. The number of compurgators was greater or less according to the importance of the case and the rank of the parties. When sworn testimony could not be adduced, the decision could be left to wager of battle. As a rule, the combat was with sword and shield, the conviction being that God would champion the right. If such wager was, for any reason, precluded, recourse was had to the heathen test by fire and water, or to the Christian one by the cross. In the absence of all these means of proof, inquisitorial methods were sometimes resorted to, the conduct of these being undertaken by the judge and restricted to the witnesses.

It was otherwise with the Visigoths, who were greatly influenced by Roman conceptions. Their judges strove to reach the truth through oral statement, counter-statement, and witnesses, and, if this were insufficient, they demanded from the defendant the oath of purgation or decided, at their discretion, which of the parties should be allowed to swear. Among the Ostrogoths the burden of proof lay with the plaintiff. An oath was taken only on mutual agreement, or the decision of the judge. The Lombard practice recalls the Roman, only that it, too, admitted of appeal to heaven as well as of testimony by witnesses. The Anglo-Saxons held the simple word of a king or bishop conclusive, no oath being required from them; even the inferior clergy could purge themselves standing in their robes at the altar.

In the earlier times all the members of the court found the verdict; later they did so only at the statutory or unsummoned moots; at the extraordinary or summoned ones this fell to the assessors, as representative of the whole community. The Anglo-Saxon hundred ultimately intrusted the administration of justice to twelve such men. After the charge, answer, and oath, there followed, according to Frankish folk-law, the award on a question put by the plaintiff to the judge; according to state law, on one made through the judge on the motion of the plaintiff.

The verdict depended on the majority, but either party could challenge it orally, and by the symbolic act of casting down his gloves or hat. This challenge did not imply a renewal of the process, but a complaint against the finders of the verdict, whose effect reacted on the first process.

Among the Lombards, Bavarians, Friesians and Scandinavians, the finding of the verdict seems to have passed over to the president of the court, assisted by notaries, who at his command drew up the protocol, read the documents in the case and the relative laws, and, in short, were generally serviceable to him. These constituted a numerous class. The royal court had a *notarius sacri palatii*, who wrote out the king's laws and edicts.

The sentence was not at first carried out by open compulsion, but indirectly through the ban. But gradually the folk-law came, in this respect, to trench on the inviolability of the freeman. The Salic law declared that compulsion was to take effect when the accused had pledged himself to satisfy the verdict. If he failed to do this the result was practical outlawry, and, in the Sixth Century, Chilperic further decided that even where there had been no vow, coercion in cases of injury to life and limb could be employed by the court in the name of the king. In cases of debt the executive first attached the movables, then the real estate, and, as a last resort, the person. If the whole of the debtor's property failed to satisfy the claim, the judge laid a cord around his neck, and the creditor could lead him away as a debt-serf.

The law was enforced chiefly through money-fines. Almost all offences were expiated by money, the fine generally being very high. Small and moderate estates were thus easily swallowed up. Among the Anglo-Saxons the number of debt-serfs became so great that one of the kings set apart a portion of the income from his demesnes for their ransom. The Frankish state law was in so far milder, that it regarded the debt-serf not as a slave, but as a pledge, redeemable by the payment of the debt.

Everywhere there arose complaints about the excessive formality of the procedure, and redress was sought, sometimes by reverting to the Old German procedure, more frequently by adopting, with modifications, Roman modes, such as extending the functions of the judge, introducing written documents, witnesses to fact, and torture. The moving force in these reforms was the Frankish king, who, in the Sixth Century, conferred on his following, tenants, and those under his protection, the right of so speaking before the court as they deemed best for the determination of fact. But this remained exceptional for his court and dependents. The Franks, proper, clung tenaciously to their legal formalities.

We proceed next to what may be called private law, and, first, to that of marriage. Here we find the conceptions of the time of Tacitus still preserved. In the eye of the law betrothal and marriage proper effected the same relation. The former was contracted, not by the betrothed pair themselves, but between the bridegroom and the bride's father or guardian, and was virtually a purchase of the bride from her state of pupillage. The Frankish price was only a shilling and a penny, and was, of course, purely symbolical. Other tribes, adhering to their earlier customs, made a more matter-of-fact sale. The Saxon price was three hundred shillings; the Lombard, four hundred. Moreover, according to some laws, the bride had to be returned if there was any fraud in regard to the payment made for her. The father possessed complete control over his daughter, and betrothal except through him was invalid and penal. If a woman became a wife without legal betrothal she was no longer a member of the paternal house and lost all claim to inheritance; but if the parents again recognized her as their daughter, she recovered her right of heirship. The external symbol of marriage was the exchange of rings. The father promised the dowry; the bridegroom, the jointure. The marriage was concluded with certain festivities, but without religious ceremonies. The husband recognized the consummation of the nuptials by the "morning-gift." The marriage-tie was dissoluble either by mutual consent or by repudiation by the husband. Unequal marriages were penal; among the Lombards, if a slave married a free woman he was put to death.

The Church discountenanced all these German practices. It further condemned concubinage, which was frequent and not punishable by law, interposed obstacles to marriages of kindred, required the consent of the bride, as well at her betrothal as on her marriage by the priest, and, finally, insisted on the indissolubility of the nuptial tie. And it carried all its points—though after a hard struggle.

The Old German law had recognized a right of property in movables only. The Salic law extended it to real estate; common use of the soil being restricted to the common "mark." Besides, other rights arose, as those arising from the *beneficium*, from the grant of the usufruct of a piece of land for a lifetime, from the *precaria* or a grant for a stated time, and from mortgage. The right of demand was equivalent to alienation: either the thing itself or the promise of delivery had to be given, the latter before witnesses along with a pledge.

The claim to inheritance rested on kinship. Disposal by will was yet unknown, or possible only by the circuitous way of adoption into the sept. The immediate offspring were the first heirs; then, the parents;

next, the brothers and sisters; and, finally, the other relatives. In the inheritance of movables, men and women were on an equality; as regarded real estate, the latter were, in many respects, at a disadvantage.

The distinction between folk-law and state-law came most clearly to light in the respective penal enactments. Folk-law punished offences affecting a private person in a twofold way: by a fine for the infraction of the public peace (*fredus*), which fell to the judge, and, next, by compensation-money (*feidus*) paid to the injured party or his heirs. Nothing is treated in the law-books with such circumstantiality as the compensation for bodily injuries. There every member of the body, even to the teeth and nails, and every variety of injury had its painfully minute price. The thief had to return what he had stolen with a sum in expiation. It was different with state-law. The king, in virtue of his power of the ban, issued orders and prohibitions that soon inferred penalties of life and limb. For treason and sacrilege the punishment was death; for perjury, the loss of a hand, as among the Lombards for forgery of money or documents; besides these there were banishment and whipping. It is noteworthy that the corporal punishments seem to be preponderatingly of German origin. Imprisonment was resorted to by the Franks mainly as a means of securing offenders before the trial; among the Lombards and Visigoths it was already a punishment. King Liutprand, e. g., decreed imprisonment for the first theft; tearing out the hair and branding for the second; for the third, sale into slavery. In both these peoples we observe a growing disposition for the punishment of flogging, which, among the Visigoths, was inflicted on even the highest classes, while murder was, on requirement, punished by death.

According to the oldest German law the injured party might either proceed by law or resort to personal revenge. The latter alternative (feud or vendetta) was still permissible, but was restricted by custom and the king's command. Laws relating to it did not appear before the Carolingian times, especially to the effect that the feud was inadmissible when wergild had been offered. But the principle lay embedded in the popular conscience and was of a certain value in repairing the too frequent injustice of the formal mode of procedure. Whoever had unjustly deprived a man of his property through law or violence had to dread his revenge. All that could be done was to mitigate its barbarousness. With this object, certain places were declared sanctuaries, especially churches, churchyards, moot-places, and a man's own house, which last the judge himself, according to folk-law, could not enter unpermitted. Besides this, the "king's-peace" protected certain parties—particularly defenceless persons,

clergymen, royal servants and officials. Here, Church and state worked hand in hand.

In this respect the Lombards were much like the Franks; they, too, practised the vendetta without express permission. It was otherwise with the Anglo-Saxons, among whom a feeling of respect for public order was early developed. Whoever among them took the law into his own hand had to repair the injury he inflicted and pay, besides, a fine of fifty shillings. If he had accomplices, the punishment was increased in proportion, so that the great local feuds which so severely afflicted the Franks were comparatively unknown in England. The Goths, under the influence of incorporated Roman law, went still further; King Theodoric forbade private vengeance in any form. The Visigoths prohibited a debtor from giving himself over as a pledge when the courts were not in session, and the feud was no longer heard of among them. An exception was made in the case of adultery, so that a husband could still slay an unfaithful wife and her paramour if he found them in his own house. On the other hand, crimes were expiated by compensation paid to the injured party, and by numerous penalties for the infraction of public peace.

The whole civic and legal life of the times presents a picture of growth and transition. The position of the individual was affected by the strangest admixture of personal freedom and formal restrictions. Private vengeance and rigorous casuistry in regard to offences in deed or word, freedom of speech before the folk-moot, and complete subjection to the coercive stringency of legal procedure were inextricably intermingled. Folk-law, king's-law, and Church-law, German law, and Roman law conflicted with and influenced one another, but the crown and erosier came out victorious, and the development and destiny of the several peoples lay in the hands of their rulers. Yet legislation did not direct life, but life created the forms according to its needs. Right and might were often in deadly conflict, under which conditions the German nature underwent such a development that not only to the east of the Rhine, but in France and Italy, a German influence was the preponderant one till, in the Twelfth Century, Roman law worked the final change.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVILIZATION, ART, AND SCIENCE.

THE German tribal states were bounded by the Rhine and the Alps, yet in such a way that the Frankish kingdom penetrated far into the interior, even to the Weser, the Danube, and the Traun. The nearer to the original seat of the race, the purer did the old German life maintain itself. This purity appeared externally in the preponderance of the country over the city. The German districts maintained their rural impress; Italy and the southern halves of Spain and France were essentially civic. While there German was spoken, here the Teutonic settlements succumbed to Roman influences. The lands on the right of the Rhine remained all but unaffected, and enjoyed a home-life of quiet tranquillity.

The pictures of early German society after the migrations were concluded are as various as the sources whence we draw our information. Paulus Diaconus presents a picture essentially military-romantic; Bede, one of a churchly hue; the law-sources depict an essentially well-ordered social state; Gregory of Tours a condition of wild barbarism. Each of these tones is true. We have to do with a compromise on a great scale, which produced the most varied impulses and results. On the whole, it may be said that while the victorious race made its conceptions dominant in the state, law, and external matters generally, the Romans gave tone to letters, art, language, and faith, and were thus not serfs, but citizens. It has therefore been said that they "politically Germanized themselves" and incorporated themselves in the various tribal states. Even so early a writer as Gregory of Tours breathes a spirit of Frankish patriotism.

Let us see how the two races lived side by side and in close intercourse with each other, to become, in time, fused into one, and this especially in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. The countries remaining German were inhabited by a simple peasant-folk, their farms and villages being the central points of their life. The former consisted of an extensive court surrounded by a fence, within which lay the dwelling and farm-offices, all of wood. The modest dwelling-house (*halla* or *sala*) was simply a covered apartment with a hearth, and furnished with beds, supply of linen, benches, chairs, and tables. Around this hearth the master and his domestics gathered.

Of course the abode of a magnate was of a more dignified character than that of an ordinary freeman. In it the hall was of large dimensions and borne on wooden pillars, while a platform ran along the walls, on which stood the seats of honor. In the more Roman lands, stone-buildings preponderated, there being either no wooden structures or such only for the meaner class of houses. To the home corresponded the meagre equipment of farm-implements, which seem to have been originally limited to the plow, the harrow, and the two-wheeled cart. The scantiness of instruments is accounted for by the costliness of iron and the prevalence of cattle-raising (see p. 162, Vol. VI.). The main crops sown were the four staple grains suitable for the German climate, wheat, barley, oats, and rye, while south of the Danube the Roman spelt was added.

Tillage was poorly developed, and consisted in a more or less regular alternation of grain-crop and fallow. Improvement first showed itself in the garden, orchard and vineyard. The orchard was stocked with apple and pear trees; the grape came gradually northward from the south, and was regarded rather as a luxury. Hedges separated the tilled land from the garden. Field-thieves and tree-mutilators were subject to heavy penalties.

The hog was the leading domesticated animal, besides which there were sheep, goats, oxen, and horses. The old Frankish horses were of the native race—small, ill-favored but hardy. But by the end of the Fifth Century the breed had been much improved, and when Charles Martel captured many horses from the Arabs he used them for crossing, and so laid the foundation of the excellent Limousin breed. The horse, according to folk-law, was the most valuable of all kinds of property, and many statutes were enacted for its protection. The bridle and reins were often ornamented with plates, but shoeing seems to have been unknown. The Salic law regarded as the proper stock for a proprietor seven to twelve head of horses, twelve to twenty-five cattle, six to fifty swine, and forty to sixty sheep. These numbers infer holdings of nearly equal extent and a well-to-do peasantry. Fowl were also raised, and the domestic cock was protected by law, while the crane strutted proudly as lord of the poultry-yard (see p. 163, Vol. VI.).

The village, as the centre of Frankish husbandry, constituted a portion of the *mark*—an extensive tract in the common possession of the kindred settlers (the *markgenossen*), which yielded the common produce of the soil. The arable land in immediate proximity to the village was allocated by lot to the dwellers therein and cultivated by them. Woods in rich profusion, as well as pasture-land, stretched between and beyond the cultivated tracts; but, judging from the limited amount of stock, the

pasturage must have been poor and the meadows sparse. The common use of the timber, cattle-rearing, care of bees, the chase and fishing, constituted material factors in the economic system.

The mechanical arts were poorly developed in the country, and were followed only for the needs of the household. Prominent among the craftsmen were the saddler, the weaver, the carpenter, and smith. The mill was an important institution, as implying complicated apparatus and a considerable circle of persons using it. Special measures were enacted for its conservation, and every husbandman was bound to take his grist to a particular mill. Every man clung to his holding, only the king's service calling him over the borders.

The limited amount of traffic is proved by the fact, that the Salic law recognized no universally accepted standard in regard to the money values of articles, nor a common system of money-payment; but, in case of a dispute and legal process, left the value to be fixed by arbiters. The Ripuarian law, on the contrary, already shows a fixed scale of prices. That for a sound horse, was 240 denarii; for a cow, 40; for a trained falcon, 480; for a shield and lance, 80; for a sword without a belt, 120, with the belt, 280; a helmet with a crest, 240; a coat of mail, 480. These values are significant as showing that the products of skilled industry, and especially those into which art entered, commanded a higher price. If we compare this tariff with that of the later law of the Chamaui, we see that the latter puts a higher value on raw products. A cow, e. g., costs now 72 denarii, a sword with its belt only 252, and a horse, a stallion, and an unfreed man, the same. The Anglo-Saxon law was also chiefly concerned with a primitive and rural people. The tail of an ox and a cow's eye cost a shilling each—the same as a blow on the ear.

But the simple economic conditions of primitive life were gradually revolutionized by the upgrowth of new relations. The allotment of land to a mark-fellow had hitherto been associated with political services and duties. After the Fifth Century no further allocations by lot were made, and the value of the former right to such was enhanced by its being made hereditary within the members of the mark-community. The usufruct of the soil became more and more changed, with the state's sanction, into personal property. The mark-community lost its power of free disposition over the arable land, and gradually over the *allmende*, or common property, also. Here, the king had possessed originally only the right of caveat or objection, but, as his power grew, favorites got permission to settle within the mark even against the will of the mark-fellows. These took possession of clearings and converted them into

private property. The land thus held by royal grant increased prodigiously from the Sixth Century, especially in the hands of the Church. The more powerful the proprietors became the more effectively could they oppress their weaker neighbors, and the more easily annex their holdings. Thus harassed, many Germans found themselves in a position of sore perplexity within the Roman lands. Strange to the new conditions, they were in many ways overreached by the provincials, nay, the Burgundians so ruthlessly stripped of every right of citizenship such of their people as had no land, that King Gundobad interposed by statute in their behalf. Nothing could check the progress of the change. The numerous children of the husbandmen led to endless subdivisions of their lands, and the mark-communities were forced to utilize to the utmost every acre left to them, whereby even the woods and meadows of the commons disappeared. Their duties in the public courts and the army were oppressive. A regular moot-meeting lasted three days, and the military system, suitable enough for local feuds, ruined the peasantry, now that wars had become national, by long enforced absences. Besides, they had to perform forced labor at road-making, bridge-building, extermination of wolves and human marauders, etc., etc., being all the time exposed to ruinous ravages. Worst of all was the system of money fines, which often reduced the man of slender means to beggary. Thus there reappeared in the Roman lands conditions that vividly recalled those of the sinking Empire. The middle class of the free peasantry shrank or entirely disappeared. There were virtually but two classes left—the rich, and the oppressed and dependent masses.

The great landowners had possessions in numerous districts, as well as hundreds of armed bondsmen, through whom they cultivated a portion of their wide estates. The rest they rented out to tenants. Surrounded, besides, by a strong body of retainers, they had to employ hosts of menials to care for their food, clothing, harness, and arms, so that the proprietor represented, in a measure, a great industrial lord and capitalist. The Church was the chief landowner. If the over-powerful landlord possessed only one manor in the village, his steward (mayor of his household) easily became the most influential man therein, and could so utilize his position to the advantage of his lord that not rarely many in despair surrendered their holdings in return for protection and shelter at the hands of the territorial lord. The latter thus soon commanded where he had originally only owned a residence, and brought, more and more, individual freemen, and not rarely whole villages, into dependence on him.

The cities operated to the still further disintegration of the peasant class. The rich communities on the Rhine and Danube, indeed, lay,

with few exceptions (as that of Cologne), mouldering in ruins. But it was different in the Roman lands with their civic impress. Many a place here was still surrounded by its moat and wall, where arose the timber dwelling of the German husbandman, the fort-like stone house of the rich, the poor man's hut, and the little chapel beside the stately cathedral. A few of the interiors presented an elegant appearance—panelled roofs, painted or marble-lined walls, mosaic floors, costly carpets and skins, here and there glass windows with heavy, richly-colored curtains, cushioned lounges, rare ornaments on the tables and mantels, chests filled with silks and linen. None the less, the streets, aqueducts, theatres, and temples were sinking into ruin.

The Vandals, Goths, and Burgundians left the Roman municipal constitution standing in so far as it had not merged in the new state, as it had done in the case of the Visigoths. The Frankish state also took no interest in the problems of communal government, but incorporated these subdivisions in the *gau*-districts, while in the south the city-districts of themselves often merged in the Frankish districts. Nevertheless, official authority passed from the city *curiae* (councils) to the king's courts, submission to the jurisdiction of the former being now purely voluntary. Through this the city lost its legal predominance over the country, the civic tribunals possessing no higher importance than any others. But what the city lost politically, it made up commercially, socially, and ecclesiastically. In it were concentrated trade, culture, and the greater Church dignitaries. It supplied the country with manufactured articles, while the country, in return, sent its raw products into the city market. The landed proprietors—and among them not rarely the highest official, the count—began to live in the towns. As the city-districts and Church dioceses ordinarily coincided, the bishop generally had his seat in the city. In the Roman period he had often attained the magistracy, and this continued to be the case. He was, in short, head and leader of the city with his cathedral as its central point, and with the count beside him as the representative of the government. Through their jurisdiction over the dependents of the Church, and through the prerogatives conceded the bishops, such municipalities became again legally separated from the *gau*.

Italy had been, and continued to be, peculiarly the land of cities. Here no new antagonism between city and country was introduced by the Lombards, but both together constituted the basis of the county and town community, the political and ecclesiastical divisional unit of the kingdom, which was an administrative and judicial district and episcopate, city community and duchy at the same time. Besides, there

were royal cities. The Lombards, especially the higher classes, settled preferably within the city walls, finding there at once luxury and protection from hostile attack.

But it was no longer from the cities as such, but from the royal residences, that the rays of political and official life beamed forth. In, or in close proximity to these, were held the great national assemblies or diets. They consisted of a strong palace with accessory buildings and single mansions, often in connection with a monastery or a group of buildings in a city. Many cities, as Paris, Toledo, Pavia, Spoleto, Benevento, and Canterbury, thus acquired importance, and took their place beside the old Roman cities. These royal courts often grew into towns. Thus the Visigoths sought to secure their conquests by the systematic founding of cities.

Naturally the mass of the city populations remained Roman, but the more the conditions and tenure of land became deranged the more the Germans flocked into the cities—the rich to live with greater splendor, the poor in search of a livelihood. It was in the cities, therefore, that the distinction between Roman and German first fell to the ground before community of interest, and that the fusion of the races was accomplished. German and Roman artisans worked side by side, and equally participated in the feeling of local patriotism that led to the common expulsion of unpopular officials and to contests of city against city. None the less the peasant proprietor looked down with a certain contempt on the dwellers in towns who lived in rented houses.

As in the country, handicraft was pursued chiefly by the unfree of the towns. Serfs could work for wages only with permission of their owners, to whom they made over a portion of their earnings. However, there were also free artisans, among whom surgeons, goldsmiths and silver-smiths, and armorers held respected positions. Guilds sprang up here and there for the protection of their members. Above all, artistic skill and talent were highly honored. Whilst Burgundian law estimated the peasant bondsman at 30 shillings, it put a value of 150 on a worker in gold and of 100 on the silver-smith. Not only the productions of his hands preserve the memory of the goldsmith, but histories and sagas as well. Among the Franks one of this craft became a bishop; another the Vandals made a count. One prelate fabricated with his own hands the sacred vessels of the altar. And we read also of surgeons and painters who acquired great wealth. Nor must we pass without notice the lapidary who cut the seal-ring, nor the book-dealer who had classic and Christian authors transcribed to be sold to noblemen and bishops, who stored them in sumptuous libraries, which according to the precept,

should have no gilded roofs, but green marble floors. (Cf. Figs. 74, 75.)

Mining and commerce were in comparative decadence, and the age was often fain to live on the productions of imperial times. British tin, formerly so renowned, was forgotten, but iron and salt were still procured, the latter from the interior, as well as from the sea. Britain was especially famed for its textile fabrics and embroideries in gold, and woolen goods were imported from the Greek islands. Elsewhere, also, weaving was in high repute, and to this day the cunning workmanship and beauty of design seen in the relics of a particular gold-embroidered silk fabric call forth admiration. Germany furnished raw products; the Rhine provinces, iron and glass wares; Vandal Africa, in spite of its agricultural



FIG. 74.—Glass drinking cups from Frankish graves. (From Lindenschmitt.) 1. From Oberohm: ornaments of brown and blue glass: height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. 2. From near Kreuznach: tracery in brown and blue glass: height, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

decay, grain, and, in addition, metal wares and purple. Lombards and Vandals were famous armorers, and were skilful in carving ivory and polishing precious stones and glass. The art of coloring stones was known, but amber, once so esteemed by the peasant-folk for ornaments, fell into disuse, at least in Roman lands. English merchants spread throughout France, reaching Marseilles. King Offa had already concluded a commercial treaty with the Franks. To Germany came Romans, Jews, Franks, and Byzantines, pressing forward even into the countries of the Wends and Avars. London, Schleswig, Rome, Byzantium, and St. Denis were emporia of trade, and Dorstadt, Stavern, Erfurt, Salzburg, and Lorch, market towns. The channels for the meagre commerce still continued to be the durable Roman roads, besides the rivers and the sea. The Danube was of high importance as facilitating intercourse be-

tween the East and West, while the Mediterranean bore more vessels than in the late imperial times, Marseilles, Rome, and Carthage being its chief ports. Friesians, Anglo-Saxons, and Saxons launched their craft on the North Sea; the Wends and Northmen, theirs on the Baltic; while numerous finds testify that a tolerably lively intercourse must have been kept up between the countries on the Black Sea and the Baltic coast region. The German kingdoms, through their adoption of Rome's luxurious habits, were largely dependent on the East. Silks and spices, incense and precious stones, many cunning works of art in metal and woven fabrics, were imported thence through Byzantines, Jews, and Syrians. But with the merchant came his attendant—the robber—and this particularly on the sea, where he could pursue his calling with little hindrance. Saxons and Northmen were soon cruising on the northern waters, Saracens on the Mediterranean, and often ravaging the coasts.

Besides traders and robbers, warriors, through their expeditions, and palmers, through their pilgrimages, were the principal persons to learn aught of strange lands. Especially it became more and more customary to visit famed shrines and other sacred places—Rome, above all—and in these sacred excursions business was not rarely combined with piety. In this new expression of the Germanic love of wandering and adventure, the English were—as they are to-day—especially prominent. Even nuns and lay-sisters of that land took the staff, and St. Boniface complains that many remained settled on the way, to the scandal of the whole English Church.

As trade prospered the currency became a matter of importance. In the late Roman times the provinces had already become impoverished because of the conversion of coin into plate and vessels, its exportation, and its hoarding in the treasuries and possessions of individual capitalists. With these deranged financial conditions the Germans had to cope, without ever having had a coinage of their own, or financial dealings. Necessarily they accepted the system which they found; but while the total

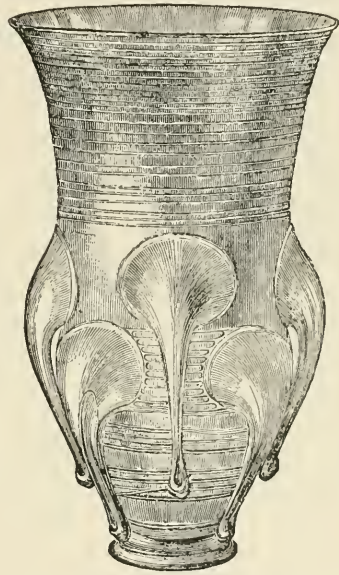


FIG. 75.—Glass drinking cup from a Frankish grave. From Selzen: height, 7½ in.

capital was but little augmented, it had now to spread over a greater surface, while the drain was continued through the traffic with the East.

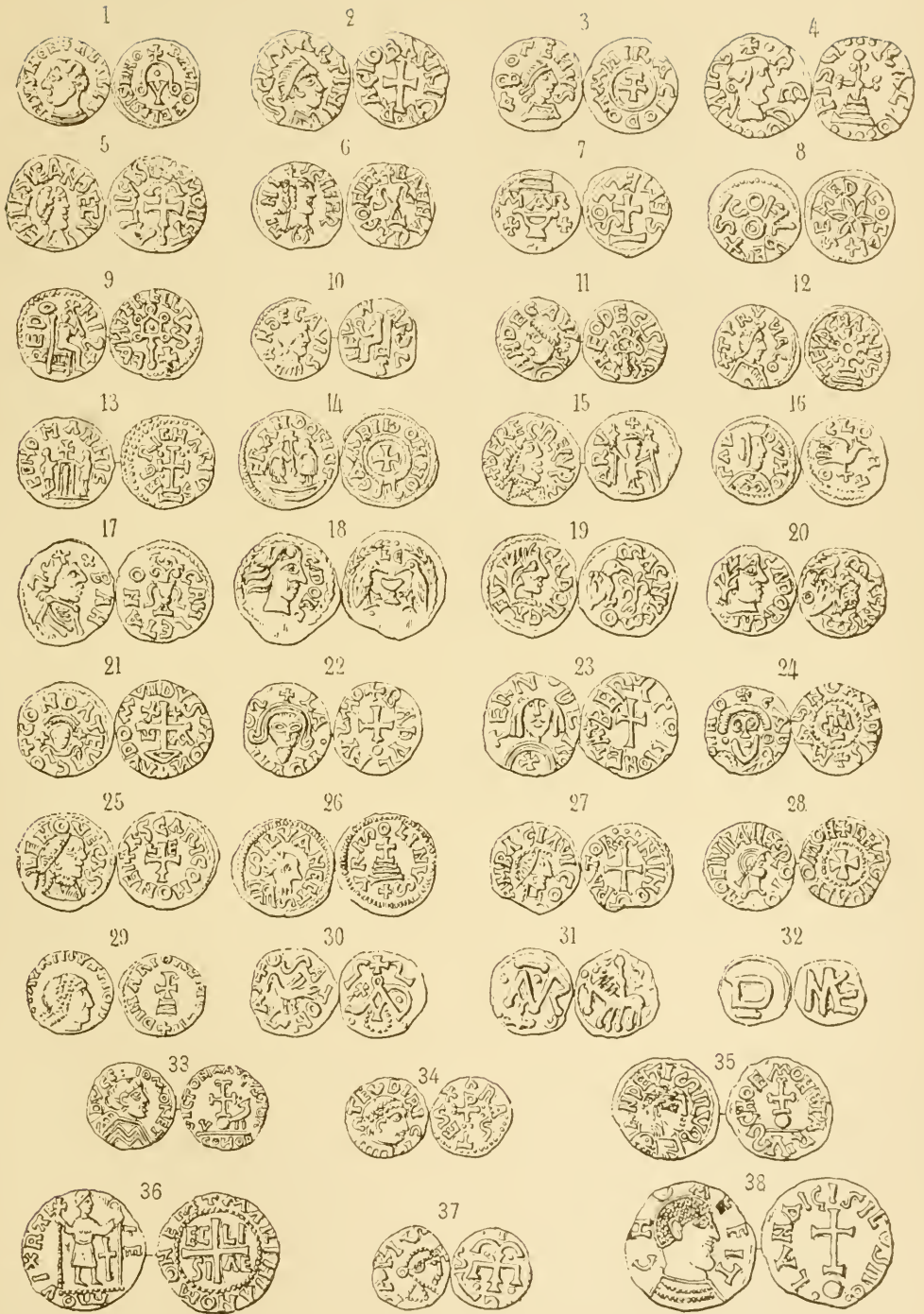
In Gaul the principal coin was the gold solidus, weighing about $4\frac{1}{2}$ grammes or 70 grains and equal to 40 silver denarii. As early as the days of Clovis money was coined, at first only copper, which bore a double C (Chlodoveus consul?). As the kings attained a consciousness of independence, each instituted a coinage of his own impressed with his monogram, name, and image. On the right bank of the Rhine, too, the Frankish gold solidus was the standard of value, while the Alamanni and Bavarians seem to have retained the older Roman standard of twelve silver denarii to a gold shilling. The Visigothic coinage from the Sixth Century on coincided on the whole with the contemporary Frankish and Lombard. The Lombards at first imitated the Byzantine type till Rothari stamped his name on his coins, and from the time of Kuninkpert the reverse bore the figure of the archangel Michael. Among the Burgundians Gundobad and Sigismund were the first to impress their monograms beside the image and name of the emperor. From the end of the Seventh Century silver began to supersede gold, especially in France, Spain, and Italy. During the later Merovingian times great irregularities prevailed, especially in the form of private coinage and depreciation of the value of the coins. (Cf. PLATE X.¹) Even in the time of

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

Merovingian coins (Ann. arch. VIII.) According to E. Cartier.

1. Coin of the Church of Sens. Head, with the legend ANTELINVS MON. Rev.: RACIO ECLISI SENO (the mint-master Antelinus, whose coin is guaranteed by the Church of Sens).
2. Coin of the basilica of St. Martin of Tours. Head, with the legend SCI MARTINI. Rev.: a cross, with the legend RACIO BASILICI.
3. Coin, with the legend ABOLENVS R. Rev.: RACIO DOMNI, by guaranty of the "Master," probably referring to some civic official.
4. Silver coin of Rennes. Head, with the legend RENONIS. Rev.: RACIO FISCI. Minted by the fiscus, or treasury, at Rennes.
5. Coin of the Church at Angers. Head, with the legend ECLESIE ANDECAVI. Rev.: ALLIGISELS MONET (Alligisel, mint superintendent).
6. Coin of the Church of St. Martin at Bannassac. Legend, SCI MARTINI. Rev.: BANNACIACO FIIT.
7. Coin of Rebais. A chalice; above, MAR. Rev.: a cross, with the legend GEMELLOS (Rebais).
8. Silver coin of St. Philibert of Jumièges. Legend, † SCO FILBERT . . . GEMEDICO F.
9. Coin of Rennes. A figure seated upon a chair, holding a crown: legend, REDONIS (Rennes). Rev.: a pyx with host; legend, FANTERELLVS.
10. Coin of Angers. Head, with legend ANDECAVIS (Angers). Rev.: a figure upon a chair, holding a crown; legend, LEVNARDVS (name of mint superintendent).
11. Coin of Angers. Head, with legend ANDECAVIS. Rev.: a pyx, containing a star; legend, THEODECISILVS (name of mint superintendent).

PLATE X



Merovingian Coins.

(Ann. arch. VIII.)

Gregory the Great the Frankish solidus had ceased to be current in Rome. The abuses became so great, in spite of the efforts of Pepin and others,

12. Coin of Tournai. Head, with legend TVRVNACO. Rev.: a pyx; legend, TEVD-CHARIVS (mint superintendent).

13. Coin of Le Mans. An object flanked by two standing figures and supporting a cross. Probably we have here a representation of one of the Druid columns (Mensir altar) later used for Christian purposes, which at the present time is preserved at Le Mans in the Church of St. Julius. Legend, CENOMANNIS (Le Mans). Rev.: a cross, with the name of the mint superintendent, EBRICHARIVS.

14. Coin of Chambon (?). Two figures standing in a sort of boat, holding a cross; legend, FRANDO FICIT. Rev.: an imitation of the device on imperial coins: legend, CAMBIDONNO.

15. Coin of Auvergne. Head, with the legend BEREISELVS M. Rev.: a small figure, with a three-cornered hat, surmounted by a cross, holding in the right hand a cross, in the left a halberd; legend, ARV (Arverni=Auvergne).

16. Coin of Laon (?). Head, with hat worn like a cardinal's hat; legend, LAVDVNO. Rev.: a bird in flight, with a cross in its claws; legend, CLOATO.

17. Coin of Bannassac. Head, with cross above; legend, BAN (Banaciac). Rev.: a calix, from which a branch shoots forth; legend, GAVALETANO.

18, 19, 20. Coins, with Christian symbols. The legends permit of various explanations, but throw no light on the place of minting. The obverse of Nos. 19 and 20 bears a head, shadowed by a branch; the reverse of all three have birds, which drink from a chalice, pluck at branches or vine sprays.

21. Coin of Candes (?). Head of a saint, with wreath of pearls, between two crosses; legend, CONDATEVICO. Rev.: a cross upon a triangle, and on the right and left arms of the cross an Alpha and an Omega; legend, AVDOMVNDVS MON (Audomundus, mint superintendent).

22. Coin of Laon (?). Head, *en face*, surmounted by a cross; legend, LAVDVXOS. Rev.: a cross; legend, BADVLFVS MONETA (Badulfus, mint superintendent).

23. Coin of Tonnerre. Head and breast, seen *en face*, with a cross upon the breast; legend, TERNODERO. Rev.: legend, BERVIFO MONETA (Berulfus, mint superintendent).

24. Coin of Châlons-sur-Saône. Head, *en face*; legend, CABLONNO. Rev.: cross, with the first two letters of the name of the town CA, and the legend MAGNOALDVS.

25. Coin of Limoges. Head of a priest; legend, LEMOVECAS. Rev.: cross, with the first two letters of the name of the town, and the legend SCARICO MONETA (Scarius, mint superintendent).

26. Coin of Senlis. Head of a bird; legend, SILVANECTIS. Rev.: cross; legend, VRISOLINVS (mint superintendent). Senlis flourished as a centre of coinage also later, in the Carolingian period.

27. Coin of Amboise. Head, with wreath of pearls; legend, AMBACIAVICO. Rev.: a cross; legend, PATRONINO (mint superintendent).

28. Coin of Rouen. Rude representation of a head; legend, ROTOMO CIVITATI. Rev.: a cross of an unusual pattern; legend, CHAGNOALDVO MON (mint superintendent).

29. Silver denarius of Orleans. Head, with legend MAVRINVS MON, the name of the mint superintendent. Rev.: cross; legend, DINARIO AVRILLII. Probably the new denarius introduced from Germany and three times as light as the former denarius.

30. Coin, on the obverse of which is a bird with a round object in its beak; legend, CARNOTAS. Rev.: a monogram, probably suggesting the name of the city where the coin was minted.

31. Rudely executed silver coin. Obv.: AR(YERNI?). Rev.: a man on horseback.

32. Denarius. Obv.: a D, probably indicating *denarius*. Rev.: ME, perhaps METTIS (Metz).

that in the Eighth Century money was valued simply according to its weight, so that men seemed to be on their way toward the primitive system of their fathers—barter. Gold came to be so costly as to be no longer adequate for the daily needs of business, and was utilized rather for reckoning value than for the purposes of sale and purchase. Copper was extremely rare, for the idea of small money had not yet gained ground.

The uncultured peoples were much addicted to the pleasures of the table, where the untamed Germanic appetite revelled in Roman luxury. There was no meeting, be the occasion sad or joyous, secular or sacred, without a carousal. To St. Boniface the Franks and Lombards appeared fairly sober, the Alamanni and Heruli, Saxons and Anglo-Saxons being, he tells us, much more immoderate. On the English bishop, Wilfrid, completing his grand cathedral of Ripon, a consecration-festival was held, at which churchmen and laics vied with each other for three days and three nights, as in a drinking-match. One Saxon drank so much that he died the next morning. Nor was this an exceptional case, for a very ancient Anglo-Saxon song celebrates drunkenness as a frequent cause of death. Venantius Fortunatus breaks out in contempt of the barbarians, who sat behind their maple-wood jugs, carousing and singing as if they were insane, adding that he who did not do as they did was looked on as crazy, and that he might deem himself happy who came out of such a debauch with his life. Not rarely, indeed, such ended in deadly brawl and sometimes with murder. Self-command on such occasions was held so highly meritorious that the Anglo-Saxon king, Ine, issued an ordinance decreeing that "when two men quarrelled over their cups, and one of them bore himself patiently, the other should pay a fine of 30 shillings." Mead and beer, wine and must, were the common beverages—wine being the specially Christian drink, beer, the heathen—

33. Coin, with a head on the obverse, and only the name of the mint superintendent, Duceio (DVCCIO MONET). Rev.: VICTORIA AVGVSTOR ("victory of the emperors") and CONOB; in the field a dragon attacking a cross.

34. Coin, with name of mint superintendent on the obverse (TEVDIRICI). Rev.: ARASTES (Aresches?).

35. Coin, with a head and legend LANDE GISIL (Landegisil). Rev.: CHOE MONE-TARIVS.

36. Gold coin of the Church of Limoges. Obv.: figure of a bishop, with a cross in his right hand, and in left a sort of crosier; legend, RACI . . . LEMO VIX. Rev.: a cross between the letters ECLISIAE; additional legend, MARCHIANO MONETA. This coin, therefore, was minted by the mint master, Marchiano, for the Church of Limoges.

37. Coin belonging to the close of the Merovingian period. Head with legend, PARIS (a denarius of Paris).

38. Very ancient and rare gold coin of its kind, with a head without insignia. Legend, CHOAE FIT. Rev.: LANDIGISILVS MO (Landegisel, mint superintendent).

but men took generally very kindly to either. For Franks of rank Gallic wine was often no longer good enough, and they imported Falernian and the wines of Palestine, or made the native sorts stronger with roots and other ingredients. In the earlier times men thought in their jovialty of the gods and departed heroes and emptied a beaker in their honor. This was called the "Minnetrunk" or "Love-drink." In later times the "love-drink" was dedicated to Christ and the saints; nay, St. Emmeran tells he had seen men drinking the "Minne" to Christ and the gods at the same time.

In eating men were equally self-indulgent. Sorry fare sufficed only him who could provide no better. The etymology of the English and German verbs *cook*, *kochen* (Latin *coquere*), shows whence the art came. Here the influence of the provincials was specially conspicuous, not only in that the board was spread with all the choicest products of land and sea, but in the perfect order and elegance of its appointments. The table was covered with the finest linen, flowers lent it color and fragrance, the vessels were of the precious metals. King Chilperic owned a table-equipage of gold and precious stones, weighing fifty pounds. Epicures were soon developed, in whom Apicius and Lucullus would have found kindred spirits. Even aloe were eaten before meals as a whet to the appetite. Good cooks and bakers were held in high honor, and could tyrannize over their masters. By them the German was introduced to the high-flavored spices of the Roman kitchen.

During the meal instrumental music and song alternated unceasingly. The cithern passed from hand to hand, and songs of heroes, war, and victory resounded round the board. Even kings did not disdain to sing and touch the chords. Jokes, too, often of the coarsest, flew around, and difficult riddles. Side by side with the hoary-bearded minstrel stood the smooth-shaven trained vocalist, the dancer, the jester, the conjurer. Superabundance and luxury reigned in everything.

Life, especially in the greater cities and at the courts of kings and princes, was gay and varied. In the streets were to be seen the provincial in his Roman costume, the German with the gleaming axe in his girdle, the priest in his woolen attire, and the bishop in his gorgeous purple mantle. Irish pilgrims—strange painted figures with long staves; the hunting-train or silk-clad following of some magnate, worldly or clerical; illustrious Frankish ladies in their wagons, litters, or on horseback; bands of warriors marching to the strains of the horn; market people from the country with their carts or panniers; peddling Jews and Syrians in oriental garb—all mingled and jostled in the wonderful maze. The blooded steed of the warrior neighed proudly as

it passed the little, shaggy pony from the peasant's farm, while the unwieldy camel, still used by the Franks as a beast of burden, paced solemnly by the side of the wide-horned ox. On the market days the country-folk streamed in from all quarters and filled the shows and chapmen's booths; on the days of church festivals processions moved through the streets with banners displayed and chanting hymns. Song and addresses welcomed the king when he entered the city. Roman games continued to be celebrated, especially those of the circus, the most notable being those held at Arles and Carthage, where, in addition to chariot-races and horse-races, men fought with wild beasts or with one another. Even the great Theodoric did not despise the palm of the circus. In Spain the bull-fight was already a favorite pastime. Men took delight in listening to musicians, whether playing on the streets, before a peasant's door, or at the banquets of the rich. The numerous strolling players which now made their appearance met with little respect. According to Friesian law a prize-fighter could be slain with impunity; he who wronged a vagabond woman incurred only a nominal penalty. Beggars flocked in numbers to the cities, where they were taken care of by the Church. Here and there poor-houses arose.

But the peaceful picture was too often transformed into one of violence and blood. In the wars of kings as well as in the ever-recurring conflicts of nobles the cities suffered terribly, as well as from the mere capricious outrages of the great. In the clash of weapons the ancient trophies of Roman architecture often sank in ruins, while the lighter wooden abodes of the poor went up in flames.

Hitherto a strong sense of morality and kinship had served to restrain the passions of the Germans. In their new surroundings and strange relations these barriers were too easily broken down, and a vent given to unbounded lust. The Merovingian kings set the worst example, by taking to themselves—in addition to several wives—concubines, free and unfree alike, and these sometimes sisters. Dagobert had three wives and numerous mistresses; and it called forth equal surprise and admiration when Sigebert contracted a marriage within his own class. In the later times of this dynasty boys of fourteen had children and pined away in consequence, so that it can truly be said that the royal house came to ruin by being emasculated through premature indulgence. The magnates—laymen and clergy alike from the bishop to the sacristan—followed the vicious example. The consequences were not long in appearing.

Family-life was destroyed; adultery of common occurrence; the wife murdered the husband; the husband, the wife and her paramour; children of different mothers pursued each other with the most implacable

hate; abortion and infanticide was so common that Brunehilde felt called on to take special measures for their prevention; nay, respect for women was so far lost that a bishop at a public synod maintained they could not be reckoned human beings. Undoubtedly the system of bride-buying and slavery fostered such views. It is told of Ingunde, wife of Clotaire I., that she prayed her husband to look out a proper, well-to-do man as a husband for her sister Aregunde. The king himself visited the maid and brought her home as his wife, saying he could find no better man than himself, to which Ingunde replied: "Let my lord do what is good in his eyes." A concubine of Theudebert slew her own daughter in the cruelest manner because she feared she might supplant her. Prostitution became general, especially among the Vandals, Visigoths, and Franks, and this not alone in the cities. Great lords sometimes had bagnios on their estates, which, on payment, were as free to their vassals as to themselves. These establishments were known as *columbaria*, which have given rise to the names of several places in France, such as Colombey, Colmar, etc. The Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Anglo-Saxons were not so deeply sunk in the slough of lasciviousness.

Anglo-Saxon, Friesian, and Visigothic law fixed the same wergild for both sexes; Alamannian, Bavarian, and Burgundian made the wife's wergild only a half of the man's. According to Saxon law, that of a virgin was higher than a man, all other women on an equality with him; Thuringian and Salic law estimated a barren wife at only the third of a child-bearing one, and Visigothic law made a yet wider distinction. The Bavarian and Lombard law decreed that a woman in arms lost her otherwise enhanced wergild; for scolds and unruly wives King Liutprand ordained the rod. Her guardian had to represent the woman before a court of justice; in wager of battle, her nearest male relative. The ordeal of fire and water she had to submit to in person (see p. 277).

In the old German lands the relations of the sexes remained simple—the men sternly severe masters, the women filled with humble love, faithful, chaste, submissive, and almost without a will of their own. No poetic trait ran like a golden thread through the warp of life. In its conditions—admirable for producing stout citizens—we detect no trace of tenderness. According to the oldest law, the father had unlimited power over his daughter, the husband over his wife, and the latter's rule was generally rigorous and often violent. In conformity with this, the wife at first often followed her husband to the grave, and, even later, a stain rested on her who contracted a second marriage—and this the more that the Church favored this view. Lombard, Saxon, and Friesian law permitted marriage between boys and girls of twelve; Visigothic law dis-

countenanced the betrothal of parties of very unequal age, as when the bride was nearly full-grown and the bridegroom still a child. Yet, in consequence of the parents' virtually unrestricted rights, resistance to their will was exceedingly difficult, while abduction was almost a capital offence. The ancient stern Visigothic law made over the abductor as a slave to the woman he carried off, along with all his property, and inflicted on him two hundred lashes. If the woman declared herself ready to marry her ravisher, they were both liable to death. According to Salic law, the maiden expiated voluntary abduction with her property and freedom. For the unfaithful bride, Burgundian law decreed death if she were not ransomed by *weregild*. The guilty man also lost his life. The greater part of the folk-laws, however, inclined to class such offences, finally, with manslaughter, and required only compensation by *weregild*, which could be enhanced in various ways. Thus, by the Anglo-Saxon law of Aethelberht, the abductor had to pay, over and above the price of the maid, fifty shillings of fine and twenty shillings to compensate her betrothed if she had one. The adulterer had to pay the injured husband the *weregild* of his wife, and, besides this, purchase him another spouse. But despite all penalties, abduction was far from being of rare occurrence, and, then as now, afforded a favorite subject for the rhymster. At first only marriages between bond and free were held unequal. To marriage between nobles and free there was long no objection, till Saxon law pronounced most decidedly against it.

The world of the German wife was her home; her special cares, her children and her kitchen. In the northern household the wife, even were she a queen, stood over the vat to brew her beer; she cooked, baked, spun, took charge of the linen, in short managed all household affairs. Yet occasionally she found time to share in the enjoyments of her husband, such as the chase and banquet. And in spite of the numerous obstacles interposed by practical barbarism, she began, with the help of the Church, to rise out of the condition wherein she had no rights, and to acquire a certain power of independent action and sometimes no little influence. When coronation of sovereigns was introduced, the wife was crowned along with her husband—an indisputable evidence of the change of views worked by Christianity.

The change developed slowly, and relapses were frequent. In some respects it seems as if the movement was retrograde. Germany had burst into the outworn life of the moribund Empire, bringing with it not only the energy, vigor, and aspirations of youth, but also the violence, the disposition to excess, and the total incapability for self-control characteristic of barbarism. There was scarcely any form of outrage of

which it was not guilty. And, as if not content with its native vices, it assimilated those of a depraved and emasculated civilization. The old northern moral feeling seemed to die out, as well as all sense of honor, justice, and truth. Might, not right, decided every matter. The institution of the weregild made every crime easy for the rich. Charismund murdered Siehad when a guest in his house; Manwulf slew Berthar as he raised his shield to save his assassin from death. One of the Merovingian kings had his brother's infant child seized by the leg and brained against a rock. A bishop had a priest encoffined alive beside a putrefying body. Chamao, a count of the Britons, had slain three brothers and sent assassins after a fourth, who was saved by a friend concealing him underground and raising a mound over him: "There lies the fourth brother in his grave," the friend said to the myrmidons, and they exultingly held a carousal over his supposed tomb. The glitter and power of wealth awoke a hunger for gold. In consequence of the depreciation of coin and the general insecurity of the imperial times, it had become customary for men to convert their property into the precious metals and jewels, and to see in these the only guarantee of wealth. This manner of hoarding the Germans had imitated, and, above all, the kings, who thus accumulated immense treasures. Fredegunde caused four wagon loads of precious ornaments and clothing to be destroyed by fire on the death of her son, and the marriage trousseau of her daughter, Rigunde, filled fifty wagons. Theudebert I. received from the Ostrogoths a ton of gold, and the Gothic treasury, sacked by Narses, is said to have contained many thousand hundredweights. The first thing Chilperic did on the interment of his father was to lay hold of the old man's hoarded treasures. All this greed for gold led to oppressive taxation, to violent seizures, equivocal negotiations, even to falsification, as in the case of those Lombard-Saxons who passed off gilded copper for bars of pure gold. To be sure, the treasures were often dissipated as soon as hoarded, but for a thousand years the precious metals had a tendency to disappear into German coffers.

The state was still essentially a concentration of all the material elements of strength in the hands of the king, but he, as chief executive, had at his disposal no effective organization for the maintenance of order, and thus vacillated between powerlessness and tyranny. Not rarely official assassination had to eke out the judge's office. When the sentence on the crime-stained Guntram-Boso was approved, he fled for shelter to the house of a bishop. This was set on fire by those who were after him, and when the clergy burst in the doors and rescued their superior by force, Guntram, who tried to follow him out, was slain on the threshold with lance thrusts. Fredegunde gave on one occasion a banquet whereto

she invited three ringleaders in a feud. These she seated together and had made drunk, thereupon causing three slaves to approach them from behind and strike off their heads. Conversely the head of a Lombard king rolled on his own table, and another was cut down in church. To illustrate the prevalence of assassination, suffice it to say that in Spain the murder of the king was almost the normal mode of producing a vacancy on the throne, while of fifteen Northumbrian kings, thirteen were murdered or driven into exile. Even meetings of law courts and the national diets became occasions of wild conflict, and blood used to flow even in the presence of the king.

The magistracy not infrequently appeared not only incompetent, but also vicious and prone to violence, its members using their offices for the purposes of private malice and unjust extortion. And as the masters, so the servants. The retainers of Duke Sigivald were notorious as murderers and robbers, and even as common thieves. The professed carrying out of justice often took the form of private revenge. On a Christmas day and during divine service, Albinus, a Frankish governor, fell on an archdeacon for theft committed by his servants, and not only unmercifully maltreated him, but shut him (not the malefactors) up in prison. Of the great following of the princess Rigunde, fifty fled the first night, carrying off the best horses with their loads, and this was but a beginning, the example being followed daily, while those who remained gave themselves up to the most reckless excesses, ravaging and plundering at will. When the news of her father's death got abroad, Duke Desiderius fell on her and seized the rest of her treasures, leaving only as much as met her barest necessities. Of course the potentates, in their turn, often came to ruin through violence. Where law was impotent it was superseded by revenge, and deeds of atrocity desolated whole districts.

To the fratricidal wars of the kings and the political struggles between the crown and the nobles were added innumerable feuds between individuals and cities. Epidemics, too, made frightful havoc, and where the leeches' aid was unavailing the reward was death. The weak frame houses fell an easy prey to the hurricane or the flames. No man, in short, felt himself secure, and fevered anxiety sometimes issued in a mania for murder, as in King Guntram (see p. 89). Many, in despair, sought refuge in the convent or killed themselves. Every man slept with his weapons close at hand. The ruined highways were infested with bands of half-savage marauders, while the very dead in the churches were plundered. All sense of the value of property and life was lost.

To protect themselves men devised many penalties, many of which were absolute tortures. Culprits were fettered and imprisoned, shut up in convents or left on lonely islands, their legs and arms, noses and ears cut off; pegs were driven under their nails, or they were branded, even on the face, with red-hot irons. And the punishments were enhanced by repetition, as by flogging a man day after day, or reopening cicatrized wounds. Death was inflicted by the axe, the sword, the lance, the cord, the wheel, as well as by suffocation, burning at the stake, etc. When Count Leudast was made prisoner, he managed to escape after the skin was flayed from his head. In his headlong flight he broke his shin-bone, and the king ordered the doctors to keep him alive that he might endure the tortures of a slow death.

But the state was not the sole authority; there was also the Church, and deep as it might have sunk in the prevailing slough, its efforts on the whole were on the side of humanity. It made God's house and the churchyard a city of refuge; introduced the Sunday rest from toil; was unwearied in deeds of charity and mercy, even paying down the wergild for the imperilled man-slayer. It sought to repress barbarism, especially in relation to married life and slavery; here and there threatened even potentates who feared nothing on earth, with the vengeance of heaven; opened its cloisters as a place of rest for the weary; while its clergy constituted a spiritual bureaucracy vastly better ordered than any secular one (see p. 129). Still, the salutary efforts of the Church often had little effect. It is not to be laid to its charge that unchained passion often set all its checks at naught, that the shelter of its sanctuaries was violated, and its altars desecrated by conflict and bloody deeds, that a bishop of Rouen was murdered while engaged in God's service, that oaths sworn on the most sacred relics were often unavailing to bind the faithless; nay, that men tried to minimize their contemplated perjury by removing the relics before swearing, and, in short, that in their arrogance and falsity they tried to overreach even the Omnipotent.

In fact, the prevalent vices and crimes are largely to be attributed to men's want of faith and the superficiality of their Christianity, for Catholicism sat on the Franks like an ill-fitting garment patched all over with relics of heathendom (see p. 127). The housewife could not begin to spin without pronouncing the name of "Holla." Springs were consecrated by throwing bread into their waters, and cleared land by pouring grain and wine over the root-stalks. Wise women banished evil spirits or drove the trade of weather-making; and there were spells and incantations good against rheumatisms, swellings, and labor-pains, as also for insuring a fortunate expedition and bringing strayed cattle

home. The future was still divined by the fall of the dice and flight of birds, and drink-offerings continued to be made to Wodan. Even such a man as Gregory of Tours saw a soothsayer in Fredegunde, and colored his whole picture of her to her discredit; and when Paris believed that a son of Chilperic died of witchcraft, a great persecution of hags ensued. Heathen practices were common among all Germans, but especially among the Lombards and the Anglo-Saxons, with whom Christianity and heathenism were inextricably interwoven. Even at the end of the Seventh Century, Wihtraed of Kent felt it incumbent on himself to issue an edict against heathen sacrifices, and the Saxons punished with death any one who by potions or secret art worked evil to life and prosperity.

The most violent contradictions and confusion reigned. Even a pious priest was held to be justified in shouting for joy because his rival had been murdered on his way to church on the sacred Sunday morning. But now, as at the end of the Tenth Century, there came a reaction. Saints and Lives of saints appeared in profusion; relic-worship became universal. The same men who had been rioting in bestial excesses and crimes suddenly turned round and presented the Church with their blood-stained gains, while they themselves served God in meanest guise, and sometimes, as anchorites, bound chains around their naked bodies and starved themselves to death in His honor.

In all this we see little to distinguish Romans from Germans. The latter acquired the vices of the sinking empire; the former, somewhat of the rude vigor of their victors. Under the third generation of his kings, the German had already lost much of his giant-like uncouthness and had become outwardly more refined, without being inwardly in any degree better.

But it must not be forgotten that the conditions we have described affected mainly the Roman lands and, there, the higher classes. In many country districts the old high moral sense still held sway, and population increased. Many towns—especially in Germany and England—show by their names that they had their origin in this period. When the Saracens burst like a whirlwind into southwestern Europe the Visigoths, indeed, succumbed, but the Franks still retained strength enough to check their career of victory. The conditions of life, indeed, were less oppressive than during Roman times, but the whole tendency was to make the powerful stronger, and the poor weaker and poorer.

Symbolism became a feature of the period. The proneness of the German mind to synthesis and the tendency of Christianity to personification met on the same ground, and produced a manner of perception

that lasted throughout the Middle Ages. It was necessary to make higher things comprehensible to simple minds through outward images. With ever-renewed delight the earlier Christians depicted the peacock and phoenix as emblems of the Resurrection; the dove as that of the Holy Ghost; the fish and lamb, the Cross and labarum. And the tendency seems to have become embodied in German art, and led it to shape mantle-clasps into birds and fishes. On a silver sword-sheath of the earliest Carolingian time we see a man with a wolf's head holding a lance in his right hand and a gigantic sword in his stunted left. There seems to be here a representation of the war-god, Tyr, to whom the sword was sacred, and the head had probably reference to the wolf Fenris. Independently, however, of such individual expressions, symbolism exercised a profound influence.

The literature of the period was in harmony with the low intellectual condition of the people. The sinking Roman Empire had been able to mature a Christian-Latin literature. Under the influence of Helleno-Roman and Oriental culture, manifold ideas had been developed among the early Christian communities and found expression after the highly formal manner of the times. After the death of St. Augustine a change for the worse set in: literary activity flagged and virtually restricted itself to casting St. Augustine's thoughts into new forms, and in the East to occupying itself with the controversy over the double nature of Christ. More and more the influence of the unliterary Germans made itself felt. Gregory of Tours begins his history with a lament over the decay of the liberal arts. As the Franks and Lombards rose to prominence, antique Roman learning died out, except in so far as it found refuge in the Catholic Church. Rhetorical literature disappeared and Lives of the saints came to the foreground, meagre enough productions, indeed, but still having a bearing and influence on the life of the people. Literature, such as it was, appeared in an ecclesiastical guise—in abridgements and compilations—and was spread in the form of sermons, holy legends, hymns, etc. Literary activity of a high order came to an end everywhere:—in France, in the end of the Sixth Century, with Gregory of Tours; in Italy, in the beginning of the Seventh, with Gregory the Great (Fig. 76); and in Spain, about the middle of the same century. The transition of antiquity into the Middle Ages is marked by unproductiveness.

After the middle of the Sixth Century, the writers most worthy of mention are the two Northern Italians, Arator, the compiler of a history of the Apostles, in hexameters, and the many-sided poet, Venantius Fortunatus; Gregory the Great, the last of the Church fathers, who



FIG. 76. —Painting in a missal, written in letters of gold. Paris, National Library. Example of the paintings in ecclesiastical manuscripts of the Carolingian Age (Ninth Century). The Pope here figured is Gregory I. (From Bastard.)

towers above all (see pp. 225 ff.); and Isidore of Seville, a man of little originality indeed, but of wonderfully wide reading. Isidore's writings exercised great influence on the Middle Ages, constituting, as they did, compendia of whole libraries, institutions which were constantly growing scarcer. The most important of his works is his "Twenty Books of Etymologies," an encyclopedia of the knowledge of the age, besides which he produced many disquisitions on theological, historical, philosophical, and philological subjects. There was also Archbishop Julian of Toledo (680-690), the bitter foe of the Jews and the last continental of any literary importance, who was likewise a prolific author of theological and grammatical works as well as a poet (see p. 324, Vol. VI.). All the above were Romans. The desolate past of the Germans debarred them from culture and the ranks of literature. Reading and writing were all but unknown arts, and the further the people became removed from antiquity the greater their incapacity became. The art of composing a consecutive address was so far lost that a sermon became a work of extreme difficulty, even for a bishop.

Still, it would be wrong to judge the age solely by its literary products. When the schools for the study of grammar fell into decay, new ones arose in connection with churches and monasteries. Kings showed a disposition for learning. Under the Ostrogothic Theodoric there came a revival of learning and art. His daughter, Amalasantha, and the Frank, Chilperic, were skilled in various tongues; the Frankish king, Charibert, and the Visigothic Sisebut and Kindila wrote Latin verse, the former also compiling a life of St. Desiderius and a Gothic Chronicle. Pope Gregory sent Latin, and even Greek, verses to the Frankish king, while Fredegunde listened with pleasure to eulogistic Latin verses. Generally, it may be said, culture was more advanced in the South than in the North, as may be inferred by the words of Abbot Domnolus to the king, praying him not to send him to Avignon, to be a laughing-stock to the subtle Romans and philosophizing poets there. Nevertheless, the most renowned school in France was that in connection with the court and abbey of St. Denis, near Paris.

There was most intellectual life in Italy, with its chief seats at Rome and Ravenna. The letters of the popes testify sufficiently to the excellence of the education to be obtained in the former city. Like Amalasantha, Adalberge, daughter of Desiderius, was distinguished for learning and appreciation. The grammarian, Felix, and the celebrated Flavian taught in Pavia. Grammar, dialectics, and jurisprudence were studied in Benevento, Salerno, Milan, and Pavia, and, though neither these cities nor Rome produced any works of high value, Charlemagne was

able, in 787, to bring with him grammarians and arithmeticians from the Tiber.

But the continentals were completely outshone by the Irish and Anglo-Saxons, who, in their young fervency for Christianity, made the literature of the age their own, and by enlarging it became its truest representatives. In Ireland culture was more conspicuous than literary ability, except in such cases as St. Patrick, the compiler of "Confessions," and St. Columban, the author of some versified letters, remarkable chiefly as showing acquaintance with the classic poets. From the British monastery of Bangor, we possess an antiphonary (probably of the Seventh Century), in rhyme instead of the usual measured metre. It is probable that much Irish literature has been lost, but even assuming this, its productions would have made a poor showing as compared with those of the Anglo-Saxons, beginning with Aldhelm, culminating with Bede, and dying out with St. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, and the author of a grammatical and metrical school-book, antiphonic hymns, sermons, and letters. In England, also, there were world-renowned schools; its nuns composed Latin verses, and works were dedicated to Anglo-Saxon kings. But nothing redounds so much to the glory of the sons of Albion as that they reimplemented what they had won from the continent in its native soil, and thus initiated the Carolingian renaissance.

The original Germanic language, like that of all tribal races without a common literature, early split into dialects. By the year 500, Gothic and Scandinavian differed so widely as to constitute two tongues; and, by 600, German itself began to be discriminated in its native home into High and Low German, according to the physical character of the regions in which those tongues prevailed. The Friesians, Nether Franks, and Saxons of the low regions used varieties of Low German, while the other tribes, inhabiting the more upland districts from the Alps northward, spoke High German dialects. Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon were developed away from the true home of the race.

The rich literary development of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians furnishes abundant evidence that it was not in natural endowments that the Germans were wanting, that intellectually they were not barbarians, but that in the Roman lands, where literature and the Church, as monopolizing culture, were brought face to face with them, their native tongue was simply crushed out by Latin, which was the language of learning and polite society. The denser the Roman population, the more quickly did the German speech disappear. Yet, in St. Columban's time, Gothic was still used in the monastery of Bobbio; Paulus Diaconus frequently introduces still living Lombard words; in the Ninth Century, divine service

was conducted in Gothic on the Lower Danube; and in the Tenth, Gothic words were used as glosses in Southern France, and passed thence into the patois of Spain. During the Eighth Century, Frankish was still to be heard in Paris and along the Loire; the mother-tongue of Charlemagne was German, and he had a collection of German songs made; while in 789, so popular had such become, even in religious houses, that nuns were forbidden to copy them or communicate them to others. It is obvious that for years German maintained itself in many quarters with determined tenacity, yet by the time of Louis the Pious (814-840) the die had fallen, and the separation of the speech of the dwellers in Roman lands from German was fully accomplished.

From the earliest times the Teutons had been wont to conserve their fantastic hero-legends in versified tales consisting of alliterative couplets. This verse and the harp preserved from generation to generation the domestic traditions, to which the great wanderings of the nations added new material. In these ancient lays the men are of superhuman dimensions and power, and their deeds, in defiance of the unities of time and place, are interwoven with those of the dethroned native deities. Unfortunately, the relics of such lays are scanty, consisting, on the continent, of but one fragment, the *Hildebrandslied*, and, in England, of the Old English *Beowulf*—both probably dating back only to between 700-800, but essentially heathen in character. Besides these interesting relics, we find a good deal of legendary matter incorporated into the works of Latin authors, especially of Paulus Diaconus, some of which has come down to the present day. Nay, not a little of this material passed into the work of the historian. Gregory of Tours, for example, revels in individual exploits and is rather epic than historical. It is, indeed, a long step from the myth region of poetry to the solid ground of fact, and it was not till the Germans fell under Roman influence that they learned to take it. Up to that time the fantastic creations of poesy and historic truths had lain for ages side by side, or rather inextricably interblended. With the decay of the Frankish peoples the older legends became mute, only to become centred upon Charlemagne. In the earlier lays rugged giant figures stalk before us in their wild career of rapacity, ambition, passion, and treachery. Gradually, however, the heroes now assume a milder type. To the unveracious *Stilicho* succeeds the truth-loving *Eckhart*, and woman begins to exert her humanizing influence through her power over the heart.

Contemporaneously with this stage on the continent, there arose in England a Germanic literature at once juristic, historical, and religious. The Lord's Prayer was early rendered into Anglo-Saxon, and, by 680,

there was a translation of the Gospels. Other portions of Scripture also found English expression, either literally translated or paraphrased in verse by Caedmon, Aldhelm, Cynewulf, and probably many others. Gelimer, who set his misfortunes to music and accompanied himself on the harp, shows us probably the origin of English secular poetry and song.

The close connection of the Germans and Romans could not but exert a reciprocal influence on the speech and literature of both. Thus the end-rhyme, already exclusively used by Christian-Latin poetry, gradually found admission into German verse also. On the appearance of German ecclesiastical poetry in the Ninth Century the change was complete. In another respect, the German tongue influenced its rival. The two languages are essentially different in genius—the Latin, abstract and fitted for conveying ideas; the German, objective and rather a reflection of actual life and nature. In virtue of these peculiarities German—without directly contributing many words—operated to decompose the Latin by inducing a looser construction of the sentence and a freer expression of thought. Latin became the literary language, while there arose beside it a language for daily use (*lingua rustica*), from which the Romance dialects were gradually evolved. It was there as it is in many lands where written language and the folk-speech are wide apart.

While vulgar Latin was being spoken all around, many half-educated people sought to continue the use of the old Latin without understanding it sufficiently, and thus gave rise to an impure jargon that found its way into formal documentary writing and was preserved longest by the Italian notaries. The native tongue formed the groundwork of this jargon, which was freely interlarded with as much Latin as possible, resulting in the most capricious employment of flexional endings, interchange of vowels and consonants, and misuse of genders and cases. Thus we find such expressions as *fedilibus* for *fidelibus*, *boluntas* for *voluntas*, *bonae memoriis* for *bonae memoriae*, *contra eidem* for *contra eundem*, etc., etc.

Let us turn from the spoken to the written language. Skill in runes—especially peculiar to women—seemed allied with heathenism and sorcery to the Christian mind, and so the runes were displaced by the letters of the Roman alphabet. But these, also, were as well known to women as to men; indeed, in Saxon law, book-transcribing, as well as writing generally, was regarded as peculiarly a female occupation. Boniface got from an English nun the Epistles of Peter that she had illuminated with golden ink. Meanwhile, Latin hand-writing had experienced quite a revolution. The angular capital letters of the first centuries

asthelacius sed	uñr	lmi	mēñr	viii	d	xviii
Anasthasius sed	uñr	l	mēñr	xi	d	xxviii
Simmacas sed	añr	xv	mēñr	vii	d	xvii
hormisda sed	añr	iiii	mēñr		d	xvii

hormisda sed	añr	iiii	mēñr		d	xvii
Johcannis sed	añr	ii				

Chlodacharius rex francorū. omnibus.
 Agentibus usus est clementia e prince
 palis. Necessitate provinciarum
 uel subiectorū sibi omnium populorū
 prouida sollecitius mente tractare

Simas ita una sollemnitate feriamus dñ
 40714 Colonnair to diu p Rñm de pñ oply omñ in to pñ

Uilectarimofram theudono epō Leoepꝛs

QUILIGISORAPROM ETCAUENIHI SPREGULAS
CONTRARIAS ETSENTENTIA MISTUS
SEUERITATISUEL CENSURAEINCURRAS
INCIPIUNT CONSTITUTIONES ANONUM ANQUIRIA
Fosiu ep̄ dixit quonia multapraetermissa sunt quae

Merovingian Capital, Uncial, and Cursive Script.

From the earliest known collection of ecclesiastical laws. Sixth century. Formerly in the Abbey of Corbie, now in the National Library in Paris.

ADHISQUILAS PROPRIANTIMIA
QUONIAM IN TERCIO
ERANTIONECUM

Example of Script of the Psalter of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris. Sixth century.

Noted, in the year 1269, among the treasures of the Monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés, under the title of the "Psalter of St. Germanus."
(Paris, National Library.)

Specimens of Writing in the Sixth Century.

were exchanged first for the rounded uncial ones, and these for the cursive style. Out of the earliest development of this last style was evolved the original, so-called national script of the various German peoples, as the Lombard, the Visigothic, and the Franco-Merovingian (PLATE XI.). The Irish alphabet was unique, being a development from the uncial but showing the wedge-form in its downward strokes. The disciples of the Irish, the Anglo-Saxons, having felt continental influence also, used an intermediate style without the wedge-form.

The manner of writing varied considerably, according to its use. For books, little parchment sheets of uniform size were used; for documents, papyrus rolls, generally of a large size. In books, the aim was to write cleanly and plainly; in documents, strikingly and ornamentally, with many flourishes, dashes, and the like. The style of the Merovin-

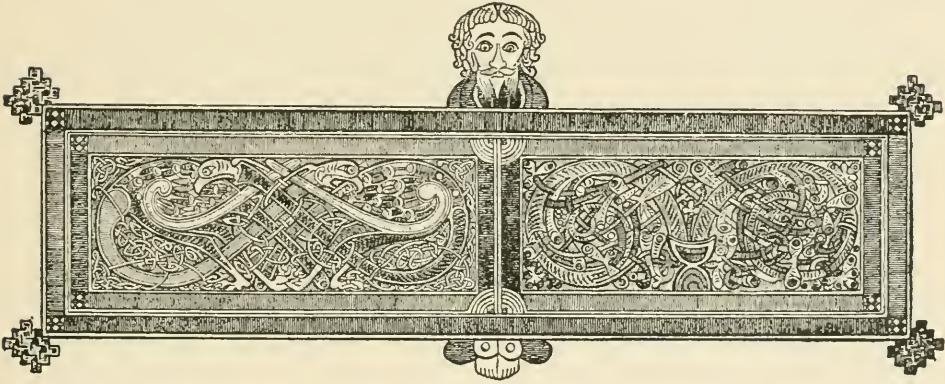


FIG. 77. —Ornamental headpiece, above a genealogy of Jesus Christ, in an Irish manuscript of the Seventh Century. Dublin. (From Westwood.)

gian charters is especially confused and difficult to decipher. Besides, there was a cryptic hand, a survival from Roman times. For documents conveying specially important privileges, purple-colored parchment and gold-colored ink were used. Papyrus continued to be used in the papal chancery down to the Eleventh Century.

Writing had already come to be regarded as an art, and now its sphere was enlarged in various directions, especially in the direction which is now called art-industry. The styles of ornamentation were as various as the sources whence they were derived, and considerable industry and research have been expended in the endeavor to determine these. Conjectures the most various have been made in regard to the origin of the style current in the Bronze Age (the style of the Great Migrations), and that of the Merovingian times (the national or tribal

style); the latter has been referred in whole or in part to Romans, Byzantines, Celts in general, Irish, Anglo-Saxons, and Germans. But the classic and the tribal styles are essentially different in their motives. The classic is plastic and distinct in its arrangement; the tribal, involved, pictorial, and fantastic. The former took its subjects preferably from organic life, plants, animal and human figures, while the latter is rooted in linear elements consisting in dovetailings and intertwinings of strings and bands, from the complications of which a conventional type of the animal, or rather its head, was evolved. Further, the former style resembled relief, the latter was sunk below the surface.

Northern and German investigators have shown that the tribal style was not based on foreign suggestions, but was really native German. In their wood-enveloped villages the tribesmen could develop no sense of the plastic or the architectural art, but a correspondingly stronger one of the fantastic. Their wooden structures were decorated with cut lines, plait-work, and grotesque heads of animals, and these they transferred to the materials of their new home, especially to metal.

Up to that time Roman influence had dominated the whole field of art, even North Germany succumbing to it. But as the empire grew feebler, this influence became less powerful, and German ornamentation gained proportionally in self-reliance. It was, indeed, only in its infancy, and worked with the simplest elements—the point, line, and band; yet profusion ruled within these narrow limits, though individual talent became lost in style. Gradually the animal figure, so far as it could be made to harmonize with the whole, began to appear in the composition, and ultimately the spiral invaded Germany from Ireland and England, and worked a thorough transformation. It shows no mean artistic power in the Germans to have been able to develop an original style in face of a higher culture, and to have gained recognition for it in a strange land, where it reached its prime in the Sixth Century.

In the tribal style symmetry and ornament were the leading features; the details were elaborated with extreme care, but never without regard to the effect of the composition as a whole. Moreover, the German spirit of independence showed itself in the fact that, although the peoples worked in the same style from the pillars of Hercules to the North Sea and Ireland, in all the numberless minor art-productions, even to coins, no two specimens are exactly alike. Among the South Germans, who were more under Roman influence, there are apparent a greater moderation and harmony of finish, while among the Northern Germans of Denmark and Scandinavia the style is much stronger, with closer interlockings and freer introduction of fantastic animal forms. Art appears most

grotesque among the Irish, with their predilections for the strange and abnormal.

In painting, too, the novelty became apparent, especially in the pictorial illumination of books. The manuscripts of antiquity had been furnished with ornaments which Christianity adopted, like so many other ornaments of ancient civilization. The Scriptures were decorated with the greatest care, chapter-headings and section-headings being made conspicuous by initial letters or whole lines in red, the artist (who did not always write out the text) being called *miniator* (from *minium*, cinnabar) or *rubricator* (from *rubrum*, red). Art soon extended its sphere to independent figures, especially of the Evangelists and Christ.

In this department of book-ornamentation the Irish (Figs. 77, 78) were first conspicuous, rendering their peculiar art-conceptions with unwearied patience and perfect mastery of line-work, to which all was subordinate. Large blank spaces, even whole pages were symmetrically covered with faultlessly bizarre complications of plait-work, points, interlacings, spirals, and animal forms. The design is to the last degree rich and delicate, the coloring being, in the earlier times, restricted to red, yellow, green, and black, to which other tones were added later. Animal figures are, at first, rare, but become more frequent in the form of conventional quadrupeds, birds, and serpents. Contact with continental culture induced the addition of human figures, but here, as on the mainland, the motive, whether in man or beast, was still linear—that, namely, of the involved band—the figures being resolved into snake-like spirals and other arbitrary forms. Of nature and the nude they had no conception. Christ on the cross, for example, was represented as in a complication of volutes meant to indicate his garment, looking conventionally straight before him, with his hair yellow, and, to heighten the color-effect, his hands and feet blue. Or a flying ox was depicted with a green and a red body, tastefully divided by another monster into many colored lozenges, and with a yellow, white, and green tail. Foliage and plant ornamentation was altogether unattempted. St. Gall, the main Irish house on the continent, was, and continues to be, richest in such Irish manuscripts, but they are found elsewhere, especially in England and Ireland. The essential unity of the Irish and German styles is unmistakable, but the former was to a greater extent a development from the works of the Bronze Period, to which, especially, its favorite spirals point.

The Frankish artists worked at first with sadly insufficient means and slender ability. The initial letters were magnified and embellished with plait-work, leaf-ornaments, and animal forms, among which fish

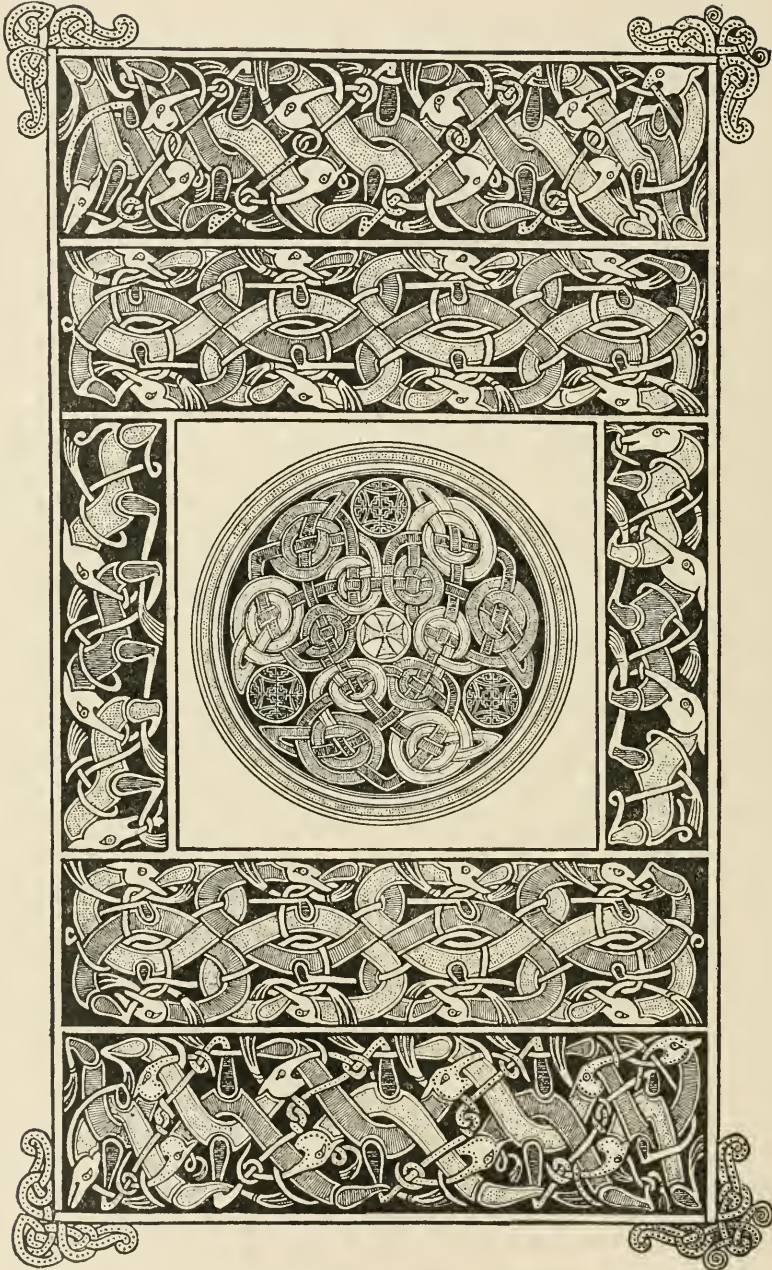


FIG. 78.—A page from an Irish manuscript of the Gospels, of the Seventh Century, ornamented with conventionalized figures of animals and with bands. Dublin. (From Westwood.)

and birds predominated, the former the old symbol of Christ, the latter of the soul, or of the apostle John, or Wodan, the same figures appearing on a certain variety of mantle-buckles. The human figure was rarely attempted, and if it was, the rendering was rough and inartistic. But technique gradually improved. Beginning in the Seventh Century, and in the Eighth and Ninth, pages were filled with separate designs arranged in the favorite cross-form, sometimes with a square, sometimes with a rounded border, like a Roman portico, the blank spaces being filled in with interlaced work and figures. In certainty and clearness of touch,

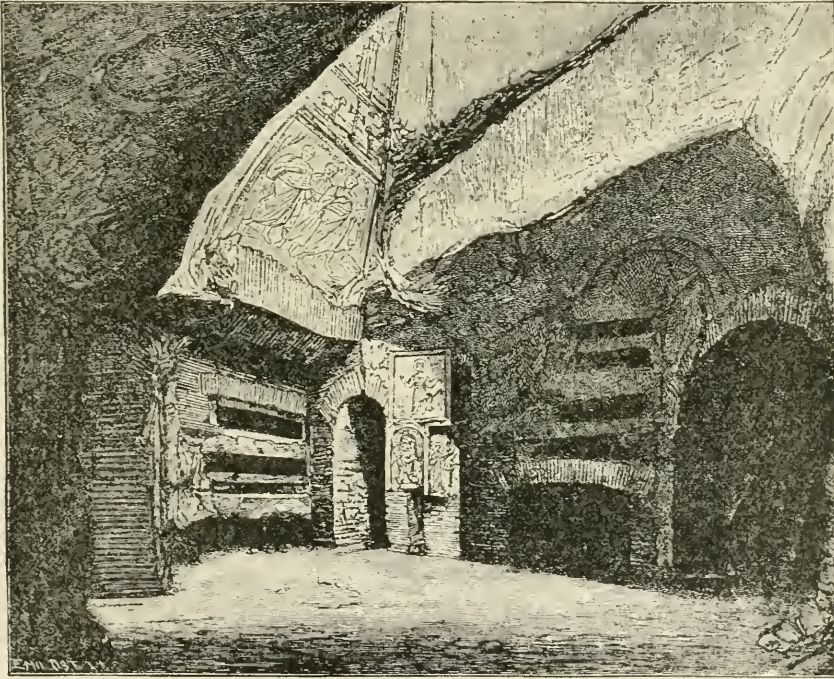


FIG. 79.—Crypt of St. Cecilia in the catacombs at Rome; width and height, 20 feet, with aperture for light above.

Frankish art was far behind Irish, from which it was generally distinguished by the prevalence of figures, and by the design being less crowded and the architectural general design being more agreeable to the eye. The animals are conventional, like those on Assyrian sculptures, and are often strongly interwoven, as it were, into the plait-work, so that they are now unnaturally lengthened out, now crushed up. So little did men think of truth to nature that the Evangelists, instead of having

human heads, often appear with those of their symbolic animals. The prevailing colors were violet, green, red, and yellow.

The most perfect of all in rendering figures were the Anglo-Saxons. They often exhibit the skill and clearness of the Irish (without their extravagance) united with the German inventive faculty and the Romano-ecclesiastical sense of form and color. Their fashion of ornamentation stands midway between the Frankish and Irish; but their colors are richer and more powerful than those of either, their figures and costumes closer to nature, more characteristic and life-like, sometimes almost as plastic as mosaic. (Cf. PLATE XII.)

These drawings were commonly the productions of monks. At an early period Jerome recommended these holy men to transcribe books, and Cassiodorus later introduced the thorough prosecution of learned studies into the houses, which was adopted by the Benedictine and the Irish-Scotch monasteries. Unfortunately, the contents of the codices are rarely in keeping with their brilliant show. Men illuminated to edify themselves and others, and gave, therefore, the preference to books of worship—evangelaries, psalters, sacramentaries, and the works of the Church Fathers.

The mosaic works emanating from Rome and Ravenna, as well as Roman pictorial art, had a marked influence on the work of illumination. When the new teaching passed over from the image-hating Jews to the western world of culture with its passion for artistic representation, it was at once laid hold of by the Christianized art-workers, and this the more readily that it was essential to combat heathendom in its domain of plastic fantasy. They availed themselves of its very mechanical technique. The painter drew first the outline, then laid in the shadows, and on these the lights by which he obtained definite combinations for the costumes and flesh. The worker in mosaic sketched his outlines on a surface covered with mortar, and then, following these, impressed glass and stone points as closely as possible into the moistened coating. The two arts influenced each other reciprocally, mosaic ornamentation being not rarely imitated in painting. At first Christianity did not venture to show itself to the public eye, but hid itself away in the bowels of the earth, especially in the catacombs of Rome, whose floors and sides its confessors covered with sacred figures (Figs. 79, 80). But when the true faith gained the victory, its art also came forth to light, and, from the Fourth Century on, covered the wall-surfaces and arches of sacred and profane buildings and the apses of basilicas with its pious works. A thing somewhat significant was thus brought about: mosaic was lifted from the floors and transferred aloft; perishable painting was

Lxxii. Curccio ustris: dir tēpō an ae.
 uel gē an plum. In aelur uir cen bur
 uel mēn bur. ubiquæ. rimir *juuuu*
exph **qunq.** **cecp** **caha** **de** **h.ii**

INERITIBRQVAR
 TESHORIUASIED
 ,URGINITATE. ,

QUITAS. RECTAE
 SALUTARIS. PRO
 BATUR. QESTAN
 abur. am meclibur. uel
 illis. mulaybur.

quinurzini *caae.* p̄rmanst̄ur. Non

Specimens of Carolingian Script.

From a collection of the medical works of Oribasius and Dioscorides. Eighth century, second half.
 Formerly in the library of the Cathedral Chapter at Chartres. (Paris, National Library.)

superseded by the more durable art; in place of the temples' sculptured effects came the pictorial lessons of the Church; in short, in place of the antique came the Christian with its sacred conceptions, with the Saviour ever in the foreground. In all this popes and emperors alike had done loyal service. It was at the suggestion of Pope Silvester I. that Constantine decorated several churches in Rome with mosaics.

As the oldest extant examples of mosaic with glass foundation are reckoned those of St. Helena, St. Pudenziano, and St. Costanza of Rome, and those in the baptistery of Naples, all of the Fourth Century; especially fine are those of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Roman Forum (526-530). Next to Rome comes Ravenna, whose mosaics begin with those of S. Giovanni in Fonte (430), combining ancient tradition with true religious feeling. With these are to be associated those of the archiepiscopal palace, of the churches of St. John the Evangelist and SS. Nazaro and Celso. So well established was this art in Ravenna that it maintained itself during the sway of the Goths, and even created new glorious works in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Apollinare Nuovo, and the royal palace. From the Sixth Century, and after the victories of Belisarius and Narses, the Byzantine style became predominant, while naturalism, aided by perfect technique, gained ground.

Simple, symmetrical, severe and dignified, the figures in mosaic project themselves from a dark or gold ground, through their colossal proportions symbolizing the supernatural. The dusky gleam of the gold in the dim light of the vaults works with a mysterious effect, the saints seeming to stand, or rather to undulate, in a sea of light, while all around are peace, solemnity, and the impress of consecration—the whole majestic power, in short, of the early Church.

At an early stage Christianity introduced a new element into its artistic creations, namely, symbolism, the object being to present to its professors transcendental truths through sensible images. In this the ideal Christ was the grand feature. Originally there was no specific ideal, but he was conceived in various ways, preferably as the "Good Shepherd," with a beardless countenance. He then appeared as the personification of eternal youth—a youthful god with friendly mien, while Cupid, all unconcerned, fluttered around him on the vine-foliage. He was, moreover, shown as an infant on his mother's lap, and even as a bearded man (Fig. 81). This last figure became more and more common till, in the Twelfth Century, the youthful figure was altogether suppressed, and a sort of Jupiter took the place of Apollo. The "mosaic type" undertook to individualize the Saviour definitely and to supersede symbolical by actual and historical portraiture, such as was inferred from a letter ascribed to the



FIG. 80. —Burial-place of the popes in the Third Century. Crypt of St. Cornelius in the Catacombs of Rome. Inscription: CORNELIVS MARTYR EPiscopus, near the centre; in front of the burial-place (*locus*) between the two paintings. (From Roller.)

Consul Lentulus, in which the personal appearance of Christ is described. This type received support from the so-called Edessa figures and the kerchief of Veronica in St. Peter's. The elder specimens are a sort of development from the "Good Shepherd," and show a manly figure in the prime of youth, with regular and tranquil features, imposing brow, straight nose, passionless eyes, a moderate beard, hair parted in the mid-



FIG. 81.—One of the most ancient representations of the face of Christ in the catacombs at Rome. Baptistery of St. Pontianus. (From Roller.)

dle or flowing in ringlets over the shoulders, and clothed in the tunic and pallium (Roman type).

The technique maintained its leaning toward the classical form, and even in the Sixth Century produced heads of marvellous beauty; still, the transition to the Byzantine, with its lifeless mannerism, developed, especially in mosaic (Fig. 82). The figure and countenance of Christ were more elongated, the beard longer, the eyes deep-set, and with an unpleasantly menacing or staring expression. The hair falls down in straight lines or parallel locks. It is an angry god we now look on, often of colossal proportions. In the Seventh Century the decadence was yet more rapid,



FIG. 82. — Mosaic picture from the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople: upon the archway above the main entrance from the vestibule (*naulhee*) into the church proper. Christ sits upon a magnificent throne, his right hand raised in blessing, in his left an open book. At each side of the throne are medallion pictures of the Virgin and of the archangel Michael. At the feet of Christ, in a position fixed by Byzantine custom, an emperor kneels, probably Justinian; he is represented as advanced in years, which would coincide with the second dedication of the church. Others identify the figure with Heraclius, or with Basil I. The emperor wears a diadem of pearls, a tunic with long sleeves, and a dalmatica which reaches to his feet and is embroidered with pearls. The background is gilt. (From Salzenberg.)

and the type becomes more and more anomalous. This style, a blending of the older and later, continued to prevail till the Thirteenth Century. In it the countenance is nearly as broad as long, the brow arched, the cheek-bones prominent, and the chin small. The superabundant hair constitutes a sort of halo, and the beard is thin and disordered. In the Eighth Century the majesty of expression is entirely lost, especially in painting, and in place of the simple enthroned figure the artist endeavored to represent the scenes of the Passion.

Along with painting and mosaic, sculpture developed, especially in the form of reliefs on sarcophagi and diptychs. It had already been customary to deposit eminent heathens in sarcophagi, and this practice Christianity adopted, not only thus increasing the number of these caskets, but also enhancing their value through their peculiar decorations. From simple symbolical ornamentation men advanced to the representations of the grand. Sarcophagi were made of marble or porphyry; carving in ivory reached its highest point in the diptychs and in writing tablets with ornamented covers; the former, bearing the names of patron saints and martyrs; the latter, exhibiting scenes from Scripture. They used to be set up on the altars, their prototypes being consular diptychs of the late imperial times (see p. 128, Vol. VI.). On the other hand, statuary was little made, because it was considered heathenish.

High as the place was which Italy, and especially Rome, held in respect to works of plastic art, she, nevertheless, adhered to the path of classic tradition. Anything new or radical was reserved for work in music, so that this latter art forms one of the main marks of distinction between pagan and Christian Rome.

In the earliest days of Christianity the singing of psalms and hymns was a favorite exercise in Rome, and one much countenanced by the popes. Silvester I. (314-334) instituted a school of sacred music. But the true father of early song was St. Ambrose of Milan, the composer of the profoundly impressive and powerful "Te Deum." A change came with Gregory the Great. In his antiphonary he collected the best chants, revising, improving, and augmenting them as need suggested. He arranged them in conformity with the Church seasons, and introduced a permanent form of notation; and, in short, lent to church music the form which, under the name of "Gregorian chant," it has maintained to the present time. His main innovations were the enriching of the four ancient scales already in use by four new modes or scales; he also discarded the harsh-sounding Greek names for the notes, naming the seven notes of the scale after the first seven letters of the Latin alphabet. If the Ambrosian chant was based essentially on poetic metre, the Gregorian rests on

musical measure. He set melody free from the fetters of prosody, and brought music into harmony with pronunciation. The bond that till this time had united Christian music with classic was broken. The song corresponded to the mosaic walls within which it resounded, and was marked by solemn dignity, impressive power, and sublime simplicity, all which were best exemplified in the alternate song (antiphony) which now and then passed into harmony.

With true insight Gregory appreciated the wide-reaching importance of a uniform church hymnology, sanctioned by papal authority. He caused, therefore, his antiphonary to be fastened by a chain close to the principal altar in St. Peter's, so that it might serve as a standard for the West. The old Roman school for instruction in singing was revived and provided with an adequate revenue, and a lasting future thus secured for his own hymnology. The pope himself did not hesitate to give instruction in the school. His successors followed in the path he had trodden. In 660, Vitalian sent two Roman singers to Gaul and Britain, in order to bring the degenerate music of these lands up to the true Gregorian standard. Gradually this type made its victorious way over Christendom; Milan, with tenacious adherence to its native Ambrosian usage, offering the most obdurate resistance of all, although Charlemagne caused its ritual-books to be burned. The struggle between the two usages was continued there down to the Fifteenth Century, when the Gregorian won the day.

As Roman influence was determinative for the plastic arts and music, so was it also for the externals of religion, and especially for the dress of the clergy. During the first four Christian centuries, priests and laymen dressed essentially alike, the costume of the former being distinguished only by some trivial mark, as a purple stripe. This traditional costume the Church maintained even after the incoming of the Germans with their short and tight doublet, so that gradually the ancient dress became the distinctive clerical dress, for which it was the better adapted, owing to its imposing length of sweep. As time advanced the clerical vestments were enlarged and enriched little by little.

Rome was also pre-eminent as a centre of industry. Among other branches, that of glass-making took a high place: it gave rise, probably in the Fourth Century, to gold-glazing, where designs of figures are made upon a gold plate, covered above and beneath by glass poured on it, and occasionally decorated by further coloring. There were also fabricated elegant cut and polished glass vessels, such as bowls, basins, goblets and the like, as well as smaller articles of *vertu*, as glass beads, stones for rings, and imitation jewels, in all which there was a consider-

able traffic. Stained glass windows were next produced, and Leo III. and Benedict III. decorated churches with them. Prudentius (348-413) compares the windows of St. Paul's Church to meadows full of spring flowers.

When we consider that Rome was also the head of the Church in respect of dogma and administration, and was the foster-mother of architecture, we cannot but realize its supreme importance. Nowhere else were expiring antiquity and the aspiring Church (conscious of coming supremacy) confronted each with the other on so grand a scale. The further that men were removed from the classic time the more wantonly did they destroy its relics. Its magnificent structures were ruthlessly plundered and its columns and other material devoted to the adornment of the new churches, which were further beautified by crosses, lustres, chalices, carpets, and especially by great mosaic pictures. Almost day by day—certainly year by year—there disappeared in this way antique baths, theatres, and other buildings, in whose stead there arose edifices sacred to the saints.

In course of time Rome's desolation became appalling, and that especially in its glorious public places once so full of life. Its beautifully painted halls and shady galleries became gradually converted into rock grottoes dripping with moisture, which the descendants of Mars trod with superstitious awe and which now served as lurking-places for thieves and murderers, sectaries, and sorcerers. But in return ecclesiastical Rome became the heir of political Rome. The Byzantine hate of images impelled men here all the more zealously to ornamentation and brilliancy in embellishment. Greek monks, persecuted as image-worshippers and painters of saints, met with a joyful reception. Besides churches and religious houses, there arose palaces and baths; the city walls and aqueducts were restored. Honorius I., Gregory III., Zacharias and his successors, Stephen II., Paul I., Adrian I., and Leo III. were engaged in raising magnificent architectural structures. Since the introduction of bells the quadrangular bell-tower began to appear beside the basilica, and by this a long step was taken toward the so-named Romanesque style, to which the tower is especially peculiar, and the whole exterior of the city was changed. By the close of our period the Roman churches gleamed with gold and silver. A description of the old St. Peter's Church tells us that sculptures, altars, and part of the floor of the crypts were gilded, while silver plates covered the main portal and the passage between the crypt and the choir. On festival days carpets, decorated with gold and precious stones, were hung up. Like the sacred, the profane buildings were sumptuously furnished, among which a banqueting- and reception-

hall, which Leo III. erected in the Lateran palace, shone forth with particular lustre, one of its numerous mosaics commemorating the triumph of Charlemagne. In short, when we realize the profusion of precious metals, the mosaic and sculptures, the colored windows, the porphyry and marble pillars, the upward-wreathing clouds of incense, the clear-toned bells, the resounding organs, and the solemn church chants, we in some measure reproduce the Rome of that period—the secular capital of the states of the Church, the spiritual capital of the West.

And this city of the living and the dead became more and more a revered place of pilgrimage, whence every visitor was glad to carry some memento home. We learn that crucifixes, paintings, codices, and even organs were brought to England from Rome. Its artistic influence was thus brought to bear immediately upon the remotest regions, irrespective of the fact that artists were called over the Alps. The Romish religious ceremonial was introduced everywhere. Following the practice of the heathens in private life, the hand-bells of SS. Benedict and Columban seem to have been first made use of to call the monks together. From the cloister the use of the bell was transferred to the churches, where it acquired full development during the Middle Ages. In 615, Bishop Lupus of Sens caused the bells of his cathedral to be rung, which so terrified the warriors of Clotaire that they fled from the strange sound. From this it is inferred that at this time great church-bells were little known on the continent. Yet, in 586, there died an Irish monk, Dagaicus, who was credited with having fabricated three hundred bells, while the oldest church-bell is probably that in the Edinburgh Museum. These facts, taken in connection with the round towers of Ireland, make it not impossible that bells came to the continent from the northwest. By the Seventh Century bell-towers, or campaniles, appeared in Italy, and in Charlemagne's time their sound was familiar. The oldest bells are made out of hammered sheet-iron, rivetted together in oval, quadrangular, or sugar-loaf shape, casting not having been introduced till the Ninth Century. The first organs belong also to this period; Christian antiquity was unacquainted with them. A monk of the later Merovingian time reckons organ music one of the joys of heaven. Charlemagne had one built after the Byzantine pattern for the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).

In Rome too, we must seek the origin and early development of Christian art. Its most important branch was architecture, in which classic tradition most clearly allied itself with the rising Church, while in the papacy was found a power capable of giving adequate expression to the new impulse. Every pope was desirous of leaving some visible

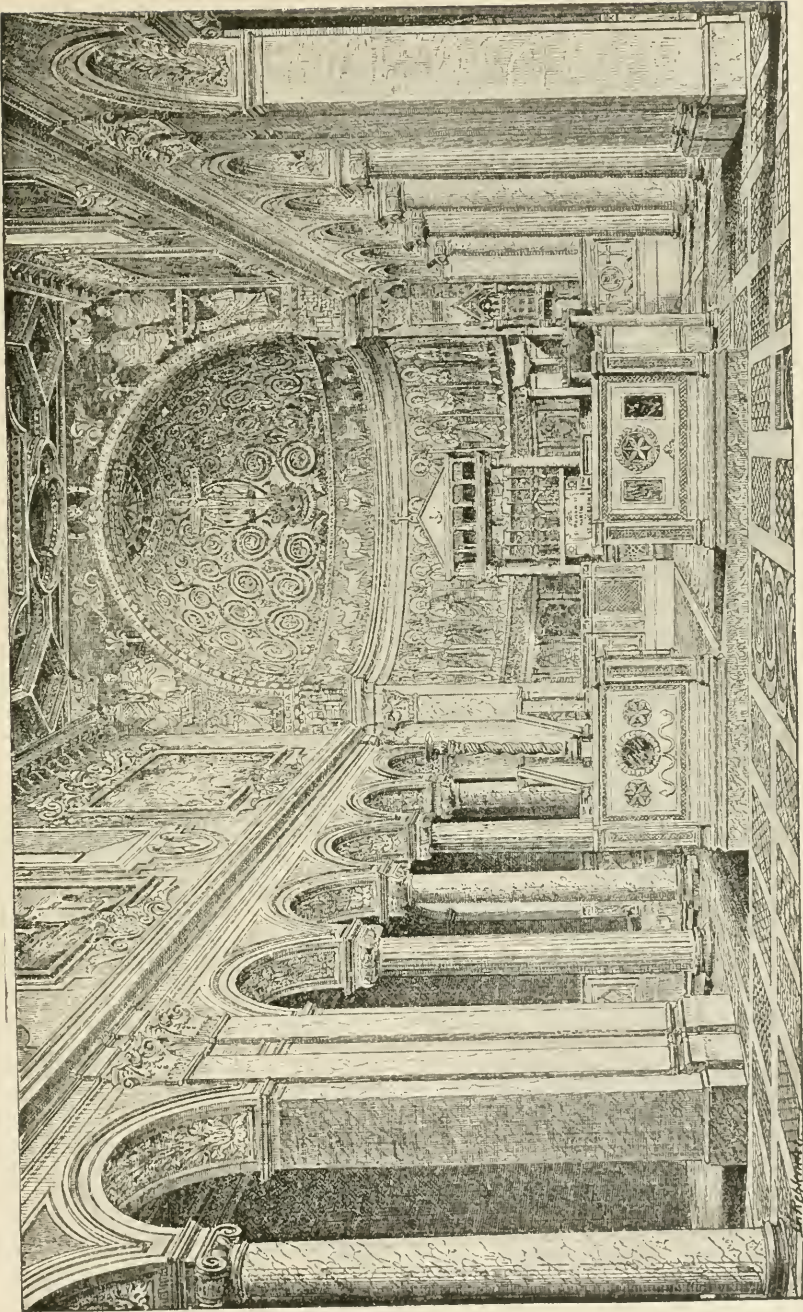


FIG. 83. —Interior of the Basilica of St. Clement in Rome. (From a photograph.) Originally built about the beginning of the Fifth Century on the site of an earlier church. Here in 592 A. D. Gregory the Great conducted penitential ceremonies imploring divine favor and tokens of mercy toward Rome. From the time of Pope John VIII. to that of Clement XI. it was frequently restored.

memorial behind him; even the misery after the Gothic wars did not prevent the building of a beautiful church. The main object of architecture at this time, however, was to accommodate the basilicas to the needs of Christian worship. It seems to have based its plans on those of the Roman private house, in which the first congregations held their meetings, and whose component parts were repeated (only in an enlarged form) in the designs for the new churches. In the time of Constantine several elements seem to have combined to produce the basilica, such as subterranean structures (cemetery churches), open apartments terminating in one or three apses, and the great three-naved hall of the court of justice, that is, the main hall of the Roman private palace.

In the basilica, a little portico, borne on pillars, usually opened into the vestibule—an apartment surrounded by a columned corridor, in the middle of which there was often a fountain. One pillared passage opened into the interior of the usually three-aisled church, the two side-aisles of which were separated by columns from the loftier nave, the whole being closed in by the apse. Before the apse there usually lay a transept in a later period. The altar stood in the apse, free or covered above by a pillared structure. In contrast to the ancient temples, the interior of the basilicas was enriched at the cost of the exterior. The baptistery, a round edifice, after the pattern of the Roman Pantheon, adjoined the basilica.

St. John Lateran, whose earliest part dates back to Constantine, is regarded as one of the oldest basilicas in Rome. It was distinguished by the proud name of the "Mother-church of Christendom," and in later times the popes inaugurated their rule by taking ceremonial possession of it. Shortly after its erection, the cathedral of the chief of Roman saints, the Apostle Peter, arose on his supposed death-place, the circus of Nero. In 383, the proud column-rows of S. Paolo outside the walls were reared over the tomb of St. Paul; and, in 352, Santa Maria Maggiore was erected as a memorial of the council of Nicaea. An excellent example of the early Christian basilica is afforded by the Church of St. Clement, near the Lateran (Fig. 83). Excavations have here disclosed three strata of church edifices—the one underneath probably being the building to which St. Jerome refers in the year 392.

The rest of Italy soon followed the example of Rome, and nothing is more significant than that its two invading peoples—the Ostrogoths and Lombards—were impressed by the grandeur of their surroundings. It is to the imperishable honor of the former that they afforded architecture an opportunity of again displaying its powers, after a long pause. Yet we must not forget that Theodoric's work-masters were all

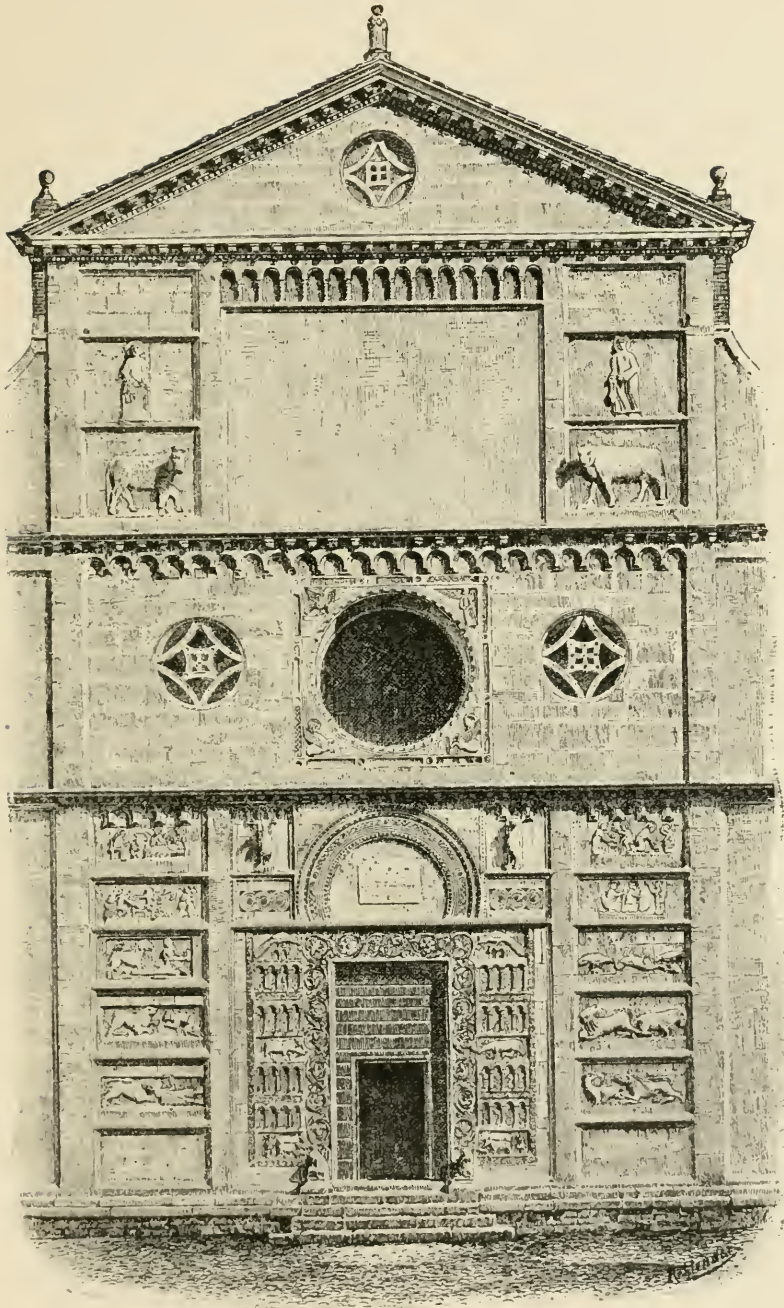


FIG. 81. — Façade of St. Peter's at Spoleto. A Lombard building. (From a photograph.)

Roman, and, therefore, that we cannot properly speak of Gothic art, but only of Roman art, under Gothic patronage. The renaissance of architecture was naturally characterized by innovations, of which examples are to be seen in the baptistery, and the church of San Apollinare in Classe, in the central dome of Theodoric's mausoleum, and in the palace of Ravenna (see pp. 364, 369, Vol. VI.).

If the Romans, under Ostrogothic sway, began to free themselves from the influence of tradition, the process was continued in the time of the Lombards, whereby the Romanesque style was gradually evolved. In the first confusion of conquest, the Lombards had little time to pay attention to house-building, yet already, under Authari and his spouse, Theodelinde, destroyed churches were restored and richly endowed with consecration-gifts. The Lombard folk-laws, published by King Rothari, in 643, comprised very full provisions in regard to builders. They were all freemen, divided into masters, foremen, journeymen, and apprentices, and worked in brick and chiselled stone in various modes. But the law applied to provincials as well as to Germans, and the former were, at first, far the superiors of the latter in the art.

The churches still corresponded in their general plan to the basilica, but not rarely with important characteristic modifications of the apse and transept, which latter in St. Ambrose of Milan already had its quadrate crowned with a cupola. In the body of the building a simple or groined pier might take the place of the pillar, and with this a vaulting of the nave and aisles was connected. In the façade the antique mode of treatment gave place to the horizontal division of the portal of the Middle Ages, which was lined with astragals and small columns, while at the side the massive bell-tower began to appear (see p. 49). Meanwhile, all the details were undergoing a change, which indicates the German style proper. Yet, in spite of this, ancient tradition continued to assert itself, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less, tenacity.

Monuments of the Lombard times are much more abundant than one might have expected, although many have undergone changes through restoration. Examples are, the great edifice of Theodelinde at Monza; S. Sofia at Padua, built at the end of the Sixth Century; the old cathedral of Brescia (612-617), still retaining its round cupola which dates from its foundation; the baptisteries at Cividale and Asti, both in complete preservation, as is also the church of S. Giorgio Inganna-poltron at Verona; and St. Peter's at Spoleto (Fig. 84). One of the grandest creations of this period is the church of St. Ambrose of Milan, begun after 789, and provided with a noble columned hall of the atrium in the second half of the Ninth Century. Besides these, remains are to be found in

Bologna, Aquileia, Pavia, Verona, etc., most numerous of all, in Cividale in Friuli. In magnificence, however, the Lombard buildings are, as a whole, inferior to the Roman and Ostrogothic.

Sculpture, also—the handmaiden of architecture—was cultivated with great deftness, though in somewhat barbaric style. In Ravenna there is a beautiful ivory chair, with reliefs from sacred history, apparently in the Byzantine style (Fig. 85). A monogram on its frieze has been supposed to indicate Archbishop Maximianus (died 553). Many ivory diptychs are also worthy of notice. In the church of S. Maria in Valle at Cividale, the great niche-surfaces are filled in a masterly manner with pierced work of vine-foliage and six colossal figures—obviously Roman work, as are the figures in relief over the main entrance to the Cathedral of Monza. In the baptistery of Cividale is to be seen delicate tracery, surmounting an exceedingly inartistic Christ and symbols of the evangelists. The Christ between flying angels on the altar of Pemmo in the same place is hardly more successful.

There can be no doubt that the Lombards learned of the Romans, and themselves became architects, nor that the Romans still maintained their superiority, only yielding, in some measure, to the influence of the politically dominant race.

Coincident with this architectural fertility in Italy was the comparative artistic barrenness in the other countries of the West. Of Spain, we know as yet but little, but, judging from the love of the Visigoths for splendid effects and the transcendent power of the Church there, it could not but have possessed churches and palaces of especial stateliness. Edifices in Merida, Agalia, Acci, Eborá, Hiturgi, and Valladolid are supposed to reach back to the period of which we treat—the most important of all being the church of S. Leocadia in Toledo. The Anglo-Saxons dwelt, at first, in the national wooden structures, of whose lofty halls with their walls and gables carved with animal figures, their songs report. In the train of Catholicism came Gallic workmen, who erected stone churches “after the Roman fashion.”

An evil star brooded over the Frankish Empire also, although it was rich in edifices. The ancient three-aisled basilica was common nearly everywhere. So early as the middle of the Fifth Century, Bishop Numantius erected a cruceiform church, and from the beginning of the Sixth, architecture began to develop more vigorously. In 507, Clovis built a church “after the Roman fashion and with rich mosaic ornamentation.” Childbert I. founded the church of St. Vincent (St. Germain-des-Prés)—distinguished, through its magnificent equipment, as “the golden”; Sigibert built St. Medardus of Soissons, and Dagobert the world-

renowned Abbey of St. Denis, gleaming with marble and gold. All three were royal burial-places. Not only princes, but bishops and rich persons took part in the work, and the Benedictines were not behindhand in lending their co-operation. The baptistery of St. John at Poitiers (pp. 330, 331, Vol. VI.) gives an approximate conception of these edifices of the Merovingian times, as do the church of Mouen in Normandy and the cathedral of Treves, which last, however, renovated about 550, had later to undergo many transformations. The nucleus of this cathedral consisted of a square of one hundred and thirty-one feet, inside which, and elevated on four powerful pillars, was a quadrangular apartment of fifty-three feet square. Besides churches, the great, and especially kings, constructed strong, palatial buildings and sometimes erected circuses for games.

Beside these styles Byzantine art flourished, a style whose influence was formerly overestimated, but is now often underestimated. It was introduced into Italy precisely at its prime under Justinian, and first of all into Ravenna, which, even externally, is said to have borne the impress of a Byzantine capital. Here the great transition from the early Christian to the Byzantine first took place, to the eminent enhancement of the associated technique which during the Sixth Century attained supremacy. From Ravenna this type spread further, and, above all, to Rome. In 526, while Ravenna was still under Theodoric, S. Vitale was begun and was completed in 547. It is an imitation of the scarcely older church, St. Sophia in Constantinople, and the prototype of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. It is a regular octagon, of one hundred and thirteen feet diameter. The interior was divided by eight powerful piers into a vaulted middle space and a surrounding corridor. The mosaic floor remains preserved as well as the mosaic pictures in the apse and altar-house. In the former, Christ is represented as a young man standing on the globe; near the windows are the Emperor Justinian and Theodora, with their retinue marked by a distinct endeavor after correctness of portraiture (PLATE XIII.). S. Apollinare in Classe (erected 534-549), ranks as the most imposing architectural work (see pp. 364-366, Vol. VI.). The basilica has a great central nave with two side aisles, a western vestibule, and circular bell-tower; its widespreading roof being supported upon twenty-four green marble pillars. Besides these, the archiepiscopal palace and the church of St. Michael still show Byzantine remains. The workmanship exhibits eminent proficiency, while the material is good, and the decorations indicate not only skill but indefatigable industry.

In all the subjects treated here and in the preceding sections, Christianity comes to the foreground. We have been moving, as it were, in a Christian ecclesiastical art cycle. We may now turn from ecclesiastical to



The Empress Theodora
Mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna: ab



Queen and Attendants.

550 A. D. (From a photograph.)

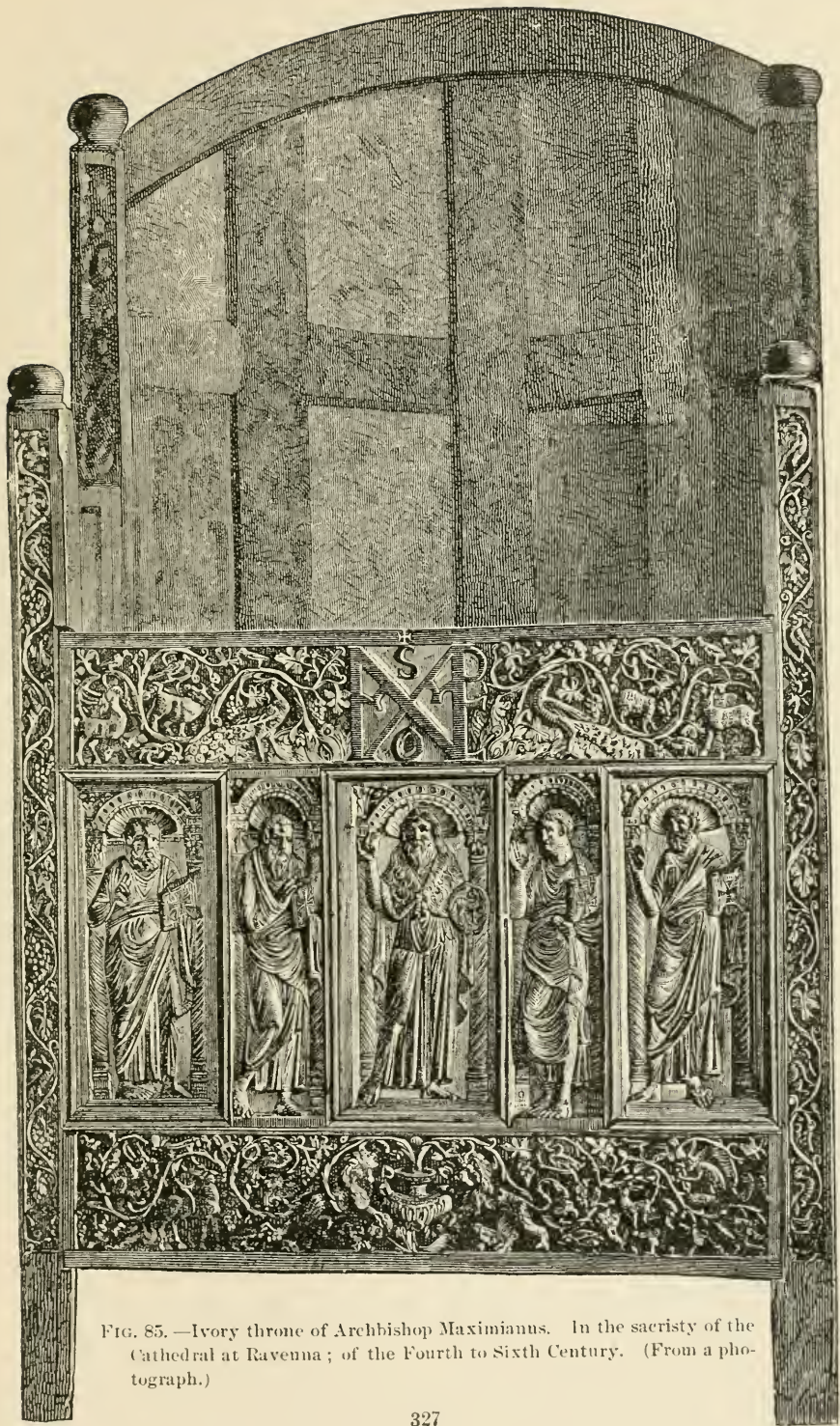
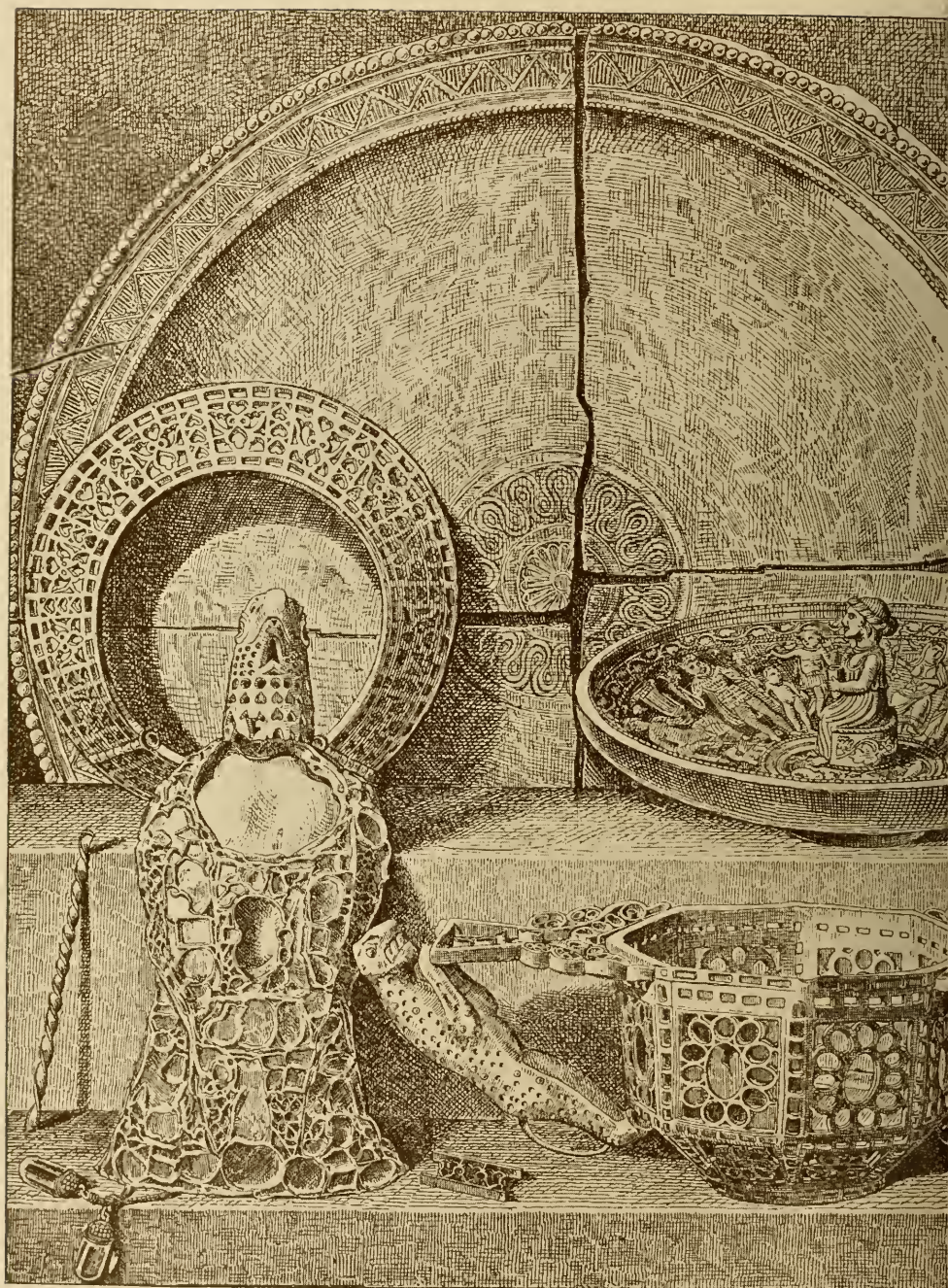
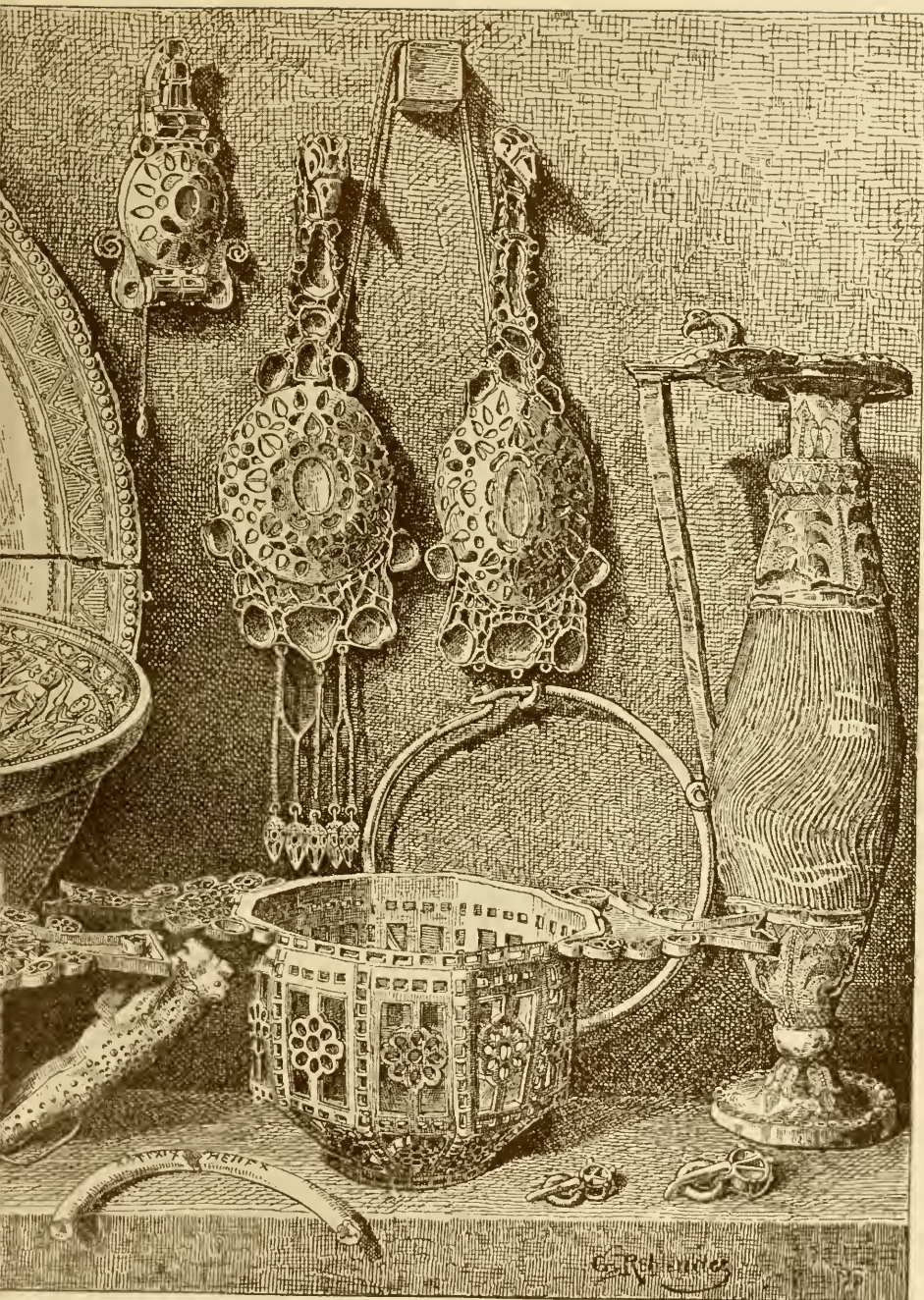


FIG. 85. —Ivory throne of Archbishop Maximianus. In the sacristy of the Cathedral at Ravenna ; of the Fourth to Sixth Century. (From a photograph.)

domestic and civil art, which is disclosed to us by accidental finds. Of especial beauty is the find made at Nagy-Szent-Miklós, Hungary, in 1799, now in the imperial cabinet of antiquities in Vienna. Although incomplete, it comprises twenty-three gold vases, partly in beaten work, with enamelled figures and ornaments. Several trinkets, consisting of armlets, necklaces, brooches, and rings, were discovered in 1859 in excavations on the Puszta Bakod, and are now in the Budapest museum. In 1837, four workmen, when quarrying stones near the Wallachian village Petreosa, discovered a great number of massive gold vessels and utensils, weighing nearly three-quarters of a hundred-weight (PLATE XIV.). When the attention of the government was called to the matter, it had such as could be recovered, about one-third of the whole, conveyed to the museum of Bucharest. At Gourdon near Châlon-sur-Saône a small gold vase and a four-cornered gold plate were discovered in 1845. A part of these discoveries have been held to be the treasures of former kings: that of Petreosa, those of the Visigoth Athanarie; that of Gourdon, the Burgundian Sigismund's; that of Nagy, Attila's; and a rich excavation-find has been considered the treasure of the Visigoth Theodoric,—but all this rests on pure surmise. Such is not the case, however, with the important discovery of treasures made at Guerrazar near Toledo, objects from which are now in the museum of Cluny in Paris (see p. 343, Vol. VI.). These consist of eight crowns set with jewels and furnished above with chains for hanging them up, and beneath with pendants and a cross. The largest and finest of these consists of double gold hoops, the outer set with sapphires and pearls; letters depending from a chain indicate them to have been sacrificial gifts of King Reccesiwinth. With these are to be associated other highly important relics, as those in the cathedral of Monza (pp. 35–38, with cuts). Part of its crowns, indeed, disappeared under Napoleon I., and now exist only in copies, but there are still preserved the renowned iron crown of Lombardy, the richly decorated comb of Theodelinde, a carved ivory diptych (Fig. 86), a hen with seven chickens in gold, a beautiful golden book-cover, and other works of art. Of these the hen and the diptych are certainly of Roman or Byzantine workmanship, and the comb was at least made under such influences. In the abbey-church of Chelles near Paris there is a goblet of the Frankish queen, Bathilde, which passes for the work of Bishop Eligius. He made a golden chair for Clotaire II., a copy of which is still seen in the elegant bronze chair of the Louvre, which tradition affirms to have been the chair of Dagobert (p. 101). The pyx of Duke Urso of Friuli, of the Eighth Century, and now in Cividale, consists of an ivory table with a Christ on the Cross, and the sun and moon, according



Principal objects in the Goldfind of Pe



osa: the "Treasure of Athanaric."

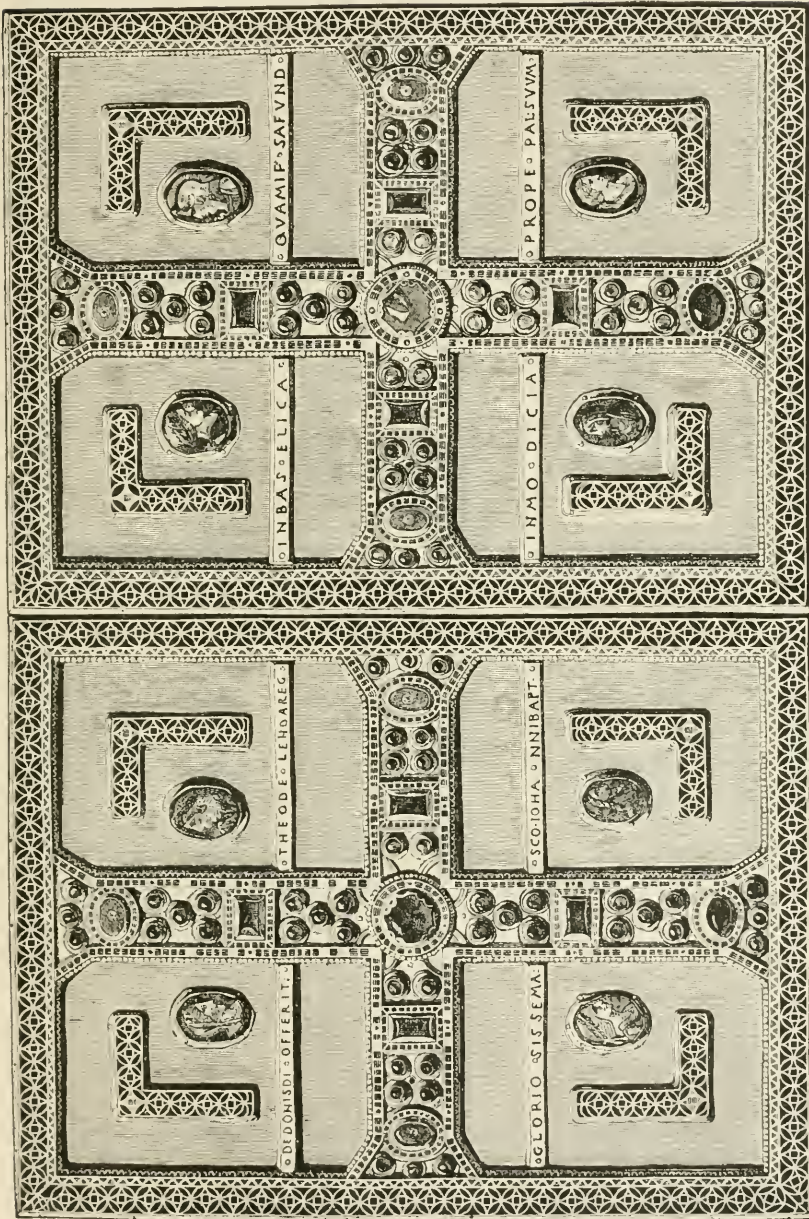


FIG. 56. — Diptych of Queen Theodelinde: *theza aurea*. Cathedral of Monza. (From Bock.)

to ancient conception, as half figures. From the great marble sarcophagus of Duke Gisulf of Friuli were taken a golden girdle-plate with a representation of a dove in enamel, a sword in an ivory sheath, decorated with circles and straight lines, and a Greek cross, gleaming with jewels and comprising eight heads of Christ of beaten work. Especially valuable is the famed cup of Duke Thassilo of Bavaria, in the cathedral of Krems.



FIG. 87. —The Chalice of Thassilo at Krems, Bavaria.

Its form is that of a somewhat heavy rummer; in the upper half it is of cast copper, of beaten copper in the lower, the whole being covered with figures and fantastic plait-work in gold and niello upon a foundation of silver plate (Fig. 87).

As the Romano-Byzantine style preponderated in architecture, sculpture, mosaic, and painting, so did it also in the older allied articles of ornament, although in these German taste asserts itself more obviously. A casket of the church of St. Maurice-en-Valais bearing the names of Undino and Ello, the articles from Childeric's grave, the crowns of Guarrazar, etc., are mostly of German workmanship. But the true

sphere for this was in the homelier objects of every-day life, found in countless numbers in tombs, in the bare earth, in moors, and lakes. From these we see that the Germans, like the Romans, worked in bronze, iron, bone, wood, silver, and gold. Their preference for amber gradually abated, filagree became rarer, and the baser materials were enriched by means of colored glass-enamel and delicate ornamentation of engraved and niello work. For the German style proper—namely, the plaited band—mantle-clasps and belt-buckles afford the best examples. Cast glass is chiefly peculiar to more ambitious trinkets, especially when, in place of glass, precious stones were introduced. A delight in the miniature, in color and show, permeates the whole industry, as well as a true sense for ornamentation and embellishment, and a strong aspiration after a higher technique.

As previously stated, the Germans had implements for all their needs. Iron weapons, especially for attack, were abundant, and were the common property of the whole community of able-bodied people. The long sword was the national hand-weapon, to which were added the sling and bow and arrow. All other weapons—the spear, the axe, the club, the short sword (*sax*), and the knife—were used for throwing, as well as for striking or stabbing. It would carry us too far to attempt a minute description of all the various weapons and their modifications. We remark only that the lance, the national weapon of Roman and old Frankish times, and the distinctive mark of the king, seems largely to have been superseded by the short sword and by missiles. Of the Ostrogothic horsemen we learn that they carried only the sword and a lance for thrusting; the Vandals in their last decisive battle met their adversaries with the sword alone. The axe, also, was found amongst all German peoples. The *franzisca* was a missile-axe proper to the Franks, but we find it also amongst the Alamanni, Saxons, and others. It is light and narrow, bent outward, with a short shaft, and was thrown forward in order to split the shield of the enemy. Besides these there was the broad axe or halberd, which was used for thrusting. Toward the end of the Merovingian period the axe seems to have been superseded by the sword, which by that time had become quite common among the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons. The popular short sword (*scramasax*) was an evolution from the knife (see p. 166, Vol. VI.). Of it there were two kinds, a shorter and a longer, the latter being especially prevalent among the Burgundians, Alamanni, Bavarians, and Franks, and found among other tribes. Strangely enough it is rarest among the Anglo-Saxons, who are supposed to have owed their name to this weapon. They preferred the knife. The blade of the *scramasax* was generally marked with blood-

furrows, and its hilt was larger than that of a two-edged sword. The hilt and sheathing of the weapon were occasionally of precious metal and set with jewels. The scabbard was commonly of wood covered with leather. The long sword is the favorite weapon of the legends, and is at once the friend and the symbol of the hero. The unloosing of the sword-belt signified that its wearer was unworthy to bear arms.

The shield was of yet greater importance. As it covered its bearer, it represented, as it were, his person, and the conferring of the shield opened the warrior's career; its loss was his deepest disgrace. The suspended shield was the sign of the opened folk-moot, whether in the army or in the court of justice. The number of warriors was reckoned by shields, and later the shield carried the armorial bearings of the knight, and adorned his tombstone. The shield and spear, once the companion of the freeman everywhere, were, when the power of the kings became aggrandized, no longer permitted within the tribunals. The Frankish, Alamannian, and Anglo-Saxon shield was of a round or oval form, tending to a point beneath, and was larger than that of the Goths. It was formed of wood covered with leather, was painted in colors and decorated with tracery, and had in the middle an iron boss. The shields of rich people were sometimes edged with iron or bronze, those of princes with gold and precious stones. As the shield served generally for all the purposes of defence, the costly helmet constituted the distinctive mark of men of high rank. Procopius represents the Gothic leaders and champions as appearing in coat of mail and helmet, and the latter was also a favorite piece of armor with the Lombards, both people having probably derived the custom from the Romans. The helmet partially covered the face, and could, therefore, make a person unrecognizable. Its form appears to have been usually conical, and upright or bent forward above. The Saxons and other North Germans carried as a crest a boar, the symbol of the war-god Fro, and fashioned its bristles into an erect mane, or otherwise adorned this head-gear. Not infrequently it consisted only of metal bands, crossed and bent upward, being held together at the top by a knob and at the bottom by a ring, and lined with leather or felt. Kings did not wear the helmet. The hat was the symbol of their dignity, and was richly decorated with purple fillets and bordered with gold and precious stones.

Neither a helmet nor a coat of mail has as yet been discovered in any tomb on German soil. The latter was very rare in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, and probably then constituted part of the equipment only of the highest ranks, from which in process of time it descended to their following. The earliest specimens are composed of leather, some-

times several plies in thickness. These were succeeded by coats overlaid with metal or constructed of metal plates, scales or rings worked together. In Italy, Roman art taught the Ostrogoths and Lombards to fabricate pliable shirts of mail, while the cuirasses were more substantial and much heavier. To the coat of mail, greaves were added. In the Carolingian period the armorer's art developed with rapidity, so that chain coats of mail constituted an article of export. The importance attached to reliable weapons is evidenced by the fact that Theodoric the Great had a royal factory of arms established, supervised by state officials.

When the accoutred warriors were assembled their movements were directed by flags borne before them and by calls from the horn, trumpet, and bugle, which gave not only the signal for attack, but for whatever else was to be done. The horns were formed of the real horns of oxen, and were sometimes richly decorated. The banner fluttered aloft on a spear-shaft, in the earlier times often showing the figure of an animal. There were many varieties of this kind of banner, of which the sacred ensign of the Saxons, consisting of an eagle over a dragon and a lion, may be cited as an example. That of the Norsemen showed a raven (sacred to Odin), from whose flutterings men presaged the issue of the battle. The flags were usually, as they are to-day, four-cornered, triangular, or pointed, and fastened on one side to the shaft. There was besides a serpent-flag, its head fantastically carved of wood or metal, its body of many-colored wool. As the wind streamed into it through the jaws the body fluttered with a snake-like motion. We meet with this serpent-standard all the way from England to Africa, among Anglo-Saxons, as well as Vandals, and not improbably German auxiliaries led to its display in even the late imperial armies. There were, besides these, standards made of feathers and wings, the forms of which cannot now be accurately determined. In the earlier times the standards were woven to the sound of chanted incantations, later the consecration may have been added thereto, or may have superseded them. A tried warrior of noble birth bore the main standard in the front of the fight, commonly on foot, and the conflict for its possession was frequently furious and bloody. The standard also served to indicate the presence of the commander-in-chief.

The different German hosts presented very various appearances. Whilst those of the Ostrogoths and Vandals gleamed in metal, Agathias depicts the Franco-Alamannian troops as still equipped in their primitive fashion. He says that their armor was of the simplest and scantiest; that they knew nothing of coat of mail or greave, and the few helmets that appeared amongst them were commonly booty taken from the enemy;

breast and back were naked, and their legs were covered with linen or leather hose. With the growth of luxury came more complex accoutrements and more brilliant display, with which the use of the horse in battle was closely associated.

The king was the leader of the army and appeared personally on the field, although he could confer the leadership on another, which became more and more the custom with the Franks and Visigoths, while the king himself generally led the forces of the Ostrogoths, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards. The divisions of the army seem to have been generally according to thousands, hundreds, and tens, the hundred with its captain constituting the elementary unit. In earlier times only the more distinguished of the folk-army served on horseback; the common freemen constituted the heavy infantry, while the light footmen consisted probably chiefly of laets. But the long civil wars now made the folk-ban, or levy of the whole people, more and more impracticable. Hence, those immediately dependent on the king, or specially bound to him, came to the foreground as readily available troops, so that the whole constitution of the army was gradually revolutionized. The old folk-moot of the March-field continued only among the Saxons and in German Austrasia; in the Roman lands the kings, after the fashion of the emperor, had their body-guard, bound to them by pay. Besides these, and partially merging into them, there were warriors of the first and second rank, in accordance with their equipment and position—the former probably well-armed horsemen. A thousand noble Goths, with five thousand retainers, formed the escort of Theodoric's sister, Amalafriada. The Lombard king, Audoin, sent two thousand chosen warriors to Justinian, and with them three thousand men-at-arms. The garrisons in the frontier forts were bound to longer service. As a rule the service on the borders was exceptionally onerous; for this reason it was, for the most part, under the direction of margraves and dukes.

The earlier Saxon and Frankish armies consisted almost exclusively of footmen. Of the hundred thousand Franks that King Theudebert is said to have led into Italy, only his immediate retinue was mounted. It was different with the Goths. Even on their wanderings, the Visigoths carried many horses with them, and ultimately their better classes served regularly on horseback. In the Ostrogothic army, also, horsemen preponderated, and the Vandal army consisted of nothing but cavalry. Even in their naval expeditions they carried horses. The Lombards seem, during their sojourn in Pannonia, to have become mainly horse-soldiers. In civic Italy they gave up the use of the war-horse for a time, only, however, to resume it at a later period. All the conditions

of the time so strongly tended toward the use of cavalry, that Guntram sent forth mainly horsemen against Gundovald, while Charles Martel's squadrons routed the Saracens at Poitiers, and by the end of the Merovingian period cavalry formed the core of the Frankish hosts. Only the Anglo-Saxons remained, in this respect, behind their brother races. In accordance with this change, heavier equipment began to be used. The Vandal and Gothic troops were, with the exception of the officers, lightly equipped; but the battle of Poitiers already gives the impression of heavy cavalry on the Frankish side, and lighter upon the Saracenic. Ultimately Charlemagne decreed that every possessor of twelve manses of land must be ready to serve as a trooper armed. The value set upon a horse by the Alamanni is evidenced by the enactment, making the compensation, in case of injury, for the horse upon which the lord rode, equal to that for a freeman. Nevertheless, the horseman, when occasion required, was wont to dismount and fight on foot.

Besides a land-force, several states possessed a navy, the most important being at first that of the Vandals, which, however, gradually fell into decadence. The Ostrogoths believed themselves strong enough to attack the Byzantines at sea, off Sena Gallica. The Visigoths, from the time of Euric, had a fleet, which, however, after Wamba's reign experienced a fate similar to that of the Vandals. The Anglo-Saxons, notwithstanding their insular position, seem to have had no proper navy, and the Franks remained purely a land-power.

Tactics and strategy were much modified through Roman influence and the conditions of the country. The influence of Rome showed itself most prominently in the attack and defence of fortresses, and especially in the fact that the means for defence far transcended those for assault. But it was also to be seen in combats in the open field.

The Vandal armies of horsemen fought in divisions and lines. It was the same with the Goths, who had so fully adopted the Roman tactics that at Tagina they and the Byzantines were arrayed in the same manner, that is, in straight line, which each sought to make as long and deep as possible. And yet, even here we see how inefficiently the Germans still managed such order of battle. While Narses skilfully employed his infantry and cavalry—the former in front, the latter rather as auxiliaries—Totilas caused the whole of his horseman to dash forward at once with the footmen far in the rear. By this the cavalry was thrown back upon the foot-soldiers, who, so far from being able to act in support, were trodden down by their own horse. Even in their last desperate struggle, the Ostrogoths formed not a wedge, but a deep phalanx, wherever they tried to break through the enemy's lines. It

was different with Butilin's Franks and Alamanni: they advanced against Narses in wedge-form, indeed, but their single wedge was so great as to impede their movements. In any case, these tactics were available only for attack, and that by infantry; nor could cavalry be used for them. That the earlier Anglo-Saxons fought in wedge-form is shown by the repeated statement that the Britons fought against them in the Roman order of battle. Where the cavalry and fental system came more into vogue, this formation gradually disappeared, but it maintained itself tenaciously in the folk-armies when the object was to break the hostile lines, as was seen in Odo's fight against the Normans at Montpensier (892), as well as at the Battle of Hastings.

The position of the German commander in the field had not yet changed. He was not stationed behind the front line, but himself engaged in the fray whenever he saw it necessary. Avitus of Vienne said to King Gundobad: "Whenever the people go forth to war, march you in the front and they will follow you." Many examples of opposing generals seeking each other in fight are to be met with; thus Aethelhun sought Aethelbald at Beorgford, and William sought Harold at Hastings. At Tagina King Totilas changed his armor the better to escape danger. Sometimes another man was clad in the commander's uniform, as at Corna (see p. 45).

But these were exceptions. The commander was generally recognizable by his rich equipment, his retinue, and waving banner. Totilas's armor gleamed with gold, and purple plumes waved from his helmet and spear. The nobles held the finished warrior in high honor, the king above all requiring to be pre-eminent for bravery and skill. At Tagina, Totilas drew the admiration of friend and foe alike through his skill in horsemanship and the use of arms. Tejas, seizing a shield and spear, fought on foot, and, springing around with lightning-like celerity, slew many foes. Men were carefully drilled to the use of arms even in time of peace, and often under the king's own eye. In the kingdom of the Ostrogoths there were regular schools for the practice of gymnastics and the art of war. The legal wager of battle made valor a necessary virtue.

From the importance attached to war it cannot excite wonder that it was the frequent subject of legislation. The maintenance of the strictest peace was enjoined upon the soldiers of the army, and violation of it brought severe penalties—among the Bavarians, six hundred shillings and one hundred and fifty strokes—nay, sometimes the loss of life itself. The Salic law decreed three-fold weregild for a soldier and three-fold expiation for any offence committed in the army. The Frank who did

not obey the summons of the king had to pay sixty shillings. On an expedition within the native land neither hay nor grain could, according to Bavarian law, be taken by violence, and not even a hut set on fire without the leader's order. According to Alamannian law, he who was robbed while in a campaign was compensated ninefold, and he who invited a foreign people to pillage, paid the penalty with his property and life. The soldier who deserted his comrade in a strait had to pay eighty shillings. The Lombards punished insubordination in the army, as well as treachery, with death. Among them the word of greatest infamy was *arga*, "coward," and of the brave Frank, it is said that he never gave way, but preferred to fall where he fought.

The decadence in the warlike spirit is most clearly seen among the Visigoths. Wamba complained that on a hostile invasion many remained at home or deserted, thus imposing more severe duties upon their fellows, and he and Egica sought to repress the evil through strong measures. The man who thus failed was threatened with a fine of a pound of gold, two hundred strokes, slavery, and even death, while the duty of serving in the army was extended to the unfreed also. And yet when the Saracens appeared these expedients proved of no avail.

The native fashions of dress were preserved, especially by the Germans who remained in the fatherland. The Saxons are depicted as exceptionally stately figures, with their hair flowing over their shoulders, clad in warmantles, and bearing long lances and short shields, on which they supported themselves, and a great knife, the *scramasax*, at their side. Of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus reports, that the clothing was loose and mostly linen, like that of the Anglo-Saxons, and, for ornament, bordered with broad stripes of another color. Their shoes were open almost to the great toe, and held together by crossed leather thongs. Their legs were covered with white stockings. Later they began to wear hose, over which when riding



FIG. 88.—Costumes of the Seventh Century. Initial in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, the "Psalter of St. Augustine," of the Seventh Century. British Museum. (From Westwood.)

they drew woolen spatterdashes. The effeminate Vandals, on the other hand, wore loose silk vestments, and decorated themselves profusely with gold ornaments. The Frankish costume was distinguished by a broad girdle, a tight-fitting short tunic, and hose reaching to the knee. The garb of the Bavarian mountaineers, as well as the Burgundians, resembled that of the Highland Scots. The Franks wore shoes laced crosswise up the front with red ties, linen hose of the same color, an undergarment, over which hung the sword-belt, and a gray or blue mantle, square and doubled, and so thrown over the shoulder as to touch the feet before and behind, but scarcely to reach the knee on the sides. In the right hand they bore a strong, knotted stick. In the winter the favorite outside covering was a coat of seal-skin or fur. Einhard relates of Charlemagne that on festive occasions he appeared dressed in cloth of gold and with shoes set with precious stones. His mantle was held together with golden clasps; a diadem of gold and precious stones was on his head, and a sword similarly ornamented hung by his side. On ordinary occasions there was little to distinguish his dress from that of a common man.

Objects discovered in graves and elsewhere give us a good idea of the sorts of garments that were worn and of jewelry and other ornaments. It there appears that serpent-ornaments and fabrics interwoven with gold-thread were held in high esteem, and that in the growing extravagance of the Merovingian time the old German fur-doublet went more and more out of fashion. The Lombard Aripert II. (701-712), in order to seem unassuming, appeared before foreign ambassadors in mean clothing or in furs. The shirt of wool or linen—which, although unknown to the early peoples, was probably of German origin—was at first the only under-garment. The essential outer garment was, and remained, the mantle of cloth or fur or of both, sometimes long and wide, sometimes—and especially the war-mantle—short. A semicircular short mantle for the upper part of the body came later into fashion. The lower limbs were mostly covered by hose or trousers, sometimes long and wide, sometimes tighter, sometimes leaving the knee exposed, sometimes reaching further down, sometimes even having stockings sewed on to them.

Especially characteristic were the long thongs strapped crosswise upward from the ankle to the knee (see p. 175, Vol. VI.). They were usually of worked stuff, and had often a gold or lace border. The shoes were of various patterns, sometimes richly ornamented, but without any sole. There was, besides, the girdle, serving not only as a suspender for a wallet and sword, but also as a support for the trousers. This article, with its metal binding, clasps, and buckle-tongues, gave opportunity for much

ornamentation, as the girdles of the Tyrolese do to this day. The clasps might be of pure gold, of gilded niello, silver, or of gilded or silvered bronze or iron. The metal sheathing was richly embellished with precious stones, glass, and gold filagree.

The Frankish kings, as well as those of most German peoples, were distinguished by their long flowing locks, the cutting off or tearing out of which was the symbol of deposition. Yet it is worthy of notice that the Vandal coins show shortish hair, those of the Ostrogoths the hair cut short before and hanging down behind as far as the neck. The hair of the Merovingians was never cut, but was carefully nursed from childhood up. They wore a fillet, simple or double, smooth or consisting of pearls, usually surmounted by an agraffe, with tassels hanging down behind, and sometimes they wore real crowns of various shapes, or other ornaments (see p. 273, Vol. VI.). The free Germans also were careful of their hair, either cutting it somewhat short behind and leaving it unshorn in front and parted in the middle, so that it hung down on both sides, or trimming it to an equal length on all sides. The comb thus became an article of high importance for people of rank, and was richly decorated (see p. 38). Saxons and Norwegians appear to have let the hair fall down long over their shoulders; Romans and the unfreed had theirs cropped short. According to custom, the Germans often dyed their hair red.

The beard does not, as a rule, appear on royal coins; even the seal-rings of Childeric and Alaric show a beardless face (Fig. 89). Odoacer, and probably also the Visigothic kings, wore a mustache according to the custom of their people. Of the Visigoth Theodoric it is said that he wore whiskers; of the Lombard, Grimoald, that he had a full beard; the Lombard king Rachis is depicted with a somewhat pointed beard. The common freemen often wore a full beard or a mustache, but the Roman custom of shaving became fashionable in the course of time, especially among men of rank.

Let us now turn to the women. They let their hair hang down freely, fastening it by means of a fillet across the forehead, or seem to have plaited it into tresses, which were intertwined with bright-colored, or even gold ribbons. When the hair was trussed it was held in place by hair-pins, which were often of great value. Among some peoples this latter mode was the mark of a married woman, while the maidens wore a garland or a garland-like fillet, which, among the highest classes, often consisted of gold and gems. Wives also wore fillets or brow-bands, but distinguished from those of the maidens by their form



FIG. 89.—Seal-ring of King Alaric. (After Lindenschmit.)

or the manner of their being worn. Head-kerchiefs and veils were common, the Gothic women wearing fine white veils. In the ears were fastened rings, which were generally round and had all sorts of pendants. Women also wore necklaces consisting of round, drum-shaped, or triangular beads of clay, colored glass, amber, or thin gold, but the neck-ring customary in earlier times was now extremely rare and worn only by people of rank. Bracelets and arm-rings of metal—especially of brass or silver—or of glass beads and the like, were much affected. Finger-rings are more commonly found than arm-rings in the graves in the Roman countries, and are generally flattened at one end to receive a seal bearing a head, monogram, name, cross or other device. Of the Visigoths it is said that their nobles wore gold finger-rings; the free, silver rings; the slaves, copper ones.

Concerning the dress of women our information is meagre. The

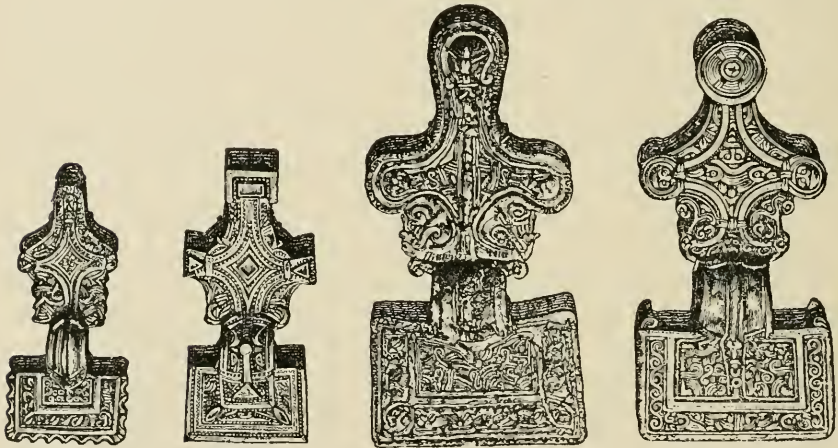


FIG. 90.

FIG. 91.

FIG. 92.

FIG. 93.

FIGS. 90-93. — Clasps from an Anglo-Saxon grave at Chesell Down, Isle of Wight: discovered in 1855.

essential part consisted, probably, of a shirt held together by a girdle round the hips, and this appears to have been the sole under-garment of the lower classes. People of rank added other pieces besides the universally used mantle-like wrapper. The dress of the women, like that of the Frankish men, often fitted tightly to the upper part of the body.

The pins of this period are of special importance and clearly show that they were a development from the late Roman style and of the sort found in the tomb of Childeric (see p. 68). The head consists of a cross-arm, to which is attached a curved neck, terminating in a slender four-sided

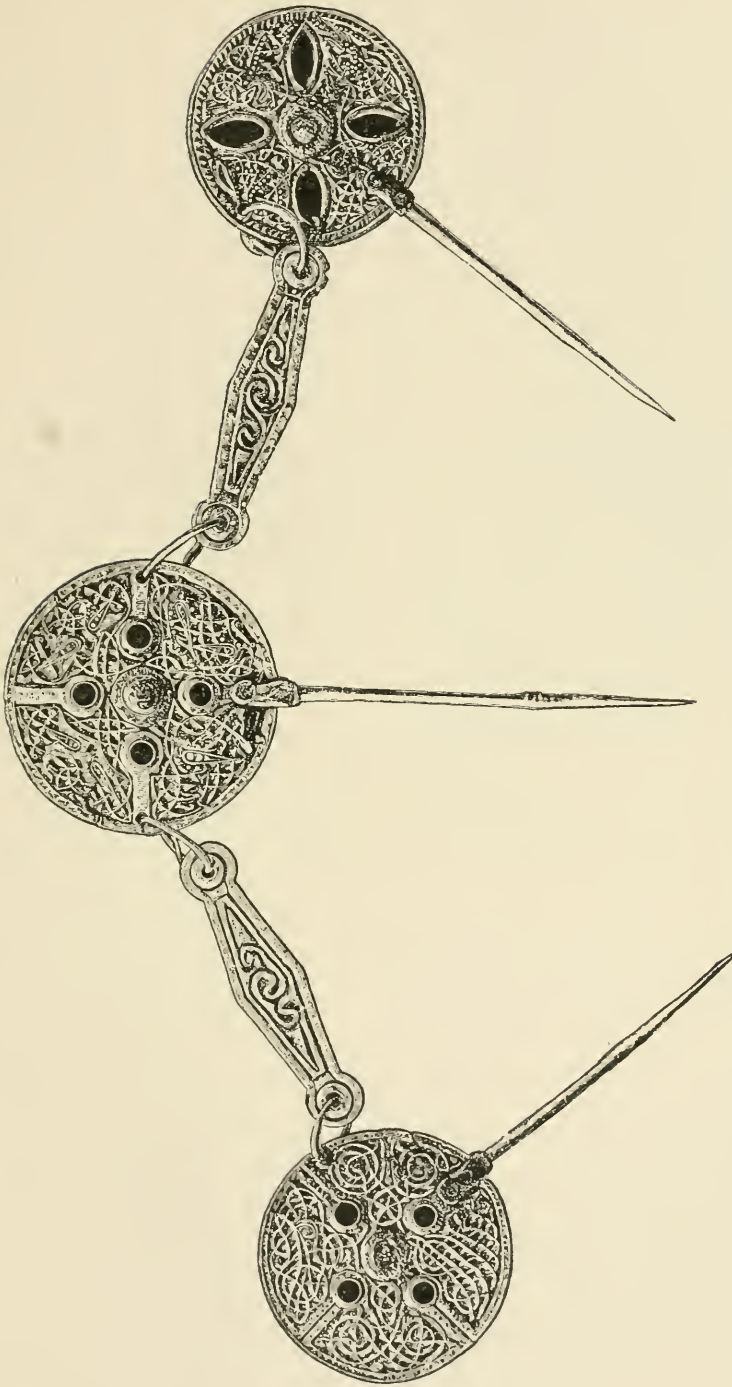


FIG. 94.—Silver pins, with patterns of interlaced work of the Irish school: found near Lincoln, in the river Witham.

shaft. The cross-arms were broadened out into plates in order to admit of German decorations on their surface and borders. From the original form men advanced to more complicated ones, so that besides the clasp-shaped fibula, there were round and flat ones and some in the form of a fish or bird—all adorned according to the fancy of their makers. (For examples of Anglo-Saxon art, see Figs. 90–99.¹)

Such was the German costume proper and its belongings, but besides, the Roman tunic and chlamys continued to be worn, the one style becoming fused, as it were, into the other, but always so that the German element predominated. Theodoric, however, caused his highest officials to assume the Roman dress. Although the costumes of the various

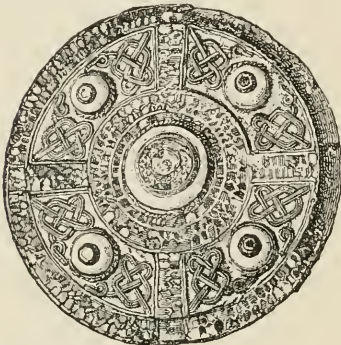


FIG. 95.



FIG. 96.

FIG. 95. — Brooch of garnets and golden filigree work : from Abingdon, Berks.

FIG. 96. — Brooch found on the right shoulder of the skeleton of a woman in a grave at Kingstou Down. It is of unique beauty, composed of separate pieces of metal ; the backing is wholly of gold ; the different fields are inlaid with turquoises, garnets, and mother-of-pearl.

peoples showed some national peculiarities, the whole race concurred in a passion for bright colors and brilliant metal, and a taste for luxurious display soon developed among them.

According to old heathen custom, the Germans commonly buried their dead in the open fields along with their weapons, ornaments, meat, drink, and, occasionally, even with animals. The war-horse of a man of rank was often interred with him. This practice continued among the Franks up to the time of the Carolingians, when it became modified through Christianity. Among the Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamanni it continued longer.

Up to this time the best known excavations have been made in the original Frankish territory, Middle and South Germany, and the East of

¹ The objects illustrated by Figs. 90–95, 97, and 99 are in the British Museum.

England. In some districts the tombs constitute a sort of hill where the dead were deposited under a heap of earth and stones, or they are excavations in the earth, with occasionally a slight mound over them. The latter was by far the more common mode. The Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards usually deposited their dead in coffins of stone or wood, or in charnel-houses lined with stone. These were less common among the Alamanni and Bavarians, and, as it seems, entirely unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. When the Alamanni coffined their dead they usually made use of a hollowed-out tree, the so-called *totenbaum* (p. 169, Vol. VI.). In Nether

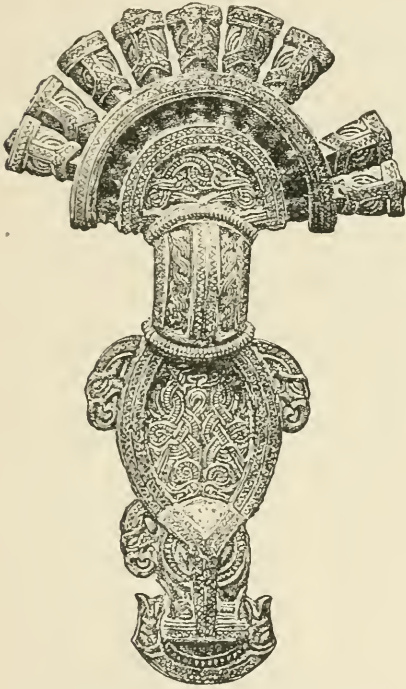


FIG. 97.—Silver brooch: found in Tuscany.

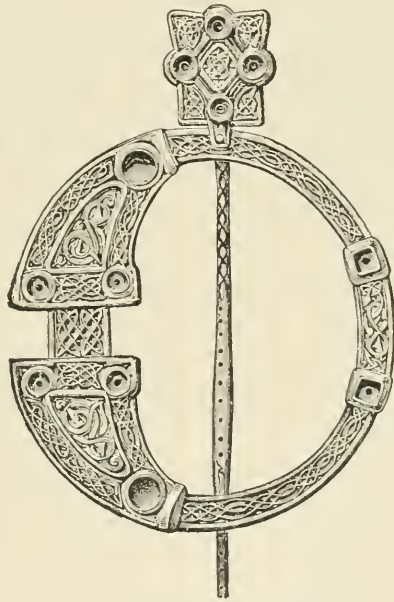


FIG. 98.—Bronze fibula; decorated with amber, gilding, and enamel; $\frac{1}{4}$ original size: found in 1862 near Bonsall, Derbyshire.

Saxony discoveries of treasure are more common than grave-finds, while in the Baltic regions the latter predominate. Here and in Hungary, Byzantine articles, probably brought by commerce or the results of plunder, are found, along with late Roman and German relics. On the whole, cremation prevailed on the Baltic and North Sea; and this, later, led to a distinction between the Christian and heathen modes of disposing of the dead, which had not existed before. For Christianity at first simply adopted the prevalent cremation; but soon, because of its belief in the resurrection in the flesh, it inclined to interment, and considered decent

burial as its duty. Heathens and Christians alike wore mourning at the burial, and, in the Roman lands, at such times men rent their clothes and women tore out their hair and lacerated their arms and cheeks.

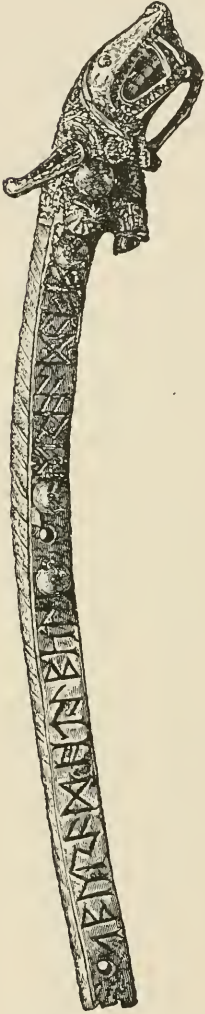


FIG. 99. — Silver ornamental piece with Anglo-Saxon runic characters: found in the river Thames.

The stature of the dead of the various German tribes is tolerably uniform, the height of a full-grown man being nearly six feet, that of a woman, five feet or somewhat more. The bones indicate that the men were well nurtured and had vigorous convex breasts and a strong attachment of the muscles on the upper arm and loins. The skulls are long and narrow, the brow lofty and receding but little, and the back part of the head has a strong curve outward. From the frequent intermixture with other races the ancient Germanic form is to be met with only in certain localities, and especially in Sweden. The structure of the skull indicates those pleasing features which, with the white skin, florid complexion, yellow hair, blue eyes, and well-built bodies of the Germans, called forth the admiration of the peoples of the South. The Germans themselves were perfectly conscious of their corporeal advantages, and the Salic law commemorated them in its introduction.

In taking a survey of the whole subject, we see a picture of unimagined richness of coloring; we see the old struggling with the new, the German with the Roman; heathendom with Christianity, delight in art with barbarism, Roman city life with Germanic rural economy, a long descended commerce with want of capital, Roman historiography with the Northern saga, languor and decadence with untamed vigor. Everywhere there was lively intercourse and lively action. Italy was and remained the land of art; yet learning and science blossomed luxuriantly in Ireland and England. From South and North the elements of culture pressed toward the centre—that is, to the Frankish kingdom, and produced here not only the strangest contrasts, but also combinations most pregnant in consequences. The old Roman spirit was blighted, the German not yet developed; the former needed revival, the latter, training and flexibility. His meagre feeling of nationality made the German

often incapable of resisting foreign influences; in new countries he lost his hereditary characteristics, his speech and religion, and knew no better way to protect himself than by moulding the expressions of his nature into conventional forms which have influenced and shaped the course of events for centuries. While state and law were Germanized, the Teuton to this day uses Latin names for such words as table and trencher, window and tile, sock and boot-sole. The people of that period worked with mighty energy and produced great results—largely unconsciously to themselves, and always as a body. There was no real individuality. Men pressed forward with decision, tentatively indeed, but yet with so sure a step that with Charlemagne a new German universal empire arose, and a new epoch, the Middle Ages. Everywhere were the evidences of a transition, the most important in history, for it determined the fate of the world, by producing the Germanic and Romance peoples and the Roman Catholic theocracy.

BOOK II.

THE ORIENT IN THE EARLY
MIDDLE AGES.

THE ORIENT IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BYZANTINES.

(A.D. 395-741.)

THE history of no empire has been treated with such injustice as that of the state wherein the Roman empire continued its formal existence. The world has been too much accustomed to regard the Byzantine state as moribund, or as a body already in a state of putrefaction, its rulers as miscreants, and its people as non-entities. And yet for many centuries men thought far otherwise. Byzantium was, and continued to be till the period of which we treat, the most imperial of all kingdoms. As is often the case, the forefathers saw with clearer eyes than their cleverer sons.

No commonwealth ever defended itself so strenuously through such unexampled dangers. A few regiments of cavalry sufficed to overthrow the dominion of the Vandals, and one single shock shattered that of the Visigoths. In one great encounter the allied Gallo-Germanic forces stayed the onward rush of the Hispano-Arabic invasion. How entirely differently did events develop in Byzantium. On its borders lowered Germans, Bulgarians, Avars, Slavs, and Turks, as well as the great powers, first of Persia, and then of Islam; and yet against all these, and amid the most frightful convulsion of races, it maintained itself a thousand years. Nay, had not Islam risen in the most fateful hour, Syria would scarcely have fallen to it, nor would Islam probably have ever attained a world-commanding position. Not sickness, but lusty strength, is the characteristic of this imperial state, the strength of civilization encompassed by less developed races.

Its power rested on its army, its official system, its church, and its crown. Its highest and most matured political conception cen-

tered in the emperor. He was the embodiment of the empire; his authority was personal, unlimited, and sanctioned by a higher consecration. Everything was concentrated in the 'sacred palace,' which conferred office, fame, and wealth. High-sounding titles and the pomp of rigid ceremony kept the masses at a distance, and so impressed them and their neighbors as to provoke imitation from Toledo to Medina. But its better emperors were by no means satisfied to stop at such mere externals; to them these served only as a means to an end. If the early rulers of Byzantium considered themselves successors of the Roman emperors, and the rulers of the world, the later ones sank more and more to the position of territorially limited monarchs. If the former were essentially court-emperors, by the end of our period we encounter many army-emperors, who did not live shut off from their subjects, but led their legions into the field in person. The constant dangers that hung over the empire made brave and patriotic princes almost a matter of necessity, the unsafe succession which might fall to energetic and fit men acting as a regulating principle.

The manner of government brought about rigid centralization, the constant effort to maintain the connection between the ruler and the provinces, and close supervision of the realm for the purpose of making its resources always available. Constantinople (Fig. 100), as the capital, as well as from its greatness, wealth, and intellectual life (PLATE XV.), and its situation at the intersection of the land and sea passages between two quarters of the world, offered peculiar facilities for such centralization. It was, as it were, the embodiment of imperial splendor and might. It was the seat of the civil and military administration, and the greatest port, the most important commercial emporium, and the strongest fortress, in the world. When more than once nearly the whole empire was lost, it was reconquered by this city; when the city fell, everything fell. As the empire, notwithstanding its theoretical omnipotence, depended on its being in accord with the senate, people, and troops, which met in the circus of this city, these became a sort of natural board of inspection over the rulers. Their caprices frequently elevated and overthrew princes, so that they were at once a support and a menace.

The same was true in regard to the bureaucracy, the church, and the army. As a bureaucratic machine, Byzantium was a true work of art, nicely adjusted and graduated, and capable, on the slightest pressure from above, of starting up in every part. In dis-

PLATE XV.



Famous Greek Physicians.

A miniature in a Byzantine manuscript of the sixth century containing the works of Dioscorides (a Greek physician who lived in the first century of our era), and fragments of later Greek authors. (Vienna. Imperial Library.) The manuscript, which was discovered at Constantinople in 1562, and purchased by the Emperor Maximilian, was prepared by order of Julia Anicia, daughter of the Emperor Flavius Anicius Olybrius, who died in 472 A. D. The Greek physicians here figured are named in the manuscript: Chiron [=Chiron], Machaon, Pamphiles, Xenocrates, Niger, Heraclides, Mautias. (From Louandre.)

History of All Nations, Vol. VII., page 350.

inction from the half-developed German states, the machine of bureaucracy rested here on the most enduring foundation, and even after the severest derangements could always be restored to order again. The administrative machine worked without break, and in virtue of its innate gravity crushed down the attempts at revolt of many recalcitrant potentates.

By the side of the secular bureaucracy stood the spiritual, namely, the Anatolian church, whose influence was of the highest, especially

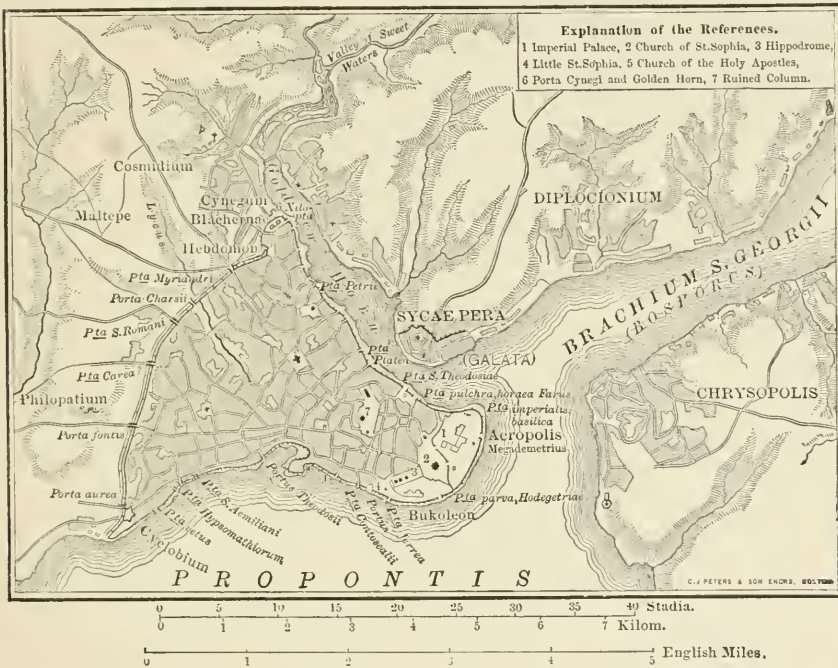


FIG. 100.—Plan of Constantinople in the Byzantine period.

since it co-operated in the matter of succession to the throne, crowned successful aspirants, and pledged them to the true faith. Under such circumstances politics and ecclesiasticism were often bound to each other in the closest alliance, and gave expression to their views in a manner either friendly or hostile to the rulers, affecting, approving, or combating their decisions, as seemed good. It was an open question whether the patriarch of Constantinople stood on an equality with the emperor, and had a will of his own, in ecclesiastical matters, or whether he was subject to him and bound to obedience. The church was not, like Islamism, a mere recipient, but was also a donor;

the Empire was indeed 'holy,' but not, like the Califate, properly theocratic. As the emperors became more warlike in character, the ecclesiastical influence of the palace dwindled more and more. Justinian was all-powerful in matters of theology; but when Leo the Isaurian sought to restore the lost ecclesiastical supremacy, he threw the empire into violent agitation.

The army formed the third factor in the state, affording protection from without, and preserving peace within. It was composed of regular troops and mercenaries, the former raised within the empire, the latter drawn from beyond its bounds. Strict discipline welded the whole into one. The commanders were able and vigorous; but their very merits made them a menace to the emperors, thus compelling them to mistrust and circumspection. Discipline and tactics combined to elevate the Byzantine power far above that of its half-barbaric neighbors, and made it a rival to even the invading Moslems. The army was supported by a strong navy. Centralization had thus created an all but unrivalled defensive force: and what the sword could not effect was accomplished by another dangerous weapon,—traditional and perfected diplomacy.

At first the state was only, as it were, the eastern portion of the Roman empire, with all its cosmopolitan features. Almost all the provinces, as Isauria, Armenia, Syria, Africa, and Egypt, maintained their national characteristics; while in Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome, several provinces had their own distinctive capitals. To these, therefore, the Byzantine rule, with its essential principle of centralization, appeared as a foreign rule. For them the inducement to obedience lay, not in any feeling of loyalty, but in compulsion and custom, in the presence of hosts of officials and soldiers. This changed in time; and true Byzantines were evolved from Romans and half-Romans (Rumanians); that is to say, a people was developed representing the cultures of Rome, the Orient, and Greece merged into a common civilization, in which, however, the Greek influence predominated. The seat of empire, or rather the empire itself, was on the old Greek soil; and from the close of the sixth century, Greek was the accepted language. While the universal empire thus became transformed into a land with definitely fixed boundaries, and cosmopolitanism into nationality, the Arabian conquest occurred, and cut off the most obstinately non-conforming provinces, namely Syria and Egypt, thereby deciding the essentially Greek character of the empire and the incontestable predominance of Constantinople.

And the more the empire shrank within its natural limits, the stronger it became. Formerly its main defence had depended upon German mercenaries, now it trusted to its own recruits. If the empire of Rome, in the days of its decadence, was no longer able to Romanize foreign settlers, its child, Byzantium, converted untold masses of immigrants into excellent citizens; the army, the church, and all the new surroundings working to this common end.

A highly developed technique constituted a characteristic of the new empire, — technique in the law courts, the administration, art, the church, the army, and even in intrigue. With such an instrument, the chase after power and possessions was nowhere urged in a more desperate yet subtle manner, enhanced by an inborn disposition for duplicity. The diseases of the state were despotism and its financial system; the prodigious outlay for the army, palace, and host of officials, all combining to constitute a burden so oppressive as to be a source of the greatest peril. Yet, notwithstanding all this, Byzantium remained the most glorious of states, with the most far-reaching influence. The Byzantine considered himself a man of refinement and culture as compared with the barbarians around him. He defended the west against the savagery of the Arabians, and preserved for it the most precious treasures of Greek antiquity. His world-wide importance reached far beyond the boundaries of his own time and land.

The partition of the great Roman empire by Theodosius into Eastern and Western halves was definite, and inaugurated a new era in history. At the side of his youthful son Arcadius (395–408) stood Rufinus as regent of the empire, with a rival and antagonist, however, in the person of the chief chamberlain, Eutropius. Undermined in the palace, loved neither by the army nor people, and an object of dislike to Stilicho, the commandant of the west, he fell by assassination. Nor did Eutropius, the heir to his power, fare better. Thereupon an uprising of the Germano-Arian element took place under the Goth, Gainas, whom the emperor had to appoint commander-in-chief. But his power was short-lived; for a Roman Catholic reaction succeeded, whose most peculiar feature was that the heathen Goth, Fravitta, commanded the militia. Scarcely was Gainas displaced when the orthodox fell to loggerheads amongst themselves, affording the empress Eudoxia a pretext for banishing the inconveniently zealous patriarch, John Chrysostom, for which he was later canonized.

The weak Arcadius died after a troubled reign of thirteen years; and his seven-year-old son, Theodosius II., ascended the throne, which he occupied for little short of half a century (408-450). Theodosius proved narrow minded, obstinate, and obsequious to the church, and this as much from conviction as policy, whereby the clergy were enabled to hold men's minds in as strict subjection as the army did their bodies. Of this latter force the Gothic element formed the core, and understood admirably both how to subordinate and manipulate the government. Despite the dependent position of the emperor, long internal peace and success abroad resulted.



FIG. 101.—Front of a reliquary. Byzantino-Roman ivory carved work, from the fifth or sixth century. Height, 5 in.; length, 10 in. In the Cathedral at Treves. The scene is that of the solemn bringing into Constantinople of a shrine of relics. At the right is the church, in front of which stands a woman with a cross in her arms, ready to receive the procession. The reliquary is carried by two ecclesiastics, who ride in a carriage, before which marches a band of persons bearing torches. The background is filled by a large building; from all the doors, windows, and from the roof, as also from the roof of the church, spectators are viewing the scene. (From a photograph.)

During the minority the prefect Anthemius ruled with energy and ability. He was succeeded by the emperor's elder sister, Pulcheria, a highly gifted woman, but of such strong ascetic predilections that she converted the once brilliant court into a monastery (Fig. 101); nevertheless, like her western colleague, Placidia, she never lost sight of temporal affairs. It is very significant that women ruled both in the west and east, with whom may be associated the spouse of Theodosius, the learned authoress, Eudoxia, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius. An inevitable conflict arose between

the two rulers, which ended in the overthrow of Eudoxia, who died in seclusion at Jerusalem.

While intrigue was the most potent agent in the palace, weapons decided abroad. The Huns who had invaded Thrace were driven back, a conflict with Persia was brought to a successful termination, and decisive battles in the west made the court of Ravenna become subordinate to that of Byzantium. The collection of enactments in the Theodosian code was declared valid for both halves of the empire.

Exactly at the appearance of new complications with Attila, Theodosius died without male heirs. Both the country and the army demanded a strong hand; and the empress Pulcheria, recognizing this, espoused the proved Marcian (450–457). Fortunately for Eastern Rome, Attila turned his weapons against the West; and when later he returned homeward his strength was broken. After Marcian's death the empire presented an aspect very different from what it showed in the time of Theodosius II. Germans were now the masters, — in the west, the Suevian Ricimer; in the east, the Goth Aspar. At Aspar's instigation the tribune Leo I., an Illyrian (457–474), was elevated to the throne, and had his diadem placed on his head by the patriarch Anatolius, being the first emperor to receive such ecclesiastical consecration. Through



FIG. 102. — Gold solidus of the emperors Leo II. and Zeno. Obverse: the names of both, but the portrait of Leo alone. *Domini Nostri LEO ET ZENO Per Petri AVGusti*. Reverse: the two emperors enthroned. Leo, who through his mother Ariadne was the successor of her father Leo I., has the seat of honor at the right of his father Zeno. CONOB indicate the currency of Constantinople, according to which 72 (= Greek OB) solidi were coined to the pound. Original size. (Berlin.)

this act the church openly exercised the position which she already possessed virtually. Still, in the East the claim of the church to anoint and consecrate kings was never recognized as it was in the West. Leo proceeded in the path which, under his predecessor, had become an ascending one. He profoundly influenced the affairs of Italy; yet Aspar proved powerful enough to counteract his designs in some measure, and to elevate his own son as his successor. This young man's fall was the first blow to the oppressive supremacy of the German mercenaries; so that after Leo's death the rule passed to his grandson of the same name (Fig. 102). But the new prince was still a minor; and his father Zeno (474–491), the son-in-law of

Leo I., undertook the government, and on him the feeble youth soon conferred the diadem. This produced violent convulsions. Zeno was driven from the throne, but returned, only, however, to encounter repeated opposition. The war of weapons was increased by religious and national dissensions, through which the power of the empire was so weakened abroad that contemporaneously with the decadence of German supremacy in the east, it rose to victory through Odoacer in Italy. Yet to render this complete, Theodoric, the Goth and consul, had to appear upon the scene, overthrow and supersede Odoacer. In the midst of the struggle of these two German potentates Zeno died. As Zeno, after the early death of the

young Leo, had remained childless, his widow, Ariadne, an emperor's daughter and spouse, transmitted the empire, by way of marriage, to a court-official, Anastasius (491-518). Anastasius (Fig. 103) was an able man and universally trusted, but entered upon his duties under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Repeated revolts of imperial partisans and of the



FIG. 103. — Gold solidus of Anastasius. Legend: *Dominus Noster ANASTASIVS Per Petrus AVGVSTVS*. Original size. (Berlin.)

Isaurians, refractory since Leo I., were suppressed by violence, the claims of the orthodox unselfishly satisfied, the city strengthened by a great wall from Pontus to Propontis, the burden of taxation lightened to the lower classes, and the soldiers protected against their superior officers. But the claims of the orthodox broke out again and again; and these, with the discontent of part of the army, ultimately brought the empire to the brink of ruin.

On the death of this emperor there was more urgent need than ever for a true warrior, who at the same time supported the Council of Chalcedon. Such the commander of the body-guard, Justin I. (518-527), was supposed to be; and him the legions proclaimed emperor, the senate, church, and people giving their assent. Without culture, at once crafty and energetic, and probably of Slavic descent, he came as a poor shepherd out of Dardania, and ended with being the founder of a new imperial dynasty. He began with an ostentatious demonstration of his orthodoxy, and with the recall and reconciliation of such as had been banished by Anastasius, and so set the troubles at rest. The half-political parties of the circus had already divided the inhabitants of Constantinople into the Green

and the Blue factions; and just because the Greens had been for Anastasius, the Blues were now taken into favor. Under Justin the Greek arms earned glory at the expense of the Persians and Ethiopians. But he was far advanced in years and childless, so that his nephew Justinian was able more and more to assume to himself the management of affairs, ultimately ruling as sole sovereign.

The views of Justinian (527–565) are made especially clear to us through his code, wherein he says that the commonwealth rests upon arms and laws, and in a secondary way upon the church. Acting in harmony with this principle, he brought the Byzantine empire to a point of eminence to which it never again attained, and restored the empire to its position as a great power in the west also. His armies subdued Africa, Italy, and the southeast of Spain; even the



FIG. 104.—The *follis*, a copper coin of Justinian I. struck in the XVIII. (nineteenth) year of his reign, at Cyziens. M, which has the value of 40, indicates the *follis*. Original size. (Berlin.)

Franks had to fear for the security of their Mediterranean coast. Although less fortunate in the north and east than in the west, still, considering the difficulties, his relations to these quarters were sufficiently honorable. In the wide steppes of Russia and Hungary, and among the mountains of Transylvania, the Slavs and Bulgarians had settled, who were poor, warlike, and barbarous, and were divided into many tribes. In the general pressure westward and southwestward their hordes stormed forward over the Danube in almost unbroken array, often augmented by Germans and other peoples. Nothing in the Balkan peninsula was safe from their rapacity; and, though often defeated and compelled to peace, they more than once got as far as Constantinople. At the same time, too, movements of the most eventful character were in progress in the remote high steppes of Asia. Thence the Turks burst forth, spreading themselves far and wide, and founding a mighty Turanian empire.

They (or other inciting causes) roused the Finno-Hungarian Avars out of their morasses by the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, and impelled them towards the west, soon to be a frightful scourge to its peoples. Justinian was already compelled to purchase their friendship by gifts, in return for which they settled in his service on the Lower Danube. But a more threatening danger than all these was the Persian renaissance in the middle of the sixth century, under the great Chosroes I. (Khosru Nushirvan, Fig. 105), who won a position unrivalled in the east, and opposed to the civilization of Byzantium a second equally cultured Hellenistic-Zoroastrian power. Repeated contests ensued, which brought the Persians to Syria, Asia Minor, and Colchis, and in which Byzantium was able, only with the greatest exertions, to win back districts she had lost. Justinian



FIG. 105. — Silver coin of Chosroes I. Obverse: bust of the king; before his head *Chusruī*; behind, *afzu(t)*, a word of uncertain meaning. Reverse: an altar of fire, between two attendants. Left, *sijwist*, or 23, i.e., the twenty-third year of his reign; right, *rd*, an abbreviation of the name of a city not identified. Original size. (Berlin.)

was shrewd enough, through presents and annuities, to bind to himself many races whom he had reason to fear, and to prevent the inherited conflict with the Persians from being converted into one of principles and religion.

Justinian's administration of home affairs was in keeping with the energy he displayed in the management of affairs abroad, and dealt with every phase of public life, — legislation, the executive, finances, and the church. His aim was the rehabilitation of the decadent central power in its fullest compass, and to the prosecution of this end he devoted himself as no emperor before or after him ever did. Personally indifferent to display, he valued pomp only as a symbol of supreme authority; but in this connection he esteemed it as of transcendent importance. His very signature was meant to convey the impression of divinity; and whoever

EXPL. DIG. SUPANDECTAR
 EXORD. LIB. QVINTVS
 DIIVD AYIIM LIB. PRIMVS
 FELICITER

ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣΤΩΤΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ
 ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ
 FELICITER

Two pages from the

Facsimile in size of original. Manuscript of the seventh c

History of All Nations, Vol. VII., page 359.

INCIPIT LIB' III

R DEVS VIRGINE TONIMAD MODVM
OVISVIATVRFRVATVR
 Paulus libro septimo aduicellianus suscipi
 ctus est ius alienis pebus utendi ppuendi
 salua pepum substantia.

Celsus libro octauo de ciuodices topum e.
 enianus suscipi ctus ius in corpore equo su
 blato et ipsa tolli necesse est

Gaius libro secundo de pepum cotidianarum
 uel a upe opum omniu in ppaedi opum upe
 legatipotest constituui suscipi ctus su
 be pes iubeat up dare alicuius suscipi ctu
 dare autem in tellegit up s undu x piti
 fundu a legatariu ne uan ue p^a t i a up uti
 ppuet su i etes ta uen to autem si quis ue
 lit suscipi ctu in constituere p^a t i o n i b u s
 et stipulationibus id e p p i c e p e p o t e s t c o n
 s t i t u a t e m u s u s p p u c t u s n o n t a n t u m i n f u
 do et adibus ue p u m e t i a m i n s e p u i s e t u
 mentis ce te p i s q u e p e b u s n e t a m e n i u m
 ue p s u m u t i l e s e s s e n t p p o p p i a e t a t e s i e
 p e p a b s c e p d e n t e u s u p p u c t u p l a c u i t c e p t i
 modis ex t i n q u i u s u a p p u c t u m e t p p o p p i e
 tate p e x e p t i q u i b u s a u t e m m o d i s u s u s p p u
 ctus et c o n s t i t u e t p i n i t u p i s d e m m o d i s
 et i a m u d u s u s u s s o l e t e t c o n s t i t u e t p i
 n i p i .

andects of Justinian.

y. In the Laurentian Library, Florence. (From Silvestre.)

approached him, or his spouse Theodora, had to do so on his knees. At the side of the imperial dignity, even the traditional glory of the consulate could find no room. This office he abrogated, for he felt himself to be the embodiment of its higher idea.

It was seldom that Justinian intervened directly. He was satisfied with being master of a machine of marvellous and far-reaching power. From the stillness of his chamber, in his palace of gold and marble, his thoughts went forth to envelop the world. Thither all tidings converged as to a centre, to be quickened into factors of his vast and deeply devised schemes. Here were spun those threads of policy which impeded the simultaneous outbreak of wars, which retained commanders in subserviency without taking from them the means of securing victory, which elevated statesmen and confidential agents to power or relegated them to obscurity, and which used the parties in the church and circus for his ends, or utterly suppressed them. Here were devised the means of raising money, taxes and customs imposed, which were enforced with relentless severity, and profitable monopolies and offices created. Here his great collection of laws, and his grand architectural plans, had their origin, the church was guided in its policy, and the relics of heathendom crushed out and conscience bridled.

It was as a lawgiver that Justinian erected his most imperishable monument, his books of law being authoritative down to the present day. A commission, with the chancellor Tribonian at its head, sifted and co-ordinated the prodigious mass of accumulated legal material in the form of edicts, rescripts, judgments, etc., and, in 529, embodied the whole in the "Codex Justinianus," promulgated by the emperor as the law of the state. In 533 were compiled the Pandects (PLATE XVI.¹), or digests, embodying the maxims, expositions, and decisions of forty of the most eminent lawyers, specially designed as guides to practice; while the manual for students, con-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI.

Two pages from the Pandects of Justinian. Facsimile, in size of original. (From Silvestre.)

Manuscript of the seventh century. In the Laurentian Library, Florence.

This manuscript, one of the most valuable in existence, contains the Pandects, a large part of recorded Roman law, consisting of the decisions of earlier jurists codified by order of Justinian. The manuscript is in two volumes, and is written upon white parchment; it is magnificently bound in purple silk, adorned with clasps and silver locks, and provided with a rich case. It was written in Constantinople, and brought to Amalfi, in southern Italy, at some unknown time. When Amalfi was captured in 1134 by the Emperor Lothair II., he gave the manuscript to the city of

sisting of the four books of Institutes, was also completed this year. In 534 the "Codex" was revised and enlarged, and a collection of new constitutions, entitled "Novellae," was added later. The whole constituted the complete system of civil law.

As a theologian, too, Justinian held a high place, his main end being the repression of heresies and the healing of schisms, with the grand view of promoting that form of faith which he deemed the most orthodox and expedient.

The controversies between the Catholics and Monophysites concerning the nature of Christ, which had troubled former reigns, were still waged with unabated fierceness. These the Council of Chalcedon had endeavored to allay by deciding in favor of the orthodox view; and Justin and Justinian, in virtue of their office, were properly the representatives of the great unifying council; but, unluckily, the influential Theodora inclined to the Monophysites, so that the agitation was intensified, and created a situation all but intolerable to the autocratic monarch. As guardian-in-chief of the church, his aim was the restoration of its unity; and this object guided him in striking out from the Chalcedonian decrees

Pisa, which was an ally at the time. Pisa, in 1406, fell into the power of the Florentines; since that date the manuscript has remained in Florence.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Expl(icit) Dig(estorum) seu Pandectar(um) exord(ium). Lib(er) quintus: de jud(iciis) autem lib(er) primus; feliciter.

Εὐτυχῶς τῷ γράψαντι τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον. Feliciter.

'Feliciter' often occurs in ancient manuscripts; it expresses the joy of the scribe at the successful completion of his task.

Incipit liber VII.

R(ubrica) De usufructu et quemadmodum quis utatur fruatur. R(ubrica).

[Then follows the text of the law:]

Paulus libro tertio ad Vitellium: Ususfructus est jus alienis rebus utendi, fruendi, salva rerum substantia.

Celsius¹ libro octavo decimo digestorum: Est enim ususfructus jus in corpore, quo sublato et ipsum tolli necesse est.

Gaius libro secundo rerum cottidianarum vel aureorum: Omnium praediorum jure legati potest constitui ususfructus, ut heres jubeatur dare alicui usumfructu(m). Dare autem intellegitur, si induxerit in fundum legatarium, eumve patiatur utifrui. Et sine² testamento autem si quis velit usumfructum constituere, pactionibus³ et stipulationibus id efficere potest. Constitit autem ususfructus non tantum in fundo et aedibus, verum etiam in servis et jumentis ceterisque rebus. Ne tamen in universum inutiles essent propriaetates semper abscedente⁴ usufructu, placuit certis modis extinguere usumfructum et propriaetatem reverti. Quibus autem modis ususfructus et constitit et finitur, isdem modis etiam nudus usus solet et constitui et finiri.

NOTES.—¹ The names of jurists cited are written in red. ² The scribe had here originally written *n* for *n*, and makes a correction. ³ Rationibus corrected to pactionibus. ⁴ An *n* incorrectly inserted in abscedente is erased.

certain portions that especially provoked the displeasure of the Monophysites. But precisely by so doing he gave rise to contentions which troubled the rest of his reign, and compelled him to take steps, now against the one, now against the other party, with



FIG. 106. — Miniature from a Psalter of about 900 A.D. Paris. David is represented wearing Byzantine coronation robes; at the right the figure of Wisdom (ΣΟΦΙΑ), and at the left that of Prophecy (ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ). Height, 10.2 inches. (From Labarte.)

the ultimate result of embroiling both church and state. The main political gain consisted in the subjugation of the papal chair.

But the emperor's attitude towards religion expressed itself in other ways. He reared churches, and stamped out the last relics

of paganism, as well as the human sacrifices at Philae, near Elephantine, the ancient rites of the Egyptian Jupiter Ammon, and the rationalistic utterances of Athens. In Athens a sort of school of ancient philosophy, based on the teaching of Plato, had tenaciously maintained itself. But precisely as, through the agency of the law-books, the Romano-juristic spirit took a constantly increasing hold of the life of the world, the Graeco-philosophic spirit became more and more restricted in its sphere; and that not without good cause, for as the latter tended to the disintegration of a despotic state, the former operated to organize and confirm it. Consequently Justinian closed the schools of Athens. The great Fathers of the church were now in the past, and with them came to a close the real pursuit of a spiritually effective theology. Originality was extinct; and men began to live on their capital, to elaborate and comment on what they inherited, not rarely to lose themselves in hair-splitting trivialities, and to engage in impassioned wranglings thereon.

Numerous sacred edifices owe their origin to Justinian, among them one of the most notable of all time, the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople. The earlier edifice was destroyed in the Nika of the Blue and Green factions. Justinian's church (PLATE XVII., Fig. 107) proudly rose on its ruins, and was the symbol, as it were, of victorious imperialism and of triumphant orthodoxy. It was no accident that the revolution in church architecture, and the transformation of the simpler basilica into the stately domed cathedral, took place under Justinian. No grander monument has been raised to the honor of God. In the contemplation of its vaulted dome the spirit, still chained to earth, seems to strain upwards towards heaven. All gleamed with marble, mosaic, and gold; and churches of this sort were to be found throughout the whole empire, especially at Ephesus, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and even at Ravenna and Carthage. They were to be numbered by thousands, no mean evidence of the prevailing piety and the life still inherent in ancient architecture. (Cf. Fig. 106.)

In the manifold dangers of the period, churches and monasteries were made use of for defence, and supplied the place of forts and walls. In this way Justinian secured especially his eastern frontier, the Caucasus, the Danube, and the whole Balkan peninsula. He constructed highways, built bridges and aqueducts, and fostered industry and commerce. To alienate the profitable silk-traffic with China and India from the Persians, he introduced silk-worms,

PLATE XVII.



Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. Interior.

(From a photograph.)

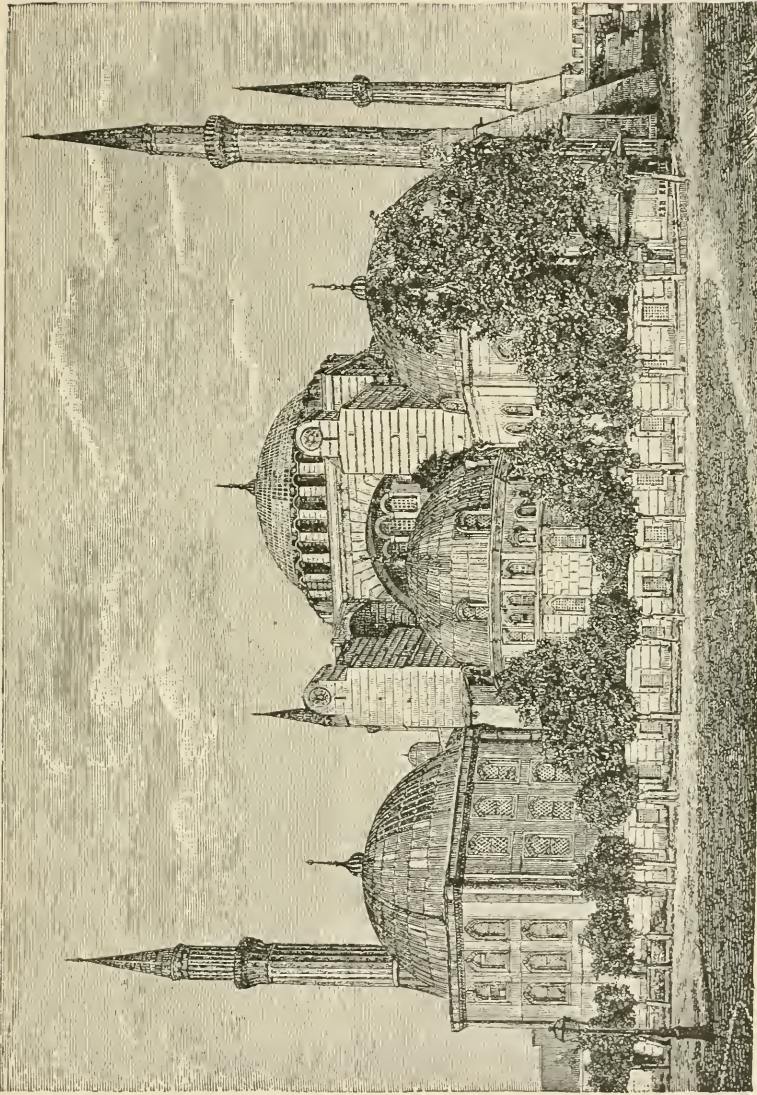


FIG. 107.—Exterior view of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. (From photograph.)

and thus developed a new and important industry. The strengthening and provisioning of his capital were objects of his special care. Three times a year transports belonging to his fleet entered its harbor laden with grain from Alexandria and Cairo.

Such was Justinian in his busy hours. He gathered in his person the official hierarchy of the clerical body, and the military power. One state, one church, one code, should dominate everywhere, and over all was his own eagle eye. He was endowed with a special talent for choosing his agents, and knew how to quicken

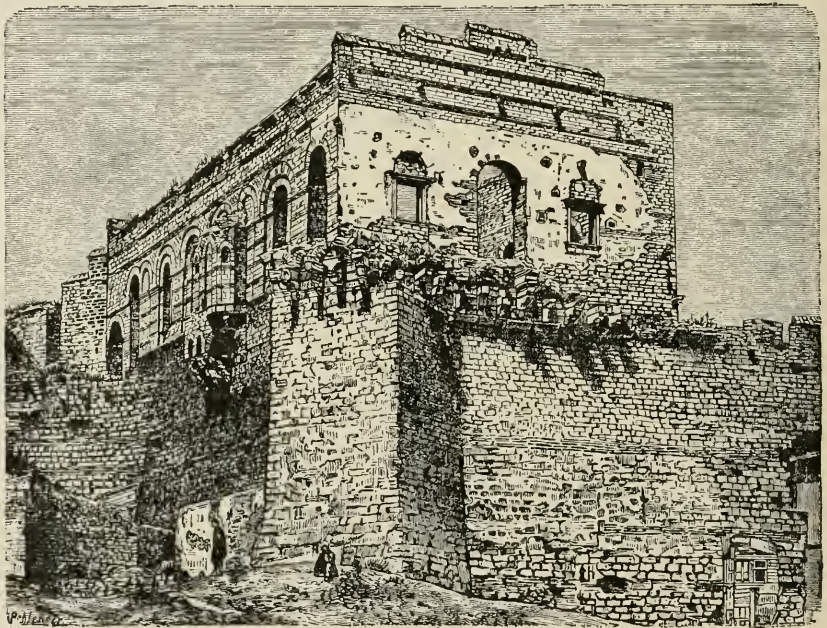


FIG. 108.—Ruins of the Hebdomon.

their energies by proposing to them great aims. The first jurist of his age, the ablest financier, the foremost architect (Anthemius of Tralles), and the greatest commanders (Belisarius and Narses), lent lustre to his reign. And, notwithstanding all this, it is execrated by posterity. This is to be ascribed to the moral indifference of his age, which concerned itself with nothing so eagerly as theology and the circus. It is also to be ascribed to the prevailing dissoluteness of the times, which has been so well pictured by the envenomed pen of a true son of Byzantium. If we did not have the "Historia Arcana" of Procopius, Justinian's administration would

appear in an entirely different light; often, indeed, uncertain, but not seldom better.

The Nika revolt ran its wild course through the streets of Constantinople, and reduced a great part of the city to rubbish and ashes; but it was little more than the sudden outburst of the rabble of a great city, instigated and led on by discontented party-leaders, magnates, and candidates for the throne,—the last the nephews of the Emperor Anastasius. The populace desired the pardon of two malefactors; and as the prince condescended no reply to their demand, and as both happened to belong to the parties of the Greens and the Blues, a fierce but short-lived storm broke out, which was never renewed. This was in the beginning of Justinian's reign; it is not until its close that we hear of any plot against his life. While the earlier reigns had been disturbed by civic dissensions and long-protracted bloody revolts, the long rule of Justinian was marked by internal peace, a distinction it could scarcely have enjoyed amid the numerous hostile inroads and perils, had the emperor inspired only hate and contempt. The traditional blinding and despoiling of Belisarius have been long recognized as scandalous fables; the illustrious soldier died in the full possession of his wealth and honors. And it may be the same with many things ascribed to the Empress Theodora. Justinian was a man of too sound a judgment and too jealous of his position, and was, besides, too good a judge of mankind, to have elevated an intriguing circus-wench to be his spouse and co-regent. When, after a long married life, he bitterly bewailed her death as the greatest blow, he surely knew how great his loss was.

Justinian and his empress were both children of their time, and both sat on a Byzantine throne. That neither he nor she should shrink from violence needs, therefore, not to surprise us; and as little need we wonder that he strained the resources of the state to the uttermost to carry out his epochal undertakings, and that abuses, extortions, and acts of cruelty, were perpetrated by his cabinet. But to things of this sort the world had been accustomed for centuries, and these sins are to be attributed rather to his officials than to the emperor. His own high aims are illustrated by the Pragmatic Sanction for Italy with which he hoped to inaugurate a reform in the order of affairs. With this end he sought to restrain the abuses in the administration and judiciary, and decreed that the bishops should have the supervision of these departments, and foster

the institutions for the study of grammar, rhetoric, medicine, and jurisprudence, so that the youth might grow up cultured in the liberal arts. But if the people of Old Rome drew benefits from their mastership of the world, those of New Rome were crushed down by fiscal imposts, so that discontent spread upwards, even to the steps of the throne,—a condition full of menace.

Justinian was a despot, gloomy, severe, calculating, and distrustful; everything—himself first of all—had to subordinate itself to one end, the maintenance of the glory and greatness of the empire. With these ends he made use of all the powers and all the men with whom he was brought into contact, and with marvellous adroitness aggrandized the state and its authority, maintaining at the same time his own dignity in spite of all difficulties. All power, temporal and spiritual, he held with a firm grasp. He won back a great part of the West; and it is extremely doubtful whether the remaining portion—Spain and Gaul—would have re-

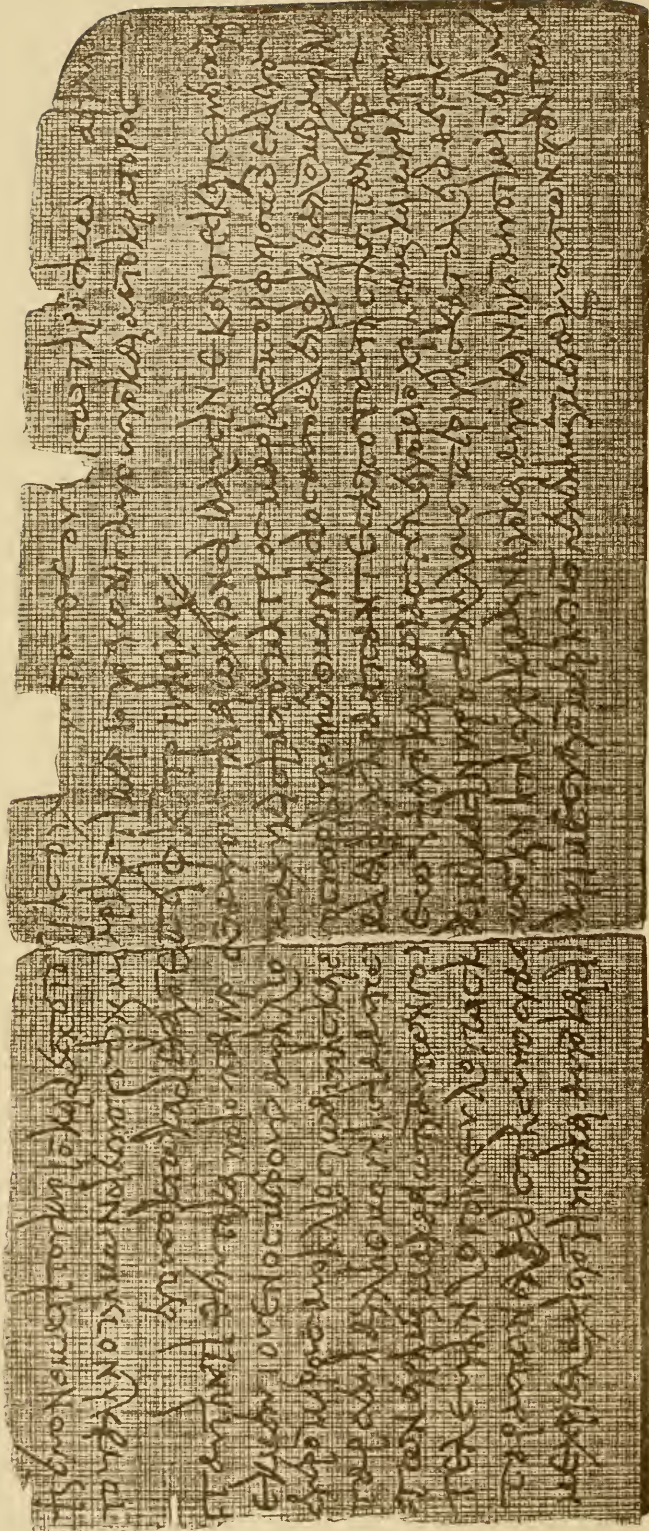


FIG. 109. — Copper coin (*follis*) of Justin II. and his wife Sophia. Struck in the fourth year of his reign. Original size. (Berlin.)

sisted him had he not been threatened at home by the Persians, Slavs, Bulgarians, and Germans, and his land been afflicted by pestilence and earthquakes. Much that he strove after he failed to attain; other objects attained have turned to dust. It is in his law-books and his edifices that he lives to this day. Justinian's reign is the golden age of the Byzantine empire. His main failing was that he aimed at too much. On his death the empire possessed bounds it could not maintain, and had tasks before it too great for its powers; and yet the foundations laid by him proved so lasting that they sustained the state in existence for a thousand years. What he was to it is best shown by the history of his successors.

His immediate follower was Justin II. (A.D. 565–578; Fig. 109), who was akin to Justinian and related to Theodora. He not only pledged himself to the orthodox faith, but is said to have presump-

PLATE XVIII.



Facsimile of an Official Document of the Emperor Maurice. Upon Papyrus: 600 A. D. (Paris, Louvre.)

This document was discovered in Egypt; the first mark upon it is a cross, which points to Christian rulers. The first three lines are:

† Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν [β.] αὐλαίος
 τοῦ γαληνοτάτου Φλαβίου Μαυρικίου Τιβέριου, αὐτοκράτορος καὶ αυτοκράτορος,
 ἔτους ὀκτωκαδέκατου, Ἐπειφ(ι) κ, τρίτης ἰνδ(ί)κτου.

Translation: "In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our (God and Saviour, and in the reign of his most serene [highness] our Master Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, perpetual Augustus and autocrat, the eighteenth year, on the twentieth of Epiphi [an Egyptian month = July], the third [of the] indiction [a cycle of fifteen years, originally established for purposes of regulating the revenue of the empire]."

History of All Nations, Vol. VII., page 267.

tuously claimed to be God's representative on earth. Of weaker capacity, more fanatical and vain than his predecessor, he was so subservient to the populace of the capital that he lavished on them the main portion of the treasures which Justinian had accumulated to maintain his sway, so that the wars in which he was soon involved threatened the very existence of the state. He lost the greater part of Italy to the Lombards; Africa was convulsed by revolts from which it sank back in utter exhaustion; in the east the Persians pressed forward far into Syria, and acquired predominance in all the frontier provinces. The Balkan peninsula was devastated by Avars, whose annual subsidy Justin had failed to pay. On all sides were discomfitures and losses, with no amelioration of the conditions in the interior. Conscious of his own weakness, he elevated Tiberius,



FIG. 110—Copper coin of the Emperor Maurice, his wife Constantina, and his son Theodosius. Struck at Kherson. II, or 8, indicates the value. Original size. (Berlin.)

the Thracian commander of his body-guard, to the co-regency, and passed the rest of his days in retirement.

It was a happy choice. Tiberius Constantinus (A.D. 578–582) defeated the Persians, and proved a mild and wise ruler, whose early death was mourned. He bestowed the crown on his son-in-law, the brave Maurice (PLATE XVIII.; Fig. 110), conqueror of the Persians, who strove to justify the selection. But he was wanting in the amiable features of his predecessor, and had not his good fortune. He despatched the enterprising Smaragdus as exarch to Italy, who, in union with the Franks, was to make an end of the Lombards. He already designated one of his sons as the future emperor of the West. The struggle with the Lombards was obstinate and variable, while his relations with the papacy were far from amicable. Besides, the course of events in the east was such as to prevent his bringing such resources to bear on Italy as would insure success. The Persian war was continued with varying success till the outbreak of

disorders turned the die in favor of the emperor, who became the friend of Chosroes II., and maintained him on the throne. He next proceeded against the Avars and Slavs, who now occupied the most of the Balkan peninsula, but whom, in spite of several victories, he was unable to expel definitively. These incessant conflicts, with their little successful issue and the severity of his discipline, embittered his troops, while the sacrifices demanded and the feeling of insecurity alienated the citizens of Constantinople. The malcontents coalesced; and the army, placing a Cappadocian captain, Phocas, at its head, advanced against the capital. The circus-party of the Greens made common cause with Phocas, and even the Blues wavered. Left without resources, the emperor had to flee.

Phocas made his triumphant entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses; and declaring his orthodoxy, received the crown from the patriarch (A.D. 603-610). But it sat ill on his head so long as Maurice lived. Emissaries who were despatched to Chalcedon dragged the fugitive from his sanctuary, and murdered, first his five sons, and then himself. To such an end came this meritorious and morally irreproachable ruler, who had with unwearied assiduity maintained the claims of the empire. With him perished imperialism of the older type, with its universal sovereignty. Henceforth the occupants of the throne were lords only of their own land.

Phocas was a narrow Christian and ferocious tyrant, over whom the murder of his predecessor hung as a fate. The Persians, as the avengers of Maurice, began a twenty-four years' war, and compelled the emperor to a peace with his western enemies. Necessity forced him to leave the greater part of the Balkan peninsula to the Avars and Slavs, without even thus securing peace. He gave up Italy to the Lombards, a step which in its later consequences involved a dissolution of his connection with the papacy. In the interior, such was the disaffection of the friends of Maurice, that they entered into a league with the foes of their country. Mesopotamia and Edessa (Fig. 111) fell into the hands of the Persians, whose bands ravaged Asia Minor as far as Chalcedon, and reduced Syria, their success being facilitated by an alliance with the Nestorians and the insubordination of the Byzantine troops. In vain Phocas promised the crown of martyrdom to those who fell in his cause; nor did the church find him an ally to be desired. He interfered too arbitrarily and despotically in its affairs, and dissolved the synod of Antioch, which had ventured opposition. Being rash and shortsighted, he

became embroiled on all hands; even fear ceased to be effective. The malecontents found a leader in Heraclius, the exarch of Africa, to whom the memory of Maurice was still dear. He won Egypt, and sent his son, Heraclius, to Constantinople, who, after a successful sea-fight, got the tyrant into his hands, and dealt with him as he had dealt with others. Phocas was cruelly executed, and his carcass was committed to the flames.

Invited by clergy and people alike, Heraclius, the founder of a new dynasty, the last Roman one, ascended the throne (610–641). But the enemies of the land availed themselves too well of its disorders. Unchecked, Chosroes laid hands on all within his

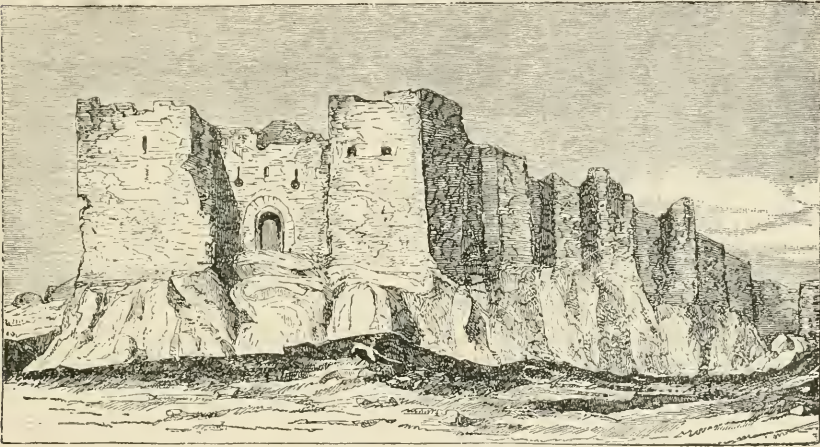


FIG. 111.—Ruins of the Citadel of Edessa. (From Texier and Pullan.)

reach. Antioch and Caesarea succumbed. Even Jerusalem, the most sacred sanctuary in the world, along with the cross of the Saviour, became his in 614. Thence he advanced to Egypt, subduing it to the frontier of Ethiopia, and into the province of Africa. In Asia Minor the highly important Ancyra, and even Chalcedon, fell a prey to him; and the disciples of Zoroaster pitched their camp within sight of Constantinople. The ancient Persian monarchy seemed to be establishing itself on the ruins of the East Roman Empire which appeared to be lost forever; for now the Avars burst in from the north, and plundered the suburbs of Constantinople. In their despair the authorities of the capital formally declared their subjection. His empire dismembered, his army dissolved, and the treasury empty through Phocas's despoilments, Heraclius was left well-nigh defence-

less. He contemplated crossing to Africa, and, from that as a base, attempting reconquest; but against such a surrender the pride of the citizens revolted. The patriarch prevailed on him to desist from his purpose, and to take a solemn oath in St. Sophia to live and die with his people. The terrible strait brought ruler and ruled together, and so prepared the way for their deliverance.

Heraclius was successful in moving the Avars to lay down their arms, and in bribing the Persians to desist. Meanwhile troops were levied and disciplined, all the slumbering strength of the empire roused to action, and, under the personal leadership of the emperor, hurled against the foe. A strong reaction, at once patriotic and religious, set in. The church contributed its treasures, the citizens their sons. The emperor fought bravely in the rear of the Per-

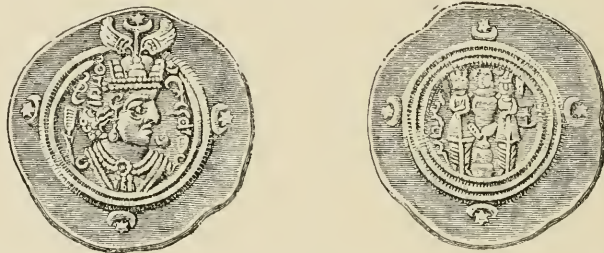


FIG. 112.—Silver coin of Chosroes II. Obverse: bust of the king: in front of his head, *Chusrui*; behind, *afzut*. Reverse: the same device as on the coin of Chosroes I. (see page 28), the altar of fire between two attendants; left, *sijdjh*, or 13, i.e. 'the thirteenth' year of his reign; right, *kr.*, abbreviation of the name of a city. Original size. (Berlin.)

sians, compelling them to retreat from before his capital. For six years (622–628) the war continued, until, after repeated victories, he succeeded in penetrating to Media. Then Chosroes (Fig. 112) rallied anew to the conflict. He collected new armies, of which he sent one against Constantinople; he made terms with the northern peoples,—Avars, Slavs, Bulgarians, and Gepidae,—in accordance with which they invested the capital on the north, while the Persians sought to seize it from the southeast. The Avar khan, thinking himself already sure of victory, assailed the citizens in their very homes, his hordes mastering the long outworks, and advancing to the city proper. But the Byzantines, re-enforced by imperial troops, proved heroic in their need. They hurled the northern barbarians back over the walls, prevented their junction with the Persians at sea, and forced them to withdraw without accomplishing anything. What arms did not

effect was completed by hunger. The immediate danger was over, for the Persian masses on the Asiatic side were compelled to inaction. Once more Heraclius became the assailant. Advancing from Trebizond, he formed an alliance with a Turkish tribe which occupied the steppes of the Volga. Thus re-enforced, he pressed forward upon Persia, where Chosroes was residing in listless luxury at Dastagerd, north of Bagdad. Startled from his lethargy, Chosroes collected troops in haste, and drew them up near Nineveh, for a battle, the loss of which would have implied the ruin of the emperor. But Heraclius made his onset before the main force of the Persians was on the field, and, after a heroic struggle, proved the victor, slaying the hostile commander with his own hand. But the reinforcements were on their way. By forced marches Heraclius hurled his force upon the enemy, who fled in wild disorder. The victor recovered the plundered treasures, ensigns, and relics, and laid cities and fortresses in ruins, above all, the splendid Dastagerd. Even in his flight the Shah of Shahs had gathered another army; but it was too late. Defection became universal. Chosroes was murdered by his son who aspired to the throne; and with him the glory of the empire of the Sassanidae sank. The emperor returned home as the champion of Christianity (Fig. 113). In order to mark the completeness of his victory, Heraclius made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem next year, and once more set up the reconquered cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.



FIG. 113.—Colossal bronze statue at Barletta, in Apulia. Perhaps the Emperor Heraclius. The largest extant ancient bronze statue in human form; height $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the head, torso, and arms are antique; the diadem on the head is the ancient imperial corona, set with pearls. (From Schulz.)

The great struggle was fatal alike to conquered and conqueror; for it shook both to the core, and this at a time when a new world-power came to the front, — Semitism quickened through Islam. In vain Heraclius reassembled his hosts, in vain he sent his best generals against the Saracens, before whom Syria, Egypt, and Tripoli fell. Even Asia Minor itself would scarcely have been retained, if the terrible foe had not divided its forces, and diverged towards Persia. The removal of the Holy Cross from Jerusalem to Constantinople was, as it were, the outward symbol of retreating



FIG. 114.—Silver coin of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantinus. *Milaresium*; $\frac{1}{8}$ pound. Reverse: *deus adjuta Romanis*. Original size. (Berlin.)

Christianity. And while the empire was thus brought to the verge of ruin through Persians and Moslems, the strife between the Monophysites and Orthodox, over the nature of Christ, not only went on at home, but was aggravated by the very attempt to compose it. Furthermore, difficulties arose from the emperor's matrimonial relations. Against all law, secular and ecclesiastical, he had married his beautiful niece, Martina, and shortly before his death decreed that Constantine (Fig. 114), the son of his first marriage, and Heracleonas, of the second, should be his joint successors, on condition of their maintaining his spouse in her imperial position.

When Martina showed herself in the circus she could not but see that the people did not recognize her, but only the two sons; and when, on the death of the elder, a few months later, Heracleonas became sole lord, the army showed its discontent by overt acts. The troops seized and held Chalcedon, and declared for Constans, the eldest son of the deceased Constantine III. Their indignation was only aggravated by Heracleonas, who, in his straits, came to terms with the Moslems, and surrendered Egypt. Supported by the parties hostile to the government, the soldiery broke out in open revolt.

A contest followed. Martina and the emperor were taken prisoners, maltreated, mutilated, and banished, while Constans II., a half-grown boy, ascended the throne (Fig. 115).



FIG. 115.—Silver coin of Constans II. and his son Constantine Pogonatus. Original size. (Berlin.)

At first the co-operation of the senate, then the personal rule of the emperor as he grew up, seem to have gained the upper hand in the government. It was rife with troubles and disorders. The military power, intractable as ever, proved untrustworthy. Province after province rose in revolt. The Slavs poured in on the north, the Lombards on the west, the Saracens on the south. Alexandria, Cyprus, and Rhodes were lost; and in a disastrous sea-fight the emperor narrowly escaped with his life. All combined to aggravate the religious scandals which Constans in vain sought to set at rest by his interdict. At home, too, his position was far from secure. The populace of Constantinople was ill-affected to him, and such was his suspicion of his brother that he removed him. When, therefore, the powerful Moawiyah of Syria, hard-pressed by Ali, concluded peace with the emperor, and acknowledged his supremacy by paying him tribute, Constans made an attempt to transfer the seat of government to the West. Entering Lower Italy in 661, by way of Athens, he engaged in a protracted struggle with the Lombards, and was finally murdered at Syracuse. A grand scheme seems to have lain at the bottom of his western expedition. Realizing that the East was in danger of falling to pieces, he formed the plan of consolidating all the western possessions of the empire into one state. Having secured this, he wished to reconquer Egypt, the granary of Constantinople, and therewith regain the favor of the populace of his capital. It was indeed time for the emperor to intervene in person in the west. Pope Martin I. had already begun to turn from the empire to the Franks; while the encroachments of the Lombards became more and more menacing. Out of regard for the peace of the church and for the strongest theological party in Egypt, Constans was inclined towards Monothelitism; if he could win over the pope to his views, a great point was gained. On the spot, he soon became convinced that this was impracticable, and, therefore, endeavored to aggrandize Ravenna as a rival to Rome. But circumstances were stronger than the emperor. His plans implied money; and this, again, implied increased taxes and an embittered people.

The same movement which had elevated him attempted to dictate his successor. The western army in Sicily chose a ruler, but the capital was little inclined to concede its right of election. To prevent an illegal one, the children of the emperor had been detained in Constantinople. The eldest of these, Constantine IV., Pogonatus

(668-685), was acknowledged by the senate and people. At once setting out for Sicily, he overthrew the anti-emperor. This done, he hurried back to Constantinople, which was in the direst straits. Sapor, a Persian, but held in the highest esteem by the Byzantine army, conceived a plan of seizing the throne by means of a military rising in Thrace, to be supported by Moawiyah from the south. Again the army advanced its arrogant claims, and the empire wavered on the brink of ruin. But its end had not yet come. Sapor was killed accidentally just before his allies were able to come on the scene with all their forces. Their land-troops encamped before Chalcedon, while their fleet steered directly for the capital. Bitter conflicts ensued, in which, however, the Moslems gained no decided advantage. For seven long years they wintered in Cyzicus, and, re-enforced each spring, reinvaded Constantinople. But the constancy of the Byzantines and the effective work of the 'Greek fire' compelled their ultimate retreat, and they were pursued and overthrown in Lycia. A revolt of the Mardaites in the Lebanon co-operated in favor of the Byzantines, so that Moawiyah, under the pressure of troubles at home, had to conclude peace in 678. The empire had once more demonstrated its wonderful tenacity of life. But next year it suffered a defeat at the hands of the barbarians, who stormed in on it from the north; and it was compelled to evacuate the Moesian Danube land. At the same time a revolt of the Macedonian Slavs broke out, which left Croatia and Servia in their hands, under the supremacy, however, of Byzantium. These various perils led to a faster consolidation of the rest of the empire. The brothers of the emperor were deprived of the title of Augustus. On November 7, 680, the sixth ecumenical council met at Constantinople, which, with the view of restoring concord in the east, and peace with the papacy, condemned Monothelism. A sort of military frontier was erected against hostile neighbors, and the means of resistance increased. Everything tended to sever the people from Roman tradition, and to engender an independent feeling of Graeco-Oriental nationality as the best guaranty for their future. Nothing more clearly shows the changed relation of the empire to Islam towards the close of Constantine's rule than the fact that the Calif Marwan entered into an agreement to surrender the Byzantine prisoners and to pay 1000 denarii daily, probably on the condition of the emperor defending him against his foes.

As the terms of this agreement were not kept in the eyes of the

Byzantines, Justinian II. (685–695, Fig. 116) declared war. He had already defeated the Bulgarians, and subdued several Slavic tribes, and re-enforced his army with them. Thus strengthened, he hoped to cope successfully with his hereditary foe. Unfortunately for him, the latter had come to terms with his domestic adversaries, and now succeeded in alienating the Slavic tribes through money. The war soon turned against Byzantium; and, though no conclusive result was attained, Asia Minor and Armenia suffered unspeakably. This reacted on Justinian's position in the city, where the burden of his imposts and his violence had made him unpopular, and converted the patriarch into an enemy. The malcontents found a head in the commander Leontius, who overthrew the indiscreet monarch, mutilated him, and drove him into exile.

The exploit of Leontius (695–698) owed its success mainly to its suddenness. When the people had become calm, the ground



FIG. 116.—Solidus of Justinian II., Rhinotmetus, and his son Tiberius.

Legend: *DomīNus* IVSTINIANVS ET TIBERIVS *PerPetuus Augustus*. Reverse: *IhS ChS REX REGNANTIVM*, 'Jesus Christ, King of Kings.' Head of Christ, with cruciform nimbus, and Gospel in his hands. This is the oldest known representation of Christ on coins. (About 690 A.D.) Original size. (Berlin.)

under the throne proved hollow. The adherents of the former ruling house, as well as the troops, began to murmur. All fell into confusion; and, as the nation was engaged in a war with the Mohammedans, the consequences were not long in coming. After a rapid succession of victories the Moslems subdued the province of Africa; and an attempt for its recovery not only miscarried, but caused a revolt, in which Constantinople was taken, and Leontius mutilated and deposed.

One of the ringleaders now assumed the purple, with the title of Tiberius III. (698–705). He was a valiant soldier, and successful against the Arabs: but his fatal weak point was want of a legal title to his position. The banished Justinian was still alive, brooding revenge and plans for his restoration. He addressed himself to the Turkish Chazars, then to the Bulgarians. Inducing both to take up arms, he fought his way back to the throne. Scarcely was he

reseated when cruel retribution was decreed against the partisans of the two upstarts. But the decree worked his own ruin, both at home and abroad. His friends, the Bulgarians, defeated him; the Arabs closed in on him; while the Chazars promoted a revolt which cost him and his sons their lives. The house of Heraclius became extinct at their death.

Philippicus, the murderer of Justinian's son, next ascended the bloody throne, from which his own folly shortly precipitated him (711-713). His reign ended as it began, with murder. His successor, Anastasius II. (713-716), did not fare much better. In one of his first undertakings, the equipment of a fleet in Rhodes, a portion of the crews mutinied, and on their way homeward compelled a high official, by name of Theodosius, to assume the purple, and conducted him to Constantinople. Anastasius at once stripped himself of his perilous honors, and assumed the cowl. But the doings of the fleet displeased the land-forces, and especially the commanders of the Anatolian and Armenian district, Leo and Artabasdu, who, with a view to their own interests, stood by Anastasius. In this way Leo, the more powerful of the two, not without the support of the Arab ruler Maslama, obtained the sovereignty. Theodosius willingly renounced the dignity he had never sought, and entered a monastery. The experiences of the last generation had been frightful. In seventeen years seven emperors had been elevated and overthrown; and revolt had become a chronic disease, in which all parties of the state had taken part in turn.

It was fortunate that in Leo III. (the Isaurian) an energetic man at length came to the throne, and held it long (717-741). His recent friendly relations with the national foe were quickly changed for the worse. Maslama appeared before Constantinople, crossed the strait, and invested the city by land and water. But for the skill of the emperor, the valor of the citizens, and the aid of storm, inundations, and 'Greek fire,' Constantinople would have succumbed to the superior force. Winter came, bringing bitterly severe weather, and worked dire havoc among the sons of the south. In vain a new fleet came in the spring. The sword, famine, and pestilence compelled the sorely reduced host, on August 15, 718, to raise the siege. It was the most crushing blow that Islam had ever received from an external foe. It rescued not only Constantinople, but Greek culture as well — nay, probably the whole west,—while it confirmed the throne to the Isaurian dynasty. A revolt of the partisans of Anas-

tasius and another in Sicily proved failures. The Saracens, indeed, renewed their inroads again and again, without, however, securing any permanent advantage. Domestic troubles had already begun to tell to the prejudice of their strength. And yet Mohammedanism became fatal for the empire. The same emperor who had so resolutely combated it in the field succumbed to its influence in point of his theological views, and thus introduced the baleful image-controversy. In spite of the remonstrances of learned divines and the impassioned denunciations of the Jews, image-worship had naturalized itself in all its fulness in the Christian cult. On the other hand, Leo, through his large intercourse with Mohammedans, had imbibed their iconoclastic principles, and endeavored to enforce them on the empire. In accordance with the Moslem idea of the absolute oneness of God, he not only repudiated invocation of the saints, but, in so doing, appeared to try to unite two faiths. In his very first steps he encountered the opposition of the Patriarch Germanus. This in no way alarmed him; and, in 726, he issued an edict restricting the veneration of images, and shortly thereafter, a second one interdicting it. In this union of imperial and ecclesiastical functions, also, he approximated Islam, and put the functions of the emperor on a level with those of the calif. His proceedings in this matter brought him into collision, not only with the oriental church, but, what was of more consequence, with the western papacy, whose representative was then Gregory II., a man who was fully conscious of his dignity. Thus he who by his sword had defended the empire so effectively against outside foes was not less effective in disorganizing it at home; for he divided the people into two classes, — image-worshippers and iconoclasts, — and brought about the definite defection of Rome.

The passionate conflict of the two parties dominated Byzantine history for a century.

CHAPTER VIII.

ISLAM.

(A. D. 570-750.)

ASIA is the original cradle of mankind, of culture, and of religions. Brahma, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, and Mohammed are all sons of this quarter of the globe. In accordance with the development and spread of civilization, their appearance followed the course of the sun from the east to the west. And not only did these giants of their respective faiths live and act there, but persons of the second and third rank — disciples, apostles, teachers, sectaries — grew up by their sides. In Asia, too, religion produced its greatest contrasts, — the deepest piety, the most convulsive ecstasies, the reveries of the anchorite, the keenest pursuit of personal advantage, the most absolute self-renunciation, voluntary emasculation, and wildest sensual indulgence.

In spite of encircling seas and deserts, most of these spiritual phenomena had transplanted themselves to the most sequestered land of the east — to Arabia. There Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity flourished together, allied to distinctive race characteristics.

Hira, the kingdom of the Lachmids, situated between the Euphrates and Tigris, and half subject to the supremacy of Persia, constituted the political germ of Arabia. The peninsula itself had here and there enjoyed an ancient civilization, which, first developed in the southwest, had later moved to the centre. There the nomad pitched his easily moved tent, the camel traversed its caravan-routes, or the ship conveyed the treasures of India along its coasts to Egypt. The gold-veined Saba of the southwest had become the kingdom of Yemen, whose cultured tribes, on the decay of its prosperity, moved northward. In Sana, then its capital, sat a Persian governor, who delegated his authority to the numerous independent petty princes of the ancient royal races. Between these southern Arabs and the many-tribed Ishmaelitish Bedouins of middle and northeast Arabia, there glowed the most unquenchable race hatred. Abyssinians, Persians, Syrians, and, above all, Jews, had, at one

time or other, found their way thither; and these last settled especially in the larger cities,—Sana, Teima, Cheibar, and especially in Medina (Yathrib),—while their influence stretched far beyond their seats. Medina they dominated for a long time, enriched through the culture of the date-palm and the pursuit of trade, till two south Arabian tribes drove them forth, themselves soon to fall asunder in strife. Yet, in spite of the bloodiest feuds and their splitting up into hundreds of tribes, the Arabs maintained a feeling of a sort of national unity, which was greatly strengthened by Mohammed's appearance on the scene.

On the west two mountain ranges ran parallel with the sea, the one leaving a small strip of intervening coast land, while a long valley between the two made the most frequented caravan route, with Mecca and Medina as its main stations. Of these, Mecca lay almost exactly between the two main tribes of the south and the north Arabs, inhabited by a mixed native population, and possessing in the Kaaba (Fig. 117) an ancient sanctuary of un-Arabic origin, which was glorified by a yearly spring festival and a fair. In the Kaaba the Bedouins, scattered all over the adjoining regions, set up their idols, towered over by the 'unknown God' of the Semites, Il, or Ilah (Allah), much as the gods of the Germans were dominated by their 'All-Father.' The Holy of Holies was the black stone (Fig. 118), the whole a reflex of the prevailing religious confusion. To be sure, it made Mecca a sort of capital for the most of the Arab tribes, who found a common centre in the Kaaba. This house of the gods was in the charge of the ancient tribe of the Koreish, which derived great prestige and no little profit from the office. This tribe was divided into many houses, of which that of Omayya was the most distinguished, far transcending the poorer Hashim. But it was from this latter family that the star of Arabia was to arise. Mohammed was Hashim's great-grandson.

Mohammed was born in Mecca, about the year 570,—probably August 20, 570; possibly April 20, 571,—his name signifying the Messiah, or Anointed. His father, Abdallah, was a petty tradesman, who died at an early age when on a business visit to Medina; and his mother, with a sore struggle, brought up the boy till she, too, was carried off by death. The orphan was now adopted by his grandfather, Abd-el-Muttalib, who, in turn, had soon to leave him to his son, Abu-Talib. When yet a child, Mohammed narrowly escaped being made an offering to an idol. Without private means, he

entered the service of Kadijah, the widow of a rich Koreish merchant, who became enamored of and married him. The young husband of an elderly wife, he belonged to the aristocracy of Mecca, and adopted Ali, the son of his guardian, Abu-Talib. He might now have been happy; but as he grew older, his spirit became more and more overclouded with gloom. The unsatisfactory religious conditions of his country were a source of acute anguish to his visionary and sensitive spirit, till, after long broodings and much inward strug-

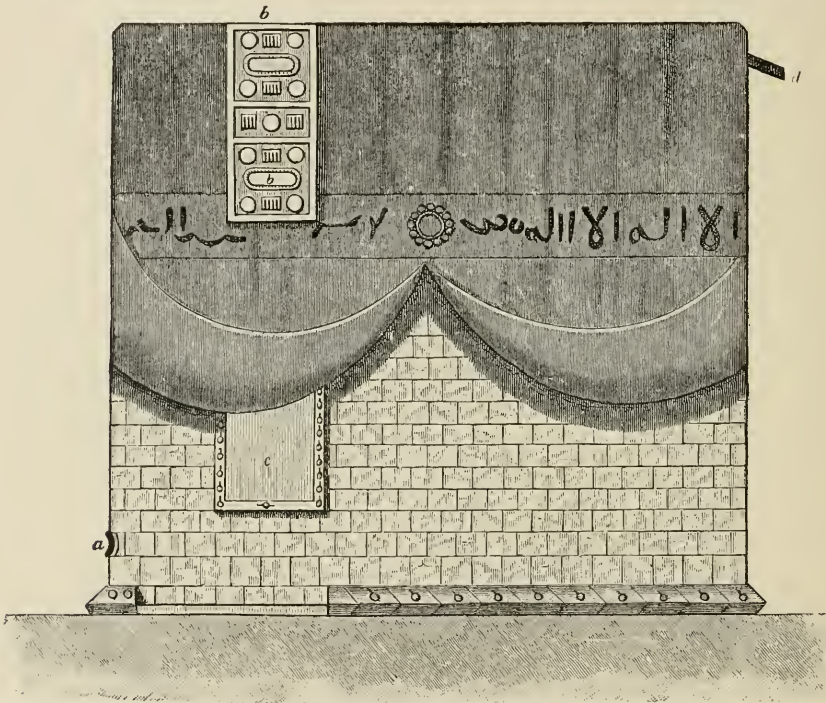


FIG. 117.—View of the Kaaba, with cover elevated. *a.* The Black Stone. *b.* Decorated curtain for the door. *c.* Door. *d.* Gutter. (From Mair.)

gle, he reached the conclusion that there was but one primeval God, — the God, namely, of Abraham, the progenitor of his race, and that He had chosen him as His apostle and herald, and accordingly forthwith enunciated the cry: “There is no God but God, and Mohamed is his prophet.” It was in the night Al Kadr that this revelation was made to him; and every tree, and every shrub, seemed to whisper to him the divine summons to restore the true faith to its original purity, and in it to reunite the dispersed tribes of Arabia.

At first he sought disciples in secret; then the inner voice impelled him to public preaching, which he prosecuted with all the conviction of a fanatic, and an eloquence irresistibly captivating. But while thus collecting a church around him, he alienated himself from his tribal brethren, who began to hate him, and branded him as a liar. With good reason the Koreish dreaded that they were in danger of losing those prerogatives which the guardianship of the Kaaba secured them. On the other hand, every means for the attainment of power seemed justifiable to Mohammed; for he was the representative of that Godhead which called on him not to refrain even from war for the propagation of the faith. The relations became strained in the extreme, and this the more because the Prophet found disciples among the many pilgrims of Mecca. Two tribes from the neighborhood of Medina acknowledged him, and pledged him fidelity and obedience. The point had arrived when the Koreish must either follow their example or take the risk of violence. Repeated conferences were held, which ultimately took so menacing a turn that Mohammed, with his most trusted adherent, Abu-Bekr, fled to Medina (622), where he knew he was safe. This flight—the Hejira—is one of the most significant events in history; it established a new commonwealth upon the tribal divisions, a fellowship of the faithful on a monotheistic foundation, with their apostle as its head. In order that his preaching might have free sway, Mohammed set aside the old conception of the indissolubility of the kin- and tribe-band; religion became to him a policy as well, and in such a form it was to make its conquests. His aim was not only to restore the fugitives from Mecca to their former possessions, but at the same time to win the main sanctuary and the richest city of the land.

In 624 a battle took place not far from Bedr, between the men of Mecca and those of Medina—the Koreishites and the Moslems—when the faith-inspired fury of his disciples, under the personal leading of their prophet, won a complete victory. It was the verdict of God. To the carcasses of his foes, cast into a pit, Mohammed called out, “Have you found the promise of your Lord true? I have so found that of my Lord.” The defeat only stimulated the rage of the Koreishites, who refused to succumb to the hated apostates. Even their women took the field, and their energy was rewarded by a victory over the Moslems. Mohammed himself narrowly escaped death, while his Jewish following deserted him and joined the enemy,

who now threw themselves upon Medina. The attempt was fruitless; the gallant defence of the Medinites forced them to withdraw. Retaliation now overtook the faithless Jews, of whom six hundred are said to have been put to death. The prophet was now master of Medina, whence he went forth on his career of conquest.

Weary at length of the protracted struggle, the Koreishites and Moslems agreed to a peace, which led immediately to the irresistible extension of the Mohammed's power, and then, on frivolous pretexts, to the renewal of strife. Unexpectedly the prophet appeared before Mecca with an overpowering force, when the Koreishites, with ruin before their eyes, acknowledged their old tribesman as the messenger of God; and January 11, 630, he made his triumphant entry into

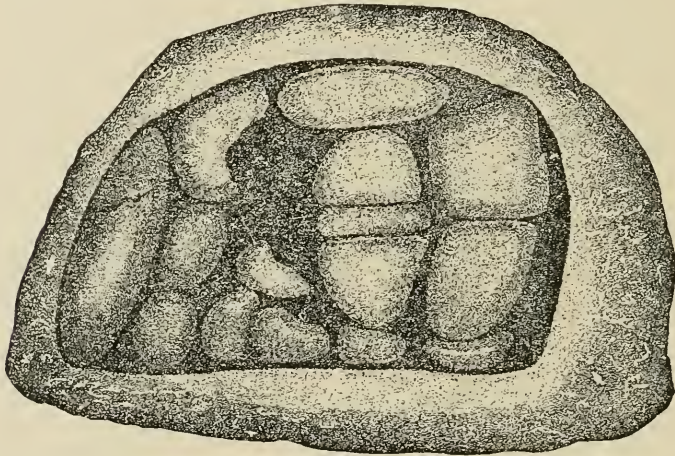


FIG. 118.—The Black Stone in the Kaaba at Mecca. (Muir.)

the city. In complete armor he rode to the Kaaba—amid the thousand voices crying, ‘God is great!’—and caused the idols to be shattered. Alternate beneficence and force completed the subjugation of the rest of Arabia; for the dogma that all Moslems are brothers, the most pious being the foremost, won the hearts of the lower classes especially. In Medina, Mohammed held court as commander, lawgiver, king, and prophet; and it became a sacred duty for the faithful to purify themselves in infidel blood. A poet sang: “We war on all men till they believe; to us victory is ever easy.” When, in the tenth year of the Hejira, Mohammed set out, with his nine wives, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he is said to have been accompanied by 40,000 disciples. He died, in the midst of his schemes of

conquest, June 8, 632, at the age of sixty-one, attended on his deathbed only by his favorite wife, Ayesha, and his faithful comrade, Omar.

Mohammed seems to have been a man of wonderful personal magnetism, well-balanced, elastic, and powerful, yet with nothing conspicuously distinctive. True to his friends, tenacious of purpose, of few wants, upright, honorable, sparing of words and yet genial, he was at once a master of eloquence, a genuine poet, an intrepid and circumspect commander, an able statesman and legislator, of captivating, imposing mien, but terrible in his wrath. As with all truly



FIG. 119.—Attitudes in prayer. (From Lane.)

great men, strong passions seethed deep down in his breast, which on occasions asserted themselves in sensuality and acts of violence, while a brilliant idealism was in him united with cool and crafty calculation. In both his good and bad aspects he was a true son of Arabia. "Who was not for him was against him," and was crushed accordingly in the name of that God who justified him in all he did, and who through his Angel revealed that true gospel, which shortly after his death was compiled in the form of the Koran by Abu-Bekr, and found expression not rarely in a style of real sublimity.

For a great part of the world Mohammed was the founder of a kind of monotheism which combined in itself Judaism and Christianity, largely modifying both. He was acquainted with the Psalms,

and imitated them, and conceded great influence to the Talmud. The gospel he knew only in the form promulgated by the Gnostic sects; but it is probable that he received from it the suggestion of a revelation, which led to his being the author of a religion. In accordance with the gospel, he demanded belief in him as the apostle of God; and his doctrine had the ring which won faith, especially from the people of whose manner of thought it was the product, and with whose preconceived ideas it was largely in harmony. The Arabic Kaaba he retained as his central point. If Christianity pointed to a supra-mundane kingdom of God, Islam ('revelation') did



FIG. 120.—Attitudes in prayer. (From Lane.)

the reverse. It taught that the earthly was the embodiment of the divine kingdom. Its head was the stern, unapproachable Jehovah of the Jews in Arab guise, while its paradise was essentially that of the Talmud. Its exacting God required devotion,—prayer five times a day (Figs. 119, 120), fasts, purifications, almsgiving, pilgrimages to Mecca, battle, and submission to death,—while he tolerated no image either of himself or others. Their assurance of unconditional predestination stimulated the courage of the faithful to fanaticism, and the hope of the sensuous enjoyments of their paradise made them greet death with joy. Never before had such a unification of the secular and the spiritual forces been seen;

never had the two been made even approximately so mutually helpful, and hence all but irresistible.

Mohammed is Arabia's hero. His powerful spirit it was which unified the people of an obscure corner of the universe in speech, faith, and arms, and projected them, with their native, sinewy strength, into the central arena of the world. It was his express order that his followers should disseminate Islamism. This faith stood midway between paganism and Christianity, — between the empires of Persia and Byzantium; and as Islam was not only a religion but a principality, contact with it could result only in war.

In Mohammed's lifetime a collision with the Byzantines had already occurred which resulted in the victory of the latter, and it was while fresh bands were rallying to him that he died.

Many could not realize the fact of his death, and believed that, like Moses and Christ, he would return to them. But those most deeply interested had something far different to occupy their thoughts. In the unsettled state of affairs, the main object was to insure with all speed the unity of the still crude state. Three parties confronted one another, — the Mecca-friends of the deceased and the companions of his flight, the Koreish, with Abu-Bekr and Omar at their head; the men of his capital, Medina; and the members of the Mohammedan family Hashim, at whose head were Fatima, the prophet's daughter, and her husband, Ali. Already the Medinites seemed on the eve of success, when, at a wildly tumultuous assemblage, the Koreish party succeeded in electing Mohammed's oldest friend, Abu-Bekr (632-634). Assuming the proudly modest title of Calif ('Chalifatu Rassul Allah,' that is, 'Lieutenant of the Apostle of God'), he remained in a small dwelling in the suburbs, and strove to meet his needs from his moderate private fortune. Abu-Bekr proved the man for the emergency, and the false prophets and malcontents were overthrown. He died after a short rule, when Arabia was again united under Islam, and prepared to conquer the world. On his deathbed he designated his companion, Omar, as his successor.

It was a happy choice; for Omar's reign was signalized by that irresistible course of victory which carried the banner of the Prophet to Tripoli, Merv, and India. Ambitious and ardent for action, he lived under favorable conditions. Byzantium and Persia had both exhausted themselves in a long and desolating war and were, besides, in distressing circumstances at home. This condition decided in his favor; for with either of these great powers in the fulness of its

strength Islam was as yet in no condition to cope. By mutually enfeebling each other they rendered possible the rise of a third power, which would probably otherwise have remained in Arabia, and wasted its strength by internecine conflicts. The embittered Perso-Byzantine war constituted the preliminary condition essential for the success of the Califate. For now the two empires were no longer a match for the plundering hordes.

Through the legendary 'Battle of the Chains,' and other victories, Abu-Bekr wrested the kingdom of Hira from the Persians, and then turned against the Byzantines, who, although defeated at Gaza, succeeded in checking his advance till Khalid-ben-Walid (Fig. 121) joined him with re-enforcements. Khalid, 'The Sword of God and Scourge of the Unbelievers,' was at that time the foremost cham-



FIG. 121.—Copper coin of Khalid-ben-Walid. Minted at Tiberias about 636 A.D. (fifteenth year of the Hejira). Original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: figure of the Byzantine emperor, holding in his right hand a cross; in his left the imperial globe, surmounted by a cross. Left, a ram (?); right, TIBETIA, for TIBEPPIA. Reverse: in the centre the mintmark, M, with a cross above. Right: XAAEΔ (= Khalid); below, NOϞ; left, ΛΑΑΝ. Perhaps for BOZAMN = BOZAIMAN = Abu-Suleiman, the praenomen of Khalid.

pion of Islam, subduer of the revolted Musailama, and conqueror of the Persians. Displaying his standard of the Black Eagle, forthwith he stormed forward. The strong Bostra, the bulwark of Syria, fell to him; the brave commander, Theodosius, was overthrown on a bloody field, and the palm-environed Damascus captured after a six-months' investment. Meanwhile the Emperor Heraclius had set new armies on foot, and advanced them into Syria for the rescue of that most important province. In 634 a great battle took place on the Yarmuk, a tributary of the Jordan, wherein victory wavered in the balance, till ultimately fanaticism and numbers prevailed over Greek skill and superior arms. Syria was the prize of this victory,—one of the bloodiest ever won by Islam. Henceforth Heraclius was unable to cope with the foe in the field on equal terms; and city after city was lost to him, not excepting Jerusalem and Antioch. The former made a gallant defence, and

submitted only when all hope of relief was lost. The Calif was present in person, and pledged security for life, property, and faith, modestly entering the city leading a camel on which a slave sat. Soon a Mohammedan mosque arose on the site of Solomon's glorious temple (PLATE XIX.). Widely different was the demeanor and fate of effeminate Antioch. At the foot of the cross Heraclius bewailed in its cathedral the sins of princes and people; and then, betaking himself to his ships, left its inhabitants to their fate. Rapid was the decadence of the former Queen of the East, once the most populous city of the empire.

Meanwhile the realm of the Sassanidae was also fulfilling its destiny. In Rustam there arose a hero of the people, who roused all Persia's slumbering energies, and overthrew the Arabs in the 'Battle

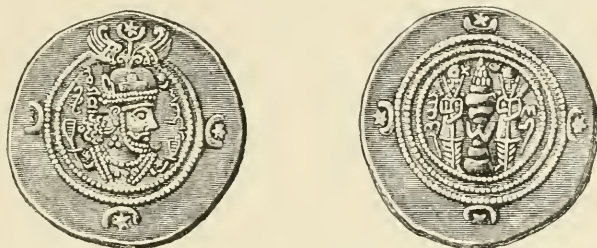


FIG. 122.—Silver coin of Yezdigerd III. Obv.: head of king: in front, *Yzdkrt*; behind, *afzut*. Rev.: the altar of fire and attendants: left, probably *hsht*, or "8"; right, *au*, abbreviation of the name of a city. Size of original. (Berlin.)

of the Bridge,' so renowned in legend. But the defeat served only to awaken the tribesmen's pride and thirst for revenge. At Cadesia the armies again met, elephants and mailed cavalry constituting the reliance of the Persians; camels and light horsemen, that of the Saracens. Three days long did the battle rage without decisive result; on the fourth the unbelievers gave way, Rustam fell, and the jewel-beset panther-hide, the banner of the Persians, was lost. The power of the fire-worshippers was broken; and, though still showing their face to the foe, they recoiled ever backward. Arab colonies arose on the conquered soil, foremost of all Basra on the Euphrates, which grew to be the chief commercial emporium on the Persian Sea, and all but monopolized the trade with India and China. And the Sons of the Desert pressed ever farther eastward, Yezdigerd III. (Fig. 122)—the last Persian king—losing heart and hope as they approached. With his treasures and the sacred fire he

deserted his splendid capital, Madain, that fell an easy prey to the victors, and which, by the founding of the Arabic Cufa, was fated never to rise again. In their despair the Persians hurled themselves again and again against the irresistible invader, and some cities offered a stubborn resistance. All in vain. Iran, Mesopotamia, and Persia itself fell in their turns; the grandson of the great Chosroes perished by the hand of an assassin, while his son fled to China. The military power of Persia and the religion of Zoroaster waned before the rising star of Islam.

As in the east, so in the west. Sallying forth from Syria, the brave commander, Amru, assailed Egypt. The convulsions that shook the Byzantine empire were the more severely experienced here from the fact that, as Egypt was a land of many races and many religions, the empire was largely regarded as a foreign dynasty. To the numerous Monophysites (Jacobites), especially, as to the Copts, it was very much a matter of indifference to whom they paid tribute. It is even said that Mokaukas, the governor or head of the Copts, entered into a compact with Amru, by which his people were to live unmolested so long as they paid him tribute; and it may be that other party leaders followed his example. The Byzantines themselves, on the other hand, were so rent with manifold and embittered strifes that the government stooped to an agreement, conceding the withdrawal of its troops and its claim to tribute on condition that the internal conditions of the country should be in no respect interfered with. Amru kept his engagement. He continued, indeed, the system of imposts so severe on the natives; but otherwise refrained from violence, and from laying hands on the property of the church. The consequence was, that amid the contentions following on Heraclius's death (see p. 373), the capital, Alexandria, at first hostile to Amru and besieged in vain by him, now drew nearer to him, and surrendered on conditions, cashiering its Byzantine garrison in the autumn of 643. Thus, as Syria had entered into amicable relations with the Moslem through Jerusalem and Damascus, so did Egypt through Alexandria. The land which for long had been the granary for the Mediterranean states now fulfilled the same function for the arid Arabia; and a canal was constructed to convey its products to the Red Sea. The great tribal relations of primeval antiquity were thus renewed, and a means created that enabled Amru to cross the sandy deserts, to capture Barca, Tripoli, and Sabra, and to make his first essay upon the Berbers.

But these vigorous operations were to recoil with disastrous force on the head of their real author — the Calif Omar. A Christian of Cufa fell suddenly on him in the mosque, and dealt him his death-wound. Omar's mode of acting was decisive; he was a man of deeds, resolutely forceful in his rule, a born politician, warrior, and conqueror, and the real founder of the world-wide empire of the Saracens. With the most inflexible persistence he pressed ever right forward to his aim, garnering immeasurable booty in the treasury of Medina for new enterprises and the glorification of the Prophet. His personal habits were of the most simple, his diet being said to have been commonly dates and water, while his raiment was that of a poor man, and his couch a bundle of palm fibres. For the exterior, his reign constituted the heroic age of Islam; for the interior, its patriarchal period; for, notwithstanding the gigantic proportions assumed by state affairs, he, like Abu-Bekr, respected the parity of all believers, and stood ever close to them as their fellow-man.

Omar's death revealed how much the califate depended on the individual. The choice of his successor really lay between the two sons-in-law of Mohammed,—Ali and Othman; and of these, Othman, by pledging himself to walk in accordance with God's Word, and the practice of his predecessors, received the people's homage. Men hoped that God's help would compensate for his weakness. But it was soon to be seen that expectations based on theology accord ill with the facts of the world. Othman (644–656) was old and weakly facile, his empire young and unconsolidated,—conditions sufficient to let loose all the conflicting principles and personalities upon each other, and to prepare his own end. At first the state-machine, under the impulse given it by Omar, worked smoothly enough; and his brilliant conquests in Eastern Persia and North Africa were completed and rounded out. But amid this seeming quiet the reciprocal antipathies of the worldly-minded and the pious believers too surely developed themselves, as well as a dangerous aspiration for independence, especially in the camp-cities, Basra and Cufa, whose unstable populations easily lent themselves to revolt. The septuagenarian Othman was not the man for the emergency. A member of the foremost family of Mecca—that of Omayya—he felt himself an aristocrat among plebeians, and showed so strong a partiality for his kin, that all the commanderies throughout the nation fell to their share, and by no means always to those best

fitted to fill them. This policy of nepotism was to constitute the ground-work for a long-enduring supremacy of the Omayyads; but, new as it was to the people, it served at first to aggravate the commotion. The pious, especially, murmured at the grievous increase of luxury and love of pleasure, at the avidity and arrogance of the ruling caste, at innovations of all kinds, and especially at the revision and modification of the Koran (cf. Fig. 126). A spirit of ferment worked everywhere, and only the firm hand of a resolute ruler could have availed to keep it in check; but the feeble dotard recoiled before it, and so aggravated the evil. The old companions of Mohammed, under a gnawing sense of systematic slight, assumed a threatening attitude; and Ali, second son-in-law of the Prophet, made bitter personal reproaches to the calif for his unfair preferment of the Omayyads, while the people of his capital, Medina, spoke out openly of revolt. On Mohammed, son of Abu-Bekr, head of the Egyptian malcontents, as well as armed bands of mutineers from Cufa and Basra, appearing on the scene, they found many to support them, besieged the calif in his palace, and, forcing their way in, slew him. The deed was perpetrated when the victim, unmoved by the din of battle, was seeking consolation in the Koran.

This atrocious act ripened the evils that were to follow. Ambition and intrigue ran riot in Medina, till Ali, after some temporizing, assumed the califate (656-661), and compelled homage through terror. But only too soon was it to be seen how hollow the foundation was on which his throne rested. The authorities named by him found either no recognition, or only the most specious, — least of all from the powerful Omayyad, Moawiyah, governor of Syria, to whom Amru, the astute conqueror and ruler of Egypt, had betaken himself. Even in Mecca the change met with no acceptance. There still lived Ayeshah (Aïsha), the Prophet's favorite wife, and "Mother of the Faithful," and Ali's deadly foe. With the party that now rallied around her, she advanced on Basra, where she gained the upper hand. Thither Ali, also, betook himself, re-enforced by the men of Cufa. Negotiations ensued, and a truce was arranged on condition that the calif should break with the murderers of the king. These, seeing themselves in danger of being made the sacrifice for peace, broke the truce, and fell on the insurgents unawares. A battle ensued, the first of Moslem against Moslem, and, like all fratricidal conflicts, of most embittered character. The insurgent commanders fell, and their troops gave ground. When, however,

they reached the camel on which Ayesha sat, her call, like a trumpet-note, brought them to a halt; and the bloody contest was renewed, with the camel bearing the intrepid woman in the centre. But a sinew of the animal's leg was divided, whereupon it sank to the ground, and with it the courage of her defenders. "The Battle of the Camel" was decided in Ali's favor, and he was master of Arabia and the East.

But another and a mightier foe now entered the field,—Moawiyah of Damascus. He had been able not only to convert his province of Syria into an appanage of the Omayyad house, but, by the subjugation of the Phoenician cities, to make Islam a naval power, and to direct his combined forces against the empire. His vastly superior fleet subjugated Cyprus and Rhodes; and he was already planning an advance on Constantinople, when disorders broke out in Tripoli, that protracted themselves till Othman's murder opened a new scene of action. Moawiyah assumed the rôle of avenger of his kinsman, the martyred calif, and, to inflame the indignation of the hot-blooded Arabs, set up his blood-stained garment as his standard in Damascus. The two armies came in view of each other in Siffin, a district on the Euphrates, each about 70,000 strong, and each distinguished by its own national and religious characteristics. On the one side stood the Syrians and the free-thinking party of the Omayyads; on the other the men of Irak (those of Basra and Cufa), with the Arabians, the regicides, and the old zealous company of Mohammed,—the kernel of the army being constituted by a body of fanatics, who, from their incessant study of the Koran, had acquired the name of "Readers." A long time was spent in alternate skirmishing and negotiations, for Moslems were loath to shed Moslem blood. At length the embittered hosts hurled themselves upon each other. The struggle raged for three days till at length victory began to declare for Ali, who fought undauntedly in the van. Then the losing party suddenly (and shrewdly) held forth a number of Korans on their lance-points, with the cry that God's word, not the sword, should decide the contest. This had the desired effect on the earnest zealots, who prevailed on Ali, against his will, to leave the dispute to the adjudication of two arbiters. Before these arrived at a decision, the weak point in Ali's strangely mixed host discovered itself, and it began to crumble to pieces. A politico-religious sect of puritanical fanatics branched off, declaring that, in accordance with the Koran, "they had separated themselves from the unfaithful

through their desire to walk in God's way," wherefore they received the name of "Kharijites," or Separatists. More and more these came into collision with the Shiites, that is, the heterogeneous elements, constituting the partisans of Ali, among whom Persian influences were especially pronounced, teaching them to see in the Great King the incorporation of the Divine Spirit, hereditary from father to son. As the Kharijites constituted the representatives of the pure Arabo-Islamic element, so the Shiites were permeated by a Perso-Pantheistic spirit. A section of the former separated themselves completely from Ali, and, crossing the Tigris, set up a calif of their own. On the foreseen occurring, and the arbiters separating without any result, nothing was left Ali but a new campaign across the Tigris. The whole misery of dissension now manifested itself. The fanatic Kharijites spread themselves on Ali's rear, who, to deliver himself from the peril, had nought left him but to cut them to pieces. Such as managed to escape raged only with greater fury, while discouragement seized even the people of Cufa, who declined longer to follow Ali's leading. Egypt was seized by Moawiyah's trusted commander, Amru, while he himself advanced against the calif. For more than two years did these rivals do their best to destroy each other, till three Kharijites fell upon the sovereign on his way to the house of God, and slew him.

Ali fell a sacrifice to his hereditary claim to rule; and with him fell all that was left of the patriarchal period of Islam. He was a sincere Moslem, formidable in the field; at home, a gifted poet and preacher. By nature he was beneficent and mild, — qualities little appropriate for that iron time, for they made him undecided when he should have acted with unscrupulous resolution. But it was these idealistic features that made him to the one-half of Islam the holiest of martyrs, and loaded the name of his more fortunate rival with infamy and execration.

From the antipathy of the inhabitants of Irak to the Syrians, the consequences of the murder were for a moment in doubt; and this the more that the army did homage to Ali's eldest son, Hasan. But the latter was little fitted to maintain his claim against an adversary so energetic and astute as Moawiyah, and submitted to him accordingly. The victor entered Cufa, repressed a revolt at Basra, but trusted so little to the Irakians that he appointed Siyad — Ali's governor of Fars, but his own half-brother — ruler of the whole east, and, though he was of slave birth, recognized the relationship,

probably with the view of naming him his successor. Siyad proved an admirable regent; kept both Persians and Irakians in subjection, and restored order and confidence, his aim being to win support for himself among the more moderate elements, as well as to propitiate the Old Believers, or, if these should prove insubordinate (as the Kharijites in Basra), to break them up, or utterly crush them. But their fearlessness and inflexibility boded no good for the future, especially as Siyad died in 673.

Moawiyah was now calif (656-679); and the Omayyads were masters of the situation, as was soon demonstrated by the choice, not of the orthodox Medina, or any of the Moslem cities of Irak, but of the secular Damascus, for his capital, and the vesting of the

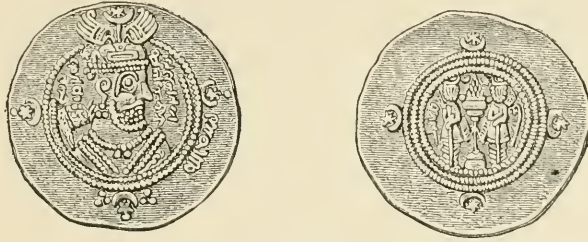


FIG. 123.— A Dirhem, silver coin of the Calif Moawiyah, after the Persian type. Original size. (Berlin.)

Obverse: head of the Sassanid Chosroes II., carefully imitated; behind the head two uncertain Persian words, which regularly are found on later Sassanian coins. In front of the head: "Moawiyah, Prince of the Faithful," in Persian. On the margin, in Arabic characters, "In the name of Allah."
Reverse: the altar of fire with two priests; left "forty-three;" right "Da," the initial letters of the name of a city.

hegemony in Syria. The difficulties confronting him were great: besides the mutual antipathy of Syria and Irak, there yawned a chasm, as it were, between him and the Old Believers with Ali's second son, Husein, and the crafty Abdallah, son of Mohammed's companion Sobeir, at their head. These people held tenaciously to the hope of the restoration of the Hashimites and the overthrow of the house of Omayya, which it in no way regarded as orthodox. To all this was susperadded the century-old hate between Keis and Kellb; that is, between the Maadditish or North-Arabic tribes and the Yemenite or South-Arabic, as well as the local jealousies of the various provinces and districts, pride of race and religion, etc. But Moawiyah (Fig. 123) understood how to master all adverse influ-

ences, confirm his throne, and consolidate the strength of Islam, and direct it on the exterior.

He renounced the truce made with Byzantium during his struggle with Ali (see p. 373), and began a new war that for more than twenty years devastated Asia Minor, and more than once brought the Arabs close to the walls of Constantinople, without, however, their being able to gain a firm foothold on the old Greek soil. After various unsuccessful attempts, the calif reconciled himself to peace in 678. Africa offered more hopeful prospects. Here Islam had already effected a settlement along the north coast under Omar and Othman, with Barca as its centre. But the revival of the power of Byzantium was even here not without effect, till the Koreish Okba ibn-Nafi received the command-in-chief. He led repeated expeditions against the Sahara, and beyond Tripoli westward, and founded Kairwan (i.e., 'a strong camp'), not far from Carthage, thus gaining a fast foothold in the Roman province (670). The dissensions in the califate prevented further conquests; although Okba persevered in his efforts till 683, vaunting Arabic authors boasting that he reached as far as Tangiers. His death gave occasion to a reactionary movement, so that Barca again became the westernmost landmark of the Moslem empire.

About the same time (670-676) powerful assaults were made on the Turks on the north and east, whereby the brave Obeidallah reached Bokhara beyond the Oxus, sending the first Turkish slaves to Basra; and Said even conquered Samarkand. The consequence was a tedious border war, and, after many fluctuations, the spread of Islam as far as Baluchistan and the Indian Panjab.

Moawiyah, in the evening of his days, was able to contemplate with satisfaction the result of his labors. He ruled over a largely extended and well-ordered empire; one thing only was wanting to him, — security for the succession. As a good Omayyad he sought to secure this for his son Yezid; but in thus acting he not only transgressed ancient usage, but preferred one whose character gave grave cause for doubt. None the less he carried his will unhesitatingly into execution, and on his death Yezid was acknowledged everywhere.

Moawiyah belongs to the class of the more notable rulers of the earlier califate. He was an able, eloquent Meccaite, adroit to the last degree in the management of men, irreproachable in affairs, astute, far-seeing, ambitious, and enterprising. He was wont to

say, "I make no use of my sword as far as my whip can reach, and not of my whip when my tongue is enough."

The compulsory and almost fraudulent elevation of Yezid (679–683) led to Islam's second civil war. The party of the Hashimites was still alive in Husein, Ali's second son, and in Sobeir's son Abdallah, a member of Mohammed's house. With the differences of the Hashimites and Koreishites were mixed up those of the Shiites, the Old Believers, and the freethinkers, of the Arabs, Irakians, and Syrians; nay, of North and South Arabs. In Irak, the Shiites ranged themselves on the side of Husein, but found a stern antagonist in the governor Obeidallah (successor to his father Siyad), who repressed the rising ruthlessly, hanging Husein's envoy, and ultimately slaying the Prophet's grandson at Kerbela. This last act kindled a flame of indignation among the Shiites that was rendered all the more dangerous that—supported by the popular sentiment of Persia—it came to regard the Omayyad dynasty as politically and religiously a foreign one,—a feeling that culminated in a true adoration of Ali and his sons. Discontent was at work, too, in Medina and Mecca, the feeling in the latter city concentrating itself upon Abdallah. Filled with unforgotten hate for Mecca's Koreish aristocracy, the faithful of Medina declared Yezid's deposition. Against these Muslim *ibn-Obka*, a fierce foe of the Old Believers, advanced, and, overthrowing them on the Harra, gave up the early capital of the Prophet for three days to rapine, from which it never recovered. Shortly after this deed of revenge Muslim died, and Husein *ibn-Numeir* succeeded to his command. Soon the half-heathenish hordes of the new general encompassed the venerable Mecca. The Kaaba was set in flames by the fire showered on it, so that the holy stone burst asunder from the intensity of the heat. All portended that the city was to share the fate of Medina, when, on a sudden, news came of the death of Calif Yezid. He passed away unexpectedly, without having secured the succession to his eldest son, Moawiyah.

Yezid's death at this eventful moment was the signal for the outbreak of ten years of party strife and disorders. His sons were too young to rule; and, in order to establish a stable government, Husein *ibn-Numeir* offered peace to Mecca and the califate to Abdallah, still shut up therein. The latter, however, declined any fellowship with the persecutor of the faithful, so that nothing was left to Husein but to lead his army to Syria, and bring its influence to bear on the current of events there. Meanwhile Damascus had

recognized Moawiyah II. (683), who, however, died within a few weeks, probably through poison. This inclined the beam in favor of Abdallah, who was acknowledged almost everywhere. Marwan, the oldest and most respected of the Omayyads, held his house's cause as well-nigh lost, when Obeidallah of Irak and Husein of Arabia interposed, and prompted him to assume the califate. At first Marwan I. (684-685) was nothing more than leader of the Yemenites; but at Rahit he defeated the Keisites and secured Syria. Egypt was recaptured, a Shiite host destroyed, and the succession secured for Marwan's eldest son, when the calif was murdered out of revenge by his own wife, the mother of Yezid's second (now supplanted) son.



FIG. 124.—Dirhem of Abdalmalek. The most ancient purely Arabic coin.
Damascus, 698 A.D.

Obverse: in centre, "there is no God save Allah alone; he hath no like": margin, "in the name of Allah this dirhem was struck in the year 79, at Damascus."
Reverse: in centre, "Allah is one, Allah is the eternal; he hath not begotten; he is unbegotten, and there is none like unto him." (Cf. Koran, Sur. 112.) Margin: "Mohammed is the one sent of God; through him hath he sent guidance and the true religion, that he [perhaps 'that they'] may make him lord over religion, even though the worshippers of idols would not suffer it." (Cf. Koran, Sur. 9, 23.)

It was at this perilous crisis that Abdalmalek (685-705) attained power everywhere from Arabia to the Oxus (Figs. 124, 125). Bloody wars raged between the various sects and tribes, and brought the very existence of the realm into danger. The most extreme vigilance and energy were called for to restore and confirm order; and Abdalmalek was the right man for the occasion, — probably the greatest man of his house. He it is who is to be regarded as the second founder of the empire of the Moslems. In Cufa, Mochtar, as avenger of Husein, son of Ali, inaugurated a reign of terror, and overthrew Abdalmalek's army in a fearful battle, in which both its leaders — Obeidallah and Husein ibn-Numeir — fell. The expedition for Kerbela! But Mochtar's gleam of success was short-lived. Shortly thereafter he was defeated and slain by Abdallah's brother, Mosab, whereupon the Shiite rebellion collapsed, and with it the

attempt to win independence for Persia. The vengeance of the Arab victors was in proportion to the danger and their passions.

Abdallah was now ruler over Arabia and the east; yet in many quarters only ostensibly, for Mosab, to the deep detestation of the peoples, bore himself almost independently as governor of the east. Abdalmalek advanced against him with his Syrians and Egyptians. In 690 a battle took place on the Little Tigris, at the Catholicus convent, not far from Meskin, wherein the Omayyad was victor, and his formidable adversary slain. Irak lay prostrate, and Abdalmalek was free to proceed against Arabia. Siege was laid to Mecca; and when, after six months' resistance, its strength began to fail, Abdallah sought and found the death of a warrior (692). When, shortly thereafter, the governor of Khorasan also succumbed, prayer



FIG. 125.—Copper coin of Abdalmalek. Aleppo, without date. Original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: figure of the calif standing, with flowing beard, a long sword, and an uncertain object, resembling a quiver. Legend: *cabd allah Abdalmalek emir elmu-
menin*, or 'coin of] the servant of God, Abdalmalek, Prince of the Faithful.' Reverse: the cross found on Byzantine coins, its form modified with intent: left, *waf* 'of full weight'; right, Haleb, or Aleppo. Legend, *la ilah ill' allah wah-
dahu, Mohammed rasul allah*, 'there is no other God save God alone, Mohammed is the one sent of God.'

This coin, like many earlier Arabic coins, is made in imitation of Byzantine coins.

was offered for Abdalmalek in all the mosques throughout the wide empire. But he was not yet to enjoy rest. Revolt followed on revolt, especially in the east, where the governor, Hajaj, ruled with an iron hand. The conflict with the fanatic Kharijites had to be continued for years long; Abd-er-Rahman ibn-Mohammed, with his war-inured Cufaites and Basrites, bringing even Syria into straits. It was not till his bloody head was brought to Damascus in 705, and the strongly occupied Wasit founded between Cufa and Basra, that there was distinct demonstration of the final triumph of the Omayyads. It was ever in their favor that the many discordant elements were so occupied with their own sectional quarrels that they were in no case to make common cause. Great in war, Abdalmalek showed himself equally great in administration. With all the adroitness of a born statesman, he made the mutual antipathies of Keis

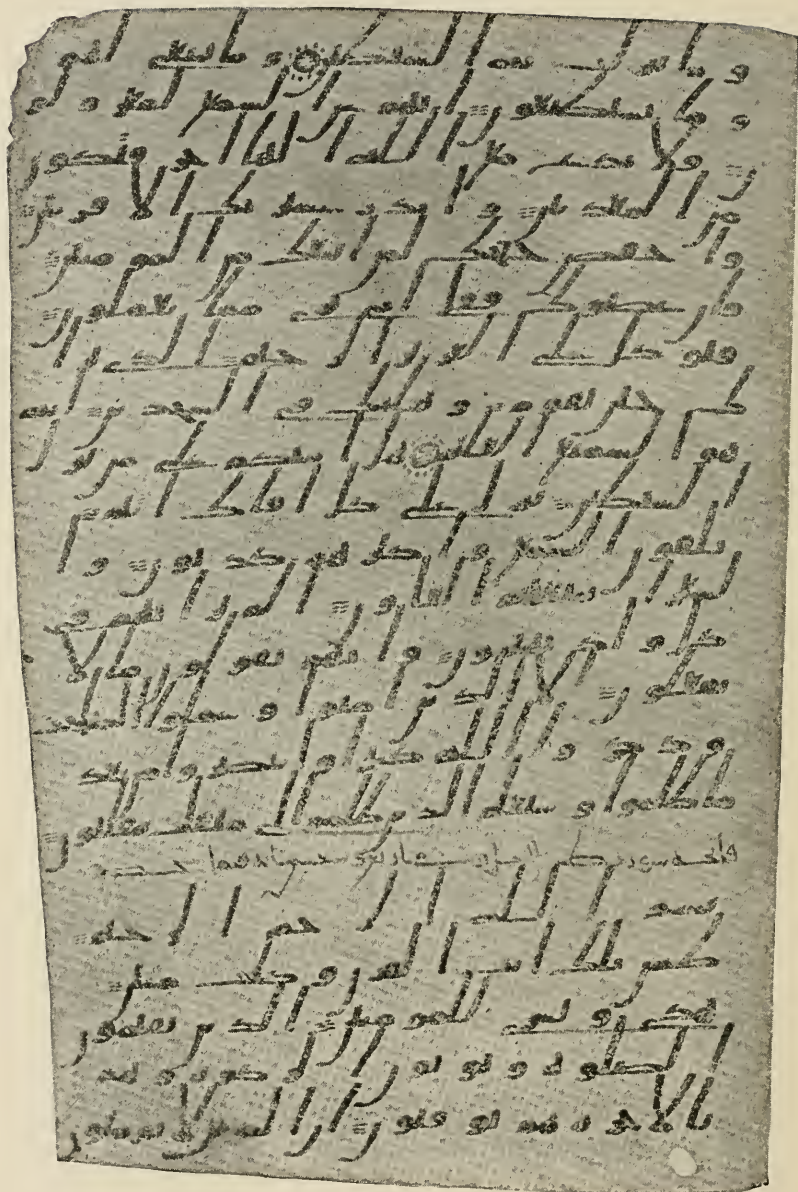


FIG. 126.—Fragment of a manuscript of the Koran, in Cufic script.
Probably of the second century of the Hejira, or eighth century A.D. British
Museum. (Palaeog. Society.)

and Kelb, of North Arabs and South Arabs, counterpoise each other, while, by instituting an independent coinage, he liberated his empire from its monetary dependance on Byzantium and Persia.

His sons, four of whom followed in the succession, reaped the fruit of his labors; first, the illustrious Walid (705–715), under whom the empire of the Omayyads attained the pinnacle of its glory. Scarcely was it consolidated when it entered anew on a grand career of conquest, that was to carry its arms to the ends of the known world. The real moving spirit in the east was the energetic viceroy, Hajaj, whose general, Koteiba, governor of Khorasan, overcame the Turks, subdued Samarkand, and reached Tashkend, or even the remote Kashgar. The races, also, on the south and east of the Caspian proved the edge of the Moslem sword. The valiant Mohammed ibn-Kasim addressed himself to the southeast, crossing the Indus, and continuing his victorious course into the Panjab, where the populous and wealthy Multan succumbed to him. Soon



FIG. 127.—Copper coin of Musa ibn-Nosair.

Obverse: barbaric imitation of the Byzantine or East Roman type.
Reverse: the Byzantine cross upon stage. Legend, AMIRA MVZE F NVSIR, 'the Emir Musa, son (Filius) of Nosair.' Original size. (Berlin.)

fortresses secured the Indian line. A contest, on the whole successful, was carried on with Byzantium, the subjugation of Africa constituting Islam's most glorious achievement. Favoring circumstances facilitated this result. While Islam had consolidated its strength through unification, the empire had been weakened through the revolt of Leontius. By order of Abdalmalek, Hasan ibn-Noman, with 40,000 men, overran the province of North Africa, even the deeply humbled Carthage falling without special trouble. But as the power of the Byzantium waned, that of a native race — the Berbers — waxed in strength. This warlike nomad people rallied around a woman, named by the Arabs 'El-Kahina,' or 'the Soothsayer.' In a bloody battle she overthrew Hasan, and drove him back to the Greater Syrtis, posing for several years as mistress of her nation, till she finally sank before internal dissensions and the re-enforced Arab commanders. The earlier civilization of Africa was now a thing of the past; the most of its cities lay in ruins; jackals

howled through the rubbish-encumbered streets of even the once proud Carthage; the waterworks were crumbling to pieces, and a yet more fell change gradually developed itself, — the desert invaded its once cultured fields, while Islam became the religion of its sons.

Hasan was not allowed to complete his conquests. He was recalled; and in his stead came the powerful Musa ibn-Nosair (Fig. 127), who, supported by the Berbers, led the Arab host in a career of victory onward to the ocean (706–709), the only resistance of any account met with being in the strong Ceuta, whose capture is associated with the conquest of Spain (see vol. III., p. 346). Musa's ships scoured the seas as far as Sicily and Sardinia; even the Balearic Isles are said to have fallen into his hands.

These successes naturally enhanced the fame and power of the califate of Damascus, which had in Walid a highly able representative, who not only extended its frontiers on the exterior, but secured the peace and prosperity of the interior. Under him there arose hospitals and institutions of learning; highways were constructed; industry, commerce, the arts, and literature (especially poetry) flourished (cf. Fig. 128); while glorious architectural trophies were erected, above all, the Omayyad mosque of Damascus, the masterpiece of Arabian art in the East, though not free from Byzantine influence (Fig. 129).

On Walid's death in the flower of his age (forty-two), while occupied in planning a grand enterprise against Constantinople, his brother Suleiman (715–717) came to the throne. The new calif was an arrogant and sensual man, the slave of passion; and under him the strife between Keis and Kelb, that ultimately wrought the ruin of his house, broke forth anew. The immediate cause was the naming the Kelbite (Yemenite) Yezid ibn-Mohallab governor of Irak, who recklessly assailed the hitherto dominant Keisites. Concurrently with this, the Moslem hosts suffered a terrible defeat before Constantinople (see p. 376). Not without good cause did Suleiman name his cousin Omar II. his successor. Men expected much from the new ruler, but the course once entered on continued disastrous to the end. Every change on the throne deranged all party relations, and this the more that such changes followed so rapidly on each other, — five times in twenty-six years.

Omar II. (717–720) stood in closest relations to the faithful of Medina, to whom he conceded an important influence. Though personally mild and upright, he managed, by his theological leanings,

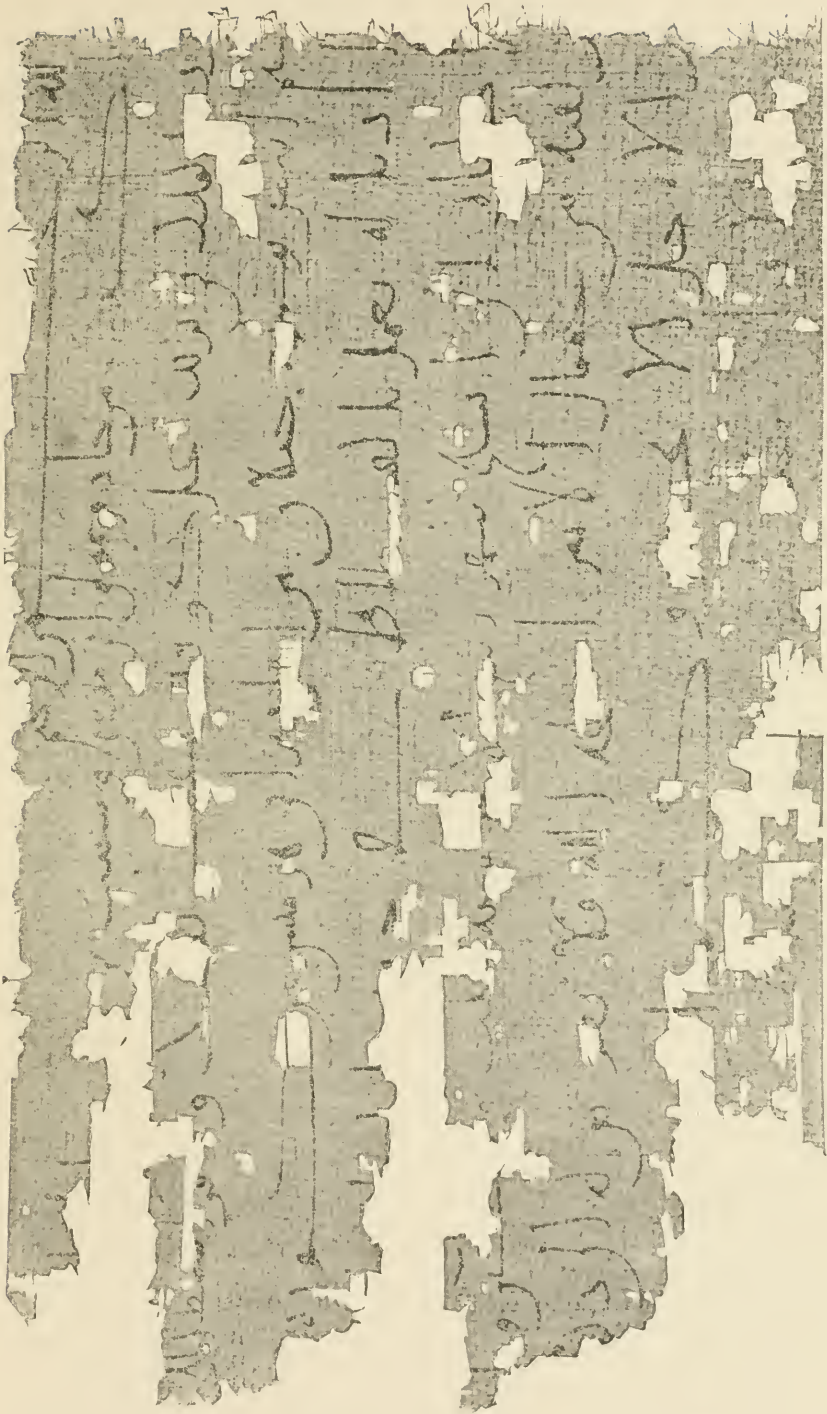


FIG. 128.—Fragment of Arabic permit, of the year 132 of the Hejira (750 A.D.).
British Museum. (Palaeographical Society.)
Vol. VII.—26

to work the dismemberment of the secularized empire. With fanatic zeal, and not without violence, he compelled the infidel citizens of the state to conform to Islamism; and, by his arbitrary and unseasonable proceedings in effecting this, so depleted the state treasury that the whole machine of government was brought to a standstill. With the best intentions, he relaxed the stringency of the measures that had held the religious and race aspirations in check; in particular he abolished the customary cursing of Ali, and by so doing roused at once the Kharijites and Shiites. The former — fanatical and indiscreet — were easily put down; but the latter were just so much the more dangerous. With the followers of Ali, the hope of the succession of an Alide was closely associated with the aspirations of the Indo-Germanic Persians for liberation from the Arabic yoke, and those of the North Arabs from the yoke of South Arabia. But as the Alides were Hashimites, and the Omayyads Koreishites, and the califate represented a conjunction of religion and princely power, without ignoring tribal relations, the manifold complications became involved into a dangerous knot, and this the more especially that now another Hashimite family — the rich and enterprising Abbassides — succeeded in effecting an alliance with the Alides, and in making their influence serviceable to itself. Abbasside emissaries roved the land with the comprehensive cry, “The Lordship to the House of the Prophet;” awakening discontent, and giving rise to a revolutionary movement that, originating under Omar’s slack rule, continued to trouble that of his light-minded successor, Yezid II. (720–724). Revolts broke out in various places, — the most dangerous in Irak, under the leading of Yezid ibn-Mohallab, which was not suppressed till his death at Acre, by the sword of Maslasma.

Yezid’s brother, Hashem (724–743), was a man of widely different character, — warlike and born to rule, but parsimonious in the extreme, which, however, may have been a matter of necessity due to the emptiness of the state coffers. He did his best to check the growing insubordination, and to restore the equilibrium between the Yemenites and Keisites by assigning the east mainly to the former, and the west to the latter. In this way the Yemenite Khalid (son of a Christian mother) held Irak in stern subjection for fourteen years; while in the government of Khorasan the ferment went on unchecked, and in Africa oppressive imposts, Kharijite teaching, and strife between Berbers and Arabs, conspired to make the situation as bad as possible. Ultimately a Berber rising took place, which tore

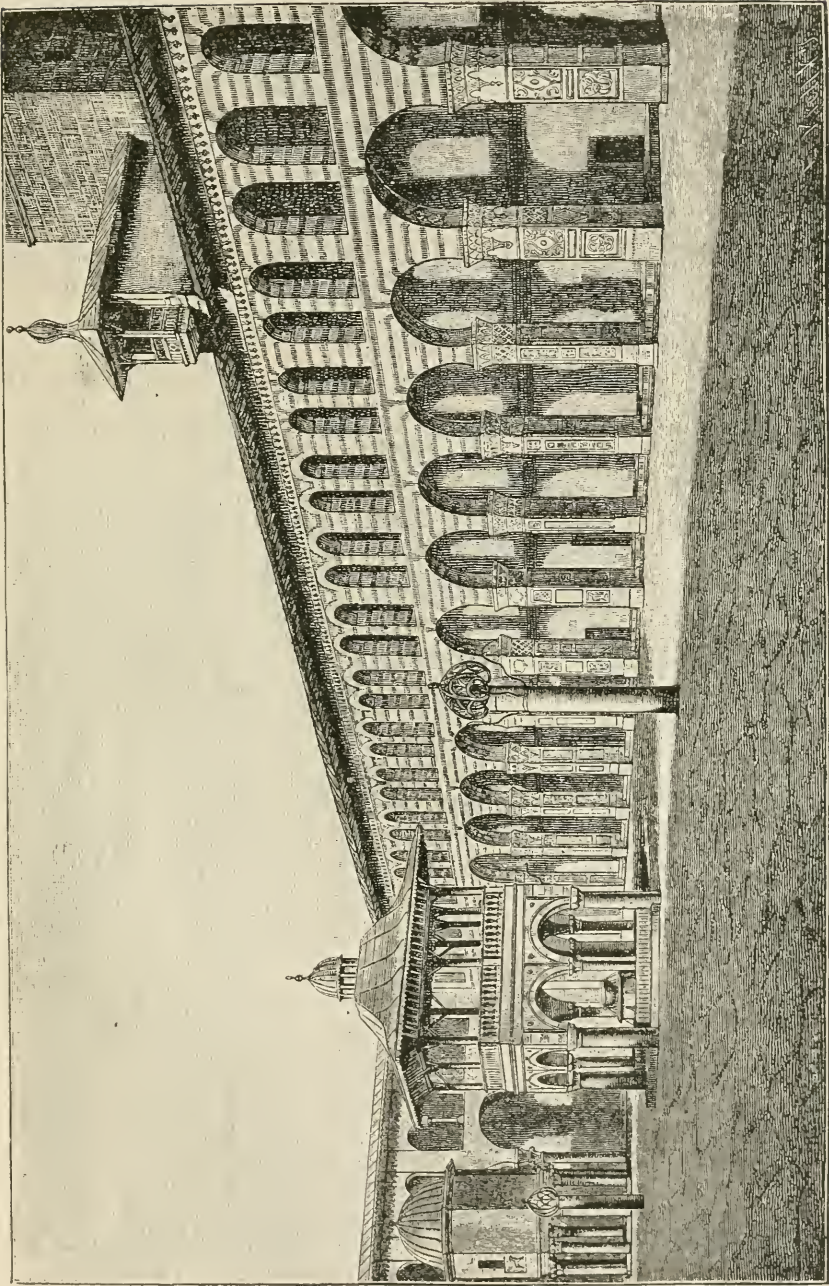


FIG. 129.—Court of the great Mosque at Damascus. (From a photograph.)

away the whole western half of the region from the empire. The calif sent a great army, whereupon strife broke out between the Syrian newcomers and the troops of African blood, resulting in a heavy defeat of the former on the river Sebu, constituting, with those of Constantinople and Poitiers, the third to which the house of Omayya had succumbed. In Africa only Kairwan and Ceuta remained true to it, while the Berber rising reached Spain also. Here, indeed, it was repressed, but with difficulty; the victorious Syrians and Old Arabians falling out among themselves, while the Asturian Christians advanced upon them from the north. Ultimately the Syrians gained the upper hand, and ravaged terribly. Meanwhile the Yemenite, Hanzala, arrived in Africa as governor, and overthrew the Berbers in a fiercely contested battle near Kairwan (742), re-establishing order beyond the Straits also. Before this, the Yemenites had not been able to bear up against the accumulating difficulties in the east — not even Khalid — till the Keisites, Nasr and Yusuf, reversing the African conditions, compelled obedience there, only to find that by so doing they had exasperated the Yemenites. Inflammable material awaited the torch everywhere. Yet, despite of all this, Hashem's unceasing efforts had brought it about that the boundless empire on his death was again subject to one sceptre. Who can affirm that had his life been spared he might not once more have directed its consolidated strength upon the west, wiped out the disgrace of Poitiers, and accomplished the object of his sleepless aspirations by overrunning the empire of the Greeks? But this vista was closed with his life; he left no successor worthy of him, and discord came to split up the Omayyads themselves.

Fond of show, prodigal, dissolute, indiscreet, and without respect for the mandates of the Koran, Walid II. (743–744) was the direct antipode of Hashem. Under him affairs fell rapidly into confusion. His efforts to secure, during his lifetime, the succession for his two not fully-grown sons fomented a plot among the members of his house standing nearest to the throne, especially among the sons of Hashem and Walid I., who formed a league with Yemenites and other enemies of the sovereign. The latter sought to break them up by violence; and the highly distinguished Yemenite, Khalid, was cruelly put to death by his deadly foe, Yusuf. The counter-stroke was not long in following. On April 15 the 'Lord of the Faithful' was, after a valiant defence, slain in his castle; and the Yemenite candidate, the son of Walid I., ascended the throne with the title of

Yezid III. (744). Scarcely anywhere did he find recognition. Opposition, with ruinous dissensions, sprang up everywhere. In Africa the audacious and ambitious Abd-er-Rahman asserted his position as an independent ruler; in Spain internecine war broke out between the northern and southern Arabs, so that by 745 the range of the calif's authority terminated at Tripoli. At home Yezid was defending himself only with difficulty against the Keisite North Syrians, when the warlike Marwan, Hashem's cousin, and governor of Armenia, advanced to restore unity in the house of Omayya, by vindicating the claims of the sons of Walid II. Yezid, sick to death, devolved his dignity on his brother Ibrahim. Him Marwan encountered and utterly routed at Ein-el-Jhar; and Ibrahim in despair fled from his capital, but not without having first slain the sons of Walid. The throne was thus left vacant for his victor, who ascended it as Marwan II. (744-750).

Elevated by violence, by violence Marwan had to sustain himself. His califate was nothing but one unbroken struggle. Recognized in only a small portion of the empire, he gallantly maintained his position for six years, in the face of commotions of all kinds, and achieved for the house of Omayya at least an honorable end. To effect its preservation was no longer possible; for even its ancestral land, Syria, on which its power was wont to rest, lay now rent in hostile fragments by the last civil war. None the less this indefatigable man had succeeded in making himself master of most of the empire's provinces when a new assault wrought his fall. This came from the side of the Hashimites, who declared the whole dynasty illegitimate, and demanded the califate for the 'House of the Prophet.' This and 'The Book' were the war-cries of their party. More and more the weak Alides gave ground before the Abbasides, at whose head stood the Imaum, Ibrahim, who filled the whole east with his vigorous propaganda, and rallied the enemies of the Omayyads around his person. Even Abu-Muslim, one of Marwan's most distinguished commanders, went over to him.

On June 9, 747, the long-prepared storm broke loose. Beacons gleamed on the heights of Merv, summoning the Faithful to the black flag which Abu-Muslim displayed against the white banner of the Omayyads. From all sides came the Yemenite Arabs and the Persian Shiites. The undaunted calif was able to despatch against them only an inadequate force, and suffered repeated defeats. The Hashimites pressed forward almost unchecked, conquered a

Syrian host at Ispahan, and won Cufa, which became the provisional capital of the Abbassides. Ibrahim himself had fallen, and been replaced by two brothers, — Abul Abbas and Abu-Jaffar, — of whom the elder claimed the homage of the Cufaites as calif. Against him Marwan advanced with a large, but unreliable, force. At Mosul, on the banks of the Zab, he came on the enemy all aglow with zeal for the faith. For two days the struggle continued that was to determine the destiny of the East. Ultimately the ardor of conviction won the day (January 25, 750), and Marwan had to flee. His flight sealed his own fate and that of his house. Damascus fell, and Marwan was slain (either on the field or in a church) when making his last effort in Upper Egypt. His head was brought to Abul Abbas, who, on sight of it, fell on his knees with thanks to God. Passion now took possession of the victor, and revenge and policy worked in accord. The Omayyads were mercilessly hunted down and sacrificed; even the bones of the dead calif were torn



FIG. 130.—Spanish gold coin. Dated 98 after Hejira, or 717 A.D. Obverse: in field, "Mohammed [is] the one sent of Allah." On the margin: "This dinar is struck in El-Andalus in the year 98." Reverse: in field, a star. Legend: FERITOSO-SOLIIN SPANANX = "feritos soli[dus] in Span[ia] an[no] X," "this solidus was struck in Spain in the year X."

from the tomb, burned, and scattered to the winds. It was as if the triumphant Hashimites and Old Believers would annihilate the very memory of the hated Omayyads. But this was not so easy to effect. Abd-er-Rahman, a son of Marwan, made his escape to Spain (Fig. 130), and succeeded in reviving his ancestral Damascene califate in Cordova (755). The outcome of the elevation of the Abbassides was the final disruption of the empire, the dissolution of the political unity of the followers of the Koran. (PLATE XX.¹)

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

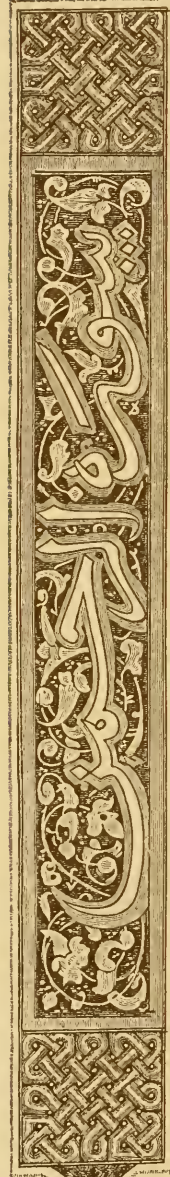
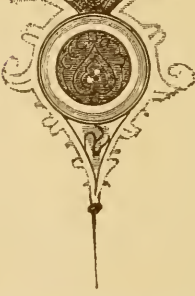
Facsimile of a page of a manuscript of the Koran. Ms. Ldbg. 822, Berlin, Royal Library.

EXPLANATIONS.

In the ornamental band above: "Sura of the Merciful" (i.e., Sura 55).

In the eight lines following, written in smaller script, are preliminary remarks.

"It is related of the Prophet, to whom God grant health and peace, that he hath said: 'Whoso reciteth the Sura of the Merciful, bringeth an offering of thankfulness for God's manifestation of grace.' It consists of 76 verses, according to the enumera-



رُوِيَ عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي صَبِيحَةَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَّمَ لَهُ وَبَيَّنَّ لَهُ أَنَّهُ قَاتِلٌ مَرْقُوفٌ أَسْفُورَةٌ الرَّجْمِ فَصَدَّكَ اللَّهُ بِشَيْءٍ مَا يَنْعَمُ
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ ۖ وَفِي سَبْعِينَ وَرُبْعًا مِائَةً فِي عِدَّةِ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ ۖ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِينَ
 فِي عِدَّةِ أَهْلِ الْحِجَازِ ۖ وَمَا رُوِيَ بِعَجُوزٍ فِي عِدَّةِ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ وَالْكُوفَةِ لِأَنَّ مِائَةَ سِتِّ مِائَةٍ رُوِيَ
 الرَّجْمِ آيَةً ۖ وَعَبَّرُوا أَيْضًا مَعَ أَهْلِ مَكَّةَ وَالْبَصْرَةَ خَلْقَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ الْحُرُوفِ الْأَوَّلِ آيَةً
 وَعَبَّرُوا أَيْضًا مَعَ أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ وَالْبَصْرَةَ وَالْأَرْضَ وَضَعَهَا لِلْأَنْبِيَاءِ آيَةً ۖ وَعَبَّرُوا بِأَهْلِ
 الْحِجَازِ شَيْءًا مِثْلَ آيَةِ ۖ وَعَبَّرُوا بِالشَّامِ وَالْأَرْضِ آيَةً ۖ وَالْأَرْضُ كَأَنَّهَا

وَفِيهَا مِنْ أَرْحَامِ الَّذِينَ عَمَّرُوا
عَيْنًا نَارًا فَضَلَّخْنَا بِهَا
وَلَيْسَ فِيهَا نَارٌ وَلَا مَنِيَّةٌ
الْبَرِيَّةُ كَذَّبَتْ بِهَا
حُرُوفًا قَطَطَ وَهْمًا
الْحُرُوفُ مُوزَانَةٌ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَلِكِ الْحَلِيمِ
الْقَيُّومِ

Facsimile of a page of a manuscript of the Koran. Ms. Ldbg. 822, Berlin, Royal Library.
History of All Nations, Vol. VII., page 406.

The whole episode of the Omayyads developed itself as matter of cause and effect, and in accordance with the conceptions of guilt and retribution. Because they were not of the house of the Prophet they were logically compelled to the toleration of all faiths, and to setting the worldly in the place of the spiritual. But by so doing they shattered the main pillar, namely, sovereignty through the faith, on which the theocratic califate rested, to perish through the distinctive characteristic of Arab heathenry, the race-jealousies of Keis and Kelb. The blood of Ali and Husein became the bane of their house, and proved its fate.

Yet the Omayyad epoch was undoubtedly the most glorious in the history of Islam. Men of high distinction — warriors, statesmen, patrons of art — sat on the throne, through whom Graeco-Roman culture was infused into the tribe-life of the Arabs, and the colorless life of the desert brightened by the graces of an advanced civilization. Their word of power prevailed over three-quarters of the globe, — from the Indus and Jaxartes to the Pyrenees. After them Islam fell upon lesser days; a world-empire was replaced by states.

tion of the scholars of Basra, 77 according to the enumeration of the Hijasenes [i.e., of Mecca and Medina], 78 according to the enumeration of the Damascene and Cufic scholars. These count 'the merciful' [i.e., the first word] as a [special] verse; and then, with the Meccans and Basrans, count 'hath created man' when they first occur [they recur once later] as a verse. Then they count, with the Medina scholars and the Basrans [the words], 'and the earth, he hath spread it out for man [v. 9] as a verse. And the Hijasenes count [the words] 'a flame of fire' [v. 35] as a verse. And the Damascenes and Cufics count [the words] 'who explain the transgressors as a fable' [v. 43] as a verse. — And in it [i.e., the Sura] there occurreth neither repetition nor anticipation [i.e., phrases which recall earlier verses in the Koran, phrases which are later repeated in the Koran — a frequent phenomenon]. And in it there are two passages which according to Abu-Amr [one of the canonical readers of the Koran] are to be pronounced with contraction; viz., *ellatê jukâddîbu biha* [v. 43] and *ainânâddâchatân* [v. 66: instead of *ellati jukaddibu biha*, 'who explain as a fable,' and *ainâni nâddâchatân*, 'two foaming springs'.]"

Opening words of Sura 55, written in larger script.

"In the name of God, the merciful one that hath mercy.

The Merciful — he hath taught the Koran — he hath created man."

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS.

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