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The RENAISSANCE and the REFORMATION

BY

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THE RENAISSANCE
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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE work that the author had done in scholarly studies of the Low Countries and their civilization in a period covered by this volume interested me, as an editor, in the possibility of his writing a volume on the Renaissance and Reformation. Because of his thorough training under men like Pirenne and Des Marez, his grasp of the basic economic and social factors gave promise of an approach that would relate and interpret movements that were common to western Europe when the civilization of our day took shape.

The commission has been executed in a way to give any student the background of movements that represent in art, literature and religion some of the most significant achievements of the human spirit. The Renaissance and the Reformation rest upon profound changes in the social and economic activities of the centuries that precede and that compass them. What this volume insistently reveals is the merchant, banker and artisan whose sturdy interest in material things made possible a civilization that produced artists, poets and religious leaders.

But the background is for the sake of a foreground crowded in this period with great figures. Around them are many who were typical and vital figures and these the author has fully sketched. He has sturdily insisted on our knowing that great men are great because they did supremely well what others thought worth striving to do.

Of one thing I am sure and that is that the student who masters this text will not only understand better these centuries and his own times but will want to retain his text as one of the best interpretations and guides to the treasures in art, architecture and literature that he hopes some time to see or study as a European traveler.

GUY STANTON FORD

FOREWORD

So IMPORTANT are the Renaissance and the Reformation in the history of our culture that courses in these subjects are justly popular. Notwithstanding the keen interest shown in economic history and in recent events, the achievements of the Renaissance and the issues of the Reformation continue to rouse enthusiasm and excite interest. Making straight the way for youthful inquirers is an arduous task which demands great resourcefulness from the teacher. Therefore a new manual designed to guide students through the intricacies of these periods seems justified. It appears especially imperative to summarize the more significant factors of the social and economic environment in which the far-reaching cultural transformations of those days were effected. If this volume solves some of these problems I shall be gratified.

My primary care has been to give rather full consideration to psychological factors, particularly in the sections devoted to the Reformation. Believing that we in America have neglected these factors, I have tried to present the problems of life as they appeared to the chief characters of the age; for this reason it was decided to give a more adequate delineation of religious dogma than is to be found in most books of this nature. Basic political and social situations are set forth in some detail; this will require the diligent use of atlas and encyclopædia. A number of genealogical charts and a list of selected literature have been appended.

The writer of a book of this nature is under heavy obligation to a host of laborers who have gone before him. They of course include such illustrious names as Burckhardt, Symonds, and Monnier. But the following pages also reveal a great debt to subsequent writers many of whom are still living. The number of new works is constantly growing and to master them all is well-nigh impossible. No one can keep up with the new facts and ideas which are daily put forward and I sincerely trust that this fact will temper the judgment of critics.

I wish to thank my students who had the patience to listen to my words; their appreciation and enthusiasm have ever been a genuine inspiration. For reading of proof I am indebted to my friends and colleagues, Professors Allen R. Benham, Donald G. Barnes, and

C. Eden Quainton, and I am keenly grateful for their suggestions. To Dean Guy S. Ford, the editor of the series in which this book appears, I would express my sincere thanks. Nor must I omit mentioning the fellowships of the Commission For Relief In Belgium Educational Foundation and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. These have enabled me to form a more concrete conception of European culture than would have been otherwise possible. To my wife whose interest and patient endeavor have lightened the burden of composing these pages I owe more than can be told. I also wish to recall the names of masters at whose feet I have been privileged to sit; these include the departed Professors Ferdinand Pijper and Albert Eekhof of the University of Leiden, Professor Henri Pirenne, formerly of the University of Ghent and now of Brussels, and the mentor of my earlier years, Professor Earle W. Dow of the University of Michigan. Lastly, I must refer to a most helpful friend who more than any other has kept me from stumbling where theological and other dangers were greatest and who modestly insists that his name be withheld.

H. S. L.

Seattle, Washington
Midsummer, 1934

BOOK I

THE RENAISSANCE



Un événement immense s'était accompli. Le monde était changé. Pas un état européen, même les plus immobiles, qui ne se trouvât lancé dans un mouvement tout nouveau.

—J. MICHELET

Italy led the way in the education of the western races, and was the first to realize the type of modern as distinguished from classical and medieval life.

—J. A. SYMONDS

Le quattrocento, par quoi il faut entendre le xv^e^ siècle d'Italie, est un des moments les plus considérables de l'esprit humain.

—P. N. MONNIER

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS THE RENAISSANCE?

THE term *Renaissance*[1] as used in this book is given wide meaning. It signifies the cultural achievements of European society between 1300 and 1600 which mark the passage from the Middle Ages[2] to the modern world. These include not only such higher accomplishments as art, music, literature, and science, but also far-reaching changes in the economic bases of life, the structure of society, and the organization of states. They may be outlined as follows:

1. *Basic Economic Changes.*—Life in the earlier Middle Ages was founded on the simple agricultural ways of the manor which sought to produce all things needed on it. Exchange of goods was on the basis of barter; little trade existed. This life was profoundly changed during the closing centuries of the Middle Ages or, as they may be called, the Renaissance. Commerce, industry, and the use of coined money became a marked feature of life in the more advanced centers of Europe. Serfdom and manorial economy steadily tended to disappear. A capitalist society was emerging. An economic revolution of the first magnitude was accomplished.

2. *Basic Social Changes.*—Formerly the manor was the founda-

[1] The term *Renaissance* was borrowed from the French language in 1840. So useful was this word that it soon became popular. The form *Renascence* was employed as early as 1727 but never met with much favor. Matthew Arnold tried to popularize it in the fourth chapter of his *Culture and Anarchy*, for he preferred it to the more foreign *Renaissance*. Few writers, however, have adopted his view and the form *Renascence* is now little used.

[2] The term *Middle Ages* is little more than two centuries old. The humanists of the Renaissance and their successors by 1700 habitually divided the human past into three periods: *ancient, mediæval,* and *modern* or contemporary. Despising and misunderstanding the culture of the centuries which had elapsed between the decline of classical civilization and the revival of Greek and Latin culture in their own time, they could think of them only as a dreary period separating two more brilliant ages. Hence they called them the "middle" or the "mediæval" period, or the "Middle Ages." Today this classification is wholly antiquated; it takes no account of the revolutionary discoveries in the realm of prehistory and ignores the cultures of India and China. But the terms *Ancient, Mediæval,* and *Modern History* are so deeply intrenched in popular custom that it appears impossible to change them. Throughout this book the term *Middle Ages* comprises roughly the eleven centuries from 400 to 1500.

tion of society. Its population was slight as compared with that of the towns which sprang up in large numbers. As commerce, industry, and the use of coined money progressed, these towns became more populous and wealthy. The center of social life shifted; it was no longer the manor, the nobleman's castle, or the bishop's palace Crowded and busy towns supported by trade and manufacture took their place. The age of the Renaissance was an age of towns and urban life.

3. *Basic Political Changes.*—Great political changes followed in the wake of these economic and social transformations. Formerly princes and their vassals managed the affairs of their states in a very simple manner. They did this personally, much as they looked after payments received from their serfs. But toward the end of the Middle Ages this changed. The prevalence of coined money due to the growth of trade and industry enabled states to tax their subjects and so fill their treasuries with hard cash. This had been impossible in a purely manorial age. Townsmen usually supported their rulers because they disliked the turbulence of the nobility and their habit of fighting whenever they pleased. Princes therefore could count on their aid against the nobility, collect taxes from them with which to keep a standing army far more loyal than the old feudal levies, and pay corps of officials to administer laws and execute justice over nobles as well as peasants more fairly than ever before. Such rulers were absolute. They had been suzerains; now they became sovereigns. Princes and states possessing such effective organization were characteristic of the Renaissance.[8]

4. *Great Cultural Changes.*—Whenever far-reaching transformations such as are sketched in the foregoing paragraphs occur in the life of an age, its achievements in higher cultural things are certain to be important. This is especially true of the Renaissance which was a time of great intellectual quickening.

There were splendid developments in literature. The religious drama of the Middle Ages vanished and in its place appeared the secular works of writers like Shakespeare and Marlowe. Thus the foundations of modern drama were laid. Crude prose and poetic forms gave way to more highly finished productions. The sonnets of Petrarch, the

[8] Sometimes it is stated that the revival of Roman law was a feature of the Renaissance. The law of the ancient Romans nearly perished during the so-called Dark Ages from about 500 to 1000, but became a mighty force from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. It taught, among other things, that the prince was the ultimate source of law and that all functions of the state should be controlled by him. This teaching ran contrary to feudal practice and proved a mighty support for absolutist tendencies. Thus the revival of Roman law provided the theoretical basis of absolutism just as the economic revolution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contributed the necessary material foundation.

epics of Ariosto and Tasso, and the prose of Boccaccio, Comines, and Calvin are products of the new age. At the hands of such masters the mother tongues received artistic polish so that they became adequate vehicles of thought in a society of growing complexity.

Especially striking was the magnificence of the new art. Alberti began the imitation of Roman architectural models. Michelangelo, Sansovino, and Palladio carried this art to perfection. Thus the Gothic of the Middle Ages was supplanted. Sculpture attained a classical finality in three short generations from Donatello to Michelangelo. Masaccio began a revolution in pictorial art. Its originality and magnificence were brought to the highest excellence by Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and the Venetian school. Mediæval music, developed so splendidly by the Flemings, was amplified and perfected by Palestrina and his followers.

The realms of scientific thought were peculiarly enlarged. A vast revolution in geographic knowledge was effected by the daring of Vasco da Gama, Columbus, and Magellan. Copernicus revived the heliocentric theory which gave men a better knowledge of the heavens and forever robbed astrology, that dominant superstition of former ages, of its traditionally scientific supports. Paré and Vesalius wrought great changes in medical science and practice.

Further significant social changes appeared. In the Middle Ages economic activity was directed by guilds and towns. But in the Renaissance the new states assumed this task. Thus mercantilism came into being. Business practices were greatly elaborated, especially after the new geographic discoveries. The education of guildsmen, knights, and even scholars at the mediæval universities was mainly vocational, being designed to enable them to play a part in mediæval life. This education lost much of its practical value in a society of growing complexity. A better type, adequate for most requirements of the new life, was evolved by Vittorino da Feltre. The invention of printing became the peculiar instrument of its diffusion. As the new economics and society transformed political life, a better and more modern analysis of the state became necessary. A science of politics freed from theological ethics was produced in the works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

Finally, but not least in importance, the insistent demands of the changing conditions of life made necessary a new attitude toward the world. Men professed very ascetic ideals in the Middle Ages; to deny unduly the claims of society and the needs of the flesh was thought by many to be the highest moral attitude. The all-pervading influence of the clergy and their extensive economic, political, and ecclesiastical privileges apparently stood in the way of a fuller appreciation of the worthiness of man's secular activity. But this

changed in the Renaissance. Man's outlook became more secular; it revolted against the view that the life beyond was more important than the things of this world. This tendency is well shown by Erasmus to whom religion was first of all a matter of morality and right social conduct rather than a system of beliefs about eternity and practices to win admission to heaven. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin all broke with the other-worldly conceptions of the Middle Ages. This secular tendency, together with other factors to be described later, produced Protestantism which shattered the traditional unity of western Christianity.

PART I

THE NEW SECULARISM

CHAPTER I

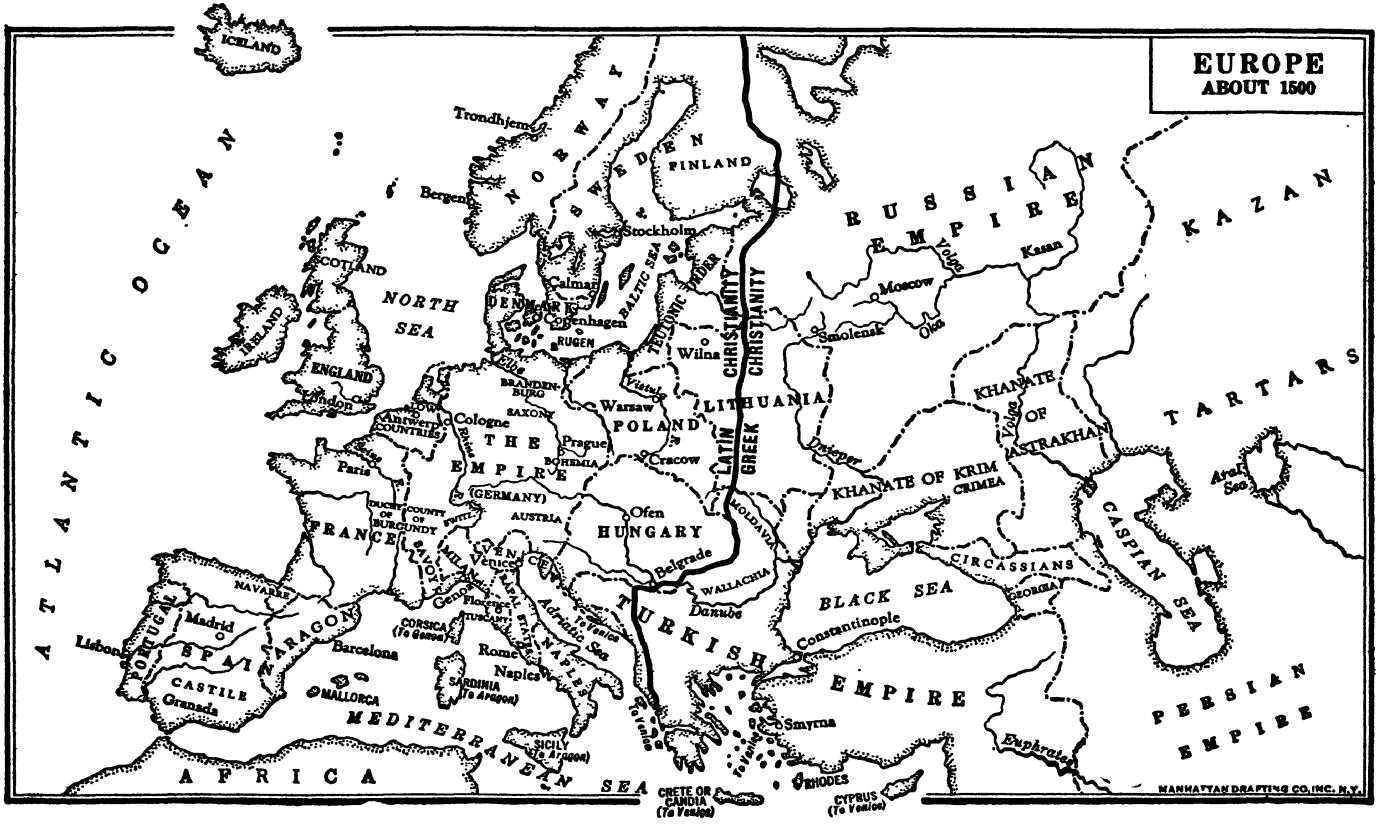
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS

A marchant was ther with a forked berd,
In mottelee, and hye on horse he sat,
Up-on his heed a Flaundrish bever hat;
His botes clasped faire and fetisly.
His resons he spak ful solempnely,
Souninge alway th'encrees of his winning.
He wolde the see were kept for any thing
Betwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle.
Wel coude he in eschaunge sheeldes selle.
This worthy man ful wel his wit bisette;
Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette,
So estatly was he of his governaunce,
With his bargaynes, and with his chevisaunce.
—CHAUCER (d. 1400)[1]

EUROPE of the Renaissance was much smaller than it is today. Its eastern boundary lay beyond the important towns of Reval, Dünaberg, Cracow, Lemberg, and Budapest; this line separated Finns and Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, and Poles and Slovaks from the vast plains to the east occupied by Russians and other peoples. Southward the line followed the Carpathian Mountains, separating Roumanians from Hungarians. It passed eastward of the Croatians, Slovenes, and the Italians of the Adriatic coast as far as the Gulf of Arta.

Throughout this region, beginning with the twelfth century, great economic changes were in progress which profoundly modified ways of living. Men began to adopt new conceptions of state, society, and life. The revival of trade and industry, the use of coined money, and

[1] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford), p. 422.


EUROPE
ABOUT 1500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ICELAND
Trondhjem
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Bergen
Stockholm
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
Calmar
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
TEUTONIC ORDER
RUGEN
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
Elbe
BRANDENBURG
Wilna
CHRISTIANITY
CHRISTIANITY
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
KAZAN
Kasan
Moscow
Volga
Smolensk
Oka
Vistula
Warsaw
LITHUANIA
KHANATE OF ASTRAKHAN
TARTARS
Volga
Dniester
Antwerp
LOW COUNTRIES
Cologne
SAXONY
THE EMPIRE
Prague
BOHEMIA
Cracow
POLAND
LATIN
GREEK
Paris
(GERMANY)
AUSTRIA
Ofen
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
KHANATE OF KRIM
CRIMEA
Azof Sea
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF SAVOY
FRANCE
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
CIRCASSIANS
GEORGIA
CASPIAN SEA
NAVARRE
Madrid
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ARAGON
Genoa
Venice
Florence
Adriatic Sea
Danube
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
CORSICA (To Genoa)
Barcelona
Rome
Naples
NAPLES
TURKISH
CASTILE
Granada
SARDINIA (To Aragon)
MALLORCA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Smyrna
EMPIRE
Euphrates
PERSIAN EMPIRE
AFRICA
SICILY (To Aragon)
CRETE OR CANDIA (To Venice)
RHODES
CYPRUS (To Venice)
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

the rise of towns which began in the eleventh century were among the most significant social and economic events in the entire history of the Occident. If one were to compare a map of Europe in 500 with another about eight hundred years later he would be impressed by the vast number of towns that had sprung up. It is estimated that in Germany alone more than two thousand towns arose. Such busy centers of commerce in the Low Countries as Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels grew up in the Middle Ages. Even in France, Spain, and Italy great trading communities, which seemingly date back to the Roman Empire, were recreated at this time.[2]

One reason for this revival of urban life was that feudal nobles who had been fighting one another and creating a condition of anarchy began to develop orderly government in their petty states. Trade had never been wholly extinct even in the darkest days of the tenth-century turmoil. At all times there had been a persistent demand for spices, drugs, silks, precious stones, and metals. When greater public security was developed business increased and soon again became important. Local trade sprang up at many points favorable to commerce. It was stimulated by the never-ending stream of oriental articles demanded by noblemen and wealthy townsmen, and the demand by churchmen for vestments, sacred vessels, and reliquaries. For centuries Constantinople had been the great economic bridgehead between Europe and the East. But during the age of the Crusades this changed. Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans began competing with Byzantine merchants, thus steadily sapping their monopolies. The Byzantines lost this monopoly forever when Constantinople fell in 1204. Henceforth Italian merchants became the distributors to western Europe of the choice products of the East.

Quickening pulsations of trade were felt first along the great river routes of commerce, the Rhine, Rhone, Meuse, and Schelde. Places marked by nature as advantageous for economic life developed into towns. Urban communities grew up at the mouths of rivers as in the case of Dordrecht and Rotterdam on the Meuse, Bordeaux on the Garonne, Antwerp on the Schelde, Bruges on the Zwin, London on the Thames, Hamburg on the Elbe, and Bremen on the Weser. Others rose at or near the junction of rivers as in the case of Coblentz,

[2] One should not form an exaggerated idea about the size of mediæval towns. Such centers as Frankfort-on-the-Main, Augsburg, and Nuremberg in 1400 did not at the most have 15,000 inhabitants each. Ghent had a population of perhaps 45,000; Bruges, 30,000; and Ypres, 20,000. London, the largest center in England, had less than Florence which boasted about 90,000. Venice was about as large as Florence but Milan and Paris were larger. Antwerp, a rapidly growing port, probably had as many inhabitants as Ghent, while Amsterdam was much smaller than Bruges. Statistical data about mediæval towns are difficult to use correctly and such as one finds in books must be accepted with caution.

Lyons, Paris, and Ghent; or where land routes met rivers as at Cologne, Maastricht, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Berne, Milan, and Orléans; or where a lake poured into a river as Geneva, Zürich, and Lucerne; or at favorable points along a river as Troyes, Langres, Provins, Bonn, Basel, and Mainz. Many a town grew up in the center of a fertile agricultural region if situated on or near a navigable river, as in the case of Brussels, Leiden, Milan, Florence, and Vienna. Often sheltered coves along the coast became sites of towns, as in the case of Venice, Naples, Marseilles, and Barcelona. Without a knowledge of geographical conditions the growth of commerce and the rise of towns would be difficult to explain.

Population increased rapidly under the impulse of feudal peace and reviving trade. Although the historian possesses no accurate statistics to prove this, all the facts of social history show that from the twelfth century through the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation there was a striking numerical increase in population. Famine and pestilence which repeatedly swept over the land never halted this progress. Even the unparalleled disaster of the Black Death in 1348 which destroyed a large fraction of the population failed to check it for more than a few decades. This numerical expansion of society in its turn greatly stimulated trade, industry, and economic well-being.[3]

Northern Italy occupied the center of the economic stage. Lombardy and the Adriatic Sea became the chief corridor through which passed the ever-growing volume of goods to and from the East. Proud Venice at the head of the Adriatic early secured a lion's share of this trade. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 eliminated Byzantine competition. Venice established her trading posts in the Crimea and elsewhere. Thus she tapped the stream of oriental goods that moved westward above the Caspian Sea. She kept Byzantine merchants from sharing in this trade, thereby making the Black Sea her economic province. Her establishments at Tabriz and Trebizond, at Beirut, and Jaffa, and at Alexandria enabled her to obtain a large share of the traffic in eastern goods. From the opening of the fourteenth century her galleys regularly sailed to

[3] Statistical data regarding the rural population of mediæval times are fully as untrustworthy as those concerning towns. It should be borne in mind constantly that the proportion of the urban population steadily increased during the Middle Ages. By the close of the fifteenth century about half of the population of Tuscany lived in the towns. The proportion in Flanders was considerably greater —at least two-thirds, according to a reasonable estimate. The duchy of Milan, the most thickly populated area in Europe and the most highly industrialized, perhaps had an even greater proportion of town population. It is absolutely certain that the mediæval peasantry steadily increased in number in spite of the great mortality rate which prevailed. The Black Death took a heavier toll than previous plagues but scholars are by no means agreed on its effects.

Bruges and Antwerp, the great commercial capitals in northern Europe. Thus in the fifteenth century Venice was the most remarkable commercial center of the Occident.

Genoa on the western coast of the peninsula early vied with Venice for a share in this trade. Her merchants succeeded in preventing those of Provence in southern France from participating in it. They defeated their Pisan rivals at Meloria in 1284, took many of them prisoners, and kept them confined for fifteen years. "To see Pisa you must go to Genoa," said the wits of the time. Pisa ceased to compete with her mighty neighbor. The destruction of the Latin Empire in 1261 when the Genoese helped seize Constantinople gave them a foothold in the Byzantine world. They established colonies at Kaffa and elsewhere in the Crimea, and in the beginning sought, with little success, however, to exclude the Venetians from the Black Sea. Finally even Byzantine merchants were forced to yield to them the task of provisioning Constantinople with the products of southern Russia. Thus grain, fish, salt, wood, spices, Persian silks, and slaves were carried to Italy by them as well as by Venetians. Of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean other than Italians, ~~only the men of~~ Barcelona in Spain were able to secure a part of the rich trade with the East. They too possessed an extensive shipping and commerce. The famous *Consolado del Mar*, a body of laws regulating commercial relations, is supposed to have been developed by them.

The plains ~~of Lombardy~~, long famous for their great fertility, early assumed leadership in trade and industry. Watered by the Adige, the Po, and the latter's affluents, the Mincio, Adda, and others, they afforded many sites favorable for the growth of towns. Through Tuscany, Venice, and Genoa goods from the East and the South constantly poured into them. To the wealth gained from this commercial activity were added profits from the manufacture of many articles in the more important centers. The Alpine passes of Brenner, Splügen, and St. Gothard led northward to lands drained by the Rhine which carried many a precious cargo to the busy marts of Bruges and Antwerp. Through the Alpine passes of St. Bernard and Mont Cenis an active traffic led into the heart of France, whose markets at Bar-sur-Aube, Troyes, Provins, Lagny-sur-Marne, and Lyons brought traders of many lands in contact with those of northern Italy. Thus centrally situated on the great highways of the world's commerce, the Lombard plains became a region of towns such as Milan, Cremona, Piacenza, Pavia, Padua, Verona, and Mantua.

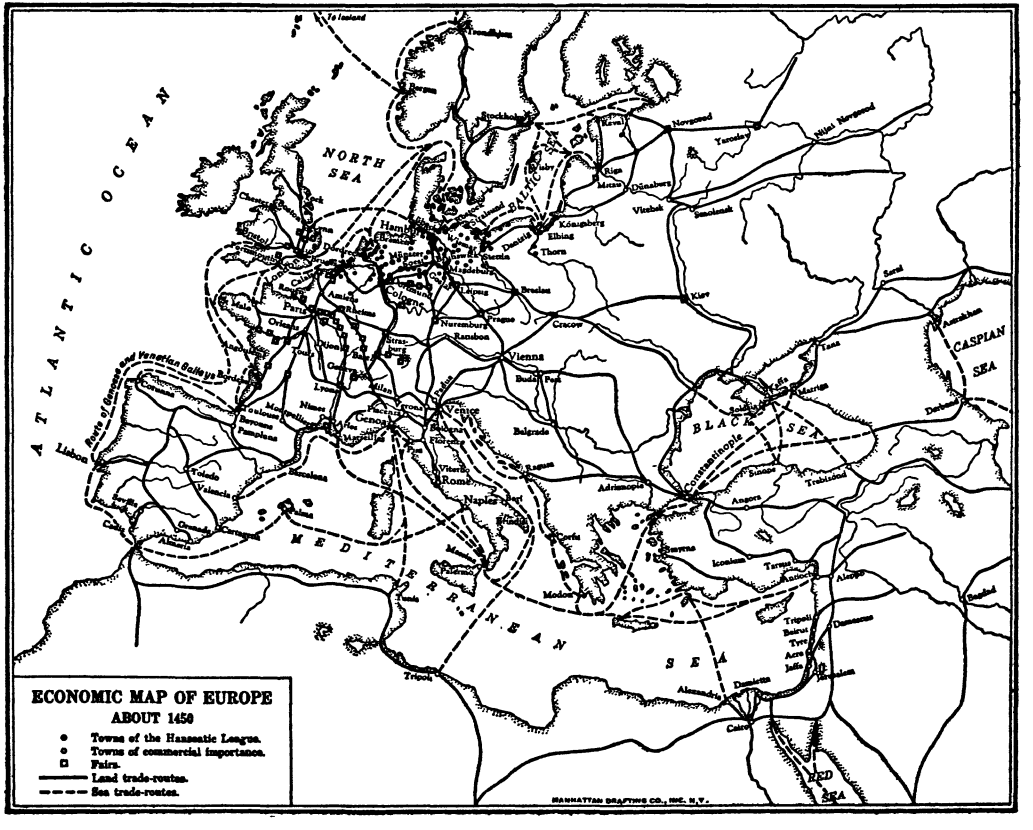
The towns of Tuscany also grew famous. Siena became a center of banking activities for the papacy in the thirteenth century and managed to retain some of this leadership until the end of the Middle Ages. Lucca was noted for the manufacture of silk which she exported

to all parts of Europe. Her money changers also became important. Florence made great fortunes from the woolen cloths manufactured within her walls. She also perfected foreign cloths, made cloth from silk, and developed banking, branches of which were established in all towns of importance. Southern Italy, far removed from the Lombard corridor, fell behind in the race for wealth. Such towns as Bari and Amalfi could not retain the leadership which they had enjoyed in the days before the Crusades.

Just as Italy attracted the commerce of the East and the Mediterranean area, so the Low Countries easily commanded the trade of northwest Europe. Here the Rhine, Meuse, and Schelde, the great streams of central Europe north of Italy, converge and pour their waters into the North Sea. Here also was the center of the land mass of Europe, for the Low Countries lie equidistant between Scotland and Italy, and midway between Cape Finisterre to the west, North Cape on the Arctic Ocean, and the Baltic Sea and its branches. Since these lands were situated on the fifty-second degree of latitude, their inhabitants were in a position to act as agents in the exchange of goods of southern Europe and northern Africa for the products of central and northern Europe.

For centuries Flanders had occupied a prominent position among the principalities of the Low Countries. Lying between the North Sea and the Schelde, this region was the first to feel the pulsations of reviving trade. Bruges on the Zwin, Ghent on the Schelde and Lys, Ypres, and many smaller communities such as Courtrai and Oudenaarde sprang up. Spices and articles of luxury from the Orient, the manufactured goods of Italy, and products of northern Africa, Spain, and southern France were brought to the wharves of Bruges. Wools, hides, and woolfells arrived from England. Other raw materials were received from the Baltic area. The manufacture of cloth, tapestries, and other textiles made Flemish looms famous. Important also were banking activities and the preparation of leather.

Brabant, however, was rapidly supplanting Flanders as the great central market of northern Europe. Because of its position at the head of the estuary of the Schelde, Antwerp was able to secure the leadership which Bruges had long enjoyed. The sand-choked harbors of the river Zwin made access to this old port increasingly difficult. The narrow and conservative policy of the men of Bruges made impossible competition with the newer vigorous center on the Schelde which was favored by the commercial policy of the dukes of Burgundy. So when Portugal became the great occidental terminus of trade in Asiatic articles of luxury, Antwerp, and not Bruges, became its distributing point for all of northern Europe. Brussels, Louvain, and Mechelen (Malines) were important centers of trade and manufac-


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
RED SEA
ECONOMIC MAP OF EUROPE
ABOUT 1450
Towns of the Hanseatic League.
Towns of commercial importance.
Fairs.
Land trade-routes.
Sea trade-routes.
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ture. They owed their prosperity to the central position of Brabant which enabled them to link the economic activities of the Schelde basin with those of the Meuse and the Rhineland.

The counties of Holland and Zeland were becoming commercial centers. Holland was situated on the busy routes of trade leading to the Baltic areas to the east, Flanders and Brabant to the west, and the Rhineland to the south. Amsterdam became an important center for the German east, and the chief distributing point of the grain brought back in her ships. Other important towns were Haarlem, Leiden, Delft, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. The manufacture of cloth was an important industry, especially in Leiden. Fishing flourished in many of the smaller towns. Middelburg was a busy station for ships carrying salt from the Borgneuf and other points along the Bay of Biscay. Gradually the merchants of Holland acquired a great share of the trade formerly monopolized by the Hanseatic League.

The Hanseatic League was a significant element in the economic life of northern and central Europe. It was organized in the middle of the thirteenth century, and most of the towns of Scandinavia, northern Germany, Flanders, the northern Low Countries, and those of the Slavic, Finnish, and Lithuanian borderlands of Europe belonged to it. At the height of the League's prosperity they numbered almost one hundred. They were divided into four great circles: the Livonian or Prussian with its chief center at Dantzig; the Wendish at Lübeck; the Saxon at Brunswick; and the Westphalian at Cologne. The League possessed trading privileges in many a town beyond these limits. It had foreign offices in London (the Steelyard) and in Bergen. This mighty organization held numerous meetings, the proceedings of which were called *recesses*. When necessary, it defended its interests with warlike measures. It tapped an extensive reservoir of raw materials in the Scandinavian world including Iceland, the lands held by the Teutonic Order, and much of Poland. It was the greatest medium through which northeast Europe received manufactured articles in return for the products of farm, forest, sea, and mine. Its ships appeared even in the Bay of Biscay to secure salt for the ever-growing population of the East.

Between the two great centers of occidental commerce, Italy and the Low Countries, lay the towns of southern Germany and the Rhineland. Fed by the constant stream of trade over the Alpine passes, the urban centers of Munich, Augsburg, Basel, Regensburg, Vienna, Nuremberg, Cologne, and Frankfort-on-the-Main grew to be important marts. Not only did they profit from transit trade, but the metallurgical industries of southern Germany so flourished that they ranked next to those of Milan. The great fair of Frankfort-on-the-Main was famous in all Europe. Prized cloths of Flemish and Italian

looms were imported and paid for by raw materials of forest and farm and by the products of a lucrative mining industry. Capitalism inevitably followed in the wake of this activity; the Fugger family of Augsburg became famous as bankers.

The industrial organization of the larger towns in the age of the Renaissance is an interesting study. Guilds existed in most towns at the end of the Middle Ages. A guild was a self-governed corporation whose members practiced a particular craft, and it possessed the right to regulate its members and assess fines for infractions. Each guild had a monopoly of its craft within the town and its dependent lands. When division of labor came into existence, specialization made available a better product than had been possible on the manor. Guilds were controlled by masters. Laborers who had attained the standard of skill required by the guilds were hired to work for wages and were called journeymen. Apprentices were taken into the master's house to be supported and instructed, in return for which they gave their labor. At the close of a fixed period they became journeymen. This type of organization appeared first in Italy and spread over Europe, especially in the fourteenth century. Such an organization was essential in order to provide the necessaries of life for a large population.

Guilds were much the same everywhere. Each group of handicraftsmen occupied a specified section of the town, a practice dictated by the desire to protect themselves and their common interests. To this day many towns in Europe still have their Fullers' Street and Tanners' Street, and London still has an Ironmongers' Lane. Almost every large town had its barbers, surgeons, bowyers, fletchers, wainwrights, wheelwrights, saddlers, lorimers, pewterers, potters, coopers, chandlers, masons, carpenters, plasterers, thatchers, sawyers, turners, basketmakers, glaziers, leadsmiths, locksmiths, farriers, cutlers, brassbeaters, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, ironmongers, weavers of all kinds of cloths, fullers, dyers, spinners, carders, bleachers, croppers, tanners, furriers, cordwainers, hosiers, beltmakers, cobblers, glovers, tailors, hatters, butchers, fruiterers, grocers, tapsters, millers, oil pressers, fishmongers, brewers, bakers, soapmakers, broommakers, innkeepers, etc. The larger the town, the greater the array of crafts.

Although such organizations were typical of most towns, in many centers special conditions created unusual features. Towns situated on rivers or the sea usually had a special group of men to aid in operations related to shipping. In Antwerp, where the guilds were called "nations," these included brokers, shippers, ship carpenters, crane operators for unloading ships, grain carriers, turf carriers, and many others. The metal industry needed special workers; at Namur

and Dinant and in southern Germany they became numerous. The manufacture of cloth likewise required many specialized groups in Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Brussels, Leiden, and elsewhere. Florence possessed a special group called the Calimala Guild which refinished manufactured cloth. In Lucca the manufacturers of silk formed a large organization.

Another feature of the Renaissance was the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a capitalist class. Idealists who conceived a romantic affection for the Middle Ages have often represented the social and economic régime of those days as a model of justice. Nothing could be more erroneous. Then, even more than now, the earth was encumbered by its poor. The growth of capital was accompanied by a gross inequality in the division of wealth. Entrepreneurs in commerce and industry arose everywhere in the more advanced towns. They controlled the industrial processes of the manufacturing crafts. They bought raw materials and sold finished products in a world market subject to the laws of competition. But they set the conditions of labor and bought the services of skilled men in the closed market of the town. To them accrued a disproportionate share of the profits of industry. The original ideal of equality in guild organization became impossible. A powerful and wealthy patriciate grew up. Workers remained poor, ill-fed, ill-housed, irregularly employed, discontented, and disposed to rebellion. Entrepreneurs in Italian towns were usually called the *popolo grasso*. Below them were the *popolo minuto* who produced for a more local market. Besides these groups there were a number of poorer folk, a proletariat who found it difficult to make a living. In Florence there were seven great groups in the *popolo grasso*: the judges and notaries, the money changers (*arte del cambio*), the clothmakers (*arte della lana*), the silk weavers (*arte della seta*), the doctors and druggists, the furriers, and the Calimala. The *popolo minuto* were composed of fourteen guilds. In the middle of the fourteenth century the *arte della lana* embraced almost a quarter of the town's total population, or about thirty thousand men. Of these only about two hundred were masters and extremely wealthy. They rigidly controlled twenty-five lesser trades. They appointed *consoli*, or overseers, who directed the work. The word of a worker counted for nothing when contradicted by the wealthy *padroni*, or masters. Severe fines and penalties were inflicted; offenders were whipped to death. Wages were withheld, sometimes for years. The least insubordination was punished severely, often by hanging. The more unfortunate proletarian members of the towns thus lived under a régime of terror.

Similar conditions obtained wherever industry expanded and capitalism became dominant. The position of the lesser guilds in towns

north of the Alps was often more favorable than in Italy. Sometimes they rose to great influence, wealth, and comfort. But in some places conditions were as bad as in the larger Italian towns. In Flanders, Brabant, and Holland the cloth industry was controlled by a capitalist patriciate which restricted the freedom and income of the workers. The same situation existed in the metal industry of Namur, Dinant, and elsewhere. In London each of the great guilds divided into two groups. The wealthier members of a craft were able to dominate by reason of their capitalist activities, and constrained their less fortunate brethren to work for them. Thus arose the great livery or trading companies, still a feature of London business life.

Commerce and industry beget towns, towns beget wealth, and wealth begot aristocracy. The patriciate and the masters of guilds formed a vast group of hereditary castes. The former naturally handed down their privileged position from generation to generation and masters easily controlled guilds and prevented journeymen from becoming masters. Thus the towns which originally had sought to maintain equality among their inhabitants failed to do so and established an hereditary caste system, much like the old feudal nobility. Furthermore, the patriciate and the heads of the greater guilds controlled the government and subordinated not only the towns' external policy to their own interests, but also internal administration and justice. Journeymen, apprentices, and the proletariat in the greater centers were universally deprived of political expression, and also of any chance of improving their lot in a social and economic way. This situation often made the government of Renaissance towns unstable.

The manor with its serfs and its natural economy was a dominant feature of mediæval society. It was supplanted by the town with its merchants and craftsmen supported by the use of coined money. A highly significant change in manner of life and habits of thought took place. The dull uninquiring peasant whose life was controlled by traditional methods of husbandry, who traveled little, and who could neither read nor write, remained sunken in intellectual crudity. Contacts with those on the manor on which he lived were sufficient for his social relations; the simplest linguistic attainments, the grossest superstitions inherited through innumerable generations from the pre-Christian past, the simplest sacramental activities of the church to save his soul, and the thinnest veneer of theological generalities sufficed for his intellectual needs.

Townsmen, or the bourgeoisie, differed so vastly from the peasantry from which they were chiefly recruited that they formed a new class by the side of the older groups, the nobility, clergy, and peasantry. They lived in a new environment and developed a different

manner of life and thought. Towns were practical centers. Men made their living by busy trade and ceaseless manufacture. Competition was keen and there was constant danger of losses. Traders were called upon to travel to far-distant places and to meet all sorts of unusual situations. The townsman accordingly possessed varied experience in the hard school of life. He could adapt himself more readily to a greater variety of situations than could either noble or peasant. He was a man of nimbler wit and had a hard-headed sense of realities. He was bound to be less satisfied than his landed forbears with their vagueness of thought regarding practical things. And when his energies were rewarded by wealth and he became a person of leisure, he was certain to be disgusted with their banal tastes and low culture.

Renaissance culture was truly the culture of the bourgeoisie. It first came into existence at the close of the Middle Ages in an atmosphere of opulence developed in the trading and industrial centers of Tuscany and northern Italy. The distinguishing features of the new culture were its secular character and its keen interest in the facts and experiences of everyday practical life. Theological preoccupation and the rigors of religious discipline, especially as they concerned wealth, could no longer play a leading rôle in intellectual endeavor. It seemed that the development of all business, government, military matters, diplomacy, and social problems called forth so much mental activity as to thrust traditional theological speculations into the background.

CHAPTER II

THE STATES OF ITALY

It is impossible to make a large city without an abundant population; and this is obtained by a benign government in keeping the roads open to induce strangers to come and live there, and so that every one may gladly make that city his dwelling place.—MACHIAVELLI (d. 1527).[1]

THE states of Italy, especially those of Tuscany and Lombardy, played a leading part in the age of the Renaissance. This was inevitable because many centers of a new and vigorous political life had sprung up as a result of the capitalist transformation of society. So necessary is an understanding of these states to the study of Renaissance culture that each of them merits careful attention. Before describing any one of them, it is well to note that in northern Italy and Tuscany they passed through two stages of growth.

The first of these is the commune, a name applied to the self-governed urban communities of the Middle Ages. The citizens of a commune possessed a keen sense of solidarity. They were repeatedly called upon to defend their communal rights against noblemen and princes. They were forced to protect the interests of their fellow merchants. They also built the communal walls, organized the communal militia, collected taxes for the communal chest, and secured the enactment of statutes to direct the social, economic, and political life of the commune. Assemblies of the citizenry met on the public squares to listen to political propositions, determine public policy, and elect officials who usually were called consuls.

The second stage, the establishment of the *signoria*, was a step in the direction of absolutism. Tyrants were inevitable in a society constituted as was that of the towns of northern and central Italy. The rapid increase of wealth everywhere divided the population into contending classes. As we have seen, the *popolo grasso* were the wealthier groups who controlled the more important businesses which catered to the economic wants of the larger area of Europe. In other

[1] *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Boston, 1891), vol. ii, p. 449.

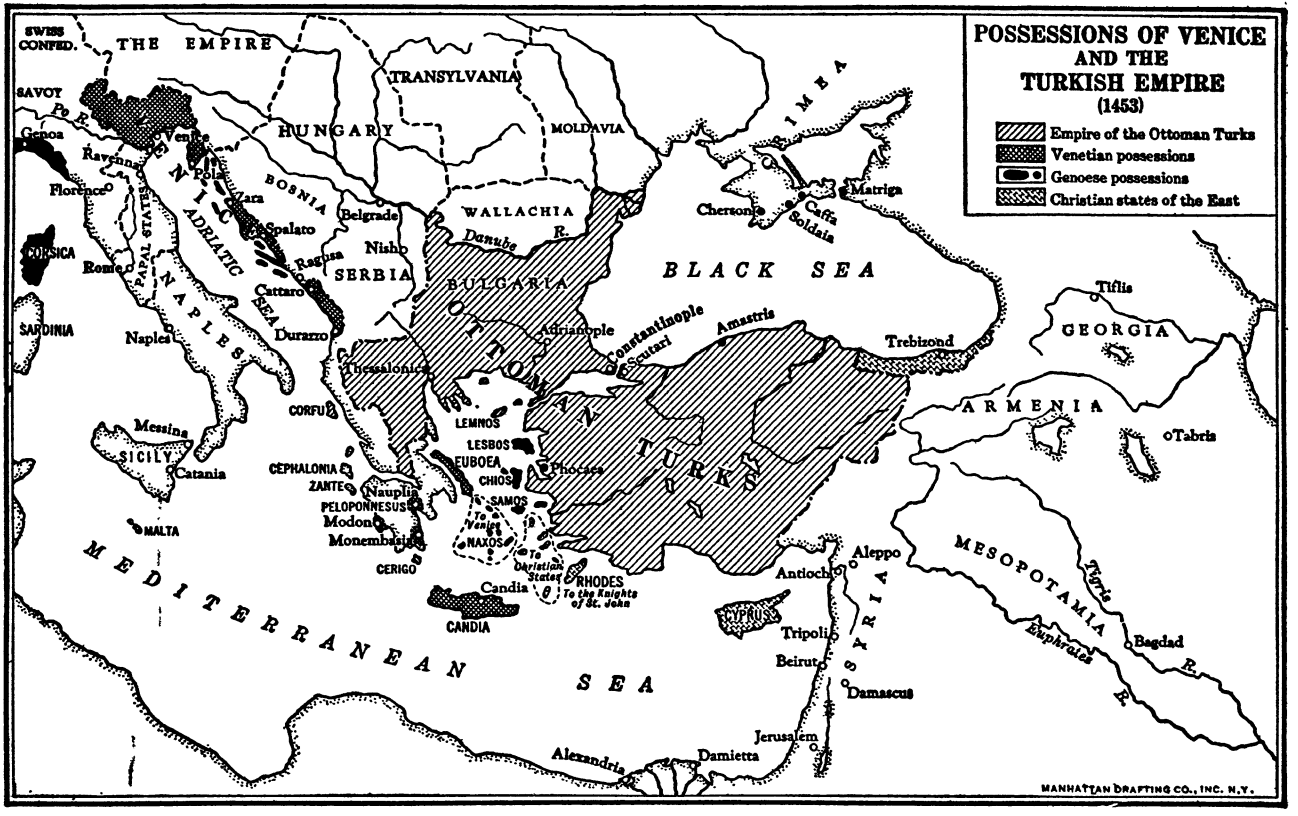

ITALY
IN
THE RENAISSANCE
1500
SWITZERLAND
Trent
Trieste
Venice
Chioggia
Po R.
Pola
Ravenna
Rimini
Pesaro
Sinigaglia
Ancona
Nice
Leghorn
Pisa
Florence
Siena
Orvieto
Spoleto
Aquila
Tivoli
Rome
Ostia
Palestrina
Agnani
Gaeta
Bari
Naples
Amalfi
Tarentum
ELBA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Cagliari
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
Messina
Mt. Etna
SICILY
Catania
Syracuse
MALTA
AFRICA
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words, they owned the big business of the day. The *popolo minuto*, on the contrary, were composed of the poorer groups who served the demands of the town population only. To this class belonged the shoemakers, carpenters, bakers, butchers, and oil venders. These two groups controlled the life of towns, politically and economically. Below them was the unenfranchised proletariat. Ill feeling was inevitable; factional disputes and dangerous feuds which often led to sudden and violent outbursts were rife. To put an end to such dissensions,[2] it became customary during the thirteenth century to intrust the direction of communal affairs to some person (a *signor*) or group of persons (*signori*). Crafty men or tyrants with ambition and ability often seized the power of the state or, as it was called, the *signoria* (or lordship), and maintained themselves in defiance of every effort to dislodge them. In theory, however, the *signoria* was conferred by the people. In the place of the tumultuous communal democracies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came a more effective and intelligent policy to promote economic interests.

The *signoria* created the fifteenth-century Italian state of the Renaissance. It was able to give manifold direction to the rapidly expanding industrial and commercial interests of the urban populace. It was in a position to subject the open countryside to the government of cities. Systematic and orderly management made states more and more effective. Tyrants maintained their authority by the use of *condottieri* or professional generals who commanded armies of mercenaries or *condotti*. The use of these professional soldiers became a characteristic feature of the Renaissance. Just as the communal citizenry of former times were unable to govern themselves in peace and security, so also were they incompetent to defend themselves. The life of active soldiers was incompatible with that of a bourgeoisie eager for the pursuit of wealth. Therefore all fighting was left to the professional soldiers who sold their services to the highest bidder. They had no national interests to serve, knew no racial antipathies, and cared not whether they fought against Christian or infidel. Neither did they hate rival armies. They did little real fighting, for the *condottieri* sought rather to win their objectives by skillful manœuvring which would cut off their opponents from their supplies or defenses. *Condottieri* often became successful tyrants, as in the case of Francesco Sforza, who was able to establish a dynasty in Milan (1450).

Venice, one of the most remarkable states of northern Italy,

[2] The Guelfs and Ghibellines were two such factions. The former supported the pope and the latter the emperor. Although they continued to exist after 1250 when effective imperial power came to an end, they became less and less important during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.


POSSESSIONS OF VENICE AND THE TURKISH EMPIRE
(1453)
Empire of the Ottoman Turks
Venetian possessions
Genoese possessions
Christian states of the East
SWISS CONFED.
THE EMPIRE
SAVOY
Genoa
Ravenna
Florence
Venice
Pola
Zara
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
Danube R.
Spalato
Ragusa
Nisho
SERBIA
BULGARIA
CORSICA
Rome
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
Cattaro
Durazzo
SARDINIA
Naples
Thessalonica
Adrianople
Constantinople
Scutari
Amastris
Trebizond
BLACK SEA
CRIMEA
Cherson
Caffa
Soldaia
Matriga
Tiflis
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
Tabriz
CORFU
LEMNOS
LESBOS
EUBOEA
CHIOS
Phocæa
Messina
SICILY
Catania
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Nauplia
PELOPONNESUS
Modon
Monembasia
SAMOS
To Venice
NAXOS
To Christian States
RHODES
To the Knights of St. John
CERIGO
Candia
CANDIA
MALTA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Antioch
Aleppo
SYRIA
CYPRUS
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Damietta
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
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never succumbed to the dictation of tyrants. This haughty Queen of the Adriatic was built on some low sandy islands through which flows the Grand Canal in the shape of an inverted letter S. At the foot of the canal and facing the sea are the Piazza of San Marco and the Piazzetta, famed for the stately campanile, the noble basilica of San Marco, the palace of the doges, and two pillars, one surmounted by the winged lion of St. Mark and the other by St. Theodore with the crocodile, both emblematic of Venetian history. Halfway up the canal is the Rialto bridge which joins the two halves of the city. On either side of the canal were the houses and magazines of the wealthy bourgeoisie, including the far-famed *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, or the German quarter. Venice ruled over a magnificent commercial domain, the relics of the old Byzantine Empire. Chief of these were Candia, Cyprus, and the Ægean islands of Andros, Naxos, Melos, and Negropont. By special treaties she bound to herself a number of flourishing trading centers in the Black Sea, Syria, and Egypt. Her position in Constantinople, Adrianople, and Salonica and on the Ionian Islands gave her ascendancy in the Balkan area. Cattaro, Ragusa, and Sibenico were important half-way stations on the east shore of the Adriatic.

Genoa early challenged the commercial ascendancy of Venice; she secured a foothold in Constantinople when the Latin Empire was overthrown in 1261, and began to compete actively in the Black Sea. The effort to drive Venetians out of the Crimea and southern Russia led to a war which lasted from 1350 to 1355. At first the Venetians were sadly worsted. Disheartened by the treachery of their doge Marino Faliero, they made peace and surrendered to the Genoese their ascendancy in the trade of the Black Sea. The struggle was resumed, however in the famous War of Chioggia from 1379 to 1381; this broke out because the Venetians had secured Tenedos at the entrance of the Dardanelles, an act greatly resented by their rivals. The Genoese defeated the Venetian navy at Pola in 1379 and made plans to move on Venice. But the Venetians stoutly defended themselves and, supported by their navy under Zeno, blockaded the Genoese in the lagoons at Chioggia and forced them to surrender. Thus the safety of Venetian sea-borne commerce was assured.

Until the fourteenth century Venice was content to live isolated in her lagoons and without possessions on the Italian mainland. Her position was unassailable but had decided disadvantages. She could not command the routes of commerce on the Venetian plain. Tyrants of the Della Scala house established themselves at Verona, Vicenza, and adjoining towns; since they commanded the approaches to the Brenner Pass, they were in a position to interfere in her commerce with northern Europe. The Carrara family which ruled in Padua

might become hostile at any time and cut off the food supply of Venice, a serious threat against a city which imported all the necessaries of life.

Venetian conquests on the mainland began with the success of a league formed to oppose the ambition of Mastino Della Scala, tyrant of Verona. By the treaty of peace in 1338 Venice received Treviso, Castelfranco, and Bassano. Venetian territory now extended to the Alps, but Venice did not yet hold the approaches to the important Brenner Pass. Two great wars were next fought with the Genoese who were seriously crippled by the outcome. But by the Peace of Turin in 1381, which she made with Genoa and her allies, Venice was forced to yield Treviso which in 1386 fell into the hands of the Carrara family. Notwithstanding these losses and the pressure of the Turks in the Levant, she soon resumed her conquest of the Venetian plain.

The fifteenth century was marked by keen struggles with the ruling house of Milan. Gian Galeazzo Visconti had succeeded in the fourteenth century in subjugating most of the Lombard plain. He reduced the Carrara house of Padua to vassalage and in 1388 presented Treviso and adjacent lands to the Venetians who had helped him. On his death in 1402 the traditional friendship between Venice and Milan came to an end. In the uncertainties of succession, Venice grasped her opportunity. Francesco Carrara seized Verona and sought to take Vicenza whose citizens, however, had offered the lordship of the town to Venice. Gian Galeazzo's widow Catherine was sorely tried by this warlike effort of the tyrant of Padua and solicited help from the Venetians. They granted her aid but demanded all of Milan's possessions east of the Adige River, and by 1405 they were in control of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua. Venice now ruled up to the Brenner Pass.

Two parties contended over the foreign policy of Venice at this time. Tommaso Moncenigo, who held office as doge of Venice from 1414 to 1423, wished to safeguard the city's marine position now seriously endangered in the East. He was opposed to further conquests on land. Against him was the party headed by Francesco Foscaro who argued that the tyrants of Milan would surely try to recover Verona and Padua. Foscaro's chance came when as doge he was able to unite with Florence who feared the designs of Filippo Maria Visconti in Romagna and Tuscany. In 1425 Venice began war on Milan, whose rulers yielded to her Brescia and Bergamo. Thus the Venetian border was extended westward from the Adige to the Adda. In 1431 Filippo Maria opened a war of revenge in which Florence was again the ally of Venice. It did not come to an end

until the Peace of Lodi (1454) which secured to Venice her possessions on the mainland.

While the ascendancy of Venice was thus being established in Lombardy, her Byzantine ports were threatened by the Turks who seized Constantinople in May, 1453. They granted the Venetians their ports and trading rights by the treaty of 1454. A quarter in Constantinople was assigned to Venetian merchants, to be governed by a Venetian official. Thus the proud city managed to retain her ascendancy in the Levant for a time, but only by the payment of an annual tribute. The Turks feared her political power and finally decided that a war was necessary. It broke out in 1463. Venice lost Albania, Morea, Negropont, and Lemnos, in spite of a determined resistance which drained her exchequer. The Peace of Constantinople (1479) allowed Venice to retain her commercial privileges although she had to pay a heavy fine of 150,000 ducats in addition to an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats.

Venice's power and position rested upon her great trading monopoly. Her greatest industry was shipbuilding. So huge was the demand for ships that, unlike Genoa which built for other peoples, the shipbuilders of Venice could scarcely satisfy her domestic needs. Because of her location on a group of small islands, all foodstuffs had to be imported. Traffic in wheat therefore became important. Vast quantities had to be brought from Sicily or the East. This had significant consequences for the foreign relations of the republic. The king of Spain ruled Sicily and could shut off this supply whenever it suited his purpose. So also could the Turks who were often hostile. If wheat failed to arrive from these quarters it had to be brought from beyond the Alps because grain from the region around Sinigaglia in the States of the Church was far from adequate. This was a source of great annoyance. Salt was produced in quantities sufficient for export. But Venetian manufactures, while important, were less profitable than commerce. The guilds produced superior silks, brocades, goldsmith's articles, and glass in such forms as beads and eyeglasses. In short, the Venetians, like the Netherlanders of the seventeenth century, were the economic middlemen between Orient and Occident.

Peculiar features of the Venetian state were the remarkable power of its government and the absence of revolts. This was not because there was no proletariat, but because the government was strong enough to suppress every attempt at rebellion. The doge, originally the representative of the emperor of Constantinople, had been very powerful. The wealthier families formed the Grand Council (*Maggior Consiglio*) which aimed to restrict the power of the doge. The council became a closed and hereditary group by 1319 and jealously

prevented the intrusion of newcomers. Through a series of committees it elected the doge, who held office for life. The Senate (*Pregadi*) chosen by the Grand Council discharged most legislative duties. A Council of Ten, appointed by the Grand Council, acted as a committee of public safety. This state organization, controlled solely by the aristocratic patriciate, was able to prevent all democratic movements, for it made the state all-powerful. Venice therefore was a city with no class conflicts. Her strength lay in her superior navy, the greatest in Europe. On land, however, Venice relied entirely upon *condottieri*; this condition was a source of much weakness. Especially efficient was her diplomatic service which became a model of excellence among states of the Renaissance.

The Republic of Genoa was situated on the narrow strip of land between the Ligurian Alps and the Mediterranean, and extended from Nice on the north to Massa on the south. The city of Genoa differed from Venice in that it was built on the mainland. Such territory as she was able to conquer proved far inferior to that which her rival annexed in the Venetian plain. But like Venice she laid solid foundations in commerce during the Crusades. She found herself blocked, however, at every turn by her intrepid rival traders. After much bitter fighting Genoa, as was noted above, finally lost her naval ascendancy in the War of Chioggia (1379-81). For a long time, however, she was able to retain a large share in the lucrative trade with the Levant.

The public life of Genoa was filled with constant turmoil. Her population was recruited partly from the nobility who long continued the private feuds so dear to that class. Internal dissensions greatly weakened the city's power to resist the Venetians on sea and the Visconti tyrants of Milan on land. In 1396 Genoa accepted the suzerainty of Charles IV of France and henceforth was to have a checkered career in her relations with her more powerful neighbors. The Visconti regarded her with covetous eyes because through this port they could secure access to the sea. French kings, particularly Charles VIII and Louis XII wished to control her because her territories would give them ready access to Italy. The Spaniards desired her allegiance in order to block French designs on Italy.

Genoa's economic position made her a desirable ally. Her navy was important for both French and Spaniards. Her shipping was at the disposal of the highest bidder. She sold ships and weapons to all peoples. Thus she was eagerly courted by the great forces contending for the control of Italy after the invasion of Charles VIII. The Spaniards were most successful in securing her friendship, for Genoa needed the wheat of Sicily which belonged to Spain; without it she was unable to subsist.

The Bank of St. George (*Casa di San Giorgio*) played a unique part in the life of Genoa. In 1371 an attempt had been made to fund the debt of the republic. The bonds or shares (*luoghi*) floated in that year increased so alarmingly because of internal dissensions that the bank was founded in 1407 in order to liquidate the public debt. All financial business was confided to eight members elected by the creditors. The bank therefore was a private institution independent of the state and carefully guarded by the vigilant creditors. It was well managed and proved a steadying influence in the tumultuous life of the state.

The prosperous city and duchy of Milan[8] were situated in the heart of the fertile plain of Lombardy between the Ticino and the Adda Rivers, branches of the Po which connect Lake Maggiore and Lake Como with this river. From time immemorial Milan had been the inevitable center of the very productive agricultural life of the valley. With the revival of trade and industry it attracted merchants and business from all parts of the commercial world. From Venice on the east, Genoa on the west, Florence, Siena, and Rome on the south, and the myriad towns which surrounded it on the Lombard plain came goods and traders of all sorts. To the north were the great Brenner, Splügen, and St. Gothard Passes through which poured articles of trade and manufacture to and from the great centers north of the Alps.

Milan stood next to Venice as an economic center. It was famous for the high quality of its silk and woolen textiles, gold brocades, and splendid velvets. It won renown for the great excellence of its weapons, which were superior to those produced in the towns of southern Germany. Indeed, it possessed practically a monopoly of this industry. Owing to its manufactures and its commerce, the city as well as the duchy of Milan possessed a population more numerous than that of any other state of similar area in the age of the Renaissance. Its economic position was peculiarly powerful because all foodstuffs could be produced on its fertile soil. Only salt had to be imported.

Commercial prosperity, industrial supremacy, advantageous geographical situation, and extreme wealth gave Milan unusual prestige in the political life of Italy. To secure possession of the duchy was a fundamental policy with the princes of the rival houses of Hapsburg, Valois, and Orléans during the great wars of the sixteenth century. The military power of the duchy was not imposing, however. The dukes relied extensively upon *condottieri* and mercenary troops, for the industrious bourgeoisie and peasantry saw little at-

[8] Milan and the surrounding subject territory were erected into a duchy in 1396 by the Emperor Wenzel.

traction in a career of arms. So wealthy were the dukes that they could command the best military talent. The government sought to defend the duchy, which lay open to invaders on all sides, by erecting great strongholds or castles at Milan, Cremona, and Pavia. The dukes' dependence upon mercenaries brought them much grief in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

The rulers, the Visconti family, created the duchy out of many discordant elements. Their policy was typical of despots, of whom Italy possessed many in the fourteenth century. Matteo Visconti was named imperial vicar by Emperor Henry VII in 1312. Title to the lordship (*signoria*) of Milan soon became hereditary in his family. By a complicated chain of events the family were able to bring under their sway all the central part of the Po valley between Savoy and Venetia, the Alps and the Apennines.

Filippo Maria, the last member of the direct line of the Visconti, died in 1447. But Filippo's *condottiere*, Francesco Sforza, had married his natural daughter Bianca. There were two claimants to his possessions, the house of Orléans and that of Hapsburg. The bourgeoisie of Milan hoped to recover their republican constitution and formed the Ambrosian Republic, named after St. Ambrose, famous in the history of the city. The fate of the duchy, however, was decided by craft and trickery, for in renaissance Italy hereditary title was not nearly as valid as the ability to secure and hold political power through clever manipulation. Sforza first made a treaty with the Venetians, promising them Cremo and some lands along the Adda, and in 1450 he conquered the Milanese. Next he repudiated his promises to Venice who could do nothing since the tyrant had solidly established his authority as duke. Thus was founded the Sforza dynasty of Milan.

Situated in the Alps and the valley of the upper Po, the duchy of Savoy did not share the great economic development of Lombardy. Its towns were few in number and of slight importance. Its economic development was backward, and its social customs and ideas remained conservative. Renaissance conceptions could not thrive in such a region; in fact, the country remained manorial and feudal in outlook. Savoy played a rôle during the age, however, but only because of its position. For the French it was important because it would give access to Italy; for Spain and the emperor, because it would serve as a bulwark against invasion. But to the culture of the Renaissance the state of Savoy contributed little.

The margraviate of Mantua was a powerful little community, situated on the lower Mincio which drained Lake Garda and was an affluent of the Po. The town of Mantua controlled the crossing of the deep and rapid Mincio. It enjoyed some economic prosperity,

for through it passed the routes of trade to Verona and the Brenner Pass. But it was too small to play a great rôle in the political life of the Renaissance. The able house of Gonzaga provided successful *condottieri.* A feudal atmosphere long dominated Mantua but it was softened by the bourgeois cultural influences of the Renaissance which gave to the life at the court of its able rulers a flavor all its own.

Ferrara, situated along the lower Po and the Adriatic coast, between Venice and the States of the Church, was much like Mantua. It produced capable *condottieri,* possessed some trade, and produced an article of great value, salt. The rulers belonged to the house of Este, a family of feudal origin. In spite of a chivalric outlook, life at the court made unique contributions to the culture of the Renaissance. The princes of Ferrara had acquired the *signoria* of Reggio in 1279 and that of Modena in 1288. Thus their properties extended from the mouth of the Po across the peninsula to Massa on the Mediterranean. The ducal title was obtained in 1450. Ferrara remained a fief of the States of the Church; this tie enabled the dukes to maintain their independence of Venice.

Florence was in many respects the most remarkable state of the Renaissance. By the opening of the fourteenth century her territory comprised all of Tuscany except Siena, Lucca, and Pisa. Pisa was subjugated in 1406 and thus free access to the sea was obtained. Florence's safety had been endangered by the ambitions of Gian Galeazzo and his son Filippo Maria, dukes of Milan. She was able to protect herself by an alliance with Venice through which she wrought great damage upon Milan. This policy was continued until the death in 1447 of Filippo Maria who had actively supported the exiled Florentine house of Albizzi and threatened the peace of the city. Cosimo de' Medici, the opponent of the Albizzi, now determined to seek the friendship of Francesco Sforza, placed his money at Sforza's disposal against the Ambrosian Republic, and contributed not a little in establishing the new dynasty in Milan. The Peace of Lodi (1454), Cosimo's diplomatic masterpiece, secured for Florence a political equilibrium in Italy, which was to last until the end of the century.

Florence owed her economic preeminence to the industrial and financial intelligence of her subjects. The political and economic skill of the city was founded upon the seven greater guilds (*arti maggiori*). The guild of the money changers (*arte del cambio*) early won fame and grew rich lending money to princes and the papacy. Sometimes the bankers lost, but in the aggregate they made great gains. Their houses numbered about eighty during the fourteenth century. Another industry subjected cloths imported from Flanders

and other northern lands to a secret process whereby they received a special luster and perfection. About twenty houses employing many workers monopolized this industry, and the merchants of the famous Calimala Guild, as this organization was called, made splendid fortunes.

Two hundred houses possessed a monopoly of the woolen industry (*arte della lana*) because Florentine dyeing was especially good. Their annual production amounted to seventy-five thousand pieces. This guild controlled twenty-five minor crafts. Handsome profits accrued from this trade which supplied the needs of the wealthier classes of Europe. The manufacturers of silk goods (*arte della seta*) also were important. Brocades of gold and silver were produced for discriminating buyers. In 1472 at least eighty-two shops were busy in the production of silks and employed a large number of workers. In this handicraft, however, Florence was surpassed by her neighbor Lucca.

Social and industrial cleavages created discontent and made the government of Florence unstable. The proletariat had no voice in the government, which was controlled by the masters of the guilds. The oppressed workers repeatedly sought to better their lot but each time they were put down by force. A desperate revolt broke out in 1378 but was stamped out in blood. This group continued to live in sullen resentment toward the more fortunate citizens. Out of this chronic discontent arose the power of the Medici in 1429, a wealthy house which favored the lower classes at the expense of the urban aristocracy. Florence was further weakened by the fact that, like Milan, it never maintained an effective army and with its native military resources could scarcely defend itself against a determined enemy. This feebleness was to prove disastrous when Charles VIII advanced upon Naples (1494-95).

The republic of Siena occupied the southern part of Tuscany. Its citizens had early won renown because of their banking success; but Florence surpassed it in the fourteenth century. Yet Siena retained its wealth and succeeded in presenting an imposing appearance during the Renaissance. Here too the government was unstable. The *popolo grasso* contended with the *popolo minuto*, and the lower classes were discontented; there were innumerable disputes. Pandolfo Petrucci became tyrant in 1487, but his rule was a dismal failure. Neither he nor other members of his family possessed the ability to manage the state successfully because of the rival classes. Siena finally passed under the protection of Charles V in 1524, and in 1555 was annexed by Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany.

The prosperity of Pisa, ruined by the Genoese in the battle off Meloria in 1284, was completely destroyed when Florence reduced

her in 1406, built a castle in her midst, and transported some of her prominent citizens to live in Florence as pledges of good behavior.

Lucca, on the confines of Tuscany and Modena, was famous for its silk industry as early as the eleventh century. Silk cloths of every variety and of great excellence were produced, so that the merchants of Lucca long enjoyed a monopoly of this profitable industry. Raw materials were collected from such distant lands as Persia, Turkestan, and Spain. Lucca's merchants established branches in the principal centers of Europe north of the Alps, and often engaged in profitable banking operations. Lucca successfully opposed the designs of Florence to subjugate her, and retained her independence until the nineteenth century.

The States of the Church, or the Patrimony of St. Peter as they are often called, comprised a large group of territories on the slopes of the Apennines in the central part of the peninsula. These lands shared but little in the commercial and industrial progress which made the states of northern Italy wealthy. Nevertheless, so important was the contribution of many of these communities to the culture of the Renaissance that they must be noted. In the mountains lay Umbria with the cities of Perugia, Assisi, and Orvieto. Eastward lay the Marches with the cities of Ancona, Urbino, and Sinigaglia. To the north were Romagna and Emilia with the cities of Ravenna, Rimini, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Bologna, and Imola, and the duchy of Ferrara. Outside of Romagna and Emilia few noteworthy towns developed. The country remained agricultural, supporting a relatively dense population. It produced much grain, the surplus of which was exported and thus paid for such articles of luxury as the people wanted. Salt was produced at Comacchio and alum at Tolfa. The social and political ideas of the people were conservative. Feudal customs survived everywhere in full vigor, due largely to the geographical diversity of the region; this condition made government difficult. Especially unstable was the city of Rome, capital of the States of the Church, whose officials often quarreled with the pope. The towns everywhere, large and small, were filled with factions and the nobles were contentious and indulged in feuds.

The great weakness of the States of the Church lay in the nature of their government. Their ruler was the pope, the head of the church. He was usually advanced in age when called to this dignity and his election was often the result of rival influences in the *curia*. Since he was a priest, his title could not become hereditary; hence no continuity of policy was possible. The great religious problems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries materially weakened the prestige of the papal rule. Feudal rulers and communal governments disregarded all central authority, and local dynasties of tyrants

asserted their freedom. Such were the Este in Ferrara, the Malatesta in Rimini, and the Montefeltri in Urbino.

The reestablishment of Rome as the seat of the papacy by Martin V (1417-31) after the tumultuous days of the Great Schism (1378-1415) was followed by a restoration of papal authority. But it proved impossible to raise the pope's prestige so that his government compared favorably with that of his northern Italian neighbors. The development of any central government was slow, taxation scarcely existed, and there was no army. Hence the pope was often forced to hire mercenaries or seek support from foreign powers. Not until the pontificates of Alexander VI (1492-1503) and Julius II (1503-13) was a successful effort made to consolidate these diverse lands and establish an effective government.

The petty state of Urbino, a fief of the States of the Church, was situated on the eastern slopes of the Apennines. Manorial institutions were still a feature of its life but the influences of trade were felt. This state was noted for its capable *condottieri.* The ruling house of Montefeltro was characterized by great ability which long enabled it to do as it pleased. The cultural eminence of its princes laid the basis of Urbino's prestige in the society of the Renaissance.

The kingdom of Naples occupied the southern part of the peninsula. Its industry was insignificant and its agriculture produced only enough grain for native use. Some olive oil was exported. Trade was to a large extent in the hands of foreigners. The towns, except Naples, were of purely local importance. The great currents of trade scarcely touched this region, leaving the country relatively the poorest in all Italy. Social and economic life was backward; everywhere feudal lords oppressed the peasantry. Brigandage was rife, especially in the interior. The nobles recruited their armies from the mountainous regions of the Abruzzi and assumed a haughty indifference toward the crown. Rulers made little progress in developing centralized government after the thirteenth century. Taxation was poorly developed and the rulers were unable to hire mercenaries. The Neapolitan infantry and cavalry were ineffective, the navy was puny, and foreigners controlled the shipping. Officials were drawn from the nobility who never became completely loyal to the crown; hence revolt was easily successful and kings might lose their crowns in a moment.

The kingdom of Sicily was a populous island important because of its staple product, grain. Olive oil also was produced but was of purely local significance. Its wheat was a prized article in Spain, where little of this commodity was grown, and in such great cities as Venice and Genoa. The crown derived a rich income from a tax levied on its export. Royal power was well developed everywhere

save in some of the remote mountain districts. There were no great barons such as harassed the political life of Naples and the States of the Church. Hence it was unnecessary to maintain a royal army. As long as its rulers could call upon the navy of the Genoese, whose shipping was the great distributor of its wheat, they were safe in their island kingdom. The Sicilian crown was held by the Spanish house of Aragon. Alfonso I, king of Sicily and Aragon since 1416, conquered Naples in 1435. On his death in 1458 the Neapolitan crown descended to his natural son Ferdinand I (1458-94), while the Sicilian crown passed to his brother John II who also ruled Aragon (1458-79). John's titles passed to his son, the great Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1516). Neither Sicily nor Naples provided an adequate soil for Renaissance culture.

CHAPTER III

STATES OUTSIDE ITALY

Public security and the protection of the laws are the sinews of agriculture and of commerce. The prince should therefore encourage his subjects quietly to devote themselves to the pursuits of agriculture and commerce, as well as to all other human industries; so that the one may not abstain from embellishing his possessions for fear of their being taken from him, and that the other may not hesitate to open a new traffic for fear of taxes. But he should reward those who are willing to devote themselves to these occupations, and who in any way contribute to the enlargement of the city or state.—MACHIAVELLI.[1]

IN THE preceding chapter it was seen how states in northern Italy were supported wholly or in part by commerce, industry, and the use of coined money. Outside Italy a similar situation was developing. Everywhere was felt the quickening pulse of a more advanced economic activity. Its intensity varied greatly in the many communities. The foundations of the old order in society and politics were steadily sapped. Where economic progress was most pronounced occurred the most rapid shifting of political life from the old manorial and feudal basis to the newer foundations of town economy. Thus the Renaissance type of state also developed outside Italy, although more slowly and under very different circumstances.

First to be noted is the kingdom of Germany and the venerable Holy Roman Empire, the embodiment of mediæval political conceptions. The kingdom dates back to the struggles of Charlemagne's grandsons when it was created by the Partition of Verdun (843). Its western boundary was fixed by the Treaty of Verdun-Ribemont (880) when the central strip originally given to King Lothair was incorporated with it. The crown early showed a tendency to become hereditary and an effective governing agency. But the Investiture Struggle, contentions with the popes, quarrels with feudal princes, and the extinction of several royal houses, the last being the Hohenstaufen in the thirteenth century, ruined the crown. The monarchy became elective, the sport of feudal ambitions. Many feudal states

[1] *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Boston, 1891), vol. ii, p. 448.

came into existence, unchecked by royal restraint. Such were Bavaria, Saxony, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Bohemia, whose rulers were the lay party in the College of Electors which named the emperor. The archbishops of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, the chief ecclesiastical princes of the empire, were also members of this college. The other feudal princes were organized into a College of Princes. Besides these there was a College of Imperial Cities composed of members from such towns as Nuremberg, Basel, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Augsburg, Strassburg, Lübeck, and Hamburg. These three colleges constituted the Imperial Diet. It was a cumbrous organ and could thwart the imperial will with impunity.

The imperial dignity was reassumed in 962 by Otto I after it had been neglected for a century. Like the German crown, it became elective. The German king was called King of the Romans until his coronation as emperor by the pope. Besides the German crown the king also wore the Iron Crown of the Lombards, which made him an Italian prince. There was no imperial patrimony or treasury. It is an interesting fact that the great economic progress of the closing Middle Ages did not make the German king a powerful ruler. Feudal princes and especially imperial cities grew rich from it and were strong enough to keep their wealth for themselves. Hence there was practically no royal or imperial taxation, administration, justice, or army. Royal and imperial offices had to be supported by the private moneys of the king. After 1438 the emperor was chosen from the archducal house of Austria whose possessions lay in the valley of the Danube. Although these lords enjoyed a modest economic prosperity they proved far too poor to support so heavy a burden. Hence both royal and imperial dignities became mere shadowy forms.

Germany's prosperity was peculiarly dependent upon external conditions. The great imperial cities of the south were built along the lanes of traffic between the towns of northern Italy and the Low Countries. As long as Italians remained in possession of the great trade with the Levant and the Orient these German centers flourished. The country produced mercenaries for foreign service but this did not counterbalance the decline in trade between Italy and the Low Countries which set in after Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope. The towns of the south therefore were robbed of the economic support needed in order to become world markets in the sixteenth century. They enjoyed some prosperity as manufacturers of cannon and other weapons. An extensive textile industry produced cloths inferior to those of the Low Countries and Italy, and could not meet their competition. The export of industrial products declined, trade grew less, and the prosperous days of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries vanished forever.

The northern part of the Rhineland was another important area of German trade and industry. Cologne, its center, stood at the crossroads leading from the south to the towns of Brabant, Flanders, and Holland on the west, and to the Hanseatic regions in the north and east. The economic development of eastern Germany was far inferior to that of the west and north. The east produced raw materials with which it bought the manufactures of western Germany and foreign lands. In the northeast the business of exchanging products of backward Slavic, Scandinavian, and other lands for those of the Low Countries, France, and parts farther south was in the hands of Hanseatic merchants. In their great centers there was much shipbuilding, brewing of beer, especially in Hamburg, and some manufacture of linens. The shifting of world trade routes was less disastrous for them than for the towns of the south. A vigorous urban life developed in many centers, but it did not contribute to the upbuilding of a politically united Germany.

The Scandinavian and Slavic countries north and east of Germany were an economic province of German traders. Situated on the outskirts of a region steadily being transformed by capitalism, they exported raw materials, foodstuffs, and metals to the more thickly populated centers and received in return finished products of greater excellence than they themselves could produce. Therefore the social development of these lands was backward, the bourgeoisie was a slight factor, and monarchical power based upon bureaucratic methods remained embryonic.

The Swedish and Norwegian crowns were elective in accordance with early Germanic custom. They possessed no system of taxation and had no army. The nobility was powerful and assertive; the church, especially of Sweden, possessed much land and defied the monarchy. The bourgeoisie grew slowly, as most of the trade was held by the Hanseatic merchants. Denmark was in far better condition. Its agriculture was advanced in character and there was more trade and industry. But here also the Hansa dominated commercial life. The crown remained elective and weak, possessing neither military strength nor an administrative bureaucracy.

These three kingdoms were joined when Margaret (d. 1412), the widow of Haakon VIII of Norway (d. 1380) and daughter of King Waldemar Attertag of Denmark (d. 1375), became queen of Norway and Denmark and regent of Sweden in 1389. Therewith the center of political control passed to Copenhagen. Denmark, wealthier than the other two, dominated whatever policy there was. Norway was not in a position to object. But in Sweden there was much trouble until finally national sentiment asserted itself and established a separate monarchy under Gustavus Vasa (1523-60).

The extensive kingdom of Poland occupied the valleys of the Vistula, Pripet, and Niemen, north of the Carpathian Mountains and west of the Dnieper. This low-lying region filled with swamps and pools remained a backward state throughout the Middle Ages. Agriculture progressed but slowly, the peasantry remained poor, and a native bourgeoisie scarcely developed. Here, too, commercial life was dominated by the Hanseatic League. Such larger towns as Danzig, Dünaberg, and Thorn were German. The rude nobility were powerful and independent. At the Diet of Piotrkow (1496) they were able to impose upon the crown the principle that no changes in the government would be permitted without their consent. They controlled and in fact practically constituted the state. The German bourgeoisie who dominated external commerce and the Jews who monopolized domestic trade were excluded from influence in the government.

The country produced an abundance of raw materials and foodstuffs which it exported through Hanseatic hands in return for cloths, salt, metals, wine, and fruits of the Mediterranean area. Progress among the peasantry was hampered by the policy of noble families to reduce all freemen to the level of serfdom. The nobles were able to secure exemption from the burden of import duties. They and the clergy, to a large extent recruited from the nobility, profited from this immunity. The crown languished and became elective, the bourgeoisie did not develop, and the peasantry declined in wealth and social status. Conditions necessary for a typical state of the Renaissance were largely absent in Poland.

The lands of the Knights of the Teutonic Order lay on both sides of the Vistula. This state, a monastic and feudal community of German origin, made war upon the heathen Prussians. At the head of this feudal organization stood the Grand Master. The subjugated Prussian peasantry lived in villages owned by the Order and were treated as serfs. Bitterness was the natural result but did not become effective until the rulers of the Jagellon house of Lithuania began to reign in Poland (1386). The combination of Lithuanians and Poles, both of whom had suffered at the hands of the Knights, defeated the Knights at Tannenberg in 1410. Casimir IV (1445-92) forced the Grand Master to yield Ermeland in the Vistula valley and to recognize the suzerainty of the Polish crown. Another semi-crusading order, the Knights of the Cross, occupied Courland, Livonia, and Estonia, lands lying north of the region occupied by the Teutonic Knights. They also were a monkish and military fraternity which labored to convert their subjects.

The Hungarians were of Finno-Ugrian stock and had emerged from the unexplored areas of northern Asia. They retained their

original tongue, in spite of the fact that they had absorbed other races. Their kingdom occupied the spacious valleys of the Danube and the Theiss, and extended to the crest of the Carpathians on the east. The broad and fertile Danubian plain was an important agricultural area. A vigorous peasantry and a powerful nobility grew up in it. But trade did not thrive, towns remained small, and the bourgeoisie played no significant part in the affairs of the land. Social manners and outlook were conservative and long remained feudal. Under such circumstances the monarchy could not develop. It remained elective and incapable of assuming leadership. There was practically no taxation and the army was purely a feudal array with no discipline. The cavalry was excellent but its untrained leaders could make no effective resistance against the Turks at Mohács (1526).

The Ottoman Turks, like the Hungarians, were of Finno-Ugrian stock and originally came from the regions north of the Hindukush Mountains. At the close of the thirteenth century they founded a state in Asia Minor which expanded rapidly. The depopulated Byzantine Empire, with its declining agriculture, vanishing commerce, and ruined treasury, could not resist their attacks. Dissensions were fomented by ambitious persons who invited Sultan Orkhan to cross to Europe, and the Turks soon spread over the peninsula of Gallipoli. Murad I (1359-89) invaded Thrace, proceeded up the Maritza valley, and in 1366 moved the seat of his government to Adrianople after seizing parts of Bulgaria. The Serbs were defeated at Kossova in 1389 and their state was reduced to vassalage.

Conquest had proceeded steadily, but Constantinople, the mighty city on the Golden Horn which commanded the narrow waters connecting the Black Sea with the Ægean and the land passage from Asia Minor to Europe, could not be taken. In spite of its poverty and impotence this capital of the venerable Greek state, ruined by the covetousness of Venetians and Genoese, resolved to put forth a valiant resistance. The Ottomans had no navy with which to approach its harbors. But the day of reckoning was at hand. Mohammed II (1451-81) felt that he must secure Constantinople to complete his control of the Balkans. It fell on May 29, 1453, closing a long career of incompetence and ignominy with one final act of heroic resistance. The Turks were of nomadic origin and knew little about trade, but Mohammed appreciated the importance of commerce and gave Genoese and Venetians mercantile privileges. Serbia and Bosnia were subjugated between 1459 and 1462, and the Latin princelings of Morea, who had founded their states after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, were driven out. Mohammed warred on the Venetians (1463-79) and took Negropont and Morea.

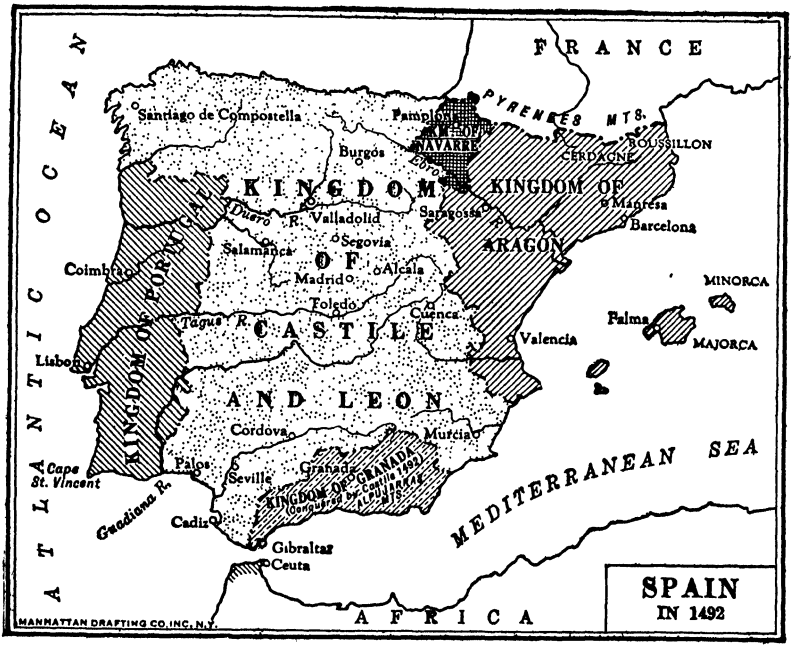
The Turkish government was very different from that of other states of Renaissance Europe. It bore traits of the original methods employed when the Turks were still in a tribal stage. The Porte, as the government was called, centered at the sultan's seraglio. The grand-vizier, or prime minister, the councilors, and other officials formed a supreme advisory body known as the Sublime Porte. The grand-vizier was also head of the civil and military servants. These officials were drawn exclusively from Moslems. Christians were tolerated. The army was composed of the cavalry recruited from Moslem landholders who owed military service to the sultan, and the Janissaries, a group of about eight thousand professional soldiers originally recruited from captives taken in war but later from the subject Christian population as a kind of tribute. These Janissaries formed the nucleus of the Ottoman army. The Turkish infantry was inferior to that of the Swiss and Germans; the cavalry was inferior to the horsemen of France. The Turks were successful chiefly because they fell upon a decrepit Greek state, the poorly managed Slavic levies, and the improperly drilled Hungarian troops.

The economic basis characteristic of states of the Renaissance was lacking in the Turkish dominions. Industry and commerce were monopolized by Venetians and Genoese. Agriculture remained important; grain was produced and from its export sufficient credit was obtained to purchase cloths from western looms. The weakness of the Turkish state was not apparent to people of that age, as is shown by the panic inspired by their military successes.

The many sections into which the Spanish peninsula had been divided since the Islamic invasions were greatly reduced in number by the end of the Middle Ages. Geographical diversity produced marked linguistic and other differences. The east, comprising Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia, was subject to the king of Aragon who after 1458 also ruled over Sardinia, Sicily and the Balearic Islands, chief of which were Majorca and Minorca. In the middle of the peninsula lay the realm of Leon and Castile whose ruler, Queen Isabella, married King Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469. The kingdom of Navarre lay on both sides of the Pyrenees. Although of slight importance in point of size and industry, it played an active part in the relations between France and Spain. The Moorish realm of Granada, which enjoyed extensive trade and industry, was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

The extensive plateaus of Spain produced no wheat, the chief foodstuff of Europeans. The peasantry could not develop as they did on the plains of Lombardy and the population remained sparse, being estimated at only seven millions. The rivers, except the Guadalquivir on which Seville was situated, were not navigable and

hence an active trading life could not grow up in the interior. Native industry supplied purely native needs. Cloths of the best quality had to be imported from Italian and Netherlandish looms. The vast uplands, however, produced some copper and a great quantity of wool from its merino sheep. Although inferior to the English product, it had become an important competitor as early as the fourteenth century and the industry supported a vigorous group of hardy and industrious shepherds.



The chief towns were with few exceptions situated on the seacoast or in Andalusia and Murcia. Catalonia possessed the splendid port of Barcelona, long famous for its trade with the Levant and an important center for the importation of Sicilian wheat. Such northern ports as Santander and St. Sebastian were centers for fishing, especially whaling. To the great towns of central and northeastern Europe were exported fruits and wines, and to industrial centers the dyestuffs traditionally used in the Middle Ages. Much of this northern trade, however, was in Netherlandish hands, and native shipping did not develop except in Guipuzcoa. This was also true of the Mediterranean trade which was controlled by the Genoese. Shipbuilding was monopolized by the Moors, as the Mohammedan population was called.

In Spain, as in other states of the Renaissance, the monarchy became powerful because of enthusiastic support by the bourgeoisie. The townsmen of Castile were disgusted at the feebleness of Henry IV (1459-74). They were opposed to the nobility who sought to preserve old privileges and dominate the crown. The townsmen formed an association to combat the traditional lawlessness of the nobility. This Hermandad, or brotherhood, was reorganized under royal direction in 1476. It possessed courts which punished brigandage and violence. It organized a mounted police to execute its decisions. Only when the crown was powerful enough to assume its functions did the central courts deprive the Hermandad of some of its duties. The nobles could neither understand nor sympathize with the policy of the crown and often absented themselves from the Cortes in which they had a right to sit. The great military orders, Alcántara, Calatrava, and St. James of Compostella, were forced to submit to the control of the monarch. A careful method of examining old grants of land was put in practice. A similar though less vigorous policy was pursued in Aragon.

It is significant that the Spanish monarchy was powerful enough to control the church. The native population was devoutly loyal to the Catholic faith, and the rulers were pious. This does not mean, however, that the state was influenced by the Roman *curia*. Isabella controlled appointments to important clerical posts and excluded foreigners, a policy to which Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) was forced to agree in 1482. The alliance of crown, church, and bourgeoisie led to important consequences. Moors and Jews were numerous in Andalusia and exhibited striking superiority in agriculture and industry. The bourgeoisie disliked the Jews who were their strenuous competitors and the fanaticism of the townsmen was fed by these economic antagonisms. They wanted to Christianize the Jews not only in faith but also in manner of living. They did not exhibit nearly so much hatred toward the agricultural Moors who in matters of faith were further removed from Christianity than the Jews. Such political and religious considerations also explain the zeal with which the crown supported and directed the Inquisition, a political institution erected in 1480.

The Spanish army was recruited largely from the lithe and hardy dwellers of the plateaus who in the sixteenth century won an enviable reputation as the best infantry in Europe. The army possessed no cavalry. Neither did the towns of the coast produce the shipping necessary to form a navy. The Spanish monarch remained dependent upon the Genoese marine for naval and military purposes as it had long been forced to rely upon Genoese shipping to import wheat from Sicily. The economic bases, social structure, political organiza-

tion and religious temper of Spain therefore profoundly influenced the rôle of its monarchs in the Catholic Reformation and the great wars for the control of Italy.

The kingdom of Portugal occupied the western portion of the Spanish peninsula from the Minho to the Guadiana. This land possessed great advantages over Spain in that the navigable portions of the Douro and the Tagus, with the cities of Oporto and Lisbon at their mouths, flowed through its territory. The Portuguese crown had developed a more highly centralized government than Castile or Leon. Furthermore, its authority was not challenged by Moors as was the case with Spain. Lisbon possessed an active trade with the Low Countries, and was to receive a mighty impetus from the Portuguese monopoly of commerce with India.

France occupied a leading position among the states of northern Europe. For many generations French royal power steadily increased, thanks to the wealth and energy of the bourgeoisie which supported it consistently. An administrative bureaucracy sprang into existence. Its officials came from the towns or from the lowest ranks of the feudal hierarchy. Knowing that they owed everything to the crown, they worked loyally for its advancement and sought faithfully to apply the precepts of the Roman Civil Code in behalf of the crown against the rights of nobles. The monarch thus became supreme; he collected an army and levied such taxes as were needed.

In 1453 France emerged victorious from the great trials of the Hundred Years' War (1336-1453). This struggle, although waged primarily against English kings, was in one of its aspects caused by the desire of French princes to prevent their states from being absorbed as so many feudal principalities had been. The king of England as duke of Aquitaine wished to maintain his rights against the obvious desires of the French crown. Feudal interests and the spirit of local independence influenced the course of the war. Industrial and commercial Flanders, a fief of the French crown, allied with England to escape the destruction of its economic interests. Feudal separatism in Brittany enabled the English Edward III to interfere to his advantage. The dukes of Burgundy were a younger branch of the royal Valois house of France, but, once established in Burgundy and in Flanders, they too asserted their separatist interests and allied with the English for economic and political reasons.

But the tide did not all run in this direction. In the reign of Charles VII (1422-61) occurred a remarkable manifestation of French patriotism. Joan of Arc so fired the soldiers with love for their fatherland that she was able to seize Orléans in 1429. Disasters dogged the English and their Burgundian allies until finally at the battle of Castillon in 1453 Bordeaux, the last remnant of English

authority in southern France, was lost. The monarchy shook off its stupor and developed a royal army which had none of the drawbacks of feudal levies. In 1445 a force of cavalry was instituted, called the *gens d'ordonnance*. Three years later a similar force of infantry was organized, the *francs tireurs*. An effort was made to provide them with the best engineering aids of the day and with the newly perfected artillery. All this manifestation of patriotism and royal strength and a very impressive list of victories had its bearing on the relations of crown and church. In 1438 the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was accepted in a synodal meeting of the French clergy. It set forth the rights of the church in France or, as they were called, the Gallican liberties, and stated that the church was to be freed from excessive interference by the pope. Thus the crown was enabled to assert its influence in episcopal and abbatial appointments and in many other matters.

The French people recovered rapidly after the expulsion of the English. Gains made by Charles VII were continued by Louis XI (1461-83). He suppressed feudal aspirations in the War of the Public Weal (1465), sought to destroy the ambitious dukes of Burgundy, and effectively supported the economic interests of the towns. The peace which now came to France enabled that rich country by the opening of the sixteenth century to stand forth as an equal among competitors. Louis' policy was continued by his able daughter Anne of Beaujeu who became regent during the tender years of her brother Charles VIII.

The economic and social organization of France at the close of the Middle Ages was such that she might well be envied by neighbors. She had a relatively large population of about sixteen millions. Industrial progress, however, remained slight and the land was dependent on foreign manufactures for articles of luxury. Better cloths and jewelry were imported from Flemish and Italian workshops, and spices came from the Orient. On the other hand, great quantities of grain and wine were produced, the export of which enabled the country to buy finer foreign products. Salt was an important article of trade with the Low Countries and the Hanseatic area. Metals had to be imported from Italy, Spain, and Germany.

This economic self-sufficiency and the growing power of the crown made French participation in European affairs peculiarly effective. The peasantry were little inclined to seek service in the army but preferred to continue in the profitable tillage of the soil. A powerful infantry was therefore impossible. On the other hand, the large number of younger members of noble houses had practically no patrimony and were eager to serve in war. The French army accordingly possessed the best heavy cavalry of Europe. The lighter cavalry

was insignificant. The resources of the crown were such that it could afford to develop a superior artillery and command the best skill in constructing fortresses and defending them. The navy, however, was not strong. The country was so self-sufficient economically that it had little shipping. These facts greatly influenced the course of events during the reigns of Charles VIII (1483-98), Louis XII (1498-1515), and Francis I (1515-47).

Switzerland was a confederation of states in the Alps. The communities of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden had formed a union for defense in 1291. This alliance became permanent in 1315 in spite of resistance from Hapsburg rulers. Fifteen urban and rural communities joined this nucleus during the next two centuries, from Lucerne in 1332 to Geneva in 1526 and Vaud in 1536. Each canton managed its internal affairs; the diet of the confederation to which each sent representatives took care of questions touching all the cantons. The confederation of states was in theory but a league of communities owing obedience to the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but such was the weakness of the imperial crown that the Swiss paid little attention to it.

The mountainous character of the country made husbandry difficult. Only in the little valleys of its mountain-fed streams was a limited tillage possible. In the north, from Geneva to Basel, there was considerable agriculture. The peasantry was a hardy and thrifty lot, resourceful in gaining a living under difficult conditions. Geneva at the foot of Lake Geneva, Berne on the route northward from Milan and the St. Gothard Pass, Basel on the Rhine, and Zürich were thriving commercial centers. Other towns were of strictly local importance. The total population did not exceed half a million, and even this figure meant actual overpopulation. Cereals were not produced except in the north. A life of sorry poverty was the result. There were no manufactures to be exported, and luxuries had to be brought from afar. It was possible to pay for them in only two ways: by sending mercenaries to serve in the armies of great princes like the king of France, or by accepting subventions from them as the price of alliance. The hardy mountaineers made good infantry, highly esteemed at the close of the Middle Ages before the Spanish infantry surpassed them. Swiss soldiers were well versed in tactics which won them many a victory. Thus Switzerland was peculiarly exposed to external influences.

England played an interesting part among the states of Europe. It had developed a high degree of governmental centralization since the Conquest (1066). Feudalism was never victorious in England as it was in France at the height of the Middle Ages and in Germany at their close. The royal courts were unquestioned; the king's

writs when put to the test were obeyed. Baronial courts soon vanished from the land. Towns and landholders were represented in Parliament. An administrative system was perfected which greatly strengthened the royal power. It was no exaggeration, therefore, when Richard II (1377-99) declared that he was an emperor in his own realm, superior to all within and without.

The crown had reduced the Celtic population of Wales during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) and had incorporated it in the English county system. But the case of Celtic Ireland was different, for the superiority of English feudal levies over the native Irish availed them naught. In Wales they had been able to show their superiority when fighting on level ground, but they could not drive the Welsh from their hilly fastnesses. In Ireland the boggy nature of the country made it impossible to profit from superior methods and equipment. Only around Dublin, in the region known as the Pale, was English authority accepted; elsewhere Irish tribal life continued vigorously and remained defiant toward the intruders. The island became a favorite haunt of traitorous enemies of the crown. This led to the policy of binding it more closely to the English Parliament. By Poynings' Law (1494) English parliamentary acts were declared binding upon Ireland, and the Irish Parliament was forbidden to make any laws without the prior consent of the king. The tie between the two countries, however, was loose and Ireland remained a dissatisfied land and continued to welcome the king's enemies.

During the earlier Middle Ages England was a backward land in economic matters. This was due to its insular position and to the fact that the currents of business were less active there than in the Rhineland, Flanders, Artois, and Champagne. The magnificent advance in the well-being of Europe, however, especially in the thirteenth century, greatly affected England. Towns began to grow rapidly, trade flourished, and wealth increased; the king taxed his subjects and filled his coffers with hard cash, the royal power grew apace, and England stepped forth as the best-governed and most efficiently centralized state in northern Europe.

England and Wales had a population of about three millions at the opening of the sixteenth century; this was rapidly increasing owing to the great strides in economic activity. Besides wool, the English exported hides and woolfells. The quantity of grain exported in former centuries had been very slight but was now rapidly increasing. Tin and lead were produced in important quantities. Flanders and Brabant had long been her superiors in the manufacture of woolens, but after the fourteenth century England began to make cloth from her own wool. These cloths were rapidly becoming

an important article of commerce and a source of wealth. The bourgeoisie, which grew rich from trading in them, steadily became a more and more important factor in national life and was able to make its influence felt upon the policy of the government toward foreign lands.

The practice of enclosing open fields in order to increase sheep pasturage forced many people from their traditional holdings. This, however, was but a passing crisis, for the dislodged peasantry sooner or later found employment in the towns which were growing rapidly because of the expanding cloth industry. There was no surplus population from which the crown could draw a large number of soldiers. The royal infantry therefore was of little significance. Neither were the newer technical advances in weapons introduced. The longbow remained a favorite weapon, partly no doubt because of the splendid service it had rendered at Sluis (1340), Creçy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415). Military defenses were of little value, save Calais, an English outpost in France which was well fortified. A splendid naval development began during the age of the Tudor princes whose bourgeois adherents gained royal support for English shipping. Having lost almost all dominion on the continent at the close of the Hundred Years' War, England turned with redoubled energy to trade and commerce.

These social and economic changes were intimately associated with the significant dynastic revolution of 1485. This rapid shifting from the more typically feudal methods to the newer mercantile ways which was definitely achieved by the Tudor sovereigns was accompanied by an interesting social throwback. The feudal element, which had remained warlike, maintained a great feud between the two branches of the royal family, the Lancastrian and the Yorkist factions; in the Wars of the Roses (1455-85) these bitterly fought each other. While they filled the land with dissension, the economic life of town and country continued in its wonted manner. Henry Tudor defeated the Yorkist Richard III (1483-85) at Bosworth (1485), and therewith closed the long strife. A new age dawned which was to raise the country to new heights of prosperity. The feudality was discredited by its useless feuds; the future lay with the towns and the bourgeoisie more than ever. This made the reigns of Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-47) significant. Patriotic Englishmen supported their monarchs, for they feared an appearance of revolt after the troublous days of the Wars of the Roses. It was no mere chance that the shift from the feudal to the mercantile state, the growth of the navy, the increase in royal despotism, the outburst of nationalism, and the great increase in

material wealth should coincide with the appearance of the Tudor dynasty.

Scotland in many respects was still a primitive land. The Lowlands, inhabited by Anglo-Saxons, differed little from northern England in economic development and social organization. Towns like Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh were of limited importance. The nobles possessed an inordinate share of political power. They monopolized the seats in Parliament, thus excluding the bourgeoisie who were too weak to assert themselves. Not until the middle of the sixteenth century were the latter able to insist upon being heard. The nobles controlled the best posts in the church and, as they often lived in blood feud, seriously impaired its effectiveness. The Highlands were backward and conservative, being inhabited by Celtic clans which practiced a tribal economy. Their chiefs, like the nobles in the Lowlands, engaged in blood feuds and possessed great power which the crown was forced to take into account. The crown was hereditary, but weak. It possessed few resources with which to build up an army and navy. Only a small income was derived from taxation. Foreign policy was dominated by a traditional hostility to England; for this reason the crown was allied with France.

In the Low Countries Flanders between the Schelde and the North Sea was yielding its leadership to Brabant but for the moment it appeared the most important state. It was the wealthiest and most densely populated area in the Low Countries. East of the Schelde lay Brabant which was rapidly becoming the wealthiest community of northern Europe. The princes holding this advanced economic center possessed a peculiar military and political advantage. The counties of Holland and Zeeland also were becoming important. Separated from its southern neighbors by the Rhine and Meuse, Holland occupied a strategic position in the northern Low Countries. Zeeland was important because along its island shores the seaborne traffic of Northern Europe had to pass.

Flanders, Brabant, and Holland were commercially the most advanced lands in northern Europe. Nowhere else was there such flourishing trade and industry, so large a population, so many towns, so much wealth, and so eager a desire for articles of luxury. The princes who ruled the Low Countries occupied a unique place in Europe of the Renaissance. They belonged to the great Burgundian family which had been able to annex all Netherlandish territory except Liége, Utrecht, and Guelders. Four princes, Philip the Bold (d. 1404), John the Fearless (1404-19), Philip the Good (1419-67), and Charles the Rash (1467-77), also ruled in the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Burgundy and Charolais; these lands were separated from their Low Country possessions by the duchy

of Lorraine. It was the policy of Charles the Rash to unite all these lands into a kingdom which should be independent of France and the Empire, a dream shattered forever by his defeat and death in the Battle of Nancy (1477).

The inopportune death of Charles brought a serious crisis in the history of these lands. Louis XI of France seized Charolais, Artois, and the duchy of Burgundy, and sought to annex Flanders. The heiress Mary accepted as her husband Maximilian (d. 1519) heir apparent of the Hapsburg fortune. Thus was established the Austro-Burgundian dynasty in the Low Countries. On Mary's death in 1482 Maximilian became the guardian of their son, Philip the Fair. This youth married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, but died in 1506, whereupon Maximilian again assumed the regency, this time in behalf of his grandson Charles, who thus inherited not only the Low Countries, but also Spain and the Hapsburg possessions. The control of the Low Countries enabled the Hapsburg princes to command vast commercial and financial resources which their hereditary lands in Austria did not produce, and to dominate northern Europe in political and military matters during the late Renaissance and the Reformation.

PART II

CRISES IN CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH: IDEALS, ORGANIZATION AND PROBLEMS

And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.—ST. MATTHEW (King James' Version).

A SERIOUS crisis confronted the church during the closing Middle Ages. How was it to meet the demands of the new social, economic, and political order? The revival of trade and industry and the use of coined money were supplanting ancient manorial methods. The development of an urban and mercantile life caused society to shift from its old agrarian basis to the new industrial and commercial foundations. Secular governments were becoming more powerful because of these changes. Rulers jealously guarded their interests and increased their power. The statecraft of Philip IV, Edward III, and the Republic of Venice were typical examples of this concentration of power.

The church, which had been established during the Roman Empire, possessed extensive political privileges and an enormous amount of land. It was a powerful political and economic competitor of princes. It had elaborated a vast system of dogma and enjoyed greater sway over the souls of men than did any other organization. To maintain its ascendancy in spiritual matters and retain leadership in political life was almost impossible during the closing Middle Ages. The

church could not ignore the claims of secular life; neither could it subject the world completely to its conceptions. Crises in religious life were unavoidable during the Renaissance and the Reformation. It is necessary to understand fully the nature of the church, in both ideals and organization, if one is to explain this critical period. Let us therefore briefly analyze this venerable institution.

According to the broadest definition, the church was the body of the faithful who had received the teachings of Christ. It comprised three groups: the church militant, the members living on earth; the church suffering, those in purgatory whose punishment for forgiven sin had not yet been discharged; and the church triumphant, those who had been received into heavenly glory. It was a mystical community and, as far as the departed were concerned, invisible. But among the living it was a visible institution in which the benefits of Christ were dispensed in the sacraments. So significant was the function of its priests in the eyes of the people, however, that to them the hierarchy constituted the church.

It was universally held that the church was of divine foundation. Christ was its head and king. He had delegated His authority in the church militant to a vicegerent. This was the apostle St. Peter, who thus received what was figuratively called the power of the keys which included the right to bind and to loose. Out of this teaching came the belief in the primacy of St. Peter and his successors, the popes or bishops of Rome. This basic dogma was an outstanding feature of the Latin Church of the West and distinguished it from the Greek Orthodox Church of the East. The pope was the visible earthly head of the visible hierarchy whom all were required to obey. To deny this primacy was the gravest heresy.

At the bottom of the hierarchy stood the priest whose sphere of activity was the parish. This was the smallest unit in the organization of the church and embraced a varying number of souls. In some rural parishes there was often but a handful. Membership of larger parishes in the towns might reach into the hundreds and even thousands. The parish church was a hallowed spot dedicated to divine services by the bishop. It became the center of parish life to such an extent that even secular activities took place in or near its sacred precincts. Fairs, markets, festivals, and political meetings were frequently held there. The candidate for a parish living[1] was usually presented to the bishop by the lord of the manor or the person who had secured the right of such presentation. The bishop thereupon appointed him. Parish priests were charged with the celebration of the sacraments except confirmation and holy orders. They also minis-

[1] An ecclesiastical post, supported by some endowment, was called a living or a benefice. The holders were known as rectors, vicars, or curates.

tered to the religious life of the parish, enforced canonical discipline, carried out synodal and episcopal decrees, and looked after the material needs of the parish.

Above the parish priest stood the bishop. His authority extended over a diocese which comprised a large number of parishes. Dioceses varied greatly in size. In the Mediterranean area they were small but in the north they were much larger. The center of the bishop's activity was the cathedral church, often distinguished for its size and sumptuous decoration. To the bishop was reserved the celebration of the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders. He was required to visit the parishes of his diocese in order to confirm the youth and others in the faith. It was his task to examine candidates for the priesthood and to ordain them. He convoked synods to discuss religious matters and issued disciplinary commands. Besides, he was required to administer the properties of the church, a task which consumed much energy. In this as well as in his more spiritual labors he was assisted by the clergy attached to the cathedral, or the cathedral chapter. The insignia of his office were the ring worn on the fourth finger of the right hand to symbolize the union of the church whose agent he was with the mystical body of Christ, the crozier or staff which reminded the flock of their spiritual shepherd, and the miter which signified that he acted for Christ the King. In his relations with the parish clergy he was represented by an archdeacon who was charged with certain judicial authority and inducted priests into office.

The cathedral chapter was an important element in the religious, intellectual, and political life of the diocese. Chief of the canons was the dean, outside of England usually called provost. He had charge of the cathedral canons and was elected by them. Often there was a subdean. Next in rank was the cantor, charged with the work of the dean in case of his absence and with the supervision of music and reading from Scripture and other sacred writings. A chancellor, or *scholasticus*, appointed the teachers and supervised the schools of the diocese, especially the one maintained by the cathedral chapter. There were also a treasurer, a sacristan, and other officers. The number of canons varied greatly; in many dioceses there were more than fifty. One of their duties was to elect the bishop and assist him as an advisory council or *curia*.

Several dioceses formed a province, at the head of which stood an archbishop or metropolitan. He was a bishop in his own see, which was commonly called the archdiocese. The other bishops of his province were called suffragans (i.e., assistants). Like all bishops, the archbishop was assisted by the clergy of his cathedral who supervised the affairs of the diocese. Relations between canons and

suffragans varied considerably among the provinces. The suffragans usually elected the archbishop, who was required to take special interest in the spiritual affairs of the province and to that end convoked synods. The distinguishing insignia of his office were the episcopal miter, ring, and staff, and the pallium made of wool by the nuns of St. Agnes of Rome and bestowed by the bishop of Rome.

At the head of the hierarchy stood the pope. As successor of Peter to whom was delegated supreme authority in faith and morals, he stood above all bishops. Yet in theory they were his equals. In point of rank he was but bishop of Rome. He was judge in his own diocese, but he claimed and successfully sustained the right to receive appeals from all episcopal courts. Most cases in the courts Christian might be called before his tribunal. Like other bishops, he had a council, or consistory, the College of Cardinals.[2] It was constituted of the clergy of certain churches of Rome and its environs. With the pope the cardinals composed the Roman *curia* or, as it is often called, the papacy. Upon the pope's demise the cardinals took over the papal duties and prepared for a conclave in which they elected a successor. As supreme head of the church, the pope might call councils to consider questions of dogma, morals, and ecclesiastical government.

The clerical hierarchy described in the preceding paragraphs constituted the secular clergy, so called from the fact that they lived in the world (*seculum*) and had not withdrawn therefrom into a monastic cloister. The regular clergy lived under a rule (*regula*) designed to promote the ascetic life. Such groups of religious were common. Chief of them were the Benedictines whose houses literally dotted the land. Many of their monasteries had been reformed in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the zeal of the monks of Cluny and organized into a more closely knit congregation under the control of the abbot of Cluny. Daughter houses were headed by priors and were subject to inspection by the abbot. Another order was that of the Cistercians, organized in protest against the laxity of the Benedictines. In imitation of the Cluniac houses they formed a federation and held annual chapters which, however, became intermittent after 1411. Statutes made in these meetings were binding on all houses. The houses were to be visited once a year by their superiors. The Carthusians possessed a similar organization.

Canons of cathedral chapters and priests of collegiate churches often lived according to a rule. This habit dated back to the early days of the church and was popularly thought to have been insti-

[2] For the College of Cardinals, the functions of cardinals, and the manner of holding conclaves, see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. iii, pp. 333-341, and vol. iv, pp. 192-195.

tuted by St. Augustine who died in 430. Reform of capitular life was often felt to be necessary, and, indeed, a measure of conventual life for secular priests frequently proved beneficial. The rule of St. Augustine, as it was called, became popular. Priests who accepted this rule were called Canons Regular. At least thirty such congregations came into existence. Chief of them was the Premonstratensian or Norbertine order. It possessed a general chapter and was subject to an abbot under whom there were priors in the provinces. The Augustinians had a similar organization. Other congregations of the Canons Regular were the St. Victor and the Lateran Canons. Franciscan and Dominican friars adopted the Augustinian rule with modifications. Each had a superior under immediate authority of the pope, a general chapter, priors over each province, and annual chapters of the houses. There were also a number of military orders, of which the best known were the Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, organized to care for the sick on crusade or pilgrimage; and the Teutonic Knights, occupied in warring against the heathen of Prussia and Livonia.

To conduct religious services and to celebrate the sacraments were the chief functions of the clergy. The sacraments, seven in number, were visible and tangible symbols and channels of an inner grace. Normally only the clergy could administer them, and when the recipient was in the right disposition they were efficacious regardless of the priest's character. Baptism washed away the guilt of sin (original sin) of which man's first parents were guilty when they disobeyed God. This rite occurred soon after birth. Next came confirmation after a period of instruction, which marked the candidate's full admission into the church. Penance was important. Truly contrite penitents were required to confess their sins, whereupon the priest would absolve them from the guilt acquired by their sins and assess proper satisfactions of penalties. The Holy Eucharist occupied a central position in the religious life of Christians. In it the body and blood of Christ were received under the accidents of bread and wine. This substantial change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in such manner that the accidents remained unchanged is the famous doctrine of transubstantiation.[3] This sacrificial act, or mass as it was called, assumed vast importance in the life of the Middle Ages, but a long study would be necessary to elucidate it fully. Extreme unction gave com-

[3] *The New Catholic Dictionary* (New York, 1929), p. 812, states: "In the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist after the consecration of the bread and wine our Lord Jesus Christ, True God and True Man is truly, really, substantially, and abidingly contained under the species of these sensible things, i.e., bread and wine."

fort of soul to the dying. Matrimony also was a sacrament. Holy orders conferred upon a candidate for the priesthood the indelible character of a priest.

It is difficult in this modern age to form an adequate idea of the power and social efficacy of the church. Founded by Christ and presided over by His vicar, the bishop of Rome who held the keys of heaven, it possessed greater power than any other institution. Through its sacramental system it sought to mold the conscience of the faithful. It laid down precepts to guide social relations. A Christian conception of marriage and family life came into existence. A doctrine of economic relationships known as the canonists' theory of economics was created, for economic activity was regarded as a branch of theological ethics and was to be guided by theologians. A complete doctrine of political relationship was developed. All power came from God; it was taught that God had vested supreme ecclesiastical authority in St. Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome. All men were to be subject to the pope in order to win salvation.

God had also established secular power to restrain man's wicked passions and to direct and control civil society. As head of this power He had appointed the emperor of whom, according to feudal conceptions, princes held territories in fee. Sacred and secular authority were supreme in their respective fields, but in all moral and religious matters the latter was to be guided by the church. The practice of granting indulgences illustrates the far-reaching influence of religion. An indulgence was the remission of part or all of the penalty incurred after guilt for a mortal sin had been forgiven and was to be expiated in this world or in the next. These penalties or fines, as they were imposed by the church, took the form of good works such as building hospitals, almshouses, churches, and schools, defending the Holy Land against the infidel, doing charitable works, and constructing buildings, roads, bridges, dams, and other objects of social utility. Indulgences were popular during the last centuries of the Middle Ages and were a noble force for good in spite of abuses.[4]

The calendar used during these centuries shows the far-reaching influence of religion. In France and some other lands the new year began with Easter. This was a cumbersome method of calculation, but it seemed natural to a religious age that the new year should begin with the feast of the Resurrection, the central theme in the story of redemption. It would have been simpler to make the first day of January the beginning of the new year as was done in the papal chancery. Since the day on which Easter fell varied as much

[4] Indulgences and the treasury of merits will be described in chap. xxxiii.

as twenty-eight days in March and April, confusion was inevitable. In England the new year began on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, and in some other lands on Christmas day. It was usual throughout Christendom to date events by the feast days of saints. The feasts of St. James and St. Philip (June 1), St. John the Baptist (June 24), St. Peter in Chains (August 1), St. Martin (November 11), and St. Stephen (December 26) were a few of the more popular. There were also a number of feast days associated with the life of the Virgin Mary, such as Candlemas (February 2), Annunciation (March 25), Assumption (August 15), and Birth (September 8). These were fixed days and were easy to use in spite of the fact that there was an excessive number of them.

The movable feast days were more difficult to calculate because they varied according to the day on which Easter fell. Counting backward from Easter the first nine Sundays were named as follows: Palm Sunday, Passion Sunday, Fourth, Third, Second, and First Sunday in Lent, Quinquagesima, Sexagesima, and Septuagesima. The first Sunday after Easter was Quasimodo Sunday, which was followed by the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Sunday after Easter, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Second and Third Sunday after Pentecost, until the Twenty-third or Twenty-seventh Sunday came, depending upon the date on which Easter occurred. The remaining Sundays were not designated with reference to Easter. The forty days before Easter, beginning with Ash Wednesday and not including the Sundays, constituted the season of Lent. It is apparent that most events could be dated according to some movable or fixed festival or some saint's day.

The clergy possessed extensive powers to enforce their teachings upon the community. Disobedient persons were excommunicated and thrust out of the fold. An excommunicated person could have no religious, social, political, or economic relations with the faithful. He became an outcast, at least in the earlier Middle Ages when this sentence was far more generally heeded than it was later. Excommunication was dreaded by rulers because feudal ties established by homage and fealty were dissolved the moment that oaths were relaxed. A disobedient country might be placed under the interdict. All religious services save baptism and the last sacraments would then be suspended. Even burial in consecrated ground was forbidden. Bishops in earlier days had been charged with the task of purging the church of heresy, but such was the prevalence of subversive religious doctrine, especially in the case of the Albigensians, that they could not carry out this task. Accordingly a special tribunal, the Inquisition, was created, charged with investigating religious opinions. The methods of this court were severe, even pitiless. It employed

every device of torture used in the secular courts of the day. As clergymen were forbidden by canon law to shed blood, their sentences extended merely to expulsion from the church. So close, however, was the cooperation between church and secular government that sentence pronounced on a heretic was binding in the eyes of princes and automatically condemned the victim to the savage reprisals which secular law had invented for heresy. No practice of the mediæval church has aroused so much hostile criticism in modern times as that of the Inquisition. But the Middle Ages as well as early modern times were not noted for their liberal sentiments in the matter of heresy. Religious tolerance as understood in our day would have appeared criminal negligence. In judging the mediæval attitude toward heresy one should remember that religion bound every human relationship, and if freedom were permitted it was believed that anarchy would result. The practical significance of the Inquisition is to be seen in the successful extirpation of the great Albigensian heresy in the thirteenth century.

The courts Christian were organized to carry out the church's conception of justice. Archdeacons, bishops, archbishops, and the pope possessed power to try many kinds of cases. The law employed in these courts was one of the remarkable products of the Middle Ages, and in modern times is known as canon law, or the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, as distinguished from the great *Corpus Iuris Civilis* bequeathed to us by Roman emperors. Its codification began in the twelfth century with the monk Gratian, who arranged precepts drawn from Scripture, the church fathers, decrees of councils, and pronouncements of popes about church government, many of which contradicted each other. Hence he called his work the *Harmony of Conflicting Canons* (*Concordantia Discordantium Canonum.*) Bulls of succeeding pontiffs were collected and published in 1298 by Boniface VIII (1294-1303). This collection was known as the *Liber Sextus.* To these works were added the decrees of Clement V (1305-14) in five books, known as the *Constitutiones Clementinæ*, and two other collections, originally not included in the body of the decretals, the *Extravagantes* of John XXII (1316-34) and the *Extravangantes Communes.*

The teachings of the church were effectively furthered by its great pedagogical agencies. The cathedral school of Paris developed into a famous university. Its professors set the standard of theological study and prepared many a person in theology and philosophy. Monastic schools fell far behind the universities in importance. Parish schools, in which the liberal arts and the elements of religion were taught, flourished in towns. Besides, there was the catechetical instruction of the clergy whereby the truths of Catholic teaching were instilled in the minds of many generations.

Although the church was a great religious institution, it would be an error to overlook its economic and political features. So pronounced were these that one is forced to ask whether at times the church was not chiefly secular in character. One should never forget that in the Middle Ages society rested on a manorial economy which implied a small amount of money to carry on business. To support the church it was necessary to endow it with land. This had been done systematically by princes and subjects ever since the decline of the Roman Empire. Parish churches possessed lands for the support of priests. These lands had been given by landlords who retained the right to present to the bishop persons to be appointed to these posts. Bishops and archbishops likewise possessed much property derived from other sources. From incomes paid by serfs established on their lands, bishops were able to support their episcopal administration. Monastic houses also owned vast properties. The bishop of Rome held enormous estates called the Patrimony of St. Peter.

Churchmen possessed vast political power. With the development of feudalism, when petty princes took into their hands powers once discharged by central governments, ecclesiastical princes did exactly what lay princes did and became feudal lords. Often this step was forced upon them by sheer circumstance. In Germany it was due to the policy of the Saxon kings, particularly Otto I (936-973). Bishops already rich by reason of their landed property began to administer justice, coin money, and take an interest in military affairs. To the sacred symbols of the episcopal office, the ring, staff, and miter, was added one of secular power, the scepter. Abbots also became feudal personages. They received fealty and homage from their vassals quite like other feudal princes. Their representatives held court for the vassals. It was often impossible to distinguish bishop from feudal lord.

As ruler of the States of the Church, the bishop of Rome was an important political personage among secular princes. He directed a secular administration, struck coins bearing his insignia, administered justice, and maintained an army and navy. When acting in this capacity, he could scarcely be distinguished from other princes. As universal pastor of the church militant, the power of the keys gave him vast authority which was frequently used in extreme ways. The crowns of England and Ireland were held of him in fee in return for a payment of seven hundred and three hundred marks sterling, respectively. The crowns of Naples and Sicily were also held of him and brought him eleven thousand ounces of gold. The crown of Aragon paid two thousand marks silver for Corsica and Sardinia. When to these powers are added the prestige of the pope's position

as universal pastor and the pressure that he could exert upon secular princes, it becomes apparent that the papal monarchy was truly a great secular as well as a great religious institution.

The history of the church in the age of the Renaissance is a tragedy. The church was primarily and originally a religious institution; but so manifold were its economic ties and political interests that its basic character was often cast into the background. The papal monarchy repeatedly clashed with secular princes. Its claims had led to interminable conflicts which destroyed the Hohenstaufen house, thus breaking up the Holy Roman Empire. Secular concerns overwhelmed its religious activities. By the close of the thirteenth century new and mighty national states had come into being, the rulers of which drew their power from the support of the bourgeoisie and their ability to collect hard cash by way of taxation. These rulers were hostile to all interference by the papacy; they challenged and finally destroyed its theocratic authority in international matters. The first serious contest with these new powers took place during the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) with Philip the Fair of France and Edward I of England.

Philip the Fair (1285-1314) was an able and unscrupulous prince. Although not a great warrior, he was an effective ruler. At his court he retained men trained in Roman law who taught that a king's will should be supreme in his realm. As feudal prince he was ambitious to bring into his hands such great fiefs of his crown as Flanders, Guienne, and Brittany. He was especially eager to secure Guienne, of which the English king was duke; it was the last remnant of that splendid empire over which Plantagenet Henry II (1154-89) had ruled. The unity of France and the pride of its king demanded this possession. The long rivalry between Norman and English sailors suddenly produced a violent outbreak in 1293. Philip accused Edward I and demanded reparation. Summoned to appear before his peers in Paris, Edward sent his brother who unwisely surrendered some border strongholds of Guienne into Philip's hands for a period of forty days until Edward should make formal submission in a personal interview. Philip at once poured large numbers of troops into the land, clearly intending to keep it. When the forty days were over he argued that Edward had not obeyed his summons and had forfeited his title to the duchy.

Edward I (1272-1307) was an energetic ruler who enjoyed the confidence of his subjects. He did much to make the will of the crown effective, laid the basis for many reforms in administration, and was aware of the new power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. When he mounted the English throne he realized the danger that lurked in Guienne and soon began to organize alliances against

Philip III (1270-85) and Philip the Fair. He made matrimonial connections with princes in the Low Countries. Commercial and industrial Brabant, commercial Holland and Zeeland, and the county of Bar were carefully cultivated. In 1274 Edward had done homage for Guienne, but only with suppressed bitterness. A chronicler described his relations with Philip as "the love of a cat and a dog." When the fight between English and French mariners in the English Channel brought on the long-threatened war, Edward turned to Count Guy of Flanders (1278-1305).

Flanders, as fief of the French crown, was required to support Philip. But industrially it was dependent on English wool which kept its weavers employed in manufacturing cloths for the markets of Europe. Its towns possessed a large population which could be fed only by foodstuffs imported from all parts of Europe. The Flemings paid for these out of the profits from the manufacture of cloth. Social antagonisms were rife in Flemish towns and greatly influenced the course of the struggle. Count Guy was opposed by his aristocratic townsmen because he championed the craftsmen who were exploited by their more favored brethren. These craftsmen violently opposed their industrial and political masters. The patricians therefore appealed to Philip who, eager for an opportunity to interfere in the county, summoned Guy before the Parlement of Paris (1296). Meanwhile Edward perfected his alliance with the archbishop of Cologne, his friends in the Low Countries, and Emperor Adolph. Guy listened to Edward's suggestions and in December, 1296, agreed to an alliance whereby his daughter Philippa was to become the wife of Edward, the Prince of Wales. The Scottish crown had fallen vacant in 1290 and Edward had succeeded in establishing his claim as overlord, but the Scottish lords were gravely discontented and joined Philip.

A war of such proportions demanded funds. Edward found that his usual income, even though supplemented by grants of the Commons, was far from sufficient. He forced the clergy, regular and secular, to give large sums. Philip pursued an identical policy in France and secured grants from his clergy in their provincial synods held in the autumn of 1294. A few prelates protested to the pope. In 1296 the clergy granted further subsidies and again complained of the royal pressure. In reply to these protestations Boniface issued the bull *Clericis Laicos* (February 24, 1296),[5] in which he forbade secular princes, under pain of excommunication, to collect extraordinary contributions from the clergy without authorization from the

[5] A papal bull is named from the opening words of its Latin text. For the best translation of *Clericis Laicos*, see R. G. D. Laffan, *Select Documents of European History, 800-1492* (New York, 1930), pp. 114-116.

Holy See. The clergy were instructed not to pay such impositions under penalty of excommunication and removal from office.

Boniface was able, but rash and imperious. Trained in every point of canon law, he was above all things a lawyer. He adopted a conservative view of ecclesiastical property. He could scarcely comprehend the great transformations of the day in social, economic, and political life. His reply to the policy of taxation adopted by Edward I and Philip the Fair was characteristic. It consisted simply in a reassertion of legal and ecclesiastical rights with special vigor and unpleasant emphasis. Inevitably it antagonized kings who believed that they possessed some right to tax the clergy for the defense of their realms. The question was whether the hierarchy should insist on its privileges and prevent the taxation of its goods by secular princes. In other words, should the hierarchy be permitted to challenge the growth of royal power?

The answer to the pope's bold assertion was prompt and decisive. Edward outlawed the clergy who, when the bull was published in England, refused to contribute. The clergy thought it best to redeem their outlawry by a fine and soon all but the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Lincoln yielded. In France a storm of anti-papal feeling was unleashed. Philip the Fair was not the person to be crossed, and he forthwith forbade the exportation of precious metal. This seriously hurt the activities of Italian bankers who were acting as agents in transmitting payments made by people in France to the Holy See.

Boniface perceived that he had exceeded the bounds of prudence. But it was too late. A war of pamphlets began in which radical statements were made about the relation of papal and royal power. One of these, the *Dialogue between a Cleric and a Knight*, attacked the immunities of the clergy, declared that lay society was superior to that of the clergy, and held that the latter were bound for patriotic reasons to pay a subvention for their lands to the king for the national defense. Even the clergy in France wavered. Finally Boniface retraced his steps and in August, 1297, issued the bull *Etsi de Statu*, in which he specifically recognized the right of the crown in case of necessity to tax ecclesiastical property without papal permission. But this was only a lull in the storm, an interlude to a more violent outburst.

Meanwhile Boniface was confronted by a difficult problem at home. The Colonna family hated that of the Gaetani to which Boniface belonged. Two of the Colonna who were cardinals opposed the pope; they went so far as to sympathize with the Spiritual Franciscans and denounced Boniface in May, 1297. They were deposed, whereupon other members of the Colonna group took up arms. These cardinals

and the famous Sciarra Colonna were excommunicated and a crusade was preached against them. Their estates were seized and the rebels were forced to submit. Boniface ordered the destruction of Palestrina, their ancestral home, an order which was carried out to the letter. The wrath of the fiery and ill-counseled pope is explicable, for the Colonna had appealed to a council of the church in protest against Boniface's treatment of Pope Celestine V who had resigned and had died in confinement in May, 1296.

Boniface was soon involved in another quarrel. Bishop Bernard Saisset of Pamiers was seized in Paris and accused of treasonable negotiations with Philip's enemies. He was placed under the custody of his superior, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the documents setting forth the basis of the royal action were sent to Rome. The irascible pope broke into violent language against Philip for thus proceeding against a religious person. His bull *Salvator Mundi* of December, 1301, rebuked Philip and revoked all concessions made to him since the issuance of the bull *Clericis Laicos*. Then followed *Ausculta Fili* in which he complained against Philip's conduct in the purely temporal affairs of his government. An avalanche of pamphlets appeared in which a Norman lawyer named Pierre Dubois assumed a prominent place. Philip knew that when it became necessary he could appeal to the townsmen in his struggle with the papacy. He summoned the clergy, nobility, and bourgeoisie who met at Paris in April, 1302. The issue was clearly drawn. Philip was supported by the growing nationalist sentiment among the bourgeoisie who disliked interference by any external power, especially the papacy. The king's agent, Pierre Flotte, harangued the gathering with much heat and violence. False papal bulls were produced and insulting letters were written to the Holy See protesting against the pope's pretensions.

The contest of Philip with Edward and the Flemings had in the meantime passed through various vicissitudes. Edward's Flemish campaign (1297) accomplished nothing and in 1298 a truce was made between him and Philip. Their disputes were left to the arbitration of Boniface who decreed that Edward should marry Philip's sister, and his son Edward, the Prince of Wales, now was betrothed to Philip's daughter Isabella. The Treaty of Montreuil (June, 1298) abandoned the Flemings to Philip's vengeance. The French king speedily conquered Flanders, Count Guy was thrown into prison, and his fiefs were declared forfeited to the crown. But the craftsmen of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and other towns were loath to submit to the patriciate who were supported by the French king. In Bruges they rose against their conquerors in May, 1302, and massacred them without mercy. Other towns accepted this rising as a signal for revolt and the

French were soon expelled from Flanders. Philip called out the levies of the realm. The flower of French chivalry marched forth to put down the rebels, but the handicraftsmen completely defeated them outside the walls of Courtrai on June 11, 1302.

This misfortune came at an opportune moment for Boniface. When news of the disaster reached him, the pope took courage and in November, 1302, issued the bull *Unam Sanctam*. It set forth uncompromisingly the extreme theory of papal relations with secular authority. It declared that the two swords symbolizing religious and secular authority were confided by God to His Vicar on earth. The former was wielded by the hierarchy subject to God alone, the latter by princes and their officials but under the instruction of the priests who also had authority to judge their conduct. At the close of the document appeared the emphatic words: "Moreover, we declare, state, define, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the pontiff of Rome."[6] Philip was greatly incensed, and Boniface went so far as to threaten him with excommunication in case he should remain obdurate.

Pierre Flotte had died on the field of Courtrai, but his mantle fell on the abler shoulders of Guillaume de Nogaret. The latter was a doctor from the University in Toulouse, had been trained in Roman law, and bore in his bosom some of the hatred of Albigensians toward the hierarchy. It was he who proposed to seize the pope, convey him to France, convoke a council of the church before which he was to be tried, and choose a new pontiff. The plan was supported by Sciarra Colonna and some bankers of Florence who were also bitter toward the pope. Nogaret proceeded to Italy. Sciarra received support among his Tuscan and Roman friends, and one morning in September, 1303, they broke into the presence of the aged pope in Anagni. Nogaret told him of his mission, but it was impossible to carry the old man off in the face of his rallying supporters who conducted him to Rome where he died on October 11. The death of Boniface marked the beginning of the end of papal control over the policies of secular princes. It also marked a stage in the growth of the sovereign power of princes.

[6] For the best translation of this bull, see *ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

CHAPTER V

THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY

Rome is no longer the metropolis of Christendom; the pope is a French prelate. The successor of St. Peter is not on St. Peter's throne; he is environed with none of the traditionary majesty or traditionary sanctity of the Eternal City; he has abandoned the holy bodies of the apostles, the churches of the apostles. It is perhaps the most marvelous part of its history, that the papacy, having sunk so low, sank no lower; that it recovered from its degradation. . . .
—H. H. MILMAN.[1]

HARD upon the abasement of the papacy under Boniface VIII (d. 1303) by the royal power of France came another and more severe crisis. For almost seventy years, from 1309 to 1377, the bishops of Rome lived in Avignon on the Rhone, outside the bounds of France but not beyond the French monarch's influence. This period was a tragedy for the church. Its teachings and claims to universality in matters of faith and superiority over states were questioned as never before. Papal influence sank still lower in an age when critics, whether friendly or hostile, looked upon the pope as a servant of French interests.

Benedict XI (1303-04) who succeeded Boniface VIII was a wise and circumspect pontiff from whom much might be expected. He sought to still the strife with Philip by moderate measures couched in kindly tones. The censures of Boniface were remitted and the bull *Clericis Laicos* was given an interpretation which did not clash with royal interests. Even the Colonna cardinals were restored to their dignities and properties, although Palestrina was not to be rebuilt. But Philip entertained further designs; he insisted upon a general council to try the acts of the departed Boniface. Benedict now showed firmness and issued a bull in June, 1304, in which he complained bitterly of the outrage at Anagni and excommunicated fifteen persons implicated in it, among whom were Guillaume de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna. When the pope died suddenly at Perugia in the same month, it was thought that he had been poisoned.

[1] *History of Latin Christianity; Including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V* (New York, 1903), vol. vii, p. 370.

There was much contention in the conclave to choose his successor. The Colonna party, supported by French money, resisted the election of a member of the Orsini family which naturally was opposed to foreign influences in the *curia*. Finally, Archbishop Bertrand de Got of Bordeaux was chosen and succeeded as Clement V (1305-14). It is said that before his election he had an interview with Philip, who demanded complete reconciliation, a grant of taxes on church lands, condemnation of Boniface's memory, and restoration of the Colonnas. There was said to be another demand, the suppression of the Knights Templars, which was kept secret for the moment. Whatever the truth of this story may be, it is certain that the pontiff later acquiesced in all these things. Clement was crowned at Lyons and Philip played an important rôle in the ceremonies. The pontiff offered absolution to the king, yielded in the matter of taxes, restored the Colonnas to favor, and appointed ten new cardinals, all members of the king's party. "A French pope was to be surrounded by a French court."

Clement continued to show himself compliant to Philip. The bull *Clericis Laicos* was rescinded and *Unam Sanctam* was declared to imply no prejudice to the realm of France. Philip made further demands upon the harassed pontiff. Guillaume de Nogaret was given full absolution for bullying Boniface to his death, and for penance was required to go to the Holy Land to fight the infidel. Suppression of the Knights Templars was to be Philip's next step. This order, founded in 1118, had performed heroic service by protecting pilgrims in Palestine. The expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land at the fall of Acre in 1291 robbed the Templars of their theater of activity. They had accumulated much property in Europe and had become bankers. Philip eyed their resources with jealousy and trumped up the most extraordinary accusations. He arrested all of them in October, 1307, and subjected them to torture. Confessions supposedly confirming the royal accusations were wrung from the unfortunates.

Philip seized the possessions of the order in France and kept its members in prison. Pope Clement reluctantly agreed that the order should be discussed at the council to be held at Vienne beginning October, 1310. Meanwhile Clement was weak enough to believe the sworn statements extorted by torture. His bull *Faciens Misericordiam* of August, 1308, commanded that trials be instituted in all states. A papal commission investigated the activities of the order in Paris, and four proctors were named to defend the order. The questionings of the commission revealed the frightful tortures to which the Knights had been subjected in order to extract incriminating evidence. Thinking that they would receive justice from the papal com-

missioners, many of them boldly retracted their confessions. Their faith was misplaced, for the archbishop of Sens went so far as to condemn as relapsed heretics those knights who retracted their confessions. Those who persisted in their recantations were burned near the gate of St. Antoine in May, 1309. Others were burned later, until the number mounted to more than one hundred.

The archbishop of Sens was the brother of Inguerrand de Marigni, one of the king's councilors; this helps explain why the prosecution was successful in France. Elsewhere the order was acquitted. Philip left no stone unturned to obtain the desired end. On March 12, 1312, the pope yielded and dissolved the order. Its properties were given to the Knights of St. John, but Philip claimed such great indemnities that little escaped his coffers. Thus Philip sought to advance his power by crushing all that stood in his way. Since the Templars were hardly powerful enough to endanger the safety of the crown, Philip's action apparently was dictated by covetousness and desire for revenge.

Meantime Philip insisted on the prosecution of the departed Boniface. This was a disturbing problem for Clement or any other pope because it was too great a concession to any secular prince. Clement was frightened and wished to evade the royal demands. He dared stay no longer in France and sought residence in Avignon in the spring of 1309. He summoned the king and several of his supporters to appear before him in February, 1310. The consistory opened in March and arguments were heard. The accusations against Boniface varied greatly and at points contradicted each other. Philip finally abandoned his plea and left it to Clement's judgment. The bull of May, 1311, is a pitiful example of the papal weakness: in it Philip was extolled for his zeal in behalf of the church; his charges against Boniface were declared to spring from pious fervor; and the bulls against Philip and his subjects were annulled or mitigated.

When Clement died in April, 1314, the cardinals entered conclave at Carpentras in France. Eleven of them who were Gascons clung together. Five came from other parts of France and were opposed to this faction. Seven were Italians who desired to bring the papacy back to Rome and therefore wanted to choose an Italian. The Gascons opposed such a step. In July the conclave ended in a riot. The Italian party went to Valence and the Gascons retired to Avignon. The French king, Louis X (1314-16), asserted his influence, and the cardinals yielded to his insistent demands that they elect a pope. They met at Lyons, and chose Jacques Duèse, a native of Cahors and a member of an important family of bankers. John XXII (1316-34), as he was called, was an able financial administrator even though a septuagenarian. But as shepherd of the church universal

he was far from satisfactory, for he could not understand the nature of the crisis confronting the papacy. He was excessively given to narrow legalism, and obstinately insisted upon traditional rights when they were practically obsolete. This is shown by his attitude toward the Holy Roman Empire. Two German factions had each elected an emperor in 1314, Lewis the Bavarian and Frederick of Austria. A long struggle ensued in which neither could gain much advantage until Lewis took his rival prisoner in the battle of Mühldorf (1322). John refused to recognize these men whom he regarded as traditional opponents of the papacy. He was especially bitter toward Lewis when the latter began planning to interfere in Italy. John collected troops and sent them against the imperial vicar appointed by Lewis, but they were forced to retire. Superficially it looked like the old struggle between popes and emperors. The empire, however, was but a shadow of its former self, and the papacy had fallen from the lofty heights it had occupied during the previous century. The grand contests between popes and emperors were finished. The old traditions survived, however; both sides were merely shadow-boxing. A more serious contest was impending, one which was not comprehended by the pope, the emperor, or the writers of the day, in spite of the fact that Philip the Fair had staged his audacious attack on the papacy at the opening of the century. The future was to resound with the mighty struggles between the papacy and national monarchs.

In October, 1323, John began his attack upon Lewis. He complained that Lewis had been elected in discord and had never received the papal approbation in assuming the name of Roman king. He was ordered to surrender his titles, all his acts were declared null and void, and in March, 1324, he was declared excommunicate. The struggle was made memorable by an alliance between Lewis and the Spiritual Franciscans. Denouncing the pope and hierarchy for their property and worldliness, the Spirituals seemed natural allies of the one whom the pontiff was seeking to depose. Lewis enjoyed their unqualified support throughout Germany.

Lewis went to Rome for the imperial crown (1328), but the supporters of Pope John fled as he approached. It was customary for the pope to confer the crown, but as he was absent and had delegated no one to crown the king, Lewis received it from the officials of Rome. Pope John was deposed by Lewis in April when it was declared that he was guilty of heresy and that he had been unlawfully elected. Peter of Corvara, a Spiritual Franciscan, was made pope This antipope Nicholas V, as he called himself, received little support and soon gave up his pretensions. When John died at the age of ninety, his quarrel with the emperor had not abated.

This violent struggle produced a remarkable crop of political

theories which have echoed down to our own time. Marsilio of Padua (d. 1342?) had studied at the University of Padua and had become Master of Arts at the University of Paris and finally rector in 1312. He had imbibed some of the bitterness of his fellow townsmen of Padua toward clerical immunities and the interference of churchmen in secular affairs. His animosity was no doubt colored by the lawyer's contempt for such privileges. He was well versed in contemporary thought hostile to the papacy and its claims. The quarrel between John and Lewis gave him an opportunity to write his book (1324?) entitled *The Defender of the Peace,* which contained revolutionary ideas on the relations of church and state. Based on Aristotle's *Politics,* it taught that sovereignty in political affairs lay with the people. The prince as their representative had authority over all political functions within the community. The church therefore had no jurisdiction in this field. Marsilio boldly asserted that the church was the company of believers in Christ and that there was no distinction between clerics and laymen. Both were subject to the laws of the land. Weighty matters should be decided in councils composed of laymen and clerics appointed by secular communities. Princes should guide the procedure of these councils. The pope was head of the church militant, but merely as agent of the council. The book struck a mighty blow at the papacy and its powers.

The pontificate of Benedict XII (1334-42) which followed witnessed another and even graver crisis, the opening of the Hundred Years' War (1336-1453). Although primarily a struggle between France and England, most of the princes of western Europe became involved in it. After Edward I of England had made peace with Philip the Fair in 1303, rivalry over Guienne, the great bone of contention between England and France, continued. When Philip VI (1328-50) succeeded to the throne of France, Edward III (1327-77) claimed the crown as being the nearest male heir. Philip, however, was accepted by the French because he was the nearest male heir through male descent. Philip allied himself with Scotland; Edward sought allies on the continent among the enemies of France. He enlisted on his side his father-in-law, Count William of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland; his brothers-in-law, the count of Juliers, Emperor Lewis the Bavarian, and the count of Guelders; and his cousin, the duke of Brabant. The thriving commercial and industrial communities of the Low Countries were marshaled to his aid because their rulers feared French aggression. The emperor, their overlord, resented the efforts of French kings to annex lands in the Low Countries and southward along the boundary of the empire.

Flanders, which had played a chief rôle in the war against Philip the Fair, again became important. As a fief of France it was required

to obey Philip. But economic necessity was a stern master and determined the destinies of this land. The men of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and other towns needed English wool and the foodstuffs imported from England and other lands. English ships could readily cut off these supplies. Edward's alliances with Brabant, Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland and his control of the sea placed the Flemings at his mercy. But Count Louis of Flanders was bound by a nice regard for a vassal's duty toward his lord. He determined to remain loyal even though great discomfort might be inflicted upon his townsfolk. To force the Flemings to join him and his allies, Edward, in August, 1336, laid an embargo on wool, woolfells, hides, and foodstuffs. He even sought to keep supplies from neutral lands out of Flanders. Flemish craftsmen were thrown out of work and began wandering about the countryside in search of food.

It was under these circumstances that the Fleming, Jacob van Artevelde, proposed a solution unique in the politics of the age. He suggested that Flanders should declare herself neutral in the struggle. Thus she might import wool and foodstuffs and save the land from disaster. Van Artevelde succeeded in gaining the ear of his fellow townsmen and his policy was officially approved in 1338 by both France and England. Nothing revealed more eloquently the immense economic, political, and military prestige of the petty county of Flanders. Van Artevelde's policy was maintained with some difficulty until the winter of 1339-40. It was impossible to curb the opposition of the Flemish nobility who did not comprehend the needs of the towns which forced this unchivalric policy upon their group. Nor could Philip long approve such an attitude from a vassal community which according to feudal conceptions ought to aid him in the struggle with Edward.

Edward sailed to Antwerp in July, 1338. But his allies, who had already received much money from him, were not ready to march against France. He was forced to wait until the autumn of 1339 before he could conduct a raid through the Cambrésis into France. By this time Van Artevelde's problems had so multiplied that neutrality in Flanders could no longer be maintained. The Flemings drew to the side of Edward, recognizing him as legitimate king of France to whom they hoped that their unwilling count would do homage and swear fealty. On the Friday Market Place in Ghent Edward received the homage of the inhabitants of the town, whose example was readily followed by those of other towns (January-February, 1340). He now quartered his arms with the arms of France. Parts of Flanders "lost" to the French crown in previous wars were now "restored." The count, however, refused to accept Edward as his lord.

The decisive test came when the English sought to conquer these "lost" lands. On June 24 Edward's fleet met that of France at Sluis on the river Zwin and completely destroyed it. His troops failed, however, in an attempt to seize Artois and Tournai. The truce formed at Esplechin in the autumn of 1340 was repeatedly renewed until 1346 when Edward landed in Normandy and marched through the country, burning and harrying everything. At Creçy the French levies caught up with him but were defeated with heavy losses, due to the effectiveness of the English longbow. The English seized Calais, which henceforth became the gateway of English military enterprises in France. The war continued intermittently until 1453 and caused untold damage to France.

Pope Benedict labored valiantly to quiet the contestants. He succeeded in bringing about some truces but he could do little to prevent war. So keen were the political and economic antagonisms that none of the quarreling parties would hearken to the bishop of Rome. Furthermore, Benedict's acts were questioned because from the moment of his elevation to the chair of Peter he continued the quarrel which John XXII had begun with the emperor. The imperial electors were greatly incensed at his policy; they wished to retain the right of choosing their emperors. It is understandable that the Germans suspected him of favoring France. In general, German sentiment was strongly opposed to foreign interference. Finally, in July, 1338, the electors issued a declaration at Rense that the king of the Romans needed no confirmation by the Holy See. The emperor and electors next issued the decree *Licet Juris* on August 6 which stated that the empire was received from God alone and was in no wise dependent on the sanction of the pope. Nor did the English listen to Benedict's admonishments in behalf of peace. Rightly or wrongly, they distrusted him because of his French nationality and because of his residence in Avignon, believing that he was dominated by the French crown. Nor was Benedict liked by the French people, for they were swayed by warlike passions and regarded him as being too friendly toward the national enemy. The magic of the papal name could not halt a war between powerful princes of the newer type of state which was forming under the influence of the great economic and social transformations of the day. Neither Benedict XII nor any of his successors grasped the fact that the rising nationalism and the traditional papal supremacy could not exist side by side. From this point of view alone the Hundred Years' War was an important crisis in the history of the later Middle Ages.

Clement VI (1342-52), a Frenchman, who became the next pope, seemed to think that the empire was the greatest menace to the papacy. He remained blind to the new dangers that lurked among

the powerful rulers of national states. Consequently he persisted in championing a fast-dying issue. He opposed Lewis the Bavarian and hoped to raise against him as emperor Charles, son of King John of Bohemia. Charles was elected emperor by his help, but only after acknowledging that the pope possessed the right to confirm the election of emperors (1346). He also promised to stay but a day in Rome, to go there only with the pope's consent, and to submit to the pope all differences between the empire and the crown of France. Germans called him the "pope's king."

The outstanding event of Clement's pontificate was the career of Rienzi, a Roman patriot. Italy was torn by dissensions of Guelfs and Ghibellines, *popolo minuto* and *popolo grasso*, rival states, and hostile nobles. In spite of her commerce and industry, Italy did not develop unity. Dante longed for this and thought that it would come through the emperor. Petrarch was charmed by the tradition of Roman greatness. His lyrical soul was deeply stirred by the anarchy of the peninsula. Rienzi also thought about such themes. Born about 1314, this son of a poor innkeeper spent much time musing over the glories of departed Rome eloquently proclaimed by the ruins on the Palatine Hill, the half-buried structures in the Forum, the dilapidated Coliseum, and other monuments to be seen at every hand. He read Livy and other classics. He pondered the fallen state of the Eternal City; nobles lived in feud, prosperity had vanished, and insecurity reigned everywhere. Rome was no longer the capital of the world! The emperor lived among the barbarians, and her chief glory, the papacy, had long resided in France!

Rienzi dreamed of restoring Rome to its former glory, and expounded his views to eager listeners. His oratory was magic to their ears, for they had not yet forgotten the ancient greatness of their city. Rienzi spent the night of May 18, 1347, in the church of Sant' Angelo. In the morning he appeared clad in armor, attended by twenty-five conspirators. The procession was full of symbolism. The townsmen had been summoned to the Campidoglio, the ancient Capitoline Hill. They burst into cheers and approved the laws which had been prepared. "These laws had something of the wild justice of wild times." They declared the establishment of good government: strict punishment to be meted out to murderers, a force of one hundred twenty-five men from each of the thirteen wards to be appointed to police the city, the communal laws to be honestly managed for the benefit of the citizenry, and rigid justice to be applied even to the baronage.

Rienzi was acclaimed dictator to enforce these laws. In a few days he took the title of tribune, apt reminder of the defenders of the rights of common folk in ancient Rome. He called himself

"Tribune of Liberty, Peace, and Justice, and Liberator of the Holy Roman Republic." The astounded nobles dared not move. He invited the princes and cities of Italy to send envoys to Rome for a national parliament. But his dreams of restoration were visionary. The revived republic could be no more than a confederation of states with Rome as nominal head. Rienzi solemnly declared Rome to be the capital of the world. The election of emperors was asserted to be a right of the Roman people, the *populus Romanus*. He summoned Lewis the Bavarian, Charles IV of Bohemia, prelates, kings, and princes to appear before him as judge. But his impractical character caused the bold stroke to fail. The nobles were biding their time. Rienzi's assumption of authority over imperial elections stirred the pope to resentment. The mighty Colonna from their stronghold at Tusculum cut off the city's supply of corn. This caused revolt in the city, and Rienzi, who could no longer command the people, abdicated on December 15. He retired to the Apennines where he spent two years with fanatical Spiritual Franciscans, or Fraticelli from whom he imbibed strange heresies.

Meanwhile the Black Death came and went. Devout folk in thankfulness crowded to Rome in 1350, the year of the great jubilee. Rienzi also went, to muse over fallen Rome and revive the memories of his brief successes. Returning to the mountains, he met a hermit whose mind was kindled with the heretical prophecies of Abbot Joachim of Fiore, that God's judgment was imminent and the reign of the Holy Spirit was to begin. God would reveal His Chosen One to rule the children of man by the side of the emperor! Rienzi went to Prague to apprise Charles IV of his fantastic plans and bring him back to Rome. He declared that the pontiff in Avignon would be slain, and a new pope, a poor priest after the heart of the Fraticelli, would be named who would at once return to Rome. Rienzi himself was to be king of Rome and all Italy! Pope, emperor, and Rienzi were to rule the earth together, a reflection of the Holy Trinity! Charles eyed him in amazement and sent him to Pope Clement in Avignon who placed him in confinement. The pontiff died in December, 1352, and his successor, Innocent VI (1352-62), resolved to use Rienzi to help his lieutenant, Cardinal Albornoz, establish papal authority in the States of the Church.

The Romans speedily repented their ill-judged desertion of the tribune. The rule of the nobles was unbearable; all Rome yearned for the good laws established by Rienzi in 1347. Rienzi reappeared in Rome in 1354 and again cast the spell of his ideas over the Romans. In August he was appointed senator by the papal legate and, collecting a few troops, soon put the unpopular government to rout. Again he paraded as master on his beloved Capitoline Hill.

But he had learned nothing from his years of wandering. He was tyrannical and ill-counseled. He seized the noted *condottiere* Fra Moreale and ordered him executed, in spite of the fact that he owed his success largely to Moreale's two brothers who had provided him with liberal sums of money. Rienzi antagonized the Romans; seeing that nothing could be gained from his rule, they rose against him and a sword was thrust into his bosom (October, 1354).

Meanwhile Cardinal Albornoz, who had won great fame in the crusades against the Moors in Andalusia, successfully fulfilled his mission to reduce the tyrants in the States of the Church. In 1357 he issued the code of laws known as the *Constitutiones Egidienæ* which remained the basis of papal government until the nineteenth century. They forbade the feuds which troubled the land. A papal representative was to act as adviser to the towns and communities of the country. For the moment Rome was conciliated, and papal authority was again established there. The Campagna was cleared of free-booting bands. When recalled to Avignon to give account of his stewardship, Albornoz pointed with pride to the submission of all the papal towns. Never had papal authority been so generally respected.

Would the popes now return from Avignon? Romans, cardinals of Italian nationality, and many a pious soul longed to see the universal shepherd once more take up his abode at the tomb of the apostles. John XXII and Benedict XII had thought of taking this step, but such was the turmoil in Rome and the States of the Church that the French party in the *curia* easily prevented it. Neither Clement VI nor Innocent VI had cared to return to Rome, for they belonged to the French Limousin party whose power in the *curia* proved most harmful. Natives of Limoges, they were deaf to the nationalist yearnings of Italians and the fervid prayers of the devout.

Urban V (1362-70) was a holy man, the only pontiff of the Avignonese period to be guided by purely spiritual aims. He wished to return to Rome; he was urged by the emperor, and Petrarch seconded the project. King Charles V of France (1364-80) and the French cardinals sought to dissuade Urban. Nevertheless he set out, landed at Corneto in June, 1367, and marched to Rome where he was greeted by the enthusiastic shouts of the citizenry. But Albornoz died and confusion reigned everywhere. There were riots in Viterbo and revolt threatened in other places. The French cardinals pressed for return to comfortable Avignon. St. Brigitta predicted the dire wrath of God if the pope should yield; Petrarch besought him to stay. Prophecy and prayer were in vain, and in September, 1370, Urban left Italy for Avignon, only to die there on December

19. Small wonder that people thought that this was a mark of divine displeasure!

Although the Avignonese papacy could not because of its traditional theocratic conceptions adapt itself to the new nationalist politics of Europe, it showed itself remarkably clever in organizing and perfecting a new system of taxation. Extensive endowments in the form of land had been given to the church in the early Middle Ages. As long as life rested on a manorial basis, incomes from such properties sufficed to support the church. But when coined money supplanted manorial methods of exchange, wealth grew rapidly, the cost of living mounted, and fixed incomes in kind steadily declined in value. Like all other organizations, the hierarchy was forced to change from a manorial to a financial basis. The entire system of ecclesiastical taxation was reorganized. New taxes were developed, and an elaborate mechanism for collections was perfected. Christendom was divided into a number of districts called *collectoria* or collectorates. These varied greatly in size, sometimes comprising several dioceses. Collectors were chosen from among the clergy. They swore an oath of obedience to the papal chamberlain and, accompanied by notaries and assistants, left Avignon for the scene of their duties. On their arrival they notified ecclesiastical authorities of their purpose and organized a personnel for the task.

Seven kinds of taxes, some new, some old, were collected in the collectorates:

1. The tenth (*decima*) was an ancient tax. It had often been levied for purposes of crusade, war in the States of the Church, and other objects. Special agents visited the parishes to note the net value of clerical holdings and the amount incumbents could be expected to pay. All persons in the hierarchy were subject to this tax.

2. Annates, or first fruits, were the incomes of benefices during the year immediately following their bestowal. At first only certain sees were subject to this tax, but the list rapidly became larger until in the fifteenth century exceptions were very rare.

3. Purveyance was a right of long standing. Kings and feudal persons were entitled to entertainment when on their travels. Churchmen also claimed such support. As a result of the great economic changes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this right was transformed into a payment of money.

4. Right of spoil is especially interesting. Attendants often appropriated the personal effects of bishops upon their decease. To put a stop to such practices, these goods were reserved to the pope.

5. Charitable contributions were also made to the papal treasury. Originally these sums had been given for all sorts of reasons, but their collection had developed into a special tax.

6. The *census* was a sum paid for unusual favors or protection received from the Holy See.

7. Vacancies were incomes received by the papal treasury from benefices the collation of which belonged to the Holy See. Other incomes not gathered by the collectors were paid by the States of the Church, Avignon, and the Comté-Venaissin; and Peter's pence was paid in England, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Aragon, Portugal, and by the Teutonic Knights.

Besides these taxes collected in the dioceses and parishes there was a smaller and less important group that were collected at the Holy See. These comprised gratuities (*servitia*) paid by bishops and abbots upon their nomination, confirmation, consecration, or translation to another post; gratuities given to the personnel of the *curia*, dues charged for the issuance of bulls, gifts by pilgrims to the tombs of the apostles, and dues paid by archbishops for the pallium and by vassal states and legacies.

Collectors cooperated with the great banking houses of Siena, Lucca, and Florence which dispatched the sums to the papal treasurer. The papal chamberlain was chief minister of finance and directed the financial policy of the papacy. He had a large number of assistants, and the treasurer was also under his direction. Vast quantities of documents were preserved relating to the finances and rights of the papacy. Even today one is impressed by their number, orderly character, and the details they reveal about parishes, dioceses, and other religious properties.

In an age when society was rapidly becoming more complex the governmental functions of the *curia* expanded greatly. Four bureaus were organized. The Apostolic Camera managed the finances. The Chancery issued papal letters or bulls. The Consistory and the Rota which heard appeals from inferior tribunals considered judicial matters. The Penitentiary was charged with ecclesiastical censures. The papal monarchy became more and more an instrument of administration. Wealth flowed to the Holy See, cardinals lived in affluence, and Avignonese society became worldly and corrupt.

The character of papal government underwent profound changes. Originally the pope was simply Christ's vicar on earth, the shepherd of His flock, but the demands of economics and politics tended to make him an administrator. John XXII, who perfected the system of papal taxation described above, was a very good example of this.[2] The papacy inevitably became enmeshed in secular life. The objects for which papal moneys were spent tell an eloquent tale. Of the gross revenue during the pontificate of John XXII, 63.7 per cent

[2] Contemporary scholarship is showing that the papal taxes as collected by John XXII were well developed in the thirteenth century.

were devoted to war, 12.7 to upkeep and entertainment of papal officials, 7.16 to charity, 3.35 to dress, 2.9 to buildings, 2.5 to kitchens and cellar, .4 to purchase of land, .33 to the papal stable, .17 to art and ornament, .16 to the library, and 4.0 to relatives. Political, military, and other secular needs exhausted the moneys collected by the Holy See.

Historians correctly point to the unfortunate influence which the crown of France exerted upon pope and cardinals. However, they often assume that the papal policy during the so-called "Babylonian Captivity" was dictated entirely by French interests. This is an exaggeration. A careful survey of the documents leads one to think that as a rule pontiffs faithfully sought to uphold papal superiority over temporal princes. Sometimes they acted contrary to French interests. Yet it remains true that the Limousin and Gallican parties among the cardinals exerted a baneful influence on papal policy in opposing the return of the papacy to Rome. The papacy was overwhelmed by secular interests. And whatever the truth, it was what the people believed or were easily led to believe by critics and enemies of the papacy that weighed most heavily. This, in part at least, explains why the papacy at the close of the Middle Ages failed to retain the spiritual leadership of society.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS OPINION AND THE GREAT SCHISM

Covetous Babylon of wrath divine
By its worst crimes has drained the full cup now,
And for its future gods to whom to bow
Not pow'r nor wisdom ta'en, but love and wine,
Though hoping reason, I consume and pine,
Yet shall her crown deck some new soldan's brow,
Who shall again build up, and we avow
One faith in God, in Rome one head and shrine.
Her idols shall be shatter'd, in the dust
Her proud towers, enemies of heaven, be hurl'd,
Her wardens into flames and exile thrust,
Fair souls and friends of virtue shall the world
Possess in peace; and we shall see it made
All gold, and fully its old works display'd.

—F. PETRARCH[1]

TRADITIONAL and popular views of life at the opening of the Renaissance were religious and remained deeply colored by ascetic ideals. But times were changing; the money economy was undermining old-fashioned views. The papacy at Avignon was forced to accommodate itself to the world. Efforts to maintain old ideals in the new economic environment failed. This concession to the spirit of the times provoked criticism. The truly religious uttered notes of despair and idealists vented their feelings in mordant satire.

St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) sought to solve the problem of riches and their unequal distribution in a romantic manner based upon traditional and ascetic ideals of religion. His father was a well-to-do cloth merchant of Assisi. Brought up in the very lap of luxury, Francis became a worldly youth. He fell sick and like many another religious spirit abandoned the ways of the world and resolved to carry out to the letter Christ's injunctions about poverty as written in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew. He espoused "poverty" as his bride and vowed to give alms to beggars. He gave his rich clothes to the poor. Rejected by his father, he retired to a cave

[1] *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch* (Bohn Library), (London, 1897), p. 136.

where he spent many days in prayer. He finally adopted as his habit a single brown tunic of woolen cloth, girt by a hempen cord. His striking personality is revealed to us in his *Canticle of the Sun* and in the semi-authentic *Flowers of St. Francis*, which appeared after his death. He organized a brotherhood which was authorized in 1216 by Pope Innocent III. The Franciscans, as they were called, labored in complete poverty among the urban proletariat who were miserably poor. St. Francis believed that complete poverty was the solution of the problems caused by the glaring inequalities in the distribution of wealth. The humble friars taught and comforted the lowly with sermons in the mother tongue, a novel procedure because the clergy of that day did little preaching. Sharing the sufferings of the poor, the friars became immensely popular. The ministry of St. Francis and his friars was an event of great importance in the social history of the Middle Ages.

Franciscan asceticism, however, could not resist the claims of this material world. Wealth was heaped upon the friars. Hardly was the breath out of St. Francis' body when his successor, Brother Elias, began building a splendid basilica in his honor at Assisi. Many friars followed Elias' example and surrendered to riches, luxury, and ease. Those whose convents held property were called "Conventuals." Others who sought to adhere rigidly to St. Francis' teaching and example, were called "Fraticelli" or "Spiritual Franciscans." "The lofty and spacious convents were their abomination; they housed themselves in huts and caves; there was not a single change in dress, in provision for food, in worship, in study, which they did not denounce as a sin—as an act of apostasy. Wherever the Franciscans were, and they were everywhere, the Spirituals were keeping up the strife, protesting, and putting to shame these recreant sons of the common father."[2] In order to put an end to the bickerings of these factions, Nicholas III (1288-92) issued the bull *Exiit qui Seminat* which defined apostolic poverty for the order and for the individuals. Title to property was to be vested in the Roman See. This solution was adopted by most of the friars but it did not please the more zealous brethren who insisted upon complete poverty, corporate as well as individual.

The Spirituals were ever busy with their lamentations about the sinful state of the hierarchy. They consistently inveighed against the worldliness of the Conventuals. Jacopone da Todi, a Spiritual Franciscan who died in 1306, was especially trenchant in his criticisms:

[2] H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity; Including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V* (New York, 1903), vol. vii, pp. 27-28.

The church is weeping, weeping bitterly,
Feeling the torments of her evil state.

(*The church speaks*)

My son, good cause have I these tears to shed,
I see my spouse, my Father, lying dead:
Sons, brothers, kinsmen, all alike are fled;
My friends are prisoned and disconsolate.

Now none but bastard sons around me press,
False cowards who desert me in my stress;
My true sons, in their fervent tenderness
Feared neither sword nor dart nor foeman's hate. . . .

Now holy poverty they scorn and slay;
For pomp and place alone they strive and pray,
My true sons lived austerely in their day
And trampled on the world and the world's estate. . . .

Where are the prelates, just and vehement?
To feed their flocks their ardent lives were spent:
False pomp and ostentation now are bent
This noble order to attenuate. . . .

O ye religious whose austerities
In days gone by gave pleasure to mine eyes,
Vainly I seek a cloister whence arise
The virtues that I love to contemplate.[3]

The Spirituals enthusiastically greeted the election of Celestine V (July-December, 1294) because he was a poor hermit. Jacopone warned him of the difficulties in his path:

And the cardinals are fallen low,
In an evil course their longings flow,
Never one his kinsmen will forego
To enrich them all by perfidy.

Of the prebends, too, thou must beware,
Great their hunger for unlawful fare,
Fierce their thirst, fierce even to despair,
For no draught can quench its cruelty.[4]

A person of such temper hated Boniface VIII, that statesman and master of canon law who understood only too well the ways of man.

[3] E. Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi, Poet and Mystic—1228-1306: A Spiritual Biography* (London, 1919), pp. 433-437.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

The pontiff imprisoned Jacopone for his violent criticism; this explains the poet's bitterness:

> O Boniface, who art the pope,
> Thy ban is heavy on my hope;
> Thy malediction and thy hate
> Have made me excommunicate.
> Thy forky tongue, so like a snake's,
> This wound upon my spirit makes:
> There let thy tongue again be laid,
> To staunch the hurt itself hath made.[5]

Even practical men like Dante shared some of this enthusiasm for poverty. At the mouth of hell he saw among others Celestine V. and wrote of him as follows:

> After I had recognized some amongst them, I saw and knew the shadow of him who from cowardice made the great refusal.[6]

As became a great enemy of Boniface VIII, for political reasons he put the following words in the mouth of St. Peter:

> . . . If I transform my hue, marvel thou not; for, as I speak, thou shalt see all of these transform it too.
> He who usurpeth upon earth my place, my place which in the presence of the Son of God is vacant,
> Hath made my burial ground a conduit for that blood and filth whereby the apostate one who fell from here above is soothed down there below.[7]

The prophetic utterances of Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) were eagerly appropriated by the Spirituals. He was a visionary and lived as a hermit, studying Scripture and writing theological treatises. He brooded upon the teaching of the Revelation of St. John and upon the degenerate state of the church. He believed that mankind's history was divided into three ages: the first, that of the Father, had come to an end with Zacharias; the second was that of the Son; and the third, that of the Holy Spirit, had begun with St. Benedict and would definitely supersede the age of Christ in 1260. This third age was to be an era of perfection in human beings and their affairs. In their troubles the Spirituals resorted, like Joachim, to prophecy. They believed that a golden age would come with a complete poverty such as the apostles were supposed to have practiced. "No omens of the coming of the new kingdom of the Holy Ghost were so awful or so undeniable as the corruptions of the church; and those cor-

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 439.
[6] *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri* (Temple Classics), Canto III, 58-60.
[7] *The Paradise of Dante Alighieri* (Temple Classics), Canto XXVII, 19-27.

ruptions were measured not by a lofty moral standard but by their departure from the perfection, the poverty of St. Francis. The pope, the hierarchy, fell of course."[8]

A Provençal Franciscan, John Peter Oliva (d. 1297), prophesied the coming end of the world. The last age had arrived! Christ's law would be carried out to the letter. Christ would rise and the pristine purity of the Franciscan rule be revived, the very rule under which Christ and His apostles, it was said, had lived. Papacy and hierarchy, utterly rotten and useless, would fall. All mankind would live according to the rule of St. Francis. Another friar named Gerald Segarelli founded a special brotherhood of Apostolic Brethren who lived in extreme austerity according to the Franciscan rule. He was put under the ban, seized, and burned in 1300. Dolcino of Novara, one of his followers, also taught that mankind's history was divided into a number of ages. The third age was the era in which the church had amassed great wealth and had become corrupt. The followers of Dolcino bitterly denounced the papacy, for of all popes since the earliest days, only Celestine V had been righteous. St. Benedict's order had lost its holiness; those of St. Francis and St. Dominic also had declined. The end was at hand; papacy, hierarchy, and friars would all be swept away! The fourth age was one of apostolic perfection; it had begun with Segarelli. In the last days there were to be four popes. The first, they thought, was the poor and holy Celestine V. The second and third they seemed to think were Boniface VIII and Clement V, respectively. They passed by Benedict XI, and John XXII had not yet begun his pontificate. His worldiness might have appeared to them as proof of their prophesyings, for the last pontiff would be the very negation of righteousness and herald the end of all things.

Dolcino's followers formed a religious community in Piedmont, and, like other heretical groups, looked about for political help. They were Ghibellines; in their opposition to the papacy they hoped to enlist secular power. They prophesied that in 1335 the king of Aragon would enter Rome and destroy pope and hierarchy. Apostolic poverty was to be established, and Dolcino was to be pope. Such radicalism could not be tolerated by priest or secular lord. Bitter war developed against the sect. Its members retreated into mountainous recesses where they defended themselves with desperation. Driven to the sorest straits, they ravaged the country. Besieged and worn out by hunger, the decimated group was massacred or taken prisoners. The prisoners refused to recant and so perished at the stake, the leaders, including Dolcino, being horribly executed by mutilation and fire (1307).

[8] H. H. Milman, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 32.

A crisis arrived when the papacy was transferred to Avignon. John XXII was a practical individual, and his financial policy antagonized many. Dante denounced the Gascon Clement V and the Cahorsin John XXII:

> In garb of pastors ravening wolves are seen from here above in all the pastures. Succor of God! Oh wherefore liest thou prone?
>
> Cahorsines and Gascons make ready to drink our blood. Oh fair beginning, to what vile ending must thou fall![9]

The Spirituals and their allies were bitter. One Ubertino da Casale was continuing the prophecies of Oliva and others. John XXII moved to uproot the uncomfortable doctrine of apostolic poverty. The Franciscans held a chapter at Perugia in 1322 which declared for the doctrine. John issued a bull on December 8 in which he declared in the name of the Roman See that all property held for the order should be remitted to the original donors. Since this practically deprived the friars of the economic basis of their life, there was much consternation. Michael of Cesena, general of the order, once a strong enemy of the Spirituals, opposed the pope. A bitter struggle developed. The Spirituals had often revealed a tendency to join forces with the Ghibellines; now they hastened to support Lewis the Bavarian, king of the Romans, whom John XXII had driven to take up arms against him. Michael of Cesena issued his *Tractate against the Error of the Pope.* He was so bold as to appeal from the pope to a general council which, he maintained, was superior to popes in faith and morals. Like Marsilio of Padua, he argued that a council could not err. William Ockham (d. 1347) used his keen logic in Michael's behalf and issued many treatises. He argued that popes, councils, and the fathers of the church might err; but there was one infallible authority, Scripture, and it should be the basic rule of faith. Marsilio of Padua's *The Defender of the Peace* (1324), described in the foregoing chapter, was a significant document in the history of this struggle.

Apostolic poverty was also cherished by people who were not Franciscans. The Beghards, groups of cloth workers who lived together according to a rule and practiced poverty, were often accused of believing in it. They were numerous, especially in southern France, the Rhineland, and the Low Countries. They showed themselves ready to embrace heretical movements and held doctrines much like those of the Waldensians. They were pronounced heretical in 1292 and were repeatedly excommunicated. The Beguines were groups of women living according to rule without taking irrevocable vows;

[9] *The Paradise of Dante Alighieri,* Canto XXVII, 55-60.

they also were often suspect. One of their number, Marguerite la Porrette, spread her strange doctrine in a book called *Divine Love* and was burned in Paris in 1302. Bloemardine of Brussels followed her teaching. The Brethren of the Free Spirit, called Lollards in Flanders, were plentiful in Germany and cherished doctrines like those of the Beghards and Spirituals.

Francesco Petrarch (d. 1374),[10] an Italian patriot, also was a critic of the papacy, and lamented the loss which his country suffered because the bishop of Rome had taken up his residence in Avignon. How great was the decline since the days of majestic Rome! And when he saw how temporal concerns dominated papal action he wrote bitterly in poetic exaggeration:

> May fire from heaven rain down upon thy head,
> Thou most accurst; who simple fare casts by,
> Made rich and great by others' poverty;
> How dost thou glory in thy vile misdeed!
> Nest of all treachery, in which is bred
> Whate'er of sin now through the world doth fly;
> Of wine the slave, of sloth, of gluttony;
> With sensuality's excesses fed!
> Old men and harlots through thy chambers dance;
> Then in the midst see Belzebub advance
> With mirrors and provocatives obscene.
> Erewhile thou wert not shelter'd, nursed on down;
> But naked, barefoot on the straw wert thrown:
> Now rank to heaven ascends thy life unclean.[11]

All these ills were aggravated in the Great Schism (1378-1415). Criticism became more bitter and far more dangerous. The death of Urban V shortly after his return from Rome to Avignon seemed like the vengeance of God. Gregory XI (1370-78), a nephew of Clement VI, was of the Limousin faction. Would this prevent him from returning to the city on the Tiber? Papal relations with France and England went from bad to worse. It appeared that the Holy See had lost all prestige. Italy was rife with feuds and turmoil; adventurers plundered the peninsula. Chief among them was the Englishman John Hawkwood or, as the Italians called him, Giovanni Acuto. The Visconti family of Milan sought to encroach on the States of the Church. Towns in this section were in the wildest confusion. Force could reduce this factional life but the papal treasury was not equal to the task. The governors appointed by Urban and Gregory were Frenchmen who little understood the people and their institutions. Theirs was an impossible mission, for nationalist resentment

[10] For an extended discussion of Petrarch see chap. xiv.
[11] *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch*, p. 136.

flared up whenever the agents sought to put down local tyrants. Only by returning to Rome could the pope hope to instill obedience and institute an effective government.

Pious people urged Gregory to return. St. Catherine earnestly begged him to take this step, and St. Brigitta's visions greatly impressed everybody. Italians whose patriotic feelings were deeply wounded longed to see the papacy restored to Italy. Although Petrarch was dead, many an Italian voiced his sentiments similarly, though less articulately. Finally, Gregory set out for Italy and landed at Corneto where he spent Christmas (1377). He resumed his journey by sea, sailed up the Tiber, and landed on the left bank near the basilica of St. Paul-outside-the-Wall. Large crowds joyfully greeted him and his attendants as he approached the gate of St. Paul on January 17. But the aged pontiff died on March 27. People instinctively felt that the church and Italy faced another crisis. Who would be elected to the chair of St. Peter? Would he be an Italian? Or, if a foreigner, would he retire to the banks of the Rhone?

There were sixteen cardinals in Rome at this juncture, four Italian, one Spanish, and eleven French. Six tarried in Avignon and one was on mission in Tuscany. The sixteen cardinals entered conclave on April 7. The French party was divided into two factions, the Limousins, now six in number, who had dominated the papacy for thirty-six years, and the Gallicans who were opposed to it. This was a dangerous division, for it seemed that difficulties experienced in former conclaves might be revived. Needless to state, the Italian cardinals were not sympathetic to the Limousins. They were outvoted from the first; it was clear that a compromise candidate would have to be produced. Such a person was found in Archbishop Bartolommeo Prignani of Bari. He was not a member of the *curia*, thus not an adherent to any faction. The fact that he was an Italian won the approval of the Italian cardinals. He had been a protegé of one of the Limousin group, which appears to have led the Limousins to support him. Perhaps they favored him because he was archbishop of a see in the kingdom of Naples which was ruled by the French house of Anjou. They no doubt thought that a person of such humble origin could readily be controlled, especially if he owed his elevation to them.

Meanwhile the Romans made their feelings known in no uncertain manner. The government of Rome had taken all necessary steps to prevent irregularities. The great Piazza in front of St. Peter's on the Vatican was filled with people vociferously crying for a Roman pope. They broke into some of the buildings and found their way to the papal cellars which naturally increased their vivacity and

turbulence. The cardinals feared the displeasure of the crowd when it should learn that a person other than a Roman had been elected. They fled to various places; but this proved needless, for the people decided to accept with good grace Prignani, or Urban VI as he was called. They were glad that an Italian was pope. When all things are considered it appears that the excitement of the crowd may have hurried the election; but did the uproar on the Piazza unduly influence the conclave? This speedily became a burning question.

Urban was an unfortunate choice. Elevated from a small see to an exalted position, this man of little acquaintance with the world possessed no tact. He was fiery, outspoken, and violent. He listened to the wishes of no one. He determined to stay in Rome and dismayed the cardinals by insisting on simplifying their mode of life. He estranged them without considering the consequences. This was a serious mistake, for the Limousin group was supported by their Gallican brethren who resented Urban's incivilities. Gradually they formed a party of opposition, and retired to Anagni while Urban remained at Tivoli. They questioned the legitimacy of his election and on September 20 proceeded to choose one of their number, Robert of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII.

Two popes now claimed to be pastors of Peter's flock. Which would people accept? It was difficult to decide. St. Catherine of Siena adhered to Urban; St. Vincent Ferrer to Clement. But it was the new spirit of nationalism which determined the attitude of most people. The great contest in the political world of the day, the Hundred Years' War, was being waged between England and France. The French king supported Clement, as did his political allies, the Scots; and eventually the Spanish also accepted Clement. The English king, on the other hand, accepted Urban. States in the Low Countries, with the exception of Liége, joined Urban's supporters. The emperors did likewise, partly out of enmity toward France. Italians were Urbanists from national motives. Even in the kingdom of Naples sentiment was keen for Urban in the first days of the schism. Had he been tactful, that state would never have given its adherence to Clement. The religious division of nations was thus made along the lines of the major political antagonisms which rent the peace of Europe.

Formerly schisms had been induced by emperors and forces outside the college of cardinals and were usually of brief duration. Now, however, the division was a far more serious matter for it rested on a nationalist basis. The revival of trade and industry in progress since the eleventh century was rapidly reorganizing society. Burghers became an important element in the state, usurping the place which nobles formerly had held. Princes of the new states were

daily waxing stronger. They established public peace, improved the currency, and created a condition of society which made possible extension of trade and acquisition of wealth. A new state of mind was developing which supplanted the old personal loyalty of feudal vassals. This was a dawning sense of nationalism, the psychological reflex of people living in the new economic environment. The schism which began in 1378 was a serious crisis in the history of the church. Would the church, universal in character, be able to keep all the jangling nationalities within its fold or would it become the sport of nationalist interests?

Urban established himself in and about Rome with some difficulty. Clement, who for a while tarried in the environs of Rome, had in his service some mercenaries who roved through the environs of the city and held the castle of Sant' Angelo. Urban enlisted the services of Alberigo da Barbiano. This Italian *condottiere* led a group of soldiers exclusively Italian in nationality. They defeated Clement's troops and forced the surrender of the castle of Sant' Angelo which had held the populace in awe. Having thus arrested the progress of his rival, Urban turned his attention to the Neapolitan kingdom now ruled by Giovanna I (d. 1382) who was inclined to support him. But he foolishly mistreated her envoys so that she turned to Clement, in spite of the popular sentiment for the Italian pope. The desire to dominate Naples, a fief of the papacy, now led Urban to advocate the claims of Charles of Durazzo to the crown. He was a distant relative of the childless Giovanna I. Urban proclaimed a crusade in his favor and Charles seized the realm and slew the luckless Giovanna who had adopted Louis of Anjou, another distant relative. Louis was a brother of the French king, Charles V (1364-80), whose assistance enabled him now to put forth a determined effort to secure the crown.

Driven from Rome by the soldiery of Alberigo da Barbiano, Clement ensconced himself in Avignon. In earlier years he had been a worldling. Vigorous and ambitious, his directness of manner had caused the cardinals to designate him for the papacy. He had won a dubious reputation from the businesslike manner in which he put down an insurrection of the people of Cesena when he was papal legate in Romagna in 1377. The terrible brutality with which he reduced the town could not be forgotten; it made any support of his claims by Italians impossible. In a few years he won the obedience of Castile and Aragon. The adoption of Louis of Anjou by Giovanna I of Naples seemed to give Clement the adherence of Naples, but that land long remained the scene of tortuous intrigues in which the rulers of the Durazzo line emerged victorious and per-

sisted in their loyalty to Urban. Thus Clement had few friends in Italy.

Christendom now was divided into two "obediences." The establishment of two *curias* was disastrous alike to papacy and religion. Each pope refused to recognize the other as the successor of Peter. Each maintained a large staff of officials so that the total burden of Christendom was vastly increased. Urban appointed twenty-eight new cardinals in September, 1378. Clement also maintained a staff in Avignon, but on a less elaborate scale. To pay for the luxury of so large an organization, the machinery of tax collection perfected in the days of the Avignonese papacy was diligently employed to produce the greatest possible revenue. Furthermore, the papacy in its endeavor to collect sufficient income tended more and more to treat the hierarchy as a source of taxation. Benefices were disposed of with the view of bringing as much money into the papal coffers as possible. They might be divided to create several livings. Translation, that is, the transfer of prelates from one see to another, was common. Dispensations were readily granted for any canonical irregularity. The papacy constantly interfered in the internal affairs of bishoprics. Diocesan arrangements suffered especially because of the practice of making reservations of appointments. Expectatives or rights to livings which had not yet fallen vacant were regularly granted for a monetary consideration in anticipation of vacancies. Many cases tried in diocesan courts were withdrawn to the tribunals in Avignon or Rome for the sake of fees.

Boniface IX (1389-1404) succeeded Urban VI. He was a man of blameless life but approached the papal office in so base a spirit that genuine religious devotion among the higher clergy became impossible. He needed money above all things. Hence the spiritual power of the papacy was addressed unblushingly to the task of extracting the maximum revenue without which the pope could not hope to dominate Italy, especially Naples. Everything had its price, and spiritual offices were treated in the most mercenary manner. "So great was the demand for money in Rome that usury, which was regarded as an impious trade, flourished to an extraordinary degree, and the money lenders were regarded as a natural and necessary addition to the *curia*. No one was safe from the pope's rapacity; like a crow hovering round a dying animal, he would send to gather the books, apparel, plate, and money of bishops or members of the *curia* as they lay dying."[12]

Much resentment was shown in Germany toward collectors of papal taxes. Imperial authority was feeble and the state was divided

[12] M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, vol. i, p. 132.

into numerous feudal principalities. There was little to prevent the papacy from drawing large sums from German sees and using the church for secular advantages. Such was the anger of the Germans that "collectors were hunted down, thrown into prison, mutilated, and even strangled. The excitement among the clergy in the dioceses of Cologne, Bonn, Xanten, Soest, and Mainz reached such a pitch that in 1372 they bound themselves by oath not to pay the tenth demanded by Gregory XI, and to support all against whom action was taken; any incumbent who betrayed his pledge was to be deprived of his benefice and declared ineligible to possess one again in the future."[13] In France also the clergy actively resisted papal officials sent to collect taxes.

Nationalist feeling was especially strong in England, a land where the royal power was more highly developed than anywhere else in Europe. Englishmen viewed the papacy in Avignon with suspicion after they began the war with their perennial enemy, France. William Langland was averse to the papacy and opposed the sending of sums to its treasury:

> Till Rome-runners carry no silver over sea
> Graven or ungraven, for the robber pope of France . . ."[14]

Parliament took action in 1343 when it forbade anyone to bring into the realm letters from Rome, as Avignon was called, which in any way might be prejudicial to the rights of the crown. In the following year the Commons made the first of their many protests against the great privileges of the clergy whom they suspected of divided allegiance. The *Statute of Provisors*, passed in 1351, forbade granting benefices by papal letters and provided that bearers of such letters were to be fined and imprisoned. Next came the *Statute of Præmunire* (1353) which forbade under severe penalty appeals from church courts in the realm to the great tribunals of the *curia* in Avignon. It can cause no surprise, therefore, that Englishmen in 1366 refused the demand of Urban V for the payment of tribute of a thousand marks annually, which had been begun by King John but had rarely been paid since the accession of Edward I (1272-1307). A spirit of political anti-clericalism was rife in the land, and it came to a climax in the teachings of John Wiclif (d. 1384).

Wiclif was born in Yorkshire and was sent to Balliol College, in Oxford. Distinguishing himself as a student, he became a popular teacher, was made a fellow, and finally became master of Balliol. He was appointed to several clerical posts, the most important being

[13] G. Mollat, *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. vii, p. 280.

[14] W. Langland, *Piers Plowman, the Vision of a People's Christ*, ed. by A. Burrell (Everyman's Library), p. 57.

that of chaplain to the king. He enjoyed King Edward's confidence and was sent on a significant diplomatic mission to Bruges in 1375 to discuss provisions and reservations to English benefices. His association with the papal nuncios on this occasion, his acquaintance with the views of English officials on ecclesiastical abuses, and his knowledge of the popular sentiment in England against these malpractices prepared him to speak out for the national cause. He wrote a treatise, the *Determinatio*, in which he marshaled a series of arguments advanced by seven lords in Parliament against the demands of the papacy for tribute from the English crown. From a patriotic point of view his statements were a crushing answer to the pope's demands, and it appears that he sought to evade ecclesiastical trial by presenting the arguments as if they had been uttered in Parliament. Thus he showed himself a faithful supporter of the king.

A wider sphere of activity was opened to Wiclif when he began championing the right of the crown to tax and secularize ecclesiastical property. The long war with France was a heavy drain on the royal treasury and new taxes had to be found. National interests once more were blocked by the privileges of the clergy. This led to much ill-feeling. Wiclif supported the demands of the nationalist party headed by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who had attracted the support of a group of poverty-loving Franciscans. With them Wiclif argued that the clergy should possess no property, nor should they be permitted any voice in secular affairs. He taught that the church should be poor as it had been in the days of Christ and the apostles. He went so far as to affirm that in all temporal matters the king stood higher than the clergy. These points were advanced in a series of pamphlets of which two, *On Civil Dominion* and *On Divine Dominion*, were the most important. Furthermore, all title to property should be dependent on whether the holder was in a state of grace. Thus church possessions might be appropriated by the crown if the clergy misused their privileges or were notoriously corrupt or spiritually deficient. Wiclif even argued that the crown possessed the right to determine these points. This exaltation of secular over ecclesiastical authority bore the impress of Marsilio of Padua's ideas. Gregory XI issued five bulls in May, 1377, to Wiclif's civil and ecclesiastical superiors in which he drew up a list of eighteen theses taken for the most part from Wiclif's dissertation, *On Civil Dominion*. In former days Wiclif had written covertly; now he preached in the open, advancing the most subversive arguments against a property-owning clergy, all in the interest of the authority of the state.

Thus far Wiclif had said nothing specific regarding the official teachings of the church. Deeply impressed by the ills into which it

had fallen and the corruption which had crept into it, he proceeded to examine its nature. What was the church? To answer this question he wrote his *Tractate on the Church* in which he argued that the church was the entire company of those predestined from all eternity to salvation. The church was not the hierarchy as was popularly believed. It was a purely religious association, and should have no authority in political affairs which belonged entirely to the princes. Outside this church there was no salvation. He also wrote *On the Truth of Sacred Scripture*. Contrary to the accepted doctrine, authority was placed not in the pope but in Scripture alone. The Bible was intended to be the sole norm of faith, and it contained the norm of political action for secular rulers.

Wiclif also attacked the central citadel of the faith, the power of the pope. Besides the treatise *On the Power of the Pope*, he wrote a number of pamphlets on special topics, such as *On Apostasy, On Simony,* and *On Blasphemy*. Christ was the head of the church, not the pope. In the primitive church there had been no distinction between bishop and priest. The bishop of Rome might be followed, but only because of his greater devotion, not because of any power of binding and loosing, which he did not possess. The doctrine of papal infallibility was an error. Because of Constantine's donation the pope had become a prince, rich and powerful. This was contrary to the counsel of perfection preached from time immemorial, that is, apostolic poverty. The pope was antichrist! Each true priest should preach the gospel, for, as compared to a faith founded on the Gospels, relics, pictures, pilgrimages, and all manner of external practices were of no value. Monkish orders had no justification according to Scripture, and Wiclif became a determined enemy against his onetime allies. During the first years of the Great Schism Wiclif regarded Urban VI as the true pope, but the political character of his pontificate soon undeceived him. The propagandist became an active reformer. He translated the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Bible commonly used in the Middle Ages, into the vernacular.[15] He instituted the "poor priests," who were for the most part laymen, to go in groups of two among the people, barefoot, provided with staff, to preach the gospel and the "law of Christ," that is, a life of poverty such as Franciscans had preached. These Lollards, as they were called, carried everywhere their hatred of papacy and hierarchy and bitterly denounced a property-owning clergy.

[15] This is the traditional view, but some scholars have thought that Wiclif's followers translated the Bible. See *Wyclif, Select English Writings, ed. by H. E. Winn, with a Preface by H. B. Workman* (Oxford, 1929), for a convenient survey of Wiclif's English writings.

Wiclif's doctrine regarding the place and power of princes was an important element in his teaching. Kings ruled by right divine. Scripture contained many examples of divine appointment, such as Saul and David. Royal power and priestly power, both of divine appointment, should cooperate with each other. The priesthood should honor secular authority just as Christ had done, and secular power should show deference and humility toward the priestly office. Whenever priests fell from grace and became traitors to God, secular power should judge and deprive them of property and authority. Wiclif thought that a council of theologians should advise the king about his duties which, he believed, should conform to the teachings of Scripture.

These heretical teachings reached their climax when Wiclif advanced his peculiar conception of the Eucharist. His attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation came in 1381 and marks the last great onslaught of the reformer. Wiclif taught that Christ was truly present in the sacrament, but not by virtue of the priest's words. Christ's body was present in the Host just as the king was present in every royal court of the realm. This most revolutionary conception greatly reduced the power of the clergy. Many pious practices of which the mass was the center now became an object of attack. Wiclif would have nothing of the wonder-working Host and the magical qualities which it often possessed in the minds of the untutored multitude.

Wiclif died in 1384, after his doctrines had been condemned by the University of Oxford and the archbishop of Canterbury. But Lollardy continued to be popular. Richard II (1377-99) showed little inclination to enforce judgments pronounced in church courts. The Lollards in 1395 even petitioned Parliament to aid them in reforming religion according to the precepts of Scripture. Apostolic poverty was to be introduced and the miraculous features of the popular and official faith were to be suppressed. But Richard refused to entertain this petition. With the accession of Henry IV (1399-1413) as the result of a dynastic change, the fate of the Lollard movement was sealed. Henry needed the support of the hierarchy in order to establish his authority, for he had grasped at the crown and won it by an act of violence. The Lollards were sacrificed. The statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, passed in 1401, placed the secular arm at the service of ecclesiastical justice. Many executions followed, but it proved difficult to uproot the heresy taught in secret meetings held in houses and other places. The pressure of the government nevertheless was effective and Lollardy dwindled but never wholly disappeared.

Wiclif's heretical teaching, compounded of nationalism, antagonism to Rome, and certain traditional ideals about a possessionate

clergy, was adopted in Bohemia at the very moment when the English crown determined to uproot it in its native soil. The close connection between the royal families of both lands—King Richard II had married Anne, a daughter of King Wenzel of Bohemia—made the passage of Wiclif's ideas to Bohemia easy. In Bohemia as in other Slavic lands the native populace, chiefly of the lower class, was dominated by the Germans who had settled among them long ago as burghers in the towns. A renaissance of nationalist feeling was in the making, and John Hus (1369?-1415) became its exponent. He was born of lowly parents, studied in the University of Prague, and began lecturing in 1398. From the philosophy of Wiclif which he eagerly studied, Hus passed to Wiclif's theology and earnestly pondered its implications. He was a man of deep piety and exemplary morals, was interested in the practical aspects of religion, and became a popular preacher when he was appointed priest of Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. He addressed his hearers in the Czech tongue and insisted that the burghers of Prague should speak their paternal tongue in its pure form. Hus first sought to reform the church in Bohemia but soon found that the clerical inertia made progress impossible. But his eloquent pleadings and his criticisms of clerical morality won him many supporters. He thus became an apostle of Czech nationalism. The struggle which ensued was to last half a century and was as dangerous a threat to the German Empire as to the church. Archbishop Zbynek of Prague, a well-meaning but rather illiterate prelate, at first favored Hus, but soon became fearful of the practical consequences of his teaching. In 1408 the clergy of the diocese induced the prelate to suspend Hus from preaching. Zbynek also condemned Wiclif's teachings. Meanwhile Emperor Wenzel sought support from the university to withdraw obedience from Gregory XII. The Czech masters and students agreed but the others refused. Thereupon the German masters and students withdrew and founded a university in Leipzig (1409). This was a triumph for Czech nationalism. Hus was finally excommunicated and cited to defend himself before the fathers of the council in Constance (1414-1418) where he dignified his ideas by dying for them at the martyr's stake.

Hus cannot be regarded as an original theologian. His ideas were set forth in his treatise *On The Church*, written in 1413. It was mainly a restatement of Wiclif's views. His zeal for purer clerical life and a more fervent religion freed from the crassness of popular religious life was symptomatic of serious defects in the popular life of the church. Even though neither Wiclif nor Hus exercised much influence upon the Reformation, they were significant as pointing the direction which future revolts against the mother church were to assume.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT

The bold theory of an appeal from the vicar of Christ on earth to Christ himself residing in the whole body of the church was to be tried, and the long-forgotten name of a general council was again revived.—M. CREIGHTON.[1]

THE Great Schism produced a serious crisis. How to end this strife became a burning question. Ways and means were discussed in university circles. From Paris came practical suggestions. Three solutions were offered: abdication of the popes to be followed by the election of a successor by the cardinals of both parties; arbitration by impartial judges; or a general council representing the church universal.

Objections were raised to each of these plans. Abdication, to be valid, would have to be spontaneous because the pope as Christ's vicar recognized no one superior to himself. It was impossible to secure a voluntary surrender from the obstinate rivals, each of whom was bent on asserting his rights and was supported by his cardinals. Arbitration also proved impossible, for no pope would accept the decision of arbiters. Nor was it possible to find impartial judges whom all would approve. A committee of cardinals would not be impartial. The same objection would also be made against any group of prelates or lower clerics. Finally, arbitration by laymen was out of the question. Churchmen could not accept this expedient because it implied that the laity possessed authority over the clergy.

The third suggestion, which had been advanced by Parisian scholars as early as 1379, proved most popular. They argued that a council representing the entire church possessed authority higher than that of the pope. The bishop of Rome was Christ's vicar; but Christ had always been considered as living in the entire church. An appeal to a general council representing the church universal was an appeal to Christ Himself and therefore superior to the word of popes. The difficulty with this theory was that it denied the pontiff's supreme

[1] M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, vol. i, p. 228.

position in the church. The rival popes would not submit tamely to such a theory. Its advocates knew that this procedure was of doubtful legality, but they argued that it was a case of necessity.

Clement VII died in September, 1394. The University of Paris, the French crown, and the clergy were interested in bringing the schism to an end. The problem was also discussed by the cardinals, who feared that if they did not elect a pope they would raise doubts as to the validity of their own election. A document was drawn up wherein each promised, if elected, to abdicate in case a majority of the cardinals should ask him to do so. The French court requested the cardinals not to choose a successor, but the king's missive and a letter from the university came too late. The Aragonese Peter de Luna, a crafty intriguer who had declared, "I can abdicate as easily as take off my hat," was elected and took as his name Benedict XIII. There was much disappointment in Paris. Furthermore, the cardinals' choice proved unfortunate. Trained in canon law like so many churchmen of the day, Benedict took a narrow legal view of the great crisis and while in action was obdurate and unscrupulous and refused to abdicate. He did not propose to take off his hat, once he had it on! Chagrined that these well-meant plans for reconciliation had failed and disgusted at the old pontiff's obstinacy, the University of Paris insisted on his abdication. Finally the clergymen, backed by the university, met at Paris from May to August, 1398. They argued that the pope was Christ's vicar only as long as he preserved unity. Since Benedict was obstinately prolonging the schism, they decided upon the bold step of withdrawing the allegiance of France. This measure, justified on the ground of necessity, was taken on July 27. The crown issued an ordinance in the same tenor early in September. By taking away all support from Benedict they hoped to force him into submission. This "withdrawal of obedience," as it was called, proved a fiasco, because appointments to clerical posts now began to be filled by nominees of king and nobles, and they were peculiarly able to swell their own purses. The clergy now found to their sorrow that taxes were much heavier and were more rigidly exacted by royal than papal authorities. Dissatisfaction led to reaction. Even the universities resented the new policy whereby the bishops bestowed livings upon their supporters and not upon the professors. Charles VI (1380-1422) had frequent spells of lunacy and could adopt no consistent policy. He secured the promise of Emperor Wenzel (1378-1400) to withdraw the obedience of his lands from Boniface IX. But Wenzel spent many of his last days in drunken stupor and was so oppressed by political cares that little result came from this policy. The duke of Orléans, a royal uncle, now opposed

the treatment accorded to Benedict and in May, 1403, the French crown renewed its obedience to the pope at Avignon.

Innocent VII (1404-06) succeeded Boniface IX as pope of the Roman "obedience." He was an aged man, dominated by a nephew and too indolent to end the schism. He was followed by Gregory XII (1406-15), a man of eighty and of blameless life. He had vigorously asserted his desire for unity and stated his intention of working for it if elected. He would abdicate if Benedict XIII would do likewise, and he even sent an embassy to his rival. It was decided that the two rivals should meet at Savona north of Genoa and that details were to be left to a committee of cardinals chosen from each obedience. But certain states in Gregory's obedience were loath to see a conclave in the lands of Genoa. This was dangerously near France and Venice, and Naples and England feared that French influences might again dominate. The irresolute Gregory allowed himself to be controlled by their wishes and by his nephews. He also was afraid to leave Rome because King Ladislas of Naples (1386-1414) stood ready to seize the Eternal City. He began to hedge and moved from Rome to Siena, but would go no farther.

Safely ensconced in Avignon, Benedict XIII was in a position to make a great show of his zeal for negotiation. He even offered to meet his rival between Pietra Santa and the Gulf of Spezia. "One pope, like a land animal, refused to approach the shore; the other, like a water beast, refused to leave the sea." Finally, in January, 1408, Gregory appeared in Lucca; but when he heard that Ladislas had seized Rome in April, he suddenly changed his policy. Benedict plotted against his rival by seeking a foothold in Rome but was frustrated by Ladislas. Gregory now yielded to his nephews and to others in his following who feared that they might lose from his abdication. He declared that he would oppose the machinations of the French pope and in May named four new cardinals, two of whom were his nephews.

The cardinals of the Roman obedience were wroth at Gregory's change of front for he had sworn to abdicate if his rival would do likewise. Embittered, they fled from Lucca, met in Pisa, and published an appeal to a general council (May, 1408). Meanwhile Benedict's power was greatly weakened when his chief supporter among the French nobles, Duke Louis of Orléans, was slain at Montereau in November, 1407. The Burgundian faction, now supreme, was opposed to him. Benedict issued a bull in May, 1408, excommunicating all who withdrew from his "obedience." Failure to heed this pronouncement was to be punished by interdict. But the crown declared itself neutral in the squabble and began negotiations with the

cardinals at Avignon. Benedict felt himself insecure and in June fled to Perpignan.

Negotiations between Gregory's and Benedict's cardinals were opened at Livorno. They as well as Christendom were disgusted at the unseemly quarrel and in July issued a request to the clergy to appear in a general council to be held at Pisa in March, 1409. Gregory retired to Rimini and sought to take a leaf out of the cardinals' book by convoking a council in the province of Aquileia or in lands subject to Ravenna. It actually convened at Cividale but was so poorly attended that its sessions were of no consequence. Benedict also summoned a council to Perpignan which sat from November, 1408, to February, 1409. Over one hundred prelates attended, and a commission was named to discuss the matter of unity. Instead of justifying Benedict, as the crafty pontiff had confidently expected, it urged that he resign and proposed that its resolution to that effect be laid before the forthcoming council in Pisa. Benedict was obdurate and in March excommunicated the council just as the clergy were coming from all parts to Pisa in response to the invitation of the cardinals.

The stately cathedral on the outskirts of Pisa was famed far and wide for its great beauty. Equally noteworthy were the classic campanile or leaning tower, the baptistery, and the Campo Santo, or cemetery, decorated by some of the great painters of the early Renaissance. The cathedral which today is still supreme in its loveliness was the scene of the trial. Here representatives of the church met cardinals of both parties, archbishops, generals of the great orders, bishops, abbots, delegates of cathedral chapters or their proctors, professors of canon law and theology, ambassadors of secular princes, and envoys of universities. The legal bases of the council troubled the churchmen. Well might they hesitate, for popes would not admit that councils had supreme authority in faith and morals. There was great danger that Christendom would disown whatever they might seek to accomplish. Finally, it was agreed that if the popes persisted in the schism which they had sworn to bring to an end they were guilty of heresy, and the cardinals as representatives of the church should provide for a new pope. Gregory and Benedict were cited before the council, but when they failed to appear were declared contumacious and deposed. The cardinals therefore proceeded to elect a new pope. Choice fell upon a Franciscan, Peter Philargi, who took the name of Alexander V. For a moment it was fondly hoped that the schism had come to an end.

A few members of the Pisan council were eager for reform of abuses, and consideration of this matter had been set for July 15, 1409. The cardinals were quite willing to depose the two popes and

elect a third; but reform of abuses on which they themselves throve proved unpopular. Nevertheless, they protested against annates, tenths, exemptions from episcopal visitorial authority, translation of bishops from one see to another without consulting them, the practically unlimited appeal to papal courts, and the complicated character of the procedure in the papal chancery. Many of the fathers wished to return home; they could not be interested in something which would hurt their own interests. A sop was thrown to the advocates of reform. Alexander V made a few trivial concessions and announced that another council would be held in April, 1412. The council closed on August 7. Days and weeks passed, but the schism continued, for the two deposed popes had excommunicated the council. Everybody was disappointed over the results. Now there were three popes, three *curias*, three "obediences"! The evils under which the church had groaned for a generation had only been aggravated.

Alexander V died in May, 1410, and was succeeded by John XXIII, an unworthy choice. He had made himself indispensable to Alexander and upon that pontiff's death no better candidate could be found to guide the papacy through the tortuous political events of the day. Never did a pope take so worldly a conception of spiritual office. Benedict XIII, who still had some supporters, had retired to the rocky fastnesses of Peñiscola for the sake of security. Gregory XII was recognized in Naples by King Ladislas. Accordingly, like Alexander V, John XXIII turned to Louis of Anjou who was seeking to conquer Naples after the failure of his father in 1385. The French crown supported Louis and John thought that he might be a worthy ally. But in 1411 Ladislas defeated the combined forces of Louis and Pope John at Rocca Secca. Perceiving that Louis' cause was hopeless, John abandoned him with a duplicity characteristic of Italian politics at that time and formed an alliance with Ladislas (June, 1412). The kingdom of Naples thereupon accepted John as true pope, and Pope Gregory was forced to betake himself to Rimini where he found favor with the tyrant Carlo Malatesta. John thus enjoyed the support of most Italians, but he still had to win the support of the emperor. There was much confusion in Germany because of the incompetence of Emperor Wenzel who was deposed in 1410. His brother Sigismund, the last great representative of the Luxemburg house, was elected in the following year. This was lucky for Pope John because Sigismund was a hearty supporter of the conciliar treaty and at once recognized him. John confidently believed that his wishes would prevail at the next council.

In accordance with promises made at Pisa a council was to meet at Rome in 1412. John, fearing for his own position, determined to control its acts by naming fourteen cardinals. The fact that it was to

be held in Rome made it possible for him to control its procedure. The Council of Rome did nothing beyond condemning the doctrines of Wiclif and banning his teaching from the pulpit. The question of reform was raised, but no progress was made. Before dissolving this council, ostensibly because of the small numbers present, another council was ordered to meet in December, 1413. This was a concession to the reform party led by the delegates of the University of Paris. John thus escaped from any hostile action on the part of the council. But now King Ladislas of Naples turned against him. He had made his treaty with the pope merely for political advantages. He seized Rome in June, 1413, and John was forced to flee. Florence refused to receive him and the fugitive sought help from Sigismund. Such was his plight that he weakly yielded to that king's suggestions about a council. His envoys accepted Constance as meeting place for a council in November, 1414, a city in Germany where the procedure of the council could easily be influenced by the emperor.

The Council of Constance (1414-18) was opened on November 5. It was a magnificent assemblage: twenty-nine cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, about one hundred fifty bishops, more than one hundred abbots and fifty deans from all quarters of Christendom. John hoped to control the council. He did not like reform and wished to perpetuate his authority. The numerous Italian bishops and most of the cardinals belonged to his party, and with their aid he thought to avoid all action hostile to himself. But the first act of the fathers was to frustrate John's plans. Business in the Council of Pisa had been prepared by six notaries, four proctors, and two attorneys. Discussions had been conducted and proposals had been voted by the whole group. At Constance there was much objection by John's enemies to the predominance of Italian bishops and cardinals. The English group led the way and formed a nation, and the Germans and French followed their example. The Italians could only do likewise. Finally a fifth nation, the Spanish, was added and their cardinals as a group were also granted one vote (May, 1415). A unanimous vote of all the nations was necessary for a conciliar decree.

In this novel conciliar organization which permitted the expression of nationalist sentiments, the council was greatly influenced by the spirit of the age. The Hundred Years' War was in progress. England and Germany were bitterly hostile toward France. Pope John and his Italian cardinals were distrusted in many quarters. The lower clergy, secular princes, and representatives of the universities were allowed to vote on all questions in the nations. This made possible the ex-

pression of opinions hostile toward the Italian cardinals and the aims of other nations. Nationalism thus threatened to overwhelm the council, which was supposed to be ecumenical. The universal and non-national church of the Middle Ages seemed about to founder among the new states of the Renaissance.

The basis of conciliar action was laid down on April 6, 1415, in the decree *Sacrosanct.* It was significant because it substituted a council of the church universal for curial absolutism.

> This sacred synod of Constance . . . declares first that itself, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, forming a general council and representing the Catholic church, has its power immediately from Christ; and everyone, of whatever status and rank he may be, and even the pope, is bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, and to the abolition of the said schism, and to the general reformation of the church of God in head and members. Further it declares that anyone of whatever condition, status, or rank, and even the pope, who contumaciously shall refuse to obey the orders, decrees, ordinances, or instructions, made or to be made by this sacred synod and by any other general council lawfully assembled, concerning or in any way relating to the aforesaid objects, shall unless he comes to a right mind, be subjected to due penance and appropriately punished. . . .[2]

Three questions confronted the fathers: heresy, schism, and reform. The first of these was most easily disposed of because it did not involve the interests of any party. John XXIII was eager to place the question of heresy in the foreground in order to put off reform and the question of unity. John Hus' ideas were popular in Bohemia. Just as Wiclifite heresy in England was associated with nationalism, so Hus' doctrines stimulated Czechish nationalist feeling. Hus was summoned to the council, and the Emperor Sigismund granted him a safe-conduct. The great leader, hoping to bring the fathers to his point of view, appeared in Constance early in November, but was arrested and put in prison. Sigismund, even though irate at the violation of his safe-conduct, was zealous to make the council a success and, rather than endanger it for the sake of a heretic, yielded to the arguments of theologians and canonists. Hus was condemned to be burned. This sentence, carried out in July, 1415, was a serious mistake, for it raised a storm of nationalist passion in Bohemia directed against Germany and the papacy.

Schism was a more difficult matter. Everybody was disgusted at

[2] R. G. D. Laffan, *Select Documents of European History, 800-1492* (New York, 1930), p. 195.

the crabbed and selfish legalism of Benedict XIII. He had no supporters outside Navarre, Castile, and Aragon. The weight of years was telling on Gregory XII's vitality, and his nephews had long held him back. He had but few supporters left and was ready to yield to the inevitable. He abdicated in July, 1415, when the council legalized his pontifical acts. John proved more obstinate. Stories of his unpriestly character were freely passed about. The council induced him to promise to resign if his rivals would also take this step. But John's word was not worth much; he fled in March, whereupon the council proceeded against him. Every transaction of his past was laid bare. It was no enviable record, and he was deposed in May, 1415. Sigismund now proceeded as agent of the council to meet Benedict's proctors in Perpignan, but that crafty pontiff refused to have anything to do with the emperor. But his supporters, the kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, were weary of the obstinate pope. They threatened to withdraw their obedience and came to an understanding with Sigismund. The council at Constance, no longer in fear of division and dissension, deposed Benedict in July, 1417, on the ground that he supported schism and acted as a heretic.

To reform the church was much more difficult than to deal with the three popes, for reform involved the interests of many parties. The cardinals were loath to see their privileges taken away, whereas the lower clergy were eager for reformation "in head and members," as they expressed it. The matter could not be put off after Hus had been executed and the three popes deposed. A commission had been appointed to draft a program of reform. But cardinals and other important prelates disliked their proposals and wanted to postpone action. A new commission, composed of five men from each of the five nations, was named. The policy adopted by the curial party was to press for the election of a pope. The reform party naturally opposed this step, knowing that a pontiff might close the council and thus avoid curtailment of abuses on which the *curia* throve.

National differences also made reform impossible. The curial party sought to gain advantage from the ill feeling of Germans and Frenchmen. The former strongly desired reform because their country, owing to its federal organization, was peculiarly exposed to the rapacity of the *curia*. Englishmen did not share this feeling, for Parliament had long protected them from papal tax collections. Thus the reform party was deserted in spite of Sigismund's efforts. Finally the emperor was forced to agree to an election, with reformation to be undertaken immediately after. To pacify the opposition, the famous decree *Frequens* was issued in October, 1417.

This decree, one of the most remarkable documents issued by the

council, aimed to provide a parliamentary government for the church.[3] Papal absolutism was to be supplanted.

> The frequent holding of general councils is one of the chief means of cultivating the Lord's field. It serves to uproot the briars, thorns, and thistles of heresies, errors, and schisms, to correct excesses, to restore what is marred, and to cause the Lord's vine to bring forth fruit of the richest fertility. Neglect of councils spreads and fosters the said evils. This is clearly proved by the records of the past and consideration of the present. Wherefore, by this perpetual edict, we provide, decree, and ordain that henceforth general councils shall always be held every ten years in places which the supreme pontiff shall be bound to appoint and assign, with the approval and consent of the council, one month before the conclusion of the preceding council. In the absence of a pope, the council itself shall appoint the place of meeting. Thus, with a certain continuity, a council will always either be functioning or be awaited at the end of a definite period.[4]

Martin V, a member of the famous Roman family of Colonna and a cardinal, was elected pope in November, 1417. The weary nations preferred him because he stood aloof from all factions. Although lukewarm at first, the cardinals soon accepted him. He professed a desire for reform, but it soon became apparent that the nations could not agree. In January he announced some changes in curial and episcopal government. They were only a slight concession, because the curial party was able to present a united opposition to reforms. In March a decree was issued containing a few mild reforms. Other points were settled by concordats or treaties between the pope and the English, French, and German nations. The council was weary and its members were eager to return home. Nationalist spirit made impossible any further progress toward thoroughgoing reform. Martin dissolved the council on April 22.

The church rejoiced over the healing of the schism. Many now looked forward to the new council which was to reform the church. According to the decree *Frequens* it was to meet five years after the

[3] It is instructive to note that the parliamentary government provided for the church in the decree *Frequens* was not a novel idea. Often in the past the church had convoked councils. Secular governments also had developed representative institutions. Thus England possessed its Parliament, France its Estates General, and Castile its Cortes. The failure to develop an established parliamentary government for the church, due to the absolutism of the papacy, was characteristic of the age. Some secular states—for example, France—later practically discontinued parliaments because such representative assemblies were distasteful to the monarch.

[4] R. G. D. Laffan, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

closing of Constance. Martin issued a bull for its meeting in Pavia in 1423. It was an impressive assembly but accomplished nothing. After being organized into nations, the council was transferred to Siena because of the plague. The curial party cared little for reform and its intrigues were so skillful that the nations were set against one another. Nothing could be accomplished, and the council was dissolved in March, 1424. Once more the supreme authority of the pope, the united front of the curial party, and the divisions among the delegates organized as nations prevented reform.

Seven years were to pass ere the next council would meet according to the decree *Frequens*. The curial party hoped that it would not assemble. But so dangerous was the Hussite heresy that a meeting became necessary. The Council of Constance had burned Hus, but it had not destroyed his ideas. Never did Sigismund make a greater mistake than when he forsook Hus and allowed him to be burned. The Bohemians regarded this as a national insult. Before his election Martin V had voted for the destruction of Hus. It was evident when the council came to an end that aggressive action would have to be taken. King Wenzel of Bohemia allowed matters to shape their own course and his queen gave the Hussites public support. Sigismund succeeded to the crown on Wenzel's death in 1419. By fair promises he hoped to win time until he would be able to cope with the rebellion.

Sigismund was successful with many of the nobility and the burghers of Prague. These formed a moderate party called Calixtines. Their ideas were contained in the Articles of Prague (1420): Communion under both kinds, that is, bread and wine,[5] punishment of clergy living in mortal sin by secular tribunals, free preaching of the Gospel, and abandonment by the clergy of their political control over temporal goods. This party hoped to win these points by negotiation and not by force. Opposed to them were the radical Taborites, who were the real followers of Wiclif and Hus. They taught that Scripture was the sole norm of religious life; pious practices peculiar to Catholicism not found in the Bible should cease; Christ's poverty was to be the law of the church; priestly pride, luxury, and pomp should vanish. Such doctrines amounted to revolution.

The Taborites refused to submit to Sigismund. Czechish national feeling now stood arrayed against Catholicism and German nationalism. John Ziska, a man of noble origin and a military genius, headed the rebels. Under him the Taborites became irresistible. Every

[5] In communion the priest presented the bread to the laity, but not the wine. The Hussites insisted that this was contrary to Scripture and demanded that the laity should receive both. This was called communion under both kinds—*sub utraque specie*; hence they were called "Utraquists."

onslaught of Sigismund's armies was repelled. But Prague and some of the nobility continued loyal to Sigismund in spite of his unfriendly sentiments toward Bohemia. At times there was civil strife between these factions. Ziska died of the plague in 1424 and was succeeded by a priest named Procopius who realized the necessity of peace. To put himself in a strong position, he invaded Saxony and defeated the German army (1426).

Germany could not cope with the Bohemian situation. The federal nature of its government made it impossible to collect an efficient army and the German knights were no match for the peasant troops of the Taborites. The Germans were alarmed by their social and religious radicalism. When the Taborites invaded Saxony and Franconia in 1430, some German princes drew up a bold demand for a council, which was nailed to a door in the papal chambers. Although the pope was keenly opposed to a council, it was difficult to find a better means to combat the Hussite question. The pontiff proposed a crusade against the Bohemians but was induced to authorize the opening of the council at Basel as had been provided at the Council of Siena in 1424. The bull convoking the council was dated February 1. The legate, Cardinal Cesarini, was to preside.

The Council of Basel opened in July, 1431. Martin had died in February and was succeeded by Eugenius IV (1431-49). At his election the new pope promised extensive reforms of the church in head and members. But curial absolutism once more showed itself hostile to conciliar pretensions. Cesarini wrote an appeal to the Bohemians begging them to return to the church, but an army which had been sent against them by Sigismund was defeated at Tauss in August and Cesarini was disillusioned. He knew that nothing could be expected from German arms. Another appeal was sent to the Hussites begging them to join the council in order to promote unity, for the fathers of the council were fully aware of the great danger of the Hussite movement. Finally envoys were sent by the Calixtines and discussions began. The Bohemians desired peace. Tedious negotiations followed and finally in 1433 the diet at Prague and the council arrived at an agreement. The Four Articles of Prague were so modified as to make them inoffensive to Catholic teaching.

Pope Eugenius was frightened when the council began negotiating with the Hussites. He disliked the note of radicalism which could clearly be heard. Accordingly in December he issued a bull ordering the dissolution of the council, but it refused to obey. Cesarini was bitterly disappointed because the papal policy did not take into consideration the gravity of the Hussite question. Finally in February, 1432, the council reasserted the principles advanced at Constance in the decree *Sacrosanct.* This was a remarkable step because it was

taken in opposition to a pope who was universally accepted, whereas the fathers at Pisa and Constance had to deal with pontiffs who were regarded in most quarters as schismatic.

The council now proceeded with its organization. To avoid the difficulties presented by nationalist interests which had wrought much damage at Constance, it was decided to form four deputations or committees for faith, peace, reformation, and general business. Each deputation was to consist of an equal number of representatives of the four nations, Italian, French, German, and Spanish. Cardinals, prelates, masters and doctors, and also lower clergy were admitted to the deputations. Approval of three deputations was necessary for a conciliar decree. Each member possessed one vote regardless of his rank in the church. Membership was entirely changed each four months. A committee of twelve prepared the general business. At the head stood the president, Cardinal Cesarini.

This organization made it possible for the lower clergy to insist upon reform. Emperor Sigismund's support gave strength to the council, especially when the pontiff withheld his approval. The work of reform began early in 1433. Much of it was perfectly consistent with the provisions of canon law. Diocesan and provincial synods were to be held regularly. Clerical conduct, care of church properties, and all matters pertaining to public services were to be scrutinized. An effort was made to restore the autonomous character of the church by ordaining that capitular and other elections should be final. Papal incomes from the collation of benefices thus came to an end. These and other measures were not at all radical. Only one can be classed as such: the decree of June 26, 1434, which placed general councils above popes. It declared that councils should meet every ten years and that each newly elected pope was to take an oath that councils were superior to popes.

Eugenius was displeased at this revolutionary spirit and sought to transfer the council to some city in Italy. The quarrel with the council became so bitter that Eugenius once more dissolved it on September 18, 1437, and fixed Ferrara as the place of future meetings. This choice was dictated by the papal desire to win a diplomatic triumph over the council at Basel. The Greek Orthodox church, after having maintained an existence independent of the Latin church in the West ever since 1054, now sought help against the inroads of the Turks. The Greek fathers appealed to Eugenius and the council but soon perceived that the pope clearly was the acknowledged head of the church. Eugenius, on the other hand, favored them by naming a place in Italy which was more readily accessible than Basel. By thus winning the Greek recognition of his headship, Eugenius won a signal advantage over the council. Cesarini abandoned the schismatic

council in January and joined the curial party. The more democratic element now triumphed at Basel. Cardinal Louis de l'Allemand, bishop of Arles, succeeded to the presidency. The papal bull of dissolution was annulled on the ground that councils were superior to popes. In January, 1438, Eugenius was deposed.

The Council of Ferrara opened in January, 1438. It is worth while noting its organization, which was composed of three groups, or *status*: the first comprised cardinals, archbishops and bishops; the second, abbots; and the third, doctors and lower clergy. A vote of two-thirds was necessary for a decision in a *status*. Thus the upper clergy were certain to dominate the proceedings. It was a most remarkable assembly. Grave and proud dignitaries of the Greek church who disliked to beg favor of the schismatic Latins mingled and debated with the theologians of the West. Business was prepared by two committees representing the Latin and Greek churches. In January, 1439, the council was transferred to Florence because of the pest. In June the Greeks agreed with reservations to the supremacy of the pope and to other points. The results were drawn up in the bull *Lætantur Cœli* which was proclaimed in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore over which the proud monument of the early Renaissance, the dome of Brunelleschi, had just been erected.

The Council of Florence came to an end in 1439. While its decisions were later repudiated by the Greeks, nevertheless Eugenius won substantial benefits from it. His prestige was enhanced throughout Christendom; that of the Council at Basel was lowered. After Eugenius had been deposed, the fathers in Basel proceeded to elect a new pope. Choice fell upon Amadeus, formerly count of Savoy, who had renounced his earthly titles to live a religious life. He took as his name Felix V. But the council met with much opposition. Sigismund disapproved of this radical step; and after his death in December, 1437, his electors and other subject princes with few exceptions declared their neutrality in the struggles between the contestants. France also rejected Felix. A number of universities pronounced in his favor, which was natural because the conciliar idea sprang from academic circles.

The reform movement seemed ready to end in a *débâcle*. Disgusted at the many rebuffs at Pisa, Constance, Siena, and Basel, the former champions of the conciliar theory at Paris now looked to the French king to adopt a number of the reforming decrees made at Basel. These were incorporated in the twenty-three decrees of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438. Annates were discontinued, and, instead, payments, only about a fifth as large as former contributions, were to be paid to the Holy See. Chapters were to be free in episcopal elections. This was an attempt to make the church au-

tonomous as it once had been and still was in theory. But it had other results. The church fell under the power of the crown, for in securing these privileges, the clergy acted as French, not as a Catholic and non-national clergy. At Basel nationalism asserted itself successfully because of the quarrel between pope and council. It rested upon the new forces in economics and statecraft which were characteristic of the age of the Renaissance. The Germans followed the French example and in March, 1439, accepted some of the decrees.

The Council of Basel now degenerated rapidly. Its extreme hostility to the pope and its schismatic actions alienated most people. The discordant fathers of the council were no match for the *curia* with its harmonious policy. Eugenius' cause was well represented in Germany by a conspicuous example of Renaissance culture, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In 1447 this clever Italian with persuasive language induced Frederick III (1440-93) to abandon neutrality and recognize Eugenius. The Concordat of Vienna followed in 1448 and renewed the terms laid down in the concordat made at Constance between Martin V and Germany.[6] By this time the Council of Basel was abandoned by all. Felix V was weary of the burden of his office and abdicated. Eugenius died in February, 1447, and was succeeded by Nicholas V (1447-55). In 1449 the schismatic fathers of Basel, conceding their failure, also elected Nicholas, made Felix a cardinal, and decreed their own dissolution.

The conciliar movement ended in victory for papal autocracy. It heralded the end of local autonomy in the church. Sometimes writers have deplored this turn in its fortunes, but it was inevitable. Church foundations had long been exposed to the greed of princes. Abuses became rampant and the papacy in its solicitude for the freedom of the church had sought to control local offices. Thus had been founded the papal monarchy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But in the age of the Renaissance there arose a new species of ruler, powerful because of the support which the bourgeoisie gave him. The new economics made possible the new autocratic prince whose desire to control the church in his realm threatened the unity of Christendom. This was a step opposed to traditional conceptions. Universal Christian conscience therefore supported popes against councils because popes alone could insure unity in the church.

This sentiment enabled Pius II (1458-64) to issue his famous bull *Execrabilis* on January 18, 1460. It put an end forever to the theories enunciated in the decrees *Sacrosanct* and *Frequens*:

[6] A concordat is an agreement about ecclesiastical matters between a pope and a secular power.

> An execrable abuse, unheard of in former ages, has grown up in our time. Some persons, embued with the spirit of rebellion, not in order to obtain more equitable judgment but to escape the consequences of their misdeeds, presume to appeal to a future council from the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Jesus Christ. . . . Anyone not wholly ignorant of the laws can see how contrary this is to the sacred canons and how injurious to Christendom. And who will not pronounce it ridiculous that appeal should be made to what does not exist and the time of whose future existence is unknown? Therefore . . . we condemn such appeals and denounce them as erroneous and detestable. . . . If anyone . . . shall act contrariwise, he shall *ipso facto* incur sentence of excommunication, from which he cannot be absolved but by the Roman pontiff and when at the point of death.[7]

Papal absolutism was made possible by centralization of control and extension of taxation. This had been successfully accomplished by the papacy of Avignon. The Great Schism and the conciliar movement ended in triumph for the papacy because people wanted to see but one successor of Peter as vicar of Christ. This was not pure gain, however. Reform so urgently needed was sacrificed for unity and the Renaissance papacy came into existence, absolute, wealthy, and corrupt. This was a dangerous condition, for sooner or later some intrepid spirit like Wiclif or Hus would surely rise to protest against the worldliness of this divinely established institution. Two generations after the bull *Execrabilis* Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, voiced a national protest and broke with the church because of the scandalous methods employed in hawking indulgences.

[7] R. G. D. Laffan, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

PART III

DECLINE OF MEDIÆVAL CULTURE

CHAPTER VIII

BUSINESS IN THE NEW AGE

Modern business methods and practices have their root in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and not in the sixteenth, so often set as the fictitious boundary line between mediæval and modern history. The sixteenth century developed institutions which were already old; it invented little that was new in business practice.—J. W. THOMPSON.[1]

SOME people suppose that the development of painting, sculpture, literature, music, and other noble amenities was the chief characteristic of Renaissance life. Unique as are these evidences of the higher culture of the Renaissance, they rest, as has been explained above, upon the great social and economic changes of the Middle Ages. During earlier centuries all life was founded upon agrarian economy. The manor supported everybody, clergy, noble, and peasant. Local production for local consumption was its chief feature. There was little commerce in those days. Money was scarce and rarely used except in purchasing luxuries from the Orient. But when trade and industry revived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new business methods and institutions came into existence. They provided the necessary material foundation for all that brilliant pageant of human achievement which we call the Renaissance.

Commercial relations between Italy and the Levant early led to great changes in trading methods. Trading corporations such as the *commenda* or *societas* arose. This was a partnership in which investors provided two-thirds of the capital, and factors or agents one-third. The factor or agent took the entire stock of goods to Syria or

[1] *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1530* (New York, 1931), p. 432.

other parts, sold it, and on his return home divided the profits with the investor. Each received one-half. These associations were common in the twelfth century in Genoa and other Italian towns. It is probable that the *commenda* was originally an Arabian institution.

The *commenda* varied greatly. Sometimes there were several investors, each of whom probably was too poor to provide twice as much capital or goods as the factor. In this case the investors jointly received half of the profits. In another type of *commenda* the factor carried goods of his own in addition to those of the partnership which had been formed for the venture. Or the investor might contribute more than two-thirds. Finally it became customary for the factor to manage capital or goods intrusted to him by merchants who were not partners in the *commenda.* This form of association varied according to business needs. During the Crusades and in subsequent centuries, opportunities for trade were constantly expanding and modifications in the form of these early societies were inevitable.

Another type of partnership came into existence at the time when the *commenda* was popular. This was the *accomodatio* in which the investor provided all the capital. The factor carried the goods to the place of business, acted as agent of the investor in selling the goods and collecting the money, and received a fourth of the net proceeds for his labor. Like the *commenda,* this association was dissolved after the voyage was finished. The *commenda* and the *accomodatio* were temporary organizations which marked the beginning of trading groups which finally developed into the joint-stock company with limited liability.

The *maone* were an important step in the evolution of these trading groups. These were associations formed by Genoese merchants for trade in Chios, Cyprus, Ceuta, and Corsica. The *maona* organization in Chios may be regarded as typical. In 1346 the Genoese conquered the island of Chios. Finding that the city's exchequer did not have the funds to pay the expenses of this military expedition, it was suggested that a company should be formed of the men who had advanced the initial expenses, and this company should be given the sole right to exploit the taxes and commerce of Chios. This was done in the next year. It was an association of shareholders who received dividends and the shares could be sold. The company of twenty-nine shareholders was to last twenty years, during which it was expected that the debt of the republic would be liquidated and the *maona* would come to an end. Finally in 1362 only twelve owners were left who formed the "Casa (House) of the Giustiniani." Varying fortunes attended the history of this *maona* which lasted until recent times.

Out of these business methods grew the joint-stock company.

This organization of a number of stockholders was usually authorized by a charter and possessed limited liability.[2] The earlier development of this type of corporation has never been carefully studied. It appears to have had a number of predecessors. Some form of joint-stock company was known before 1300 even in remote Scandinavia where economic development lagged far behind that of Italy. The Merchant Adventurers of England, who received a royal charter in 1404, are a noteworthy example. The chartered companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were built directly upon the practical experience derived from mediæval business in northern Europe.

This rapid growth of trade and industry which made the cities of northern Italy the capitalist center of Europe led to the establishment of banking. Merchants were in the habit of handling large sums of money, the management and transfer of which presented many problems. To facilitate payment of debts in distant places, letters of exchange or credit were invented. Their origin is obscure but they appeared early in the greater centers of trade. Letters of exchange (*lettres de foire*) were plentiful in Flanders, Brabant, and Artois, and at the fair of Champagne as well as in Italy.

Great sums of money were accumulated by Italian families in Piacenza, Asti, Siena, Lucca, and especially Florence; this early induced them to engage in banking. A striking feature of this banking activity was its organization into companies or *case* (houses). Such were the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Frescobaldi of Florence in the early part of the fourteenth century. They lent enormous sums to princes who had to finance wars which could no longer be fought with the old feudal methods of the eleventh century. They also financed the popes in their many undertakings such as crusades and wars in Naples and Sicily. Thus Pope Boniface VIII borrowed to the limit of his credit in order to reduce the king of Sicily to obedience. Borrowers usually paid exorbitant rates of interest or heavy bonuses and commissions. Lending of money became exceedingly profitable and many fortunes were made. Lenders demanded good security; this consisted in manorial incomes, customs, taxes, or in mortgages on lands and valuable mining properties. The bankers of Siena waxed rich in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the great profits of their loans to the papacy. The house of Medici supplanted them in the fifteenth century and in turn grew to be immensely wealthy. Their monopoly passed to the German house of the Fuggers, established in Nuremberg in the fifteenth century. They

[2] A corporation is said to possess "limited liability" because its members are not individually responsible for its acts. Losses of such a corporation cannot be assessed upon its members.

played an increasingly important part in European affairs. They and other German houses financed the rapidly expanding business life of the closing Middle Ages. They lent vast sums to Charles V in his many undertakings; without their aid the great wars of the balance of power in the age of the Reformation could hardly have been fought.

The Bank of St. George (*Casa di San Giorgio*) of Genoa is interesting. Composed of a number of shareholders who were creditors of the city of Genoa, it was formed in 1407 in order to fund the public debt which the republic at the moment found difficult to pay. Venice also possessed such an institution, the Bank of St. Mark. These were private institutions which managed state debts and loans in the form of bonds. Barcelona appears to have been the first to establish a state-owned bank (1401). Banking was thus by no means an uncommon phenomenon in the age of the Renaissance. These banks did not merely handle commercial obligations and public debts, but also, contrary to common opinion, received sums of money on deposit. This financial activity or capitalism became the indispensable basis of the new cultural life of the Renaissance.

The Renaissance also produced a system of bookkeeping. Each type of economic activity presupposes some method of keeping accounts. In the earlier Middle Ages when life was essentially agrarian and manorial, accounting was a simple matter. Manorial lords kept lists of dues which serfs owed them. Monastic houses and episcopal establishments also possessed such manorial rolls. Feudal lords drew up lists of feudal obligations due them. Sometimes princes caused to be drawn up records of incomes from their states. Such were the *Domesday Book* of William the Conqueror and the *Book of Hearths* by Duchess Johanna of Brabant (1374). A new type of accounting came into existence when agrarian economy was supplanted by a money economy. Town and commercial life produced a new bookkeeping.

The first bookkeeping developed was that of the single entry.[3] It was practicable only for small businesses but was long employed by large organizations. Thus the accounts of Flemish and other Low Country towns were kept in this manner throughout the fifteenth century, in spite of the fact that large towns like Brussels and Antwerp became very important commercial and banking centers. These town accounts were drawn up year by year. Each year was divided into sections devoted to some class of the constantly growing ex-

[3] The term *single entry bookkeeping* best describes the method in use at this time. It is a series of business memoranda, in many instances highly specialized. The chief defect of such a method is that it does not readily give a correct and complete picture of the financial state of a business.

penditures or receipts. The original accounts of Bruges and Ghent are still extant and contain a vast amount of statistical data. The accounting of the English crown and of the counts of Holland and Hainault was done in much the same manner.

Italian towns also kept accounts by single entry but soon outgrew the limitations of this method. As economic life became more complicated and trading operations varied, double entry bookkeeping[4] was invented. Some time between 1278 and 1340 the commune of Genoa began to keep its records in this manner and found it a great improvement upon the older method. It enabled officials to ascertain at a glance the exact financial status of every public activity. This method with some variations was also employed in Venice, the earliest specimens extant dating from 1406. The remarkable part played by that republic in the development of accounting causes no surprise, for Venice remained the commercial capital of Europe down to the time when Vasco da Gama sailed to Calicut by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

From Venice the system of bookkeeping by double entry passed to all parts of commercial Europe. Luca Pacioli in 1494 published a treatise on double entry bookkeeping which exerted considerable influence. The Venetian branch of the house of Fugger introduced Venetian methods of accounting into the other branches of that concern. Renaissance bookkeeping, which grew out of the practical necessities of the new age, became the foundation of modern business accounting. Meanwhile there also appeared manuals of commercial arithmetic which became popular because they met a practical need. Pietro Borghi published such a work in Venice in 1484. Such was its popularity that by 1577 it had passed through at least sixteen editions.

The rapid revival of trade and industry in the Mediterranean basin made possible the elaboration of trading customs, and commercial law came into existence. Codification usually comes toward the close of long formative growth. Thus the *Consolado del Mar* was not drawn up until the late fifteenth century. Its earliest version dates from 1494 and an Italian translation was produced in 1549. Although of Spanish origin, this law was followed in many cities of the Mediterranean. Similar bodies of customary commercial law developed in the north, especially in the North Sea and Baltic areas.

Insurance became important. This was inevitable in such busy haunts of trade as Venice, Genoa, Milan, and Barcelona. The prac-

[4] *Double entry bookkeeping* is a system whereby every transaction is entered twice, under assets and liabilities. It provides a constant check on the arithmetical accuracy of the record and is a much more scientific system than that provided by the single entry.

tice of insuring for both marine and land risks was very common in the first part of the fourteenth century. A body of insurance law grew up out of these contracts. Along with commercial law and insurance the institution of consuls came into being. A consul was originally a magistrate who settled cases in commercial law which were brought before him. Consuls were to be found in all Italian cities as well as in southern France and in the Levant.

Statistics did not come into existence as long as life remained manorial and held to ascetic conceptions. Mediæval chroniclers cannot be trusted when they give statistical information, for numbers meant little to them. For example, they simply stated that a third of the population died at the time of the Black Death, and similar proportions were given for the famine of 1315 and 1316. The rise of towns and the growth of population necessitated the use of statistics. Accounts of mediæval towns contain a great amount of statistical material. The accounts of Ghent at the opening of the Hundred Years' War are remarkable from this point of view. People began to think in terms of statistics. This explains why the great humanist historians of Florence, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, often give careful statistical information. The chronicler Villani early in the fourteenth century took great pains to give figures. "In describing the condition of Florence at this period, he computes the number of citizens capable of bearing arms, between the ages fifteen and seventy, at 25,000; the population of the city at 90,000, not counting the monastic communities, not including the strangers, who are estimated at about 15,000. The country districts belonging to Florence add 80,000 to this calculation. It is further noticed that the excess of male births over female was between 300 and 500 yearly in Florence; that from 8000 to 10,000 boys and girls learned to read; that there were six schools, in which from 10,000 to 12,000 children learned arithmetic; and four schools, in which from 550 to 600 learned grammar and logic."[5]

This busy and practical life devoted to concrete and material details exerted great influence upon the people. Old conceptions were dissolved and ancient institutions sapped. While economic practice moved forward by leaps and bounds, theory developed more slowly. An economic science could not be created during the earlier Middle Ages as long as life rested on an agrarian basis. Theologians regarded economic activity as a branch of moral theology. Man had been created in the image of God, just and sinless. But the fall of the first parents introduced into the world sin, greed, and corruption out of which man's economic ills sprang. The equality of all beings which

[5] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of Despots,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, p. 256.

had characterized his life in paradise had vanished. Theologians taught that vestiges of his primitive equality persisted. Charity therefore demanded that men be treated alike in economic relations. Justice should reign. Two characteristic doctrines were developed, the first of which was the idea of a just price. Goods were to be sold only according to their true value, not according to a market value as in our day. This meant that merchants might exact no more than the traditional price which was sufficient to cover the cost of the raw materials and manufacture and a small profit. The second doctrine held that in making loans only the face of the loan should be repaid. Theologians accepted certain Biblical passages and statements of Aristotle which taught or seemed to teach that precious metal was barren, that is, if left to itself it was incapable of increasing. Consequently, any charge for a loan of money was wrong. Such was the asceticism of the Middle Ages that moralists disapproved of large-scale secular concerns, especially in commerce and industry, which necessitated the use of coined money. Even when commerce and industry revived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the moralists continued to inveigh against business activities. It was thought that a merchant could be saved only with difficulty. The damnation of usurers was a common theme with preachers and was illustrated many times by artists.

But economic activity proceeded steadily and with unrelenting energy. Priests were constantly confronted with it in the confessional. Theologians and philosophers were constrained to take notice of it. Thus Thomas Aquinas gave a good deal of attention to it in his treatise on government (*De Regimine Principum*). He justified trade and industry as well as agriculture. Later St. Antonino of Florence (1390-1459) produced a monumental *Summa Moralis* in which he devoted much space to economic matters. Like St. Thomas, he justified the new industry. He taught that the crafts in the towns of the fifteenth century were useful in the creation of wealth. Production was regarded as natural and necessary to man. The employment of capital in productive processes was declared right. Distribution also was natural to man, and was subject to justice which required that each man should be given what he earned. After the fall of man strict justice or equal division was impossible because of sin. In the face of the gross inequalities of wealth in Renaissance society, theologians and philosophers vainly sought to uphold the doctrine that justice in distribution should be realized as fully as possible. St. Antonino taught that consumption was especially subject to the ordinary precepts of morality, for it involved sustenance of life, clothing the poor, support of churches and hospitals, and charity. It was incumbent upon Christians to provide

more equitable distribution so that necessary consumption might be possible.

It was difficult, however, to put such ideas into effect. Priests in the confessional constantly were confronted with practical problems arising from the clash of moral precepts with concrete situations. Just as laymen could not ignore the inexorable progress of economic life, so too were clergymen constrained to take cognizance of it. From the thirteenth century, writers on canon law agreed that certain charges might be made in connection with loans. These were not usurious because they were supposed to be made not for the use of money but for labor and risks. There were four of them: (1) *periculum sortis,* or risk of loss; (2) *pœna conventionalis,* or fine for failure to pay at a specified time; (3) *damnum emergens,* for loss incurred at the moment the loan was made by the lender because he could not himself use the principal in order to make money; and (4) *lucrum cessans,* or loss of money incurred after the loan was made because the lender was not in a position to employ the principal in gainful pursuit.

It is evident that such rules would be evaded as economic relations became more complex. Because of its far-flung activities the church itself needed money with which to finance its operations. It appealed to bankers and submitted to the traditional methods of financial groups. Theologians and moralists might denounce usurers and simony, but in spite of all they could do, the world of business persisted in its secular course. Official practical theology tended to part company with economic life. Wealthy merchants and merchant princes troubled themselves little about the restrictions which canon law imposed upon business. This explains in part the secular character of the period. People disregarded religious discipline and were mainly concerned with secular interests. The secularity of the age of the Renaissance was the result of mediæval economic progress. Economic and social realities seemed more compelling than churchly teaching in a world in which the layman was taking his place beside the cleric and the knight.

CHAPTER IX

THE DECAY OF CHIVALRY

Now as at this time King Arthur abode in Britain, and held high court, that his fame might wax the greater; and as the noble folk sat at the board and ate, there came riding a knight; for 'twas the custom in Arthur's days that while the king held court no door, small or great, should be shut, but all men were free to come and go as they willed.—MORIEN.[1]

CHIVALRIC ideals dominated the Middle Ages. They were created by the aristocratic population who guided their life according to knightly principles. The clergy also shared in these conceptions. The bourgeoisie accorded their superiors the highest flattery by aping their social views and manners. These ideals became obsolete in the urban and commercial environment of the later Middle Ages. But although the age of the Renaissance witnessed the passing of chivalry, it was deeply influenced by it.

Chivalry has been defined as that "body of sentiment and practice, of law and custom, which prevailed among the dominant classes of Europe between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries; and which, more completely developed in some countries than others, was so far universal that a large portion of its usages is common to all the nations of western Europe." To comprehend the nature of chivalry and why it was forced out of existence it is necessary to trace the social history of Europe. Four stages may be distinguished: first, the age of purely manorial economy to about 900; second, the period in which feudal institutions and chivalric customs were created, which lasted to about 1100; third, the era of the full florescence of chivalric customs to about 1300; and fourth, a time of over-ripeness and decadence which lasted into the sixteenth century.

The first of these stages, beginning with the fall of the Roman Empire, was an age in which towns, commerce, and the use of coined money were practically absent in northern Europe. A limited amount of this mercantile activity, however, existed in the Mediterranean area. The greater portion of society lived as serfs on estates.

[1] *Morien, a Metrical Romance* (London, 1901), p. 19.

They tilled land assigned to them by their lords and in return for this also worked on the part reserved for the lord's use. They were bound to the soil on which they were born and were subjected to all sorts of limitations upon their freedom. They were not equal before the law with other members of the population such as nobles, priests, and royalty. Manorial servitude provided the economic support for feudalism and chivalry.

The second stage marks the formation of feudal institutions. Central government collapsed after the death of Charlemagne because of weakness in the organization of the state, the selfish ambitions of local officials (counts and dukes) to become rich and powerful, and the incursions of Saracens, Northmen, and Magyars. Powerful local magnates usurped governmental activities in the counties, and the more successful established themselves as feudal princes. This was an age of anarchy in which only a brutal nobility could control the country. By the year 1000 much of western Europe was in the power of such princes.

Chivalry began with the crystallization of feudal customs about the year 1000. The severest fighting was finished but much of the former roughness persisted. Loyalty of vassal to lord and of lord to vassal had been a chief virtue during the old days of violence and was emphasized even to the point of death. This personal fidelity brought security to many small communities, a measure of repose which had been wanting since the early days of anarchy. As soon as this stage was reached, refining influences began to transform the rough life of the baronage. The first of these was the church and the truths which it taught. The fighting ardor of the chevaliers, or knights, henceforth was enlisted in behalf of the church which had to defend its far-flung borders against the infidel in Spain, in the Mediterranean area, and in the Holy Land. Pilgrims were wont to visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella. Since the route thither was beset with many dangers, it was inevitable that pilgrims should become crusaders. They went also to the sepulcher of the Savior in Jerusalem. Thus was born the martial ardor of the crusading ages. Religion cast its spell upon these fighting chevaliers and softened their rough manners.

To these influences was added the refining example of woman. This was inevitable because of the revolution in economic life and social organization which gained momentum during the twelfth century. Commerce revived, money became more plentiful, and the material bases of life were broadened. Men were no longer satisfied with the rough life of former days. When favorable social conditions appeared, woman's subtle influence invaded the castle. She became the object of song and romance and the center of an elaborate

etiquette known as courtly love. Feminine influence steadily became more and more important in chastening the asperities of feudal life. Tournaments took the place of the combats of former days. Thus chivalry came to possess its three classic ideals: service to one's lord, service to God, and service to women.

In this age marked by the rise of chivalric literature, the laity possessed little higher culture. The baronage was illiterate and superstitious. Only the clergy was learned. But the experiences of feudal life had taught all men a theme which they could readily understand. During the troublous days after the ninth century political life had been dominated by a race of fighting men such as the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Flanders. There arose a worship of heroes whose deeds were sung in poetry. Chief of these romances is the incomparable *Song of Roland* composed shortly before the First Crusade. Others followed in rapid succession such as *Raoul of Cambrai, Renaud of Montaubon, Bertha with the Large Feet,* and *Ogier.* These accounts of heroes are legendary. Men even began to look to classical antiquity whose civilization had perished but could not be effaced entirely from the memory of a turbulent baronage. Alexander and Theseus became inspiring heroes. The story of Troy fascinated nobles.

The Arthurian romances became popular. In 1148 Geoffrey of Monmouth finished a romance, the *History of the Kings of Britain.* It told of a King Arthur who held a Round Table to which gathered a company of noble knights who rendered perfect service to God, their king, and the ladies. Practically nothing in this tale has any historical foundation, although it is possible that some person named Arthur won fame in fighting the Angles and Saxons during those dismal centuries when Roman power became extinct in Britain. But a greater truth than mere fidelity to dates and events animates the long cycle of stories which grew up around the Round Table. They expressed the perfection of the chivalric ideal extolled in every human relationship. Introduced into France, these stories soon became popular. They were elaborated by such writers as Chrestien de Troyes, whose romances were admired at the court of the count of Flanders, and Marie de France, whose tales were eagerly read by the chivalrous of England and France. Hartmann von Aue introduced them into Germany. His example was followed by Wolfram von Eschenbach whose *Parzifal* became a masterpiece of this type of literature. Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan and Isolde* (about 1210) is one of the last of these romances.

Unswerving fidelity was often a basic motif in this literature. Nobles liberally received knights attracted from all parts to their halls to participate in the splendor of chivalric entertainment. Fight-

ing remained an essential part of knightly activity but henceforth was exalted to an ethical basis. Knights stood ready to fight against every wrong. For God, king, country, and right they fought with passionate zeal. The finest expression of this ideal is found in tales dealing with the quest for the Holy Grail "wherein the precious blood of the Savior was received on the day that He was put on rood and crucified in order that He might redeem His people from the pains of hell." Many a valiant knight sought the Grail, but most of them failed because they were not pure in life. Sir Galahad was successful because he was free from all moral blemish.

Towns and active economic life made leisure and artistic cultivation possible in southern France, which was marked by far greater refinement than northern Europe. Not war but love and social intercourse prevailed there. Courts of love were common in which sat the noblest ladies and which were guided by a spirit of exalted gallantry. The poetry of the south is composed of short pieces, light in character, devoted not to the deeds of great heroes but to such human passions as jealousy, hatred, and love. It was cultivated in the castles, and many a seignior took a hand in composing these songs and ballads. This literature vanished in the thirteenth century during the Albigensian wars. Some of the old-time gaiety persisted, however, in the songs of the troubadours. This literature became popular in Italy and also in Germany where it was taken up by the Minnesingers. In northern France these poets were called *trouvers* and the people who sang the songs, *jongleurs*. The conception of love embodied in this literature exerted an abiding influence upon writers of the Renaissance.

A set of elaborate social conventions grew up around the central theme of chivalry. Preparation for a life of service became an important matter. Youths were placed in the household of some lord to acquire chivalric practices. For seven years they lived under the supervision of the women in the castle who taught them that service was ennobling. At fourteen the page or *damoiseau* became an esquire and passed under the direction of men. He learned to use weapons, ride horseback, and take part in such sports as hawking. He also tried his hand at courtly poetry, played chess and backgammon, and prepared himself for a courtier's career. At twenty-one the young man was ready to become a knight. This was an elaborate ceremony composed of the following steps: taking a bath, dressing in white tunic, red robe, and black hose, fasting for twenty-four hours, a night's vigil in the chapel, confession and mass, blessing of the sword, taking of vows, being invested with sword, spurs, and armor, receiving the accolade, placing the helmet on the head, mounting the horse, and showing by dextrous management of the mount

that he was worthy to become a knight. Secular and religious elements were brought together in this ceremony. The bath symbolized purity, while the white tunic, red robe, and black hose stood for purity, self-sacrifice, and death. Often, however, the ceremonies of conferring knighthood took place on the field of battle when the recipient had given concrete evidence that he was worthy of the honor. In such cases a knight would strike the kneeling candidate on the back with the flat of the sword and pronounce the words which made him a member of the fraternity of knights.

Chivalric culture was bound to produce lofty ideals. In an age of social insecurity, when violence was rife and life crude and uncouth, it was natural that men should set great store by high precepts. An elaborate code of knightly conduct grew up among the chivalric groups of Europe as universal as the manorial foundations upon which feudal society rested. Léon Gautier has reduced the obligations of knights to a code containing ten points. Every chevalier must (1) believe the teaching of the holy church and observe her commandments; (2) protect the church; (3) defend the feeble; (4) love the land of his birth; (5) shrink from no enemy; (6) wage implacable war against infidels; (7) treat vassals according to feudal justice; (8) never lie and always cleave to his plighted word; (9) be liberal in largess to all; and (10) act at all times and everywhere as champion of what is right and good against injustice and evil. These ideas were exemplified in the heroes of chivalric romances. History can also point to individuals who won renown as exemplars of chivalric ideals. Such were Godfrey of Bouillon who became ruler of the crusading state founded in the Holy Land at the time of the First Crusade (1096-99), Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (d. 1190), and John Hawkwood (d. 1394), a dashing and successful *condottiere* in Italy.

The great military orders perpetuated the spirit of chivalry during the closing Middle Ages and remained popular even during the age of the Renaissance. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem were a crusading order which maintained a hospital in the Holy City. They fought the Saracens and cared for sick and weary pilgrims who visited the Holy Land. The Knights Templars, or Knights of the Temple, rendered heroic service in defending the conquests of the crusaders against the Saracens. Similar work was performed in Spain by the orders of Alcántara, Calatrava, and St. James of Compostella. Important also were the Knights of the Sword, who worked against the pagans in Estonia, and the Teutonic Knights, who forced the Prussians and Lithuanians to accept Christianity.

The chivalric ideal was nourished by many illustrious examples nearer home than the frontiers of Christianity. Such was the force

of chivalry that model fraternities were organized to emulate the knightly ideal. Thus Edward III created the far-famed Order of the Blue Garter, eloquently described by Froissart:

> In this season the king of England took pleasure to new re-edify the castle of Windsor, the which was begun by King Arthur, and there began the Table Round, whereby sprang the fame of so many noble knights throughout all the world. Then King Edward determined to make an order and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, and to be called knights of the Blue Garter, and a feast to be kept yearly at Windsor on St. George's Day [April 23]. And to begin this order the king assembled together earls, lords, and knights of his realm, and shewed them his intention; and they all joyously agreed to his pleasure, because they saw it was a thing much honorable and whereby great amity and love should grow and increase. Then was there chosen out a certain number of the valiantest men of the realm, and they swore and sealed to maintain the ordinances, such as were devised; and the king made a chapel in the castle of Windsor, of St. George, and established certain canons there to serve God, and endowed them with fair rent. Then the king sent to publish this feast by his heralds into France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and into the empire of Germany, giving to every knight and squire that would come to the said feast fifteen days safe-conduct before the feast and after, the which feast to begin at Windsor on St. George's Day next after in the year of our Lord 1344, and the queen to be there accompanied with three hundred ladies and damsels, all of noble lineage and apparalled accordingly.[2]

Another ideal order was the Golden Fleece, founded in 1430 by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and ruler of the Low Countries. This example proved contagious and many similar orders were founded.

Certain knightly accouterments were a striking feature of the declining Middle Ages. It became a custom among noble families to possess some heraldic device by which they might be identified on the field of battle, in tournament, and in social life. These devices were of manifold origin and were composed of symbols whose original meanings soon became lost. Often they were mere puns upon the name of the family or town. Thus the arms of Oxford show an ox crossing a river at a ford. Even folk of humble degree adopted devices. The Rijnvisch (Rhine fish) family of Ghent bore on its shield two fishes. Mottoes invented by nobles and townsmen became popular—the motto of the proud house of Luxemburg was *Ich dien*

[2] *The Chronicles of Froissart* (London, 1913), p. 82.

(I serve). The liberal use of these devices and mottoes became a striking feature of the funeral art of the closing Middle Ages.

Armor underwent an interesting evolution. In the earlier days of feudalism knights wore simple hauberks composed of iron rings woven together. This shirt-like garment fitted loosely and fell to the elbows and knees. Instead of this shirt of mail, knights often wore a shirt of cotton or wool covered with scales of iron or leather, for many a nobleman could not afford a hauberk of mail. A conical helmet was worn to which was fastened a piece of metal to protect the nose and face. Shields, javelins, axes, and maces were the chief weapons. As generations passed great changes were introduced. First to be modified was the conical helmet which during the thirteenth century was supplanted by a great box-like helmet with a device of iron completely covering every part of the face. Plates of metal were added to the hauberk of mail. Knee-cops, shin-pieces (jambs), leg-pieces (cuisses), arm-pieces (vambraces and rerebraces), elbow-cops, breastplates, and back-pieces gradually appeared. Over all was worn a surcoat which served to keep the armor dry and on which were emblazoned heraldic devices. Under the hauberk of mail was worn a thick shirt of wool, cotton, or silk. Constant improvement is apparent to one who studies the monumental brasses and armor in European museums. The fourteenth century was an age of transition. In 1300 knights equipped themselves from head to foot in mail, but by 1400 the use of plate had become general.

Castle-building began with the simple structures of the eleventh century. A circular plot of ground known as the bailey was raised above the surrounding land by the earth dug from the ditch around it, which was called the moat. Another but smaller area known as the *motte* was raised to a higher level and was also surrounded by a moat which adjoined the bailey. Such structures were common in England and Normandy. Elsewhere there were fortified areas surrounded by palisades and ditches; within were erected wooden fortresses. By the twelfth century the wooden stockade had been replaced by a wall of stone. In Norman lands great rectangular keeps of four or more stories were erected. These structures of massive masonry were designed to resist powerful battering rams used in siege operations.

The science of constructing castles reached its highest perfection during the later Crusades. The impregnability of the structures was increased by use of the advanced principles which crusaders saw employed in the Byzantine Empire. An inner and outer ward within the walled area became common. Machicolations, crenels, and turrets were added to the walls. Some castles were provided with

homocentric walls, each of which had to be carried before the attack upon the donjon could be undertaken.

Feudal society has often been embellished by romantic writers. But when we look beneath the pomp and circumstance of chivalry we perceive a great divorce between ideal and practice. Thus, for example, the base-born soldier caught in battle was often slaughtered simply because no ransom could be extracted from him. Knights ruthlessly destroyed the cottages and crops of peasants, killing men and maltreating women while engaged in a war against some nobleman. As a rule, nobles regarded peasants with contempt. They were useful merely because their labor provided food and clothing.

Treatment of women is an excellent index of a civilization. One must not be blinded by the excessively refined conventions exhibited in chivalric romances. A good illustration of knightly treatment of women is afforded by the classic *Book of Instructions* written by a nobleman, Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, for the guidance of his daughters:

> After this, a woman in no wise ought to strive against her husband, nor answer, like as did the wife of a burgess, which answered to her husband so noisily and shamefully before people that he became angry and fell to see himself so reviled before people that he had thereof shame. And he said to her and bad her once or twice she should be still and stop, but she would not. And her husband, which was wroth, smote her with his fist to the earth and smote her with his foot on the visage so that he broke her nose, by which she was ever after all disfigured. And so by her riot and annoyance she got her a crooked nose much evil. It had been much better for her that she had holden her still and suffered. Yet it is reason and right that the husband have high words, and it is but honor to a good woman to suffer and hold her in peace and leave the haughty language to her husband and lord. And also it is in the contrary to a woman great shame and baseness to strive against her husband, be it wrong or right, and in especial before the people. I say not but when she shall find him alone and time but that she may well reprehend him and advise him in showing courteously that he had wrong and unright with him and if he be a man reasonable he shall thank her. And if he be other, yet hath not she done but her part. For right so should a wise woman do by the example of the wise Queen Esther, wife of King Ahasuerus, which was much melancholic and hasty. But the good lady answered not to his ire, but after when she saw him well calmed then did she what she could.[8]

[8] *The Booke of Thenseygnements and Techynge that the Knyght of the Towre made to his Daughters* (London, 1902), pp. 46-47.

Nevertheless, chivalry had its justification. There was much crudity in the Middle Ages. Assertion of lofty ideals of conduct exerted influence even though they were honored in the breach more than in the observance. In so far as it held up an ideal of propriety in social intercourse, of refinement in manners, and of a greater measure of self-sacrifice among the nobility than among other classes of lay society, chivalry had a worthy mission. Without it the world would have been much poorer. The standards of gentility which it brought remained a permanent acquisition even after feudalism and chivalric convention had passed. Thus chivalry made a direct contribution to greater refinement among the bourgeoisie of the Renaissance.

Chivalric culture as such, however, was steadily becoming antiquated during the closing Middle Ages. Feudal society was based upon one fundamental fact, serfdom. The serfs who constituted the submerged base on which the feudal order rested were usually no part of it. They formed the vast majority of humanity attached to the soil, deprived of half their liberty, and forced to support the nobility. But times were rapidly changing. Capitalism was transforming society and sapping the foundations of chivalry. Not infrequently noblemen's sons married wealthy daughters of the bourgeoisie. Many a wealthy burgher was elevated to knighthood. This happened very often in the bourgeois circles of Italian towns. Noblemen, on the other hand, found that it was increasingly difficult to maintain their ascendancy over the townsmen. Their incomes derived from landed property could not be increased; they could not maintain their standard of living when the purchasing value of money declined.

The social ideas of a class may persist long after the real power of the class itself has crumbled. English democracy, for example, has not yet abolished the forms or all the influences of the old aristocratic order. A French scholar has described the nobleman's idea of society from 1000 to 1200, the heyday of feudalism, as follows:

> Society is divided by Divine Will into three classes or castes, each of which has its proper function and which is necessary to the existence and life of the social bodies: the priests, who are charged with prayer and conducting mankind to salvation; the nobles, on whom devolves the mission of defending the nation by arms against its enemies and causing justice and order to reign; the people, peasants and burghers, who by their labor nourish the two upper classes and satisfy all their desires for luxuries as well as necessities. It was extremely simple. Sometimes, however, the clergy varied the formula and gave it a metaphorical turn. . . . Society was like the human body: the

> priests were the head and eyes, because they were the spiritual guides of humanity; the nobles were the hands and arms, charged with protecting the others; the people of the country and the towns formed the legs and feet—that is to say, the base upon which all the rest stood.[4]

Such conceptions were held to the very end of the Middle Ages and even in the sixteenth century. The nobility and others believed that this hierarchical organization of society was instituted of God and would last forever. It is a remarkable example of how people can hold views upon social questions founded on authority and tradition long after they have become antiquated. For centuries townsmen had steadily forged to the front and by the fifteenth century they may be regarded as the most significant part of European society. But none of the writers of that time could make this deduction. Thus the chronicler Georges Chastellain (1404?-75), a native of Alost in Flanders, held the old views without modification. This is the more remarkable when one considers that he was brought up in Flanders, a land of many towns, vast commerce and industry, and great wealth. His failure to comprehend the importance of the bourgeoisie is revealed in the following passage taken from his chronicle. After describing the rôle of the clergy and the nobility, he says:

> Coming to the third part of the realm [of France] we note that it is the estate of the good towns, of merchants and laborers. It is not necessary to make so long an exposition of them as of the other two because it is scarcely capable of high qualities because it is composed of men who do not belong to the nobility.[5]

If these naïve social conceptions of the chivalric classes were obsolescent, what is one to say about their political views? The nobleman was brought up in a tradition of self-sufficiency. The manor had provided nearly all of his needs. But his economic independence was being destroyed by the new money economy. He became dependent upon the town and its ways. In earlier days he had been politically independent. But this also was rapidly changing. It became more and more impossible to exercise a nobleman's political feudal rights in the face of the king's growing power. Towns were wealthy and townsmen readily supported the crown when it sought to restrain the nobility. Feudal and manorial law were set aside for the ideas about government found in Roman law. The individualism of knights and their belief in the right of private war were obsolete. Their mili-

[4] A. Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus* (Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1912), p. 382.

[5] *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain* (Brussels, 1865), vol. vii, p. 13.

tary conceptions also were antiquated. In former days contests were decided by sheer force. Knights rushed at each other at full speed. Tactics and strategy were unknown to them. It was only after long experience in adversity during the closing centuries of the Middle Ages that they were able to subject themselves to discipline. Knightly education was mainly a practical affair, designed to fit the youth for a noble's career. It was woefully inadequate to meet the demands of the growing complexities of life during the closing Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The passing of chivalry was hastened by certain important events. Fighting in the Middle Ages was done for the most part on horseback. When foot soldiers began to contend with nobles as equals the day of the common man arrived. The battle of Legnano (1176) was won by the communal levies of Lombard towns against the feudal soldiery of Frederick Barbarossa. This victory registered in military annals a significant social change in European life. The battle of Courtrai (1302) had the same significance, for on that field Flemish handicraftsmen destroyed the flower of French chivalry. Soon after this, Swiss freemen with long pikes successfully withstood the onslaughts of Hapsburg nobility in the battles of Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386). The longbow, introduced by the English during the Hundred Years' War (1336-1453), made simple yeomen henceforth the equal of knights in fighting. Such battles as Sluis (1340), Creçy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415) proved that the mounted knight in armor was no certain victor in battle. The invention of gunpowder placed him at a still greater disadvantage. Its effectiveness grew constantly as precision in guns became greater. Soon it was difficult to make armor thick enough to protect the wearer against bullets and at the same time keep it light enough to permit him to move. This decline was furthered by the development of scientifically managed armies. The success of Edward III's fighting forces was due in part to better business methods than those of his opponents. Finally Charles V of France (1360-80) organized his *bandes d'ordonnance*, a force of fighting men, an example followed at once by the dukes of Burgundy who ruled the Low Countries.

At last the people became disgusted with the fighting zeal of the nobility which kept the country in turmoil and prevented prosperity. The savage struggles between the Burgundian and Armagnac factions under Charles VI (1380-1422) made the common man eager to support a king who could maintain peace and put down brigandage. In England the Wars of the Roses (1455-85) brought ruin to the nobility. That struggle was waged with such brutality that men turned from it and longingly looked back to the romantic days of

King Arthur and the Round Table and the noble knights who desired justice and set a splendid example by their conduct. Thus William Caxton (d. 1491) wrote, lamenting the decline of chivalry:

> O ye knights of England, where is the custome and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do ye now but go to the baynes and play at dice? And some not well advised use not honest and good rule against all order of knighthood. Leave this, leave it, and read the noble volumes of Saint Graal, of Lancelot, of Galahad, of Tristram, of Perseforest, of Perceval, of Gawayn, and many more. There shall ye see manhood curtesy and gentleness. And look in latter days of the noble actes with the conquest as in King Richard's days Cœur de Lion, Edward the First and the third and his noble sons Sire Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir John Chaundos, and Sir Walter de Manny. Read Froissart. . . .[6]

But the days of chivalric glory were gone forever. Knighthood was a conception possible only in the Middle Ages. It proved inadequate in the new age. The Renaissance did not put it aside, however, for social conventions cannot be destroyed in a moment. It continued to live in the new age but was adapted to the new situation.

[6] Adapted from *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, tr. and printed by William Caxton (London, 1926), pp. 122-123 (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 168).

CHAPTER X

THOUGHT AND EDUCATION

Presently they appointed him [i.e., Gargantua] a great sophister-doctor called Master Tubal Holophernes who taught him his A B C so well that he could say it by heart backwards; and about this he was five years and three months. Then read he to him Donat, le Facet, Theodolet, and Alanus in parabolis.—RABELAIS.[1]

MUCH philosophic thought, scientific method, and educational practice was becoming obsolete during the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. Dominated by tradition, intellectual life had fallen behind the social, economic, and political progress of the Renaissance. Human beings adjust themselves day by day to economic changes with little conscious thought. Steadily and inexorably these transformations laid new and broader material bases for society. Equally inescapable are social mutations in response to these economic changes. Unfortunately man then as now was loath to readjust his thought and educational conceptions to fit the new economic and social conditions which had grown up under his eyes. Physically and materially he may willingly live in the present, but in his thought about law and politics and social problems he clings tenaciously to outworn patterns of thought. This was true especially of the closing Middle Ages which showed marked reverence for tradition in spite of great economic, social, and political progress. But the new age could not remain tethered to the thought and habits of bygone generations. A survey of the development of mediæval learning may make clearer the reasons for its declining authority. Such a review must include three periods: the first began with the collapse of the Roman world and lasted to about 1100; the second began with the work of Abelard (d. 1142) and came to an end with the death of Thomas Aquinas (1274); and the third embraced the rest of the Middle Ages.

The first period was characterized by the simple economic life of a manorial régime. The serfs, tied to the soil, lived in economic sub-

[1] *The Heroic Deeds of Gargantua and Pantagruel* (Everyman's Library), vol. i, p. 37.

jection to manorial lords. They cultivated small strips of soil according to methods which changed little from generation to generation. Conformity to time-honored custom was the duty of every serf. Little training was required of people living in such a social organization; custom regulated all things. Serfs and nobles could neither read nor write. A minimum of culture was supplied them by the barest elements of the Christian religion. The layman's mind scarcely comprehended the sacraments or the essence of theology. Only too often his thought was saturated with the elements of magic derived from tribal days. The secular clergy, recruited for the most part from the lower levels of the population, remained ignorant. Many of them could barely read or write and only with the greatest difficulty could they stumble through the passages of the service. Lords and princes felt little attraction to literature, philosophy, or science. Even Charlemagne (768-814), who was deeply interested in learning and supported scholars, could not write.

This age was characterized by slight intellectual progress. It preserved only a fraction of classical achievement. The liberal arts, the elementary branches taught in Roman schools, were continued in emaciated form. For example, rhetoric, which was of basic importance for the Roman youth because it taught eloquence in oratory, possessed far less practical value in this manorial age and was greatly simplified. The three subjects of the *trivium*, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, were the chief studies. The *quadrivium*, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, also was studied, but less intensively. Knowledge of the Greek language died out. Of the vast bulk of Greek literature, only such parts as were imbedded in Latin letters were available. The Bible, writings of the church fathers, and some of the Latin classics provided the intellectual pabulum of the age. Its poverty is illustrated by the fact that the mental achievements of leading scholars like Alcuin (d. 804) hardly extended beyond the rudimentary liberal arts.

The second period, from 1100 to 1274, witnessed noteworthy changes. This age coincided with the revival in trade and industry and an extraordinary growth of towns. Wealth increased and stimulated all intellectual life. The works of Aristotle were gradually recovered during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among them were the great *Politics, Metaphysics, Physics,* and *On the Soul.* Some Neo-Platonic works, the *Book of Causes* and Proclus' *Elements of Theology,* were also found. They were translated from the Greek and Arabic and made available to students. Feverish interest in learning was displayed. At the opening of the age monastic schools flourished but were soon eclipsed by cathedral schools. Paris had the oldest and most famous of the schools in northern Europe.

Bologna and Salerno enjoyed even greater prominence. Others such as those at Montpellier, Orléans, and Chartres became renowned, drawing large numbers of students from all quarters. The liberal arts expanded rapidly as Roman law, canon law, medicine, and the science of Aristotle became objects of study. Groups of professors, called faculties, came into existence. These faculties or teaching corporations with their students constituted the universities.

The great intellectual triumph of the age was the formulation of a system of philosophic thought known as scholasticism. Though thinkers were interested in such elements of platonic speculation as had survived the neglect of philosophy and learning during the first centuries, the decisive factor in building scholastic philosophy was the recovery of the long-lost texts of Aristotle. A peculiar feature of this system of thought was its universality, for it became as universal as Roman Catholic Christianity, its main tenets being accepted in all the lands of western Europe. It occupied the same relation toward religion as did Gothic art. It was the intellectual complement of Catholicism. Another feature of scholasticism was its perfected structure which offered a place for all things human as well as divine.

This system of thought, which spoke with unique authority to every questioning mind, was perfected and completed by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274). He was born into a Neapolitan family of counts and was educated in the famous Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino near his parental home. Later he studied in the newly founded University of Naples where the works of Aristotle were eagerly read and discussed. In 1244 he entered the Dominican order and was sent to Paris, the capital of scholastic studies, where he listened to the lectures of Albertus Magnus (1193?-1280), at that moment the greatest thinker in the Christian world. After studying in the University of Cologne whither Albertus had been sent by his superiors, he returned to the schools of Paris in 1252 and began lecturing on theological subjects. From this time until his death twenty-two years later he wrote a large number of books, a veritable philosophical and theological library, a most impressive monument of mediæval thought and learning.

The significance of St. Thomas' scholarly work consisted in the synthesis which he made of the revived philosophical doctrines of Aristotle and the theological convictions of the Middle Ages. At the base of his system lay the Aristotelian classification of knowledge. Here the different sciences dealing with man's environment found their place. These branches of learning expanded the work of Aristotle and after some observation of nature and rudimentary experimentation subjected them to Aristotle's philosophical conceptions. At the summit of this vast pyramid of learning appeared the

doctrines taught by the divinely instituted church and revealed to her. Thus the entire realm of human learning, whether sacred or profane, was brought together into one harmonious system. Christian principles animated thought on all human activities, economic, artistic, and political. This philosophic and theological system which enjoyed unquestioned ascendancy during the Middle Ages continued to exert the greatest influence throughout the Renaissance and the Reformation. Such is its virility that even in recent years it has received the intellectual assent of many students, Catholic and non-Catholic.

In its early vigor, scholastic science and thought gave promise of great things. Much zeal in study was exhibited by the youth who thronged the lecture rooms of the masters. There was patient inquiry into nature, and some experimentation. Progress was made in medical science and therapeutics. Latin classics were eagerly studied and a determined effort was put forth by writers in the twelfth century to master the niceties of Latin style. Writings of such men as Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029) and John of Salisbury (d. 1180) were characterized by a polished Latinity unknown in northern Europe in 1400. They would have done credit to a humanist of the days of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. Literature was studied in order to broaden understanding of human things and thus quicken and refine the intellect. Mathematics, logic, and philosophy were cultivated.

This promise of an ample future for scholasticism was not to be fully realized, chiefly because of the practical and vocational spirit which began to dominate the schools. To keep the vocational spirit out of the universities proved impossible. So manifold were the needs of the business world for men trained to write letters that a practical rhetoric shorn of linguistic and literary study came into existence. It was known as the *Ars Dictaminis* and first grew up in northern Italy which in the twelfth century was leading Europe in commercial and industrial development. This "business rhetoric" was successfully taught by one Boncompagni (d. 1240?) in the University of Bologna. He published a practical manual which became exceedingly popular. This new rhetoric soon spread to other universities. The niceties of Latin writings and the curious details of Latin classics were scorned by students who demanded instruction in practical things. This vogue of the "business rhetoric" explains, in part at least, why the study of Latin literature and language declined in the universities of the late Middle Ages. It also gives a partial explanation why so much of the mediæval Latin writings is devoid of literary grace. Genuine appreciation of the beauties of Latin classics was very rare among university professors in the fourteenth century. Later, enthusiasm for the classics was to be kindled outside the

schools by humanists, the first noteworthy one being Francesco Petrarch (1304-74).

The vocational spirit invaded other studies. Owing to the increasing complexity of town life and a multiplication of wealth, old customary laws which had grown up in a purely manorial and feudal age were clearly obsolescent. A new body of law was needed to fit the demand of town and commercial life, and accordingly the ancient Roman civil law was revived. Study of this system was inaugurated in the University of Bologna and was subsequently introduced into other schools. Knowledge of Roman law proved a sure road to a profitable career, and fathers solicitous of their sons' welfare introduced them to its study. This was the case with Petrarch, Bruno, Luther, and Calvin. As monarchical government became more and more effective and administrative agencies increased and broadened the scope of their activities, it was necessary to recruit officials from a class which possessed legal training. Kings sought the services of men skilled in Roman law. These were drawn from the townsmen and were more loyal servants of the crown and more efficient administrators than the sons of the nobility. For this reason many a youth hurried to school to prepare himself for a splendid career. He impatiently studied the elementary liberal arts, scorned to learn what he thought were trifling details, and plunged into the precepts of Roman law.

Even churchmen found that a knowledge of canon and civil law was a surer guarantee of advancement in the church than was theology. It is an erroneous belief that mediæval universities were thronged with students patiently inquiring into the abstractions of dogma. Positions in the church were bestowed upon administrators and not so much upon learned theologians. The great religious people of the day rarely sat in high places. During the last centuries of the Middle Ages the church became a vast political and economic institution. Practical men crowded masters of dogma and simple teachers of religion into the background. Why should one toil long years to acquire a doctorate in theology which led only to minor posts when a knowledge of civil and canon law might lead to the episcopal dignity or perchance even to a cardinalate? The number of students in theology was much less than in the more practical studies of canon and civil law.

Science also was apparently neglected by the majority of students. Pure science existed only in embryo. Much information of a traditional variety was obtained from the writings of Aristotle and the mediæval commentators. There was, indeed, some independent investigation even to the close of the Middle Ages as, for example, in the University of Padua. But the toilsome amassing of scientific data

and the development of scientific technique made less and less progress. Students all too often turned their backs upon such problems, thus postponing for several centuries the advances which should have been made at that time. The reason for this general condition is to be found in the excessively vocational point of view with which students conceived their tasks. In medicine many of them hastily learned a body of traditional facts and precepts, eagerly looking forward to the day when they would be able to turn their learning to profit. Hence anatomical studies remained so elementary that they could not become the basis of a successful medical art. Dissections were usually made to illustrate some points in medicine rather than to impart basic knowledge. Alchemy and astrology flourished among the credulous rank and file of society.

Methods of teaching and study became traditional and stereotyped. Excessive respect was shown for logic, for the rediscovery of Aristotle's logic in the twelfth century had enormously enhanced the prestige of formal logic. Students in an age of little intellectual cultivation were charmed by the accuracy of logic. They had never possessed such an instrument which seemed to unravel the secrets of life. They were all too confident of its unique value as a means of study. Instruction in the universities was carried on by means of lectures. As the meaning of the Latin original of this word (*lectura*) would indicate, these consisted in little more than reading from texts, with comments made by the professors. This system was necessitated by the fact that books existed only in manuscript and hence were costly. Much reliance was placed upon disputation; a successful defense of some propositions was necessary for gaining the coveted master's degree. These disputations, because of the prevailing fondness for dialectic, were exclusively logical in character and often degenerated into empty subtleties.

The traditional central doctrine in philosophic speculation was the relation of particular objects to general types—the problem of universals. Great quarrels broke out over this question and two broad divisions contended against each other. Nominalists held that only particular objects were real; extreme realists taught that only the type was real. Patient study of literature and the facts of life was neglected. It was not necessary to know language, history, or the basic sciences. Unfortunately, logic by itself is of limited efficacy. Without an accurate knowledge of the details of life and without protracted search for new data it remains peculiarly barren. Modern scientific progress is made possible by patient research in which formal logic plays only a subordinate part.

The result of this predilection for dialectic was that logic-chopping took the place of true learning. Throughout the height of the Middle

Ages and especially during their decline this was a grave defect in university studies. One of the great scholars to protest against their barrenness was Roger Bacon (d. 1294). In discussing research and experimentation in the University of Paris, he declared:

> One man I know, and one only, who can be praised for his achievements in this science. Of discourses and battles of words he takes no heed: he follows the works of wisdom, and in these finds rest. What others strive to see dimly and blindly, like bats in twilight, he gazes at in the full light of day, because he is a master of experiment. Through experiment he gains knowledge of natural things, medical, chemical, indeed of everything in the heavens or earth. He is ashamed that any things should be known to laymen, old women, soldiers, ploughmen, of which he is ignorant. Therefore he has looked closely into the doings of those who work in metals and minerals of all kinds; he knows everything relating to the art of war, the making of weapons, and the chase; he has looked closely into agriculture, mensuration, and farming work; he has even taken note of the remedies, lot-casting, and charms used by old women and by wizards and magicians, and of the deceptions and devices of conjurers, so that nothing which deserves inquiry should escape him, and that he may be able to expose the falsehoods of magicians. If philosophy is to be carried to its perfection and is to be handled with utility and certainty, his aid is indispensable. As for reward, he neither receives nor seeks it. If he frequented kings and princes, he would easily find those who would bestow on him honours and wealth. Or, if in Paris he would display the results of his researches, the whole world would follow him. But since either of these courses would hinder him from pursuing the great experiments in which he delights, he puts honour and wealth aside, knowing well that his wisdom would secure him wealth whenever he chose. For the last three years he has been working at the production of a mirror that shall produce combustion at a fixed distance; a problem which the Latins have neither solved nor attempted, though books have been written upon the subject.[2]

The philosophers who led in the thought of the following centuries were inferior to those of the thirteenth century. They were critical of St. Thomas Aquinas and employed every device of logic to overthrow the authority of this great master. Duns Scotus (d. 1308) was an Englishman, a member of the Franciscan order, trained at Oxford, and profoundly influenced by scientific studies which continued to flourish there at a time when they were well-nigh extinct in Paris.

[2] J. H. Bridges, *The Life and Work of Roger Bacon* (London, 1914), pp. 21-23.

Thomas had built his thought upon the power of man's intellect to arrange the facts of life into a logical system which included a knowledge of God and His activities. This masterpiece of scholastic thought was sharply criticized by Scotus, who believed that God could not be known by the intellect. It was possible to know Him only through the revelation of His will. Knowledge of God therefore rested solely upon authority. The new school developed a deep chasm between the divine order and the human order when it taught that the former could not be known by the processes of the mind and rested solely on revelation.

William Ockham (d. 1349?) followed his master Scotus. Born in Surrey, England, and trained at Oxford, he too fell under the influence of the scientific scepticism which flourished in the English university. In his attacks upon the traditional Thomistic philosophy he developed extraordinary subtility. His scepticism led him to deny the existence of types outside the mind. Thus, he would argue that *horses* indeed did exist, but the general concept *horse* possessed no objective validity. He therefore was a nominalist and was opposed to Thomas who was a moderate realist. Ockham denied the power of the mind to penetrate into the secrets of God. Thus he claimed that philosophy and theology were so distinct that the first could not serve as handmaid to the second. Theology was the science of God's authoritative revelation and could not be accounted for by human reason. Two schools of theological thought sprang up: the "realists" who followed the "old way," or *via antiqua*, as taught by St. Thomas, and the "nominalists" who adopted the "new way," or *via moderna*, as it was developed by Duns Scotus and William Ockham. The dissensions of these groups divided the schools of the closing Middle Ages.

Ockham's methods introduced a decidedly sceptical tendency into religious thought. Marsilio of Padua was one of the thinkers who supported the new nominalism. The limits which he sought to impose upon ecclesiastical power were encouraged by Ockhamist teaching. He set forth his ideas in his *Defender of the Peace*. Ockhamism spread from Paris to the newly founded universities in Germany. The most remarkable scientists in this tradition were George von Peurbach (d. 1461), and John Müller or Regiomontanus (d. 1476). These scholars exerted strong influence on scientific thought in spite of the fact that the notion of experimentation independent of philosophic dogma remained rudimentary.

Preference for logic led to questionable results in the study of theology. Today such study is based in the first instance upon the careful study of texts. All sorts of questions, historical, philological, and archæological are studied. But in the Middle Ages, especially during the last two centuries of that period, students and scholars

were too impatient to begin with these less pretentious facts. They preferred to plunge at once into the deeper mysteries of theological dogma. In the study of Scripture professors paid slight heed to the literal, the first of the four senses in which Holy Writ was to be interpreted. This was the simple statement of fact which the writer intended to convey to the reader. Far more interest was evinced in the other senses. Nearly every passage was thought capable of some figurative interpretation, either allegorical, tropological, or anagogical. Thus "Jerusalem according to its literal sense is the Holy City; taken allegorically, it denotes the Church militant, understood tropologically, it stands for the just soul; finally, in its anagogical sense, it stands for the Church triumphant." A certain amount of this method is permissible according to theologians and is employed even now; but in the closing Middle Ages the plain teaching of Scripture was so beclouded by figurative interpretation that it was effectually destroyed as literature. For this reason humanists of the Renaissance heaped satire and ridicule upon theologians.

The early Middle Ages inherited its ideas about astronomy from Aristotle, who taught that the universe was composed of a series of homocentric spheres. At the center was the earth, an immobile mass, surrounded by a region of air beyond which lay another of fire. Next were seven spheres in each of which one of the seven planets revolved around the earth. The Moon was nearest the earth, and next in order were Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Beyond was the eighth sphere, the fixed stars which composed the zodiac. Next lay the ninth or crystalline sphere, also known as the *Primum Mobile*, and thought to be the abode of God. Above it was the empyrean or paradise. Each of the planets was set in motion by the *Primum Mobile*, and revolved about the earth in solemn grandeur.

This simple system failed to satisfy observers. It was noticed that the planets did not revolve in their spheres in a steady homocentric course, but appeared to wander away and to return later. Critics of Aristotle's theories increased rapidly about 1277, and soon the ideas of Ptolemy, a philosopher of the second century, were accepted by the scholars of Paris. The peculiar course of the planets in their spheres was explained by a system of epicycles and eccentric spheres. John of Béthune (d. 1358?) disproved Aristotle's doctrine and taught that motion was not due to the air which surrounded the moving object but to an impetus imparted directly to the object. Albert of Saxony (d. 1390) and Nicholas d'Oresme (d. 1382) continued these studies in Paris, but after the latter's death creative ability in that university vanished. Interest in mathematics persisted in German universities, as is shown by the work of Peurbach and

Regiomontanus at Vienna. Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) continued these studies.

Astrology, which teaches that the stars influence terrestrial affairs, is of ancient origin, either Chaldean or Egyptian. It was appropriated by the Greeks and Romans and became part of the speculations of Jews and Arabs in the Middle Ages. The Christian church was opposed to astrological science because it seemed to contradict the principle of free will; nevertheless, astrology had devotees among Christians. During the closing Middle Ages, especially in the fourteenth century, it appears to have been accepted almost universally. The theory that stars exerted much power for good or ill was given a scientific basis by the Ptolemaic system of the universe then in vogue. The planets in their stately course around the immobile earth were moved by the elements which surrounded them. Obviously all earthly things came under the sovereignty of stars.

It became important to ascertain which stars were in the ascendant at the moment of birth. This was called *judicial astrology* and was closely akin to divination. A horoscope was drawn up consisting of a diagram of the heavens showing the position of the stars at the date of birth. The sky was divided into twelve sections called *houses*, each containing some fixed stars. These constituted the zodiac. Each house was designated by the name of some animal, except one which was called the *scales*. Each of these had a fancied influence upon human actions at the moment when it was in the ascendant. Thus the Ram exerted control over the head, the Bull over the neck, the Twins over the shoulders and arms, Cancer over the breast, Leo over the sides of the body, Virgo over the bladder, the Balance over the buttocks, the Scorpion over the genitals, Sagittarius over the thighs, Capricorn over the knees, Aquarius over the legs, and Pisces over the feet.

These influences were further complicated by the planet which happened to appear at the moment when any zodiacal sign was in the ascendant. The influence was not fixed, but varied according to the sign with which it happened to be associated. A complicated science was evolved in the effort to explain everything in human life from this point of view. Wars, famines, pestilences, revolutions, and deaths of monarchs could be predicted. This is the reason why mediæval chroniclers never failed to note meteors and eclipses in connection with catastrophes. Traits of human beings were influenced, it was believed, in the arrangement of stars at the moment of birth. Casting horoscopes became a profitable business. Princes often consulted the stars before undertaking any important matter of state. So popular was this science that students who had graduated from the universities made a professional practice of contem-

plating the stars for their clients. Astrology was based upon three things: ancient tradition, the authority of great masters like Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420), and an assortment of erroneous facts. From any scientific point of view it was a hodgepodge of errors. Scholarship in those days needed the chastening discipline which only a close search for new facts can give.

Alchemy, like astrology, sprang from Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek origins. It corresponded to our chemistry, but as it was based upon erroneous theories and a scanty knowledge of facts, it was little better than astrology. Its basic conception was that the foundation of our material life was provided by a *primal matter*. This was always associated with some form in varying degree, thus producing the different elements with which we are familiar—air, earth, fire, and water. Human imagination, led by its innate inquisitiveness, asked why, if the material world was so constituted, one could not create some primal matter and then add to it the things necessary to make gold; this became the chief aim of alchemists. It was thought that this primal matter had to be treated with some substance called the philosopher's elixir or stone which consisted in the first principle of sulphur. When applied to primal matter, gold would result. Only in modern times under the influence of chemistry have these scientific fantasies been dispelled, but in our own time quacks still seek to exploit them.

The fifteenth century witnessed a decided decline among universities. They had fallen so far from their lofty position of influence that the Humanist coteries which grew up in Florence and other centers became the chief agencies of culture. While obsolete methods, undue deference to authority, emphasis upon logic, and the vocational spirit were responsible for this state of affairs, the decline was due also to certain external circumstances. First was the Great Schism from 1378 to 1415 and the resulting controversies which divided universities and their faculties. It contributed materially to the decline of the University of Paris, the greatest of all institutions of learning in northern Europe. Political dissensions made its ascendancy impossible even in France, and the rising spirit of nationalism created new universities which challenged its leadership as the intellectual center of western Europe.

Universities in other lands began to attract students who formerly would have flocked to Paris. A large number of schools were founded in Germany. The first was at Prague (1347), and was followed by Erfurt (1379), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), Leipzig (1409), Rostock (1419), Louvain (1425), and many others. The last university to be founded in Italy was at Ferrara in 1391. By that date there were at least a dozen in Italy. The fifteenth century

witnessed the opening of a large number of new schools in France. Ireland, Scotland, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary also founded new universities. This rapid increase was not entirely to the best interest of learning, for intellectual leadership did not develop as fast as new schools opened. Since learned men of the highest caliber were not available for the new posts, scholarship declined.

Many elementary schools had come into existence by the close of the Middle Ages. In earlier days there had been many monastic schools. Although they satisfied the needs of the religious community, it may be assumed that little instruction was imparted by them to the secular population. It is often stated that monastic foundations were actively engaged in teaching the lay populace, but this is an exaggeration. Instruction in these schools was religious and was limited to the liberal arts. Monastic schools were less important than the many town schools which were opened in order to give sons of the bourgeoisie some elementary instruction. Children were taught Latin and other elementary subjects, and even the vernacular. The spirit in these schools was vocational and traditional. There also were chantry schools. These were endowed by well-to-do townsmen who left money to a priest to say masses for the repose of his family and to teach children the elements of the Christian religion, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, a number of Psalms, the Angelic Salutation, and a modicum of reading and writing, usually in Latin.

Prevailing social virtues and interests stood in the way of more effective education. Serfs and peasants were occupied in the daily grind of agricultural labor and remained ignorant. Guildsmen were in a somewhat better situation, but their interests also were limited to their narrow craft interests. The education and training of apprentices were purely practical. The nobility perpetuated their traditional disdain for learning. While many of them could read and write, conventional chivalric training engrossed their attention. The education of women was limited to household duties and they rarely became educated in a formal way, although a considerable number of women among the nobility were able to read.

The last two centuries of the Middle Ages witnessed a decline in the effectiveness of mediæval thought and education. Formal training in the best sense became nearly obsolete. The defects sketched in the preceding paragraphs persisted and even increased in intensity. The study of language and literature was neglected. Law, medicine, and rhetoric were studied all too much from a practical point of view. In philosophy and theology more and more respect was shown for authority, a tendency which, coupled with the great vogue for logic, led to lamentable results. Traditionalism and

a vocational spirit therefore prevented the universities from fulfilling their true mission—advancement of knowledge and effective use of free inquiry. Original study of the facts of life untrammeled by authority was neglected. But times were changing rapidly. The age of the Renaissance with its town life and capitalist society demanded a higher and broader type of education.

CHAPTER XI

POPULAR RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

At the close of the Middle Ages, a sombre melancholy weighs on people's souls.—J. HUIZINGA.[1]

EVERY class of society, peasant, burgher, and noble, at the close of the Middle Ages, received its views on life from the teachings of the church. Besides these official doctrines there existed a rank growth of superstition. This chapter is concerned with religion thus mixed with superstition in the popular mind, and not with the official doctrines of the church.

The clergy were hardly in a position to combat the almost universal crudity of religious life. Parish priests were poorly trained for the duties of their office and usually were densely ignorant. Erasmus (d. 1536) relates that on one occasion the then bishop of Utrecht, "a man of conspicuous learning and an excellent theologian, which is very rare among nobles, and especially among bishops of that province, who are burdened with worldly power," accepted only three candidates for some clerical post from three hundred applicants.[2] Often priests could not decline Latin nouns or conjugate Latin verbs which they were required to use in their daily ministrations.[3]

Man's conception of the world five hundred years ago was very simple as compared with that of the twentieth century. We know that the material world about us is infinitely complex and that with our unaided eyes we see but a little of its complexity. To our forefathers of the fifteenth century the universe was small and simple and neatly organized according to the ideas of Ptolemy, a famous and influential Greek geographer of the second century. The earth was its center, and man was the supreme object of creation whose chief duty was to seek salvation. His final abode after death was

[1] *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1914), p. 22.

[2] G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages,* four volumes in one (Cambridge, 1931), vol. ii, pp. 48-49.

[3] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, pp. 39-47.

either heaven, a region beyond the outer sphere of the fixed stars, or hell, a place which occupied the bowels of the earth. The parish priest was his guide and smoothed his path into eternity.

The theology of the average man, and even of many of the learned, was concerned mainly with the dramatic story of creation, the fall of our first parents through sin and their expulsion from paradise, the devil's power to snatch men from salvation, the redemptive mission of Christ, His crucifixion on Calvary for the sins of man, His resurrection and ascension into Heaven, the awakening of the dead from their graves and their judgment, the rejection of the damned, and the reception of the blessed into the glories of the new Jerusalem. All of this was conceived in the simplest and most concrete manner.

People could see little in this world but a mighty struggle between good and evil. They held a very pessimistic view of life. Man's first parents had been perfect and had lived in a sinless paradise. But man's disobedience ruined this primeval perfection; sin had entered the world and vitiated his every relation. Greed, violence, war, hunger, pain, disease, and death were the inevitable result. The pristine perfection of the Garden of Eden could never be recovered save after death, and then only by a portion of mankind. This world was a wicked place in which the devil was busily engaged in thwarting man in his quest for salvation. It was a vale of tears from which man longed to escape. Asceticism with its flight from such a sin-ridden world was an ideal far more widely cherished than official Catholic doctrine really demanded.

This simple and, from our modern point of view, naïve conception of life profoundly influenced the development of knowledge about man and the world. When there was such a simple and satisfying explanation of the general scheme of things, why should men exert much energy in extending knowledge by painful investigation or perilous journeys? It would be only labor lost. The earth was known to be round, but no one cared to extend geographical inquiry beyond the requirements of trade in the days of a relatively simple economic system. The lore gathered by merchants, soldiers, and pilgrims was enough; the world was more than the average man cared to master.

History and the science of politics hardly existed. Historical study was subordinated to religion. Politics was a branch of theology and reveals the mediæval conception of society. God, the august sovereign of man and creation, had His abode in heaven. Man's wickedness had made this world a place of sin. To save man, God had established His church whose sacraments possessed peculiar efficacy in saving souls. Over this church He had placed an earthly vicar,

the bishop of Rome, endowed with the power to bind and loose. By the side of this august institution, He had put government. This was necessary, for when man sinned in the Garden of Eden he became a rapacious being who had to be restrained by force. Over the institution created to this end, God had placed the emperor. Thus there were two representatives of divine majesty on earth. The pope was the head of the church, the emperor the head of all secular government. Political questions always revolved around these ideas. Law also was governed by them, but to a lesser degree.

Nowhere is the spirit of the bourgeoisie applied to religious teaching better illustrated than in its dramatic representations. The morality plays were allegories in which appeared such characters as Hope, Faith, Fear, Holiness, and Death. The liturgical drama, or mystery and miracle plays, dealt with scenes from the Bible, portrayed the story of the Christian scheme of redemption, and depicted the faith and miracles of saints. These plays were enacted by the craftsmen on saints' and other holy days. It was customary for each guild to be responsible for one or more scenes to be presented in various parts of the town in such manner that in each place a complete enactment of the play was given. The acting and production of these unprofessional players did not constitute a very exalted form of art. Often the crudity and naïveté of the untutored townsman appeared throughout. On the other hand a refined purity breathed through some of the better ones. Townsmen also loved to stage magnificent processions. Many a town had its annual celebration during which the clergy bore relics about the streets. Such were the processions of the Holy Blood in Bruges, Corpus Christi in Antwerp, and the Miracle in St. Mark's Square in Venice. Thus were the townsmen instructed in the truths of the Christian religion.

The artistic skill of the closing Middle Ages was likewise utilized to teach or express the prevailing faith, and a number of motifs became exceedingly popular. They combined the characteristics of the time: the pessimistic conception of life and the practical teaching of religion. The representation of the Three Living and the Three Dead became common. In this, three young men or women are suddenly confronted by three departed beings. Sometimes these latter expressed pious sentiments intended to emphasize the fleeting character of this life. Such figures were put into manuscripts and printed books. Pictures of decomposing human forms also became universal. The Dance of Death was another pictorial favorite, and may be regarded as the completed development of the theme of the Three Living and the Three Dead. It represented dead forms in process of decomposition which are leading living popes, bishops, cardinals, princes, knights, and laborers. Mottoes were employed to impress

religious truths. Some of these still linger with us, a legacy of this pessimistic age in which the thoughts of man were all too much concerned with death. Probably the best known is *Memento Mori*. A number of books designed to instruct the layman attained a great circulation. *The Mirror of Human Salvation* was written before 1300 but became increasingly popular during the closing Middle Ages because of its growing appeal to the laity. It was an illustrated life of Christ and the Virgin. Each scene was accompanied by three pictures from the Old Testament which were supposed to foreshadow the mission of Christ. Thus the Annunciation was shown with pictures of the burning bush, Gideon and the fleece, and the meeting of Rebecca and Eleazar. A commentary was prepared for each scene. Another "best seller," the *Bible of the Poor*, older probably than *The Mirror of Human Salvation*, also won great popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was a series of pictures representing the life of Christ, each of which was accompanied by two from the Old Testament. Brief descriptions were placed at the side of these pictures. When the art of printing became common, these books were lavishly embellished by woodcuts. It is in such books rather than in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas that one gets glimpses of what fed the minds of the great majority of the faithful.



An example of a late mediæval Dance of Death
From a woodcut (about 1495).

The *Art of Dying*, composed at the opening of the fifteenth century, is especially illuminating from the standpoint of common beliefs. In it were written the hopes, fears, and terrors of the human heart. Life's somber drama was retold in the realistic and pessimistic accounts of the age. Editions filled with woodcuts of the devil and his minions were eagerly studied, and many a child must have derived vivid impressions from them. One such picture shows a dying man surrounded by spirits of sinister aspect who recall to him the sins which disfigure his past. One tells him that he has lived in immorality, a second declares that he has borne false testimony, a third recounts to him other sins, a fourth reminds him that he has killed a man, and a fifth demon, a strange creature half human and half ox, tells him that he has lived a stingy life. Other pictures show the dying man being comforted by the church or oppressed by the thought of his house and treasure which he is about to leave, the last determined onslaught of the devil and his evil company, and, finally, the departure of the soul which is received by the angels in heaven while the demons, enraged and in confusion, stand helplessly by the bedside crying, "Our hope is gone," "We have lost a soul," "I am consumed with wrath," and "O the shame of it!"

These ideas also savored the preaching in the vernacular tongues, for there was more preaching than is assumed by modern writers. As the populations in towns increased and the power of the laity became greater, it was inevitable that preachers should seek to teach and exhort in the vernacular. Friars often preached in this way. Practical manuals showing how sermons should be drawn up became popular. The pessimistic view of life and the insistence upon the theme of death led preachers to become almost ghoulish in their homiletic oratory. Of one exhorter it is reported that he would "point his audience to the skulls and bones of the departed, bidding them reflect how through the mouth once so delectable to kiss, so delicate in its eating and its drinking, through eyes but a short while before so fair to see, worms now crawl in and out. The body of the head once so richly attired, so proudly displayed, now boasts no covering but the soul, no bed of softness, no proud retinue save worms for the flesh, and, if its life was evil, demons for the soul. Therefore let all going forth to God's eternal banquet prepare themselves beforehand—by looking into the mirror of the dead."[4] These appeals remind one of the methods employed by present-day revivalists.

Such sermons were exceedingly popular, and the preacher who could draw the most vivid picture of life's last horrors won fame and

[4] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 344.

followers. Even Savonarola made the same emotional appeal and the humble folk of Florence who were conservative in religious matters were deeply impressed by the friar's words.

Pilgrimages were popular. It is said that in the county of Norfolk in England there were as many as seventy shrines. That of Our Lady of Walsingham enjoyed more than local repute. Pilgrims flocked to it from distant parts, even from the continent. The tombs of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey and St. Thomas in Canterbury were famous shrines. The latter attracted many pilgrims and has been immortalized by Chaucer:

> And specially, from every shires ende
> Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende,
> The holy blisful martir for to seke
> That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seke.[5]

More famous still were the shrines of St. James at Compostella in Spain and St. Peter's in Rome. The roads leading to them were among the busiest highways in Christendom. To these shrines came a constant stream of men and women to ask the saints to help them in their difficulties. Relics were kept in reliquaries and shrines. At Cologne a magnificent golden receptacle studded with precious stones contained the bones of the Three Magi. The tomb of St. Thomas in Canterbury was decorated with lavish care. Turin was famous because it contained the Holy Shroud which had covered Christ's body. The Holy Shirt was kept at Trier. The Holy Girdle which, it was believed, the Virgin dropped at her Assumption was preserved at Prato. Great zeal was displayed in collecting relics. Elector Frederick of Saxony brought together into his church in Wittenberg more than five thousand of them. In the elector's treasury there were a part of the burning bush which Moses saw, and a piece of the true cross on which Christ suffered. An uncritical collector was willing to buy anything labeled as the relic of a saint.

Saints played a great part in the religious life of the people. Pious folk admired the acts of holy men and women and felt that these departed saints could help them in their petitions to God. In early days canonization was merely a matter of the saint's local reputation. Most saints are historical characters but often so many legends have sprung up about them that they appear mythical. It is known, for instance, that a person named St. Christopher lived, but beyond this fact little of an historical character can be discovered about him. St. Achatius and his ten thousand companions are sheer romance. Most important of the saints was the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary. Next came St. Anne, St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, and the dis-

[5] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford), p. 419.

ciples, of whom St. Peter was the most significant. Very important also were a group whose fame was well-nigh universal: St. Martin, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Denis, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Barbara, and St. Ursula. But the vast multitude of saints was composed of men and women of more or less local importance. Thus St. Gudule was honored in Brussels, St. Donatian in Bruges, St. Bavo in Ghent and Haarlem, St. Omer in St. Omer, St. Gertrude in Nivelles, and St. Genevieve in Paris.

In the earlier Middle Ages people appealed to saints for strength in life and help in its many problems. Saints became patrons of churches, countries, and cities. During the closing Middle Ages this patronage became more specialized, and there was scarcely a human ailment or problem which did not have some special intercessor with God. This development forms an interesting chapter in the history of religion and culture. It was inevitable that this veneration of saints should often degenerate and finally fall to the level of folklore and even plain magic. Thus St. Clarus of Albi was supposed to be helpful for eye trouble because the word Clarus meant *clear*. Later St. Clare (d. 1253), the follower of St. Francis, was supposed to possess the same qualities for the same reason. More interesting is the protection which St. Wolfgang in Germany and St. Lupus in France were supposed to give against wolves. Another example of this belief in the magical properties of words is furnished by the practice in some parts of France of making St. Sebastian the patron of the hosiers because the saint's name sounded like the words *ses bas se tiennent*—his stockings hold up![6] St. Vincent was the patron of vine-dressers in parts of southern France for no other reason, it appears, than that his name contained the French word *vin*, wine. St. Roch was a fourteenth-century saint who won fame in stopping the pest. Sanitary science was almost completely unknown in the closing Middle Ages. Disease was common and pestilence often spread with terrifying rapidity among the crowded populace of towns. His power to stay its spread explains the great popularity of St. Roch. The Venetians particularly prized his intercessory powers because they were especially exposed to the diseases of the Orient. Small wonder that they finally stole St. Roch's body from Montpellier in the hope that it would protect their city from the plague. It became customary in French towns to place a figure of St. Roch on the side of houses facing the street. St. Denis was petitioned for help in headache and insanity simply because he was beheaded. St. Apollonia was thought to be efficacious in relieving toothache. St. Lucy could help in eye

[6] S. Haraucourt, *Medieval Manners Illustrated at the Cluncy Museum* (Paris), p. 72.

trouble. St. Agatha, popular in Sicily, was supposed to prevent earthquakes.

The cult of the Fourteen Helpers in Need was popular, although largely a product of folklore. It was mentioned for the first time toward the close of the thirteenth century, and spread from Germany to other lands. Of this group, St. Barbara was petitioned for help against sudden death caused by lightning, St. Blaise for troubles of the throat, St. Christopher against sudden death in storms and accidents, St. Denis against headache and rabies, St. Erasmus against intestinal troubles, St. George against fever, St. Margaret against insanity and for aid in pregnancy, St. Pantaleon against tuberculosis, and St. Vitus against epilepsy. The other saints of this group were Cyriacus, Achatius, Giles, Catherine, and Eustachius.

The Virgin Mary was the most popular of all saints, for everyone could understand her. She was believed to have special influence with her Son. She became a veritable queen of heaven, and men and women thought lovingly of her and addressed their prayers to her for help in their appeals to Christ. Some of the sweetest faces ever created were made of her in stone for the churches. The one on the south porch of the transept of Amiens cathedral is especially famous. The *Stabat Mater Dolorosa,* one of the noblest hymns ever penned, deals with her sorrows. The mournful view of life characteristic of the age naturally led pious folk to reflect long and sympathetically upon the Virgin's Seven Sorrows. They also loved to think about her Seven Joys. The hymn *Stabat Mater Speciosa* became popular. The Virgin's hold upon Catholic piety was greatly strengthened by the Franciscans and Dominicans, the former of whom advocated the dogma of her immaculate conception. Many shrines and churches were dedicated to her. Her Feasts of the Visitation (July 2), Assumption (August 15), Nativity (September 8), Presentation (November 21), Purification (February 2), and Annunciation (March 25) were widely celebrated. St. Anne, traditionally supposed to have been the Virgin's mother, also was popular. A large number of chapels and churches were dedicated to her. Women appealed to her when in travail. She became immensely popular among the mining population of Saxony. It was even argued that her conception was immaculate, but this belief never secured much support and was abandoned.

Belief in miracles was another striking feature of the age. Man's mind constantly dwelt upon the direct action of God and the devil. Untaught by natural science, man adopted a naïve view of the world. Storm, drought, flood, pestilence, earthquake, war, and famine were manifestations of God's displeasure. The miracles in connection with the Holy Host are interesting. One of these is the pious story of

how a priest in Bolsena near Rome disbelieved the teaching that the bread in the sacrament became the body of Christ. Suddenly he was amazed to see the Host begin to bleed and discolor the corporal. This altar-cloth was ever after preserved as a relic. St. Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) received the sacrament and in rapture saw the crucified Christ surrounded by a bright light coming to her. From His five wounds issued rays of light which fell upon the corresponding parts of her own body. She prayed that she might not see Christ's wounds and immediately the red color of the rays was changed into a brilliant gleam of color which fell upon her heart, hands, and feet. Many tales are told of Jews who sought to desecrate the Host and were miraculously confounded. A Jew on Good Friday of 1370 stole consecrated wafers from the church of St. Gudule in Brussels. Cut with knives and poniards, the wafers began to bleed and the Jews were frightened. They sent the wafers to Cologne, but a converted Jewess, stricken in conscience, returned them. The miraculous Host was brought back to St. Gudule in a magnificent procession and the guilty Jews were tortured with glowing pincers and executed. The wafers long after worked miracles. Such wonder-working wafers were to be found in many churches.

The question of clerical corruption had an important bearing on the effectiveness of the church. This is a delicate point and much misunderstanding exists about it. It should be borne in mind that many of the clergy regarded their office purely from a practical bread-and-butter point of view. Parish priests owed their post to noblemen. Bishops were named through princely influence. Some unworthy men became clerics because that rank conferred immunity from punishment inflicted by secular courts. Pluralism and absenteeism were exceedingly common. Such worldliness led many ecclesiastics to neglect their spiritual duties.

Chaucer has given us some glimpses of clerical money grabbing. His picture of the pardoner is without doubt the best of these:

> His walet lay biforn him in his lappe
> Bret-ful of pardoun come from Rome al hoot . . .
> Ne was ther swich another pardoner
> For in his male[7] he hadde a pilwe-beer,[8]
> Which that, he seyde, was our lady veyle:
> He seyde, he hadde a fragment of the seyle
> That seynt Peter hadde, whan that he wente
> Upon the see, til Jesu Crist him hente.[9]
> He hadde a croys of latoun, full of stones

[7] male ≠ wallet.
[8] pilwe-beer ≠ pillow case.
[9] hente ≠ caught.

And in a glass he hadde pigges bones.
But with thise relikes, whan that he found
A povre person dwelling up-on land,
Up-on a day he gat him more moneye
Than that the person gat in monthes tweye;[10]
And thus, with feigned flatterye and japes[11]
He made the person and his people his apes.[12]

Especially important is the matter of sexual morality. Asceticism was an ancient ideal in the church dating as far back as the days of St. Paul. But during the earlier Middle Ages priests often married, a custom still followed in the Greek church. The Greek churches today which acknowledge the Roman Catholic pope have a married clergy. In the West, however, the ascetic view of life won ground during the Investiture Struggle under Pope Gregory VII (1073-85). Fearing that a married clergy might be drawn from their sacred duties by their desire to provide land for their children, marriage was completely forbidden. Celibacy therefore was a disciplinary measure and not a matter of dogma. But the church found it hard to enforce these views, and clerical marriages remained common. This was called concubinage, and was not recognized as valid in the eyes of the law. It is a difficult question to ascertain the universality of concubinage in the priesthood. The case of Erasmus' father and mother furnishes an example of such a union. A modern puritanic age has made clerical marriage appear far more immoral than it really was.

Open immorality was a far more serious matter. It is not surprising to learn that this was all too common when we consider how easy it was for unworthy men to enter the priesthood and how many people of low spiritual ideals sought shelter behind the clerical cloth. Zwingli's sexual irregularity was noticed just when he was being considered for the post of preacher in the minster of Zürich. Although the facts were freely admitted by the reformer, this did not deter the authorities from appointing him.

It was natural that the laity should criticize clerical laxity. Hence arose the Sacramentarian movement in the Low Countries during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. But the student should guard against sweeping generalizations, for there was a vast body of pure and devoted priests who sacrificed their lives in the service of the church. It was they who formed the bulwark of the church's power and influence. They made possible the spiritual rejuvenation of Catholicism at the time of the Reformation. Chaucer

[10] tweye = two.
[11] japes = jests.
[12] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, pp. 427-428.

described some of the clergy in far from flattering terms, but he immortalized the humble parish priest:

A good man was ther of religiun
And was a povre parsoun[13] of a toun;
But riche he was of holy thoght and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche,[14]
His parisshen devoutly wolde he teche,
Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversitee full pacient . . .
Full loathe was he to cursen for his tythes
But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute,
Un-to his poor parisshens aboute
Of his offring, and eek of his substaunce
He coude in litel thing have suffisaunce.
Wide was his parish, and houses fer a-sonder,[15]
And he never lafte nat, for rain nor thonder
In sikness nor in meschief,[16] to visyte
The ferreste[17] in his parisshe; much and lyte,
Up-on his feet, and in his hand a staf.
This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,[18]
That first he wroghte[19] and afterward he taughte,
Out of the gospel he the wordes caughte,
And this figure he added eek there-to
That if gold ruste, what shall iren do?
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wonder is lewed[20] man to ruste . . .
Well ought a priest ensample for to give . . .
By his clennesse,[21] how that his sheep shold live.
He sette not his benefice to hyre
And leet his sheep encombred in the myre
And ran to London, un-to seynt Poules,
To seken him a chaunterie for soules . . .
A bettre preest I trowe that nowher noon is,
He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne made he him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and His apostles twelve,
He taughte, and first he folwed it himselve.[22]

[13] parsoun = parish priest.
[14] preche = preach.
[15] a-sonder = apart.
[16] meschief = mishap.
[17] ferreste = farthest.
[18] yaf = gave.
[19] wroghte = wrought.
[20] lewed = ignorant.
[21] clennesse = purity.
[22] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 425.

Magic flourished mightily during the fifteenth century. It was inherited from the pre-Christian beliefs of Germans, Celts, Slavs, and classical peoples, and dates back to dim palæolithic times. The church found it impossible to eradicate these primitive notions. This was natural because many priests came from homes where the truth of magic was firmly believed, and they could not completely free themselves from this environment. Even learned theologians and philosophers believed in the existence of evil spirits and in the ability of witches to employ them for nefarious purposes. Ignorant and conservative peasants were slow to give up these ideas; to this day their descendants continue to believe in spirits. The power of the church to put down heretical teachings had greatly increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, partly because of the growing perfection of ecclesiastical organization and partly because secular states accepted canon law as the law of the land. But while the power to repress heresy and magic gained ground the clergy did not increase in the effectiveness of their spiritual work. Many of them remained ignorant, deficient in theological training, feeble in devotion to their priestly functions, and too concerned with worldly matters.

Such was the virility of the belief in witches that when lay influences began to dominate the life and thought of western Europe a regular cult of witchcraft grew up. It was thought by many that as God was the creator of all things beneficent, so the devil, His opposite, possessed a corresponding power over evil. Small wonder that the people called upon the devil to aid them against their enemies, real or fancied! The worship of the evil one was carried on in many communities by groups of witches or warlocks, called covens. Witches were active agents of the devil. They conducted meetings known as sabbats, to which they were said to fly through the air on broomsticks. In their ritual there were singing, dancing, and ceremonies in which the devil, as either a man or an animal, preferably a goat, was worshiped with disgusting rites. Witches possessed all sorts of power to do extraordinary things. They could cause rain or hail, blight fields or make them fertile, cause babes to be stillborn, and make invalids of children. Strange sexual irregularities occurred, such as the union of men with succubi and women with incubi. The offspring was half devil, half human. Pacts with the devil were commonly made, it was alleged.

These vulgar practices were opposed to the Catholic faith, and churchmen became frightened at the prevalence of this cult. Hence church tribunals would condemn warlocks and the secular arm would apply a fitting penalty. Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92) issued his famous bull *Summis Desiderantes* in 1484, condemning the practice of witchcraft especially in Rhenish Germany and adjacent lands.

The pope did not create the great witchcraft delusion as many books imply, nor is this bull a dogmatic statement about witchcraft. He merely moved to put an end to something which had existed a long time and was growing in intensity. Two Dominicans, Jacob Sprenger and Henry Krämer, were appointed as inquisitors, and produced a remarkable book about witchcraft called *The Witches' Hammer* (1487), the classic treatment on the subject and the source of many later works. It is a bulky compendium divided into three parts, the first dealing with the agents of witchcraft, the second showing the methods employed by witches in their nefarious work, and the third setting forth the judicial steps in combating the evil. Witchcraft was regarded as a crime by the state. To league with man's arch-enemy, the devil, deserved severe punishment. Torture was regularly invoked in continental Europe, and the rack was employed in England. Condemned witches were strangled, hanged, beheaded, and their bodies cast into the fire; often they were burned alive.

Mysticism was a natural type of thought among the townsmen of the Middle Ages. During the height of this period theologians and philosophers had reared an imposing system of thought mainly on the basis of Aristotle's philosophy. Neoplatonism also had found its way into scholastic thought but did not assume a dominant rôle before the death of Thomas Aquinas (1274). Whenever mysticism entered the thought of the great thinkers it remained subordinated to the rational part of scholastic philosophy. But practical townsmen immersed in the multitudinous cares of their life usually found it easier to follow the intuitive and mystical thought in theology and philosophy than the more abstruse and logical parts of the systems. As long as the towns remained subordinated to the church in all their cultural activities the thought of men like Aquinas and Ockham remained dominant. But towns were rapidly forging ahead and soon took an independent course in creating their culture. Then mysticism became more prevalent.

Master Eckhart (d. 1329), a learned German Dominican, was the first mediæval man of repute to adopt the intuitive Neoplatonic view of life. He taught that God, who is a spirit working in all things and creating all things, is the life and being of all things. The soul possesses a small spark of this divine intelligence. The supreme end of man is to bring about the birth of God in his soul. Only in complete abandonment to Him can this be accomplished. The presence of God kindles a burning love of virtue in men. Love, feeling, and character appeared more valuable to Eckhart than theology and the ordinances of the church. Eckhart had two famous pupils, Tauler (d. 1361) and Suso (d. 1362). The "Friends of God" were an

organization which derived much inspiration from them and included burgher laymen as well as nuns and friars.

The great popularity of mysticism in this century was partly due to the feeling that the visible church of Christ was not what it ought to be. Ecclesiastics were engrossed in secular concerns and the papacy was becoming a great tax-gathering institution. Mystics set little store by external rules, preferring rather to seek immediate understanding of God and personal union with Him. They felt little need of priestly intercessors. The hierarchy did not approve of this type of piety because it lessened respect for the visible organ of salvation established on earth by Christ who intended that the sacraments should be the means of salvation. Furthermore, this manner of thinking savored of heresy and Eckhart's teachings were condemned as heretical.

The greatest of these mystics was the Brabançon, John Ruysbroeck (1294-1381). It is not certain, but it is probable that he was related to the mystics of the Rhenish valley. This "ecstatic doctor" was a simple priest in Brussels where he carried on a vigorous polemic against the pantheistic excesses of a woman named Bloemardine. Later he retired to a convent at Groenendael where he wrote treatises in which he systematized his teachings about the mystical life. The *Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, the *Sparkling Stone*, the *Kingdom of the Lovers of God* and other of his works are of the highest importance in studying the spread and influence of the mystical doctrine among the townsmen.

With Gerard Groote (d. 1384) this mystical teaching passed into a new phase, the *devotio moderna*, or new devotion. He studied in Paris, taught in Cologne, and worked in Deventer. He collected around him a group of admirers who were deeply impressed by his piety. Groote was practical in his religious thought and practice. His simplicity prevented him from adopting the complicated spiritual ways of Ruysbroeck and the Rhenish mystics. He hated the over-refined subtleties of decadent scholastic philosophy, and insisted upon a direct application of Christ's teaching as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount. Groote's enormous influence was exercised mainly through the Brethren of the Common Life and the Augustinian Canons of Windesheim.

The Brethren of the Common Life were an order of laymen living according to a rule, leading a life of service among the poor and unfortunate, and teaching the young. Their practical piety deeply impressed all who came in contact with them. They did not take irrevocable vows. This was a novel idea, and certain Dominicans at the Council of Constance demanded legislation forbidding lay communities such as the Brethren to live according to rule. But the fathers

of the Council refused, and the order established houses throughout the Low Countries, France, and Germany. The congregation of Windesheim was a cloistered group with ideas very like those of the Brethren. This order grew steadily until it numbered over one hundred houses. Their practical devotional life produced a remarkable classic, *The Imitation of Christ*, ascribed to Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471) who spent many years in a cloister at Mount St. Agnes near Zwolle.

The Brethren were not the only semi-monastic body called into existence by the spiritual needs of urban centers. Communities of women called Beguines appeared in Flanders as early as the thirteenth century. Their houses became centers of religious instruction and urban welfare work. The sisters promised to obey a superior but did not take the vows of poverty and celibacy. They became very popular and their houses, called beguinages, were established in all towns of the Low Countries and in many places in France, Germany, and elsewhere. The Alexians were a group of lay brethren engaged in caring for the sick and burying the dead with appropriate services. They became widely known among the people of the pest-ridden towns. The Brigittines also were important. Their original house at Vadstena in Sweden became the center of an intense popular mysticism which was preached to the populace in the vernacular. St. Brigitta's influence was felt in nearly all parts of Europe. There also were many smaller groups organized to work in hospitals, give charity, and emulate the pious deeds of saints.

Such a review makes it clear that in spite of the superstition, the ignorance, the formalism, and the inadequacy of so much mediæval thinking, many devoted spirits, alone or in groups, were still seeking within the church universal to find a living personal faith.

CHAPTER XII

THE END OF GOTHIC ART

There was no opposition between Giotto and Michelangelo. The best energies of the first, of the last, and of all the intervening great Florentine artists were persistently devoted to the rendering of tactile values, or of movement, or of both.—H. BERENSON.[1]

THE artistic forms which man has given to buildings, furniture, clothing, jewelry, and other objects have always been closely related to his economic, social, political, moral, and intellectual development. The deeply religious life of the Middle Ages created abbeys, cathedrals, baptisteries, hospitals, and parish churches. Feudal society produced castles, manorial halls, and granges. Towns erected walls, gates, belfries, and halls for officials and guildsmen. Each class of mediæval society developed its costume: the fighting nobility carried expensive armor; peasants and townsmen wore working clothes; and priests developed a garb of their own. Furniture possesses similar interest. The church had its altars, chairs, choir stalls, reredos and all sorts of special objects needed in its services. Noblemen and townsmen combined use and varying degrees of utility and artistic excellence in chairs, tables, chests, dressers, and bedsteads. The humble peasants possessed few things, barely sufficient to prepare their food and satisfy the simplest needs.

Of the arts literature, painting, sculpture, and decorative design best reveal the spirit of an age or a people. People are always eager to beautify practical objects. To do this they must use their imagination, and what they create is in the truest sense part of their lives. Pictures, sculpture, and decoration disclose in innumerable ways what they think of themselves, the world, and their destiny. These arts therefore cannot be understood without a knowledge of the religious and intellectual life of the age. As far as the closing Middle Ages are concerned, its art tells us as much about the religious thought and social conditions of the time as does its literature.

The Middle Ages attained their highest artistic expression in

[1] *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (London, 1932), pp. 126-127.

Gothic art. Although universal in northern Europe after the twelfth century, this art showed remarkable diversity. Every community exhibited something distinctive in its buildings so that the study of Gothic architecture reveals a bewildering variety of forms. In general, however, its chief characteristics were the use of the pointed arch in windows, doorways, and the vaulting. It achieved classical perfection during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in the cathedrals of France, England, and Germany. Its early excellence is explained in part by the great increase in population due to the revival of trade, industry, and town life. New and larger churches were constantly demanded. It was possible to pay for them because of the striking increase of wealth which followed the growth of towns. Some of the great parish churches such as St. Gudule in Brussels and St. John (now called St. Bavo) in Ghent rival the sumptuous buildings of many bishoprics. Sculpture followed hard upon architecture and some of its best examples were created during the thirteenth century. We need only recall the beautiful figure of Christ and that of the Virgin with the Christ Child on the cathedral of Amiens, the statues in the south porch of the transept of the cathedral of Chartres, and the many carved forms on the portals and other parts of the cathedral of Rheims. Sculptors carefully studied their models and succeeded in combining tender maternal solicitude with exactitude in anatomy. They copied the fruits and plants of the countryside and lavishly decorated capitals of columns and other parts of buildings with them. Spaces on the walls of churches, chapels, and town halls were decorated with pictures illustrating the Christian faith. Painters also embellished or illuminated religious books with scenes from the life of Christ, the apostles, or the saints, and employed decorative motifs taken from natural or everyday life. Similarly artists beautified windows by using colored glass. Splendid designs were made in harmonious hues which even today delight the visitor to such cathedrals as that at Chartres.

Since religion more than any other subject dominated man's thoughts during the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the art of those days was a faithful expression of dogma and popular religious life. The bourgeoisie soon began to spend their wealth in having pictures and statuary made to decorate private altars or to cover the walls of their houses with reminders of their religious obligations. The art of this age, therefore, played a very definite part in the life of the people. We should not be misguided by a twentieth-century hostility toward religion and refuse to see that art fulfills a practical mission when it humbly serves dogma and mysticism.

The mystical and religious function of art is well illustrated by the following statement by Nicholas of Cusa:

> If I strive in human fashion to transport you to things divine, I must needs use a comparison of some kind. Now among men's works I have found no image better suited to our purpose than that of an image which is omnivoyant—its face, by the painter's cunning art, being made to appear as though looking on all around it. There are many excellent pictures of such faces—for example, that of the archeress in the market-place of Nuremberg; that by the eminent painter, Roger [Vander Weyden], in his priceless picture in the governor's house at Brussels; the Veronica in my chapel at Coblenz, and, in the castle of Brixen, the angel holding the arms of the Church, and many others elsewhere. Yet, lest ye should fail in the exercise, which requireth a figure of this description to be looked upon, I send for your indulgence such a picture as I have been able to procure, setting forth the figure of an omnivoyant, and this I call the icon of God.
>
> This picture, brethren, ye shall set up in some place, let us say, on a north wall, and shall stand around it, a little way off, and look upon it. And each of you shall find that, from whatsoever quarter he regardeth it, it looketh upon him as if it looked on none other. . . . If he wish to experiment on this, he will cause one of his brethren to cross over from east to west, still looking on the icon, while he himself moveth from west to east; and he will ask the other as they meet if the gaze of the icon turn continuously with him; he will hear that it doth move in a contrary direction, even as with himself, and he will believe him. . . . And while he observeth how that gaze never quitteth any, he seeth that it taketh such diligent care of each one who findeth himself observed as though it cared only for him, and for no other, and this to such a degree that one on whom it resteth cannot even conceive that it should take care of any other. He will also see that it taketh the same most diligent care of the least of creatures as of the greatest, and of the whole universe.
>
> 'Tis by means of this perceptible image that I purpose to uplift you. . . .[2]

The themes of this art often illustrated the dramatic incidents of the story of man's fall and redemption. From the Old Testament were drawn such subjects as the creation of Adam and Eve, the fall of man, the expulsion from Paradise, the flood, the building of the Tower of Babel, scenes from the life of Moses, and others. Far more numerous were the episodes drawn from the earthly career of the Savior. One finds countless examples of the Nativity, the Magi,

[2] *The Vision of God* (London, 1928), pp. 3-6.

adoration of the shepherds, slaughter of the innocents, presentation in the temple, flight into Egypt, teaching in the temple, and baptism. Certain scenes from Christ's suffering were particularly popular—the kiss of Judas, the appearance before Caiaphas, the denuding, the scourging, the division of His garments, the carrying of the cross, the nailing of the Savior to it, the crucifixion, the descent from the cross, the entombment, the resurrection, and the ascension. Other themes dealt with Biblical stories such as the seven wise and the seven foolish virgins, the acts of mercy, and Pentecost. There also were pictures illustrating the Trinity. Finally, the catastrophic events of the last days found expression in a large number of pictures of the last judgment and the rejection of the damned.

Besides these central themes there were many others. Catholicism derived its teaching not only from Scripture but also from ancient tradition. The Virgin was popular especially at the height of the Middle Ages. Her cult appealed with particular power to the imagination of the townsmen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The scenes of her activities became popular themes in art. Artists often depicted her birth, assumption, coronation, purification, immaculate conception, and the annunciation. The *pietà*, which is especially interesting, is a picture or a statue showing the Virgin seated, holding the dead body of the Lord in her lap while she grieves in silent resignation over the cruel death of her Son. Her seven joys and seven sorrows also became popular subjects. The church boasted a large number of saints, holy men and women who had sealed their faith with the blood of martyrdom or who had lived lives of eminent Christian virtue. Chief among these were the apostles who had spread the Gospel. Next came a large company of men and women who labored for the faith. Episodes from their lives, especially their martyrdom, became popular themes for pictures.

Gothic art employed many symbols and conventions which a student must master before he can understand and appreciate the efforts of painters and sculptors. Since the earliest days of the church Christians had elaborated a symbolical art. In the catacombs where they buried their dead one can still trace the evolution of this art. For example, Christ was commonly represented as a good shepherd bearing a sheep on His shoulders; the Nativity was pictured by an infant in a manger with St. Mary and St. Joseph surrounded by cattle. The Trinity was represented by the Father with a patriarchal beard, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The four disciples, writers of the Gospels, are represented by four symbolic creatures. St. Matthew by an angel, St. Mark by a lion, St. Luke by an ox, and St. John by an eagle. The synagogue, false church of

the Jews, is represented by a young woman blindfolded, leaning upon a broken spear. These devices became traditional and rarely varied.

The saints also had their symbols. St. Peter bore keys; St. Andrew,



St. Anthony

St. Anthony, hermit saint of Egypt, was shown ringing a bell to drive away evil spirits and was accompanied by a hog. He was appealed to by unfortunates suffering from ergotism, a disease caused by eating corrupt rye bread. One such sufferer is shown with flames issuing from his hand. This disease was popularly known as St. Anthony's Fire.

a cross; St. John the Baptist, clothed in camel's hair, a lamb; St. James carried a pilgrim's staff; St. Mary Magdalene wore long hair and carried a jar of ointment. St. Veronica held the sacred kerchief, St. Lucy a pair of eyes on a salver, St. Barbara a tower, St. Ap-

polonia a tooth in a forceps, St. Christopher the Christ Child on his shoulders. St. Catherine is shown with a wheel or a sword, St. Lawrence with a gridiron, and St. Anthony with a bell and accompanied by a pig. St. Denis appeared with head struck off and held in his hands. St. Sebastian was portrayed pierced with arrows. St. Mary was often shown holding the infant Jesus in her lap. Sometimes she appeared with St. Anne. St. Joseph was always an old man standing near St. Mary. St. Agatha was shown undergoing the painful mutilation of her breasts. St. Erasmus who suffered martyrdom by having his vitals drawn from his body was shown either as carrying them over his arm or with a windlass winding them on a reel. These conventions also dominated the art of the Renaissance and are repeated endlessly in the artistic treasures of European galleries. Some of them are employed even in our own day.

Gothic painting did not reach its highest development until the fifteenth century because of the peculiar difficulties which confronted painters. Artists are required to create the illusion of concrete things on a flat surface. Objects in three dimensions must be reproduced on a medium in two dimensions. This involved the solution of a number of difficult problems. The ancients had been successful in developing the art of painting, as one may gather from the mural decorations of Pompeii. But classical painting disappeared during the decline of the Roman Empire. A little of its spirit continued to live in the miniatures of the Byzantine Empire. Although this was an emaciated form of the painter's art, nevertheless it became the starting point for mediæval miniaturists. These artists throve in Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and made noteworthy contributions which today form an interesting phase of the history of art. But it was not until the close of the fourteenth century that painters in northern Europe began to solve the peculiar difficulties under which they labored. They managed to create the illusion of depth. They arranged groups so that they possessed unity and were more successful in depicting dramatic action. They made closer study of form and succeeded in expressing it better. Figures became less rigid.

Another reason for the retarded progress of pictorial art is to be sought in the conception which mediæval folk had of artists. They viewed them very much as they did weavers, carpenters, cobblers, and other handicraftsmen. Clients were wont to give commissions calling for pictures containing a specified number of persons, arranged according to a definitely stated plan, painted in designated colors, and in general subject to any conditions which the client wished to impose. These restrictions permitted little freedom to the painter. Often a client's taste was dictated by traditional conceptions.

Creative efforts of artists were restricted by people who could not sympathize with new ideas. Furthermore, artists were organized into guilds, like weavers, pewterers, or shoemakers. They regarded their work as a craft rather than as an art. They executed their pictures according to traditional methods which they had learned from their masters. These limitations restricted the development of art until the dawn of the Renaissance when they began to break down in the Low Countries where the dukes of Burgundy and others acted as patrons. But progress was more rapid in Italian towns where there was greater wealth and less respect for tradition.

To understand the evolution of the art of this period one must know something about the way pictures were painted. Methods employed in the Byzantine east were commonly followed. A panel of wood was carefully smoothed and covered with a coating of gold, and colors were mixed with some sticky substance, such as the white of eggs. This method is called *tempera* painting. It produced sweet and pure colors, but did not serve the painter's magic nearly so well as oil, which did not become common until later. The discovery of oil painting has been correctly ascribed to Van Eyck, but it is impossible to learn just what his innovation was. It is certain, however, that his use of oils was very different from that of Rembrandt and modern painters. Oil painting put an end to the use of gold backgrounds and made possible great changes in the use of color, especially the use of light and shade (chiaroscuro).

Fresco painting was common in southern Europe. It did not flourish in the north because the walls of Gothic churches were pierced by many windows. The Romanesque basilicas of the south possessed few windows, and artists thus had a chance to produce great pictures on the walls of these buildings. This art presented peculiar difficulties. Water colors were applied to the wet plaster and penetrated it so that the picture became part of the plaster. This method necessitated rapid execution because color could not be applied when the plaster was dry. It also demanded exact work because any mistake necessitated scraping the plaster and loss of the work. The fresco artist therefore was required to have his cartoons ready when the plaster was applied. He emphasized detail less than bold, swiftly executed composition, a fact which had an important bearing upon the development of Italian painting. The artist of the north, on the other hand, began as a miniaturist and never wholly abandoned his habit of studying details and depicting them with laborious fidelity.

Gothic art in northern Europe reached its highest excellence in the Low Countries. This was due partly to the Hundred Years' War which ruined the economic prosperity of France so that much artistic

skill disappeared from the land. The Low Countries, however, were closely allied with England during most of this period and became immensely wealthy. By the end of the fourteenth century the art which had flourished in Paris was transferred to the Low Countries. The dukes of Burgundy who ruled in Flanders and the neighboring Low Countries were a younger branch of the Valois house which had occupied the French throne since 1328. These princes brought with them an appreciation of the best art of the Seine region. Thus John Maelwael, a native of Guelders who worked in Paris, became painter to Duke Philip the Bold (1368-1404). Under Burgundian patronage was born the magnificent art of Flanders.

The earliest pictorial work done for the Burgundian princes which has come down to us is the *Très Riches Heures*, a book of hours preserved in the museum at Chantilly. Its miniatures were made by Paul of Limburg and his two brothers, nephews of Maelwael, who were related to the Parisian school of miniaturists. In these little pictures the figures are drawn with that rigid regard for realism which we associate with Flemish painting and which in lesser degree characterized all Gothic pictorial art. The colors are delicate; flowers, plants, and trees are exquisitely drawn and reveal a keen love of nature. The skies are tinted a delicate blue. The themes are exclusively religious: the coronation of the Virgin, the Three Magi, and so forth. Gold leaf is abundantly used. This book was left unfinished in 1416. Another choice work was the *Très Belles Heures*, destroyed in a fire in Turin in 1904. Its miniatures also revealed close study and keen appreciation of nature, while the artists possessed greater skill than the Limburg brothers. Their themes were of the traditional sort, but were executed with greater skill and freedom. These pictures have been ascribed for the most part to John van Eyck (d. 1441). They reveal a startling growth of naturalism, knowledge of form, artistic unity, and some skill in creating an illusion of space.

The next great masterpiece is the triptych of the mystic lamb in Ghent. It was painted by Van Eyck[8] at the request of Jodocus Vyt, a wealthy citizen of Ghent who wished to decorate a chapel in the present church of St. Bavo. Its theme is drawn from the seventh chapter of the Revelation of St. John. The central panel presents a pleasant landscape of hill, wood, and meadow spangled with flowers. In the distant background rise the towers of the heavenly Jerusalem. In the center is erected an altar on which stands a lamb, emblematic

[8] In omitting the name of Hubert Van Eyck, I follow the opinion of my learned friend, M. Emile Renders, set forth in his *Hubert Van Eyck Personnage de Legende* (Brussels, 1933). According to a none too well-founded tradition, Hubert Van Eyck was an important associate of his brother John.

of Christ. Its breast is pierced and a stream of blood flows into a chalice. Around the altar are gathered angels, while farther in the background is assembled a host of saints and martyrs. In the foreground on each side of a fountain with flowing water emblematic of the living faith in Christ, the fountain of life, is a group of priests, monks, and laymen praying and singing. In a smaller panel above is a magnificent picture of God in all His glory. In the panel at His right sits the Virgin, a creation of unsurpassed beauty. On His left is St. John the Baptist with an open book in his lap. On each side of this group of three are St. Cecilia at the organ and a choir of singing angels. Below them and on the sides of the central panel showing the mystic lamb are companies of judges, hermits, pilgrims, and crusaders. This great classic of Flemish art reveals even more fully the remarkable excellences of Van Eyck's miniatures in the *Très Belles Heures* of Turin. Here realism, a careful study of anatomical detail, and religious mysticism are more perfectly combined than in any other contemporary work. No other picture better repays careful attention by the student bent upon penetrating the religious life of the people of the declining Middle Ages.

Of the other pictures from the hand of John van Eyck, none is more interesting than the Virgin and the Canon. The Virgin is seated on a carpeted throne. She wears a robe of the finest cloth richly embroidered and set with jewels. The child Jesus whom she holds on the right side of her lap is an interesting study. Painters before Van Eyck and even in his day were wont to portray a stiff child incapable of motion, but Van Eyck produced a perfectly natural child such as he had often seen. The donor of the picture was a canon of St. Donatian's church in Bruges, and he is shown kneeling in a white surplice at the Virgin's left. His service book and spectacles are carefully executed. His face is a remarkable bit of realism; the wrinkles, eyes, ears, and half-bald head are models of excellence. By his side stands St. George clad in armor and bearing the traditional banner of white with a cross on it. At the Virgin's right stands St. Donatian, patron saint of the church in Bruges, bearing his traditional wheel to which lighted candles are affixed. Van Eyck also painted a number of portraits, the most striking of which is the Man with a Pink. Realism could go no further in depicting anatomical detail. The portrait of John Arnolfini and his wife shows a couple standing in a room lighted by a window. The chandelier and mirror which reflect the light are skillfully done. Van Eyck, like all Flemish painters, carefully noted every detail and reproduced it faithfully. The perspective may be faulty, but the colors and feeling for reality are an abiding glory. Things were painted as they were and not as they appeared.

Rogier vander Weyden (d. 1464) was the next important artist of the Flemish Low Countries. He drew his inspiration from Van Eyck and spent much of his life in Brussels.[4] Van Eyck's religious pictures are characterized by serious thought, and all objects are subordinated to it. There is little motion in them. All is quiet as if hushed by the sanctity of the solemn scene. But Vander Weyden was dramatic. He was interested in the concrete expression of religious mysticism. His Descent from the Cross shows Christ being taken down by the loving hands of Joseph of Arimathea. The women are weeping bitterly. At the left of the cross stands Mary Magdalene in deep sorrow; at the right is the Virgin who has dropped to the ground swooning. She is supported by St. John and another woman. Another female figure is drying the tears from her face. The picture is dominated by the poignant sorrow in which all share and which gives some unity to the composition.

Vander Weyden's Last Judgment tells the story of the final scenes of this earth as it was popularly conceived during the Middle Ages. Christ is seated on a rainbow with the sword of justice at His right. His feet rest on a globe, emblematic of the world which He is to judge. Below Him stands St. Michael with scales in his hands weighing two human beings. The picture represents the moment when the call of the angel has been heard by the dead who rise from their graves. Some have emerged completely, others are still struggling to free themselves from the clay. Here and there the ground cracks and upheaves as a body pushes its way up; in one place an arm and part of the head are visible. Some of the souls adore Christ, but others flee in terror to the torment prepared for them. Around Christ are seated holy men and women, including the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, in attitudes of prayer. Angels sounding their trumpets fly around St. Michael. The artist has succeeded in creating a certain unity through the vigorous actions of the resurrected in response to the dread summons.

Hugo vander Goes (d. 1482), noted for his Death of the Virgin, followed in the footsteps of Van Eyck and Vander Weyden. His work possesses the same qualities of realism, careful study of detail, and a certain dramatic vigor. In this picture the Virgin lies on a bed diagonally to the observer. The artist thus sought to solve the problem of depth by employing foreshortening with a boldness never before attempted by his Flemish predecessors. He made an effort to give to each person at the bedside an appropriate expression and

[4] The writer believes with M. Emile Renders that the pictures usually ascribed to the Master of Flémalle are all from the hand of Rogier vander Weyden. See M. Renders, *La Solution du Problème Vander Weyden—Flémalle—Campin* (Bruges, 1931).

proper action. Vander Goes' triptych, the Adoration of the Shepherds, is his masterpiece. The central panel shows Mary in adoration before her Son. The child is far inferior to similar figures by Van Eyck and Vander Weyden, but the shepherds are unsurpassed. In them one sees the tendency toward realism which was so pronounced a feature in Flemish art, especially in the case of Peter Breugel (d. 1569) in the next century. These shepherds were drawn from those which the artist saw around him every day. In the foreground stand two vases, one containing iris and the other columbines. The fifteenth century never produced finer floral studies.

Hans Memlinc (d. 1494) was the last of the great Flemish painters of the Middle Ages. He produced numerous pictures in which the characteristic Flemish methods were employed. But a delicate psychological expression and a subtle refinement dominate all his pictures. The reliquary with scenes from the martyrdom of St. Ursula is justly famous. Memlinc also painted a Last Judgment which was obviously inspired by Rogier vander Weyden. The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine shows Mary seated on a sumptuously decorated throne. The rich clothing of the figures is carefully portrayed, the pattern of the cloth of St. Catherine's robe being reproduced with laborious fidelity. At the saint's feet lies the traditional wheel which figured in her last sufferings. At the Virgin's left is seated St. Barbara with the customary tower behind her. Back of the Virgin stand St. John the Baptist with his lamb and St. John the Evangelist with a chalice in his hands.

Low Country artists also produced noteworthy sculpture. The dukes of Burgundy determined to beautify the Carthusian monastery at Champmol near Dijon in Burgundy. This was to be a mausoleum for the Burgundian house. Philip the Bold secured the services of a sculptor named Claus Sluter.[5] Very little is known of this artist's origin, but tradition has it that he came from Zeeland which had not yet been annexed by Duke Philip. That Sluter was under the influence of French Gothic sculptors is certain. He was commissioned to decorate the monastic well and prepare a carved scene of the crucifixion above it. The finished work is known as Moses' Well. On each of its six sides was placed one of the great prophets of the Old Testament. The figures are swathed in heavy cloth which falls in thick folds about the forms. The statue of Moses is particularly impressive. Its facial expression is worthy of the great leader of God's chosen people. Moses peers into the distance, his soul kindling with wrath as he sees his people worshiping false gods. David is crowned and leans sadly upon his harp as he thinks of the great

[5] For the significance of Sluter and his school, see A. Germain, *Les Néerlandais en Bourgogne* (Brussels, 1909).

sacrifice which a distant descendant, Jesus, must make for the sins of the world. On Jeremiah's face deep sorrow is written; on Zachariah's, bitter anguish. Daniel stands erect giving his prophecy; and Isaiah, old, bald, bearded, and oppressed by the tragedy of Christ's coming sacrifice, prophesies this supreme event. The words of each of these figures are inscribed on long scroll, a frequent device in Gothic art. The prophets are wrought with great fidelity to life. They are Jews such as Sluter no doubt had seen in some ghetto. The somber note, the realization of the awful drama of man's fall, Christ's crucifixion, and the final judgment, are characteristic of the mournful view of life at the close of the Middle Ages. The Calvary above this group was destroyed during the French Revolution. Only the mutilated figure of Christ crowned with thorns remains. It is unsurpassed in naturalness and in the expression of infinite suffering. The other figures of this group were the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. John the Baptist. In executing this work, Sluter had the assistance of his nephew, Claus de Werve, an able sculptor.

Sluter also decorated the door of the monastery. In the center he placed a Virgin with the child Jesus in her left arm. Her garments fall in heavy flowing folds. She gazes with tender adoration upon the infant. At the right of the door is the figure of Duke Philip kneeling in prayer, and back of him stands St. John the Baptist. On the opposite side is the kneeling figure of the duchess, behind whom stands St. Catherine. The duke's face is an excellent portrait. Two other works at Champmol, the tombs of Philip the Bold (d. 1404) and John the Fearless (1404-19), continue the ideas of Sluter. The carved figures of the departed rulers swathed in heavy garments with hands folded in prayer lie on marble slabs. Along the sides of the tombs, between Gothic pillars, as in a church, passes a long cortège of monkish mourners.

These vigorous creations laid the foundations of an influential school of sculpture in northern Europe. But it was the paintings of John van Eyck and his successors which made Flemish art famous. Throughout the fifteenth century this art exerted more influence than any other school, the Italian painters of the *quattrocento* not excepted. From Germany to Spain the Flemish style became popular. But in no land outside of the Low Countries did it rise to the supreme heights achieved by Van Eyck and Vander Weyden.

As compared with the work of the Low Country masters, painting in other lands remained distinctly inferior. In Germany, which was divided into many petty states whose princes remained relatively poor, there were few patrons to give commissions to artists. German primitive art remained provincial. This was even truer of English

art. There were some remarkable productions in France which should be noted. Southern France suffered less from the ravages of the war with England than northern France, and art found refuge in Provence and other provinces of the south. A *pietà*, preserved in the Louvre, is remarkable for the expression of the Virgin's deep grief. On her lap lies the gaunt form of Christ, rigid in death. Nothing is known about the artist of this picture. Its naturalism and mournful note remind one of the pictures of Rogier vander Weyden. At the court of Aix in Provence one Nicholas Froment ably adapted Flemish realism. But the art of the Low Countries exerted little influence upon the artists of the French court. John Foucquet (d. 1485) of Tours painted miniatures and pictures. His art, like that of Van Eyck, sprang from the realism of the Gothic masters, but his execution is less sure than that of the Flemings.

French sculpture until the early years of the sixteenth century remained bound to the past. Groups representing the entombment, or "sepulchers," were common. The figures of the participants in this tearful ceremony are smitten with grief. The best known of these "sepulchers" is the one in the monastery of Solesmes. Another example of this late religious sculpture are the calvaries so popular at the time. Those at Plougastel and Pleyben in Brittany are famous. The grief expressed by the carved figures is executed in the manner characteristic of the closing Middle Ages. The last of the French sculptors to produce work in the old manner was Michel Colombe (d. 1519?), who carved a St. George slaying the Dragon which was well executed but was lacking in dramatic energy. By this time Gothic methods were outworn. Repetition of old themes in the old manner inevitably spells decay. Colombe belonged to the period of transition when Italian influences were beginning to be felt; he often employed decoration as developed by Italian masters.

Italian painting until the close of the thirteenth century was completely controlled by the methods employed by Byzantine artists and their Italian followers. Altar pieces and other pictures were produced in *tempera*, and frescoes decorated the spacious walls of Romanesque churches. Themes were of the traditional religious variety and were executed after the time-honored ideas of Byzantine masters and their pupils. Gothic art, which had originated in France and was reaching perfection north of the Alps, had not exerted any appreciable influence in Italy by the closing decades of the thirteenth century. A new impetus in the direction of realism was imparted by the Florentine painter Cimabue (d. 1302?). The old art no longer satisfied the æsthetic feelings of the wealthy trading and industrial communities of Italy. Cimabue's chief work is a Madonna Enthroned or, as it is generally called, the Rucellai Madonna, painted for the

Florentine church Santa Maria Novella. The following story about this picture is told by Giorgio Vasari (d. 1574):

> This picture is of larger size than any figure that had been painted down to those times; and the angels surrounding it make it evident that, although Cimabue still retained the Greek manner, he was nevertheless gradually approaching the mode of outline and general method of modern times. Thus it happened that this work was an object of so much admiration to the people of that day—they having then never seen anything better—that it was carried in solemn procession, with the sound of trumpets and other festal demonstrations, from the house of Cimabue to the church, he himself being highly rewarded and honored for it. . . . Whilst Cimabue was painting this picture . . . King Charles II of Naples (1285-1308) passed through Florence, and the authorities of the city, among other marks of respect, conducted him to see the picture of Cimabue. When this work was thus shewn the king, it had not before been seen by anyone; wherefore all the men and women of Florence hastened in great crowds to admire it, making all possible demonstrations of delight.[6]

These were well-deserved words of praise, for Cimabue, discontented with the stiff and hieratic forms of Byzantine artists, carefully studied the arrangement of angels around the Virgin's throne, the folds of garments, and facial expression. In spite of many obvious defects, Cimabue heralds the advent of a new art. Another painter, a Roman named Pietro Cavallini, active in Rome during the closing decades of the thirteenth century, also created some remarkable pictures. His work in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome shows much improvement in facial naturalness and exactitude in depicting the folds of garments. Evidently Byzantine art was hopelessly moribund. It is unknown what influences led Cimabue and Cavallini independently of each other to break with the old methods, but soon a more radical departure was made by the introduction of Gothic art into Italy from beyond the Alps.

Giotto (d. 1336) started painting on the new road which was to lead to the brilliant achievements of the *quattrocento* and *cinquecento*. According to a story by Vasari, he was a pupil of Cimabue, but soon outstripped his master. He was a man of remarkable ability as a poet, sculptor, architect, and above all as a painter. He appears as a forerunner of the host of universal artistic geniuses in Italy whose personality and achievements fill the next two centuries of Italian life. He so astounded his countrymen that they told many stories about

[6] *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (Bohn Library), vol. i, p. 41.

him. One of these relates that he drew the picture of a fly so perfectly that his master Cimabue, mistaking it for a real fly, vainly tried to brush it away with a motion of his hand. Giotto's ready wit endeared him to all men. On one occasion King Robert of Naples (1309-43), who had commissioned him to make some pictures, said to him, "Giotto, if I were in your place, now that it is so hot, I would give up painting for a time and take a rest." "And so I would do, certainly, if I were in your place," was the malicious retort. Dante was an intimate friend of Giotto and his family, and the humanist Petrarch greatly admired the painter's creations.

Giotto studied under Cimabue who had been engaged to do some frescoes in the church of St. Francis in Assisi. A few years before the close of the century Giotto assumed direction of the great frescoes which were in progress. His pictures in the nave of the upper church show that he sought to impart some of the corporeal reality which Cimabue had attempted. They are also characterized by striking vivacity of action. One of these pictures is the famous incident of St. Francis Preaching to the Birds, and another portrays the saint's Renunciation of his Father. It is evident that Giotto had made great progress by this time, but he still had much to learn. His crowds are not always well arranged, and the backgrounds possess little unity. For example, buildings are placed at the sides of the pictures, leaving a displeasing gap in the middle. Giotto's next work was done in Rome, whither he went in 1300 to prepare for St. Peter's the design of the mosaic which was to represent Christ walking on the sea. It reveals much skill in depicting action.

Giotto's next great work was done in the Arena Chapel in the church of Padua. On its barrel-shaped ceiling and its sides he painted in fresco the story of the Christian scheme of redemption. Besides pictures of God the Father and the Last Judgment, there is a long series depicting the life of Christ. Here again the artist reveals his realism and vivacity, but in addition he has gained dramatic unity. This is well illustrated by the fresco of the Lamentation over the Body of Christ. The actions of the grief-stricken mourners around the rigid body harmonize with their sorrow. The movements of the Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene are surprisingly realistic. These pictures also reveal Giotto's great progress in portraying mass, a progress which was inevitable the moment he began to give greater dramatic unity and intensity to his scenes.

During the next few years Giotto tarried in Florence, but by 1312 he was again at work in the church of Assisi. This time he produced a number of pictures in the lower church. Giotto possessed a marvelous capacity for growth, for these pictures reveal great improvement in his ability to give symmetry to the groups. The four frescoes

on the pendentives of the vault, illustrating Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, and the Apotheosis of St. Francis, mark an important advance upon all previous achievement. Other pictures in the left arm of the transept of this church show similar progress. In the Massacre of the Innocents the horror of this episode and the vigorous action demanded by it evoked the artist's dramatic ability.

Giotto was the founder of a new school. He was one of the greatest of all artistic geniuses, the boldest of initiators. Most artists of the fourteenth century were his pupils. Even the great masters of the *quattrocento* in Florence found that they could profitably study his work. Giotto's influence was strongly felt in Siena which produced a remarkable school of painters during the fourteenth century. They improved the traditional Byzantine methods by adapting Giotto's realism. Duccio (d. 1339) was the originator of this school. His famous Madonna in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence is a sweet and gracious lady and portrays her heavenly majesty, but does not reveal the painter's skill in depicting the reality of earthly objects. Some of his other creations as, for example, the meeting of the three women and the angel at the tomb clearly show that the artist worthily followed in the footsteps of Giotto. But the spirit of Sienese art remained mediæval, mystic, and satisfied with traditional forms. Later artists cared little for Giotto's experimentation and reproduced old forms in conventional ways. They gave to their pictures, however, an extraordinary delicacy, sweetness, and refinement. Religion in art, especially as shown in pictures of the Virgin, was a greater reality to the people of Siena than careful expression of detail and study of composition.

Simone Martini (d. 1344), who continued the art of Duccio, was most successful in portraying the majestic grandeur of exalted religious themes. His greatest picture is an Annunciation in which the Virgin is seated on a throne. She gently turns from the angel who has just dropped before her out of heaven to announce the happy news that she is to be the mother of Christ. The sweetness, tenderness, and richness of this picture have won for it a leading place in the Sienese tradition. The next great artists of this school were Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti (d. 1348?). Their pictures possess a strongly realistic note and reveal careful study of anatomical detail. But the Sienese school became a school of imitation. The result was that its work became more and more provincial and after the opening of the fifteenth century counted for little in the world of art.

Gothic architecture approached its decline as the sixteenth century drew near. It continued to flourish in northern Europe, but south of the Alps and the Pyrenees and in southern France it enjoyed but an exotic growth. Thus in Rome there was only one Gothic church, that

of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, built in the fourteenth century. Creative effort in Gothic architecture came to an end by 1300. After that it was inclined to repetition and elaboration of earlier ideas. Decoration became more and more exuberant and less and less original. It no longer served structural needs, and ornament was superficially imposed on Gothic structures where it should never have been placed. Thus the cathedral of Milan which was built at the close of the fourteenth century possesses excessive ornamentation and is of little importance from an architect's standpoint. This tendency is even better illustrated by the carving in the church of Brou in Savoy, one of the last and most elaborate of the churches to be decorated in the late Gothic style. This excessive attention to detail was adopted by certain artists, especially by the Fleming Quentin Massys (d. 1530). The backgrounds of his pictures are often filled with complicated Gothic ornament. From the use of restless decoration this style is called flamboyant. Gothic architecture had outlived itself and barely survived during the Renaissance and the Reformation.

CHAPTER XIII

LITERARY EXPRESSION

The Middle Ages were ages of reality as well as romance, of scepticism as well as faith, of cynicism as well as idealistic devotion, of rollicking "sunburnt mirth" as well as gorgeous pomp and pageantry.—SCHOFIELD.[1]

LITERATURE during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries concerned itself mostly with the traditional ideas and problems of the Middle Ages. This was inevitable because life's interests continued to revolve around manorial, religious, bourgeois, and feudal institutions. Men persisted in looking upon things much as former generations had done. Literature derived its inspiration from the past and its themes in general became more and more stereotyped.

The literature of chivalry was read by townsmen. They had always looked with envious eyes upon the knightly class and they relished with never-ending delight the accounts of King Arthur and the Round Table, the famous *Amadis of Gaul*, and such treatises about chivalric excellence as Ramon Lull's *Order of Chivalry*. In their eyes quality was associated with the nobility whom they imitated in every way possible. This conservatism in social point of view explains why the knightly romances described in an earlier chapter remained so popular during the age of the Renaissance.

Chronicles remained a popular literary production and a large number of such histories were penned. John le Bel (d. 1370?) produced a chronicle which covers events of the Hundred Years' War from 1329 to 1361. Born about 1290, he belonged to one of the powerful noble families in the neighborhood of Liége and became a canon in the cathedral of that city. In the service of the ruling house of Hainault which played an active rôle during the first decades of the Hundred Years' War, Le Bel possessed unique opportunity to become acquainted with the stirring events of those years. His chronicle, begun at the invitation of John of Hainault, is a vivacious

[1] *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York, 1906), pp. 453-454.

account in French of the war, especially as it concerned the Low Countries. Probably his most striking passages are those which recount his personal observations of the campaign in Scotland in 1329. His account is accurate but reveals throughout a purely feudal point of view.

John Froissart (1337?-1405?) was the next great chronicler. Although he was born of a bourgeois family in Valenciennes, his point of view is feudal and reveals a remarkable inability to understand the significance of the bourgeoisie. The reason for this is that townsmen like him looked at life from the traditional chivalric point of view. Froissart entered the service of Queen Philippa of England in 1361 and later received encouragement from some princes in the Low Countries. Thus he was brought up in the stereotyped feudal environment of his day and his long chronicle reveals the chivalric tastes and prejudices of the fourteenth century. It is a classic account of the Hundred Years' War and is even today a favorite book with many readers.

The earlier part of Froissart's work is little more than a paraphrasing of John le Bel's chronicle, but from 1356 his account is based upon his own experiences. Succeeding redactions are less friendly to the English and show greater independence of Le Bel. Froissart's account is couched in a vivacious and picturesque style. Unable to understand the great transformations through which society was passing, Froissart saw everything from the point of view of the nobility whom he served and for whom he wrote. He sought to perpetuate the memory of the chivalric achievements of great men. This is stated at the opening: "To the intent that the honorable and noble adventures of feats of arms, done and achieved by the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered and put in perpetual memory whereby the prewe and hardy may have ensample to encourage them in their well-doing, I, Sir John Froissart, will treat and record an history of great louage and praise."[2]

Georges Chastellain, the next great historian or chronicler, was a Fleming, born in Alost in 1404 or 1405, and served the dukes of Burgundy who were also counts of Flanders. He wrote a chronicle extending from 1419 to 1475, of which, unfortunately, only fragments have come down to us. Like Froissart he traveled extensively, visiting courts, conversing with the notables of his day, and even taking part in military expeditions. His chronicle is a rich quarry for the student of the fifteenth century when the dukes of Burgundy, made powerful by the wealth of Flemish and Brabançon commerce and industry, played a leading rôle in the life of Europe. His style

[2] *The Chronicles of Froissart* (The Globe Edition), (London, 1913), p. 1.

is direct, simple, and truthful. He accepted without reserve the common belief that the feudal element was the noblest part of society. He was oblivious to the significance of the bourgeoisie whose labor supported the brilliant following of the Burgundian rulers of the Low Countries. Olivier de la Marche (d. 1502), following the example of Chastellain, wrote a chronicle covering the period from 1435 to 1467. It also extols the chivalry of the Burgundian court and illustrates the feudal manners and customs of the vanishing Middle Ages. John Molinet (1435-1507) continued the narrative of Chastellain, bringing the account down to 1506. It has less merit as an example of the chronicler's art, but is important as revealing thoughts and manners of the time.

John de Bueil (d. 1478?) was a captain who served under King Charles VII of France (1422-61) in the wars against the English. His experiences are recorded in his *Jouvencel*. This chronicle describes the new military methods which the French adopted during the closing decades of the long war against the English. Soldiers no longer are impetuous as in the days of Froissart. The hero of this account is an efficient captain who can obey orders and who carefully plans how he may lead his men to victory. The chronicle breathes the new spirit that has come over a rejuvenated France which under the command of her king is achieving national unity, repression of the feudality, and the expulsion of her national enemy. This book devotes much less attention to the accouterments of chivalry than its predecessors and contemporaries.

A remarkable Flemish chronicle, the *Gestes of the Dukes of Brabant*, written by John Boendale of Antwerp (1280-1365) illustrates the point of view of a bourgeois living in a rapidly growing metropolis. His chronicle is less dominated by chivalric ideals and reflects the writer's bourgeois environment. It deals with the history of the ducal house of Brabant. Its rhymes are often mere doggerel but express a healthy respect for truth and concrete fact.

The *Florentine Chronicle* begun by Giovanni Villani (d. 1348) is even more remarkable as an example of bourgeois chronicle writing. Florence was becoming a city of world importance and its citizenry had unrivaled opportunities to form an extended acquaintance with all of western Europe. Giovanni Villani traveled far and wide, gathering information which he used in writing a chronicle. His narrative is vivacious and concrete, characteristic of an energetic bourgeois curious in all things which concerned his business interests. The chronicle begins with early Biblical times and ends with 1348. It was continued by Giovanni's brother Matteo until the year 1363. The latter's son Filippo brought it down to 1364. The authors

were content to observe events honestly without the excessive veneration for chivalric life which characterized such chroniclers as Froissart and Chastellain.

Town chronicles were popular especially in Germany. Fable and serious fact were recounted at length, and when printing became an established industry magnificent editions with elaborate woodcuts appeared. One such work is the *Book of the Holy City of Cologne*. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Magdeburg, Strassburg, Basel, Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg, and others possessed chronicles. Of wider scope were the *Universal Chronicle of Saxony* (*Sachsenchronik*), John Twinger of Königshofen's chronicle, and Eberhard Windeck's account of the deeds of the Emperor Sigismund.

Religion, the highest expression of mediæval life, dominated literature. Accounts of the deeds of saints were very popular. The *Golden Legend*, a vast collection of the lives of the saints, was compiled about 1275 by Jacob of Voragine (d. 1298). This work told the story of Christ's advent and His earthly labors and passion, and the deeds of the apostles and other saints. It served as a practical manual to teach people the significance of saints. It was translated into many vernaculars and its contents were appropriated in whole or in part by various writers. Accounts were written about special saints, particularly those who became popular during the later Middle Ages. Such were the stories about St. Anne, St. Brigitta, St. Francis, and many local saints whose number was constantly increasing as the Middle Ages drew toward their close.

A considerable sermon literature came into existence. This was inevitable in a rapidly expanding urban society which delighted in the preaching of itinerant friars. Berthold of Regensburg and St. Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century; Gerard Groote, the originator of the *devotio moderna* in the fourteenth century; and John Brugman, a Netherlander, in the fifteenth century were a few of the most prominent of these. Penitential preaching became common, especially during Lent and Holy Week, and written sermons circulated among the people whose religious life was fashioned by these fiery penitential preachers. Manuals on sermon writing were prepared. Collections of pious stories, called *exempla* and used to point a moral, multiplied. One of the most popular of such collections was the *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* by John Herolt.

Hymns also were a product of this environment. The liturgy of the church employed many songs. The *Dies Iræ*, written by the Franciscan Thomas of Celano (d. 1255), appealed to an age keenly interested in the day of judgment. Its sonorous and stately verses cannot be translated adequately:

Day of wrath and doom impending,
David's word with Sibyl's blending!
Heaven and earth in ashes ending!

O, what fear man's bosom rendeth,
When from heaven the Judge descendeth,
On whose sentence all dependeth!

Wondrous sound the trumpet flingeth,
Through earth's sepulchers it ringeth,
All before the throne it bringeth.

Death is struck, and nature quaking,
All creation is awaking,
To its Judge an answer making. . . .

Ah! that day of tears and mourning!
From the dust of earth returning,
Man for judgment must prepare him;
Spare, O God, in mercy spare him!
Lord all pitying, Jesu blest,
Grant them Thine eternal rest.[8]

Few of the songs dealing with death are as beautiful and stirring as St. Francis' *Canticle of the Sun* written in Italian. It reveals true poetic insight and genuine religious sentiment.

Most high, omnipotent, good Lord.
Thine be the praise, the glory, the honor, and all benediction.
To Thee alone, Most High, they are due, and no man is worthy to mention Thee.

Be Thou praised, my Lord, with Thy creatures, above all Brother Sun
Who gives the day and lightens us therewith.

And he is beautiful and radiant with great splendor,
of Thee, Most High, he bears similitude.

Be Thou praised, my Lord, of Sister Moon and the stars,
in the heaven host Thou formed them
clear and precious and comely . . .

Be Thou praised, my Lord, of Brother Fire,
by which Thou hast lightened the night,
and he is beautiful and joyful and robust and strong. . . .

[8] M. Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal* (New York, 1922), pp. 214-215.

Be Thou praised, my Lord, of our Sister Bodily Death,
from whom no man living may escape.
Woe to those who die in mortal sin;

Blessed are they who are found in Thy most holy will,
for the second death shall not work them ill.

Praise ye and bless my Lord, and give Him thanks,
and serve Him with great humility.[4]

St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) wrote five remarkable hymns which have occupied an honored place in the liturgy of the church. They were specially prepared at the request of Pope Urban IV (1261-64) for the Feast of Corpus Christi instituted in 1264, and summarize Catholic teaching on the sacrament of the altar. They are *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* (Praise, O Sion, Praise thy Savior), *Pange lingua gloriosi* (Sing my tongue, the Savior's glory), *Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia* (At this our solemn feast, let holy joys abound), *Verbum supernum prodiens* (The heavenly Word proceeding forth), and *Adoro te devote latens Deitas* (Hidden God, devoutly I adore Thee).[5] Especially appealing were the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* and the *Stabat Mater Speciosa*, written by Jacopone da Todi. These liturgical gems are unsurpassed as an expression of the deepest piety of the Middle Ages.

Many hymns sprang from the lower classes and express the piety of simple folk. The following Christmas song was popular in the fifteenth century and was translated into many vernaculars, including Scottish:

To us is borne a barne of blis,
Our King and Empriour:
Ane gracious Virgin Mother is,
to God hir Saviour.
Had not that blissit bairne bene borne,
We had bene everie ane forlorne,
With sin and feindis fell.
Christ Jesus, loving be to the,
That thow ane man wald borne be,
To saif us from hell.[6]

[4] *The Little Flowers and Life of St. Francis* (Everyman's Edition), pp. 294-295.

[5] These may be found translated in M. Britt, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-192.

[6] *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs* (Scottish Text Society), (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 51-52.

Another popular carol was the *In dulci jubilo* which interspersed Latin words in the mother tongue:

In dulci jubilo
Now let us sing with myrth and jo!
Our hartis consolation
Lies in presepio,
And shynes as the sonne,
Matris in gremio,
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O!

O Jesu Parvule,
O thirst sair after Thee;
Comfort my hart and mind,
O puer optime!
God of all grace so kynde,
Et Princeps Gloriæ,
Trahe me post Te,
Trahe me post Te![7]

Lullabies, as well as songs with satirical, didactic, and convivial themes, became common. The theme of love was celebrated in verse in imitation of the troubadours. A vast number of ballads sprang into existence; those dealing with Robin Hood were well known in the days of Langland.

Dreams and allegories were popular. This was natural because men viewed the world as fallen from the primitive righteousness of Paradise. Was not this life a vale of tears and was there not a perfect order beyond? Writers often arranged their productions in the form of dreams. Probably the most remarkable example of this type of literature is William Langland's *Piers Plowman* written in the English vernacular of the fourteenth century.

> In a summer season, when soft was the sun,
> In rough cloth I robed me, as I a shepherd were,
> In habit like a hermit in his works unholy,
> And through the wide world I went, wonders to hear.
> But on a May morning, on Malvern hills,
> A marvel befel me—sure from Faery it came—
> I had wandered me weary, so weary, I rested me
> On a broad bank by a merry-sounding burn;
> And as I lay and learned and looked into the waters
> I slumbered in a sleeping, it rippled so merrily,
> And I dreamed—marvellously.[8]

The poet dreams that he sees the society of his day divided into many ranks. He beholds laboring peasants, townsmen, wandering friars, poor and rich, happy and unfortunate. He sees that there are many wrongs in society, such as greed, violence, and all manner of injustice. These he judges from the standpoint of the conventional ideals of the time. The first part of his poem is a satirical picture of the world as he knew it, the second presents the world made ideal by

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
[8] William Langland, *Piers Plowman* (Everyman's Library), p. 3.

a thorough application of Christian ethics as taught in Catholic theology.

The *Pearl* also is an allegorical poem written at about the same time by an unknown author. He is sad because he has lost his daughter Marguerite, a name derived from the Latin word *margarita* meaning pearl. She is buried in the churchyard, and one August day when he visits the spot he has a vision of a radiant landscape like that in John van Eyck's altarpiece, the Mystic Lamb.

> Wondrously the hill-sides shone
> with crystal cliffs that were so clear;
> and all about were holt-woods bright,
> with trunks as blue as hue of Inde;
> and close-set leaves on every branch
> as burnish'd silver sway'd and swung;
> when glided 'gainst them glinting gleams,
> splendent they shone with shimmering sheen;
> and the gravel I ground upon that strand
> were precious pearls of Orient;
> the sunbeams were but dim and dark,
> if set beside that wondrous glow!

Soon he spies the pearl, his daughter:

> More marvels then did daunt my soul;
> I saw beyond that merry mere
> a crystal cliff that shone full bright,
> many a noble ray stood forth;
> at the foot thereof there sat a child,—
> so debonair, a maid of grace;
> glistening white was her rich robe;
> I knew her well, I had seen her ere.
> As gleaming gold, refin'd and pure,
> so shone that glory 'neath the cliff;
> long toward her there I look'd,—
> the longer. I knew her more and more.

When he recognizes her he exclaims:

> "O Pearl!" quoth I, "bedight in pearls,
> art thou my Pearl, that I have plain'd,
> bewept by me, so lone, a-night?
> Much longing have I borne for thee,
> since into grass thou hence didst glide;
> pensive, broken, forpined am I;
> but thou hast reach'd a life of joy,
> in the strifeless home of Paradise.
> What fate hath hither brought my jewel,
> and me in dolorous plight hath cast?

Since we were sunder'd and set apart,
a joyless jeweller I have been."

The pathetic note, so marked a feature of late mediæval art and literature, is nowhere more effectively rendered. Though crushed by the tragedy of his daughter's death, the author takes comfort that she lives in heaven among the angels and the happy host gathered around the throne of God.

"Immaculate," said that merry queen,
"Unblemish'd I am, without a stain;
and this may I with grace avow;
but 'matchless queen'—that said I ne'er.
We all in bliss are Brides of the Lamb,
a hundred and forty-thousand in all,
as in the Apocalypse it is clear;
Saint John beheld them in a throng,
On the Hill of Zion, that beauteous spot,
the Apostle beheld them, in dream divine,
array'd for the Bridal on that hill-top,—
the City New of Jerusalem."[9]

Allegorical tales were widely read and often employed in sermons. The anonymous *Gesta Romanorum* or *Tales of the Romans*, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, were known throughout Europe. They consist of one hundred eighty-one short stories, each of which is followed by a moral application. The following tale deals with adultery:

A certain king had a lion, a lioness, and a leopard, whom he much delighted in. During the absence of the lion, the lioness was unfaithful, and colleagued with the leopard. And that she might prevent her mate's discovery of the crime, she used to wash herself in a fountain adjoining the king's castle. Now the king having often perceived what was going forward, commanded the fountain to be closed. This done, the lioness was unable to cleanse herself; and the lion returning, and ascertaining the injury that had been done him, assumed the place of a judge,—sentenced her to death, and immediately executed the sentence.

Application: My beloved, the king is our heavenly Father; the lion is Christ, and the lioness the soul. The leopard is the devil, and the fountain is confession, which being closed, death presently follows.[10]

[9] *Pearl, an English Poem of the XIVth century* (The Medieval Library), (London, 1921), pp. 9, 17, 23, and 69.
[10] *Gesta Romanorum* (London, 1905), p. 349.

An extensive literature was created by the saints and religious men and women of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of whom St. Catherine of Siena (1347-80) was perhaps the most remarkable. Born of poor Sienese parents, the youngest of twenty-five children, she early developed a deep piety. Mystic exaltation characterized her devotion. By sheer strength of character she attracted contemporaries who were much influenced by her letters. About four hundred of these are addressed to popes, princes, and governments, and constitute a remarkable monument of fourteenth-century Italian culture. Her prayers were published and were widely read. She wrote the *Book of Divine Doctrine*, a long series of dialogues in which she poured out her mystical devotion. Practical manuals for the cultivation of mystical religious sentiment flourished. The greatest of these is *The Imitation of Christ*, ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, which became one of the most widely read books of the closing decades of the fifteenth century.

Thomas believed that fashioning one's inner spiritual life after the model of Christ was the Christian's highest counsel of perfection:

> He that followeth Me, walketh not in darkness, saith the Lord. These are the words of Christ, by which we are taught to imitate His life and manners, if we would be truly enlightened and be delivered from all blindness of heart. Let therefore our chief study be to meditate upon the life of Jesus Christ.

Imitation of Christ did not consist in repeating empty phrases or in acquiring worldly wisdom but rather in creating an inner and edifying love of the Master:

> What will it avail thee to be engaged in profound discussions concerning the Trinity, if thou be void of humility and art thereby displeasing to the Trinity? Truly, sublime words do not make a man holy and just; but a virtuous life maketh him dear to God. . . . I had rather feel compunction than know how to define it. If thou knowest the whole Bible by heart and the sayings of all the philosophers, what would it profit thee without the love of God and without grace?
>
> Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, except to love God and Him only to serve. This is the highest wisdom, by contempt of the world to tend toward the kingdom of Heaven.[11]

This devotional literature was especially popular among townsmen, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter. Its cultural significance is incalculable in an age when the bourgeoisie was becoming a decisive force in church, state, and society.

An extensive liturgical drama consisting of miracle and mystery

[11] *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. by Brother Leo (New York, 1930), pp. 1-2.

plays also was created by the piety of the late Middle Ages. While many of these plays are decidedly inferior as literature, they were significant in the evolution of the Renaissance drama. The Towneley Plays contain scenes from the life of Noah. God instructs Noah to build an ark for the animals which are to be saved from the flood. All is well until Noah goes to his wife and tells her what he has been ordered to do. She proves intractable, and the scene descends into broad comedy. They enter the ark, but Noah's wife rushes out, distaff in hand, and nothing will induce her to return:

> Sir, for Jack nor for Gill will I turn my face,
> Till I have on this hill spun a space on my rock.
> Well were hem mygt get me!
> Now will I down set me;
> Yet reede I no man let me,
> for dread of a knock![12]

She even refuses to come into the ark when the torrents descend. Not until the waters rise does she rush into the ship. But she remains intractable and Noah cannot manage her. Finally the scene degenerates into a fight which no doubt pleased the spectators.

The devil also provided an element of comedy. Sometimes he would jump off the stage, after having tormented the damned, and rush about among the onlookers playing practical jokes. Genuine pathos was occasionally displayed, as in the scenes of Abraham sacrificing Isaac in the Brome plays. As the solemn moment draws near, Abraham puts a cloth over his son's eyes:

> Now fare-wyll, my child, so full of grace,
> A! fader, fader, turne downward my face,
> For of your scharpe sword I am ever a-dred![13]

Morality plays in which virtues appeared as actors were popular. Although handicapped by such abstract characters as Faith, Penance, and Good-Deeds, moral plays sometimes developed rare power. Thus *Everyman*, written in England toward the close of the fifteenth century, is a remarkable literary monument of the closing Middle Ages and is often given in our own day. Death and the last dread ordeal when the soul appears before its Judge are the end toward which the action or teaching moves. Death speaks:

> Lord, I will in the world go run over all,
> And cruelly out search both great and small.
> Everyman will I beset that liveth beastly

[12] Adapted from J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (Boston, 1897), vol. i, p. 23.
[13] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 51.

Out of God's laws, and dreadeth not folly.
He that loveth riches I will strike with my dart,
His sight to blind, and from heaven to depart,
Except that alms be his good friend,
In hell for to dwell, world without end.
Lo, yonder I see Everyman walking;
Full little he thinketh on my coming;
His mind is on fleshly lusts and his treasure,
And great pain it shall cause him to endure
Before the Lord Heaven King.—
Everyman, stand still; whither art thou going
Thus gaily? Hast thou thy Maker forgot?

Called by Death, Everyman soon learns that the things upon which he has relied desert him. Fellowship, Kindred, and Goods leave him; only Good-Deeds stands by him and recommends his sister Knowledge to accompany him. She leads him to Confession, who says that God will grant His mercy:

When with the scourge of Penance man doth him bind,
The oil of forgiveness then shall he find.

Finally, when he is contrite, his strength ebbs:

O all things faileth, save God alone;
Beauty, Strength, and Discretion;
For when Death bloweth his blast,
They all run from me full blast.

The Angel comes and bids Everyman:

Come, excellent elect spouse to Jesu;
Here above thou shalt go
Because of thy singular virtue;
Now the soul is taken the body fro;
Thy reckoning is crystal-clear.
Now shalt thou into the heavenly sphere,
Unto the which all ye shall come
That liveth well before the day of doom.[14]

These examples must suffice to illustrate the character of the extensive and flourishing literature which grew up in the vigorous life of the closing Middle Ages. Above them tower certain great writers whose works occupy a high place in the history of literature. Outranking all writers and taking an assured place among the creative authors of all time is Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). He was a Florentine citizen who boasted an ancient and noble lineage. His family

[14] *Everyman, a Morality Play* (Select English Classics), (Oxford), pp. 9, 22, 30, and 31-32.

possessed some real estate in Tuscany. Dante was a member of the physicians' and apothecaries' guild of Florence and held office as one of the city's six priors. A violent feud between two factions, the Whites and the Blacks, broke out in November, 1301. As Dante was an influential member of the defeated Whites, he was banished in the following year and spent the remainder of his life in exile, wandering over northern and central Italy. His hopes of ultimately returning to Florence were never realized for he proudly spurned to come back as a penitent. He died in 1321 and was buried in Ravenna.

The *Vita Nuova*, or *The Youthful Life*, was Dante's first work. It is an autobiographical account of the poet's profoundest experiences in early manhood and centers around his love for Beatrice. She was his junior by one year and he first met her in 1274 when he was but nine. He rarely saw her after this first meeting, and remained practically unknown to her. "Her dress, on that day, was of a most noble color, a subdued and goodly crimson, girdled and adorned in such sort as best suited her very tender age. At that moment, I say most truly that the spirit of life, which hath its dwelling in the secretest chamber of the heart, began to tremble so violently that the least pulses of my body shook therewith; and in trembling it said these words: 'Here is a deity stronger than I; who, coming, shall rule over me.'"[15] The poet wrote sonnets and other poems about this passion, and after the death of Beatrice in 1290 he brought them together, joining them by a poetic prose narrative in which he set forth what his love for her meant to him. "There is no book of the sort which reveals to us a spirit so profound, so tenacious of its thought, so loyal in its feeling, so rare and radiant and strong in spite of feminine tremulousness of emotion."[16]

Deeply bereaved by the death of Beatrice, Dante dreamed of her. Once in his anguish he called her, but he seemed to see some ladies about him who sought to comfort him. The poet's lyrical soul described the incident in the following tender verses:

> A very pitiful lady, very young,
> Exceeding rich in human sympathies,
> Stood by, what time I clamor'd upon Death
> And at the wild words wandering on my tongue
> And at the piteous look within mine eyes
> She was affrighted, that sobs choked her breath.
> So by her weeping where I lay beneath,

[15] D. G. Rossetti, *Dante and His Circle, with the Italian Poets Preceding Him, 1100-1200-1300* (London, 1908), p. 31.

[16] J. A. Symonds, *An Introduction to the Study of Dante* (London, 1899), p. 45.

Some other gentle ladies came to know
My state, and made her go:
Afterward, bending themselves over me,
One said, "Awaken thee!"
And one, "What thing thy sleep disquieteth?"
With that, my soul woke up from its eclipse,
The while my lady's name rose to my lips:
But utter'd in a voice so sob-broken,
So feeble with the agony of tears,
That I alone might hear it in my heart;
And though that look was on my visage then
Which he who is ashamed so plainly wears,
Love made that I through shame held not apart,
But gazed upon them. And my hue was such
That they look'd at each other and thought of death;
Saying under their breath
Most tenderly, "O let us comfort him. . . ."[17]

Visions were a common literary device during the Middle Ages and many a poet and prose writer employed it. But Dante rose above the limits of this formal convention and in the *Vita Nuova* created one of the tenderest pieces of literature.

Dante's next work was *The Banquet*, or *Il Convivio*. The poet intended to produce a great philosophic treatise, but he never finished it. Only the introduction and three of the fourteen treatises planned were penned. Dante borrowed his views of the world from the system of St. Thomas Aquinas. Even if there is nothing original in his thought, one must not assume that it was unimportant. This was the first mediæval book wherein a layman wrote on a subject which hitherto had been the peculiar province of professors in the schools. Furthermore, it was written in Italian instead of Latin. The work reveals how the lay bourgeoisie was advancing in culture so that it could express in its mother tongue the highest scientific and philosophic thought.

The *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, or *On the Mother Tongue*, written at about this time, is a defense of the native Italian language. It was held during the Middle Ages that all serious thought should be expressed in Latin. No one of any intellectual standing believed that the language of the common people could be used to express the thought of theologians and philosophers. But the unprecedented growth of trade and industry raised the prestige of townsmen so that sooner or later they would possess a literature in their mother tongue. Being a citizen of Florence which was rapidly growing in

[17] D. G. Rossetti, *Dante and His Circle, with the Italian Poets Preceding Him, 1100-1200-1300*, p. 65.

wealth, Dante was the proper person to express the profoundest thoughts in the native idiom. For a time in the thirteenth century, poets wrote in Provençal, thinking that it was the only medium in which the theme of love could be treated. A few Italian poets had revolted against this idea; they and especially Dante championed the vernacular of Tuscany or, as it was called, "the sweet new style" (*dolce stil nuovo*).

The *Divine Comedy*, a poem in three parts, was Dante's greatest work, and the poetic masterpiece of the Middle Ages. Although filled with biographical facts and personal experiences, it is in reality a mirror of the Middle Ages. After the death of Beatrice, Dante wrote in the *Vita Nuova*: "It was given unto me to behold a very wonderful vision: wherein I saw things which determined me that I would say nothing further of this most blessed one, until such time as I could discourse more worthily concerning her. And to this end I labor all I can; as she well knoweth."[18] This is plainly an illusion to the *Divine Comedy* which was not finished until the last days of the poet's life. "The subject of the whole work, taken literally, is the state of souls after death, regarded as fact; for the action deals with this, and is about this. But if the work be taken allegorically, its subject is man, in so far as by merit or demerit in the exercise of free will he is exposed to the rewards or punishments of justice."[19] With these words Dante himself described the vision to his friend Can Grande della Scala, tyrant of Verona.

The first part of the *Divine Comedy*, the *Inferno*, deals with Dante's journey among the souls forever lost. The poet began by relating metaphorically how the great miseries of his life began, that is, with his banishment from Florence:

> In the middle of the journey of our life I came to myself in the dark wood where the straight way was lost.
> Ah! how hard a thing it is to tell what a wild, and rough, and stubborn wood this was, which in my thought renews the fear!
> So bitter is it, that scarcely more is death. . . .

Oppressed by the woes which overwhelmed him, Dante spied the poet Vergil:

> Whilst I was rushing downwards, there appeared before my eyes one who seemed hoarse from long silence. . . .
> "Art thou then that Vergil, and that fountain which pours abroad so rich a stream of speech?"

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[19] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature* (New York), vol. i, pp. 75-76.

The shade of the ancient poet explained to him the meaning of the fierce beasts he met in the wood on the side of the hill. He offered to guide Dante so that the poet might comprehend more clearly the moral scheme of things:

> Wherefore I think and discern this for thy best, that thou follow me; and I will be thy guide and lead thee hence through an eternal place. . . .[20]

The two accordingly set out to view hell and its suffering souls. Over the gate leading into it was the inscription:

> Through me is the way into the dole city; through me into the way of eternal pain; through me the way among the people lost . . .
> Leave all hope, ye that enter![21]

After Dante had seen the souls of many famous men and women suffering for the evil they had wrought while in the flesh, Vergil led him out of the dim nether realm into the brighter world of purgatory, the temporary abode of the saved who must be purged of imperfections before they may be admitted into the bliss of heaven. The two poets came to a stream, and Dante saw a boatman approaching, guiding his craft with open wings. After being ferried across, they began the ascent of the hill of purgatory, on the various circles of which Dante saw the proud, the envious, the avaricious, the prodigal, the gluttonous, and the lustful passing through the purging process. Vergil, who until now had guided him, deserted him. The greatest poet of Roman paganism knew nothing of heaven for he had died without learning of Christ's mission as savior. He said:

> Son, the temporal fire and the eternal hast thou seen, and art come to a place where I, of myself discern no further.

Sorrowfully Dante moved on alone and approached the river Lethe which flowed before paradise. The appearance of Beatrice, his guide to divine wisdom and Christian revelation, profoundly moved him:

> I saw the lady, who first appeared to me veiled beneath the angelic festival, directing her eyes to me on this side the stream.
> Albeit the veil which fell from her head, crowned with Minerva's leaves, did not let her appear manifest,
> Queenlike, in bearing yet stern, she continued, like one who speaks and holdeth back the hottest words till the last:

[20] *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri* (Temple Classics), Canto I, 1-7, 61-63, 79-81, 112-114.
[21] *Ibid.*, Canto III, 1-3, 9.

"Look at me well; verily am I Beatrice. How didst thou deign to draw nigh the mount? knewest thou not that here man is happy?"

Mine eyes drooped down to the clear fount; but beholding me therein, I drew them back to the grass, so great a shame weighed down my brow.

After being bathed in the waters of the Lethe, Dante clambered upon the bank. Beatrice in all her heavenly glory now appeared close to him.

O glory of living light eternal, who that so pale hath grown beneath the shade of Parnassus, or hath drunk at its well, that would not seem to have mind encumbered, on trying to render thee as thou appearedest, when in the air thou didst disclose thee, where heaven in its harmony shadows thee forth?[22]

Dante now learned first the secret of the divine economy of all things. The hidden truths of theology were disclosed to him, the story of creation, man's fall from his pristine purity, the crucifixion, the scheme of redemption. Finally he gazes upon the hosts of the church triumphant, multitudes of the saved who occupy many tiers enjoying the presence of the living God.

They had their faces all of living flame, and wings of gold, and the rest so white that never snow reacheth such limit.

Beatrice next summoned St. Bernard, the greatest exemplar of Cistercian monasticism and the master of contemplative theology, to prepare Dante to look upon the Godhead.

In the profound and shining being of the deep light appeared to me three circles, of three colors and one magnitude . . .

O Light eternal who only in Thyself abidest, only thyself dost understand, and to thyself, self-understood, self-understanding, turnest love and smiling![23]

The *De Monarchia* or *On Monarchy*, written in Latin, sets forth the poet's ideal of government. The world was governed by two supreme orders, the spiritual and the temporal. The former was presided over by Christ's vicar, the bishop of Rome; the latter was given to the emperor. The thirteenth century had witnessed fierce struggles between these two divinely constituted powers, to the great scandal of Christendom. Italian society was rent with factional

[22] *The Purgatorio of Dante Alighieri* (Temple Classics), Cantos XXX, 64-78; XXXI, 139-145.

[23] *The Paradiso of Dante Alighieri* (Temple Classics), Canto XXXIII, 115-117, 124-126.

strife. Dante had suffered much and longed for peace. His heart ached when he saw popes descend into the political arena. Believing that God had instituted the empire for the promotion of human welfare, he thought that the rumored coming of Charles of Luxemburg, who had been elected emperor in 1308, would prove the dawn of peace when all strife would be stilled. To establish such quiet was not the pope's task. In temporal matters he was inferior to the emperor. Did not Christ teach His followers to submit to the power of the emperor?

Dante better than any other poet summed up the aspirations of the time. The Middle Ages were rapidly nearing their decline, for the Renaissance was approaching. Although his ideas were mediæval, Dante remained a mighty influence among the humanists of the following centuries. And for students of every land and of every century his works will be a classic expression of the Middle Ages, like St. Thomas' *Summa Theologica* and Van Eyck's great altarpiece, the Mystic Lamb.

Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400), an Englishman, stands next to Dante as an interpreter of the fourteenth century. Born about a dozen years after Edward III ascended the throne of England in 1327, he witnessed the stirring scenes of the Black Death, the war with France, the career of Wiclif, and the rise of the Lollards. His father was a vintner in London, and therefore Chaucer, like Dante, belonged to the bourgeoisie. He formed an intimate acquaintance with life and traveled extensively. No one, save Shakespeare, two centuries later, has so completely expressed the English life of his day. Chaucer, unlike Dante, was not occupied with the idealist tendencies of the age. His nimble and eager mind saw life through clear eyes. He investigated everything past and present, and possessed a ready sympathy for all human things. His works therefore faithfully depict the thoughts of the declining Middle Ages. On the other hand, he expressed the dawning spirit of English nationalism which was evolving from the economic and social conditions of the day.

Chaucer exerted a mighty influence on the formation of English literature. He exhausted the literary motifs of previous writers. He translated the *Romance of the Rose*, a French poem of the thirteenth century which had profoundly influenced him. Study of this poem helped him to forge new poetic forms from the undeveloped English tongue. Soon he was vastly superior to all French writers. When he had exhausted all that they could teach him, he began to feel a strong attraction to the Italian writers, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Hitherto he had made translations of the work of his predecessors and contemporaries. But this was only a prelude to the composition of his brilliant masterpiece, the *Canterbury Tales*. Breaking away

from all influences, he described a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas in Canterbury. The *Prologue* has never been surpassed as a picture in words. Thirty pilgrims, representing almost every class of English society and described with the greatest truthfulness, met at a hostel in Southwark. The stories which they tell while on the road to the shrine reveal what people in that day thought about the world and its problems. Chaucer's realism and psychological insight were very different from Dante's. The latter was interested in the great ideas of the universe which men might ponder, but Chaucer was concerned first of all with the men who possessed these ideas. Thus literary art began to serve man and manners and so came closer to earth.

François Villon (1431-63?), the greatest French poet of the fifteenth century, has in late years become famous. He was a poor student at the University of Paris and consorted with lowly outcasts, thieves, pickpockets, loose women, and beggars. Preferring the excitement of such a life to the staid and sober course of a respectable bourgeois, he fell into all sorts of difficulties. Twice he was condemned to die and twice he was almost miraculously saved. Before his second escape, when he firmly believed that he would be hanged, he wrote his greatest work, the *Ballad of the Hanged*:

> Men, brother men, that after us yet live,
> Let not your hearts too hard against us be;
> For if some pity of us poor men ye give,
> The sooner God shall take of you pity.
> Here are we five or six strung up, you see,
> And here the flesh that all too well we fed
> Bit by bit eaten and rotten, rent and shred,
> And we the bones grow dust and ash withal;
> Let no man laugh at us discomfited,
> But pray to God that he forgive us all. . . .
>
> The rain has washed and laundered us all five,
> And the sun dried and blackened; yea, perdie,
> Ravens and pies with beaks that rend and rive
> Have dug our eyes out, and plucked off for fee
> Our beards and eyebrows; never we are free,
> Not once, to rest; but here and there still sped,
> Drive at its wild will by the wind's change led,
> More pecked of birds than fruits on garden-wall:
> Men, for God's love, let no gibe here be said,
> But pray to God that he forgive us all. . . .[24]

Villon saw life as it was. Traditional chivalric motifs of literature made no appeal to him, nor was he drawn to the mystics.

[24] *Poems by François Villon* (Modern Library), pp. 245-246.

The historian Philippe de Comines (1445-1509) also adopted an independent view of the world. He was a Fleming and entered the service of Duke Philip of Burgundy (d. 1467) and his son Duke Charles (d. 1477). But he had an eye for the main chance and in 1472 abandoned the Burgundian court for King Louis XI of France (1461-83). His extensive acquaintance with the Low Countries and with Burgundian diplomacy proved valuable to Louis. In 1492 Comines entered the council of Charles VIII (1483-98) and vigorously opposed that king's invasion of Italy in 1494 and 1495. His *Memoirs* recount his experiences and set forth clearly and objectively the issues of the times and the motives of men. He saw into the heart of every situation without passion, bias, or mysticism. He described men, manners, and events, and analyzed causes and results with remarkable accuracy. His narrative is clear, direct, and forceful. He belongs to that fading Middle Ages when people were beginning to look upon life from other than chivalric, mystic, or religious points of view. This was the dawn of the new age of the Renaissance.

PART IV

THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER XIV

THE BIRTH OF HUMANISM

So here are the first rays of the Renaissance appearing on the horizon. Italy was turning her back on the Middle Ages, and after so many vicissitudes was finding herself again and was proclaiming herself a Latin and a Roman people. —DE SANCTIS.[1]

HUMANISM was the moving spirit of the Renaissance, the product of an environment created by the wealth and energy of a new class, the bourgeoisie. The Middle Ages were very ascetic; life was orientated chiefly toward the eternal, to citizenship in the City of God built in the world of the spirit. For generations nobles shared this view; even practical townsmen accepted it without gainsay. But this ascetic attitude changed rapidly during the fourteenth century. Business, the use of coined money, and the bustling life of towns created a more secular conception. Hence at the close of the Middle Ages there were two hostile points of view: the ascetic other-worldly attitude, and the new Humanism which emphasized man's life in this world.

Humanism was a revolt against many features of mediæval society. Much of the culture of the Middle Ages was obsolete or inadequate. The center of life had shifted from the manor to the town. An ancient natural economy based upon the manor was being supplanted by a new economy supported by trade and industry and urban population. Capitalism had come into existence. Townsmen were supplanting the nobility and the clergy as leading members of society. When the material bases of the social structure had grown vastly more com-

[1] E. De Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature* (New York, 1931), vol. i, p. 267.

plex, traditional ideals were certain to undergo profound transformation. Humanists were the midwives of a new culture, the culture of the Renaissance.

The meaning of the word *Renaissance* has varied from time to time. At the close of the fifteenth century (the *quattrocento*) and the opening of the sixteenth (the *cinquecento*) it meant the revival of Latin and Greek letters. The Italians called this movement the *Rinascimento*, or rebirth of classical languages and literature. The word also connoted dissatisfaction with the culture of the Middle Ages, and even an active hostility to it. It was believed that Greek and Roman life was the source of all true culture. Humanists thought that the Middle Ages were an empty void, a dreary waste which could profitably be ignored.

This depreciatory view of the age which witnessed the rise of towns, the growth of industry and commerce, and the development of the bourgeoisie—one of the greatest economic revolutions in the history of man—created the majestic institutions of the Holy Roman Empire and the Catholic Church, brought forth scholastic philosophy and theology, composed great poems like *Reynard the Fox* and the *Lay of the Nibelungs*, produced Gothic cathedrals and sculpture, developed Flemish painting, and evolved new and original institutions of government such as juries, communes, and parliaments, is still all too common even in our own day. It derives not only from the prejudices of Humanists, but from writers nearer our own day. Protestants scorned the mediæval church and the culture with which it was associated. The Age of Enlightenment which preceded the French Revolution renewed and sharpened this prejudice against the Middle Ages. Philosophers of the eighteenth century were hostile to revealed religion and to established churches. They hated dogmas and condemned all forms of culture which revealed religious influence. They regarded the Middle Ages as a period of faith and superstition which came to an end in the rationalism of the Renaissance. Their views were most unjust and unhistorical, being based upon profound ignorance of the true character of the Middle Ages.

A change came with the Romantic Movement at the opening of the nineteenth century. In their opposition to the rationalism of their predecessors its adherents emphasized sentiment, feeling, and the reality of non-rational activities of the human mind. They believed in historical processes and were particularly interested in religion and the historical origins of institutions. They often displayed keen interest in the Middle Ages. Thus Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) laid the scenes of some of his historical romances in that period. His example proved contagious, for in every country there sprang up schools of writers who exploited the noteworthy deeds of mediæval princes.

But the Romantic Movement was interested also in the problem of human liberty. From this standpoint the Romantic historians viewed the Renaissance as an age which liberated mankind from the supposed tyranny of mediæval dogma and superstition. Jules Michelet (1798-1874) devoted the eighth volume of his *History of France* to this theme. This work gained great favor and established the universal use of the word Renaissance. His conceptions were adopted and popularized in the English-speaking world by John Addington Symonds (1840-93), whose volumes are numbered among the historical classics in our language. More important than either of these writers was Jacob Burckhardt (1818-97). His *Civilization of Italy in the Renaissance* (1860) may be regarded as a great historical classic. The author was something of a poet and was gifted with a fine ability to comprehend the significance of forms of art in relation to their economic, social, and political environment. This book may be said to lay a secure basis for the history of culture.

Even while Burckhardt and Symonds were still active, a much firmer foundation was laid for the study of Renaissance culture. Numerous scholars were exploring the Middle Ages and exposing to our scrutiny the civilization of a much abused and misunderstood period. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) studied the evolution of Gothic architecture. Emile Male (b. 1862) revolutionized our knowledge of Gothic sculpture and painting. Other scholars have patiently investigated the economic, social, and political evolution of the Middle Ages. Scholastic philosophy, theology, and mediæval science are better understood today than ever before. The result of all this scholarship is that we can now place the civilization of the Renaissance in its proper relation to the Middle Ages. Today we know that this brilliant culture was the fulfillment of the mediæval promise and not a return to classical antiquity. It marked the close of a significant chapter in history and led to a more magnificent future.

Francesco Petrarch (1304-74) was the first to give expression to the new spirit of Humanism, the attitude that secular concerns of life were good and should not be treated with ascetic denial. He was born of Florentine parents in Arezzo, whither the family had fled from Florence because of the feuds in which the father had a share. They moved to Pisa when Petrarch was about eight years old. After further wanderings the family settled in Carpentras near Avignon. Petrarch's father was a thrifty and industrious merchant who had some appreciation for Cicero. He fondly cherished a rare manuscript containing that master's orations *On Glory* and *On the Laws*. Like many practical men who well understood life's hard road, the father decided to send his son to school to study law. Petrarch accordingly went to the University of Montpellier in southern France.

The study of law proved irksome to the boy. He found comfort in the stately hexameters of Vergil and the noble sentences of Cicero. His father disapproved of this unusual ardor for the Latin classics and rebuked the boy for wasting his time. Once the irate parent discovered these writings, drew them forth from their hiding place and, before the eyes of the youth, cast them into the fire. The boy burst into a plaintive wail, whereupon the stern father relented and snatched a copy of Vergil's *Æneid* and Cicero's *Rhetoric* from the flames. He allowed the youth to keep them but with the injunction that he should use them for recreation only and not allow himself to be drawn from the study of law. From 1323 to 1326 Petrarch studied at the chief school of law, the University of Bologna. But his love for the classics did not perish.

Petrarch's father died early in 1326 and Petrarch was summoned home to Avignon. His mother died shortly after his return and he was free to do as he pleased. The next important event occurred one day in Holy Week in 1327. He saw the lady Laura whom his verse was to make forever famous. Little is known about her beyond what Petrarch himself tells. She did not accept his attentions, but this did not chill his ardor. She became the passion of his life, the inspirer of his song. Petrarch was a sensitive spirit and this sensitiveness dominated his entire life. He became one of the greatest of lyric poets. Rarely has an artist given the world song so pure, lofty, and perfect. The depth of his feeling forced him to use his native Tuscan Italian, for Latin was an inadequate vehicle for his sentiments. This was significant because with Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Divine Comedy* it heralded the end of the reign of the Latin tongue which at best was but a learned idiom and could not become the artistic medium of modern thought.

Petrarch's poems about Laura are in the form of sonnets. This type of verse was not his creation, but its perfection was due entirely to him. In his hands it ceased to be a complicated and labored form and became a delicate instrument capable of expressing the deepest sentiments. Many of the world's greatest poets have used this form of verse. A tender languid melancholy breathes through Petrarch's sonnets. Thus he described his meeting with Laura:

> 'Twas on the blessed morning when the sun
> In pity to our Maker hid his light,
> That, unawares, the captive I was won,
> Lady, of your bright eyes which chained me quite;
> That seem'd to me no time against the blows
> Of love to make defence, to frame relief:
> Secure and unsuspecting, thus my woes
> Date their commencement from the common grief.

Love found me feeble then and defenceless all,
Open the way and easy to my heart
Through eyes, where since my sorrows ebb and flow:
But therein was, methinks his triumph small,
On me, in that weak state, to strike his dart,
Yet hide from you so strong his very bow.[2]

His sixteenth sonnet has been regarded by many as one of his best:

When all my mind I turn to the one part
Where sheds my lady's face its beauteous light,
And lingers in my loving thought the light
That burns and racks within me ev'ry part,
I from my heart who fear that it may part,
And see the near end of my single light
Go, as a blind man, groping without light,
Who knows not where yet presses to depart.
Thus from the blows which ever wish me dead
I flee, but not so swiftly that desire
Ceases to come, as is its wont, with me.
Silent I move: for accents of the dead
Would melt the general age: and I desire
That sighs and tears should only fall from me.[3]

Petrarch's Laura will always be one of the world's great literary heroines. She was something wholly new. Poets in the earlier Middle Ages had sung of love, but the female object of their affections had always been insubstantial. Her personality was submerged in the elaborate conventions of courtly love which had grown up in feudal society. This idealization was associated with strong religious sentiment. Thus Dante views Beatrice as noble beyond compare among human beings, fit to guide him through heaven. But Petrarch's Laura is a simple flesh-and-blood woman, freed from the antiquated characteristics of chivalric tradition. The poet's treatment of love is human, therefore modern, and was to be imitated by many subsequent writers.

The secular character of Petrarch's poetic interests is further shown by his keen interest in nature. He retired occasionally to Vaucluse, a mountain dell near Avignon through which the river Sorgue flowed. In this calm and lonely spot he had a house and garden where he loved to reflect and write. One day in 1335 he climbed Mount Ventoux, an elevation near Avignon. The ascent occupied an entire day. At the summit the poet was entranced by the

[2] *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch* (Bohn Library), (London, 1909), pp. 3-4.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

beauty of the prospect. His apostrophe to Vaucluse is one of unforgettable beauty:

> Ye limpid brooks, by whose clear streams
> My goddess laid her tender limbs!
> Ye gentle boughs, whose friendly shade
> Gave shelter to the lovely maid!
> Ye herbs and flowers, so sweetly press'd
> By her soft rising snowy breast!
> Ye Zephyrs mild, that wreathed around
> The place where Love my heart did wound!
> Now at my summons all appear,
> And to my dying words give ear.[4]

Petrarch belonged to two ages. Much that was specifically mediæval persisted in his thought and work. This is shown by his *Secret*, a dialogue between St. Augustine and himself. The saint as chief teacher of Christian doctrine converses with the penitent Petrarch, a sincere Christian who is torn between traditional ideals, his love of fame, and affection for Laura. In the first dialogue the saint shows that the poet's melancholy and restless spirit rises from his many desires. These worldly interests have caused him to forget his Creator. There is a traditional remedy—ascetic self-denial and contemplation of God. The second dialogue deals with Petrarch's specific faults—his love of glory, his pride, ambition, and bitter melancholy. These disturb his quiet; rest might be secured from thinking upon the drama of Christian redemption.

The last dialogue concerns Petrarch's infatuation for Laura and his avid love for fame. To the poet's protest that the passion has proved an ennobling influence, St. Augustine replies:

> Nothing so much leads a man to forget or despise God as the love of things temporal, and most of all this passion that we call love. . . .

The saint's advice to the penitent in regard to the books he was writing in order to win renown is in the same tenor:

> Throw to the wind these great loads of histories; the deeds of the Romans have been celebrated quite enough by others, and are known by their own fame. Get out of Africa [alluding to Petrarch's *Africa* which celebrated the deeds of Scipio] and leave it to its possessors. You will add nothing to the glory of your Scipio or to your own. . . . Therefore leave all this on one side, and now at length take possession of yourself; and to come back to our starting-point, let me urge you to enter upon the meditation of your last end, which comes on step by step without

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

> your being aware. Tear off the veil; disperse the shadows; look only on that which is coming; with eyes and mind give all your attention there: let nought else distract you. Heaven, earth, the sea—these all suffer change. What can man, the frailest of all creatures, hope for? . . . Therefore . . . say to yourself: 'The seasons pass, yet they will come again; but I am going, never again to return.' As often as you behold at sunset the shadows of the mountains lengthening on the plain, say to yourself: Now life is sinking fast; the shadow of death begins to overspread the scene; yonder sun to-morrow will again be rising the same, but this day of mine will never come back.

Petrarch accepted these admonitions only formally. Life's secular interests continued to draw the poet's mind away from his thoughts of eternity and God. The reader feels that in the end the saint will fail and that Petrarch will remain true to himself:

> I will pull myself together and collect my scattered wits, and make a great endeavor to possess my soul in patience. But even while we speak, a crowd of important affairs, though only of the world, is waiting my attention.[5]

This is the spirit of Humanism. Whatever may be the validity of the claims of the other world, simple human joys and loves on this side of the grave have a legitimate right to a large part of man's endeavor.

Whither would a man like Petrarch turn for sympathy? Obviously not to the mystical literature of the Middle Ages; nor to scholastic philosophers, for his lyrical spirit revolted against their excessively logical methods; nor to theologians who minimized life's human interests. In short, he was a rebel against the spirit of the Middle Ages. It is not strange therefore that Petrarch should be drawn to the classics of antiquity. In them he found the spirit of paganism, a love for things secular, and a feeling for human matters more fully expressed than elsewhere. It is partly for these reasons that his zeal for Latin and Greek culture was born. Passion for the antique became a chief feature of Humanism of which Petrarch was the harbinger. The secularism or "this-worldliness" of the new age, built on the foundations of the new economic, social, and political life, was first and best revealed by the song of Petrarch.

Petrarch, like Dante, was a patriot. His lyrical soul was sensitive to the glories of his native Italy. He lamented the fate that started his family's wanderings into exile. He bewailed the feuds which disturbed the peace of his land and made it the sport of foreign adventurers and Holy Roman emperors:

[5] *Petrarch's Secret; or, The Soul's Conflict with Passion* (London, 1911), pp. 184-185, 191.

O my own Italy! though words are vain
The mortal wounds to close,
Unnumber'd, that thy beauteous bosom stain,
Yet may it soothe my pain
To sigh forth Tiber's woes,
And Arno's wrongs, as on Po's saddened shore
Sorrowing I wander, and my numbers pour.
Ruler of heaven! By the all-pitying love
That could thy Godhead move
To dwell a lowly sojourner on earth,
Turn, Lord! on this thy chosen land thine eye:
See, God of charity!
From what light cause this cruel war has birth:
And the hard hearts by savage discord steel'd,
Thou, Father! from on high,
Touch by my humble voice, that stubborn wrath may yield![6]

Petrarch's great love for Italy calls for careful study. He was conscious of his country's glorious past, and he conceived an ardent love for Rome. Everything in her history became interesting. His love for her extended to every detail and often degenerated into an indiscriminate praise of all things connected with ancient life and letters, a vice apparent among his successors. Rome had been the seat of the empire, the head of all government, the parent of civilization. How had the great city fallen! Foreigners, whom in classical fashion he called barbarians, swayed her destiny. How different had it been in ancient times! Thus the poet's lyrical feelings mingled with his patriotism. Comparing Rome as it had been with Rome as it was when abandoned by the papacy at Avignon, he voiced the melancholy sentiments of a patriot's burning hope that better times would come.

Ah! is not this the soil my foot first pressed?
And here, in cradled rest,
Was I not softly hushed?—here fondly reared?
Ah! is not this my country?—so endeared
By every filial tie!
In whose lap shrouded both my parents lie!
Oh! by this tender thought
Your torpid bosoms to compassion wrought,
Look on the peoples' grief!
Who, after God, of you expect relief;
And if ye but relent,
Virtue shall rouse her in embattled might,
Against blind fury bent,
Nor long shall doubtful hang the unequal fight;

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

For no,—the ancient flame
Is not extinguished yet, that raised the Italian name![7]

When Rienzi seized the government of Rome in 1347 Petrarch hoped that a change for the better had come. He supported Rienzi's cause with enthusiasm and addressed to him his noble *Spirto Gentil.*

Spirit heroic! . . .
Since, rightly, now the rod of state is thine
Rome and her wandering children to confine,
And yet reclaim her to the old good way:
To thee I speak, for elsewhere not a ray
Of virtue can I find, extinct below,
Nor one who feels of evil deeds the shame.
Why Italy still waits, and what her aim
I know not, callous to her proper woe.
Indolent, aged, slow,
Still will she sleep? Is none to rouse her found? . . .

Forth on thy way! my song, and where the bold
Tarpeian lifts his brow, shouldst thou behold,
Of others' weal more thoughtful than his own,
The chief, by general Italy revered,
Tell him from me, to whom he is but known
As one to virtue and by fame endear'd,
Till stamp'd upon his heart the sad truth be,
That, day by day to thee,
With suppliant attitude and streaming eyes,
For justice and relief our seven-hilled city cries.[8]

From youth Petrarch collected the writings of classical authors, searching monastic and episcopal libraries with the zeal of a pilgrim, and copying old manuscripts in his beautiful handwriting. In time he secured a large collection of Latin authors, and brought together many of Cicero's extant works. Mediæval scholars had read the ancient classics, but not in the spirit of Petrarch, for they were not attracted to the human interests of the ancients because the ancients were pagans. They were not interested in collecting copies of all the old writings and usually neglected them completely.

Besides being a collector, Petrarch was famous as a writer on classical subjects. Hoping to produce a great epic rivaling Vergil's *Æneid,* he wrote the *Africa* in which he celebrated the greatness of Scipio Africanus. He always thought that this was his best work. While from the point of view of Humanism the poem was significant, it can lay no claim to greatness as compared with his sonnets and songs

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 126.
[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 54-56.

and letters. It did not possess the true spirit of spontaneous creativeness but it played an important rôle in the revival of interest in classical letters. Petrarch's consuming passion for Roman antiquity is illustrated also in his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, a collection of thirty-one biographical accounts of persons famous in Roman history.

Petrarch was in the habit of addressing his thoughts to the great writers of classical antiquity such as Homer, Livy, Ovid, Cicero, Varro, Vergil, and Seneca. These *Familiar Letters*, which were greatly admired by Petrarch's friends, breathe the very spirit of the new devotion to pagan classics. The following letter addressed to Quintilian is typical:

> I had formerly heard of thy name, and had read something of thine, wondering whence it was that thou hadst gained renown for keen insight. It is but recently that I have become acquainted with thy talents. Thy work entitled the *Institutes of Oratory* has come into my hands, but alas how mangled and mutilated! I recognized therein the hand of time—the destroyer of all things—and thought to myself, "O destroyer, as usual thou dost guard nothing with sufficient care except that which it were a gain to lose. O slothful and haughty Age, is it thus that thou dost hand down to us men of genius, though thou dost bestow most tender care on the unworthy? O sterile-minded and wretched men of today, why do you devote yourselves to learning and writing so many things which it were better to leave unlearned, but neglect to preserve this work intact?"
>
> However, this work caused me to estimate thee at thy true worth. As regards thee I had long been in error, and I rejoice that I have now been corrected. I saw the dismembered limbs of a beautiful body, and admiration mingled with grief seized me. Even at this moment, indeed, thy work may be resting intact in someone's library, and, what is worse, with one who perhaps has not the slightest idea of what a guest he is harboring unawares. Whosoever more fortunate than I will discover thee, may he be sure that he has gained a work of great value, one which, if he be at all wise, he will consider among his chief treasures.
>
> In these books (whose number I am ignorant of, but which must doubtless have been many) thou hast had the daring to probe again a subject treated with consummate skill by Cicero himself when enriched by the experience of a lifetime. Thou hast accomplished the impossible. Thou didst follow in the footsteps of so great a man, and yet thou didst gain new glory, due not to the excellence of imitation but to the merits of the original doctrines propounded in thine own work. By Cicero, the orator was prepared for battle; by thee he is molded and fashioned, with the result that many things seem to have been either neglected or unheeded by Cicero. Thou gatherest all the details

which escaped thy master's notice with such extreme care that (unless my judgment fail me) thou mayest be said to conquer him in diligence in just the degree that he conquers thee in eloquence. Cicero guides his orator through the laborious tasks of legal pleading to the topmost heights of oratory. He trains him for victory in the battles of the courtroom. Thou dost begin far earlier, and dost lead thy future orator through all the turns and pitfalls of the long journey from the cradle to the impregnable citadel of eloquence. The genius of Cicero is pleasing and delightful, and compels admiration. Nothing could be more useful to youthful aspirants. It enlightens those who are already far advanced, and points out to the strong the road to eminence. Thy painstaking earnestness is of assistance, especially to the weak, and, as though it were a most experienced nurse, offers to delicate youth the simpler intellectual nourishment.

But, lest the flattering remarks which I have been making cause thee to suspect my sincerity, permit me to say (in counterbalancing them) that thou shouldst have adopted a different style. Indeed the truth of what Cicero says in his *Rhetorica* is clearly apparent in thy case, namely, that it is of very little importance for the creator to discourse on the general, abstract theories of his profession, but that, on the contrary, it is of the very highest importance for him to speak from actual practice therein. I do not deny thee experience, the second of these two qualities, as Cicero did to Hermagoras, of whom he was treating. But I submit that thou didst possess the latter in only a moderate degree; the former, however, in such a remarkable degree that it seems now scarcely possible for the mind of man to add a single word. . . .

I have nothing more to say. I ardently desire to find thee entire; and if thou art anywhere in such condition, pray do not hide from me longer. Farewell.[9]

Petrarch knew no Greek; his knowledge of that literature was gleaned from the Latin classics. Roman writers had borrowed profusely from the Greeks, and only through their eyes did he discern faintly the wonders of the vanished Hellenic world. He wanted to learn Greek and even began its study, but his tutor, Barlaam, a Calabrian who had learned some Greek in southern Italy where it was still spoken, was not able to help him. It is striking that, as yet, no Italian appeared to be versed in both Latin and Greek. So Petrarch gave up the attempt and to the end of his life contented himself with gazing at the pages of Homer which he could not read. He remained an Italian patriot; Rome to him was the basis of civiliza-

[9] *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors*, tr. by M. E. Cosenza (Chicago, 1910), pp. 84-89.

tion. Thus the great Humanist movement launched by him was directed first of all toward the recovery of Latin culture.

Petrarch was the first man to illustrate the traits of the Renaissance. He attained high excellence in many things. He was fond of music and played the flute. His lyrical verse in the mother tongue has never been surpassed. He loved Latin antiquity as did no other man of his day. He was fond of nature and liked gardening. Everything of human interest, especially if it could be found in classical antiquity, at once attracted his sympathy. This temper of mind was an example of what Italians called *virtù*, a prime characteristic of the Renaissance. This word had none of the connotations of *virtue*. It implied great vigor combined with extraordinary ability crowned with striking success. His many-sided interests made him a truly universal man or *uomo universale*, a term in which is summed up the Italian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century conception of what a great man should be.

Petrarch's restless spirit led him to travel. To satisfy his consuming passion for scholarship, he set out on long journeys, beginning in 1329. On these peregrinations he met admirers and made numerous friends. In 1337 he visited Rome for the first time. His poetic soul was at the same time thrilled and cast into despair by the sight of the material ruins of a majestic past. His fame spread constantly and distinguished visitors in Avignon were eager to make his acquaintance. He learned to know the Della Scala family which was then ruling Verona. Among his intimate friends was the influential Cardinal Giovanni Colonna who showed him many favors. In 1340 the senators of Rome asked Petrarch to come to the ancient city to receive a crown of laurel which they were eager to bestow upon him in recognition of his poetic achievements. The cardinal urged him to accept the invitation and to decline a similar one from the University of Paris. The ceremony was performed on the ancient Capitoline Hill in April, 1341, before a concourse of citizens who little understood the meaning of these proceedings. This public recognition of his merits pleased him greatly.

From this time Petrarch was a famous man. He passed from court to court; sovereigns delighted in his company and were eager to bid for his friendship. He visited the Correggio family in Parma, the Visconti in Milan, and the Emperor Charles IV in Prague. Petrarch became an itinerant scholar dependent on the favor of princes who were flattered by the praise he gave them and the luster he shed on their courts. This patronage of scholars was a characteristic feature of the Renaissance, but it often led to servile flattery and even to blackmail as in the case of Pietro Aretino of Venice (d. 1556).

Petrarch's last years were spent in a villa at Arquà in those Euganean hills which Shelley has made famous.

Petrarch was one of the world's most interesting men. Much of what he did or sought to do was significant for the history of culture. A rebel against convention and outworn conceptions, he hated the practicality of mediæval education which neglected the cultivation of the intellect through the study of classical letters. Disgusted with the uncouth Latin style of his day, he hated the study of Roman law because it was treated in crude Latin and ministered little to the intellect. Above all he loathed the medicine and astrology of the day because it was dominated by quackery and dead tradition. His lyrical soul abominated all these banal and unintellectual things. He sought a fuller artistic life, a loftier culture.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75) was the most remarkable of Petrarch's friends, and the master's mantle fell upon him. He was the natural son of a Florentine merchant and a French woman, and was probably born in Paris. His father early apprenticed him to a man of business in order to prepare him for a practical career. The youth was sent to Naples to serve in a branch of the great Florentine banking house of the Bardi (1323), but these activities disgusted him. For some years he had shown a preference for literature, especially poetry. Naples was a fitting environment to stimulate the soul of a sensitive youth. At the court of its kings flourished the poetic and chivalric ideals imported from France by the house of Anjou. The house of the Bardi had many connections with the lively and lascivious court which led a gay and carefree life under languorous skies. One day in March, 1330, Boccaccio saw in a church a beautiful lady whom he afterwards celebrated in his writings under the name of Fiammetta. She is said to have been a natural daughter of King Robert. She long rejected the importunate youth but finally yielded to him in spite of the fact that she was already married.

Encouraged by Fiammetta, Boccaccio wrote a number of romances and poems, of which the *Filocolo* was his first. A youth's labor of love, it told the story of the long-thwarted love of Floris and Blanchefleur. The second was the *Filostrato*, which recounted the agonizing experience of two lovers, Troilus and Criseyde; and the third, *Teseide*, dealt with the rivalry of Palamon and Arcite for the favor of a lady named Emilia. Each of these is to be regarded as part of the poet's own experience with Fiammetta. These tales were known to everyone who had any contact with the literary life of the times. Boccaccio rapidly perfected himself in the art of telling stories; in fact, the world knows no greater master of this type of literature. His extraordinary skill with his native tongue made him the founder of Italian prose. But Fiammetta at length turned from him,

whereupon he left Naples in 1341 and went back to Florence. He sought solace in poetry and the study of Vergil and Ovid.

Boccaccio's greatest work without doubt is the *Decameron*, a collection of one hundred tales arranged in groups of ten. Three young men and seven young women had abandoned Florence at the time of the Black Death (1348) and retired to a villa nearby. Ten tales were told each day. The subject matter of most of them was drawn from old *fabliaux* and chivalric romances, but the spirit was different. No longer were the old stories told with the seriousness of knightly epics which the bourgeoisie unconsciously felt were alien to their own experiences. Towns and industry had made the feudality obsolete. Its tales were retold by townsmen, but in their own way. Banter, mocking, and biting sarcasm became the dominant note. None of the old ideals, chivalric, monkish, or priestly, was spared. This note of irreverence was heightened by the lucid prose in which Boccaccio couched these stories. High artistic perfection of literary expression is a chief characteristic of the Renaissance.

The story of Abraham is a sardonic account of how a Jew became a Christian, a friend having importuned him to take this step. Abraham consented, but specified that he would first go to Rome to see the pope's manner of life. His friend regretted this decision for he thought that the wickedness at the papal court was such that the Jew would be turned from Christianity. But on his return Abraham announced his desire to be baptized, because so evil was the Holy Father's life that he must needs be holy for otherwise he would not be able to continue so wicked a life! Another story was about Ciappelletto who had lived in a very evil way. But when he came to die the Franciscan confessor marveled greatly at his holiness, for he feigned remorse for his deeds and confessed only the most harmless sins, omitting entirely his lascivious past. The story of his pious death spread among the people who venerated him as a saint!

Jaunty irreverence which the bourgeoisie developed in the chaffering of the market place pervades these stories. Holy things were treated with a cynical familiarity spiced by the author's libertinism. The stories turn on some clever fraud or trick. The sexual note is dominant. Husbands are deceived, wives are outwitted, nuns cleverly evade the restrictions of their rule, and monks often are immoral. It would be erroneous, however, to assume, as is done sometimes, that these stories described the society of the day. They probably have no more historical basis than the chivalric romances. Nor should one accept them as true pictures of moral conditions. This is especially true in the case of women, for they appear in quite another light when one remembers that the women of Florence stayed at

home during dangerous plagues taking care of their families and perishing with them.

Boccaccio did not become acquainted with Petrarch until 1350. It proved an important event, for the Humanist imparted to him some of his passion for classical culture. In 1360 Boccaccio befriended Pilato, a Calabrian Greek, from whom he tried to learn Greek, but Pilato's knowledge of the tongue and the literature was slight. Boccaccio, however, managed to get him appointed to a teaching post in the University of Florence. The West had to wait another generation for a qualified teacher of Greek, and Boccaccio and his contemporaries had to be content with the Latin classics. Between 1350 and 1360 he wrote *On the Genealogy of the Gods*, an encyclopædia of mythology. This was followed by *On Famous Women* and *On the Fortunes of Great Men*, biographical dictionaries which began with Adam and Eve but dealt mostly with Greek and Roman subjects. Another work, *On Names of Mountains, Woods, Lakes, Rivers, Swamps, and Seas*, was a manual of classical geography.

Besides writing these manuals which were useful to Humanist admirers of the classics, Boccaccio was also a keen student of Tacitus and Livy. He discovered several rare classical works. On one occasion when he visited the library of Monte Cassino he was saddened to find its classical treasures being neglected. The story of how the monks sold the parchments to be made into amulets in total disregard of their contents apparently is false. It is probably here that Boccaccio found the copy of Tacitus' *Histories* and part of the *Annals*. Thus he followed in the steps of Petrarch, and when master and pupil died the study of classical culture was making rapid strides.

CHAPTER XV

CULT OF CLASSICAL LETTERS

Her [i.e. *Rome's*] *ancient walls, which still with fear and love*
The world admires, when'er it calls to mind
The days of eld, and turns to look behind;
Her hoar and caverned monuments above
The dust of men, whose fame, until the world
In dissolution sink, can never fail;
Her all, that in one ruin now lies hurl'd,
Hopes to have heal'd by thee [i.e. *Rienzi*] *its very ail.*
—F. PETRARCH (d. 1374)[1]

PETRARCH'S zeal for classical literature filled students with enthusiasm. Thus was created the cult of classical letters which was so striking a feature of the intellectual life of the closing Middle Ages and shaped school and college curricula down to our own day. This passionate devotion to Latin and Greek thought and letters is known as the "Revival of Learning." Just what is the meaning of this expression? Many have assumed that there was literally a revival of learning. It has been taken for granted that there was no intellectual cultivation during the Middle Ages and that all mental progress was initiated by Petrarch and his followers when they undertook the study of the Latin and Greek classics. Then mankind once more took up the work of civilization where the ancients had abandoned it. Even today there are people who regard the revival of classical studies during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages as the great turning-point in the world's history.

This is a grave mistake. The ten centuries between the decline of the classical world and the birth of Humanism were not barren of noteworthy achievement. Barbarians—German, Celtic, Slav, and Finno-Ugrian—had been introduced to the declining culture of Greeks and Romans. They received the elements of civilization: the basic manorial life of the Middle Ages; the Latin language, medium of intellectual life; religion, theology, and elements of philosophic

[1] *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch* (Bohn Library), (London, 1909), p. 55.

thought; some fundamental artistic concepts such as church construction, the work of the goldsmith, and manuscript decoration; and, finally, church organization which became a dominant factor in the life of mediæval man. It may be said that Rome in decay was better able to give barbarians her culture than in the heyday of her power. It was the new peoples who perpetuated the elements of Roman civilization.

But the barbarians also created a great deal. The mighty economic changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which gained momentum in the age of the Renaissance owed little to the ancient world and nothing to the Revival of Learning. More towns sprang up in mediæval Europe than ever existed in Greek or Roman days. Capitalist society was created in the Middle Ages. Upon this basis was founded the new bureaucratic state, absolute, efficient, and orderly. Desire for the life beautiful also was satisfied in the Middle Ages. Gothic architecture and sculpture attained classic perfection. Illumination of manuscripts evolved into Gothic painting which reached its climax in the Flemish masters of the fifteenth century. A large number of universities came into existence. Scholastic philosophy reached its fullest perfection in St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). The mother tongues were acknowledged and vernacular literature boasted many noble classics. Science also received attention and made some remarkable progress. In short, the bases of much of modern civilization were laid in the Middle Ages long before any so-called Revival of Learning.

If the Revival of Learning did not lay the foundations of our modern life, why then was it important? Because it provided the studies which helped men in the last centuries of the Middle Ages to break with outworn traditions. Vast changes in social, economic, and political organization had rendered old conceptions obsolete. Wealth had created new and greater social responsibilities. Prevailing ascetic ideals of life, chivalric ideas of what constituted a gentleman, the unintellectual life of the nobility, the banal practicality of bourgeois life, and preoccupation with theological ideals no longer fitted the requirements of urban life. Secular, artistic, and intellectual conceptions were certain to rise. The pagan literature of classical antiquity helped men form a more secular outlook on life.

It was inevitable that townsmen of the Renaissance should feel more at home with the ancients than with the literature of saints and theologians. Throughout the Middle Ages men had never wholly lost touch with the Roman world. The Latin language and literature at no time were completely neglected, being always regarded as the necessary basis of intellectual life. A fervid zeal was shown in appropriating the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle which had been neg-

lected during the simple manorial times after the dissolution of the Roman Empire. When economic and social life progressed so that old legal customs were outworn, men of the Middle Ages looked back to the ancients for guidance. Thus was born the revival of Roman law which provided a ready set of rules whereby to guide new states and urban society. And in the Renaissance men again looked to the ancients and found inspiration in their pagan culture.

Mediæval conceptions of ancient life were woefully inadequate. There was indeed much interest in Vergil, but not of the right sort, for the writer and his times were not understood. He was regarded as a magician who had foretold the Messiah. Cicero often was thought of as a knight who had discovered eloquence and who gave his name to a spring near Naples, the waters of which cured eye troubles. The poet Martial was sometimes regarded as a cook because of his epigrams on cooking. Ovid often was said to owe his name to the belief that his face was round like an egg (*ovum*). His second name, Naso, was thought by some to mean that he had a long nose with which he explored the private affairs of men! Similarly strange conceptions were held of Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, and others. All this tangled brush of error had to be cut away.

Arduous tasks confronted the disciples of Petrarch, for they possessed none of the facilities which smooth the path of modern students of the classics. Teubner of Leipzig and the Oxford University Press had not yet begun their work. The Loeb Classical Library in which texts are accompanied by parallel translations was not to be projected for five centuries. None of the texts had been carefully studied from a philological point of view and compared with all extant manuscripts. Nor were the lines of these writings numbered to facilitate scientific discussion. There were no grammars, manuals, or dictionaries. Manuscripts were widely scattered so that few students could hope to read all the ancient authors. And for a long time few could read Greek. Monastic and cathedral libraries contained some of the classics, but few people paid attention to them. Greek masterpieces were supposed to be plentiful in Constantinople, but many had been destroyed. The learning of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was given a disastrous blow in the sack of Constantinople in 1204, and such ancient literature as had survived was threatened with complete loss because of the poverty and decline of Byzantine life. Pressed by the Turk without and weakened by Venetian and Genoese economic competition within, the people had little possibility of continuing the study of ancient lore. Greek classics were in grave danger of disappearing forever.

Petrarch's influence was strongly felt in Padua and Verona, cities which were situated in lands governed by the Carrara family, for

Francisco I was a warm admirer of the great Humanist and entertained him at his court. Arquà where Petrarch spent his last days was not far distant, and from this retreat his influence was felt far and wide. Universities and other institutions of learning usually were hostile to the new Humanist conceptions and a whole century had to pass before they obtained a hearing. The University of Padua was an interesting exception, for the Carrara family of despots through their interest in Petrarch's ideas exerted a beneficial influence on its curricula. In 1392 Giovanni Conversini (1347-1406), a native of Ravenna, was appointed to teach rhetoric. He was a devoted follower of Petrarch and possessed unbounded zeal for the study of Cicero's writings. Although he taught only one year, his influence in behalf of the new conceptions continued after he became chancellor of the university. His pupils included most of the great Humanists of the early part of the fourteenth century. Among them were Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Filelfo, Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino da Verona, and Palla Strozzi. Gasparino da Barzizza (d. 1431) began to teach in 1397 and soon won renown as a master of rhetoric. He passionately admired Cicero and instilled in his students a profound respect for this master.

It was in Florence, however, that the ancient classics were cultivated with the greatest zeal. Here lived Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), a great admirer of Petrarch and Boccaccio with whom he corresponded actively. He became Latin secretary to the government of Florence, eagerly searched for Latin manuscripts, and in 1389 discovered Cicero's *Ad Familiares* in Vercelli. He was the center of a Humanist coterie and exerted wide influence. He cultivated a better Latin style; and although his tumid prose was filled with useless erudition, it was superior to the Latinity of the Middle Ages. His manner of writing was much admired and led to the composing of state documents, orations, and addresses in an overly ornate style which became characteristic of the Renaissance. Luigi Marsigli (d. 1394), an Augustinian friar in the church of San Spirito, gathered together a group of men interested in Humanist studies. He was a friend of Petrarch, from whom he had received his Humanist zeal. Many Florentines became devotees of the classics while listening to Marsigli's discourses.

But the supreme task of Humanism, the recovery of Greek language and literature from which Latin culture had sprung, remained unfinished. Petrarch had tried to learn Greek, but failed. Boccaccio was more successful. But no one in Italy really knew the language. Humanists in Padua contented themselves with the study of Cicero and his style. The appearance of Manuel Chrysoloras (1350?-1415) was an event of the greatest importance in the Revival of Learning.

This Byzantine Greek boasted a long line of ancestors extending back to the time when Constantine settled on the Bosphorus. Chrysoloras was sent by the emperor of Constantinople to secure from the Latin West help against the Turks. He arrived in Venice in 1393 and at once found favor among Humanists. Three years later Palla Strozzi and Niccolò Niccoli, prominent Florentines who were deeply interested in the classics, authorized Salutati to invite Chrysoloras to come to Florence as teacher of the Greek classics, and for four years the youth and mature men of Florence enjoyed his tuition. To them Chrysoloras was a sort of apostle of that distant and glorious world which through the Middle Ages had shone with romantic splendor. His knowledge was superior to that of every Humanist in the West. He fired his auditors with zeal to make themselves masters of the new learning.

Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) was typical of Chrysoloras' pupils. He had been inspired by Salutati to perfect his Latinity and knowledge of Latin classics. Now he threw himself enthusiastically into the study of Greek.

> At that time I was studying the civil law and had gained some proficiency in other subjects. Naturally I burned with love for learning and studied logic and rhetoric. When Chrysoloras came to Florence I found myself in a quandary because I did not like to give up the study of law, nor did I think that so fair an opportunity of studying Greek letters should be neglected. Young as I was I was wearied by the question: "Will you now when it is possible to become acquainted with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes and other poets, philosophers, and orators about whom many wonderful things are said master their thoughts in their own tongue or give them up and keep yourself aloof? Will you allow this heaven-sent opportunity to escape? Seven hundred years have passed since anyone in Italy paid any attention to Greek letters; and yet we admit that all knowledge sprang from them. How useful in your studies would be the mastery of this tongue, what opportunities to become famous would it offer, and what a source of satisfaction would it give you! There are doctors of civil law in plenty and everywhere. You possess a *flair* for study. Here now is but one doctor of Greek letters; he is in Florence, when he leaves no one will be able to teach you." Persuaded by this reasoning I devoted myself to Chrysoloras' instruction with such glowing zeal that whatever I learned from him at day occupied my mind at night.[2]

Bruni became an influential man in the Revival of Learning. Such was his mastery of Greek that his translations of Plato and Aristotle

[2] Adapted from *Rerum suo Tempore in Italia Gestarum Commentarius*, in *Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptures*, xix. 020.

were hailed as important achievements. They marked a milestone in the history of classical philology. Throughout the Middle Ages translations had been made into faulty Latin by men who did not possess an adequate knowledge of Greek. Many Greek works were translated from the Arabic into which they had been translated from the original. Bruni's critical attitude greatly influenced classical scholars of the time. He also wrote a *History of Florence* in which he abandoned the methods of mediæval chroniclers and sought to write an account of his native city in ordered exposition after the manner of such ancient historians as Livy.

Niccolò Niccoli (1363-1437) was a friend of Salutati. With him he frequented the meetings of the Augustinian friar Luigi Marsigli. Niccolò was brought up as a merchant but, like Boccaccio, showed little zeal in business. He preferred the study of the classics and labored earnestly to promote the Revival of Learning.

> He collected a fine library, not regarding the cost, and was always searching for rare books. He bought all these with the wealth which his father had left, putting aside only what was necessary for his maintenance. He sold several of his farms and spent the proceeds on his library. . . . He held his books rather for the use of others than of himself. . . . If he heard of students going to Greece or elsewhere he would give them the names of books which they lacked in Florence. . . . When it happened that he could only get the copy of a book he would copy it himself. . . . He procured at his own expense the works of Tertullian and other writers which were not in Italy. He also found an imperfect copy of Ammianus Marcellinus and wrote it out with his own hand. The *On the Orator* and the *Brutus* of Cicero were sent to him from Lombardy. . . . The book was found in a chest in a very old church; this chest had not been opened for a long time, and they found the book . . . while searching for evidence concerning certain ancient rights. The *On the Orator* was found broken up, and it is through the care of Niccolò that we find it perfect today. He also rediscovered many sacred works and several of Cicero's orations. . . . A complete copy of Pliny did not exist in Florence, but when Niccolò heard that there was one in Lübeck, he secured it . . . and thus Pliny came to Florence.[3]

Niccolò welcomed eager students to his house and opened to them the many literary treasures upon which he had expended his time and fortune.

> [He] always encouraged promising students to follow a literary life, and he nobly aided all those who showed merit

[3] Adapted from *The Vespasiano Memoirs* (London, 1926), pp. 396-397.

> in providing them with teachers and books, for in his time teachers and books were not as numerous as they are today [*i.e.*, about 1490]. It may be said that he was the reviver of Greek and Latin letters in Florence; they had for a long time lain buried, and although Petrarch and Boccaccio had done some things to rehabilitate them, they had not reached that height which they attained through Niccolò's cultivation of them for divers reasons. First, because he urged many in his time to take to letters, and through his persuasion, many scholars came to Florence for study and teaching. . . . After having done so many good deeds, and gathered together a vast number of books on all the liberal arts in Greek and Latin, he desired that these should be made accessible to everyone. He directed that, after his death, they should continue to be at the service of all, so in his will he designated forty citizens to see that his books in question should be made a public library in order that all might use them. There were eight hundred volumes of Greek and Latin.[4]

Most Florentines of wealth and position took part in the Revival of Learning and liberally employed their fortunes in its behalf. Especially interesting was Palla Strozzi (d. 1462), who gave great sums for the university at Florence and paid Chrysoloras to come there to teach.

> He never wasted time by loitering, but returned home after business and spent his time in studying Greek and Latin. Being greatly devoted to letters, he bought a fine collection of books which he housed in a handsome building in Santa Trinita for the use of the public. He wished to furnish it with books on all subjects, but this project came to nothing on account of the misfortunes which befell him. . . . Palla, in his study in Padua, found a tranquil port after many years of shipwreck. He engaged at a liberal salary John Argyropoulos [1416-86] to read Greek with him, and another Greek scholar as well. With Argyropoulos he read Aristotle's *Natural History*; and the other Greek read certain other works he selected. He wasted no time, but undertook the translation of Chrysostom from Greek into Latin.[5]

One of the most remarkable of the early Humanists was Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). He studied under Chrysoloras and enjoyed the friendship of Niccolò Niccoli. He entered the papal service and appeared at the Council of Constance in the following of John XXIII. After that pontiff's deposition he was free to do as he wished, and he began at once to satisfy his desire to collect manuscripts. His success is one of the romantic tales in the story of the Revival of

[4] Adapted from *ibid.*, pp. 400-401.
[5] Adapted from *ibid.*, pp. 237-243.

Learning. In the summer of 1415 he visited the monastery of Cluny and was rewarded by finding a number of Cicero's orations. A year later he directed his steps to the famous foundation of St. Gall whose monks cared little for their classical treasures. His most important discovery was Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*. Part of this work had for some time been known to Humanists but a complete copy had not yet been found. Its discovery was a capital event in the age of the Renaissance. So eager was Poggio to possess the complete text that he copied it in thirty-two days.

Poggio renewed his searches in 1417, visiting the abbeys of St. Gall, Einsiedeln, and Reichenau. These expeditions were especially fruitful for he found the works of the poet Lucretius and a copy of the historian Ammianus Marcellinus. He also secured eight of Cicero's orations at Langres and other places in France and Germany. For years Poggio persisted in his hunt for ancient authors, and probably had something to do with the discovery of Tacitus' shorter works, *Agricola, Germania,* and the *Dialogues*. He found the text of Vitruvius, the letters of Pliny the Younger, and nine new comedies by Plautus. The total number of manuscripts collected is amazing, but only a few of the most important can be mentioned here. As papal secretary, Poggio introduced a refined Latinity such as the chancery had never seen. Cicero's stately prose served as model for his writings.

Attention was soon directed to Constantinople where examples of Greek masterpieces were said to exist. A few had arrived in Italy, and a desire to find others now sprang up. Guarino da Verona (1370-1460) followed Chrysoloras to Constantinople and stayed there from 1403 to 1408. On his return he carried with him fifty-four manuscripts, many of which were Greek. He was very proficient in Greek and was offered a number of posts. In Venice he found one hundred twenty-four letters by Pliny the Younger, a welcome addition to those found by Poggio. But it was Giovanni Aurispa (1374-1450) who was to do for Greek letters what Poggio accomplished for Latin letters. Nothing is known of this Sicilian's youth. He visited Chios in 1413 and on his return to Italy carried with him some of the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Thucydides. In 1421 he went to Constantinople and in 1423 returned with an astounding collection of two hundred thirty-eight codices, almost all of which contained Greek classics. Another choice collection of about forty codices was made by Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) who spent several years as secretary in the Venetian legation at Constantinople.

Thus most of the Greek classics which had survived the sack of Constantinople in 1204 were saved for posterity by the work of these men and others who provided them with funds. It is certain that not

much was lost in the catastrophe of 1453, for the Turks soon learned that manuscripts were worth money in the Italian market. A number of scholars, among them John Argyropoulos, John and Constantine Lascaris, and Demetrius Chalcondyles, came to Italy after 1453, but by this time the great impulse to study Greek classics had already reached its zenith. The story so often told in textbooks of how frightened Greeks fled from Constantinople with coffers packed with manuscripts and first disclosed to wondering Italians the glories of Hellenic culture, is not correct. It was the desire of the Latin West to explore the sources of its civilization that caused some of its scholars to go to Byzantium in quest of Greek learning.

The Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-39) advanced the revival of classical studies. It brought five hundred Greeks to Italy, and Italian scholars were privileged to listen to their mellifluous Attic Greek. Humanists of Florence heard with wonder the discourses in Plato's philosophy given by the scholar Gemistos Plethon (1355?-1450), who gave a new direction to classical study. Henceforth the cult of Plato became the passion of Renaissance society. Plethon's philosophic teaching was largely a reorganization of mediæval doctrines filled with Neoplatonic teaching. Nevertheless, it was done in a new spirit, contained something fresh and poetic, and revealed extensive knowledge about ancient Greek life. This stirred the Florentines who had been fed the traditional pabulum of late mediæval scholastic philosophers, and they turned eagerly from arid scholastic syllogisms to Platonic mysticism. With Plethon came his disciple Bessarion (d. 1472), a fiery defender of Plato's reputation who went over to the Latin church. Pope Eugenius IV made him a cardinal in 1439, in which capacity he was able to exert wide influence in church and secular society.

An important evidence of the Humanist interest in the classical past was the love for archæological study. The search for manuscripts was extended to include the material remains of antiquity. Niccolò Niccoli collected bronzes, sculptures, coins, and antique figures in bronze and marble. Ciriaco of Ancona (1391?-1451), a merchant, traveled widely in the interests of his business and took pains to find relics of ancient days wherever he went. He enjoyed little formal instruction and owed his success in studies to his own initiative. Stirred by what he saw in Rome, he decided that inscriptions were better sources of information than literary works and made transcripts which filled three large volumes. Although he was uncritical toward antique objects, his work was important, for it was in a very true sense the beginning of the study of archæology.

Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) was a Humanist who wrote a number of important books of an archæological nature. *Roma Instaurata*

was a description of the Eternal City, in which Biondo combined inscriptions, monuments, historical anecdotes, and topography to give a living picture of the ancient city. *Italy Illustrated* did the same for Italy. *Rome Triumphant* described the life and political institutions of the city. His history of Italy since the decline of Rome was written with a Humanist's love for the classical tradition. Other men showed similar interest. Thus Poggio Bracciolini wrote *Description of the City of Rome.* He was the first to rely upon data given by classical authors in elucidating inscriptions. He became well acquainted with old coins, in which study he found the works of Pliny the Younger useful.

But this cult of classical letters had decided limitations. Study of ancient culture became so mighty a vogue that writers cast their thoughts into sonorous sentences like those of Cicero. Ciceronianism, as this was called, became a positive vice. Prose of this type was too academic to live and was often quite devoid of thought. A simple style such as that of chroniclers of the Villani family possessed far more life than the vast majority of the Humanist productions. Such mediæval poems as the *Song of Roland, Reynard the Fox,* the *Nibelungenlied,* and the *Divine Comedy* were superior to the jejune, pedantic, and stylistically perfect Latinity of the fifteenth-century writers. Passion for the life beautiful in all its manifestations became dominated more and more by classical forms. Imitation and not original creation too often characterized the literary efforts of the so-called Revival of Learning.

CHAPTER XVI

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

It has been granted only to two nations, the Greeks and the Italians, and to the latter only at the time of the Renaissance, to invest every phase and variety of intellectual energy with the form of art.—J. A. SYMONDS[1]

FEW themes of the Renaissance are so interesting as the rise of the new art which flourished in Italian towns during the *quattrocento*. The great triumphs in sculpture and architecture of the Middle Ages were associated with northern Europe, not with Italy. Everywhere churches as well as civic buildings and private homes had been erected in the Gothic manner. But during the fourteenth century leadership in all these arts passed to the wealthy and populous cities of Italy. It can cause no surprise that Italians now created new artistic forms pleasing to the new social group, the bourgeoisie. The tastes of this class, engaged in secular activities, required artistic expression and they had the wealth to support art and artists who pleased them. The masters of the *quattrocento* abandoned the religious note dominant in Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic schools and sought to satisfy in a new way the cravings of wealthy townsmen for beautiful things.

To what extent did the Renaissance cult of classical antiquity contribute to the secularization of sculpture? It has often been assumed that the "rediscovery of antiquity" was the chief factor in the creation of the new art. Some have even gone so far as to suppose that there was no sculpture worthy of the name during the Middle Ages. Such views are erroneous. The works of Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve at Dijon, reveal complete mastery of the chisel in the service of the religious ideas of the fourteenth century. It is therefore not true that sculpture was reborn in Florence. It received a new bias; it became secularized and free from religious trammels. Although this new secularism was not due to Greek or Roman ideas, it certainly was assisted by the secular and pagan motifs which

[1] *Renaissance in Italy, The Fine Arts*, p. 1.

artists found on antique gems, statuary, and decoration. This process of secularization meant that sculptors studied the human form more closely and discarded such conventions of Gothic sculpture as heavy draperies, angular figures, scrolls with legends, and the mournful expression of man about to hear the trumpet call of the day of judgment.

The story of how the new sculpture began takes the historian back to thirteenth-century Pisa. That city had become wealthy from its trade with the Levant at a time when Florence, situated farther inland, was still a backward place. Pisa's glorious cathedral had just been built when Niccolò Pisano (d. 1280) was commissioned to construct a pulpit for the baptistery. This hexagonal pulpit of marble is supported by six columns, three of which rest on the backs of lions and, alternating with each of these, three which stand on the floor. A flight of steps leads to the pulpit box. Niccolò had been trained in the Romanesque and Gothic traditions of Italy and his work betrays these influences. But there is something new about the five panels which surround the pulpit box. They represent the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. The carving unmistakably reveals the influence of classical models.

Giorgio Vasari (d. 1574), who wrote short biographies of the artists of the Renaissance, states that Niccolò studied the carved reliefs on Roman sarcophagi and other objects in the Campo Santo of Pisa, some of which may still be seen in the corridor surrounding the old cemetery. Niccolò may well have derived inspiration from them, for some of the figures of his panels certainly were copied from classical models. Thus the Virgin in the Adoration of the Magi looks like a reclining Roman matron. The devil in the Last Judgment apparently was inspired by some mask such as one may see on Etruscan funerary urns. Some of the figures in these panels look like classical gods. Although one may detect Greek or Roman influences in the folds of garments, treatment of hair, and pose of the figures, the panels are overcrowded—a common defect in Gothic pictures and sculptures. The severe simplicity of classical art was not understood by this artist.

Niccolò's pulpit in the cathedral of Siena is even more remarkable, although its panels also suffer from overcrowding. It is an octagonal structure, five of whose panels are devoted to the themes which appear in the pulpit in the baptistery of Pisa. The two which were added represent the Massacre of the Innocents and the Torments of the Damned. The execution of the work in Siena is finer, the proportions more exact, and the dramatic rendering more true. Thus the matrons in the Massacre of the Innocents gaze fixedly upon the

wounds of their babes or clasp their agonized forms to their bosoms. Statuettes separate the panels. Some of these figures are of great beauty and plainly reveal classical conceptions. "Few statues of any age can compare with this Sienese work in which Greek beauty of form is imbued with keen Gothic sensibility. . . ."

Giovanni Pisano (d. 1328) continued the work of his father Niccolò. He assisted him in the construction of the pulpit in Siena and probably is responsible for the greater delicacy which makes this work more remarkable than that in the baptistery of Pisa. Giovanni's masterpiece is the hexagonal five-paneled pulpit in Sant' Andrea of Pistoia. The reliefs reveal little of the classical manner, but possess rare tenderness and delicacy. The Virgin in the Nativity is a beautiful matron, weak after the trying ordeal, whose heart is aglow with solicitude for the holy infant. The Massacre of the Innocents, a magnificent panel, is dramatic in all its parts: women stricken with grief over the death of their babes and others calling the curse of heaven upon Herod. Giovanni filled his panels with vibrant life. The calm of classic sculpture is not to be found in his work; it is really inspired by the Gothic work which had come into Italy from beyond the Alps. Aside from better modeling, the classical inspiration of Niccolò Pisano appears to have been but a momentary matter.

The Pisan school exerted much influence upon Italian sculptors of the fourteenth century. Arnolfo of Florence (d. 1300), a pupil of Niccolò, carried the art to Florence. The Pisan style was simplified by Giotto's sculptures which may be seen on the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore. Andrea di Pontedera (d. 1348) created the south doors of the baptistery which faces this church. His panels possess remarkable realism and are strikingly different from the earlier works of the Pisan school in that the scenes are not crowded with too many objects. Andrea Orcagna (d. 1368) was the last great representative of this school. His fame rests mainly on the sculptured work of the tabernacle in the Florentine church of Or San Michele. Probably the best detail of this masterpiece is the Espousal of the Virgin.

At the threshold of the *quattrocento* appeared an artistic luminary of great magnitude, the most noteworthy sculptor that Siena was to produce in all its history. Jacopo della Quercia (1374-1438) was an independent genius who not only absorbed the realism which had become traditional since the rise of the Pisan school of sculpture, but also studied classical models. He had a passion for portraying mass and form which gave to his art striking fullness and vigor. His masterpiece, the Fonte Gaia or Merry Fountain of Siena, is famous because of the treatment of the Virgin and the Seven Virtues. Especially remarkable are Jacopo's marble reliefs at the principal door of the church of San Petronio in Bologna. In them he clearly

reveals Gothic influences, but his manner is highly personal. The relief representing the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise is dramatically rendered. So eager was the sculptor in this and other works to portray mass effectively that he exaggerated the sinewy figures and their dramatic action. His interest in the classical ideal is shown in the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto in the cathedral of Lucca. The sides bear in high relief figures of angels supporting a heavy wreath of fruit and leaves. The figures look like cupids; the entire design seems to have been inspired by some ancient sarcophagus. On the top rests the stately figure of Ilaria wrapped in flowing garments most exquisitely rendered. Her face is serenely beautiful and her hair falls in gracious locks over her temples. This work is a triumph of realism chastened by the ideal beauty of classical sculpture.

The next great step forward was taken in Florence by Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455). In a competition in 1401 for models of the north doors of the baptistery in Florence, he was pronounced winner and given the contract. His early training as a goldsmith caused him to treat his panels as delicate pictures. The finished doors have twenty-eight scenes from the life of Christ, the disciples, and the four great church fathers, each of which is placed in a geometrical frame. Like the doors by Andrea di Pontedera on the opposite side of the building, they are executed with strenuous realism. Each scene is limited to a few figures.

But Ghiberti's fame rests on the marvelous east doors facing the cathedral church of Santa Maria del Fiore. Each door has five scenes instead of fourteen. The larger size enabled the sculptor to introduce more detail and to treat his subject according to the laws of perspective which engrossed his attention. He created the illusion of depth by means of relief. The figures are reproduced with great fidelity to nature and with a delicacy and elegance which have pleased every generation since. Ghiberti gave them an idealized form which may be due to study of classical statuary. A good example is the torso of Isaac who is kneeling on the pile of wood waiting for the thrust of his father's knife. A fitting dramatic vigor characterizes most of the panels. The doors were finished in 1452 and artists of the time acclaimed them. Michelangelo, it is said, declared that they were worthy to be placed on the gates of paradise.

Donatello (1386?-1466) was the greatest Florentine sculptor of the *quattrocento*. He freed his art from Gothic mannerism, gave his figures an unconventional naturalness, and applied some of the ideas learned from antique statuary. According to Vasari, Donatello went to Rome with his friend the architect Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-

1446) when they were disappointed in not getting the contract for the north doors of the baptistery.

> [Filippo] . . . first sold a small farm which he possessed at Settignano when both artists departed from Florence and proceeded to Rome where, when Filippo beheld the magnificence of the buildings and the perfection of the churches, he stood like one amazed and seemed to have lost his wits. They instantly made preparations for measuring the cornices and taking the ground-plans of these edifices, Donatello and himself both laboring continually and sparing neither time nor cost. No place was left unvisited by them, either in Rome or without the city, and in the Campagna; nor did they fail to take the dimensions of anything good within their reach.[2]

How much influence this archæological study had upon Donatello is difficult to tell. His first works reveal a firm sense of realism, but of the Gothic rather than the classical. Among them are the statues in the niches of the campanile of Florence. Job and Jeremiah are famous for their rugged naturalism and perfection of anatomy. The statue of St. George in a niche in the church of Or San Michele in Florence is justly noted for its fine facial expression, for the stone features seem animated with thought. The body is correct but does not match the graciousness of the face. Donatello again visited Rome in 1432 and 1433 and on his return to Florence was employed to make the medallions which one may see today in the courtyard of the Medici Palace. He modeled them after ancient gems. At this time he also made his bronze figure of David, the first image of the *quattrocento* to be cast in bronze. This statue is famous not only for its modeling and evident classical inspiration but also because it was made to stand in the open and not in a niche as was traditional with Gothic sculpture. Thus sculpture was emancipating itself from the domination of architecture. The form of the hero is that of a slender and lissom youth. Every part of the body is vibrant with energy as the youthful face contemplates the severed head of the giant Goliath. The body might pass for that of an Olympian god; in spite of the idealization of form which Donatello owed to antique models there are unmistakable touches of Gothic naturalism. Another work for Cosimo, likewise placed in this courtyard, was the bronze Judith killing Holofernes. Donatello made the eight medallions which may be seen above the columns in this courtyard. They were copied after antique gems in Cosimo's collection. His Singing Choir, made for the cathedral of Florence, is especially worthy of study, for the group of singing and dancing youths is of unsurpassed beauty. Classi-

[2] G. Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (Bohn Library), vol. i, p. 422.

cal influences are to be seen in the decoration. The sculptor possessed complete knowledge of the human form, disposed of drapery in an effective manner, and, what is more important, gave to the group unity, appropriate action, and facial expression.

Donatello's maturity was spent in Padua (1443-53). His most important work of this period is the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, the first of its kind since antiquity. The idea of making such a statue seems to have been inspired by the four horses on the façade of St. Mark's in Venice. The horse seems to stride like a mighty animal. On it sits the *condottiere* Gattamelata, accoutered as a Roman general, stately in figure and sure of his power to command. In this work Donatello obtained complete harmony of form, action, and thought, a unity toward which the masters of the *quattrocento* were striving. None attained it more completely than did Donatello. Emotionally his work owes much to older Gothic influences as illustrated by the Pisan school. At the same time it is chastened by the simplicity and accuracy of form which he noticed in classical models. Donatello's vigorous power was an original quality which he owed to his genius alone.

Luca della Robbia (1400-82), a younger contemporary of Donatello, did not possess the mighty energy of this great master. He is famous for the singers' loft made for the cathedral and placed opposite Donatello's. The eight panels representing singing and dancing boys and girls are of matchless beauty. Although the action is less vigorous and the expression less forceful than in the figures by Donatello, the singers are extraordinarily appealing. In fact, no other sculptors ever succeeded in rendering children as well as these two masters. Luca also worked in terra cotta to which he gave a delightful glaze of white and blue. These works usually represent the Virgin and the Christ Child with angels. The art of working in terra cotta degenerated after Luca's death and descended to the level of ordinary pottery. The use of purple, green, and yellow marked the decline of taste in the della Robbia family who alone possessed the secret of producing this glazed ware.

Andrea Verrocchio (1435-88), like Donatello, owed much to the workshops of Ghiberti. He became a complete master of anatomy and possessed superior skill in imparting to his creations appropriate thought and action; he sought also to combine this action with grace and delicacy. He thus carried to greater perfection the ideas advanced by Donatello. Verrocchio's David has many of the characteristics of Donatello's David. Its youthful body is as perfectly modeled and the lithe frame is filled with vigorous energy. The sculptor succeeded in giving to the face a thoughtful expression which characterizes all his works. The smile, the expression of the lips, and the bearing of

the boy's head represent a momentary thought which the beholder expects to change in a second. These qualities are also found in his equestrian statue of Colleone in Venice. This monument is even more successful than the great work of Donatello in Padua. The play of muscle, the posture of the legs, and the whole bearing of the forward-marching steed express a nervous energy. Colleone wears the armor of the day. His facial expression is an interesting study. In it is concentrated the thought which dominates the entire work and gives it unity. Verrocchio's great desire to combine excellence of anatomy and action with beauty made him a significant artist in the third quarter of the *quattrocento*, and he became the inspiration of Leonardo da Vinci's youthful efforts.

Antonio Pollaiuolo (1432?-98), who carried forward the ideas of Donatello, was a sculptor who aimed to give accurate muscular expression to thought. Trained as a goldsmith and accustomed to working with small quantities of costly metal, he developed extraordinary accuracy. He was very successful in anatomical details, especially hands and feet and the play of muscle. He liked to portray energetic themes because it gave him opportunity to study facial expression and the play of sinews. His Martyrdom of St. Sebastian admirably illustrates his manner. The saint is fastened to a tree at some distance above the ground, and six archers are shooting arrows into him. They are placed in varying positions and poses which gave the artist a chance to display his powers. He created a small bronze statue of the struggle between Hercules and Antæus, classical mythology being so popular at that moment that sculptors found it profitable to borrow themes from it. This sculptor successfully rendered this difficult theme in a manner impossible a generation before. The clasp of Hercules, the backward sway of his powerful body, and the frantic efforts of Antæus to force himself out of the giant's grasp are all correctly represented. The student should compare the muscular expression of this group with the greater placidity of Donatello's figures.

Pollaiuolo's greatest works are the tombs of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII in St. Peter's in Rome, the first being the more famous. The pontiff's figure, surrounded by the Seven Virtues which reveal careful study of ancient statuary, expresses resignation in death, and his face is a masterpiece of anatomical realism. His vestments are arranged in complicated folds and conform to the curves of his body. The design in the cloth is faithfully noted. Innocent's seated figure set an example which was to be followed very often by future sculptors. Even in death the exuberance of life seemed real. These two tombs are remarkable illustrations of the great progress made

in sepulchral art during the *quattrocento*. The Gothic rigidity of figures has disappeared and they are now anatomically perfect.

The growth of a new architecture began with Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). His visit to Rome enabled him to study ancient buildings and to learn many things about construction, proportion, and decoration. On his return to Florence he began a splendid career as builder. The silk guild intrusted him with the construction of its foundling hospital. A loggia with ten wide arches, supported by columns with modified Corinthian capitals, adorns the entire front. Terra cotta medallions of infants in swaddling clothes, the work of Andrea della Robbia (1437?-1528), are placed between the arches. This structure is an interesting example of the benevolent institutions which wealthy guilds of Italian towns were in the habit of building.

More significant is the Pazzi chapel which Brunelleschi constructed about 1420 in the cloisters of the church of Santa Croce in Florence. It is a rectangular building with a loggia as wide as the main part of the chapel. This loggia has six columns surmounted by modified Corinthian capitals. A high arch divides the façade into two halves and leads to the door of the chapel. The dome covering the central part of the chapel is evidently modeled upon Roman or Byzantine originals. The decorations of the moldings are copied after late Roman originals. This chapel "is unmatched by any previous building that we know of, and none can contend that in this instance Brunelleschi was merely copying Roman work." The chapel in the church of San Lorenzo of Florence is also Brunelleschi's work. It is a noble structure in which the architect employed the traditional ceiling of Roman antiquity and adapted decoration derived from classical sources.

The most famous work of this master is the lofty dome of the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, begun in 1296 by Arnolfo del Cambio. By the opening of the *quattrocento* the dome over the intersection of nave and transept remained to be added. The space was about one hundred forty feet across and many misgivings were felt as to the best method of constructing so large a dome. After some hesitation the task was given to Brunelleschi in 1420. He constructed two concentric and octagonal domes on an octagonal drum built upon the walls of the church. The domes were joined at the corners by means of ribs. Girdles composed of great oak beams fastened together by iron clamps bound the segments of the inner dome together and held the outer in place. The work was finished in 1436. The lantern was constructed according to the architect's plans but was not completed until 1445. The dome is a highly original creation and reveals Brunelleschi's indebtedness to Byzantine and Gothic buildings which were quite numerous in Italy. There

is no truth in the story that he copied it after the dome of the Pantheon which he studied when in Rome.

The palaces of the *quattrocento* are typical of the Renaissance. They were built by wealthy townsmen as fitting abodes in which they could have the greatest possible comfort and gratify their passion for higher artistic satisfaction. They were not like the old square and lofty towers with few windows such as may still be seen in great numbers in St. Gimingnano, a Tuscan town near Siena. They are airy and well-lighted structures and their military character for the most part has been abandoned. In studying them it is well to remember that the ground floor was used as store-house for wine vats and similar objects. In the center is an open sunlit space or courtyard, surrounded by a series of columns which support the stories above. A flight of stairs leads to the living quarters. Often a garden is laid out adjoining the building.

The first to merit study is the Medicean palace built for Cosimo de' Medici and typical of domestic architecture during the *quattrocento*. It was begun after 1440 by Michelozzo de' Michelozzi (1396-1472) who was both sculptor and architect and was often associated with Brunelleschi. Michelozzo was successful in giving to relatively small buildings a grace and beauty which all posterity has acclaimed. The ground story of the palace is constructed with roughly finished stones in what is known as rusticated style. The story above is made of smooth stone with beveled edges, and the next story has a perfectly smooth surface. Each window of the two upper stories is divided into two sections by a column supporting arches over each half. A cornice eight feet deep crowns this imposing structure.

Leon Battista Alberti (1405-72) was the next great innovator in architecture. He was a member of an exiled Florentine family and only with difficulty carried on his studies. He entered the service of Eugenius IV, and, when that pontiff moved his court to Florence, for the first time visited the city of his fathers. Alberti was truly a *uomo universale*. His boundless curiosity led him to study all things, and the range of his ability and knowledge was marvelous. He was a mathematician, jurist, poet, philologist, and musician. He also wrote a treatise on painting and another on sculpture. He was interested in archæology and wrote a *Description of the City of Rome*.

Alberti's love for ancient objects, derived in part from Vitruvius' work on Roman architecture, influenced his architectural labors. This author was not read in the Middle Ages, but when Poggio Bracciolini found a manuscript of this work, Humanists began to study it feverishly. Its ideas provided norms for the new architecture of the classical revival. An indiscriminate use of columns and pilasters began. This has been severely criticized because forms employed in classical

temples could not be adapted effectively to the secular buildings of the *quattrocento*. Alberti used pilasters in each of the three stories of the Rucellai palace in Florence. They are surmounted by capitols, but do not satisfy the observer, for he feels that they are purely ornamental since they support no weight. The windows of the upper stories are constructed in the same manner as those of the palace of Cosimo de' Medici, except that the architect placed a heavy cross-piece over the column. On this transverse beam rest the arches over the halves of the window. This device is unfortunate, for it violates the principle that columns must bear burdens.

Alberti also applied his knowledge to church architecture. He constructed the façade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Some of its parts, especially the central arch and the columns, were suggested by the triumphal arch of Augustus in Rome which Alberti had studied. Another example of this type of work is the façade of Sant' Andrea in Mantua. But the most curious work from Alberti's hands is San Francesco of Rimini. This church was built in the Gothic style of the thirteenth century and from 1447 to 1456 it was revamped in the new style. It was never completed, and the dome which Alberti intended to construct over the choir was never begun. It is a curious structure and well illustrates the great change which took place in artistic taste as a result of the classical revival. This new style was to reach maturity during the next century in the work of Bramante and Sansovino.

CHAPTER XVII

PAINTING

The Italian is influenced by reason, the Fleming by instinct. The discovery of oil painting proves that the scientific spirit also was awake in Flanders. But it was not as in Italy directed to achieve the logical structure of forms; it was concerned rather with color and the means whereby musical tone feelings can be aroused.—A. VERMEYLEN.[1]

THE painting of the *quattrocento* was concerned with one great idea, the scientific solution of the problem of creating the illusion of reality on a flat surface. In other words, the painter's task was to place three-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional surface. This involved many difficult questions which perplexed artists throughout the century. They were called upon to study perspective, foreshortening, dramatic unity, thought conveyed in posture and facial expression, arrangement of individuals in a crowd, effect of light and shade, and the significance of color. Furthermore, pictorial art more and more abandoned its interest in religion and sought inspiration in secular themes. Naturalism triumphed over the older Byzantine methods and Gothic traditions. All this magnificent progress was accomplished, except for the contributions of Mantegna (1431-1506) and a few other masters, by the artists of Florence from Masaccio (1401-29?) to Botticelli (1444-1510).

It is important to understand under what conditions artists of the *quattrocento* received their training. Masters had shops in which they worked with a number of apprentices placed in their keeping usually at the age of ten or twelve. These youths were taught the details of the several arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the work of goldsmiths. None of these crafts had yet reached that point of specialization where artists devoted all their talents to only one art. Apprentices therefore often mastered all of them. The goldsmith's art was especially important. Wealthy Florentines desired objects of gold molded and engraved by the best skill available. Many youths approached the practical problems of art with a fund of ex-

[1] *Geschiedenis der Europeesche Plastiek- en Schilderkunst* (Amsterdam, 1921), vol. i, pp. 215-216.

perience obtained from working with a costly medium which compelled them to be accurate and careful. After years of service during which they assisted their masters in working with metal or stone, preparing colors, applying cartoons or patterns, and doing all manner of tasks necessary in a painter's work, the more successful ones eventually might set up shops of their own. It is necessary therefore to know something about the early training of each artist if one wishes to understand the work of these masters.

Masaccio was the first bold innovator of the *quattrocento*. His frescoes are to be found in the Carmelite church of Florence. He knew Giotto's works thoroughly and soon progressed beyond that painter's innovations. In Masaccio's pictures space is realistically treated; one is conscious of the air which surrounds each figure. An effect of thickness is imparted to objects by the use of light and shadow. Foreshortening and an effort to give groups unity of action are far more successful than in the case of Giotto. Buildings in the background are in better proportion and seem habitable. Facial expression and hands and arms are rendered according to life. Groups are arranged with charming naturalness.

The Tribute Money illustrates Matthew xvii: 24-27. The central part especially reveals the painter's originality, for neither Giotto nor anyone since had so successfully represented a group. The action of Christ and Peter dominate the scene, and the men who stand around concentrate their attention upon the Master. Peter Healing the Sick is a street scene. The buildings are represented in their proper proportions. The saint moves past a cripple lying on the ground without looking down upon him. One of the afflicted men gazes reverently up at the saint and makes a gesture of adoration, hoping to be cured by him. Most remarkable is the Expulsion of Adam and Eve. As the first parents are driven forth from the portals of paradise they present a picture of complete despair. Adam in sorrow hides his face in his hands; Eve's face, stained with tears, is the very expression of grief. Their nude bodies are correctly modeled and dramatically portrayed.

Masaccio's naturalism did for painting what Donatello's did for sculpture, but Masaccio was probably not inspired by that sculptor. His influence was enormous, as was testified by Vasari:

> This [Brancacci] chapel has indeed been continually frequented by an infinite number of students and masters for the benefit to be derived from these works, in which there are still some heads so beautiful and life-like that we may safely affirm no artist of that period to have approached so nearly to the manner of the moderns as did Masaccio. His works do indeed merit all the praise they have received, and the rather as it was

> by him that the path was opened to the excellent manner prevalent in our own times; to the truth of which we have testified in the fact that all the most celebrated sculptors and painters since Masaccio's day have become excellent and illustrious by studying their art in this chapel. Among these may be enumerated . . . Fra Filippo Lippi, who completed the work; Baldovinetti, Castagno, Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Da Vinci, Perugino, Bartolommeo, . . . and the sublime Michelangelo. Raphael also made his first commencement of his exquisite manner in this place. . . .[2]

It is instructive to compare Masaccio's art with that of a contemporary, Fra Angelico (1387-1455). The latter shows what would have happened to painting in Florence had not the bold genius of Masaccio completely turned away from the ideas and methods of Giotto's followers. Fra Angelico's pictures belong to the vanishing Middle Ages when popular imagination still clung to traditional Gothic methods of presenting the world of saints, angels, heavenly choirs, and the final judgment. He loved to portray objects for their religious values; indeed, a certain "sacramental earnestness" may be said to pervade his work.

> It was the custom of Fra Angelico to abstain from retouching or improving any painting once finished. He altered nothing but left all as it was done the first time, believing, as he said, that such was the will of God. It is also affirmed that he would never take pencil in hand until he had first offered a prayer. He is said never to have painted a crucifix without tears streaming from his eyes; and in the countenances and attitudes of his figures it is easy to perceive proof of his sincerity, his goodness, and the depth of his devotion to Christ.[3]

An artist so constituted did not care primarily for such problems as the reality of muscle and limb, facial expression, position of hands, and judicious distribution of men in a crowd. Fra Angelico therefore did not create a school and set a tradition. But he was strongly influenced by the realism of Masaccio and others. The backgrounds of his pictures became more natural, buildings assumed proper proportions, and draperies were arranged according to better knowledge of the human form. For these reasons he occupies an honorable place among the artists of the *quattrocento*. Yet in spirit Fra Angelico remained in the past. He painted pictures with an ineffable charm and sweetness. Their colors are fresh and like gleaming jewels, and the scenes are arranged with infinite care. His great work was done

[2] G. Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (Bohn Library), vol. i, pp. 410-411.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 34-35.

for the convent of San Marco in Florence. At the head of the stairs leading to the cells is his famous Annunciation; smaller frescoes are to be found in each of the cells. His Coronation of the Virgin is also famous. A host of saints stand around the throne on which Christ is seated while he places a crown on Mary's head. The artist's smaller pictures are especially resplendent with gold and delicate colors.

Progress of Florentine painting lay along the new lines marked out by Masaccio. None of the younger artists possessed the bold genius of that greatest of innovators. They did have talent, however, and honestly tried to work out some of the problems indicated in the frescoes in the Carmelite church. Paolo Uccello (1397-1475) interested himself in perspective. In the Rout of San Romano he arranged the forces contending in battle so as to illustrate this difficult problem. Bodies and broken spears are placed at right angles to the spectator, thus giving the illusion of depth. Horses with men on them are drawn as cubes. Even the landscape is forced into this scheme. Until the last he clung to his special interest; and Vasari relates how he would mutter, "Oh, what a delightful thing is this perspective," when his wife entreated him to go to sleep.

Andrea del Castagno (1390-1457) concentrated his energies upon another aspect of painting, that of powerful physique vibrating with energy. He did not aim at graciousness but emphasized form and mass, and his pictures therefore show bony, sinewy, and energetic figures. A good example is his portrait of the *condottiere* Pippo Spano, who was employed by the Hungarian King Sigismund against the Turks. This picture is interesting also from the point of view of social and cultural history, for it is a splendid likeness of a *condottiere*. Castagno also painted an equestrian portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino. The vigorous step and energetic movement of the horse are emphasized by powerful muscles.

Masaccio had flooded his paintings with light and air. To give reality to space was a difficult task, and it is not strange that painters following in the footsteps of the great master experimented with the problem. Domenico Veneziano (d. 1461), who is noted for portraits in profile and detailed designs of cloth, covered his pictures with a coating of varnish resembling oil in order to give a pale tone to backgrounds. His pupil, Piero della Francesca (1410?-92), filled pictures with light and air by giving silvery tones to backgrounds. He was a careful student of form and endeavored to reduce perspective to a mathematical science. His contributions were important because they led to the final triumph over the problem of space by Perugino and Raphael and to a treatment of atmosphere which culminated in the use of light and dark effects (*chiaroscuro*) by Leonardo da Vinci.

Piero's zeal in solving the problem of space and light led him to neglect motion—the figures in his pictures stand still as if hewn out of stone. His portraits in profile are especially fine, those of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and his wife Battista Sforza being famous examples. His great pictures relating the story of the Holy Cross are in the choir of the church of San Francesco in Arezzo.

We must note the work of several artists who are famous as illustrators. As painters they do not occupy a supreme position, but from the point of view of the social history of the *quattrocento* few artists are as interesting. Secure in their economic freedom because of the unprecedented growth of wealth, the Florentine bourgeoisie was given a chance to gratify its artistic tastes. Pictures dealing with the daily life of burghers were made for them. Painters became interested more and more in secular themes and illustrated the kaleidoscopic life of Florentine pageants, festivals, and ceremonies. Even when artists produced purely religious pictures they used Florentine matrons as models for their Madonnas and Florentine urchins for St. John the Baptist or the Christ Child. Great changes had come over art since the Gothic days when religion was the chief inspiration; it now reflected the home, the shop, and the market place.

Fra Filippo Lippi (1406-69) was the first artist to be guided completely by what he saw about him in everyday life. He had learned the secrets of his craft from his master Masaccio but abandoned the latter's heroic themes drawn from Scripture. He took his models from the people among whom he had been reared. His Madonna in Adoration shows a maiden filled with maternal adoration kneeling before the Christ Child. St. John is a youth such as Fra Filippo saw every day in the streets of Florence. The background is filled with woods and rock such as his native Tuscany presented on all sides. In the foreground is a green carpet of grass spangled with bright flowers. Another picture, a Madonna and Child, illustrates the social interest of his pictures in a different way, for here the Holy Mother is a Florentine matron dressed in the manner of the women of that day. Her headdress, an elaborate study of folds, is skillfully done. The Christ Child is a chubby, lusty infant who is likely to overpower his mother. What a difference between him and his stiff Gothic predecessors! The face of the angel is that of a street gamin from whom one can expect any impish prank.

Benozzo Gozzoli (1420-97) revealed similar tendencies. He preferred to lavish all his energy upon scenes of nature, crowds, cavalcades, and interesting incidents, rather than to investigate the problems of painting. He was a superb story-teller. The world admires his Visit of the Magi which is in the chapel of the palace of the Medici. The Magi and their attendants on horse and afoot are mak-

ing their way along a mountain road to the stable to do homage to the Christ Child. Trees, plants, rocks, buildings, animals, trappings, and clothing are treated with loving attention to detail. The artist wished merely to create an interesting picture and he succeeded. Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-93) was the popular painter of gay Florentine life. His main interest lay in creating pleasing pictures. Religious themes were treated in the manner of Fra Filippo Lippi. He created a series of scenes from the lives of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist in the choir of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. In them he tells what Florentine homes, nurseries, costumes, and social intercourse were like. He was not a supremely great artist, but he gave the rich townsmen what they wanted, something that pleased their secular tastes.

Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510) of Florence was a contemporary of Ghirlandaio. His painting is interesting not only as art but as an expression of the thought and life of his day. He received his first lessons from Fra Filippo Lippi, owed much to the vigor of Pollaiuolo's creations, and was deeply impressed with the dainty and incisive work of Verrocchio. He combined all their merits in a satisfactory manner. His figures often have a languid expression and are clothed in billowy garments which flutter with the movement of limbs or the stirring of breezes. An Adoration of the Three Magi illustrates his earlier style. The popular note of Fra Filippo Lippi is evident in its Virgin and Christ Child and in the ruined structure which serves as the stable. The group of adorers is a collection of Florentine notables, some of whom are members of the Medici family. The artist's interest lay as much with secular things as with religion. The theme is traditional and affords the opportunity of displaying in one group the celebrities of the day. Here is a touch of the narrative manner so popular at the moment. The Madonna of the Magnificat is a beautiful picture with a view of nature in the background. An infinitely tender expression pervades the delicate face of the Virgin, a tenderness which may be described as maternal and human rather than religious.

Botticelli's Primavera, an allegory of Spring, has a purely secular theme drawn from such pagan poets as Lucretius and Virgil, and illustrates how secular interests had crowded out old religious conceptions. It also illustrates the cult of classical forms which had now reached its zenith. The scene is laid in an orange and olive grove, the green leaves of the trees attractively contrasting with the gleam of golden fruit. In the foreground is a thick carpet of grass studded with flowers. More than thirty-five varieties of plants have been discerned, all reproduced with great fidelity. This illustrates a characteristic of the Renaissance, the interest in mundane things

which inevitably led to a more patient study of the details of nature. Venus is placed in the center, with a flying cupid aiming his arrows at her from above. Zephyr appears amid the branches driving forward Spring from whose mouth issues a garland of flowers and plants. Before her advances Flora bearing flowers which she scatters with her right hand. Three dancing Graces are at the right of Venus. Next, and leading the procession, advances Mercury with baton in hand clearing away lingering winter.

The Birth of Venus further illustrates what has been said about the allegory of Spring. It retells the ancient story of how Venus was wafted upon the shore by the waves of the sea. She is standing in a seashell borne forward by breezes blown by two winged creatures. Her radiant body, nude and beautifully modeled, lithe and sinuous, is ready to step ashore where a maiden awaits her, ready to cover her with a mantle. Her golden hair falls in profuse masses over her shoulders or flutters rhythmically in the breeze. Flowers are blown about in the breeze and on the right stand a few trees which suggest an idyllic grove. These two pictures of Botticelli, inspired by an age which yearned for the vanished beauty of the ancient pagan world might well illustrate the verse of a Theocritus.

It was fortunate that no matter how much the narrative style of artists like Ghirlandaio pleased the people of Florence, they did not allow themselves to be drawn from the path marked out by Masaccio. Great painting indeed must be truthful and must consider the life of the age. Its mission is not primarily to make pretty pictures or merely to illustrate life. Florence owes her supreme position in painting and sculpture to the fact that her workers cared most for the intellectual solution of the technical problems which confront artists. In this way Florentine artists laid the foundations of modern painting and sculpture. They became instructors first of other Italians and finally of the whole world. Now we must turn to Umbrian painting which soon fell under the intellectual dictation of the haughty city on the Arno.

Umbria, which lay east of Tuscany, was a provincial region. It possessed numerous small towns which for the most part served merely as centers of the surrounding agricultural life. The social development and outlook of their population therefore remained backward. Artistic expression was dominated by tradition. Gentile da Fabriano (d. 1427) loved the gleam and color of Gothic primitives and preferred to paint scenes of the intense and vivacious religious life of his native Umbria. This is well illustrated by his Adoration of the Magi, which portrays a magnificent but overcrowded cavalcade which has just come to a halt at the crib to do obeisance to the child Jesus. Religious idealism such as was popular in conservative Umbria

fills the picture. The holy family and the ox and ass at the crib strongly suggest Sienese influence.

Umbrian art would have signified little had it not been for the impulse given it by Piero della Francesca who was trained in Florence, and by one of his pupils, Melozzo da Forlì (1438-94), who soon surmounted Umbrian limitations. The fresco of Sixtus IV and his Court now in the Vatican gallery is a noteworthy masterpiece. The work shows that Melozzo had very definitely learned all the technique of Florentine artists. Luca Signorelli (1450?-1523) reveals the influence of Pollaiuolo. Caring little for color, he sought to portray effective action. His famous works are the frescoes in the cathedral of Orvieto, representing events at the final judgment: Preaching of Antichrist, Resurrection, Rejection of the Wicked, and Acceptance of the Saved. The Resurrection is interesting for it gave the artist a chance to display his skill in anatomy. Bodies are rising from the graves, skeletons acquire missing parts, and the fully resurrected stand around nude, gazing upward into the skies whence angels are calling to the dead to rise from their graves.

Pietro Perugino (1446-1524) remained a more faithful follower of the Umbrian manner. He chastened Byzantine traditions by studying Fra Angelico and other Florentine masters, and he therefore knew how to distribute his figures and coordinate the pose of hands and feet. His success in these things gave him a great reputation. However, there is much traditionalism in his paintings. Hands and feet are too small; the pursed lips and rotund faces are unreal. On the other hand, his landscapes are delightfully reminiscent of the upper Tiber. Branches of trees have a feather-like effect. His treatment of space is interesting; the countryside disappears in the dimness of the horizon and color is employed to heighten this effect of distance. These devices later became important in Raphael's work. One of Perugino's masterpieces is a Crucifixion in the convent of the Santa Maddalena in Florence. Especially famous is the Sistine fresco of Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter in which the artist shows himself superior to his rivals whose work also is to be seen here. The besetting faults of the latter were overcrowding, inability to give unity to a multitude, and formal and meaningless arrangement of groups. Not so in Perugino's masterpiece. A broad space is presented with a relatively small number of figures in it so carefully arranged that not one is superfluous. In the immediate foreground stands Christ giving the keys to St. Peter. Behind them are some people so arranged as to make an interesting group. In the background is a temple surmounted by a dome. On each side stands a triumphal arch, and in the far distance are trees and mountains. No painter of the eighth decade of the *quattrocento* so well created the illusion of space.

CHAPTER XVIII

PATRONAGE OF THE MEDICI

If you desire to live securely you must only accept those offices which are conferred on you by the citizens and the laws, and which will bring you neither danger nor envy. For it is what a man seizes, not what is given to him, which brings him hatred.—MACHIAVELLI (d. 1527).[1]

WHERE were artists and scholars to find patrons to support them? Not among the nobility, for that class still lived according to traditions created in the feudal age. Preferring the chase and an elaborate code of chivalry, it cared little for the development of a new culture. Nor among churchmen, for they were either occupied in theological studies of the old type or engrossed in practical details of monastic or episcopal administration. The lay culture of the early Renaissance made little appeal to the rank and file of the clergy. Nor could Humanists find posts in universities, for these institutions were, for the most part, governed by old conceptions which allowed little opportunity to cultivate Humanist learning. And the economic problems of life precluded the lower and middle classes of townsmen from participating in the new secular culture.

The patrons of the Renaissance were, as a rule, townsmen who had grown wealthy from trade and industry. This is especially true of the aristocratic *popolo grasso* of Florence, among whom were the Strozzi and the Medici. They had the leisure necessary to cultivate new ideas, and devoted their energy and wealth to this end. Renaissance culture therefore was not only secular, but also aristocratic. Possessing the greater share of the world's capital, this class inevitably appropriated social and political power. By becoming sponsors of the art, letters, and learning of the *quattrocento*, its members played a chief part in the formation of the new lay civilization.

Of all patrons of the Renaissance, the house of Medici was the most distinguished. For over a century its members were intimately associated with the new culture, and it can be said that the history of

[1] *Florentine History* (Everyman's Library), p. 158.

this house was the history of the Renaissance. This family had long lived in Florence; its origins are lost in the dimness which enshrouds the annals of mediæval towns. But in the fourteenth century Salvestro de' Medici assumed an important position in communal affairs. He was known to be sympathetic with the *popolo minuto*, and especially the unenfranchised proletariat. The bitter antagonisms of the lowest classes toward the *popolo grasso* who controlled their destinies, politically as well as economically, led to the violent outburst of the Ciompi in 1378. Salvestro sympathized with them, but the uprising failed miserably and the yoke of the aristocracy was fastened upon the unfortunates more firmly than before.

The Medici did not play a large part in the politics of Florence for some decades after that ill-fated rising, but their espousal of the popular cause was never forgotten and later proved a solid foundation for their policy against the oligarchy. It was Giovanni (d. 1429) who made possible the family's future greatness. He was a typical product of an environment of plots and counterplots. A man of great penetration and resourcefulness, he avoided public intrigues. Instead he devoted his energy to trade and banking, thus laying the bases of wealth which made possible the later success of Cosimo and Lorenzo. His house lent money to foreign princes, both lay and clerical, financed businesses, and reaped great profits. From all quarters of Europe wealth poured into the coffers of the Medici.

Giovanni enjoyed the confidence of the Florentines, especially the aristocracy, and held several offices. Toward the end of his life he sided with the popular element. From 1422 to 1427 Florence was involved in a war against Milan. It necessitated taxation which, because of the methods employed by the aristocracy, weighed heavily upon the lower classes while the wealthy escaped with small contributions. Giovanni supported the famous *catasto*, a proposal to shift the burden to the shoulders of the rich. This system of taxation in some degree checked the tyranny of the upper classes, because they were not able to browbeat the plebeians and with threats make them silent at the council, as they formerly did. Thus it followed that whilst this taxation was approved by the generality of men, it was regarded with great displeasure by the rich."[2] The enemies of this successful measure concentrated their venom upon Giovanni's son Cosimo, while the people looked with increased favor upon the Medici.

Cosimo ruled as head of the family from 1429 to 1464. He was a splendid example of a bourgeois statesman. Never swayed by impossible or fantastic ideas, he addressed himself only to things which could be realized. He completely understood the treacherous quick-

[2] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature*, vol. ii, pp. 390-391.

sands of Florentine politics and therefore abstained from intrigue and officeholding, preferring to control the organs of government through henchmen. At the same time he was accessible to all men and was always considerate of the needs of the poor and unfortunate, to whom he lent money, thereby rapidly increasing his popularity. So successfully did he manage the fortune which his father had left him that the family's wealth increased enormously. He was rarely deceived in his relations with men because he had an uncanny ability to estimate character. "He understood people even before looking at them," it was said. His wealth, circumspection, and political finesse enabled him to play the rôle of one of the greatest of Renaissance princes.

Cosimo's success and popularity aroused the hostility of the aristocrats, and they resolved to crush him and his family whose democratic associations might sooner or later destroy the oligarchy. Rinaldo degli Albizzi led them in an effort to get rid of the Medici ere it was too late, and in 1433 they brought about Cosimo's arrest by high-handed methods. It was their intention to kill him but, fearing the wrath of the people, they secured a decree of banishment instead. The entire family was ordered into exile, Cosimo finding shelter in Venice. But a war with Lucca which had been undertaken in 1432 went from bad to worse and Rinaldo lost control of the government. In 1434, just one year after the expulsion, the *signoria* reversed its decree and recalled the Medici. On their return Rinaldo was exiled, and with him Palla Strozzi and others. Now began the ascendancy of the Medici in Florentine affairs which was to last without interruption until 1494.

Under Cosimo de' Medici, Florence continued to be governed by a clumsy system of boards of magistrates. The manner of appointment, functions of officers, and all forms of government were left unchanged. Cosimo controlled public policy by manipulation because he well understood how his fellow citizens detested tyranny and overweening ambition. By keeping democratic forms inviolate, he was able to control the destinies of Florence far more effectively than if he had been an absolute prince.

While Cosimo thus ably ruled the internal affairs of Florence and extended the commercial successes of its citizens and incidentally increased his own wealth, he also managed its foreign relations. This was a difficult matter because of the intense jealousy of Italian states. Milan was the chief disturbing element. Its Visconti despots sought to expand its lands at the expense of the States of the Church, especially in Romagna. They allied themselves with the exiled Rinaldo degli Albizzi and his friends, opposed Florentine designs upon Lucca, and coveted Florentine territory. Besides, they were engaged in a

perennial struggle with Venice, who had successfully encroached upon Milanese territory in Lombardy. Florence was allied with Venice and the papacy. But the Venetians, jealous of Florentine commercial and political success, were cool allies; and Cosimo soon determined to support Francesco Sforza, who, as we have seen, had married the daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti and aspired to the lordship of Milan after the latter's death in 1447. Cosimo lent him considerable sums with which Sforza established himself as tyrant of Milan (1450). Venetian schemes were defeated and any danger of hostility to Florentine trade in Lombardy and Germany vanished.

Alliance with Milan implied alliance with the king of Naples. King Alfonso of Sicily (d. 1458) had conquered Naples in 1435 and held it in defiance of his enemies, the heirs of the Angevin line. Sforza feared Angevin ambitions which might at any moment be backed up by French force. The house of Orléans held Asti and claimed to have the best title to Milan because Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo (1378-1402), had become the wife of Duke Louis of Orléans. This was a stronger claim than Sforza could advance because his wife was only a natural daughter of Filippo Maria. Florence had long been an active sympathizer with French policies, but under Cosimo's guidance she gave this up and accepted the friendship of Milan and the Aragonese kings of Naples. This triple alliance, which became the corner stone of Cosimo's foreign policy, placed in his hands the balance of power in the peninsula and maintained the peace of Italy by keeping out the French until the days of his great-grandson Piero (1492-1503). The success of his policy greatly enhanced Cosimo's wealth and prestige.

This fortunate balance of internal and eternal affairs and the possession of unlimited wealth enabled Cosimo to become the patron *par excellence* of the new culture. Giovanni had shown some leanings toward art, but he was an old-fashioned man. Nevertheless, he had encouraged Masaccio and had given liberally for the construction of the foundling hospital which Brunelleschi had designed. He was one of the judges of the competition for the north doors of the baptistery which was won by Lorenzo Ghiberti. But Cosimo was the first of the Medici to concern himself with letters, painting, sculpture, and architecture. Not only did he show a vital interest in these arts but he displayed an amazing insight. Whatever he approved and supported the world has agreed was worthy of patronage. No ruler in mediæval or modern times has so completely and so worthily associated himself with art and learning as did Cosimo de' Medici.

Cosimo was but seven years old when Manuel Chrysoloras began teaching Greek in the University of Florence. Although Giovanni had no part in bringing this scholar to the banks of the Arno, it is

probable that Cosimo was one of Chrysoloras' first auditors. He received instruction from the chief teachers of Latin and Greek and attained considerable proficiency in both. He early sought the society of Humanists, and encouraged them by his keen interest. In the monastery of San Spirito in Florence he often met with Luigi Marsigli and others to discuss theological and philosophical topics. The monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli of the order of Camalduli was another center where many of the new spirits met. There Ambrogio Traversari spent long hours in his cell reading to Cosimo his translations of St. Paul's epistles and some of the works of the church fathers.

Cosimo was also interested in architecture. He was very intimate with Michelozzo de' Michelozzi (1396-1472), the builder of his palace in the Via Larga. It is characteristic of the cautious Cosimo that he accepted his modest plans rather than the more elaborate ideas of Brunelleschi. Michelozzo accompanied him while in exile. In 1437 Cosimo employed him to construct the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence, paying for this work and also generously endowing the house. He employed Brunelleschi in the renovation of San Lorenzo which sadly needed repairs. Vast sums were expended on the old sacristy and other parts of the building. San Spirito was given the same attention. The cloisters of the Badia of Fiesole were erected. Cosimo built country villas at Careggi and Trebbia, very different in style from the castles of nobles. They were bourgeois abodes in the country. The Middle Ages were gone; the townsmen had usurped the place occupied by the nobles.

This was the formative age of Renaissance sculpture, and Cosimo left the mark of his excellent taste upon it. He collected classical statuary whenever it appeared on the market and spent large sums in outbidding rivals. Fragments of antique art, cameos, intaglios, and bronzes were brought together in his palace. Donatello was his firm friend and stimulated his admiration for classical art. Donatello's bronze David and other works for the courtyard of Cosimo's palace have been referred to previously.

Painting was also encouraged. It is interesting that a hard-headed man like Cosimo, so well educated in the realities of life, should be attracted to the delicate art of Fra Angelico. Fra Filippo Lippi received several commissions. He painted the Madonna in the Wood for the altar in the little chapel in Cosimo's palace. On the chapel walls Benozzo Gozzoli spread a brilliant cavalcade, in which the Medici are shown as the three Magi on their way to do homage to the Christ Child. Gozzoli's portrait of Cosimo—a picture of a shrewd and clever man of the world—is famous; the smooth-shaven face of the gray-haired man cannot be forgotten. Such splendid

cavalcades must have been common in real life, for the Medici often went to their villas. There is something especially appropriate in Cosimo's patronage of the two last-named artists, for his democratic tastes were well expressed by the use of ordinary folk and life as models and themes by both Lippi and Gozzoli. Cosimo also admired the more scientifically developed work of Paolo Uccello whose designs were executed on Flemish looms. These tapestries were intended for his *palazzo* in the Via Larga.

Cosimo was an avid collector of old codices. His purse provided help for Niccolò Niccoli, for when the latter had exhausted all his patrimony and was bankrupt, Cosimo took over his obligations and Niccolò on his death gave him his great collection. Ciriaco of Ancona collected ancient books for Cosimo who also gave orders to other agents to watch for manuscripts. Thus he brought together a large number of important works. He gave many books to the library of San Marco. His own collection begun in 1444 became the foundation of the Medici library which finally in 1524 was housed in the cloisters of San Lorenzo. It is now called the Laurenziana and is one of the world's most important collections.

Cosimo left an indelible impress upon the new scholarship by initiating a revival of Platonic philosophy. This marked another break with the Middle Ages whose dominant philosophy was drawn from Aristotle and the doctrines of the church. Cosimo persuaded Pope Eugenius IV to move to Florence the council which had convened at Ferrara in 1438. Cosimo was induced to found the Platonic Academy by the Greek scholars to whom he acted as host while they were attending the council. Membership in this academy was restricted. The group met in his villa at Careggi to discuss the great problems of life. Plato's works were not accessible in Latin and Cosimo determined to remedy this by subsidizing Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) to make translations. Born near Florence, the son of a physician in Cosimo's service, and educated in the Universities of Pisa and Florence, Ficino made rapid progress in Humanist studies. His great affection for Plato's teaching induced Cosimo to help him. Rooms were assigned to him in the palace in the Via Larga and all his needs were provided for so that he could pursue his studies untrammeled. In 1458 Ficino assumed the presidency of the academy which was destined to become the prototype of similar foundations of the *quattrocento* and subsequently of all modern academies. The Platonic revival was the philosophic copestone of Humanism.

In 1463 Cosimo's son Giovanni, upon whom he had lavished all his hopes, died. It was a sad blow to the old man who could not find enough comfort in the teaching of Platonism to dissolve his grief. "Cosimo was carried through his house after the death of his son,

and was heard to say with a sigh, 'This is all too great a house for so small a family.' " Cosimo died one year later and was buried before the altar in San Lorenzo. On his tomb, according to public decree, were incribed the words "Pater Patriæ" (Father of his Country). His task now devolved upon his elder son Piero, a man of weak body who was not expected to live. The practiced hand of Cosimo was relaxed and Medicean control of Florentine politics seemed about to come to an end. Luca Pitti had long received his orders from Cosimo and had carried them out faithfully, but he hoped to succeed to his position. He had built on the left bank of the Arno a gigantic palace, designed by Brunelleschi, which was intended to overshadow that of the Medici. A plot to oust Piero in 1466 failed because of his son Lorenzo's presence of mind. The accomplices were exiled; Luca Pitti was disgraced and lived ignominiously to an old age. Piero died in December, 1469. His body was laid to rest in the porphyry tomb in the old sacristy of San Lorenzo built in the severely plain style of Brunelleschi. On the corners of the tomb is a wealth of acanthus leaves. The niche in which it is placed contains a latticed screen of bronze which joins the tomb to the wall. It is the work of Andrea Verrochio and is executed with the fastidious grace characteristic of the artist.

As far as his health permitted, Piero had sought to continue the policy of his father toward art and letters. He gave commissions to the painter Domenico Veneziano. His wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, was one of the noblest women of the *quattrocento*. She was exceedingly cultivated and exerted much influence upon the society of the Medici and especially upon her sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano. She was a model mother, and in no wise neglected the duties of her home. She identified herself with the intellectual and cultural life of Florence and wrote lyric poems which have met with wide favor. Her poetic reputation rests chiefly upon renderings of the stories in the Apocrypha which are pervaded by a genuine religious fervor. The fact that they are written in the Italian tongue is especially significant, for this is in harmony with the democratic sentiments which had always characterized the Medici house. She took an active interest, as did Piero and even Cosimo, in the education of her sons who were placed under the tuition of such noted Humanists as Cristoforo Landino (1424-1584), Marsilio Ficino, and John Argyropoulos. They were educated in accordance with Renaissance conceptions which had been formed by the influence of Cicero, Plutarch, and especially Quintilian.

The first years of the government of Lorenzo and Giuliano were consumed in consolidating their authority in Florence and in directing the city's relations with foreign states. Lorenzo, being the elder,

naturally took the lead. His policy was to perpetuate the old Medicean principle of a triple alliance embracing Milan, Naples, and Florence, but Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84), who hated the Medici for a number of reasons, threatened to ruin it. He devised a policy of isolating Florence, and to that end formed an alliance with Naples and cultivated the friendship of Milan. He wanted to favor his nephew Girolamo Riario, to whom he gave Imola in Romagna which he had bought from Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan (1466-76). The Florentines coveted Imola because it was strategically situated on the route of their trading connections north of the Apennines. Lorenzo opposed Sixtus' desire to strengthen papal control of Romagna and did what he could to block the transfer by refusing to let the pontiff have the necessary sums from the Medici bank in Rome. The enraged pope, however, received the necessary money from a rival Florentine banking firm, that of the Pazzi. This was a proud and haughty family which had failed to ingratiate itself with the public. Sixtus transferred to it all of his banking business which till then had been transacted by the firm of the Medici. In September, 1474, the triple alliance of Venice, Milan, and Florence was announced, which was soon followed by the alliance between Sixtus and Naples. Galeazzo Maria was assassinated in December, 1476, and the government of Milan fell into the hands of his widow Duchess Bona, mother of an infant son, Gian Galeazzo. But the dead duke's brothers proved troublesome and it appeared that Milan could not be counted upon as a powerful support of Florence.

Sixtus was wroth at Lorenzo and determined that the Medici should be expelled. Florence would then be innocuous and the papacy could resume its policies with every prospect of success. Sixtus wanted to bring about the fall of the Medici but seems to have been honestly opposed to bloodshed. The conspiracy of the Pazzi in 1478 was modeled on the one in which Galeazzo Maria was slain. The Pazzi were willing tools and Girolamo Riario induced Sixtus to undertake this iniquitous project. Riario was bitter because Florence, which had opposed his getting Imola, would certainly refuse to let him extend his authority over nearby Faenza and Forlì. An attempt was made to execute the plot on Sunday, April 26, 1478. At an impressive moment during mass Giuliano was killed, pierced with nineteen wounds. Lorenzo was wounded, but escaped. The Pazzi sought to rouse the city. The people did not care to support them but angrily came forward to defend the Medici. The attempt of the conspirators to seize the town hall (*Palazzo Vecchio*) failed. Archbishop Salviati of Pisa, one of the plotters, was seized and with other accomplices was summarily hanged from the windows amid approving jeers from the public.

The pope pronounced excommunication against all who had a share in the death of the archbishop and the priests, and Florence was placed under the interdict. These measures reveal how worldly papal politics had become, for the pope employed religious measures to further purely political projects. It was his purpose to induce Florence to expel "that son of perdition, Lorenzo dei Medici." But the city's government rallied to Lorenzo's support. Neapolitan troops entered Florentine territory in support of papal politics and a desultory war ensued which lasted until the next year. Louis XI of France sought to argue with Sixtus in behalf of Florence, but the pontiff was obdurate and persisted in placing all the blame upon Lorenzo and his government.

Lorenzo now resolved upon a bold move—to go to Naples in person, intrust himself to King Ferrante, and seek peace. This famous visit, undertaken in December, 1479, proved successful and in the next year led to the establishment of peace. After long and careful manipulation Lorenzo alienated the king from the papal side. The treaty stipulated the surrender by Naples of towns captured in the previous campaigns and specified that Florence should beg pardon from the pope for its offenses against the Holy See. Ferrante made peace easy and certain by yielding on the question of the towns. The Turks had landed in Italy in 1480, seized Otranto, slaughtered the people, and harried the countryside. Ferrante needed all his resources and showed himself generous. The comedy of an apology was worked out, and a formal ceremony was arranged in St. Peter's (December 3, 1481). The pontiff was represented, because of divine guidance, as having better knowledge of their enormities than the Florentines themselves. For all these crimes they begged to be forgiven. Thus Sixtus, whose policy had been a great mistake, made a virtue of necessity, and reconciliation was complete.

Of all the princes of the Renaissance, Lorenzo the Magnificent was the greatest. His position was never again questioned after the failure of the Pazzi in 1478. Henceforth he continued the policy which had become traditional in the Medici family of bestowing patronage upon scholars, painters, sculptors, and literary men. The age of Lorenzo was characterized by a particular step: the union of old and popular cultural traditions with the new Humanist movement which had begun with the arrival of Chrysoloras in Florence and the rule of Cosimo. This was inevitable, for no age can thrive on its archæological past alone, no matter how significant that culture may be. Leon Battista Alberti had long ago begun the protest against the exclusive use of Latin. He had written a number of works which were to become important in the revival of the Italian mother tongue, the chief of these being his *On the Family*, or *Della Famiglia*, published in 1434. He argued that the ancient Romans who, according to

Humanist conceptions, were truly great men, never used any idiom but their mother tongue. They did not have a learned language apart from that of the people. Others argued that Italian was eminently worthy as a vehicle of thought—witness the great names of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio! Alberti planned a literary contest for the citizens of Florence. They were invited to write poems on *True Friendship* and the best compositions were to receive prizes which were to be donated by Piero de Medici. The judges did not understand Alberti's motive and were disappointed that the poems were serious efforts and not popular ditties such as were sung in the streets.

The democratic traditions of his family and the love for Italian instilled by his mother inclined Lorenzo to the cultivation of the mother tongue and popular themes as well as those which derived from antiquity. He believed that his native Tuscan was more perfect than other languages because of its rich vocabulary, its harmony, the large number of excellent works written in it, and because it had become a widely used idiom. He believed that it would some day be the speech of the entire Italian people. When the great patron of the *quattrocento* spoke thus, can one wonder at the popularity which the vernacular began to enjoy? Lorenzo himself set the fashion by writing a liturgical play entitled *St. John and St. Paul*. It was inspired by the popular religious poetry which had grown up among the townsmen under Franciscan influences, especially in Umbria. Lorenzo's work was produced for the edification and entertainment of the people by the Company of the Evangelist, a sort of chamber of rhetoric to which younger members of the aristocracy belonged. The poetic efforts of townsmen were thus drawn into the loftier artistic life of the new age. Therewith began a splendid evolution which was to lead to the great drama of the Renaissance. This typical development is even better illustrated in English literature where the popular liturgical and morality plays of the late Middle Ages evolved into the perfect work of Marlowe and Shakespeare.

Lorenzo's carnival songs must be noticed, for he raised these productions to a high artistic level without sacrificing their spontaneity. His *Bacchus and Ariadne*, the best of them, was written for one of the floats in a carnival procession which he helped organize.

Fair is youth and void of sorrow;
But it hourly flees away.
Youths and maids, enjoy today;
Naught ye know of tomorrow.
This is Bacchus and the bright
Ariadne, lover true!
They, in flying time's despite,
Each with each find pleasure new;

These their nymphs, and all their crew
Keep perpetual holiday.
Youths and maids, enjoy today;
Naught ye know about tomorrow.

Next follow other stanzas about satyrs and nymphs, Silenus and Midas, etc. Then again it returns to the main theme:

Listen well to what we're saying;
Of tomorrow have no care!
Young and old together playing,
Boys and girls be blithe as air!
Every sorry thought forswear!
Keep perpetual holiday.
Youths and maids, enjoy today;
Naught ye know about tomorrow.
Ladies and gay lovers young!
Long live Bacchus, live desire!
Dance and play, let songs be sung;
Let sweet Love your bosoms fire;
In the future come what may!
Youths and maids, enjoy today;
Naught ye know about tomorrow.[3]

O Chiara Stella is one of Lorenzo's most charming songs, possessing something of the spirit which we find in the poems of Petrarch, Burns, and Keats. This sonnet laments the passing of the famous beauty, Simonetta Cattaneo, who died in the prime of youth.

Bright shining star! Thy radiance in the sky
Dost rob the neighboring stars of all their light.
Why art thou with unwonted splendor bright?
Why with great Phœbus dost thou dare to vie?
Perchance those eyes which death so cruelly—
Too daring death—has ravished from our sight,
Have given to thee the glory of that light
Which can the chariot of the sun defy.
Oh new-created star, if star thou art,
That heaven with new-born splendors dost adorn,
I call on thee! Oh Goddess, quickly hear!
Of thine own glory grant me now a part
To fire these eyes with endless weeping worn,
With something of thy light that they can hear.

His love for popular themes is well illustrated by his *Hunting with the Falcon*, a poem of three hundred fifty verses. It is a vivacious account of a hunting party. Originally the chase was the pastime of the nobles and was almost as important as the tilting yard. The

[3] J. A. Symonds, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 374-375.

wealthy bourgeoisie of the closing Middle Ages aped the nobility in many ways. The Medici and their friends were fond of hunting. Lorenzo's treatment is devoid of all chivalric elements and is couched in the most artistic Italian. The hunters make ready at the first streak of dawn and start amid the baying of hounds. The falconers talk; and one of the hunters, still drowsy, falls from his mount and breaks the wing of his falcon. After many episodes, the hunters return home where, as is fitting, they satisfy their hearty appetites with food and wine. Then begins a great hubbub, each talking about the course of the hunt and praising his bird. And the one whose hawk has accomplished little, seeks to make up for it by drinking and talking about it.

In *La Nencia da Barberino* Lorenzo presents another aspect of his love for the countryside. It is the speech of Vallera, a rustic lad, addressed to Nencia, a country lass, to whose charms he has succumbed. He declares that he has not seen anyone so pretty at the market places which he has visited. She is like a pearl, and he is never weary of describing the details of her dress. She is industrious and weaves beautiful things—God only knows how beautiful! Poor Vallera is so disturbed by all this that he cannot do any work. He fears that he has a rival, and he mutters that he too has a knife—how like the peasant youth—and it would be well for his rival to have a care. Again he sings her charms, but pain returns when he reflects that Nencia does not care for him at all. Farewell, he says, and turns to his task, the tramping of grapes. In this poem Lorenzo created a new literary character, a peasant lad who speaks his sorrow in the language of the country. In this he succeeded completely. The great literary lights of the second half of the *quattrocento*, Lorenzo, Poliziano, Pulci, and Savonarola, all wrote in Italian.

Lorenzo was a product of the Renaissance, especially if viewed in the light of social history. He was lively, energetic, and richly endowed with imagination. He typified the spirit of the newly risen bourgeoisie and was the born leader in everything to which this class aspired. Not only was he the wealthiest citizen of Florence but he was foremost among her intellectual sons. The culture of the townsmen demanded a more artistic rendering of the vernacular, and it is to Lorenzo's glory that he more than any other person gave expression to this wish. Thus the secular and pagan Humanism was introduced to the townsmen who could read Latin only with difficulty.

The popular note of Lorenzo's day was furnished by the poetry of Luigi Pulci. Born in 1432 of an impoverished Florentine family of magistrates, he won the friendship of Lorenzo who employed him on diplomatic and business missions. Lucrezia Tornabuoni requested him to write a metrical romance, for she knew how popular the tales

of Charlemagne and Roland were among common folk in the market place. In writing his *Il Morgante*, Pulci drew upon the wealth of mediæval tales as Boccaccio had done in the previous century. The poem at once met with favor. Its social significance lay in the appeal which it made to the bourgeoisie. The account often descends to the kind of comedy one finds in Don Quixote. Margutte, wicked, clever, and unscrupulous, is just the character to please ordinary folk. There is plenty of fun here, and no exalted respect for traditional knightly virtues. Thus chivalric accounts of great heroes became popular bourgeois tales.

Lorenzo encouraged Angelo Poliziano or Politian (d. 1492). Born in Montepulciano in 1454, he studied in the University of Florence and in his twenty-sixth year was appointed professor of classical languages. Lorenzo had earlier relieved his dire wants and made him one of his secretaries and the tutor of his son Piero. A great scholar who won fame by his translations of Homer, Politian was led by Lorenzo's example to write in Italian as was the wont of Humanists. In producing the *Giostra*, or *The Tournament*, Poliziano wrote as a court poet of the Medici. This poem celebrated a tournament given in Florence in 1475 after the formation of an alliance between Florence and Venice and Milan. The poet glorified the success of Giuliano and the popularity and beauty of his favorite, Simonetta Cattaneo. Poliziano worked with zeal but soon Simonetta died and Giuliano was slain in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478. The unfinished masterpiece nevertheless is a striking monument of the Medicean Renaissance.

His *Orfeo* is a more important creation. It is a tragedy dealing with the love of Orpheus and Eurydice. Drawn from Greek mythology, copied after classical models, and written in the vernacular, it was peculiarly typical of the Renaissance. The form suggests descent from the old liturgical plays. Its cultivated literary expression betrays the Humanist's work. This purely pagan theme marks the complete secularization of the old religious drama, and the play therefore occupies an important place in the history of drama. It also illustrates the victorious career of the mother tongue as the vehicle of the new culture of the bourgeoisie. The cult of classical Latin style henceforth was to be the vocation of scholars and pedants. Latin itself became the language of the learned few.

Like his grandfather Cosimo, Lorenzo was deeply interested in Plato. On one occasion he confessed his faith in that philosopher's doctrine as set forth in the *Phædrus*. While the traditional Christian faith remained the basis upon which this new Platonism was erected, Catholic dogmas now receded more and more into the background. Marsilio Ficino labored incessantly at the translation of the Platonic

dialogues into Humanist Latin. He began publishing them in 1482 and soon after undertook the translation of Plotinus' works. The Florentine academy continued to flourish under Lorenzo's wise patronage. Many meetings were held in the Villa at Careggi where such themes as the highest good and the greatest beauty were discussed.

In this circle there were, besides Ficino and Lorenzo himself, Cristoforo Landino and Pico della Mirandola (1463-94). Pico was an extraordinary man, truly a universal genius of the Renaissance. Born of the noble family of the counts of Mirandola who lived in the Po valley, he early displayed a zeal for Platonic doctrine. While at the Sorbonne in Paris, the very citadel of scholasticism, he conceived his strange ideas about the unity of all things. He believed that the chief propositions of Platonic philosophy could be traced to more ancient sources, especially the Mosaic code of the Old Testament. The philosophic lights of classical antiquity possessed the one eternal truth in fragments. A philosopher could bring all these together into a great system. Plato and Aristotle could be made to harmonize. Pico labored long to unify the two systems and wrote a number of treatises on the subject. He also studied the Jewish Talmud and the Cabbala.

Pico was strongly opposed to astrology which was universally esteemed in the Middle Ages. Petrarch had expressed bitter hatred of this fraudulent science. The members of the Platonic academy accepted it, but Pico "made an epoch in the subject by his famous refutation. He detected in this belief the root of all impiety and immorality. If the astrologer, he maintained, believes in anything at all, he must worship not God, but the planets, from which all good and evil are derived. All other superstitions find a ready instrument in astrology, which serves as handmaid to geomancy, chiromancy, and magic of every kind. As to morality, he maintained that nothing can foster evil more than the opinion that heaven itself is the cause of it, in which case the faith in eternal happiness and punishment must also disappear. Pico even took the trouble to check off the astrologers inductively, and found that in the course of a month three-fourths of their weather prophecies turned out false."[4] But Pico's orthodoxy was suspected. He had the hardihood to draw up in Rome nine hundred theses about all sorts of questions which he offered to defend. As was natural, the pope and *curia* condemned some of them. Pico thereupon fled and settled in Florence where he spent his few remaining years.

The revival of Platonism is characteristic of Medicean Florence.

[4] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 492.

Aristotle's philosophic system had dominated the mind of man in the Middle Ages and still continued its imperious sway. But it was the intellectual buttress of a vast theology, the mainstay of mediæval conceptions of life. In the revolt against these conceptions Humanists shunned Aristotle. Hence they turned to Plato whose poetic thought appealed to the new æsthetic impulses of the rising bourgeoisie. Platonism therefore played a significant rôle in the secularization of thought at the close of the Middle Ages.

Lorenzo's influence upon the fine arts proved most stimulating. The Medici patronized all the great artists of the day. Botticelli's career was closely bound up with them. He was commissioned to paint a picture to commemorate Lorenzo's return from Naples in 1480 after the conclusion of an alliance with King Ferrante. Pallas is shown leading the centaur by the lock. She is crowned with a chaplet of olive branches and her skirt is adorned with the device of the Medici, the *palle* or balls. This picture typifies the triumph of Lorenzo's house over all obstacles of war and treachery. Botticelli's Birth of Venus illustrates the influence of classical themes in this thoroughly secularized court. It is believed that the beautiful Simonetta served as model for the goddess. The Primavera (Springtime) emphasizes the love of nature and pagan themes so strong in Medicean circles. His Worship of the Magi and his madonnas contain many portraits of his benefactors. "Botticelli was the truest counterpart of the literary tendencies of his day, and more especially of those of his chief patron."

Ghirlandaio also painted pictures for Lorenzo. The architect Giuliano da San Gallo, noted for the severe simplicity of his creations which reveal a careful study of classical buildings, constructed Lorenzo's villa at Poggio à Caiano. Among sculptors, Verrocchio was especially favored, for Lorenzo and Giuliano commanded him to make the tomb for Piero in the old sacristy of San Lorenzo. Verrocchio also made the famous bronze statue of David for Lorenzo, the counterpart of Donatello's, and the Boy with the Dolphin. Lorenzo favored the youthful Michelangelo whom he saw at work carving in the Medici gardens. Never has patron been more signally rewarded!

The life of Lorenzo de' Medici, banker, diplomat, and statesman, patron of art and learning, writer of graceful verse in the language of the Florentine people whose interests he never forgot, marked the culmination of the æsthetic and intellectual striving of the *quattrocento*. When Lorenzo died in 1492 the end of Florentine leadership arrived. The sons of Florence were scattered in all directions; they now made other centers famous.

CHAPTER XIX

RENAISSANCE IN NORTHERN ITALY

It would be difficult to find any period in the history of modern Europe equal in importance with that distinguished in history under the name of the Renaissance.—P. VILLARI.[1]

HUMANISM also struck root and flourished luxuriantly in the valley of the Po, from Milan to the Adriatic. While the Renaissance was essentially the cultural product of the vigorous urban life of this region, its history was also deeply influenced by important princely and feudal families. The fertile soil of Lombardy and Venetia produced a hardy peasantry and a powerful nobility. From this feudal aristocracy had sprung many of the tyrants who seized the lordship (*signoria*) of the towns in the Lombard plain when the bourgeoisie proved incapable of ruling themselves. A rank growth of feudal and bourgeois habits and ideas, made possible by the economic progress of the Middle Ages, flourished in the towns.

Petrarch had been a frequent and welcome guest at the court of the Carrara rulers of Padua. He took up his abode at Arquà in the Euganian Hills where he died in 1374. Many men sought his acquaintance and he exerted great influence upon them. Hence it was that in the lower Po valley men like Giovanni Conversini and Gasparino da Barzziza followed the path marked out by the great founder of Humanism. But the new learning and ways of viewing life did not thrive at the Visconti court of Milan. Duke Gian Galeazzo (1378-1402) showed some interest in the new scholarship and collected a library. Filippo Maria (1412-47) was a typical despot of the Renaissance. His craft, autocratic rule, and boundless cruelty were, in part at least, dictated by political necessity. He ruled by terrorism and kept himself aloof from his subjects. He could not, therefore, play the rôle of a beneficent Mæcenas. Nevertheless, he devoted some study to Latin classics. His secretary, Pier Candido Decembrio (1392-1477), a pupil of Chrysoloras, worked at the

[1] *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli* (London, 1898), vol. i, p. 1.

Milanese court from 1419 to 1447. Although engaged in many diplomatic activities, he found time to write a colossal number of books, translations as well as treatises, most of which, however, were never printed.

The Milanese sought to recapture their freedom after Filippo's death and established the Ambrosian Republic, named after St. Ambrose, the popular saint of the city. But they soon (1450) fell under the tyranny of a parvenu, Francesco Sforza (d. 1466), the son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza, a successful *condottiere* of the troublous days of the Great Schism. Duke Francesco did not share fully in the Humanist life of the time, but so important was the vogue of the new letters that he found it necessary to play the patron. His treasury was empty, his family boasted no ancient lineage, and he personally cared little for the Muses. He believed, however, that these defects could be remedied by inducing Humanists to fill the world with praise of his house. Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), the most important Humanist at his court, was the right man to do this. He was born near Florence, studied in Padua where he showed astounding ability to absorb an astonishing amount of learning, was appointed secretary to the Venetian embassy in Constantinople (1419-27), became a master of Greek, and married a niece of Manuel Chrysoloras who had taught Greek in Florence.

Filelfo possessed a photographic memory but no creative ability. He was inordinately vain and boasted that he had read all Greek and Latin writers from beginning to end. He moved to Florence in 1429 where his Humanist achievements were fully appreciated. Great numbers attended his lectures. Devoid of tact and good sense, he antagonized Niccolò Niccoli and other Medicean protegés. Soon he began to oppose Cosimo and support his political opponents. Poggio Bracciolini lashed Filelfo with scathing language in which he accused him of all sorts of crimes. When Cosimo returned from exile in 1434 Filelfo was forced to flee and until 1439 found refuge with the Piccolomini of Siena. In 1440 he entered the service of Filippo Maria Visconti who supported him liberally. When Francesco Sforza assumed control of Milan, Filelfo found in him a desired patron.

For years Filelfo labored over his great epic poem, the *Sforzias*, in which he sang fulsome praises of the house of Sforza just as Virgil once had recited the deeds of Æneas. The poem lacked inspiration and was filled with endless allegories. Filelfo confidently expected that this work would make him eternally famous. It was characteristic of the age that many others, especially princes, thought similarly. But posterity has decreed otherwise, for of the twenty-four books, eleven were finished and only eight have survived. Filelfo's

fame rests solely upon his cult of classical letters. How different was Sforza's patronage from that of Cosimo and Lorenzo! Few men in any age have been able to choose the best creative spirits for patronage, and Sforza was not one of them. Consequently his court never equaled in splendor that of the Medici.

The Certosa, a Carthusian convent near Pavia, is the one great architectural monument associated with the Visconti and the Sforzas. It was begun by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the ruler who planned and began the Gothic cathedral of Milan. This cathedral shares in the late mediæval tendency to over-rich ornamentation. The edifice, however, is distinctly inferior in its structural aspects to its Gothic sisters of northern Europe. The Certosa is famous as a Renaissance building. It was planned originally according to the Romanesque style of Lombardy, but under the Sforzas the plans were altered. Construction was inspired by the new studies of classical Roman architecture, and Roman decoration was used. Thus in the lower story one finds rectangular windows while elsewhere galleries and windows have round arches. The hybrid character of this building well illustrates how architectural ideas were changing.

Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1466-76) succeeded his father Francesco. He and his sister Ippolita were educated according to the new Humanist conceptions. They became proficient in Greek and Latin in their early teens and were repeatedly called upon to give orations or addresses before visiting princes or their delegates. These speeches created a deep impression. Galeazzo Maria thus in a way approximated the Renaissance ideal of a prince. Humanist ideas throve among his subjects. Classical literature possessed great fascination for young men who hated the duke's cruelty and were eager for a republic. Fired by the tales of republican Rome, three of them resolved to kill the tyrant. Their design was carried out on December 26, 1476, when they stabbed the duke at the door of the cathedral. One of the assassins escaped but was seized in a few days and put to torture. To his confessor he said, "'I know that by my sins I have deserved even greater torments, could my body but bear them . . . but I trust that the holy deed for which I die will obtain mercy for me at the hands of the Supreme Judge. And were I reborn ten times and ten times to perish in these torments, I would give my blood and all my strength for this sacred end.' . . . Mangled, under the knife of the executioner, a loud cry escaped the unfortunate young man. 'Be of good cheer, Girolamo (his name was Girolamo Olgati)! Death is bitter, but fame is eternal! The memory of this deed will live long!'"[2] Such was the influence which ancient classics exerted upon men of the *quattrocento*. Piling up treasure in heaven

[2] P. Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza* (New York, 1898), pp. 29-31.

was desirable, but secular fame, according to Renaissance conceptions, was especially to be coveted.

Ludovico Sforza next succeeded to the government which his nephew Gian Galeazzo Sforza (d. 1494), the son of Galeazzo Maria, was too weak to assume. He has been variously judged and many unfavorable things have been said of him—for example, that he poisoned his nephew. This can readily be disproved. We are to regard him, however, as "the most perfect type of the despot of that age, and, as a kind of natural product, [he] almost disarms our moral judgment. Notwithstanding the profound immorality of the means he employed, he used them with perfect ingenuousness; no one would probably have been more astonished than himself to learn, that for the choice of means as well as of ends a human being is morally responsible; he would rather have reckoned it as a singular virtue that, so far as possible, he had abstained from too free a use of the punishment of death."

Court life in Milan was especially interesting. Lombardy was an immensely fertile region teeming with wild life of all kinds. The Sforzas possessed hunting lodges and palaces at Vigevano, Pavia, and other places. The castle at Pavia sometimes lodged as many as four hundred persons besides envoys from foreign princes who came to the duke on business. Isabella of Aragon, wife of Gian Galeazzo, and Ludovico's wife, Beatrice d'Este, usually attended the gay hunting parties. On these occasions the ladies wore their dazzling gems which in those days of poor artificial lighting could not be displayed in the evening as well as in the sunlight. Scholars, painters, and sculptors were brought to the court. Bramante was employed to improve the little church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. Omodeo (d. 1522) constructed the façade of the Certosa. Romano (1465-1512) carved a number of busts of the ducal family. Solari (d. 1525) was commissioned to prepare the decorations on the famous tomb for Ludovico and Beatrice. For sixty years it rested in Santa Maria delle Grazie until it was moved to the Certosa.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was the one great light at the court of Milan. He was invited thither to create an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza like Donatello's Gattamelatta and Verrocchio's Colleone. The statue was to immortalize the great duke. Leonardo worked on it for many years and his patron grew weary of his endless experimentation. Nevertheless, Leonardo ingratiated himself by his brilliant conversation and gave Ludovico much advice about all sorts of engineering projects. Although the model of the statue was nearly completed, it was never cast in bronze. After Ludovico's fall in 1499, French soldiers destroyed it. Leonardo also painted some famous pictures, portraits of Ludovico's circle. Other works exe-

cuted at this time are the Virgin of the Rocks, The Virgin and St. Anne, and the Last Supper, the last a fresco in Santa Maria delle Grazie. It is striking that the Sforzas did not, like the Medici, create artists, but preferred to patronize men who had won reputation in other places.

Mantua played a special rôle in the Renaissance. Gian Francesco I (d. 1444) made it the most significant center of the new Renaissance education when he invited Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446) to open a Humanist school at his court. One of the first contributions of the classical revival was a new conception of education. Traditional methods and ideals were too banal and too practical to be truly educative. Classical ideas about learning, far superior to contemporary methods, again became practicable. Pier Paolo Vergerio (d. 1419), who wrote *De Ingenuis Moribus* or *On Good Manners*, was one of the first to draw his ideas from practices developed in the city life of Greece and Rome as set forth by Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero. Gasparino da Barzziza (d. 1431) had opened a Humanist school in Padua as early as 1408. Progress was slow, however, until princes became sufficiently interested to establish schools at their courts. It is for this reason that Vittorino's school, opened in 1425, was so important.

Vittorino believed that boys and girls alike were to be educated in the higher activities of man and prepared to play a part in the new environment in which secular learning and refined bourgeois manners were becoming more and more important. Hence they were to be educated in those studies which the men of the *quattrocento* regarded as supremely important. They were not to be given a simple vocational training as was customary among the nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry. Vittorino believed that Greek, Latin, and Italian literature, together with mathematics, drawing, and music, should receive major attention. Physical education in the form of horseback riding, swimming, fencing, and marching was emphasized and made obligatory. His students were drawn from the household of the Gonzaga princes and the nobility of Mantua. Children from the lower classes also were admitted, for such education was not to be restricted to any one class; it was as broad as humanity which embraced every man, woman, and child. Vittorino required the same mental effort from all regardless of social status. Equality was an effective motto. All were subjected to common rules regarding dress, food, and comforts. Good manners were stressed. Character was emphasized and religion was not neglected, for the students were required to study the Bible and the church fathers, especially St. Augustine. The school was situated in attractive surroundings; hence it was named *La Casa Giocosa* (The Happy House). Vittorino was

probably the most effective teacher of modern times. He exercised unusual influence upon his pupils and shaped their moral and intellectual life to a surprising degree. Many of the finest characters of the age came from his school, and some of the ablest scholars of the Renaissance were trained by him.

Ludovico Gonzaga, who succeeded Gian Francesco in 1444, was one of Vittorino's pupils. Ludovico never ceased studying the classics and even carried a copy of Cæsar's *Commentaries* on his campaigns. He was also deeply interested in art. He brought Mantegna (d. 1506) to his court, thereby adding luster to his little state. Born in 1431 in Vicenza, Mantegna was at ten years of age adopted by Francesco Squarcione (d. 1474) of Padua. Squarcione was a mediocre painter who exerted an influence quite out of proportion to his talents. An enthusiastic antiquarian, he traveled as far as Greece, collecting fragments of ancient statuary which he believed artists should use as models. Squarcione introduced the archæological note into painting, the vogue of placing classical structures in backgrounds.

Between 1454 and 1459 Mantegna painted a series of frescoes in the Augustinian church of Padua and was at once hailed as the leader of painting in northern Italy. In 1459 he moved to Mantua at the request of Ludovico who felt that he needed a good painter. His great work, a group of paintings showing the court circles of the Gonzaga princes, is in the Bridal Room in the Mantuan castle. "The roof decoration is of unrivalled beauty. It is entirely in *grisaille* and gold, except the center which is painted in most delusive imitation of an opening through which we look up to the brilliant blue sky. Round it runs a parapet in marvellous perspective, and over this lean and look laughingly down into the room, a group of women, among them a negress; portraits, probably, of some of the favorites of the court *personale*."[3] Mantegna mastered most of the problems which the artists of the *quattrocento* struggled to solve. Perspective was reduced to a science, space was given unwonted reality, and foreshortening was audaciously practiced. He loved to give his pictures a classical setting, as is illustrated in the Triumph of Cæsar in Hampton Court Palace, and they reveal close study of classical objects. With Mantegna painting became far more scientific.

Isabella of Este (d. 1539), wife of Francesco I (1484-1519), was one of the noteworthy personalities of the Mantuan court. Trained in the best Humanist traditions, she was an ardent lover of the classics and the new art. She collected many objects of classical antiquity, pictures by recent painters, and all sorts of objects of art and placed them in her "grotta." These rooms became famous throughout Italy and even in northern Europe. She patronized Leonardo da Vinci,

[3] M. Cruttwell, *Andrea Mantegna* (London, 1901), p. 70.

showed great interest in the writings of Ariosto and Castiglione and enjoyed the homage of many great men.

The court of Ferrara also made characteristic contributions to the culture of the Renaissance. The origins of the Este family are lost in the dimness of the Middle Ages. Fratricidal strife had filled its annals because the popes from whom it held Ferrara in fee often preferred to bestow the fief upon younger sons, a procedure which violated the feudal principle of primogeniture. Niccolò III (1393-1441) was a man of the transition. In manners and ideas he belonged to the Middle Ages, but he also revealed the character of a Renaissance prince. He was exceedingly cruel and violent and a man of vicious life. He knew little Latin, preferring the courtly romances of Roland and King Arthur. Love for these and other mediæval themes remained a trait of the court of Ferrara throughout the Renaissance. In 1429 Niccolò succeeded in bringing Guarino da Verona to Ferrara. This Humanist schoolmaster established a court school for the Este family as Vittorino da Feltre had done in Mantua.

Lionello (1441-50), who succeeded his father, was trained by Guarino and showed greater sympathy for the newer ideas. He knew the Latin classics very well and his physical training consisted in riding, swimming, running, jumping, fencing, and dancing. Only later did he receive instruction in arms. He corresponded with the chief Humanists of his day, but withal kept alive a keen affection for his mother tongue and, inspired by Petrarch, wrote sonnets. He married Margherita Gonzaga, a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre's school in Mantua. She also was an admirer of Latin and Greek classics.

Thus were laid the secure bases of Humanist culture in Ferrara. Lionello collected a library of classical authors, appointed Humanist scholars to teach in the University of Ferrara, supported itinerant scholars who sought his patronage, and associated with men like the Greek Theodore Gaza who composed the first Renaissance Greek grammar, Leon Battista Alberti, and the Strozzi family who had been exiled from Florence. He formed a club for the discussion of Humanist themes. Refined social intercourse dominated the court; the rudeness of older feudal manners rapidly disappeared, for Guarino taught that man was created not only to live (*vivere*) but also to live with (*convivere*) his fellow men. Even in governmental policy the urbanity of Humanism is to be traced. Lionello aimed to make his state a happier place for his subjects.

Borso (1450-71), Lionello's brother who succeeded him, is an interesting example of cultural atavism in that he cared nothing for Humanism but preferred traditional chivalric conceptions. He did not cultivate Latin, and the Humanist circle which had been formed in the days of Lionello gradually melted away. Borso loved his native

Italian language, and scholars who sought his favor translated Latin works into Italian or wrote original compositions in it. His brother Ercole (1471-1505) succeeded him. He married Eleonora, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, a typical woman of the Renaissance. She was fond of music, collected pictures by Mantegna and Bellini and was deeply interested in Latin classics. She became the mother of two remarkable daughters, Isabella and Beatrice, who married Francesco Gonzaga and Ludovico Sforza respectively. They were educated by Battista da Guarino (1370-1460), son of Guarino da Verona, and made their courts in Mantua and Milan famous as centers of Renaissance culture.

Ercole was especially fond of music and dramatics. Flemish musicians, the best in Europe at that moment, had long been welcome at the court of Ferrara. Eleonora, who cultivated letters far more than did Ercole, formed a literary coterie. The exiled Strozzi family continued to be important in Ferrara. Tito Strozzi (1422-1505), Ercole's court poet, was employed in diplomatic missions. He and Battista da Guarino championed the view that Latin and not Italian was the proper vehicle of ideas. The younger generation preferred Italian and finally the mother tongue triumphed in court circles of Ferrara, as it had done in Medicean Florence. But Humanism was fast becoming pedantic and losing its pristine freshness.

Chivalric customs and conceptions retained great vigor in Ferrara. Feasts, tournaments, and the chase were the order of the day. Borso built a summer palace called Schifanoia, or Sans-Souci. Its walls were decorated according to that prince's taste by Cosimo Tura (d. 1495) and Francesco Cossa (d. 1477), both of whom were deeply influenced by Mantegna. Their frescoes are interesting portrayals of the Renaissance life of Ferrara; they reveal Borso's interest in horses, hunting, embassies, and astrology. There is also a beautiful allegory of Autumn by Cossa, which shows a young woman tending a vineyard. She carries a spade in her right hand, and her left hand, holding a vine with trusses of grapes, rests on a hoe over her left shoulder. In the background are green hills. Schifanoia was a villa like the one at Careggi built by Cosimo. But how different was its life! The Medici were bourgeois but the Este were an old feudal family who could not forget their knightly ideals.

Boiardo (1434-94) was vassal of the dukes of Ferrara and member of an old feudal family. He represented Duke Ercole in various capacities, studied the classics, wrote poetry for the court, but nevertheless cherished mediæval themes above those cultivated by Humanists. He wrote some verses which were inspired by his love for one of the court beauties who rejected him. This experience greatly influenced his *Orlando Innamorato*, a story drawn from the cycle of

tales about Roland and Charlemagne. Angelica, daughter of the Tartar king, appears in Paris at a tournament given by Charlemagne and proposes that the person who defeats her brother in the lists shall claim her hand in marriage. Angelica employs magic to prevent her brother's defeat and plans to bring some of the bravest knights of Charlemagne's court captive to Tartary. She disappears by means of a magic ring but is pursued by Rinaldo and Orlando through the Ardennes. Angelica drinks from the fountain of love and is seized with a violent passion for Rinaldo who, however, has quaffed from the fountain which extinguishes love. Orlando is desperately enamored with the entrancing princess.

Composed of many episodes, the poem possesses no real unity. Orlando is a Renaissance character. He is no hero, as was Roland at Ronceval, nor a pure-hearted knight who did no wrong, but a man of unbounded passion who stops at nothing in order to possess Angelica. Orlando practically declares that mediæval chivalric virtues are obsolete. Angelica's father says that he crushed the skull of a teacher who had tried to teach him to read and write. A knight should be bold in battle, true to his word; he should not read or study.

> "I think there's little chivalric virtue
> In poring over a book and racking one's brain,
> But it befits a knight noble and fair
> To be strong in body and dextrous at arms;
> For a doctor 'tis well to have knowledge
> But others should know only what is necessary."
> Responded Orlando, "With you I too testify
> That arms are most honorable for man
> But knowledge does not make one less worthy
> It adorns him as flowers deck a field."[4]

Angelica may be regarded as the coquettish type of woman common in Renaissance courts. Freed from the narrow restraints of feudalism, women became independent and unscrupulous and often displayed their coquettish charms in a destructive manner.

The narrow limits of the duchy of Urbino and the modest wealth of its mountainous territory kept it from playing a leading part in the Renaissance. Such was the character of its rulers, however, that the court became famous under Duke Federigo (1444-82), a Humanist prince. Educated at the court of Mantua, he was deeply influenced by the tuition of Vittorino da Feltre. He was very fond of Greek and Latin classics but never lost his interest in practical military affairs, for as a *condottiere* he was the equal of the best generals of his day. When on campaigns he read ancient historians and

[4] *Orlando Innamorato,* Part I, Canto XVIII, no. 43.

the works of Aristotle. He was well versed in the church fathers. As became a Humanist prince, he made gifts to scholars in want; indeed, it is stated that there were few literary men who did not receive generous gifts from him.

Duke Federigo had one great ambition.

> He alone had a mind to do what no one had done a thousand years or more; that is, to create the finest library since ancient times. He spared neither cost nor labor, and when he knew of a fine book, whether in Italy or not, he would send for it. It is now fourteen years ago since he began the library, and he always employed, in Urbino, in Florence, and in other places, thirty or forty scribes in his service. He took the only way to make a fine library like this: by beginning with the Latin poets, with any comments on the same which might seem merited; next the orators, with the works of Tully and all Latin writers and grammarians of merit; so that not one of the leading writers in this faculty should be wanted. He sought also all the known works on history in Latin, and not only those, but likewise the histories of Greek writers done into Latin, and the orators as well. The duke also desired to have every work on moral and natural philosophy in Latin, or in Latin translations from Greek. As to the sacred doctors in Latin, he had the works of all four, and what a noble set of letters and writings we have here; bought without regard to cost. . . . He had an edition of the Bible made in two most beautiful volumes, illustrated in the finest possible manner and bound in gold brocade with rich silver fittings. . . . There were all the works of modern writers beginning with Pope Pius; of Petrarch and Dante in Latin and in the vulgar tongue. . . . He added to the books written by ancient and modern doctors on all the faculties all the books known in Greek. . . . The duke, having completed this noble work at the great cost of thirty thousand ducats . . . determined to give every writer a worthy finish by binding his work in scarlet and silver.[5]

As a connoisseur of art, Federigo showed remarkable taste. "To hear him talk of sculpture you would deem it was his own art." He was at great pains to bring to his palace the finest products of Flemish looms. Justus of Ghent painted a famous picture of him "which only wanted breath." The palace which he built in Urbino is especially famous.

> [It was] . . . to the opinion of many men, the fairest that was to be found in all Italy, and [he] so furnished it with all necessary things belonging thereto, that it appeared not a palace, but a city in form of a palace, and that not only with ordinary

[5] Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Memoirs* (London, 1926), pp. 102-104.

> matters, as silver plate, hangings for chambers of very rich cloth of gold, of silk, and other costly materials, but also for their beauty: and to deck it out withal, placed there a wondrous number of ancient images of marble and metal, very excellent paintings and instruments of music of all sorts, and nothing would he have there but what was most rare and excellent.[6]

Federigo was succeeded by his son Guidobaldo (1482-1508), who married Elisabetta Gonzaga, one of the noblest of Renaissance women. Her court is famous because the masterpiece of Humanist chivalry, the *Courtier*, was composed there by Baldassare Castiglione.

The princes of Rimini and Cesena also are worthy of some attention. Sigismondo Malatesta (1417-68) was the most significant of them. Brought up in Romagna amid the tumultuous and violent life of that region, he was early initiated into the secrets of Italian *condottiere* warfare. Bold, resourceful, utterly unscrupulous, he was a typical product of the chaotic political life of the *quattrocento*. Furthermore, he possessed a nimble mind delicately sensitive to the great artistic revolution of the age. He visited Florence eager to play the part of a Mæcenas in his ancestral capital of Rimini. He surrounded himself with servile courtiers who heaped adulation upon him with their poetry. His own poems give us a vivid conception of a Renaissance despot's many interests and worldly character.

Himself an admirer of the universal geniuses of the day, he invited one of the greatest of them, Leon Battista Alberti, to live with him in Rimini:

> And with him Sigismondo talked of many things: of his ambition, which was boundless; of his dreams for Rimini that was to be a city of palaces and fortresses in the new manner; of war and arms and the art of government; of sovereign remedies against fatigues and wounds; of swords and engines of war; of difficult feats of engineering; of the taking and destroying of castles, and of the building of them too; of the beauty and strength of horses and their swiftness; of hunting and of dogs; of women and the stars; of love, lust, and death—those three agonies for which there is no remedy; of family life, of which Messer Leon Battista was so hopeful, in which he was to be so fortunate; of art and painting and sculpture, and of the learning of Petrarch and Boccaccio; and he promised to show Sigismondo the house of the latter in the village of Corbignano, the which he did, and his discourse there led me first to think of these writers rather as men who had given us back the dead than as poets or novelists themselves.

[6] B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Everyman's Library), p. 18.

Sigismondo indulged his every passion without restraint. Although married to a princess of the house of Este, he formed, as was common in the lax age of the Renaissance, a famous and illicit attachment to Isotta, one of the noteworthy women of the *quattrocento.* His utter disregard for Christianity is revealed in his plans to revamp the old church of St. Francis—the *Templum Malatestianum* as it became known—in honor of Isotta and himself.

> If the spirit of Alberti impressed every part, it was the genius of Sigismondo that gave it life; and there again and again around the marble platform, in a frieze of dancing *putti* [or boys], Messer Matteo da Pacti carved his head as in a medal, and between these medallions others bearing his shield, and others bearing his sign, in the which the S of Sigismondo and the I of Isotta, while there were beautiful and marvellous leaves, flowers, and devices. . . . It was a temple built to the ever-living God, who hides Himself in the beauty of the world, whom men called Zeus, whom we call the Father, who is to be found in the philosophy of Plato as well as in the gospel of Jesus. . . . This temple raised to the everliving God was also to be the monument and symbol of his life. Therein he himself was to be buried, and Madonna Isotta whom he had loved; here too lay his ancestors, and many holy men who had been attached to his family; while around them, in those tombs under the arches without, philosophers, artists, and soldiers of his court were to sleep in death, even as they had wakened in life, for his glory and for witnesses of his dream.[7]

Nor did Sigismondo have any regard for traditional morality. He murdered, or caused to be murdered, his wives, was guilty of rape and arson, openly insulted the Host, profaned churches, and mocked the teachings of the church. As a Renaissance prince he would have played a resplendent part had his means permitted. Nevertheless, he was one of the most remarkable men of this period of transition from the Middle Ages to modern times.

The Venetian Renaissance had a course all its own. Situated at the confluence of the trade routes of the Occident, Venetians were accustomed to seeing the wealth of east, west, and north flow into the Grand Canal. Never had the sea failed in bringing to them everything they needed. They acted as if their monopoly would last forever, and became satisfied, complacent, and self-centered. Economically and politically, their state was one of the most successful in the Middle Ages. It played a predominant part in the lives of its citizens. Revolution never marred the quiet and even tenor of its life.

[7] F. Hutton, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini. A Study of a XV Century Italian Despot* (London, 1906), pp. 69-70, 203-204.

The wealthy patriciate found that all aspirations for honor and power were satisfied in serving the "Most Serene Republic." The state with its functions, ceremonies, and festivals dominated the life of its subjects. It is necessary to grasp this if one is to understand the character of the Venetian Renaissance.

From nearby Padua, a city under the authority of Venice, came certain Humanist impulses. Giovanni Conversini, Gasparino da Barziza, Guarino da Verona, and Vittorino da Feltre all had friends and acquaintances in Venice. From the Greek East came many a codex containing works of classical pagan authors and the Greek church fathers. But Venetian patricians viewed the new vogue of Humanist studies as a luxury in which they might indulge but which would never become a dominating passion with them as it did with the Medici and their coterie. Many Venetians such as the Giustiniani and Barbari favored Humanist studies, but they rarely progressed beyond the simplest dilettantism. It is ~~not surprising therefore that~~ the great lights of Humanism were attracted to other centers where enthusiastic patrons supported the new learning. Not until the *cinquecento* did Venetians make their significant contributions to the Renaissance. The University of Padua remained a fosterling of the state where young Venetians went for instruction. The study of Greek was not accorded official recognition until 1463 when Chalcondyles was appointed to teach the language.

Venetians took a practical attitude toward Humanism, as was shown by the way in which the invention of printing was received by them. This great craft was imported from Germany where it had been developed and perfected. Realizing its practical value, the Venetian Senate in 1469 decreed "that this peculiar invention of our time, unknown to those former, is in every way to be fostered and advanced." John of Speier was granted the privilege of plying his craft for five years, and Nicolas Jensen, another German, was given similar rights in 1470. Others followed their example, and Teobaldo Manuzio, or Aldo Manutius, became Venice's chief printer. Books were in growing demand. Not only were religious books and chivalric romances desired, but texts and translations of the classics were eagerly sought. Many Humanists disliked the new craft, preferring the old handwritten codices; but the rapid multiplication of cheap texts assured certain victory for the printers. Many a person of modest fortune could now afford the luxury of some classical texts. Soon presses were flourishing in many Venetian provincial centers, chief of which were Padua, Verona, Brescia, Vicenza, and Bergamo.

During this time Venetians began to develop a native art which was to attain undreamed perfection in the next century. At the beginning of the *quattrocento* Venetian artists showed no inclination to

follow Giotto and the Florentines. Byzantine traditions remained vigorous and Venetian architecture was a hybrid of Gothic and Romanesque styles. The doges' palace and the Casa d' Oro, the magnificent palace of a wealthy merchant family situated on the Grand Canal, are famous examples of this manner. Classical influences in Venetian building were not to triumph until Sansovino began his work in 1527. Painting, however, started on a magnificent career in the middle of the fifteenth century. At first the ideas and methods of Squarcione of Padua exerted much influence. The stiffness of his pictures and the sculpturesque manner for which the Paduan group is noted are observable in the earlier productions of Jacopo Bellini, founder of the famous Bellini family of artists. But Jacopo was also influenced by Florentine masters, for he visited the city on the Arno and learned to admire the great scientific advance in painting made since the days of Masaccio. Mantegna's influence also was a strong factor in the evolution of the art of the Bellini; in fact, Jacopo's daughter Niccolosia became Mantegna's wife. The Bellini, Jacopo (1395-1470), and his two sons, Gentile (1429-1507) and Giovanni (1430-1516), laid the firm foundations of Venetian painting.

Other influences were helping to shape the growing school of art. Chief of them was the work of Antonello da Messina (d. 1479), a Sicilian who was well acquainted with the choice works of Flemish masters. He had an opportunity, it appears, to study them in Sicily, and learned some of the secrets of their success, especially painting in oil. He was a skilled draughtsman, drew faces in three-quarters view, and profoundly affected all who studied his work. The Bellini brothers assumed leadership in Venetian painting about 1480. Gentile Bellini's famous Corpus Christi Procession in the Piazza of St. Mark's depicts one of the many civic festivals which make Venetian painting so interesting and instructive. The crowds are realistically portrayed, splendid clothes are carefully studied, and the buildings of the city are reproduced with loving fidelity. Another of his pictures is the Recovery of the Cross which, according to legend, had fallen into the water and was recovered miraculously. The scene is one of Venice's many canals. The flow of light upon the groups who stand about on the bridge and on the side of the canal, the shadows on the water, and the realism of the spectators make this a striking picture.

Mantegna's influence is more palpable in the works of Giovanni Bellini who often copied features of the great Paduan such as the rigidity of drapery and landscape. But he painted his pictures in a more mellow manner. His madonnas possess an ineffable sweetness which distinguishes them from all the pictures of the century. The portrait of the Doge Loredano has a pleasing glow of soft and rich

color and a feeling for quality of fabric typical of Venetian luxury. Vittore Carpaccio (d. 1523?) acquired the secret of luminous coloring from the Bellini. His canvases portrayed most eloquently the life of the time as he knew it in its varied aspects. His unwearied attention to detail, his sense of the dramatic, his skill with color, and his mastery of technique justly give his pictures an abiding place among the great paintings of the early *cinquecento*. His greatest achievement is the scenes from the life of St. Ursula, painted for the guild of St. Ursula of Venice. Carpaccio may be regarded as the last of Venice's great masters of *quattrocento*.

No brief account can do justice to the creative achievements of the exuberant life of the communities of northern Italy. The painting of Mantegna, the Bellini, and Carpaccio; the architecture of Alberti and his followers; the educational ideals of Vittorino da Feltre, and the cultivated life in the courts of the Lombard plain are some of the noblest accomplishments of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XX

RENAISSANCE IN ROME AND NAPLES

Rome still exercises her sway over the world, not by arms and bloodshed, but by the power of religion. The pope is still a perpetual dictator, the cardinals a senate; the world still brings its tribute to Rome, still flocks to see its holy relics and its sacred places.—FLAVIO BIONDO (d. 1463).[1]

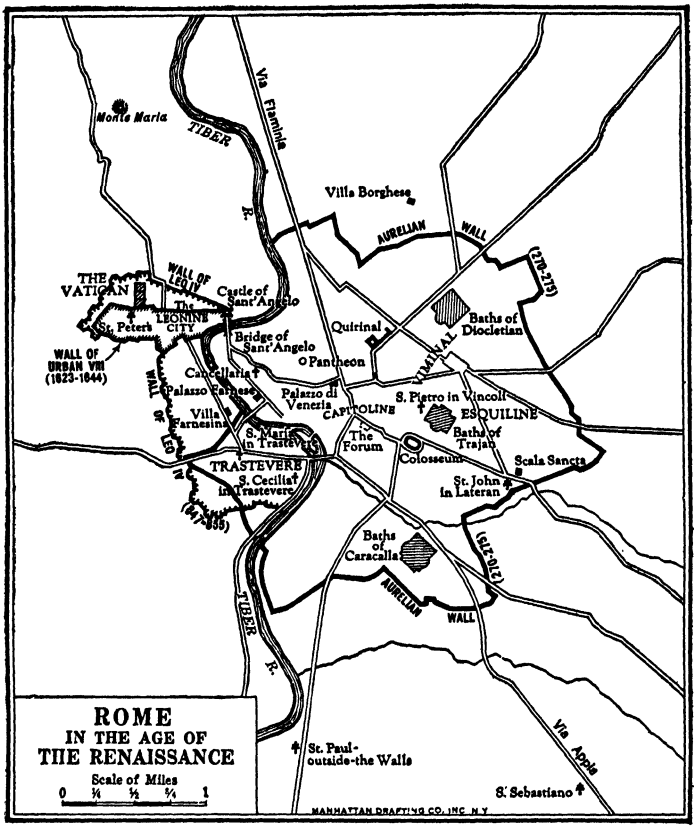
THE Renaissance inevitably produced a crisis in religion. The church had been the spiritual guardian of the people for more than thirty generations. It had disciplined them by means of excommunication, interdict, and its penitential system. Its other-worldliness had taught them to minimize the things of this life. But the intense asceticism inculcated by saints and monks could not be maintained forever in the towns of Italy. The growth of temporal activities during the last centuries of the Middle Ages, due to the development of trade and industry, produced conceptions more definitely worldly. Secularization of life in all its activities became the keynote of the age, and the cult of classical letters initiated by Petrarch emphasized this transition.

What was the attitude of Humanists toward religion? Churchmen had long accepted the thought of Aristotle. To many Humanists the cultivation of classical letters implied a fuller participation in ancient thought, although they did not propose to revive a purely pagan conception of life. Many of them remained staunchly loyal to the church; others like Valla and Platina abandoned her teachings and became devotees of paganism. The dominant tendency was toward paganism. It seemed that the church had lost its prestige with the elite of the bourgeoisie; its doctrines could not compete with the charm of reviving pagan thought. The Renaissance in Rome therefore is significant. From the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-54) to the death of Clement VII (1523-34) the papacy was called upon to face the economic, political, and cultural problems of the Renaissance. Situ-

[1] Quoted by M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, vol. iii, pp. 174-175.

ated in the Eternal City amid the ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars, could it escape the spirit of reviving paganism?

When Martin V (1417-31) returned from the Council of Constance he found the ancient city in ruins. The long absence of the papacy during the Avignonese period and the subsequent wars of the Great Schism had wrought much damage. Trade was stagnant, population was dwindling, and the city and its environs were infested



with brigands and predatory barons. Many of the churches threatened to crumble to ruin; the rain beat upon the paved floors of St. Peter's. The Palatine Hill was a mass of débris covered with a rank growth of vegetation. The Forum, choked with sand and refuse many feet deep, served as pasture for cattle. The Viminal, Quirinal, and Pincian Hills were uninhabited. The ancient aqueducts had crumbled, and the inhabitants depended upon the Tiber and shallow cisterns for their water supply. The population was crowded into the narrow area be-

tween the old Capitoline Hill and the Campus Martius and along the streets which led to the bridge connecting the old city on the left bank with the castle of Sant' Angelo and the Vatican on the right. The Lateran palace and church, the abode of former popes, had suffered severely during the fourteenth century. Beginning with Martin V, pontiffs made the Vatican their habitual residence.

Martin V and Eugenius IV (1431-47) were occupied chiefly with the problems of the schism, the question of reform, and their relations with Rome and the papal states. Neither of these pontiffs therefore took much interest in classical studies. Some Humanists, however, had found service in the *curia*, chief of whom was Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). Born of poor parents who lived at Terranova near Florence, he became acquainted with Coluccio Salutati by a lucky chance and thus was enabled to share in Humanist studies. Poggio entered the papal service and, as has been noted previously, was wonderfully successful in collecting manuscripts. He was famed as a letter writer. One of his most striking letters contains an animated description of a bathing establishment which he visited at Baden Baden in Germany (1416), and another relates the spirited defense which Jerome of Prague, a follower of John Hus, made before the fathers of Constance. He also wrote a collection of stories, of *Facetiæ*, which are typical of the jokes told by people in inns and market places. Poggio states, however, that these anecdotes originated in the convivial evening gatherings which began at the papal court in the days of Martin V. These meetings were held in a room called the *Bugiale* or "Chamber of Lies." All sorts of themes were discussed in these stories, and their cynical criticisms spared nothing, sacred or profane. Some of them, couched in choice Latin, are as salacious as Boccacio's tales; others are quite innocuous. The clergy are often made the butt of ridicule. The following may be taken as typical:

> One of those friars who wander about and ask alms in the name of St. Anthony, persuaded a peasant to give him some grain, promising him in return that all his belongings, and his sheep especially, should be free for a year of any harm or damage. The peasant, believing in the promise, allowed his sheep to stray freely, so that a wolf came and ate many of them. When next year, the friar returned and asked for his ration of grain, the peasant indignantly refused to give it him, lamenting how vain had proved the friar's promise. Asked by the religious the reason, the countryman replied that a wolf had gone off with several of his sheep. "A wolf!" said the other. "The wolf is an evil beast, which you must not trust. He would not only deceive

St. Anthony but even Christ himself, if he could." It is a foolish thing to put trust in those whose business is deceit.[2]

Poggio was the first Humanist to write a *Description of Rome* (*Descriptio Urbis Romæ*) based upon first-hand observation. He also made a collection of Roman inscriptions which still possesses some value, and gathered and classified Latin coins. But it was in his pamphlets above all that Poggio displayed his Humanist ideas. In his encounters with Filelfo and Lorenzo Valla he had the fullest opportunity to employ all the qualities of Humanist wit. Filelfo had run afoul of Niccolò Niccoli, as has been related above. Poggio rushed into the lists with the most vituperative invective. He spared nothing in Filelfo's past and gave to everything the worst possible interpretation. He declared that Filelfo had fled from Italy because of some unworthy offense, and that at Constantinople he had seduced the daughter of John Chrysoloras in order to force her into marriage with him, and so on to the end. He concluded one of his tirades as follows:

> Is there anyone, Filelfo, who does not despise and loathe you? Who of the guests you receive in your home has any consideration for you except those who put up with your boresome conversation in order to be entertained by the favors of your wife? You reeking goat, you horned monster, you evil-minded libeler, you, father of lies and fountain of every dissension, may divine wrath destroy you, the enemy of all virtues, you parricide, you who strive to damage wise and good folk by means of your lies and vices, your senseless and false accusations![3]

The reader should not take such apostrophes seriously. Often they were only rhetorical exercises which pleased the public and were soon forgotten. Poggio's literary encounters with Lorenzo Valla were as violent as those with Filelfo. One of his diatribes against Valla is a classic in vituperative literature. Valla was represented as having fallen into hell because of his evil deeds. The devils soon discovered how wicked a being had come into their hands and decided that it would be better to return him to earth where he might make many conquests for Satan. Valla agreed to be faithful to them and swore an oath of fealty to Lucifer, the words of which are too indecent to be translated. In the vestibule of hell a gigantic statue of Valla was erected; on it appeared the words: To Lorenzo Valla, their worthy comrade, by the inhabitants of hell! Valla was not slow in answering this diatribe. He asserted that Guarino da Verona's

[2] *The Facetiæ of Poggio* (London, 1928), pp. 105-106.

[3] Adapted from T. Söderhjelm and W. Söderhjelm, *De Italiaansche Renaissance* (Utrecht, 1909), p. 133.

cook and stable boy had set an examination in Latin for Poggio whose knowledge of that tongue was inferior to theirs!

Poggio's attitude toward churchmen was typical of many Humanists. He was indifferent to the truth of Christian teaching. Although he served the *curia* for half a century, he felt no hesitation in mercilessly lashing the clergy and friars for their moral shortcomings. His *Dialogue against Hypocrites*, a diatribe on the faults of monks and friars, aroused no protest, not even in the *curia* itself. This work, as well as his *Facetiæ*, was widely read and helped undermine traditional respect for the clergy. In his private life Poggio himself was far from perfect—he was the father of fourteen natural children. His superiors disliked this irregularity and suggested that he mend his ways. He was unfeeling enough to reject his faithful mistress, and when fifty-five years of age he married a maid of eighteen. In 1453 he was appointed chancellor of Florence and retired to a villa near his native Terranova where he spent his declining years.

Martin V and Eugenius IV were conservative men and took no interest in the revival of classical studies. Nevertheless, zeal for these studies was stimulated at the *curia* by Poggio and others, and their efforts were duly recognized when the Humanist, Thomas Parentucelli, ascended the chair of St. Peter as Nicholas V (1447-55). Born of an obscure family of Sarzana in 1398 and too poor to continue his education, he served as tutor to the sons of Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Palla Strozzi, members of the Florentine patriciate. Thus he was introduced into the Humanist circles of Florence; this connection exercised an abiding influence upon his life. He studied at the University of Bologna, entered the service of the bishop of Bologna, succeeded to that office, and finally, in 1446, became cardinal. His election as pope was greeted with satisfaction by all Humanists, for now they could expect the patronage of the church.

The jubilee of 1450 brought many pilgrims to Rome and filled the impoverished coffers of the papacy. This money enabled Nicholas to conceive great projects. Rome was to be improved and beautified. Nicholas repaired the aqueduct Aqua Vergine and built the famous Trevi fountain. Bridges were renovated. Churches were repaired. On the Capitoline Hill Nicholas built the palace for the conservators and refinished that of the senators, as the officials of Rome were called. Filth and rubbish were carted away. Streets were straightened and paved. Vast building projects were conceived. A new St. Peter's was to be constructed and broad avenues were to be laid out leading toward it. Important changes were effected in the Vatican palace. Similar projects were executed in many provincial cities of the States of the Church.

To carry out these schemes Nicholas brought artists to Rome. They were for the most part Tuscans; thus the artistic ideas of Florence began to transform the Eternal City. Leon Battista Alberti was employed as architect, Fra Angelico decorated the walls of the Vatican chapel of St. Lawrence with scenes from the lives of that saint and of St. Stephen in which he attained his highest excellence. In these activities Nicholas displayed the passion for artistic embellishment so typical of Renaissance rulers.

Nicholas wished to make Rome again the proud capital of the world. It was necessary, therefore, to bring the greatest scholars within its walls. Gianozzo Manetti (1396-55) was invited to become apostolic secretary. He was a friend of Cosimo de' Medici and belonged to the coterie of Humanists in Florence during the early part of the *quattrocento*. He was a man of wide learning and was especially interested in the church fathers and the great moral works of antiquity such as Aristotle's *Ethics*. His religious interests led him to study Hebrew, and no other Italian of his day knew that language as well. He was a practical man and his services as orator, diplomat, and administrator were much esteemed. Nicholas was very fond of him because of his piety and nobility of character. The best papal posts were bestowed upon men of this type and not upon monks and priests as had been the rule. Humanist activity in Rome was chiefly concerned with the translation of Greek classics into Latin. This was laudable, for in spite of the work of Chrysoloras and his Humanist disciples, knowledge of the Greek language remained a rare accomplishment. Poggio, for example, who never could read it fluently, came to blows with George of Trebizond (1396-1486), a Greek of overbearing conceit, who had found favor at the papal court and who twitted him because of his defective knowledge of Greek and Latin.

Poggio's scurrilous assault upon Lorenzo Valla may well be forgotten, but not the scholar who repudiated the faith of his fathers and subjected papal claims to the sharp acid of historical criticism. Valla (1405-57) received his Humanist education from Aurispa and Bruni and obtained an appointment as papal secretary under Martin V. He was one of the Humanists who abandoned Christian teaching and ethics, substituting for them the thought of ancient philosophers. Such was Nicholas V's zeal to make Rome a great center of Humanist learning that men like Valla were eagerly welcomed. While professor of rhetoric in the University of Pavia, he published a book, *On Pleasure* (1431). This treatise is divided into three parts in which three persons advocate the point of view of the Christians, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. It taught that all natural desires should be gratified fully. Conventions of morality were not

binding; in fact, Valla suggested that marriage should be abolished. The conception of pleasure was purely Epicurean.

Valla soon became secretary to King Alphonso I of Naples (1435-58) and in 1440 wrote his treatise, *On the Donation of Constantine*. According to accepted teaching throughout the Middle Ages, Constantine had given the bishop of Rome extensive temporal powers and had confirmed his grant in a document the authenticity of which was never questioned until the fifteenth century when Nicholas of Cusa and Reginald Pecock revealed its unhistorical character. Valla, however, made his critique a political pamphlet. As servant of the king of Naples, he was interested in showing that papal suzerainty over the kingdom of Naples was without foundation in law or history. He held that Constantine's forgery was of recent date and that the papal claims were sheer usurpation. In common with all men of that day, Valla had an exaggerated idea of the significance of this document. For this reason the treatise occupies an important place in later controversies over papal power as well as in the development of historical criticism. Valla also wrote extremely bitterly against monks and friars, but Nicholas disregarded all these writings, welcomed him to Rome, and asked him to make translations of Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides. Could the Holy Father have chosen a stranger guest or any other career than Valla's to throw so lurid a light upon the Rome of the early Renaissance?

Nicholas was eager to form a library of classical authors. Formerly popes had collected books on theology and canon law. Now a complete collection of the hitherto neglected Latin and Greek works was to be made for the papal library. Nicholas when a young priest had arranged the collection which his friend Cosimo de' Medici had made for the convent of San Marco in Florence. As pope, he bought as many manuscripts as he could find. Commissions were given scribes to make copies of rare works. Far and wide the search was made for new writings. Vespasiano da Bisticci was invited to Rome to build up the collection which was intended for public use and to be an adornment of the papacy which Nicholas wished to place at the very pinnacle of culture. He was eager to make his collection the largest in existence, and when he died it numbered over a thousand volumes. Unfortunately his successor did not carry out his plans and allowed the books to be scattered so that later under Sixtus IV the Vatican Library had to be reestablished.

These Humanist activities resulted in an interesting political revolution. Emphasis upon the glamour of ancient Rome and the study of its literature stirred up hope for independence. The fickle populace was easily provoked to rebellion by one Stefano Porcaro who prepared a plot to establish a republic. A rising took place in January,

1453, but the plans miscarried and Stefano was seized and beheaded in the castle of Sant' Angelo. The conspiracy clearly showed the incompatibility of republican sentiments with papal leadership. The two could not exist side by side and Nicholas put down the rising with a ruthlessness characteristic of the age but quite foreign to his nature.

Another event which grieved him was Mohammed II's final assault upon the Byzantine Empire. As head of the Christian world, the pontiff felt that he should do something to help the Greeks. True, they persisted in their schismatic ideas in spite of the agreements made at the Council of Florence, but their dire extremity was a concern of Christian Europe. Nicholas fitted out a fleet of galleys but it was captured by the Turks. Constantinople fell, on May 29, 1453, and Italy was stunned. Not only did Christendom suffer a serious blow, but Humanists lamented that the ancient capital of letters had fallen into the hands of the infidel. Nicholas summoned all princes to prepare for a crusade. But the age of such undertakings was long past. They were no longer possible since powerful centralized governments had taken the place of feudal principalities. Princes were jealously watching one another, fearful lest someone should gain an advantage. The French king was struggling with the duke of Burgundy, the king of England was ranged against France, the Spanish kingdoms were hostile to each other, and Poland was at war with the Teutonic Knights. The emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the head of all earthly government, could do nothing, for the Congress of Ratisbon which he convened (April, 1454) to discuss plans for a crusade proved a dismal failure. No one came at the imperial request except Duke Philip of Burgundy, the ruler of the Low Countries. In March, 1455, Nicholas died, sorrowfully realizing that he had not been equal to the strenuous task.

Alfonso Borgia succeeded as Calixtus III (1455-58). He was an old-fashioned man, impetuous, and determined upon immediate action against the Turks. He declared war, prepared a fleet, and announced that an army and a fleet would set out on the first of March in the next year. But such was the absorption of secular governments in their political interests that nothing came of the project and the papal fleet accomplished nothing. The Hungarians bore the brunt of battle and stayed the Turks' progress at the siege of Belgrade in April, 1456. Calixtus thus signally failed to accomplish anything. He discontinued the policy initiated by Nicholas in behalf of the new learning. Humanists began to leave Rome, and Nicholas' library was dissipated. Some attention, however, was given to the renovation of Roman churches.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini became pope as Pius II (1458-64).

Born in 1405, he studied in Florence under Filelfo. He entered the service of a number of prelates, supported in his writings the claims of the Council of Basel, and was made secretary to the schismatic Felix V. When the proper moment arrived he adroitly changed to the side of Eugenius IV. During youth and early manhood he led a dissolute life like some of the Humanists and many high-placed persons of his day. He wrote a novel, *Lucretia and Euryalus,* which in salaciousness was not outdone by Boccaccio. But toward the close of Eugenius IV's pontificate he turned against his former way of living. A remarkable change is observable after he was priested, for he became a deeply pious man; no moral fault can be found in his life as minister of the church. Bitterly repenting his past, he sought to undo the evil he had done and tried to recall the lascivious books he had penned.

Æneas Sylvius was a typical character of the Renaissance. He possessed vivacity of intellect, broad knowledge of mankind, and capacity to take delight in the thoughts and acts of men with whom he came in contact—characteristics one notes so often in the bourgeoisie of the *quattrocento.* Yet he was not recognized by his contemporaries as one of the greatest men of his day. He did not employ the new classical learning to win a living or acquire position as did other Humanists, nor did he care for the servile adulation which they sought to give him. Hence he did not measure up to what was expected of a Renaissance patron. But his writings are fully as significant as those of his Humanist contemporaries. His *Commentaries* are important as a record of the events of his life; he projected a universal history, composed treatises on education, and was especially interested in history and geography.

Humanists were sorely disappointed and disgusted because he possessed the taste and good sense to value their fulsome flattery at its true worth. He was a genuine patron, but within limits. He gathered manuscripts, spent some money on the embellishment of St. Peter's and the Vatican, and encouraged a few literary men. His passion for building is shown by his efforts to beautify the town of his birth, to which he gave a new name, Pienza, or "City of Pius."

The Turkish problem called for immediate action, and Pius laid plans for a crusade. He called a council of princes which met at Mantua from September, 1459, till the following January. The pontiff arrived early but the princes were slow in appearing. It was found after deliberations had begun that although all might applaud the idea of a crusade, few cared to assume its responsibilities. "Christians prefer to war against one another rather than against the Turks. The beating of a bailiff, even of a slave, is enough to draw kings into war; against the Turks, who blaspheme our God,

destroy our churches, and strive to destroy the whole Christian name, no one dares take up arms,"[4] ruefully remarked the pope.

To grasp the difficulties confronting the papacy, one must bear in mind the incompatibility of the pope's position as Italian prince with his post as divinely appointed head of Christendom. As feudal overlord of Naples, he was constantly called upon to deal with the Angevin claims which were opposed by the Aragonese incumbents. The attitude of France was always an important consideration because it supported the Angevin claims, and the emperor might at any moment interfere in Italian affairs. At the Congress of Mantua the French envoys urged a settlement of the Neapolitan problem. They even argued that their king had the right to appeal to a council against the pope's action. Nor were the Germans satisfied with the papacy. They had urgently asked for reform at Constance and Basel, and the imperial diet might at any moment suggest the calling of a council.

Pius was resolved to prevent any repetition of the confusion caused by the theory that councils were to govern the church. He thought it desirable to declare once for all against the idea, and accordingly on January 18, 1460, issued his bull *Execrabilis*. It was the one tangible result of the Mantuan congress and placed the copestone on the edifice of papal absolutism. Ambitious princes were forbidden to appeal to a council in the future and thus endanger the religious quiet of Christendom.

Paul II (1464-71), who was the next pope, displayed only moderate enthusiasm for Humanists. He distrusted their agile rhetoric which he knew might be employed against himself at any moment. He showed favor to Flavio Biondo and a few other scholars. He was an ardent collector of gems, stones, medals, tapestries, and carved objects, and placed them in the museum of the Palazzo Venetia built by him and still standing as a monument of the early Roman Renaissance. He was interested in printing which had been established at Subiaco as early as 1465. Probably the most interesting episode of the pontificate was the pope's difficulty with the Roman Academy. Its head was Pomponio Leto (d. 1498), a pupil of Valla, from whom he imbibed enthusiasm for classical antiquity and hostility to Christianity. He affected a preference for Stoicism. A sentimental fanatic, he would burst into tears whenever he reflected upon the vanished glories of Rome. He had a garden on the Quirinal Hill which he tried to cultivate according to the precepts of Varro and Columella, Roman writers on agriculture.

Soon after his elevation Paul abolished the College of Abbreviators, or scribes, who drew up the public documents of the popes.

[4] M. Creighton, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 224.

This was a measure of economy, but it proved embarrassing because many of the scribes were Humanists who knew how to use their power of language against the pontiff. Their chief, Bartolommeo Platina (d. 1481), was especially acrid and threatened to appeal to a council. Many of the abbreviators aired their grievances in the Academy of Pomponio Leto. There was much atheistic talk and a desire was expressed for a republican government copied after the ancient Roman model. Remembering Porcaro's conspiracy, Paul threw a number of the members of the Academy into prison (1468); but as there really was no conspiracy Leto and Platina were set at liberty. The Academy was suspended, but was revived during the next pontificate, to be extinguished forever in the disaster of 1527.

Sixtus IV (1471–84), a Franciscan friar it is interesting to note, was the first of Peter's successors to assume openly the manner and methods of secular Italian princes. As ~~a ruler of a principality~~, the States of the Church, he found it necessary to strengthen his political power, and he relied upon his nephews whom he advanced to the highest positions in the gift of state and church. Thus he inaugurated the baneful practice of nepotism which was to discredit the papacy during the next half century. By making himself an absolute prince he felt safe within his own borders. He knew that the papacy no longer enjoyed the full respect and affection of the people, for everywhere princes and states were bent on extending their power and possessions. "Previous popes had trusted for the maintenance of their dominions to the respect generally felt toward the papacy, and to the support of the powers of Europe; Sixtus felt that neither of these was secure. He resolved no longer to shelter himself behind the claims of the papacy as an institution, but as a man to enter into Italian politics, and establish his temporal sovereignty by means of men, their weapons, and their enterprise. When he looked around him he found the papacy without friends in Italy. The pacific policy and the moderating position of Paul II had only been maintained by a resolute effort of self-restraint; it was not understood by other powers, and there was no guarantee that it could be safely continued. Sixtus did not think it worth while to give it a trial, but decided that he would use the resources and the authority of his office for the protection and extension of its temporal possessions."[5]

The great political venture of Sixtus' pontificate was the establishment of his nephew Girolamo Riario as prince in Imola and Forlì, a policy opposed by the Medici, as has been related above. The complete ascendancy of political interests over sacred concerns in the papal mind is revealed in Sixtus' connection with the murder of Guiliano de' Medici in 1478. In this episode Sixtus acted like a

[5] M. Creighton, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 71.

secular prince and did not scruple to employ his religious powers to advance his political interests. In other respects also he revealed the Renaissance prince. He labored to beautify Rome by straightening, widening, and paving streets, and building bridges, churches, walls, gates, and other structures. He repaired the Hospital of Santo Spirito near the Vatican. He was an indefatigable collector of coins, gems, and precious objects of art and was the first to open a museum for the public.

Sixtus also favored writers. Platina was commissioned to write a *History of the Popes*, a significant work in the development of historical writing because it marks a complete departure from the old method of arranging data by years and not according to their logical relations. John Argyropoulos was the chief Greek scholar in Rome and Pomponio Leto continued to be the chief lecturer at the Academy. In 1471 Sixtus revived the Vatican Library which had suffered so sadly after the death of Nicholas V. Every effort was made to collect manuscripts. So successful was Sixtus that by 1484 the collection contained over thirty-five hundred volumes.

But it is as patron of painting that Sixtus is to be remembered. Melozzo da Forlì was employed to paint a fresco in the Vatican Library in which are shown Sixtus IV seated, with his four nephews standing and the librarian Platina kneeling before him. This picture is a magnificent artistic achievement and a most instructive document of the Renaissance. The Sistine Chapel was built by Sixtus, for whom it was named. The best painters of the day were invited to come to Rome and decorate its walls. The twelve frescoes on the side walls of the chapel are eloquent of the pontiff's taste and understanding. To the left, as one faces the altar, are six dealing with the career of Moses; opposite are six which illustrate Christ's mission on earth. These works are by Pinturicchio (an Umbrian painter who died in 1513), Signorelli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Roselli, and Perugino. The most significant, without doubt, is Perugino's great picture in which Christ gives the keys to St. Peter.

But all this patronage of art and learning did not compensate for the loss in moral prestige which the papacy suffered. The frank acceptance of the traditional methods of Italian politics nearly bankrupted the spiritual authority of the prince of the church. The next pope, Innocent VIII (1484-92), was not a man of edifying character. He allowed himself to drift with circumstances, and reversed the policy of Sixtus IV in regard to Florence, even making Lorenzo de' Medici his intimate advisor. This worldly policy, continued by subsequent pontiffs, contributed materially to the rise of Protestantism.

It remains to consider the Renaissance in Naples. The social structure and economic progress of that realm were not favorable

to the new culture. The country remained feudal in social organization and manorial in economic life. A turbulent baronage, wedded to old chivalric conceptions, controlled the state. Towns were small, and a vigorous bourgeoisie did not exist there as in the urban centers of Tuscany and Lombardy. Naples therefore was too poor and conservative to become the home of Renaissance art and letters. Alfonso I (1435-58), who succeeded in getting control of the realm in spite of Angevin claims, desired to be ranked among the Italian princes. It was necessary, therefore, to play the patron. Although untutored, he professed keen interest in learning and welcomed scholars to his court. An interesting artistic monument of his reign is the triumphal arch over the entrance to the great castle in Naples.

Chief among Alfonso's favorites was Lorenzo Valla, who entered the royal service as secretary, and whose *Donation of Constantine*, directed against papal claims in Naples, has been described. Alfonso was succeeded by his natural son Ferrante (1458-94), a vindictive tyrant who stirred his baronage to revolt. He was interested in the new culture and befriended Antonio Beccadelli (1394-1471), a disciple of Valla who continued that scholar's hostility to religion and the clergy. He is famous because of his *Hermaphroditus*, epigrams of the grossest obscenity. Another Humanist was Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503) who produced a number of histories, a type of literature which gave Humanist flatterers opportunity to heap fulsome praises upon delighted despots. In common with most men of the day, Pontano was interested in astrology, in spite of Pico della Mirandola's disbelief in that science, and he taught that mathematics and astronomy were branches of astrology. Beccadelli and Pontano founded an academy in which Humanist ideas were cultivated. But Renaissance culture did not flourish vigorously in Naples. No numerous bourgeoisie developed here as in northern Italy; there was little industry or commerce and no great reserve of capital. Supported entirely by royal munificence, the new culture enjoyed only a precarious existence which came to an abrupt end in the destructive wars which disturbed the peace of the realm after its conquest by Charles VIII of France in 1495.

PART V

THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER XXI

THE FRENCH INVASION OF ITALY

And while I chant my song, O redeeming Christ,
I see all Italy aglow with flame and fire
At the hands of the French who with princely valor
Have come to lay waste her lands.
—BOIARDO (d. 1494).[1]

THE invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494 and 1495 was an event of prime importance in the history of the Renaissance. Hitherto Italians had been allowed to solve their political problems without interference from external powers. Now began a period which lasted until the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis (1559) during which Italian states were the sport of foreign interests. French and Spanish armies fought out their quarrels on Italian soil. It was the beginning of an age of conflict over what is known as the Balance of Power, a conception typical of the Renaissance. During the earlier Middle Ages the functions which today are exercised by the modern state had rested in the hands of a feudal nobility. The state hardly existed. But it came into being as political power became concentrated in kings or other public authorities. With this development the character of politics, war, and diplomacy changed. Political relations henceforth were dominated by national interests. Antagonisms and contentions arose over boundaries and lands. Two great powers faced each other, the crown of France and the Hapsburg house, and caused Europe to resound with their clashing interests. States might range on one side or the other, but the

[1] *Orlando Innamorato*, Part III, Canto IX, No. 9.

hostility of these two powers remained a permanent fact regardless of such transient shiftings.

The fate of Italy rested with five large states: Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, and the States of the Church. Peace was maintained by the triple alliance formed by Cosimo de' Medici in the Treaty of Lodi (1454-55). Its central idea was that Florence, which hitherto had supported Venice in her quarrels with Milan, should ally with her northern neighbor to restrict Venetian economic and political dominance. Florence and Milan admitted Naples into this union, thus securing valuable support in their relations with the papacy whose territories bordered upon their own lands. This alliance was diligently maintained by Lorenzo the Magnificent. The hostility of Sixtus IV was not able to overthrow it in 1478, for as long as Florence, Milan, and Naples persisted in this policy there was little possibility of war. Peace was made still more certain by the understanding between Lorenzo and Innocent VIII (1484-92) who elevated Giovanni de' Medici, later Pope Leo X, to the cardinalate.

As Lorenzo's term of life drew near its close, there were signs that his combination could not last much longer. Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan had been slain in 1476, leaving the governance of his lands to his widow, Bona of Savoy, who ruled in the interests of her youthful son Gian Galeazzo. But she was no match for the ambitions of Galeazzo Maria's brothers, of whom Ludovico, called the Moor, was the most astute. He thrust her out of the government and took into his hands the management of affairs. He was careful, however, to rule in the name of his nephew who was not expected to live long. Gian Galeazzo's wife Isabella, a daughter of King Alfonso II of Naples, was a high-spirited woman who resented the power which Ludovico arrogated to himself. She was furious because all public recognition of her rights was withheld from her and bestowed upon Beatrice of Este, Ludovico's wife. This ill-feeling was shared also by King Alfonso, and amity between the courts of Milan and Naples visibly cooled.

Other events seemed to foreshadow a change in the political system of Italy. Lorenzo the Magnificent died in 1492 and the leadership of Italy fell into the unpracticed hands of his son Piero who possessed none of the astuteness of his father. He was interested in athletics and possessed physical charm and cultivated manners as befitted a member of his famous house, but was devoid of intellect. It was difficult for anyone to guide Italy through the crisis which now arrived. The banking house of Medici had many branches in France whose king was soon to invade the peninsula. It was Piero's duty to conserve his wealth and business organization and at the same time maintain the equilibrium of political forces established by his great-

grandfather. This seemed to dictate close sympathy for France, or even menial subserviency. On the other hand, the peace of the peninsula demanded that no foreigner should set foot on its soil. Both these policies could not be maintained because the king of France was determined to enforce his claims to the crown of Naples.

Piero drew closer to the Neapolitan king on the advice of his Orsini relatives who were friends of Alfonso. On the other hand, Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) quarreled with the king of Naples about some lands and drew closer to Venice and Ludovico Sforza. Thus the balance of power established in the Peace of Lodi was ruined, for Florence and Naples formed one combination, while the pope, Milan, and Venice constituted a second. Duke Ludovico of Milan was deeply concerned for the safety of his authority. That great exemplar of Renaissance political and diplomatic methods calmly surveyed the situation which threatened to overwhelm him, and decided that he could rely upon his subtle intellect and clever methods to save himself from the danger which lurked in a French attempt against Naples. "He began to tickle King Charles (who was but twenty-two years of age) with the vanities and glories of Italy, demonstrating the right which he had to the fine kingdom of Naples, which he knew well enough to blazon and display. He addressed himself in everything to the seneschal Etienne de Vesc and to Guillaume Briçonnet, who was rich and well skilled in the management of the finances, and a great friend of De Vesc, by whose means Ludovico persuaded Briçonnet to turn priest, and he would make him a cardinal; but the seneschal was to have a duchy."[2]

Ludovico's policy, as the issue was to show, was a stupendous blunder. It was dangerous to urge the French to establish themselves in Naples because they also had a claim upon Milan which had its origin in the marriage of Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan (d. 1402), to Duke Louis of Orléans, grandfather of Louis of Orléans, who stood very near the crown. Should Charles VIII die leaving no heirs of his body, Louis would become king. Before he actually did become king as Louis XII (1498-1515), Louis argued that the legitimate line of the Visconti had come to an end with the death of Filippo Maria in 1447 and that according to feudal conceptions his natural daughter Bianca could not transmit legal title to her husband, Francesco Sforza, the *condottiere* who had seized the government and installed himself as tyrant without regard to the rights of the house of Orléans.

The kings of France had never forgotten their claims upon the crown of Naples; in fact, they had been keenly interested in that land ever since Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, became its

[2] Ph. de Comines, *Memoirs* (Bohn Library), vol. ii, pp. 107-108.

king in 1266 and founded the line of the Angevin kings of Naples. This family came to an end when Queen Giovanna died in 1435. She had bequeathed her rights to a representative of the younger Angevin house still flourishing in France, but King Alfonso of Sicily seized her realm and established himself therein in defiance of the rights of the Angevin heir, René. Charles VII of France (1422-61) had married Marie, a daughter of Louis II of Anjou who was king of Naples (d. 1417), and sister of René, but because of his war with England he could not interfere in behalf of his brother-in-law. There was no lack of interest on his part, however, and his son, Louis XI (1461-83) tried through negotiations to secure some foothold in Milan. René of Anjou died in 1480. On the death of the next heir, Charles of Maine, in 1481, title to Naples was devised by testament to Louis XI. But this sagacious prince preferred to stay at home and look after the interests of the crown which were jeopardized by the ambition of powerful nobles.

Charles VIII (1483-98), however, did not hesitate. During the earlier years of his reign his sister Anne controlled the royal policy, but as soon as he was freed from her tutelage he resolved to secure his rights in Naples. At his court were to be found some of the Neapolitan princes who had been dispossessed by King Ferrante. They labored to incite the young king's desires. He should be king of Naples, they said, and lead an army against the Turk who was threatening Christendom. It was a foolish project and detrimental to the interests of the realm, for the royal duty lay at home where the crown needed to be strengthened. It was important to secure control over lands along the Pyrenees and the Netherlandish border. But Charles disregarded these interests. The glory of distant achievement, the conquest of Naples, and a crusade against the infidel turned his head. Tales of chivalry, the crusading tradition so strong in the history of the rulers of France, and the encouragement of eager courtiers weighed more than the national needs of the state.

Before setting his army in motion Charles had to settle certain questions with his enemies who had attacked him when he married Anne, heiress of Brittany. They objected to the addition of the Breton duchy to the French crown without securing some compensations for themselves. Henry VII of England had laid siege to Boulogne and, to be rid of him, Charles paid him an enormous sum of money (Treaty of Étaples, November, 1492). Ferdinand of Spain threatened to move because he was interested in the rights of the Aragonese house of Naples whose titles might devolve upon him, whereupon Charles hurriedly offered him Cerdagne and Roussillon, two counties situated on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, as the price of his neutrality (Treaty of Barcelona, January, 1493). There

was grave danger that the Emperor Maximilian might interfere if Charles should invade Italy, for he also possessed some rights in Lombardy, a fief of the empire. Furthermore, Maximilian was aggrieved because his wife, Mary of Burgundy, had been deprived of Artois and the Franche-Comté by Louis XI at the death of her father, Charles the Bold. Accordingly these lands were returned (Treaty of Senlis, May, 1492).

Having thus sacrificed his territorial interests, Charles was ready for the conquest of Naples. He collected a well-equipped army of twenty thousand men and set out in July, 1494. He expelled the branches of the Medici banking house from his realm and broke relations with the king of Naples. A troop of soldiers under the duke of Orléans was sent to occupy the Italian coast, including Genoa, while Charles crossed the Alps. The king reached Asti on September 9 and passed through the Milanese territory by way of Pavia, Piacenza, and Pontremoli where he crossed the Apennines. Piero de' Medici had not prepared the strongholds which guarded the way and which might have checked the French; and, thoroughly frightened, he sought to come to terms. He weakly surrendered Sarzana, Pietra Santa, Livorno, and Pisa which had been won by Florence with great effort. The Pisans, men and women alike, greeted Charles with tears of joy, crying "Liberty, Liberty!" and cast into the Arno the marble Marzocca, a sculptured lion emblematic of Florentine domination. The king made indefinite promises to restore their liberties.

Charles next advanced toward Florence where a remarkable revolution had just taken place, for when Piero de' Medici returned after the surrender of the Florentine fortresses, the people rose and forced him to leave the city on November 9. The moving cause of this rising was Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican friar. Born in Ferrara in 1452 of a family which lived in close contact with the new Renaissance culture fostered by the Este family, he did not as a youth evince much interest in the new culture. He was pensive and inclined to melancholy. Brooding on religious and theological questions, he more and more opposed the paganism of the Ferrarese court. Bruised in spirit by the worldliness which he saw everywhere around him, he retired to a Dominican convent in 1475, whence he wrote to his father: "The reasons which drove me to become a religious are these: the miserable condition of the world and the evils of which men are guilty such as rape, immorality, robbery, pride, idolatry, cursing, all in so grave measure that it may be said that almost no one can be found who has any regard for what is good. Each day, therefore, weeping, I often repeated the line of Vergil's Æneid: 'Alas flee these cruel lands, flee this avaricious

shore.'" These words from a classical author show clearly that Savonarola had been touched by the new Humanist culture, even though its paganism repelled him so that he sought refuge in traditional religious and moral ideas.

During his novitiate in Bologna he wrote two odes, *On the Fate of the Church* and *On the Fall of the World*, in which he lamented the sad decline of religion and morality. He became a forceful penitential preacher. In 1482 he was transferred to San Marco in Florence and was appointed public preacher and reader of Scripture. His discourses in the church of San Lorenzo brought him more and more closely in contact with the new cultural tendencies. This was the parish church of the Medici, the family which more than any other was identified with the Renaissance. With a mind turned toward mysticism, Savonarola studied intently the Christian scheme of redemption and especially the events which St. John in his Revelation declared would happen during the last days of the world. He studied the prophets of the Old Testament and took their fiery denunciations to heart. Presently he began to talk as if he had received revelations from God. His sermons announced that the church would soon be chastised for its worldliness, after which it would be cleansed of its faults.

Savonarola spared neither pope nor prince. Sixtus IV passed away in 1484, but Innocent VIII was no better shepherd. The canker which infected all was the new secular culture of which the Medici were the chief promoters. Savonarola inveighed against the tyranny of that house and was eager to substitute for it the rule of the people. A righteous people should establish a righteous rule, a sort of theocracy! His power over the crowd was immense; men and women hung intently on his words. Lorenzo died in 1492 and his son Piero was not able to cope with the situation. Savonarola had become a practical reformer. He aimed at eradicating public vices and the private immoralities of the citizenry. Meanwhile Charles was moving into Italy. The king seemed to be the sword of wrath sent to vindicate God's cause, and the coming of the French seemed to prove the truth of Savonarola's vaticinations.

Smarting under the disgraceful terms which Piero had accepted and fearful of a disastrous occupation by the French, the Florentines sought definite terms from the French king. "We shall arrange everything within the great city," said Charles. Savonarola was one of the ambassadors sent to interview him. As a religious he was able to impress the susceptible king, making him believe that he was coming into Italy at the will of God. Consequently, on the royal banners were inscribed the words *Missus a Deo* (Sent from God). Charles wanted to treat Florence as a conquered city, but this was

impossible because of the strongly built houses which looked like fortresses. At length it was agreed that Charles should be recognized as protector of Florence, that he should occupy her fortresses for two years, and receive a sum of money. But his demand for money seemed excessive, and the Florentines demurred. "Then we will sound our trumpets," said Charles. "And we will ring our bells" was their rejoinder, alluding to the custom common in Italian cities of calling the citizenry to war by the ringing of bells. Thereupon an agreement was reached, one hundred thousand ducats were paid, and on November 28, after a stay of eleven days, the king marched out of the city, to the great relief of its citizenry.

Charles next advanced upon Rome. Pope Alexander VI was in a difficult position. He had cast his lot with King Alfonso when Charles entered Italy, and Neapolitan troops had been sent to block the French advance through Romagna. This had compelled the French to proceed along the west coast by way of Pontremoli and Pietra Santa. The papal policy was encumbered by the hostility of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, a nephew of Sixtus IV, who bitterly hated the reigning pope and had gone to France in order to whet Charles' desire for the crown of Naples. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza hated Alexander because of his espousal of Neapolitan interests to the prejudice of Ludovico and the Sforza house. These two cardinals urged the king to summon a general council to try the pontiff and depose him for his acts. But Charles was not capable of such far-reaching policies. Besides, his councilor Briçonnet wished to become cardinal, which might be impossible if they proceeded too violently. Alexander corresponded with the Sultan Bajazet II who offered to help him with arms if the pope would put to death Djem, the sultan's brother who threatened the quiet of Turkey. When the pope's negotiations with the enemy of Christendom were known, the cry for a council became more determined. Charles was eager to be on his way and finally an agreement was reached. Djem was delivered to him, a number of papal towns were surrendered till the close of the war, and Alexander's son Cesare Borgia was to accompany Charles as a hostage. On December 27 the French king entered Rome, and on January 28, 1495, he set out for Naples.

King Alfonso II who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Ferrante II at the close of 1494 did not know how to resist the powerful invader and on February 3, 1495, surrendered his crown. Comines says that Ferrante, "who was so cruel and terrible, and in such reputation for his experience in military affairs before the king of France's departure from Rome, renounced the crown, and was seized with such a panic fear, that in the night he would cry out he heard the French, and that the stones and trees shouted

France, France! Nor durst he ever stir boldly out of Naples; but upon his son's return from Rome he resigned the government of his kingdom to him, and caused him to be crowned, and carried on horseback through the streets of Naples, attended by the chief persons of the city . . . and all the foreign ambassadors that were there; and after all this pomp and solemnity was performed, Alfonso himself fled into Sicily—Charles entered Naples on February 12 and within a very few days the entire kingdom fell into his hands."[3]

Charles found, as did many another after him, that it was easier to conquer a part of Italy than to hold it. He was victorious because of his prowess; beside him the best of Italy's *condottieri* seemed puny opponents. Another reason for his success was that the divided state of the peninsula made concerted action in a common cause impossible. Although they were helpless to resist him, Italians despised Charles because he was a barbarian, inferior in culture. Nor did he perceive the precarious nature of his progress. His head was turned by the ease with which he had conquered. Comines declared: "We may conclude this whole expedition, both going and coming, was conducted purely by God: for . . . the wisdom of the contrivers of this scheme contributed but little." He marveled that "this expedition into Italy was performed with so much ease, and so little resistance, that our soldiers scarce ever put on their armor during the whole expedition, and the king marched with his army from Asti to Naples in four months and nineteen days; an ambassador with his retinue could hardly have got thither sooner."[4]

The Neapolitans greeted Charles with characteristic volatility. He gave himself over to a life of gaiety and his officers and soldiers followed his example. Charles bestowed many offices upon his French favorites. However, the natives soon grew tired of him, and elsewhere in Italy appeared ominous signs of hostility. Pope Alexander still feared a council. The Venetians believed that the freedom of the peninsula was at stake, and were encouraged in this belief by the sultan who disliked Charles' ambition to play the part of crusader. Ludovico was eager to drive the French out after irreparable damage had been inflicted upon his rivals in Naples. The Emperor Maximilian was jealous of any extension of French power which he deemed harmful to his interests. King Ferdinand of Spain had a lively interest in Naples, for he was next in succession should the present family come to an end. Charles' enemies accordingly drew together and the League of Venice was formed on March 31. They agreed to defend Christendom against the Turk, restore the Roman see to its former prestige, and guarantee the integrity of each mem-

[3] Ph. de Comines, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 155.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 94, 153-154.

ber of the coalition. Probably it was also understood that they would expel the French from Italian soil.

Perceiving that his military connections with France were endangered by this hostile coalition, Charles resolved to return. He hurriedly put his affairs in order, appointed officials to rule the newly conquered land, and on May 20 began his hasty retreat along the route of his triumphant invasion. As he was descending the Apennines at Fornovo he found drawn up to resist him the army of the league commanded by Duke Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. A battle took place on July 6 in which Charles with great difficulty managed to thrust his enemy aside. Ludovico Sforza besieged Novara, a city which Duke Louis of Orléans had seized shortly before. Charles and Ludovico Sforza came to an agreement in October whereby Novara was returned to Milan and the French were promised free passage in any future expedition to Naples. As soon as Charles disappeared beyond the Alps, his conquests in Naples began to melt away. King Ferdinand sent thither his able general Gonsalvo da Cordoba who began an aggressive campaign against the French. All Italian states save Florence forsook Charles.

Milan, Venice, the pope, and the emperor were discontented with the public policy of Florence under the guidance of its prophet Savonarola. Florence clung to the French in the vain hope that their king would restore Pisa to them. Meanwhile the city was ruled by the new constitution put into effect in December, 1495. It was a copy of the Venetian constitution, the envy of all who desired stable government. A Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio*) was organized, composed of every citizen above thirty years whose father, grandfather, or great-grandfather had been elected an officer of Florence. Savonarola continued to guide the city as a reformer. He persisted in preaching in prophetic strains and even claimed direct revelations and inspiration from heaven. Meanwhile Alexander labored to secure the adherence of Florence to the national Italian policy of the League of Venice. Savonarola in his denunciations did not spare the wickedness of papal policy which in reality was purely secular. Alexander took a political view of the matter and in October ordered the friar to cease preaching.

Savonarola's influence with the Florentines continued to grow. Men, women, and even children fell under the spell of his ideas. He organized the latter into bands to purify the carnival of its licentiousness. They were arranged in graded ranks and paraded the streets. They conducted themselves in a decorous manner and no longer gambled, threw stones, or played mischievous pranks. No longer did they sing the worldly carnival songs which Lorenzo the Magnificent had composed; instead, Savonarola substituted religious com-

positions, often in the same meter. Pictures which were thought to be improper from a religious point of view, playing cards, vanities, cosmetics, false hair, and immoral books were thrown into bonfires.

The people longed to hear the sermons of the prophet whose voice had been hushed by papal prohibition. After many requests had been made to the *signoria* and to the pope, the officials permitted Savonarola to resume his sermons in Lent of 1496. He boldly asserted his liberty to preach. "We are not bound to obey all commands. If they come through false information, they are not valid. If they contradict the law of love set forth in the Gospel, we must understand them as St. Paul understood St. Peter. We cannot suppose such a possibility: but if it were so, we must answer our superior, 'You err; you are not the Roman Church, and you are a man and a sinner.'" Alexander was angered by these bold words chiefly because of the friar's political influence as shown in his appeal to a council. He next sought to undermine his power by bringing the house of San Marco, and with it Savonarola, under superiors more directly subject to papal control (November, 1496).

Finally on May 15, 1497, Savonarola was excommunicated. He held, however, that the pope had proceeded on erroneous grounds, and in February of the following year boldly resumed his sermons in the cathedral. "God governs the world by secondary agents, which are instruments in His hand. When the agent withdraws himself from God, he is no longer an instrument, he is a broken iron. But you will ask how I am to know when the agent fails. I answer, compare his commands with the root of all wisdom, that is, good living and charity; if they are contrary thereto the instrument is a broken iron, and you are no longer bound to obey. Those who by false reports have sought my excommunication wished to do away with good living and good government, to open the door to every vice." The *signoria* was loath to prohibit Savonarola from preaching but Alexander was determined to silence the excommunicate and finally in March, 1498, he was ordered to cease.

The pope had many enemies, but none more determined than the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who incessantly urged that a council should try the pontiff. Charles was inclined to support the proposition and the University of Paris sided with him. Savonarola had talked about a council for the regeneration of the church, and had written about the grounds for convoking it. If one were called under French auspices, the friar because of his great following might become a dangerous adversary of the pope. Meanwhile the friar's enemies within Florence who resented his moral dictation began their bitter attacks. The jealous Franciscans were especially hostile, and one of them announced that he would gladly submit to the

ordeal by fire to prove that Savonarola was no true prophet of God. Trial by fire and similar methods of establishing proof were forbidden by canon law, but popular belief in their efficacy still flourished. There was much excitement in Florence as the proposition was discussed, and finally the *signoria* agreed that Savonarola's claims should be tested in this way. Pope Alexander disapproved of the procedure and sought to interfere, but to no avail. Many of Savonarola's supporters believed in the sanctity of his cause and were certain that he would emerge unscathed. The trial did not take place, for it was impossible for both sides to agree to the conditions proposed. In the midst of the discussion, a rainstorm passed over the city which increased the delay. The Franciscans insisted that Savonarola should not be allowed to carry the Host with him through the flames, but Savonarola was adamant. The *signoria* was weary and announced that the ordeal was postponed. On April 8 the friar's enemies assaulted San Marco, and the *signoria* decided to arrest Savonarola in the interest of the public peace.

Savonarola was subjected to torture and in the midst of his agonies confessed that he had received no communications from God as he had declared in his sermons. It is said that he retracted all claims. His followers were stunned by these official reports; even his fellow friars began to forsake him. The pope now wished to punish him as a disobedient priest, but the *signoria* refused to countenance any such recognition of papal judicial rights in their city. Papal commissioners were sent to Florence and on May 22 they declared Savonarola guilty of heresy. The magistrates of the city thereupon condemned him and two companions to be hanged and then consumed by fire on the following day. When the time came they were stripped of their vestments, degraded from their sacred office, and handed over to the secular arm for punishment. A gallows had been erected in the *Piazza* in front of the *Palazzo Pubblico*. The sentence was at once carried out and the bodies were reduced to ashes. Savonarola's sorrowing followers watched for a miracle, but none came. The ashes were collected and cast into the Arno that no relic might be had of them (May 23, 1498).

Thus died Savonarola, a victim of the vicious political circumstances which dominated Italian life at the close of the *quattrocento*. In sentiment he was a true son of the church. He sought to revamp public and private life in Florence according to the law of Christ. He wished to establish a sort of theocracy. There comes a time when reformers must resort to political means, and it came to Savonarola. He believed that Charles was the scourge of God come to purge the church of its evils. This advocacy of Charles' cause ran counter to Italian national interests as championed by the League of Venice.

The pope was opposed to him because of his friendship toward France, which desired a council. Not his religious ideas, but his political rôle set the pope against him. Alexander's policy was purely secular, carried out according to the methods traditional in Italian politics. So he excommunicated Savonarola which made possible the success of the friar's enemies.

In a sense Savonarola was a man born out of his time. His conception of life belonged to the later Middle Ages. This is shown by his apocalyptic views and his prophetic inspiration as well as by his poems on the fall of the church and the end of the world and his treatise on revelations. But he also belonged to the Renaissance. He was deeply influenced by the doctrines popularized by the revival of Platonism. He loved the classics as became a child of the Renaissance, but he did not care for the pedantic absurdities of Humanists who thought that the sum of learning was contained in copying accurately the form of Cicero's writings. He keenly admired the work of Fra Angelico whose noble productions he saw every day in San Marco. He objected to the cult of the nude human form which such artists as Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo cultivated; he protested against the exclusive study of secular beauty. But he was no ignorant disparager of everything in the new art, as is proved by the fact that Botticelli and so religious a spirit as Michelangelo were deeply influenced by his ideas. Even in his writings Savonarola showed himself to be a child of his age. His *Triumph of the Cross*, for example, in spite of its typically mediæval theme, was written in the direct manner of the Humanists, stripped of scholastic verbiage. It was addressed to the people and therefore put in the vernacular. This, as we have noted, was a characteristic of the age of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PAPACY OF THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

[Julius II] was a prince of inestimable courage and constancy, but impetuous, and boundless in his conceptions, which would have carried him headlong to his own ruin, had he not been sustained more by the reverence of the church, the discord of princes, and the condition of the times, than by his own moderation or prudence.—GUICCIARDINI (d. 1540).[1]

THE High Renaissance is a term applied to the culmination of Italian civilization in the early sixteenth century. It marked the zenith of artistic, literary, and other cultural activities which were so noteworthy a feature of the *quattrocento*. After the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492, Florentine leadership was transferred to Rome where culture flourished under the patronage of the popes. Before describing these activities it is necessary to review the political history of the papacy from the accession of Alexander VI (1492-1503) to Clement VII (1523-34). They form an important part of the long and complicated history of the Balance of Power.

The papacy during this period was confronted with peculiar political problems. The States of the Church had preserved the antiquated organization which had grown up during the Middle Ages. The countryside was predominantly agricultural. Towns were numerous but small and served merely as economic centers for the adjacent country. Feudal and communal authorities therefore controlled the States of the Church. The bishop of Rome failed to concentrate public authority in his hands. In short, the pope remained a suzerain; he did not become a sovereign like secular princes. Centralization of political functions, a prime feature of the Renaissance in Italy as well as in other lands, remained rudimentary in the States of the Church.

The popes adopted several policies to strengthen their rule. Unlike other Italian rulers, they possessed no officialdom or bureaucracy such as many princes had developed in their efforts to establish absolute power. They resorted to nepotism, that is, the advancement to

[1] *The History of Italy* (London, 1763), vol. vi, p. 111.

important posts of nephews and other relatives upon whom they could rely. Thus Pope Calixtus III (1455-58) promoted his nephew Rodrigo Borgia. Another expedient was to bestow upon nephews political power over important lands. This was done by Sixtus IV (1471-84) who gave to his nephew Girolamo Riario the lordship of Imola and Forlì. A third plan was to seize political authority from petty princes and place it in the hands of the bishop of Rome. This policy, successfully prosecuted by Julius II, gave him greater control over the States of the Church than any of his predecessors had enjoyed.

This growth in temporal power had an important influence upon the character of the papacy. Centralization implied a large staff of officers, organization of an army, and development of a system of taxation. The papacy was primarily a religious institution but these latter policies emphasized temporal interests at the expense of its spiritual calling. This is the reason, in part at least, why the papacy of the Renaissance became a secular institution. Its acts were scarcely distinguishable from those of secular princes. Alexander VI (1492-1503) completely secularized the papacy. Before his elevation he was known as Rodrigo Borgia, nephew of Calixtus III, a man with none of the spiritual qualities of a pope. He was the father of a number of children, the offspring of Vanozza dei Catanei. So worldly had the papal environment become that this apparently produced little criticism.

Alexander, who dearly loved his children, sought to enhance their welfare, but at the same time he used them in order to strengthen papal authority. He therefore offered his daughters in marriage to princes who would give him powerful support. The eldest of these children, the duke of Gandia, was named captain of the church and given the duchy of Benevento. Alexander's daughter Lucrezia Borgia was united in marriage with Giovanni Sforza, seignior of Pesaro, a connection believed advantageous because it linked the fortunes of the house of Borgia with the powerful Sforza rulers of Milan. When no longer useful from a political point of view, this union was dissolved, and Lucrezia was married to Duke Alfonso of Bisceglia, a son of Alfonso II of Naples, who was killed in 1501. Thereupon she became the wife of Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara which, it was hoped, would further papal schemes in Romagna.

But it was in Cesare Borgia that Alexander's fondest hopes were placed, and he resolved to use Cesare in building up a political principality in Romagna. This part of the States of the Church gave the pope much trouble. The pope wanted to get rid of the petty but vigorous princes who ruled in Bologna, Rimini, Urbino, Faenza, Pesaro, Sinigaglia, Camerino, Ferrara, Imola, and Forlì. He deter-

mined to place their properties in the hands of Cesare to be held directly of the church. Plans for the advancement of Cesare went hand in hand with the negotiations with France. King Charles VIII had died in April, 1498, and was succeeded by his relative Duke Louis of Orléans, grandson of the duke of Orléans who had married Valentina Visconti. King Louis XII's designs upon Milan were known to all men.

Cesare had been made a cardinal in 1493 when but eighteen years of age; and since this dignity was thought to stand in the way of his political career, the pope induced him to renounce the cardinalate, and gave him a dispensation which enabled him to abandon the clerical estate. (He was a subdeacon, not a priest.) Cesare set out for France and an agreement was soon made whereby Louis' marriage to Jeanne, a sister of Charles VIII, should be annulled. He would marry Anne of Brittany and thus gain the great Breton fief for the crown. A cardinal's hat was bestowed upon Louis' favorite, Archbishop George d'Amboise of Rouen. Cesare was given two French fiefs, the counties of Diois and Valentinois, and the hand of Charlotte d'Albret, a sister of the king of Navarre. Louis promised to help Cesare secure Romagna. This mercenary political transaction caused a great scandal, but the papacy was completely indifferent to the moral incompatibility of its religious position and its political policy.

Louis' policy in making this agreement with the Borgia family needs explanation. He wanted to get control of Milan, and to do so it was necessary to break up the League of Venice formed in 1495 to protect Italy against further encroachments by France. Pope Alexander was won by the promise of help in Romagna. In return for help, Venice was promised Milanese Cremona and a small stretch of land on the left bank of the Adda. Thereupon Louis invaded Milan in August, 1499, assisted by the Venetians who advanced from the east. Ludovico Sforza who was not in a position to defend his duchy fled to Innsbruck. The French thus occupied the land but the populace hated them. Ludovico returned in 1500 and the French were forced to evacuate the city of Milan, but only temporarily, for Ludovico was defeated in the Battle of Novara (April, 1500), taken prisoner, and spent his remaining days in a French fortress. The French king again controlled Milan.

Louis also claimed the crown of Naples and made preparations for its conquest. But behind Frederick, the king of Naples, stood King Ferdinand of Aragon and Sicily who possessed some rights to the crown in case Frederick died. Louis asserted that the Neapolitan house had sprung from an illegitimate birth and that it was ruling Naples without legal right. Rather than go to war, Louis and Ferdinand agreed to partition the realm. The Treaty of Granada (Novem-

ber, 1500) gave the northern provinces to Louis and the southern to Ferdinand. This was a most immoral procedure but typical of the cynical disregard for justice in international affairs which pervaded Renaissance politics. The Neapolitan king could not maintain himself at the head of his kingdom when opposed by such a combination and accordingly abdicated in August, 1501. Ferdinand and Louis fought over their spoils, with the result that the French were expelled after the fall of Gaeta on New Year's Day of 1504.

Meanwhile Alexander prosecuted his designs upon Romagna. Fortified by the promise of Louis' friendship and assistance, Cesare Borgia attacked Imola and Forlì and secured them in January, 1500. Faenza was seized in April, 1501, and Alexander now made Cesare duke of Romagna. In 1502 Fermo, Ubino, and Camerino fell before the duke's troops. He next moved to attack Bologna, but was thwarted by a conspiracy of the dispossessed rulers and others who were fearful that a like fate might befall them. Their plans were formulated at Magione and a rebellion was promoted in Urbino. Confronted by this new danger, Cesare revealed great resourcefulness. The story of how he slew the conspirators at Sinigaglia has been described by Machiavelli in one of his most interesting passages. This tale well illustrates that combination of power, craft, and success which Italians of the Renaissance called *virtù*.

> [Cesare] dispersed his men throughout the Romagna, set out for Imola at the end of November (1502) together with his French men-at-arms; thence he went to Cesena, where he stayed some time to negotiate with the envoys of the Vitelli and Orsini, who had assembled with their men in the duchy of Urbino, as to the enterprise in which they should now take part; but nothing being concluded, Oliverotto da Fermo was sent to propose that if the duke wished to undertake an expedition against Tuscany they were ready; if he did not wish it, then they would besiege Sinigaglia. . . .
>
> It happened that not long afterwards the town surrendered, but the fortress would not yield to them because the castellan would not give it up to anyone but the duke in person; therefore they exhorted him to come there. This appeared a good opportunity to the duke, as, being invited by them, and not going of his own will, he would awaken no suspicions. And the more to reassure them, he allowed all the French men-at-arms who were with him in Lombardy to depart, except the hundred lancers under Monsieur di Candales, his brother-in-law. He left Cesena about the middle of December, and went to Fano, and with the utmost cunning and cleverness he persuaded the Vitelli and Orsini to wait for him at Sinigaglia, pointing out to them that any lack of compliance would cast a doubt upon the sin-

cerity and permanency of the reconciliation, and that he was a man who wished to make use of the arms and councils of his friends. But Vitellozzo Vitelli remained very stubborn, for the death of his brother warned him that he should not offend a prince and afterwards trust him; nevertheless, persuaded by Pagolo Orsini, whom the duke had corrupted with gifts and promises, he agreed to wait.

Upon this the duke, before his departure from Fano, which was to be on December 30, 1502, communicated his designs to eight of his most trusted followers . . . and he ordered that, as soon as Vitellozzo, Pagolo Orsini, Duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto da Fermo should arrive, his followers in pairs should take them one by one, entrusting certain men to certain pairs, who should entertain them until they reached Sinigaglia; nor should they be permitted to leave until they came to the duke's quarters, where they should be seized.

The duke afterwards ordered all his horsemen and infantry, of which there were more than two thousand cavalry and ten thousand footmen, to assemble by daybreak at the Metauro, a river five miles distant from Fano, and await him there. He found himself, therefore, on the last day of December at the Metauro with his men, and having sent a cavalcade of about two hundred horsemen before him, he then moved forward the infantry, whom he accompanied with the rest of the men-at-arms.

Fano and Sinigaglia are two cities of The Marches situated on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, fifteen miles distant from each other, so that he who goes toward Sinigaglia has the mountains on his right hand, the bases of which are touched by the sea in some places. The city of Sinigaglia is distant from the foot of the mountains a little more than a bow-shot and from the shore about a mile. On the side opposite to the city runs a little river which bathes that part of the walls looking toward Fano, facing the high road. Thus he who draws near to Sinigaglia comes for a good space by road along the mountains, and reaches the river which passes Sinigaglia. If he turn to his left hand along the bank of it, and goes for the distance of a bow-shot, he arrives at a bridge which crosses the river; he is then almost abreast of the gate that leads into Sinigaglia, not by a straight line, but transversely. Before this gate there stands a collection of houses with a square to which the bank of the river forms one side.

The Vitelli and Orsini having received orders to wait for the duke, and to honor him in person, sent away their men to several castles distant from Sinigaglia about six miles, so that room could be made for the men of the duke; and they left in Sinigaglia only Oliverotto and his band, which consisted of one thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty horsemen, who were quartered in the suburb mentioned above. Matters having been

thus arranged, Cesare left for Sinigaglia and when the leaders of the cavalry reached the bridge they did not pass over, but having opened it, one portion wheeled toward the river and the other toward the country, and a way was left in the middle through which the infantry passed, without stopping, into the town.

Vitellozzo, Pagolo, and the Duke of Gravina on mules, accompanied by a few horsemen, went toward the duke; Vitellozzo, unarmed and wearing a cape lined with green, appeared very dejected, as if conscious of his approaching death—a circumstance which, in view of the ability of the man and his former fortune, caused some amazement. And it is said that when he parted from his men before setting out for Sinigaglia to meet the duke he acted as if it were his last parting from them. He recommended his house and its fortunes to his captains and advised his nephews that it was not the fortune of their house but the virtues of their fathers that should be kept in mind. These three, therefore, came before the duke and saluted him respectfully, and were received by him with goodwill; they were at once placed between those who were commissioned to look after them.

But the duke, noticing that Oliverotto, who had remained with his band in Sinigaglia, was missing—for Oliverotto was waiting in the square before his quarters near the river, keeping his men in order and drilling them—signalled with his eye to Don Michele, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, that he should take measures that Oliverotto should not escape. Therefore Don Michele rode off and joined Oliverotto, telling him that it was not right to keep his men out of their quarters, because these might be taken up by the men of the duke; and he advised him to send them at once to their quarters and to come himself to meet the duke. And Oliverotto, having taken this advice, came before the duke, who, when he saw him, called to him; and Oliverotto, having made his obeisance, joined the others.

So the whole party entered Sinigaglia, dismounted at the duke's quarters, and went with him into a secret chamber, where the duke made them prisoners; he then mounted on horseback, and issued orders that the men of Oliverotto and the Orsini should be stripped of their arms. Those of Oliverotto, being at hand, were quickly settled, but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having a presentiment of the destruction of their masters, had time to prepare themselves, and bearing in mind the valor and discipline of the Orsinian and Vitellescan houses, they stood together against the hostile forces of the country and saved themselves.

But the duke's soldiers, not being content with having pillaged the men of Oliverotto, began to sack Sinigaglia, and if the duke

had not repressed this outrage by killing some of them, they would have completely sacked it. Night having come and the tumult being silenced, the duke prepared to kill Vitellozzo and Oliverotto; he led them into a room and caused them to be strangled. Neither of them used words in keeping with their past lives; Vitellozzo prayed that he might ask of the Pope full pardon for his sins; Oliverotto cringed and laid the blame for all injuries against the duke on Vitellozzo. Pagolo and the Duke of Gravini Orsini were kept alive until the duke heard from Rome that the pope had taken the Cardinal Orsini, the Archbishop of Florence, and Messer Jacopo da Santa Croce. After which news, on January 18, 1502, in the castle of Pieve, they also were strangled in the same way.[2]

The death of Pope Alexander VI in August, 1503, put an end to Cesare's successful course. Pius III was the next pope but ruled only a few months. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was thereupon elected and took as his name Julius II (1503-13). He had been a candidate for the papal tiara in 1492, and was sorely disappointed in being passed by. As spiritual head of the church he presents little that is interesting, but as temporal ruler he was one of the remarkable princes of the Renaissance. An outstanding example of the worldliness into which the papacy had fallen, he possessed in striking degree that quality which Italians admired and called *terribilità*—"spirit-quailing, awe-inspiring force," as it is defined by John Addington Symonds. Julius hated the Borgia family and speedily found the proper means of getting rid of Cesare Borgia whose possessions he at once added to those of the papacy. He made a modern Renaissance state of the States of the Church.

The Della Rovere family sprang from a village near Genoa. In common with most Genoese, it felt a strong hatred for Venice and her policies, for she had crowded others out of the lower Po valley by a method as persistent as it was cynically indifferent to the rights of neighbors. When Cesare Borgia fell, Venice seized Faenza, Cesena, and Rimini in order to fortify her southern border. At first Julius was not able to resist her and so awaited his time. He attacked Perugia and subjected it to the papal will. In 1506 he marched on Bologna which was forced to yield with little difficulty. Julius next turned his attention to Venice who, with serene indifference to the opinion of other Italians and to powers outside Italy, had kept her conquests in Romagna. Julius resolved to drive the Venetians out. He found that the Emperor Maximilian was angry with them be-

[2] Adapted from the *Description of the Methods Adopted by the Duke Valentino when Murdering Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, the Signor Pagolo, and the Duke of Grævini Orsini,* printed in *The Prince* (Everyman's Library).

cause they had seized Friuli, that King Louis of France wished to expand his Milanese territories at their expense, and that King Ferdinand of Naples resented their holding a number of towns in Naples on the Adriatic coast which had been given to Venice at the time of Charles VIII's invasion.

It was easy for these enemies of Venice to come to an agreement. The League of Cambrai, formed in December, 1508, at papal suggestion, aimed to divide the lands of Venice between Maximilian and Louis. The French king was to receive the investiture of the duchy of Milan from the emperor. The Venetians were defeated in the Battle of Agnadello in May, 1509, and all their possessions on the mainland were lost. They also lost their hold upon Romagna. But the people living in Venetia resented the cruelty and arrogance of their conquerors and remained loyal to Venice. In fact, hatred of foreigners was a strong force among Italians, and Julius himself keenly felt the disgrace of Italy being made the victim of foreign ambitions. He was the first native Italian prince to have such decided feelings and Italians of his day approved of his attitude. He determined that the French should be driven out of Italy.

The Holy League, embracing Pope Julius, Ferdinand, and Venice, was formed in October, 1511, its object being the restoration of the lands lost by the Venetians, the return of Bologna to the papacy, and the further safeguarding of papal possessions. Although opposed by great odds, Louis determined to keep what he had won. His general Gaston de Foix, an able commander who moved with lightning rapidity, engaged Cardona, the general of the league, at Ravenna in a bloody battle on Easter Day of 1512. It was a Pyrrhic victory for the French whose losses were very heavy. They were cordially hated by the people of the Po valley, and the morale of their troops was spoiled by the plunder of many towns. The French position became grave when the Swiss poured down from the Alps upon Milan. Maximilian also decided to move against the French for he saw a chance of winning the duchy for himself. The French were forced to evacuate, leaving their conquests to their enemies.

The members of the league met at Mantua in September, 1512, resolved to uproot every vestige of French power in the peninsula. They demanded that Florence should drop her friendly policy toward France and permit the return of the exiled Medici. When the Florentines refused to abandon their internal democratic policy begun in the days of Savonarola, Cardona attacked and sacked neighboring Prato. The Florentine constitution was changed and the Medici returned as private citizens. Milan was given to Maximilian Sforza, son of the ill-fated Ludovico. In February, 1513, shortly after these objects had been accomplished, Julius died. Italians grieved sincerely

at the death of this great prince, for they understood his policy and saw that it harmonized with the best secular interests of Italy at a time when other princes aimed at personal or family advantage. On the other hand, the religious conscience of Christendom was not pleased with the pope's secularism—it was shocking to see Christ's vicar appear in an army, direct manœuvres, and plant cannon. According to mediæval conceptions, however, the establishment of papal political power was absolutely necessary. Julius founded the modern States of the Church; this was his most significant work.

Giovanni de' Medici succeeded Julius as Leo X (1513-21). The cardinals did not wish to continue the ways of the vigorous Julius and desired quiet. Leo, a man of affable manners and conversation, and extremely ingratiating, desired peace above all things for he had gained abundant experience of life while in exile after his family fled Florence in 1494. But the woes of Italy were not at an end. Louis died on the last day of 1515 and was succeeded as king of France by his youthful cousin Francis I. The new king was extremely ambitious to reconquer what had been lost in Italy. Leo sought to win the favor of Francis and at the same time retain that of the king's Italian enemies. The French invaded the Milanese and in August, 1516, won a decisive battle at Marignano. Once more the wheel of fortune turned and the French were in possession of what they had twice lost. Leo was a subtle diplomat and hastened to make terms with Francis. It was agreed that the Medici were to be supported in Florence. Furthermore, relations between the church and crown in France were regulated by the Concordat of Bologna (August, 1516).

From this review of the political activities of the papacy between 1492 and 1521 it is apparent that political and other secular interests dominated papal action. The "moral miseries of the reign of Alexander VI," as the Catholic historian Pastor calls them, were in a measure counterbalanced, however, by a splendid patronage of the arts. As vicar of Christ, it may be said that Alexander was a gross failure. Spiritual activities were neglected, to the great scandal of Christendom. Alexander devoted much attention to painting and architecture and beautified the region around the Vatican called the Borgo. A great street, the *Borgo Nuovo* of today, was laid out. The castle of Sant' Angelo was improved and assumed the appearance which it still preserves. Many improvements were made in the Vatican. The Borgian Apartments (*Appartamenti Borgia*) were rebuilt and new rooms added. In one of the frescoes Pinturicchio, the artist who decorated them, gave the world a famous portrait of Alexander kneeling in adoration as he beholds the miracle of the Resurrection. Alexander also constructed the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore, and other churches were restored or repaired. Noble buildings were

erected, such as the palace built for Cardinal Guiliano della Rovere by the architect Giuliano da San Gallo. Donato Bramante built the important Tempietto in 1502, the first Roman church of the Renaissance to be constructed under classical inspiration.

Pope Julius was a far more significant patron. When one considers the enormous amount of political, diplomatic, military, and ecclesiastical labor which that pontiff undertook, he is astounded by the grandeur of his artistic projects, the variety of his interests, and the uniformly high quality of everything which was executed under his care. All the world admires the genius of this man as revealed in his artistic interests; the moral obliquity of his pontificate is partly forgotten because of it. Rome became one of the most beautiful cities in Christendom, worthy to be the capital of the church universal on earth.

Julius was especially interested in architecture. As pope he wished to build a new St. Peter's, a temple grander and more beautiful than any in Christendom, for the old basilica was so decrepit that it threatened to collapse. The greatness of Julius' mind is revealed by the magnificent scale of the new structure. His vigorous activity, his *terribilità*, brooked no delay. Now began the ruthless destruction of the old temple which for ages had been the goal of countless pilgrims. Only the tomb of St. Peter was left untouched—even Bramante and Pope Julius could not lay their destructive hands upon it. The new church was to be in the form of a Greek cross surmounted by a gigantic dome, with the four arms of the cross covered by smaller domes. The first stone was placed in April, 1506.

Bramante was also employed to construct a series of buildings north of the Vatican. Nicholas V had erected an open pavilion, called the Belvedere, which was now joined to the complex of structures just north of the buildings adjoining St. Peter's. The distance of more than one thousand feet was covered by two wings which were joined at their northern end by a structure called the "Nicchione." The space between the two wings was divided into two parts. The northern was called the Giardino della Pigna or Garden of the Pine-cone, so named because of the enormous pine cone which is mounted in the "Nicchione." The other yard is the Teatro, a space reserved for jousting and similar events. The great architect devoted much energy from 1505 to 1512 to the erection of these buildings.

During the first years of his pontificate Julius lived in the Borgian Apartments. But every time his eye fell on the frescoes in those rooms, he was reminded of Alexander whom he hated because he held him responsible for the disappointments and hardships to which he had been subjected. He determined to occupy the rooms immediately above them and at once prepared for their adequate decoration.

Their walls had been decorated by excellent and even great artists, but Julius wanted the best of his own day and the frescoes of the great masters of the *quattrocento* were ruthlessly destroyed. Distinguished artists including Perugino and Sodoma were employed. Finally, Raphael of Urbino was given a commission in 1508 which kept him occupied until his death in 1520. The decision to intrust the task to this artist is a tribute to Julius' ability to appreciate truly great art, for all posterity has acclaimed the frescoes in these rooms as the very zenith of Renaissance painting.

Julius' pontificate is famed also because of his great interest in sculpture. The pope was interested in antique marbles and had long been an assiduous collector. He purchased the Apollo Belvedere, which had been discovered in the days of Innocent VIII. Justly proud of this famous possession, when he became pope he transferred it to the orange groves and fountains of the Belvedere. In 1506 the great Laocoön was discovered buried in the earth near the Baths of Titus. Julius made every effort to secure this treasure and it too was placed in the Belvedere. Other marbles were added, but the greatest of them was the colossal statue representing the River Tiber which was found in 1512 near the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

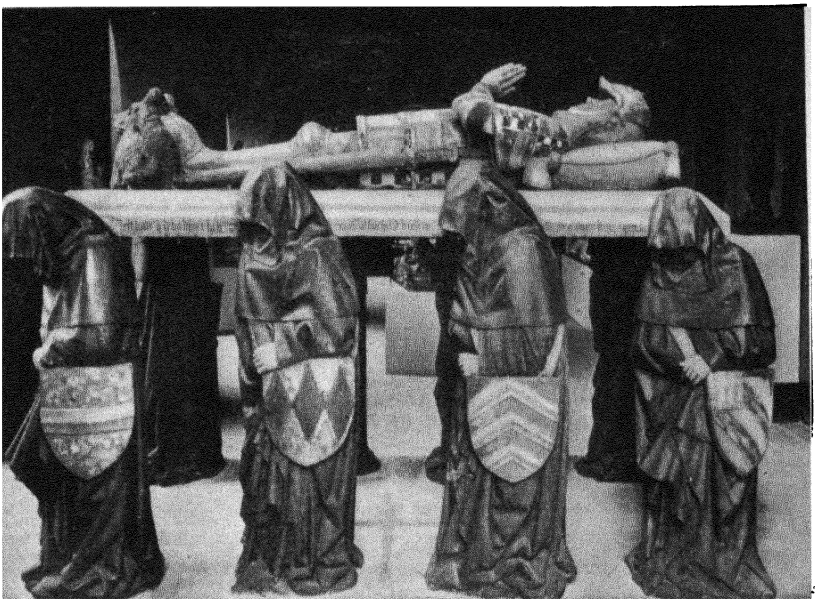
There was nothing petty in the character of this great prince of the church. Everything he did was conceived on a lofty plane and carried out with a mighty energy which astounded all observers. No one but Michelangelo could be intrusted with the task of constructing a great tomb, fitting receptacle for his earthly remains, and one which would perpetuate for all time some conception of his mighty personality. We may ". . . represent to ourselves an isolated construction, accessible on all sides, measuring twenty-four feet in width, thirty-six in depth, and over thirty-six feet in height. The base, thirteen feet high, and separated from the upper part by a massive and prominent entablature, presents on all four sides a continuous succession of immense niches flanked by enormous projecting pilasters: niches and pilasters proclaiming the mundane glory of Julius II—his glory as conqueror, and as patron of the arts. In each of the niches a winged Victory treads under foot a defeated and disarmed province; at each of the pilasters, an enchained athlete writhes, convulsed, shuddering, flinging to heaven a reproachful glance, or sinks exhausted and expiring. The two famous statues in the Louvre, so improperly called 'The Slaves,' were of this number. These unchained athletes personify the liberal arts, themselves become 'the prisoners of death' in the death of the Rovere; their great benefactor gone, they despair and perish! The upper part of the monument, which has a height of nine feet, lifts us toward a higher

world, toward regions ideal and serene. In contrast with the Victories and athletes of the base, all represented standing and in attitudes heroic or pathetic, the eight principal statues above are either seated or stand in repose and solemn tranquillity. We distinguish among them Moses, St. Paul, Active Life, Contemplative Life, perhaps also Prudence and some other allegorical Virtue. In the midst rises the great sarcophagus, destined to receive the mortal remains of the pope. At the very summit of the monument is seen Julius II himself 'held suspended' by two angels of contrasted aspect: the Genius of the Earth is sad, and weeps the loss which has just fallen upon this lower world; the Angel of Heaven rejoices, and is proud to introduce this new-comer into the abodes of the blessed. Two other angels stoop over the pontiff's feet."[3]

Many difficulties prevented the completion of this structure. The mighty Moses and a few figures in Paris and Florence, together with some drawings, are all that remain of the scheme. The pontiff had other tasks for the great master. Michelangelo was ordered to make a gigantic statue of the pope to celebrate fittingly the papal triumph over Bologna. This was placed over the doorway of the church of San Petronio in Bologna. It was the sculptor's only work in copper. Shortly after, the Bolognese pulled it down in their hatred of papal government and cast a large cannon of the metal. Julius next ordered Michelangelo to decorate the bare ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, a task which occupied him from 1508 to 1512. These frescoes are among the greatest creations ever conceived by the brain of man and are a fitting addition to those done in the days of Sixtus IV, already described.

Few patrons of the Renaissance dominated the spirit of art so vitally as did Julius. The Moses on his tomb expresses the fiery pontiff's *terribilità* and restless endeavor as ruler of the church. Michelangelo's frescoes on the vault of the Sistine Chapel eloquently tell the story of the Christian drama of man's creation and fall. Raphael's frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura are an epic of civilization. The so-called Disputa is an eloquent pictorial statement of the Christian plan of salvation. In this, God in heaven appears above His Son at whose right is seated the Virgin in adoration and at whose left is John the Baptist pointing to the Redeemer. Christ is surrounded by the heavenly host of apostles and saints. The lower half is an earthly scene with an altar on which appears the Host, the object of adoration by popes, cardinals, bishops, and laymen. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, placed midway between Christ and the Host, joins the two parts of the picture. Opposite this picture is the so-called School of Athens, epitomizing the Chris-

[3] J. Klaczko, *Rome and the Renaissance* (New York, 1926), pp. 13-14.



1. Tomb of Philippe Pot (Louvre)

(*See page 166*)



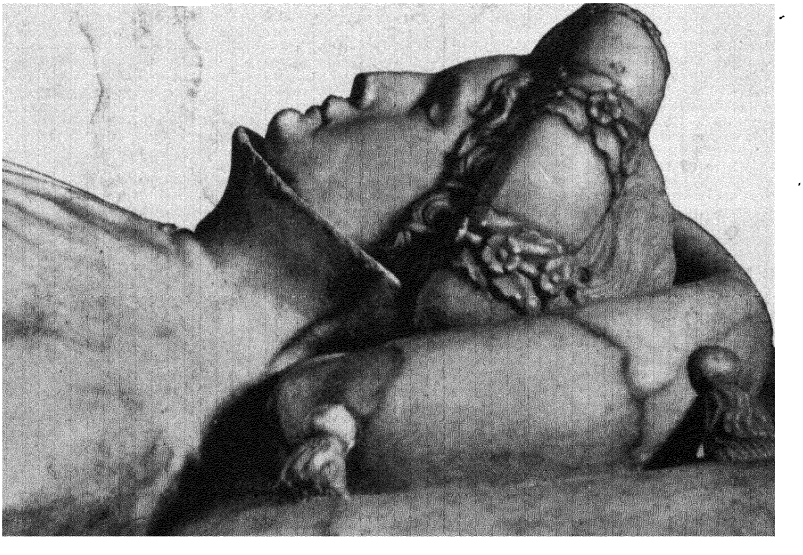
2. Descent from the Cross (Escorial), by Rogier vander Weyden

(*See page 164*)



3. Descent from the Cross (Arena Chapel, Padua), by Giotto

(*See page 169*)



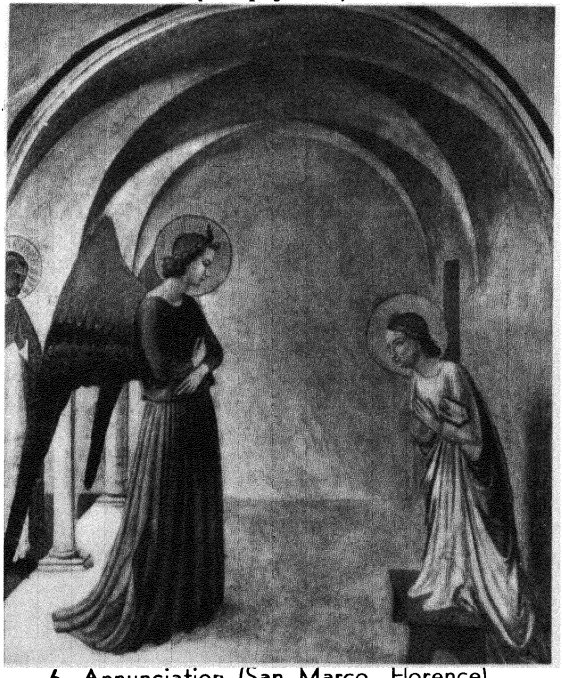
4. Ilaria del Carretto, detail (Cathedral of Lucca), by Jacopo della Quercia

(*See page 221*)



5. Cæsar's Tribute (Carmelite Church, Florence), by Masaccio

(*See page 229*)



6. Annunciation (San Marco, Florence), by Fra Angelico

(*See page 231*)



7. Story of Abraham (Baptistery, Florence), by Lorenzo Ghiberti

(See page 221)



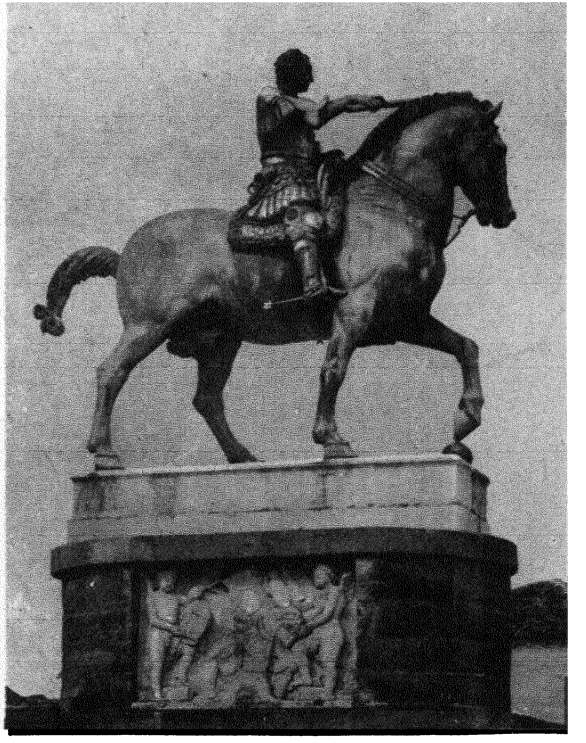
8. Dome (Cathedral of Florence), by Brunelleschi

(See page 225)



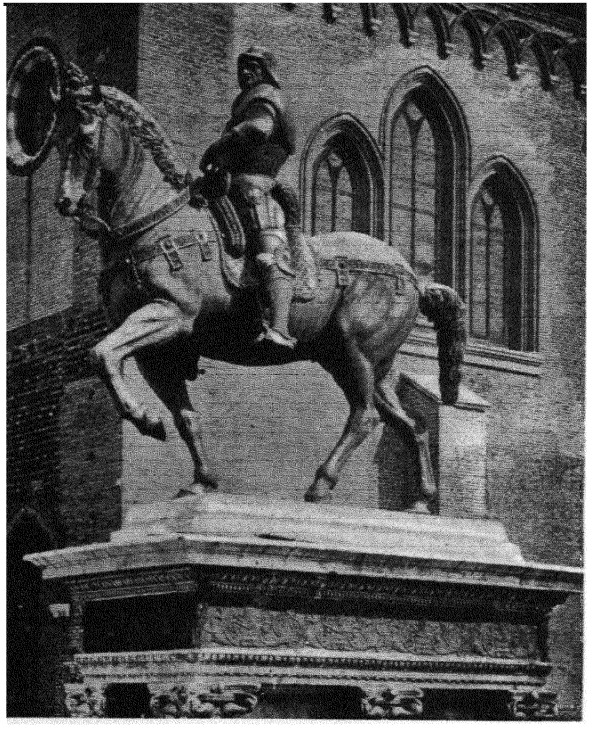
9. David (National Museum, Florence), by Donatello

(*See page 222*)



10. Gattamelata (Padua), by Donatello

(*See page 223*)



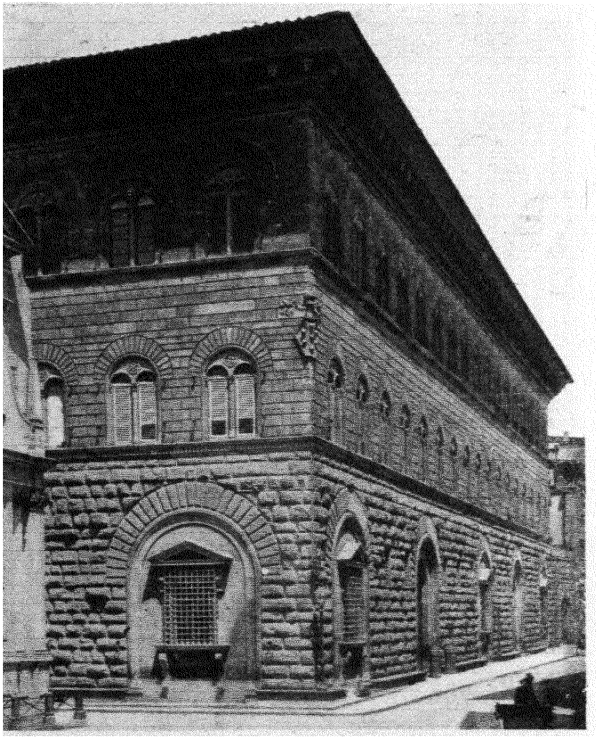
11. Colleoni (Venice), by Verrocchio

(See page 224)



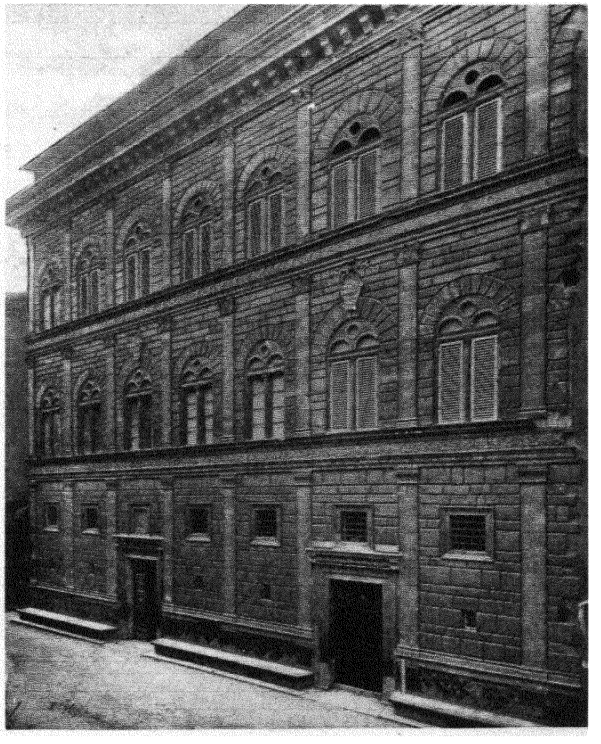
12. Hercules and Antæus (National Museum), by Pollaiuolo

(See page 224)



13. Medici Palace (Florence), by Michelozzo

(*See page 226*)



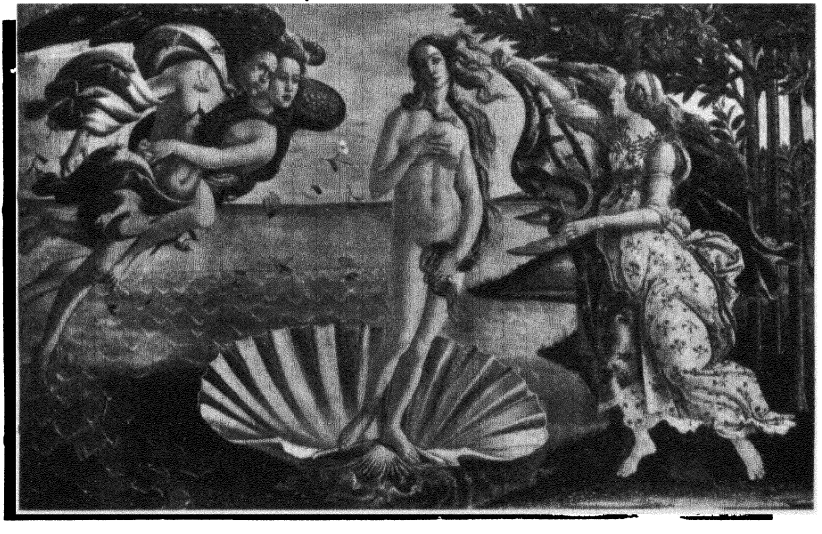
14. Rucellai Palace (Florence), by Alberti

(*See page 227*)



15. Madonna, detail (Uffizi), by Fra Filippo Lippi

(See page 232)



16. Birth of Venus (Uffizi), by Botticelli

(See pages 234 and 250)



17. Madonna, by Giovanni Bellini

(*See page 264*)

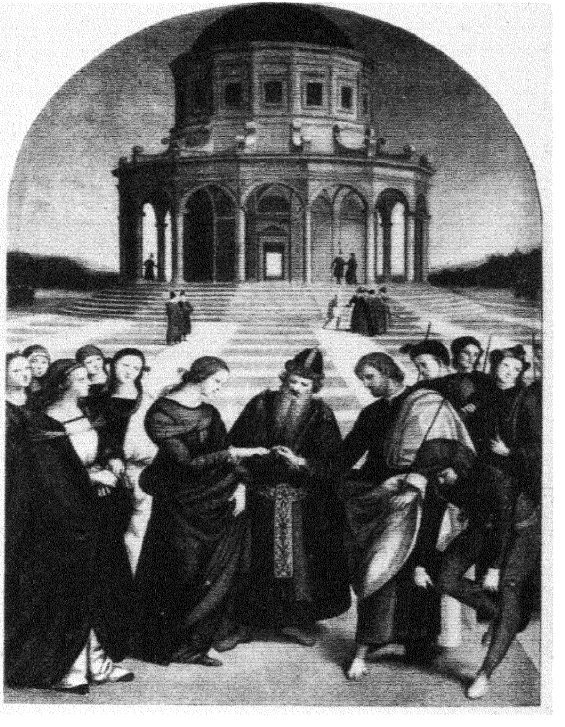


18. Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter (Sistine Chapel, Rome), by Perugino

(*See page 235*)



19. Mona Lisa (Louvre), by Leonardo da Vinci
(*See page 325*)

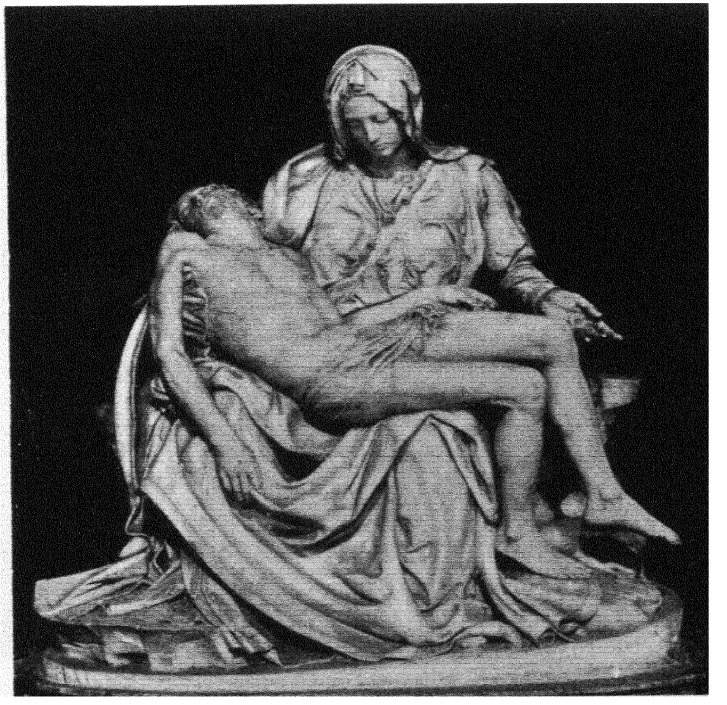


20. Betrothal of the Virgin (Brera, Milan) by Raphael
(*See page 327*)



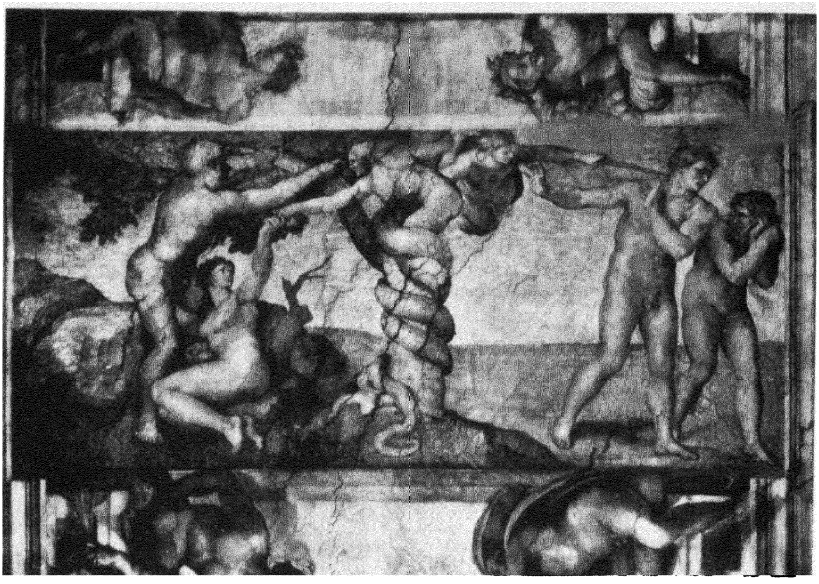
21. Madonna of the Grand Duke (Pitti Palace) by Raphael

(*See page 327*)



22. Pietà (St. Peter's, Rome), by Michelangelo

(*See page 316*)



23. Fall of Man (Sistine Chapel, Rome), by Michelangelo

(See pages 302 and 328)



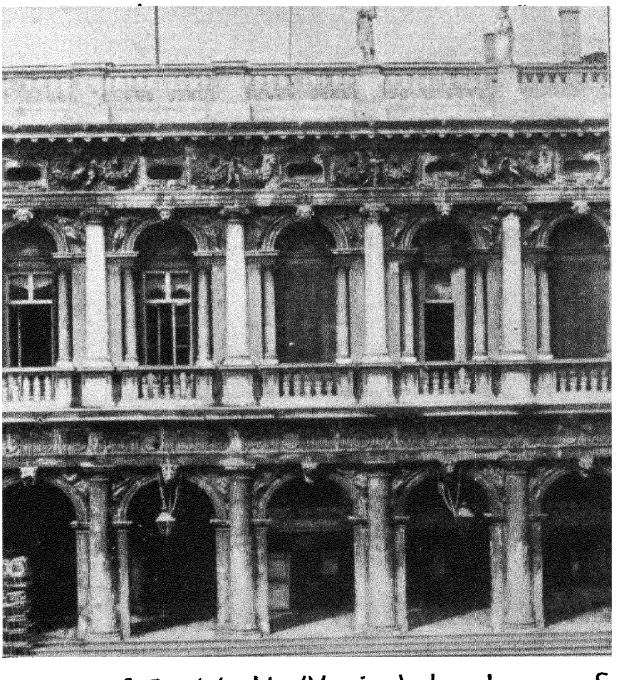
24. Salome (Prado, Madrid), by Titian

(See page 331)



25. Farnese Palace (Rome), by Giuliano da San Gallo

(See page 250)



26. Library of St. Mark's (Venice), by Jacopo Sansovino

(See page 321)



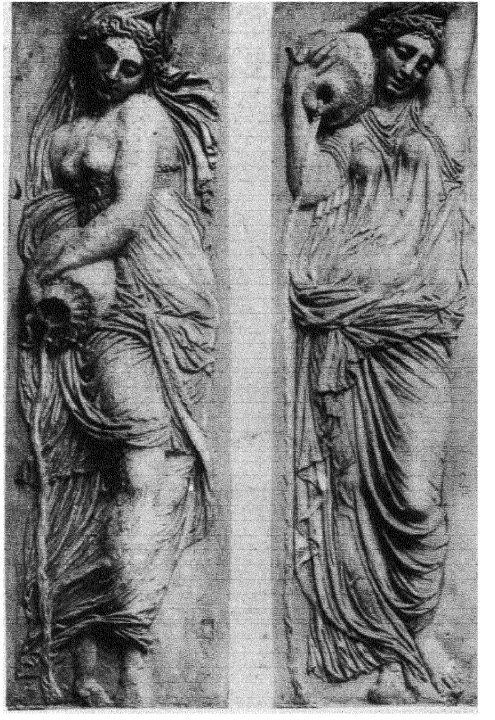
27. Melancholy, by Dürer

(*See page 406*)



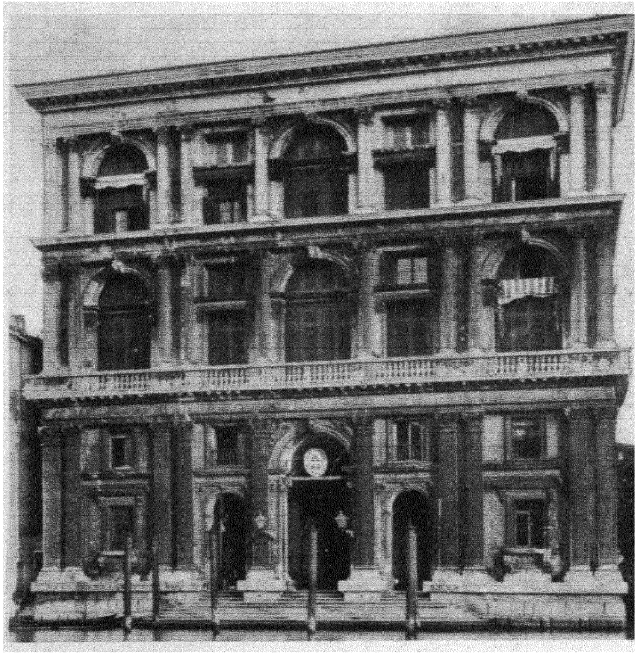
28. Gisze the Merchant, by Holbein the Younger

(*See page 408*)



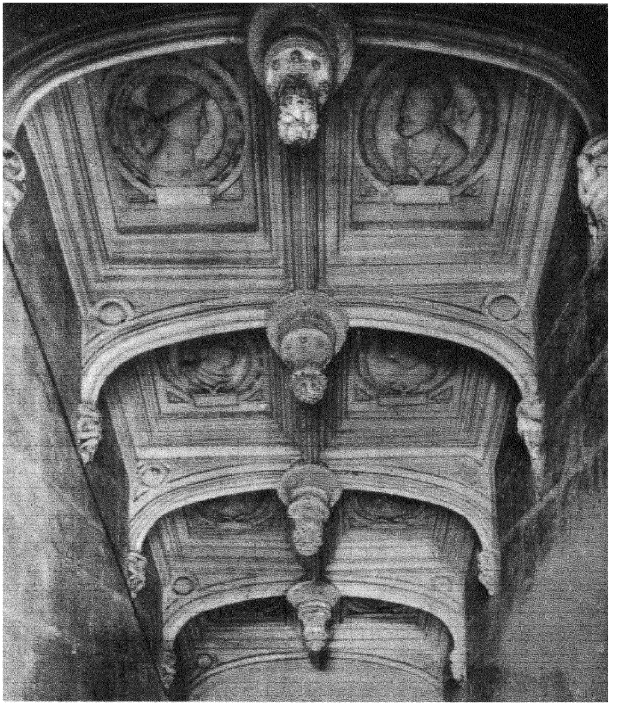
29. Nymphs on the Fountain of the Innocents (Paris), by Goujon

(*See page 412*)



30. Grimani Palace (Venice), by San Michele

(See page 321)



31. Château of Azay-le-Rideau

(See page 415)

tian conception of secular culture as it was understood in the Middle Ages according to Thomas Aquinas. The great philosophers and scientists of antiquity whose intellectual efforts supplement the teaching of the church are shown in their traditional capacities. Revelation and reason thus appear as harmonious parts of human knowledge.

In this room also appears the Parnassus. It portrays Apollo seated and surrounded by the Muses. Around them are gathered the great poets of antiquity from Homer to Horace. Dante and Petrarch also are represented. It reveals the kinship which men of the Renaissance felt for the great works of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Was it not fitting that Julius, Christ's vicar on earth and man's truest servant, should have these three pictures in his quarters? Even though this pontiff was chiefly occupied in the secular duties of the papacy, he did not forget his interests as priest. The Mass of Bolsena, which is in the room of Heliodorus, portrays a disbelieving priest at the altar gazing upon the Host which has begun to bleed and tinge the corporal. Facing him is the kneeling figure of Julius in pious reverence as Raphael no doubt often observed him. This portrait is one of the painter's masterpieces.

Giovanni de' Medici, who succeeded Julius as Leo X (1513-21), had been brought up in the lap of Renaissance luxury. He is the best example of the refined taste in art, manners, and social intercourse developed among the élite of *quattrocento* bourgeois society. His kindly smile, well-modulated voice, and kingly bearing ingratiated him with all men. Humanists greeted his elevation with pleasure and were not disappointed in him as a patron. Literary men flocked to Rome and found favor at the *curia*. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), a great master of Ciceronian style and noted for the excellence of his letters, became papal secretary. Although born in Venice, Pietro was educated in Florence and became acquainted with Lorenzo the Magnificent. He spent some time at the court of Ferrara. At Urbino he was associated with the brilliant coterie brought together by the duchess. Among his friends was Castiglione, and he figures in that author's *Courtier*. Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547) also was named papal secretary. Like Bembo he cultivated a Ciceronian style, although he insisted less on absolute purity of form.

The *curia* now became the center of a vigorous literary life. All forms of writing were cultivated. Not only were ancient classical models closely followed but Italian poetry also flourished. Some of the best minds were invited to accept posts in the University of Rome. The study of classical archæology was stimulated when Raphael proposed to make a large map of ancient Rome based upon careful study of old structures and the ancient classics. Leo invited prominent Greek scholars to Rome and added books to the papal

library. He was a munificent Mæcenas who did not hesitate to spend any sum.

The Leonine Age, as this pontificate is often called, left a peculiar impress upon the history of art. Leo was very fond of Raphael and employed the great painter more than any of his competitors. The rooms in the Vatican were finished by Raphael and his assistants. In the room of Heliodorus is a famous fresco representing Leo I arresting the advance of the Huns under Attila. Leo I's face is a portrait of Leo X. Raphael also decorated the famous loggia on the third story of the Vatican which Bramante had built. These frescoes are peculiarly related to the Leonine age, for here are intermingled Christian and classical motives without any consciousness that they were hostile to each other. Raphael also prepared cartoons for tapestries which were to hang on the walls of the Sistine Chapel to supplement the frescoes which had been painted during the pontificate of Sixtus IV. These tapestries are a masterpiece of Renaissance art.

Leo also took Michelangelo into his employ. During the earlier years of this pontificate the sculptor was occupied with the tomb of Julius; but when Leo proposed to provide a magnificent façade for the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, Michelangelo was awarded the contract. Two burdensome tasks now divided the sculptor's energies and he made little progress with either. The plans for the façade were finally dropped, but soon Leo proposed to him another and greater project, the preparation of the monumental tombs for members of the Medici family in the Florentine church of San Lorenzo. The pope also employed the sculptor Andrea Sansovino to decorate the Holy House of Loreto. Sculpture did not play as prominent a rôle at the papal court as in the days of Julius. Architecture, however, was emphasized. Buildings were constructed according to the new style. Bramante was retained to carry on the construction of St. Peter's until his death in 1514, whereupon Raphael was appointed. The original plans of Bramante were modified, but little progress could be made owing to the lack of funds.

Adrian VI's pontificate (1522-23) was but a brief interlude, for this pontiff was absorbed in the work of reform and the restoration of papal prestige. An old-fashioned man living an austere life, he could not play the part of a Mæcenas. The Romans did not understand him, and disappointed Humanists loosed many a shaft of ridicule at him. He was succeeded by Giulio de' Medici, a nephew of Leo X, who styled himself Clement VII (1523-34). Clement, a genuine son of the Medici, became a literary patron and formed a coterie of writers. His activities were severely hampered by want of money. The sack of Rome in 1527 and the desolation which the war brought to many parts of Italy still further impeded his efforts. Nev-

ertheless, Clement's pontificate boasted remarkable achievements. The room of Constantine in the Vatican was finished by Giulio Romano (1492?-1546), one of Raphael's pupils. Benvenuto Cellini received many commissions from the pope. Michelangelo was again employed to construct the new sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence and finished the noble works which all the world admires. He also built the Laurentian Library in the cloisters of the same church. But before he could begin the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel upon which the pontiff's heart was set, Clement died.

Clement's passing marked the end of the Renaissance papacy. The great change really came when Rome was sacked by the Emperor Charles in 1527 and scholars and artists who had flourished because of papal patronage were scattered. The treasury of the church was exhausted. Paul III (1534-49) now mounted the papal throne and faced the difficult task of restoring Catholicism, buried under Renaissance secularism and paganism, its very existence challenged by the Lutheran revolt.

CHAPTER XXIII

POLITICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE RENAISSANCE

What did Machiavelli care for the moral content of the state? To a man who knew the world of Italian diplomacy—Rome as well as Florence—such an aim was too absurd for serious discussion.—R. H. MURRAY.[1]

STATES became absolute during the Renaissance, marking the culmination of a long evolution which had begun in the Middle Ages. Revival of commerce and industry, growth of towns, and increase in the use of coined money produced an unprecedented amount of wealth. Kings and princes no longer were forced to draw their incomes solely from manorial sources but began to collect hard cash from their subjects. They built up a bureaucratic government, maintained armies of mercenaries, and steadily drew into their hands governmental functions which in former ages had been controlled by feudal lords. They were especially jealous of the right to dispense justice. Thus secular states, controlling purse and sword, became more powerful than ever.

These new states of the Renaissance were forced to take a new view of economic matters. They were in constant need of money for war and administration. They borrowed immense sums from private banking firms which had been established by the wealthy bourgeoisie. For a long time princes had followed a policy closely in harmony with the economic interests of the towns. Ever since their first days towns had regulated their internal economic affairs with great minuteness, and they kept vigilant watch over external relations as well. As governments became powerful and abandoned the manorial and feudal bases of their power they shaped their policies to the wishes of townsmen. Economic and political practices of towns were adopted by the governments. This was a characteristic feature of Italian states during the *quattrocento* and *cinquecento*, and it also became common among states north of the Alps and in the Spanish peninsula. This

[1] *A History of Political Science from Plato to the Present* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 114.

new political policy toward economic matters is called mercantilism.[2] Public policy was no longer feudal but mercantile. The absolute state henceforth was to direct economic life.

A theory of absolutism was developed during these centuries. Formerly the power of princes was tempered by the feudal organization of society and by the manorial character of economic life. Mediæval princes taught that their authority proceeded directly from God who had established the state as a means of repressing man's evil passions. The emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was God's political representative on earth, and all men were subject to him. This theory of divine right underwent important changes during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. As kings and princes became more and more powerful, they too began to claim that they ruled as representatives of God. They frequently declared that they were "emperors in their own realms," owing allegiance to no one but God. The theory of divine right provided the basis of princely power in its dealings with feudal nobles, foreign powers, and the papacy. Divine right and mercantilism are two important aspects of the new absolutism of the Renaissance.

A parallel development is observable in military matters. Kings and princes developed mercenary armies; this was possible because they possessed well-filled war chests. The old feudal levies were obsolete in the face of the new power of the state and the new military arms and methods. Experience in the Middle Ages had shown that the common man when properly equipped and trained could hold his own against the cavalry of the feudal nobility—a lesson learned at Courtrai (1302), Creçy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415). The introduction of gunpowder also helped to reduce the importance of the nobility. Guns, large and small, were gradually perfected and became more effective weapons. With even imperfect firearms in hand the infantry was as important as the mounted nobility. Castles were no longer impregnable defenses. Furthermore, some of the greater princes developed an orderly army administration which made their troops far more effective than those of feudal nobles. This is one reason for the great victories of the English over the French in the Hundred Years' War, for not until the French king adopted some of these ideas was he able to cope with his

[2] For an intelligent discussion of the true significance of *mercantilism*, see R. Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York, 1929), pp. 21-22. The term *mercantilism* became popular after the appearance in 1776 of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. The student should read especially the fourth book (Everyman's Library). Since the term is often misunderstood and usually interpreted too narrowly, the student would do well to read G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929), chap. ii, especially pp. 21-29.

enemies. Furthermore, an army recruited from the common classes and paid by the king's treasury could be disciplined far better than the anarchic feudal soldiery. Hence the Swiss infantry, German *landsknechts*, and Spanish footmen were most effective in the wars of the Renaissance. The cavalry, usually recruited from the nobility, remained an important arm of the military. Rulers usually possessed an adequate artillery of heavy cannon, and they also built powerful forts. Finally, the king's treasury could pay for the costly new inventions.

New ideas and methods of diplomacy were developed during the Renaissance. In the earlier Middle Ages when society rested upon a manorial basis relations between rulers were occasional and not continuous as in modern times. Diplomatic questions were discussed by special representatives appointed for the occasion. As princely power grew and relations between states became more numerous it was necessary to use more permanent representatives. From the close of the thirteenth century the kings of Aragon had been in the habit of receiving reports from their agents abroad. But the sending of systematic observations was not begun until resident ambassadors were appointed at the end of the Middle Ages. Venetian agents were specially trained and were noted for their understanding of international relations. The reports to their home government, known as the *Venetian Relations*, constitute one of the most important collections of source materials for the political and economic history of the Renaissance. Contemporaries admired Venice's diplomatic service, and Italian diplomatic activity and ambassadorial customs exerted much influence upon the diplomatic service of other lands.

The creation of the absolute state necessitated a great change in the writing of history. Much of this literary activity had been excessively local in character, especially in the earlier Middle Ages. Monks wrote down the interesting events connected with their monasteries and recorded the deeds of petty dynasties or royal houses. Clerks and lay secretaries sometimes related the events which appeared significant in the life of some town. A few were able to raise themselves above petty localism, such as Otto of Freising (twelfth century) and Matthew Paris (thirteenth century). These writers were in the habit of recording interesting events without attempting to fuse the data together into a connected and logical treatise. They were annalists or chroniclers. But the development of the absolute state of the Renaissance created a new center of interest for the historian, for the secular state furnished sufficient data to occupy his thoughts. The writing of history became political, but in Italy it tended toward the lay and secular, owing to the secularizing tendency of Renaissance life. When the Revival of Learning began, historians

studied the works of such ancient writers as Livy, Sallust, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus. This led them to compose treatises which were logically constructed and artistically written. The custom of narrating events year by year was abandoned and better literary productions were the result.

Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) was the most remarkable historian to interpret the political life of the Renaissance. Born of a noble family, he received a Humanist education, became a lawyer, and in 1512 was named ambassador of Florence to King Ferdinand of Spain and Naples. In 1515 he entered the service of Pope Leo X and spent many years as governor of the papal lands of Reggio, Modena, Parma, Romagna, and Bologna. Thus he had unique opportunity to acquaint himself with the tortuous and cynical diplomatic and political life of his day. His writings are characterized by an amplitude of vision which surpassed that of his contemporaries. In his *History of Florence*, which covers the years 1378-1509, he completely abandoned the old annalistic style and sought to give a complete analysis of political events. His *History of Italy* which narrates the political and military fortunes of the peninsula from 1492 to 1534 may be regarded as his masterpiece. Guicciardini took great pains to give some account of every aspect of political history during the struggles of the Balance of Power. He surveyed these catastrophic wars which ruined the prosperity of Italy as coldly and dispassionately as an anatomist dissects a body. He aimed at accuracy and often sacrificed style to fullness. This prolixity has prevented his works from becoming as popular as they deserve.

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) ranks next to Guicciardini as a Renaissance historian. Earlier in the *quattrocento* Leonardo Bruni had written a *History of Florence* in twelve books which carried the narrative down to 1404. It recounted the many wars which had troubled Florence, but Machiavelli was dissatisfied because he missed in it any consideration of the influence of these struggles upon the internal life of the state. Machiavelli was the first writer of the Renaissance to interest himself solely in the secular life of states, especially Florence. His *History of Florence* in eight books closes with the passing of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492. One central idea dominates this work, namely, that popes had ruined the unity of Italy by inviting the barbarians into the peninsula when the papacy was in danger of falling under the dictation of the Lombards. Such was the power of the popes that they successfully kept Italy divided in spite of the efforts of princes to establish central authority and bring to the troubled land the blessings of peace and prosperity. This book is written in a clear, crisp style which has given Machiavelli an exalted place among the masters of Italian prose.

Machiavelli is significant also as an exponent of the political conceptions and practices of the Renaissance. He sprang from an old and petty noble family which possessed a modest patrimony in and near Florence. Little is known about his early years save that he received a Humanist education. But his knowledge of Greek remained limited. He became well acquainted with classical literature, especially that part of it which dealt with political affairs. He witnessed many stirring scenes during his earlier days such as the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the invasion by Charles VIII, the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, and the establishment of the Florentine republic. In 1498 he became secretary to the Ten, a division of the new government charged with war and internal affairs. His first important public duty was a mission to Catherine Sforza, ruler of Forlì. He did not acquit himself very creditably in this undertaking, for he was no match for the subtlety of this capable woman who successfully ruled her lands in the midst of plots and wars. Later he was sent to Louis XII and to Cesare Borgia when the latter was conquering Romagna. These public duties gave him firsthand acquaintance with the diplomatic and political life of his day.

Thus Machiavelli learned that princes and states were guided by expediency and selfish interests without regard to moral principles. Politics was completely secularized during the Renaissance. The theory universally held during the Middle Ages that rulers of states must be instructed in moral and religious matters by the clergy was completely ignored. Even the pope as governor of the States of the Church acted simply as a secular prince without regard to traditional teachings. Machiavelli reflected long upon these facts and upon the wars which had brought so much woe to Italy. His reflections were written down in a number of books, the first of which was the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius*, divided into three books. He used the data recorded by Livy and other classical writers in formulating a philosophy of political life.

Machiavelli taught that states were founded by some powerful person like Romulus or Solon. Such a prince was all-powerful and directed the life of the citizenry as suited his interest. The only standard by which public policy was to be judged was success. So important was the state that any successful political policy was a good policy. Morality had nothing to do with the matter. Having often observed the sudden changes in the fortunes of Italian principalities, Machiavelli developed a theory about the vicissitudes of states which may be summed up as follows: Men at first lived like animals, hostile to each other, but soon chose leaders for protection. A wise ruler or legislator was named, and as he transmitted his power to his heirs, monarchies were established. Mankind, however, is selfish and certain

to abuse its power, and the monarch degenerated into a tyrant. To save themselves, people expelled the tyrants. The patricians next attempted to govern the state but this aristocratic government also abused its powers and became an oppressive oligarchy. The disgusted people rose against the oligarchy and created a democracy which because of its ineptitude soon fell under the power of demagogues. Thus the wheel of political fortune had turned completely around and the state was ready to begin once more this evolution by putting a powerful prince or legislator at the head of affairs. Every state passed through this cycle over and over again.

It is not difficult to criticize this theory of the successive stages of governments and to show from history that so neat a scheme is pure fantasy. But men have usually believed in simple political philosophies. Hobbes' and Rousseau's theories of the origin of government by contract are equally naïve and unhistorical. The value of a political theory rests entirely on the rational explanation it offers to contemporaries of the political and social situation in which they find themselves. It must be borne in mind that the state of the Renaissance was an absolute state. Theorists sought an acceptable explanation of the rights of despots who appeared in great numbers in Italy. The *Discourses* are a theoretical discussion of the power and advantages of an all-powerful legislator who guides the policy of the state and molds the character of its citizens. Machiavelli rationalized Renaissance despotism.

The *Prince* was written to show a ruler how to establish himself in a state, strengthen his power, and extend his territory. Machiavelli had witnessed the disastrous wars between France and Ferdinand of Aragon which brought ruin to Italy. His countrymen were certainly more than the equals of these foreigners, or barbarians as he calls them in imitation of the ancient Romans. He was an Italian patriot, like Dante before him and Mazzini three centuries later. The Medici had returned to Florence as rulers. Machiavelli dedicated the *Prince* to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, intending that it should serve as a practical manual to show him how to unite all Italy against foreigners and drive them from the peninsula.

Machiavelli had studied the methods employed by other princes, especially Cesare Borgia. He reduced his observations to some sort of system which was to guide the new prince in his effort to secure control of Italy. Success and expediency are to be the sole criteria of his actions. "A sagacious legislator of a republic, therefore, whose object is to promote the public good, and not his private interests, and who prefers his country to his own successors, should concentrate all authority in himself; and a wise mind will never censure anyone for having employed any extraordinary means for the pur-

pose of establishing a kingdom or constituting a republic. It is well that, when the act accuses him, the result should excuse him; and when the result is good, as in the case of Romulus, it will always absolve him from blame."[8] Such a prince exemplifies the Renaissance conceptions of *virtù* and *terribilità*.

The *Prince* opens with a statement that hereditary principalities are easy to control, but newly subjugated communities are likely to be unhappy and seek a chance to throw off the yoke of their prince and consequently he experiences difficulties in retaining them (chap. iii). He is advised that there are only three courses open to him: "The first is to ruin them, the next is to reside there in person, the third is to permit them to live under their own laws, drawing a tribute, and establishing therein an oligarchy which will keep it friendly to you" (chap. v). It is difficult for princes who have suddenly risen to the control of a state to maintain themselves, as the author shows from the careers of Francesco Sforza and Cesare Borgia (chap. vii). Often a prince must use "some wicked or nefarious ways" if he would secure territory. The career of Oliverotto who seized Fermo is recounted at length. Machiavelli learned from it that "in seizing a state, the usurper ought to examine closely into all those injuries which it is necessary to inflict and to do them all at one stroke so as not to have to repeat them daily; and thus by not unsettling men he will be able to reassure them and win them to himself by benefits" (chap. viii).

Having established himself, the prince must consider the question of armies. Machiavelli knew from bitter experience that mercenary armies were dangerous because they might turn against the prince (chap. xii). Each state should recruit its soldiery from its population, for such a fighting force will be loyal (chap. xiii). Princes ought to study warfare constantly and exclusively (chap. xiv). Beginning with the sixteenth chapter, the author discusses how a prince should act toward subjects. It is advisable to be liberal, but he must be careful not to spend his wealth or give away his property, for if he gives away all he will make himself hated because of his heavy taxation. It would be better to be regarded as mean; for a prince may be reproached for meanness but he will be hated for his rapacity (chap. xvi). A prince should appear clement and not cruel in the eyes of subjects. ". . . A prince, so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty; because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through too much mercy, allow disorders to arise, from which follow murder or robbery; for these are wont to injure the whole people,

[8] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of Despots*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, p. 256.

whilst those executions which originate with a prince offend the individual only" (chap. xvii).

Should a prince keep faith? Machiavelli holds that it is laudable to do so. But conditions often make it impossible, for men as a rule are bad, laws are insufficient, and a prince must know how to treat his subjects as beasts as well as men. "He who has known best how to employ the fox has succeeded best." A prince, however, must disguise this fact. "Everyone sees what you are, and those few dare not oppose themselves to the opinion of the many, who have the majesty of the state to defend them; and in the actions of all men, and especially of princes, which it is not prudent to challenge, one judges by the result" (chap. xviii). A prince should avoid being hated and despised. Intrenched in the good will of his subjects, it is difficult for conspirators to overturn him (chap. xix). Machiavelli believes that rulers should labor to gain fame through patronage, showing favor to guilds and similar groups, and giving entertainments (chap. xxi). They should take great care in choosing secretaries (chap. xxii). Although they must rely upon the advice of councilors, that of flatterers must be shunned (chap. xxiii). Italian princes have lost their states because of their defective military, or because the nobility were hostile to them (chap. xxiv). The twenty-sixth and final chapter contains a splendid appeal to Duke Lorenzo to act as liberator of Italy and drive the "barbarians" from the land.

The little treatise, *The Murder of Vitellozzo Vitelli*, describes the manner in which Cesare Borgia slew the conspirators who plotted to ruin him, and the methods employed by despots to secure control over territories. *Castruccio Castracani* is a short biographical sketch of the tyrant of Lucca who died in 1328. Its accuracy is open to criticism at almost every point, for the author arranged the facts to suit his ideas of how an ambitious tyrant should proceed. It is, however, a valuable account of methods employed by despots of the time. The *Art of War* is a dialogue in seven books, a scientific treatise on military methods and warfare as it was waged under the direction of a Renaissance prince. In it Machiavelli gives his objections to *condottieri* and mercenary soldiers. States should draw their fighting forces from their own population. The author was sceptical about firearms for which there was some little justification because of their mechanical imperfections in 1500.

From his day to our own time Machiavelli's conceptions have been discussed diversely. None can deny the clarity of his thoughts and the lucidity of his exposition. His penetrating insight easily places him above other writers of his age. His objectivity is as great as that of Aristotle. Some have criticized him for his views on military weapons and fortifications and have ascribed his ideas to lack of

experience in these matters. More serious is the complaint about his disregard of simple moral considerations. One instinctively disapproves of the idea that all political action is immoral and dictated solely by selfish interests. But it must be borne in mind that Machiavelli described political life as he saw it with his own eyes. To this there can be no objection. Valid criticism can be made, however, of his idea of lifting the ruthless despots of his day into models of statecraft valid in all ages. The conduct of a state must be elevated above simple expediency and practical interest which is oblivious to all moral considerations. But even at this point we must temper our criticism of Machiavelli's ideas by remembering that modern states are guided by self-interest and expediency in which questions of moral and abstract rights have had all too little place. To criticize Machiavelli is to criticize much of modern statecraft.

CHAPTER XXIV

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Michelangelo overwhelmed Italian art like a mighty mountain torrent, at once fertilizing and destructive; irresistible in impression, carrying everything away with him, he became a liberator to few, a destroyer to many.—H. WÖLFFLIN.[1]

SCULPTURE, which achieved its greatest development during the High Renaissance, was practically the work of one man, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). His impoverished father sent him to school in Florence, but, preferring to draw sketches, the youth made little progress in his studies. The attention of Domenico Ghirlandaio was drawn to him, with the result that Michelangelo became his apprentice. He frequented the Medicean gardens near San Marco to study the collection of antique statuary which Lorenzo the Magnificent had brought together. One day the youth's skill caught Lorenzo's eye. With the sure insight of a connoisseur, Lorenzo brought him to his palace in the Via Larga, gave him rooms, and generously opened his purse to him. Never has a patron been so richly rewarded.

Michelangelo at first studied the work of previous sculptors. He knew the great creations of Donatello, the dainty but rather imperfect work of Mino da Fiesole (d. 1484), the exquisitely delicate carvings of Desiderio da Settignano (d. 1464), the dramatic realism of Rosselino (d. 1478), and the productions of many minor artists. Michelangelo also studied classical carvings and understood the basic characteristics of ancient sculpture, from which he acquired ideas about form and expression. He studied nature assiduously, and carefully dissected bodies in order to possess the mechanical secrets of bodily action. But Michelangelo transcended the teachings of his predecessors, ancient as well as modern.

Michelangelo believed that the highest art consisted in thought wrought in stone. His art always embodies a central thought to which

[1] *The Art of the Italian Renaissance* (New York, 1928), p. 63.

everything else is carefully subordinated. He subordinated all nature to his ideas. It may be said, therefore, that his art transcends nature herself. It exalts human thought above everything material and physical, and is therefore the highest expression of man in the Renaissance. Michelangelo was a *uomo universale*. He illustrates the *quattrocento* conception of *virtù*, and his boundless energy exemplifies its idea of *terribilità*. His achievements include sculpture, painting, architecture, and sonnets of surpassing beauty.

Among Michelangelo's earliest work is a marble illustrating the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths. It reveals poetic feeling for form based upon careful study of nature. To the last days of his long life, after he had completed his great works, the artist contemplated this first achievement with intense satisfaction. The sculptor mourned the passing of his generous patron Lorenzo in 1492 and soon left Florence, seeming to have a presentiment of the approaching misfortunes of the Medicean house. His wanderings took him finally to Rome where at the age of twenty-four he finished his first masterpiece, the Pietà. The Virgin, a beautiful young woman, is seated at the foot of the cross. She bears in her lap the form of the dead Christ whose shoulders are gently supported by her right arm. Her left hand is free and with a graceful gesture calls the world's attention to her deep sorrow. The Virgin's face is of matchless beauty; her whole bearing is one of repose in grief. These effects are enhanced by the smallness of her face and her powerful frame. The body of Christ looks like the form of some Olympian god. "It is a sober and harmonious composition, combining the profoundest religious feeling with classical tranquillity of expression," remarks Symonds. The Virgin is younger than her Son. Speaking of this fact, Michelangelo said, "The mother must be young, younger even than the Son to show that she is eternally the Virgin; while the Son, who took on our human character, should appear as any other man in his mortal frame."

The artist returned to Florence in 1501 and was requested by the authorities of the city to execute a statue of David from a block of marble which had been spoiled by another sculptor. Attacking this task with his wonted energy, he successfully completed the statue in 1504. It is a stupendous work, far larger than a human form. Its proportions, the size of its hands and the way the figure stands on its feet have been widely criticized. But the striking thing about the statue is the subjection of mass to thought. David stands peering into the distance where he sees Goliath. In his right hand he holds a sling ready for action. The sling passes over the left shoulder and the stone in it is held in the left hand. As we look upon this figure we expect it to move and send the deadly missile. In the Pietà we

note calm resignation but in the David we first behold something of Michelangelo's mighty energy.

Soon after this task was completed, the sculptor was invited to Rome by Pope Julius II. That ambitious pontiff, with characteristic Renaissance disdain of Christian humility, had conceived the idea of constructing a gigantic tomb for himself to be placed in a new St. Peter's on the spot occupied by the tomb of the great apostle himself. This presumptuous plan was modified, however, and it was decided to place the tomb against the wall. Many drawings of this projected work are extant. Julius had numerous other plans. He wanted to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and insisted that Michelangelo abandon work on the tomb and undertake this task. This interruption and other delays prevented him from completing the tomb. The great artist was bitter at being interfered with in this manner. Julius' tomb was the tragedy of his life, and continued to haunt him years afterwards. Finally the tomb, greatly reduced in size and far less sumptuous than originally planned, was erected in the church of St. Peter in Chains. It has only three completed figures: Rachel, Leah, and the famous Moses. It appears that the gigantic Moses was finished after 1542. The mighty form is seated, gazing into the distance, filled with wrath, probably at the defection of the children of Israel. The two unfinished captives, or slaves as they have been popularly called, finally found their way to Paris. One of these bound figures chafes under his bonds; the other sleeps. Another unfinished group which is in Florence has been much discussed, for it is not known exactly what these figures were intended to signify or where they were to stand on the monument.

Equally famous are the groups in the new sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence. Michelangelo, commissioned by Pope Clement VII to prepare appropriate tombs for members of the Medici family, practically completed the figures for two tombs, one for Giuliano, brother of Leo X, and another for Duke Lorenzo of Urbino. On the first of these are two recumbent figures known as Day and Night, above which is seated the effigy of Giuliano clad as a Roman general. There has been much discussion of Day and Night, and various interpretations have been advanced. They were finished during troubled days when wars disturbed the quiet of Florence; the Medici, driven out in 1527, again secured control of the city after a determined attack. Michelangelo's patriotism was sorely tried by these events, and it is supposed that his feelings are embodied in these statues of Day and Night. Day is a male figure. From behind his upraised shoulder glowers his menacing face. Michelangelo linked Night with the misfortunes of the time. It is a female figure, "so sorrowful, so utterly absorbed in darkness and the shade of death, that to shake off

that everlasting lethargy seems impossible." The following verses by Michelangelo, translated by Symonds, show how Night expresses her grief over the misfortunes which have engulfed Florence and Italy:

> Sweet is my sleep, but more to be mere stone,
> So long as ruin and dishonor reign;
> To hear naught, to feel naught, is my great gain;
> Then wake me not, speak in an undertone.[2]

The figures of Dawn and Sunset decorate the tomb of Lorenzo; his effigy, one of the noblest creations of the artist, is seated above in deep reverie. Dawn, a female figure, is turning and raising her head "as though some painful summons had reached her sunk in dreamless sleep, and called her forth to suffer. Her waking to consciousness is like that of one who has been drowned and who finds the return to life agony. Before her eyes, seen even through the mists of slumber, are the ruin and the shame of Italy" (Symonds). Sunset is the figure of a powerful man who seems to sink under the load of human troubles around him. Unfortunately the tombs were never finished and the complete idea which the sculptor wished to portray by means of these stones was never made known. The Madonna and Child for the tomb of Lorenzo the Magnificent was nearly completed and is usually regarded as surpassed only by the Pietà executed more than twenty-five years before.

Michelangelo was a sad and lonely person. A genius of the first order, his ideas about art and life were strikingly individual. He was blunt, querulous, and superior. He outlived his relatives, friends, patrons of his youth, and even pupils. He spent his days in solitude, aloof from men. His greatest friendship was for Vittoria Colonna, perhaps the noblest woman of the age. A deep Platonic feeling bound them together. Her death in 1547 left him a lonely man. Yet such was his creative instinct that he kept on working. Weary with life, he prepared his own tomb. He made a *pietà*, a pathetic thing in which he himself in the form of Nicodemus assists in taking Christ from the cross. Mary is a pitiful woman as she shows her solicitude for her Son. It is evident that the sculptor was turning to religion for comfort, for the group reminds one of the somber themes which dominated Gothic art during the previous century. Although he was displeased with it and broke it up, its fragments were saved and put together, and the statue finally was set up in the cathedral of Florence. Like the figure of Sunset which he carved for the tomb of Duke Lorenzo, Michelangelo sank under the weight of life's burdens and died in 1564 at the advanced age of eighty-nine. Contemporaries realized that a genius had passed from the earth. His

[2] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts*, p. 394.

body was buried with great pomp in the church of Santa Croce, the mausoleum for some of Florence's greatest men.

Michelangelo's influence upon the artists of his age was decisive. The mighty energy of his vigorous creations dwarfed all competitors. To save themselves it seemed necessary to do what Michelangelo was doing, but this was impossible, for the works of genius are unique and cannot be imitated. Nevertheless they sought to copy his manner. Decline inevitably resulted, and a labored perfection and technical accuracy began to dominate sculpture and painting. The quickening force of thought failed. Hence Michelangelo's death marks the end of the Renaissance.

Benvenuto Cellini (1500-72), a goldsmith of great versatility, grew to maturity during Michelangelo's ascendancy. His reputation rests upon a number of remarkable works such as the salt cellar which he made for King Francis I of France. His Perseus, finished in 1554, and particularly famous, shows a vigorous figure holding in its right hand a sword, in its upraised left the head of Medusa. At its feet lies the extinct body with blood gushing from its neck. The statue usually is criticized as being mannered, a fault into which sculptors of Michelangelo's declining days fell. The pedestal is exquisitely wrought in its details but most critics feel that it is too ornate. Great as he was as an artist, his fame rests still more upon his memoirs or *Autobiography*, in whose pages he reveals himself as a restless and boastful ruffian who never hesitated to carry out his impulses. It is an amusing account of a multitude of escapades and an invaluable source book for the manners and morals of the *cinquecento.*

Architecture, like sculpture, reached its greatest development during the High Renaissance. Brunelleschi had begun that assiduous study of classical forms which was carried much further by Leon Battista Alberti who began the vogue of adapting the structural forms of Roman architecture. Gothic style was thoroughly extinct in Italy and was rapidly dying throughout Christendom. The Romanesque style and its modifications, which possessed greater vitality in Italy than the Gothic, now also became obsolete. A careful study of classical Roman structures was made and the lessons thus learned were employed in constructing new buildings. A new style of architecture was created. Although it owed much to Romanesque, Byzantine, and Roman originals, this style was a magnificent product of the Renaissance. It set the vogue of buildings in imitation of ancient structures which has been followed in a variety of ways in Europe and America even until the present day.

The new style was inaugurated by Donato d'Agnolo or Bramante (1444-1514), a pupil of Laurana, the architect of the ducal palace in Urbino. Bramante is to be regarded as the heir of this master and

of Leon Battista Alberti. In 1499 he went to Rome and at once began the study of classical structures. He constructed the Tempietto or church of St. Peter in Trastevere which marks the inauguration of the new manner. It is a small structure, circular in form, surrounded by Doric columns. A central portion surmounted by a dome rises above the balustrade and the balcony supported by the columns. The first new structure to be built entirely in the classical spirit, this church was greatly admired, and even today architects constantly study it. Bramante also built the two arms of the papal buildings north of St. Peter's, joining their northern extremities by a monumental niche called the Nicchione. This also reveals careful study of Roman buildings.

But Bramante's name is especially associated with the construction of St. Peter's. His plans called for a monumental structure in the form of a Greek cross. At each end there was to be an apse, a vaulted nave, and a transept matching it, with enormous pendentives at the intersection of nave and transept to bear the great dome. Julius, who had begun tearing down the western section of the old basilica early in 1506, was eager to see the structure finished and unduly encouraged the architect. The result was that the pendentives were made too light. Julius died in 1513 and Bramante followed him in the next year. Raphael was named to succeed Bramante. He changed the original plan to a basilica with two aisles, but he retained the choir which had been begun under Bramante's direction.

After Raphael's death in 1520 the work did not progress because of the poverty of Clement VII and the disastrous sack of Rome in 1527. Finally, in 1546 Michelangelo was given the task of finishing the building. Working with the original plans of Bramante, he strengthened the piers on which the dome was to rest, constructed the drum for the dome, and made all the plans for the dome which, however, was not completed until after his death. Later the great nave was extended and a mediocre façade added. The church is a magnificent monument of Christianity. Its colossal proportions, its hallowed associations, its sculpture, and other possessions make it the most impressive building of the Renaissance. Its architecture has been a source of inspiration to many builders.

Before saying farewell to Rome we must linger a moment to study its palaces, another feature of the High Renaissance. This type of architecture also culminated in Rome and furnished many examples for architects to follow. We have noticed the Florentine palaces in which Alberti began to apply some of the ideas of Roman architecture. His use of columns in the windows of the Rucellai palace was followed by Bramante in the Roman Cancelleria palace. To relieve the monotony caused by the use of one column between each two win-

dows, Bramante employed double columns on each of the two upper stories. The ground story has a plain front made of flat stones with beveled edges. This façade possesses great beauty and has been praised by most architects. Bramante also provided plans for the Giraud palace which closely follow the plans of the Cancelleria palace. Another striking monument is the Farnese palace planned by Antonio da San Gallo and completed by Michelangelo, who constructed the two upper stories and the cornice. These palaces, especially the Farnese, brought to its final form the style evolved in Florence by Alberti and Michelozzo.

The final stage of Renaissance architectural effort was reached in Venice and Vicenza. The wars for the Balance of Power so disturbed the peace of Italy that constructive architecture became impossible. Artists went to Venice, a city which had always stood more or less aloof from the rest of the peninsula. One of these artists was Michele San Michele (1484-1569), who studied in Rome and later built a number of edifices in Verona. He employed columns in pairs, apparently following Bramante's style. The Grimani palace in Venice is the first of many which began to rise along the Grand Canal. The lower story has pilasters and the two upper have engaged columns. The arrangement of these columns is borrowed from Bramante's practice of using two columns between each two windows. San Michele employed double columns and pilasters with pleasing effect. Every detail is carefully copied from classical Roman models. San Michele was the first to combine Roman ideas with the domestic architecture of Venice which until this moment had conservatively clung to its peculiar Gothic style.

Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570), the next architect to leave his mark upon Venetian buildings, was a Florentine sculptor who worked for Bramante and thus was introduced to architecture. The sack of Rome caused him to seek employment in Venice. In the Corner della Ca'Grande palace, built by him in 1532, Sansovino employed double stories and pilasters with arches for the windows on the lower story. The ground story is rather plain and does not harmonize well with the orders above. The architect's reputation rests upon the Library of St. Mark's, the Loggietta at the base of the campanile, and the church of San Giorgio dei Greci (St. George of the Greeks). Sansovino's works have often been criticized for their excessive use of ancient motifs, highly decorated ornament, and lavish use of sculpture. But his work pleased the Venetians and seemed best adapted to their luxurious tastes.

Andrea Palladio (1518-80), the last great architect of the Renaissance, transmitted to the rest of Europe the science of building as it was developed during the *cinquecento*. His first remarkable work

was the rebuilding of the town hall of Vicenza, a Gothic structure dating from the thirteenth century. Around it he built a gallery with two loggias, the lower in Ionic and the upper in Doric style. The bays in each loggia are so wide that Palladio seems to have found them difficult to manage. He solved the problem by employing a device which has become famous as the "Palladian motive." It consists in using a minor within a major order in the same composition, that is, the arches between the columns of the major order are borne by smaller columns which carry the arch inward from the larger columns. Palladio's many other buildings exhibit numerous variations and combinations of the Palladian motive. He also worked in Venice where he built the church of San Giorgio Maggiore.

Venetian and north Italian architecture soon spread to other lands. The use of columns, either single or in clusters, became universal, and pilasters also were employed. These ideas pleased the æsthetic sentiments of Europeans instructed in Humanist culture. This style of architecture, which marks the culmination of Italian Renaissance architecture, satisfied their bourgeois desire for luxury and their predilection for classical forms.

CHAPTER XXV

PAINTING

Leonardo da Vinci marks the beginning of a new era. With him all that Florentine science had been trying to do for a century or more appears to be suddenly achieved, and in some thirty years the whole aspect of Italian art is thereby permanently changed.—SIR CHARLES HOLMES.[1]

THE culmination of painting is one of the glories of the High Renaissance. The thought and experimentation of painters since Giotto were merged in a great artistic triumph, the most brilliant in all history. The great painters of the *quattrocento*—Masaccio, Castagno, Uccello, Francesca, Pollaiuolo, Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio, and Mantegna—were forerunners of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). This greatest of masters appropriated their ideas, subjected them to his own creative genius, and brought forth the monumental style of the High Renaissance.

Leonardo was born in Vinci between Florence and Pisa. His father was a notary, his mother a plain woman—a waitress, it is related. But the boy was endowed with extraordinary powers. He possessed courtly manners, ready wit, great physical strength, and an insatiable desire to investigate all things. He studied architecture, mathematics, sculpture, painting, physiology, anatomy, poetry, literature, music, geology, botany, and hydraulics. Investigating engineering problems, he made plans for a canal between Pisa and Florence. He was interested in city planning and had much to say about bridges, streets, and sewers. These multifarious interests led to endless experimentation which occupied most of his time. He wished to know all things before he sought to recreate them in art. Leonardo was perhaps the best example of a universal man of the Renaissance. More than any other, he expressed the unceasing energy, creative impulse, and artistic temper of the bourgeoisie which at the close of the Middle Ages found itself in possession of the world's resources.

Leonardo, recommended by Lorenzo the Magnificent, went to

[1] *Old Masters and Modern Art. The National Gallery: Italian Schools* (London, 1927), p. 69.

Milan in 1480 to work for Duke Ludovico who was seeking a sculptor to prepare the bronze equestrian statue of his father Francesco Sforza. The artist made many studies of horses and drew innumerable sketches illustrating the anatomy of the horse, for such was his thirst for knowledge that he could never be satisfied. But he made very little progress with the model of the statue. Finally, about 1493, when the model was ready to be inspected, it was considered too large to be cast in bronze. The statue was never completed, and the model was destroyed by the soldiers of Louis XII when they entered Milan in 1499. Leonardo spent many years at the Milanese court as companion to the duke who consulted him on such things as war, administration, drainage, and court festivities.

About 1490 the artist produced his famous Madonna of the Rocks, an altarpiece for a church in Milan. It shows the Virgin seated, with John the Baptist adoring the Christ Child, and an angel behind the latter pointing to St. John. In this picture the artist gave the results of his study of other masters and his reflections upon the problems of painting. First we should note his successful treatment of the problem of light and shadow, or *chiaroscuro*. *Quattrocento* painters had relied especially upon line, but Leonardo preferred to represent objects by degrees of light and shadow, for his observations had taught him that we see things in this manner. The arrangement of the figures in the form of a triangle also is noteworthy. This best satisfied his æsthetic feelings and so pleased contemporaries that it became a favorite device with painters of the *cinquecento*. This masterpiece well illustrates Leonardo's conception of beauty. He believed that the artist would find beauty in the objects which he was called upon to represent. Scientific study of structure must precede the use of the brush. He endowed human objects with an ideal beauty which has won enthusiastic praise from generations of artists. Leonardo, unlike Michelangelo, believed that ideal beauty was associated with the feminine figure, and he endowed even male figures with this delicate female beauty. Rocks, plants, flowers, and anatomy are treated with the utmost virtuosity.

The Last Supper, Leonardo's greatest triumph, was painted in oil on the walls of the rectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. A masterpiece of composition, it marks the culmination of two centuries of experimentation and announces the advent of the magnificent style of the High Renaissance. Christ, seated at the middle of the table facing the room, has just told His disciples that one of them will betray Him. The psychological effect of these terrible words was carefully worked out by Leonardo. The Master's face is serene; He seems resigned to the terrible ordeal which He must undergo. Six disciples are seated on each side of Him. They are arranged in

groups of three, Leonardo being especially fond of this triangular arrangement in composition. At Christ's right are John, Judas, and Peter. John, the Lord's favorite, seems to swoon at the dreadful words and his head inclines toward his right shoulder. The impulsive Peter leans forward placing his hand upon John's shoulder—the statement seems almost unbelievable to him. Judas, seated between them, leans on the table and looks around to them. He seems oppressed with guilt. In paintings of the Last Supper by previous artists Judas is seated on the opposite side as if to emphasize the fact that he really does not belong to the Lord's following. The next three figures are in the act of receiving the import of Christ's words. Andrew's hands are raised in astonishment and horror. James also is deeply moved, and Bartholomew, who has sprung to his feet, leans forward as if to verify what he has heard. At Christ's left are James the Elder, Thomas, and Philip. James with hand upraised seems to counsel Christ, Thomas recoils in horror, and Philip has jumped to his feet protesting that he will not betray Him. At the end of the table Matthew is telling the dire news to Thaddeus. Simon has not yet grasped the full import of Christ's words. Thus the artist painted a living drama.

Unfortunately, Leonardo experimented with oil and, as the surface was not properly prepared, the colors in the picture soon faded. Within a generation after the artist's death it was nearly ruined. The room has since been put to miscellaneous uses and the picture has suffered grievously. The head of Christ, which disappeared entirely, was restored by another painter; but the original must have been one of sublime beauty if we may judge from a drawing in the Brera Gallery of Milan.

The invasion of Milan by the French in 1499 drove Ludovico into exile. Leonardo went to Florence and in 1502 as a military engineer served Cesare Borgia in his wars against the princes of Romagna. On his return to Florence he painted the portrait of Mona Lisa, or La Gioconda (1506). This picture marks an important stage in portrait painting. Portraits bore a peculiar relation to Renaissance civilization. The bourgeoisie desired likenesses of themselves and their relatives as decorations for their homes; hence portraits were the first purely secular pictures of the Renaissance. Piero della Francesca had produced remarkable portraits of Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltre of Urbino and his wife Battista Sforza in 1472. Similar progress had been made in Flanders by John van Eyck and Rogier vander Weyden. Donatello created a remarkable portrait bust of Niccolò da Uzzano, and other sculptors like Desiderio da Settignano also produced portrait busts. But even prior to these artists, Vettore Pisano or Pisanello (1395?-1456) had won fame from his medals. He gave

us likenesses of many of the great men of the *quattrocento*, such as Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino da Verona, Sigismondo Malatesta, Borso of Este, and Lionello of Este. Artists before Donatello had succeeded in reproducing the facial characteristics in a portrait, but they did not endow their pictures with the subtle charm of personality. Later artists experimented with this problem, but it was left to Leonardo to produce in Mona Lisa the first distinctly psychological portrait of the Renaissance.

The subject of this portrait was the young wife of a Neapolitan named Francesco del Giocondo. Leonardo, struck by her beauty and charm, studied her face long and carefully and sought to convey to his canvas the subtle smile which played on her lips from time to time. To induce her to smile he entertained her with music and stories. Here Leonardo showed himself a master of psychological moods. The subject sits in a chair in two-thirds profile with her head slightly turned to the observer. Her left arm rests upon the chair, her right arm is drawn forward and rests upon her left hand—an interesting example of foreshortening. Beauty of posture and detail of clothing are brought out by skillful use of *chiaroscuro*. In the background are streams, pools, and rugged crags. Leonardo never finished this masterpiece. Shortly after this he painted another noteworthy picture of St. Anne, the Virgin, and the Christ child, which also remained unfinished. Here the artist again reveals his conviction that ideal beauty is to be found primarily in the feminine form. Subtle smiles play upon the faces of the two women.

Leonardo was a genius distracted by many interests. He possessed supreme skill in everything he undertook, and this unfortunately led him to disperse his energies. His experimentation always prevented him from finishing anything. His last few years were spent at the court of Francis I of France. He died at Amboise in 1519.

Raphael's painting ranks with Leonardo's as an expression of the High Renaissance. Raphael was born in Urbino in 1483. His father was court painter and poet to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino. The boy thus possessed the advantage of living in a refined atmosphere to which his adaptability responded with natural ease. Readiness to absorb ideas and methods always characterized Raphael; it is the keynote of the strivings of his brief life. He was left an orphan at the age of eleven and began studying painting under a local artist. Soon he had exhausted what his master could teach him and in 1500 he went to Perugia to study under the celebrated Perugino. Raphael had much to learn from this great master, such as the treatment of space and the disposition and limitation of objects in a painting. He imitated the pictures of his master so closely that, as Vasari states, "his copies cannot be distinguished from the original works of the master,

nor can the difference between the performances of Raphael and those of Pietro Perugino be discerned with any certainty."[2] This affinity is well illustrated by the similarity of Perugino's Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter, a fresco in the Sistine Chapel, to Raphael's Betrothal of the Virgin, a painting in the Brera Gallery of Milan.

Having exhausted the possibilities of Perugino's tuition, Raphael resolved to go to Florence, for he had heard of the magic work of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo and had determined to learn from them. He arrived in Florence in 1504 and at once began studying with these painters. A noteworthy evolution took place in his painting. Leonardo's influence is clearly visible in the magnificent Madonnas which Raphael began to paint, of which perhaps the first was the Madonna of the Grand Duke. Perugino's influence may be detected in the placid oval face of the Virgin, but the Christ Child reveals careful study of Leonardo's pictures. Other Madonnas followed: the Madonna of the Goldfinch, the Fair Gardiner, the Madonna of the Meadow, and the Madonna of the Chair. The carefully studied triangular arrangement in these pictures likewise reveals Leonardo's influence.

Raphael's Florentine period came to an end in 1508 when Pope Julius II asked him to come to Rome to redecorate some rooms in the Vatican palace. The Camera della Segnatura occupied Raphael from 1509 to 1511. Its walls contain the so-called Disputa, the School of Athens, and the Parnassus, described in a previous chapter in connection with Julius' interest in art. In this room also was painted the Jurisprudence. In the adjoining Room of Heliodorus were the Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, the Mass of Bolsena, the Deliverance of St. Peter, and the Meeting of Leo IV and Attila. These frescoes are some of the noblest monuments of the High Renaissance. Like the work of Leonardo da Vinci, they are a synthesis of much that was noteworthy in Italian painting of the *quattrocento.*

Meanwhile Raphael's art was being influenced by the tumultuous genius of Michelangelo. Raphael, always sensitive to the great achievements of other masters, absorbed many ideas from them. The calm serenity of the Umbrian tradition which he had acquired from Perugino was transformed by Leonardo's intellect, as is shown in the grouping of subjects, careful study of form, skillful use of *chiaroscuro,* and audacious foreshortening. To these was added the spirit of Michelangelo's works.

Michelangelo believed that the most artistic form was the nude male figure. All else was superfluous. He cared nothing for nature, and

[2] *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (Bohn Library), vol. iii, p. 4.

he neglected backgrounds. His figures are bearers of ideas. These conceptions were exemplified in his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo did not want to do these frescoes, insisting that he was a sculptor, not a painter. But he was overborne by the impetuous pontiff and finally consented. To decorate a ceiling of nearly six thousand square feet from a lofty scaffold was no easy task. The artist had not wielded a brush for some years and his conceptions of art and his personality made it difficult to work with assistants. Nevertheless, in four years he painted one hundred forty-five pictures comprising three hundred ninety-four figures, a large number of which are as much as ten feet high. In addition to these pictures there was much purely decorative and geometrical design. Only a man of superhuman strength could have executed so vast a work.

The middle portion of the ceiling contains nine pictures representing the chief points in the story of redemption. They are of unequal size, the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth being larger than the rest. They depict: (1) God Dividing the Light from the Darkness, (2) God Creating the Earth, (3) Creation of the Waters, (4) Creation of Adam, (5) Creation of Eve, (6) Fall of Man, (7) Sacrifice of Noah, (8) Deluge, and (9) Fall of Noah. These scenes are placed in a heavy framework which the artist painted on the bare surface. At the corners of each of the smaller scenes appear nude male figures which are popularly known as "athletes." They are drawn in every possible pose, thus revealing the painter's matchless knowledge of the human form and how it moves. On the turn of the vaulting are Jewish prophets who foretold the coming of the Messiah, and sibyls who imparted this knowledge to the pagan world. Above the windows is a series of triangular pictures showing Christ's ancestors. Michelangelo's figures look like statues in the round. Everything is sheer illusion, product of the artist's virtuosity.

It was this mighty energy of Michelangelo which overwhelmed Raphael, who could not help observing the progress of that artist's work only a few hundred feet away from the Camera della Segnatura. He tried to appropriate Michelangelo's manner, but the mighty twisting forms with their masculine energy were too much for him. This is apparent in a fresco which he painted in the Camera dell'Incendio adjoining the Segnatura, telling the story of how Leo IV put out a fire which threatened to burn the city around the Vatican. The naked figures and vigorous action of the subjects are due to Michelangelo's influence, but unfortunately Raphael had not assimilated the secret of the great artist's conceptions; much of the action is meaningless. Meanwhile Raphael had been preparing the ten cartoons of the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel. Among the most interesting of these is the one showing the Miraculous Draught of

Fishes, for it combines what the painter had learned from Perugino, Leonardo, and Michelangelo. Another picture of this period is the Sistine Madonna made for the church of St. Sisto in Rome but now in the gallery in Dresden. Its composition and beauty have made it the most famous of Madonnas. Raphael died in 1520 at the youthful age of thirty-seven.

It is difficult to conceive what painting might have been like in the generation after his death had he lived. Of all the giants, Michelangelo was left alone. The followers of Leonardo and Raphael did not possess the genius to learn from their mighty masters and evolve new forms. Stagnation set in. While great artists were produced, none of them could carry forward the work of creation. Michelangelo's final achievement with the brush was the Last Judgment, a fresco in the Sistine Chapel. Finished in 1541 when the artist was sixty-six years old, it represents the painter in life's decline. In this picture a great concourse of nude forms has risen from the grave. Christ, like a Hercules, is standing with right hand upraised, rejecting the damned who fall into the burning pit. At His right are gathered the saved. This mighty creation of pagan forms, in which the artist's vigorous manner is greatly exaggerated, seems quite out of place back of the altar.

The race of giants in art vanished with the passing of Michelangelo. Italy was becoming an unfavorable place for the growth of art. Tossed about by rival powers who fought their wars on her soil and her economic prosperity sapped, artistic expression declined. Instead of the bold experimentation of the *quattrocento*, everything became dominated by the manner of Michelangelo. "His power and his spirit were alike unique and uncommunicable, while the admiration of his youthful worshipers betrayed them into imitating the externals of a style that was rapidly losing spontaneity and sense of beauty. Therefore they fancied that they were treading in his footsteps and using the grand manner when they covered church roofs and canvases with sprawling figures in distorted attitudes. Instead of studying nature, they studied Michelangelo's cartoons, exaggerating by their unintelligent discipleship his willfulness and arbitrary choice of form."[3]

The student's attention lingers for a moment to contemplate the work of Correggio (d. 1534) at Parma. The heir to many traditions, his art seems to reveal study of Mantegna, Leonardo, and Michelangelo. The secularism of the Renaissance was expressed by him in novel ways. A psychological note dominates his creations; his art was sensuous, feminine, and subtle. He delighted in portraying human forms but cared little for religious conceptions. Smiling Ma-

[3] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, pp. 492-493.

donnas, playful babies, and ecstatic saints were familiar devices. He was fond of woods, glades, plants, sky, and clouds. Furthermore, he assumed the greatest freedom in portraying pagan themes as well as traditional Christian stories. But this classical element possessed nothing of the archæological as in the case of Mantegna. Correggio's art was schooled in naturalism—his Madonnas are filled with the tenderest solicitude and the Christ Child has become a vivacious babe.

These characteristics were combined with great virtuosity. In this way Correggio became an important influence in the grand manner of the *cinquecento*, especially in the second half of the century. "Every cupola throughout the length and breadth of Italy began then to be painted with rolling clouds and lolling angels. What the wits of Parma had once stigmatized as a *ragout* of frogs now seemed the only possible expression for celestial ecstasy; and to delineate the joy of Heaven upon those multitudes of domes and semi-domes was a point of religious etiquette. False lights, dubious foreshortenings, shallow colorings, ill-studied forms, and motiveless agitation suited the taste that cared for gaudy brightness and sensational effects. The painters, for their part, found it convenient to adopt a mannerism that enabled them to conceal the difficult parts of the figure in feather-beds of vapor, requiring neither effort of conception nor expenditure of labor on drawing and composition."[4] Thus the manner of Correggio contributed to the baroque style of the next century.

At the moment when painting was declining on the Italian mainland, a new school was developing in Venice, for this city's comparative freedom from foreign invasion and its reserves of capital enabled its artists to attain to new heights. The Venetian school is the most complete expression of the secularization of Renaissance art. This was inevitable, for Venice was the greatest commercial center of the Occident. Its artists sought to satisfy a luxurious and pleasure-loving public. Venetian painting reflected the pleasure, beauty, sensuous joy, and secular appeal of Venice. Incidents from Venetian life, patriotic stories, and pastoral scenes were popular. Small pictures to decorate the walls of bourgeois dwellings were in demand. Religion naturally was of restricted importance in this art.

The technical excellence of Florentine, Roman, and other artists became the basis of Venetian painting. Oil painting had been perfected in the days of Antonello da Messina, a painter of the Venetian *quattrocento*, and became the accepted medium of this school. Leonardo's skill with *chiaroscuro* was eagerly appropriated. The great contribution to painting made by this school was the skillful use of color and *chiaroscuro*.

Giorgione (1478-1510) was the first Venetian painter to fall com-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 495-496.

pletely under Humanist influences. Like Botticelli, he borrowed themes from classical romance. He was fond of idyllic landscapes, fitting abode of the muses, and he gave to his pictures a soft deep glow of satin and lucent color. His art might serve to illustrate the poetry of Theocritus. Palma Vecchio (d. 1528) was a superb colorist. The luxurious garments of his subjects are painted in harmonious browns, blues, reds, and other colors which shimmer as the light falls upon them. He was an affable painter and knew the secret of pleasing patrons who delighted in superficial beauty.

Titian (1477-1576) was the greatest of the Venetian artists. His genius evolved slowly with constant application. He possessed all the secrets of his predecessors and became the most perfect interpreter of the luxurious and pleasure-loving life of Venice. Symonds regards his Assumption of the Virgin, painted in 1518, as "the greatest single oil painting in the world, if we except Raphael's Sistine Madonna."[5] This picture in Santa Maria Gloriosa in Venice marks the advent of the monumental style in Venetian painting. The Virgin is rising amid a bevy of nude boy angels. Above her is the Father suspended in a pearly haze of glory, and below, on earth, are the apostles who gaze upward. The picture is a symphony of color. "The grand manner can reach no further than in this picture—serene, composed, meditated, enduring, yet full of dramatic force and of profound feeling."[6] Other noteworthy pictures by Titian are Bacchus and Ariadne, Sacred and Profane Love, the Pesaro Madonna, the Venus of Urbino, and some portraits.

Tintoretto (1518-92) continued Titian's manner, but he abandoned the harmonious action of Titian's subjects and developed a vigorous, impulsive, and often precipitate style. Among his noteworthy creations are a Presentation of the Virgin, Miracle of the Slave, and Bacchus and Ariadne.

Paolo Veronese (1528-88) was principally a colorist. His work shows the peculiar complexity and grandiose composition of the later decades of the *cinquecento*. His pictures are filled with handsome men clothed in richly colored satins and velvets, women in satin with fair white skin, spacious palaces and blue skies. His Marriage at Cana and his Feast in Levi's House reveal him in his proper element. Other famous pictures are the Rape of Europa, Marriage of St. Catherine, and the ceiling decorations in the palace of the doges.

The Venetian school occupies a unique place in history, for it gave the most adequate expression to the artistic, luxurious, and secular tastes of a purely bourgeois society. With Tintoretto and Veronese we must say farewell to the painting of the Italian Renaissance.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 379-380.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

CHAPTER XXVI

NEW SOCIAL AND LITERARY FORMS

Even the outward appearance of men and women of Italy and the habits of daily life were more perfect, more beautiful, and more polished than among the other nations of Europe.—BURCKHARDT.[1]

THE social progress of the Italian Renaissance affected thought and habits quite as much as statecraft and the fine arts. The position of woman underwent great change. Although she had been exalted in the romances of the Middle Ages, one should not be misled by the idealized pictures of Guinevere and others. Women in feudal days were often treated with liberality but, as a rule, they remained subject to the narrow limitations of their household tasks. Brutality all too often characterized the Middle Ages, and the weaker sex received more than its share of violence. Furthermore, it was commonly believed that woman was inferior to man and the cause of the world's ills, for she had been instrumental in man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Moralists therefore inveighed against womanhood. As the temper of the Middle Ages was unduly ascetic, marriage and family life were not idealized in practice as they should have been.

The refined society of Renaissance Italy made woman the equal of man, for the court life of the princes demanded that woman assume a leading rôle. Since she should be educated in the same manner as men, the schools of Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona were opened to both sexes. Some of the best pupils of those great masters were Elizabeth Gonzaga and Isabella and Beatrice of Este. They knew the Greek and Latin classics, were interested in the refined culture of Humanism, and could hold their own with men. Nevertheless, it remained the fashion among Humanists to regard women as inferiors and as useful drudges. This traditionalism is well revealed by Boccaccio in Griselda, a character in the *Decameron*, who illustrates patience and forbearance under impossible conditions.

[1] *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York, 1928), p. 361.

In describing an ideal woman, the writer consulted the prejudices of his age.

This conservatism of writers ran counter to the facts of life, at least as far as the wealthier classes were concerned, for Florentine women played a prominent part in society. The daughters of the Albizzi family shared fully in the intellectual life of the time. Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wrote poetry and inspired others to write—Lorenzo owed his interest in the mother tongue to her example. Isabella and Beatrice of Este have been mentioned above. Elizabeth Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino, was the central figure in the court life of Urbino. Probably the finest of all women of the Renaissance was Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547). She was well versed in Latin and Greek and wrote graceful Italian prose and verse. Her husband, the marquis of Pessara, was wounded in the Battle of Pavia (1525) and died in spite of her devoted care. "It seems to me," she said, "that the sun has lost the brightness of its rays, that the stars are paling, the trees losing their mantle of verdure, the fields their flowers, the waters their purity, the breeze its freshness, since the one I love has left me alone." She turned to the comforts of religion, becoming the friend of Juan Valdés, the reformer, and finally of Michelangelo. The great sculptor derived deep comfort from her sympathy and understanding, and her death made him a sad and lonely man.

Although the women of the Renaissance became emancipated, they did not become unwomanly, for their greatest influence was exerted in the court and in the home. The picture given by Boccaccio in his *Decameron* is misleading in this respect—Florentine women did not flee their homes and isolate themselves in country places, leaving their families to die of the plague. The Renaissance produced some women who took an active part in public affairs. The *virago* was an energetic and masterful type who displayed an extraordinary amount of *virtù*. Such a person was Catherine Sforza, youngest daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (d. 1476), born in 1462, who became countess of Forlì and Imola. Her husband was Girolamo Riario, a worthless and dissolute nephew of Pope Sixtus IV, whose tyranny so antagonized his subjects that they sought to assassinate him. The castle of Forlì was seized in 1487 while Catherine's husband was seriously ill; but she hurried to Forlì in spite of her advanced pregnancy, seized the rebel leader, returned with him to Forlì, and on the next day gave birth to a child. Her husband was slain seven years later, but she was able to put down the uprising which had led to his death. Her second husband was assassinated at Forlì (1495), and Catherine once more was able to crush the rebels with a vigor and circumspection that would have done credit to any man.

The freedom of the Renaissance also affected courtesans. There were a large number of these women who knew how to turn their beauty and charm to profit. Some of them were acquainted with music and literature and read the ancient classics. To win favor with the men of the time, it was necessary to employ the subtlest cunning. Most famous of courtesans was Catherine of San Celso, or Imperia as she was popularly called, who was able to ingratiate herself with many of the prominent figures of the time. A poet wittily declared that "the gods have bestowed two great favors upon Rome: Mars gave her imperium over the world, but Venus gave Imperia to her!" She died in 1511. The popularity of courtesans in Rome came to a close with the pontificate of Paul III (1534-49) but continued to flourish in Venice. It assumed some interesting forms in that luxurious society which was becoming impoverished because of the decline of its commercial life. Carpaccio's famous picture, the Two Courtesans, which shows two of these women seated in a room, is an interesting study in costume and is to be viewed as a satire on the sordid life of these people.

Family life of the Renaissance differed in many ways from that of the Middle Ages. The relations and life of a wealthy bourgeois family are illustrated in Leon Battista Alberti's remarkable treatise, *On the Family*, or *Della Famiglia*, in four books, written before 1434. The first book explains the relation of parents to their sons and daughters, and vice versa. The second deals with marriage, and the rearing and education of children. The rôle of the wife is discussed—she is the queen of the household, managing the servants and directing the family economy. The third book is devoted to finances. Thrift, the great virtue of the bourgeoisie, is to be inculcated, and every honorable means should be used to increase one's wealth. The last book is concerned with friendship which is discussed from the point of view of financial, moral, and intellectual advantage; a lofty moral tone pervades the discussion. Many bourgeois families governed themselves according to such rules. Daughters were treated with great rigidity and were kept in seclusion, especially in Venice, as is shown by the youthful experience of Bianca Capello (1548-87), a daughter of the proud family of the Capelli, who eloped to Florence with an adventurous youth of that city and had a strange career till the end of her life. But in Florence and elsewhere they were given more liberty.

Manners, at first dominated by the roughness of mediæval conditions, became milder, for the wealth and leisure of bourgeois families made the continuance of crude mediæval practices impossible. Personal manners improved greatly. Many of the newer precepts were brought together by Giovanni della Casa (d. 1556) in his *Galateo of*

Manners and Behaviours. In addition to listing many base customs and mannerisms to be shunned, he also prescribed the correct manners in many situations:

> It is also an unmannerly part for a man to lay his nose upon the cup where another must drink; or upon the meat that another must eat, to the end to smell unto it; but rather I would wish he should not smell at all, no not to that which he himself should eat and drink because it might chance there might fall some drop from his nose. . . . Neither, by my advice, shalt thou reach to any man that cup of wine whereof thy self hast dronk and tasted, without he be more than a familiar friend unto thee. And much less must thou give any part of the pear or the fruit which thou hast bitten in thy mouth before.

The following advice about conversation well illustrates how the more cultivated folk of the Renaissance disliked the banalities of the common people of that day:

> When a man talketh with one, it is no good manner to come so near that he must needs breathe in his face, for there be many that can not abide to feel that air of another man's breath albeit there come no ill savour from him. These and like fashions be very unseemly and would be eschewed because their senses with whom we acquaint ourselves, cannot brook nor bear them.[2]

The *Courtier* by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) is the greatest of all Renaissance books dealing with manners. Its purpose is to describe the ideal courtier, that is, the perfect gentleman of the Renaissance. Castiglione, born a count and educated in the Humanist school of Mantua, combined what was best in chivalric tradition with Humanist culture. He was made a knight while at the court of Duke Ludovico of Milan and later went on diplomatic missions. Becoming acquainted with Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, he spent much time at his court over which the duchess, Elizabeth Gonzaga, and a number of other women presided. Here Castiglione began the composition of the *Courtier* in Italian in the form of a dialogue in which members of the court participate. The author believes that the perfect courtier should be of noble birth mainly because of the practical advantages he would gain in the society of the Renaissance which still accorded an important place to noblemen. But the true courtier is made by character and intellect rather than by birth. He must "have not only a wit and a comely person and countenance but also a certain grace and air that will make him at the first sight acceptable and loving

[2] *A Renaissance Courtesy-Book: Galateo of Manners and Behaviours* (Boston, 1924), pp. 20, 25.

unto who so beholdeth him." All sorts of personal manners and characteristics are discussed in this connection. The perfect courtier should speak and write well, especially in the native Italian. Knowledge of literature is regarded as a most important ornament, French noblemen being criticized for their neglect of it and their preference for knightly exercises. The perfect courtier should be skillful at arms and courageous in all situations. These ideas show how far the Humanist society of Italy had moved away from the conceptions of the Middle Ages.

Music flourished in a society bent upon artistic refinement. By the opening of the sixteenth century remarkable progress had been made in Flanders from the Gregorian plain song, which was the common musical form of the Middle Ages. Flemish musicians developed the use of the canon, a repetition of a melodic theme, and also counterpoint. The exclusive use of the plain song came to an end with the rise of polyphonic music which combined several voice parts. Flemish musicians became famous and were in great demand, and Duke Federigo of Urbino brought some of them to his court. Josquin Depres (d. 1521), a native of Hainault, introduced Flemish methods into Italy when he became a member of the papal choir. Two other Flemish masters, Adrian Willaert (d. 1562) and Jacob Arcadelt (d. 1575), served as masters of the choir of St. Mark's in Venice.

The Italians of the Renaissance made their first contributions to music by developing new instruments and perfecting orchestral music. The simple rebec evolved into the violin, and the old clavichord was transformed into the spinet and harpsichord; wind instruments also were developed and improved. Venetians were especially fond of instrumental music which they considered a necessary part of their luxurious life. The pleasure which these people derived from music is revealed in pictures by Venetian masters such as Giorgione's or Titian's Music Lesson, Giorgione's Concert, and many Venetian Madonnas accompanied by angels playing on instruments. Polyphonic music attained classic perfection at the hands of Giovanni da Palestrina (1520-94), who was born near Rome and spent most of his years in the papal choir. Palestrina belonged to the age in which piety once more became capable of expressing itself in the highest art. His genuine religious sentiment was couched in the noblest devotional music, the Mass of Pope Marcellus being one of his great works. The next stage in the evolution of music was the presentation in 1594 of the first opera.

The drama was secularized during the Renaissance. The first step was taken in Florence when public festivals abandoned all direct connection with the church. These were the *sacre rappresentazioni,*

the first of which was entitled *Abraham and Isaac*. Lorenzo the Magnificent's *St. John and St. Paul* belongs to this class. The next step was taken by Poliziano in his *Orfeo*, which was produced at the Mantuan court in 1471. It is the first play of a purely secular nature to be written in the vernacular. Furthermore, like Botticelli's paintings of the Springtime and the Birth of Venus, its theme was drawn from classical pagan sources. Next appeared the *Commedia del Arte*, the themes of which were taken from popular life and which resemble in many respects the stories told by such novelists as Bandello and Masuccio. The scenes are laid in the open squares of towns. The female parts were taken by married women, procuresses, and women of loose morals, for as young Italian girls were carefully guarded and might not appear unchaperoned, they could not take part in these comedies. Male characters such as the resourceful servant, the parasite, the pander, and the helpless but conceited pedant became traditional. Thus was created the secular comedy of the Renaissance. Another form of this drama was the *Commedia Erudita*, or *Learned Comedy*, the motifs and characters of which were drawn from classical themes. Finally, the lyrical pastoral play was developed.

Theaters had disappeared during the decline of Roman civilization; even their use had been forgotten. Mediæval plays had been performed in the streets or squares. But theaters were built again when the secular drama evolved, for the growth of the drama and the theatrical art necessitated more permanent places for the presentation of plays. The new playhouses borrowed much from their classic predecessors. The broad stage had walls on each side and at the back. Five openings led to it, three from the back, and one from each side. The theater of Vicenza, which was built according to the plans of the architect Palladio, is the oldest extant example of these Renaissance theaters.

Epic poetry likewise flourished. Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* has been described as being a typical product of the Florentine bourgeoisie at the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The first knightly romance of the Renaissance, Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (1486), written in the courtly society of Ferrara, was followed by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in 1515. Ludovico Ariosto (d. 1533) was born in 1474 at Reggio. His father belonged to the nobility but lost the favor of his master, the duke of Ferrara. Reared and educated in Ferrara, Ludovico came under the chivalric influences which had fascinated Boiardo. Knighthood was still surrounded with a halo of glory in spite of the fact that the bourgeois culture of the Renaissance really had no place for it. Ariosto determined to write in Vergilian style an epic depicting the glorious perfection of chivalry:

Of loves and ladies, knights and arms, I sing,
Of courtesies, and many a daring feat. . . .

Torquato Tasso (1544-95) followed in his footsteps. But his poem, *Jerusalem Delivered*, had a special purpose, for the Turk was pressing hard upon Christendom and it seemed that Italy might become the arena of his military endeavors. The reform of Catholicism was in full progress during Tasso's youth and a more rigid religious life was being forced upon Italy. Charles V ruled over many lands which formed a vast Catholic empire. Small wonder that the younger men of these countries should conceive the idea of a universal Catholic culture in which Italian national aspirations were extinguished to further the political overlordship of Spain. The old knightly epics had met with little favor at the hands of Renaissance churchmen. Tasso spent some time at the court of Ferrara where chivalric themes were still popular and finally, after many wanderings, in 1581 produced his epic of the Crusades. This masterpiece, which belongs to the age of Catholic reform, deals with Christendom's struggles against heretic and infidel. The church is exalted as the only bond to unite all nations:

Well would it be, (if in harmonious peace
The Christian powers should e're again unite,
With steed and ship their ravished spoils to seize,
And for his theft the savage Turk requite),
That they to thee should yield, in wisdom's right,
The rule by land, or if it have more charms,
Of the high seas; meanwhile, let it delight
To hear our verse ring with divine alarms;
Rival to Godfrey, hear, and hearing, grasp thine arms![3]

Pastoral prose and poetry were a characteristic product of the High Renaissance. This type of literature sprang from many motives. Love for nature, a strong note of the Italian Renaissance, was shown in the desire to build country villas, in the paintings of Benozzo Gozzoli, and in the poetry of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Humanist tone of this literature was born of the classical revival. Finally, the desire to live in an environment of ideal beauty and perfection became a passion. It was inevitable that writers should draw upon the poetic primitive purity and simplicity presented in Theocritus' *Idyls*, Vergil's *Eclogues*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Jacopo Sannazzaro (1458-1530), who created this fashion, was born in Naples, lived in a villa at Mergellina just outside the city, and was a favorite at the Neapolitan court. He admired Petrarch and wrote Latin poems in Vergilian meter. His *Piscatory Eclogues*, which

[3] *The Jerusalem Delivered*, tr. by J. H. Wiffen (London, 1857), p. 2.

celebrated the life on the Neapolitan bay, won him instantaneous fame. His *Arcadia* was even more important. Written in elegant prose, it draws its inspiration from classical pastoral writings. Groves, nymphs, satyrs, fauns, shepherds, flocks, gods, maidens, and amorous swains fill the picture, reminding one of the pastoral idyls painted by Venetian masters.

Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was perhaps the most brilliant of the Humanists at the papal court under Pope Leo X. Born of aristocratic Venetian parentage, he became a senator and filled a number of important offices. While a mere lad he was taken by his father to Florence where he received a Humanist education. Later he studied at the University of Padua. Next he was a guest at the court of Catherine Cornaro, a Venetian lady who had become queen of Cyprus in 1468. Her husband died and in 1489 when Venice annexed her realm she was given a pension and allowed to live in a castle at Asolo on the Venetian mainland. Here she kept a petty but brilliant court in Renaissance fashion, and Bembo became its most brilliant member. His sojourn at Asolo is immortalized by a treatise called *Gli Asolani* or *The People of Asolo*, consisting of some discourses on the subject of love. The theme is treated according to the ideas of Plato on an exalted poetic plane far removed from baser human passions.

Bembo next entered the service of Duke Ercole of Ferrara to acquaint himself with diplomacy. A few years after this, Ercole married Lucrezia Borgia (1502), who at once became a sincere friend of the courtly and polished scholar. This attachment continued after Bembo left Ferrara, and their correspondence forms a monument to Renaissance culture. Later Bembo tarried at the court of Urbino and figures in the conversations recorded in Castiglione's *Courtier*. He became papal secretary under Leo X, at whose court he was a veritable literary lion. During these years he carried on an extensive correspondence with most of the cultured ladies and gentlemen of the day. Upon Leo's death, Bembo retired to Padua where he lived like a Humanist, studying the ancient classics, cultivating a pure Latinity, and corresponding with his many admirers. He collected a library and a museum and, until 1539 when called to Rome by Pope Paul III, enjoyed life in the country after the manner of Pliny and other ancient Roman gentlemen.

Although Bembo was eager to perfect himself in Latin, he was not blind to the beauty and practical value of the Italian mother tongue. He therefore disagreed with his Humanist contemporaries who pedantically held that serious thoughts should be put forth only in Latin. His letters, written in graceful Italian to many of the most prominent personages of the day, constitute a noteworthy example

of Renaissance culture. Bembo also wrote a treatise, *On the Mother Tongue (Della Volgar Lingua)*, in which he extolled the use of the Tuscan vernacular. He studied Petrarch closely and his sonnets are models of linguistic and poetic purity. His passion for beauty in language was characteristic of the Renaissance, but it is his advocacy of the native Italian tongue which gives him a special place among Italian Humanists of the day.

The novelists expressed the rich and variegated life of the Renaissance better than any other group of writers. The tradition set by Boccaccio was continued by Franco Sacchetti (1335-1410) whose tales, although far less artistically rendered than Boccaccio's, nevertheless are important for the student of *quattrocento* culture. Masuccio Guardato (1420?-1475?) of Salerno enjoyed far greater fame than Sacchetti but his witty tales are marred by a strong licentious note—to which, perhaps, they owed their popularity. Matteo Bandello (1480-1561), a member of the Dominican order who lived in Milan, wrote little novels which are important not only as pictures of morals and manners but also as sources for later writers.

Blackmail by means of lampoons and venomous pamphlets was an interesting feature of the High Renaissance. These lampoons were witty, personal, and malicious satires which flourished in a society particularly sensitive to the charm of literary style. They were called pasquinades after one Pasquino, a fault-finding schoolmaster of Rome during the previous century. His reputation grew after death and fired popular imagination. Soon his name was attached to a newly excavated statue which was set up in the Piazza Navona, and it became customary to affix to this statue lampoons attacking famous persons and the pope's government. These verses and dialogues were elevated to the dignity of literary art by Pietro Aretino (1492-1556).

Like the novelists, Aretino was a characteristic product of life in Italian cities. Born in Arezzo of poor but honorable parents, he was forced to live by his wits. This he did by employing the new Renaissance skill in letters to win patrons and to extort favors. He resembled the modern yellow journalist; there was no limit to his scurrility and effrontery. In 1516 he entered the service of Agostino Chigi, a Roman banker who played a great financial rôle under Leo X. Aretino soon discovered his true vocation—writing lampoons with which to blackmail men of position and authority. Giulio de' Medici became his patron. The death of Leo X in December, 1521, gave him an opportunity to write furiously in behalf of his friend, but the Netherlander Adrian was elected in spite of all his efforts. Fearing the consequences of his malicious writings, he left Rome and went to Mantua where he found favor with the duke. He returned to Rome

in 1523 when his protector Giulio de' Medici became Clement VII, but his methods made it unsafe for him to stay. He spent some time with Giovanni delle Bande Nere, a member of the cadet branch of the Medicean house and the most famous Italian military captain at the moment. In 1527 Aretino settled in Venice. He had so perfected his methods by this time that he met with easy success. He mingled with the best society, for everybody feared his terrible pen. People gave him food, money, and clothing. He received pensions from Charles V, Francis I, and Henry II; and Francis gave him a heavy chain of gold which he wears in the portrait painted by his friend Titian. He wrote verses, letters, and a number of satirical plays in a pungent style not unlike that of Rabelais. He won the name "Scourge of Princes."

Academies, which were a typical feature of Renaissance intellectual life, were associations of Humanists formed to discuss questions relating to classical lore. Such organizations had not existed during the Middle Ages, for the universities were too conservative to become leaders in the new Humanist culture. To Cosimo de' Medici belongs the honor of forming the first of these academies, the Platonic Academy, and others were organized, among them the Neapolitan, Roman, and many of minor repute. These learned societies served as models for similar institutions in other lands.

Libraries, like academies, also were an indispensable part of the Renaissance scholarship. During the Middle Ages men had made collections of books but these were mostly in monasteries and cathedrals and, needless to state, were designed to serve theological and religious interests. Some mediæval princes also made collections of books. But the great age of book collecting opened with the revival of classical learning. The famous collections of Cosimo de' Medici and others have been described in previous chapters. These libraries catered to the intellectual needs of men interested in secular learning and for that reason were a peculiar feature of Renaissance life. There also were librarians; for example, Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-98), author of the famous *Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, was employed by a number of princes to collect books for them. Museums and art galleries likewise became numerous during this age. Princes and wealthy townsmen eagerly collected fragments of classical art and the pictures and statuary of the great contemporary masters. The "Grotta" of Duchess Isabella of Mantua became famous in Italy, and the pictures of Gozzoli and Botticelli and the statues of Donatello and Verrocchio purchased by the Medici have since become the bases of the great art collections of Florence.

Religion was deeply influenced by the great social changes of the age. The upper bourgeoisie strove for temporal pleasures and secular

satisfaction. The traditional asceticism which had dominated their forefathers seemed antiquated and people became indifferent to religion. Pagan classical influences led many to adopt a purely secular view of life and morality. Poggio Bracciolini, Lorenzo Valla, Pomponio Leto, and other Humanists cared nothing for the austere Christian morality practiced in former times by St. Francis. The cult of beauty and Platonic studies seemed to satisfy the deeper sentiments of the Medicean circles of Florence. But these influences did not permeate all classes, for since Renaissance culture was the culture of the well-to-do bourgeoisie and nobility and therefore was aristocratic, little of the paganism and secularity of the upper classes passed to the masses who remained faithful to the traditional teaching of their fathers. Some of the upper classes, like Savonarola, likewise maintained their loyalty to Catholic principles.

Gardening attracted much interest during the Renaissance. In earlier ages monasteries and castles had their own gardens, and wealthy townsmen often constructed small pleasure gardens adjoining their houses. But with the development of a more ample life during the Renaissance, people began to dream of better things. Love for the country led to the building of villas, and the construction of gardens became a matter of course. The Medici in Florence, the Este in Ferrara, and lesser persons shared in this enthusiasm.

The study of classical writings, especially those of Pliny, revived many ancient ideas, and architecture and gardening were thus peculiarly related during the Renaissance. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) was the first to apply ancient ideas to gardening. The Villa Quarrachi near Florence was adorned with a garden laid out, in part at least, by him. This significant example of the new art had three pergolas and a number of open paths with latticework on either side covered with vines and white roses. The garden was exposed to passers-by instead of being shut off by a stone wall as is often done in modern gardens. Its plan was geometrical and called for circles and semi-circles made with laurel, citron, and yew with interwoven branches. There were porticoes, grottoes, pots with flowers, paths bordered with clipped box, streams, cascades, and cypress trees. Fruit trees were relegated to the family garden. Such villas and gardens were plentiful around Florence, at least until 1527 when the invading armies of Charles V destroyed most of them. The villa of the Este at Tivoli near Rome became especially famous. Botanical gardens also became common, the first one being laid out in 1545 at the University of Padua.

Increase in urban population and the general improvement of the artistic taste of despots and rulers demanded better city planning. Towns had grown up during the Middle Ages without direction. A

few constructed according to geometrical plan did exist in Italy, but they owed this feature to the fact that they had been founded during the Roman Empire or earlier. Thus Palermo and Syracuse had streets crossing each other at right angles. This was also true of the most ancient part of Florence, a city which had begun as a Roman camp. But in most cases towns grew up around market places, near rivers, or along roads leading to bridges. Streets were crooked, narrow, crowded, and often impassable, and the population was huddled into narrow quarters.

Italian cities of the Renaissance were noted for their beauty, for princes often sought to improve them by straightening and paving streets, laying out parks, and decorating squares with splendid buildings. Pius II beautified the great square of Corsignano with a series of magnificent early Renaissance buildings (about 1460) which give a good conception of what ambitious builders of the time sought to accomplish. Nicholas IV and other popes embellished Rome by laying out new streets, clearing away slums, building bridges, and drawing up plans for beautifying the city around the Vatican. In general, new sections added to towns were more or less geometrical in arrangement, the streets were wider, and open squares more numerous. Many towns developed a body of sanitary regulations. Quarantines were established in Venice. This city also beautified its great square and removed unsightly structures and the public latrines. Toward the close of the *quattrocento* the Venetian *piazza* had assumed the appearance which it has in Bellini's picture, The Procession of Corpus Christi.

Furniture evolved rapidly as the wealth of townsmen increased. The people of the earlier Middle Ages possessed few articles of furniture. The most important was the chest or coffer, a box-like affair made of heavy boards badly fitted together and held in place by carapaces of ironwork. To keep the wood dry, it was customary to raise the chest from the floor by the addition of sidepieces. Development of the art of joinery and of the use of panels soon changed the character of these chests. They became lighter and stronger and were covered with carved decoration. Such chests were made in many sizes and were devoted to all sorts of purposes such as beds, wardrobes, repositories for manuscripts or for kitchen utensils. From this type of furniture developed many articles of Renaissance furniture, such as cupboards, credences, tables, buffets, and trunks, although tables were not common except for eating. Desks for reading and writing were developed. Very large heavy benches accommodating a number of people were placed along the wall. The mediæval chair was a rough bench made of a heavy piece of wood with endpieces. The chair evolved out of the coffer. A small chest with raised

sidepieces for arm rests and a higher backpiece was used as a chair and was the ancestor of a numerous progeny. Beds were rude affairs; they were covered with a canopy and surrounded by heavy draperies to keep out the cold in the drafty halls and houses of the Middle Ages.

The *cassoni*, or bridal chests, which were popular, especially in Florence, were coffers which stood on the floor or were raised slightly by supports at the corners. The panels on some of them were painted or carved by some of the great masters of the Renaissance, and decorated with scenes from sacred, secular, and sometimes classical literature. The *cassapanca* was a Florentine bench made from a chest. The principal chair of the house, reserved for the master at festive occasions, and called the *trono*, was a stately chair with a large backpiece. Credences, a variety of sideboard, came into general use. Those of Florence had two drawers, those of Siena three. Great cupboards were made. Clavichords and virginals or spinets were chests in which musical apparatus was placed. Mirrors were developed in Venice.

Ornament employed in Renaissance furniture differed greatly from its predecessor, for Gothic masters used straight edges or foliage, fruits, and flowers. However, these disappeared, and a variety of conventional and geometric designs were created, drawn for the most part from classical models. The most usual of these were the bead and pearl ornaments, the bay-leaf garland, and various fret patterns. In moldings, the egg and dart, tongue and dart, and egg and leaf with its many variations were employed. Furniture makers were strongly influenced by architects, often copying façades of buildings. The Venetians, who borrowed ideas from the Levant and lands beyond, exerted much influence on ornament. Rich decoration was admired, especially *gesso* and *certosina* work. Marquetry and veneering were employed. Such inlaid work appealed to the luxurious taste of the time and consequently became popular.

Crude ceramic ware gave place to better products. The word *faience* is said to be derived from Faenza, a chief center of the manufacture of this earthenware. Majolica ware, which appears to have originated in Romagna and adjacent parts, was made of clay with a white surface on which designs were painted. It became a genuine work of art at the opening of the *cinquecento*. Lustered majolica also was produced. The high degree of excellence attained in the manufacture of this ware assured Italian makers a ready market for their products both in Italy and abroad.

Increase in luxury and improvement in taste are further illustrated by the increased use of forks in eating. It was customary in earlier mediæval times to convey food to the mouth with the fingers, but during the *cinquecento* forks with two and later three prongs came into general use, first in Venice and then in other Italian towns.

PART VI

EXPANSION OF THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER XXVII

GEOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

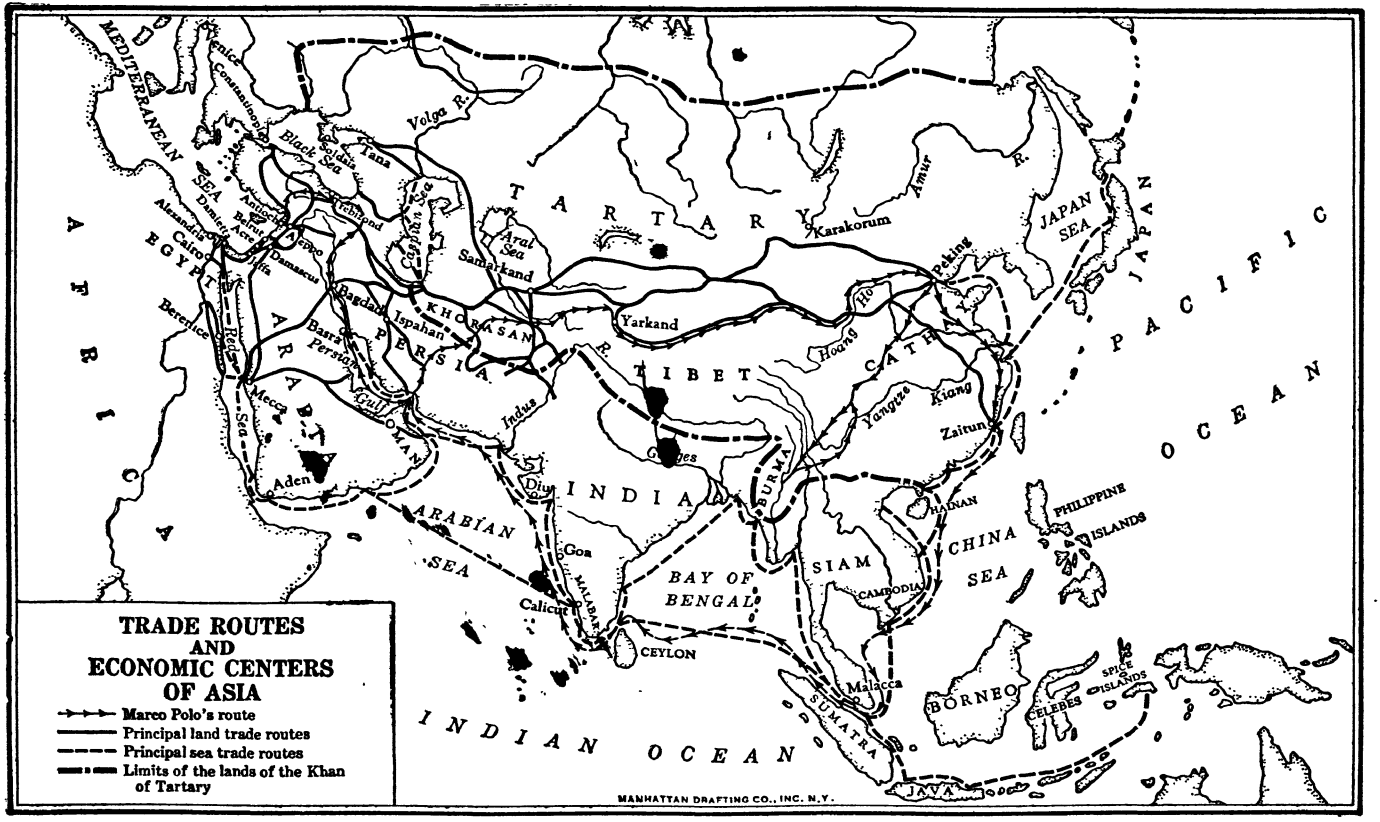
Thyn astrolabie hath a ring to putten on the thoumbe of thy right hand in taking the heighte of things.—CHAUCER (d. 1400).[1]

THE age of the Renaissance witnessed two great and sudden revolutions in geographical knowledge. The first was due to the opening by Vasco da Gama of the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and the second was the discovery of vast lands beyond the Atlantic Ocean. These two events which occurred in the last decade of the fifteenth century entailed such extraordinary consequences in political, economic, and scientific activity that they may fittingly be regarded as marking the close of the Middle Ages and the opening of the Modern Age.

Until the twelfth century Constantinople had been the great occidental terminus of commercial activity between the Mediterranean Sea, the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, India, and the Isles of Spice. The growth of trade and industry, the rise of cities, and the establishment of greater security throughout western Europe during and after the Crusades greatly extended these lanes of traffic. Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp became the western termini of a busy commercial activity which extended to China and the Isles of Spice in the East. Lands lying outside this central commercial corridor were regarded more or less as economic provinces. Accurate geographical knowledge was restricted to this central area.

The founding of the Mongol empire by Genghis Khan (d. 1227) shortly after the opening of the thirteenth century greatly affected

[1] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford), p. 397.


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Venice
Constantinople
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Tana
Volga R.
TARTARY
Aral Sea
Samarkand
Karakorum
Amur R.
JAPAN SEA
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Trebizond
Caspian Sea
Antioch
Beirut
Acre
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
Jaffa
Damascus
Aleppo
Bagdad
Ispahan
KHORASAN
PERSIA
Peking
Yarkand
TIBET
CATHAY
Hoang Ho
Berenice
Red Sea
Basra
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Mecca
Aden
Indus
Ganges
Yangtze Kiang
Zaitun
Diu
INDIA
BURMA
HAINAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
ARABIAN SEA
Goa
BAY OF BENGAL
SIAM
CHINA SEA
CAMBODIA
Calicut
MALABAR
CEYLON
Malacca
BORNEO
CELEBES
SPICE ISLANDS
SUMATRA
INDIAN OCEAN
JAVA
TRADE ROUTES AND ECONOMIC CENTERS OF ASIA
Marco Polo's route
Principal land trade routes
Principal sea trade routes
Limits of the lands of the Khan of Tartary
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., INC. N.Y.

economic activities between East and West, and increased geographical knowledge. The empire of the Mongols included all of southern Asia save Cochin-China, Siam, Hindustan, and Arabia; and it extended from the Japanese and Yellow Seas to the borders of Poland and Hungary, thus embracing the broad lands of the Russian plain. The union of all these regions under the rule of one man produced greater security and therefore promoted commercial activity. From Kaffa on the Crimea and Tana at the mouth of the Don, trade routes extended eastward by way of Astrakhan, Samarkand, Yarkand, and Karakorum to Cambalec, the modern Peiping.

Europeans exhibited much interest in the work of Genghis Khan. The Mongols were a Ural-Altaic folk whose religion was shamanism. Their motley empire embraced peoples of Christian, Buddhist, Mohammedan, and other religions. Hulagu (d. 1265), grandson of Genghis Khan, was a Buddhist, and his wife was a Christian of the Nestorian sect. Believing that this was an excellent opportunity to bring about the conversion of the Mongols to Catholic Christianity, the pope in 1246 sent a Franciscan friar, John of Plano-Carpini, to Karakorum. On his return a Flemish friar named William of Ruysbroeck was sent. He found a number of Europeans living at the court of the Great Khan who greatly appreciated their skill and knowledge. Next was sent John of Montecorvino who had been active in founding missions in Persia. On his way to the Orient he opened a mission in India and reached China in 1298. He mastered the Chinese language, established a school for the Christian education of young Chinese, and made converts. Such was his success that some hierarchic organization was needed, and Clement V created John archbishop of Cambalec. A number of Franciscans were sent as missionaries and bishoprics were formed by 1312. Two years later these Franciscans had fifty converts in China. John of Montecorvino died in 1330 and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas who reached China in 1338. Missionaries were constantly sent out to help the young churches. Among these intrepid men was Oderic of Pordenone (d. 1331) who visited Thibet.

These efforts to Christianize Asia failed to attain the success which they promised in the beginning. Great wars broke out in China which led to the overthrow of the Mongol overlordship in 1368 by the ruler of the Ming dynasty. The missionaries were scattered, much of their work was undone, and some of the priests were slain. The condition of affairs in Europe also contributed to this failure. The papacy was crippled by the secular interests which overwhelmed it during its Avignonese residence. The rival pontiffs of the Great Schism were not in a position to support the struggling church in

China. And when the Mongols accepted Mohammedanism, Christianity became practically extinct in northern Asia.

Economic relations between East and West constantly grew in importance, as is illustrated by the travels of two Venetian brothers, Niccolò and Maffeo Polo. Being merchants, they traded in the Crimea, went to Sarai on the Volga, and traveled eastward to Cambalec by way of Karakorum. Kublai Khan received them graciously and sent them back as his envoys to the pope, requesting missionaries to instruct his subjects in the Christian faith and one hundred teachers to acquaint them with the studies of the liberal arts. On their return to Venice in 1269, they enlisted the help of Niccolò's son Marco and again set out for China, or Cathay as it was called then. Going by way of Kirman, Khorassan, the Pamir plateau, and Khotan, they reached the court of Kublai Khan in 1275. They tarried in China until about 1292, being detained by the Khan for diplomatic and other services. In 1292 they set out on their return voyage by way of Malacca and reached Venice in 1295. Marco Polo was captured soon after by the Genoese and while languishing in prison composed the classic account of his romantic experiences.

The busy intercourse with the East by way of the trade routes from the Crimea, Trebizond, Acre, and Alexandria, and the constantly growing commercial and industrial activity of Italian, French, and Spanish towns greatly increased geographical lore. The use of the magnetic needle was imported from China where it had been employed since the second century. This needle, mounted on a straw or a piece of cork which rested in water, enabled sailors to ascertain direction even when it was too dark to see the stars. This device, which was in common use by the twelfth century, made navigation far less hazardous than it had formerly been. Another instrument, the astrolabe, which was employed soon afterward, made possible the finding of latitude with greater exactness.

Sailors had long been in the habit of keeping notes about the coasts along which they plied their trade. Maps, called *portolani* or "handy maps," came into existence and soon attained a surprising perfection, at least as far as the Mediterranean Sea was concerned. The first extant map dates from 1300. Others followed, many of which showed greater accuracy and detail. The *Laurentian* or *Medicean Atlas* of 1351 shows the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Caspian, and Black Seas, the western coast of India, Africa with the Nile, and western and northern Europe from Spain to Scandinavia. Even the Azores are shown. The sailors of this period were the forerunners of the heroes of the great age of discovery which began with Columbus and Vasco da Gama, and the map-making of these times

laid the foundations for the extraordinary activity in cartography during the sixteenth century.

Northern Africa, like Asia, also became better known to merchants of the Mediterranean, for Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco were closely bound up with the economic life of this area. The antagonism of Christian and Mohammedan did not prevent trade between them. Such towns as Melilla, Oran, Algiers, and Tunis were the termini of caravan routes which traversed the desert of the Sahara to the valley of the Niger. Ivory was one of the articles exported from that region. Anselm Desalguier, a Frenchman from Toulouse, sailed along the African coast to Guinea, moved up the Niger River, and lived for eleven years among the colored natives of Nigeria. Little is known about him beyond these facts, except that he returned to his native land in 1417 accompanied by a colored wife, some half-caste children, and some colored attendants. Later, one Giovanni Malfante described the land and people of Nigeria whom he had visited in 1447. Italians showed great interest in Africa, which they knew to be a continent. At the opening of the fourteenth century a company of Genoese under Tedisio Dorja and two brothers named Vivaldi sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar and proceeded southward in an attempt, it is said, to reach India by sea. At this time also, Venetians and Genoese merchants began sending their goods in ships by way of the Strait of Gibraltar to Flanders and Brabant, thus avoiding the tedious and more costly route over Alpine passes.

Meanwhile the discovery of new lands in the Atlantic and the exploration of the western coast of Africa had begun. The Canary Islands had been discovered by a Genoese sailor named Malocello. But the Spaniards and Portuguese fought for its possession, and by 1495 it had passed to the Spaniards. The Portuguese were the first to tempt the fortunes of the Atlantic. Their country had struggled valiantly against the lordship of Mohammedans and the chivalric crusading ardor burned fiercely in their breasts. Taught by Italian example, they too began exploration and expansion. Combining the work of crusaders and traders in this endeavor, King John captured Ceuta (1415), an Arab stronghold whose population had prevented Portuguese expansion along the African coast. Prince Henry (1394-1460), one of King John's sons known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator, was especially interested in exploration and expansion. He proposed to explore the coast south of Cape Bojador to Guinea, drive out the Arabs, and seize the trade of that region. Thus both religion and economic advantage would be served. The Madeira Islands were discovered (1418) and occupied. The Azores were taken in 1427 and populated by Flemings. Cape Bojador was rounded seven years later and Portuguese ships found their way to the River

of Gold (Rio del Oro) and the Senegal River. The Cape Verde Islands were discovered. Colonies were established, fortifications erected, and trade was begun with the natives. This was the origin of traffic in slaves which later was to prove so important a factor in the economic development of the New World. Companies were chartered and authorized to exploit the new lands, organize defense, and further the work of exploration.

Finally, in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope and sailed beyond it to Algoa Bay. Meanwhile Pedro de Covilham and Alfonso de Paiva were sent to Egypt and to the lands of the Indian Ocean to gather information about routes in the Indian Ocean. Covilham visited Calicut in India and Solfala on the east coast of Africa. Vasco da Gama was commissioned to sail with three ships by way of southern Africa and open the sea route to India. He set out in June, 1497, and after three months reached the Bay of St. Helena. He sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in November, spent Christmas at Natal, missed Solfala, and stopped at Malindi where he secured a pilot. Boldly sailing directly across the Indian Ocean, Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on May 18, 1498. On his return to Portugal in 1499 the Portuguese feverishly began to exploit their discovery. Pedro Alvarez Cabral was sent with a squadron to secure concessions in India. The Malabar coast of India had long ago been cut up into a number of petty states which were too feeble to resist him. A factory or trading post was established at Calicut and similar rights were forced from rulers of other places.

Francisco d'Almeida was appointed viceroy of India in 1505. It was his task to consolidate the work hitherto accomplished and to create permanent trading bases on the Malabar coast. These were momentous days, for Vasco da Gama's exploit is one of the great turning points in European history. For centuries the Arabs had enjoyed a monopoly of the trade in the world's most-prized articles between the East and West. Their preeminence in science and the arts of civilization during the Middle Ages was in large measure made possible by this fact. They instinctively realized that their monopoly was threatened the moment that Vasco da Gama appeared in the Indian Ocean, and every effort was made to trap the commander. The first Portuguese sailors to land at Calicut were greeted with the words: "May the devil take you! What brought you hither?" It was clear that the Arabs would make a determined effort to prevent the most lucrative trade of the world from falling into Christian hands. The ruler of Calicut, who was foremost in resisting the Portuguese, combined with the sultan of Egypt and other Arab potentates. Several naval battles were fought, but the struggle came to an end with Almeida's victory over a fleet ten times as large as

his own in the Battle of Diu (1509), one of history's greatest engagements. The Mohammedan world lost to the Christians its favored economic position. The new lands about to be discovered in Orient and Occident were to be Christian and European. The Semitic races and Islam declined as their economic resources dried up; henceforth they played an inferior rôle in history.

The Portuguese now organized their colonial empire. Albuquerque completed (1509-15) the heroic conquests begun by Vasco da Gama, Cabral, and Almeida. He established the seat of his viceroyalty at Goa, and seized Malacca on the Strait of Malacca and Ormuz on the Persian Gulf. A fleet was permanently employed to guard these places and the routes between them. While the viceroy at Goa supervised these newly won possessions, the Indian House (*Casa da India*) was created in Portugal to regulate the affairs of the factories.

Meanwhile a remarkable feat of discovery occurred in the Atlantic when Christopher Columbus in 1492 found a number of the Caribbean Islands. This ocean for centuries had been an unexplored expanse. Sagas related how Scandinavians had sailed to Iceland and Greenland and even to lands still farther westward. The ancient legend of St. Brendan told of an island to the west. There were traditional tales as old as the Greeks and Romans of mysterious regions beyond the setting sun. There were rumors among sailors that lands existed somewhere in the silent West.

Columbus was born in Genoa in the midst of the seafaring and exploring tradition of the western Mediterranean. He lived in Lisbon after his marriage, heard all about the marvelous exploits of the Portuguese, and is said to have voyaged to England and Iceland. He spent some years in Porto Santo on the Madeira Islands and visited the African coast.

Fired by the news shortly after 1480 that Portuguese seafarers had found land far beyond the Azores, Columbus determined to unlock the secrets of the dark Atlantic. After many difficulties three ships were prepared with the encouragement of Queen Isabella of Spain. One of them was commanded by Alonzo Pinzon, an able seaman who had had much practical experience in the seas off Africa, had studied *portolani*, and had carefully investigated the many rumors about the existence of unknown lands to the west. It is not known just what Columbus had in mind. He hoped to find new lands, but it is also certain he knew that the east shores of Asia lay somewhere beyond the Atlantic. It was common knowledge throughout the Middle Ages that the earth was a sphere. By sailing westward one would ultimately reach the east.

Columbus' voyage was due to the spirit of adventure and a desire to find new lands, not primarily to a desire of sailing to Asia. It cer-

tainly was not caused by the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 and the seizure of the lands through which lay the trade routes between East and West, for the Turks did not cut off the trade in articles of luxury, as is so often stated. Columbus' fleet of three ships and ninety sailors left the harbor of Palos on August 3, 1492. It tarried four weeks in the Canary Islands and after sailing west and southwest until October 12, land was found, probably one of the islands of the Bahamas. After cruising about, they discovered other islands including Cuba and Haiti. Columbus soon began his homeward voyage and arrived at Palos on March 15. His voyage was an epochal event. Though less hazardous than Vasco da Gama's famous voyage around Africa six years later and less significant in its immediate consequences, it was bound to be more important in its ultimate effects. Furthermore, it produced a revolution in geographical knowledge, for everyone, including Columbus, had believed that the world was much smaller than it is, and these ancient ideas were now suddenly disproved.

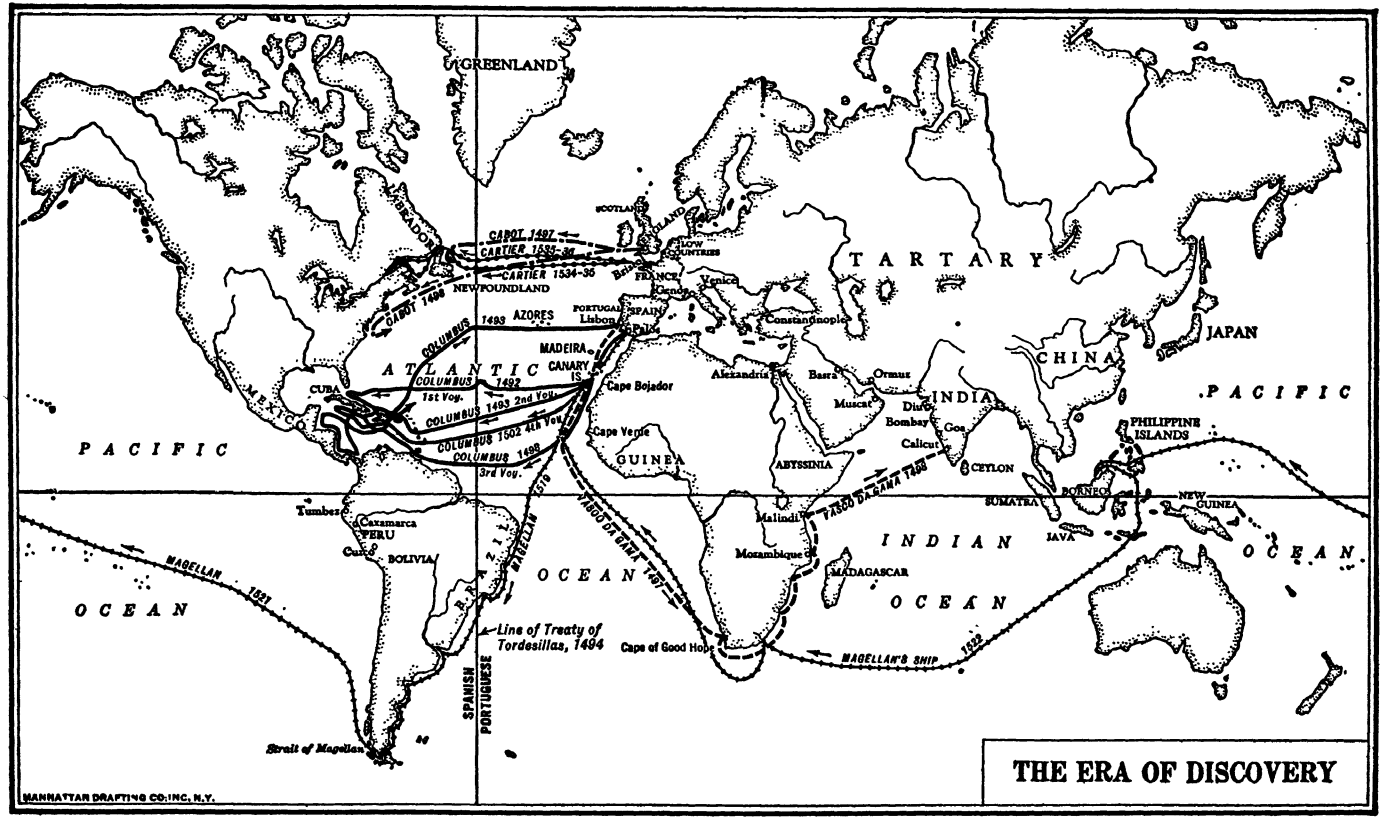
These discoveries at once aroused the animosity of the Portuguese who were fearful of Spanish intrusion. There was great danger that the two nations might come to blows; consequently the pope by virtue of his recognized leadership in international affairs was asked to serve as arbiter. Alexander VI issued the Bull of Demarcation in May, 1493, which assigned to Spain all new lands west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands to a line from pole to pole one hundred leagues away, and to Portugal all new lands east of this line. Ferdinand and Isabella were not fully pleased with this division for they feared that their rights in the East Indies were not safeguarded, and finally in June, 1494, Alexander declared that the Spaniards were to have the new lands lying west of a line three hundred seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands (Treaty of Tordesillas).

Columbus made three other voyages. The first (1493-96), undertaken with seventeen ships and a large number of men, led to the discovery of Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and many smaller islands. On the second (1498-1500) he reached the coast of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Complaints came to Ferdinand and Isabella about Columbus' tyrannical conduct toward the natives, and a ship was sent to investigate. The captain sent Columbus back to Spain in chains. The discoverer was exonerated but was not restored to his dignity of governor of the new lands. He fitted out another expedition (1502-04), sailed to Haiti, found the coast of Central America, and reached the Isthmus of Darien which he believed to be the coast of Malacca. Shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica, he fell ill and after his return to Spain, robbed of his dignities and

his rights ignored, died in 1506. Meanwhile Cabral, appointed to lead a fleet around Africa to the Indies, sailed far to the west, sighted the coast of Brazil in April, 1500, and claimed it for the king of Portugal.

Columbus' exploits roused in many a desire to imitate him. Balboa climbed the mountains of the Isthmus of Darien and was the first European to set foot on the Pacific coast (1513). Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, sailed through the strait which today bears his name (1520), and reached the Pacific. Finally he arrived at a group of islands, later called the Philippines, where he became involved in some native feuds and was slain (1521). One of his vessels continued, and finally reached Europe. This voyage, the first around the world, gave men a more adequate conception of the size of the globe and revealed that America was a large continent and not an island. The Portuguese were perturbed, for Spaniards had appeared in the East Indies which they believed was their proper domain. As the Line of Demarcation of 1494 had been drawn with reference to contested spheres in the Atlantic, conflicts threatened to break out, but a serious war was avoided by the Treaty of 1529 whereby the Philippines were given to Spain and the Molucca or Isles of Spice remained Portuguese. By this time the newly found lands were popularly becoming known as America. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine who had made a number of journeys to the West, advanced some extravagant claims of having discovered a vast region which he called the "New World," whereupon some German professors suggested that the new lands be called "America" (1507).

The first settlements in the New World, Santo Domingo, Isabella, and a few minor places, were confined to the West Indies, no serious effort being made at first to explore or conquer the mainland. But the desire to find gold drove the Spaniards onward. Hernando Cortes (d. 1547) heard rumors of a wealthy and civilized people in Mexico, and in February, 1519, set out with a small number of men. He landed at Vera Cruz and advanced upon the city of Mexico, capital of the Aztecs. Their king, Montezuma, was impressed by the fair Spaniards, believing them to be envoys of the gods. This crippled their ability to resist the intruders who ensconced themselves in the city of Mexico. The Spaniards could not be driven out because of their superior arms, but finally in July, 1520, they retreated in the face of the bitterest hostility. Cortes received reinforcements and, supported by a large body of soldiers drawn from the Aztecs, returned to Mexico and laid siege to it. After a stubborn resistance of seventy-five days the city fell (August, 1521). Cortes was named


GREENLAND
LABRADOR
CABOT 1497
CARTIER 1535-36
CARTIER 1534-35
NEWFOUNDLAND
CABOT 1498
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
LOW COUNTRIES
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Venice
Genoa
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
1493 AZORES
COLUMBUS
MADEIRA
CANARY IS.
ATLANTIC
COLUMBUS 1492
1st Voy.
COLUMBUS 1493 2nd Voy.
COLUMBUS 1502 4th Voy.
COLUMBUS 1498
3rd Voy.
CUBA
MEXICO
PACIFIC
Cape Bojador
Cape Verde
GUINEA
Alexandria
Constantinople
TARTARY
Basra
Ormuz
Muscat
INDIA
Diu
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
CEYLON
ABYSSINIA
CHINA
JAPAN
PACIFIC
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
Malindi
PASSED DA GAMA 1498
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
Tumbez
Caxamarca
PERU
Cuzco
BOLIVIA
MAGELLAN 1521
OCEAN
BRAZIL
1519
MAGELLAN
PASSED DA GAMA 1497
Line of Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494
Cape of Good Hope
MAGELLAN'S SHIP 1522
SPANISH
PORTUGUESE
Strait of Magellan
THE ERA OF DISCOVERY
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governor, and soon Yucatan, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and California were explored.

The success of Cortes, the first *conquistador* or conqueror, sharpened the appetites of other adventurers. Francisco Pizarro determined to seize the land to the south of Mexico which natives referred to as a land of gold. Landing at Tumbez in Ecuador in May, 1532, with but a handful of men, he advanced upon the Incas and their king, Atahualpa, at Caxamarca. Seizing Atahualpa, Pizarro managed to collect a fabulous amount of gold. Atahualpa was treacherously slain and Pizarro set himself up as governor. An expedition was undertaken to the holy city of Cuzco, and Lima was founded in 1535 as the capital of these new possessions. Thus was begun the romantic *conquista* or conquest of Spanish America.

Meanwhile the Spaniards organized a system of colonial exploitation copied from that of the Portuguese India House whose fabulous success could not be ignored. The Spanish crown in 1492 named Juan de Fonseca, a priest attached to the cathedral of Seville, as agent of colonial affairs. His activities grew rapidly as exploration and conquest progressed. Soon emerged the *Casa de la Contratacion*, or House of Trade, which regulated all manner of business, such as equipping vessels, furnishing licenses, and granting trading rights. Santo Domingo became the seat of the governor of the Indies who was bound by instructions from the colonial office in Seville. The governor was assisted by a staff of officials, priests, and soldiers. Relations with the natives soon became a difficult manner, for the Spaniards were hard taskmasters driven by thirst for gold. Unaccustomed to hard labor and cruelly treated, the natives perished in large numbers. When theologians declared that they had souls, the government sought to protect the natives with stern laws which, however, proved inadequate. Finally in 1512 a new system was introduced. Agents were placed in charge of the natives and directed to look after their religious, economic, and other interests. The grouping of villages of natives under such men proved ineffective in protecting the aborigines. Nevertheless, this system of *encomiendas*, as it was called, became a fixed method of Spanish colonial administration. Such was the brutality of the colonists on the islands that the native populace soon became extinct, whereupon colored slaves were imported from Africa and a lucrative slave trade grew up.

Other nations attempted to follow the example of the Spaniards. John Cabot, a Florentine, entered the service of Henry VII of England and made a voyage to the West in 1497, discovering some part of the North American coast. Verrazano, also a Florentine, made a voyage in 1524 in behalf of Francis I of France and visited the shores of Delaware, New Jersey, and New York. Ten years later a

Frenchman named Cartier coasted along Labrador and entered the St. Lawrence River. The purpose of these expeditions was to discover a short route to China. These and other voyages, however, possessed for the moment little importance for European life.

Vasco da Gama's voyage laid the basis of Portugal's monopoly of supplying the European demand for Oriental goods. The cheapness of the sea route and its relative security after naval protection was organized, made shipment along the ancient land routes unprofitable. This dealt a stunning blow to Italian mercantile supremacy. Venice and Genoa for centuries had enjoyed unquestioned monopoly of western European trade in spices and other articles of luxury, and the Mediterranean area during the Middle Ages had been the wealthiest and most significant of Europe. This ascendancy was brusquely cut short after Vasco da Gama's discovery. Italian industrial and commercial supremacy was sapped and her cultural supremacy soon passed its height. Leadership now passed to the states situated on the Atlantic seaboard.

The discoveries of Columbus and his successors were of little revolutionary importance to Europe until great quantities of precious metal were found in the New World after the conquest of Mexico and Peru. During the Middle Ages Europe had been a land peculiarly barren of gold and silver. The sudden increase in the amount of these metals caused a rapid rise in the cost of all commodities and stimulated every human endeavor. An era of great progress ensued in northern Europe. Towns grew, population increased, and such lands along the Atlantic seaboard as England and the Low Countries soon became the leading states of Europe. The cities of southern Germany which had profited from the transit of goods from Venice, Milan, and Genoa northward to the Low Countries declined, whereas Antwerp became more important than ever.

This sudden increase in the amount of coined money wrought important changes in conceptions of government. The mediæval political experience that a well-filled treasury was better than the personal services of a host of feudal lieges was more fully substantiated than ever. Capital had become the basis of political life, a fact upon which Machiavelli and Guicciardini had commented. The stream of precious metal from the mines of Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico made Spain powerful. It was argued that the wealth of a country consisted in the quantity of gold and silver within its borders, and princes therefore supported the bourgeoisie in its endeavor to bring gold into the country, that is, to create wealth. This alliance between absolute princes and mercantile interests produced a policy which later was called mercantilism and which dominated war, statecraft, and colonization during the next centuries.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

I began to study my art by imagining that there was not a single teacher in the world capable of teaching it to me, but that I had to acquire it myself. It was the book of Nature, written by the finger of God.—PARACELSUS (d. 1541).[1]

ALTHOUGH the Renaissance made progress in science it must not be assumed, as is often done, that this age uniquely marked the beginning of scientific activity. Modern science originated during the height of the Middle Ages when the purely manorial economy of the earlier centuries began to be undermined by the revival of commerce and urban life. The first stage of this scientific progress was the recovery of the half-forgotten lore of the ancients. This knowledge was extended by some experimentation. Much of classical science was recovered in mediæval times so that the men of the Renaissance had little new to learn from turning the leaves of ancient codices.

Problems of life had become more complex since the days when society was organized on a simple manorial basis. The closing Middle Ages possessed a traditional culture inadequate for the needs of a new and expanding urban society. Diseases multiplied, pestilences decimated the urban populace, and wars fought by new methods took a greater toll of life. The volume of commerce was growing, manufactures were increasing, trade routes were being changed, government was becoming more elaborate, bureaucracies were expanding, capitalism was growing, and international politics were gaining in complexity. Men were bound to reflect upon these problems and record their thoughts.

To us it seems natural that scientific investigation should consist of the direct and patient study of things without philosophical or theological bias and without regard to authority. But during the Renaissance investigation had to contend with the dogmas of phi-

[1] Quoted by T. McCutcheon, "Paracelsus," in *University of Pennsylvania Lectures* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 461.

losophy and theology, the dead weight of academic tradition, and all manner of prejudice. What Aristotle and Galen had said long centuries ago was not to be gainsaid. The theological outlook upon life made men impatient with the details of mundane things. Emphasis upon logic took the place of laborious searching for the secrets of nature. Magic exerted a baneful influence; as long as the devil could exercise his malevolent vocation it was not necessary to search for the laws of science. Alchemy and astrology led investigators in the wrong direction. And, finally, the age found the strange teachings of the *Cabala* entrancing. The cabala was a doctrine developed by the Hebrews of the Middle Ages, which taught that Scriptural expressions were to be interpreted in a special and allegorical sense known only to the initiate. This teaching was applied to all things and enabled men to see in the restricted world as posited by Ptolemy the presence of an infinite God. Pico della Mirandola became a devotee of this sort of thought. The breaking down of all this tangled growth of error was a matter of supreme moment and we must note the achievement of a few men who have left an indelible impress on the development of science.

Witchcraft was a striking phenomenon of the sixteenth century. More people were burned for alleged relations with the devil and his minions than for heresy. The theory and practice of witchcraft had been developed into a carefully organized doctrine, but its errors soon provoked criticism. Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1554), a peculiar genius ready to test all things, adopted the occult thought of the day and in 1531 wrote an encyclopædic survey of it. Four years before this he had published another work in which he condemned all knowledge as worthless. He also was sceptical toward prevalent ideas about witchcraft and in 1519 hid a woman so that she could not be found by her accusers. The public was so incensed at his conduct that he had to retire from public office.

John Weyer (1515-88), born in the duchy of Brabant, adopted the scepticism of his master Agrippa and developed an elaborate explanation of the phenomena of witchcraft. He taught that certain disorders primarily of a mental nature produced visions, illusions, and madness, and that people suffering from such maladies easily submitted to diabolical suggestion. Weyer's ideas are set forth in his *On the Illusions of Demons and on Incantations and Poisoners* (1563).

The physician John Schenck (1530-98) continued Weyer's work, arguing that the manifestations of witchcraft were hallucinations and that people possessed of demons were physically deranged. Finally, Frederick Von Spee (1591-1635), a Jesuit, took up these and similar arguments. But such new ideas ran counter to the fixed beliefs

of theologians, lawyers, statesmen, and common people. Persecution of witches continued throughout the sixteenth century and only gradually died out at the close of the eighteenth.

Humanists who devoted their energies to the study of classical authors were not able to make much progress in science, for their exclusive cultivation of literary studies often made them so pedantic that they believed that the sum of learning consisted in aping the ancient classics and imitating the style of Cicero. Grammar, prosody, and syntax became ends in themselves. Thus Humanists in their revolt against the arid scholasticism of the closing Middle Ages fell under the authority of the classics. They were unable to appreciate the need of a fresh study of nature, nor did they realize the significance of the geographical discoveries of Vasco da Gama and his successors. They did not approve of the new printing presses which made possible the mechanical multiplication of the texts of their beloved classical authors, but preferred the ancient and laborious method of making copies by hand.

Scientific progress in the Renaissance was, to a large extent, the work of practical men who were required to face the concrete facts of life. Original minds found opportunity to answer questions which demanded solution with increasing insistency. Thus artists were confronted with many problems when they sought to develop a scientific technique of painting. Perspective troubled them and therefore the earlier painters of the *quattrocento* studied it ardently. Paolo Uccello and Piero della Francesca made practical application of the theories of Brunelleschi and Alberti. To portray human and other forms, it was necessary to study anatomy. Andrea del Castagno was interested in bony, vigorous forms, whereas the two Pollaiuoli made the study of muscular expression their specialty. Although from an artistic point of view these artists often exaggerated their anatomical interests, their scientific enthusiasm is significant.

Leonardo da Vinci was the greatest of the artists who studied science. He knew little Latin or Greek, paid no heed to authority or tradition, but addressed himself to first-hand investigation of nature. His studies and experiments were conducted with the greatest virtuosity; the world probably has never produced a greater scientific mind. His anatomical drawings are models of excellence, combining scientific exactitude and artistic sense. He studied human anatomy in great detail, and his work on the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza led him to make encyclopædic studies of the anatomy of horses. He studied plants with the utmost devotion to form and structure; delicate veins, curled petals, dried burrs, plants of all sorts were sketched over and over.

As we have seen, Leonardo was a typical *uomo universale*, or uni-

versal genius, of the Renaissance. His boundless curiosity and great creative capacity were characteristic of the new class of laymen which was surging to the front. He yearned to know all things so that he might re-create them in art. His acute observations taught him that fossils were the remains of living organisms which had lived where these remains were found, wherefore he inferred that the sea once covered northern Italy, that mussels collected on the sea floor, that the sea receded, and that subsequent deposits of earth were scattered over the former sea bottom. His knowledge resulting from his wide experimentation was encyclopædic. He studied the structure of the eye in order to demonstrate the principles of optics. His investigations in mechanics and hydraulics introduced him to the great field of engineering, and he planned portable bridges, canals, sluices, roads, and flying machines. He had novel ideas about placing cannon to enhance their destructiveness, making rapid-firing bombards, constructing wagons armed with cannon with which to terrify the enemy, and creating new and effective machines with which to reduce fortresses. He even studied domestic architecture and had original ideas on the arrangement of rooms, the construction of hearths and chimneys, the heating of buildings with hot air, the erection of public edifices, and the planning of cities with proper arrangement of streets and disposal of sewage.

Men like Leonardo and Michelangelo studied the scientific treatises written in the Middle Ages which were becoming increasingly available as a result of the printing presses. But they were self-educated men and little influenced by theological or philosophical considerations. Niccolò Tartaglia (1500-57), born in Brescia, is an interesting example. He was seriously wounded when that city was sacked by the French and ever after spoke with difficulty. He was desperately poor but by dint of hard work made great progress in mathematics, developing novel solutions of equations and making original use of statistics in governmental distribution of grain.

Ambrose Paré (1517-90), another self-educated man, became famous in medicine. Born of poor parents, he received his first instruction from a barber-surgeon, later going to Paris where he spent three years in the Hôtel-Dieu. Instruction in the traditional medical lore soon proved inadequate in his estimation. He was surgeon to the army of Francis I on the occasion of the latter's Third War (1536-38) against Charles V. It was customary to cauterize wounds by pouring boiling oil into them, and Paré followed this practice with the wounded men at the capture of Turin:

> At last my oil ran short, and I was forced instead thereof to apply a digestive made of the yolk of eggs, oil of roses, and

> turpentine. In the night I could not sleep in quiet, fearing some default in not cauterizing, that I should find the wounded to whom I had not used the said oil dead from the poison of their wounds; which made me rise very early to visit them, where beyond my expectation I found that those to whom I had applied my digestive medicament had but little pain, and their wounds without inflammation or swelling, having rested fairly well that night; the others, to whom the boiling oil was used, I found feverish, with great pain and swelling about the edges of the wounds. Then I resolved never more to burn thus cruelly poor men with gunshot wounds.[2]

"See how I learned to treat gunshot wounds; not by books," were Paré's modest words. He wrote several treatises and invented a large number of medical instruments. He won fame as a successful surgeon, especially from his work with the wounded at the siege of Metz (1552). He had many enemies who, jealous of his successes, complained that he did not know Latin or Greek. His reply to these detractors was the publication of his remarkable *Journeys in Diverse Places*, written in French.

Paracelsus (1493-1541) also was a self-taught man whose services to medicine were of great importance. He was born near Zürich, learned medicine from his father, studied in Ferrara where he took a degree (1515), traveled far and wide, and accumulated a vast amount of knowledge. He spent some time in the establishments of the Fuggers in the Tyrol and learned much about diseases among miners. He had not the slightest respect for authority, and believed that first-hand study of phenomena was better than repeating the opinions of Galen and his successors. He paid no attention to traditional scientific literature and even neglected Latin so that he could not express himself in that language, an unpardonable defect in the eyes of his scientific contemporaries. The time had come to break with traditional teachings which were woefully inadequate, and Paracelsus' tempestuous attacks on pedantic methods proved significant. Appointed professor of medicine in the University of Basel and physician to the city of Basel in 1527, he began to lecture from his own experience and not from the traditional authorities. On one occasion he publicly burned the books of Galen and other masters, to the great consternation of his competitors. His disrespect for authority and his disregard for the opinions and practices of others made his stay impossible and in 1528 he again began his wanderings. The old-fashioned view that Paracelsus was a quack and of no account has been exploded. On the contrary, he was a skillful physician and surgeon, employing the best pharmaceutic and chemical

[2] A. Paré, *Journeys to Diverse Places, 1537-1569* (Harvard Classics), vol. xxxviii, p. 11.

knowledge of his day in his healing art, and thus laying the foundations of the important iatrochemical school of medicine in the next century.

The study of botany received a strong impetus from its relation to medicine. Gardens of medicinal plants had been common during the Middle Ages and lists of plants known as "herbals" were kept, and the herbalists were the first botanists. The authority of such classical scholars as Theophrastus and Dioscorides exercised a dominating influence in this field during the closing Middle Ages. There were a number of important herbalists in Germany, such as Valerius Cordus (1515-44) and Leonard Fuchs (1501-66) who taught in the University of Erfurt. Dodonæus, a Fleming born in Mechelen in 1517, was perhaps the most successful of all herbalists. Soon botanical gardens were established, the first at the University of Padua, the next two at Montpellier and Leiden.

Conrad Gesner (1515-65), another self-made man, made many contributions to botany and zoology. Born in Zürich of poor parents, he was unable to secure much schooling. He drifted into the Lutheran ministry, but preferred medicine and science, and finally acquired a medical degree at Basel in 1541 and began practicing in Zürich. But he devoted much attention to plants and animals and insects, and wrote a number of books on botany and zoology. His accomplishments were made in the face of the greatest obstacles but he overcame them all by his persistent industry.

Academic circles also produced their quota of scientific men. Tradition and authority were enthroned in many universities, but there were exceptions. At Padua, for example, there was lively debate on the interpretation of Aristotle, and two schools developed. The first interpreted the doctrines of the great philosopher according to the mystical thought of Averroes (d. 1198), a philosopher who had written commentaries on Aristotle. He taught that the soul was immortal but did not retain its personality because it was swallowed up in the greater reality of the world-soul. The opposing school, which interpreted Aristotle in accordance with earlier doctrines which had grown up in Alexandria, completely denied individual immortality. These Alexandrists, as they were called, were critical toward scholastic interpretations of Aristotle and were prone to study his works in the original language according to Humanist methods. Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525), their chief protagonist, taught a materialist philosophy and held that the soul died with the dissolution of the body. Students of science at the University of Padua and such neighboring schools as Ferrara and Bologna thus became active in the criticism of traditional ideas about nature and immortality.

Girolamo Fracastoro (1478?-1553), born in Verona, was a product

of the school of Alexandrists. Emphasizing the naturalism of Aristotle, he became an avowed experimenter and took deep interest in all scientific problems. He wrote *Syphilis sive de Morbo Gallico,* a poem describing the epidemic of syphilis which broke out in Naples during the sojourn of Charles VIII in 1494 and 1495. The origin of this disease is wrapped in mystery. Some contemporaries held that it had been introduced from America by the sailors of Columbus. Most likely, however, it was common throughout the Middle Ages, but suddenly became more virulent than ever. It spread rapidly in all levels of society and was variously called the "French disease," "the Neapolitan pox," or the "Italian disease." The word "syphilis" was coined by Fracastoro and was adopted universally. Fracastoro also wrote a book on contagions which summed up knowledge or this subject and revealed the scientific lucidity of the author's thinking. He criticized the elaborate explanations of the movements of the planets by means of epicycles and eccentric circles, thus paving the way for the heliocentric theory. He also studied geography, and was the first scholar to use the word "pole."

Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) was born in Thorn and studied in Cracow, Bologna, and Padua. He entered the service of the church but continued his work in science. He was sceptical about the geocentric system of the universe as taught in every school in Christendom and decided in favor of the heliocentric theory which had been advanced by Pythagoras but had been eclipsed by Ptolemy. Aquinas, however, preferred the Aristotelian theory.[3] For a time Copernicus said little about his ideas and discoveries, but finally allowed his treatise, *On the Revolutions of Celestial Bodies,* to be published in 1543. In it Copernicus taught that the earth revolved on its axis and described a circular orbit around the sun, the immobile center of the system; the other planets also circled around the sun. Copernicus thus broke completely with current conceptions but not entirely with the old views, for he still clung to the idea of circular orbits in the new system. Nevertheless, it was an epoch-making discovery, for by disproving the theory that the planets move in circular orbits around the earth, Copernicus robbed astrology of its scientific foundations. His ideas were not accepted at first, however. Although Pope Clement VII approved his theories, the church, especially during the Catholic Reform, was suspicious of everything which seemed to contradict Biblical teaching. Most Protestant theologians, being wedded to the idea that the Bible was verbally inspired in every phrase and word, refused to accept the theory, or ignored it.

[3] For the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian theories about the earth and the planets, see chap. x.

The publication of Andreas Vesalius' *Seven Books on the Structure of the Human Body* in 1543 laid the foundations of modern anatomy. Vesalius (1514-64), a Fleming, was born in Brussels and studied at Louvain, Paris, and Padua. From the first he was keenly interested in anatomy and believed that the only way to understand the human body was to study at first hand the structure of its parts. This idea today is a commonplace, but in Vesalius' youth anatomy was not studied with the thoroughness which is necessary if it is to be the basis of medical therapy. Vesalius spent some time in the Venetian hospital of the Theatines and at the University of Padua, from which he received a degree in 1537 and was at once appointed to teach surgery. His book contained a large number of drawings, carefully made after original specimens and executed by the best technical skill of the day. When finished, the world possessed for the first time since antiquity a complete anatomical treatise illustrating minutely and accurately the human form. Its appearance marked a milestone in human progress. The school of Padua continued to lead in medical science. Vesalius was succeeded by Fallopius (1523-62) who won fame from his studies of the ovaries, vagina, placenta, and auditory and glossopharyngeal nerves. The Fallopian tubes were named after him. His pupil Fabricius (1537-1619) made great progress in the study of the vaso-motor system, and was the teacher of William Harvey (1578-1657), the most significant medical authority of modern times next to Vesalius. His book, *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood* (1628), demonstrated the circulation of the blood.

Map-making made considerable progress at the hands of Gerhard Kremer or Gerardus Mercator (1512-94), a Fleming who devoted his life to the study of geography. Accurate maps of the world became a burning necessity, as knowledge about it expanded through the daring of explorers. The old *portolani* of Mediterranean sailors were inadequate and the methods employed in drawing them wholly inaccurate when applied to the newly discovered lands. Fracastoro suggested that the earth's crust could be accurately represented on a flat surface, and Mercator finally succeeded in doing this (1569). His map of the world was drawn on a cylinder on which were made lines of latitude parallel to the equator and lines of longitude at right angles to it. The greater accuracy attained by Mercator's method made possible the development of atlases which displayed the whole surface of the earth. During the closing years of his life Mercator prepared his monumental atlas which appeared in its completed form in 1595. Thus cartography began to catch up with explorations.

Inventions and scientific processes are of the greatest moment in the history of mankind. Each revolutionary invention has produced

profound changes in economic, social, political, and cultural life. Our modern culture is made possible by the bewildering array of inventions which we see at every hand. The age of the Renaissance boasts a number of such inventions and new scientific processes. Before 1475 mines were little more than pits like wells and were crudely worked. Soon hoisting pumps were invented in order to drain water from the deeper wells; adits or lateral horizontal shafts were developed, and boring machines came into existence. Improved windlasses, composed of endless chains with buckets attached, were invented. Blast furnaces were built. Ere long someone produced the new amalgam process for reducing silver ore, an invention which made possible more effective exploitation of the Bolivian silver mines. Such new processes stimulated the mining industry of central Europe and poured great wealth into the coffers of the Fuggers and other capitalists. George Agricola (1494-1555), a practical man who was well acquainted with the mining industry of Germany, wrote a treatise on metallurgy entitled *On Metals*. He described the practice of subjecting cast iron to intense heat in the presence of some oxidizing substances and of frequent stirring in order to produce wrought iron. This process of "puddling" became important.

There were many improvements in shipping, military weapons, clocks, and implements. But the most remarkable invention of the Renaissance was printing, which made possible the rapid and cheap multiplication of books. Hitherto people had been dependent upon handwritten copies and had found the cost of such books prohibitive. The new process of printing made it possible for a much larger number of the cultivated townsmen to secure the works of Humanists. During the first half-century of the printing industry it is estimated that about forty thousand editions were produced. The appearance of so many books undermined the dominance of the universities and their traditional thought, and substituted for them the more vital ideas of writers who could not find expression in the schools. As the appeal of the new Humanist culture was addressed to a wider public than in the Middle Ages, books in the vernacular became more numerous than ever, and the sway of Latin as sole medium of thought ended. Pamphleteering increased in importance. New religious ideas were rapidly disseminated, thus contributing materially to the rise of Protestantism.

The story of the invention of printing is a complicated problem. Books had been written on parchment during the earlier Middle Ages, but paper, a far cheaper medium, became common during the fourteenth century in the Mediterranean area whence it spread to other lands. Although parchment was sometimes used in printing, paper soon won great favor. Thus the history of the paper industry

is closely bound up with that of printing. Little is known about the development of printers' ink. This is an important subject because ordinary writing ink cannot be used in printing. Great obscurity enshrouds the early history of printing, and many legends have sprung up such as the belief that the art was initiated by Lawrence Coster of Haarlem (d. between 1435 and 1440). This story has been shown to be a pure myth. There also is much misunderstanding about the nature of Gutenberg's work.

The invention of printing was achieved by a gradual process of perfection until the famous Bibles with thirty-six and forty-two lines on a page were produced. The first step in this evolution perhaps is represented by the block prints which appeared early in the fifteenth century and which were simple pictures of saints with a few words added. Soon more elaborate pictures appeared. Several pages of block prints were put together to form such simple books as the *Mirror of Human Salvation* and the *Bible of the Poor* in which pictures supplemented with brief texts appeared. It was not long before printing from movable type was developed, but little is known in detail about the evolution of this process. It is certain that movable type was used at least as early as 1448. According to tradition John Gensfleisch of Gutenberg contributed much to it. Gradually the mechanical process was perfected and Gutenberg's Bible with pages of thirty-six lines and Peter Schöffer's and John Fust's with forty-two lines which appeared in 1546 mark the culmination of the invention. The city of Mainz has always been regarded as the home of printing, but it is possible that such centers as Strassburg and Lyons may have contributed something to the development of this art. Whatever uncertainties may exist about the origin of printing, it is evident that this invention was the most important mechanical art yet produced for the diffusion of thought.

CHAPTER XXIX

NORTHERN HUMANISM TO ERASMUS

During the Renaissance European culture turned from unattainable ideals tc nature and reality.—R. EHRENBERG.[1]

NORTHERN EUROPE gradually succumbed to the charm of the new Renaissance thought of Italy. In spite of the fact that north of the Alps commerce was expanding, cities were becoming more populous, great reserves of capital were forming, and powerful monarchical states were coming into being, the attitude toward problems of life had remained conservative. Education was dominated by the old practical ideals. Students were interested in theology, scholastic philosophy, medicine, and Roman law. Literature was concerned with the traditional themes of chivalry, mystical piety, and religion. Intellectual progress had fallen far behind the social and economic advance of the age. It bore the impress of the Middle Ages and had not yet begun to consider the problems of the new era. Readjustment was inevitable. Italian culture during the *quattrocento* and the High Renaissance supplied a needed impetus in changing the old and everywhere exercised profound influence. In all branches of human activity Europe became a province of Italian civilization. Many things were borrowed which enabled the new states to develop their national and secular cultures.

Italian Humanism found its way into Germany as early as the days of Petrarch. This was inevitable because of the close political connection between Germany and Italy. Furthermore, merchants from the great cities of southern Germany carried on a busy traffic through the Brenner Pass with the cities of northern Italy. As Augsburg, Ulm, Münich, Strassburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Nuremberg, and Vienna became wealthy, their burghers could not help feeling the charm of the superior social, artistic, and intellectual life of the south. Students from the many universities of Germany

[1] *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York, 1928), p. 58.

went to Italian schools, especially Padua which was situated near the southern end of the Brenner Pass. Impatient with the pedantry of German teachers who taught traditional things in traditional ways, some of them returned filled with the spirit of revolt.

Peter Luder (d. 1474?) was one of the first of Germany's young men to lead the life of a roving apostle of revolt. Born about 1415, he early went to Rome as a cleric, wandered far and wide, and finally settled at the University of Padua where he found a congenial company of south German youths. One of them recommended him to the elector of the Palatinate who in 1444 appointed him as professor in classical languages and literature at the University of Heidelberg. His pedantic colleagues, disliking this innovation and fearful of the reception which the new studies might have, were ill disposed toward him, and sought to censor the manuscript of his introductory lecture and even to deny him access to the university library. He was an energetic protagonist of Latin studies and against the ancient accusation of immorality and paganism stoutly argued that the classics were capable of exerting an ennobling influence. He made many enemies because of this policy and because of his scant regard for religion. He was a spendthrift, always poor, and a hard drinker. In spite of his many talents he failed to exert an abiding influence on German Humanism. Driven from Heidelberg by the plague in 1460, he returned to Padua to study medicine and subsequently taught at Basel and Vienna.

Conrad Celtes (1459-1508) was one of the most typical of the roving scholars who frequented the universities. Like other German youths, he wandered from school to school and went to Italy where he perfected his knowledge of Greek, collected manuscripts, and acquainted himself with the trends of Humanist learning. On his return to Germany in 1487 he received the poet's crown in Nuremberg. Next he went to the Polish University of Cracow in order to study science, that is, mathematics and astronomy. It was then that he began his feverish career as a wandering Humanist. Everywhere he became the center of those who admired Humanist learning, or "poetry" as it was called. Old-fashioned professors distrusted him and tolerated him only grudgingly, but the free spirits of the time listened to him. Finally, in 1497, he accepted a post in the University of Vienna where he soon became the leading force among the youths who were eager for Humanist learning, and led in establishing the famous Humanist club known as the Danubian Sodality. Grandiose schemes were hatched in his brain. He wanted to edit classical and mediæval historical writings. Being intensely patriotic as was common among German Humanists, he conceived the idea of publishing a vast historical description of his native land. It was called *Germania*

Illustrata and doubtless was inspired by Flavio Biondo's similar works on Italy and Rome. However, Celtes never accomplished much, for his energies were expended in magnificent dreams, in stirring up students and preaching a new cause. His poetry is a significant product of the new age, and in it he imitated to great perfection the verse and language of Horace. Like this great master of the days of Augustus Cæsar, Celtes advocated a life of pleasure and enjoyment of secular things. His love of poetry often becomes erotic; his passion is not always uplifting.

There were many other Humanists at the universities but Peter Luder and Celtes must suffice as examples. Humanism also found its way into the court life of the century. Emperor Frederick III (1440-92) felt no attraction for the new learning, preferring the study of astrology, alchemy, and chivalry, the care of his stables, and the practical concerns of his office. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1458-64), went to his court as ambassador of Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) in order to win imperial support against the Council of Basel. Piccolomini found Germany a very uncongenial place, for the nobility was interested in the customary chivalric ideal and all life was dominated by mediæval conceptions. Nevertheless, his sojourn from 1442 to 1445 was significant, for it gave Germans a glimpse of the broader intellectual life which was developing under Italian skies.

Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519) was especially significant as a Humanist ruler. He was conscious of the greatness of the imperial dignity, a glory which extended back to the days of the Roman Cæsars. He was a man of great personal charm, affable, and able to appreciate the new art and literature, and his restless activity captured the imagination of the German people. He was able to divine the vague and subtle aspirations of the Germans. His success was due to these personal qualities and not to the resources of the imperial power. Although, owing to the rapid evolution of capitalism, royal power in other states was creating a new type of absolute state, the crown of Germany failed at this critical moment to subject the land to its autocratic will. The empire became a group of practically independent states and imperial cities. There was no imperial army, taxation, administration, or effective justice. Consequently Maximilian was unable to reduce the Swiss, oppose the French, maintain his rights in Lombardy, or retain the properties of his wife, Mary of Burgundy. In spite of his failures, Maximilian better than any other expressed the nationalist sentiments of the Germans.

His court became a center of Humanist activity, for Maximilian burned to excel as a Humanist. Poets and enthusiasts over classical letters hurried to his court and received gifts from the impecunious

emperor, often being crowned by him. Maximilian loved to set the vogue of literary appreciation, and he caused to be written a tedious poetical allegory, the *Theuerdank*, relating to his courtship of Mary of Burgundy whom he married in 1477. The *Weisskunig*, or *The White King*, which was dictated by him, contains an account of his princely deeds. Although these works contained much that was mediæval in spirit, they nevertheless reveal how the emperor had caught the ideal of princely leadership in culture which was common in Italy.

Humanism also flourished in the more prosperous urban centers of southern Germany. Situated on the roads of traffic from Rhenish and other German lands to the Brenner Pass, Augsburg became a wealthy trading metropolis of immense importance and the German capital of fifteenth-century finance. The family of the Fuggers possessed banking establishments here and in many other European cities. This house rose from obscurity at the close of the fourteenth century and became identified with many phases of German economic life. Jacob Fugger (1459-1525), its most prominent representative, became very rich by investing money in trade in oriental articles which came by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Lisbon. He lent money to emperors, popes, and princes, and collected books, appreciated art, and built palaces. The Welser family, like the Fuggers, had long lived in Augsburg. In 1473 four brothers formed a banking house which carried on an active business with the needy rulers of the Hapsburg house and financed many businesses. Independent branches of the Welser house opened offices in Ulm and Nuremberg. Hans Paumgartner, Sigismund Gossenbrot, and Ambrosius Hochstetter also were important financiers of Augsburg. All these firms maintained close relations with Emperor Maximilian who constantly needed great sums of money with which to finance his many wars and who repeatedly pledged his mining property in Tyrol for them to exploit. These firms established branches in Antwerp when that center became the northern mart for the articles of luxury which were brought to Lisbon by Portuguese sailors who jealously controlled the new route to India.

These burghers of Augsburg were strongly attracted to the new secular culture which was rising in Italy. Sigismund Gossenbrot (1417-1488?), burgomaster of Nuremberg from 1458, championed the new learning and in 1452 began a long polemic with an old-fashioned professor in the University of Vienna who bitterly opposed the growing prestige of such Humanist writers as Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla. This contest is an example of the bitter antagonism between men of the old order and the younger generation who revolted against the aridity of traditional thought and

education. Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547) belonged to a younger generation and was an even more fiery exponent of Humanist thought. He studied in Italy and in 1485 returned with a doctor's degree, his mind steeped in the new learning. He at once entered political life and served his native Augsburg in many ways. He repeatedly visited Italy and became a confidential adviser of Emperor Maximilian who found it necessary to keep on intimate terms with the moneyed aristocracy of Augsburg.

Peutinger was an interesting example of the practical character of the Renaissance in Germany. He did not devote his time exclusively to the study of the classics; he remained an active man of affairs, never despising, or affecting to despise, simple bread-and-butter activities, as did some Italian Humanists. He was an enthusiastic collector of antiquities and his house harbored coins, manuscripts, and other objects of the classical past. He possessed an old map of the military roads of the western Roman Empire dating from classical times. It was discovered by Conrad Celtes and is known to this day as the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* But his zeal for classical antiquity did not prevent him from being a patriotic German and an enthusiastic collector of German chronicles. He also became the center of a coterie of young Humanists and acted as a sort of literary Mæcenas. His conservative character is shown by his great interest in theology, a characteristic of nearly all German Humanists which differentiated them sharply from Italian scholars.

Nuremberg became a noteworthy center of Humanist culture, Wilibald Pirckheimer (1470-1528) being its most prominent representative. His father John had long been a keen admirer of Humanist thought, and it was due to him that the youth was sent to the universities of Padua and Pavia. Wilibald was supposed to study Roman civil law but, like so many of the more wide-awake youths of the day, preferred the classical languages and literature. His subsequent career was much like that of Peutinger. He became a councilor of the government of Nuremberg, was sent on numerous ambassadorial missions, and was intimate with Emperor Maximilian. He dearly loved the German fatherland and eagerly read its history, but he never wearied of poring over the ancient classics and he made translations of Greek authors. He wrote much on politics, literature, and history. He was also an able pamphleteer and is supposed to have penned a biting satirical diatribe against Dr. John Eck, the opponent of Luther. His sisters also were interested in the new ideas of the day, Charitas (d. 1532) reading Latin classics and even conversing in the polished Latin of Cicero. She became abbess of a convent in Nuremberg and was one of the first German women to illustrate what Humanism could accomplish for womankind.

Northern Germany also became a center of Humanist culture, but here it did not originate in any princely court or among wealthy bourgeois families as in southern Germany. Following the death of Gerrit Groote of Deventer in 1384, the Brethren of the Common Life opened many schools in the towns of the Low Countries and adjacent parts of Germany. In those days the Low Countries were politically a part of the German empire and although culturally these lands bore some resemblance to Germany, they revealed many special features. The schools of the Brethren of the Common Life as a rule were excellently organized and very efficient, but they were narrowly devoted to mediæval conceptions of piety and morality. Thus they stood aloof from the secular ideals which characterized the schools of Italy. This conservatism, however, could not last, for even before the middle of the fourteenth century men of Humanist learning appeared among the Brethren and began to introduce some of the newer learning. Wessel Gansfort (1419?-89) was one of their pupils. Brought up in the pious surroundings of the school in Zwolle, he early acquired that deep piety which characterized him ever after, and became an important force among his contemporaries. His career will be outlined in a later chapter.

The school of the Brethren at Deventer early became famous. Its great teacher, Alexander Hegius (1433-98), was conservative by nature, holding fast to the old while testing the new. During his office as rector the enrollment of the school grew so that more than 2200 youths received tuition under him. He was eminently pious, leading a devout life in accordance with the *devotio moderna* under which he had been brought up, and trying to practice charity as Christ had enjoined. But he also believed that his students should acquire a pure Latinity like that of Cicero. His zeal as a teacher led him to see many defects in the customary grammars and other text-books, and he advocated thorough improvement in them. Under the influence of teachers like Hegius many youths received their first lessons in the improved learning of Humanists, at the same time remaining attached to the old lessons of simple and mystical piety inculcated by the *devotio moderna*.

Rudolf Agricola (1442-85) was one of the most noteworthy pupils of the school at Deventer. Born near Groningen, he came under the influence of the Brethren, revealed special aptitude in classical languages, and developed a remarkably clear Latinity. He studied in Louvain where he obtained a master's degree, and then proceeded to Paris and Italy. He became acquainted with Reuchlin, it is said. Pedagogy was his prime interest and he burned to bring to Germany the best methods of Humanist teaching. Studying in Rome and Ferrara, he gained such proficiency in Greek that his fame spread

throughout Italy. He returned to Germany in 1480 but, finding no congenial surroundings, felt like a stranger. He spent some time in the town of Groningen which finally sent him to the imperial court where he tarried for six months. In 1482 he was appointed to a post in the University of Heidelberg and enjoyed the cultivated environment of the elector's court. Agricola translated Greek classics into Latin and wrote pedagogical treatises which exerted wide influence and were often reprinted. His conceptions were those of the Italian Humanists. He believed that Latin should be the basic language in education and that students should be carefully trained in it. Its mastery was to be acquired through industrious study, use of the memory, and constant exercise. Agricola also urged the study of Hebrew for he believed it indispensable to a correct understanding of Scripture.

Rudolf von Langen, a pupil of the school in Deventer, reformed the cathedral school of Münster in 1500. The improvement which came from the teaching of the Brethren of the Common Life was effectively furthered by Von Langen's successor John Murmellius (1480-1517), a master who also had studied at Deventer. Another school was opened in Alsatian Schlettstadt in 1441. Its founder was Lewis Dringenberg (d. 1490), a native of Westphalia who had received some of his education at Deventer. He served as rector of the school at Schlettstadt and was very influential, many remarkable pupils coming under his tuition.

John Wimpheling (1450-1528) was educated in the school of Schlettstadt and studied at the University of Heidelberg. He became a staunch advocate of reform in the church which he believed was suffering from unworthy priests and unfaithful friars. Such was his zeal in this matter that he loudly opposed all who resisted the idea of cleansing the church of vicious practices. His pamphlet, *De Integritate,* or *On Clerical Purity,* criticized the regular clergy who never forgave him his strictures upon their worldly lives. He also satirized the excessive subtleties of old-fashioned professors in the universities. Like Luther he complained of the mercenary methods employed by the Roman *curia* to collect vast sums of money from Germany. Intensely patriotic like most German Humanists, he wrote in 1505 an *Epitome of German History.* Wimpheling also was an eager student of the classics, as well as one of Germany's greatest pedagogues. As became a Humanist, he held that all classes of the population should be educated. A number of treatises appeared, designed to instil respect for learning among princely groups. He urged the common people to abandon their banal popular life and become educated, to develop a mastery of the German tongue and cultivate religious knowledge. He also advocated the development of a choice Latinity and careful study of the Latin classics, and to this

end he opened a Latin school in Strassburg. Wimpheling is an excellent example of the practical character of German Humanists.

Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), a close friend of Wimpheling, helped him in his polemics against old-fashioned men who opposed the study of classical authors. He ardently cultivated the Latin language and became a leading member of the coterie of Humanists which lived in Strassburg. His great reputation was won with the *Narren-schiff*, or *Ship of Fools*, a long poem in which he criticized and satirized the manners and morals of the day. Sin is represented as folly, and all sorts of fools are discussed. Of astrology he said:

> Thus it aperyth both playne and openly
> That it is foly to gyve great confydence
> To the unsure science of astronomy
> Wherefore have done, just man, note this sentence
> A man of wysdome vertue and science
> If he the wayes of vyces set asyde
> Shall gyde the sterris, and they shall hym nat gyde.

Toward the "fools of the spirituality," or the clergy, he was sharply critical:

> The order of presthode is troublyd of eche fole
> The honour of religioun every where decays
> Such caytyfs and courters that never were at scole
> Are firste promotyd to presthode now adays
> O Numa Numa thou folowyd nat suche wayes
> In thy olde temples suche folys to consecrate
> But such as were wyse, and with vertue decorate. . .
>
> O godly order! O prestly innocence
> O laudable lyfe wysdome and humylyte
> Alas why have we you put from our presence
> And you exylyd with godly grauyte
> Our lyfe is nowe led in all enormyte
> And all by our foly and amasyd ignoraunce
> The prelatis are the cause of this mysgovernance.[2]

As compared with the refined verse of Pulci and Ariosto, the stanzas of Brant are decidedly inferior. Their significance lies in their earnest moral satire which was not lost on the people.

John Geiler of Kaisersberg (1445-1510), an intimate friend of Brant and Wimpheling, became famous as a penitential preacher in Strassburg. He vigorously attacked abuses in church and society and even drew texts for his sermons from Brant's *Ship of Fools*. Although he was interested in Humanist learning, he remained wedded

[2] *The Ship of Fools* (Edinburgh, 1874), vol. ii, pp. 20, 59.

to the past, cautiously feeling his way. John Trithemius (1462-1516) also was a product of the pedagogical Humanists of Deventer and Alsace. A precocious youth, he studied at Heidelberg, and became proficient in Greek and Hebrew, receiving instruction from Celtes and Reuchlin. In 1482 he entered the Benedictine monastery of Sponheim and soon became abbot. Befriended by Maximilian, he continued his interest in letters and was in close contact with the Rhenish Literary Sodality. Like Reuchlin he was interested in cabalistic thought and wrote some treatises on it, some of which were none too orthodox. He shared in the belief in witchcraft which was general at the time, and some of his books are remarkable monuments of this folly. Although his views sometimes were traditional, he was a Humanist; he was patriotic, was earnestly interested in history, and an eager student of chronicles. He also criticized the society of his day, finding much fault with the nobility and even with the bourgeois capitalists whose importance he failed to understand.

Humanism also flourished in other centers. Cologne was centrally situated in the lower valley of the Rhine and wandering Humanists often visited it. The University of Cologne was an old-fashioned place, adhering strictly to traditional ways. Its theological faculty was very conservative and hostile to new ideas, especially those of the Humanists. Ortwin Gratius (1491-1542) was one of the better-known professors in the university. Educated by the Brethren of the Common Life, he was attracted to the new learning but remained conservative in all his views on life. He carried on a sharp polemic against a Humanist who had been trained in Italy and who claimed that theologians so neglected the study of letters that they could not interpret Scripture adequately. A group of Humanists led by Conrad Mutianus Rufus (1471-1526) came into existence at Erfurt and Gotha, after Luther left the University of Erfurt. Although brought up in the school at Deventer, Mutianus embraced the conceptions of Italian Humanism when he studied in Italy. He eagerly accepted the mystical Platonic interpretation of the Christian faith which had become very popular in Italy after the passing of Mirandola (d. 1494) and Ficino (d. 1499). These highly speculative conceptions, he argued, could be understood by philosophers and Humanists but remained a sealed book to the multitude; it was therefore necessary to teach them the facts of the Christian religion as it had evolved historically. His Platonism caused him to take an ethical view of religion; hence he rebuked the clergy for their unworthiness, criticized the crude ideas of the common people, and in general was opposed to purely formal and external acts of faith.

Mutianus inspired a number of young men, especially Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1525). Born into a noble family, Von Hutten was

brought up in the antiquated ideas of chivalry. He soon found his lessons irksome at the monastic school of Fulda and fled to Mutianus at Erfurt. He became acquainted with other Humanists and found their thought as agreeable to his nature as the old-fashioned schooling in Fulda was distasteful. Rejected by his irate father when he fled Fulda, Von Hutten began the restless wandering of a Humanist, and, reduced to penury, he arrived at the University of Greifswald. Here he was mistrusted by one of the professors whose servants robbed him of his scanty clothes. Next he appeared in Rostock where he wrote a bitter diatribe upon the professor. His *Elegies*, Latin poems setting forth the thoughts which swarmed in his mind, were written during these trying days. He also penned a poem on versification. Like other Humanists, he was patriotic, and, resenting the epithet "barbarians" which Italians were wont to hurl at people of his nationality, he wrote a poem to prove Germany's equality with other nations.

He tried to lecture at Vienna where this poem was written, but was prevented by the jealous professors because he did not possess a degree. Next he appeared in Padua, poverty stricken, afflicted with the mortal "Neapolitan disease" and his legs covered with hideous sores. His indomitable will drove him ever onward and he soon appeared in Bologna. This brief visit to Italy proved important, for Von Hutten saw at first hand the rivalry between France and the emperor in Lombardy. Hitherto he had been concerned primarily with the literary aspects of Humanism, but now he became feverishly interested in politics. He poured out the vials of his wrath upon France:

> Why is he [i.e., France] flying away, comb bleeding and feathers dishevelled,
> He the proud cock and the valiant, the dread of the birds all around him?
> Why but because he preferred the din and the clamour of battle,
> Thinking to win o'er the eagle [i.e., Germany] a victory easy and sure.
> Little he measured his foe: he bore it awhile and was patient:
> But when his rage was aroused he defended himself with his talons.
> Truly, ill fares it with those who rashly dare to offend him.
> Better to make him a friend than be crushed by the might of his anger. . . .[3]

Von Hutten also attacked the pope, for he had seen Julius II carry on war like a secular prince and lay siege to the town of Mirandola in Lombardy. Angered by this debasement of the pope's high office,

[3] D. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten, His Life and Times* (London, 1874), p. 51.

he did not hesitate to attack indulgences, mercenary issuance of bulls, and papal morals in general. By 1514 he was back in Germany, still rejected by his family and consorting with Humanists. He carried on a typically chivalric feud with the duke of Württemburg from 1515 to 1517 which was begun by the murder of one of Von Hutten's family. Thereupon followed his second visit to Italy (1516-17), during which he studied in Bologna and Ferrara and visited Venice. He became more proficient in Greek and formed a deep appreciation for the satirist Lucian. This was important, for on his return to Germany he became that country's greatest satirist.

After 1517 Ulrich von Hutten continued his vagrant Humanist life. He visited Augsburg in the summer of 1517, immediately after his second visit to Italy, and was crowned with the poet's laurel by Emperor Maximilian. In his patriotic frenzy he now attacked the pope. Soon he was attracted to Luther because of the latter's quarrel with Tetzel over indulgences. Von Hutten's later career will be discussed in connection with the Reformation.

Von Hutten at once was drawn into the bitter controversy between the theological professors of the University of Cologne and the Humanist John Reuchlin (1455-1522). Born in Baden and educated at Heidelberg, Paris, and Basel, Reuchlin early became acquainted with Humanist conceptions current among the students. His Latinity was vastly superior to that of theologians and lawyers, and at the University of Basel he became proficient in Greek; he also studied law at Orléans. In 1482 and 1490 he visited Italy where he became acquainted with Pico della Mirandola and developed deep interest in the mystic teachings of the *Cabala.* He began studying Hebrew and soon knew more about that language than any other Christian. Throughout the Middle Ages scholars and theologians had not interested themselves in the language of the people who had crucified Christ. Obviously it was not necessary because Jewish books were full of heresies!

In 1496 Reuchlin became a pensioner of Bishop John Dalberg of Worms (1445-1503), a man of strong Humanist leanings who invited him to teach in the University of Heidelberg. He became the center of an enthusiastic circle of Humanist students and his fame spread throughout Germany. He wrote two books, *On the Elements of Hebrew* (1506), and *On the Cabalists' Art* (1517). "Phœnix Germaniæ," or the "German Phœnix," was the proud title which his countrymen gave him.

Reuchlin represented the Renaissance in one of its most important aspects, that of the scientific study of language as a preparation for literature, secular as well as sacred. Although untrained as a theologian, he had not the slightest hesitation in discussing Biblical

texts as simple literary works, and he even showed that conventional interpretation of Scriptural passages was often at variance with the correct literary reading of the passages involved. All of Reuchlin's views were sharply challenged in his controversy with a Jew named Pfefferkorn. This man had renounced Judaism in 1506 and became an ardent proselytizer for the Christian faith. He wrote many pamphlets against the Jews, one of which was called the *Judenspiegel*, or *Jews' Mirror*. One of his contentions was that books written in Hebrew should be confiscated. Supported by the Dominican friars of Cologne, he approached the emperor and in 1509 his proposal was set forth in an imperial decree commanding the Jews to surrender their books.

Empowered to carry out this law, Pfefferkorn set to work in the cities of the Rhineland, but his progress was blocked by the Archbishop of Mainz who did not share his fanaticism. This prelate demanded that some scholars should be asked to give their opinion on the advisability of destroying books written in Hebrew. Pfefferkorn agreed and rashly suggested Reuchlin, little thinking that the Humanist did not share the old-fashioned views of the theologians. Reuchlin's opinion, given in 1510, was a Humanist classic. Most Jewish books, he argued, were quite harmless and were even instructive to Christians. Since the *Talmud*, the *Cabala*, commentaries, and other literature were not directed against the Christian religion, he felt that they should not be destroyed. Pfefferkorn, keenly disappointed and wrathful, attacked Reuchlin in a pamphlet called the *Handspiegel*, or *Hand-mirror*, in which he stated that Reuchlin knew little Hebrew and was incompetent to render decision on so weighty a subject. Reuchlin was enraged at this impudence and put forth his *Augenspiegel*, or *Eyes' Mirror*, criticizing Pfefferkorn and justifying his own position. But the Jew had friends among the theological professors of Cologne who examined Reuchlin's book and drew from it a list of statements which they demanded he should recall. They were to some extent justified because Reuchlin's ideas drawn from the *Cabala* were not entirely consonant with Christian doctrine. Several universities condemned the *Augenspiegel*, and finally the Inquisitor-General Hochstraten required Reuchlin to appear before him to answer for his heresies, as he termed them.

But Reuchlin's friends supported him and Hochstraten appealed to Pope Leo X. The Humanist *curia* of that day cared little for the antiquated notions of theologians and saw little that was heretical in Reuchlin's idea. Leo was slow to exonerate Reuchlin, however, because of the pleadings of Hochstraten. Frightened by Luther's revolt which began in 1517, the pope finally in 1520 pronounced the *Augenspiegel* a dangerous book. Reuchlin had published under the

title *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ*, or *Letters of Famous Men*, some letters which he had received from men who felt as he did. It suggested a famous satire on his opponents, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, or *Letters of Obscure Men*, written by stupid admirers to their equally stupid professors in Cologne. The first book appeared in 1516. Its authorship remains in doubt but it is practically certain that most of the letters were written by Crotus Rubianus (1486-1539?), a member of the Erfurt circle of Humanists who admired Mutianus. Von Hutten also contributed some letters to his first book, and most if not all of the second book which appeared in 1517 came from his hand.

The *Letters of Obscure Men* is a classic in the satirical literature of the Renaissance. Theologians and professors of theology, wedded to the impossible methods of Biblical exegesis which had grown up during the Middle Ages, were loath to admit that Humanists, or "poets" as they were called, who were untrained in theology could teach them anything about the interpretation of Scripture. Instead they sought to defend themselves by the Inquisition. The contest between Reuchlin and these theologians was one between free inquiry and authority, and when simple argument failed, satire was employed by reformers like Sebastian Brant in his *Ship of Fools*. Admirers of the methods held sacred in the University of Cologne wrote letters to Ortwin Gratius under ridiculous names: Strauszfeder (Ostrich feather), Ziegenmelker (Goat-milker), Gänseprediger (Goose-preacher), Honiglecker (Honey-licker), Glatzkopf (Bald-pate), and Mistlader (Dung-loader). They were a stupid lot, much perturbed that anyone should venture to question tradition; they conformed to accepted ideas and naïvely believed that the struggle for truth was finished. They were ridiculous because of their religiosity and their uncouth Latin which often degenerates into doggerel. They were proud of their academic titles and were much alarmed that Reuchlin and his crew of poets did not respect them.

Thus Heinrich Schafmaul (Sheep's mouth) wrote from Rome about a nice point in religion. He states that when he was dining with a friend in an inn, he found a chick in one of the eggs he was eating. "This I showed to a comrade; whereupon quoth he to me, 'Eat it up speedily, before the taverner sees it, for if he mark it, you will have to pay a Carline or a Julius for a fowl.' . . . In a trice I gulped down the egg, chicken and all. And then I remembered that it was Friday! Whereupon I said to my crony, 'You have made me commit a mortal sin, in eating flesh on the sixth day of the week!' But he averred that it was not a mortal sin—nor even a venial one, seeing that such a chickling is accounted merely as an egg, until it is born. He told me, too, that it is just the same in the case of

cheese in which there are sometimes grubs, as there are in cherries, peas, and new beans; yet all these may be eaten on Fridays, and even on Apostolic Vigils. But taverners are such rascals that they call them flesh to get more money." But Schafmaul, troubled in conscience, begs Ortwin Gratius to settle whether the chick was flesh; and he adds significantly, "If you hold that the sin is mortal, I would fain get shrift here ere I return to Germany."

One Anton, doctor of medicine, wrote from Heidelberg about his interview with Erasmus. The works of Julius Cæsar were mentioned which gave Anton his opportunity, and he writes: "So soon as I heard this, I perceived my opportunity, for I had studied much, and learned much under you in the matter of poetry when I was in Cologne, and I said, 'Forasmuch as you have begun to speak concerning poetry, I can therefore no longer hide my light under a bushel, and I roundly aver that I believe not that Cæsar wrote those *Commentaries*, and I will prove my position with argument following, which runneth thus: Whosoever hath business with arms and is occupied in labor unceasing cannot learn Latin: but Cæsar was ever at war and in labors manifold; therefore he could not become lettered and get Latin. In truth, therefore, I believe that it was none other than Suetonius who wrote those *Commentaries* for I have met with none who hath a style liker to Cæsar's than Suetonius.' "[4] Amused by this ridiculous argument, Erasmus smiled and said nothing; and Anton thought that he had defeated the great Humanist.

German Humanism was restricted mainly to the Rhenish and Danubian valleys, for the less densely populated regions of eastern Germany made slower progress, as is true also of the busy trading centers of the Hanseatic League. These towns were hardly beginning to enjoy the leisure which capital accumulated from many business operations made possible, and a cultured bourgeoisie such as the towns of southern Germany possessed had not yet come into existence. This was even more true of Scandinavia. Sweden and Norway were an economic province of the Hanseatic League; the profits of their trade went to swell the coffers of German merchants. Although Denmark also was dominated by the Hansa, native merchants were able to share to some extent in the business life of the realm. Humanism was cultivated here and there, but did not become an active force until the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation. Finland, a province of the Swedish crown, was a backward country and the new learning found no foothold in it, nor in the lands of the Knights of the Sword and of the Teutonic Knights.

The situation in Poland was somewhat different. The German

[4] *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, tr. and ed. by F. G. Stokes (London, 1909), pp. 445-447, 369-372.

burgher and trader dominated the economic life of the land, the Slavic peasant remaining sunken in the inertness of serfdom. The nobility, however, sent their young men to study in German universities and even to the schools of Italy. Thus the culture of Humanism was gradually brought into Poland. Some of the nobility began to show interest in it during the latter part of the reign of Casimir IV (1445-92). The influence of the crown proved more powerful. Sigismund I (1506-48) took a bride from the house of Sforza, Bona, daughter of Duke Gian Galeazzo of Milan (d. 1494), and she stimulated interest in Humanist culture. Italians came to the Polish court and Italian influences began to transform Polish thought, manners, and letters.

Bohemia in the previous century had given some promise of Humanist culture, for Emperor Charles IV (1347-78) was a friend of Petrarch and was much interested in Italy. A number of Bohemians eagerly studied classical authors, but their influence on the course of Humanism in Germany remained limited. Hungary, an agricultural land worked by serfs and ruled by nobles, offered no favorable home to it, and the Slavic lands to the south were hardly touched by it. Roumania, the Balkan peninsula, and the multitudes of Russians to the east escaped its influence entirely because town culture had scarcely come into existence.

Renaissance conceptions found their way into England later than into Germany. This was inevitable because of the more conservative economic development of the country. The towns were rapidly becoming important and were the chief source of the crown's power, London, the foremost urban center, leading all others. Henry VII (1485-1509), however, was too busy setting his realm in order after the Wars of the Roses to play the part of a Mæcenas. For some time Italian Renaissance culture had attracted the attention of Englishmen. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1447), the most noteworthy, was deeply interested in classical letters and corresponded with the Humanist Pier Candido Decembrio of Milan who dedicated an edition of Plato's *Republic* to him. Among the three or four hundred books which he gave to the University of Oxford were copies of the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and the recently rediscovered writings of ancient Latin authors. His example was not very fruitful, however, for the new learning was to acquire its most zealous and successful devotees from among the bourgeoisie and the scholars of Oxford. William Grocyn (1466?-1519) was educated in Magdalen College in Oxford. But learning in that venerable university was still of the traditional variety and, attracted by the report of the great superiority of Italian thought, Grocyn went to Italy and visited Florence, Rome, and Padua. He studied Greek under

Chalcondyles and Poliziano, returned in 1491, and began lecturing in Greek in Exeter College, Oxford. With him to Italy went William Latimer (1460?-1545) who became sufficiently proficient in Greek to begin the translation of Aristotle. Thomas Linacre (1460?-1524) studied at Oxford and in 1485 went to Italy, visiting Bologna, Florence, Rome, Venice, Padua, and Vicenza. After receiving a degree in medicine, he returned to England in 1492 and began teaching Greek in Oxford. He brought to England the latest advances in medical science made in Italy, translated the works of Galen, and founded the London College of Physicians.

John Colet (1467?-1519), the son of a London merchant, was more important than any of these other men. After becoming master of arts at Oxford, he visited Italy to study Greek, law, and the church fathers. Returning to Oxford in 1496, he began lecturing on the Pauline epistles—a hardy step, for Colet had no degree in theology. He devoted much attention to the literal sense of the texts which others ignored in their zeal to consider the hidden and allegorical meaning, a method which so pleased people that his auditors rapidly increased. This was the beginning of a new method of studying Biblical literature in England, based upon the grammatical and literary ideas of the Renaissance rather than upon the antiquated methods employed by scholastics. Colet inherited his father's large fortune in 1508, and determined to use it in reestablishing the school attached to St. Paul's Church in London. It was modeled after the new Renaissance schools of Italy, with control vested in the London Company of Mercers, a lay group, and not in the clergy. William Lilly, the first headmaster, taught Greek and Ciceronian Latin. This example of a successful institution of Humanist learning proved contagious. Thus was developed a group of men known as the Oxford Reformers, the pioneers of a great literary and educational movement. Henry VIII (1509-47) befriended Colet and other learned men and encouraged Humanism, and the movement soon began to be felt also in Cambridge.

The Renaissance came to France before the memorable expedition of Charles VIII in 1494 and 1495, for Italian culture had attracted the attention of Frenchmen from time to time, and Italian Humanists had visited the country and made the acquaintance of eager students. Little progress, however, was made between 1460 and 1500. Traditional conceptions reigned at the Sorbonne, the great theological faculty in the University of Paris which had so long dominated the orthodox thought of Europe. There was no desire to study classical literature or even to read the works of the church fathers. Printing presses were set up in Paris and one was installed in the Sorbonne itself, but it exercised little influence in behalf of

Humanism. A number of Italian masters, among them George Hieronymus and John Lascaris, taught in the university and stimulated some interest. Finally, Jacques Lefèvre of Etaples (1450-1536), or Stapulensis as he was called, went to Italy and became acquainted with Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino. He gained a deeper appreciation of Humanist conceptions and became enamored of the Neoplatonic thought which throve in Florence. On his return to France he taught in the traditional manner but his lectures contained the ferment of the new learning. French Humanism had not yet appropriated that knowledge of the Greek language and literature which was regarded as the very source of all Humanist conceptions. This shortcoming was remedied by a Frenchman named François Tissard who began teaching Greek in Paris after his return from Italy. Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542), later known as Cardinal Aleander, an Italian who knew Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, was even more important, large numbers flocking to his lectures which he began to give in 1508. Meanwhile a Netherlander from Ghent, Josse Badius Ascensius (1462-1537), began printing classical texts in Paris, the very capital of the country, whereas hitherto all such books had to be imported from Italy, Germany, or the Low Countries.

Most important among all French Humanists at this time was Guillaume Budé (1468-1540), who had been educated in the traditional manner and had studied law at Orléans. While studying subsequently in Paris he became acquainted with such Humanists as Hieronymus and Lascaris. Greatly influenced by the scholarship of the latter, Budé undertook a translation of Plutarch. His fame soon spread even to the court, and he was sent as royal envoy to Venice in 1501 and to Pope Julius II in 1505. Even Louis XII, who personally cared nothing for Greek or Latin scholarship, realized the importance of Humanist learning for an ambassador to Italy. These missions gave Budé splendid opportunities to drink at the fresh fountains of Humanist scholarship. He produced his *Annotationes*, or *Notes on the Pandects* of Justinian, in 1508. The method employed by him was novel in that a clear knowledge of the text was deemed necessary before one could begin the study of the law itself; he also believed that a thorough knowledge of Roman antiquities was indispensable. These ideas are accepted today without question, but at that time they were revolutionary. The study of Roman law henceforth became less banal and practical and more truly intellectual. In 1515 he published his *De Asse et Partibus ejus*, or *On the As and its Parts*, which dealt with Roman coinage and gave the writer a chance to study more minutely than had been done before the intimate daily life of the Romans. The book, like the paintings of

Mantegna, illustrates the archæological tendency of Humanism so pronounced during the sixteenth century. His *De Philologia*, or *On Philology*, written in 1530, is a dialogue between King Francis I and himself, in which he advocates that every prince should be educated in classical literatures.

The noted scholar and printer, Robert Estienne (1503-59), and his son Henry Estienne (1531-98) must be mentioned, for so intimate was the relation between Humanism and the printers that the establishment of a great press was an event of prime importance. Robert published the *Treasury of the Latin Language* in three folios in 1543 as well as important editions of Latin and Greek authors. His son published the *Treasury of the Greek Language* in 1572 in five folios. These lexicons, which were of great importance in furthering Humanist studies, are a characteristic product of the later stage of Humanism in which editing and archæological and philological study occupied the attention of scholars.

Meanwhile the court under Francis I (1515-47) greatly encouraged the cultivation of Renaissance learning. The king was an indolent man, luxurious, and superficially educated. But he appreciated the value of the new learning sufficiently to be eager to play the part of a Mæcenas, and encouraged the popularization of classical letters by means of translations. His sister Marguerite, duchess of Alençon and later queen of Navarre (1492-1549), played a significant part in the diffusion of the new ideas. Although not a beautiful woman, she possessed a gracious personality and attracted many Humanists to her court. She was far abler than Francis, for whom she retained a deep affection to the last day of her life. She studied the Neoplatonic thought which had risen in Florence under Pico della Mirandola. She was greatly interested in religion; her study of Plato enabled her to criticize the crudity of current religious life. She was versed in Italian literature and wrote her *Heptameron* in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. This collection of seventy-two stories, however, does not borrow anything from the subject matter of Boccaccio's tales, but it marks an advance in the art of French story-writing. Such tales as the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, or *Hundred New Tales*, written about 1450, are of a traditional character which had long been current, whereas Marguerite's stories are declared to be drawn from actual occurrences, thus differing from the tales of Boccaccio. The scene is laid at Cauterets, a small town in the Pyrenees, where a group of people are detained by a mountain flood. They improve their leisure by telling stories in which all sorts of themes, spiritual and lascivious, are commingled. Their language is fresh and the narrative sprightly. Marguerite's wit finds ample opportunity in the little

discussions at the end of each story to criticize the conventions of society and religion, a favorite theme of the Renaissance.

Francis was not able at first to gratify his desires as a Renaissance prince, for his first two wars with Charles V from 1521 to 1525 and 1526 to 1529 engaged all his energies. Freed from these embarrassments by the Treaty of Cambrai (1529), Francis eagerly began what he had so long neglected. In 1530, in response to the earnest pleading of Budé, he appointed the royal lecturers who were to create a Humanist college for the furtherance of classical and oriental studies. There were two lecturers in Greek, two in Hebrew, one in Latin, and one in mathematics. These lecturers were known as the "College of Royal Lecturers," and, since the French Revolution, as the "Collège de France." This Humanist school was modeled after the "College of the Three Languages" which had been established a few years before in Louvain. The conservative professors of the Sorbonne disliked the new learning of these Humanists, fearing that their manner of studying literary texts and their refusal to be guided by the old-fashioned methods of theologians would damage their own positions. This hostility proved futile; the tide of Humanism gained in strength and gradually the old ideas and methods were abandoned.

CHAPTER XXX

RENAISSANCE LETTERS FROM ERASMUS TO MONTAIGNE

Great is the domination of Voltaire over the eighteenth century, great is the domination of Goethe over the first half of the nineteenth century, but greater still is the domination of Erasmus over the opening years of the sixteenth century.—R. H. MURRAY.[1]

RENAISSANCE thought of the sixteenth century was expressed by a group of literary geniuses of the highest order, of whom Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was the most influential. In him were united all the ethical and intellectual conceptions which that age of revolt brought forth. He was the first modern man of letters to rely almost entirely upon the printing press for the diffusion of his ideas, and he addressed his thoughts to all reading Europeans. Few men before or since have exerted so powerful an influence upon their contemporaries.

Erasmus was born in October, 1466, according to the best authority. His father was a priest, and Erasmus had an older brother named Peter. The pretty story later told by Erasmus in the preface to the *Familiar Colloquies* and made popular by Charles Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth* unfortunately is not correct. It recounts how the boy's father loved a girl whose parents objected to the match. Finding that marriage was out of the question, the young man left on a journey to Rome and became a priest. Much obscurity hangs over Erasmus' youth and many points probably will never be cleared up. When about four years of age he and his brother were sent to an elementary school in Gouda. Thence he went for a brief interim to the school of the Brethren of the Common Life in Deventer, and from 1475 to 1484 he served as choir boy in the cathedral of Utrecht. He returned to Deventer where he had some glimpses of the superior Humanist education which the Brethren of the Common Life were introducing into their schools, Alexander Hegius being one of his teachers. Soon his father and mother died,

[1] *Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 1.

and Erasmus and his brother were placed under the guardianship of three men who cared little for the boy's future and probably squandered the pittance which the father had left him. They placed the boys in the Brethren school in s' Hertogenbosch whose conceptions were of the traditional mediæval variety untouched by the gentler methods of Humanism. Because of a plague the youths returned to Gouda. Their guardians sought to be rid of them, encouraging them to enter a monastery. The young men yielded, and Erasmus entered the order of Austin Canons who had a house at Stein near Gouda (1488).

Although Erasmus was a delicate lad and totally unfitted to lead a monastic life, he did not find his surroundings wholly uncongenial. He was free to study according to his inclination and to make friends with some of the friars who, like him, were interested in literary things and had caught more than a glimpse of Humanist culture. For the moment he was content in his cloistered retreat and even wrote a treatise called *On the Contempt of the World.* Erasmus was religious, deeply affected by the piety of the mystical *devotio moderna* which was so influential in Deventer, s' Hertogenbosch, and other places in which he spent his early days. In the convent near Gouda he read extensively in classical Latin literature and developed a lucid and effective Latinity. The spirit of Humanism became steadily stronger in his breast and he longed to visit Italy, that paradise of culture toward which all Humanist eyes were turned. He began to compose his *Book Against the Barbarians.* Written in the form of a dialogue, it expresses the thoughts of a person who is becoming a Humanist, but its later version reveals the Humanist's contempt for monasticism, the formal side of popular religious life as expressed in the veneration of saints and relics, and the shortcomings of the church. The opportunity of going to Italy seemed to present itself when he was offered a secretaryship by the bishop of Cambrai who was planning a journey to Rome. The post proved a disappointment, for it gave him no leisure to study and the visit to the Eternal City did not take place. He soon left the bishop's service and went to Paris to secure a doctor's degree in theology (1495).

The traditionalism which Erasmus found in the University of Paris displeased him. He lodged in the Collège de Montagu, an institution in which life was austere, the food bad, and the rooms uncomfortable; the delicate young man conceived an invincible hatred of this sort of life which clung to him to the last. He also learned to look with disgust upon the arid and formal instruction of the university. The stipend which the bishop of Cambrai had promised him failed, and Erasmus began to seek a chance to make money. Some German and English youths engaged him as their

teacher, and for them he wrote some pedagogical manuals. One of these contained vivacious dialogues which after repeated additions and revisions became the famous *Familiar Colloquies*. Other little books dealt with the art of writing and with courses of study. This was the beginning of Erasmus' long search for means to support him in his studious life, for the cultivation of intellectual things requires leisure and wealth, and Erasmus possessed neither. Like many another Humanist, he searched for a patron, and made the fortunate acquaintance of an English youth, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was studying in Paris.

Erasmus' first sojourn in England from 1499 to 1500 was a noteworthy moment in the life of the Humanist. As guest of Lord Mountjoy he became acquainted with Thomas More and John Colet, dean of St. Paul's. Association with these genial spirits meant much for a man of receptive mind, and Erasmus profited from their friendship and rapidly became more mature in his ideas. He met a number of the Oxford Reformers. Colet, More, and Linacre were very fond of him, and Erasmus ever after cherished the kindest sentiments toward England. Even the confiscation of his dearly won money by the customs officials at Dover according to an ancient law forbidding the export of coin from the realm did not chill the ardor of his affection for his English friends. Robbed of all funds, as soon as he reached Paris he set to work preparing the famous book of *Adages* (1500). It was a compilation of excerpts from classical authors intended to serve as models for students learning to write Latin and wishing to form an acquaintance with classical literature. Hitherto the classics had been studied almost exclusively by Humanists, for, cheap as the works of ancient authors were, thanks to the vast number of printing presses which had been established, many people were still too poor to buy them. This little collection proved immensely popular; it was repeatedly revised and enlarged and reprinted, for it enabled men of little leisure and wealth to inform themselves about the classics.

Thus Erasmus became the chief teacher and disseminator of the new learning. His private correspondence was constantly increasing in volume. It is difficult in our age to form an adequate idea of the enthusiasm which men felt on receiving letters from him. These missives are a most important collection of sources for the study of the Humanist world in Erasmus' day. Everywhere men bought and read his little books. One reason for his popularity was his mastery of Greek, for a knowledge of this language was still very uncommon in northern Europe and anyone possessing an acquaintance with it was certain to become famous. Erasmus' translations of such

Greek classics as Euripides' *Iphigenia* and *Hecuba* attracted wide attention.

Like most Humanists, Erasmus was a great traveler. Poor, with university posts closed to him, he had to live by his wits, for his search for patrons was often disappointing. In 1505 he again appeared in England where he renewed acquaintance with his old friends. He met some important churchmen and was even presented to the king who granted him a small living. Soon he eagerly grasped at a chance to visit Italy in company with an Italian, a physician to King Henry VII. Arrived in Turin in 1506, Erasmus was at once given the doctorate in theology. Next he visited Bologna and soon entered into relations with the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius who now began publishing some of his writings. Together they worked over an enlarged edition of the *Adages* which was ready in 1508, and other editions of Seneca, Plautus, and Terence followed. News came that Henry VII had died and that Henry VIII, who knew Erasmus, had succeeded to the crown (1509). Believing that the new king might prove an eager patron and encouraged by his friend Lord Mountjoy who also believed that the moment was auspicious, Erasmus hurried over the Alps down the Rhine to England.

This hasty journey will be forever memorable, for while passing through the Splügen Pass Erasmus evolved the plan of his *Praise of Folly*, a chief literary monument of the Renaissance. His ideas were written out after his arrival in London while staying in Sir Thomas More's house. The book is a long declamation delivered by a female figure named Folly, who embodies Erasmus' conception of human nature. The great Humanist believed in the basic goodness of man and his natural impulses; human beings might do wrong, but it was only because of mistakes and misunderstanding. Men lived by their natural impulses and their instincts which keep the world moving. Folly, the personification of these human qualities, is an imperishable literary creation, possessing a "charming naïveté, the natural impulse of the child or of the unsophisticated man. Though her birth is derived from Pluto, she is no grim demon, but an amiable gossip, rather beneficent than malignant." This is a Renaissance conception of human nature. Emphasis upon the doctrine of man's depravity and insistence upon asceticism as the council of perfection were abandoned more and more in the Renaissance. Man's secular activities are good. To live well one should steer a middle course; one should be lenient, moderate in all things, and live according to his natural feelings without too much regard for the conventions of society. The book is a delicate satire on human foibles which

sometimes degenerates into the writer's characteristically strong denunciation of abuses in the church.

Erasmus did not stay in England, for, although he was very fond of his friends in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, he was poor and had to make a living. He lectured on Greek and theology while in Cambridge and published a number of pedagogical works from the press of Josse Badius Ascensius (1462-1535) in Paris. During 1514 he left England for Basel where he was planning to bring out his edition of the *New Testament*. There were many copies of the Bible in manuscript, and parts of the *New Testament* had been printed repeatedly. There also were collections of excerpts. But a cheap edition was needed to fill the wants of the educated bourgeoisie. His edition (1516) was less expensive than the great Polyglot Bible published at Alcalá in 1520, and its appearance was an event of great importance in the intellectual history of the time. But prior to this Erasmus issued another book, *Julius Excluded from Heaven* (1513), a satirical dialogue in which Pope Julius II engages in debate with St. Peter before the gates of heaven. The pontiff demands admittance but St. Peter does not know him. He thereupon tries to explain who he is and why he should be allowed to enter, incidentally relating quite naïvely many of the purely secular acts of his pontificate and some compromising facts about his private life. The dialogue is also significant as a Humanist protest against war, for Erasmus thought that the pontiff's priestly calling was discredited by the wars undertaken under papal auspices.

Erasmus shortly afterward produced the *Education of a Christian Prince* (1518), a little treatise written after he had been appointed councilor to Charles of Spain, who was soon to become emperor. In it the author held that princes should view their obligations to their subjects as moral and not merely from the standpoint of expediency. The end of government was the moral advancement of peoples; princes should therefore avoid selfish policies and not indulge in wars and unjust taxation. This was very different from the practical conceptions of Machiavelli and clashed with the actual political situation in the world of the day when peace hung precariously upon the system known as the Balance of Power. Another important work was *The Ciceronian* (1528), a dialogue designed to show the futility of the slavish imitation of classical originals. Erasmus did not advocate the study of the classics in order to become enslaved to them, as was all too often the case in Italy. The treasures of classical antiquity were valuable chiefly in elucidating the Christian religion and instilling a purer moral conception into the lives of people. Consequently he never aimed at complete purity of expression but preferred a terse and vigorous Latinity. Erasmus also studied the texts

of the church fathers, applying to them the new philological science which had been developed in Italy. His edition of the writings of St. Jerome began to appear in 1516. Others followed, among which were the texts of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and Lactantius. He also published the texts of the Greek fathers of the church.

Erasmus' last years were spent for the most part in Basel where he worked in the printing shops of Froben and Amerbach. His share in the Lutheran revolt and in subsequent religious troubles is reserved for discussion in the chapters on the Reformation, and he easily ranks first among all Humanists. His fame permeated into every corner of Europe. He possessed a subtle intellect, was fearless in asserting the truth, and to the very last persisted in his duty as he saw it. He was above all honest in his mental life, hating hypocrisy and pedantry. Frail in body, weak in health, timid to a degree, he nevertheless clung to his convictions until death. In 1529 he moved from Basel to Freiburg in Breisgau to escape the religious tumults which broke out. He returned to Basel in 1535 but his health soon failed. He died in July, 1536, and was buried there.[2]

François Rabelais (1494-1553) was becoming the most famous French Humanist just as Erasmus' life was drawing to an end. He was born near Chinon; his father was a lawyer who belonged to the provincial bourgeoisie and had inherited some property. He was an intelligent youth and in his ninth year was sent to school in a Benedictine convent, later to be transferred to the Franciscan house at Fonteray. In his seventh year he had received the tonsure; to all appearances he was destined to service in the church. At Fonteray he continued his priestly studies and finally was admitted to Holy Orders. Humanist learning had found its way into the monastery and Rabelais greedily appropriated every bit of it. A number of his fellow friars also were strongly interested in the new learning. One of them had become proficient in Greek and corresponded with Guillaume Budé. But the guardian and some of the other friars did not share Rabelais' enthusiasm for the classics, for there was much excitement in France over the question of religion, and the crown was inclined to take action against innovators. To avoid any evil consequences from fostering Humanist studies, Rabelais and two friars were thrust into the conventual prison. The latter fled from their cells but Rabelais received permission from Pope Clement VII to enter a Benedictine house.

Although his abbot was a Humanist at heart and favored him, Rabelais found a monk's life uncongenial. However, he carried

[2] Erasmus' ideas on religion and the reform of the church will be discussed in chap. xxxvii.

forward his studies with great industry and amassed an extraordinary amount of learning. The ferment of Renaissance ideas was working in him and it is not surprising that he left the cloister and set out to Montpellier to study medicine, a science of extreme interest to him, since it promised to unlock the secrets of life itself. He enrolled in 1530 and soon had appropriated all the medical knowledge of the day. Like Leonardo da Vinci, he was deeply interested in nature and paid little heed to authority or tradition, and like many another Humanist, he was restless and had not the patience to study for the doctorate in medicine. He went to Lyons, a busy trading center where printing had become an active industry and whither scholars were flocking from all parts. He continued his work in medicine but was constantly drawn away from it to satisfy his thirst for learning. He began to love classical antiquity, read books voraciously, and became a follower of Erasmus. Unlike that great Humanist, however, Rabelais never spurned his mother tongue and till the last wrote in French. He brought out almanacs filled with things which pleased humble folk. He wrote crude jokes and never tired of ridiculing quacks and astrologers. He became acquainted with the life of the people from whom he derived his astonishing knowledge of the crudities of popular life.

It is fortunate for literature that Rabelais turned to these things rather than to classical learning. In 1532 he produced a work which later became known as *The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua, Father of Pantagruel.* He did not regard it as a serious work and had it published with a mere bookseller instead of with a great publisher of serious literature. The book proved far more popular than any other work, including the Bible. The reason for this is plain. Gargantua was a well-known character of immense strength and gross appetites, and peasants never wearied of pointing to great tasks which he had done. The success of this work led Rabelais to revise it and finally the first book on Gargantua and the second on Pantagruel were produced. A third was added in 1546, a fourth in 1548, and the last posthumously in 1562. The book was written in French in a style rough, vigorous, and difficult to understand because of its liberal use of popular expressions. Rabelais' thought was truly expressive of the Renaissance, for, hating hypocrisy, quackery, and tradition, he emphasized the physical and the secular side of everything. Hence his great interest in food, drink, and bodily activity.

Many of the incidents in the first book, which deals with Gargantua, are autobiographical. Chapters XIV to XXIV, a satire on traditional education, tell you how a "great sophister-doctor" spent five years and three months in teaching Gargantua his A B C's so well that he could say them backward. Later the youthful giant was

sent to Paris where his first achievement was to steal the great bells of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in the thought that they might serve well to hang around his mare's neck. But a great hubbub arose and a delegation from the university came to him to plead for the bells, the leader, Master Janotus de Bragmardo, delivering a stupid speech in which there was no sense and much bad grammar. The six chapters before the last one, devoted to Gargantua's founding of the abbey of Theleme, are a satire on the monasticism of the later Middle Ages and express the Renaissance antagonism to the ascetic ideals of the age. The abbatial rules in Theleme were the opposite of those of the established orders—its inmates were to be free, there was to be no clock or dial, and the women were to be young and pretty, for "a woman that is neither fair nor good, to what use serves she?" The inmates might leave the order at will and, if they desired, marry. "Do what thou wilt," the sole rule, was sufficient "because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct and spur that prompteth them unto virtuous actions, and withdraws them from vice, which is called honor." The structure was erected according to Renaissance architectural ideas and was furnished with libraries containing books in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew as well as in modern languages.

The second book deals with Gargantua's son Pantagruel and his mighty deeds, which are incidents from Rabelais' own life. A long genealogy satirizes the popular craze for genealogical tables. Pantagruel's early education is described in detail. He made great progress and soon set out to study in the universities of the realm, as was the custom of students, finally arriving in Orléans. But he learned only physical exercises. "As for breaking his head with over much study, he had an especial care not to do it in any case, for fear of spoiling his eyes. Which he the rather observed, for that it was told him by one of his teachers, there called regents, that the pain of the eyes was the most hurtful thing of any to the sight!" At last Pantagruel came to Paris where he made some progress in the liberal arts. He became acquainted with the library of the convent of St. Victor. The satirical catalogue of its books contains among others: *The Invention of the Holy Cross, Personated by Six Wily Priests; The Spectacles of Pilgrims Bound for Rome; The Ape's Paternoster,* and *The Hotch-potch or Gallimaufry of the Perpetually Begging Friars.* Chapter VIII contains a summary of Renaissance education and a statement as to why it was superior to the conventional variety. Chapters X to XIII satirize lawyers. The Third Book also is devoted to the deeds of Pantagruel.

The Fourth Book relates how Pantagruel visited the oracle of the Holy Bottle. The Renaissance was an age of expansion; the bounds

of the world were suddenly and profoundly enlarged. This greatly stirred the imagination of men and the tales which came from the newly discovered lands soon found their way into literature. Rabelais, curious about everything, described a voyage westward and north of Canada, probably in imitation of the famous expedition by Jacques Cartier in 1534. The ship sailed past Sneaking Island "where Shrovetide reigned." Next the crew passed by Wild Island and spied a whale which Pantagruel caught by means of a harpoon. Rabelais' description of whale-catching is based upon careful observation, and this episode reminds the reader of French whaling off the Newfoundland coasts. Wild Island was inhabited by a people called Chitterlings who probably are Calvinists. Although Rabelais in the Third Book had shown himself favorable to Calvinists and Sacramentarians, in this book he seems to dislike the more zealous followers of John Calvin, for Pantagruel heartily enjoys the wholesale slaughter that was inflicted upon the natives when they treacherously attacked him and his following.

The Fifth Book, which remained unfinished, continued the tale of the journey to the oracle of the Holy Bottle. Soon they drew near Sounding Island, and landed. The bells which were perpetually ringing on this island reminded Pantagruel of the régime of the church, and he disliked it heartily. He found a large number of cages "spacious, costly, magnificent, and of an admirable architecture" which were filled with birds who lived like men but "stunk like devils." A hermit "called the males clerg-hawks, monk-hawks, abbot-hawks, bish-hawks, cardin-hawks, and one pope-hawk, who is a species by himself. He called the females clerg-kites, nun-kites, priest-kites, abbess-kites, bish-kites, cardin-kites, and pope-kites." They had been brought there by their parents without having been consulted themselves—an allusion to the practice common at that time of filling convents with children. Next the Island of Tools was visited and the voyagers saw the trees laden with all manner of tools, their natural fruit, which fell into ready-made handles the moment the branches were shaken. Next came the Island of Sharping inhabited by card-sharpers and vendors of fake relics and antiques. The Island of Sandals was inhabited by the order of Semiquaver Friars. Pantagruel could never sufficiently satisfy his desire to satirize friars.

Rabelais undoubtedly was the most significant writer of the Renaissance in France. His Humanist ideas combined with the vigorous ferment which quickened the thought and life of the French bourgeoisie. The coarseness of his language, due to the mediæval tradition which he did not abandon, made his satire and sarcasm peculiarly effective. His language while dynamic and pungent possessed

little of that literary grace which Italians of the time were imparting to their works. John Calvin (1509-64) rendered this service to French prose. Calvin was strongly influenced by Humanist ideas and developed a clear and forceful Latinity. His French was unsurpassed in clarity and simplicity. His numerous letters and his edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* exerted a remarkable influence upon Frenchmen who refused to adopt the style of Rabelais.

Imitation of classical models became more and more the fashion among the literary men of Europe. It marks the culmination of the Renaissance in art and literature and inaugurates a period of artistic stagnation. Something was gained, however, from the careful study of Vergilian and Ciceronian perfection, for writers of the Middle Ages had usually been weak in artistic form. This quality was given to the French language by a group of writers known as the Pléiade whose original members were Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85) and Joachim du Bellay (1522-60). These men, who chanced to meet in a hostel in Touraine and became firm friends, believed that the ideas about literary forms which had conquered in Italy should likewise be applied to French literature, and mediæval forms of verse which were still very popular in France should be abandoned. Rhyme, indeed, was retained, but in other respects classical poems and classical themes—pastoral, mythological, and lyrical—were as eagerly appropriated by them as by Sannazaro in Italy. Thus began the long sway of classicism in French literature. Ronsard was the chief poet of this school. Du Bellay wrote a prose exposition, the *Defense and Illustration of the French Language* (1549), setting forth the theories of the Pléiade, in which he argued that the French tongue was the proper vehicle of thought. Writers were to be produced by careful study of Latin models, not by the spontaneous outburst of genius. Nourished by the form and substance of ancient books, the Pléiade rendered excellent service in creating a wholesome respect for artistic literary perfection.

The last significant French writer of the sixteenth century to be considered is Michel de Montaigne (1533-92). His father belonged to the bourgeoisie of Bordeaux and held several offices in the gift of the commune. The youth was brought up with every advantage of Humanist education such as had been developed in Italy and was becoming common all over Europe. Next he studied law in preparation for public office and in 1554 received an appointment. These were troublous times in France and Montaigne was not happy in the midst of religious and political turmoil. In his thirty-eighth year he began to withdraw from public affairs and rarely paid attention to them until he was elected mayor of Bordeaux in 1581. He retired to a rural castle where he collected books, conversed with friends, re-

flected upon the writings of classical authors, contemplated the ways of man, and wrote his famous essays. They are the compositions of a man of great culture who has retired from the world but has not surrendered his interest in the problems of humanity. Montaigne was eminently rational, urbane, and polished. His essays on education contain many of the ideas which have dominated pedagogy to this day. His rationalism marks him as a forerunner of Voltaire and indicates the end of the Renaissance proper. The age of tumultuous interest in life and the desire to master all knowledge and art was over.

The history of Renaissance letters in Spain is concerned to a large extent with the reformation of the church and will be considered in the chapters dealing with Catholic Reform.[3] Only two writers, Vives and Cervantes, can be considered in this section. Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540) was born in Valencia. He received a traditional education, but imbibed Humanist ideas in his youth, and subsequently studied in Paris and Louvain. While at the latter place he wrote a commentary on St. Augustine's *City of God* which won him the hearty approval of Erasmus and More. Vives lived many years in Bruges but spent some time at the English court where he enjoyed the favor of Queen Catherine. He was tutor to Princess Mary, later Queen Mary Tudor. Supporting Catherine's cause against Henry VIII, Vives was forced to leave England and returned to Bruges.

Vives enjoyed a wide reputation and contemporaries linked his name with More and Erasmus. He wrote many treatises illustrating the social conceptions of Humanists. In 1526 he produced *On the Help of the Poor* in which he advocated an advanced system of charitable enterprise. Complaining that the clergy had failed in helping the poor, he held that governments of towns should assume the task of looking after the unfortunate. However, the poor should be cared for only if they were willing to work—hospices and hospitals were to be emptied of lazy people who refused to work. Even the blind were required to do something. Guilds were to take some youths as apprentices. Towns were to supervise the education of the poor in their charge, and especially look after their religious welfare. Foundlings were to be reared at public expense. A list of the indigent was to be drawn up so that the officials might know exactly how many needed help, and towns should inquire into the private life of every such person. Physicians were to treat the worthy poor at town expense. Two persons in each parish were to be delegated by the government to visit the people and keep a careful watch over their activities. Vives' book, which was dedicated to the town of Bruges, was widely circulated and repeatedly translated, but

[3] See chap. xlvii.

it is not clear just what influence it exerted upon the legislation of Low Country towns concerning paupers. Ypres in the previous year had passed some remarkable legislation which illustrates many of Vives' views and it is possible that the Humanist may have had some influence upon it.

Profoundly impressed by the moral aspects of Humanism, Vives was interested in all phases of education. He wrote a number of treatises and his prestige was such that he has often been called a "second Quintilian." His *Causes of the Corruptions of the Arts* discusses the problem of study and criticizes the conventional methods of education. Vives followed in the footsteps of his classical Greek and Roman predecessors, and his doctrines are very like those of Vittorino da Feltre whose school in Mantua was the most significant of the Renaissance. Vives believed that Latin and Greek should be taught, but that the mother tongue should not be neglected; he regarded the skillful use of the native idiom as a splendid accomplishment. Students were to be given drill in grammar, syntax, and rhetoric. Religion was to be taught, the moral development of children being a primary concern. He believed that girls as well as boys should be instructed in these subjects. The end of education was not the amassing of mere erudition but the acquisition of knowledge which would make possible better living.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616), a late contemporary of Montaigne, represents some of the best characteristics of the Renaissance in Spain. His family belonged to the bourgeoisie. Little is known about his early education but the youth shared fully in the intellectual ferment of the day. He served in the navy, and fought and was wounded at Lepanto in 1571. Captured by Algerian pirates, he was ransomed after heroic endeavors to escape. In spite of many difficulties experienced in gaining a livelihood, he persisted in writing. He was deeply impressed by the literary style which had been developed in Italy and he produced some works in accordance with its rules, a pastoral romance named *Galatea* appearing in 1584. But his greatest work was *Don Quixote*, the first part of which he published in 1604. Like Rabelais' great work, it is a satire, written obviously to discredit the popularity which the old chivalric romances and moral conceptions still possessed in Spain. The most solemn ideals of knighthood are made the subject of hearty burlesque. But it is difficult to tell whether the writer meant to attack anything else, although plausible arguments have been advanced to show that the butt of his ridicule was the government. Don Quixote is a nobleman whose mind is filled with traditional chivalric conceptions which are rendered ridiculous by his evident insanity. Sancho Panza, his squire, on the other hand, is a practical person interested in the more mat-

ter-of-fact conceptions of the common man, and his good sense throws the unbelievable follies of Don Quixote into bold relief.

The *Lusiads* is Portugal's greatest literary monument of the Renaissance. Its author, Luiz Val de Camoens (1525?-1580), it appears, was of noble blood and was born in Coimbra. He was deeply influenced by the brilliant achievements of Vasco da Gama and his successors who created the overseas empire of Portugal, and also by the story of the long struggles between Portugal and the Moors of Africa. His poem combines the fervor of the Crusader, the zeal of knights, and the daring of explorers. In form, the *Lusiads* is deeply indebted to the classical standards developed in Italy, for it was written in imitation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. It deals with the adventures of Vasco da Gama but the deeds of many other national figures also are woven into the narrative. For the most part the poem is good history, and it became the national epic of Portugal.

The *Utopia*, or *The Land of Nowhere*, by Thomas More (1478-1535) was England's first significant contribution to the literature of the Renaissance. More was born in London and was sent to Oxford where he received the elements of a Humanist education. He learned Greek from Linacre. In 1496 he began the study of law and during the next few years became thoroughly acquainted with Erasmus. Although an eager student of law, More also studied theology and the classics and was especially fond of St. Augustine's *City of God*. He soon acquired the Humanists' dislike for scholastic philosophy. For a while he was dominated by the popular and excessively ascetic ideals of the passing Middle Ages but finally yielded to the new Humanist impulses which surged in his mind. His *Utopia*, published in 1516, is classed as a romance but, like Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, it is a masterpiece of Humanist criticism of man and society. It was probably inspired by Plato's *Republic* but it is impossible to discover much relationship between the two works. It is a description of a fabulous land called Utopia in which a fair city, Amaurote, was situated.

The first book serves as an introduction to the social perfection of Utopia and contains some discussion of glaring faults in English society and government, one of which was the frightful punishment inflicted in connection with theft. The law demanded the death penalty for thieves, as many as twenty of them sometimes being hanged on one gallows. The enclosure of open fields and the creation of immense sheep runs was criticized for it robbed villagers of their ancient rights to common wood, meadow, and pasture. This social dislocation was held to be one of the causes of the great growth of crime. The numerous wars which were being fought between France

and the empire were sharply criticized, for More, like Erasmus and Rabelais, was opposed to war.

The second book is a description of Utopia and of Amaurote, a model city of the Renaissance age. The houses had glass windows, gardens, and vineyards, and the roofs were made of a substance like plaster designed to prevent fire. The city possessed an excellent water supply. The streets were twenty feet wide. The markets were kept sanitary; impure foodstuffs were excluded, and cattle used for food were carefully cleaned. No filth was tolerated. There were splendid hospitals which provided excellent service for the sick. The wars of Utopia were humane; non-combatants were not killed, cities were not ruthlessly plundered, and the countryside was not ravaged. While it was believed that there was but one true religion, dissenters were not persecuted. They were forbidden to spread their doctrines among the common people but were encouraged to discuss their views with the better informed in the hope that finally they would see the light of truth. The *Utopia* soon became known throughout Europe.

More wrote his masterpiece in Latin to win a wider audience. This preference for a foreign idiom, however, was doomed to vanish during the course of the century, for townsmen, enriched by the economic revolution effected by the voyages of discovery and the influx of precious metals from America, did not readily learn Latin, no matter how much they might want to do so. It was inevitable that literature should voice the interests of this economically dominant class and use the native tongue more and more.

The highest expression of these forces in England is to be found in the drama of the days of Queen Elizabeth. The theater for generations had been intensely popular with the English people; and as English culture and political life were less closely associated with the aristocracy than was the case on the Continent, England's greatest contribution to the Renaissance is to be found in her dramatic literature, culminating in the work of William Shakespeare.

Before considering this writer we must notice the work of a number of others who were active from the death of More in 1535 to the emergence of Shakespeare. Sir Thomas Wyatt (d. 1542) and Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey (d. 1547), who wrote in English, adopted the Petrarchan sonnet. Roger Ascham (1515-68) produced *The Schoolmaster*, a treatise setting forth the Renaissance ideal of education evolved in Italy. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-86), a characteristic nobleman of the Renaissance, was devoted to literature and zealously studied the masterpieces of Italy. In 1580 he produced, in imitation of Sannazaro, a pastoral romance named *Arcadia*, in which chivalric motifs abound. Its rare perfection of style was sig-

nificant in the development of English prose, and its delightful imagery and delicate sentiment at once made the author famous. His lyrics, some of which were written for the *Arcadia*, and his sonnets have an abiding place in English letters.

Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599) marks the culmination of classical and Humanist influences in England. His *Shepheard's Calendar* of 1579 was a pastoral poem in the tradition of Virgil and his Renaissance imitators. Spenser showed remarkable ability in using a large number of poetic forms, thus revealing himself a devotee of the cult of form which was so striking a feature of the Renaissance. But Spenser is far more than a simple imitator. He was deeply interested in English life and became an ardent admirer of Chaucer, thus being able to engraft the Renaissance love for noble form upon the literature of his day. He also produced hymns, sonnets, and other works. His *Epithalamion* (1594) was written to perpetuate the memory of his own wedding day, and the scenes of that ceremonious occasion are recounted in magnificent stanzas which represent the poet's mature skill. But the greatest of all his productions was the *Faerie Queen*, an allegory which absorbed much of his best creative energy, and in which old and new are marvelously mingled. Each book sets forth an ideal moral virtue of the hero, Prince Arthur. The account is richly embroidered with pageants, tournaments, and encounters between dragons and giants. The poem, however, is far more than an Arthurian romance; like Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Camoen's *Lusiads*, it is a masterpiece of the Renaissance, a poetic symphony almost without equal in any language. The passion for magnificent expression is apparent in every stanza. Classical learning adorns the poem throughout. Its variegated scenes have fittingly been compared with the magnificent tapestries made on the looms of the Low Countries. The poet also voiced the patriotic sentiments of Englishmen, for, deeply moved by the duel between Protestant Elizabeth and Catholic Spain, Spenser could not refrain from giving this theme a prominent place in his poem.

English drama now suddenly attained classic perfection. The old liturgical plays were still very popular among the people, but important changes had been in progress for some time, for it was felt that the incongruities of the old plays could no longer be tolerated. The drama of the early Tudor period did not, however, rise to the highest art and much remained to be criticized. Thus Sir Philip Sidney complained:

> You shall have Asia of the one side, and Africa of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now ye shall have three ladies walk

> to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we hear news of shipwreck in the same place, and then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While in the mean time two armies fly in represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched battle?[4]

The doctrine that there should be unity of place, time, and action began to be emphasized. The influence of Terence and Plautus transformed comedy, and Seneca was frequently imitated, especially in tragedy. *Ralph Roister Doister* by Nicholas Udall (1506-56) and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* by William Stevenson in 1575(?) are examples of native farces written in accordance with classical ideas. *Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex* (1561) by Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton illustrates the influence of Seneca in tragedy.

But the drama of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth" was not to evolve from such classical predecessors, for classical influences were far less potent in England than on the Continent where the doctrine of the unities dominated all tragedy and comedy. English drama developed in its own way; dramatists took whatever suited them from their predecessors but used it in an independent manner. An important group of playwrights grew up under Elizabeth, including Thomas Kyd (d. 1594), author of *The Spanish Tragedy*; Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), who produced the *Jew of Malta, Tamburlaine, Tragical History of Doctor Faustus,* and others; and Robert Greene (d. 1592), author of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *A Looking-Glass for London and England.* These writers and others of less repute would have given the age of Elizabeth undying glory even if William Shakespeare (1564-1616) had never appeared. But he cast all his contemporaries into the shadow, for more fully than any writer he represents the Renaissance in England.

Shakespeare was born in Stratford-on-Avon. His father was a well-to-do official who lost his fortune during the boy's early years. Shakespeare apparently received a good elementary education but could not continue his schooling owing to his father's misfortune. He grew up without discipline, married at eighteen, and was forced to flee from Stratford when his poaching activities were discovered. He went to London but nothing is known of his career between 1587 and 1592. A self-made man, he finally became well known as a playwright, and during the next twenty-four years completely dominated the London stage. He took a very independent attitude toward

[4] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defense of Poesy Otherwise Known as an Apology for Poetry* (Boston, 1896), p. 48.

tradition in the writing and production of plays, preferring to cling closely to native developments than to imitate foreign or ancient models. Untaught by classical tradition, he remained national and popular, and became the most resourceful playwright of the Renaissance. He possessed a ready pen, an amazing flow of words, and a keenly developed poetic sense, and he relied almost entirely upon his own instincts.

Shakespeare's historical plays expressed the patriotism surging in the breasts of Englishmen during the trying days of Queen Elizabeth. They deal with the careers of the English kings, John, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Henry VIII, Richard II, and Richard III, and were produced during his earlier years from 1592 to 1599 shortly after the Great Armada's defeat in 1588. Every Englishman was thrilled by the closing verses of *King John*:

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.
> Now these her princes are come home again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

Shakespeare's comedies appeared in an unending stream during his entire career, one of the first, *Comedy of Errors,* being produced in 1588(?) and the last, *The Tempest,* in 1611(?). He displayed the utmost freedom in adopting classical, Italian, and popular romantic themes. His knowledge of the thoughts and passions which surge in the human brain are revealed in his superb delineations, his women characters being especially interesting from this point of view. During the feudal age women sacrificed themselves completely or surrendered to the persistent prayer of wooers. Feudal poetry always pictured women as conforming to these types, hence the extreme self-denial and obedience of Griselda. But the new woman of the Renaissance was intellectually freer and knew how to assert herself in an environment all too dominated by the human male. Hence we have a group of magnificent living women, such as Beatrice, Rosalind, Julia, Desdemona, Lady Macbeth, and the incomparable Portia.

Shakespeare probably best displayed his matchless skill in his tragedies, the greatest of which are *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear,* and *Macbeth.* Other writers had produced excellent plays but none could approach him in portraying human passions in tragedy. The hesitant Hamlet who feels the urge of duty but cannot summon the resolution necessary to exact the last drop of revenge, the suspicious Othello crazed by the idea that his wife is unfaithful, the feeble

Lear tossed about by his hostile daughters who are embittered by the favoritism he has shown to one of them, and the overly ambitious King Macbeth are supremely skillful portraits. It is well to compare the vivid concreteness of the Jew Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* or Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night* with the abstract characters of the older miracle plays. Shakespeare's satirical skill is nowhere better illustrated than in Touchstone's speech on a gentleman's code of honor. Sheakespeare's lyricism is revealed by the songs which adorn his plays, and his sonnets are among the first in the English language. He expresses more fully than any other writer the nationalist tendencies of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XXXI

RENAISSANCE ART OUTSIDE ITALY

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the Gothic work of the thirteenth century has seldom found such a terrible enemy as it did in the Gothic builders of the later Middle Ages. Medieval art, like the French Revolution, "devoured its own children."—G. G. COULTON.[1]

GOTHIC art in northern Europe began to succumb to the methods of Italian masters at the close of the fifteenth century. Painters, suddenly becoming aware of the superiority of the great artists of the *cinquecento*, tried to master the Italian treatment of space, arrangement of subjects, and portrayal of psychological moods. The result was that the stiffness and immaturity of the Gothic manner began to disappear. Furthermore, Italian Humanism greatly altered the point of view of these artists, for a decidedly secular tendency became observable, and painters displayed greater scientific knowledge. Art no longer sought to arouse sympathy with the pathetic ordeal of Christ on the cross or with the frightfully macabre. Such pictures as Rogier vander Weyden's Descent from the Cross, which shows a swooning Virgin and a tearful Magdalene, were no longer possible, for art became more joyous.

Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) was the first German master to turn from the traditional methods practiced north of the Alps and adopt the manner of Italians. Brought up in Nuremberg, he inherited all that was good in the school of painting which had developed there under local and Flemish influences. His father, a goldsmith, intended that Albrecht should follow him in this craft, but the youth early evinced so decided a preference for painting that the father in 1486 apprenticed him to the painter Michael Wohlgemuth (1434-1519), who had successfully mastered the skill of the painters of Flanders. Although his work was faulty, Wohlgemuth stood head and shoulders above all his contemporaries. For three years Dürer worked and studied in his shop. In 1490 he began his career as journeyman and shortly afterwards went to Colmar to work in the shop of Martin

[1] *Art and the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 480.

Schongauer (1455-91). Schongauer was an artist of some originality in spite of the fact that his works reveal strong Flemish mannerisms, and he exerted wide influence through his numerous engravings in which he showed an improved knowledge of anatomy and a keen sense of form. Dürer next proceeded to Italy and, it is believed, spent some time in Venice. Dürer probably gazed with intense interest upon the pictures of Mantegna and the Bellini, who were at the height of their popularity, and must have been impressed by their magnificent composition and delicate *chiaroscuro*. Later in 1506 he made a second visit to Venice.

In 1494 Dürer was back in Nuremberg, married, and beginning to make a living as a painter. It was difficult to find support, for in spite of the considerable economic advance of the towns of the Rhenish area and of southern Germany, liberal patrons did not exist. Princes generally were too poor to employ artists as the Medici in Florence were doing. Municipal governments did not have the breadth of view or understanding to lend their support to a struggling artist, no matter how promising. The bourgeoisie was still too closely wedded to traditional conceptions to appreciate new ideas. Most of them desired little pictures of the Virgin, the Christ Child, the Nativity, St. Christopher, and similar themes, and artists were forced to supply this demand. Engraving became popular, woodcuts and copperplates being made in great numbers. Copperplate engraving had been employed in Italy but soon attained high excellence in Germany, the Germans being especially successful in this mechanical art as in printing, clock-making, and the production of weapons and tools for mining.

In 1498 Dürer produced a series of sixteen woodcuts dealing with the Revelation of St. John in which the dreadful events attending mankind's last days are vividly shown. One of them portrays the fight between St. Michael and the Dragon; another, the ride of the Four Horsemen. These are mediæval themes but they were executed with the growing skill of a master who had profited from the study of the more mature art beyond the Alps. Some of Dürer's copper engravings illustrate his interest in such classical themes as Apollo, Diana, and Hercules, for obviously the vogue of classical studies was attracting the attention of others than a few professed Humanists. Dürer's portraits, which are justly famous, reveal great skill in portraying passing modes of thought. Among the more noteworthy are the portraits of himself and those of Emperor Maximilian, Wilibald Pirkheimer, Jerome Holzschuher, and Hans Imhoff. Dürer ever remained interested in popular themes, as is shown by his scenes of peasant life. One of the finest of these is a copper engraving of a peasant couple engaged in a vigorous dance. His scenes of urban

streets and squares and skylines combine skill in depicting details with artistic aspects.

Mantegna's influence is clearly perceptible in Dürer's Adoration of the Magi, for the treatment of space and the use of archæological details such as fallen buildings reveal that Dürer studied the great master of Mantua. But he avoided Mantegna's hardness in the treatment of cloths, preferring to portray their soft texture, deep color, and rich embroideries as Giovanni Bellini had done. His Trinity is a magnificent rendering of a numerous heavenly host adoring the Godhead. His Crucified Christ shows the body of the Savior stretched on the cross against a bleak and ominous sky. The lighted horizon, which reflects his study of the Italian treatment of distant prospects, added to the gloom. His Four Apostles are marvelous studies of realism, expressing his firm faith in Catholic Christianity at a moment when the old church was rent by the Lutheran heresy.

Dürer's nimble mind was interested in all the concerns of man and the phenomena of nature, as is clearly revealed by his drawings of plants, details of the human body and parts of animals, and his landscapes. His emphasis upon line was born of a wholesome respect for form. His engraving of Melancholy is thought to illustrate his scientific interests. A winged female figure is seated pondering restlessly upon the problems of life which appear insoluble. She holds a compass in her hand, and other instruments, including a saw, plane, scales, ladder, and hourglass, lie by her side.

In 1520 and 1521 Dürer made his famous tour of the Low Countries. He visited all the great Flemish cities and admired their artistic treasures, and made a journey to Zierikzee in Zeeland to see a stranded whale. The journal which he kept of his experiences is a justly famous document illustrating the cultural life in northern Europe. Dürer was a German *uomo universale*, the greatest artistic genius of the German Renaissance. He broke with the Gothic traditions of his predecessors, appropriated the Italian manner, and thus changed the trends of German national art by rescuing it from the lifeless formalism into which it was threatening to fall.

Other painters were seeking to give more mellow effects to their pictures, and were attempting color and rhythmic movement. Matthias Grünewald (d. 1530), who worked at Mainz, reflected the influence of Venetian masters in his attempt to introduce these qualities. His Crucifixion scene on the altarpiece of Isenheim combined color and rhythmic action with the stark realism traditional in German art. The ashen-hued body of the dead Christ twisted out of shape, the gruesome drops of blood on the body, the torn cloth around the loins, and the bent arms of the cross give a vivid conception of the Master's last agony. Hans Burgkmair of Augsburg

(1472-1531), returning in 1508 from a visit to Italy, continued this tendency to look to the achievements of Venetian masters when he began to paint in a decided Italian manner. Hence his pictures are decorated with classical details and his subjects are treated with greater softness.

All of these influences helped to fashion the great Renaissance artist of Germany, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543). His father, Hans Holbein the Elder (d. 1524), a prolific painter, was deeply influenced by Flemish masters but toward the end of his days began to temper the harshness of his work by imitation of Italian pictures. His son naturally followed in his footsteps and ultimately became the greatest painter of Renaissance Germany after Dürer's death. He went to Basel in 1515 in order to gain a living as illustrator to the printers in that city. Situated at the bend of the Rhine, Basel was a natural center for trade between Italy and the north, and it was justly renowned because of its printing industry, the shops of Froben and Amerbach being probably the most important. Young Holbein at once won the favor of Erasmus and drew the famous sketches for an edition of his *Praise of Folly*. He also produced the ornate initials and title-page drawings for several editions of the Bible. He traveled in Switzerland and visited Italy. He was much impressed by the treatment of space perfected by the masters of northern Italy and adopted some of the Venetian ideas about color. He became an excellent draftsman and made designs for glass windows and woodcuts.

One of Holbein's striking pictures represents Christ in the Tomb. The Lord's body lies in the rigor of death. His eyes and mouth are open—evidently it is the neglected body of a criminal. In this way Holbein emphasized the depth of the Master's degradation. It is an impressive picture but, thanks to the softening influence of Italian art, displays little of the traditional anatomy of the macabre. Holbein also painted pictures for the well-to-do townsmen of Basel. His portraits, which also reveal careful study of Italian work, combine the meticulous care which Germans bestowed upon their work with the broader and freer conceptions of Italian masters. The portraits of Boniface Amerbach, the burgomaster Jacob Meyer and his wife, Froben, and Erasmus are justly famous. He also painted larger pieces such as, for example, the great altarpiece representing Jacob Meyer and his family kneeling at the feet of the Virgin.

During these years Basel became the scene of religious tumult. The doctrines of Luther were eagerly discussed and the more radical conceptions of Œcolampadius and Zwingli were steadily winning ground. Holbein was drawn into this conflict. The altarpiece just referred to was painted for the burgomaster as an expression of

his loyalty to Catholicism. But Holbein also drew satirical pictures pillorying ecclesiastical abuses which were being attacked by the reformers. The painter of the German Renaissance thus became an illustrator of the Reformation. The unsettled state of civic life and the bitter dogmatic debates ruined the demand for art and Holbein decided to move to England. He was introduced by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More through whom he became acquainted with other Englishmen (1526). He returned to Basel in 1528 but in 1532 settled definitely in London.

Holbein now began to produce pictures for the aristocratic society of the English capital. His skill as portraitist attained classical perfection as is exemplified in his pictures of Archbishop William Warham of Canterbury, Bishop John Fisher of Rochester, and Henry VIII. Holbein produced a few larger pictures during this period, of which The Ambassadors is especially noteworthy. He also decorated the Steelyard for the Hanseatic merchants in London. From this time dates the admirable portrait of George Gisze, a young merchant who is shown seated behind a table and surrounded with the objects generally found in business offices of the time. This famous picture illustrates most of Holbein's characteristics: stern craftsmanship, sober treatment, harmonious design and coloring, and an honest and frank regard for the truth. Holbein was the first painter north of the Alps to belong entirely to the Renaissance.

Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), born in southern Germany, acquired from native masters all his skill, even his knowledge of Italian art. In 1504 he settled in Wittenberg as painter to the elector of Saxony. His chief picture is the Flight into Egypt. The Holy Family has halted by a stream. In the background is a birch tree and an evergreen laden with moss. A group of angels is playfully hovering about the Virgin and one of them offers the Christ Child some strawberries. St. Joseph is a plain and honest artisan. The colors are brilliant, almost too sharp. Cranach's work is eminently sincere without rising to the greatest heights. His popularity is due mainly to the fact that he was closely associated with Luther, Melanchthon, and other prominent personages in the Lutheran revolt. In fact, it was through his art that Germans knew what Luther looked like.

Flemish painters for some time had admired the ampler skill of Italian masters. Rogier vander Weyden visited Rome in 1450 but no trace of Italian influence can be detected in his pictures. Justus of Ghent was induced to go to the court of Duke Federigo of Montefeltro who greatly admired Flemish painting and music. Justus combined the Flemish love for intimate details with the broader and more poetic method of Italians. Although Memlinc never visited Italy, he was deeply impressed by Italian pictures. One of his Ma-

donnas with the Christ Child shows the Virgin seated under a round arch decorated in the Italian manner. The columns at each side are drawn after classical originals, and above are festoons of fruit and flowers. These details suggest north Italian influences. For the rest, the picture is a typical example of Memlinc's Flemish art.

The first Flemish painter to break definitely with the traditions of the Low Countries was John Gossaert or Mabuse (1472?-1533), so called from the fact that he came from Maubeuge. After visiting Rome in 1508 he settled in Antwerp, and received commissions from members of the ruling house of the Low Countries. His pictures show a keen sense of the beauty in the nude human form. Unfortunately he was overly lavish in decorating the backgrounds of his larger and more ambitious pictures with meaningless architectural detail. By this time the old Flemish idea that art should minister primarily to religious emotion had vanished; henceforth secular beauty and æsthetic pleasure were emphasized. Bernard van Orley (1490?-1542), who visited Rome not later than 1514 and again in 1527, was important because he brought Italian taste and manner to Brussels, the capital of the Low Countries. His works reveal careful study of Raphael and Michelangelo. Van Orley was an able master who sought to retain some of the Flemish love for truth and exactitude of detail in spite of his great admiration for the Italian tendency to idealize. Henceforth Italian style dominated Netherlandish art.

John Scorel (1496-1562), who was trained under Gossaert, made a journey to Italy, visiting Rome during the pontificate of Adrian VI. He settled in Utrecht and exerted much influence upon the art of the northern Low Countries. He painted remarkable portraits which show an Italian influence combined with a stronge note of sincerity and truthfulness which later were to characterize much of Dutch art. Lucas of Leiden (1494-1533) received his training exclusively in the shops of Low Country masters. But he showed keen sympathy for pictures painted under Italian influences and he readily adopted the methods which were coming into favor. The advent of the Italian style did not create an era of originality. Instead, artists grasped eagerly at the subtleties which came from beyond the Alps and allowed what was good in their native art to slip away. To be called a "Flemish Raphael" was the highest ambition of Flemish painters.

Antonio Moro (1512?-75) was a pupil of Scorel in Utrecht. He developed a strongly individualistic style in portraiture, being most successful in the treatment of eyes, mouth, and hands. This was necessary in an age which appreciated the psychological portraits of Leonardo da Vinci and other Italians. He received commissions from Philip II and painted many portraits of personages prominent in

Spanish and Netherlandish political life. Moro was the ablest portraitist in the Low Countries before Rubens.

One artist refused to submit to Italian influence. Peter Breugel (1525?-69) of Brabant was trained under native masters and did not visit Italy until 1551. He studied Italian art but never tried to imitate it, preferring to cling to traditional Flemish ideas and themes. Although he profited much from study of Italian form, he ever remained a Fleming. He deeply loved the countryside of Brabant and Flanders and knew better than any other artist the simple life of peasants and other common folk. He loved to paint village fairs, pilgrimages, weddings, and witches' sabbats, and to illustrate proverbs. His powers as a satirist are shown in his Blind Beggars which illustrates a popular saying. A blind man leading five other blind men is falling into a ditch. The sightless faces are drawn with the utmost realism. Breugel also criticized the tyranny of the Spanish régime in the Low Countries. In the Massacre of the Innocents he shows Spanish soldiers slaying Flemish children. Flemish parents are scurrying about along the main street of a Flemish village frantically seeking to escape with their infants. The ground and roofs are covered with snow, and the gloomy sky adds to the tragedy. The Census at Bethlehem also illustrates this tendency to criticize the policy of political superiors. Breugel, the greatest artistic genius of Flanders in his day, thus clung close to his native soil and to his people, as did his contemporaries Rabelais and Shakespeare.

French painting remained peculiarly barren of noteworthy achievement during the age of the Renaissance. The expedition of Charles VIII into Italy in 1494 and 1495 aroused little interest in painting. The king and his soldiers were deeply impressed by the spacious architecture of Italian houses and public buildings and by the voluptuous character of Italian life, but they were too engaged in their military enterprise to note the magnificent achievements of Italian sculptors and painters. Louis XII possessed little appreciation for these things, although he did make an unsuccessful attempt to induce Leonardo da Vinci to come to France. Francis I was a pleasure-loving monarch with a superficial understanding of the new art and learning. While he was able in a measure to stimulate the latter, his efforts to do something for painting were restricted to patronizing foreign, mostly Italian, artists. He invited the Florentine Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531) to come to France and rewarded him liberally. Il Rosso (1494-1541) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570) were employed at the royal château of Fontainebleau. A school of artists grew up around these men and thus the new art found its way into France. Leonardo da Vinci came to Amboise at the royal invitation. He painted the charming Madonna and Child in the Lap of

St. Anna which illustrates all the subtle craft of the great master. But Leonardo's health was declining and he died in 1519 and was buried in Amboise. Portraiture flourished in the court and among the aristocracy, but little of its best work was due to French genius. The most noteworthy work was done by one John Clouet, of Brussels, and his son François. The father produced the portrait of Francis I. His son is noted for his pictures of Elizabeth of Austria, Diana of Poitiers, and Mary Stuart. These portraits are executed with a rare grace and delicacy and illustrate the Renaissance dissatisfaction with the social crudities of former times. The frank realism of the pictures of earlier days was abandoned in favor of idealization.

England made practically no contributions to Renaissance painting. Her native talent remained backward, wherefore King Henry VIII, it is said, invited Raphael, Primaticcio, and even Titian to England. But it was impossible to entice any of the great Italians to a land which was still regarded as provincial. A few inferior Italian artists, however, were employed by the court and the aristocracy. Meanwhile the works of Low Country artists appealed to Englishmen. Pictures by Massys and Gossaert were admired and a number of minor Netherlandish masters sought work in England. But Hans Holbein was the only significant artist who gladly spent his mature years there. The religious difficulties which began under Henry VIII and became a chief factor in national life under Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth were unfavorable to the development of native painting. Puritan bitterness toward most traditional art destroyed the foundations of painting as they had been developed during the closing Middle Ages. Foreign masters, for the most part Netherlanders, continued to be imported, chief among these the excellent portraitist Antonio Moro of Utrecht.

Painting in Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth century remained closely wedded to traditional methods and themes. Orthodox Catholicism was more closely identified with national life in Spain than in any other land of Europe. Intense hostility toward Moor and Jew strengthened traditional mediæval piety and retarded the tendency toward secularization of art. Native forces were dominated by Flemish methods introduced in the days of John van Eyck and Rogier vander Weyden, and by the increasing patriotic religiousness under Charles I and Philip II. While Italian ideas found their way into the peninsula, they generally fell on uncongenial soil. Among the more interesting Spanish painters of this period was Luis de Morales (1517-86), generally called "The Divine." His work is typical of the strongly primitive or late mediæval conceptions which flourished without restriction in Spain. His Madonnas, Crucifixions, and Mater Dolorosas were very popular. Spain did not feel the full

force of Italian superiority until the original and creative genius El Greco (d. 1625), trained under Titian and other Venetians, began his work in Seville. Meanwhile Netherlandish skill continued in demand. Antonio Moro of Utrecht became painter to Philip II and produced many fine portraits. He may be regarded as the originator of the Spanish school of psychological portraitists.

Sculpture of the High Renaissance also had its devotees outside Italy, especially in France. Francis I handsomely rewarded the versatile Benvenuto Cellini who made a number of gold articles for the court. His salt-cellar, dishes, ewers, and the bronze nymph for the palace at Fontainebleau revealed to Frenchmen some of the glories of Italian workmanship at the height of its perfection. Jean Goujon (d. 1565?), a Frenchman, produced the magnificent Diana and the Deer, now in the Louvre. Another of his famous creations is the set of sculptured water nymphs made for the fountain in the Place des Innocents in Paris. Their sinuous forms and the rhythmical arrangement of garments and body were inspired by classical conceptions. But Goujon was no slavish imitator, for he tried to combine foreign ideas with native French feeling for concreteness and reality.

Italian elegance and subtle forms now began to be seen in the old funereal sculpture which was so popular during the declining Middle Ages. The stiffness of Gothic figures disappears. The sarcophagi are placed in an open structure surrounded by columns or pilasters supporting a large marble slab. While the effigy of the departed lies recumbent upon the coffin, on the top of the sepulcher appears the same draped figure kneeling in prayer. In the niches and on the corners are seated figures representing the theological virtues or the prophets. This was the sort of tomb prepared for Louis XII and his queen, Anne of Brittany, by some Italian workers named Justi about whom little is known. This structure was placed in the abbatial church of St. Denis and served as a model for the tomb of Francis I, which was designed in the form of a triumphal arch by Philibert Delorme (1515?-1570). Germain Pilon (1535-90), who played an important rôle in the history of this funereal art, prepared the tomb of Henry II which also is in St. Denis. The forms of the departed, on the coffins, the praying figures of the royal couple, and the four virtues—Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Faith—were executed by his hand. Pilon was not entirely overwhelmed by Italian love for the perfection of classical forms, for these figures possess strong realism. Old and native French feeling for truth and nature thus were chastened by the Italian cult of the ideally beautiful. This striking trait is observable in the portrait bust of Henry intended for the tomb. Pilon also prepared the monument for the hearts of the royal

pair. Female figures representing the Three Graces or the Three Virtues support a receptacle for the hearts. Their superbly modeled forms are scantily dressed as if they are prepared for the dance. The work of Goujon and Pilon broke completely with the Middle Ages.

Spanish sculpture, like painting, was strongly dominated by the political and religious characteristics of the Spanish people. Flemish ideas exercised an important influence, but less than in the fifteenth century. The Italian manner was first introduced by Alonso Berruguete (1480?-1561). From 1502 to 1520 he studied in Italy, becoming thoroughly acquainted with the work of Michelangelo and other artists, and on his return to Spain he was appointed painter and sculptor to King Charles. Berruguete combined love for concrete form with Spanish religious sentiment. His San Sebastian is the figure of a youth whose face reveals a deep longing to be freed from the fate which impends. Berruguete also brought Italian ideas about sepulchral architecture to Spain and had many imitators who dominated Spanish sculpture for the next generation.

The Low Countries contributed little to Renaissance sculpture. The sculptors of these lands adapted the new ideas to the old Gothic style which died a reluctant death. Choir stalls, baptismal fonts, furniture, rood-screens, and tombs now began to be executed in a florid and somewhat heavy manner which characterized the art of the Netherlands from then on. The career of Giovanni Bologna (d. 1608) of Douai was especially important. He was inspired by his Netherlandish masters to study in Italy, whither he went about 1550. He fell completely under the influence of Michelangelo and developed the vicious mannerism which spoiled the work of so many of that master's followers. Vigorous and twisting forms were freely employed with no attempt to give them adequate psychological expression. The result was unfortunate, for it imparted to Low Country sculpture a heaviness and a labored quality which should have been avoided.

England created as little in sculpture as in painting. Flemish masters who had learned something about Italian form soon began to find favor in that country. Pietro Torrigiano (1472-1528) made the sepulchers of Henry VII and his mother, the Countess Margaret, which stand in King Henry's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

Gothic sculpture in Germany began to succumb to Italian competition by the beginning of the sixteenth century. This was inevitable because of the frequent contact between southern Germany and Italy. Here as in other lands late Gothic and new Renaissance methods and motifs continued to exist side by side. Nuremberg became the chief center of sculptural activity because of the labors of Adam

Krafft (d. 1509) and Veit Stoss (d. 1533?). But the great sculptor of the transition was Peter Vischer (1460-1529). He is responsible for a number of sepulchral works, of which the bronze tomb of St. Sebald in St. Sebald's Church in Nuremberg, made between 1507 and 1519, is the most famous. The old reliquary was placed in an open shrine the details of which show an interesting mingling of Gothic and Renaissance forms. Three domes supported by eight piers bearing the twelve apostles constitute the upper part. On the lower section, the foundation upon which the reliquary rests, are sculptured scenes from the life of St. Sebald. The statues, which undoubtedly reveal the artist's greatest skill, betray careful study of Italian mastery of facial expression, bodily posture, and clothing.

Gradually Renaissance conceptions supplanted the traditional methods and ideas of Gothic masters. Alexander Colin (1529?-1612) brought the new ideas from Flanders to Innsbruck where he constructed the great tomb for Emperor Maximilian. Hubert Gerhard, a Low Country sculptor who was greatly influenced by Giovanni Bologna, received many commissions, and it was through him that the Italian style definitely conquered the country. His chief work is the Augustus fountain erected in 1593 in front of the town hall of Augsburg.

Italian Renaissance architecture spread to France during the reign of Charles VIII. The king, admiring the spaciousness of the buildings which he saw along the route to Naples, brought back with him a group of Italian architects whom he supported liberally. The chief of these, Fra Giovanni Giocondo (1433?-1515), a pupil of Luca Signorelli, was a learned Humanist as well as a practical architect. He and the other Italians lived at Amboise, one of the royal country residences which Charles was eager to transform into a magnificent château. The old castles which had been practical in the tumultuous feudal past were now antiquated. The power of the crown was no longer challenged by the feudality, peace reigned throughout the countryside, and the military residences in which the aristocracy were living were no longer necessary. More light, air, and space were desired. Greater æsthetic satisfaction was demanded. The Renaissance châteaux of France built under Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I are therefore interesting monuments of the Renaissance.

The château of Amboise remained a Gothic structure in spite of the presence of Italian artists, although some of the decorations were derived from Italy. Building made little more progress under Louis XII who constructed a wing of the château at Blois along Gothic lines. But great changes were introduced by Francis I. That pleasure-loving prince needed greater room and he built another wing which was decorated in the manner of the Renaissance. But even in this

Gothic ideas were retained. The château of Chambord, however, which was one of Francis' favorites, contains a greater profusion of Renaissance decoration than any of the others. The château of Fontainebleau, begun in 1528, was also a great favorite with the king. The château at Azay-le-Rideau probably illustrates as well as any the perfect style of the period. The steep roof with its graceful dormer windows and the round corners of the structure give a pleasing effect. Francis also built the Louvre on the site of a mediæval castle which dated as far back as the days of Philip Augustus. Its plans were drawn by Pierre Lescot (d. 1578), the greatest architect of the realm. Italian ideas were freely employed. Columns were used and windows alternated with pilasters. The decorations were carefully executed after Renaissance models. This impressive structure is worthy of a place beside the palaces of Rome or any other Italian city.

Spanish architecture also yielded to the charm of the Renaissance, but more stubbornly. The Moors of Spain possessed their own architecture characterized by an extraordinary profusion of ornamental detail. This style naturally influenced the flamboyant Gothic architecture of Spain. Churches were decorated with the utmost wealth of curious detail. Gradually Renaissance ideas made themselves felt, especially in Castile. The façade of the University of Alcalà, an early home of Humanist learning in Spain, was clearly inspired by Italian ideas. The Escorial, built by Philip II between 1563 and 1584, is an immense royal dwelling revealing Renaissance influences in the gigantic Doric pilasters at the entrance and at many points in the interior.

Gothic architecture in northern Europe yielded slowly to the invasion of the Italian manner. Renaissance building naturally won a foothold in southern Germany in the lands situated near the Brenner, and such towns as Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Rothenburg began to erect buildings according to the newer ideas. Town halls, bourgeois dwellings, churches, and chapels were built. The first definitely Renaissance chapel to be constructed in Germany was that belonging to the Fugger family in Augsburg. German princes, particularly those of Bavaria, adopted the new ideas. This tendency became stronger during the days of the Catholic reaction. From Bavaria, chief citadel of the Catholic faith, Renaissance art flowed to other parts of Germany. Italian influences also penetrated into northern Germany and Scandinavia, but more slowly. The town hall of Cologne is an interesting monument dating from about 1570. The first Renaissance building in the Low Countries was a palace in Mechelen (1517), but the most significant building in all the Low Countries to be erected along Renaissance lines was the town hall of Antwerp

which was finished in 1565. Flemish architecture of this period exerted much influence upon Rhenish Germany. The new ideas about buildings penetrated even more slowly into England.

Besides the major arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture a few of the lesser ought to be noted. The tapestry industry flourished in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, commissions being received from Germany, Italy, France, England, and elsewhere for the magnificent product of Low Country looms. The tapestries of the Sistine Chapel were executed on the looms of Brussels according to Raphael's cartoons, and Bernard van Orley also made many designs for such tapestries. These articles of luxury were in great demand among the nobility and the bourgeoisie which was rapidly becoming more and more wealthy. All sorts of scenes, Biblical, classical, and mediæval, were executed upon them. From the Low Countries this profitable industry was introduced into France by Francis I who established a factory at Fontainebleau, but it was not until the next century that the tapestry industry began to flourish in France.

Ceramics also made some progress in northern Europe. The bourgeoisie was tired of the rough dark-colored pottery and dishes which were in common use, if we may judge from the pictures of ordinary life by Peter Breugel and his successors. Well-to-do folk were eager for better things and welcomed the beautiful majolica ware of Italy. Bernard Palissy (d. 1589?) of Saintonge, who greatly admired Italian ware and worked hard to learn the secret of its manufacture, experimented with glazes, and produced some beautiful results. His platters and other dishes are covered with leaves, plants, fishes, snakes, lizards, and all sorts of animals, and they became immensely popular. Some of this ware was intended purely for decorative purposes, for these pieces illustrated classical themes and pleased the Humanist bourgeoisie as did the *Adages* of Erasmus.

BOOK II

THE REFORMATION



The sixteenth century is distinguished from all others by the number of religious systems produced in its course. Even to the present day are these afflicting us, the various opinions taking their birth at that period have formed the medium in which we still "live, move, and have our being."

—LEOPOLD VON RANKE

The supreme achievement of the Reformation is the modern state.

—J. N. FIGGIS

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon;
He'll help us clear from all the ill
That hath us now o'ertaken.
The ancient Prince of Hell
Hath risen with purpose fell;
Strong mail of craft and power
He weareth in this hour—
On earth is not his fellow.

—M. LUTHER

Their ashes will not rest and lie,
But scattered far and near,
Stream, dungeon, bolt, and grave defy
Their foeman's shame and fear.
Those whom alive the tyrants' wrongs
To silence could subdue,
He must, when dead, let sing their songs
And in all languages and tongues
Resound the wide world through.

—ANABAPTIST HYMN

INTRODUCTION

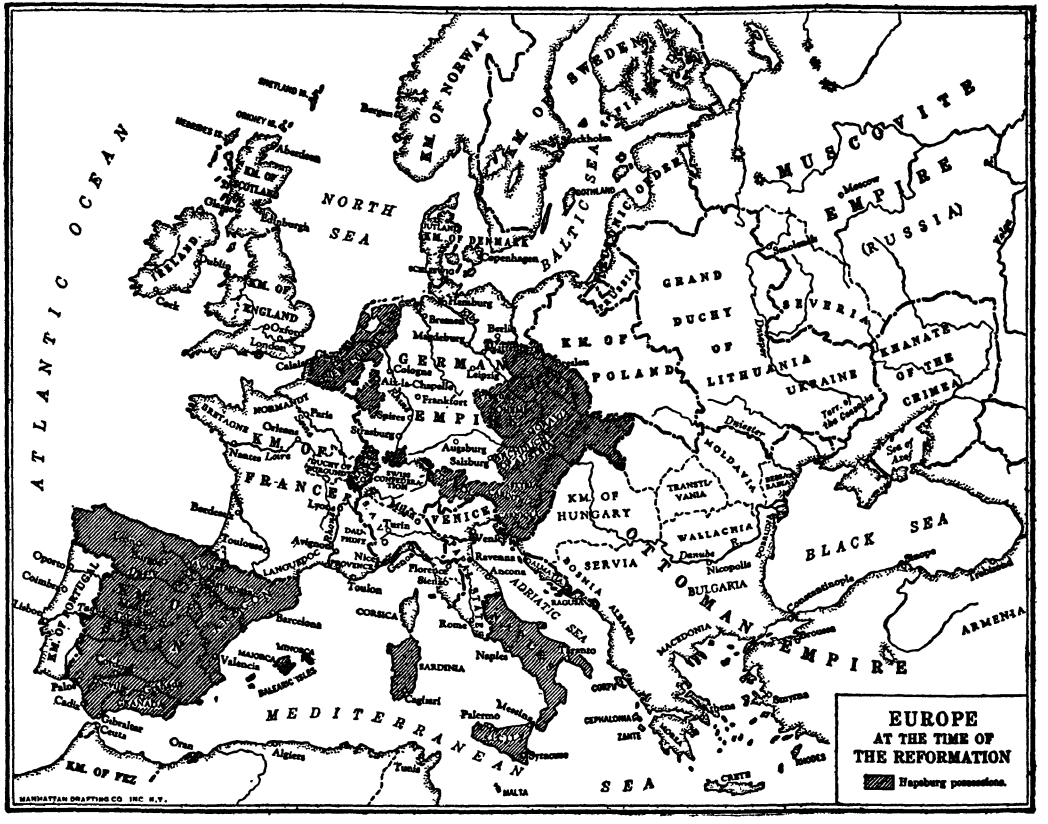
WHAT IS THE REFORMATION?

THE word *Reformation*[1] is applied to the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century which shattered the unity of the Christian faith in western Europe. Lutheranism tore from Rome the obedience of the majority of Germans and Scandinavians. Anabaptism led great numbers of the lower classes of Germany and the Low Countries out of the Catholic fold. Sacramentarians impugned a basic doctrine of the church, that of the Eucharist. Zwingli snatched many of the Swiss cantons from the traditional faith. Calvin infected large numbers in Switzerland, France, the Low Countries, and other lands. A state church arose in England which began by denying papal headship but soon accommodated itself to Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist influences within its fold. Socinians and other minor sects spread over Europe.

It is impossible to state fully the causes of events so complex and varied as those involved in the Reformation. For practical purposes, however, they may be summarized under the following heads:

I. *The rise of political absolutism produced a secular state of mind.* Owing to the transformations in economic activity during the closing centuries of the Middle Ages, life was becoming more and more mercantile, industries were growing, capital was accumulating, and towns were expanding rapidly. A new political edifice was erected upon these social and economic forces. National states which were powerful because of their ability to tax subjects, maintain armies, and organize staffs of officials, came into existence. The absolute monarch became more than ever the personification of the state.

[1] The expression *Reformation* is here used in its conventional sense, namely, the Protestant revolt from Rome. It is true that the Reformation was more properly a revolution than a reform of the old faith and church. But the term *Protestant Revolt* which has lately been invented has not yet gained general currency, in spite of the fact that it is more accurate than the old-fashioned *Reformation*. To obviate the old and awkward phrase *Counter-Reformation*, the term *Catholic Reform* is employed, in these chapters. This usage is more in accord with later scholarship which has made it clear that the reform of Catholicism sprang from native Catholic strength and to a minor extent only from a reaction initiated by the Protestant revolt.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
KM. OF NORWAY
KM. OF SWEDEN
KM. OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Upsala
Gothland
Livonian Order
MUSCOVITE EMPIRE
(RUSSIA)
Moscow
Novgorod
Pskow
Smolensk
SEVERIA
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
KM. OF POLAND
UKRAINE
Terr. of the Cossacks
Dniester
MOLDAVIA
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
TRANSYLVANIA
KM. OF HUNGARY
WALLACHIA
Danube
Nicopolis
SERVIA
BULGARIA
BOSNIA
ALBANIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Ragusa
MACEDONIA
Constantinople
ARMENIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GERMANY
EMPIRE
Hamburg
Bremen
Magdeburg
Berlin
Leipzig
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Frankfort
Spires
Strasburg
Augsburg
Salzburg
Munich
Ratisbon
Prague
Vienna
Trent
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Sicily
Messina
Palermo
Sardinia
Corsica
Trieste
Corfu
Cephalonia
Zante
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Ceuta
Gibraltar
Malta
KM. OF FEZ
KM. OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Oporto
Seville
Cadiz
Granada
Valencia
Barcelona
Majorca
Minorca
BALEARIC ISLES
Toledo
Madrid
Saragossa
Pamplona
Navarre
Aragon
CASTILE
LEON
GALICIA
ASTURIAS
BISCAY
Burgos
Valladolid
Salamanca
Zamora
Leon
Compostella
Coimbra
Lisbon
Evora
Badajoz
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Granada
Murcia

II. *The mediæval church organization clashed with the absolute states of Europe.* The church owned immense estates which gave it economic independence. It also possessed vast political privileges which it had received during the feudal anarchy of the Middle Ages. Courts Christian clashed with the jurisdiction of state courts. Benefit of clergy exempted some individuals from secular tribunals. The church endeavored to retain all ecclesiastical patronage, while secular princes wished to present candidates for clerical livings. The papacy sometimes sought to exempt ecclesiastical lands from taxation by princes, a claim which Philip IV of France had opposed. Papal tribunals called to Rome cases from the church courts in all parts of Christendom. Excommunication and interdict were keenly resented, especially by princes and their officials. And finally, members of the hierarchy such as bishops and abbots, even though they were vassals of the crown and bound by oath of fealty to support the king, really were officials of a church founded by Christ. To His vicar, the bishop of Rome, they certainly owed higher allegiance than to any earthly power. Princes were jealous of encroachments upon their authority and never completely trusted men of divided allegiance.

III. *Many popular religious practices and ecclesiastical habits urgently needed reform.* There was much superstition among the people, and witchcraft was common. Although the average man undoubtedly was sincerely Catholic, he clung to many unchristian beliefs and practices. Excessive veneration of the saints often obscured the more fundamental aspects of the Christian religion. Too much faith was attached to the efficacy of pilgrimages and the power of relics. In short, the pure teachings of the church were often contaminated by these banal conceptions. That popular religious life was crude cannot be surprising if one understands the social history of the Middle Ages.

Furthermore, many official or semi-official customs cried for reform. Most priests, bishops, and abbots were named to their offices through lay influence. Although there were many zealous priests, presence of genuine vocation was often lacking, for many men entered the clerical state for practical bread-and-butter reasons. Often they were quite uneducated, and this clerical ignorance greatly lowered the efficiency of the priesthood.

IV. *The Renaissance contributed its share to the Reformation.* As long as society was composed of untutored laymen and poorly trained clergymen, much of the crassness of popular religious life escaped comment. But when a refined bourgeoisie came into existence and produced the culture of the Renaissance, torrents of criticism were unloosed. Laymen soon became the intellectual equal of clergymen, and began to find fault with clerical morals, emphasis upon pil-

grimages, veneration of relics, and social barbarities of every sort. Practices which had their root in the ascetic life of the Middle Ages were severely assailed. Traditional religious scholarship was not the equal of the new philological learning of Humanists. By subjecting to criticism the entire body of traditional religious thought and habits, Humanists contributed materially to that lessening of respect for the faith which was observable in many quarters.

V. *It was impossible for the church to adjust itself at once to the needs of the new age.* The papacy had lately escaped destruction during the Great Schism (1378-1415) and the Age of the Councils (1409-49). The bull *Execrabilis* (1460) forbade any appeal to a council save by the pope himself, and the papacy now became supreme in the church. How could the hierarchy ever be induced to divest itself of the privileges and abuses upon which it throve? Reform seemed impossible.

VI. *A tense and dangerous state of mind was developed which might cause an explosion.* Patriotism in the hearts of townsmen, the clash of papal and political interests, lay education, appeal to the masses through the newly invented printing press, the spectacle of a purely secularized papacy, impatience for reform, and ill-judged application of ecclesiastical penalties produced revolts against the Catholic faith.

PART VII

BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANTISM

CHAPTER XXXII

GENESIS OF LUTHER'S IDEAS

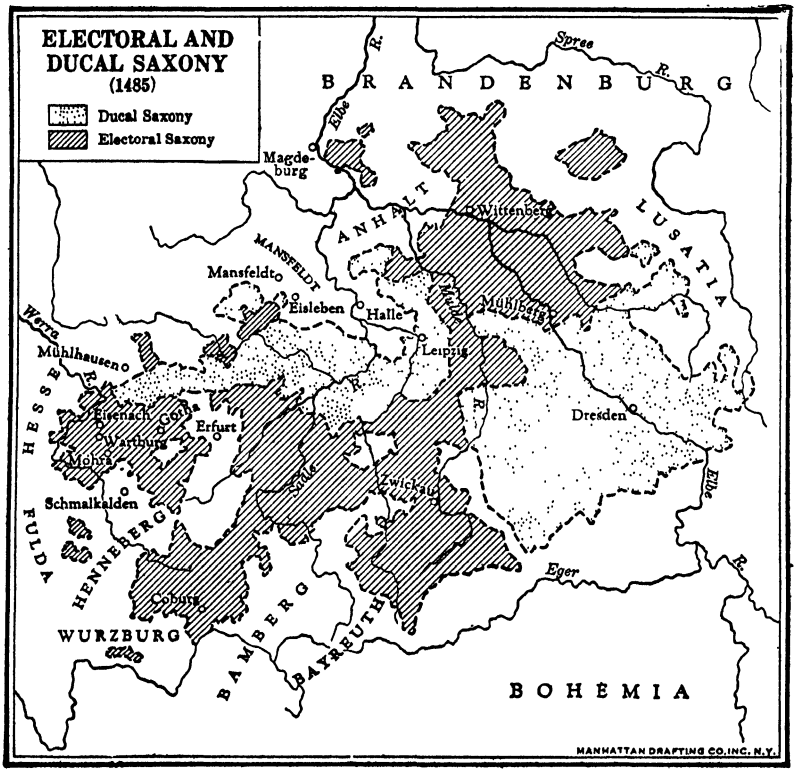
For the justice of God is revealed therein, from faith unto faith, as it is written: The just man liveth by faith.—ST. PAUL (Douai Version).

THE Reformation in Germany began under special circumstances.[1] Emperors were elective, imperial power was steadily becoming weaker, and princes were in large measure independent. Lay and ecclesiastical powers and imperial towns which dominated the diet usually pursued a selfish interest. Absence of strong governmental organs made impossible any effective expression of German nationalist sentiment. Germany therefore was quite defenseless against the financial practices which had become so characteristic a feature of the Renaissance papacy. Ecclesiastical princes seldom restricted the activities of papal tax collectors. There was no parliamentary action as in England, or royal house as in France, which could give direction to the movement for reform. Yet there was much sentiment against such abuses as pluralism and absenteeism. People criticized concubinage, laxity of morals, and absence of genuine vocation among the clergy. They disliked unscrupulous methods of obtaining money. The clergy often were so ignorant that they could not command the respect of the more cultivated Humanist laymen. Popular feeling, therefore, might easily be inflamed by the least untoward event. A public figure was all that was needed, and such a person was Luther. The untoward event was the indulgence scandal of 1517.

Martin Luther's parents were of peasant stock. Their ancestors

[1] For a discussion of the religious implications of Humanism and its influence on the Reformation, see chap. xxxvii.

lived in the Thuringian Forest in and around the little village of Möhra in the county of Henneberg. They were sturdy freeholders who for generations had been able to wrest a scanty living from their meager holdings. Poverty was the lot of Hans Luther and his humble wife Margareta, and the memory of their hardships remained vivid to the very last in Martin's mind. Difficulty in making a living caused the couple to move to Eisleben in the county of Mansfeld. There on November 10, 1483, a boy was born who, being



baptized on the next day, the feast of St. Martin, received the saint's name. But again the father found no work and the next year the family moved on and settled in the little town of Mansfeld.

This move was not merely an inconsequential event in the family history, for it revealed something of the temper of Hans Luther's mind. Mansfeld was the center of a considerable copper mining industry. The counts were solicitous in promoting it and people were moving thither to make their fortunes. The little town grew so rapidly that two new residential sections were added in a short time.

In earlier ages peasants had found the few roads to advancement closed to them. Some indeed might become priests, but military careers were reserved for the noble classes. Trade, industry, and towns in the later Middle Ages produced the bourgeoisie, and many a son of the peasantry found refuge in this new class. The expanding metal industry provided a new opportunity. Hans Luther, who had always possessed a certain hard-headed sense of realities, saw his chance and resolved to grasp it. He was successful. In 1491 he was member of a firm of copper miners, and twenty years later owned shares in at least six pits and two smelting houses. Thus he is an example of a peasant who through thrift, industry, and determination rose to become a petty capitalist.

Martin's childhood was spent in this peasant and bourgeois environment, from which he acquired many of the habits of mind which characterized him ever afterward. Belief in the multitude of spirits of farm, forest, and stream profoundly influenced him. The devil was a vigorous being who acted in a very concrete manner. Nor did the boy escape the teachings about witchcraft which flourished everywhere. Besides these superstitious traditions which derived from the pre-Christian past and which centuries of Christianity could not uproot, he acquired a blunt speech and uncouth language which sound indelicate and shocking to Puritanic ears. He learned much from the primitive folkways of the people among whom he lived. He was genuinely *volkstümlich*, to borrow a telling word from the German language, and to the last day of his life he was proud of this trait. It was the secret of his tremendous power to appeal to his countrymen, whether peasant or townsman.

Luther's education was typical of the time. His stern parents were determined not to spare the rod and thus spoil their child. Thrashing was an important pedagogical device, and the boy never forgot the rigors of his early life. It has sometimes been thought that these adversely affected his mental health, but this cannot be proved. He was sent to the town school of Mansfeld in 1488, where he was introduced to the simplest rudiments of learning. He studied grammar, logic, rhetoric, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and a little Latin. He was subjected to religious influences of the traditional variety, but nothing especially significant can be discovered as far as his ideas are concerned. He undoubtedly received the sacraments and was taught the elements of the catechism, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and some prayers and songs.

At about fourteen Luther was sent to a school in Magdeburg, probably the cathedral school in which instruction was given by the Brethren of the Common Life. During the year spent there he continued his elementary studies. The Brethren may have been impor-

tant in implanting some of the sincere piety for which the order was famous in other places. They usually taught a simple practical religion of unquestioned orthodoxy and sought to inculcate a genuinely pious life. Whether they did this at Magdeburg is not known for certain. In any case this environment can have been no less religious than at Mansfeld. Magdeburg, a much larger urban center, was the seat of an archbishop, and religious life must have been especially rich. The sumptuous service, the numerous religious houses, and the busy coming and going of clerics must have stimulated the mind of a growing boy.

From 1498 to 1501 Luther was sent to school in Eisenach where his mother had relatives, one of her aunts becoming interested in him. This too was a beginners' school, and his instruction was much like that at Magdeburg, but more advanced. He spent a great deal of time in composing Latin verses. He was also subjected to religious influences, for his great-aunt's husband was a sacristan. As Luther afterward regarded him with affection, he probably received favors from him. He continued the schoolboys' practice, so common at that time even if they were not paupers, of singing and begging in public. He was befriended by a family named Schalbe which provided him with food, and an obscure Frau Kotta seems to have given him lodging. From this grew a pretty tale of how the noble Frau Kotta took care of the poor boy when he was destitute and needed the watchful care of a pious woman.

Hans Luther next sent Martin to Erfurt to study in the university which had been founded by the bourgeoisie of that place in 1392. The city was the abode of a bishop and must have been a busy center of students and priests. The townsmen took vast pride in their university which enjoyed an excellent reputation among similar institutions of Germany. A narrow type of education dominated its curriculum; traditional methods still were sacred. Its philosophic and theological thought was of the school of Ockham, commonly called "modernist." The works of the moderate realist Thomas Aquinas and others of the opposing school were scarcely read. Luther studied Aristotle and was especially influenced by Trutvetter in dialectics and Usingen in scholastic philosophy. This training was later to exert profound influence upon his religious conceptions.

Although the official scholarship of Erfurt was decidedly traditional and conservative, Humanist influences appeared, for some of the "moderns" evinced a tendency to welcome new ideas. Luther heard the Humanist Emser of Ulm lecture at Erfurt in the summer of 1504, but even before this event he had acquired a love for the Latin classics which he read vigorously. He knew Vergil, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Plautus, Terence, and Juvenal, and appears to have been

especially indebted to Usingen and Trutvetter for this interest. But a Humanist coterie did not exist at Erfurt in Luther's day. The circle of poets at nearby Gotha, composed of Crotus Rubeanus, Eobanus Hessus, Mutianus, and others, appeared only after Luther entered the monastery. Yet he acquired an abiding appreciation for classical writers and years after persisted in quoting passages from them. He did not become a Humanist. His Latinity, never chastened by a careful study of classical models, always remained brusque. Nor did he ever reach the point where he could fully appreciate the Humanists' zeal for what in that day was called poetry. Nevertheless, the scholarly equipment of Humanism which he began to acquire at this time was to be of profound significance later when he began his Biblical studies.

After some review of his more elementary studies and a further pursuit of the branches of the quadrivium, Luther received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the autumn of 1502. In accordance with the methods in vogue in mediæval schools, he then began to lecture while continuing his studies. In 1505 he received the degree of Master of Arts, standing second in a group of seventeen. It appears that he was an earnest, energetic student of excellent ability who applied himself diligently to his tasks. Hans Luther, who knew what it meant to earn one's living by the sweat of his brow, had very definite ideas for his son's career. For centuries law had been the royal road to advancement for the sons of the bourgeoisie, and he planned that Martin should go this way and rise in the world of practical affairs. His father had painfully climbed upward by slow degrees and was now recognized by the well-to-do bourgeois families of Mansfeld. A future bride from one of these was found for the young Master of Arts. The father was very proud of his son's achievement, and addressed him no longer by the personal pronoun *du*, used among familiars, but by *Ihr*, the pronoun of respect.

But Luther was not to study law. He abruptly entered a monastery. This sudden change was most significant. What was the reason for it? As a student he had had his gayer moments and experienced the joy of life characteristic of students. Surely it could not be that the economic problem of life was too difficult for him to solve, now that he stood at the threshold of a successful career in practical affairs. Was it a question of religion? Earlier writers have usually passed over these events all too hastily. This is a mistake, for in those troubled days Luther took the first steps which reveal something of his mission in life. Here began a long evolution in his inner religious being which was finally to lead him into violent opposition to the hierarchy. Little is known of his religious life at the university. Without doubt it was plentifully stimulated by its conventional

pious surroundings, and he probably adopted the concretely vivid conceptions of God generally held by the people. The last judgment and the rejection of the damned and their tortures in hell must have seemed very real in an age when artists were most ingenious in portraying them. Life seemed dramatic and filled with catastrophe. Death was ever a dread reality in an age of disease, famine, pest, war, burning of witches, and public execution of criminals.

It may well be that these things oppressed Luther. It is known that in May, 1502, he was wounded by a sword and that he was faint from loss of blood. The physician was a bungler and Luther, frightened, called upon the Virgin Mary and lost consciousness. A few days later the wound broke open and he again appealed to her. That he feared death is entirely possible, but that he suffered anxiety of soul at this time is by no means clear. The spring of 1505 arrived and before the lectures in law began he had three months of leisure. Perhaps the death of a friend at this time troubled him. It is evident that Luther was overcome with fear and uncertainty, and terrified by the prospect of the last judgment and God's vengeance inflicted for sin. Oppressed by these feelings, he began to attend the lectures in law on May 20, but apparently was dissatisfied. He went to Mansfeld in June to visit his parents, returned on the 30th, and on July 2, when but a few miles from Erfurt, was overtaken by a thunderstorm near Stotternheim. A bolt struck a tree near him, and he was thrown down by the electrical discharge. In imminent danger of death, he cried, "Help, St. Anna, I will become a monk!"

Many a person had taken such an oath under similar circumstances—indeed, it was the conventional thing to do. But the vow to God had been made. Since Catholics felt that such promises had to be carried out unless a dispensation should be obtained, Luther apparently and mistakenly, believed that he had no alternative but to enter a monastery. He bade his comrades farewell and on the 17th of July joined the Augustinian Eremites in Erfurt. His father, profoundly disgusted, almost disowned him, Luther's more gentle mother agreeing with her husband. But the father, gravely troubled when two of his children were snatched away by the plague, yielded at length in his helpless grief to his son's wishes. This incident reveals young Luther as a religious character dominated by traditional conceptions as shown by his resolve to carry out his vow. He was a genuine son of his time; nothing indicates that this was the beginning of a career which was to produce Protestantism.

Luther was received as a novice in September. After about one year spent in reflection, prayer, and the reading of religious works including Scripture, he took the vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. He studied theology and began to prepare himself for the

priesthood. He read the works of the great scholar Gabriel Biel. He successively became subdeacon, deacon, and priest, and on May 2, 1508, celebrated his first mass. He continued the study of theology according to the conceptions of Ockham. His progress satisfied his superiors who suggested for him the temporary lectureship in philosophy in the recently founded university at Wittenberg, the capital of electoral Saxony. He entered upon his tasks in 1508 and at the same time continued the study of theology. He was back in Erfurt from 1509 to 1510 where he lectured on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the works of St. Augustine.

The next important event in his career was a visit to Rome, occasioned by the attempt to unite the Observantine branch of the Augustinian friars with the non-Observantine. This was the darling project of the vicar-general, John Staupitz, but seven Observantine houses, one of which was Luther's at Erfurt, refused to sanction the proposed step. Luther's zeal in behalf of these houses was such that they decided to send him with another brother to plead their cause at the *curia*. At Rome he went to see the places which pilgrims were wont to visit, worshiped in all the chief churches of the Eternal City, and climbed the sacred stairs at the Lateran. He appears to have visited the catacombs of St. Sebastian, famous for the relics of saints. Without doubt he saw something of the corruption in Rome during the last days of Julius II. There is no truth in the oft-repeated story of how, when he was climbing the Sacred Stairs, the thought rose in his mind that justification came by faith alone and that these acts availed nothing; whereupon he rose from his knees and slowly and sadly walked away. In the autumn of 1511 he was back at Wittenberg. Soon after his return the projected union was abandoned. In May, 1512, he went to Cologne with Staupitz in the interest of his house. While there he was elected sub-prior of Wittenberg and was ordered to prepare for the doctorate in theology. He also visited the far-famed shrine of the Three Magi.

These facts are important for they indicate the esteem in which Luther was held. Had he been an uncongenial brother he certainly would not have enjoyed the fullest confidence of Staupitz, the vicar-general, nor would he have been appointed to these posts or sent on these missions. He now resumed the study of theology and on October 19 was promoted to the doctorate. Yet underneath the surface Luther was not contented, for he remained unsatisfied in the matter of certitude of salvation. He had gone into the monastery to win peace of soul and a sense of security by living the life of a religious. Whether he was constantly troubled by these difficulties from 1505 to 1512 is impossible to state, although later in his *Table Talk* he referred to these years as a period of profound unhappiness. Unfor-

tunately he paid little heed to chronology and often interpreted the events of his career in the monastery in the light of later happenings. It is erroneous therefore to attach decisive importance to statements in that work. How Luther settled this problem of certitude about salvation is an event of central importance in modern history.

Impelled by the great fear which repeatedly came over him, Luther did the conventional thing; he tried to find relief in the sacraments, for in them, according to Catholic conceptions, he should have found the solution to his problems. But it did not work thus. To win salvation it was necessary to do only what was holy. This was commanded in Scripture and by the teachings of the church. His Ockhamist philosophic ideas appear to have exerted much influence in this connection. These represented God as a being who could not be shown by reason to have any existence. He could be known only through faith. He appeared as an arbitrary will and so emphasized the problem of determinism. God's grace Luther of course understood, but he believed that this could be won only through merit on his own part. Herein lay a great difficulty, for, try as he might, he could never arrive at any inner assurance. He was frightened by the feeling that he fell short of being entitled to God's grace, and he continually contrasted God's sinlessness with his own corruption. The more he sought perfection the more he became aware of his inability to do any holy deed. The feeling that he was lost drove him almost to despair.

The troubled friar was aided by his superior Staupitz, a mystic brought up in the practical religious ways for which the devout Brethren of the Common Life had become famous. He urged Luther to look upon the merits of Christ and consider their efficacy in forgiving the guilt of sin rather than to examine himself in order to discover defects from which he must purge himself before winning the grace of God. This simple expedient appears to have given Luther some peace of mind, and it also helped him in the grave difficulty presented by the doctrine of predestination. He felt that he was too deeply overwhelmed by sin to do anything that could be accounted good in God's sight. Yet he was commanded to be perfect. Could he be certain of the divine grace necessary for salvation? In this Staupitz' practical mystical piety also helped greatly, for Staupitz insistently pointed to the promises that the merits of Christ would heal a soul of sin and urged that Luther should trustingly rely upon them. Reading works of German mystics such as Eckhart and the little classic *Theologia Germanica* also appears to have helped him.

Luther ever afterward retained a most vivid memory of the way out of this impasse. It came to him one day in 1512 or 1513 while sitting in a tower in the monastery when he was reflecting upon

the words of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (King James' Version, i, 17): "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith." Suddenly he saw clearly what he had long been groping for. The believer is saved by his faith in the merits of Christ's sacrifice which washes away the stain of guilt. Of his own unaided self, corrupted by sin which assailed him and which he was powerless to control, he could do nothing to win that which these merits could give. Hence man is saved not by trying to be holy in the sight of God, but simply by believing in the merits of Christ's crucifixion. *Man is saved by faith alone and not by doing the works of the law,* that is, the commandments of God and the church. This is the famous Lutheran principle of justification by faith alone which was to exert vast influence in the religious thinking of the Reformation and succeeding centuries. Its revolutionary character lay in the fact that if salvation comes only through the believer's personal faith in the merits of Christ, a mediatory priesthood becomes unnecessary, for each man would become his own priest. The traditional institution of religion was thus robbed of its dogmatic foundations. It was a revolution of the first magnitude.

Luther continued to lecture on Biblical subjects. In 1513-15 he treated the Psalms. In 1515-16 he discussed the Epistle to the Romans, and in October, 1516, he took up the Epistle to the Galatians, which was followed by the Epistle to the Hebrews, apparently in 1517-18. Of all these the lectures on the Psalms and the Romans are without doubt the most important, for they came at a moment when his ideas about justification were becoming clarified; they mark an epoch in the history of the Reformation. Humanist influences which Luther had imbibed ever since he was a student at Erfurt now bore ample fruit. He took a very simple view of Biblical texts. Only the literal meaning in its historical setting interested him; he cared nothing for tedious allegories, far-fetched moral interpretation of texts, and bootless straining after impossible anagogical meanings. Grammatical studies now assumed unusual importance. His lectures greatly impressed his auditors, the students being especially fond of their professor's originality in handling Biblical texts, but none perhaps yet divined the revolutionary tendencies that lurked in them.

Luther had arrived at his characteristic conception of justification by 1513, if it is permissible to place his experience in the monastic tower so early.[2] This precedes the indulgence controversy by at least

[2] This date is not absolutely certain and some scholars have placed it several years later. It is accepted by O. Scheel, to whom the present writer is deeply indebted.

four years. Luther's chief concern was the question of salvation, neither he nor his colleagues being aware of the full dogmatic implications and practical consequences of his religious experiences. Only circumstances over which he had little control could bring out the heretical nature of his ideas. Meanwhile students took up his teaching, Bartholomew Bernhardi being the first to break a lance for Luther's views in a public discussion in September, 1516. His theses dealt with the capacity of human will in connection with divine grace, and related themes. Franz Gunther next presented some theses in September, 1517, which defended Luther's position at great length. It is interesting to note that although these propositions were printed they attracted no attention.

That Luther was no ordinary recluse, content to spend his day in the calm of his cloister, is shown by his mission to Rome and his activities as sub-prior of the house in Wittenberg. In May, 1515, he was chosen vicar of a group of Augustinian houses in Thuringia and Meissen. The new activities made him a busy man. He was keenly interested in reform, especially among the regular clergy, and his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans contained numerous references to the need of such reformation. He complained of abuses; in some sermons he attacked the avarice of the clergy in connection with indulgences. Heretics were to be suppressed. Neither did he spare bishops, cardinals, nor even the pope himself. Yet he apparently remained convinced of the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the institutions of the church. He criticized princes for their unchristian conduct; in fact, he wanted to see a reform in state and society as well as in the church.

CHAPTER XXXIII

RISE OF LUTHERANISM

Let us, therefore, awake, dear Germans, and fear God rather than men, that we may not share the fate of all the poor souls who are so lamentably lost through the shameful and devilish rule of the Romans, in which the devil daily takes a larger and larger place,—if, indeed, it were possible that such a hellish rule could grow worse, a thing I can neither conceive nor believe.—MARTIN LUTHER.[1]

BY THE autumn of 1517 Martin Luther had advanced far in the religious development marked out by his experience in the tower of the monastery. His ideas were not compatible with the practices of many churchmen and they might readily become heretical. For the moment he was actively engaged in directing the affairs of his monasteries. The great crisis arrived in 1517 when indulgences for the building of St. Peter's in Rome were hawked about in lands adjacent to electoral Saxony.

Archbishop Albert, a scion of the Hohenzollern house, which princely connection gave him many advantages, was only twenty-three years of age when in August, 1513, he was elected to the large and important province of Magdeburg. Very soon thereafter he was elected administrator of the see of Halberstadt. The province of Mainz now fell vacant. Vast political influence had been exerted in securing the nomination to this post, and after much manœuvreing Albert was also given this province in March, 1514. His brother, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, was the chief political agent in securing these preferments. Holding more than one benefice was known in canon law as a cumulation and was illegal; furthermore, Albert was not of canonical age. Such irregularities could be permitted only by special dispensation from Rome.

Application to the *curia* was made forthwith by the archbishop, supported by Elector Joachim. Well might Pope Leo X hesitate, for the prelate was little more than a youth, and to place such grave

[1] *Works of Martin Luther with Introductions and Notes* (Philadelphia, 1915), vol. ii, p. 80.

responsibilities upon immature shoulders seemed unwise. But the proposition nevertheless offered some advantages. It would guarantee for papal policy in Germany the support of two electors. This might prove a valuable advantage in the next imperial election which could not be far away because of Emperor Maximilian's advanced age. The money to be paid was also a strong argument, for Albert agreed to give ten thousand ducats for permission to hold two extra sees, and he paid fourteen thousand ducats for the confirmation. Consequently, in August, 1514, he was declared to be legally entitled to these dignities.

This transaction, sealed and ratified by the officials of the *curia*, illustrates how political considerations might influence the policy of granting dispensations. The whole affair was legal according to canon law, but it was not beyond criticism. The commercial aspect of the affair was an even more dubious matter. The archbishop-elect offered bond to the banking firm of the Fuggers of Augsburg which advanced twenty-nine thousand Rhenish florins to cover all expenses. To discharge this very heavy debt, officials in the *curia* advised that the archbishop-elect should proclaim the extension of an indulgence for the construction of St. Peter's in Rome throughout the provinces of Mainz and Magdeburg and the see of Halberstadt. Arrangements were completed by March, 1515. Half of the income was to be given to the pope; the other half was to be kept by Albert to discharge his debt. This transaction was wholly reprehensible, for these terms were kept secret, the proclamation speaking only of the pious work of building St. Peter's.

It is important to understand clearly what is meant by the practice of indulgences. It may be difficult for some people in a peculiarly untheological age to grasp their nature, but if the student seeks to look at them in their practical relationships he will soon appreciate their true character. According to teaching laid down several centuries before, an indulgence was simply the remission of the whole or part of the penalty imposed for sin already forgiven. It was held that a sin first of all involved guilt (*culpa*) and that inevitably attached to this was the matter of penalty (*poena*) or punishment. Guilt was freely forgiven to a truly repentant sinner. The penalty, however, still had to be discharged. If the sinner was truly contrite, God would surely forgive the guilt, but the priest as representative of the church would still insist upon a substantial penalty. If the penitent did not discharge this in life, he was required to do so in purgatory. From time immemorial indulgences had been granted by the church, and by the end of the Middle Ages they had become an important feature in the popular moral, pious, social, economic, and cultural activities of the day.

While the theory of indulgences is quite simple, the practice is more difficult to understand. The early church inflicted such drastic temporal punishments for sin that to render satisfaction for the gravest sins often required long years of active effort. It happened from time to time that canonical penalties could not be paid at all. For example, a man who had lost a leg could not very well go on pilgrimage. Furthermore, the stern rigor of the early church withheld absolution of guilt until satisfaction had been entirely made. It might happen that a truly repentant sinner might die before he could be absolved. This, of course, was not just, and the church finally adopted the custom of absolving the truly contrite from their guilt after imposing the satisfactions which were to be discharged in the future. A sense of equity also led to the idea of substituting penalties. A canonical satisfaction which would be impossible for a person to discharge might be commuted to an equivalent—going on pilgrimage might be changed to almsgiving. Finally in the tenth century it was decided that the merits won by Christ, which were far in excess of the actual needs of men, formed a vast treasury, to which were added the merits of the Virgin Mary and those of the saints who by the holiness of their lives had won more than was necessary for their own salvation. This vast repository of merits was a most precious storehouse. The church taught that it could draw upon this treasury of good works and apply the merits to extinguish canonical penalties. Such commutation was the essence of an indulgence.

Only under certain definite conditions could a valid indulgence be obtained. First, a person was required to be truly contrite. Next, he must confess his sins, whereupon satisfaction might be imposed and discharged later. Then followed absolution. An indulgence was effective in removing all or part of the penalty of sin. In addition, some good work was prescribed, for a contrite person was eager to do good works as evidence of true penitence. This natural impulse in religious life, when applied and directed, led to results of great social importance. It was and continues to be the basis of much philanthropic activity. It is impossible to draw up an exhaustive list of the many charitable mediæval foundations such as hospitals and almshouses which were created partly or entirely by indulgences.

Announcement of the extension of an indulgence for the building of St. Peter's, originally proclaimed by Julius II, was made in a bull of March 31, 1515. It named the Archbishop Albert chief commissary in his two provinces and the see of Halberstadt. The terms were liberal, being applicable to a large variety of cases. Contributors were allowed to choose their confessors and were assured full remission after proper contrition and due confession. Benefits from

grants of money were declared to be equivalent to those gained from pilgrimage to Rome or Compostella. The indulgence was to run for eight years, and for each of the first three Emperor Maximilian was to receive a thousand Rhenish guilders to be applied to building a church in Innsbruck. John Tetzel, a Dominican prior in Leipzig, was designated sub-commissary in the province of Magdeburg and the see of Halberstadt. He issued instructions to the parish clergy and the preaching of the indulgence began. In January, 1517, he was at Eisleben, Jüterbogk, Zerbst, and other places in ducal Saxony near the confines of electoral Saxony within whose boundaries no preaching of the indulgence was permitted by the government. People from Wittenberg nevertheless met the indulgence preachers at these places, and through them as well as through general report Luther became acquainted with what was happening.

Just what Tetzel preached is difficult to state. Much has been written for and against him and much of it may safely be disregarded. It is certain that the charges of Tetzel's evil living were unfounded. Neither was he ignorant of the teaching of the church regarding indulgences; the fact that he was a Dominican would preclude it. He probably even preached the official doctrine. But it is most certain that he did it in a mercenary manner, using exaggerated language and urging his hearers to give liberally. He did not make clear to the simple folk the exact value of these indulgences. Indeed, it was easy for them to be confused by the variety. There were indulgences for the living which have just been described. There were indulgences for the dead also, for it was widely thought, and taught by the church, that a pious offering of money in behalf of a dead friend or relative would certainly be of great advantage to his soul in purgatory. The church held that the pope as Christ's vicar could intercede in behalf of the departed. Some indeed taught that he could apply the merits of Christ and the saints to souls in purgatory in virtue of his power to bind and loose. Tetzel undoubtedly taught this as true doctrine in spite of the fact that the church never advocated it and that it had been rejected by the theological professors in Paris. Probably the grant of confession letters contributed to the misunderstanding. Such letters were given on payment of money and were of limited application. These documents merely gave the holder, when in imminent danger of death, the right to choose a confessor and obtain absolution from certain cases reserved to the pope. They also presupposed contrition before absolution. In such circumstances it was inevitable that many ordinary folk would misunderstand, especially when Tetzel, often using too colorful language in order to stimulate the flow of gifts, dwelt so eloquently on the value of indulgences, particularly those for the dead. "In order to drive

it home, he luridly described the pains of purgatory and pathetically pictured to his hearers the souls of their dead relatives crying to them for help. Would they callously abandon them to the torments of the flames, when for a mere trifle they might deliver them?"

Luther had long been opposed to the great emphasis placed upon good works, for he thought that man was so corrupted by sin that works could avail nothing in the sight of a righteous God. Only by faith could one be saved, not by his deeds. The conduct of Tetzel greatly angered him. Furthermore, he had ample opportunity to see with his own eyes the consequences of such gross mercenariness. He drew up a series of theses in Latin setting forth his doubts about the practice of indulgences, affixing them to the door of the castle church on the Sunday before All Saints' Day (October 31, 1517). According to the ways of academic life he proposed to defend these theses against all comers, and he also wrote to Archbishop Albert begging him to withdraw his instructions to Tetzel.

The *Ninety-Five Theses* have always been accorded an important place in the history of the Reformation, but it is certain that Luther's religious development between 1512 and 1517 was of far greater moment. During these years he arrived at his characteristic doctrine of justification by faith alone. Although he himself did not at first see the bearing of this doctrine, events such as the indulgence controversy brought out its heretical tendencies. Many of his theses were not heretical; some were even without much point, but throughout there was often a typically Lutheran dislike of a mediatory priesthood. This is the root of the heretical statement in the sixth thesis: "The pope cannot remit any guilt (*culpa*), except by declaring that it had been remitted by God and by assenting to God's remission. . . ." However, according to Catholic teaching the pope possessed the power of the keys, the authority to bind and loose. Most of the theses sharply criticized current practices relating to indulgences, and in some Luther protested that formal, mercenary expedients avail naught in so spiritual a thing as religion.

The theses at first attracted no attention and the disputation did not come to pass. But their author, curious to know what friends thought of them, sent a few written copies on November 11 to the houses of the Augustinian order in Erfurt and Nuremberg. Someone betrayed his confidence and handed them to a printer, and by the close of the month printed copies were circulating in Leipzig and Magdeburg. In December a German translation appeared, and by March, 1518, the theses were known generally throughout Germany. They produced a sensation, for popular imagination was stirred by a patent abuse with which all were acquainted. Chagrined at being halted in the midst of his profits, Tetzel replied to the theses

by issuing, in January, 1518, one hundred and six counter theses completely denying Luther's position. They were written by a theologian named Wimpina, a professor in the University at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Tetzel boasted that within three weeks Luther would meet a heretic's death. Other Dominicans followed Tetzel and incessantly attacked Luther.

Archbishop Albert was also annoyed, for income from the indulgences fell off materially. He sent a copy of the theses to Pope Leo X who referred them to Cardinal Cajetan, a great theological light of the day. Early in December this churchman reported his opinion. He was acquainted with the abuses attending the hawking of indulgences and the theories about the efficacy of indulgences for the dead. But he did not yet realize the immense consequences which Tetzel's activities had among Germans. Neither did Leo, the child of the Renaissance culture of Florence and Rome. "A drunken German wrote these things, but as soon as he is sober he will talk differently," he declared with some of the contempt of Italians for the "barbarians" of the north. It was this spirit, in part at least, that lay at the root of German resentment of the papacy. Dominican influence in the *curia* continued to agitate against Luther. Leo soon took a more serious view of the commotion in Germany, and besought Gabriele della Volta, general of the Augustinian order, to induce Luther to keep silence. There was a meeting of German Augustinians at Heidelberg in April to discuss Luther's position and induce him to retract. He, however, sustained his theses well and to the satisfaction of many of his fellow friars.

It was determined that Luther should send to the *curia* a statement of his views. This he did in his *Resolutions* addressed to Leo, accompanied by a letter to Staupitz in which he sketched the events that had led to the publication of the *Theses*. He also recounted the abuses of which indulgence preachers were guilty, protesting that the theses were intended only for academic purposes, not to set forth dogma. "Now what shall I do?" he wrote. "I cannot recant them: and yet I see that marvelous enmity is enflamed against me because of their dissemination." He was willing to defer to papal wisdom. "I cast myself at the feet of Your Holiness, with all that I have and all that I am. Quicken, kill, call, recall, approve, reprove, as you will." He still believed in the necessity of priests, yet insisted on the supereminent function of faith, for through faith alone came salvation. In the *Theses* Luther had protested against current practices in hawking pardons, but now he progressed farther toward the inevitable goal, the sufficiency of man's faith without the mediation of a priest to win the precious boon of salvation.

Luther's enemies at the *curia* persisted in their hostility. The papal

censor Prierias, asked to study his writings, condemned Luther's statements about indulgences, relying upon the principle of authority, whereby the bishop of Rome, the head of the church universal who could not err, had full authority in matters of faith and interpretation of Scripture. Anyone who would not be instructed by him was a heretic. Luther answered in characteristic fashion. Formerly he had protested against the emphasis traditionally placed upon good works, holding that faith only could justify in the sight of God, and that the priest's mediation was less important than a man's faith. Now he went a step farther. The church universal was the body of the faithful in Christ, and Christ was its head. Supreme authority was to be found only in a council representing it. This was an audacious opinion, for it denied papal headship.

The citation which followed was not, however, to bring Luther to Rome. The Saxon elector, Frederick the Wise, stood staunchly by Luther, for he was proud of the prestige which the University of Wittenberg conferred on his lands, and as German prince he was jealous of his authority. Furthermore, Emperor Maximilian was advanced in age, and in the forthcoming imperial election the elector's vote might prove important. Maximilian wished to secure the succession to his grandson Charles. Frederick received the emperor's suggestions coolly and his attitude seemed doubtful. For a while Luther thought that Maximilian would prevent his extradition to Rome, but in this he was mistaken, for the emperor wrote in strong terms about him to the pope. The imperial diet met at Augsburg in the summer of 1518, Leo sending the Dominican Cajetan to represent him. Knowing that the emperor was opposed to Luther, the legate first thought to induce the secular arm to strike the heretic down. This summary method appeared attractive to him, and seemingly the emperor stood ready to aid him.

Politics influenced Cajetan's conduct. The *curia* was not sympathetic to Charles' candidacy. He was king of Naples, and might use his power to harm the papacy. Furthermore, should he be elected emperor, he could claim the duchy of Milan as an imperial fief, which would place northern as well as southern Italy at his mercy. Frederick also opposed Charles and favored a subsidy to help the pope in a crusade against the Turks, whereupon the *curia* showed favor to the elector by conferring upon him the golden rose. Luther's citation was soon changed, and he was required to appear before Cajetan in Augsburg. The elector supported him but Luther rightly entertained many fears. Finally, on October 7, he arrived in Augsburg, and four days later received the imperial letter of safe-conduct. Cajetan knew full well that Luther's complaint against the hawkers of indulgences was well founded. He would overlook much, but one

thing he could not let pass unnoticed, for certain heresy must needs be corrected. He required (October 12) that Luther recant unconditionally and without any discussion, but his language and bearing were fatherly and conciliatory.

Luther, not the person to yield meekly, asked to be instructed wherein his error lay. Cajetan pointed to certain of the *Ninety-Five Theses* which were contrary to the accepted teaching regarding penance and the treasury of merits, and to statements in the *Resolutions*. But Luther insisted that the teaching about the treasury was not well supported in Scripture. Cajetan contended that the pope was final authority in faith and morals and in interpretation of Biblical texts. Luther denied this supremacy. More serious was the next point in the discussion, when Luther resolutely maintained his point that the ministrations of the priest were of no avail apart from the faith of the participant. Cajetan insisted on the traditional teaching. They were poles apart. Luther recapitulated his points in a full statement on October 14 in which he held that popes had erred and would err, and that infallible authority rested only in Scripture whence the believer could draw the pure doctrine of salvation. A stormy altercation now began. "Revoke or be gone" was the cardinal's command. On the 18th Luther appealed from the pope ill-informed to a pope better informed, thus rejecting the finality of Leo's opinion. Two days later, under cover of night and fearing some hostile move, he departed for Saxony.

The heretical character of Luther's theological views thus became clearer under pressure of circumstances. The next important step was the famous debate at Leipzig with Dr. John Eck, professor of theology in the University of Ingolstadt, a keen theologian, devout son of the church, and to the end a most determined enemy of Luther and other heretics. He burned to distinguish himself, rushed into the lists, and circulated an attack on the *Theses* in which he accused Luther of holding Hussite views. These observations which at first appeared in manuscript began a controversy with Andrew Karlstadt, Luther's colleague at Wittenberg. By the close of 1518 preliminary arrangements for the debate had been made. Eck also attacked Luther in the theses aimed at Karlstadt, singling out the supremacy of the pope which Luther impugned. The latter welcomed a public disputation. He knew little about the historic position of the bishop of Rome in the life of the church and even stated that it was little more than four hundred years old. He also held that it was contrary to Scripture and to the decrees of the Council of Nicæa.

Leipzig was situated in ducal Saxony. Duke George was a loyal son of the church but, like many princes, objected to the excessive power, as he regarded it, of the clergy. When the bishop sought to prevent a debate the duke insisted that it be held. Many people flocked

thither, attracted by the promise of a lively discussion on a burning question. For four days Karlstadt and Eck battled about freedom of the will and efficacy of good works apart from grace. It was an unequal encounter. Eck was far superior in debate, but had great difficulty in meeting his opponent's arguments without resorting to subtleties which Humanists, trained in the literary methods of the Renaissance, heartily despised. Luther was next pitted against him. Eck based his arguments upon the traditional teaching of theologians, that the church formed one body with one head, Peter, who had been named by Christ to be His vicar on earth, and whose successors ever since had possessed the power of the keys to bind and loose. To parry this argument for the infallible authority of the papacy, Luther held that the head of the church was Christ alone. The word *rock* in Matthew xvi: 18, he declared, referred to the whole church, not merely to that founded by St. Peter. Papal headship rested only upon human foundations and its development could be traced historically. Eck labored to discredit his opponent in the minds of the hearers by accusing Luther of entertaining the heretical opinions of Marsilio of Padua, John Wiclif, and the Bohemian John Hus, all of whom had been condemned by the church. Nationalist feeling against the Bohemians was especially keen in ducal Saxony which adjoined Bohemia, and the University of Leipzig had been founded in 1409 by a secession of German masters and students from the University of Prague. But Luther did not hesitate. He boldly declared that some of Hus' positions were not heretical, for they could be proved true by Scripture. Duke George was visibly disturbed by this turn in the discussion. Luther argued, when forced to it, that even councils could err. Only Scripture possessed final authority, and popes and councils were to be obeyed if their acts and decrees were in harmony with it. In the discussions regarding indulgences Luther was pleased to see that Eck had little to criticize, for the latter was fully cognizant of the evils that accompanied their use.

The debate proved an important event in the history of the Reformation. Luther had now wandered far from the official Catholic position. Appealing to the historical evolution of papal supremacy and placing it on a purely human basis was a dangerous thrust which was to exert much influence. The debate settled nothing; it merely accentuated the differences in point of view. It now remained to cast Luther and his followers out of the fold.

Luther's enemies continued their efforts with increased vigor. Eck pressed the *curia* for action against so manifest a heretic, and others in the papal camp wrote books and pamphlets. But Luther also had his supporters, for the most part Humanists. They had for years shot many a satirical dart at church officials who were especially

vulnerable because they often wrote such bad Latin, possessed no real appreciation for classical literature, and preferred the dead logic and philosophy of the schools to a fresh study of Latin and Greek letters. Was not Luther merely another Erasmus? Humanists thought so, at least until the moment came when they realized that his conception of salvation by faith without works was little to their taste. The more serious of them were inclined to make an ethical matter of religion and so were really nearer the Catholic than the Lutheran position. This is the reason Erasmus and others finally abandoned Luther. For the moment, however, they followed him. The Humanists at Erfurt (Crotus Rubeanus), Gotha (Conrad Mutianus, Eobanus Hessus, and Justus Jonas), Nuremberg (Link, Scheurl, and the artist Dürer), Basel (the printer Froben), and in foreign lands greeted him with evident satisfaction. A remarkable satire appeared, called *Eccius Dedolatus* or *Eck Planed Off*, and couched in the coarsely satirical style of the age. Its authorship has long been ascribed to Pirkheimer of Nuremberg.

From this time dates the relation between Luther, the Reformation, and Melanchthon. He was born in 1497 in the Rhenish Palatinate. His father was an armorer and the youth was privileged to have the advice of his famous uncle Reuchlin in the matter of education. Melanchthon studied at Heidelberg where Humanist education had taken root in the face of vigorous opposition by some obscurantist professors. He also studied at the University of Tübingen and won fame while but a student. In 1518 he was invited to teach Greek at Wittenberg. His great scholarship was to prove an adornment to the faculty of letters and a powerful agent in disseminating the best fruits of humanist learning among the Lutheran clergy. His services to German pedagogy were such that he plays a significant rôle in the history of education.

Younger Germans led by patriotic sentiments gathered around Luther in opposition to the Roman hierarchy. Ulrich von Hutten was vociferous in supporting him, and published an edition of Lorenzo Valla's study of the Donation of Constantine. Luther read it in February, 1520, and was amazed at the exposure. The papal bull *Exsurge Domine*, which was finally drawn up by June 15, 1520, did more than any other document to focus the attention of people upon Luther. It described the gravity of his heresies and condemned them, and ordered the faithful, under threat of excommunication and loss of benefices, to shun him. Luther was given sixty days in which to cease from his heretical course, after which, should he fail to comply, he was to be severed from the body of the faithful and to be seized by church or secular authorities. Such communities as would not listen to this order were to incur sentence of interdict. It was due to Eck's

activity in Rome that this bull was drawn up, and Eck now appeared in Germany to see that all authorities were properly informed of the text.

Meanwhile Luther continued his studies. He resolved to pen an appeal to the people of Germany. The three great Reformation tracts which now appeared marked his complete rupture with the papacy. The first of these was *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian State* (June-August, 1520), addressed to the emperor, the head of the German people. The argument is as follows: The champions of papal supremacy have built three walls behind which they are intrenched: (1) spiritual authority is superior to temporal authority, (2) the authority to interpret Scripture resides in the pope, and (3) the pope alone can convoke councils. Luther replied to this in short fashion: the first wall falls, since all believers are priests. There is no distinction therefore between clerical and secular estate. A priest exists simply because of the principle of division of labor. "A priest in Christendom is nothing else than an office-holder. While he is in office, he has precedence; when deposed, he is peasant or a townsman like the rest." The second wall has no secure basis. "If we are all priests, . . . and all have one faith, one Gospel, one sacrament, why should we not also have the power to test and judge what is correct or incorrect in matters of faith?" And "the third wall falls of itself when the first two are down. For when the pope acts contrary to Scripture, it is our duty to stand by Scripture, to reprove him, and to constrain him, according to the word of Christ in Matthew xviii: 15."

Having thus destroyed the theoretical bases of papal supremacy in the church, Luther next described the abuses which should be discussed in councils. These included the wealth of pope and cardinals, the system of taxation, and administrative abuses. The last section of this remarkable pamphlet listed certain proposals for reform. Among them were abolition of annates, the whole complicated system of making appointments to benefices which fell vacant when their holders died in Rome, the control of local churches by the *curia*, ecclesiastical justice, secular authority in Naples and the States of the Church, reform of the mendicant orders, marriage of the clergy, abolition of mortuaries, interdict, saints' days, pilgrimages, and many other topics. This tract was written in German and made a tremendous national appeal.

Far more damaging was *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* written at the close of August, which struck a vigorous blow at the sacramental system. The pamphlet, being written in Latin, was not intended for the masses. It declared that only two of the seven

sacraments were valid, the Lord's Supper and baptism, and possibly also that of penance. Luther thought that no scriptural texts could be adduced in support of the others. *A Treatise on Christian Liberty* appeared in November, a letter to Pope Leo being added as a preface. The book was milder in tone than its two predecessors and appears to have been composed before them in response to the papal envoy Miltitz, with whom Luther had had a conference in October of the previous year. In it he elucidated his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, and explained why good works had no power to save and why faith in the merits of Christ won by His sacrifice could alone bring salvation.

Fifteen years had now elapsed since Luther entered the monastery in quest of salvation. Why he could not find full comfort in Catholic conceptions will probably never be explained; it is the everlasting and insoluble mystery of human personality. Through much groping Luther sought to discover the truth. His dogged tenacity was accompanied by a peculiar conservatism which made it difficult to break with the faith of his fathers. Gradually his ideas took form. External events usually forced him to clarify his thoughts and commit them to writing. The three Reformation tracts capped the climax. The bull *Exsurge Domine* definitively pronounced the position of the church in regard to his heresies. A dramatic ceremony on December 10 closed this chapter of the Reformation, for on that day Luther burned the papal bull, a copy of the canon law, and some other writings outside a gate of Wittenberg, an enthusiastic crowd of students and townsmen applauding him. He was now the cynosure of all eyes —the simple monk had become religious reformer and national leader.

CHAPTER XXXIV

TRIUMPH OF LUTHERANISM

It was the beginning of the whole Reformation. We know how it went; forward from the first public challenge of Tetzel, on the last day of October, 1517, through remonstrance and argument;—spreading ever wider, rising; till it became unquenchable, and enveloped all the world.—THOMAS CARLYLE.[1]

EVENTS moved swiftly during the closing months of 1520. The pope had issued the bull *Exsurge Domine* which Luther burned. On January 3, 1521, Leo X issued the bull of excommunication. The breach between Luther and the *curia* was complete. What would be the next step? All eyes turned to the emperor and to the coming meeting of the German diet at Worms.

The youthful Charles V had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on October 23, 1520, just after Luther had launched his famous tracts. Charles was bound, according to mediæval conceptions of the relations between empire and papacy, to extirpate the tares of heresy. Would he do it? The federal nature of the empire made very difficult any effort to control the internal policies of states. Elector Frederick of Saxony, who stood between Luther and the emperor, was loath to allow any imperial interference in his lands. Though he was born in Flanders, Charles' views of the relations of church and civil authority were formed by what he saw in Spain. He was truly orthodox, but preferred to manage ecclesiastical affairs himself by means of national councils. The *curia* wanted him to suppress the new heresy, and Leo appointed two nuncios to prepare the imperial mind to this end and to manage the negotiations. Aleander and Caraccioli, the nuncios, were both Humanists well versed in the ways of men and acquainted with the methods of Renaissance diplomacy. It was their view that Luther should forthwith be suppressed by the empire. He had been condemned and excommunicated, and it only remained for Charles to put the bulls into execution. Elector Frederick of Saxony and Erasmus urged that Luther should first

[1] *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History* (*The Works of Thomas Carlyle,* Centenary Edition), vol. v, p. 132.

be tried by capable and impartial judges. Charles promised this at a meeting in Cologne on November 1, greatly to the chagrin of the nuncios who wanted to see Luther condemned without trial or deliberation by the diet. The emperor had to consider the political aspects of the situation. He was on the brink of war with Francis I of France and needed papal support, especially in Italy. Nor could he afford to antagonize the Germans from whom he expected military aid.

Public sentiment in Germany was clearly on Luther's side. Aleander was distressed to find that most of the people were for Luther. Even if the rest cared little for him, they were bitter toward the papacy and insisted that a council should be called to air the grievances of the realm and apply correction. People even threatened violence to Aleander's person. Luther's books were hawked about everywhere, and heretical ideas seemed to infect everybody. Erasmus as usual issued bitter jibes at the shortcomings of the hierarchy. Ulrich von Hutten's writings made a great impression, his patriotic sentiments appealing to all classes of Germans. Since the debate at Leipzig he had entertained great respect for Luther and had greeted his writings with enthusiasm. His acrid spirit was bent on castigating the papacy and exalting Germany. In 1520 he issued his *Vadiscus* in which the clergy were mercilessly satirized. His violent criticism made it unsafe for him to stay in the country and he sought shelter with Franz von Sickingen in his castle at Ebernburg.

Von Hutten was of knightly origin and retained some of the prejudices of his class. He possessed patriotic feelings toward the emperor, opposed the papacy, and hated friars and clergy alike, as became a Humanist. He supported Luther because he was momentarily the national hero of Germany, but he cared little for the deeper religious questions involved in the struggle. During all his career he had written in Latin, but the astonishing success of Luther's tracts of 1520 led Von Hutten to address the public in German. In December he published the *Complaint and Exhortation against the Overweening and Unchristian Power of the Pope in Rome and of his Unspiritual Clergy.* Ensconced in Ebernburg, he published the most vitriolic attacks. His patriotic sense overcame the prejudices of his knightly origin. He believed that knights, princes, towns, and emperor should join in common service to the fatherland against the papacy, hoping thus to effect a revolution. It is certain that he wanted to seize the nuncios. He savagely criticized the prelates assembled at the diet at Worms, but a few miles from Ebernburg. He even launched invective and satire against Charles, but here he overshot the mark. His language was indeed bold, but he did not have the material resources with which to start a revolution; furthermore, his plans were

never well formulated. The castle became a rendezvous of such fugitive clerics as Butzer and Œcolampadius, who embraced the teaching of Luther. The latter, however, refused the invitation to join them.

The diet opened at Worms in January, 1521, amid manifestations of admiration for Luther and open declarations of hostility toward the *curia*. Aleander, addressing it on the thirteenth, demanded that since the heretic was already condemned it was the manifest duty of the emperor and the estates to suppress Lutheran books. Indeed, no time was to be lost, for Germany was afire. But the electors feared popular opposition, and refused to sanction any decree ordering the burning of Lutheran books. They insisted that Luther be summoned to Worms under imperial safe-conduct to be questioned by a committee about the authorship of his books. There was to be no discussion about doctrines. Charles agreed to this, notwithstanding Aleander's disapproval. On March 6 a safe-conduct was sent to Luther, together with citation to appear in Worms. Elector Frederick also gave him a similar letter, and on April 2 he set out on a journey fraught with danger.

Luther everywhere received the enthusiastic ovation of the public. Some of his admirers warned him that the fate which befell Hus might also come to him, for under certain circumstances solemn promises might not be binding when they concerned heretics. On April 16 he entered Worms and at once made preparations for the hearing. Late the following afternoon he was ushered into the presence of the emperor, electors, and princes of the realm. He was addressed by the official of the see of Mainz who asked whether he had written the books whose titles had been read, and whether he intended to defend their contents. To the first question he answered in the affirmative, but the second he declared was so weighty a question that he wished to consider prayerfully before replying. It was agreed that he should have twenty-four hours in which to formulate an answer. When Luther appeared before the emperor the second time, he stated that some of the books were directed against abuses in the Roman hierarchy, some were written against his enemies, and others merely retailed the teachings of Scripture and were written for purposes of edification. "But he would not recant one word of any of these three kinds of books unless he were convinced of error in a disputation and by the authority of the Old and New Testament only."

"'Martin,' continued the official, 'if your wrong opinions and heresies were new and invented by you, perhaps his Imperial Majesty would request the Holy Father to have them examined by pious and learned men, so that no wrong should be done you. But your errors

are those of the ancient heretics, the Waldenses, Beghards, Adamites, Poor Men of Lyons, Wiclif, and Hus, and have all been long ago condemned by holy councils, popes and the usage of the church, and therefore ought no more to be discussed and brought into question contrary to divine and human law.' Then the official added the question, which especially concerned the German nation, whether he would not recant what he had written against the holy Council of Constance, which had been attended by all nations and was recognized by the whole world. He refused, and would not submit to the decrees of the council in so far as they were founded on the authority of Scripture, for, he said, councils had erred and contradicted one another."[2]

In these words Aleander reported the proceedings on April 17 and 18. They eloquently set forth Luther's heresies. Popes could and did err; so did councils contradict each other. The truth lay in Scripture alone which would enlighten the zealous seeker for truth about things divine. Thus Luther denied the bases upon which rested the whole fabric of the traditional church. It was a clear and final assertion of rebellion. What was to be done? Aleander would gladly have had Charles break his safe-conduct, but this was impossible, for Frederick and other electors would surely oppose this step. There was also the surging tide of German patriotic and nationalist sentiment to be taken into account, for threats of a popular rising were meanwhile becoming more audible. Much as the orthodox Charles regretted it, he was not free to act. He could not move to suppress the heresy. The estates insisted on a further hearing before a committee which should seek to secure submission from Luther. If he should refuse to yield, they would support the emperor in his desire to uproot Lutheranism, provided the safe-conduct were respected.

The committee met with Luther on the 24th, but failed, as might have been expected. When nothing could be gained, Charles ordered Luther to return to Saxony, whither he set out on the 26th. Meanwhile Aleander drafted an edict placing Luther under the ban. Many of the members of the diet had gone home, and a greatly reduced number accepted the document on the 26th. It placed Luther under the ban of the empire, forbade all subjects to give him aid and comfort, ordered his arrest and that of his abettors and protectors, enjoined confiscation of their property, forbade anyone to read or own any of Luther's books, ordered that they should be burned, and provided that publication and censorship of books should be more carefully controlled in the future.

Luther now was declared an outlaw. But it was a very different

[2] *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters*, tr. and ed. by P. Smith (Philadelphia, 1913), vol. i, pp. 529-530.

matter to get any action against him in a state constituted as was Germany. Elector Frederick sought to quiet the uproar and gave orders to place Luther in safe keeping. When the latter was on the way back to Wittenberg and was passing through the country of his childhood days, he was suddenly seized and carried to the old castle of the Wartburg (May 4). The secret was well kept; even the elector knew nothing of Luther's whereabouts. For nearly ten months he stayed there occupied in writing letters and brochures. Chief of them was the important tract, *On Monastic Vows*, which maintained that, being saved by faith alone, man could not profit from a religious life. Monasticism was not in harmony with Scripture, and celibacy he thought to be invalid. Since in practice it was often violated, it would be better to allow all religious to marry. The simple secular life of Christians outside monastic walls was the true Christian life.

Especially important is Luther's translation of the New Testament made at this time. Other translations into the German had been made from the Vulgate, but Luther's was based on Erasmus' edition. His vast knowledge of the Bible greatly aided him in this truly gigantic task, for he had laboriously studied its pages ever since he went into the monastery. In an incredibly short time he finished the work, which became a great literary landmark in the history of the German language and literature. It set the standard of speech and attained great popularity among the people. The translation appeared in September, 1522 and was called the September Testament. In this way too Luther was closely associated with the great outburst of nationalist sentiment. Meantime at Wittenberg Melanchthon published his *Loci Communes* which dealt with the main points concerning sin, grace, sacraments, and other theological topics. Its contents were drawn mainly from the Pauline epistles. The book long remained a popular guide to the new doctrines.

Meanwhile important religious agitations disturbed the repose of Wittenberg. Luther's teaching about the impossibility of meriting salvation through good works and his ideas on monastic vows were eagerly received by Karlstadt and other professors at the university. Life in a center of learning in the Middle Ages was a very disputatious affair. Karlstadt was less cautious than Luther about following the new doctrines to their logical consequences. Why should the clergy not marry? Luther's former student, Bernhardi, had set the example of marrying. Karlstadt wrote, arguing against celibacy. He even thought that only married men should be accepted for the priesthood. Elector Frederick was extremely loath to permit any further change in religious practices and wrote to the councilors of Wittenberg to that effect. Karlstadt nevertheless persisted in his course and

attacked confession, fasting, and withholding the cup from the laity. On Christmas Day, 1521, he celebrated the Lord's Supper without vestments and omitted elevation of the Host. The sacrificial character of the sacrament was rejected as a papal abomination. Laymen were urged to take the bread from the altar with their own hands. They also received the cup, which for the time being became the established custom.

Gabriel Zwilling, an Augustinian friar, proved an able assistant, and violently assailed the traditional conception of the mass. His words stirred the people to action which sometimes bordered on riot. Karlstadt's innovations were followed by his own marriage, an example adopted by other clergy. The Augustinians now removed the altars from their chapel, took down images, and destroyed pictures of saints. Monks left their houses and became handicraftsmen. With the abolition of mass and the introduction of many novelties it was felt that an ordinance governing public religious exercises should be drafted. Karlstadt urged this and secured the adoption of a document by the council of Wittenberg in January, 1522. It provided for a common fund for the support of the poor, into which were to be deposited incomes from religious foundations. Begging and prostitution were to be suppressed. Religious services were to be conducted according to conceptions advanced by Karlstadt, and altars, pictures, and similar objects were to be removed in all convents. This ordinance, which was based partly upon a measure for the relief of the poor which had emanated from Luther in 1520, is typical of the policy of mediæval towns regarding the control and regulation of religious service and its social aspects.

Wittenberg was still more disturbed by the arrival of three prophets from Zwickau, followers of one Thomas Münzer, a man who was to attract much notice in the Peasants' War a few years later. Two of them, Nicholas Storch and an unnamed friend, were cloth-makers and quite illiterate. The third, Mark Stübner, was a student. Melanchthon was greatly impressed by their claims to direct inspiration. They had a mission from God to preach; they prophesied and foretold the future. They rejected infant baptism which, they asserted, was contrary to the spirit of Luther's teaching. Since Zwickau was situated within the confines of Bohemia, Hussite notions may well have influenced them. The influence of these agitators was but a passing event. This episode is nevertheless interesting because it shows what crude theological concepts untutored folk are likely to form in days of storm and stress.

At first Luther sympathized with the course of events at Wittenberg. He approved Karlstadt's marriage. But his innate conservatism soon led him to take a different attitude. Even though the innova-

tions were logically a consequence of his own teaching, he was opposed to precipitate action. Political considerations certainly should be weighed. Karlstadt and Zwilling were impatient of such matters. Luther's friends begged him to return, and on March 6, 1522, the reformer was back in Wittenberg. He began at once a series of sermons designed to quiet the agitated public. Moderation was the burden of his discourse. He agreed that mass should be discontinued and that it should not be obligatory to keep vows of celibacy, retain pictures and images in churches, or continue the practice of fasting. He held that the wine should be given the laity in communion. Confession he would keep as a pious and laudable practice. He also addressed the excited folk in other towns of electoral Saxony. Melanchthon and other professors at the university supported Luther. An expedient conservatism was now injected into the Reformation, and Elector Frederick was greatly pleased by this turn of events.

Lutheran doctrines continued to win adherents everywhere. Nationalist sentiment, dissatisfaction with religious practices, and antagonism toward Rome all combined to fan the excitement. Pamphlets continued to flow from the press. Monks and nuns broke their vows and left their houses in large numbers, and most Augustinians followed Luther's example. Some of the more noteworthy preachers of the new doctrines came from monasteries, among them the Dominican Martin Butzer and the Franciscan Oswald Myconius. Laymen repeatedly assumed direction in preaching the new doctrines. Townsmen were especially interested and meetings were often held in market places. In southern Germany the important towns of Strassburg, Ulm, Nördlingen, Constance, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, to name but a few, resounded with Luther's teaching. Bremen, Magdeburg, and Hamburg in the north also received it eagerly. Some of the German princes showed strong interest in the new doctrines, and some of the lesser nobility were inclined to favor Luther. Elector Frederick of Saxony still held aloof, chiefly for political reasons, it appears.

To comply with the Edict of Worms proved difficult under such circumstances. Princes, loath to enforce it, simply ignored it, and in the towns the opposition was usually great. It was evident that the edict was a dead letter as so many before had been. Duke George of Saxony and Elector Joachim of Brandenburg were the most important princes to oppose Lutheranism. But even in states where princes were loyal to the old church there was little effective effort to suppress the heresy. This matter came up for discussion in a meeting of the diet at Nuremberg which was in session from November, 1522, to March, 1523. Pope Adrian VI (1522-23), who had succeeded

Leo X, sent his nuncio Francesco Chieregati, bishop of Tiramo, to demand that the edict be enforced. At the same time he frankly admitted the evil practices of the *curia* and promised that they would be rectified as soon as possible. The diet was loath to accede to this demand for enforcement of the edict, pointing to the evident fact that Lutheranism was far too popular to be repressed, especially when the hierarchy was open to much criticism. Reform of course was necessary; and the diet insisted on a council in which laity as well as clergy were to take part which should convene within the borders of Germany within one year. Meanwhile preachers were to teach the truth as contained in Scripture. This response was a defeat for Chieregati, for it practically suspended the Edict of Worms. Nor was the next meeting of the diet from January to April, 1524, more favorable to the cause of the papacy. Pope Clement VII (1523-34) sent Campeggio to demand the execution of the edict. The diet insisted on a German council to consider reform. Before it should meet, a national German assembly was to ascertain what was heretical in Luther's teaching. Until such action there should be no interference in the preaching of Scripture. But the emperor sided with the nuncio and ordered that the edict should be put into immediate execution. This could not be done, however, for Lutheranism was rapidly gaining adherents whom the emperor could not afford to antagonize while he was at war with Francis I.

Meanwhile Germany was drifting toward revolution. Luther had sensed this as he rode homeward from Worms. He reflected upon the news which came to him in the solitude of the Wartburg. There were riots in Erfurt against the clergy. A multitude of accumulated grievances cried aloud for redress. There was much maladjustment in German society which at any moment might lead to violence. Masters of guilds formed hereditary corporations which kept out newcomers. Apprentices and journeymen found the road to advancement closed to them; it was their lot to labor forever at unrequited toil under unfavorable conditions. The lower nobility, or knights, were bitter against the great princes of the empire. They belonged to a bygone age and keenly resented the fact that the great days of their class were past. They continued their antiquated ways. Their castles were built on hilltops. From these strongholds they often rode out to plunder and slay merchants, and to them they retreated when danger threatened. They were a curse upon the land.

Franz von Sickingen now appeared as a possible leader of a revolution. Although he was of the knightly class, he possessed much property and was very influential. He well understood the advantage which the new military weapons, guns and powder, gave an army. His prejudices and dislikes derived from the antiquated ideas of his

class. He as well as other German knights were dissatisfied because towns and urban economy were making vast gains at the expense of this class who supported themselves more or less on a manorial economy which was obsolescent. Von Sickingen possessed in supreme degree the great vice of knights, the right of private warfare. For many years he had done as he pleased. He even thought of selling his services to Francis I, for such was the moral decline into which this class had fallen that its notions of loyalty were completely distorted.

Von Sickingen had never heard of Luther until the reformer began to be discussed in connection with revolution. The knight cared naught for religion. When Hutten appeared in the Ebernburg he too began to talk against priests and prelates. But Von Sickingen was not the man to lead a revolution. Instead, he planned a great war on his personal enemy, the archbishop of Trier, and other knights who cherished similar sentiments chose him as their captain in 1522. Von Sickingen talked loudly and pretended that he was an ally of Luther—the time had come to strike a blow! He moved upon the archbishop but the walls of the city of Trier and its cannon compelled him to withdraw. Thereupon the Council of Regency placed him under the ban as an outlaw. He retired to his stronghold at Landstuhl where he was besieged and mortally wounded. His death (May 7, 1523) was a significant event, for it marked the final defeat of the knightly class which had become politically and economically obsolete. Germany was saved from a great war upon the clergy. Von Hutten fled to Basel where he was rejected by Erasmus. Thereupon he went to Zürich, near which place in 1523 he died in bitter disappointment.

The unsatisfactory economic position of the peasantry made it equally ready for some kind of blind revolt. It is impossible to give a correct picture of these conditions because they varied greatly from place to place, and furthermore, the sources fail to give adequate statements. The agricultural population lived in the many degrees of dependency characteristic of the Middle Ages. A few free peasants possessed land without servile obligations, but most peasants were constrained to rent parcels of land from lords. The status of many was midway between that of freeman and serf. Serfs in the lowest degree of dependency were not to be found in many communities. Relations of peasants with their landlords were unhappy. Peasants often were deprived of the right to wood and pasture which had been theirs from time immemorial, and in some places they were robbed of the right to hunt in the forests and fish in the streams. The lords usually were inclined to increase their burdens as much as possible.

The strain and stress of this unequal position were constantly increasing under the capitalist transformation of German society. The material standard of living was rising rapidly, for nobles no less than bourgeois were eager to gratify their appetites for luxuries. The petty nobility had no income other than what they could extract from their peasants. They constantly sought to increase it and therefore extended old manorial rights wherever possible. In their pride and haughtiness this obsolete class extolled the ancient virtues of knights. It was their privilege to indulge in private warfare. Wealthier nobles were confronted by the same conditions. They too found that they could not increase their income to keep pace with the steadily mounting cost of living, and they sought to put the burden on the shoulders of the peasants. Ecclesiastical princes acted in the same manner, for they also subsisted on manorial incomes.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that in southwestern Germany feudal and manorial holdings were smaller than in the north and east, and the burden of supporting so large a class was thus much greater there than elsewhere. Nor could the peasants look to the state for help, for its federal character made the central government too weak to take notice of their misfortunes. Social disturbances accordingly had often marred the peace of these regions. Peasants had sought justice by direct action, especially after 1493, adopting as their emblem a peasant's shoe with a long string attached. This Bundschuh standard, as it was called, was often raised. Leaders insisted upon simple justice in their economic relations with landlords, whether laymen or priests. They usually demanded that streams, forests, and pasture lands should be free, and insisted on reduction in tithes. The people remained deeply religious in all these movements; in fact, priests who had risen from the lower classes and understood their problems often joined them. Peasants usually were strongly opposed to the wealthy clergy and monastic foundations, and townsmen, especially the lower element, repeatedly sympathized with and sometimes joined them. The authorities wiped out such risings without mercy and savagely hunted down their victims as if they were mere beasts.

Strange doctrines were readily accepted by the unfortunates, and it is not impossible that Hussite ideas of equality influenced them. Religion usually figured strongly in their acts. Especially interesting is the case of Hans Böhm of Niklashausen who in 1476 suddenly turned from his worldly life, saw visions, taught that the chapel of Our Lady of Niklashausen was the holiest spot in Christendom, railed against priests and the papacy, declared that all taxes were unlawful, and became famous far and wide. He planned an appeal to arms but was seized by the bishop of Würzburg, imprisoned, and

finally burned as a heretic. His last words were a simple hymn to the Blessed Virgin. Böhm's movement was an interesting compound of religious ideas and agrarian and social doctrines, while the Bundschuh revolts were primarily concerned with the relations of peasants and their lords. The simple peasant was ever prone to appeal to some of the basic ethical ideas of Christianity when he sought fairer economic treatment. Taking religion literally and seriously often led to social and political radicalism in the eyes of both church and state.

To these complicated social problems was added the ferment of Lutheran ideas. The great leader himself had taught the priesthood of all believers, a doctrine which appealed to the oppressed because of its apparent insistence on the essential equality of men. Luther has often been erroneously accused of causing the revolt. It may have been stimulated by his teaching, but it was due to old and deep-seated causes. Luther was of peasant origin and sympathized with the peasants' difficulties. But he also was conservative and hated violence, and he was frightened by the rumblings of the gathering storm. When in the Wartburg he wrote *A Faithful Exhortation to Christians to Keep Themselves from Riot and Revolution,* in which he maintained that reform was necessary. It should, however, be initiated by the princes and by the state. Simple folk, no matter what their burdens and injustices, might not take the initiative. All revolt was wrong; it was the devil's way of hurting the teaching of Scripture. These ideas reveal Luther's intense loyalty toward constituted authority, the princes of Germany, a loyalty so strong that it led him to contradict a basic principle of his teaching, that of the equality of all believers before God. He held that it did not apply to secular matters. It was a point fraught with the gravest consequences.

Between 1522 and 1524 occurred the rising and defeat of the knights under Franz von Sickingen. A serious crisis thus passed; but it was followed by another far more dangerous. The peasants rose at Stühlingen in the Black Forest in June, 1524. They were goaded into this by the exasperating insistence of the countess of Lüpfen upon petty services which prevented them from harvesting their crops. At least this was their pretext; in reality they nursed many other grievances. The movement spread rapidly. The men of the Kletgau and the Hegau rose in August and drew up some articles setting forth the social inequalities which burdened them. The movement spread during the winter into northern Swabia and Württemberg and eastward as far as Memmingen. By the spring of 1525 it had gone northward into Franconia, Hesse, Thuringia, and even into Brunswick; westward into Alsace, Trier, and Lorraine; and southward into Tyrol, Salzburg, and neighboring lands.

The peasants drew up numerous documents setting forth their

grievances. Especially important were the *Twelve Articles* drawn up at Memmingen in 1525. Lutheran agitation in behalf of Scripture had appealed to them, and they repeatedly insisted that the Bible should be the norm of social relations. Biblical texts were plentifully used to buttress their demands. Most of the *Twelve Articles* concerned manorial dues and obligations. Tithes were to be dropped, except the chief grain tithe which they thought had Biblical sanction, peasants were to be allowed to hunt and fish, water rights were to be left to the community, in certain cases woods were to revert to the people, burdensome services were to be removed, only ancient manorial customs were to be respected, a fair price was to be paid for labor, rents were to be just, and death dues were to cease. Clauses dealing with religion declared that the peasants wanted no revolution but the simple justice of Christian teaching.

Unfortunately, moderate counsels did not prevail among the nobility who were inclined to look to their rights and who possessed the characteristic hatred of their class toward social inferiors. Moderation as exhibited in the *Twelve Articles* could not be maintained toward the peasants. As the spring of 1525 wore on, violence increased. Property of ecclesiastical lords was pillaged, monasteries were sacked, and even churches were plundered. Images and relics were destroyed, vestments torn, and the Host profaned. The peasants had justly criticized churchmen who were so closely associated with feudal and manorial institutions that they became simply tools of the propertied classes. Resentment toward a property holding clergy was common. Many roving bands engaged in desultory fighting and it was impossible to prevent plundering. Nevertheless, moderation was the dominant note of the revolt. The peasants sometimes even accepted nobles to lead them and present their demands. Indeed, many nobles, knights, princes, and ecclesiastical lords had for centuries set the peasants splendid example in this respect.

Soon after the battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525)[3] professional troops of the emperor's army began to return to Germany, and princes were now able to collect armies with which to put down the malcontents. Philip of Hesse defeated a force of peasants which had been brought together by Münzer, who had announced the coming of a communist age. All mankind was to form a community like that of the children of Israel. Only princes and the upper classes were to be excluded and put to the sword. This band was defeated at Frankenhausen (May 15, 1525) and Thuringia was freed from the rebels. Princes now began to slaughter the unfortunates, it being related that the duke of Lorraine put seventeen thousand to the sword. Others with equal inhumanity hacked down the simple folk.

[3] For Charles' wars in Italy, see chap. xxxv.

Many basely broke promises the moment they thought themselves strong enough to do so with impunity, the electors of Trier and the Palatinate, the bishop of Würzburg, and even the Swabian League being guilty of this execrable conduct. By the autumn of 1525 the Peasants' Revolt which had promised to be successful at the opening of the year was stamped out in blood and death.

What was Luther's attitude toward these events? He had not been displeased with the demands of the peasants when the *Twelve Articles* appeared. He wrote a pamphlet, *An Exhortation to Peace in Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants* (April, 1525), in which he declared against tyrannous princes whom he held responsible for much of the discontent. Indeed, they deserved to be overthrown. But, he told the peasants, there was something more important than temporal justice. This was righteousness. Violence was never allowable; only false teachers held that revolution was permitted. Rather it was the teaching of the Gospel that Christians must suffer. Obedience was a prime virtue, as St. Paul taught, and therefore no show of force could ever be lawful. Luther would not recognize the truth taught in scholastic philosophy that all men were justified in defending their natural rights. He declared, "Suffering, suffering, cross, cross; this is a Christian's only right!"

This appeal to princes to be just and to peasants to commit no violence could not but fail, for princes of the Middle Ages were not compounded of mercy and justice, especially where the peasantry was concerned. Bitterness increased and the peasants were guilty of excesses which greatly disturbed Luther. He resented the teaching of Münzer in neighboring Thuringia. He thought that the spirit of insubordination was stirred up by the devil himself, and he hastily penned a pamphlet, *Against Robbing and Murdering Peasant Bands* (May, 1525), couched in the most brutal and intolerant language. Luther now sided with the princes. Rebellion was a grievous sin, and the peasants should be put down with force for they attacked the powers instituted by God. In a lamentable burst of passion he wrote: "Therefore let every one who can, strike, strangle, stab secretly or in public, and let him remember that nothing can be more poisonous, harmful, or devilish than a man in rebellion."

This change in point of view is a blot on Luther's name. It was typical of the Lutheran attitude toward the sanctity of temporal authority which would make redress of grievances, whether political, economic, or even religious, entirely impossible if the legally constituted authorities should refuse to sanction any change. The peasants pondered sullenly over Luther's teaching and concluded that he was a false prophet. They would have no more of him and henceforth sought solace in the faith of their fathers. On the other hand,

princes accused him of fomenting revolt even after he issued his terrible pamphlet. Thus much of southern Germany was saved for Catholicism. Luther kept his movement from destruction by repudiating radical social revolution, and he won the support of princes in the north. At Worms in 1521 Luther had stood as spokesman of Germany; after the Peasants' Revolt he led only a faction. His marriage to Catherine von Bora, a renegade nun, in 1525 seemed scandalous to many and further impaired his prestige with the faithful.

Meanwhile the rapid growth of Lutheranism had produced serious problems in church organization. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone originally implied that the religious community should be managed in a democratic manner. He now held that preaching and celebration of the sacraments required special training. For this reason and for the preservation of order a ministry should be appointed. He justified it solely on the principle of division of labor. But the clergy were not to be separated from the laity by any special sacramental character, as was the case with Catholic priests. Luther could not accept a purely popular church organization. The Peasants' War made him a conservative; henceforth he leaned heavily on the power of princes. He argued that all political authority was instituted by God and was therefore sacred, and he believed that this divinely created secular government possessed the right to manage ecclesiastical affairs. This meant that Lutheran churches would become state churches, managed by princes much like secular branches of the state government. This was a great revolution in religion because Catholics had always taught that the church was self-sufficient and could not admit any princely control. Church and state according to Catholic conceptions were parallel institutions, each independent in its sphere, but the church possessed the right to instruct the state in moral and religious matters.

In Lutheran churches the episcopal function was shorn of its religious powers, bishops remaining as overseers or superintendents appointed by princes. In Scandinavian lands these officials retained the title of bishop, and became managers of the church in towns and districts called circles into which territorial states were divided. The basis of this new arrangement was laid by the Saxon Visitation conducted from 1526 to 1528. A committee of lawyers and theologians was sent into every parish to inquire into the state of religion. When their investigations were finished they drew up instructions for the guidance of churches. These served, with minor modifications, as a model for the religious organizations of Prussia, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Mansfeld, and Schleswig-Holstein, as well as for many cities.

The epochal period of Luther's work was finished by 1525. Al-

though the reformer continued to live in the public eye until his death on February 18, 1546, his activities were limited chiefly to teaching, preaching, pamphleteering, organizing the new worship, and giving advice on innumerable topics. Luther remained the unquestioned leader of the evangelical party, receiving homage from all classes in many parts of Germany. Students flocked to Wittenberg to listen to his lectures, and many poor pupils received financial help from him in preparing themselves for the ministry, some of them even living in his house. His hospitality was well known, and many a student, theologian, or curious visitor was welcomed to his table where he entertained them with that curious conversation which has been preserved in his *Table Talk*. This work, which has become one of the great biographical classics, contains the reformer's spontaneous reactions to all sorts of questions. From its pages we learn to know Luther better than from his more serious scientific and polemical works or the pictures which Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515-86) painted of him.

Luther's character was a remarkable combination of diverse qualities. His attitude toward the physical world was naïve. He believed in the reality of that unseen body of spirits to which witches ministered. Popular tradition dominated his mind. In religion he boldly assailed the headship of the pope yet insisted vehemently upon the truth of the Real Presence. He taught the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers which rested upon the principle that justification came through faith alone, yet brutally turned against the people when they sought to translate this equality of all men into the field of politics. He claimed that all government was instituted by God. This combination of radicalism and conservatism made possible his successful appeal to the people of his age.

Luther was a man of deep sentiment. His piety was real and profound. The questions which he raised about salvation disclosed a spirit delicately sensitive to religious values. This confused all who took refuge in traditional views without plumbing them to the depth. The reformer's keen spiritual sense is revealed in his hymns, many of which are veritable gems of inspiration which have comforted generations of men and women. His love for music seems to have sprung from the same spiritual source. His family life was remarkable for its simplicity, and he bestowed a husband's solicitous care upon his wife, Catherine von Bora. He made the following remark about marriage:

> He who takes a wife ought to be a good man, but Hans Metzsch is not worthy of this divine gift, for a good woman deserves a good husband. To have peace and love in marriage is a gift which is next to the knowledge of the Gospel. There

> are heartless wretches who love neither their children nor their wives; such things are not human. The greatest blessing is to have a wife to whom you may entrust your affairs and by whom you may have children.

He was very fond of his children, to one of whom he said:

> You are our Lord's little fool. Grace and remission of sins are yours and you fear nothing from the law. Whatever you do is uncorrupted; you are in a state of grace and you have remission of sins, whatever happens.

If Luther was gentle toward his loved ones he could be rude and even brutal toward opponents. He frequently indulged in the most unmeasured language when referring to the Catholic clergy, his speech sometimes being too indecent to be translated. The following is an undignified sally:

> Franciscans are our Lord God's lice which the devil has put on His skin. Dominicans are fleas which the devil has put in our Lord God's shirt.

Of the papacy he said:

> The world is unwilling to accept God as the true God, and the devil as the real devil, therefore it is compelled to endure their representative, namely the pope, who is the false vicar of God and the true vicar of the devil. The papacy is a government by which the wicked and those who despise God deserve to be ruled, for it is fitting that those who are unwilling to obey God of their own accord should be forced to obey a scoundrel.[4]

Luther was a child of his age and did not rise above it. He showed little of the refinement which one discovers in Calvin. But Luther's coarseness springs from the uncouthness of peasants, not from sensuality. The reformer was in the habit of making exaggerated statements in a blunt manner and his enemies were easily misled by them. They accused him of drunkenness and gluttony. Luther possessed a vigorous physique and ate and drank heartily. He was no Puritan in these matters. But the closing Middle Ages were not noted for their abstemiousness, and Luther was no worse in this respect than the average person of his day.

[4] P. Smith and H. Ballinger, *Conversations with Luther* (Boston, 1915), pp. 46, 151, 138.

CHAPTER XXXV

LUTHERANISM AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

If one severe law were made and punctually executed that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation and the preacher hanged, we should see an end of the tale. They [the dissenters] would all come to church, and one age would make us all one again.—DANIEL DEFOE (d. 1731).[1]

THE perennial struggle between Emperor Charles V (1519-55) and Francis I of France (1515-47) engrossed the attention of all Europe. Their four wars between 1522 and 1546 involved in one way or another the political interests of every nation on the continent. These interests are summed up in the Renaissance conception of the Balance of Power. Even the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, the consequent changes in economic life, and the discovery of America attracted less attention for the moment. This great contest for the control of Europe profoundly influenced the course of the Reformation and the fortunes of Lutheranism.

Charles ruled over numerous lands. As king of Castile and Aragon he dominated Spain, a land of little shipping. This country possessed no cavalry, but it produced a splendid infantry which was to bring success to Spanish arms on many a field of battle. The crown of Sicily gave Charles control over the important wheat supply of the Mediterranean world. That of Naples made him an important Italian prince, although the fact that he owed homage to the pope placed him in a peculiar position. In the Low Countries Charles possessed a most important group of lands. Brabant was rich in trade and industry. Flanders was still the wealthiest of all the Netherlands, and Holland was the great agent of trade with northeastern Europe. The central position of these lands between England, France, and Germany gave him great political advantages. The county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) provided a convenient corridor between the Low Countries and Savoy in northern Italy. Germany was a very large state but was

[1] *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church,* in *Works,* vol. xi, p. 298.

too weak to aid him in his numerous problems. However, it provided large numbers of mercenaries who were useful for the wars in Italy. The imperial dignity gave him the illusion of great power. It made him overlord of the duchy of Milan, the key to Italy. Besides all these lands he claimed both North and South America and the islands of the Caribbean Sea.

Francis' possessions were very different from Charles' far-flung empire. France was a compact state. It was indeed surrounded on all sides by Charles' territories, but this central position gave the French king unique advantages, for he could always fight from inner lines while his opponent would have to dissipate his energies in many quarters. Furthermore, France was economically self-sufficing and hence practically invulnerable. She possessed a splendid cavalry which gave French arms unique advantages on many battlefields. Because Francis' lands were much smaller than the emperor's, people erroneously supposed that the French king was in a weaker position. He had held Milan unlawfully since the Battle of Marignano (1515) and thus dominated northern Italy. He also controlled Genoa whose position gave him access to the peninsula and whose fleet might prove an important aid in a war with his rival.

Rarely has history told of a prince apparently so fortunate as was Charles at the moment when he succeeded to the government of his lands. In him converged the hopes, interests, and aspiration of three great lines of rulers. He was Hapsburg, Spaniard, and Netherlander (or Burgundian) all in one. From his grandparents, Ferdinand (d. 1516) and Isabella (d. 1504), he inherited Spain, Sicily, Naples, and the Americas. This Spanish descent gave him his peculiar attitude toward church and heresy, and was responsible for his policy in Italy. From his grandmother Mary of Burgundy (d. 1482) and his father Philip the Fair (d. 1506) he received an important Netherlandish bias—all the Burgundian passion against France burned in him. From his grandfather, Emperor Maximilian, he received the lands of the Hapsburgs in the Danubian valley. And when the emperor died on January 12, 1519, the question of the imperial crown was raised. Francis also sought it but after much expenditure of treasure by him, his rival finally secured the election (June 18). Not bribery alone but a sense of German national interests placed the crown in Charles' hands.

Francis was alarmed to see one prince, and that person none other than Charles of Spain and the Low Countries, ruling over most of the territories along the French border. It was a dangerous matter; both sides felt that war was inevitable. Charles hurriedly wound up his affairs in Spain, and in May, 1520, sailed for the Low Countries. He interviewed Henry VIII (1509-47) at Sandwich and a few

weeks later at Calais at the famous meeting called the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," for he wanted to make sure of the attitude of Henry and his minister Wolsey in the event of war with France. In October he was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle, and in January, 1521, met the representatives of Germany in the diet at Worms. Besides the war with Francis for which he wanted the support of his German subjects, he was called upon to settle certain questions about the government of the empire. It was decided that a Council of Regency (*Reichsregiment*) should direct foreign as well as certain internal affairs, subject to the royal will. The Imperial Court of Appeals (*Reichskammergericht*) was somewhat altered, and an army of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry was provided.

Religion proved a most thorny question. Pope Leo X had favored the candidacy of Francis when negotiations for the election were in progress. He disliked seeing Spanish Charles rule in Naples and the empire, for as king of Lombardy Charles would be tempted to interfere in Italian affairs. Papal policy had always been opposed to the concentration in Italy of so much power in the hands of one man, yet it was the emperor's peculiar duty to stand by the vicar of Christ and stamp out heresy. The pope's political interests and religious functions thus clashed. To serve both he must needs play politics, and in doing this he descended to the tortuous intrigue and diplomatic chicanery practiced by secular princes of the Renaissance. Charles wanted to be sure of Leo's help, but he thought twice about condemning Luther unheard. Since he needed money and troops from Germany, he therefore yielded to the demands of the Germans that Luther should be heard at Worms. Personally he hated the heretic and would gladly have seen him burned. Finally the Edict of Worms was issued and Leo now realized that it was to his interest to join Charles against Francis.

Henry VIII of England joined Charles and the pope against France. But war had hardly begun when Leo died. He was succeeded in January, 1522, by the emperor's former tutor who became Adrian VI (1522-23). The new pope did not relish imperial domination in Italy, preferring that the powers of Christendom should unite in a crusade against the Turk. For a moment it seemed that a quarrel might develop. Indeed, the supporters of Francis began to collect forces against the imperialists. But at Bicocca in April, 1522, the emperor's forces under Colonna defeated the French who yielded the Milanese except the citadel in Milan. Soon also they lost Genoa. Adrian died on September 14, 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII (1523-34), a typical son of the Medici who wanted to balance Charles' influence against that of Francis and thus save the States of the Church. The French king invaded Italy but was defeated and

taken prisoner at Pavia in February, 1525. Charles forced his royal prisoner to accept the Treaty of Madrid (January, 1526) which gave to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and sovereignty over Artois and Flanders. Thus ended the First War (1521-26).

Charles was not able to take up the question of heresy and church reform after the Treaty of Madrid. This document had been extorted by force; hence Francis repudiated it as soon as he was safely back in France. Disliking imperial ascendancy in Italy and elsewhere, the pope and other powers formed the League of Cognac (May, 1526), Clement absolving Francis from his oath to uphold the treaty. The dreaded Turk, Suliman the Magnificent, appeared in the East. His attack on Hungary resulted in the Battle of Mohács in August, 1526, in which King Louis II was slain and his monarchy destroyed. The French king now opened negotiations with the Turk in order to wrest diplomatic advantages from his traditional enemy.

The emperor thus was threatened with a second war (1526-29). His enemies moved slowly, however. Charles' German and Spanish troops marched upon Rome and seized the Eternal City after a brief siege. The Germans showed their scant respect for the church by plundering its possessions, but were outdone in cruelty and rapacity by the Spaniards. This sack of Rome on May 6, 1527, was a great shock to the people of that day. A French army arrived in Italy too late to help Clement, and it pushed on to Naples where it might have been successful had not Francis by his folly forced the Genoese to abandon him and place their fleet at Charles' disposal. The French cause was ruined and Francis was compelled to leave Italy. By the Peace of Cambrai which followed on August 3, 1529, closing the Second War, Francis retained Burgundy but yielded all claims in Italy, Artois, and Flanders.

How did the Lutheran movement fare during these years? The vivid nationalist sentiments of Germans and France's enmity to the emperor combined to make the Lutheran movement a success. Obviously Charles was not able to suppress it as long as he needed troops and money from the very principalities which had embraced the new doctrines. The Council of Regency therefore could not enforce the Edict of Worms (1521). So compromised was Charles by these factors that he could not ally himself with the more zealous German princes who had become more prominent during 1524 and who sought to suppress Lutheranism in their territories. The nuncio Campeggio met them at Ratisbon in June, 1524. At this assemblage the Catholic princes formed a league (August 7) which decided that reform of abuses in the church was urgently needed. Lutheran books were to be seized and students were forbidden to leave their states to study in Wittenberg. This congress of Catholic princes was signifi-

cant, for it was the beginning of an anti-Lutheran faction. Charles repeatedly denounced Luther and ordered the Edict of Worms to be enforced, and at the same time he tried to frighten the pope into supporting him by urging a national German council.

When news of the Treaty of Madrid arrived in Germany, Lutherans feared that Charles' efforts to put it into effect might prove successful. Landgrave Philip of Hesse was able to organize a league of Lutheran princes which by June, 1526, embraced the elector of Saxony, the count of Mansfeld, a number of dukes, and others. Lutherans were in control, at the Diet of Speier in June, 1526, owing to the absence of several Catholic princes, and they spoke their minds without restraint, pointing to the abuses in the hierarchy and demanding immediate reform. They suggested among other things that the clergy should be allowed to marry, that the German tongue should be used in baptism and communion, and that private masses should be abolished. But Charles felt strong enough to reject these propositions. The diet, however, insisted on a national council, and that, until it could meet, each state should be free to act as it wished about the Edict of Worms.

The net result of the Diet of Speier was that the princes who were inclined toward Lutheranism established it in their lands, while zealous Catholics endeavored to suppress it. This is an interesting fact in the history of political theory. Throughout the Middle Ages every community in Germany embraced the faith universal, the emperor holding that it was his task to establish it everywhere. The federal principle in the empire, however, did not for a long time militate against unity of religion. But with the appearance of Lutheranism a novel principle was injected into politics. Each prince adopted such action as he deemed right, and for this he was to be answerable to God. It was the beginning of the policy expressed in the famous formula, *cuius regio eius religio*. Formerly religion had been a self-sufficient matter elevated above all political concerns. Now it was to be subjected to the control of secular states.

Meanwhile relations between Lutheran and Catholic princes became more bitter. The former continued to secularize ecclesiastical lands and forcibly suppress the traditional worship within their borders, while the latter sought to uproot heretical worship as much as possible. Suspicions were rife. And when the duke of Saxony, the elector of Brandenburg, and Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, the emperor's brother, held a meeting at Breslau in 1527, some of the reforming princes believed that a coalition of Catholic princes was being formed to wage war on them. An official in the government of the duke of Saxony, one Otto von Pack, forged a letter (1528) purporting to set forth an agreement whereby the Catholic princes

were to attack the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. This fraud netted him the handsome sum of four thousand florins. Plans were made to attack the supposed plotters by invading their lands. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave went so far as to collect troops. It was not discovered that the letter was a forgery until these princes were seriously compromised. This made feeling still more bitter.

As long as the war with the League of Cognac lasted, Charles was not in a position to enforce the Edict of Worms. The Treaty of Cambrai now gave him for the first time since he assumed the crown of Germany the coveted opportunity to uproot heresy. The estates of Germany were convened at Speier in March, 1529, and he instructed his agents to secure a cancellation of the decisions made in the preceding diet at Speier. It was a serious moment for the reforming party. They were discredited by the rash conduct of the landgrave of Hesse and Otto von Pack toward the duke of Saxony. Furthermore, they were weakened by the rise of Anabaptism[2] in many towns of Germany and by the rapid progress of Zwinglian ideas in Switzerland and southern Germany. Catholic princes were determined not to retreat one inch, and because they outnumbered their foes they were confident of victory.

The committee of the second Diet of Speier therefore reflected Catholic interests. Its report advised that in all localities where the Edict of Worms was being enforced it should continue to be upheld, but no further innovations were to be permitted in Lutheran states until a council could meet and settle all questions. If such council could not be had, a national German council should take its place. It was specified that Catholics were to have full liberty to attend mass everywhere and under all circumstances. This was important because Catholic agitation was to be unchecked in Lutheran lands, while Lutheran propaganda in Catholic lands would be sternly interdicted. Zwinglians were not to be tolerated anywhere, and Anabaptists were to be suppressed with the usual rigor. Lutheran princes and fourteen south German towns presented a reply in which they stated that inasmuch as each person must give account to God in all matters regarding salvation they were determined to follow their conscience rather than the dictation of the emperor. They could not permit mass to be said in their lands, nor would they acquiesce in the enforcement of the Edict of Worms even in lands ruled by Catholic princes.

The majority in the diet was not moved by this statement and voted to accept the original report. The reforming princes thereupon presented their famous *Protestation* declaring that the present diet

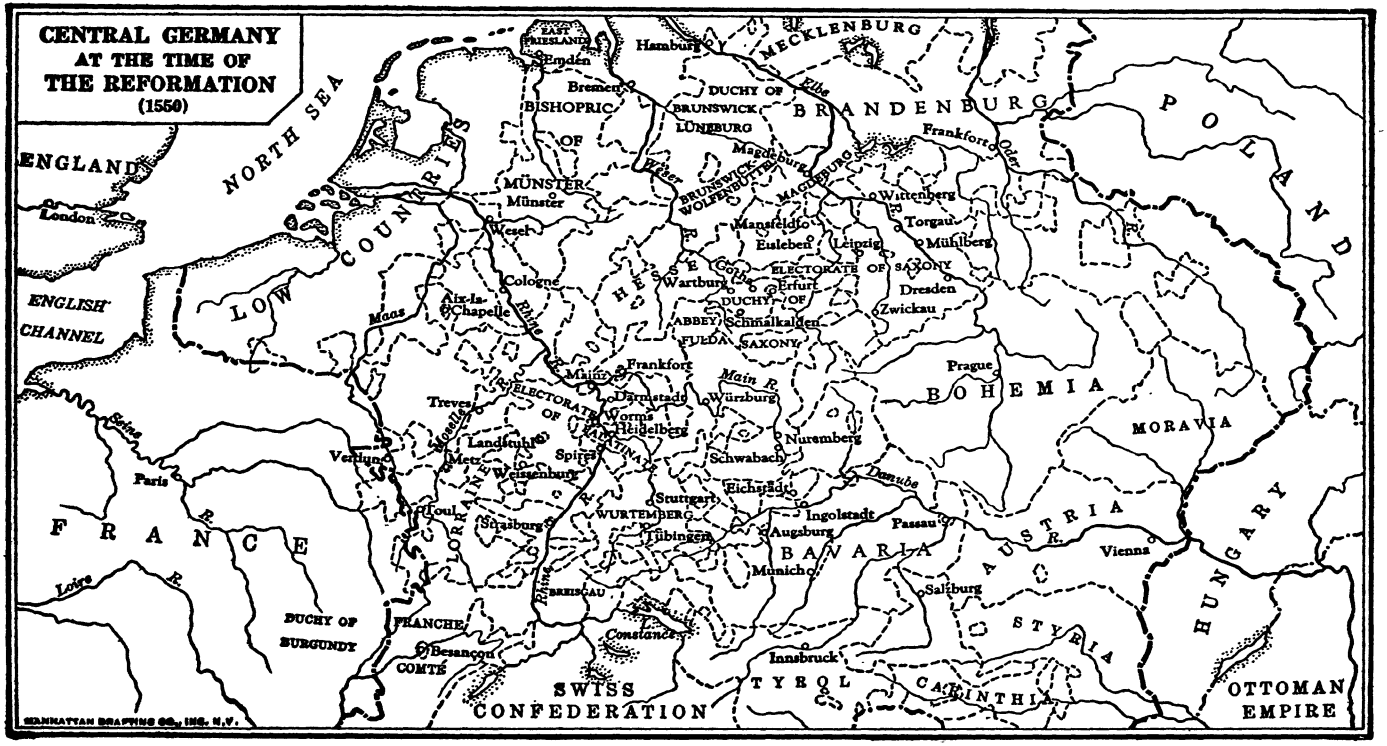
[2] For Anabaptism, see chap. xxxix.

could not undo any measure of the previous diet without their consent. The protesters, or *Protestants* as they were henceforth called, included the elector of Saxony, the dukes of Lüneberg, the margrave of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, and fourteen cities of southern Germany. The Protestant cause was in great danger, and a secret agreement was made by Philip of Hesse, the elector of Saxony, and the towns of Ulm, Strassburg, and Nuremberg to help defend each other.

For the moment Charles seemed about to triumph, but again the imperial wish was to be frustrated. The Turkish menace had become greater than ever. After the battle of Mohács the Magyars had elevated John Zapolya to the Hungarian kingship. In earlier treaties it had been stipulated that Charles' brother, Archduke Ferdinand, should be king, but Magyar nationalist sentiment prevented this from being carried out. Ferdinand, however, did secure possession of the eastern parts of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia electing him king in 1526 after the death of Louis II of Hungary. Ferdinand coveted the entire realm over which his brother-in-law Louis had ruled, and thus was extremely hostile to Zapolya, behind whom stood his Turkish overlord Suliman who was eager to settle scores with the Hapsburgs. Both Zapolya and Suliman were in close diplomatic relations with Francis who wanted to multiply trouble for the Hapsburg house in the East. A Turkish host moved on Vienna and besieged it from September 26 to October 15, 1529. The garrison resisted with determination, and when his troops began to suffer from the frost of autumn Suliman gave the order to retreat.

Protestant princes patriotically rallied to defend the empire in spite of the hostile action threatened by the decrees of the Diet of Speier. Luther himself urged full support of all military preparations against the Turk. An imperial army was collected at Linz, but Suliman withdrew. However, Charles and all Germany knew that the Turk would soon return and that preparations would have to be made against him, wherefore once more the emperor had to postpone his plans to suppress heretics.

The Lutheran party prepared for the coming diet at Augsburg, Elector John of Saxony summoning the theologians of the Wittenberg faculty to Torgau in March, 1530. They drew up a declaration, the *Torgau Articles*, which firmly set forth the new doctrines. In June the sessions of the diet began. The orthodox party held that Lutheranism had long ago been condemned and that it was the emperor's manifest duty to proceed with its extermination. On the other hand, Protestant princes, with secularized church property and church government in their hands, were determined not to yield. However, feeling their weakness before their ruler who was now the


CENTRAL GERMANY
AT THE TIME OF
THE REFORMATION
(1550)
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
London
ENGLISH
CHANNEL
LOW COUNTRIES
FRANCE
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Meuse R.
Mosa
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Rhine R.
Trevers
Verdun
Metz
Landstuhl
Weissenburg
Spires
Strasburg
Toul
Mosel R.
Worms
Heidelberg
Frankfort
Mainz
Darmstadt
Würzburg
Main R.
ELECTORATE OF PALATINATE
UPPER RHINE
LOWER RHINE
Nuremberg
Schwabach
Eichstadt
Stuttgart
WURTEMBERG
Tübingen
Ingolstadt
Augsburg
Passau
Danube
Munich
BAVARIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
Innsbruck
TYROL
Constance
Lake
BRISGAU
Rhine R.
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
FRANCHE
COMTÉ
Besançon
SWISS CONFEDERATION
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
POLAND
Oder R.
Frankfort
Wittenberg
Torgau
Mühlberg
Leipzig
Dresden
Zwickau
Mansfeldfo
Eusleben
ELECTORATE OF SAXONY
Erfurt
Wartburg
DUCHY OF SAXONY
ABBEY FULDA
Schmalkalden
Elbe R.
MAGDEBURG
Magdeburg
BRUNSWICK WOLFENBUTTEL
Weser R.
DUCHY OF BRUNSWICK LUNEBURG
BRANDENBURG
MECKLENBURG
Hamburg
Bremen
BISHOPRIC OF MÜNSTER
Münster
Wesel
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., INC. N.Y.

political arbiter of Europe, they sought to appear conciliatory. One reason for their disunion was their inability to tolerate the peculiar conception of the Lord's Supper held by the Zwinglians, for Luther had sternly refused to extend a fraternal hand to any who denied the Real Presence. Melanchthon drew up the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) which clearly set forth the essential doctrines of Lutheranism, and aimed to refute the assertion of their Catholic opponents that they were heretical. Differences between the two were minimized. Dogmatic points were presented without rancor, but abuses of the old church were strongly emphasized. While thus seeking to court the favor of Catholics, the document especially stressed and even magnified the points on which Lutherans differed from the followers of Zwingli[3] and the Anabaptists.

Charles would have accepted the *Confession* in spite of its uncatholic character but the orthodox princes, supported by the legate Campeggio and the theologians Eck and Faber, refused. These men prepared a refutation of the *Confession*. Of course agreement could not be reached. Charles announced that he was satisfied with the rebuttal and declared that he intended to enforce the decision of the diet as he was the divinely instituted custodian of the true faith. A deadlock ensued, and it appeared that nothing could be accomplished. Philip of Hesse hastened away. But Charles, fearing the Turks, begged the Lutherans to tarry. Even threats did not shake their determination. Charles finally issued a statement announcing that the *Confession* had been shown to be contrary to Catholic faith, and the articles refuting it were to be accepted. Six months (until April 15, 1531) were given the princes in which to adjust themselves and their affairs. During this time there was to be no further propaganda in favor of Lutheranism, and the points on which no agreement had been reached were to be accepted as true until the meeting of a general council.

Once more the disobedient princes declared that their duty to Scripture and to conscience was superior to secular obligations. Thus they went home with rebellion in their hearts. The Zwinglian towns of southern Germany were forced to stand alone. Lindau, Constance, Memmingen, and Strassburg presented the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, or *Confession of the Four Towns*, drawn up by the Strassburg theologians Capito and Butzer, setting forth a Zwinglian conception of the Lord's Supper, modified by some regard for Luther's teaching. Besides these cities a number of others, among which were Frankfurt, Augsburg, and Ulm, refused to submit to Charles' commands. The emperor, determined to proceed against these heretics who also were rebels according to the conceptions of the day, on November 19 in-

[3] For Zwingli and the Reformation in Switzerland, see chap. xxxviii.

structed the Imperial Court of Appeals (*Reichskammergericht*) to institute suit against all parties who had appropriated ecclesiastical properties.

Lutheran princes and delegates from the towns met in Thuringian Schmalkald at the close of 1530, and the League of Schmalkald was the Protestant answer to the emperor's policy. They promised to aid one another if attacked for religious reasons. Ever since the Peasant's War Luther had taught the sanctity of secular princes and the duty of obedience. But the princes now argued that the emperor was elected and not absolute, and ruled with their cooperation, wherefore he had no right to impose his will upon them if they objected. Luther finally allowed himself to be won over by this reasoning and the league was formed (March 29, 1531) to last six years. It arranged to hire troops and appointed jurists to defend accused members before the Imperial Court of Appeals. Many cities of northern Germany joined the league and by the close of the year a constitution was adopted and an army of about twelve thousand was enrolled. A Protestant league now confronted the Catholic majority.

Meanwhile the Catholic electors in deference to Charles' wishes had chosen the Archduke Ferdinand to be king of the Romans (1531). This increase of Hapsburg power was keenly resented by the rulers of Bavaria, and in spite of their loyalty to Catholicism they supported the Schmalkald League. Charles thus found his position seriously weakened; furthermore, he had not secured any aid for the approaching war with the Turk. Finally it was arranged at the Peace of Nuremberg (July, 1532) that no hostilities would be undertaken against Lutheran princes before the meeting of the council for which Clement VII was making plans. Cases in the Imperial Court of Appeals also were to rest until then. Once more political circumstances forced Charles from the path of duty as he conceived it.

Although the Turk had helped secure the advantageous Peace of Nuremberg, gratitude was not forthcoming. The Protestants helped Charles to place more than eighty thousand men in the field. Suliman was astonished at such an unexpected show of force. Although he had a quarter of a million men under him he thought it prudent not to advance. He lay three weeks before Guns and on August 29 gave orders to raise the siege. Freed from danger in the East, Charles now hoped to settle the matter of religion finally and to establish securely the foundations of Hapsburg power. He had defeated Francis, he was master of Italy; and Bohemia, with Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, belonged to his brother Ferdinand. Württemberg had been acquired in 1520. He wanted to fasten his authority upon Germany and even wished to dominate the church as he was accustomed to control Spanish bishops. He was determined therefore to bring

together a general council in some German city to settle the burning question of reform and thus silence the Lutherans.

Once more the emperor was disappointed. Clement wanted to remain free in Italy, and to secure this end he sought alliance with the worldly Francis against Catholic Charles, in spite of the fact that Francis had leagued with the Turk. Nothing shows better how secular the ecclesiastical policy of the pope had become. Clement made a treaty with Francis in the fall of 1533, under which the French king promised to help prevent the convening of a council. Milan and Genoa were to be acquired by France, and a strong state was to be carved out of northern and central Italy for Francis' second son Henry who was to marry Clement's niece Catherine. Again, as in the League of Cognac, Charles was confronted by an alliance of Francis and the pope, but now it was the pope and not the Turk who prevented him from proceeding against the Protestants.

Philip of Hesse moved against the Hapsburgs, for he disliked their ambitions and was especially concerned over their possession of Württemberg. He agreed with Francis (January, 1534) to restore the fugitive Duke Ulrich to his ancestral duchy in return for a large subsidy. French troops appeared in Germany; with them and others Ulrich was able to win back his lands at the battle of Laufen in May. The Peace of Kaaden was made in June, 1534, whereby the Hapsburgs, who could not protect their properties because of the Turkish invasion of Hungary, surrendered Württemberg to Ulrich. Thereupon Protestantism triumphed in the duchy where Archduke Ferdinand had endeavored to suppress every Lutheran tendency.

Meanwhile Francis was encouraging the Barbary corsair Barbarossa to harry the coasts of Naples. It seemed to be the emperor's Christian duty to deliver Christendom from this curse, so in 1535 Charles sailed to Tunis and defeated the pirate whose army was much larger. Just then the Third War with Francis broke out (1536-38). The last scion of the Sforza house died and Francis demanded the duchy of Milan. This of course was refused, whereupon a French army invaded Italy and was soon in control of Savoy and Piedmont (April, 1536). Francis formed an alliance with Suliman, a diplomatic step at which Europe stood aghast, for even in that age so devoid of scruple in international politics most people were disgusted at Francis' utter lack of principle toward an emperor who was doing his best to free the continent from the terrible threat of the Turk.

Charles invaded Provence, thus speedily forcing Francis to abandon Italy. The French king's invasion of Savoy and Piedmont had so roused public opinion that Charles profited from it. Clement VII had died in 1534 and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, or Paul III

(1534-49), a man far more capable of guiding the papacy unscathed through the maze of politics. In 1537 Francis, aided by the duke of Guelders, attacked the Low Countries and Suliman invaded Hungary. Zapolya made a treaty (1538) with Ferdinand whereby title to the Magyar crown should upon his death pass to the Hapsburgs. Meanwhile Paul III was able to arrange the Truce of Nice between Charles and Francis (June, 1538), and so brought an end to the Third War. The truce was to last ten years and Francis promised to abandon his alliance with the Turk. Each party was to keep what he held at the opening of the war, Francis retaining Savoy and most of Piedmont.

Relations between the two religious groups in Germany became more hostile during these years. The Peace of Nuremberg did not apply to such princes and cities as embraced Lutheranism after the peace was made, for they were exposed to processes in the Imperial Court of Appeals. The Schmalkald League met in 1535 and determined to admit all those who had recently accepted the Augsburg Confession. For a moment it appeared that the league might even listen to the suggestions of Francis. Ferdinand, fearing this above all things, promised that no state or city which should adopt the new teachings after the Peace of Nuremberg should be brought to the bar of justice. Henceforth any state might freely join the Schmalkald League.

While thus confronted by one of the most trying political problems of his career, Charles was forced to consider the question of Guelders. Situated along the Meuse, Waal, and Yssel, this duchy occupied a strategic position, and had never been absorbed by the Burgundian princes of the Low Countries. Charles had long had trouble with the duke who enjoyed support from Francis. The duke of the Egmond house which ruled in Guelders died in 1538. William of Cleves inherited Guelders and at once took possession, and at the death of his father the next year he also received the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. He became a dangerous enemy of Charles for he too sought alliance with Francis. Furthermore, he was inclined to Protestantism because his wife was a daughter of Elector John of Saxony, and there was thus great danger that the entire Low Countries might be infected with the poison of heresy.

John Zapolya died in 1540. There was opposition among the nobility to allowing Archduke Ferdinand of Austria to secure the Hungarian throne. They were supported by the machinations of Francis I, for Suliman seized the land and took possession of Budapest. Panic reigned in Germany, and a long war began between the Hapsburgs and the Turks. Meanwhile Charles endeavored to teach the pirates of Algeria a lesson; his fleet appeared before Algiers in

October, 1541, but was shattered by a violent storm. Francis attacked Charles and thus began the Fourth War (1542-44). Again a cry of wrath arose in Europe against the Most Christian King of France, and Charles was momentarily the national representative of Lutheran as well as Catholic Germany where the Turks were cordially hated. The emperor vigorously attacked France, planning to seize Paris with the aid of Henry VIII, who joined him because of the traditional French alliance with Scotland. Francis yielded at once and offered peace. The Peace of Crespy (September, 1544) gave to Charles all disputed titles in the Low Countries, the county of Burgundy, and the kingdom of Naples. It was a magnificent triumph for Charles, a fitting event to crown long weary years of diplomacy and struggle. Francis promised to help him against the Turks and to assist in bringing about a general council of Christendom. Charles could now return to the darling project of his life. He would put an end to heresy in Germany. Francis even promised to support him in this.

After the Peace of Crespy there was a lull in international strife. Francis died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son Henry II. Charles now turned his attention to the question of Lutheranism and determined to settle the question of religion once for all. He met his subjects in the Diet of Ratisbon and flatly refused to renew the Peace of Nuremberg which had so long suspended the imperial decrees made in 1530. He declared the princes of the Schmalkald League outside the pale of the law and prepared to move against them. The league was in no condition to resist the emperor. Elector John Frederick of Saxony was a mediocrity and Philip of Hesse revealed little leadership in this crisis. Had they acted with determination they might have ruined the emperor who as usual was crippled by lack of funds.

Meanwhile Charles had found an ally in the very fold of Protestantism. Duke Maurice of Saxony (1541-53) was eager to snatch the electoral crown of Saxony from his distant kinsman. Maurice was an ambitious and unscrupulous man and, although a determined Protestant, he did not hesitate to make capital out of the misfortunes of his coreligionists. To win his support Charles granted him the electoral title as well as the administration of the sees of Magdeburg and Halberstadt which Maurice was ambitious to annex. When Charles moved with his army against the Schmalkald League, Maurice suddenly invaded electoral Saxony while John Frederick was vainly seeking to check the emperor's victorious advance. But Maurice was defeated by the elector and his army scattered. Wittenberg fell on May 19. The emperor's visit to the tomb of Luther, who had died the year before, is interesting. With him were his councilor Gran-

velle and the bloodthirsty Alva who later were to win notoriety in the Low Countries. They besought him to tear open the tomb and drag forth the bones of the archheretic, but Charles refused. "He has met his Judge," he declared. "I wage war upon the living, not upon the dead."

Philip of Hesse also surrendered. With the two most prominent leaders of the Schmalkald League in his power, Charles met the diet at Augsburg in September, 1547. The avowed purpose of this meeting was to settle definitively the matter of religion in the empire. Meanwhile Charles quarreled with Paul III. The emperor was eager for a reformation of the hierarchy because that would strengthen his control over the empire, but the pope wished to condemn Protestant dogmas. Charles was led by political, and the pope by religious and ecclesiastical, motives. The two were incompatible and Paul III turned to Henry II of France for an alliance, whereupon Charles decided to settle the question of heresy without reference to papal wishes. A document known as the *Augsburg Interim* was drawn up (June, 1548). Many Lutheran princes were absent and those present were so discomfited that they accepted it. It was a curious instrument. The fundamental tenets of the Catholic faith were kept, and the language employed was vague and calculated to accommodate opposite views. Justification by faith apparently was granted, the pope was referred to as chief bishop, but communion under both kinds and clerical marriage were to be settled in a future council. It is evident that this was no settlement; Lutherans and Catholics were too far apart to be brought together by so flimsy a formula.

Charles' success gave him little strength. Germans resented being treated as Spaniards, and princes feared for their independence—it was the eternal question of the relations between the emperor and his nobles. Maurice of Saxony, now decked with the electoral title, disliked Charles and decided to abandon him, for, having won his reward, he hoped to obtain freedom from imperial control. Furthermore, Henry II of France was uneasy because he feared Charles' increased power. Maurice, now leader of the Protestants, approached Henry. This was the first great act in that long suicidal drama in which German princes joined with the French king in order to devise some solution of their petty problems at the expense of their fatherland. The result was the Treaty of Friedwald (February, 1552) which stipulated that Henry should pay them a goodly sum in support of their struggle with Charles. In return he was to occupy as "vicar of the empire" the lands belonging to the sees of Toul, Metz, and Verdun. War began when Henry renewed his dynastic

claims upon Milan, Naples, and Flanders, which his father had renounced in the Peace of Crespy.

Meanwhile Elector Maurice moved against Charles who had stationed himself at Innsbruck, and the emperor was forced to flee hastily over the mountains into Carinthia. An agreement was made between the Lutherans and Charles' brother Ferdinand, by which the question of religion was to be settled in the imperial diet. This reveals how low the emperor's fortune had sunk, for Charles always wished to solve the country's religious ills in a council which he could control and not in a parliamentary assembly which would give expression to the secular ambitions of German princes. He opposed this procedure but was forced to yield. This settlement is known as the Peace of Passau (August 2, 1552).

Charles returned to Germany. Sorely chagrined because the three sees were occupied by Henry II, he doggedly resolved to give an exhibition of imperial power by driving the French out of Metz. A mighty host of eighty thousand Germans marched to besiege it, but the French defended it so skillfully that in spite of all efforts Charles failed. The cold of winter set in and with it came the horrors of camp life characteristic of an age in which sanitary science had not yet come into existence. On December 26 the emperor raised the siege, leaving behind him the maimed and the dying, men half frozen and incurably sick. The siege of Metz has become famous because of Paré's noteworthy surgical work with the wrecks of humanity he found in the emperor's deserted camp.

The imperial diet after many delays finally met at Augsburg in February, 1555. The outcome was the Religious Peace of Augsburg, promulgated on September 26, which was really a treaty between Catholic and Lutheran princes of Germany. Its most significant provisions were in substance as follows: (1) Lutherans were not to war upon Catholics, or vice versa. It was left to each prince to determine the faith of his subjects. (2) Adherents of doctrines other than Catholic and Lutheran were not to be tolerated. This applied especially to Anabaptists and Calvinists. (3) Ecclesiastical property secularized before the Peace of Passau (August 2, 1552) was to remain secularized, but no further secularization was to take place. If in the future any ecclesiastical prince should become a Protestant he would be required to relinquish his titles, which were to remain the property of the Catholic Church. In this way new and orthodox officials could be elected so that the old religious life would continue in its wonted course.

This meeting of the diet in Augsburg was destined to become one of the most significant parliamentary assemblages in history, for it wrote into the public law of Germany a novel conception of the

relationship of religion and politics. The time-hallowed parallelism of the Middle Ages in which the church of divine foundation taught the true faith for the state to establish was abandoned. Religion henceforth was held to be the peculiar concern of princes; they were divinely ordained powers who were to dispose of ecclesiastical as well as secular matters. This is the famous principle of *cuius regio eius religio.* It was a revolution of the first magnitude.

The new settlement was significant also for its bearing on the political power of princes. Luther's teaching on the sanctity of the ruler's authority marked the plenitude of princely absolutism and provided the theoretical basis for monarchy by divine right. In this respect Luther was surely one of the founders of the modern state, but not of political or religious liberty, for these ideas imply that people should be unmolested in the exercise of religion. This was impossible under the provisions of the Peace of Augsburg. Rather it should be said that the peace, in subjecting religion to state control, created the idea of state-established religion which was to remain practically unquestioned until the outbreak of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXVI

LUTHERANISM IN SCANDINAVIAN, SLAVIC, AND OTHER LANDS

In the future, bishops shall no more fetch the pall from Rome: but after they have been duly elected by the chapters possessed of the right, they shall seek confirmation from the crown.—DIET OF ODENSE (1527).[1]

VIEWED from the standpoint of its economic progress, Scandinavia was for the most part an undeveloped country. Its foodstuffs and raw materials were coveted objects of trade, and merchants of the Hanseatic League possessed practically a monopoly of its commercial activity. Many Germans had settled in the interest of commerce in such urban centers as Copenhagen, Bergen, Stockholm, and Wisby. The influence of Wittenberg readily filtered into these towns almost as soon as Luther broke with the church of Rome. The rupture of the Scandinavian peoples with the faith of their fathers was everywhere determined by special social, economic, and political influences which must be studied if the Reformation in these lands is to be comprehended.

Church reform in Denmark was primarily due to the personal policy of the crown and the ambitions of the nobility. The peasantry and townsmen were everywhere sincerely attached to the old faith. Although there was some criticism of the moral laxity and flabby spirituality of the clergy, nevertheless the common man without questioning sought comfort in appealing to saints and receiving the sacraments. The numerous pilgrimages to the Virgin's chapel at Karup in Denmark eloquently testify to the genuineness of the popular faith. The nobility was very powerful; a council of nobles was able to keep the king subservient in all political matters and thus prevent the crown from becoming hereditary. The higher clergy, as in other lands, were drawn from the nobility. Both groups possessed much land; they controlled the realm economically and politically.

[1] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1911), p. 234.

Clearly the Reformation could not secure footing in a land where such conditions prevailed.

King Christian II (1513-23) was a characteristic prince of the Renaissance. He wished to free the crown from excessive dictation by clergy and nobility, and sought to make himself absolute as other rulers had succeeded in doing. Able, vigorous, and unscrupulous, he deliberately brought about the ruin of his adversaries. In his early days he served as regent of Norway, and at Bergen became violently enamored of a beautiful young girl named Duiveke (Dutch for *little dove*) who became his mistress. Her mother, Sigbrit Willems, an innkeeper of Bergen, was one of the many foreigners who had settled in that important commercial center. She was a native of Amsterdam, at that time the most important Netherlandish center of trade with the Scandinavian north. Her point of view, as one would expect, was wholly that of a member of an advanced bourgeois community. She was well acquainted with the medical science and practice of the day and was interested in alchemy.

Sigbrit Willems through Duiveke at once gained complete control over Christian. She was a woman of great ability and possessed sound sense about finance, government, trade, and the duty of princes. When Christian mounted the throne in 1513 she became in effect his chief minister of state and guided the royal policy in most matters. Such was her influence over the monarch that she even became the royal midwife. This petticoat rule was keenly resented by the proudly independent nobility and their allies, the higher clergy. They had forced the king at the moment of his accession to accept a document in which he promised to be governed by their instructions, and the fact that Christian, at the counsel of Sigbrit, sought to strengthen himself against them by an alliance with the non-noble classes, aroused their hostility.

Christian finally took as his legitimate wife Isabella, sister of Charles of Hapsburg, who was soon to mount the thrones of Spain and Germany, and who was already ruler of most of the states in the Low Countries.[2] The political import of this alliance with the chief economic center of northern Europe is a clear indication of the king's new policy. Duiveke continued to hold the royal affections, Sigbrit guided the royal policy, and the Danish nobles viewed her power with intense bitterness. In 1517 Duiveke died of poison, it was said, suspicion pointing to the royal agent of Copenhagen, one Torben Oxe, as the guilty man. Christian tried him before a jury of peasants, without regard for established procedure which required that noblemen should be judged by their peers, and ordered him to be beheaded. This marked an even more abrupt change in the king's

[2] For the accession of Charles V, see chap. xxxv.

policy. He now completely flouted the nobility and surrendered to Sigbrit's advice.

It was inevitable that the clergy, who were opposed to the crown quite as much as was the nobility, should be the first to feel the royal displeasure. Christian, however, did not adopt a consistent policy toward the church. If it suited his interests he would side with it; if not, he would follow an independent course. This is shown by his treatment of the nuncio Giovanni Arcimboldo (d. 1555), sent by Leo X to collect money for the construction of St. Peter's by hawking indulgences in Scandinavia. Christian hoped to enlist his aid in securing control of Sweden whose subjects steadfastly refused to accept him as king, although he enjoyed the support of Archbishop Gustavus Trolle (d. 1535) of Upsala. But Arcimboldo betrayed the royal confidence and revealed all he knew of Christian's plans. Arcimboldo's secretary Slageck divulged this betrayal to the monarch and ingratiated himself to such an extent that he became Christian's confidant. The irate king thereupon confiscated the money which the nuncio had collected. Meanwhile Gustavus Trolle had been deposed from his archiepiscopal office by the Swedes who knew him to be a tool of the Danish king. Christian and Slageck made vigorous complaint to Rome about this action, and Leo X replied by putting the Swedish viceroy, Sten Sture, under the ban of the church.

In Denmark King Christian sought to set up a state church which would fall under royal control, and, led by Sigbrit, he prepared a new code of law which should regulate both crown and church. This *Secular and Ecclesiastical Code*, promulgated in 1521 and 1522, set up a court of secular judges who were to settle ecclesiastical as well as secular cases under the royal will. Judicial relations between Rome and the church in Denmark were broken, and courts Christian were robbed of all jurisdiction in questions relating to property. Some salutary provisions were included: non-residence of clergy was forbidden; only such persons as had studied at a university and could expound Scripture in the Danish tongue might be admitted to the priesthood; the clergy were forbidden to acquire real property; and monasteries were required to submit to regular visitation by bishops.

Provisions regarding the nobility were equally interesting, for, conceived in the interests of bourgeoisie and peasantry, they sought to destroy the chief competitor of royal authority. The right to flotsam and jetsam which the nobles long had exercised was abrogated. Serfdom was abolished. Most interesting is the royal order that all products of the realm were to be sold to Danish dealers in Copenhagen and not to foreign merchants of the Hanseatic League. It was evident that Christian proposed to build a powerful monarchical state

by ruining the all too masterful nobility and clergy and by strengthening bourgeoisie and peasantry.

In his personal opinions Christian was influenced mainly by Humanism. He was acquainted with Erasmus and like him believed in tolerance, and he also believed that the church should be cleansed of crude practices and abuses. The humane spirit of Humanism clearly permeates his ordinances, for Humanist propaganda was busy in Denmark as everywhere else in Europe. Chief of the Danish Humanists was Paulus Eliæ, a Carmelite friar of Helsingor who inveighed vigorously against the shortcomings of the church, and whom Christian appointed to lecture on theology in the University of Copenhagen. He also imported two scholars from Wittenberg (1519), who thus began Lutheran propaganda in Denmark. In 1521 Andrew Karlstadt arrived to help the king reform his realm. But after the Edict of Worms, which his brother-in-law, Charles V, wanted to enforce, Christian thought it best to temporize, and so took little further interest in Karlstadt's efforts, for he knew that imperial support might be useful some day. The reformer thereupon returned to Germany, disgusted at the king's change of mind.

Christian was deposed by the clergy and nobility early in 1523. He had not only aroused them to bitter hatred, but had also antagonized his relative, Duke Frederick of Schleswig and Holstein. The duke, who was supported by the Hanseatic League, was invited to Denmark and elected king. But peasantry and bourgeoisie stood loyally by Christian who, had he displayed his former energy and decision, might have beaten his opponents. However, Christian and his family embarked in April for the Low Countries, whereupon Frederick became master of the realm. But in the Empire and the Netherlands he was recognized as lawful king of Denmark, and was the source of much trouble for that country.

Frederick I (1523-33) had promised at his accession to suppress Lutheran agitation and to favor the old church, but he was personally inclined toward the new doctrines. Hans Tausen (1494-1561), a Benedictine who had studied in Louvain and Wittenberg, returned at the order of his prior who, alarmed at his heresy, sought to make him harmless by placing him in a monastery in Viborg. But Tausen was able to influence so many that he became the center of a reform movement. At Malmo there was vigorous preaching of Luther's ideas. Christian Pedersen (d. 1554) translated the Bible into Danish and many copies circulated among the people. The bishops naturally were eager to employ force in order to suppress heretical teaching, but they could do nothing because the king, who owed his election in part to the powerful nobility, was forced to allow the latter to seize some of the lands of the clergy. In Denmark the Reformation was

made possible largely by the cupidity of nobles. The king followed his own Lutheran wishes and the nobles enriched themselves at the expense of the church.

Influenced by the success of the Reformation in other lands, Frederick became a Lutheran and set up a national church. Grand Master Albert of the Teutonic Order secularized his lands in East Prussia in 1525 and 1526, became a Lutheran, and founded a dynasty. Frederick was pleased when Albert petitioned for the hand of his granddaughter, whose father was his son Duke Christian of Schleswig and Holstein, for he believed that this union would be profitable to Denmark. He was also influenced by the religious policy of Duke Christian, for the latter had introduced Lutheran preachers from Germany into Schleswig and Holstein, suppressed Anabaptism, and imposed Lutheran forms of worship upon the unwilling clergy and laity. Frederick followed his son's example and appointed Hans Tausen his chaplain to preach Lutheran doctrine, thus placing Tausen beyond the power of the clergy. The Danish bishops were disturbed and sought to check him and other preachers, but they were powerless; they sought redress in the diet of Odense (August, 1527). But the king was resolved to maintain freedom of preaching, and the nobles were loath to agree with the clergy in their demands. The result was that the *Ordinance* drawn up was a compromise: (1) there was to be freedom of conscience for both Catholics and Lutherans; (2) the king was to protect Lutherans as well as Catholics; (3) the clergy were to be free to marry; and (4) the clergy might no longer seek the pallium from Rome but were to be confirmed by the crown after election by their chapters. From this time forth progress of Lutheranism was rapid.

Frederick I died in 1533 and civil war followed until 1536. Lutherans wanted Duke Christian to succeed him but Catholics preferred Christian II who now returned from exile in Brabant. His friends and the peasants seized Jutland, the towns supported him, and the Catholic clergy backed him. The city of Lübeck also aided the pretender. But the nobles enlisted the services of King Gustavus I of Sweden, and Christian once more showed utter lack of leadership in emergency. Finally the tide turned completely; Copenhagen yielded to the duke of Holstein, and Christian II surrendered. This was the famous Counts' War. Peasantry, bourgeoisie, and Catholicism had supported Christian II; Lutheranism and the nobility aided the duke who became Christian III (1536-59). Catholicism was doomed and the lower classes were ruined. The newly established monarchy was controlled by the Lutheran nobility who enriched themselves at the expense of the church.

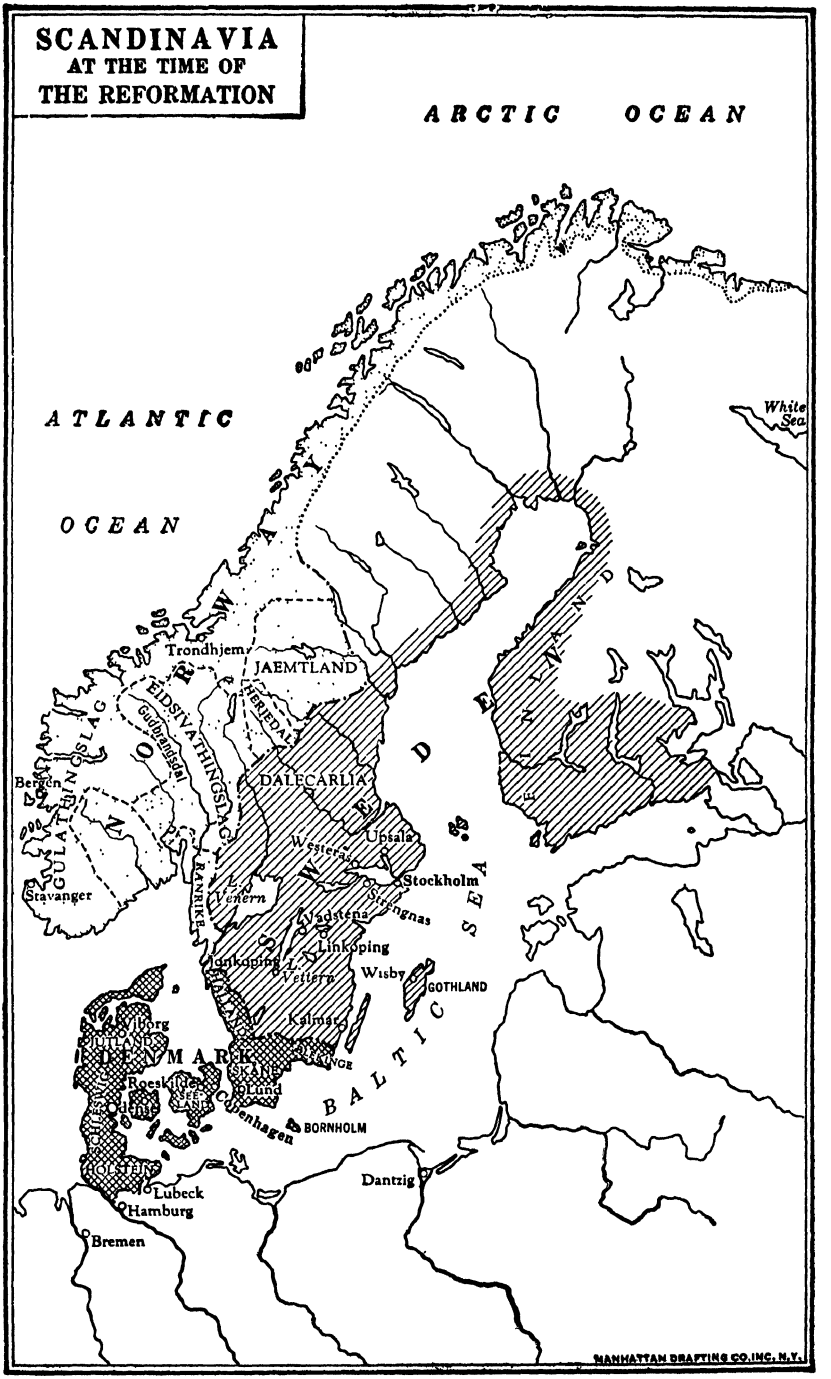
Christian III at once reorganized the Danish church. Its property

was confiscated for the crown, its temporal authority came to an end, and an assembly held in Copenhagen (1536) transformed it into a national Danish church. The king next received the help of John Bugenhagen, the reformer of Pomerania and a personal friend of Luther, who reorganized the church according to Lutheran ideas. Shortly after this the *Augsburg Confession* was adopted, and the Bible was translated into Danish. A very rigid suppression of Catholics and Protestant dissenters (i.e., Anabaptists) was instituted.

In Norway, the Reformation was almost entirely the work of the king, Frederick I of Denmark. The masses were sincerely loyal to Catholicism and, living in their remote parishes, were little influenced by heretical propaganda. Not so the towns, however, for foreigners, especially Hanseatic traders, frequented them. Lutheranism was introduced very early into Bergen, and this city soon became an active center of iconoclasm and violence against the old church. Even in Trondhjem, the ancient religious capital of Norway, there was violence. Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektsson had allied himself with Christian II, but the defeat of the pretender's cause meant the ruin of Catholicism in Norway as in Denmark. Much confusion followed, and Christian III sought to establish himself as king. Archbishop Olaf resisted in behalf of Catholicism but his flight to Brabant in 1537 left the way open to Christian.

The Reformation was now speedily established, and Norway was declared to be henceforth an integral part of the crown of Denmark. The king appointed Lutheran bishops whose rule in the cities usually did not deeply influence the religious life of the country parishes. The ministry, recruited largely from Denmark, could not work effectively because they were strangers to the ways of the people in their secluded parishes and could understand their language only with great difficulty. Many of the imported clergy were unworthy men incapable of adapting themselves to the tasks imposed upon them. In many places Catholic priests continued at their tasks so that vestiges of the old faith long persisted. Such was the scarcity of Lutheran ministers and such was the royal neglect that when old Catholic priests died their places were often left vacant for years, to the great detriment of the religious welfare of the people.

Iceland belonged to Norway which became an integral part of Denmark under King Christian III (1536-59). It was the policy of the crown to force the Lutheran faith and organization upon the Icelanders, but at first the Reformation enjoyed little support among the populace who were so devoted to the old faith that they resented forced change. The two Catholic bishops of the island had long lived in feud; but when Lutheranism began to show itself, being imported through the country's commercial connections with Bergen,


SCANDINAVIA
AT THE TIME OF
THE REFORMATION
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
White Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Trondhjem
JAEMTLAND
HERJEDAL
EIDSIVATHINGSLAG
Gudbrandsdal
GULATHINGSLAG
Bergen
DALECARLIA
Upsala
Western
Stockholm
Stavanger
Vestern
Vadstena
Strengnas
Linkoping
Jonkoping
Vettern
Wisby
GOTHLAND
Kalmar
Elsinore
DENMARK
SKANE
Roeskilde
Lund
Odense
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Dantzig
BALTIC SEA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

they buried their differences. Many Lutheran tracts circulated among the people and in 1540 the New Testament appeared in the old Norse tongue. Finally, in 1548, opposition broke out in revolt against the king's authority, and the bishop of Holar was seized and executed as a traitor. Only gradually was order restored, and in 1554 the Reformation was established by royal decree.

In Sweden, the Reformation grew out of the difficult problems confronting the new king, Gustavus I, in establishing royal authority. The power of the bishops was extensive since they possessed vast property and judicial authority; the nobles were haughty and independent, and the free peasantry of the interior would brook no restraint. The result was that the king had neither army, navy, officials, nor income. Furthermore, Sweden like Norway had been united to Denmark in the Union of Kalmar (1397), but the Danish kings had always neglected Sweden, and their rule was cordially disliked. Denmark also possessed the southern tip of the Swedish peninsula which separated Sweden from the Sound and the Kattegat. A Swedish bourgeoisie could hardly be said to exist because foreign commerce was almost entirely in the hands of the Hanseatic League. Thus it seemed impossible to create a modern monarchy out of such a country. Nevertheless, this was accomplished by the king at the expense of the church within a very few years.

When Christian II became king of Denmark in 1513 the Swedes were loath to accept him because of their national antipathy to the Danes. Sten Sture was viceroy of Sweden, a man of great ability who wished to free his country from its Danish bondage. Gustavus Trolle, newly appointed archbishop of Upsala, also was ambitious for power. These two men for some time had lived in feud, and Trolle now turned to Christian in order to further his schemes. We have already seen how the Danish king sought to make use of the papal nuncio Arcimbaldo in order to insinuate his way into Sweden, and how Arcimbaldo revealed all of Christian's plans to Sten Sture, thus completely compromising Gustavus Trolle. Such was the nationalist hatred loosed upon the prelate at this time that he has come to be known as the Swedish Judas Iscariot. He began actively to urge a Danish invasion, with the result that a national diet deposed him in 1517.

Meantime Sten Sture defeated the invading Christian in 1516 and 1517. But the viceroy was soon placed under the ban by Leo X, and Christian as temporal prince of the realm proceeded to execute it. By thus placing itself on the side of the national enemy, the Roman *curia* made a capital mistake, for the Swedes began to regard the pope as a dangerous meddler. Christian invaded the land a third time and inflicted a bloody defeat (January, 1520) upon Sten Sture on

the ice of Asunden Lake. Sture died from his wounds, and his widow, Christina Gyllenstierna, won undying fame from the stubborn defense which she offered against the invader at Stockholm. A fierce battle was fought between the invaders and the Swedish peasantry near Upsala, in which the Danes were victorious. A great number of Swedes lay dead upon the field. Their bodies were left exposed to the elements for the traitorous Trolle refused to let them have Christian burial because they were under the ban and hence were regarded as heretics.

This battle was followed by one of the most execrable deeds in all history. Stockholm surrendered on November 7, 1520, after Christina had exacted a promise of amnesty, and Christian was crowned king in the cathedral of Stockholm before the high altar, and invested with the insignia of his exalted office. Trolle urged the monarch to punish all those who had had anything to do with his deposition from the see of Upsala. The notables of the realm who were in Stockholm were seized and more than ninety were summarily executed in the market place. Thus was Trolle avenged and the wrath of Christian sated. The king's hypocrisy was especially reprehensible, for, although he heartily despised the Catholic church, he did not hesitate to act as punitive agent in executing the ban in order to further his own interest. It ruined his cause and incidentally filled many Swedes with bitter hatred toward the church.

A national revolt broke out under Gustavus Vasa, a kinsman of the late Sten Sture. His undisciplined hosts, drawn from the embittered peasantry, were not able to reduce the fortresses occupied by Danish troops, but they inflicted defeat upon an invading army in April, 1521, at Västerås. Finally, however, the garrisons were reduced but Stockholm held out until June, 1523. Meanwhile Gustavus was proclaimed King at Strängnäs. The war of independence proved a success, and Christian, confronted by rebellious nobles at home, could do no more to gain his crown in Sweden and soon even abandoned Denmark. Frederick I of Denmark was not able to establish himself in Sweden. Gustavus, nevertheless, found the burdens of government very heavy. The nobility were not able to resist his will, as most of them had perished in the massacre, but the free peasants were loath to give him the necessary money with which to manage the country and fight the Danes. The king was heavily indebted to the men of Lübeck for their fleet which they had sent to help in the reduction of Stockholm. They also demanded and obtained extensive trading privileges for themselves and other Hanseatic towns, and soon they began to press for payment.

Gustavus wished to appropriate some of the church properties in order to pay his debts, for he as well as other Swedes resented the

support which Leo X had given their national enemy. Pope Adrian VI sent a nuncio, a Swede named John Magnus, to settle differences with the crown. The king and his council insisted that Trolle should be deposed and that only Swedes of upright life should be elected to Swedish sees, for until this was done it would be impossible to uproot Lutheran propaganda. The chapters now elected bishops, and at their head appeared John Magnus in the place of the deposed Gustavus Trolle. This list was sent to Rome and approval was requested. The king was secretly inclined toward Lutheranism and was loath to listen to Magnus' plea that the Lutheran agitation should be suppressed. Pope Clement VII now made the great error of insisting that Trolle should be accepted, and also at about this time he named an Italian to the see of Skara.

These events caused Gustavus to put aside his mask, and henceforth Lutheranism received official favor. For some time Olaus Petri (1493-1552), who had studied in Wittenberg, had been busy disseminating the new ideas. On his return to Sweden in 1519, he became acquainted with Lars Andersson (1470-1552), archdeacon and canon of Upsala cathedral, a capable theologian who had seen much of the world. Andersson was a man of great daring; he was resolved to cleanse the church of the corruption which he had witnessed when he visited the Eternal City on three occasions. Furthermore, he was opposed to the power which popes, cardinals, and bishops were able to exercise in political as well as religious matters. Gustavus consulted with him and came to believe that a break with the ancient faith was necessary for reasons of state. Although the king at first was personally not opposed to Catholicism, it seemed to him as to so many princes of the age that political exigencies dictated a change—a striking example of how secular concerns were crowding religious interests into the background. Lars Andersson became the king's private secretary, and Olaus Petri also entered the royal service. Petri, an intrepid preacher, defied the conventional rules of the church and married. He translated the New Testament and published it in 1526, Erasmus' and Luther's example having inspired him to undertake this work for the Swedish people. Petri now became an active writer and exerted wide influence by popularizing Luther's secularism among the people. The old ideal of ascetic life began to vanish and it seemed that a new vigorous activity and interest in political and economic life sprang up. Lutheranism and Swedish nationality were closely related.

A decisive step was taken at the diet of Västerås in 1527. Gustavus needed money desperately and had sought to extract some from the reluctant free peasantry. Twice they revolted against his financial policy, wishing to restrain the man they had elevated to the kingly

dignity. The cost of maintaining the government was more than twice the income of the crown. The monarch presented a financial statement to the representatives at the diet, but nobles and churchmen, influenced by the old but vigorous Catholic, Bishop Brask of Linköping, were inclined to reject it. It was evident to all that the crown proposed secularization of clerical property and confiscation of incomes. The king, bitter, left their presence and proposed to abdicate. The peasants were alarmed by this threat and soon were insisting that the king should have his way.

The king's demands were granted in what is known as the Västerås Recess. Surplus revenues of ecclesiastical foundations and properties were confiscated for the royal chest, and nobles might recover such of their properties as had been granted to the church since 1454. The royal courts alone were to have authority over the clergy when involved in causes of a temporal nature. The Ordinances of Västerås still further defined the relations between crown and church. Its twenty-two provisions forced a reform in the life and work of priests and in their financial activities. But it should be noted that nothing was said about basic dogmas The church in Sweden steadily became Lutheran under the influence of the crown and zealous preachers of the new doctrine, but no doctrinal statement was made until toward the close of the century (1593).

Finland was a possession of the Swedish crown and hence Gustavus' policy was applied to that country. Lutheranism was introduced first by Peter Sarkilahti who returned in 1524 from a student's career in Wittenberg. Michel Agricola (1508-57), also a student at Wittenberg, later continued Peter's labors by publishing a number of devotional works. He translated the New Testament, which he had begun in Wittenberg under Luther's influence, the first edition being printed at Stockholm in 1548. As in Germany, Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden, the Bible became a book of the people.

The lands of the Teutonic Knights also were converted to Lutheranism. Grand Master Albert seemed a most unlikely person to break with the old faith since the Hohenzollern family to which he belonged remained a staunch bulwark of Catholicism. But the new ideas about celibacy and the validity of religious orders, promulgated by Luther's tracts in 1520, profoundly influenced him. He became better acquainted with the Lutheran position while attending the diet at Nuremberg in 1522 and 1523. Secretly won to the new doctrines, he began to invite Lutheran preachers to Königsberg and other places in East Prussia. Like Luther, he came to believe that the exercise of temporal authority by churchmen was not justified. He planned to marry Dorothy, granddaughter of Frederick I of Denmark, and thus found a dynasty which should rule over the secularized land

of the Teutonic Knights. In 1525 he came to an agreement with Sigismund I of Poland (1506-48) whereby the lands of the Knights were to be erected into a duchy, subject to the overlordship of Poland. Soon Albert, now duke of Prussia, publicly declared himself a Lutheran, and in the work of reform he had the support of the bishop of Samland. Synodal decrees and episcopal visitations followed, and everywhere Lutheranism was established. The common people could do nothing but acquiesce in these changes.

North of Poland lay the lands of the Knights of the Cross, comprising Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Semgallia, and since 1237 affiliated with the Teutonic Order. Here as in East Prussia German traders had built towns and laid the basis of such culture as the region possessed. Lutheran ideas found their way into Reval and Riga as early as 1521. Progress was slow, however, until 1539, when William of Brandenburg, brother of Duke Albert, became archbishop of Riga. He was ambitious to do for himself what his brother had done in East Prussia. In order to make certain the work of secularization he began by filling his chapter with clergymen who were sympathetic to Lutheranism. But to erect a temporal state out of the possessions of the Order was a difficult matter, for it involved the conflicting national interest of neighboring powers, Russia, Poland, and Sweden. Gotthard von Kettler, the last grand master of the Order, did not possess the strength necessary to repel his ambitious neighbors, and in 1561 Sweden annexed Esthonia, Denmark seized the island of Osel, and Poland received Livonia. Courland was erected into a vassal duchy of Poland.

The Reformation in Poland was peculiarly dependent upon the political conditions of the country. By the opening of the sixteenth century the government was controlled by its numerous gentry (*szlachta*) who had progressively encroached upon the power of the crown until the royal authority was greatly reduced. They also were opposed to the ascendancy which the higher clergy enjoyed, for the bishops possessed vast wealth and had been successful in securing for themselves extensive influence in secular matters. Recruited from the upper nobility and appointed for the most part by the crown, they were usually place-seekers who possessed little of the priestly calling. Their worldly and unspiritual lives gave great offense to the gentry who resented being disciplined by episcopal courts. For these reasons the people were prone to criticize their pastors and were likely to adopt heretical teachings.

The townsmen also were an important class. Many of them were Germans whose ancestors had settled in the newly founded urban centers and had become well-to-do as the wealth of the country increased. This was true especially in such centers at Danzig, Posen,

and other places in Great Poland. In many towns the native Polish element spoke German and adopted the culture of the merchants who came from the West. Among these people, as among the bourgeoisie in other lands of western Europe, there was a strong current of hostility toward the upper clergy whose unapostolic character has already been referred to. It can cause no surprise, therefore, that Lutheranism was readily accepted by people of this class.

But the peasantry, which was purely Slavic in blood and speech, continued to live in the stolidity typical of that class in the Middle Ages. They were illiterate and given to belief in witchcraft. They were sincerely if not fanatically loyal to the traditional faith, and remained faithful to Catholicism, no matter what heresy was brought into the land. The priesthood of the countryside, ignorant and poorly trained as they were, also clung to the ancient dogmas. Conditions were somewhat better in the towns, but there Humanism and heresy led the people out of the Catholic church. In Lithuania there were many adherents to the Greek Orthodox faith. This diversity of class and of social and racial elements, the feebleness of the crown, and the flabby spiritual character of the higher clergy made possible a variety of heretical movements. But the staunch devotion of the peasantry to Rome at length succeeded in keeping Poland Catholic.

Many a Polish nobleman's son studied in Italy or elsewhere and returned filled with Humanist ideas. Erasmus' writings were widely read. Dissatisfaction with the corruption of the upper clergy and aversion to their great wealth and secular authority now induced many to go to Wittenberg and listen to Luther's denunciations. Polish townsmen for centuries had looked to Germany in business matters and cultural life, and when Luther's ideas spread among the German burghers it was inevitable that these doctrines should also find their way into the towns of Great Poland. John Seklucyan began preaching in Posen (1521) the necessity of a reform of the clergy. It should be noted that the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order was faltering in his loyalty to the old church (1522-23) and that the bishop of Samland was not far behind. Meanwhile a priest of Danzig renounced celibacy (1519) and boldly married, to the dismay of the archbishop who vainly sought to halt the threatened defection. The priest's example was approved by many people, and the Lutherans were soon strong enough to seize control of the city's government, but Sigismund I, who felt that he could use force after his treaty with Duke Albert of Prussia, overthrew the Protestant government of the town.

Lutheranism steadily advanced into Great Poland in spite of the efforts of the hierarchy and King Sigismund. He resorted to decrees which, however, accomplished nothing. He ordered (1520) that no

one might import German books into the realm, and in 1523 came the savage decree condemning everyone preaching Lutheran doctrines to be burnt at the stake. In 1534 all students were forbidden to study at Wittenberg. However, the royal power could not punish heretics because the gentry would tolerate no interference, nor would they permit the archbishops and bishops to cite them before their inquisitorial tribunals. Lutheranism therefore spread without restraint but never appealed to the peasantry and the Slavic bourgeoisie of Little Poland, and it never won the allegiance of more than a minority of the population.

That Lutheranism should spread into Bohemia was inevitable, for a large part of the population was German in race and speech. From neighboring Saxony and Franconia the new doctrines passed into the valley of the Eger. Joachimstal became an important center of Lutheran influence because of the preaching of John Mathesius. The Czech population also received the new teaching. The Bohemian Brethren, the more conservative wing of the Hussites, kept aloof for a while because they had some doubts about the truth of Lutheran teaching, especially in respect to the Lord's Supper. Some of the more youthful Brethren, however, who went to Wittenberg and became enthusiastic advocates of the new doctrines, wished to renounce Wiclifite asceticism and adopt Luther's ideas about the justifiability of appropriating and enjoying the things of this world. Even some of the nobility joined this group. Many Utraquists, those who held that the cup as well as the bread should be extended to the laity, also accepted Lutheranism, Prague being the chief center of their activities. Luther's teaching also penetrated into Moravia. German settlers at Iglau, a town which had become famous because of its mining, eagerly embraced the new doctrines and passed them on to Slovaks.

Luther's influence also spread among the South Slavs of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola. For centuries their lands, ruled by the dukes of Austria, had been subjected to German cultural influences and it was inevitable that the new doctrines should speedily find their way thither. John Ungnad of Sonnegk fled to Württemberg where he set up a printing press which brought forth many translations of Lutheran tracts in the Slovene tongue. Primus Truber (d. 1586), a Carinthian and a most important agent in advancing the cause of Protestantism, was forced to flee and settled in Württemberg where he associated himself with Ungnad and translated the Bible into the Slovene language. This achievement marked the beginnings of literary culture among Slovenes.

Lutheranism also was received among the Magyars. Hungary owed much of its cultural life to the Germanic lands which marched with

its western border. Sons of the Magyar nobility were wont to study in German universities and thus brought the new ideas back with them. At first the government and the bishops sought to repress the movement by force, but the death of the king and most of the Catholic prelates in the slaughter at Mohács in 1526 gave Protestants much freedom. Matthew Devay, one of the most active of Lutheran propagandists, studied in Cracow where he became a priest and entered an order. He was a Humanist and for some time a devoted servant of the traditional church. In 1529 he attended the University of Wittenberg. On his return two years later, he began his vigorous ministry at Budapest and other places. He was thrown into prison but on his release found protection among the powerful nobility. He published a number of religious works and a Hungarian grammar in the Magyar language. At this time another Magyar named Erdosi translated the New Testament, being influenced by the example of Luther. The works of Erdosi and Devay laid the foundations of Hungarian literary culture.

The Saxon population in Transylvania reacted sympathetically to the writings of Luther which came into the country as early as 1519. Hermannstadt was an important center of reform. John Honter, who received a Humanist education in various German universities and in Cracow, settled in Kronstadt where he began an active career as priest, teacher, and printer; and his devotion to Lutheranism exerted wide influence. As in Saxony and other Lutheran lands, schools were opened with the funds from confiscated convents and clerical lands. A new Lutheran university was opened at Kronstadt.[3]

[3] For Lutheran influence in Switzerland, England, Spain and Italy, France, and the Low Countries, see chaps. xxxviii, xxxix, xli, xlii, and xlv, respectively.

PART VIII

THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM

CHAPTER XXXVII

HUMANISTS AND SACRAMENTARIANS

We see a great many lay so much stress upon corporeal ceremonies, tho' relying upon them they neglect matters of real religion, arrogating that to their own merits, which ought to be attributed to the divine bounty; and there taking up their station, where they should begin to ascend to greater perfection, and reviling their neighbor for those things that in themselves are neither good or bad.—D. ERASMUS (d. 1536).[1]

IT IS a common error to suppose that Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were the only men of their day who sought to destroy the authority of the Roman church. So successful, indeed, were their endeavors and so violent was their onslaught that large sections of Germany, Switzerland and other lands were forever torn from the Catholic fold, and consequently it was natural that their activities should have first claim upon the attention of students. The reforming efforts of Humanists have not therefore been sufficiently emphasized, nor have the Sacramentarians been accorded an adequate place in the history of the Reformation. Let us first direct our attention to those Humanists who were interested in reforming the church and purging religious life of its cruder practices.

When the Humanism of Italy moved northward over the Alps it underwent noteworthy changes. It perpetuated the cult of classical letters, but it took a far deeper interest in religion. Scholastic philosophy, older social conceptions, and the traditional faith were more deeply intrenched among the better classes of the north than in Italy. This is well illustrated by the *devotio moderna* which exerted much

[1] *The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus Concerning Men, Manners, and Times* (London, 1910), vol. ii, p. 290.

influence in the more populous parts of Europe such as the Low Countries, the Rhineland, northern Germany, and northeastern France. Its followers were first of all laymen whose deep practical piety called for constant reflection upon the sacrifice of Christ. This led them to deny the things of this world and to follow the example of Christ as set forth by Thomas à Kempis in his *Imitation of Christ*. The *devotio moderna* spread into all parts of society, dominated monastic houses, permeated the schools, and filled the life of many a pious burgher. Scholars who had been brought up under its influence carried some of this piety over into Humanism, and this is one reason why Humanists of northern Europe so often exhibited keen interest in things religious. Where Italian Humanism was interested primarily in æsthetic things without much concern for religion, that of northern Europe was essentially moral and aimed at religious reform.

The piety of northern Humanists led them to study the original texts of Christian literature rather than those of pagan classic antiquity exclusively. Besides the Old and New Testament, they studied the great fathers of the church such as St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. Philological science had made great progress in Italy, revolutionizing the study of Greek and Latin texts, and it now became the means of a more accurate study of the Bible. The fact that Humanist methods of studying profane letters were applied to the books of Scripture led to practical results, for the Humanists began comparing popular religious practices of the day with the teachings of the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament. There was much to criticize in the religious life of the people as well as in the corrupt practices of *curia* and hierarchy, but although they might adopt a very independent attitude toward the church, they usually remained loyal to her, for Catholic theology seemed preferable to the theologies of Protestant reformers. These Humanists objected to the doctrines of predestination and total depravity. Being interested in practical ethical religion, they did not sympathize with the Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist teaching that men were saved not by becoming holy but by having the perfection of Christ imputed to them through faith in His sacrifice on Calvary. The influence of these men, in spite of the diversity of their opinions, was very great. It would be a simple matter to draw up a long list of names, but only a few need be given as examples: Jacob Wimpheling, Sebastian Brant, and Thomas Murner in Germany; John Colet, Thomas More, and Thomas Wolsey in England; Guillaume Briçonnet and Faber Stapulensis in France; Juan Valdés and his brother Alfonso in Spain; Cardinal Sadoleto and Bishop

Gian Ghiberti of Verona; and the prince of them all, Desiderius Erasmus of the Low Countries.

In northern Europe, especially in the Low Countries, there was a group of these men who have received the name of Biblical Humanists,[2] since they were interested mainly in Biblical studies and ethical conduct founded upon the Sermon on the Mount. Often they were guided by a mystical love of Christ and a desire to pattern their lives after His example. One of the first of these Humanists was a Netherlander, Wessel Gansfort, born in Groningen in 1419, the son of a baker. In 1432 he was sent to a school of the Brethren of the Common Life in Zwolle where he came under the influence of the *devotio moderna*. He became a warm friend of Thomas à Kempis who was living in a monastery at Mount St. Agnes nearby. Later, at the University of Cologne, he found opportunity to acquire sufficient knowledge of Greek to read some of its classics in the original tongue, and he also learned some Hebrew. It is remarkable that he should know the three important languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, long before Erasmus and Reuchlin were eagerly propagating their study. He also studied at Paris and subsequently visited Rome, Florence, and Venice. He retired to the abbey of Aduard in the Low Countries where he spent the last years of his life from 1482 to 1488, dying in Groningen in 1489.

Gansfort was above all things interested in Scripture, which he believed to be the source of all religious knowledge and in point of authority to be superior to popes and councils. He did not value very highly the mediæval conception of the church as an organ of salvation, for an individual's own faith and a somewhat mystical love and communion with God crowded the priest into the background. He accepted the official teaching of the real presence—the transference of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. At the same time, however, he insisted that whenever a person thought piously of Christ, the Savior was at once present corporeally, wherefore the priesthood was not an absolutely indispensable mediating agent between God and man. All persons truly sorry for their sins were fully absolved even before entering the confessional; indeed, confession was not absolutely necessary. He also objected to indulgences, holding that salvation came through one's deep mystical love for the Savior whose example was to be followed in everyday life. Gansfort is an important man in the religious history of the fifteenth century in that his mysticism led him to minimize the usefulness of the priesthood, to exalt the Bible, and to criticize some of the popular practices of the hierarchy.

[2] This apt phrase is borrowed from J. Lindeboom, *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland* (Leiden, 1913).

John Pupper of Goch (d. 1475) was, like Gansfort, a pupil of the Brethren of the Common life through whose influence he became acquainted with the *devotio moderna.* Little is known of his early career beyond the fact that he was born in Cleves. In 1454 he went to study in the University of Cologne, and soon after he became rector of a house of Augustinian Canons Regularesses in Mechelen. Like Gansfort he insisted on an intense love of God as the sole norm of religious life, and he emphasized the great significance of Scripture without placing it unequivocally above the dictates of pope or church. He never arrived at full clarity on this point, but it is certain that traditional conceptions about the priesthood did not win support from him. Much that he wrote was basically hostile to Catholicism, although it usually was couched in cautious language. His *De Libertate Christiana* (*On Christian Liberty*), written about 1474 and reprinted repeatedly, was destined to play an important rôle in the age of the Reformation.

It would be easy to extend the list of noteworthy men who received some inspiration from the Brethren of the Common Life and the *devotio moderna.* Some exerted much influence, others less; but of all these none are worthy of greater honor than Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. He never wholly abandoned the pious inspiration of his youth, but as the years passed he identified himself more and more with the Humanist movement north of the Alps, becoming the outstanding spokesman of Humanist conceptions about religious life, social practices, political activities, and intellectual labors. Of all the Humanists, none so completely identified himself with the revolt against the superstitions, ignorance, and social crudities of contemporary life. He exerted a mighty influence upon the religious thought of the Reformation. Occupying a middle-of-the-road position, he cared little for the obscurantism of old-fashioned Catholic theologians, nor did he like the violence of Luther and Zwingli or the radicalism of the Anabaptists. He therefore kept aloof, adhering to the even tenor of his peaceful way, criticizing the crassness of current religious life and advocating his own conceptions of reform. His sardonic wit and skill in language made him a dangerous opponent or a powerful supporter. Let us examine his ideas briefly.

Erasmus thought that religion was a guide to right living rather than a correct doctrine about salvation as Luther and Zwingli taught. In other words, it was ethical and not confessional. The Bible was the only source of theology and therefore occupied a central position in his thought. It was also the guide of Christian living, but as such the Old Testament was much less important than the New, for in the Gospels and Epistles was set forth the Christian philosophy

of life, their teaching being immeasurably superior to the philosophic abstractions of Aquinas or Scotus. Christ was the great divine teacher of the truth and His finest thoughts are to be found in His Sermon on the Mount. Erasmus' emphasis upon conduct had important consequences, for he was at great pains to express his views on social, political, and religious matters. His Biblical Humanism led him to contrast everyday practices in religion with the admonitions of Christ and the apostles.

A man of this temper is very hard to classify, for all labels are misleading. In the background of his personal piety lay the heritage of the traditional faith, but as the years of his life passed much of this faded. He also believed—without much fervor, however—in Christ as the Savior because of His sacrifice on Calvary. He really could give no support to the position of the pope in the church. Although he believed the papacy was based purely on historical factors and not instituted by Christ as officially interpreted from Matthew xvi: 16-19, it was a practical necessity to have such a head and hierarchy to give form and direction to the church. In short, Erasmus cared little for the supernatural element in religion, the mystery and efficacy of the sacraments, or the church as the unique institution of salvation. In the matter of the reformation of the church, in which he believed most emphatically, he sharply opposed the reformers, for he wished it to be cleansed first among the upper clergy and next among the lower, peacefully and gradually, and preferably by means of councils.

Since Christianity was an ethical code Erasmus thought that it would be possible to prepare for Christian life by some method of training. The Christian faith was a code of ethics, and not, as with Luther, a simple trust in the belief that Christ would snatch man out of the depth of his degradation, no matter how unworthy he might be.

> . . . We will enforce to give certain rules, as they were certain points of wrestling, by whose guiding and conveyance, as it were by the guiding of the thread of Dedalus, men may easily plunge up out of the blind errors of this world, as out of Labirinthus, which is a certain cumbrous maze, and come into the pure and clear light of spiritual living. None other science is there which hath not her rules. And shall the craft of blessed living only be without the help of all manner of precepts? There is without fail a certain craft of virtuous living and a discipline, in which whosoever exercise themselves manfully, them shall favor that Holy Spirit, which is the promoter and bringer forward of all holy enforcement and godly purposes.[8]

[8] *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (London, 1905), p. 112.

The craft of Christian living—how simple it sounds! But something stood in the way of practicing that craft, for even though baptism removed the guilt of original sin, the soul bore evidences of the original stain.

> These be blindness, the flesh, and infirmity or weakness. Blindness with the mist of ignorance dimmeth the judgment of reason. For partly the sin of our first progenitors hath not a little dusked that so pure a light of the countenance, resemblance, or similitude of God, which our creator hath shewed upon us. And much more corrupt bringing up, lewd company, froward affections, darkness of vices, custom of sin hath so cankered it, that of the law graven in us of God scarce any signs or tokens doth appear. Then as I began, blindness causeth that we in the election of things be as good as half blinded and deceived with error, in the stead of the best, following the worst, preferring things of less value before things of greater price. The flesh troubleth the affection so much, that even though we know what is best, yet love we the contrary. Infirmity and weakness maketh us that we being overcome either with tediousness or with temptation, forsake the virtue which we had once gotten and attained. Blindness hurteth the judgment, the flesh corrupteth the will, infirmity weakeneth constancy.[4]

Certain rules should be observed by the soul so weakened and maimed:

> The first point therefore is that thou canst discern things to be refused from things to be accepted: and therefore blindness must be taken away lest we stumble or stagger in the election of things. The next is, that thou hate the evil as soon as it is once known, and love that which is honest and good: and in this thing the flesh must be overcome, lest contrary to the judgment of the mind we should love sweet and delectable things in the stead of wholesome things. The third is, that we continue in these things which we began well: and therefore the weakness must be underset, lest we forsake the way of virtue with greater shame than if we had never been about to walk or enter therein.[5]

An exhortation typical of Erasmus follows:

> Ignorance must be remedied, that thou mayst see which way to go. The flesh must be tamed, lest she lead thee aside out of the highway, once known, into bypaths. Weakness must be comforted, lest when thou hast entered into the strait way thou

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

> shouldst either faint or stop or turn back again, or lest after thou hast once set thy hand to the plough shouldst look backward, but shouldst rejoice as a strong giant to haste the way, ever stretching forth thyself to those things which be afore thee, without remembrance of those things which be behind thee, until thou mayst lay hand on the reward appointed and on the crown promised to them that continue into these three things: therefore we shall apply certain rules according to our little power.[6]

Erasmus was critical toward monks and friars about whom he wrote many a caustic squib.

> And next . . . come those that commonly call themselves the religious and monks; and most false in both titles, when both a great part of them are fartherst from religion, and no men swarm thicker in all places than they. . . . For whereas all men detest them to that height, that they take it for ill luck to meet one of them by chance, yet such is their happiness that they flatter themselves. For first, they reckon it one of the main points of piety if they are so illiterate that they can't so much as read.[7]

He made bitter comments on the formalism of monks without, however, making it clear that there were many among them who were sincere in conduct and anything but enslaved by routine.

> And then when they run over their offices, which they carry about them, rather by rote than understanding, they believe that God is more than ordinarily pleased with their braying. And some there are among them that put off their trumperies at vast rates, yet rove up and down for the bread they eat; nay, there is scarce an inn, wagon, or ship into which they intrude not, to the no small damage of the commonwealth of beggars. . . . Yet what is more pleasant than that they do all things by rule and, as it were, a kind of mathematics, the best swerving from which were a crime beyond foregiveness:—as how many knots their shoes must be tied with, of what color everything is, what distinction of habits, of what stuff made, how many straws broad their girdles and of what fashion, how many bushels wide their cowl, how many fingers long their hair, and how many hours sleep. . . . And amongst these there are some so rigidly religious that their upper garment is hair-cloth, their inner of the finest linen; and on the contrary, others wear linen without, and hair next to their skin. Others, again, are as afraid to touch money as poison, and yet neither forbear wine nor dallying with women.[8]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[7] *The Praise of Folly* (Oxford, 1913), p. 126.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

At the popes he hurled many a bitter gibe.

> And for popes, that supply the place of Christ, if they should endeavor to imitate his life, to wit poverty, labor, doctrine, cross, and contempt of life, or should they consider what the name pope, that is father, or holiness, imports, who would live more disconsolate than themselves? Or who would purchase that chair with all his substance or defend it so purchased with swords, poisons, and all force imaginable?[9]

The popular cult of the saints also received his sarcastic attention, for he held that people often cared for the holy ones of the church not because of their saintly lives but because of some magical property which might aid them when in need.

> How many are there, who put more trust in the safeguard of the Virgin Mary, or St. Christopher, than Christ Himself? They worship (!) the mother with images, candles, and songs; and offend Christ heinously by their impious living. A mariner when in a storm is more ready to invoke the mother of Christ or St. Christopher, or some one or other of the saints, than Christ Himself. And they think they have made the Virgin their friend by singing her in the evening the little song *Salve Regina*, though they don't know what it is they do sing; when they have more reason to be afraid, that the Virgin should think they jeer her by their so singing, when the whole day, and great part of the night is spent in obscene discourse, drunkenness, and such doings as are not fit to be mentioned.[10]

And ceremonies! Laudable customs as they might be, many people were placing an improper emphasis upon them.

> Again I both hear and see many who place religion in places, garments, meats, fasts, gestures, and songs, and for the sake of these things judge their neighbor contrary to the precept of the Gospel. From whence it comes to pass, that whereas faith and charity constitute the Christian religion, they are both extinguished by those superstitions. For he is far from the faith of the Gospel who depends upon these acts; and he is far from Christian charity, who for the sake of meat or drink, which a person may lawfully use, exasperates his brother, for whose liberty Christ died.[11]

Relics also received due attention at the hands of Erasmus, for much superstitious practice persisted among the ignorant folk of the

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[10] *The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus Concerning Men, Manners, and Times*, vol. ii, pp. 309-310.
[11] *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, p. 114.

day. The anthropologist knows that much of it was simply a survival of primitive religious mores, but Erasmus, unaware of this, protested against the crassness of popular religious life. This is nicely illustrated in his dialogue, *The Religious Pilgrimage,* in which the relics of the church in Walsingham, England, are described:

> *Ogygius:* From thence we return to the choir. On the north side they open a private place. It is incredible what a world of bones they brought out of it, skulls, chins, teeth, hands, fingers, whole arms, all which we having first adored, kissed; nor had there been any end of it, had it not been for one of my fellow-travelers, who indiscreetly interrupted the officer that was shewing them.[12]

Erasmus had no sympathy for the exhibition of relics of whose genuineness he entertained profound doubts, and of whose efficacy he was not at all convinced. At best they could not take the place of doing good—following Christ's example—and so he closed this dialogue with these words:

> *Ogygius:* But hark ye, haven't I set you agog to go on pilgrimages?
>
> *Menedemus:* Perhaps you may, by that time you have finished your relation; but as I find myself at present, I have enough to do to travel my Roman stations.
>
> *Ogygius:* Roman ones, you who never saw Rome?
>
> *Menedemus:* I'll tell you! After that manner I walk about my house, I go to my study, and take care of my daughter's safety; thence I go into my shop and see what my servants are doing; then into the kitchen, and see if any thing be amiss there; and so from one place to another, to observe what my wife, and what my children are doing, taking care that every one be at his business. These are my Roman stations.
>
> *Ogygius:* But St. James would take care of these things for you.
>
> *Menedemus:* Holy Scripture enjoins me to look after them myself, but I do not find any text to leave them to the saints.[13]

This emphasis upon the practical and the ethical in religion dominated much of Erasmus' career as a writer. His *Handbook of a Christian Soldier* (1503), which passed through many editions, was intended as a *vademecum* to instruct people in the Gospel. Especially important was his edition of the *New Testament* in Greek (1516). Erasmus endeavored to present a better text by consulting many manuscripts without, however, knowing the best method of using such

[12] *The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus Concerning Men, Manners and Times,* vol. ii, p. 236.

[13] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, pp. 246-247.

materials. The cheapness of the volume made it significant, for the bourgeoisie, already enthusiastically embracing Humanist ideas, could secure copies in large numbers. An edition of St. Jerome (1514) was important for the same reason. At this time also appeared his *Paraphrases* in Latin (1516) intended to guide laymen in the study of Scripture, for Erasmus believed that the laity should know the texts of Christianity and insisted on a mastery of the three tongues in which they were written.

Besides these great works on religion Erasmus also published a number dealing with more practical matters. The *Praise of Folly* (1509) was a most successful satire on life and its foibles; in it the clergy, monks, and friars in particular are exposed to criticism. His *Correspondence* is a most important literary monument of the age, for in the letters which he received and sent, the student can readily form a splendid conception of the issues of the age of the Reformation. The *Education of a Christian Prince* (1518) forms an interesting contrast to the more famous work by Machiavelli, and sets forth a conception of the ruler quite characteristic of the author's ideas.

> The prince, then, instructed in Christ's commandments, and fortified by wisdom, will hold nothing so dear as the happiness of his people, all of whom, as one body, he must love and cherish. He will devote every thought and effort to such an administration of the kingdom entrusted to him as will be approved by Christ when he demands an account, and leave his memory most honored by all men.[14]

The despot was to be a Christian and the policy of state was to be guided by Christian precepts. How different this was from Machiavelli's doctrine that expediency and not moral or religious precept should be the prince's directing motive!

Erasmus did not want to subject life to any hard and fast creed, as was shown in his struggle with Luther. The latter emphasized the corruption of human will and held that its efforts to do good were valueless in the sight of God. To Erasmus the idea that the human will was shackled by sin and vitiated by total depravity was shocking. Freedom was necessary if men were to lead truly Christian lives. Indeed, Humanists generally felt this way about religion. For a while, especially after the debate between Eck and Luther at Leipzig in 1519, they were pleased to applaud the latter's attack upon Rome, but in a few years the incompatibility of Luther's ideas and the doctrines of Humanism became apparent. Erasmus at first approved Luther's views, but his ardor soon cooled. He hated Luther's con-

[14] *Institutio Principis Christiani, chaps. iii-xi*, tr., with an introduction by P. E. Corbett, in the Grotius Society Publications, No. I (London, 1921), p. 53.

ception of human depravity and he did not want to be linked to any party or school, especially when its methods were violent and demagogic. Consequently in 1524 he issued his *Treatise on Free Will*, the *De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe*, which Luther answered in October, 1525, in his book on the *Servitude of the Will*, the *De Servo Arbitrio*. The contest was significant, for it was a struggle between two conceptions of life which could not exist together.

Erasmus thus stood aloof from all religious parties, and to the end of his life preferred to stay in the Catholic fold. People usually overlook his great influence, although his middle position on theology, his common sense, his refusal to bind the spirit of man by hard and fast dogmatic bonds made him the father of middle positions in all groups, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, and Catholic. Hence his influence was to prove an abiding factor in religious and intellectual history in succeeding centuries.

Although these Biblical or Christian Humanists often were hostile to the traditional faith they usually did not become open heretics. But during the very years when Luther began his attacks on the church of Rome a definitely heretical movement began to take form among some of them. For lack of a better term these heretical Humanists may be called Sacramentarians, a name employed at that time because they denied the validity of the Lord's Supper in the hands of unworthy priests. They were the spiritual spawn of Erasmus and other Humanists and were especially numerous in the Low Countries, the heretics in the county of Holland and the lands of the bishop of Utrecht being nearly all Sacramentarians. The bourgeoisie in those lands possessed wealth and leisure, and the finer spirits among them often concerned themselves with religion. A reforming group developed independent of Luther and Zwingli and exerted such widespread influence that it cannot be ignored. Its members protested against the sacraments when administered by unworthy priests and even denied the real presence. Often they insisted on a more spiritual faith and less reliance upon indulgences, good works, pilgrimages, and similar practices, much in the manner of Erasmus.

This spirit appears to have been quite common. The more or less aristocratic chambers of rhetoric (literary clubs) often criticized the practices of the church. Especially famous are the productions of the meeting of nineteen chambers from towns in Flanders and Brabant held at Ghent in 1539, which were written to answer the question, "What is man's chief comfort when dying?" It is instructive to note that most of the chambers opposed good works such as fasting, prayers, pilgrimages, burning of candles in memory of saints, and keeping fast days. The chamber of Antwerp insisted that the resur-

rection was the chief comfort; that of Ypres, the Gospel of Christ; that of Thielt, only the merits of Christ; that of Bruges, only trust in Christ's love. The chamber of Courtrai insisted that good works availed naught; only true inward sorrow could please God. The chamber of Middelburg presented a composition in the same year called *The Tree of Scripture* which insisted upon zealous searching of the Bible. Priests were most sharply criticized as blind leaders and rapacious wolves, and were described as "standard bearers of Lucifer who deceive the public with false teaching."

Other manifestations should be noted. There was much pietistic and mystical literature of a practical nature, such as hymns, edifying treatises in the spirit of the *Imitation of Christ*, sermons in the vernacular, and Dutch or Flemish versions of parts of the New Testament. It cannot cause surprise that in this environment, made rich by commerce and industry and advanced beyond all other parts of northern Europe in social and economic development, heretical movements should flourish. Several years before Luther began teaching, a Dominican of Utrecht named Walter began to preach against abuses in the church. He was forced to recall his words, but when Luther openly broke with Rome he cast aside his habit and as a layman imparted his ideas to the townsmen of the county of Holland, especially of Delft. The fact that his followers soon became Sacramentarians clearly reveals the nature of his teachings. Friar Walter was forced to flee, and soon after died in Strassburg.

It is difficult to determine how many people shared these Sacramentarian views or what social groups welcomed them. Certain it is that among the better classes many seem to have entertained heretical thoughts about the real presence. Most documents which could throw some light upon this problem have been lost, but in the case of Leiden, a typical large town in the county of Holland, some facts are known. In 1530 large numbers of Sacramentarians were in the habit of meeting in secluded places outside the gates of the town where they would be reasonably free from disturbance. In these conventicles they read and interpreted passages from Scripture and delivered sermons. There was no singing. There were similar meetings in Antwerp and undoubtedly in other towns also.

One of the members of the group at Delft, Cornelis Hoen, a man at law attached to the government of Holland, should be noted. He read the writings of Wessel Gansfort and, especially impressed by his novel conception of the sacrament, drew up a statement of the matter. Hinne Rode, rector of St. Jerome's school in Utrecht, brought it to the attention of Œcolampadius and Zwingli apparently as early as 1523, and it is certain that Luther saw it in 1521. Of course Luther could not be pleased with the view that the elements

represented Christ only in a figurative sense. Zwingli, however, was profoundly impressed by the argument, and appears to owe his idea of the Lord's Supper to it. It is important to note also that Hinne Rode went to Strassburg and visited Butzer who was leading the Reformation in that city. Butzer like Zwingli agreed with Hoen's dissertation that the words *This is My body* mean *This represents My body.*[15]

This conception of the Lord's Supper, to which was joined the belief that adoration of the elements was idolatrous, exerted much influence on the Reformation. It separated the reformers of Switzerland and southern Germany from the Lutherans, and it also reveals the basic difference between reform in the Low Countries and Germany. Lutheranism certainly influenced religious ideas in the Netherlands, but never could win the support of a large part of the population. The first revolt against the old cult took the form of a protest against the sacrament of the altar. Sacramentarian ideas also greatly influenced religious thinkers in France. Anabaptists in Germany and Switzerland adopted this teaching of the Lord's Supper as one of their chief tenets.

Among the more important of the Sacramentarians was Johannes Sartorius of Amsterdam, who had the advantage of a Humanist education and was early associated with Biblical Humanists, especially Friar Walter and the group at Delft. He published a tract *On the Holy Eucharist* (1525) in which he denied the real presence. Far more important was William Gnapheus of The Hague (1493-1568), who also received a Humanist education, and was acquainted with Hoen and the Delft group. Both he and Sartorius were prosecuted and thrown into prison for their heresies. Gnapheus' religious ideas were derived in part from Erasmus. He held that love of God sprang from faith, and insisted upon a simple trust in God and constant thankfulness toward Him. Good works as prescribed by the church were of little value in comparison. He denied the real presence. The believer should place no trust in outward ceremonies, for the kingdom of heaven lay within his heart, and the Christian should live a happy and peaceful life in ardent love of God.

Johannes Pistorius of Woerden, a pupil of Hinne Rode, is especially worthy to be noted. He believed Scripture to be the only authority in matters of faith, and denied the real presence and the legitimacy of celibacy for the priesthood. Although a priest, he took a wife "in the sight of God," refusing to admit that he did wrong in acting thus against the official teaching of the church. He was tried by the inquisitors in 1525, and condemned to be burned in The Hague

[15] For the facts here mentioned, see A. Eekhoff, *De Avondmaalsbrief van Cornelis Hoen (1525) in Facsimile Uitgegeven* (The Hague, 1904), p. 429.

on September 15. Other martyrs also sealed their faith with death, among whom was Wendelmoet of Monnikendam. She was seized in 1525 and accused of a number of Sacramentarian teachings. She cared nothing for crucifixes or holy oil, and denied the sacrament, affirming that there was no change in the elements. She was condemned by the secular authorities to be burned to dust in The Hague on November 20, 1527. Her death was a heart-rending spectacle. A popular ballad perpetuated the feeling of the people toward this execution:

> The hangsman drew near to strangle her,
> Then closed she her eyes so beautiful,
> She cherished hidden within her heart
> A Comforter; she had no cause to fear,
> She longed to go to her heavenly home,
> Thus sweetly did she yield her spirit,
> This Wendelmoet, into the hands of the Lord.
> But friars and priests with mouths agape
> For Christian blood will ne'er be satiate.[16]

[16] Adapted from *Een Liedekin van Weynken Claes Dochter* in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (The Hague, 1904), vol. ii, p. 429.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

RISE OF ZWINGLIANISM

About the consecration which the priests have received in late times Scripture knows nothing. Furthermore, it knows no priests except those who proclaim the Word of God.—ULRICH ZWINGLI (d. 1531).[1]

WHILE Lutheranism was leading many Germans out of the church of their fathers, in Switzerland Zwingli was tearing whole cantons away from the traditional faith. Here as well as in Germany were created new doctrines and conceptions of the church which not only destroyed the unity of the mediæval church but also hopelessly split the ranks of the Protestants.

Conditions in Switzerland were very different from those in Germany. The Swiss Confederation in theory was still a part of the German empire, but as a matter of fact, it was practically independent. This league of cantons found that the Hapsburg princes who had long ago been driven out had not dropped their enmity toward them, and when princes of that house mounted the German throne, trouble ensued. Finally Emperor Maximilian with the aid of the Swabian League attacked them and was defeated by the Swiss soldiers in a number of encounters. By the terms of the Peace of Basel (1499) all disputes with Maximilian were left to arbitration and all cases before the Imperial Court of Appeals were to be dropped. Nothing was stated about the relations of the cantons with the empire, but in the years following no effort was made to subject them to any imperial legislation. Thus the Swiss Confederation really became a free state within the empire. The course of the Reformation in these cantons was to be independent of that of northern Germany and was to have a character all its own.

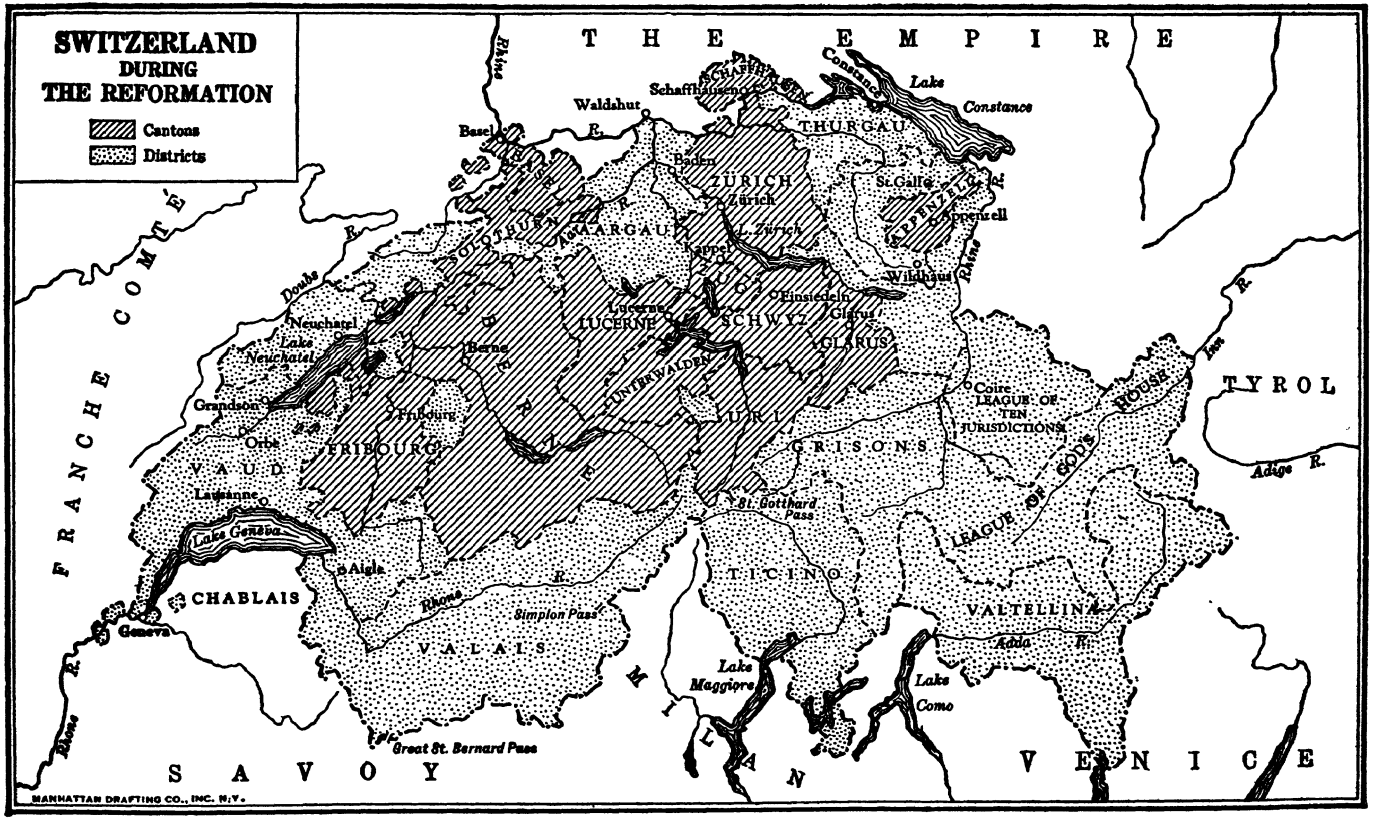
Ulrich Zwingli, the hero of the Swiss Reformation, was born on January 1, 1484, at Wildhaus, a small village in the upper Toggenburg, a valley in the canton of St. Gall. Alpine mountains surrounded

[1] *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli, 1484-1531* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 117.

his early home on all sides. His father was an official of this little democratic mountain community, and the boy's life and surroundings gave him a democratic attitude toward life and a love for freedom which he never forgot. It is instructive to compare him in this respect with Luther who was never much interested in the problem of secular liberty and whose attitude was always influenced by his peasant origin. Zwingli went to school at Wesen on the Wallensee, an uncle taking charge of him while he studied music and the subjects of the trivium. At ten he went to a Humanist school in Basel, and continued his studies under a famous Humanist pedagogue in Berne. Here Zwingli attracted some attention because of his musical talent. It appears that the Dominicans hoped to secure him for their order, but his parents were opposed and transferred him to the University of Vienna (1498), where Conrad Celtes and others were teaching in the new Humanist manner. For some unknown reason he was excluded in the following year. He next went to Paris, if we may credit tradition. On his return he studied at the University of Basel from 1502 to 1506, interesting himself in the quadrivium, which in Basel was dominated by the doctrines of Aquinas or, as they were called, the *via antiqua*. Nevertheless, Humanist conceptions had found their way into this university. Zwingli did not, however, begin to take an interest in them until toward the close of his studies, nor did he pay much attention to theology. After receiving a bachelor's and a master's degree he became pastor (1506) in Glarus, a small town in the valley of the river Linth which flowed from the peaks of the Glarner Alps.

This pastorate marked an important stage in Zwingli's career. He industriously studied theology according to Humanist conceptions, and corresponded with prominent advocates of the new ideas. He also studied the church fathers and the classics of antiquity. Erasmus' conceptions influenced him profoundly. Zwingli's theology at this time was a simple ethical code of Christianity much like that of the great Humanist and drawn mainly from the Sermon on the Mount. His patriotism and public spirit led him to oppose the policy of forming alliances with foreign powers and of receiving pensions from them, and he disapproved the practice of allowing France to collect mercenaries in the canton of Glarus. He criticized this in his brochure, *The Ox and the Other Beasts* (1515), a product of his first-hand knowledge of the evils of foreign service, but he was much criticized therefor, especially when the canton of Glarus allied itself with Francis I of France.

In 1516 Zwingli moved to Einsiedeln in the canton of Schwyz. He already knew Greek, was studying Erasmus' edition of the New Testament, and had just begun to acquire Hebrew. The monastery


SWITZERLAND
DURING
THE REFORMATION
Cantons
Districts
THE EMPIRE
Rhine
SCHAFFHAUSEN
Constance
Lake
Constance
Schaffhausen
Waldshut
R.
Basel
THURGAU
Baden
ZÜRICH
Zürich
St. Gallen
APPENZELL
Appenzell
Aare R.
SOLOTHURN
AARGAU
L. Zürich
Reuss R.
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Glarus
Lucerne
LUCERNE
SCHWYZ
UNTERWALDEN
GLARUS
URI
Neuchatel
Lake
Neuchatel
Berne
Grandson
Orbe
FRIBOURG
Fribourg
VAUD
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Doubs R.
Coire
LEAGUE OF
TEN
JURISDICTIONS
GRISONS
Rhine R.
TYROL
Inn R.
Adige R.
St. Gotthard
Pass
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
Aigle
CHABLAIS
Rhone R.
Simplon Pass
TICINO
VALTELLINA
Adda R.
Geneva
VALAIS
Lake
Maggiore
Lake
Como
Great St. Bernard Pass
Rhone R.
SAVOY
MILAN
VENICE
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., INC. N.Y.

nearby possessed a collection of books which aided him materially, and there also was a statue of the Virgin which attracted a large number of pilgrims. Zwingli's Humanist ideas were opposed to such pilgrimages, and he was led to criticize them in his sermons, thus gaining some reputation as a preacher. He complained of other evil practices in the church and advocated reforms to be initiated by the upper clergy and extended by them to all parts of the church. In December, 1518, he was elected to a vacancy in the great church of Zürich, but there was some objection to the appointment because of his irregular life. However, his frank admission that it was not a model of morality did not stand in the way. This well portrays the decline of discipline among the clergy of that day and incidentally reveals a condition not uncommon among Humanists themselves.

Zwingli began preaching in Zürich on New Year's Day of 1519. As befitted a man of Humanist training, he based his discourses entirely on Scripture, paying no attention to the customary methods of preachers who laboriously sought after the "four senses."[2] Nor did he limit himself to mere texts; he preferred to study the entire historical setting of Christ's mission and the activities of the disciples. In this manner he systematically covered the New Testament by 1525 and at once began the Old Testament. He criticized the abuses current among priests, such as immorality, the excessive devotion shown to saints, and many other faults. He also continued his political interests. As a Humanist he was a genuine pacifist. He opposed all manner of professional military activities for the Swiss, and continued to oppose foreign service and acceptance of pensions. So effective was his preaching that Zürich refused to form an alliance with Francis I. Many Swiss were slain on the field of Bicocca (1522) and the people of Schwyz were disconsolate. To them he addressed his *Godly Exhortation*, whereupon the canton passed a resolution not to entertain any further connection with foreign powers. Unfortunately this decision was revoked within six months.

Zwingli began his religious career as a Biblical Humanist. While he emphasized conduct and morality, he himself was none too exemplary. But in 1519 he passed through a deep religious experience, for he was stricken by the pest which raged in Zürich from August 10 until the following April, and henceforth he viewed life from a different angle. His theological ideas also underwent great change in that they approached the Lutheran conception of grace and redemption. But his Humanist training could not be blotted out entirely; hence he always exhibited an intellectual clarity which was so lacking in Luther. He taught that man's original sin did not

[2] For the four senses of Scripture, see chap. x.

bequeath a fatal heritage of guilt as Luther maintained, and he therefore believed that man was not thoroughly debased. He insisted more vigorously on predestination but at the same time taught that Christ had caused the great truth of His redemption to be known even among pagans—Socrates, Aristides, and others like them would surely be saved. Nor could he agree with Luther to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, for to him the sacrament was merely a memorial and a pledge that Christ's merits would prove efficacious in saving sinners.[3]

Zwingli's censure of the traditional faith soon bore fruit. In 1522 he refused to observe the customary abstinence during Lent and his example was followed by the great printer Froschauer and other prominent citizens. The town council discussed the matter and decided that although there was no Biblical foundation for it, the practice should be retained in order to prevent trouble. The bishop's commissioners argued that it was well grounded in ancient customs of the church and therefore should be obeyed. The question of celibacy also arose, for in July ten priests presented a memorial to the bishop of Constance requesting that priests be allowed to marry and that the preaching of Scripture should be unimpeded. Zwingli, supporting their petition, asserted that Scripture was the sole guide of all action and challenged the bishop of Constance to a disputation upon the unbiblical or antibiblical nature of Catholic teaching. Zwingli's innovations were resented by Zürich's neighboring cantons, and they induced the diet of the confederation to demand that these heresies be suppressed immediately.

On January 3, 1523, the government of Zürich issued a circular notifying priests that a disputation would be held in the town hall on the 29th. This step was characteristic of Zwingli's conceptions, for to him the church was a democratic body holding the faith of Christ. It was an invisible church which possessed one head, Christ, and Scripture was its only law. Therefore, each church community could decide questions of faith for itself. It was a congregational conception, quite contrary to the territorial conception of Catholics and Lutherans. It should be noted, however, that the reformer did not hold fast to this conception to the end, for he resorted to state action to secure the triumph of his ideas. And when his dogmas were not accepted by the Anabaptists he urged the state to reduce them to submission and even to inflict the penalty of death. Zwingli's ideas fitted nicely with political conditions in the Swiss cantons. The result

[3] The reader's attention is here called to the theory, for which there is considerable basis, that Zwingli in forming his doctrine of the Lord's Supper was influenced by the Sacramentarians of the Low Countries. See comments in chap. xxxvii.

of the disputation was a foregone conclusion—the burgomaster, council, and great council ordered that preaching from Scripture as Zwingli had hitherto done should be continued. The clergy were to teach only those things that could be proved from Scripture, and no one was to indulge in injurious language. The disputation was conducted in the local German vernacular, the civil officials of Zürich constituting themselves the arbiters of religious differences.

Zwingli himself had taken a wife in 1522, although he did not legally marry her until two years later, and many priests now abandoned their celibate lives. The burgomaster and councils of Zürich took another weighty step on September 29, when they declared against the practice of exacting fees for baptism, the Eucharist, and burial. The clergy were ordered to preach only from Scripture. The canons attached to the great church were to be reduced gradually in number by leaving unfilled posts which became vacant through death. Furthermore, there was to be public reading of the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek languages. From October 26 to 28 graver steps were taken, images being forbidden because they were thought contrary to Scripture. Thus the outlines of Zwingli's reformation became clearer. Only what was in accord with Scripture was to be permitted; everything else was to be swept away. More revolutionary still was the decision denying the basic conception of the traditional faith, which declared that the mass possessed no sacrificial character and denounced it because of the many abuses that were said to accompany its celebration.

During 1524 and 1525 the rupture with the old faith was completed, and the basic conceptions of Zwingli's teachings were carried out in detail. In January, 1524, the canons of the great church who still clung to the old faith and sought to defend it were ordered to accept the new teachings without further opposition or else leave Zürich. During the next spring and summer many of the old pious practices were discontinued. The great procession to the Virgin of Einsiedeln was abandoned by decree of the councilors, and relics were removed from reliquaries and buried. Zwingli's conviction that organs had no place in worship was now put into practice and they were removed. Bells were no longer rung during storms, nor were they tolled at funerals. Pictures, images, and statues were removed. Saints no longer received the veneration of the public, processions ceased, and the use of candles and holy water was abandoned. In short, all practices which were not ordained in the Bible were discontinued.

Although mass had been divested of its sacrificial character, it was still celebrated. However, Zwingli felt that the meaning of this sacrament was so obscured by superstitious practices that he deter-

mined to purify it as soon as he thought it safe to do so. He argued the matter before the council on April 11, 1525, insisting that a simple ceremony should be substituted. After some opposition his proposal was agreed to, and two days later communion was celebrated for the first time according to what was to become the reformed rite. A long table covered with spotless linen was placed in front of the altar in the transept, the bread being dispensed on wooden platters and the wine in wooden cups. The Latin service of the mass was translated into the German spoken in Zürich, but all references to the sacrificial nature of the ceremony were studiously omitted. Deacons passed the bread and wine among the recipients, men and women being separated by an aisle between them. No music accompanied the service.

At the opening of the Reformation Basel promised to become a more important center of reform than any other part of the confederation. Humanist ideas had conquered the university; Erasmus lived there and was the center of a coterie of like-minded men, and Froben won renown as a printer of the books of Erasmus and other writers. But while Humanists might undermine traditional conceptions with their witty diatribes and their insidious propaganda, they were not men of action—they usually stopped short of revolution. The arrival of the reformer Œcolampadius (d. 1531) was an important event. Born in 1482 in Württemberg, he was deeply influenced by Erasmus' teachings, became a follower of Luther, and for a time sought refuge with Sickingen at the Ebernburg, but finally settled in Basel (1522) where, shifting his ground, he speedily adopted Zwinglian ideas. He became a teacher of Biblical literature in the university. The old-fashioned professors, wedded to antiquated methods of scholarship, unsuccessfully sought to have him ejected. There was much antagonism between the town and the bishop of Basel whose feudal rights were resented by the burghers. On the other hand, conservative elements of the population were opposed to any change. But the people listened to Zwinglian propaganda, and in 1529 the gathering storm at last burst forth in a violent breaking of statues and pictures.

There was similar agitation in other cantons. In Schaffhausen a Franciscan friar, Sebastian Hofmeister, labored for the new doctrines, but in 1525 fled in the face of Catholic opposition. This was only a temporary setback because five years later the canton definitely accepted Zwinglianism. In Appenzell a democratic assembly went so far as to decide that people should be free to do as they wished about images and the mass. In St. Gall an insidious propaganda was conducted through secret Bible readings. Zwingli's ideas also spread into Glarus and the Grisons. On the other hand, the forest cantons

of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne remained staunchly loyal to the old faith and formed the center of a vigorous opposition to the Reformation, even organizing a special league in 1524 to eradicate all heretical teaching.

John Eck, who had so long and ardently fought the doctrines of Luther, finally determined to break a lance against Zwingli. He especially opposed the more radical conception of the Eucharist taught in Zürich, and hoped to make it clear to Lutherans that there could be no kinship of spirit between them and the followers of Zwingli. He suggested to the diet of the Swiss cantons (1526) that a public disputation should be arranged for the purpose of defeating the teachers of the new doctrines. The diet made all plans for the debate at Baden in the Aargau, and for three weeks Eck, John Faber, and the Alsatian Thomas Murner, a Humanist of renown, battled with Œcolampadius and others. Zürich forbade Zwingli to attend the debate for fear of his life.

The spectacle of a successful reformation in Zürich exerted much influence upon other cantons, especially Berne which occupied an important position in western Switzerland. It was a large canton, an outpost of those in which German was spoken. Lutherans had been active for some time in the town of Berne, and Berthold Haller eagerly propagated Zwinglian ideas among a public inclined to be critical of current practices in religious life. Nevertheless, aristocratic townsmen would fain have expelled these heretics, but the great council on October 23, 1523, refused to accede to their requests. Thus reforming ideas were allowed to undermine the old faith. From Berne agitation for reform soon began to permeate the French cantons to the west, as will be shown later. The orthodox cantons realized its important strategic position and sought to keep it faithful to the old doctrines, their delegations to Berne (1526) insisting that no religious changes should be tolerated and receiving promise that their wishes would be respected. They even went so far as to threaten to foment revolution among the discontented elements of the canton. But this was more than a proud commune could tolerate, and the authorities arranged for a public disputation in the vernacular, which was held in January, 1528, and lasted about three weeks. The reformed theologians were present in force: Butzer, Capito, and Œcolampadius accompanied Zwingli. So powerful was Zwingli's preaching that the clergy attached to the great church of St. Vincent, who were for the most part Dominicans, agreed to receive the reformed tenets. The clergy of the canton followed suit. Only in the uplands to the south, the Oberland, was there much opposition. A decree went forth on February 7, 1528, which ordered reformation everywhere in the typical Zwinglian manner.

By the opening of 1529 Zwinglian ideas had made noteworthy strides in Switzerland. Basel, Biel, St. Gall, Glarus, Appenzell, Mühlhausen, the Grisons, and Berne had definitely cast their lot with that of Zürich. Other communities such as Solothurn were overrun by propaganda in behalf of the new ideas. The five cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne, remained faithful to Catholicism, as did Fribourg. The confederation was thus neatly divided into two factions. The situation was dangerous for at this moment Emperor Charles was defeating Francis of France and the pope who had joined him in the League of Cognac (1526). Charles now seemed about ready to settle the religious disputes which rent Germany, and he might aid the Catholic cantons against those that adhered to Zwinglian teaching. This was particularly likely, since he was eager to resume old Hapsburg rights in Switzerland.

The tension was aggravated by Zwingli's policy in southern Germany. His doctrines had been accepted in Ulm, Strassburg, Augsburg, Lindau, Memmingen, Frankfort, Constance, and many smaller places, especially in the duchy of Württemberg. Leagues were formed for protection. Zürich allied with Constance in 1527 and St. Gall joined them in 1528, to be followed in 1529 by Biel, Basel, and Mühlhausen. All this show of energy seemed dangerous in the eyes of Catholics, and the five Catholic cantons, supported by Fribourg and the Valais, approached Ferdinand of Austria for support in April, 1529. They formed an alliance with him and the duke of Savoy, and the cantons of Zürich, Berne, St. Gall, and Mühlhausen organized a counter league. Meanwhile relations between Zürich and the Catholic cantons became strained over the question of jurisdiction in certain lands adjacent to the canton. Zürich possessed all sovereign rights in them save that of justice in life and limb which belonged to the cantons collectively. Naturally Zürich supported the movement for reform in these lands, and this proved a fertile source of friction. War broke out over the burning of Kaiser by the canton of Schwyz. Kaiser was a preacher of Zwinglian doctrine, and the authorities had caught him while he was busy in one of the territories ruled by Zürich and the cantons collectively. The Catholic cantons might at any moment receive help from Ferdinand, and it was therefore better to strike at once while he was busy struggling with the Turks who were making ready to advance on Vienna. In June, 1529, the Zwinglian cantons completely surprised the Catholics at Kappel, a small village on the confines of Zug. They were forced to accept the Peace of Kappel, in which Zürich dictated that in territories ruled by Zürich and the cantons collectively the inhabitants should be free to choose the faith they wished. She even insisted on complete freedom of religion in the five cantons, which were also to abandon their

alliance with Ferdinand, pay the costs of the war, and indemnify the family of Kaiser.

Soon the Peace of Cambrai (August 5, 1529) was signed between Charles and Francis, and the pope and the emperor were in accord. The final decree of the second Diet of Speier, which had met in February, was a severe thrust against the Lutheran princes. To oppose the emperor in his designs against the Protestants a close union between Lutherans and Zwinglians was desirable. Landgrave Philip of Hesse was especially active in promoting it, for he possessed greater political vision than any of the other Lutheran princes, and he especially feared a renaissance of Hapsburg power which might jeopardize his own hopes. Since 1527 he had sheltered the fugitive Duke Ulrich of Württemberg through whom he was led to accept some Zwinglian views.

Luther was bitter toward Zwingli. He could not well be otherwise, for the two men were cast in totally different molds, and Zwinglianism was markedly at variance with Lutheranism. The greatest point of difference was that of the Eucharist, Luther insisting on the real presence and Zwingli denying it. Eck and others had done their utmost to emphasize the differences between them. Thus the movement of reform was hopelessly rent asunder. Undismayed, Landgrave Philip determined to seek an understanding, and he invited the theologians of both camps to meet at Marburg on the Lahn to discuss their differences. The colloquy was held in his castle in October. Luther at once attacked the main problem. Writing on the table before him the words "This is My body" in Latin, he insisted that the word *is* meant *is* and not *represents*. In vain did Zwingli argue that where Christ referred to Himself as a vine or a door He was to be taken figuratively because it seemed impossible to interpret such expressions literally. After much discussion, in which Zwingli and his supporters were forced to yield nearly everything, the fifteen *Marburg Articles* were drawn up (October, 1529). But no harmony could be reached about the Eucharist. Luther tersely stated the entire problem when at the close of the Marburg Colloquy he rejected Zwingli's proposal of brotherhood with the words, "Your spirit is different from ours."

The implacable demands of dogma thus made a political settlement impossible just when union among all Protestants was so highly necessary. The Diet of Augsburg met in June, 1530, but its action was hostile to Lutherans. Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau refused to accept the *Augsburg Confession* because of the tenth article which treated of the Eucharist. Instead they presented the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* which emphasized the central doctrines of Zwingli. The rupture between the two groups was definitive.

Relations between the Catholic cantons and the adherents of Zwingli became more acute during 1531, the former again approaching King Ferdinand. Conflict appeared imminent and Zürich at once placed an embargo upon foodstuffs going to the five cantons. This precipitated hostile measures and the cantons sent a force against Zürich. The burgomaster and councils of Zürich hurriedly sent forth a body of troops accompanied by Zwingli as chaplain, but the soldiers of her allies could not come up in time to help in the battle which ensued on October 11 at Kappel. Zwingli was slain and with him a large number of Zürich's best sons. Another defeat was inflicted upon Zürich, Basel, and Schaffhausen (October 24), and a second Peace of Kappel was effected on November 16. The same spirit which had made Swiss political institutions so virile and lasting breathed through its clauses. Each canton was to be free to settle its own faith without external interference, and all alliances with foreign powers were declared null and void. The death of Zwingli closed the first chapter of the Reformation in German Switzerland; the next began with the arrival of Guillaume Farel and John Calvin in the French cantons.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE ANABAPTIST REVOLT

Thine holy city they destroyed,
Thine altar overthrew they,
Thy servants have they put to death,
Where they could apprehend them.
Of us alone, thy little flock,
But few are still remaining.
Throughout the land, in shameful flight,
Disgraced, they have expelled us.
Scattered are we like flocks of sheep
Without a shepherd near us;
Abandoned stand our home and hearth
And like the owl or birds of night
Seek shelter we in caverns.
In clefts, on crags, in rocky wilds
We make our home—still they pursue;
Like birds or fowl we're hunted.
—SCHIEMER'S *Martyr's Hymn.*

THE term Anabaptism as used in this book applies to the religious movement which began in Switzerland under the leadership of Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz and continued in a great variety of manifestations until the advent of Menno Simons (1496-1561). After Menno's death Anabaptists became known as Mennonites.

Origins of religious movements are often difficult to trace, and this is especially true of the Anabaptists. One must consider first of all the basic religious experience which gave rise to this group. Next should be studied the peculiar social, economic, and political conditions out of which it rose. But at the outset one is confronted with questions which have engaged the attention of many scholars, and most of which cannot be solved because documents are lacking. It has been argued that Anabaptists trace their origin back to the Taborites of Bohemia, the Waldensians, and other heretical sects who continued to live unnoticed in sullen insubordination to the traditional church. While direct connection with these mediæval sectaries cannot be proved for the great stream of Anabaptism, yet it is most likely true that such dormant heretical groups often joined

the Anabaptists. More and more it is recognized, however, that the movement really began with the doctrines advanced by Manz and Grebel and their supporters in Zürich against the teachings of Zwingli.

Another difficulty which confronts the student of Anabaptist history is the peculiar diversity of the movement. Lutheranism and Zwinglianism owe their being largely to the activities of two remarkable personalities, the biographical element in each group providing a central thread which makes it possible to trace its progress with comparative ease. But it is vastly different with Anabaptism. In Switzerland many leaders besides Grebel and Manz revolted against Zwingli and spread their doctrines throughout the cantons. In Germany Hübmaier, Denck, Schwenckfeld, and Hoffmann, to mention only a few, were responsible for the propagation of new ideas. In Moravia and Austria Hut, Wiedemann, Huter, and a few others exerted much influence, and in the Low Countries there was a large number of active agents. Indeed, Anabaptism spread over all lands in which German influence was powerful, and even into England, Italy, France, Sweden, and Denmark. This geographical diversity alone renders it impossible to trace its history in simple outlines.

Doctrinal differences were so numerous that it sometimes is difficult to decide whether a group may be correctly classed with Anabaptists. From the beginning Swiss Anabaptists taught that union of church and state was unchristian. They held that the church was a company of the regenerate, and that the sign of such regeneration was to be found in the rite of baptism. Because baptism followed conversion and was a sign of it, they held that infant baptism at the hands of Catholic priests and Lutheran and Zwinglian ministers was not valid. Their opponents therefore called them Anabaptists (rebaptizers). They also rejected the idea that the state possessed the right to control people in their faith, to inflict punishment in life and limb because of their religious beliefs. They were opposed to all violence, and held that military service was wicked and that payment of taxes to the state which engaged in war was sinful. Often they refused to recognize the state in any way, community of goods being advocated by some groups. Their extreme Biblical literalism prompted many to put forth strange doctrines. Some taught that the millennium was imminent; others held that it should be ushered in by the use of the sword. Besides these, there were some who seem to have descended spiritually from the mystics of the Middle Ages. Some believed in visions, direct revelations of the truth, or special illumination from God which would interpret for them the letter of Scripture. Most of them lived simple lives without the

least ostentation, trying to apply the precepts of Christ to every act of life.

In considering the causes of this movement, the student would do well to bear in mind the peculiar complexity of society at the close of the Middle Ages. At the base of the social pyramid were the peasants living in various degrees of freedom, and above them were the townsmen who also were divided into several groups. In the larger towns there was a proletariat which worked for wages when business was favorable. In all towns there were apprentices, journeymen, and masters. The journeymen often found it difficult to make a living, whereas the masters were usually economically secure and socially rather well satisfied. Besides these classes there was to be found in the larger towns a wealthy patriciate which formed a capitalist class. The petty nobility in the country lived in straitened circumstances, but the greater nobles often were princes and were well enough content with their position. Salaried governmental officials in the many states ordinarily had little ground for complaint.

Nor should difficulties of social and economic life be passed over lightly. Life among the poorer peasants was extremely hard. Hunger, cold, scanty clothing, grinding toil, and malnutrition were the frequent lot of this illiterate class. The proletariat in the towns fared little better, for often it was impossible to find any work. Their lot was one of unremitting toil during long hours of the day. Famine and pest were especially terrifying to them. These classes found it difficult to rise in the economic scale, and they possessed no economic security, a fact which often made for social instability. Under such conditions peasantry and townsmen could readily enough understand one another. Dislocation of trade often spelled catastrophe for them. The shifting of trade routes after the voyage of Vasco da Gama wrought much harm to the economic prosperity of the German townsmen because the profitable trade in oriental articles of luxury no longer passed northward from Venice through the German towns. Furthermore, increase in the material standard of living which was so striking a fact in the life of that day and which was due to the increased use of articles of luxury among the nobility and the influx of precious metal from America, weighed heavily upon the lower classes.

Having set forth these general conditions of society, we give the following causes and circumstances of the Anabaptist movement:

1. The lower classes in town and country were sorely tried by the great economic and social changes to which they were subjected.

2. These simple folk who could scarcely read or write were apt to listen to religious propaganda or criticism of the traditional church,

and consequently religious radicalism often flourished among people of this class.

3. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone as taught in Scripture, as well as Zwingli's teaching, both of which appealed to secular authority to maintain them, disappointed many a man. The Anabaptists expected immediate and striking social and religious results from the teachings of these leaders.

4. Luther's appeal to Scripture was accepted by Anabaptists. They usually held that the Bible should be the sole guide in human relations, going so far as to reject all existing religious teachings and practices which they thought were contrary to it. A simple and literal Biblical religion often became characteristic of these people.

5. Many of their earlier leaders were men of learning and refinement. Manz and Grebel were Humanists, and their adherents were in large part drawn from the better classes of Zürich, and Hübmaier was an educated man of ability. Therefore one should be careful to avoid the idea that Anabaptism was a movement limited to the proletariat.

6. As fagot and sword removed many of their leaders, the groups fell more and more under the spell of men of little knowledge, and extreme and even fanatical doctrines and practices became common.

7. It is true that Anabaptists rarely if ever spoke of economic troubles, yet it would be erroneous to assume that material circumstances did not influence them. It must be remembered that all serious thinking was done in the theological language of the time.

Even while Luther was hiding in the Wartburg, the new freedom in religion produced some interesting results in Wittenberg. Karlstadt was especially zealous in carrying out in detail what was implied in the principle of justification by faith. He celebrated the Lord's Supper by giving both elements to the people. He opposed the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass; removed altars, pictures, and images; thought that vows of celibacy whether by priests, monks, or nuns were invalid; and taught that all things should be tested by Scripture. At this moment three prophets from Saxon Zwickau came to Wittenberg—Nicholas Storch and an unnamed friend, weavers, and a former student of Melanchthon named Stübner. It is possible that Taborite conceptions influenced them. Storch prophesied God's speedy judgment upon the world—the end would come in five or seven years; all the unrighteous would be slain, and only those professing the true faith and who had been rebaptized would be left. Stübner argued against the baptism of infants.

Münzer was to exert much influence. He admired Storch whom he thought inspired by the Holy Spirit, wherefore he knew more about things divine than any priest; for Münzer believed that a

special inner voice taught man how to interpret the Bible and that whatever was so taught had binding value over every dictum of the church and her theologians. He held that this inner voice subjected the body in such manner that it would faithfully proclaim its message. Man must look for signs sent by God to test his faith. Münzer thought that visions and dreams were important, but he inveighed against priests, altars, pictures, images, and the use of Latin in the service, German being used in his services. He claimed to hold special commission from God to found a new kingdom in which, following the example of apostolic days, equality of social status and community of goods were to be established. If this new realm could not be instituted peacefully, it was to be done by force—one of the elect guided by God could strangle a thousand enemies, two could slay ten thousand! Münzer's teaching became popular. He settled as a pastor in Alstedt in Thuringia and married a fugitive nun. He was killed at Frankenhausen on May 15, 1525, during the Peasants' War, when trying to command his disorderly followers.

For a while Zwingli's teaching in Zürich was acceptable to all people, his appeal to the Bible as sole standard of faith and religious practice being readily received. Soon, however, there was difficulty, for some wanted a complete application of Biblical teaching and Zwingli was loath to go to such extremes. The zealots held conventicles which for a time the reformer attended. In 1522 a number of enthusiasts from Basel joined them, as did Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. This gave the dissenters great strength because these men were well educated according to the Humanist conceptions of the day, Manz being a splendid scholar in Hebrew literature. They held that church and state should be completely separated. The church was to be spotless as it had been in apostolic days, and people of dubious religious life should be excluded. Zwingli, a man of practical political insight, felt that such an organization was impractical and rejected their plea.

A disputation was held in October, 1523. To their argument that conditions obtaining in apostolic days should be revived, Zwingli sought to make crushing rebuttal by showing that the clothes of those times and the practice of washing feet had nothing to do with religion. But Manz and Grebel offered bitter opposition. They continued their meetings at which they expounded the Bible, and they went so far as to sunder themselves entirely from Zwingli and his supporters in all social matters. Other sympathizers came to Zürich at this time, among whom were Louis Hetzer who knew Hebrew and the classics, and George Blaurock, a runaway Premonstratensian monk. The latter was held to be possessed of the Holy Spirit and to be a second Paul.

The group appears to have grown rapidly. In 1524 its leaders began to discuss the validity of pictures, images, and the mass. They questioned the lawfulness of paying tenths to the established church, and the practice of infant baptism. It appears that Münzer's influence brought about this latter agitation, although Karlstadt's writings about the rite also became known at this time. The group now came to believe that baptism was a sign of regeneration and that infant baptism was a device of the devil. A disputation was held in January, 1525, and a decree followed, ordering that all unbaptized children should forthwith be baptized under pain of banishment of the parents. Conventicles were now also forbidden and a number of zealots were ordered out of the jurisdiction of Zürich.

These steps to repress the movement only provoked greater resistance, which was led by Grebel. At Zollikon on Lake Zürich a meeting was held at which Grebel baptized Blaurock, a man who was to display a zeal characteristic of neophytes. He at once administered the rite to fifteen more. Baptism of those old enough to understand the step which they were taking and a simple table of the Lord as a memorial of Christ's sacrifice were adopted as the chief tenets. Soon they also rejected predestination, adopted the doctrine of free will, and insisted on moral character and practical Christian conduct. Thus they were opposed to the idea of total human depravity. Their denial of any connection between church and state seemed like treason to Zwingli, and he wrote such tracts on baptism as *Refutation of the Tricks of the Baptists*, and *Concerning Baptism, Rebaptism, and the Baptism of Children*. The officials of Zürich were alarmed. In March, 1526, drowning was made the penalty for holding Anabaptist ideas, and in January, 1527, Manz was drowned in the Limmat, the river on which Zürich is situated. The Anabaptists dispersed. Now began their long and painful martyrdom, one of the saddest on the page of history.

Balthasar Hübmaier came forward at this time as chief leader of these persecuted folk. He was of bourgeois parentage, born about 1481 in Augsburg, and educated at the University of Ingolstadt under John Eck. He was a Humanist, and was acquainted with the great scholars of the day. He became pastor at Waldshut just over the Rhine in Germany, where he soon abandoned the old faith and accepted Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines. He left for Schaffhausen because of the design of the Austrian government to seize him. In 1524 he wrote a tract, *Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them*, which was a noble plea against the execution of people for their faith. He was much interested in the progress of the Reformation in Zürich and, after his return to Waldshut, became convinced that baptism of children was contrary to Scripture. Swiss Anabap-

tists visited him in 1525 and one named Roubli baptized him. On Easter Day Hübmaier baptized more than three hundred persons. Water for this purpose was conveyed in a plain pail, the font, so long used in baptizing the children of Waldshut, being unceremoniously cast into the Rhine. He also inaugurated the simple rite of the Lord's Supper and, in literal application of Scripture, instituted the washing of feet. Hübmaier now became one of the more important Anabaptist leaders. But the Catholics of Waldshut were opposed to him and the Austrian government was unceasing in its hostility. He and his wife fled to Zürich; he was seized, subjected to torture, found guilty, and banished from the town.

Quite different in many ways was Hans Denck (d. 1527). He was educated as a Humanist and was acquainted with many famous men of learning. He was appointed rector of St. Sebald's school in Nuremberg. Soon he abandoned his Lutheranism and began to accept the teachings of Münzer but not his radical revolutionary doctrines. He was also influenced by Karlstadt, and owed much to the German mystics of the Middle Ages such as Tauler, Eckhart, and the author of the *Theologia Germanica*. In 1525 he began to teach about the inner voice which he claimed came from God. He held that all external rules, rites, and practices were of no value. God's love was universal, His voice spoke to the soul, and there was no total depravity. Men might not resist violence. Salvation came only by participating in God's love, as did Jesus. Denck was expelled from the town by its Lutheran officials, wandered from place to place, and finally died of the pest in Basel.

Nicolsberg in Moravia became a haven of refuge for Anabaptists. The seigniors of Liechtenstein tolerated them and even accepted their doctrines. Hübmaier was the first of the persuasion to settle in this community, which became famous far and wide. Thither trekked many of the persecuted brethren and a vigorous propaganda went forth from it. Sectarian factions arose. Hans Hut, a follower of Münzer, had been captured in the fight at Frankenhausen, but he escaped execution and continued expounding his master's ideas. He taught that the righteous should use the sword to exterminate the wicked and should set up God's kingdom with ruthless might. He knew little of the Bible, but had conned well the texts which he believed supported his notions. He preached that the day of the wicked was nearly over; he himself had been sent by God to announce their speedy overthrow. Indeed, it was to happen on May 15, 1527. Then would God's seed rise and like the Israelites of old smite their enemies. He became, until his death at the close of 1527, a leader of the extreme left wing of the Anabaptists.

Jacob Wiedemann taught community of goods which he held to

be a prime doctrine in Scripture and the rule of apostolic society. No Christian might use force or violence under any circumstance. Taxes were sinful because the state used the money thus gotten for war. Finally some of Wiedemann's followers united with those of Hut. Hübmaier was a practical man and disapproved of these extreme views. He liked none of their chief tenets, especially their prophetic visions which foretold the advent of Christ's kingdom on earth. The seigniors of Liechtenstein also opposed this radicalism. Hübmaier now defended the institution of the state in his tract, *On the Sword,* in which he argued that rulers might use compulsion in all matters hostile to the established order. Meantime, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), Ferdinand of Austria became margrave of Moravia. His orthodox conscience and his conception of government prevented toleration, and on August 28, 1527, he ordered that the Edict of Worms be enforced in Moravia without delay.

Officials soon began to ferret out people who denied the real presence. Hübmaier and his wife were brought to Vienna, and Hübmaier was tortured, tried, and finally burned on March 10, 1528. Three days later his wife was thrown into the Danube with a large stone tied to her neck. The Anabaptists fled, Wiedemann settling at Austerlitz where his followers practiced community of goods. An even stricter faction separated from them under the leadership of Jacob Huter. Ferdinand insisted on their expulsion when an Anabaptist kingdom was set up in Münster, and persecution began in 1535. These poor people, simple, ignorant, morally austere and upright, who only sought to live according to the precepts of Scripture as they understood them, were hunted down like savage beasts, and dragged forth from their hiding places in forests and mountains. Huter was burned at the stake in Innsbruck in 1536.

Of the numerous itinerant Anabaptist preachers and teachers, only few can be mentioned here. Melchior Hoffmann, a furrier's apprentice born in Swabia, never received a formal education. He fabricated his own system of theology. At first he was a Lutheran, but soon fell under Anabaptist influence. He pondered long and earnestly over the advent of Christ and the last judgment, prayerfully studying the Bible for answer to all his questions about these themes. Soon he believed that he was a prophet of God, a tool in His hands. He led a wandering life, preaching in Livonia, Sweden, northern Germany, and Holstein. He clashed with Karlstadt, fled to East Friesland, and finally arrived in Strassburg. The Zwinglians in that center refused to accept him, and he went over to the Anabaptists. He taught that the advent of Christ was imminent, foretold it in the most fantastic manner, completely rejected all violence, and denounced baptism of infants. Later he preached that Strassburg would become the center

of God's new kingdom in 1533. He returned to East Friesland and at Embden formed a large group of Anabaptists. Expelled from the country, he went to Holland, but soon returned to Strassburg. He was cast into prison, terribly abused and tortured, and finally died in 1543.

By 1530 Anabaptism had become common in many parts of Germany. This was a period of grave religious unrest. Luther and Zwingli were the first to break with Catholicism, but when they drew back from their own demand that religious practices must be justified by Scripture, the common man often insisted on continuing to the logical end. Like Zwingli, Luther also was opposed to Anabaptists, but at first he preferred to have them banished rather than executed since he believed that the simple itinerant preachers were emissaries of the devil. Soon he was alarmed and began to urge summary methods (1531). Even the more gentle Melanchthon thought that the death penalty was justifiable. Butzer, the theologian of Strassburg, likewise opposed Anabaptist teaching and urged the government to proceed against the sectaries with force. A decree was issued against them by the officials of Strassburg in July, 1527. Butzer believed also that the authorities should punish Anabaptists in life and limb. Indeed, the reformers generally looked to the state to establish the reformed cult. The church in effect became a branch of the state; heresy was to be repressed by secular law, and Anabaptists, because of their refusal to have anything to do with the state, were treated as rebels as well as heretics. Catholic princes showed even less leniency. In short, princes and reformers generally believed in repression. Persecution by sword, fagot, drowning, mutilation, and burial alive was the order of the day.

All things conspired to force a fanatical outburst. The fires of persecution burned brightly. The more moderate of the Anabaptists soon perished, the doctrine of non-resistance gaining them no mercy. Extremists became more prominent and assumed leadership. After the Peasants' War ended in defeat, disappointed folk fondly dreamed of Christ's coming and the dawn of His kingdom in which only righteousness would reign. Economic difficulties, social dislocation, and hard times also contributed their share. These conditions make it possible to understand the motives which led to the founding of an Anabaptist kingdom in Münster, an episode which has attracted undue attention simply because of its extraordinary character. It is an error to assume that all or even most Anabaptists were revolutionaries.

Anabaptism in the Low Countries centered around Amsterdam where John Trypmaker, a pupil of Melchior Hoffmann, carried on active propaganda. The more moderate and really typical Anabaptist

teaching of the Swiss Brethren occurred in Cleves, Juliers, and Berg where Henry Roll introduced it from southern Germany. But the more radical Melchiorite propaganda was to have great success in the county of Holland. Times were hard in that land after 1525. Trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic area was nearly at a standstill because of the struggle over the Danish succession. Christian II of Denmark was a brother-in-law of Emperor Charles and sought to use the Low Countries as a base of operations. Poverty and hunger stalked the land, and the authorities feared violence. Anabaptism appeared in Rotterdam, and David Joris (George) of Bruges began to teach his doctrine in Delft. Its adherents were also plentiful in Friesland and Groningen.

Melchior Hoffmann appeared in Amsterdam in 1531 with many of his followers who had come with him from Embden. Secret meetings were held, and the propaganda spread rapidly among people of low degree in town and country. In a state of religious ecstasy, these simple people hoped for a new order which would correct all the ills under which they lived, if not in this world at least in the next. Hoffmann wished no violence, but he could not restrain his more ardent followers, especially after he returned to Strassburg in 1533. John Matthyszoon, a baker from Haarlem and a fanatic without conscience, now assumed leadership. He had given the officials of Haarlem some trouble because of the laxity of his private morals. This apostle of wrath asserted that he had received a revelation from God in which he was commissioned to use the sword. The Anabaptists were no longer to be led to the shambles like sheep! Christ was surely coming, and His servants should prepare the way for Him; Münster in Westphalia was the place.

Towns and cities in northern Germany had in recent years witnessed great religious changes, often accompanied by social disturbances. Catholicism was displaced by Lutheranism, but in most cases Anabaptism exerted some influence. Münster was the seat of a bishopric. Since 1529 Bernhard Rothmann, a canon, had been preaching in an Erasmian vein, criticizing abuses in the church and emphasizing the futility of such formal practices as pilgrimages, indulgences, and veneration of saints. In 1531 he returned from a visit to Wittenberg determined to effect a Lutheran revolution. The council refused to entertain any such move, but the common folk, led by Rothmann and Bernhard Knipperdollinck, persisted. Knipperdollinck was a member of the upper classes who a few years before had consorted with Anabaptists. Thus the aristocratic element was opposed to a change while the handicraftsmen insisted upon a thorough reformation. The council could not expel Rothmann for fear of violence. On June 1, 1532, a new bishop was named—Franz von Waldeck, a

man who boasted connections among the Westphalian nobility. Finally in the face of growing agitation the council yielded to the Lutheran preachers who on August 10 occupied a number of pulpits.

Emperor Charles ordered the bishop in July, 1532, to drive out Rothmann and uproot the heretical nest, but this only resulted in more determined opposition, whereupon the bishop began to collect troops. Finally, at the intervention of Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the town was permitted to adopt the new faith and to enter the Schmalkald League (February, 1533). The better class of townsmen remained true to Lutheranism whereas Anabaptist propaganda won adherents among the lower groups. Meanwhile Rothmann progressed in his beliefs and became a radical Zwinglian. In 1532 he fell under the influence of Henry Roll of Juliers and embraced Anabaptist doctrines. By the end of 1533 Rothmann and other clergymen refused to baptize infants. They began to talk about the necessity of obeying God rather than man and sought to put into practice such Anabaptist ideas as to sell all and give to the poor. The authority of the town council waned visibly.

At this juncture arrived emissaries of John Matthyszoon, among them his agent John Beukelszoon of Leiden, a tailor twenty-five years of age whom he had baptized the previous year. John of Leiden had a wife in Leiden who managed a hostel of shady repute, and he himself was polygamous before he entered upon his strange career in Münster. He was courageous, eloquent, and handsome, and he easily won the confidence of people, especially women. He was received into Knipperdollinck's house and married his daughter Clara. He and his host became the center of vigorous propaganda. There was a demonstration on January 28, 1534, but it was put down with little trouble. Some townsmen thereupon attacked a convent of nuns and the inmates renounced their vows. One day John and Knipperdollinck rushed out of the house into the streets, their eyes fixed heavenward as if they were mad. They cried, "Penance, penance, woe, woe, woe, do penance, and convert yourselves that you may not draw upon you the wrath of your heavenly Father!" Some people had visions—one man, a simple tailor, saw God in His glory in the skies with Christ beside Him bearing a banner in His right hand. Knipperdollinck's daughter began to prophesy and preach to excited crowds. Many fled the town, convinced that it was dangerous to remain. A climax was reached on February 25, when the Anabaptists secured control of the council and the reign of saints began.

Just before the council fell, Matthyszoon arrived in Münster, bringing with him the rare and radiant beauty, Divara, a fugitive nun from one of the convents of Haarlem. He at once acquired much influence and his fanaticism led to violence. On February 27 the

godless who refused rebaptism, whether men, women, or children, were ejected from the town. Around the walls were gathered the troops of the bishop and his allies. But it was necessary to increase the number of able-bodied men to help defend the new Zion, and Matthyszoon issued an appeal to all coreligionists in Cleves, Holland, and elsewhere to come to the defense. They were to meet in Guelders near the town of Hasselt on March 24, whence they were to proceed up the Yssel valley toward Münster. Boats loaded with men, women, and children came from Zeeland, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and many other places. About three thousand deluded folk, for the most part unarmed, carrying with them some scanty possessions and money received from the sale of their property, were seized by agents of the government. There is some comfort in the fact that only their leaders were put to death.

Matthyszoon's career came to an end on April 5, 1534. He announced that God had chosen him as his prophet, to be another Gideon, and with twenty men he would drive off the besieging troops. As he and his band sallied forth on Easter Day, they were set upon and hacked to pieces. John of Leiden now assumed leadership. This man was without doubt a great religious quack, ignorant, able, without conscience, and violent. It is not certain whether he really believed in his divine mission. He now married his friend's widow Divara. What followed is a most amazing chapter in the history of the Reformation. The organization of the town was remodeled to make it conform somewhat to Old Testament ideas, and twelve elders were appointed. All marriages hitherto contracted were dissolved. Polygamy was introduced after the example of the patriarchs, the leaders taking several new wives each. John eventually permitted himself the luxury of as many as sixteen wives besides Divara.

For the moment the cause of the saints flourished. Internal opposition was extinguished in blood, and an assault by the besiegers in May was repulsed, victories which still further stirred the ecstasy of the populace. Another reorganization of government took place, John becoming king in the New Jerusalem and imitating the regalia of the kings of the Holy Roman Empire. Aldegrever has left a splendid engraving of the man decked with the imperial insignia, wielding a scepter of gold studded with costly stones and bearing a ball emblematic of the world with two swords crossed through it to indicate his high jurisdiction. A royal and an imperial crown were made, each set with jewels. Divara was named queen, his other wives becoming her handmaidens. There was much pomp and ceremony—all for the exaltation of God of whom John claimed to be but an unworthy agent.

Similar strange manifestations took place in other towns. When

men and women began to set out for Münster in March, 1534, there was much excitement in Amsterdam, and on March 23 five Anabaptists rushed through the streets, brandishing swords and shouting something about God's blessing and curse upon the people. Chiliastic propaganda grew apace because the rule of the saints in Münster seemed successful. The government of the county of Holland was uneasy—it was a dangerous sign that many officials were loath to proceed against the poor fanatics. In October King John of Münster sent out twenty-seven apostles to carry his message to the world. They left their hundred and twenty-four wives at home in Münster. Four of the prophets appeared in Amsterdam carrying handbills exhorting the faithful to unsheath the sword against the ungodly. God, they stated, would surely come, but not until the wicked had been exterminated. These emissaries were to plant a banner in each of four places—Juliers, Limburg, Amsterdam, and Groningen.

Fortunately many Anabaptists refused to listen to this counsel and thus wholesale risings were prevented, but nevertheless there was much agitation. On February 11, 1535, four men and seven women rushed naked through the streets of Amsterdam crying, "Woe, woe is come over the world and over the godless." They were executed soon after capture. In another town a man ran through the streets shouting in prophetic strains, "Strike dead, strike dead all monks and priests, destroy all government of the world, especially ours!" On May 10 a group of excited men seized the open space before the town hall of Amsterdam but were put down on the following day.

Meanwhile, hunger and famine stalked in the streets of Münster. Treachery delivered the city into the hands of the bishop and his allies on June 25, 1535, Rothmann falling in the fighting which followed. After four days of frightful carnage and plunder, a judicial court was set up. Divara refused to recant and was beheaded, and all men who had played a conspicuous rôle were treated in like fashion. On January 22, 1536, King John, Knipperdollinck, and their partner Krechting were done to death in the most cruel manner of that cruel age. Afterwards their bodies were placed in an iron cage and hoisted high up to the tower of St. Lambert's church. Their remains were not removed until 1881.

The saints of Münster have always been condemned by Anabaptists for their violence and are not to be regarded as typical of the group. Even when the wildest ecstasy and chiliastic prophesying swept many off their feet, many more adhered faithfully to the saner view that violence was wrong. The failure in Münster discredited forever the extremist faction. John van Batenburg sought to restore King John's fallen realm. He also advocated polygamy and claimed to be the prophet Elias. But his propaganda found little

acceptance in Holland, and he was executed in 1538. Another fanatic, David Joris, had dreams and visions, claimed to be a Messiah, and exerted much influence upon the people. He favored polygamy, marriage according to him being an outworn institution which should not bind the regenerate. Fleeing prosecution, he finally settled in Basel where he lived until 1556 on the money he had collected from his followers. Henry Nicholas taught doctrines much like those of David Joris. Love, according to him, drew the faithful close to God, and they were to retire from the world as much as possible. His organization, Family of Love, became a famous institution.

Soon after the tragedy of Münster, Menno Simons (1496-1561) began to preach among the scattered and persecuted brethren. Born at Witmarsum in Friesland, he became a priest but abandoned the traditional faith in 1536. Soon after he fled to East Friesland and began the career of an active itinerant preacher. Opposed to the doctrines of the brethren of Münster, he published important pamphlets and treatises, engaged in many disputations, and was eminently pious and devoted to the ministry. He was in part responsible for the institution peculiar among his followers, known as the ban. It was liberally employed even to separate husband and wife or parents and children, and to prevent marriage between parties who would not submit to discipline. His great service lay in quieting the excited brethren. His missionary activity was spent in the Low Countries and adjacent lands.

A mystical tendency among some of the Anabaptists remains to be noted. Sebastian Franck (1499-1543) of Donauworth opposed formalism in religion and worship of the letter of the text of Scripture, perferring instead a church composed of folk ruled directly by the spirit of God. Since the Bible was to be understood only in a spiritual manner, Franck opposed all groups, even many Anabaptists to whom he showed kinship. Casper Schwenkfeld (1489-1561) advocated an inner and spiritual divine voice which should lead men to God. He denied Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Catholic conceptions of the Lord's Supper, teaching that the bread and wine were simply spiritual food and drink.

It would be hard to find in all history a story sadder than that of the Anabaptists. Because they denied the teachings of Luther and Zwingli as well as of Catholicism they invited persecution. But their denial of any connection between church and state, and their refusal to have anything to do with the state led secular authorities to view them as insurrectionists. As the world of that day was constituted, separation of church and state was unthinkable, and in affirming this doctrine they deliberately chose the bloody path of martyrs, their martyrology thus being a most impressive monument of the Refor-

mation. They sacrificed themselves for a principle which could not be accepted. Not until later in the century—in the United Netherlands under William of Orange—did they win for the first time any legal rights in any land.

Anabaptist hymns are worthy of study. Written in the vernacular, composed often in halting meter, they nevertheless possess the spirit of hymnology. They usually deal with martyrdom, and in reading them one often gets glimpses of the dreadful ordeals through which these people were forced to pass. Anabaptism was a crime for which outraged majesty demanded the extreme penalty. Burning, beheading, drowning in sacks, burial alive, mutilation, and branding were common, Protestant princes often being as savage as the Catholic. Many of these stirring martyrdoms are preserved in the great martyrologies.

Anabaptists were usually workmen possessing little learning. They studied the Bible long and earnestly, and as a rule their leaders knew but this one book. Their aversion to secular learning, government, and industry made it impossible for them to become anything but farmers, a mode of life which enabled them to form a society composed of men and women who cherished these simple world-denying ideas. In this capacity they were very successful wherever they settled. Their influence can be traced in many subsequent religious movements whose adherents sought asylum in distant places in Russia and along the American frontier.

CHAPTER XL

THE ANGLICAN REVOLT

Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia. . . . —The Act of Supremacy (1534).[1]

THE Reformation in England was determined mainly by the interests of the crown. The English king willed the separation from Rome, whereas in Germany the revolt against the papacy arose among the people and was encouraged by Humanists, and in Switzerland popular agitation was aroused until the governments of the cantons were forced to take action. The absence of a strong central government in both countries made possible radical Anabaptism among the poorer classes in town and open country. But in England it was otherwise; there the entire land was progressively led by the royal power away from the faith of its fathers, and the Anglican church, differing in many respects from the Lutheran, Zwinglian, or Anabaptist communions, was established.

It is important to grasp the basic economic and social forces from which the masterful English crown drew its power. The days had passed when England was a land of peasants and graziers. Towns were expanding rapidly and manufactures were flourishing. The townsmen were becoming the most powerful class in the realm. They, and not the nobility alone, determined the public policy of the country.

By the side of the townsmen now appeared the owners of sheep ranges who soon found that it paid to put an end to the ancient method of dividing land into strips held by tenants who lived in villages and tilled their holdings by an equally antiquated method of agriculture. They inclosed these open strips, thus making great fields in which to pasture their flocks. They also put an end to the custom of allowing villagers to pasture their pigs and other animals on the

[1] H. Gee and W. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1914), pp. 243-244.

waste land of the village and to collect firewood from the common forest. These two classes, landowners and townsmen, were closely related: the one produced the wool from which the other made cloth, and both waxed wealthy. Thus a group of *nouveaux riches* came into existence who transformed the social aspect of the country. The old nobility with its purely manorial economy receded into the background, and a new nobility came forward—that of the more successful members of the new groups who demanded and could command recognition. These ambitious and aggressive folk cast covetous glances at the broad estates of the church which they did not scruple to despoil. As often happens in times of profound social transformation, much suffering was caused. The peasants, deprived of their ancient holdings, were forced to seek new means of sustenance. Poverty thus increased greatly among one class while another became inordinately wealthy. More's *Utopia* referred to these conditions in a few striking passages:

> Your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. . . . For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying wherof about husbandry many hands were requisite.[2]

The strength of the new Tudor monarchy was drawn from the groups made wealthy by these economic transformations. Henry VII (1485-1509) was descended through three generations from the irregular union of Catharine Swynford and John of Gaunt (d. 1397), son of Edward III. Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, had married Edmund Tudor and by him became the mother of Henry, earl of Richmond, later Henry VII. Thus his title, derived through females and from a line none too firmly established legally, was very doubtful. He came to the throne after the tumultuous Wars of the Roses (1455-85), a contest among members of the Plantagenet royal family for the crown. The great victory at Bosworth (1485) marked the definitive end of this welter of anarchic feudal strife. The old nobility was discredited. The future control of the government was to rest in new hands,—the bourgeoisie whose patriotic support laid the sure foundations of Tudor authority.

With unerring sense of statesmanship Henry VII sought the support of the newer groups. Discontented members of the old families who plotted to unseat him were frustrated. The king endeavored to

[2] *Utopia* (Everyman's Library), pp. 23-24.

destroy the outworn customs of nobles who insisted upon retaining all their privileges, including the right of waging private feuds. The vogue of supporting retainers who wore the livery of noble families was obnoxious to the peace of the realm, for townsmen had little liking for these feuds. In 1487 Henry established the Court of Star Chamber to try persons who violated the law against livery and maintenance. Great nobles could no longer engage in feud or rebellion with impunity, each rising being crushed in decisive manner. Small wonder that ere long no one dreamed of resisting Henry's authority or questioning his right to rule.

Thus dawned a new age in England's history. The towns of the east and southeast under the direction of London, and a few in the west including Bristol, now assumed leadership in the life of the nation. Tudor rule was popular among townsmen; indeed, a splendid proof of the popularity of Henry's autocratic tendencies is furnished by the fact that, while reducing the nobility, he did not create a strong army or call Parliament frequently. On the other hand, he encouraged trade and peace with foreign princes. The rulers of the Burgundian-Hapsburg house in the Low Countries had often given aid to the old factions which disturbed the peace of the realm, and consequently trade had sadly declined. But in 1496 the *Magnus Intercursus* (the Great Intercourse) reopened trading relations with the Low Countries to the great profit of English townsmen. Further advantages were won in 1506 when a treaty was secured which Netherlanders thought disadvantageous to themselves, calling it in derision the *Malus Intercursus* (the Bad Intercourse). A new orientation was thus imparted to the foreign policy of the realm.

The Low Countries were now also drawn into a wider political combination. The union of Castile, Leon, and Aragon in 1474 had made their rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella, more effectively dangerous to France, for sooner or later Spain would draw closer to other enemies of France—the Hapsburg rulers of the empire and of the Low Countries who inherited the old Burgundian hatred of their Capetian cousins. Traditional rivalry of France and England in Scotland, English economic interests in the Low Countries, and the memory of old antagonisms dating from the Hundred Years' War kept green by the English possession of Calais, made it natural for the crown to seek alliance with Spain. Philip the Fair (d. 1506), son of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy who ruled in the Low Countries, was to marry Joanna, a younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and negotiations were begun to secure a similar union between England and Spain. After five years of correspondence the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Henry VII's eldest son Arthur was arranged. This union which coordinated Spanish dynastic and

political dreams and Netherlandish commercial and industrial interests satisfied the interests of the English crown as well as the bourgeoisie.

To a monarchy so strongly intrenched in the affections of the people and supported by the new wealthy classes of the land, the church could offer no effective opposition. Its world-wide organization ran counter to the strong national prejudices of which the crown was the spokesman. The king exerted vast influence in the appointment of archbishops, bishops, and even abbots; in fact, the hierarchy in England appeared to be little more than a group of royal functionaries. Popular sentiment against the papacy was also a force to be taken into account, the statutes of *Præmunire* and *Provisors* having been passed by Parliament in the fourteenth century in obedience to it. Criticism of current practices was frequent. Thomas Gascoigne (d. 1485) complained of abuses and laxity of life in his *Loci e Libro Veritatum*. Embers of Wyclif's heresy were yet warm, especially among lower classes in the towns—perhaps there was some lingering memory of Marsilio's notions. Anticlericalism as expressed by the poet Langland, far from dying, grew stronger early in the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), and benefit of clergy and right of sanctuary became the butt of attack. In 1512 Parliament took away from criminous clerks not in holy orders the privilege of benefit of clergy in all cases where people had been murdered in their own homes, in hallowed places, or while on the highway which was under the protection of the crown. This is but one example of the feeling of the laity toward the clergy, with its many categories and privileges.

Heresy was not common, however, for it would seem that Englishmen were well enough satisfied with the traditional faith as far as its teachings were concerned. Nevertheless, there were a few cases of avowed heresy, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* reporting about forty cases from 1510 to 1522 for the diocese of London alone. The case of Elizabeth Sampson is interesting. She criticized certain practices and held novel ideas about the sacrament of the altar, but was required to recall her words against it. James Brewster, a carpenter of Colchester, spoke against misuse of pious practices and argued against the sacrament of the altar, and William Sweeting also held the same ideas. They were burned at Smithfield. They remind one of the Sacramentarians who were common in the nearby Low Countries at this time.

English Humanists also criticized religious practices, a group known as the Oxford Reformers being eager to renovate the spirit of devotion and purify the church of abuses. Among these men were John Colet, since 1505 dean of St. Paul's (d. 1519), and Sir Thomas

More (d. 1535). Colet had gained a new vision from Thomas Grocyn at Oxford. Like many a Humanist of the more serious type, he studied the texts of the Christian faith whereby he hoped to cleanse the church of many of its ills. He refused to study Scripture in the customary manner, with the result that the texts took on a fresher and deeper meaning. In 1512 he preached a strong sermon before the clergy of the province of Canterbury, denouncing in forceful words the laxity of the clergy who only too often pursued worldly interests. Venal practices were common also, and these were the reasons why heresy seemed to be rising. No better antidote to this condition could be found, he argued, than to foster a clergy sincerely devoted to its duties. This discourse produced a profound impression.

More believed, like Colet, that reform in the church was needed and that the faith and practices of apostolic days should be restored. He did not rebuke the clergy for its immorality in the forceful terms employed by Colet, but criticized the abuses of state, society, and religion of the day in his description of an ideal commonwealth, the *Utopia* (1515-16). More studied law at the Inns of Court in London, was admitted to the bar, and became a member of the House of Commons. As a man of practical affairs he had full knowledge of the ills of English society. He aired many of his views in his masterpiece. Much of what he says on religion, which is discussed in the second part of the book, must be accepted as an oblique criticism of religious conditions of which all readers were keenly aware. And there were other advocates of mild reform which was to be carried out by the hierarchy itself and not by external forces or by violent measures. Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York and chancellor of the realm, was one of these.

A variety of conditions, political, social, economic, and ecclesiastic, all cooperated to create a crisis in the church. It was not heresy, however, that was to sweep away the foundations of the religious edifice, for Henry VIII was staunchly orthodox. When Luther wrote his devastating tracts in 1520, the king felt called upon to reply and penned his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* (1521), whereupon the pope, to whom a magnificent copy was presented, conferred upon him the title of Defender of the Faith. Luther's books found their way into the realm as early as 1520 and often were burned by the authorities. Heretical ideas appear to have been disseminated vigorously, especially at Cambridge where one Robert Barnes was prior of a house of Austin Canons. He preached a sermon in 1525 against popular practices in the church but recanted when brought before his superiors. Heresy, however, did not make much progress; it was the king's desire for an annulment of his marriage to Queen Catherine that was to bring the matter to a climax.

Henry VIII had succeeded to the crown in 1509, his brother Arthur having died in 1502 shortly after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. So important was the alliance with Spain in his father's eyes that it was deemed wise for Henry to marry Catherine. According to canon law the union of a man with his sister-in-law was forbidden, but Julius II granted a dispensation in December, 1503, on the ground that Arthur and his bride had never lived together. Catherine and Henry were married in 1509 shortly after the opening of the reign. Catherine appears to have been a faithful and dutiful wife, but in spite of that Henry grew weary of her, for she was his senior by five years and had probably aged rapidly. They had a number of children, but all died in early infancy save Mary (b. 1516), and the need of a male heir weighed heavily upon Henry. Only thirty-five years ago the Tudor family had been established on the throne, and, since the dangers of a debated succession were vividly in the minds of people, a male heir was considered absolutely necessary for reasons of state and dynasty.

Meanwhile Henry had succumbed to the charms of Anne Boleyn, a pretty and vivacious attendant in the queen's suite who had spent some time at the French court and appears to have become acquainted with its lax morals. Her sister Mary was no better, for the king had had improper relations with her. Henry conferred many favors upon Anne's ambitious father Sir Thomas, and on his brother-in-law, the duke of Norfolk, who formed a party at the court opposed to the ascendancy of Cardinal Wolsey, for the latter, as chancellor of the realm, was all-powerful with the monarch, directing the foreign as well as the internal policy of the kingdom. The enamored king determined to put away his legitimate queen and marry Anne Boleyn, and Anne herself eagerly aspired to the exalted dignity of queen.

Two difficulties stood in the way of securing the coveted annulment. The first was the law of the church, for marriage was a sacrament and not to be dissolved, although it might be annulled if the union was invalid at the beginning. But here was a difficult obstacle that could hardly be overcome. Henry and Catherine had lived together for at least seventeen years and had been considered as married in the eyes of the church. But Henry claimed that his conscience troubled him, for he feared that this union with his deceased brother's wife was against the will of God who had shown His displeasure by withholding from him the blessing of a male heir. He thought that Julius II's dispensation was illegal and that obviously it should be revoked, wherefore the union with Catherine could in consequence be declared annulled.

A second impediment was the peculiar situation in international

affairs. Clement VII had joined the League of Cognac in May, 1526. With Francis I of France, and Florence, Milan, and Venice he hoped to drive the Spaniards out of Italy, to put an end to Charles' extraordinary power in that peninsula, and to rearrange the political map as it had been in 1494. Wolsey had persuaded Henry to join Francis in the war on Charles. As far as the political situation was concerned it appeared possible for the pope to grant the coveted annulment. But in May, 1527, when Henry was considering an appeal to the pope, Charles' Spanish and German troops sacked Rome. The pope was in the emperor's power, and Charles, a nephew of Catherine, would have little interest in the demands of the English king. The pope was hardly free to grant the dispensation, since he had fallen into the Spaniard's hands. Furthermore, Clement could not grant the annulment because of obstacles presented by canon law. The papacy had indeed sunk deep into the secular mire, but to yield to the king's suggestions was impossible. At first Henry sanguinely expected to be freed from his ties to Catherine, for it was undeniable that on a number of occasions prior to this declarations of nullity had been granted, but not in exactly parallel instances.

Clement adopted a temporizing policy and appointed a Decretal Commission in April, 1528. Campeggio as papal legate was to act with Wolsey. This wily Italian was well versed in the circuitous methods of Italian diplomacy. He traveled slowly, being conveniently delayed by the gout, and did not arrive in England until the spring of 1529. Catherine was obdurate in claiming her rights; she would listen to no argument. Supported by popular sentiment in England, she denied the right of the special court to try the case and finally appealed to the pope. Clement now advoked the case to Rome. Charles' power in Italy was still in the ascendancy and Clement was unable to act against Charles' wishes even if he had wanted to. Campeggio departed from England in the fall and the royal wrath now turned against Wolsey who was finally charged with treason. Death, however, cheated the monarch of his victim, for Wolsey died while on his journey to London (November, 1530). "I am come to leave my bones among you," he said to the monks as he alighted at the abbey of Leicester.

Henry's subjects turned against Rome the moment the case was called to the papal court, for their patriotic sentiments were aroused. "Nothing did more to alienate men's minds from the papacy. Henry would never have been able to obtain his divorce on its merits as they appeared to the people. But now the divorce became closely interwoven with another and a wider question, the papal jurisdiction in England; and on that question Henry carried with him the good wishes of the vast bulk of the laity." The new Parliament, sum-

moned to meet in November, 1529, was destined to give sure expression to such national sentiment. When it convened "it consistently displayed three characteristics: it was anti-papal and anti-clerical; it endorsed the royal will; but it refused dictation where its pocket was concerned." This Parliament was to exalt the royal power of England in a most extraordinary manner.

By this time Thomas Cromwell was firmly intrenched in the royal favor. This man of humble origin had risen while in Wolsey's service and now the king found him a most useful servant. "He saw life through plain glass, spurned ethics and sentiment, and set the *Prince* of Machiavelli above the *Republic* of Plato. Sly, cruel, greedy, yet not without the witty and agreeable converse of a man of the world, he drove straight to his end, settling the will and steadying the course of his royal master. . . . In the power and privileges of the Roman church he saw a series of obstacles to absolute monarchy; in Roman Catholic culture he discerned a form of obscurantism injurious to the intellectual freedom with which Italy had acquainted him. He was a new man, and men of his class were drifting into Lutheranism, a creed which had hitherto escaped the patronage of the aristocracy." He was a fit instrument to forge the royal despotism.

The first session of the Parliament of 1529 proceeded to attack certain palpable abuses in the ordinary relations of the clergy with the people. Burial dues, fees for probating wills, pluralities, and absenteeism were regulated by the *Mortuaries Act*, the *Probate Act*, and the *Pluralities Act* (1529), the king being on safe ground in directing the attack against them. Burial dues seem to have been exacted generally and the practice apparently was growing. It was bitter irony that priests would let a small sum of money stand in the way of comforting a poor soul with the blessing of the last rites. Such abuses were not of course basically a part of Catholicism, but they did help to turn the affections of many a pious man and woman away from the old church, and the same can be said of other abuses. Renovation was indeed needed, and the king at the moment of his quarrel with Rome found that he could confidently command the patriotic support of his subjects.

At the same time Henry continued his pressure on the hierarchy. He declared that the clergy had violated the statute of *Præmunire* because they had recognized Wolsey's jurisdiction as papal legate. They were obliged to purchase their pardon by granting a large subvention and were compelled to recognize the king as "their singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head." In other ways it was clear that Henry was planning radical procedure against the papacy, especially if his demand for an annulment should be rejected. Clement forbade

(January 5, 1531) any tribunal to decide the matter of Henry's marriage since it properly belonged to the Holy See.)

(Under such circumstances Parliament met in its second session in January, 1532, and the attack upon clerical privilege, begun in the previous session, was resumed. Benefit of clergy was regulated, and the *Mortmain Act* restricted the right of the clergy to hold property. Another act reduced the amount of money to be paid as annates. These excessive dues were a patent abuse and this measure which would cut off much papal revenue was a grave threat against Rome. Especially interesting as indicating which way the political wind was blowing was the *Supplication against the Ordinaries*, which set forth the royal grievance regarding legislation by churchmen in their assemblies or, as they were called in England, convocations. It also complained about the manner in which the courts Christian were conducted and the burdensome fees which were charged in them. This was no doubt in response to popular sentiment; it shows how well the king kept his finger on the pulse of popular anti-clerical opinion.

In the Middle Ages monarchs grew powerful by subjecting to their imperious will the nobility of the realm. In England and elsewhere the special privileges of the church also seemed to stand in the way of realizing that which all princes were determined sooner or later to achieve, full control of political functions within the borders of their state. (The clergy struggled to avoid the destruction which lurked in the *Supplication*, but they were compelled to yield, and in May, 1532, they assented to the *Submission of the Clergy*. They agreed that they would not make any new laws without royal approbation and that all laws previously made were to be submitted to the scrutiny of a royal committee composed of men from the Lords and Commons for amendment, rejection, or approval. This was a most serious step.) Whereas throughout the Middle Ages secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been established side by side and independent of each other, at least in theory, this novel measure meant that the secular authority henceforth would control the ecclesiastical, a step quite typical of the new age.

(Henry met with no success at the *curia* during these months. Pope Clement issued a statement that if Henry did not receive Catherine as his lawful wife he would be excommunicated. Since it was clear now that a declaration of nullity could not be obtained from Rome, Parliament therefore passed the *Restraint of Appeals* in April, 1533, declaring that:

> This realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king,

> having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom—people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience: he being also institute and furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole, and entire power, preeminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice, and final determination to all manner of folk. . . .[3]

The act merely restated a principle laid down in previous legislation, but it was a spirited asseveration of the superiority of the prince in his realm. It practically amounted to a repudiation of papal authority in England.

It was no longer possible to continue the old connections with Rome. When the see of Canterbury fell vacant in 1533 Henry appointed to the post Thomas Cranmer, a university doctor at Cambridge. Cranmer had shown himself zealous in Henry's cause, declaring that the royal power was supreme in the realm, even in the matter of divorce. When he became archbishop he held a court, summoned Catherine before him, pronounced her guilty of contumacy when she did not obey, and forthwith declared her marriage to Henry null and void from the beginning. The breach with Rome was now practically complete. The pope at once declared Cranmer's judgment illegal. The *Act of Supremacy* (1534) soon completed the rupture with the see of Rome by declaring that the king should be recognized as the supreme head of the church in England.

Meanwhile Henry had secretly married Anne. An *Act of Succession* was passed (1534) which declared Mary ineligible to succeed to the throne and named Elizabeth, Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn, as successor. This act carried the requirement that subjects should swear to support it. Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher of Rochester refused to swear to the nullity of Catherine's marriage, although they were entirely willing to admit the king's right to determine the succession, and in 1535 they were executed as traitors. Others to suffer death were the monks of the Charterhouse in London. The unfortunate Catherine did not long outlive the unkind fate that was hers; she died in January, 1536, and Anne, accused of improper relations with some courtiers, outlived her but a few months. Truth is that the king, grown weary of her partly because she had given him no male heir, had transferred his affections to Jane Seymour, a lady of Catherine's former suite. Anne was beheaded on May 19, 1536, and Henry married Jane. Elizabeth was at once declared illegitimate.

The spoliation of the monasteries was the next great step. Crom-

[3] H. Gee and W. Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

well, appointed vicar-general of the king in ecclesiastical affairs, dispatched commissioners to investigate all monastic foundations in the realm. This led to the suppression of all houses which possessed an income under two hundred pounds a year (1536), their goods being declared forfeit to the king. It was a serious step, for many people who gained their living by working for the monks were now rudely deprived of a livelihood and cast adrift. This led to a rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). The leaders, however, disbanded, having been persuaded to abandon their appeal to force. But in the next few years riots occurred and Henry set up a new court, the Council of the North, to take care of such cases. By 1539 all monastic houses were in the royal hand. Their property was diverted to secular uses, but much of it was squandered in an unworthy fashion.

Henry had led his people out of the church of their fathers for political and personal reasons, the rupture with Rome being necessary to establish a valid legal basis for the annulment of his marriage to Catherine. But in matters of doctrine Henry was staunchly Catholic and would not tolerate any change in the ancient beliefs. However, once he had cut England loose from Rome it was difficult to maintain unity in matters of faith, for Lutheran heresy was spreading over the realm. At Cambridge especially there was much interest in the German innovations, and since 1520 a group of Lutheran sympathizers had been meeting in a local tavern. It is interesting to note that this propaganda bore fruit, for many of the leaders of the revolt came from Cambridge, among them Barnes, Tyndale, Cranmer, and Coverdale. William Tyndale was moved by the example of Luther to publish the New Testament in translation for the education of the English. It was smuggled into England and first appeared in 1527. The authorities sought out every possible copy and consigned them to the flames. Lutheran heresy also appeared in Oxford. Zwingli's doctrines won some adherents. John Frith stoutly maintained them in 1533, and suffered a heretic's death by burning on July 4 in Smithfield. Two years later two Dutch Anabaptists met a like fate, and other examples can be added. Thus Henry sought to destroy Lutherans, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and such Roman Catholics as refused to admit his authority in religious matters, but he was adamant in asserting his orthodoxy, and was determined that his people should remain orthodox. In 1536 he caused to be issued the *Ten Articles* which were intended to calm excited spirits. These articles admitted nothing new in the matter of dogma, but they asserted that pious and laudable practices which were not necessary were to be kept in a category separate from the great basic dogmas. The possibility of dropping them was entertained.

More important were the *Six Articles* of 1539, which held that transubstantiation and real presence were basic dogmas, priests should remain celibate, auricular confession was to be retained, and the laity were to receive only the bread in communion. The penal clauses, which are especially interesting, provided that persons denying the real presence were to suffer death by fire and forfeit their goods to the crown. The royal solicitude to depart not a jot from the old doctrines is made plain by the savage punishments designed to make the penalty fit the crime. It was a serious measure, for many people were soon thrust into prison. It seemed that there would be no change in dogma. A period of reaction followed. Until Henry's death in 1547 many men and women suffered at the stake or languished in prison.

A great change came about in Edward VI's reign (1547-53). This son of Jane Seymour was a frail youth of ten years, and Henry VIII had taken great care to insure the proper functioning of the government during the boy's minority. He appointed a council of regency composed of sixteen nobles in which opponents of the new policies in religion and enemies of the old faith were almost evenly balanced. But the council named the duke of Somerset Lord Protector, and he was given almost regal powers which he used to gratify his desire to extend the Reformation. Archbishop Cranmer, who by this time had become an avowed Protestant, had caused much stained glass to be destroyed, images taken down, and altars removed. Thus many fine objects of religious art were lost forever, which makes it impossible for scholars to reconstruct the history of English art at the close of the Middle Ages. Henry's *Six Articles* were repealed by Parliament. Finally, in 1549, the *First Prayer Book* of Edward VI was made compulsory by the *First Act of Uniformity*. Cranmer had prepared it by translating the old Latin service into English. The marriage of priests was legalized, and many abandoned their vows of celibacy. But the Lord Protector proved an incapable ruler, for he failed in Scotland, lost Boulogne, and could not alleviate the discontent of the people who burst into rebellion in Norfolk. In 1549 the government fell into the hands of the earl of Warwick, or the duke of Northumberland as he soon came to be called. He was an ambitious man without principle or ability, a zealous Protestant but only for reasons of policy.

The desire of the earl of Warwick to lead the English church farther away from Rome was greatly helped by the arrival of a number of theologians from the Continent. Germany was no longer a safe country after 1546 when Emperor Charles V began aggressive action against Protestants, and many of the more radical reformers fled into England. Martin Butzer left Strassburg to become

a professor of theology in Cambridge. Pietro Martire Vermigli accepted a similar post in Oxford. Bernardino Ochino was made a canon in Canterbury. Two other significant refugees were John Utenhove, a Fleming, and John à Lasco, a Pole, who exerted much influence through the Dutch church in London. The result was that the more radical conceptions of the Lord's Supper and church government advanced by Zwingli and Calvin were introduced into the realm. The *Second Prayer Book* was made compulsory in 1552, and was followed in the next year by the *Forty-two Articles*. These innovations more definitely separated the English church from the Roman fold, a move eagerly encouraged by the earl of Warwick because it made possible the confiscation of church properties which were distributed among himself and his friends. Many people became wealthy at the church's expense, and the people so enriched, even though they were Catholics by conviction, became sturdy supporters of the new arrangement. As in other lands, the Reformation often depended on the spoliation of church lands. Thus by the time of Edward VI's death in 1553 a new church had been founded in England. It expressed the spirit of the times, in that, dominated by the crown, it was subservient to the political government.

CHAPTER XLI

THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN AND ITALY

Tota ruit Babylon; destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus.[1]

THE Reformation in Spain is interesting chiefly because of the reasons for its failure. Economic, social, political, and religious conditions prevented Protestantism from gaining a foothold, and consequently few lands offered so unfavorable a soil for heresy as did Spain.

Humanism won many adherents in Spain, but the force of much of its criticism of church and contemporary religious life was broken by the patriotic sentiment of the people and by the fact that under Queen Isabella a vigorous reformation of abuses had been effected. Rigid discipline had been injected into every member of the ecclesiastical organization, and much of the obvious corruption which Humanists attacked had been removed. It was thus impossible for Spanish Humanism to lead to heresy and initiate reform movements as was so often the case in France and Germany.

Humanism was antagonistic to traditional popular religion, for its emphasis upon man's secular activities was diametrically opposed to the spirit of asceticism which remained strong in Spain. Nor did Humanism care for the highly mystical devotion of the people which caused them to minimize the things of this life. Humanists disliked the authoritarian practices of the church. Nevertheless, Erasmus' influence at first promised to become as profound in Spain as elsewhere, many Spaniards corresponding with him. The *Enchiridion* was translated into Spanish and was widely read, and the *Familiar Colloquies* enjoyed an extensive circulation, many Humanists greeting these works in the spirit characteristic of international Humanism. But devout Spaniards often disapproved of these writings because of the freedom with which they discussed religion and the

[1] "All Babylon has crashed; Luther tore down the roofs, Calvin the walls, but Sozzini overturned the foundations."

flippant tone in which they criticized crudities in the popular religious life of the day. Two schools developed, one favoring Erasmus and the other opposing him. The first party was victorious for a time but in the fourth decade of the century the Inquisition began to ferret out Erasmian opinions, disciplining people who accepted them, and confiscating Humanist books wherever possible. The result of these efforts was that Erasmian ideas, unable to make progress, disappeared from Spain during the course of the century.

After Erasmus came Luther, publishing his fiery tracts against the papacy. These were translated into Spanish and copies to be read surreptitiously were smuggled into the peninsula, especially by merchants who had offices in Antwerp. Luther's commentary on St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians* which discussed whether salvation was gained through faith or works was also translated into Spanish. Often Lutheran opinions were printed in books with false titles or in footnotes of books which otherwise were perfectly orthodox. A translation of Calvin's *Institutes* found many readers. The Inquisition never relaxed its vigilance in hunting for such books in private and public libraries and in prying into private homes. Nothing could withstand the all too meddlesome inquisitors armed with authority to inflict the sentence of excommunication upon those who were unwilling to cooperate with them. Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, and Netherlanders who came into the realm for the purpose of trade were often taken into custody, tried, and, if found guilty, burned at the stake.

Francisco de Enzinas (1520-70) and his brother, Jaime de Enzinas (d. 1546), born in Burgos, were two of the more famous heretics who adopted many of Erasmus' views. Francisco was sent to Antwerp to live with some relatives, but his parents, fearful lest he should come in contact with heresy, recalled him. Later he returned to the Low Countries, studied at Louvain, proceeded to Wittenberg in 1541, and translated the New Testament into Spanish. Returning to the Low Countries in order to see it through the press, he was imprisoned, but after a year escaped. Francisco became personally acquainted with Butzer and Calvin. His brother Jaime also visited the Low Countries and drew up a confession of faith in Spanish, but he was seized and burned at the stake in Rome, the first Protestant martyr to die in Italy (1547).

Another interesting Protestant was Juan Diaz of Cuenca who traveled to Geneva, being attracted thither by Calvin's teaching. He visited many cities in Germany, to the great disgust and anger of his parents. His brother, resolving to remove the blot from the family honor, proceeded to Germany and slew him. Francisco de San

Roman, a merchant who had business relations with Antwerp, visited Bremen where he came in contact with Protestants and became a fiery Lutheran. He was imprisoned, brought to Spain, tried, and burned at the stake (1524). Protestants were numerous in Seville, but they seem to have followed the teaching of Calvin rather than that of Luther. Many of them fled to Switzerland in the sixth decade of the century, a congregation of Spaniards being formed at Geneva. There was also a group of Protestants in Valladolid, which appears to have owed its inspiration to the ideas of Juan de Valdés.

An *auto de fe* was held in 1559, and every trace of heresy was effectively wiped out. Protestantism could not succeed under such conditions, for it was an exotic manifestation. Spain remained Catholic, as did Portugal. Damião de Goes (d. 1573), the most significant heretic of that land, adopted Lutheran tenets while in the Low Countries and, in spite of the vehement pursuit of the Inquisition, he escaped its clutches. Aside from foreigners who came into Portugal to trade there were few heretics. The Inquisition was established as a state tribunal in 1532. The king's desire for such an institution is explained by the extensive income it produced from the confiscated properties of Jews who had been baptized but were guilty of apostasy.

Juan de Valdés (d. 1541) was the one Spanish reformer who exerted much influence outside the borders of Spain. He and his twin brother Alfonso (d. 1534) were born at the close of the previous century, the sons of a royal official at Cuenca. They grew up under Humanist influences and became disciples of Erasmus. When Lutheran doctrines began to be disseminated, Juan was deeply impressed by them, and his ideas changed remarkably. Only faith in Christ's sacrifice could save man; external forms such as veneration of the saints, burning of candles, pilgrimages and indulgences possessed little value in comparison; and the Bible was the sole source of religious teaching. These ideas were grafted upon Humanist doctrines, and the result was that in Valdés' beliefs a practical ethical teaching was tinged by Lutheran thought. But there was more in his doctrine than Humanism and Lutheranism, for a strong mystical note is evident in his writings, derived without doubt from the rich heritage of mysticism which is so striking a feature of Spanish thought in the sixteenth century.

His brother Alfonso was almost exclusively a Humanist and without doubt had a hand in composing some of the works which are commonly attributed to Juan. Together they produced a *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon* in imitation of the *Familiar Colloquies* by Erasmus. Mercury was stationed by the murky Styx and Charon stood ready to convey across the flood such souls as death had re-

leased. Princes, prelates, preachers, and those occupying humble positions came, the authors employing these characters to present their own ideas about conduct.

The book contains much satire. One of the most interesting souls is that of a good woman, the account of her being filled with the moralisms of a devout Humanist:

> *Mercury:* O soul . . . are you willing to tell us how you lived when upon earth?
>
> *Soul:* Yes, most willingly. That which my parents left me of greatest value was the ability to read, and some little knowledge of Latin. Such pleasure did I feel in reading sacred Scripture, that I learnt much of it by heart; and not satisfied with the mere knowledge of it, I endeavored to conform my life and conduct to it, losing no opportunity of instructing those of my female friends and companions who conversed with me in what God had taught me. . . . And because silence in women, and especially in young women, is becoming and praiseworthy, as excessive talkativeness is unbecoming and disreputable, I ever strove that my actions should speak louder than my tongue. Thus I lived many years, without the desire to become a nun, or to marry; contemplating one style of life as most alien to my condition, and the dangers of labors incident to the other. My great fear was, lest they should give me a husband so estranged from my views that he should pervert me from my own line of duty, or that I might have to lead a weary life with him. For this cause I determined not to marry; but, at last, everything having been well weighed, and recalling all the advantages of which I had read in connection with marriage . . . I held it to be safer for me to marry. . . . At length they gave me a husband, with whom God only knows what I suffered at the beginning; nevertheless, I suffered patiently, trusting in the goodness of God that I should rather lead him to adopt my views than he lead me to adopt his. And I availed myself of opportunity so carefully, countermining his vices by virtues, his pride by meekness, his rudeness by caresses, his extravagance by moderation, his diversions and luxuries by my chaste and holy exercises, and his anger by patience; ever regulating myself with profound and perfect humility in all my relations with him; at times dissimulating certain things, at times tolerating and permitting others, and at times softly reprehending those things which appeared to me to be clearly deserving of rebuke; that by degrees I tamed him. In this manner I led him to lay aside all his vicious and evil habits, and embrace virtue with such earnestness, that within a short interval I learned of him what I had taught him. And thus getting used to each other's ways, and striving to please each other, we lived in such peace, love, and concord,

that all marvelled at seeing him so altered, and at the change that I had wrought in him, as also at our mutual sympathy.

Charon: Let her go Mercury; and remember that it is late.[2]

Juan de Valdés wrote the *Dialogue between Lactancio and an Archdeacon* in the summer of 1527.[3] The writer was shocked by the horrible sack of Rome in which nothing sacred or profane was spared, and the first part of this work sharpiy criticizes the worldly policy of the pope which Valdés thought was responsible for the event. In the second part, which reminds one of Erasmus' *Julius Exclusus,* he contends that the misfortunes were the simple operation of God's vengeance upon a wicked city. This part also criticizes the mercenary character of organized religion in Rome, papal finance, the charging of all sorts of fees in the chancery, political machinations, improper use of indulgences, and false relics all being discussed with the utmost candor and disapprobation.

The greatest of Valdés' works is the *Hundred and Ten Considerations,* an exposition of his theology. It emphasizes inner spiritual understanding which is to be gained by experience and prayerful reflection rather than by much reading:

> Oftentimes have I studied to understand in what that image and likeness of God properly consists of which sacred Scripture speaks, when it declares that man was created in the image and likeness of God. So long as I strove to understand it by consulting authors, I made no advance toward its apprehension, because I was led by reading, at one time to entertain one opinion, and at another time another; until gaining the conception of it by reflection, it appeared to me that I apprehended it, or at least that I began to do so; and I feel certain that the same God who has given me the knowledge I possess, will give me that which I still want.[4]

Juan de Valdés spent some time in Rome after 1531 but soon settled in Naples where he died ten years later. His work in Naples is discussed later in this chapter. His great significance as a reformer is shown by his influence upon Italians, although in Spain he exerted a restricted influence. But before turning to Italy it remains to notice Michael Servetus (1511-53) who played a sad and lonely rôle in the Reformation. He was born in Villanova, studied law in Spain and in Toulouse, and began theology, reading Protestant works of all kinds. Soon he went to Germany and when in Strassburg published his monumental *On the Errors of the Trinity* (1531). Its negation

[2] B. B. Wiffin, *Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés Otherwise Valdesso, Spanish Reformer in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1865), pp. 7-9.

[3] Translated in *ibid.,* pp. 61-75.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 207.

of the Trinity, the basic dogma of Christianity, scandalized Butzer and all the other reformers. Next he went to Paris where he studied medicine and received the doctorate (1538). His insatiably curious mind led him to continue his theological study, and he came to the conclusion that the vast body of Christian dogma as it had developed since ancient times was a tangled growth of errors. With complete disregard for the historical past he proposed to restore the Christian faith to its primitive purity. The result was his *Restoration of Christianity* which was published in 1553. A strange book filled with radical heresies, it "aimed to refute the Nicene conception of the Trinity, which he called 'a sort of three-headed Cerberus,' and to substitute an essentially pantheistic conception of God, with a denial of the preexistence of Jesus. He also rejected predestination, denied the efficacy of infant baptism, and was in advance of his times in the principles of Biblical criticism in that he interpreted Old Testament prophecies as referring primarily to contemporary events."

The book scandalized everybody. By means of a third party Calvin denounced Servetus to Catholic inquisitors in Lyons who promptly arrested the heretic. But he escaped from their prison and tried to make his way into Italy through Geneva which he rashly visited. He was caught one Sunday after listening to a sermon by Calvin and cast into prison. A long trial ensued in which Servetus had every disadvantage, and finally he was condemned to die at the stake on October 27, 1553. He met the frightful ordeal bravely. His fate is typical of many others in that century when desertion of an established faith was regarded as the worst of crimes by all officials. Responsibility for the burning of Servetus rests mainly upon Calvin, who, however, thought that he was doing a meritorious service in ridding the earth of so revolutionary a teacher.

Conditions in Italy were not very favorable for the reception of Protestantism. The peasantry and lower classes in the towns were whole-heartedly attached to the old faith, and the upper bourgeoisie were dominated by the secular conceptions of the Renaissance. The more serious of these people, and there were not a few, might sympathize with Erasmus and Valdés, but Lutheran or even Calvinist doctrine could not appeal to many. Humanism always implied that man being born free could rise in the scale of morality and that virtuous social and political life was eminently good. People brought up under these influences could not favor the doctrines of total depravity and rigid foreordination. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the papacy was a prized national possession of Italians which many people were reluctant to see destroyed.

Lutheran ideas and writings appeared early in Venice, as was inevitable because of the commercial relations which that city enjoyed

with Germany, and it appears that many people accepted the new doctrines. There were also some Anabaptists in Venice. As the mightiest trading center in Europe, its government was inclined not to look closely into the religion of its subjects or the many visitors who thronged its streets. Translations of Lutheran and Zwinglian works soon appeared, and Melanchthon's works circulated among the people. In 1532 appeared Antonio Bruccioli's translation of the Bible into Italian, another of the many evidences of Luther's mighty influence. But the antipathy of zealous Catholics was aroused, especially that of Bishop Caraffa of Chieti who now began his energetic career of uprooting heresy. A number of men were imprisoned and the movement of reform in Venice, which Luther for a time believed would be very successful, failed.

Sacramentarian and Calvinist teachings appeared in Ferrara under Duchess Renata, a daughter of Louis XII, whose close contact with France made it possible for French heretical ideas to filter into the duchy. John Calvin visited Ferrara in 1536 in the hope that it might become a center of reformed ideas, but in this he was disappointed, for the political situation and the new zeal which the papacy began to exhibit against Protestantism made any progress impossible. However, the university in Ferrara stimulated free inquiry and was responsible for some of the heresy which grew up. Furthermore, Duke Ercole II (1534-59) was tolerant in religious matters as became a prince of the Renaissance, and his lands were a haven of refuge for students and wandering teachers. But the prompt action of the Inquisition and the increasing influence of the papacy compelled Ercole to frown upon teachers of new doctrine.

There was a coterie of reformers at Modena where the tolerant policy of Ercole, who was also duke of Modena, was enjoyed. One of the many academies formed during the Renaissance flourished here, and to it belonged a number of noteworthy spirits of whom the famed anatomist Gabriele Fallopio (1523-62) was one. The interest of this group readily turned from Humanism to theological topics. Many a townsman not belonging to the academy eagerly discussed all manner of theological points. Heretical books were published, and a renegade Franciscan friar named Paolo Ricci strongly assailed the church of Rome and expounded Scripture before the people. But Duke Ercole dispersed this group of heretics and the Inquisition began to remove every vestige of Protestantism. A youth from Faenza named Fanini was seized and taken to Ferrara, where he became the first martyr of Italian Protestantism (1550).

These reformers were destined to play no lasting part because they were isolated in a society which was becoming acutely hostile to heresy. But the rôle of Juan de Valdés and his followers in Naples

was far more significant. Among the most devoted of these was Giulia Gonzaga, countess of Fondi (1499-1566). A woman of rare beauty, purest character, lofty intellect, and one of the noblest figures of the Renaissance, she was at once attracted to Valdés because of his fine character and elevation of spirit. He drew up for her instruction a statement of the Christian faith in his famous *Christian Alphabet*. It was a practical manual such as were plentiful in those days, and the idea is explained in his prefatory letter:

> . . . that you make use of this dialogue as children use a grammar when they learn Latin, in the manner of a Christian alphabet, in which you may learn the rudiments of Christian perfection, making it your aim, the elements being attained, to leave the alphabet and apply your soul to things more important, more excellent, more divine.

Valdés' practical mysticism is shown in his advice to her:

> I wish you, signora, to act. Turn within yourself, open the ears of your soul, so that you may hear the voice of God, and think as a true Christian, that in this life you can have no other real contentment and rest, than what will come to you by means of the knowledge of God, through the faith and love of God. Settle your mind in this consideration; most earnestly putting aside all those things that are transitory and cannot endure.[5]

Among Valdés' other writings are commentaries with translations from the Greek of St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians (the first) and a translation of the Psalms. The author's knowledge of the original Greek was adequate for an intelligent study of the text. His commentaries are couched in a simple straightforward style such as one would expect from a Humanist of Erasmus' school. The antiquated fourfold senses were abandoned, the emphasis being entirely philological and historical.

In the environs of Naples at Chiaia, Valdés conversed long and earnestly with kindred spirits. Most of them belonged to the nobility and the official class who were trained as Humanists, and the movement was therefore aristocratic in tone. In their walks along the Neapolitan Bay they discussed such lofty themes as man's highest good, the love of God, and the futility of all external acts of contrition as compared with an intimate and mystic communion with God. Valdés, as became a Humanist, did not wish a radical reorganization of state or society, nor did he want to set up a new church. He simply wished to renovate popular religion, cleanse the hierarchy of its worldly practices, and regenerate mankind by means of a simple,

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-123.

mystic faith in Christ which would be reflected in proper living and noble character. His supremely noble mind irresistibly drew many persons of exalted thought to him, Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547) also belonging to Valdés' circle. Among noteworthy men in this group was a Florentine, Pietro Carnesecchi (b. 1508). A Humanist, he became a priest, associated with zealous churchmen who yearned to purge religion of its popular crudities, and became papal secretary under Clement VII. In 1531 he became acquainted with Valdés who was papal chamberlain. The Neapolitan coterie of reformers profoundly influenced this man of quiet manner and deep reflection.

Pietro Martire Vermigli (1500-62) was another follower of Valdés. He was born in Florence, enjoyed a Humanist education, became an Augustinian friar, and in 1533 was appointed prior of a convent in Naples. By this time he had become acquainted with the writings of Butzer and Zwingli and he now fell under the influence of Valdés. In 1541 he became abbot of San Frediano in Lucca where he at once assumed leadership in disseminating the new doctrines. Vermigli held a Calvinist view of the Lord's Supper. A regular academy was formed to which were brought noteworthy scholars, and much interest was aroused in dogmatic points, even the common people of Lucca beginning to dispute about theological dogmas and to read the Bible. The authorities could not countenance this agitation and Vermigli was cited to appear before a capitular meeting of his order in Genoa (1542). Fearing for his life, he determined to flee and settled in Strassburg as a lecturer on the Old Testament. In 1547 he was invited to England by Cranmer to become a professor of theology in the University of Cambridge. He was imprisoned during Queen Mary's reign but escaped to the Continent in 1553, returned to Strassburg, and ultimately became professor of Hebrew in Zürich.

Bernardino Ochino (1487-1565), without doubt the most noteworthy of the followers of Valdés, was born in Siena. He entered the Franciscan order which he soon abandoned, however, to join the more rigid Capuchins. Trained as a Humanist, he discarded conventional methods of Biblical study and became a most remarkable penitential preacher whose influence resembled that of Savonarola. Ochino preached in Naples and was much impressed by Valdés' ideas, but the fiery Caraffa detected the heretical tendency of his preaching. In 1538 he was elected vicar-general of the Capuchin order but declined reelection in 1541. He continued his zealous preaching, especially in Venice, and even gave public expression to a desire to preach without restraint. Summoned in 1542 to appear in Rome before the newly organized Inquisition, Ochino hesitated. Well might he do so, for the teaching that salvation came through

faith alone could never be acceptable to the church of Rome. But he obeyed and set out on his journey.

At Florence Ochino met Vermigli who had just been cited before the chapter of his order. Ochino finally decided to follow Vermigli's example and flee, and, in spite of his broken health and advancing years, he hurried to Switzerland, tarrying some time in Basel, Zürich, and Geneva. In 1547 he set out for England where Cranmer offered him a canonry in Canterbury, and he became the pastor of a group of refugee Italians. The accession of Mary Tudor to the English throne in 1553 again compelled him to flee and he settled at Zürich in 1555 as pastor of an Italian congregation. Another noteworthy fugitive was Galeazzo Caraccioli (1517-86), a Neapolitan nobleman who was charmed by the teaching and personality of Valdés. This nephew of Caraffa was an eager disciple of Vermigli. Feeling that he ought not to dissemble and practice "idolatry," as he termed the ancient worship, he fled and settled in Geneva (1553).

The *Benefit of Christ's Death*, a little book containing the marrow of Valdés' doctrine, was one of the most important of all Italian works on the Reformation. Its authorship has long been the subject of dispute but it has practically been decided that it is from the pen of Benedetto of Mantua, a Benedictine monk who lived in Sicily on the slopes of Mount Etna. Marcantonio Flaminio, a celebrated poet and a disciple of Valdés in Naples, prepared it for publication in 1540. It achieved great popularity, numbers of copies being printed, and it became the chief organ of the Reformation in Italy.

The reformation and restoration of the Catholic church made the success of Valdés' ideas utterly impossible. Pope Paul III (1534-49) courageously began the arduous task of renovation. The Roman Inquisition was established in 1542 and soon began its dreadful work, continuing under Julius III (1550-55). But it was under Caraffa, Paul IV (1555-59) that its acts may properly be described as pitiless and even ferocious, for this pontiff vigorously tracked down every heretic. Followers of Valdés fled and Italian reformers found safety in Switzerland. As a consequence, their chief influence upon religious ideas of the Reformation was exerted outside of Italy.

Such reformers as were courageous enough to stay in Italy were apprehended one by one and brought before the dread tribunal. Aonio Paleario, a Humanist born in Roman Campania and influenced by Valdés' ideas, was condemned to be hanged and burned, this sentence being executed in Rome in 1570. Pietro Carnesecchi was condemned as contumacious when he failed to hearken to a citation to appear in Rome, but Venice, whither he had fled in the hope of finding refuge, did not surrender him to the Inquisition until 1566. He was subjected to torture and every effort was made to force from

his lips evidence which might incriminate his many friends and acquaintances, but he steadfastly remained true to them and little was divulged. He was executed in Rome and his body was burned (1567). Such was the zeal of the holy office that everyone who had belonged to the Oratory of Divine Love or to Valdés' circle, or had been especially zealous in the work of purifying the church was suspect and likely to be subjected to torture. The pitiless severity with which the inquisitors worked is explained by the fact that these suspected persons were members of the aristocracy or of the official groups, and hence influential. The existence of heretical malcontents was undesirable. Caraffa thought that extreme rigor was necessary to keep the Reformation from gaining a foothold in the peninsula, and he did not scruple to betray all those members of the Oratory of Divine Love whom he had known years ago and with whom he had exchanged thoughts about corruption in the church and the need of reform.

It remains to consider the work of Lelio Sozzini (1525-62) and his nephew Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604). Their followers, known as Socinians, constituted the most radical branch of Protestantism in the age of the Reformation. They denied the dogma of the Trinity, the very corner stone of Christian theology, and offered a profoundly divergent view of the Atonement. Lelio was born of a noble family in Siena and belonged to the Humanist élite of that city. He studied law and was led gradually to extend his studies to the Bible. He visited Venice where he became acquainted with Lutheran and Anabaptist thought, and he came also under the influence of mystics. Next he visited northern Europe where he made the acquaintance of Melanchthon and other Protestant divines. Deeply moved by the execution of Servetus, he began to investigate the dogma of the Trinity, and at Zürich he took an active part in Swiss theological speculation. Calvin disapproved of Lelio's subtle thinking and believed that he was a secret heretic. In 1551 Lelio visited Poland where he exerted but slight influence. Upon his death he left some manuscripts to his nephew. It is usually stated that Fausto owed his theology to him, but this appears to be an exaggeration.

Fausto Sozzini was suspected of Lutheran sentiments and fled from Italy to Switzerland. He settled in Basel where from 1574 to 1578 he studied theology, and developed unique and radical interpretations. Meanwhile Poland offered a favorable soil for heretical ideas because of the feebleness of the central government and the hostility of the nobility toward the Catholic hierarchy. A number of refugee Italian Protestants had found a welcome there, chief among whom was Giorgio Biandrata (1515-1588). He had in his earlier days fallen under the influence of Anabaptists in Venice who

adopted anti-trinitarian views. Like other Italians, Biandrata fled to Switzerland. He had difficulties with Calvin and in 1558 went to Poland where he labored with Ochino and Giovanni Gentile, attacking the trinitarian teachings of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists alike. Such was the progress of Unitarian teaching in Poland that in the Synod of Wengrow (1565) a Unitarian church was organized.

Biandrata went to Transylvania in 1563, becoming court physician to King John Sigismund (1559-71). The Calvinist bishop, Francis David (d. 1579), adopted Unitarian doctrine, and in 1568 the Unitarian church was officially constituted. Fausto Sozzini visited Transylvania in 1579 and at once proceeded to Poland where he remained active until his death. He wrote many tracts and exerted much influence, especially in introducing Anabaptist ideas about baptism into the Unitarian churches. Socinianism, which was influential in developing liberalism in the next century, was characterized by a remarkable combination of supernaturalism, derived from the scholastic philosophy of Scotus, and Erasmian ethical conceptions, to which were added elements derived from other sources such as the Anabaptists.

PART IX

THE CALVINIST REVOLT

CHAPTER XLII

CHURCH AND HERESY IN FRANCE—THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I

In the aforesaid year 1521, on Saturday the third of August, it was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet at the public squares of Paris by the court of Parlement that all booksellers, printers, and others who owned some of Luther's books should bring them to that court within eight days under penalty of a hundred pounds and imprisonment.—BOURGEOIS DE PARIS.[1]

TO UNDERSTAND the course of reform in France it is necessary to know the social conditions of that country, for in no other land was religion more closely related to the social and economic problems of life. The crown played a significant rôle. The king had inherited traditions of the sanctity of royal power developed ever since the days of Pippin (d. 768). In the Middle Ages the church cooperated in raising the prestige of rulers by anointing each successor to the kingly dignity. The teachings of Roman law and the theory of feudal law which held that in the last analysis the king was head of the realm also aided in extending the ruler's authority over all political functions of the state. When the Hundred Years' War came to a close in 1453 an era of unusual prosperity began which enabled French kings to concentrate still more power in their hands. Thus the French crown was becoming absolute at the time of the Reformation. Humanists rose among the class which had grown wealthy from the new economic activity. They were patriotic and enthusiastically told how the rulers of France were descended from Homeric characters, just

[1] *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de François Ier* (Paris 1910), p. 101.

as Vergil once traced for the Romans their descent from Æneas who had fled from burning Troy.

Since 1438 relations between the church in France and the Holy See had been regulated by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. This document, which grew out of an attempt to free the French church from control by Rome, set forth some of the decrees of the Council



of Basel. The church was spared the rapacity of papal tax collectors but tended to fall under royal control, for more and more the king was able to secure the appointment of officials who would cooperate with his plans. Finally the Concordat of Bologna (1516), arranged between Pope Leo X and Francis I (1515-47), relinquished control into the hands of the king. Popes were to receive annates; but the crown was to name candidates to all archiepiscopal, episcopal, and

abbatial vacancies, subject to papal confirmation which, as the future was to show, was granted as a matter of course. Thus the French hierarchy was composed of royal appointees and became a solid support of the crown and its policies. The king could now control the vast resources of the church to favor his friends, an arrangement which had an important bearing upon the Reformation; it was not necessary for the crown to inaugurate a policy of secularization, for it already could dispose of church property by way of patronage. In short, political and economic interests, aside from any purely religious reasons, dictated that the crown should remain Catholic.

Next to the crown stood the concordatory or upper clergy. The king controlled appointments to ten archbishoprics, eighty-two bishoprics, five hundred twenty-seven abbacies, and a large number of priories and canonries. Thus the higher clergy of France, appointed by the crown from motives of political expediency, were certain to carry out the king's wishes as well as the behests of the church. Many of the clergy had been useful to the crown in some political or diplomatic capacity, but all were certain to be loyal servants of state as well as church. Many of them were Humanists who might believe in reforming the hierarchy and church life by first renovating the upper clergy, after which the entire lower priesthood was to be improved, but they could hardly be induced to toy with heresy.

The lower clergy, on the other hand, were little dominated by considerations of policy. Recruited from the lower classes of the population, they took from them their social views. Some of this class had studied at the universities and many of them were poor. When agitation about religion became acute after 1520, members of this group were loud in their criticism of corruption and worldliness in the church and fomented much discontent.

Next to be considered is the nobility. Toward the close of the Middle Ages its position in French society declined relatively to that of the bourgeoisie, for it was steadily being sapped by the inexorable growth of commerce and industry. Yet it remained most important by reason of tradition, landed property, and vested interest. Unlike the English custom, all children of the French nobility were nobles, but the principle of primogeniture which gave the paternal property to the elder son impoverished the younger ones. These accordingly became a restless element and were prone to disturb the public peace. Furthermore, the nobility still cherished memories of their quondam greatness which they had lost to the crown. Could they recover their vanished fortunes? The turmoil occasioned by religious differences in the second half of the sixteenth century would give them a chance. Many a noble became Protestant, some from conviction and some from policy because of their hostility to the Catholic crown.

The fourth group was the upper or aristocratic bourgeoisie, composed of people who had grown rich from trade or industry and had become definitely capitalist. A good example was Jacques Cœur of Bourges who at the time of Charles VII (1422-61) won fame because of his wealth. Economically secure and socially stable, this class was satisfied with the old faith and was opposed to any violent change. Their sons might enter the royal service, receive important livings in the church, or enter the profession of law—they might even receive patents of nobility. Many became Humanists since they possessed the leisure necessary to study Greek and Latin classics. They often evinced a desire for reform in the church; but such reform was usually to be initiated by the upper clergy who would extend it to their inferiors without disturbing established organs or doctrines. This upper bourgeoisie controlled the towns and excluded its lesser brethren from power and economic prosperity. This latter class of hard-working handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, and manufacturers often took to reading the Bible, for religion lifted them out of the deadly monotony of life and its straitened circumstances.

The fifth and last group to be discussed is the proletariat of town and country. The peasantry who owned their lands in fee simple or worked them on liberal terms were well satisfied and stubbornly opposed any change in religion which might bring social upheaval in its wake. Scandalized by the patent immorality of some of the clergy and the mercenary character of their activities, day laborers who at best could earn but a precarious livelihood often were led to criticize the wealth and pomp of the established cult, and their brethren in the towns were likewise often inclined toward heretical ideas, for growth of wealth among the upper bourgeoisie usually entailed the progressive impoverishment of this group. Small wonder that the lower bourgeoisie were not satisfied! This hard-working, practical, and virtuous people became the backbone of the Huguenot movement.

In France as in other lands Humanists evinced a keen desire to reform the church, most important of them being Jacques Le Fèvre of Etaples, or Faber Stapulensis as the name was rendered into Latin according to Humanist fashion. Born about 1455, he studied in the University of Paris and became a Master of Arts. He traveled in Italy, studied under Argyropoulos (1416-86) and thus drank at the very fountainhead of Humanist culture. Returning to France, he became professor of mathematics in the University of Paris and published many books. He studied Scripture in its original tongues and learned to prefer the Greek text to the Vulgate. He became the inspiring genius of a coterie of choice spirits such as Vatable the Hebraist, Postel the orientalist, Budé the great master of classical

letters, Guillaume Farel, and Guillaume Briçonnet. The latter became abbot of St. Germain-des-Près in 1507 and brought his master Stapulensis thither in order that he might be free to study in its cloistered quiet.

While in this abbey, Stapulensis published his edition of the Psalter (1509) in which the text was presented in several languages. Three years later he issued his edition of the Pauline Epistles with commentary in which the text of the Vulgate was improved by study of the Greek original. However, it is a mistake to regard him as a herald of Protestantism. He indeed believed in the supremely important rôle of Scripture in the life of Christians and emphasized justification by faith which to him was more important than good works. A mystical love of Christ was the chief note in his life and he believed that this love should guide Christians to do good and become righteous. He taught that man should learn to know God through love and raise himself up to Him through humility, finding all his satisfactions in His divine personality alone. Although he attached little value to confession, pilgrimages, indulgences, relics, and other practices in the church, he never even drew near the Lutheran position. He insisted on freedom of the will and the efficacy of good works, and thought that great moral lights of pagan times, such as Socrates and Plato, would be saved. He desired purification of religious practices and a moderate reform in the church, and he was also opposed to the traditional scholasticism which dominated theological and other studies.

When Briçonnet became bishop of Meaux in 1516, he embarked upon a remarkable policy of reform. It is important to note that this movement was independent of Luther. Briçonnet, who desired an ordered reform, collected a group of choice spirits—among them Stapulensis, Farel, Roussel, and others—who soon won fame because of the innovations which they introduced into the religious life of the diocese. Stapulensis translated the New Testament into French (1523) for the instruction of the people and became vicar-general in spiritual matters. Bible reading became a habit among the people of Meaux and the Humanist manner of criticizing the religious life of the day soon produced results. The bishop insisted that priests should not absent themselves from their parishes. Eager orators were appointed to preach Biblical sermons to the people which were to lead them to a better life. More effective episcopal supervision was to reform the parish clergy. The Franciscans, dominated by dead traditionalism, were excluded from the pulpits. "Bishops," said Briçonnet, "are angels sent by Christ to bring his message to the people, to carry out the tasks of angels of purging, enlightening, and making perfect the souls of men."

Briçonnet was supported in his work of reform by King Francis I. Although he did not possess profound religious convictions and did not lead an exemplary life, this monarch was nevertheless keenly interested in reform. His sister Marguerite of Angoulême was still more zealous, for she had imbibed some of the Neoplatonic mysticism current in Italy and was influenced by the Christian tinge which Stapulensis imparted to it. An apt pupil of Briçonnet, by whom she had been much impressed when he was abbot, Marguerite was led to appreciate the supreme importance of Scripture in religious life, and she became critical of the many crudities of this life. Her *Heptameron* complained that the friars usually were ignorant of the Bible, and she expressed preference for Biblical religion in her *The Mirror of a Sinful Soul*, a striking example of the mystical yet evangelical faith of contemporary Humanists.

Meanwhile Lutheran teaching began to interest Frenchmen, for the great reformer's pamphlets against the papacy poured into France from Strassburg, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. Many people read them, and bookstores enjoyed a thriving business. Some of the more violent tracts were translated into French. Small wonder that the very conservative theological faculty of the Sorbonne should be frightened! In April, 1521, they condemned over one hundred propositions drawn from Luther's books, especially from his most revolutionary *Babylonian Captivity*. This learned and ancient body considered themselves the protectors of Catholicism and resolved to resist the spread of heretical doctrines. They appealed to the Parlement of Paris, the greatest judicial body of the realm, which in August ordered that all Lutheran books should be surrendered under penalty of heavy fine or imprisonment. This command proved ineffective, and forbidden books became more common than ever. They were sold in provincial towns and by colporteurs who were active in Normandy.

The reformers of Meaux could not escape criticism and hostility. Fearful that the church would be destroyed, zealous theologians of the Sorbonne, headed by Noel Bédier (d. 1536), proceeded against them in spite of the royal support which Briçonnet enjoyed. Bédier belonged to the old school, cared naught for the free investigation of the classics, and feared the harmful consequences which study of Scripture and the church fathers might have. He thought that the liberal arts should serve only as preparation for scholastic theology. Textual and historical study was useless, and he was strongly opposed to it. And he believed that there was ample reason for so thinking. When in 1517 Stapulensis published a dissertation showing that Mary the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and the woman described in St. Luke (viii: 37-38) were not, as was currently believed, one

and the same, but three distinct persons, the theologians of the Sorbonne were wroth, for this criticism touched the offices of the church. Such freedom they deemed dangerous and they went so far as to declare that any such teaching was heretical.

Nor did they like Stapulensis' translation of the New Testament. This work at once found its way into the hands of the people who evinced keen interest in its teachings. The theologians thought that as Lutheran influences were active on every hand it was dangerous to add to the public uneasiness, and they ordered that copies of the Bible should be seized wherever found and thrown into the flames. At the suggestion of his sister Marguerite, Francis I took Stapulensis under his special protection. But trouble began after news came that the king had been defeated and taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia in February, 1525. The example of the wool-carder Jean Leclerc was fresh in the minds of officials and theologians. This man, objecting to the indulgence offered and to the fasting and prayers which it commanded, had torn down from the church doors in Meaux Clement VII's bull regarding the coming jubilee. In its place he posted a placard which declared the pope to be Antichrist. He was caught, branded with the fervent iron, and banished from the realm. But he tarried at Metz, made no secret of his religious ideas, and was so rash as to cast down images in a place to which a pilgrimage was to be made the next day. He was seized and burned at Metz in July, 1525, after submitting to the frightful mutilation so commonly practiced upon heretics in that day.

The Parlement of Paris now proceeded against the group at Meaux, and Briçonnet was summoned to appear before it. He had issued a synodal decree in October, 1523, against the reading and possession of Lutheran tracts, and now he yielded to authority and allowed Parlement to proceed in stamping out heresy (1525). Thus ended the activities of the group of Meaux. Stapulensis fled to Strassburg, accompanied by Roussel. A number of victims were executed, chief of these being the wool-carder Jacques Pauvin of Meaux who perished at the stake on the *Place de Grève* in Paris (1526).

Francis I returned from prison in Madrid in the middle of March and at once gave orders to suspend persecution. Stapulensis was recalled from Strassburg, became the king's librarian at Blois, and was given charge of the education of Prince Charles. The aged Stapulensis soon retired to Marguerite's court at Nérac where she had lived since 1527 when she became the wife of the king of Navarre. He soon died in 1535. In spite of the burning of a few heretics the reformers hoped that the king would tolerate their activities. They were soon disillusioned, however, by the unfortunate desecration in 1528 of an image of the Virgin at a street corner in Paris.

This act of sacrilege caused much excitement. Francis, it is said, was so irate that he wept, and the population of the city burst forth in unwonted energy. Expiatory processions were held, all of them to the spot where the desecration had occurred, the king himself taking part in them. Finally, the mutilated statue began to work miracles and was said to have raised two children from the dead. Francis now permitted persecution of heretics to proceed without restraint. Louis de Berquin was seized because of his heretical record which made him an object of suspicion. He admired the teachings of Luther and especially Erasmus, but he neglected to follow that master's advice to act in such a manner that he would not be caught by the executioner. Francis had twice interfered in his behalf, but he now yielded to the importunate prayers of the excited clergy and people not to let this heretic escape a third time. Even Marguerite could not prevent his death which was inflicted on the *Place de Grève* in Paris (April 17, 1529).

Thus came to an end the efforts of the group at Meaux to lead reform in church and religious life. Thus far Humanists had also been reformers, but the fires of persecution soon caused them to cease these activities. Reformers interested themselves more and more in dogma. Heresy continued to grow among the proletariat and middle classes in the towns, handicraftsmen at Beauvais, Cambrai, Rouen, La Rochelle, Nîmes, and numerous other places being infected. Many of the heretics appear to have belonged to the crafts which manufactured cloths. "When religious persecutions threaten, the working classes emigrate. Nothing binds them to the land. A few tools and his two arms constitute all the capital of the workman; he carries them into countries where he can worship God in his own way and in his own speech. The ruin of French industries in the second half of the century is, for the most part, to be thus explained."[2]

Heresy did not spread among the wealthier peasantry, for great changes in economic life profoundly affected the folk of the countryside. Increase in the quantity of hard cash was steadily sapping manorial institutions and the chivalric life founded upon it. Wealthy peasants were able to buy land and thus rise in the social scale. In this respect the rural situation was very different from that of southern and central Germany—no Peasants' War was possible in France. Nor did the well-to-do peasantry manifest much desire to embrace novel doctrines. This class remained tenaciously loyal to the traditional faith, for they were satisfied with the ministrations of the priests in their parish churches. These priests had cast their lot with them, knew them well, and understood their problems. It is evident

[2] H. Hauser, "The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century," in *The American Historical Review* (1899), vol. iv, p. 223.

that Humanism, Sacramentarianism, and Lutheranism could find little support among this group.

It was different with rural laborers who possessed nothing but their hands with which to gain a livelihood. Like their unfortunate brethren in Germany, many of them became heretical, for these itinerant workers had little to lose. Heresy can be traced among them in most parts of France after 1525. In Normandy one community received the name of "little Germany." These humble laborers obstinately clung to the country in which they had been born while their urban brethren emigrated to strange lands. "If Protestantism did not completely succeed in taking root in France, the reason may be that in the sixteenth century, owing to the social state of the time, it won more adherents among the workmen, a travelling and migratory class, than among the peasantry, which was the stable and permanent element of the nation."[3]

That Francis' policy toward religion should be influenced by his relations with Charles V causes no surprise. Although he was a Humanist and desired some reform both in church and education, his first war with his imperial adversary from 1521 to 1525 engaged all his attention and finally ended in his captivity. For a moment his mother, Louise of Savoy, supported the intolerant zeal of the Sorbonne and the Parlement of Paris against the group at Meaux. She wished to court the favor of the pope because she hoped to enlist his help against the emperor. On his return Francis plunged into his second war with Charles which lasted from 1526 to 1529, and political expediency now dominated royal policy. The mutilation of the statue of the Virgin in Paris in 1528 opened a brief period of persecution and repression. But after the Peace of Cambrai (1529) it soon became apparent that war with Charles would begin again. Francis turned to the Turkish sultan Suliman, and also opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany who had formed the Schmalkald League after the emperor sought to exterminate Lutheranism (1531). Their help might prove valuable.

Francis first assured himself of the pope's support. An agreement was formed at Marseilles by the king and Clement VII whereby they would support each other in Italy; Francis' second son Charles was to marry Catherine de' Medici, the pope's niece, and Francis was to crush heresy. In spite of this last clause the king with characteristic Machiavellian policy approached the Schmalkald League, and in February, 1534, he formed a treaty with Landgrave Philip of Hesse at Bar-le-Duc. He furnished a large sum of money to help Duke Ulrich of Württemberg regain his lands which were held by King

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 227.

Ferdinand of Germany, brother of Emperor Charles. This was successfully accomplished and a severe blow was inflicted upon Hapsburg power in Germany. For a moment it was thought that a common agreement about reform could be reached, and Francis sent Bishop du Bellay of Paris to discuss the matter with Melanchthon who as usual was pliant and willing to sacrifice several points. But the hope of reformation by means of a council, as was suggested, was doomed to failure. The placards of October 18, 1534, brusquely put an end to these schemes.

The placards in question were written by some reformers in Paris but printed in Switzerland, a man named Feret undertaking the dangerous task of bringing the placards back. They were entitled *True Articles about the Horrible Abuse of the Papal Mass*, and were found early one morning posted about Paris upon the walls of buildings. A copy was affixed to the door of the royal bedchamber in Amboise couched in the most violent language imaginable. There was much confusion among the people, and the king was incensed. What was to be done? Clement VII, who had just died, was succeeded by Paul III (1534-49), and it was necessary to win the new pope's favor. Again there were expiatory processions. Arrests were made and victims were soon led to the stake. Gibbets eloquently testified to the zeal of the king's officials. Large numbers of Lutherans now hurried out of the realm, Clément Marot, poet and Humanist, finding refuge at the court of Duchess Renata of Ferrara.

But the royal decree of January 29, 1535, ordering complete extirpation of heretics could not be carried out, for Francis found that it alienated the Germans whose sympathy he would surely need in his struggle with Charles. Accordingly on July 16 was issued the Edict of Coucy which freed prisoners held for heresy and permitted fugitives to return provided they would forswear their heretical ideas within six months. Only relapsed heretics and Sacramentarians were excluded from its provisions. In the future no one might publish or teach any doctrine contrary to the traditional cult. Finally on May 31, 1536, the Edict of Lyons extended amnesty even to Sacramentarians, but this policy could not last. From 1536 to 1538 Francis was engaged in his third war with Charles. When the Truce of Nice (1538) left him isolated, with only the Turkish sultan as ally, he resolved to take up once more the task of upholding the old cult. His meetings with the pope at Aigues-Mortes and Nice completely changed the character of his reign, for repression now became the royal watchword. In December, 1538, the Edict of Coucy was revoked. The Edict of Fontainebleau of June 1, 1540, provided a complete law to care for all heretics, and on the 23d the king appointed Matthew Ory, a friar, as inquisitor for the realm.

This fatal reaction bore heavily upon the harmless Waldensians who were living in a number of villages in the valley of the Durance. These people had long lived in great simplicity, and their orthodox neighbors had nothing but good words for their purity of life and uprightness in their dealings with all men. The only criticism made was that they persisted in their peculiar Waldensian ideas about the mass, impropriety of images, use of the cross and pictures, and other pious Catholic practices. While they could scarcely be regarded as obnoxious heretics, public excitement was such that the authorities could not overlook them. The Parlement of Aix condemned nineteen Waldensians to be burned alive and the village of Mérindol to be destroyed. This savage decree was not enforced because Francis' approval could not be obtained, and Bishop du Bellay of Paris succeeded in getting the order revoked.

Francis met with nothing but reverses in his fourth war with Charles (1542-44), and the Treaty of Crespy forced him to listen to the behests of politics. He lost interest in the innocence of the unfortunate Waldensians and listened to the misrepresentations sedulously propagated about them. When Cardinal Tournon told the king that the Waldensians were in revolt and opposing his sovereign government, he revoked his refusal to deal harshly with them. The cardinal had no pity in his breast; he hurried away, and after fixing a seal upon the document himself and fabricating a false military order, launched a brutal soldiery upon the innocent villages. One reason for this dastardly act was the ambition of the Baron d'Oppède to possess the fertile lands which the Waldensians during six generations of toil had transformed into a blooming garden. The result was that Mérindol, Cabrières, and twenty-two villages were denuded of their population with the most revolting barbarism (1545). The official conscience knew that it was one of the worst crimes in all history, and Francis commanded his heir, Henry II, to bring the guilty ones to justice, but all except one were exculpated.

There remains to be noted the execution of Etienne Dolet and the fourteen heretics of Meaux. Dolet, a man of pure life and of a singular spirituality, was found guilty of the crime of printing books written by Stapulensis, Erasmus, and Clément Marot, and was burned to death in the Place Maubert in Paris on April 3, 1546. Meanwhile at Meaux heretical conventicles were increasing, and on one occasion Pierre Leclerc, whose brother had suffered at the stake in 1526, was seized while ministering to a group of about sixty persons. Fourteen of them were condemned to die at the stake on the market place of Meaux (1546). Thus closed the reign of Francis I in a frightful holocaust of simple people, sacrificed to intolerance and momentary political advantage.

CHAPTER XLIII

BEGINNINGS OF CALVINISM: RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND

The Huguenot patriots were not great theologians, neither were they fervidly faithful. They embraced the Reformation merely because they wished to consolidate and strengthen the work of liberty which they had undertaken. In their eyes the church of Rome was but an auxiliary of the ducal house of Savoy; they thought the Reformation would give them the means with which they could establish their freedom.—H. FAZY.[1]

PROTESTANTS in France were passing through a most trying time after Louis de Berquin was burned in 1528, for they had no adequate leader, one who by superiority of intellect and strength of character could assume command and direct people sorely troubled about religion. Guillaume Farel, a man of fiery temper who counted not the cost of teaching the Gospel, attracted most attention, but he did not possess the intellect requisite to guide the theological questionings of Protestants. He was a most ardent propagandist of the new ideas, but could not play the part of a conserving leader. This need was filled by Calvin.

John Calvin was born in 1509 in Noyon, a town in Picardy in northeastern France. His parents had moved to this place from the neighboring hamlet of Pont-l'Evêque where his grandfather is said to have plied the cooper's craft. His father Gerard Calvin was a notary, and was so successful that he became a respected and solid citizen of Noyon. This is an important fact in the early education of John Calvin, for the boy thus had an opportunity to become acquainted with the world and the ways of man. Luther's father was a peasant and can be said to have become a burgher only when Martin was getting ready for his university studies. Thus while Luther's attitude toward life ever remained practically that of a peasant, Calvin's tastes, manner, and conceptions were always essentially bourgeois.

Calvin's father was able, through his influence with the bishop

[1] *Les Constitutions de la République de Genève* (Geneva, 1890), p. 42.

of Noyon, to secure for the youth a petty benefice in the church of Noyon while he was attending the best school in the town. Finally, when he had finished his preparatory studies, John was sent to Paris in his fourteenth year to study in the university. He became a member of the Collège de la Marche where he came under the tuition of the remarkable master of Humanist methods of instruction, Mathurin Cordier, from whom he received the best ideals of the new learning. Humanism, tinged with Erasmian conceptions, became a most important formative influence in his life. Soon, however, he was transferred to the Collège de Montagu. Here Noel Bédier was the chief influence and instruction was of the narrow scholastic type, hoary with age, inferior to that of the Humanists, which the choicer spirits of the new age were assaulting with relentless sarcasm.

Nevertheless, the youth made much progress. He gained facility in Latin and soon passed on to more advanced subjects such as philosophy which really marked his entrance into university studies. He formed the acquaintance of the Humanist Guillaume Cop who boasted of a friendship with Reuchlin and Erasmus. When his study of the liberal arts was nearly finished, Calvin's father insisted that he should study law as a preparation for a practical career. Like Luther, he was to travel along the road by which many a youth in the Middle Ages arrived at important posts in secular and ecclesiastical life. Accordingly he went to Orléans, for law was not studied in the Parisian schools. He began his lessons under Pierre de l'Estoile, an old-fashioned pedagogue thoroughly wedded to the time-honored methods of instruction in law. Calvin also continued his Humanist interests at Orléans. He formed the acquaintance of Melchior Wolmar, a great master of Greek from Rottweil in Germany, from whom he acquired some knowledge of Greek letters. Thus he was enabled to carry to completion his studies, the foundations of which he had laid when under Cordier. In 1529 he went to the University of Bourges in order to profit from the novel Humanist methods of instruction in law introduced by Alciato of Milan. This master was wont to inquire into the historical setting of law and to employ his knowledge of literature in elucidating it. Wolmar also moved to Bourges and Calvin resumed his connection with him. Meanwhile his father died while in difficulties with the church in Noyon. He had been excommunicated, probably because of his heretical tendencies, and he had also fallen into financial difficulties with the cathedral chapter. It is thought that this episode influenced Calvin's attitude toward the church. At about this time he returned to Orléans and received a degree in law.

In 1532 Calvin was back in Paris, free to do as he wished. He listened to lectures by the royal lecturers appointed by Francis I,

Humanists who were hated by the doctors of the Sorbonne and were bitterly opposed by them. Calvin undoubtedly profited much from the remarks of Vatable, the famous Hebrew scholar, Budé, the great light in classical literature, and Danes, a remarkable master of Greek. He now finished his commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*, in which the youthful author sought to find basic connections between the philosophy of Stoicism as set forth by Seneca and the teachings of Christ in the Gospel. This work, which was published in April, 1532, reveals Calvin as a Humanist, the influence of Erasmus being evident throughout. It is not surprising that this great Humanist's ethical conceptions should be adopted by Calvin.

The conversion of Calvin is a difficult theme. It occurred apparently between the publication of the commentary and the close of 1533. He had begun with a Humanist's interest in a simple moral religion. Perhaps his father's death shocked him. Perhaps he was influenced by his friend and relation, Pierre Olivétan, who already was tainted by heresy when Calvin was with him in Orléans. Many people were questioning the validity of practices in the church and some of the teachings of the old faith, and an inquiring mind such as Calvin's naturally came in contact with them. Indeed, these questions could hardly escape him, for the doctors of the Sorbonne were waging bitter war on the new Humanist methods which, they thought, led to heresy. They even went so far as to seek to suppress Queen Marguerite's *Mirror of a Sinful Soul*. These influences may well have impressed Calvin, although his conversion is described as having come suddenly.

These were important years for Calvin. A mind as sensitive and intelligent as his would inevitably be moved by the pressing problems of religion. His first overtly heretical tendency is revealed when he collaborated with Nicholas Cop, rector of the university, in the preparation of the latter's address which was given on November 1, 1533. Much of it clearly was borrowed from Erasmus, and it opened with a discussion of that Humanist's philosophy of Christ. But it also seems to have drawn something from Luther. Thus the speaker dwelt upon the Gospel as opposed to the law and in consequence declared in favor of salvation through faith in the grace of God and not through the performance of good deeds. It is evident that Calvin at this moment was essentially an Erasmian tinged with Luther's ideas. He still had a long way to go before arriving at the doctrines which he was to express in 1536.

The effect of this discourse upon the conservative professors can well be imagined. The Parlement of Paris, with Francis I on its side, proceeded against Cop, who fled. A number of arrests were made. Calvin went into hiding at Chaillot near Paris, and later in Saintonge, a little town not far from Angoulême. Next he went to

Nérac to see the aging Stapulensis whose advice to pursue a moderate course did not impress him as being feasible. He now broke definitely with the Humanists and adopted a purely evangelical conception of religion. Swiss and other Sacramentarian influences were operating in France, the ideas of Œcolampadius were known, and Butzer of Strassburg also was exerting considerable influence. Calvin, meditating whether he should break with the traditional faith, decided to do so and surrendered his church incomes at Noyon in May, 1534. During a visit to his native city he was imprisoned, probably because of some manifestation against the old faith. When released he returned to Orléans where he wrote a polemic against Anabaptists. On October 18 were discovered the placards on the walls of buildings of Paris, violently denouncing the mass, and, as we have seen, the king determined to destroy the heretics. It was a dangerous moment and Calvin fled to Basel where he arrived about the opening of 1535.

Calvin found Basel, where the Reformation had triumphed in 1529, a congenial environment. He had been meditating on a systematic treatise on the Christian faith and was now in a position to finish it. This was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, published at Basel in March, 1536. Although the author's theological ideas had not yet arrived at their full development, his system was essentially complete. It is perhaps the greatest work on systematic theology produced by the Protestants of the Reformation, and its immediate service was to provide French Protestants with a theological guide which their early leaders had not been able to produce. The edition of 1541 was a masterpiece of prose and exerted much influence in the development of an artistic and brilliant prose style in French letters. The definitive edition of 1559 contained his mature views.

That the author aimed to help the persecuted of France he himself states in his famous preface to the *Institutes*, addressed to Francis I:

> When I first engaged in this work, nothing was farther from my thoughts than to write what should afterwards be presented to your majesty. My intention was only to furnish a kind of rudiments, by which those who feel some interest in religion might be trained to true godliness. And I toiled at the task chiefly for the sake of my countrymen the French, multitudes of whom I perceived to be hungering and thirsting after Christ, while very few seemed to have been duly imbued with even a slender knowledge of Him.

Calvin urged Francis to accept the new doctrines and abandon Catholicism, stating that if he rejected the teaching of the Gospel he would meet with adversity.

> Your duty, most serene prince, is not to shut either your ears or mind against a cause involving such mighty interests as these: how the story of God is to be maintained on the earth inviolate, how the truth of God is to preserve its dignity, how the kingdom of Christ is to continue amongst us compact and secure. The cause is worthy of your ear, worthy of your investigation, worthy of your throne. The characteristic of a true sovereign is to acknowledge that, in the administration of his kingdom, he is a minister of God. He who does not make his reign subservient to the divine glory, acts the part not of a king, but a robber. He, moreover, deceives himself who anticipates long prosperity to any kingdom which is not ruled by the sceptre of God, that is, by His divine word. For the heavenly oracle is infallible which has declared, that "where there is no vision the people perish."

The following is a typically Calvinist note:

> Let not a contemptuous idea of our insignificance dissuade you from the investigation of this cause. We, indeed, are perfectly conscious how poor and abject we are: in the presence of God we are miserable sinners, and in the sight of men most despised —we are, if you will, the mere dregs and offscourings of the world, or worse, if worse can be named: so that before God there remains nothing of which we can glory save only His mercy, in which, without any merit of our own, we are admitted to the hope of eternal salvation: and before men not even this much remains, since we can glory only in our infirmity, a thing which, in the estimation of men, it is the greatest ignominy even tacitly to confess. But our doctrine must stand sublime above all the glory of the world, and invincible by all its power, because it is not ours, but that of the living God and His anointed whom the Father has appointed king, that He may rule from sea to sea, and from rivers even to the ends of the earth; and so rule as to smite the whole earth and its strength of iron and brass, its splendor of gold and silver, with the mere rod of his mouth, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel; according to the magnificent predictions of the prophets respecting His kingdom.[2]

This introduction is a noble piece of exposition. It is refreshing to read these pages in which princes were told the truth which they must accept. Princes were ministers and not, as Luther thought, rulers to be obeyed in all matters, secular and ecclesiastical. But Calvin's appeal to Francis was in vain, for that monarch would never leave the established church, the buttress of French kingship.

[2] *Dedication of the Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), tr. by J. Aller (The Harvard Classics, vol. xxxix).

Thus began Calvin's life work. The scene of his activities was to be Switzerland and not France. It is now necessary to relate in what way the ground had been prepared for Calvin in the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland. Zwinglianism had been accepted by most German cantons, only the five cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne adhering to the old worship. Berne was the western outpost of Protestantism, and from it the conquering impulse, which had seemed to cease momentarily upon the death of Zwingli in 1531, proceeded to win to the Protestant fold the cantons of Valais, Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel. Of the French cantons, only Fribourg remained staunchly loyal to Catholicism.

Guillaume Farel, the first reformer to labor in the French cantons, was born near Gap in Dauphiné in 1489. His family, like Calvin's, belonged to the bourgeoisie and had intimate connections with the church. Farel went to Paris to study, soon fell under the influence of Stapulensis, and was thus led to study Scripture in the manner of Humanists. He saw that there was a glaring contrast between religious practices of his day and the statements of Christ and the apostles. He followed Briçonnet to Meaux in 1521, and soon accepted Luther's idea that salvation came only through faith. He was a most energetic man who moved directly toward his objective without considering the obstacles which stood in the way. Apparently he failed to work in harmony with Briçonnet and in 1523, when the group at Meaux was being attacked by conservatives who wished to suppress them, he fled to Basel.

Now began Farel's tumultuous apostolate. He at once attacked Catholics and soon extended his hostility to Erasmus because of the latter's Laodicean sentiments as he called them. Expelled from Basel, Farel went to Montbéliard, to Metz, and finally to Strassburg. He spent several months preaching in Alsace, and appeared in Berne in the fall of 1526. He settled in Aigle, a town on the Rhone above Lake Geneva. He began characteristically as a schoolmaster, and this gave him a chance to insinuate his way into the confidence of his hearers and thus spread his ideas about the Gospel. At all times he could rely upon the protection of Berne. In 1529 he was sent by Berne into those parts of the Vaud which were under the joint government of Berne and Fribourg. Wherever Berne's authority was uppermost, Farel denounced the traditional cult with the greatest violence and audacity. Pierre Viret and Antoine Froment assisted him in Orbe, Grandson, and Morat which became important centers of propaganda.

In 1529 Farel appeared in Neuchâtel which abandoned Catholicism in 1530, Orbe and Grandson following in 1531. Froment was sent into Geneva in November, 1532, to disseminate the new doctrines

under the guise of teaching languages. Geneva was profoundly influenced by its external political relations. Situated at the foot of Lake Geneva and surrounded by territory of the king of France, its citizens feared the loss of their independence. Hence they had formed an alliance with Berne and Fribourg. The situation was further complicated by the ancient ambition of the dukes of Savoy to control the city, members of that house often being elected to the see of Geneva. And as the dukes of Savoy usually were allied with the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the political position of Geneva was much disturbed by the ever recurring wars between Charles V and Francis I. Also, there were divisions within the city. The clergy and zealous Catholics supported the bishop and were willing to seek the aid of the dukes of Savoy in combating heresy. Many citizens, however, wished to perpetuate their independence and opposed the bishops and Savoy. It was a field favorable for the spread of heresy.

Froment's teaching at once won a large following in Geneva. The ardent reformer was so bold as to address his listeners on the *Place du Molard* which drew upon him the wrath of the bishop's officers, and he was forced to leave the city. Many Catholics in Geneva were angry because the council of Geneva did not act against the heretics who were supported by Berne, but no action could be undertaken against this powerful canton. On May 4, 1533, a riot occurred in Geneva in which a canon, a native of Fribourg, was slain while brandishing a weapon against the Protestants. This was an important turning point. Fribourg demanded justice and the immediate suppression of heresy, while Berne insisted with equal emphasis upon freedom of preaching. Vacillation was dangerous for the Catholics because the excitement caused the reformers to proceed with greater audacity; Farel who had fled returned with Viret and began preaching to the excited public. A disputation was held before the council on January 29 and 30, 1534. When it was apparent that it would bring no practical result, Farel and his followers seized a Franciscan chapel on March 1.

These events greatly displeased Fribourg which withdrew from the alliance with Geneva. This was unfortunate, for Geneva was thus abandoned to Savoy and Berne. The council was forced to listen to the wishes of Berne more than ever and could not act against Farel even had it wished to do so. The bishop thereupon sought support among his relatives in Savoy and soon began to make war on the people of Geneva, even ordering the townsmen to quit the city. Finally, on May 30, 1535, a great disputation was held before the council in which the fiery Farel won an easy victory. Still the council refused to act, and on August 8 the reforming party began to destroy images, pictures, and other objects in the cathedral church of St.

Peter. Two days later Farel appeared before the council insisting on the immediate destruction of the old cult. The bishop had forbidden the secular priests to enter into any discussion about religion, and consequently there was no one to defend the Catholic faith by argument. Thus Farel won the battle. The populace rejected Catholicism, the clergy fled, and the bishop, aided by Savoy, besieged the city.

Communal independence, opposition to Savoy, and Protestantism now dictated the policy of Geneva. The situation was especially dangerous for at this moment Charles V and Francis I were about to begin the third of their wars (1536-38). The city's independence was placed in great jeopardy. Berne feared that the bishop of Geneva and his party of Savoyards might secure the support of the emperor, thus bringing the war into Switzerland, which she wanted to avoid if possible. This indeed was precisely what Charles proposed to do. Neither did Berne overlook the fact that the five Catholic cantons might join Charles, the bishop, and Savoy in order to call a halt to the triumphant advance of Protestantism. Berne finally decided to act when news came that Francis had definitely proposed to support Geneva if she would accept his sovereignty, and on January 16, 1536, Berne declared war on Savoy.

Berne's army advanced toward Geneva. On the way it had to pass through the Vaud, the region between Berne and Fribourg on the east, Lake Neuchâtel on the west, and Lake Geneva on the south. The energetic action of the troops, supported by levies from Neuchâtel and other places sympathetic to the cause, induced most of the towns of the Vaud to surrender. The troops of the duke of Savoy were surprised and outmanœuvered, and early in February the Bernese entered Geneva to be hailed as liberators. Now also came the settlement of accounts with the bishop of Lausanne who, like his colleague in Geneva, had favored and even abetted the Savoyards. Accordingly on April 1 the troops of Berne seized all the episcopal property in the diocese. Thus did Swiss national sentiment triumph over French, Savoyard, and imperial ambitions. And incidentally Protestantism was established as the legal faith everywhere in western Switzerland save in Fribourg which has adhered most tenaciously to the traditional Catholic faith down to our own day.

It remained to establish the reformed cult in Geneva and Lausanne. On May 21, 1536, the people of Geneva, assembled by sound of bell and trumpet, swore to live according to the Gospel, which meant that all traditional Catholic practices were to be abandoned. They also approved a measure which provided for the establishment of a school and the hiring of a master and teachers, and offered free education for the poor. All citizens were required to send their children to this school. The Reformation in Lausanne was accomplished in

the following October. A great disputation had been arranged in which Farel and Viret assumed the leading rôles. The emperor had forbidden the debate in a letter to Berne early in July, but it was not obeyed. The clergy were not in a position to resist the arguments of their opponents, for they had been bidden to keep silence; and the bishop's vicar, as might be expected, was so poorly versed in Scripture that he could not defend the Catholic position. It is instructive to note that the defense was left to a man named Blancherose, a layman who was eager to uphold the old faith. The edict of December 24 established the reformed faith everywhere in Vaud. Ecclesiastical property was appropriated for schools, hospitals, and similar uses. Viret was established as minister, and out of his lectureship grew the University of Lausanne.

Meanwhile Calvin had returned to Switzerland. After publishing his *Institutes* in 1536, he left Basel apparently to escape attention, directing his steps to Ferrara where Duchess Renata, a daughter of Louis XII of France, was known to be sympathetic to reformers. At her court had gathered a number of them, among whom was the poet, Clément Marot. It is not known why Calvin went to Ferrara. Probably it was to propagate his ideas, perhaps to gratify desires natural in the breast of one who had been brought up as a Humanist, or to see Italy. His sojourn was brief evidently because it was too dangerous to stay in this place upon which persecution descended even while he was staying there. Accordingly he recrossed the Alps and, passing through Basel, proceeded to Paris. He left soon after, bringing with him a brother and sister. But his design of going to Strassburg was interrupted by the hostilities between Charles V and Francis I, for he was forced to make a detour by way of Geneva where he was destined to spend the rest of his life.

Calvin had intended to spend but one night in Geneva. He was loath to engage upon active work, preferring the quiet of his study in order to write theological treatises for the guidance of Protestants. Farel addressed him with characteristic impetuosity, declaring that God would never give him His blessing if he should refuse to enter upon the path of manifest duty. Calvin, frightened, capitulated and agreed to stay. He made a hurried visit to Basel for business reasons, returned in August, 1536, and actively took up his work in the city which during the next twenty-eight years he was to organize into a theocratic commonwealth framed according to Scripture as he interpreted it.

CHAPTER XLIV

PROTESTANTISM IN GENEVA

We say, then, that Scripture clearly proves this much, that God by His eternal and immutable counsel determined once for all those whom it was His pleasure one day to admit to salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, it was His pleasure to doom to destruction. We maintain that this counsel, as regards to the elect, is founded on His free mercy, without any respect to human worth. While those whom he dooms to destruction are excluded from access to life by a just and blameless, but at the same time incomprehensible judgment.—JOHN CALVIN.[1]

CALVIN'S theological system was the most elaborate and scientific body of dogma produced in the Protestant camp. Luther was a powerful revolutionary with deep intuitive religious feeling which, however, never could be reduced to system. Melanchthon was a follower and never blazed new theological trails. Zwingli was the product of diverse influences and acted under the impulse of specific events only; he was not a systematic theologian. The Anabaptists wrote much edifying literature and some acutely reasoned works but they also failed to create a masterpiece of theological thought which could assume basic importance in the religious life of the Protestant world. Since this task was peculiarly the achievement of Calvin, it is advisable at this time to outline the main points of his theological system.

It must not be forgotten that the reformer was deeply indebted to his early teachers and friends. He had learned much from Erasmus and other Humanists who were interested in the Bible. Like Zwingli, he had received from Luther a deeper conception of grace from which he derived his doctrine of justification by faith alone. From Zwingli and the Sacramentarians of Strassburg and elsewhere he had drawn his ideas about an incorporeal presence in the Eucharist which, however, he modified by teaching that Christ was spiritually present. From his early Humanist training he had acquired a lucid Latinity and a thorough knowledge of the classics and the church fathers, both Latin and Greek. The study of law without doubt had

[1] *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. by H. Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. ii, p. 540.

added logical precision to a mind natively endowed with clarity. These forces were all combined in this master whose systematic exposition of Protestant theology was destined to exert great influence. Calvin's logical reasoning began with a well-conceived doctrine about God, the sovereignty of God being the corner stone of Calvin's great system. God was a being without limitation of time or place; He was omnipotent and omnipresent. Out of the depths of His wisdom and for reasons sufficient to Him, which were beyond human ability to understand, He had fashioned the world and all things in it. Man was created in His image, sinless and immortal. The first parents, Adam and Eve, lived in the Garden of Eden in close fellowship with God, utterly unconscious of the effects of sin. The injection of sin into this fair creation, due to the rebellion of Satan, changed this blissful state. Man fell through disobedience to God's command, and his progeny fell with him. His total depravity resulted, for so spotless was God's purity that any stain of sin, no matter how slight, was sufficient to corrupt man's moral nature completely. Man did indeed possess a knowledge of God drawn from the resources of his intellect, but this could not save him; it was insufficient because man was smitten with sin. A much fuller knowledge of God was offered in Scripture which contained His unique revelation whereby man might discover the way of salvation.

God's sovereign will in the universe necessitated a doctrine regarding man's relations to Him, and Calvin's logical mind did not hesitate to draw the inevitable consequences. He taught a rigid foreordination of some to eternal glory and eternal damnation for many more. Justification, as with Luther, came from faith or trust in God's promises to save through the sacrifice of Christ. Predestination was a mystery inscrutable from man's point of view, because a corrupt nature could not form any but perverse views of God's righteousness. This doctrine often aroused rebellious sentiments among Calvin's followers, a fact which in numerous instances caused later theologians to soften its rigor.

God's plan for salvation was set forth in Scripture. This was an inspired book written by certain people who acted as simple secretaries of God and faithfully and authentically recorded His revelation. Calvin held that every phrase and sentence was infallible, which led to a remarkable bibliolatry among his followers. The Old Testament was as important as the New, each of its books being regarded as a part of God's law and revelation. When Castellio suggested that the *Song of Solomon* was merely love poetry, Calvin was horrified, for such tinkering with God's inspired word was impious and presumptuous.

There were but two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The former was a rite whereby a person was made a member of the community of the Christian church, and it possessed none of the far-reaching power which the Catholic Church ascribed to it—that of removing the guilt of original sin. The second was a spiritual feast at which the believer received the spiritual body of Christ. These sacraments were established by God and were simple external symbols, like seals attached to an authentic document. The seals attested to its authenticity, but without them the validity of the document was not impaired. Therefore without the sacraments a believer's faith was truly able to save, the sacraments being merely external confirmatory signs of such saving faith.

The church was a visible and an invisible company composed of the elect, living and departed. Its visible section comprised all who participated in the Lord's Supper, listened to the preaching of the Gospel, and regulated their acts according to its precepts. It was to be organized according to the model given by God to man in the New Testament. Ministers were appointed by the congregation to interpret the Word of God as contained in Scripture. They were God's agents, and were intrusted with the keys of salvation. Yet it must not be thought that they possessed sole right of interpreting dogma or Scripture, for such final authority reposed in the whole body of the faithful guided by the Holy Spirit. The Bible was the supreme source of trust and all were required to submit to its teaching. Teachers were appointed to aid in instructing the people in religion, and elders and deacons were chosen from among the members who possessed genuine inclination toward religion and who had received the approval of the congregation. A community thus established possessed the right to discipline or to excommunicate any person for heresy or improper conduct.

Calvin and his followers held that the church could inflict no punishment beyond driving offenders out of its fold, it being the duty of the officials of a secular state to proceed against them at the bar of justice. This relationship was very like that of the church and the state in the Middle Ages. In general the Calvinist clergy claimed authority to instruct the state as to its moral and religious duty. It was the duty of the state to purge its citizenry of erroneous dogmas. Heresy was treason against God, and in the case of the most obstinate assertion of heresy the death penalty was justified, as in the case of Servetus. Denial of the dogma of the Trinity was a grave affront to the Christian community, and the death penalty was not too severe for any person holding such radical conceptions.

This right of the clergy to instruct in faith and morals laid the basis for a rigid regulation of private conduct, dress, arrangement of the hair, jewelry, sports, and diversions. The rigidity of Calvinist

dogma and the lynx-eyed moral supervision of ministers made the laws of Geneva particularly efficacious in all these private concerns. Calvin was determined to put an end to all violations of morality, especially adultery, an offense which merited the death penalty according to the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy. Observance of the Sabbath was compulsory. Calvin also believed that card playing should be shunned because it consumed precious time which might be better employed in serving God. Dancing was regarded as bad because it invited immorality. A similar objection was raised against the theater, but though the drama was not entirely forbidden, it was to be censored by the clergy. Many of the laws of Geneva which regulated moral, social, and religious conduct in accordance with these concepts, may be traced back to the mediæval communal acts of the city. Much of the severity with which they were enforced was due, however, to the zeal of a clergy schooled in a theology which interdicted many of life's simple pleasures and charms along with heresy and immorality.

Blasphemy, which was regarded as a horrible sin, was given a wide meaning. God's name was so holy that it should not be used irreverently or contemptuously, and no slighting remark was to be made about Him. It was the attitude of mind which determined whether an utterance was blasphemous.

> The name of God is vulgarized and vilified when used in oaths, which, though true, are superfluous. This too, is to take His name in vain. Wherefore, it is not sufficient to abstain from perjury, unless we, at the same time, remember that an oath is not appointed or allowed for passion or pleasure, but for necessity; and that, therefore, a licentious use is made of it by him who uses it on any other than necessary occasions. Moreover, no case of necessity can be pretended, unless where some purpose of religion or charity is to be served. In this matter, great sin is committed in the present day—sin the more intolerable in this, that its frequency has made it cease to be regarded as a fault, though it certainly is not accounted trivial before the judgment-seat of God. The name of God is everywhere profaned by introducing it indiscriminately in frivolous discourse; and the evil is disregarded, because it has been long and audaciously persisted in with impunity. . . . Another form of violation is exhibited, when, with manifest impiety, we, in our oaths, substitute the holy servants of God for God Himself, thus conferring upon them the glory of His Godhead. It is not without cause that the Lord has, by a special commandment, required us to swear by His name, and, by a special prohibition, forbidden us to swear by other gods.[2]

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 455-456.

"Idolatry" also was a grave offense and was likewise given wide interpretation. Not only did it refer to worship of idols, but it included the reverence shown by Catholics toward images of Christ, Mary, and the saints, and to the sacrament, the mass being regarded as the extreme of "idolatry." Calvin and his followers never scrupled to denounce these traditional Catholic practices. This temper of mind made Calvinists especially bitter toward relics, and Calvin wrote a remarkable treatise against them in which he satirized their use. It was not difficult to do this, for a credulous age had rarely questioned the authenticity of the remains of saints. The following is a fair sample:

> The inquisitive genius of the monks has set them to rummaging in the Virgin's drawers and toilet-boxes: the thieves have brought off considerable plunder. At Charroi they have one of her chemises; another at Aix-la-Chapelle. The apostles and other pious men of old were not sufficiently sensible of their blessings to care aught for Mary's wardrobe. Out of curiosity, however, let us examine the cut of this chemise. That at Aix is frequently carried about in pomp, stuck upon the end of a long pole, and it resembles what is called the sacerdotal alb. Now if Mary had sprung from the loins of an antediluvian giant, she could not have worn a chemise of such dimension as that of Aix-la-Chapelle.[3]

Calvin soon began to revise the religious life of the city. Farel had started this work before him; but now the task was continued in earnest. The two men presented propositions to the council which were promulgated in the *Ordonnance* of January 16, 1537. The Lord's Supper should be celebrated four times a year, discipline was to be maintained through excommunication, a catechism was to be prepared for children, congregational singing should be inaugurated, and regulations were to be made for the observance of Sunday. The catechism was introduced soon after. The council commanded the officials of each of the twenty-six districts of Geneva to order the inhabitants to appear at a specified time at the cathedral church of St. Peter to listen to the reading of the catechism and give their promise to receive it as the sole and true doctrine. There was much opposition to this procedure but the government threatened to banish those who failed to comply.

Calvin and Farel soon learned that they had numerous enemies. Citizens whose families had long been established in Geneva were loath to suffer the domination of the ministers. They had shaken off

[3] *On Romish Relics; Being an Inventory of Saints' Relics* (New York, 1844), p. 29.

the bishop and the house of Savoy, and they did not relish another and more annoying tyranny. The elections to the town councils in February, 1537, had proved favorable to the ministers, but in the following year a hostile group was chosen, and Calvin and Farel were powerless to oppose them. When it was voted to accept the method of serving the Lord's Supper followed in Berne, trouble ensued, Calvin strenuously refusing to admit that the state had any authority in dictating religious policy. On Easter Sunday, 1538, he and Farel refused to administer the Lord's Supper with unleavened bread. Calvin's enemies, eager to put a limit to his influence, tried to assert the right of the secular community in purely church questions. The government thereupon exiled Calvin and Farel on April 23, ordering them to depart within three days. Farel went to Neuchâtel, and Calvin proceeded to Strassburg at the invitation of Butzer.

Calvin's sojourn in Strassburg, which lasted from 1538 to 1541, was an important period in his life, for he now came under the influence of Martin Butzer (1491-1551) a theologian who had adopted a middle position on the teachings of Luther and Zwingli and was able to leave the impress of his teaching upon Calvinism. So important was his career that we must pause at this point to describe it.

Strassburg, situated in the center of Alsace, occupied a prominent position in southwest Germany. France lay to the west, Switzerland to the south, and Lutheran Germany to the north and east. This central political position gave Strassburg a splendid opportunity of becoming the great mediator between Zwinglian, Lutheran, and French ideas. When but a youth Butzer had been placed in the Dominican order by his parents against his wishes. When Luther began his work, he was attracted, and he met the reformer when he appeared before a meeting of his order at Heidelberg in April, 1518, whereupon a close friendship followed. Butzer forsook his order, married, and settled at Weissenburg in Alsace. He was forced to flee for preaching Lutheran doctrine without restraint. He settled in Strassburg and began preaching the new ideas (1523).

Religious refugees, among them Karlstadt, poured into Strassburg from many quarters. Butzer showed himself eager to listen to all views and was easily influenced by them. Indeed, all people were welcome, although Anabaptists were not greeted with great cordiality. Butzer became pastor of St. Aurelia's church and soon accepted Zwinglian doctrine. Images were removed from his church, and the miracle-working grave of St. Aurelia was closed to visitors (October, 1524). This new change was due most likely to the visit of Hinne Rode, a Netherlander, who brought with him Cornelius Hoen's Sacramentarian treatise on the Eucharist. Zwingli was greatly

impressed by it and to it he probably owed his radical view of the sacrament of the altar. It had the same effect upon Butzer who henceforth assumed a mediating position between Zwingli and Luther. He was able to influence Landgrave Philip of Hesse and the towns of South Germany, and he took part in the discussions between Luther and Zwingli at the castle of Marburg (October, 1529). In this same year the mass was abolished in Strassburg, whereupon the city definitely became Protestant. Butzer also helped in drawing up the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.

During the next few years Butzer remained active in establishing harmony between Lutherans and Zwinglians. He visited Luther, discussed bases of understanding with the more complaisant Melanchthon, and even sought to bring the Waldensians into fraternal union with the Protestants. The death of Zwingli (1531) and Œcolampadius (1529) made him a leader of Protestantism in southwestern Germany, but by 1538 he had gone so far in his zeal to accommodate Luther's insistence upon the real presence that he alienated the Zwinglians.

By this time Butzer was able to influence Calvinism which had become important in French lands. Strassburg had attracted attention among Frenchmen, and when the group at Meaux was attacked by the Parlement of Paris, Stapulensis, Roussel, and Farel sought refuge within its walls. Sacramentarian ideas were disseminated from Strassburg among Frenchmen. These mediatory influences were very important. Thus Calvin was led to revise the Zwinglian conception of the Lord's Supper somewhat in accordance with Luther's teaching. He agreed with Zwingli that the body of Christ was not appropriated through manducation, but he rejected that reformer's idea that it was purely and simply a memorial of His sacrifice. Luther's conception of the real presence was retained but divested of its materialism. Thus Christ was spiritually present in the sacrament and was appropriated spiritually only. The mediatory position of Strassburg and Butzer made this city and its reformers very important in the history of the Reformation.

Calvin began to lecture on theology for which he received a small honorarium from the city, and he also became a pastor of the French refugees. He was free to develop an order of worship, subject to the general policy of the authorities of Strassburg. Thus was created the liturgy adopted wherever Calvinist influences were able to establish churches. The order of worship was as follows: invocation, prayer, confession, absolution to all who were truly repentant, singing of the Table of the Law, reading from the Bible, sermon, psalm or hymn, and benediction. Psalms were drawn from the Book of Psalms.

Clément Marot had translated some of them, and Calvin set others to rhyme. To this day in Reformed and Presbyterian churches psalms are often preferred to hymns.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of Geneva were much troubled. One group still hoped that the Catholic worship might be brought back. Another, called *Guillermins* from Guillaume Farel, supported the reformers, and a third wanted to accept the leadership of Berne with which Geneva had made an accord. Because of this action they were nicknamed *Artichauds* (from the word *articles*). The strife caused by these factions gave Catholics hope that the Genevans might be induced to return to the church, and in 1539 Bishop Jacopo Sadoleto of Carpentras penned an appeal to the officials of the city. The town of Berne, preferring to keep Geneva Protestant, invited Calvin to answer it. The reply was printed and at once put on sale. In it Calvin reiterated his position regarding the true nature of the church and his opposition to Catholicism. This response had an important effect. The magistrates and council of Geneva were weary of contentions and desired above all things some person who could establish peace. Only Calvin, it was thought, could quiet the turmoil, and they invited him to return.

At once upon his arrival in Geneva in September, 1541, Calvin set about to revise the religious organization of the community in such manner as to make the city a model of Christian government. The *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* were promulgated on November 20. Originally drawn up by Calvin, they were changed at many points by the council, and finally accepted by the townsmen. They established: (1) An association of ministers, known in Genevan history as the *Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs*, was to have charge of discipline in a large number of cases. (2) A second order, that of the teachers, was to teach pure doctrine. (3) The third group constituted the famous *consistory*, composed of twelve elders who were to be chosen by the city councils. They were charged to look into the conduct and opinions of the people, each elder to have supervision over a district. (4) The last group were the deacons who were appointed to look after the poor, disburse alms, care for the sick, and regulate the hospitals. These four orders were held to be instituted by Christ for the governance of His church.

It was difficult at first for the pastors to subject all public and private life to their régime, for there was much opposition and criticism. But Calvin was not the man to retreat before it, and he relentlessly crushed every sign of insubordination. To his imperious nature, conscious of a calling from God, it seemed that no mercy should be shown to anyone who questioned what was believed to be the teaching of Scripture. Sebastian Castellio (1515-63), who was

born in a village near Geneva, was a thorn in his side. In spite of the poverty of his parents, he managed to acquire a Humanist education. He became acquainted with Calvin in Strassburg in 1540 and was led to abandon his thoroughgoing Humanism for the religious views of Calvin. But not entirely, for soon after he became rector of the academy in Geneva he advanced the startling idea that the *Song of Songs* was purely amorous poetry which had no place in the Word of God. He was called before the council, and when he persisted in his views, was constrained to leave Geneva (1543). He settled in Basel where he led a life of great poverty.

Calvin's rigid doctrine of predestination to eternal damnation as well as to eternal glory provoked criticism most sharply uttered by an ex-Carmelite named Jerome Bolsec. Bolsec became interested in Reformed ideas, fled from France, found refuge at the court of Duchess Renata of Ferrara, and finally settled near Geneva. His eagerness for debate led him into difficulties with the ministers. When he attacked predestination, a very central proposition of Calvin's system, a disputation was held in 1551 and Bolsec was cast into prison for opposing a doctrine officially established in Geneva. His accusation that Calvin did not understand the Bible galled the reformer. He was tried and finally banished from the city. He settled at Thonon nearby whence he accused Calvin of teaching that God was the author of sin.

Severe punishment was meted out to others, for a section of the population remained indifferent to Calvin's rigid doctrines. One Jacques Gruet was suspected of having posted a placard in the pulpit of St. Peter's which threatened revenge for the tyranny which the people had endured. He had written some bitter brochures against Calvin's régime but did not publish them, and they were discovered in his house after he was arrested. He was subjected to dreadful tortures, and the magistrates decreed that as his ideas were a deadly insult against God's law he should be executed (1547). This severe policy proved successful in dealing with such people, and Calvin's authority was undisputed in church and city government. He ruled as no pope had ever ruled in Rome. Such was the rigor of this régime that it has been computed that between 1542 and 1546 fifty-eight persons were executed and seventy-six sent into exile. Among those who lost their lives were thirty-four accused of the crime of witchcraft, which the people as well as Calvin believed was the cause of the plague of 1545.

The execution of Servetus in 1553, described in a former chapter, greatly aroused Calvin. Castellio produced a pamphlet denying the right of secular governments to punish dissenters in life and limb. It was published under the assumed name of Martin Bellius and

bore as title, *Concerning Heretics and Whether They Should Be Punished.* Castellio held that there were two kinds of heretics. Those who acted against the moral precepts of Scripture should be punished, but those who misunderstood the Bible should not be so treated, for it was unjust to persecute them because the teaching of the Bible was not clear. The Humanist author thought that this earth could be made better only if every person would carry out Christ's precepts in his daily life. Rigid adherence to official dogma was not as important as moral conduct. In a bold passage he asked the question, "If, O Christ, Thou art the author of these things or if Thou hast given order to cause them to be done, what is left for the devil to do?"

Theodore Beza undertook to answer this audacious book in 1554 with a treatise entitled *Heretics Are to Be Punished by the Civil Magistrate,* which undoubtedly voiced the sentiments of Calvin. Human society had as its chief object the establishment of God's glory. Civil magistrates, who were required to promote it as much as possible, had the right to restrain all rebels against God's authority. Capital punishment was legitimate because heretics impugned God's majesty, a more serious offense than opposing secular authority which demanded a rebel's life. Why should obstinate heretics therefore not be deprived of life?[4] The Protestant world very generally approved the punishment meted out to so manifest a heretic as Servetus, even Melanchthon believing that he richly deserved his punishment.

A government organized and managed by such ideas could not appeal to the easy-going citizenry of Geneva. Many of them opposed excommunication and were prone to make caustic statements about the pastors whom they delighted to annoy in many ways. But the frightful example of Servetus' death silenced all opponents, and the elections of 1555 were favorable to Calvin's cause. The *Libertines,* as these latitudinarians were called, were reduced in strength, a riot causing the magistrates to execute a number of them. A large number of the old families now left Geneva, thus reducing the formidable character of the opposition. Meanwhile the city more and more became a haven of refuge for those of the Reformed faith who fled persecution in France, England, the Low Countries, and elsewhere.

Calvin will long be regarded as one of the world's great men. Although frail in body, he preached each day during every alternate week and attended weekly meetings of the consistory. He was an energetic writer, his literary remains filling fifty-seven large volumes in the *Corpus Reformatorum.* The *Institutes of the Christian Re-*

[4] H. M. Baird, *Theodore Beza, The Counsellor of the French Reformation* (New York, 1899), pp. 52-70.

ligion is his greatest work. He repeatedly revised it until he produced a definitive edition in 1559, which is still used in some quarters as an authoritative guide to theology. His *On Romish Relics* is worth reading as an example of pure literature. He also wrote long commentaries on the books of the Bible which served as handbooks for ministers and students of theology. In addition, Calvin carried on a voluminous correspondence with all the great lights of the Protestant world of the time. These literary products, Latin as well as French, are marked by great clarity of thought and incisive diction which won for him leadership among Protestants and lasting reputation as a writer of French Renaissance prose. His enormous labors sapped his strength and brought on a painful illness to which he succumbed in 1564.

His labors as an energetic organizer are no less remarkable. He sought to make Geneva a model of government for other states. Besides organizing the church, he rendered vast services to education in that city. The academy, which later became the University of Geneva, was founded in 1559. As one would expect, its instruction was guided by Humanist conceptions, Theodore Beza becoming the rector. Calvin also assisted in organizing the Reformed worship in foreign countries, France, the Low Countries, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Scotland, and England, to which a constant stream of zealous and well-prepared preachers was sent forth. Large numbers of young men went to Geneva to drink at the original fountain of Reformed theology. The church, thus organized in many lands, provided a most effective bulwark against Catholicism. Calvin's systematic theology became the best intellectual provender to nourish struggling Protestant churches everywhere, and it alone of all the rival systems produced by the Protestants may be called universal.

CHAPTER XLV

SPREAD OF CALVINISM: LOW COUNTRIES AND CENTRAL EUROPE

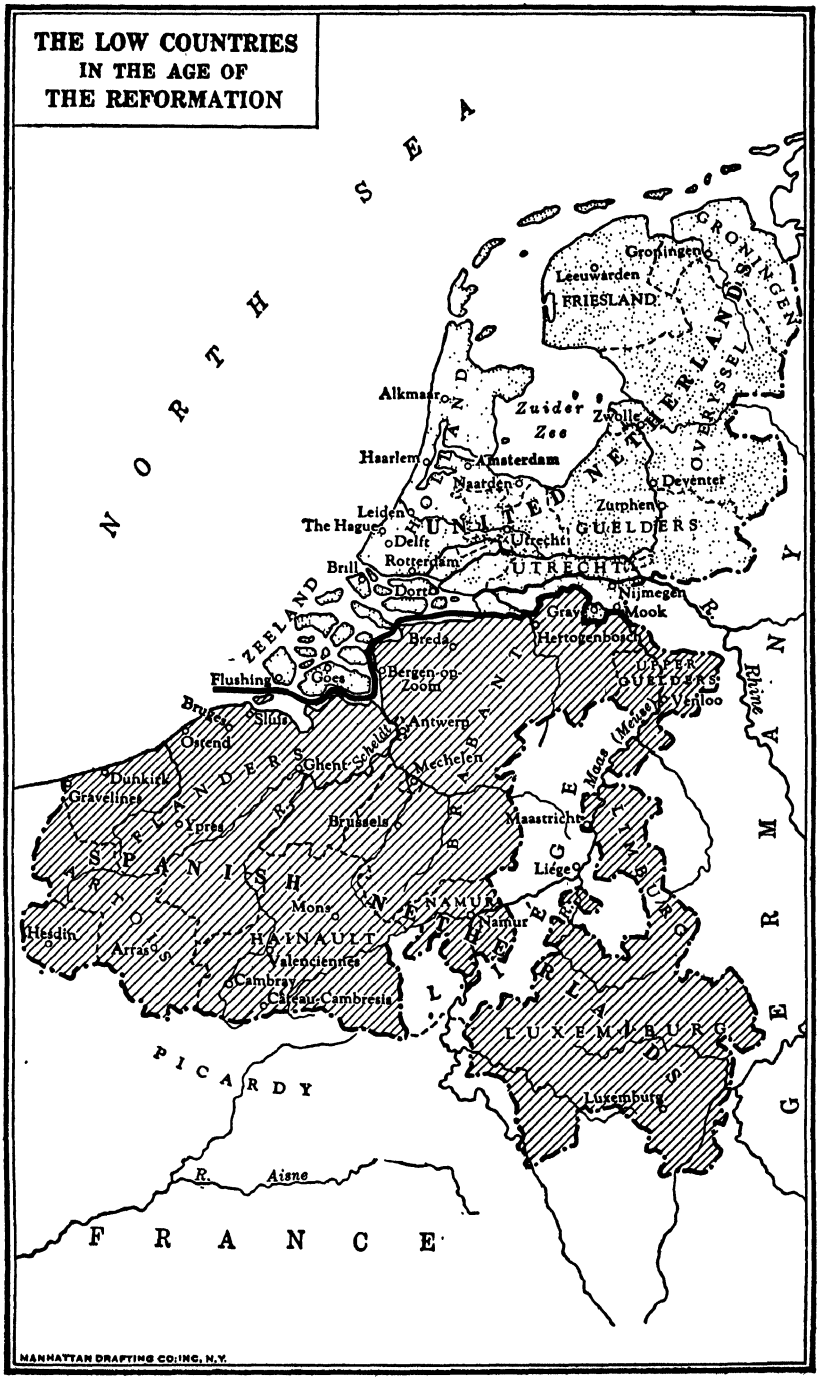
William the Silent is the triumphant figure of the latter half of the seventeenth century. The assured independence of the Netherlands is a greater achievement than the defeat of the Armada or the Battle of Ivry or the deposition of Mary Stuart.—J. N. FIGGIS.[1]

THE establishment of a Protestant state in the Low Countries was an event of capital importance, for when the seven northern provinces embraced the teaching of Calvin they became a center of vigorous Protestant influence which was felt in all neighboring lands. This revolt against Catholicism should not be separated from the revolt against the political domination of Europe by Spain. The success of the United Provinces ruined all Spanish hopes of employing the vast commercial and industrial resources and the geographically strategic position of the Low Countries to perpetuate and extend Spanish international power. The failure of this ambitious policy also made impossible King Philip's scheme of reestablishing Catholicism in northern Europe, the views of Calvin's followers about the right to rebel against princes playing a peculiar part in this struggle.

Charles of Spain, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, succeeded to the governance of the Low Countries in 1515 and was crowned emperor in 1520. It soon was apparent that he held the political ideas characteristic of the Renaissance. He wished to consolidate all political authority in the states over which he ruled, and he determined to conquer certain lands whose possession was necessary in order to complete his control of the Low Countries. Thus he annexed Tournai and its subject territories in 1522, the principality of Friesland in 1524, the secularized properties of the bishop of Utrecht with the subject land of Overyssel in 1528, the territories of Groningen and Drente in 1536, and finally the large duchy of Guelders in 1543. When Charles abdicated in October, 1555, he gave to his son Philip

[1] *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414-1625* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 167.

THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION



MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO.INC, N.Y.

seventeen provinces which constituted the whole of the Low Countries save the lands dependent upon the bishop of Liége.

Rulers of the Burgundian house, which came to an end with the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, had found it difficult to manage the common affairs of these lands. Each state cherished a strong spirit of independence and preferred to manage its own affairs, since everywhere there was much suspicion of the Estates General. Emperor Charles sought to break down this provincialism. In 1531 he established three central councils, the Council of State, the Privy Council, and the Council of Flanders, which gave him more effective control of the problems common to all the provinces. Councils of Justice had been appointed in several provinces by Charles' predecessors, and their number was extended and their functions perfected. Chambers of Accounts to take care of financial matters were created at Brussels, The Hague, and Lille, another being added in 1543 to regulate the finances of Guelders and Zutfen. Lieutenants, or stadtholders, were appointed in the various provinces to represent the prince in the management of public affairs.

Charles also developed his military resources. Princes of the Renaissance were confronted with two serious problems. Abroad they were constantly called upon to resist other rulers who like themselves were consolidating all political and financial power and making it subservient to a new state policy. At home nobles and towns who boasted rights and privileges which usually dated far back into the Middle Ages were likely to resist such centralizing authority. It was therefore important to develop an army. Charles inherited the military organization developed by his Burgundian forbears, and toward the end of his reign he had fifteen companies of three thousand horse each. Drawn from the lesser nobility, commanded by the more important seigniors of the land, and placed under the control of the prince who could dispose of them freely without dictation by the Estates General, they became an effective means of establishing central authority.

While Charles was thus laying the political and military foundations of a Netherlandish state, his foreign policy was designed to give the Low Countries a greater homogeneity and independence. He fought a series of five great wars with Francis I (1515-47) and Henry II (1547-59) of France. By the Treaty of Madrid (1526) at the close of the first war the king of France as feudal lord yielded all claim upon Flanders. This cession finally became definitive in the Treaty of Crespy (1544) at the close of the fourth encounter. Thus the independence of the Low Countries, which had so often been subject to the political and military encroachment of French kings, seemed established. Charles also severed the old bonds with Ger-

many where he bore the imperial title and ruled with his brother King Ferdinand. He organized his seventeen provinces into the Circle of Burgundy (1548), thus making them independent of the empire in administration and justice. In the following year a decree was issued at Brussels making these Netherlandish lands indivisible and inalienable.

In few lands is the course of the Reformation so interesting as in the Low Countries. No other region outside Italy had made such remarkable advance in economic and social life, and in this most highly developed bourgeois environment there appeared a high level of culture. Humanist conceptions took deep root even among townsmen of moderate circumstances. Erasmus appears to be, in part at least, a product of these surroundings and his teachings exerted a deeper influence in the Low Countries than elsewhere. Sacramentarians, who were especially numerous in the county of Holland, owed much to this Humanist culture. Their opinions, however, could not win the multitudes as Calvinism did later, for they were popular mainly among the well-to-do and intelligent élite in the towns.

Nor did Lutheranism win many adherents, for national antipathy to Rome was not nearly so pronounced here as in Germany.[2] Humanists, of whom Erasmus was typical, might be moved by Luther's protests but they were slow to join him. Sacramentarian and Lutheran teaching could not go together, since the former denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and owed much of its clarity to the thought of the Renaissance, whereas the latter developed the doctrine of consubstantiation which was as displeasing to Sacramentarians as Catholic transubstantiation. Furthermore, Luther abandoned the political implications of his democratic idea of justification by faith alone, for he was alarmed by the Peasants' War in 1524 and 1525. Henceforth

[2] It is an error repeated in nearly all books on the Reformation that the earliest reformers in the Low Countries were Lutheran. Luther's influence certainly reached into these lands, but most of the dissatisfied were Sacramentarians. Thus the three Augustinian friars who perished in Brussels (Henry Vos, John van Essen, and a third whose name is not given in the documents) denied the real presence and insisted that in the elements Christ was present only spiritually. This surely is not Lutheran, for Lutheran rigidly insisted that Christ was really present in the elements of the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, they would not affirm the existence of purgatory which Luther did not attack until 1525. For the best exposition of the matter, see L. Knappert's *Het Ontstaan en de Vestiging van het Protestantisme in de Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1924), chaps. iv and v; and *De Opkomst van het Protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche Stad: Geschiedenis van de Hervorming binnen Leiden* (Leiden, 1908), chap. i. The best work on Lutheranism in these lands is J. W. Pont's *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618* (Haarlem, 1911), vol. xvii of *Verhandelingen rakende den Natuurlijken en geopenbaarden Godsdienst Uitgegeven door Teyler's Godgeleerd Genootschap.*

authority and respect for rights of princes dominated his teaching—a spirit alien to the temper of Netherlanders. Later when the revolt against Philip II took place Lutheranism had no possible chance to win adherents, for it taught the necessity of obeying legitimate princes in all things secular as well as religious, no matter how tyrannical rulers might become.

Anabaptism, which was closely related to Sacramentarianism and Humanism, was much more important in the Low Countries than Lutheranism, spreading among the lower bourgeoisie and peasants. Pinched by hard times, these humble people often were eager to try force and so adopted Melchiorite doctrines about a heavenly Zion on earth. It is obvious that this group could never win support from the bulk of the population, for the socially stable and economically secure section of the population refused to countenance violence. It was an age of growing complexity in economic life. Simple conceptions of the untutored lower classes could not please hard-headed townsmen who held very practical ideas about state and society. This class would never exchange the reality of economic prosperity and solidarity for the visionary prognostications of Anabaptists and the fulminations of radical Melchiorites about a coming Utopia wherein saints would reign in peace and justice over a renovated society.

The government of the Low Countries, as elsewhere, sought to repress heresy. Charles was orthodox, for no Spanish king or Holy Roman emperor could be otherwise. He believed it his kingly and imperial duty to compel men to live according to the truth taught by the universal shepherd, the bishop of Rome, a policy in which the hierarchy and many zealous laymen supported him. In an age of commerce, industry, and increasing use of coined money it required unusual vigilance to check unauthorized opinion. The townsmen had grown rich. They were numerous and many of them were enlightened, having been brought up under the novel opinions of Humanists. The printing press was actively pouring forth tracts on religion, orthodox as well as heretical. Governmental restrictions proved ineffective; they merely succeeded in making printing of forbidden works more profitable.

Charles resolved to introduce into the Low Countries the Inquisition as it had developed in Spain, a step which his Netherlandish councilors vigorously opposed. He nevertheless appointed Francis van der Hulst, a member of the Council of Brabant, to investigate all people charged with heresy and to inflict proper punishment (April, 1522). Van der Hulst was given extensive authority and, although only a political official, he received a papal appointment in the following year. Pope Adrian VI had been Charles' tutor and a close understanding existed between them. Another arrangement was

effected in June, 1524, when three ecclesiastics were named inquisitors and acted under state direction. But this organ could not check heresy, for the people as a rule were little inclined to persecution and did not share the emperor's zeal. Some of the towns, especially those of the county of Holland, declared that their officials were sufficiently capable of taking care of heretics.

Obviously greater rigor was necessary. Hence the placard or ordinance of October 14, 1529, declaring that all laymen who discussed questions about faith, failed to report heretics, or made insulting remarks about images of God, the Virgin, or the saints should pay with their lives. But Anabaptism was rising everywhere, especially in Holland, Friesland, and neighboring parts. A strange pantheistic sect appeared in Lille and Hainault, and another unusual sect, the Loists, became numerous in Antwerp. The latter revived some ancient Manichean notions about the evil nature of matter. Small wonder that the government was concerned! Still more severe was the edict issued on October 7, 1531, under which all property of the accused was to be confiscated. Officials were alert, especially against Anabaptists. Melchiorites were shown no mercy, and no Anabaptist, even though he merely believed in or practised rebaptism, suffered any kindlier treatment.

When Münster fell and the Melchiorites were discomfited, the government seemed to feel that a dangerous crisis was past. But repression was clearly a failure. The presses of Antwerp were printing forbidden books in large numbers. Subversive literature poured into the land from East Friesland, the town of Embden being an important center of heretical agitation. Books by heretics were smuggled all over the land in merchandise and sold covertly. False titles were common and the most skillful deception was practised. Officials sought to control printers by requiring from each a license and a promise under penalty to publish only approved books. Schools were subjected to rigid supervision and no references might be made in the popular miracle and morality plays either to the Bible or the sacraments.

Still heresy grew. Accordingly a new placard in September, 1540, announced that heretics henceforth could not devise any property, and that people who offered petitions in favor of the accused would be treated as their accomplices. The same treatment was to be accorded people who neglected to report heretics. Officials prone to treat suspects with leniency—and this is eloquent of their sympathy with the unfortunate—were threatened with fitting punishment for neglect of duty. Humanists and Sacramentarians usually knew how to conduct themselves without being caught in the clutches of the law, but simple Anabaptists suffered most. No list of these martyrs

is complete, nor will such a catalogue ever be made. One collection names 877, of whom 717 were Anabaptists. Charles executed 223 of these; the rest were destroyed after 1555 by Philip whose policy was even more drastic. New regulations were drawn up making possible better cooperation between state officials and inquisitors, and special agents were appointed in a number of the provinces. Several additional placards designed to perfect the organization for repressing heresy were issued by Charles in 1550.

Heretics who attracted notice during the last twenty years of Charles' reign are especially worthy of study. They were men of independent views and cannot be classed as Lutherans, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, or Calvinists. Chief among these was Angelus Merula (1482-1557) who may best be considered a Sacramentarian. He must be regarded as one of the original minds common in the Low Countries who never joined the greater movements of the day and who therefore cannot be readily classified. He read all theologians, orthodox as well as heretical. He denied transubstantiation, yet believed that the mass was an important institution. He opposed veneration of saints and the Virgin; only God and Christ should be addressed in prayer. Faith in Christ saved souls; works were very necessary but they were dead and profitless unless they proceeded from love. He believed it wrong to leave the church in spite of the manifest corruptions of clerical life. Merula was condemned to be burned, but as the executioners were binding him to the stake he suddenly died from natural causes.

Anastasius Veluanus also should be noted. He early embraced heretical opinions and was sentenced (1553) to study at Louvain in order to correct his erroneous notions. He wrote *The Layman's Guide* which was printed in Strassburg in 1554, and he subsequently served several German congregations in the Rhineland. Although he greatly admired Luther he never became a Lutheran. He taught that it was more godly to confess sins to a pious layman than to a wicked priest, and that the Roman church was so corrupt that it was useless to stay in her fold. He denied predestination and championed free will. Nevertheless he held that God through His grace granted salvation. It could not be earned by man's unaided efforts, for it consisted in improving oneself morally after the example of Christ. Many more names of persons who held similar beliefs could be added. These dissenters lacked organization; this was given them by the disciples of Calvin.

Repression was part and parcel of Spanish and Hapsburg political policy. Charles was staunchly Catholic; in Spain the hierarchy was practically a part of the government, and the maintenance of Catholicism was a national concern. By reason of their central geographi-

cal position and their extraordinary economic resources, the Low Countries were a most important element in the Hapsburg political combination. They would prove useful in any conflict with France, and such was their economic importance for England that Hapsburg princes could confidently hope to influence the foreign policy of English kings. Possession of the Low Countries also helped Charles to steady his power in Germany. Since the Hapsburgs owned the Low Countries they were able to assert their interests everywhere in northern Europe. And as Hapsburg policy meant the preservation of the Catholic cult, heresy in the Low Countries would have to be stamped out at all cost.

Philip II of Spain (1555-98) succeeded his father Charles who abdicated in Brussels on October 25, 1555. The new prince was typical of the age, absolutism being the guiding principle of his government. Taxes were raised, the ancient constitutional privileges of the towns and the provinces were ignored, the army was directed solely by the ruler, and the severe placards against heresy were to be enforced in the Low Countries without question, as were the royal decrees in Spain. The Estates General which represented each of the provinces was to be relegated to the background. Thus all political activity was subordinated to his will and to the interests of his dynasty, Philip thinking that traditional rights and liberties of town and countryside which had grown up in the Middle Ages could safely be overridden.

"The history of Spanish domination of the Low Countries therefore is not merely the history of a conflict between fanaticism and religious tolerance; it is the story of Philip's efforts to keep under the yoke a land which would help him to assume the rôle required of the head of the Hapsburg family as well as to acquit himself of his duty as champion of Catholicism." The Low Countries were to be sacrificed for projects which did not concern them. Would Philip succeed? In this connection, it should be noted that he could draw little from Spain beyond a splendid infantry, and Naples added little to his vital strength. Milan was important, commercially and industrially, but was steadily being eclipsed in these respects by the Low Countries. Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia gave him much wealth. But of all these lands the Low Countries were the most important, for they possessed a society which we may call modern. It was industrial and commercial, and was therefore provided with the foundations necessary for a determined struggle against tyrannical absolutism.

Philip proceeded to put his ideas into effect, Margaret of Parma, his natural sister, being made regent to represent him in the Low Countries during his absence. She was assisted by a council framed after Spanish models and composed of three men, chief of whom was

Cardinal Granvelle, bishop of Arras, and president of the Council of State. The other two members, Berlaymont and Viglius, were heads of the Council of Finance and the Privy Council, respectively. In reality this council of three transacted all business of importance, much to the disgust of the nobles who had always been consulted in the past and who therefore heartily hated Granvelle. Born in the Franche-Comté, Granvelle had risen in the service of the king because of his ability of making himself useful—he was a perfect tool of princely despotism. He did not understand the people of the Low Countries, nor did he speak Flemish.

William of Orange, chief and ablest of the nobles who now began to oppose Granvelle, was born in 1533 of the German house of Nassau which had long ago settled in the Netherlands. This family acquired vast wealth and also a princely title from the marriage of one of its members with an heiress of the little principality of Orange in southern France, and William's forbears had served the Burgundian house well ever since the days of Charles the Bold (d. 1477). As was characteristic of the times, William lived the easy life of prodigal noblemen. His experience in state affairs gave him keen insight into political problems. He learned to be Machiavellian. In religion he was Catholic but in earliest youth he had been a Lutheran. He believed that the repose and prosperity of the country should not be jeopardized by forcibly maintaining any legally established faith, and he was thus the first important prince to oppose religious persecution, a remarkable exception to the universal intolerance among princes of the time.

At the opening of Philip's rule William was lieutenant (or stadtholder) of the counties of Holland and Zeeland, his position, vast wealth, superior qualities of mind, and affability making him the most powerful personage in state and society. The count of Egmond, stadtholder of Flanders and Artois, and the count of Hoorne became leaders with him of a determined opposition to Philip's methods. They were all latitudinarian in the matter of religion and, although Catholic, inclined to oppose the rigor of Philip which called for increased severity in the enforcement of decrees and greater activity by the Inquisition. Many a noble had been instructed in his youth by Humanists whose admiration for Erasmus had inculcated in the mind of their pupils a repugnance to extremes in religion. A break between the nobles and Philip was inevitable. They insisted on a meeting of the Estates General for redress of grievances and removal of the hated Spanish soldiers who had been brought into the country by Charles during his last war with France and kept there by Philip for the same purpose. The Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis (1559) now made an army superfluous, Charles' policy had been expensive, and

princes as well as common people desired to have the soldiers withdrawn.

Philip left the Low Countries in 1559 and sailed to Spain, never to return, and Granvelle became the real head of the government. His influence was greatly increased by the reorganization of the church, a step which Charles had repeatedly sought but had failed to achieve. During Charles' rule heresy had increased rapidly, and to save the faith it was necessary to revise the organization of the church. The old divisions were wholly obsolete, for they had been instituted in the earliest Middle Ages when the population was still sparse, long before the growth of trade and industry began to dot the country with towns. This reorganization was effected by the papal bull of May 12, 1559. Henceforth there were to be fifteen bishoprics and three archbishoprics, Mechelen, Cambrai, and Utrecht. Each diocese was to contain on the average about 160,000 souls, and appointments were to be made by the king and the pope. This change was made possible by new ideas about reform within the church which began to attain success as the result of the Council of Trent.

The discontent roused by this measure was intense. The nobles had not been consulted, and they were embittered by what they believed to be a new extension of despotism. Henceforth they would not be able to appoint members of their families to episcopal and other ecclesiastical posts since the king would nominate only those who would support him. The common people did not like it because they feared that the decrees against heresy would become more effective. Abbots opposed it because some of the abbeys were now joined to the episcopal establishments in order to provide the necessary economic support for the new episcopal organization. Many of the laxer clergy were alarmed because they feared more stringent enforcement of canonical regulations and inquiry into their worldly lives. The result was that the nobles concentrated even greater hatred upon Granvelle who, they erroneously thought, was solely responsible for the novel measure.

Religious discontent aggravated the tension. Calvin's teachings now were vigorously propagated; they satisfied the temper of the day, for a system of dogma such as his, founded upon the "Word of God," gave clarity and definition to religion. Its semi-democratic character appealed where aristocratic Lutheranism failed. Calvinism was Sacramentarian, bore some impress of Humanism, and therefore appealed to the more intellectual groups. In a time of tension this faith could unify where Melchioritism merely produced an explosion.

It is a mistake to suppose that Calvin's teaching was introduced into the Low Countries from Geneva by way of France alone. That the Huguenots were responsible for some of the propaganda is un-

doubtedly true, but many Netherlanders went directly to Geneva and Lausanne in order to draw their doctrine from the very source. Calvinist ideas first found a foothold at Tournai when Pierre Brully began to preach. He was Calvin's successor in the French congregation in Strassburg after the great reformer's departure for Geneva, and in 1544 he was active in the Low Countries whither he had been sent by Butzer in response to a petition. A martyr's death awaited him in 1545. Another Calvinist, Guido de Bray of Mons, who had published *The Rod of Christian Faith* in 1555, established a congregation in Lille in 1556. Soon Calvin's works were very generally known, Geneva becoming the Wittenberg of Netherlanders.

England was likewise a channel for the dissemination of Calvinism. Persecuted Flemings, Hollanders, and others had fled their native country during Charles' rule. Henry VIII had welcomed to England these industrious and skilled workers of cloth who could contribute to the economic upbuilding of his realm. They founded churches at Sandwich, Norwich, Colchester, and London. The last-named congregation was organized in 1544 and was given the chapel of the Augustinian Friars in Threadneedle Street as a place of worship. This church exerted much influence upon religious developments in the Low Countries, its Calvinist doctrine and organization being directed by John à Lasco (or Laski), a Polish nobleman who had become a disciple of Calvin, and by John Utenhove, a Flemish nobleman. Important influences also went forth from Embden in Friesland where à Lasco produced a catechism which was used by the London congregation. As tension increased under Philip's rule other congregations were formed at Friderikstad in Denmark, and Wesel, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and elsewhere in Germany.

Agitation increased markedly when the First Huguenot War (1562-63) broke out in France, many refugees fleeing to the Low Countries for safety. Philip's officials found it increasingly difficult to enforce the placards, and the infamous inquisitor Titelman was followed in Flanders by menacing crowds of angry men. Revolution was probably averted by the royal French Edict of Amboise in 1563 which quieted the agitation in France as well as in the Low Countries, but only for a moment. Calvinist preachers continued to address large numbers of eager auditors in deserted places outside the walls of towns, and Bible reading increased in spite of the zeal of inquisitors. Granvelle's enemies formed a league, with William of Orange as its spokesman and guiding spirit. Philip disregarded all their requests and bitterness became more intense. Finally, Philip yielded (1564) when the regent joined Orange and Egmond in demanding Granvelle's removal.

Calvinism now made rapid progress. Many noblemen began to

sympathize with it, and they formed the Compromise (or League) of Breda (November, 1565) which presented a petition requesting that the Inquisition and laws against heretics be suspended. When they produced the document, one of Margaret's councilors referred to them as "Beggars," and this became the watchword of a movement which to Philip looked like rebellion. Times were hard, trade was at a standstill, and hunger threatened many a home. During August there were tumults in the towns of Flanders and Brabant. Churches and monasteries were plundered, pictures and images were destroyed, and costly vessels and vestments were stolen. Taught by Calvinist doctrine to regard the mass as idolatry, the rabble profaned the Host. In three days four hundred churches and chapels were treated in this manner. The movement next broke out in Holland and Zeeland (August, 1566).

Philip, deeply moved by the report of this desecration, appointed the duke of Alva to be regent in the Low Countries. His rule (1567-73) was fatal to his master's schemes and proved a crucial moment in the history of the Low Countries. Alva at once instituted in all its severity a special tribunal modeled after those that had developed in Spain. It was popularly called the Council of Blood. If violence and tyranny can ever be successful they should have triumphed in these lands. A Spaniard named Vargas, who understood neither laws, language, privileges, nor feelings of the people, acted as the directing genius of the tribunal. The tribunal was illegal, but Vargas was pleased to listen only to his master. To the protests of the towns that his acts violated their ancient privileges he merely replied contemptuously: "We do not care for your privileges!" The privileges of the country and its national interests were to be sacrificed to the purposes of the king of Spain.

Meanwhile a rebellion led by Orange broke out in 1568. Alva's Spanish foot soldiers, more than a match for Orange's hastily collected troops, dispersed and defeated them, and Orange sought refuge among his kinsfolk in Germany to await a happier moment when he could come forward once more to oppose Alva. Hoorne and Egmond were executed by Alva on the Great Square in Brussels on June 5, 1568, a deed which caused Netherlanders to curse the king and his lieutenant. Alva now demanded (1571) from the Estates General a tax, copied after Castilian models, of one per cent on all property, another of five per cent on each sale of real property, and also one of ten per cent on sales of movables. Many people had been driven to the point of rebellion because of the government's religious policy, but the new fiscal demands, which threatened to ruin all small business, aroused tradesmen to the point of rebellion.

Suddenly came the report that the "Beggars" had seized Brielle,

a seaport in Holland, on April 1, 1572. These men, because of the hard times, could no longer make a living by honest trade and were forced to a life of robbery on the high seas. They plundered the ships of all people, but especially those of Catholics and the hated Spaniards. Holland, Zeeland, Guelders, Friesland, and Utrecht now rose in rebellion. Since 1570 Gaspard de Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots, had swayed the mind of the French king Charles IX, who dreamed of an international offensive against Catholicism. Orange was to cooperate in this movement and was to receive help from French Huguenots with which he hoped to eject Alva and the Spaniards. However, the death of Coligny in the Massacre on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572) in Paris made this cooperation impossible. Orange's invasion proved a failure and he was forced once more to withdraw to Germany.

Freed from the necessity of facing Orange, Alva turned his attention to the reduction of Mons which also had risen. Zutfen next yielded to him without opposition, and he allowed his soldiers to massacre a large part of the population which was mostly Catholic. The same sickening procedure was followed at Naarden (December 1, 1572). Haarlem's turn came next, although it held out stubbornly for seven months, the inhabitants in desperation determining to die of hunger rather than surrender, which meant certain massacre. Exhausted by their desperate defense, they were finally forced to yield. Many of the townsmen had died during the siege but most of those who remained were tied back to back and drowned in the river Sparne. The next attack was made on Alkmaar, but it failed because the natives opened the dykes and flooded the countryside thereby forcing the Spaniards to retreat. This marked the turning point in the national resistance. "At Alkmaar began the victory," became a famous saying. The enemy next invested Leiden (1574-5) but, thanks to the energy of Orange and the resolution of the townsmen, was unsuccessful, for the land around the town was flooded and the besiegers were forced to flee.

These heroic efforts from 1572 to 1575 form one of the thrilling themes in history, for they mark the beginning of independence for what was soon to become known as the United Provinces. But in the history of continental Europe they meant much more; they signified the defeat of Spanish Hapsburg dynastic ambitions, absolutism, and disregard for national interests. Philip hoped to advance Catholicism which in turn would serve as a buttress of his power. The national revolt of the Dutch also implied a religious revolt. Orange now accepted Calvinism as his personal faith and threw his lot in with that of the revolting provinces. A great synod was con-

vened at Dordrecht in 1574, and it adopted the Heidelberg Catechism and made Calvinism the official creed of the land.[3]

Calvin's teaching also won ground in Germany, especially in the lands along the Rhine. Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate (1559-76) was much concerned over the rancor which had arisen among his subjects over Melanchthon and Luther, and in order to satisfy himself as to the questions at issue he plunged into theological study. Gradually abandoning the Lutheran teaching, in 1561 he decided in favor of Calvin's doctrine about the Lord's Supper, and invited Calvinist professors to teach in the University of Heidelberg. His electorate now adopted the Reformed faith, Catholic forms and practices which Lutheranism had left intact being ruthlessly swept away. Nevertheless, the milder theology of Melanchthon, especially in the matter of predestination, was not to be entirely overthrown. The Heidelberg Catechism, drawn up in 1563, made no mention of it. This catechism became authoritative for the Reformed in other parts of Germany and either was adopted by or exerted much influence in Nassau, Hesse, Lippe, Bremen, Baden-Durlach, and electoral Saxony.

German Switzerland long clung to Zwingli's teaching after the death of that reformer on the field of Kappel in 1531. Henry Bullinger (1504-75), who succeeded in Zwingli's position, was born in the Aargau and educated in the University of Cologne, the chief center of old scholastic theology in Germany and a stubborn opponent of rising Humanist studies. Nevertheless, Bullinger was estranged from the old faith even as a student. On his return to Switzerland he became a teacher in the monastic school at Kappel where he lectured on Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*. He was attracted to Zwingli and his teaching, and in 1529 became pastor in Bremgraten, the place of his birth. After Zwingli's death his position became insecure because of the powerful Catholic reaction, and he fled to Zürich, where he was soon elected to Zwingli's post in the minster.

Bullinger became an important figure in the religious life of German Switzerland. While many of the cantons generally accepted Zwingli's doctrines, they were not wholly agreed about certain practices. The desire of Bullinger and Calvin for harmony led to the *Zürich Agreement* (*Consensus Tigurinus*) of 1549. Zwinglian ministers had sought before this to win the Lutherans of Germany to their views, but in vain. They now decided to abandon the Zwinglian teaching that the Lord's Supper was but a memorial, substituting instead Calvin's doctrine that Christ was present only in a spiritual sense, but many Swiss Protestants failed to accept Calvin's doctrine.

[3] For the Dutch revolt after 1575, see chap. lii.

A confession of faith, the *Second Helvetic Confession*, was accepted in 1566 by all but Basel which did not yield until the next century.

Calvinism also won a temporary foothold in Poland. Luther's teaching had made a strong impression upon the nobility and the bourgeoisie of Great Poland where many Germans were living. But Lutheranism was an importation from Germany and thus did not entirely satisfy Polish feelings. For this reason it found slight favor in Little Poland and other places where the Slavic element predominated. Calvin's doctrine proved more popular with these people, men who had enjoyed the advantages of a Humanist education being especially pleased with it. Poland, it should be remembered, was an aristocratic republic managed more and more by the gentry or *szlachta*. Members of this class were jealous of their privileges and did not care for a strong central monarchy, and they preferred Calvin's conception of church management by both clergy and laity to Luther's which allowed laymen no such influence but placed all ecclesiastical authority in the hands of princes. Furthermore, the teaching elaborated by Calvin's followers, that people had a right to resist rulers who governed contrary to the "Word of God," suited the nobility in their aspiration for independence. *The Institutes of Christian Religion* became a popular book.

Queen Bona Sforza, wife of Sigismund I (1506-48), was much interested in Calvinism. Her confessor, the Italian Lismanini, corresponded with Calvin, and the reformer dedicated one of his *Commentaries* to King Sigismund. The next king, Sigismund II Augustus, was a Catholic, but his wife Barbara, daughter of Nicholas Radziwill, chancellor of Lithuania, was a devoted follower of Calvin. She eagerly labored to spread the Reformed faith, and translated the Bible, the result being that many priests became Calvinists and a large part of the nobility followed their example. So numerous were the Calvinists in the Diet of Piotrkow (1552) that they secured suspension of all penalties inflicted by church courts. It is instructive to find that even Catholic nobles supported them in their opposition to Catholic clerical jurisdiction. The result was that Calvinist nobles, more powerful than ever, so completely dominated the diet that the policy of repression was completely abandoned.

The Reformed faith also spread among the bourgeoisie of Little Poland where German immigrants were far less numerous. The movement was stimulated by the expulsion of the Bohemian Brethren at the order of King Ferdinand of Germany in 1548 and after. These followers of Hus were more closely in sympathy with Calvin's doctrines than with Luther's. They preferred, for example, the teaching that Christ was spiritually present in the elements of the Host. This was more in harmony with the view of Wiclif. At the Synod of

Kozminek in 1555 a union of both groups was effected. Calvinism, however, remained the faith of only a minority. The peasantry was Catholic and the strong Lutheran element remained hostile. Hence it was impossible to establish a national Polish church. A condition of religious anarchy ensued in which each person chose what pleased him—Lutheranism, Calvinism, Socinianism, or Catholicism. Protestantism spread to such an extent that in the Diet of Warsaw (1556) it was decided that any member of the gentry might choose whatever faith he deemed best.

John à Lasco (1499-1560) was an interesting product of the Polish Reformation. Like many another noble, he was early introduced to Humanism and became an enthusiastic follower of Erasmus. He spent some time in the great Humanist's home in Basel and also became acquainted with the ideas of the Swiss reformers, Zwingli and Œcolampadius. From 1525 to 1537 he traveled about western Europe. On his return to Poland he soon found that he could not bring about a reformation according to Erasmian conceptions and so again started on his wanderings. His activities now became important. In his religious conceptions he was an eclectic, for while deeply influenced by Luther in matters of dogma, he was Zwinglian in ritual and Calvinist in church government, but his conceptions, which were essentially Erasmian, colored all his acts. He was tolerant of divergent opinions and exerted much influence at Embden, London, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Wesel, Basel, Strassburg, and elsewhere. He played an important part in bringing into England the Reformed or Presbyterian conceptions of church and ecclesiastical government in the reign of Edward VI.

In 1556 à Lasco returned to Poland where he began an impossible task. It was hoped that his tolerance, numerous connections, and wide sympathies with all reforming groups might enable him to bring unity out of the Protestant chaos, but he died four years later, having accomplished little. The idea of a Polish national church could not be realized, for Protestantism spent its strength in bitter party strife while the peasantry and nobility of Lithuania and eastern Poland remained loyal to Catholicism. When the ancient faith became aggressive Calvinism put forth no more effective resistance than Lutheranism.

Calvinism offered considerable appeal to the Magyars of Hungary. Lutheranism made some progress among them before 1540 but it was never cordially received because of its German origin. Magyar nobles were a haughty people, intensely jealous of their privileges, and practically impossible to discipline. They did not like Germans and were opposed to the ambitions of German kings—it should not be forgotten that after the Battle of Mohács in 1526 King Ferdinand

of Germany claimed the Hungarian crown. To accept Lutheranism implied an extension of German influence, and here as in Poland nationalist antipathies prevented that faith from winning a large following among the non-German population.

The Turkish government was indifferent to the faith of the subject Hungarians, official repression being abandoned after the Battle of Mohács. Nobles, who were given a great deal of freedom in all things touching religion, did not care to help the Hapsburg Ferdinand secure the crown, for that would lead to the establishment of Catholicism which, it was feared, would in turn support the dynasty. Nor did they like Lutheranism because it taught that princes must be obeyed in all things, and anything that promised to establish absolutism was distasteful to them.

It appears that Matthew Biro de Deva (d. 1546) was the first Magyar to accept Zwinglianism, but he soon adopted Calvin's teaching about the Lord's Supper and predestination. After 1550 Calvinism spread rapidly. Young men studied in Strassburg and Geneva, and Calvin's and Beza's works were eagerly read. Kasper Karoli (1529-92), one of the most energetic of Magyar preachers, translated the entire Bible into the Magyar tongue, and this book did for the Magyars what Luther's translation accomplished for Germans. Since all Reformed services were conducted in the native tongue, the new faith was never hampered by the fact that its literature and services were in German. The first organization of the new churches was effected in 1562 and 1563. The greatest reformer of Hungary was Peter Melius (1536-72), to whom, more than to any other person, was due the fact that many Magyars became Calvinists. At the Synod of Debrecen in 1567 a definitive organization was adopted. But while the Magyars became Calvinists, the German-speaking element of Hungary continued to cling to Lutheranism.

CHAPTER XLVI

SPREAD OF CALVINISM: FRANCE AND SCOTLAND

Almost in everie notabill citie within France thair be assemblit godlie congregationis of sic as refusit all societie with the sinagoge of Sathan, so were (and yit are) dyvers congregationis in Paris, and kerkis having thair learnit ministeris for preishing Chrystis evangell, and for trew ministratioun of the holie sacramentis instiled be him.—JOHN KNOX.[1]

AFTER the publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* avowed advocates of reform in France had very generally embraced Calvinism. The more cautious Humanists made their peace with the church but found that they could effect little among a group of officials whose prime concern was to protect the established order by destroying heretics and silencing critics. The more pronounced this spirit of repression became, the more fiery were the reformers in denouncing the corruptions of the church. Wealthy merchants and men of moderate means joined the movement, and many a student at the universities accepted the new doctrines. Even priests and monks cast their lot with the Calvinists, as the reformers were now called.

Calvin directed an incessant and vigorous propaganda in behalf of the "Word of God." Numerous pamphlets were published at Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, and Strassburg, and were disseminated in all parts of France by daring colporteurs. Many a brochure on burning questions about religion was printed covertly on the presses of Lyons. Calvin carried on an enormous correspondence with Frenchmen in which he encouraged them to cling to the faith and to labor for the "Word of God." His French followers sent large sums of money to Switzerland. Young men zealous in propagating their newly found truths went to receive the pure doctrine at the very source from Calvin, Beza, Viret, and others. Returning as fervid ministers who preached the gospel with the greatest intrepidity, they addressed their followers in cellars, abandoned houses, fields, woods, and along little-frequented roads. Teachers often carried on a bold propaganda among the young. Persecution could not dampen

[1] *Works of John Knox,* ed. by D. Laing, vol. iv, p. 299.

their ardor, for those seized by the king's officials were replaced by others equally zealous.

These fervent preachers often had profited from the better Humanist education of the day. Their sermons were concrete, to the point, and devoid of all formal logic such as characterized the discourses of their opponents who possessed neither their zeal nor their learning. The upper clergy were to all intents and purposes political appointees. The hierarchy was a buttress of the throne. It can cause no wonder, therefore, that the bishops could not oppose the preachers successfully. It was their task to guard the church but their ideas were of an outworn variety which drew biting sarcasms from men like Rabelais. There were indeed a few exceptions, such as Bishop Jean du Bellay of Paris, but they formed only a small minority. The professors in the universities, especially those who taught theology, were no better. Instead of reforming the church and revising their methods of study they sought to employ the old instruments of repression which had once worked so well. This dangerous expedient could not succeed now, for townsmen had become wealthy and numerous. Their lay Humanist culture was more than a match for the superannuated methods of the old schools, and their Calvinist theology stiffened their opposition.

Francis I died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son, Henry II (1547-59). The new king was sluggish in intellect but loved an active life. He was dominated by his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, who influenced him in favor of the old faith. Henry was orthodox as far as he possessed any personal convictions, and from the point of view of political expediency he felt called upon to stamp out heresy because he feared that any damage to the church would react unfavorably upon the throne. Next to Diana, the chief influence at court was the Guise family of Lorraine. The old Duke Claude died in 1550, leaving three ambitious sons, Francis, who succeeded him as duke, and Charles and Louis, both cardinals. They were determined opponents of heretics and eager to win for themselves important posts in church and state. Their sister Mary had married James V of Scotland (1513-42), and the young daughter of this union, the famous Mary Stuart, was betrothed in 1548 to the French king's son and heir apparent, Francis. The Calvinists therefore could expect little leniency from the government.

Just before his death Francis I established a special tribunal at Rouen to take care of the great number of heretics in Normandy. By royal *ordonnance* Henry formed a similar tribunal in the Parlement of Paris, the severity of its provisions causing the people to call it the Burning Chamber (*Chambre Ardente*). The Edict of Fontainebleau of December 11, 1547, forbade printers to print any books

about Scripture or to publish any books brought into the land from abroad, especially from Geneva or Germany, or to offer them for sale unless first approved by the theological faculty of the University of Paris. Violators of this rule were threatened with imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Nor might printers and booksellers offer for sale copies of the Scriptures unless the printer's name and that of the person who had provided the notes and comments, and a statement of his domicile, appeared on the title pages. The books might be exhibited for sale only in printers' or dealers' shops, and not clandestinely.

None of these acts had the desired results, and in spite of prosecution and capital punishment Calvinism kept on spreading. Accordingly in November, 1549, another edict was issued, in the preamble to which were reviewed the efforts begun by Francis I to eradicate heresy. The degree of the royal disappointment is shown by the length to which the king was willing to go in cooperating with ecclesiastical tribunals. Officials were required to present persons to the judges appointed by the church to take care of heresy, and these judges were given complete jurisdiction in all cases of heresy which did not arise from pernicious willfulness. In cases which were accompanied by some public disturbance or act of rebellion royal judges were to cooperate with the representatives of the church when called upon. In the execution of these rules the officers of churchly justice could make arrests without permission from the royal officials and, in case of necessity, call upon them for any assistance.

Since these provisions did not produce the desired result, a new decree was issued in June, 1551, the Edict of Chateaubriand. Its preamble once more recited the efforts which had been put forth to purge the realm of heresy; its forty-six articles were an extension of the provisions of former edicts and revealed the care which the king and his councilors had bestowed upon the matter. Henceforth initiative in bringing to justice people who were guilty of sedition or other crimes accompanying heresy was to be taken by special royal judges (*juges présidiaux*) from whose decision no appeal could be taken. The royal exasperation is revealed by the provision that henceforth no books of any character whatever might be read if printed in Geneva or any other places which had forsaken the Roman church. Penalty for violation of this rule was confiscation of property and corporal punishment. Other articles laid down rules for royal officials on many new points. A rigid censorship of the press was instituted. A careful supervision was to be exercised over the printers and booksellers in Lyons. Booksellers everywhere were required to keep a list of books approved by the theological faculties, and they

were not to sell any books not listed. No one might write disparagingly of the saints or paint disrespectful pictures of them.

But these and other severe regulations were without result. Unlawful books were printed, foreign heretical works were hawked about by bold colporteurs, preachers persisted in addressing eager auditors, and large numbers sold their goods and betook themselves and their families to Switzerland or Germany. Nor did the fell persecution stop the spread of heresy. Especially interesting is the case of five ministers who came from Lausanne, where they had studied with Viret and Beza, and who proposed to preach the "Word of God" to Frenchmen. They were apprehended before they had uttered one word about their mission, but according to Article 38 of the Edict of Chateaubriand they were guilty of a serious offense. The Swiss cantons put forth their best efforts to save them from the stake, but in vain, for they were burned to death in May, 1553. Such stirring martyrdoms became a popular theme. Accounts of them were collected by Jean Crespin in his *Acts and Monuments* which is one of the more remarkable martyrologies of the Reformation. But all this show of energy was unavailing; still the heresy spread. In September, 1555, the first Reformed church was founded in Paris. Its minister was Jean de Macon or La Rivière, a dauntless youth of rare ability, and elders and deacons were named to constitute the consistory.

It is a remarkable fact that these terrible laws often caused the judges to show sympathy toward the unfortunates. The king was greatly disturbed by their leniency and accordingly in July, 1557, issued the Edict of Compiègne. All preachers and others who had taken any part in public meetings or in conventicles, and those who were found to be Sacramentarians—that is, Calvinists—who had dishonored the Holy Virgin, the saints, or images, and others who had led people astray or had sold unlawful books or visited Geneva, were to receive the death penalty. The judges were not to change these rulings in any way whatsoever. Thus a secular tribunal was to dispose of purely religious offenders. So zealous was Henry against heretics that he even thought of establishing the Inquisition in the realm, and would have done so had not the Parlement of Paris opposed it.

All these repressive endeavors proved a complete failure. In Paris, under the very eyes of Parlement itself, meetings were held in the Rue St. Jacques. In September, 1557, the royal officers raided this meeting house, and a large number were seized and sent to the stake. It was useless to attempt to suppress heresy among people who coveted the crown of martyrdom. Most remarkable was the effect which this relentless intolerance produced upon the judges of Parlement. Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, declared that their

sympathy was in large part the cause of the rapid growth of heretical doctrine, and special sessions of Parlement were held (1559) to test the opinion of the judges. When asked what methods should be adopted to bring all people in the realm back to the old cult, some of the judges made bold suggestions. Relying upon the dignity of their office, some of them demanded a council to settle the legality of heresy and requested that the edicts should be suspended in the meantime. Anne du Bourg was so bold as to insist upon this point, and warned that it was a serious matter to burn to death people of exemplary life who called upon Christ while writhing in the flames. This speech cost him his life.

The Reformed churches of France adopted their national synodal organization in 1559. The Calvinists of Paris had formed their church in 1555 and their bold example was followed in many parts of France. A closer organization was felt to be necessary. Divergent views about predestination had risen in Poitiers in 1558. A number of ministers and elders met covertly in May, 1559, in a house in the suburb of St. Germain, a Parisian minister named De Morel presiding. They represented the churches of Paris and a number of other towns whose names are not all known. The synod drew up a *Confession of Faith* and several articles about discipline. The Confession was a digest of Calvin's theology, and the discipline was drawn from the churches of Geneva and Strassburg. Each church was to have a minister, elders, and deacons who constituted the consistory. Ministers were to be chosen by the elders, deacons, and congregation; and elders and deacons were to be elected by the congregation. Churches were to be grouped into provincial synods which in turn were to be organized into general synods, and a national synod was to represent the entire church.

The Reformation in Scotland, as elsewhere, was peculiarly the product of local conditions. The country possessed a primitive social organization. Tribal life still flourished in the Highlands and heads of the clans lived in blood feud. Unrestrained by the royal will, the baronage dominated the Lowlands. The Scottish Parliament was merely an assemblage of greater barons who exercised inordinate influence in public life. Because of this condition and the absence of taxable wealth, the crown's authority remained elementary. Aside from Edinburgh, Dundee, and Perth, the towns were but hamlets, for commerce and industry which had contributed so much elsewhere in Europe to the destruction of tribal, manorial, and feudal conditions had as yet exerted little influence in Scotland.

Under these circumstances the church, which owned a large share of the land, became an appanage of powerful families, important livings being held or controlled by sons of the baronage. The country

was rent with blood feuds, a condition which sadly degraded the life of the clergy. Furthermore, churchmen in Scotland, as in other lands, often were ignorant, uncouth, and incompetent. But social conditions were changing. Commerce was growing and towns were becoming more active, and the quickened economic life inevitably produced new conceptions.

Foreign relations also exercised a decisive influence upon religion. For centuries English kings had sought to win the Scottish crown, and to prevent this, the Scots had enlisted the aid of France. Scottish politics therefore were dominated by the age-old rivalry of England and France. James IV (1488-1513) had married Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII of England, Henry hoping thereby to strengthen English ties with Scotland and thus prepare the ground for an ultimate union of the two crowns. But in 1513 James joined France in the war upon England and was defeated on Flodden Field (September, 1513). This humiliation at the hands of the ancient enemy perpetuated among the Scots the popularity of the French alliance, and when Henry VIII broke with Rome an additional reason for hostility was created.

James V (1513-42) married Mary of Guise, or Mary of Lorraine as she was known in Scotland. She was a daughter of Duke Claude of Guise, head of the powerful Lotharingian family which was to play a prominent rôle in the French Wars of Religion. The Scottish royal house was thus bound to the Catholic cause. Thus the crown, Catholicism, hostility toward England, and the foreign connection with France were all linked together. Relations between Henry VIII and his nephew James, which were anything but cordial, finally led to an invasion by the English. James' troops were defeated at Solway Moss in 1542 and the king died soon after, heartbroken because of the disaster.

James left his realm to an infant daughter, Mary Stuart, born soon after the defeat, his wife Mary of Lorraine acting as regent until her death in 1560. Henry VIII desired to unite Mary Stuart in marriage with his son Edward, and a treaty was drawn up in 1543 arranging the terms. But the violence in the English invasion of the Lothians so inflamed the Scots that national hatred again flared up with all its ancient intensity. The Scots sought support from France, and the Scottish Parliament agreed to the betrothal of the infant heiress to Francis, son of the French king Henry II. Under Edward VI (1547-53), another invasion was planned by the duke of Somerset who was in authority in England. The Scots were again defeated (1547) and the southern counties were sadly pillaged. In their wrath the Scots determined upon Mary's speedy

marriage and sent her to France. Thus the stupid conduct of these invasions kept the two crowns apart.

Meanwhile religious dissent was growing. There had been Lollards in the realm, but they appear to have become extinct by the opening of the Reformation. Lutheran books and pamphlets spread over the land, and in 1525 Parliament forbade their importation. The first Scottish Protestant martyr, Patrick Hamilton, was a Lutheran. He showed interest in the new ideas, visited Wittenberg where he became acquainted with Luther and Melanchthon, and studied at Marburg. On his return to Scotland in 1527 he began to teach at the University of St. Andrews. He publicly expressed belief in justification by faith only and asserted that the pope was Antichrist, whereupon the bishop of St. Andrews seized and tried him. He was found guilty and sentenced to a heretic's death. Although he was tied to the stake at noon, so unskillful were the executioners that he lived until six. He showed rare constancy in this dreadful ordeal, asking his accusers standing around him to prove their faith "by putting a little finger into the fire with which I am burning with my whole body."

George Wishart, another important martyr, was more deeply interested than Hamilton in Humanism. Returning from a visit to Switzerland in 1543, Wishart began preaching, was seized by Bishop Beaton of St. Andrews, tried, and burned to death in 1546. He taught Reformed doctrines and exerted much influence upon John Knox (1513-72), the chief figure of the Scottish Reformation. Born at Haddington near Edinburgh, the son of peasants, Knox like Luther displayed many of the characteristics of that humble class. "Knox was the true flower of this vigorous Lowland thistle. Throughout life he not only 'spoke what he would,' but uttered 'the truth' in such a tone as to make it unlikely that his 'message' should be accepted by opponents. Like Carlyle, however, he had a heart rich in affection; no breach in friendship, he says, ever began on his side. . . ." He was educated in St. Andrews and became a priest in 1540, but he fell under Wishart's influence five years later and henceforth was a staunch advocate of Reformed doctrine.

Meanwhile heresy made rapid progress, although the government suppressed new doctrines whenever possible. Ballads were composed satirizing priests and friars, and English Bibles circulated in great numbers. Later when Mary Tudor ruled in England (1553-58) many Englishmen fled to Scotland in order to avoid persecution. This steady increase of heretical opinion was due in part to the peculiarities of the political situation, for Catholicism and the alliance with France seemed to go together.

Bishop Beaton was hated for his share in the death of Wishart, and less than three months after the burning was surprised in his

castle by the sea and hanged without ceremony (May 29, 1546). "That blood [of Wishart] cries for vengeance, and we are sent from God to revenge it, . . ." said one of the assailants. The murderers ensconced themselves in the episcopal castle, where they were joined by Knox, who thus seemed to approve the murder. The regent of Scotland besieged them and with French help took the castle. Knox began a nineteen months' career as galley slave in a French man-of-war (1548-49). When freed he became minister of a church at Berwick, was promoted to another post in Newcastle, and was offered the see of Rochester during the reign of Edward VI. When Mary Tudor ascended the English throne Knox hurried to the continent and went to Geneva where he formed a close friendship with Calvin. For a brief time he served a group of English exiles at Frankfort-on-the-Main but was forced to leave because he was so bold as to compare Emperor Charles V with the persecutor Nero. He returned to Geneva to preach to the English congregation there. Meanwhile he watched closely the situation in Scotland and in 1555 concluded that the moment had arrived for a vigorous attack on the Roman faith.

Knox was not wrong in holding this view, for agitation was becoming more and more pronounced, and humble Scottish folk were becoming deeply concerned in religious questions. Pious ballads circulated among them, some of these songs expressing complete trust in Christ's crucifixion.

I call on Thee, Lord Jesu Christ,
I have no other help but Thee,
My heart is never set at rest,
Till Thy sweet word comforteth me.
A steadfast faith grant me therefor
To hold by Thy word evermore
Above all things never resisting,
But to increase in faith more and more.[2]

This evangelical sentiment produced criticism of the cult of saints:

To pray to Peter, James, or John,
Our souls to save, power have they none,
For that belongeth to Christ alone,
He died therefor, He died therefor.[3]

Some of the songs were directed against the Catholic clergy:

Priests, Christ believe,
And only trust in to His blood,

[2] Adapted from *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs* (The Scottish Text Society), (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

And not in to your works good,
As plainly Paul can prove.
Priests, learn to preach
And put away your ignorance,
Praise only God, His work advance
And Christ's people teach. . . .
Priests, mend your life
And leave your foul sensuality
And vile stinking chastity,
Let each one wed one wife.
Priests, pray no more
To St. Anthony, to save thy sow,
Nor to St. Bride, to keep thy cow,
That grieveth God full sore.[4]

The pope also received his share of criticism:

The pope, that pagan full of pride,
He has us blinded long,
For where the blind the blind doth guide,
No wonder both go wrong;
Like prince and king, he led the reign,
Of all iniquity,
Hay trix, tryme go trix, under the greenwood tree.[5]

The rest of the stanzas express sharp criticism of clerical morality.

These songs reveal the fact that the old church as ark of salvation had lost its appeal to many people. In its place had come the teaching that salvation was gained only through faith in the merits of Christ whose rôle as Savior was set forth in "God's Word." Calvinist theological thought ruled the minds of these folk, hence their keen hatred of "idolatry."

Upon his return to Scotland in the fall of 1555 Knox found that the Reformation had indeed gone forward. He preached in Edinburgh and other places and finally was summoned to appear before the courts for violation of the laws against heresy, but so many supporters crowded about him that the government dropped the matter. Knox soon returned to Geneva but left a determined group of followers to extend his teaching, which they did with notable success. Meanwhile opposition to Mary of Lorraine, who had become regent in 1554, and her foreign and Catholic policy grew rapidly. The next step to be taken was one in harmony with Scottish political tradition. Often in the past groups of nobles and others had banded together for some special purpose, and this was to be the practical method of bringing about the Reformation. A faction of nobles met in Edin-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-197.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

burgh on December 3, 1557. These Lords of the Congregation, as they were called, vowed that they would use their life and property in establishing the "Word of God." They assailed the "idolatry" of the Catholic church and denounced the church as the "Congregation of Satan," this language without doubt being inspired by the vigorous exhortations of Knox. What caused the lords to take so determined a step was the fear that if Mary Stuart became queen of France she would subordinate Scottish national interests to French policy. Negotiations for her marriage to the Dauphin Francis were already in progress, and the ceremony took place on April 24 of the next year. Thus Protestantism and Scottish national interests seemed arrayed against Catholicism and the French alliance.

Knox returned from Geneva in May, 1559, a thundering prophet of "God's Word" who feared neither noble nor sovereign. He met a zealous group of Protestants at Dundee and on the 11th preached a sermon in St. John's Church in Perth in which he vehemently denounced the "idolatry of the mass." After the sermon the people began breaking images in this and other churches of the town. A remarkable pamphlet, *The Beggars' Summons,* had appeared in January, addressed to the friars who were accused of having "stolen" from the people the hospitals committed to their care, and advising them to go to work, and "steal" no more. Whitsunday was the day set when the friars were to be ousted. This fiery composition expressed the tense feeling in the hearts of the people against clerical property, for church holdings were very extensive, some estimates running as high as one-half of the land of the realm.

Reformation had begun. The Lords of the Congregation were actively opposed to Mary of Lorraine who possessed a decided superiority over them, for she had brought into the country a large and well-disciplined force of French soldiers who were superior to the crude levies of the lords. Meanwhile Mary Stuart became queen of France, for Henry II died unexpectedly in July, 1559, and her Guise uncles eagerly encouraged her to assume a more active policy in suppressing heresy. When a new force of French soldiers was introduced into the country, the reformers, feeling that help was necessary, appealed to Queen Elizabeth of England who had succeeded Mary Tudor in 1558. Elizabeth, a Protestant and daughter of Anne Boleyn, was a heretic and illegitimate in the eyes of Catholics, and therefore unfit to rule.

As granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, Mary Stuart claimed a better title than Elizabeth and many Catholics agreed with her. In fact, it was Mary's hope some day to mount the throne of England. Hence Knox and the Lords of the Congregation were led to seek support from Elizabeth against the regent, Mary of Lorraine. The

Reformation was a national revolt against the ancient French connection, substituting for it a policy of friendship with Protestant England. Elizabeth was loath to assist the Scots, for she did not approve rebellion nor did she like the outspoken Knox who rarely tempered his words with caution. He had issued a violent pamphlet, the famous *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1556), directed against Mary of Lorraine and Mary Tudor. Knox had the hardihood to write that "to promote a woman to bear rule above any realm is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to His revealed will and approved ordinance; and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." He derived some of his ideas, but not his venom, from St. Paul. Elizabeth disliked this work and never could forgive the author; and this ill-feeling at first prevented cordial relations between the queen and the Scots.

But Elizabeth did not permit her resentment of the reformer to dictate her policy, for she perceived clearly that her safety demanded the removal of French troops from Scotland. Therefore she listened to suggestions from the Lords of the Congregation, and sent money and a fleet in 1560. These united forces began a siege of Edinburgh, but this proved an impossible task. Mary of Lorraine died on June 10 and one great obstacle to a settlement was removed, for her Guise supporters were not in a position to protect Mary Stuart's interests because of difficulties in France. The Treaty of Edinburgh, arranged on July 6, provided that only a handful of French soldiers was to remain in the realm, and Mary Stuart and her husband Francis II of France were not to employ force against England, nor were Frenchmen to hold office in Scotland. Not a word was said about religion but, as the future was to reveal, the Lords of the Congregation, being in power, were to have their way. This treaty was a revolution in the history of Scotland in that it changed her foreign policy, made possible the future union with England, prepared the way for Protestantism, and marked the arrival to power of the smaller baronage and the bourgeoisie who had never played a part in national affairs.

The defeat of Mary's French policy was greeted with enthusiasm, solemn thanks being offered in St. Giles. Soon another step was taken. Parliament met as had been provided for in the treaty, but instead of limiting attendance to those who had been in the habit of coming, many new members were admitted. Persons who were deeply concerned about religious questions found their way into the assembly, among them townsmen, petty nobles, and preachers of the Gospel. In former times rarely more than twenty nobles had attended; now there were over a hundred who took an active interest

in matters of state. The session began on August 3 and its policy was a foregone conclusion. This most important Parliament in Scottish history completely broke with the old faith, its members asking the ministers to draw up a *Confession.* Knox took direction of this work and the strictly Calvinist statement which resulted was accepted by an overwhelming majority. Opposition to these proceedings was limited almost entirely to the few mitered members bold enough to attend.

Three acts were passed on August 24. Under the first, all authority of the pope in the Scottish church was declared at an end, and temporal and spiritual jurisdiction was taken from the prelates. The second act repealed every statute against heresy, and the third declared the mass to be illegal. Penalty for celebrating mass or attending such celebration was provided—imprisonment and confiscation of goods for the first offense, banishment for the second, and nothing less than death for the third. It should be noted, however, that very little if any blood was shed for religion as a result of these laws, for the Reformation in Scotland was a gentle affair as compared with that in other lands.

Parliament took another important step when it ordered the ministers to prepare an organization for the new church. *The First Book of Discipline* was laid before the new Parliament in January, 1561, Calvin's ideas being closely followed. The churches were organized in presbyteries which were grouped into a general assembly. The *Confession* was to be the rule of faith, and a system of national education was sketched; care of the poor was also provided for. But difficulties arose in disposing of the property of the ancient church, for Knox held that it all should pass to the new Kirk; but many a nobleman had enriched himself with church lands during the recent disturbances and it was futile to hope that they would give them up.

Mary Stuart set foot in Scotland on August 19, 1561. An extremely beautiful woman, she possessed a refined intellect, and wherever she went she won the enthusiastic admiration of men. But she did not have the subtle craft which made Elizabeth so successful—Mary was great as a woman but Elizabeth was great as a Machiavellian politician. Mary, devoutly Catholic, was eager to restore Catholicism, but she found it impossible to bend the ministers to her will. Dour and outspoken, Knox never yielded to her blandishments. His interviews with her are famous, the following being the report of one of them:

> "Well then I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me; and shall do what they list and not what I command: and so I must be subject to them and not they to me."
>
> "God forbid," answered Knox, "that ever I take upon me to

command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleases them. But my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not that wrong is done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God, for it is He that subjects the people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them; your God craves of kings that they be, as it were fosterfathers to His kirk, and commands queens to be nurses unto His people. And this subjection unto God and His troubled kirk, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory."

"Yea, but ye are not the kirk that I will nurse. I will defend the kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true kirk of God. . . . My conscience is not so."

"Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; I fear that right knowledge you have none."[6]

The queen's policy failed chiefly because of certain defects in her character. Feminine sentiments dominated her activities and led to her undoing. She sought to win the crown of England, and the Catholic world generally agreed that she should have it rather than Henry VIII's illegitimate daughter Elizabeth. Mary married her cousin Lord Darnley who next to herself possessed title to the English crown. This would have been a politic move if Darnley had proved a worthy husband, but Mary had fallen in love with him because of his handsome exterior, failing to note that he was utterly incapable of any intelligent conduct which might help her. Inordinately vain and jealous, he murdered Mary's secretary, the Italian David Rizzio. The queen thereupon conceived the greatest loathing for Darnley and soon fell under the influence of the earl of Bothwell, an able and dashing soldier but a man of evil ways and unscrupulous withal. Mary fell in love with him and the result was that Darnley was killed when the house in Edinburgh in which he was staying was blown up with gunpowder. The queen apparently was privy to this murder, the public openly accusing her of complicity.

What made matters worse was Mary's immediate marriage to Bothwell. The queen's enemies thought to depose her and raise in her stead her infant son by Darnley, the future James VI, born after the murder of his father. Finally Parliament, in spite of her resistance, forced the queen to abdicate under threat of persecution. It was during these days that the famous Casket Letters, written by Mary to Bothwell, were brought to light. The originals have been lost and only copies are extant. As they were produced by the queen's enemies, many have questioned their authenticity. If they are genuine they prove beyond a shadow of doubt her complicity in the fate of Darn-

[6] Adapted from A. Innes, *A Source Book of English History* (Cambridge, 1902), vol. i, pp. 326-327.

ley. The question of their genuineness, however, is a difficult problem which challenges the critical ability of scholars.

Mary planned to regain the crown and escaped from Lochleven Castle where Parliament had placed her. She raised some troops, but her forces were not equal to those of her opponents and in a skirmish at Langside they were worsted, Mary fleeing across the Solway and throwing herself upon Elizabeth's mercy (1569). Her further fortunes were mingled almost entirely with those of the great political Catholic reaction and will be traced under that heading. Whatever chance Mary had of saving something for Catholicism in Scotland was ruined by her folly, her flight putting an end to any possibility of Catholic reaction in Scotland. Her son James VI, who became a pedantic theologian and a convinced Protestant, ruled in harmony with the wishes of the Scottish kirk and soon became practically the head of the religious establishment.

The Reformation was a decisive event in Scottish history because it was far more than a religious movement. It was a period made memorable by the rise of the bourgeoisie and lower nobility to power in state and society. Nationalist sentiment, which the historian encounters so often in the turmoil of the sixteenth century, aimed at effective direction of the state by its monarch. Mary Stuart failed lamentably, for she proposed to use Scotland as an element in the international Catholic reaction, to the detriment of national welfare. Catholicism and nationalist sentiment were opposed to each other and Catholicism therefore was defeated by the national will. It was but another example showing how secular concerns proved more powerful than religious doctrine. Furthermore, on the ruins of the old order James VI was able to construct a royal absolutism such as Scotland had always lacked. The Reformation made Scotland a modern state.

PART X

CATHOLIC REFORM

CHAPTER XLVII

FOUNDATIONS OF CATHOLIC REFORM

One of the greatest difficulties confronting a government which has entered on a wrong track is to retrace its steps and once more strike the right road. —L. VON PASTOR.[1]

TO OBSERVERS in 1540 it seemed that Catholicism had reached the moment of dissolution. Scandinavia was Lutheran. Northern and central Germany had abandoned the old faith. Lutheran propaganda was active in Hapsburg and Bavarian lands. Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary were inclined to welcome heresy. Swiss cantons for the most part had embraced the doctrines of Zwingli and Calvin. England had established her own national church. In France Calvinism was gaining ground. The Low Countries were filled with heretical teaching. Revolutionary Anabaptism had been put down at Münster only a few years before, but another outbreak was feared; and many princes, states, and cities were sternly repressing people who practiced rebaptism. Protestantism was active sporadically even in Spain and Italy.

The situation was quite different forty years later. Catholic reform was triumphant in Italy, southern Germany, Spain, and the southern Low Countries; and even in France it was evident that Calvin's doctrine could not win the people. What was the cause of this change? It has often been said that reform of Catholicism was due to the rise of Protestantism which insisted on purification in the church. This undoubtedly was a factor, but scarcely more. Reform

[1] *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages,* vol. xi, p. 502.

was due to the following conditions: (1) persistence of traditional piety among the lower classes; (2) zeal of the Spanish rulers and other princely families; (3) ardor of cultivated Italians, the finest intellectual product of the Renaissance; (4) rise of new religious orders; (5) reforming efforts of the papacy which were stimulated by the rise of Protestantism and which began with the accession of Paul III in 1534; and (6) the Council of Trent (1545-63).

Let us first review the social conditions from which Catholic reform drew its strength. The countryside everywhere remained the stronghold of the old cult. Peasants were loath to follow the example of townsmen, clung to their priests, and reluctantly obeyed their princes when commanded by them to embrace new doctrines. Often it proved impossible to force them to forsake Catholicism. In Poland, for example, they remained staunchly loyal to Rome while townsmen and nobility coquetted with the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, or the Sozzini. Italian peasants never changed their faith, and even in Brabant and Flanders heresy was essentially a bourgeois movement. The unchanging countryside with its conservative population saw no reason to abandon the old cult in which generations had lived and died.

The Renaissance has been shown in previous chapters to be a bourgeois movement which did not affect the rural population to any extent. Its critical spirit, sardonic wit, and sarcastic literature did much to sap the old faith, and clamant abuses and corruptions caused many to hate the church or to ignore it. But the cultivation of Humanist learning required leisure and wealth, which were possessed only by the upper bourgeoisie. The lower classes among the townsmen usually shared but scantily in the new culture; they too remained conservative in outlook. The proletariat might experiment with radicalism, as was illustrated at Münster, but when it failed they were likely to return to the old cult. It was to such people that Savonarola made effective appeal.

It is a common error to assume that all Humanists abandoned Catholicism. But it should be remembered that Humanism arose in Italy in a Catholic environment, and its devotees, formally at least, remained faithful to the church. They believed in the perfectibility of man and advocated the full development of his powers. Since they thought that secular excellence was good and noble, they could not agree with Luther and Calvin that all such activity was totally worthless in meriting salvation. Therefore Humanists generally rejected their teaching that the will was enslaved. Herein lay the significance of Erasmus' contest with Luther. Nor could they sympathize with the other-worldly and unintellectual views of most Anabaptists.

Humanists therefore saw little reason for abandoning the old faith, especially before the rigid reforms of Pope Paul IV (1555-59) began.

Let us consider a few of the more important reforming Humanists of Italy. The Oratory of Divine Love was a society of priests and laymen who fervently desired renovation in religion and who proposed to begin the work of reform by dedicating their lives to all kinds of religious activities. The Oratory in Rome was founded during the pontificate of Leo X, and its members were wont to meet in the little church of St. Silvester and St. Dorothy on the right bank of the Tiber. Other Oratories had previously been founded in Genoa and Milan. A fervent love of God and fellow man, born, in part at least, of the great zeal for Platonic teaching during the Renaissance, characterized their religious life. Gaetano de Tiene of Vicenza (d. 1547), known also as St. Cajetan, was an illustrious member of the order. Born in 1480, he led a most devout life amid the secularity of the Renaissance, laboring zealously in serving the poor and alleviating suffering in hospitals. The example of his work in Rome, Vicenza, Verona, and Venice proved contagious. It is interesting to note that although extremely devout he did not enter the priesthood until 1516.

Gian Pietro Caraffa, another member of the Oratory, was born of Neapolitan origin in 1476, studied theology, and was rapidly promoted at the papal court under Alexander VI and Julius II. It is remarkable that he escaped the corruptions of this environment and lived all these years in the brilliant High Renaissance of which Rome was the center without ever giving up his austere morality and his mediæval philosophy and conception of life. He was a man of much physical and mental vigor, recalling in this respect the *virtù* of great characters of the Renaissance. The see of Chieti was intrusted to him in 1504, and he soon began the toilsome task of reforming his diocese. So successful was he that by 1513 he felt that he had accomplished this work. As a member of the Oratory of Divine Love, he associated with other spirits who like himself were convinced of the necessity of reform in the church and of purification in official religious life. Out of these ideas grew the Order of the Theatines which demanded a thorough reform of secular and regular clergy.

Gian Matteo Ghiberti was born in Palermo in 1495, rose in the service of Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII, and became bishop of Verona in 1524. A man of noble life unsullied by the worldliness of the *curia*, he profited much from intercourse with noble personages in Rome. He knew Caraffa and associated with members of the Oratory of Divine Love. After the sack of Rome in 1527 he went to his see and began active reform of the clergy and the re-

ligious life of the laity. He carefully investigated every priest, suspended all who disgraced the clerical cloth, vetoed non-residence, insisted on preaching and celebration of the sacraments, and zealously discharged his visitorial duties. He supported the charitable institutions of the diocese and applied relief wherever necessary. He emphasized the study of Scripture in a Humanist but orthodox manner.

Ghiberti's example stimulated other bishops. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505-63) reformed the see of Mantua which he ruled with the utmost moral rigor. Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542), born of a Venetian patrician family, was originally a member of the Maggior Consiglio of Venice, thus gathering much practical diplomatic experience. He was a man of pure life and sincerest piety, and as a Humanist he was the center of a coterie of noble spirits who loved books and intercourse on exalted themes. Although a layman, he was well versed in patristic literature. In his younger days he wrote a book about the duties of bishops. He helped in the reformation of the sees of Mantua and Verona and, after becoming bishop of Belluno in 1536, vigorously put an end to many abuses. Gregorio Cortese (1489-1548), abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, was a reformer of monasteries and also a Humanist who became the center of an important group.

The church laid claim to a very high calling as an institute of salvation, and should have kept itself without spot or wrinkle in the eyes of the world. But it proved difficult to keep the church uncontaminated throughout the Middle Ages; secularism and indifference triumphed during the Renaissance and the papacy appeared indistinguishable from any other secular government. The cry for reform had been raised repeatedly but was hushed with the failure of the Council of Basel (1431-49). Protestants criticized the church unsparingly, and Catholics like Eck, Campeggio, and Cajetan also felt the imperative need of renovation. The significance of the newer type of prelates lies in the fact that they addressed themselves to concrete abuses and corruptions. They worked with the people and the clergy, and they themselves set an example of what the clergy should be. This appeal met with ready response. Indeed, the success of Catholic reform was in large measure due to this very thing.

Many a Humanist layman, devoutly attached to the old faith but longing for reform, criticized the church. Michelangelo, who had abundant opportunity to witness the worldly character of the papacy under Julius II, expressed his feelings in this sonnet:

> Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
> The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
> His cross and thorns are spear and shields; and short
> Must be the time ere even His patience cease.

Nay let him come no more to raise the fees
Of this foul sacrilege beyond report!
For Rome still plays and sells Him at the court,
Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase.
Now were fit time for me to scrape a treasure!
Seeing what work and gain are gone; while he
Who wears the robe, is my Medusa still.
God welcomes poverty perchance with pleasure:
But of that better life what pope have we,
When the blessed banner leads to nought but ill?[2]

Humanism produced no nobler person than Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547), who combined in her religious devotion the piety of the old faith with inspiration from the Oratory of Divine Love. None of her sonnets expresses this better than the following:

From joy to joy, from one to other hand.
Of such and gentle thoughts, supernal Love
From the hard winter and the cold thereof
Guides me to springtide's warm and verdant land.
Haply the Lord—since He beholds me stand
With breast like wax whereon the eternal seal
Hath deeply cut a faith profound and real,
Moulding my inmost beneath His hand—
Wills not with bitter cross and steep ascent,
But with the easy yoke and burden light,
To lead me into port by some smooth road.
Or it may be this little peace is lent
By the wise goodness from my Father and God
To arm and fit me for a weary fight.[3]

Catholic reform first actively began in Spain. For centuries Spaniards fought the Moors, the *Song of Roland* (eleventh century) giving a vivid conception of the crusading ardor of warrior pilgrims who followed the long road from France to Galicia to worship at the famous shrine of St. James of Compostella. The Cid Campeador became a national hero because of his fame won in combat with the infidel. Many a great event in Spanish history is associated with the struggle against the invading infidel—we need think only of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the great military orders such as Calatrava, Alcántara, and St. James of Compostella. In no other land was Christian mysticism so deeply intrenched. Among the greater mystics were Francesco de Osuna (d. 1540), San Pedro de Alcántara (1499-1562), both Franciscans; Juan de Avila (1500-69),

[2] *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti,* tr. by J. A. Symonds (London, 1912), p. 5.

[3] M. Jerrold, *Vittoria Colonna with Some Account of her Friends and her Times* (London, 1906), p. 286.

St. John of the Cross (1542-91), and Luis de Leon (1528-91). The mysticism of these men was of an intensely practical kind, for they accepted the teachings of the church as unquestioned truths and sought to arrive at religious satisfaction by the route of purgation, illumination, and unity with God. Out of this environment came Loyola and St. Teresa.

Isabella began her rule in Castile and Leon in 1474. The soul of this great woman was intensely pious, and she glowed with the zeal of Spanish mystics and the inspiration of great heroes who had won fame in the fight against the Moors. She became the wife of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469, and together they gave Spain more effective government than it ever enjoyed in the Middle Ages. Their absolutism was made possible by the support of a loyal bourgeoisie, for town and crown united in restricting the nobility whose ideals were so contrary to the aims of the new monarchy. Thus began a new era in the peninsula. Loyalty toward Catholicism became a chief element in Spanish nationalism, for Spaniards were resolved to destroy the Moors and especially to put down the Jews. The former stood in the way of national unity and safety; the latter were hated by the bourgeoisie who wanted to rout them as economic competitors. The Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1480, was an ecclesiastical organ in the hands of the rulers, designed to exterminate heretics hated equally by church and crown. The zealous Thomas Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, organized its activities and procedure; and in the eighteen years until his death in 1498 he is said to have burned about two thousand people. His pitiless severity has given special odium to the practice of compelling people to accept an established faith under threat of death.

The conquest of Granada was achieved in January, 1492. National ambition to bring all parts of the peninsula under the royal sway had led the Catholic sovereigns to attack this last stronghold of Moorish power. The defeated Moors were given considerable privileges. They were to retain the use of their language and be free both in their faith and in the education of their children. They were guaranteed personal freedom, they were to live under Moorish law, and in all litigation they were to be tried by their own judges. This liberal policy, inspired by the queen's gentle confessor, Archbishop Talavera of Granada (1428?-1507), contrasts vividly with the vigor applied to the Jews, who in March, 1492, were given four months to leave the realm or accept Catholicism.

Isabella's zealous devotion to the faith was directed by the fiery Ximenes de Cisneros (1436-1517). In 1492 he became her confessor and was named provincial of the Franciscans in Castile, and three years later he was appointed archbishop of Toledo. A man of deep

piety and austere morals, he was eager to reform the church and insisted that members of his order should live in complete Franciscan poverty. He also extended his efforts at renovation to the other regular clergy and to the secular clergy of his province. Being interested in education, he secured the appointment of men of learning to canonries. The new Renaissance culture met with little favor among the average churchmen who were trained in the outworn methods of mediæval schools, possessed no vital learning, and had been named to their posts through special influence.

Ximenes was a man of lowly birth and, like many a youth of that class, was educated in canon and civil law. The promotion of a man of his class was a significant event in the history of the Spanish church, for all important posts until this time had been occupied by members of the nobility. Ximenes was one of that class of lowly subjects who eagerly supported monarchs against a lawless nobility. He owed nothing to the nobles and so was ready to oppose them. Nor was he wedded to old intellectual conceptions, for he appreciated the new learning at its true worth. His great importance lies in the fact that he made it a useful servant of Catholic culture. In Italy Humanism had acted as a disintegrating force, but in Spain it became a bulwark of the old faith. The example thus established was followed by Jesuits, reforming popes, bishops, and universities.

Urged by Ximenes' desire for severity, Talavera's mild policy toward the Moors came to an end. Although the Moors had loyally accepted the conditions imposed after the fall of Granada, these promises were speedily broken and revolts broke out in 1501. Isabella now ordered that all Moors should abandon their faith or leave the realm under pain of death. Their copies of the Koran and other religious writings were seized and cast into the flames. Peace was restored after much fighting and the Moors were forced to choose either death or baptism. Ximenes assumed control of the Inquisition as grand inquisitor. He also led a crusade against the Moors on the African coast opposite Spain in which Oran was seized and Algiers was blockaded, for the Spanish government feared that the African Moors would help their brethren in Spain. This crusade was Isabella's darling project, but Ximenes was not able to accomplish much because the treasury was exhausted. Ximenes was made a cardinal in 1507.

Ximenes wished to revive the study of the Scripture which had fallen into decay because of the methods employed during the Middle Ages. This work was undertaken at the University of Alcalá, founded shortly after the opening of the sixteenth century, and Ximenes brought to its faculties learned men from Paris, Salamanca, Bologna, and other places. One of the most remarkable contributions made by the scholars of Alcalá was the famous edition of the Scripture, the

Complutensian Polyglot, in whose preparation the new philological knowledge produced by the Italian Renaissance, and also many manuscripts, were employed. The work, which embraced six large volumes, was finished in 1517 and was published with the sanction of Leo X in 1520. The leading feature of this work, which was probably the most scientific book on Scripture in the sixteenth century, was the reproduction of the text of the Bible in all original languages, as well as the Vulgate version.

It is clear from this survey of the social situation in Spain that there still was much vigor left in the traditional cult. Many humble folk, Humanists, and some princes evinced a fervid desire to purify the church; and even in the darkest days of its degradation there was not entirely lacking, even in the papacy, some feeling that reform should be undertaken. The wholly secular and worldly pontiff Alexander VI (1492-1503) named a commission which reported that sales of benefices and the practice of pluralities should be curtailed. But the pope was immersed in the political concerns of the States of the Church and nothing could be accomplished. Nor was Julius II (1503-13) better able to take in hand the task of reformation, for it was a cardinal point in his policy to drive foreign powers, especially France, out of Italy, and this absorbed all his energies. Angered by the pope's policy, Louis XII of France (1498-1515) retaliated by attacking him in his spiritual rights, a step which threatened to start an avalanche of criticism against the papacy. Louis called a synod of the French clergy at Tours in September, 1510. This body, which was Gallican and national in sentiment, declared that French kings possessed the right to defend their realm and crown against the bishop of Rome event to the extent of withdrawing from his obedience. Louis went so far as to appeal to a general council against the pope and revive the decrees of the Council of Basel. The prelates insisted on a council in which Julius' conduct and character should be discussed freely. Meanwhile there was revolt in the *curia* itself, in 1511 Cardinal Carvajal, who personally desired reform, and a small number of other cardinals supported by Louis, calling a general council to be held at Pisa on September 1, 1512.

The schismatic meeting at Pisa would possess no authority in the eyes of Christendom, and Julius II met this move of the cardinals by summoning a council to meet in the Church of the Lateran in Rome in April, 1512. The purpose of the Lateran Council was to reform the church, prepare for a crusade against the Turks, and put an end to schism. Emperor Maximilian was inclined to oppose the pope, but Germans desired reform in the financial and judicial relations between their country and the *curia* which had been demanded repeatedly since 1457 in the *gravamina* or complaints drawn

up by the German diets. They were opposed to the drastic step contemplated by Louis and did not send envoys to Pisa. Julius II died shortly after the fifth session of the Lateran Council and Leo X succeeded him. The council had begun in May, 1512, but accomplished nothing save declaring the council at Pisa illegal.

Discussions were held about reformation of the church and a committee was appointed. Little could be accomplished because the papacy of the Renaissance throve on the financial abuses and malpractices which corrupted it, and reform measures therefore could not strike at the root of the problem. A number of decrees were issued but they concerned such minor problems as certain types of exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, visiting convents exempt from such control, and supervision of printing presses. As on former occasions, papacy and prelates feared that reform would hurt their interests and so were loath to put their hands to the task. Because of this hostility ecclesiastical authorities succeeded in evading all serious consideration of reform, and the council came to an end in May, 1517.

When Leo X died in December, 1521, it appeared for a moment that the Renaissance papacy had come to an end. Adrian VI, a Netherlander, was elected to succeed him in January, 1522. Adrian of Utrecht was pious, virtuous, austere, and filled with desire to reform the church. Educated by the Brethren of the Common Life, he had studied theology and philosophy at Louvain, taught as a professor in that university, and become tutor of Charles, son of Ferdinand and Isabella. Adrian was a friend of Cardinal Ximenes, was appointed bishop of Tortosa, and in 1518 became inquisitor-general of Castile and Leon. He was named Charles' viceroy in May, 1520, and he finally became pope, due to his master's influence, but he was not unduly exalted by this honor. "To God only is it easy thus suddenly to uplift the lowly. This honor brings me no gladness, and I dread taking upon me such a burden. I would much rather serve God in my provostship at Utrecht than as bishop, cardinal, or pope. But who am I to withstand the call of the Lord?"

A man of such temper would be a lonely stranger in the Rome of the Renaissance. It would be impossible for him to work with the cardinals and officials who had been appointed by Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X, for they did not relish his ideas about reform and were not interested in a crusade against the Turk. They viewed him as an ascetic barbarian from the north, unschooled in the refinements of Renaissance society, and cared nothing for the piety of the *Imitation of Christ*. Adrian was criticized because he was slow in bestowing canonries and other posts in his gift, nor did the Romans like his Netherlandish servants. The courtiers were disappointed by

his empty treasury; his economies merely caused resentment. Nevertheless, he went ahead with his tasks. He withdrew all permission given to princes since Innocent III to present candidates for benefices, for he wanted to fill all posts in the future with good men.

Adrian was much concerned over corruption in the church. Leo X had done nothing to eradicate it and had not appreciated the gravity of the Lutheran revolt until it was too late. Adrian sent his nuncio Francesco Chieregati (1479-1539), an able diplomat and a man of pure life, to the Diet of Nuremberg to present the papal ideas about heresy and reform, with instructions to make a frank statement about corruption in *curia* and hierarchy. Adrian declared his determination to proceed at once with reform in the Holy See itself, thus setting an example to the world. Chieregati delivered this message in January, 1523. It was a most remarkable declaration, but it did not make Lutherans eager to return to the church; rather it steeled them in their convictions, for now they could point to the admissions of the supreme pontiff himself to prove that the Roman church was honeycombed with corruption.

Adrian was supported in his zeal for reform by the views of Dr. John Eck who visited the Vatican in the spring of 1523. Eck painted a sad picture of the rampant abuses which destroyed the piety of the people. Flagrant misuse of indulgences, venality of benefice hunting, taxes imposed for dispensations, and the system of taxation practiced by the *curia* were cited as causes. Eck argued that in these circumstances it was futile to issue bulls against heretical teachings and that reform should be initiated at once. A general council could not be successful because at that moment Europe was so divided politically between France and the Hapsburg powers that no harmony would be possible. Honest reform should begin in the *curia.* Special attention should be paid to the clergy of Germany in the matter of preaching, management of dioceses, teaching, and personal conduct of the clergy. Eck also presented some concrete proposals for reform such as appointment of visitors for each archdiocese, suspension of the University of Wittenberg, and frequent provincial and diocesan synods. But the time for a comprehensive program had not yet arrived.

Adrian VI died in September, 1523. His pontificate was too brief to accomplish much, but it was important. "If Adrian is judged only by the standard of success, no just verdict will be given. The significance of his career lay not in his achievements, but in his aims. In this respect it is to his undying credit that he not only courageously laid bare the scandals of the church and showed an honest purpose of amending them, but also with clear understanding suggested the right means to be employed, and with prompt determination began

reform at the head."[4] The politically minded son of the Renaissance, Clement VII (1523-34), succeeded him and any serious thought of reform had to wait until the elevation of Paul III in 1534. However, an event occurred during Clement's pontificate which sobered many minds—the terrible devastation of the peninsula during the second war (1526-29) between Charles V and Francis I which culminated in the horrible sack of Rome in 1527. This date, which virtually marks the end of the High Renaissance, was also a turning point in the history of the papacy, for vigorous reform was to be undertaken within a few years.

[4] L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. ix, pp. 125-126.

CHAPTER XLVIII

NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS

You will understand more clearly what a novelty the Society of Jesus was and what a new departure it made when you consider the succession of great orders which rose up on the eve of peril, according as they were needed, to save the faith and the church.—GIOVANNI PAPINI.[1]

CATHOLICISM drew enormous strength from its monastic institutions during the Protestant revolt. Man as a religious being does not live in a vacuum but in a complicated and intensely practical environment, and religion therefore becomes a social force of the greatest importance. In the age of Catholic reform the church witnessed a remarkable revival of the ascetic spirit which played so significant a part during the Middle Ages.

The new orders which now arose proved that religious and ascetic impulses in the old church were far from extinct. These bodies sought to translate once more into action the social conceptions inherent in Catholic teaching, and they thus are worthy continuators of the Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Beguines, Alexians, and the Brethren of the Common Life. Some of the new orders were formed to remedy specific social evils; others were created to combat Protestant heresy.

First to be considered is the order of the Sommaschi. The terrible second war between Charles V and Francis I (1526-29), which reached its climax in the sack of Rome in 1527, had wrought great havoc in Italy. Contending armies harried the land in accordance with the custom of the age. Especially tragic was the misery inflicted upon Venetia and the Milanese, the most populous parts of the peninsula. Spanish and other troops lived on the country and converted it into a barren waste. The inhabitants were reduced to starvation, homeless waifs wandered about the countryside, and unburied bodies lay along the roads and streets. Girolamo Miano (d. 1537) or St. Jerome Emilian, the founder of the order of the Sommaschi, was born in 1481. He became a soldier, was taken prisoner, and passed

[1] *Laborers in the Vineyard* (New York, 1930), pp. 106-107.

through a new religious experience which led him to adopt an ascetic view of life and devote all his energies to good works. His labors among unfortunates during and after 1528 entitle him to be remembered as long as men live, for he helped the needy in every way, buried neglected bodies, and collected, educated, and fed waifs. He founded orphanages in Brescia and Bergamo. He associated with himself such devoted priests and laymen as he could find. Although their activities embraced many parts of Venetia and the Milanese, the little village of Sommasca was the center of their organization whence they received the name Sommaschi. Gian Pietro Caraffa of the Theatines befriended them, and a hospital for incurables founded by this order at Venice was turned over to the Sommaschi.

The order of the Barnabites, who were very much like the Sommaschi, was founded by a nobleman named Antonio Zaccaria (1502-39). He and a number of like-minded men, in an effort to counteract the hideous ravages caused by the second war between Charles V and Francis I, organized a society of clerks regular which in 1533 was changed into an order. The center of their organization was the monastery of St. Barnabas in Milan, for which reason they were popularly called Barnabites. The Barnabites were active in caring for destitute children and in teaching religion among the lower classes. "They took pains to stir the feelings of the ruder sort of people by open-air missions and public exercises of penance; they were to be seen, crucifix in hand, preaching in the most crowded thoroughfares; some carried heavy crosses, others confessed their sins aloud." They were organized after the model of the Theatines and like them also were interested in stimulating the zeal of priests, some of their reforms being adopted later by Archbishop Borromeo of Milan. The Angelice, a sisterhood with the same object, was established by Luigia Torelli.

The Ursulines were founded by Angela Merici (1469-1540). Left an orphan while young, she turned to religion for comfort and became a member of the Third Order of St. Francis. She brought together a number of young girls who thought like herself, and their activities centered in Desenzano on Lake Garda. Later she resolved to form a religious community to teach children and care for the sick, dedicating herself to this ideal in 1535. St. Ursula became the patron of the community, and their organization spread among the towns and villages around Brescia. The Ursulines were eagerly supported by Borromeo, and such was their popularity that they were welcomed in most Catholic lands. Paul III approved their society which gradually became an order.

The Theatines were founded by Gaetano de Tiene or St. Cajetan (1480-1547) and Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (1476-1559). These mem-

bers of the Oratory of Divine Love desired a stronger association to infuse fresh vigor into religious life, and the new order was to be composed of priests wholly devoted to preaching and administering the sacraments. Organized as clerks regular, they did not dissipate their energies in striving for wealth, a thing which had brought reproach upon many secular priests. Absolute poverty was not a popular ideal in the Renaissance but Pope Clement issued a letter favoring their petition (1524). The associates took the three vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, surrendered their benefices, and began living on the Pincian Hill in Rome. Caraffa was chosen superior.

The group lived in great austerity, preaching in public, administering the sacraments, caring for the sick and destitute pilgrims who thronged Rome, and tending the dying in the hospitals—the hospital for incurables founded by them in Venice has been mentioned above. The order spread rapidly throughout Italy. Pope Paul III chose Caraffa to help him in the work of reform, making him a cardinal in 1537, and henceforth Theatine ideas led in the reformation of church and religious life. Gaetano's work in Naples proved important, St. Paul's church in that city becoming an influential center. The service was made more dignified and greater decorum was insisted upon, a procedure especially needed among the lax Neapolitans. Gaetano revived the practice, popular even today, of reproducing the holy manger at Christmas time. Although Franciscans had been very fond of this custom, it had apparently fallen into disuse. The example of these vigorous and zealous Theatines proved a mighty influence in papacy, church, and popular religious life.

The Capuchins formed a striking contrast to the Theatines, for many of the latter were nobles and the order long retained an aristocratic air. The Capuchins, however, were Franciscans and perpetuated the proletarian sympathies of their founder. The Franciscans were divided into two groups: Conventuals who did not follow the rule of St. Francis in all its severity, and Observants who aimed to carry it out to the letter. But even the Observants were not strict enough for some members, for example, Matteo da Bascio (1495-1552). "He had the robustness of the healthy peasant whose forebears had been inured to hard labor in the fields, and that natural refinement of character sometimes found amongst those who have tilled the soil they live upon, a spiritual quality gained in intimate communion with nature's mysteries." Matteo was much perplexed and finally thought that he heard a voice saying, "Observe the rule to the letter." He had heard that even the habit was not the same as it had been in the days of St. Francis, wherefore he adopted the pointed hood which was to become typical of the Capuchins. His views brought him into conflict with the Observants. One night he

slipped out of the convent at Montefalcone near Fermo, resolved to go to Rome to lay the matter before the pope and implore his permission to live according to the original rule of St. Francis, a request which Clement VII readily granted. Retracing his steps, Matteo passed through Assisi where he renewed his vows at the tomb of St. Francis and then returned to his Umbrian convent. Since he had sprung from peasants and knew what pains and troubles oppressed humble folk, he worked unselfishly among the plague-stricken people of Camerino in 1523. He began preaching against sin, and as he entered towns he was wont to cry, "To hell, to hell! ye usurers; to hell ye adulterers; to hell ye blasphemers!" Austere in morality and severe in denunciation as this prophet was, the people nevertheless loved him as one of themselves.

Clement VII commanded Matteo to present himself once a year to his minister provincial in token of obedience. This he did, but was received in an unfriendly manner. One year he was put into the prison of the friary, but he was freed, however, upon the imperious request of the duchess of Camerino who had not forgotten the friar's service among her dying subjects a few years before. Matteo resumed preaching. His ideas were discussed far and wide by friars who believed that the rigid rule of St. Francis should be followed in all its details. Some of them, intent on following the rule closely, left their Observant brethren. Appeal was made to Clement who declared the runaway friars apostates, and included even Matteo among them. An effort was made to bring them back, first by force, then by persuasion, but the duchess of Camerino protected them and they were allowed to live as they wished. They rendered noteworthy service to the poor during the terrible year of 1527, feeding and nursing the sick, comforting them as they lay dying, and burying the dead.

The Observants did not relax their efforts against the apostate brethren. But the duchess of Camerino interceded for her friars before the pope at Viterbo, whither he had gone after the sack of Rome in 1527, placing before him the petition of Ludovico and Raffaele da Fossombrone for permission to follow the primitive Franciscan rule, preach to the people, and live under the protection of the Conventuals but to be governed by a superior of their own choice. Clement finally accepted their petition and on July 3, 1528, issued the bull *Religionis Zelus*. The new fraternity soon became known as the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin from the peculiar hood which they wore. In accordance with their democratic character, their constitution was drawn up in Italian and not in Latin. The house at Camerino, built in 1531, became the center of the order which became very popular and did much to improve religious life among the lower classes of Italy. In 1538 women were permitted to

live according to the Capuchin rule, and these Capuchinesses also rendered noble service among the destitute and lowly.

The Oratorians were founded by St. Philip Neri (1515-95), who had received his first religious lessons from the Dominicans of San Marco in Florence. He went to Rome in 1532 and although a layman worked among the destitute and sick. He paid many a visit to the churches and the catacombs in order to pray. "He entered on that course of home mission work which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life; somewhat in the manner of Socrates he traversed the city, seizing opportunities of entering into conversations with persons of all ranks, and of leading them on, with playful irony, with searching questions, with words of wise and kindly counsel, to consider the topics he desired to set before them." He founded a confraternity whose task was to aid destitute pilgrims. He and his associates met for prayer at the church of St. Girolamo in Rome, and from these meetings arose the order of Oratorians, their object being prayer, preaching, and the celebration of the sacraments. Their preaching was especially successful, for their sermons were simple, direct, and completely free from the scholastic verbiage in which old-fashioned friars and priests were wont to address their auditors. They dealt with the lives of saints, passages from Scripture, themes in church history, and practical topics. Gregory XIII approved the Congregation of the Oratory in 1575. It always remained an association of secular priests bound by no vows but living according to a rule. The Oratorians exerted much influence upon the people, especially in their emphasis on learning. Cæsar Baronius (1538-1607), author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals* which contains a vast number of documents relating to church history, belonged to their fraternity. The musician, Palestrina, one of their penitent followers, composed many of their lauds.

St. Camillus de Lellis (1550-1614) founded the order of the Fathers of a Good Death. Although in his earlier days he was a soldier, a gambler, and a spendthrift, he became a priest and brought together a number of devoted spirits to care for the sick in their homes and in hospitals. The order was confirmed by Clement VIII in 1592. St. John of God (1495-1550), a Spaniard, organized the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God, or the Brothers of Mercy, their duty being to serve the afflicted. Their first hospital was organized in Granada. Paolo Guistiniani founded a new congregation of eremites among the Camaldolese. They retired to inaccessible fastnesses in the mountains. Monte Corona was their chief center from which they received the name, the Congregation of Monte Corona (1522).

Among fervent Catholics none was more interesting than St.

Teresa (d. 1582). Born at Avila in Spain in 1515, she early lost her mother. She became very pious even in her earliest youth—at seven she and her brother planned to become martyrs. "With this brother," she wrote, "I used to discuss how it might be accomplished. We decided to go to the country of the Moors, begging our way 'for the love of God,' and to be beheaded there. And I think the Lord had given us courage enough even at so tender an age, if we had seen any way of accomplishing this. Only the greatest obstacle seemed to be our parents." They actually set out on their journey but an uncle led them back to their mother, and Teresa entered the Carmelite convent in Avila where she spent many years in mystic contemplation. Her writings became famous. Her soul smitten by the fact that the Order of Carmel had greatly declined in the rigor of its religious life, she founded the house of barefooted Carmelites at Avila in 1562, its members devoting themselves to contemplation and prayer. In this way she reformed the nuns of Carmel. The monks of Carmel followed this example, St. John of the Cross (1542-91) receiving his spiritual guidance from St. Teresa. He wanted to join the Carthusians because of their strictness but finally was persuaded by her to become a Carmelite. In spite of some opposition he successfully introduced his reforming ideas into the whole Carmelite order.

Important as these orders were in the service of the church, that of the Jesuits overshadowed them all. The founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius Loyola, was born in the kingdom of Navarre about 1491. His family belonged to the petty nobility, and it was natural that Ignatius should dream of a soldier's life. He wished to acquire the graces of chivalric intercourse and hoped to cut a pleasing figure among noble ladies. His father sent him to a nobleman's home to be brought up as a page, and ultimately he planned to go to court. Wounded at the siege of Pamplona in the first war between Charles V and Francis I, he was carried to a hospital where his leg had to be broken because it had not been properly set. He submitted to the painful ordeal in characteristic fashion—he said nothing, not a groan escaped him; he merely clenched his fists. When the leg was healing it was discovered that he would ever after be deformed, for part of the bone protruded, and this would prevent him from wearing gracefully the trunk hose which were the fashion. He submitted to a painful operation in which the flesh was cut away and the bone sawed off, but the leg now was found to be shorter than the other. He could never be a knightly figure, for he would always be lame. The surgeons stretched his leg in an iron frame, and he became very ill; fever racked his body. But in all this agony he was fortified by the chivalric idea, indicative of an iron will. He

called for knightly romances but as none could be found he was given some lives of saints and a life of Christ.

The conversion of Ignatius Loyola is one of the most interesting in the history of religion. He was charmed by the tales of the saints whom he admired in chivalric fashion—for them and the Virgin he would break a lance; he would defend them with all his might. He began to regret his misspent youth and yearned to exceed even the greatest saints in the service of the Virgin. So ill was he that it seemed he would die, whereupon he received the last sacrament, but in a vision St. Peter promised that he would recover. As soon as he was well enough he set out, his leg still unhealed, on pilgrimage to the monastery of Montserrat near Barcelona. Clad in the garb of a penitent, he began his austerities. "With *Amadis de Gaul* still in his head, he resolved to 'watch his arms' at the church of Our Lady of Monsterrat. Here, then, on the eve of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, you have our Ignatius seeking a beggar on whom he bestows his fine clothes; then girding himself in the sackcloth gown which symbolized his armor of poverty, he hangs up sword and dagger by Our Lady's statue, and watches through the night before the altar—now kneeling, now from much weakness leaning on his staff. Never religious order had such chivalric birth. For on that night, one may say was born (though yet its founder dreamed not it) the Company of Jesus, the Free-Lances of the Church."[2]

Ignatius' religious experiences in the cave of Manresa near Montserrat, the goal of his pilgrimage, have been preserved in his *Spiritual Exercises*. This book is but one example of a vast literature on the ascetic life which Christians had developed ever since the early Middle Ages, and in it Loyola sets forth the object of such exercises in these simple words: "Man is created to praise, reverence and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul; and the other things on the face of the earth are created for man, and to help him in the pursuit of the end for which he is created. Whence it follows that man ought to use them in so far as they help him to this end, and to rid himself of them in so far as they hinder him from attaining it. For which purpose it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent to all created things, in all that is allowed to the freedom of our free choice and is not forbidden it; in such sort that we do not desire on our part health rather than poverty, honor rather than dishonor, a long life rather than a short one, and so of all the rest, only desiring and choosing that which better leads us to the end for which we are created." This is the foundation of his ascetic psychology.

The *Exercises* are divided into four parts or weeks. The first week

[2] F. Thompson, *Saint Ignatius Loyola* (London, 1910), pp. 17-18.

contains exercises intended to show the hideousness of sin, the second the incarnation and Christ's mission as Savior, the third His sacrifice on Calvary, and the fourth His resurrection and ascension. This was the typical procedure of mystics, who taught that a person advances through four steps: didactive, in which he is taught the facts; purgative, in which the process of purifying the soul of all extraneous desires is achieved by contemplating the earthly mission of Christ; the illuminative, in which the soul acquires the mystical truth through spiritual eyes; and the unitive, in which the soul learns to feel with a calm joy the presence of God.

A striking feature of Ignatius' method is its concreteness, as vivid as that of Flemish primitives, the five senses providing, as it were, the material basis for the imagination. The second contemplation of the second week may be chosen as typical:

> First Point. The first point is to see the persons. That is to say, to see Our Lady, and Joseph, and the maidservant, and the infant Jesus after His birth, making myself a poor little creature and unworthy little slave, considering them, contemplating them, and serving them in their necessities as though I found myself present, with all deference and reverence possible; and afterwards to reflect within myself in order to draw some profit.
>
> Second Point. The second: to consider, to notice and to contemplate what they say, and reflecting within myself, to draw some profit.
>
> Third Point. The third: to observe and to consider what they are doing, for example, how the journey and toil are in order that the Lord may be born in extreme poverty; and in order that at the end of so many hardships, of hunger, of thirst, of heat and of cold; and all this for me. He may die on the cross; and all this for me. Afterwards reflecting to draw some spiritual profit.[3]

Many readers find the *Exercises* difficult to follow. This is inevitable, for Ignatius did not give a complete exposition. He merely set down the essential points to guide the person leading the devotions; all directions must be followed implicitly, step by step, for about four weeks. They are skillfully arranged and charged with so much practical pedagogical insight that the result is tremendous, for by focusing the mind's attention upon the concrete facts of the drama of Christ's sacrifice, the soul finally arrives at a state of mystic exaltation. Ignatius used this book in recruiting his followers, and many a layman was helped by it to rededicate his life. As

[3] *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, ed. by C. Lattey (London, 1928), pp. 13, 54-55.

a masterpiece of religious literature it easily ranks with anything that Luther or Calvin wrote, and it became the textbook of militant Catholicism.

At Manresa, Ignatius attracted some followers. He devoted much energy to saving souls, and from the beginning showed keen interest in preaching and teaching among the destitute and neglected; this later became a prime concern among Jesuits. In 1523 Ignatius resolved to go to Jerusalem to fulfill his vow made when he was ill. He sailed from Barcelona to Gaeta, and from Gaeta he went afoot by way of Rome to Venice, where he begged food and slept in the Piazza of San Marco. He took ship for Jaffa and finally reached Jerusalem. He could not preach, for the Benedictine abbot who possessed authority in this matter deemed it impolitic as it was likely to stir the Mohammedans to opposition. Eagerly he visited the spots hallowed by association with Christ's life, and he sadly turned back to Venice whence he proceeded to Genoa, finally arriving in Barcelona in 1524.

Ignatius had learned much, and it was clear to him that his naïve resolve to preach and teach could not succeed in the sophisticated world of the Renaissance and in a society teeming with heresy. Therefore, he would go to school and acquire learning. Ignatius went to study with young boys in a beginners' school in Barcelona. He had been trained in the manner approved for gentlemen in the Middle Ages, in chivalric excellence but not in things of the intellect. To learn Latin and Greek is a difficult task for a person over thirty, but Ignatius persevered manfully, believing it the devil's work whenever his mind wandered away from the declensions and conjugations. As soon as he could follow higher studies he went to the University of Alcalá. Here he persisted in converting souls with such vigor that he was suspected of heresy. Indeed, he was thrice arraigned before the Inquisition, but such was his devotion and patience that he was acquitted.

In 1528 he went to the University of Paris and entered the Collège de Montaigu where Calvin and Erasmus had studied. He attracted a number of zealous spirits whom he won to his plans. Led by Ignatius, this little group of six—Lefèvre, Xavier, Lainez, Salmerón, Rodriguez, and Bobadilla—finally after ripe deliberation went to the little chapel of St. Denis on the slopes of Montmartre north of Paris in August, 1534. Lefèvre celebrated mass and, facing his companions with the Host in his hands, received from each the vows of poverty and celibacy, whereupon Lefèvre also pronounced the vows for himself. They proposed to take no fees after they should become priests and vowed to go to the Holy Land and work for the conversion of infidels. If this should prove impossible, they

were to place themselves at the disposal of the pope. In January, 1537, they all met at Venice to carry out their vows, and here they refused the invitation of Caraffa to join the Theatines. They devoted much time to teaching and serving in hospitals until they could proceed to Rome to obtain papal approval. There were now ten in their company, for Broët, Codure, and Le Jay had joined them.

Meanwhile Ignatius was admitted to the priesthood, having spent a whole year in solitude to prepare himself so that he could take in his hands so holy a thing as the consecrated Host, the substance of Christ's body. Since Venice was at war with the Turks, it was impossible to go to the Holy Land; and consequently in 1538 Ignatius and two companions went to Rome determined to place themselves at the disposal of Pope Paul III. Meanwhile they continued teaching the people and serving the poor and needy, especially in hospitals. Cardinal Contarini was sympathetic to their plan, and the Company of Jesus was officially recognized, their constitution being ratified in the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiæ* (September 27, 1540). Thus came into existence the greatest agency created by Catholicism to stimulate the faith of the common people, bring back into the fold many whose minds were tainted with heresy, and through persuasion and argument check the advance of Protestantism.

The novitiate of the Jesuit order began with the *Spiritual Exercises*, and at the end of two years novices of ability took the vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, and were called scholastici; those of slight ability were to become secular coadjutors. The scholastici were required to study theology, science, and the humanities in the colleges of the order, and after about twelve years they were ordained priests. If they succeeded in fulfilling all tests and took the fourth vow of absolute obedience to the pontiff, they were admitted to the professed who formed the central element of the order. A general congregation chose a leader who held office for life, and also heads of provinces and rectors who were to manage the houses of the order. Each official was to be absolute within his circumscription but was watched by agents chosen by the general congregation. Ignatius was chosen by his comrades to be their first general.

The Jesuits addressed their efforts to the humble and destitute, the great mass of common folk who composed the bulk of the church, and whom these devoted priests sought to purge of heresy. Everywhere they introduced rigid discipline, and education was a most important instrument of reform. They appropriated the Humanist pedagogical ideals developed in the Italian Renaissance which had so often been used, as in the case of Erasmus, to the detriment

of the faith; but these ideas now became a means of strengthening the church. Theologians of the order fought for the faith at the Council of Trent and wrote polemical treatises, and science and literature were cultivated which won universal respect for the Jesuits. As confessors to rulers and princes they were able to save whole regions for the faith.

CHAPTER XLIX

REFORM OF THE PAPACY

The Reformation was extended and established without any strong reaction among Catholics, or inspiring them with a policy.—LORD ACTON.[1]

THE year 1534 is an important date in the history of the papacy, for in this year Alexander Farnese became Pope Paul III. Ever since the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84) popes had been guided by secular interests. The incumbency of Adrian VI (1522-23) was but a brief interlude and his efforts at reform seemed fruitless, for they were followed by the pontificate of the worldly-minded Clement VII (1523-34). Alexander Farnese (d. 1549), or Paul III, as he was subsequently called, now ascended the chair of Peter, and began a renovation of the papacy which was so successful that he may be regarded as one of the greatest of popes.

Alexander Farnese was born in 1468 at the time when Humanists were beginning to play a part in the cultural life of the papal court. Alexander himself was a pupil of Pomponio Leto and, like Michelangelo and many another Florentine Humanist, studied in the household of Lorenzo the Magnificent. He entered the papal service under Innocent VIII and rose steadily, Julius II being especially gracious to him. Alexander had three illegitimate sons, in spite of the fact that he had been a cardinal since 1493. It should be noted, however, that he was not yet a priest and that in 1513 he broke with the laxness which he had acquired under the worldly Alexander VI. Due to the improvement in his moral life and his seriousness of purpose, his past was gradually forgotten. He made himself useful in the Lateran Council, Leo X increasing his income so greatly that he became a wealthy man. He built the Farnese Palace which still stands in Rome. A man of great ability, he became the most important force in the *curia* during the latter days of Clement VII. At the moment of his elevation to the papacy he was respected universally, at least among Catholics, for his moral uprightness

[1] *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1912), p. 108.

and his zeal for reform. The people of Rome were pleased by the choice, and the best spirits in the church approved the election of so sagacious a man.

Paul III has been accused of worldliness. It is true that he showed himself as keenly interested in political concerns as any of his predecessors; he was prone to nepotism and to favor the political fortunes of his son Pier Luigi. But it should cause no surprise that this son of the Renaissance did not completely abandon all the characteristics of that age. Rather one should emphasize the great moral change in his life after 1513 and his successful insistence that the papacy was a spiritual institution and that it had some right to be heard in the secular affairs of man. To Paul III more than any other pope is to be ascribed the beginning of a new age in the history of the papacy.

As soon as he mounted the chair of Peter, Paul announced that the work of reform would begin at once with the *curia* for, to the great consternation of older cardinals, he insisted that no renovation was possible without a change of life in the *curia.* He appointed commissions to investigate the delicate matter of clerical morals (November, 1534), but this action was a little too precipitate. Accordingly as soon as the first new cardinals were created another commission was named to initiate reforms in the *curia* and the government of Rome, and was given unlimited powers to remedy both secular and religious matters whenever necessary.

At first it appeared that the pontiff would not emancipate himself from the vice of nepotism which had brought such discredit upon the papacy. The promotion to the cardinalate of his nephews Guido and Alexander (December, 1534) created a bad impression, but the appointments of the following May were significant in that they included Simonetta and Ghinucci of Siena, Gasparo Contarini of Venice, and Bishop John du Bellay of Paris. Many people were pleased at the advancement of such worthy men and the disappointment caused by the promotion of the pope's nephews was soon forgotten. The appointments of December, 1536, also were important. No better choice could have been made than Caraffa, who was one of the number. Reginald Pole of England also was appointed, as was Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), bishop of Carpentras, one of the finest products of Humanism and a noble light of the church. Two years later others were admitted to the Sacred College, chief of whom was Pietro Bembo. His elevation provoked much comment, for, a typical son of the Renaissance, his earlier life had not been pure; but like Paul himself he had definitely abandoned the ways of his younger days and the prestige of his learning proved a valuable asset to the papacy. Others were added in 1539, three of whom

were bishops: Federigo Fregoso, Uberto Gambara, and Ascanio Parisani, all of whom were zealous for reform.

Paul soon began to disregard the wishes of the older cardinals who, thinking only of themselves and relishing no change, naturally expressed violent disapproval of the pope's choice of new cardinals. Paul understood the character of these men who had been appointed in the worldly days of Leo X and Clement VII. Furthermore, he had seen how the zeal of the Netherlander Adrian VI failed when it deserved better success, simply because the pope was a foreigner to Italy and did not understand the ways of Renaissance men. Consequently, instead of seeking to impose a rigid régime upon the cardinals, Paul wisely began laying the sure foundation for success by promoting the right kind of men. He showed additional wisdom by appointing French and Spanish prelates in 1535 and 1538, thus giving the Sacred College a more international character which he hoped would enable him to pursue a policy of neutrality toward Charles V and Francis I. It is to Paul's great credit that his efforts in this difficult task were crowned with success.

At the same time the pope contemplated the proper steps toward other reforms. The appointment of Contarini was acclaimed by all those interested in cleansing the church, and his influence was an important factor in the formation of the new papal policy. A commission of nine cardinals was appointed and it submitted to the pope a *Report of the Cardinals and Other Prelates on the Reform of the Church* (March, 1537). Frank in tone yet respectful and devout throughout, it is one of the most remarkable documents of the Reformation.

The preface sets forth in the noble Latin of the Renaissance that the great ills of the church have come upon it because former pontiffs all too readily had accepted the teachings of canonists and flattering courtiers that the papal power was absolute, and that they therefore had assumed full authority to dispose of all goods and rights of the church which they had often exercised in a reckless manner with evil consequences. Then follow twenty-six sections discussing evils that needed reform—worldly bishops and priests had been appointed, benefices had been bestowed without regard to the worthiness of incumbents, an evil traffic in benefices had sprung up under the influence of canonists who were able to discover devious ways to circumvent canonical rules, and many cardinals absented themselves from the *curia* and did not discharge the duties of their office.

The memorial also complained that bishops were hindered in their work because culprits whom they wished to punish often obtained remission of canonical penalties at the pontifical court through the payment of money. Schools required careful supervision, for chil-

dren received many impressions hostile to religion—they were permitted to read the *Familiar Colloquies* of Erasmus. Malpractices of indulgence hawkers who did not hesitate to deceive should be stopped, and the lavish use of dispensations, granting of confession letters, and other abuses were criticized. Prostitution, which had given Rome an evil reputation, should cease. Few churchmen had spoken with such candor and determination. A copy of this document, obtained in some illegitimate manner and printed in Milan and Rome, was greeted by the Lutherans as proof of the strictures they had been making for two decades, Luther making its appearance an excuse for some vitriolic comments upon the pope as antichrist.

Contarini, a member of the commission of nine, and as candid as ever, urged a complete renovation of the *curia.* He declared that disgrace had been brought upon the Holy See by the financial practices resulting from the unrestrained right of patronage in papal hands, and he complained against the pope's absolute power out of which flowed these evil practices which alienated so many men.

> The law of Christ is a law of freedom, and forbids a servitude so abject that the Lutherans were entirely justified in comparing it with the Babylonish captivity. But, furthermore, can that be called a government of which the rule is the will of one man, by nature prone to evil, and liable to the influence of caprices and affections innumerable? . . . The authority of the pope is equally with others a dominion of reason. God has conferred this rule on St. Peter and his successors, that they might lead the flocks confided to their care into everlasting blessedness. A pope should know that those over whom he exercises this rule are free men; not according to his own pleasure must he command, or forbid, or dispense, but in obedience to the rule of reason, of God's command, and to the law of love, referring everything to God, and doing all in consideration of the common good only. For positive laws are not to be imposed by mere will, they must be ever in unison with natural rights, with the commandments of God, and with the requirements of circumstances. Nor can they be altered or abrogated, except in conformity with this guidance and with the imperative demands of things. . . . Be it the care of your holiness never to depart from this rule; be not guided by the impotence of the will which makes choice of evil; submit not to the servitude which ministers to sin.[2]

Paul, taking these remarks in good part, decided to hasten the reform of the offices of the *curia,* and for this purpose a commission

[2] L. von Ranke, *History of the Popes: Their Church and State* (New York, 1901, vol. i, p. 102.

of eight, under the direction of Contarini, was named. In April, 1540, Paul ordered that all proposed reform should forthwith be put into effect, in spite of the opposition of many of the other cardinals; and the work so well begun was given every encouragement. There was much discussion about the reform of preaching, for the pulpit was in sad decline at the close of the Middle Ages, few secular priests delivering sermons. It was unfortunate that so much of this activity was left to friars, and especially dangerous for the traditional faith at this time, inasmuch as many Protestant ministers had been brought up on Humanist ideas and as preachers were superior to the rank and file of friars and priests. Catholicism for the moment had failed to appeal to the bourgeoisie of the Renaissance as it had failed in the thirteenth century in the days of St. Francis.

The residence of bishops cried loudly for reform. As chief shepherds of the flocks intrusted to them, bishops should live in their dioceses, but many of them delegated their cares to others. Paul, resolved to put an end to this abuse, summoned more than eighty bishops before him and required that they return to their flocks. This was an important step, for in many places the church had suffered a great loss of prestige because of ignorant and careless bishops whose continued absence permitted Protestant ideas to meet with a friendly reception in their dioceses. Henceforth all benefices to which the cure of souls was attached would necessitate residence. Much was accomplished by the policy of Paul III, but much more remained to be done. The significance of his efforts lies in the fact that they inspired the actions of the Council of Trent. To eradicate all vicious practices would have been too drastic; Paul's statesmanship consisted in the singularly happy combination of moderation, determination, and ability to choose the right men who could be trusted to carry on the work of reform.

Paul believed that the entire church organization ought to be reformed by means of a general council, and he began to express this conviction immediately after his elevation to the chair of Peter. The cardinals, however, were opposed to a council because they feared that a general renovation of the church would curtail their power and income. Nevertheless, the pope sent representatives to the emperor and the king of France. Cardinal Pietro Paolo Vergerio (d. 1565), who was negotiating with Germany during 1535, discovered that the new policy of the *curia* was winning friends among Catholic princes, even Lutheran cities and princes showing themselves courteous. With strong hopes that reconciliation would be possible, he visited the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony and in November had a meeting with Luther. The reformer bluntly declared

that Protestants did not need a council, but he thought one might be useful in cleansing the Catholic church of its "errors."

Vergerio appeared before the Schmalkald League at the close of 1535. Hitherto Lutheran princes had received him favorably, had repeatedly insisted on the necessity of calling a council, and had loudly demanded reforms as recently as the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Since that date, however, the situation had changed materially. The Schmalkald League had been formed and many more princes and cities had become Lutheran. The princes, who were now powerful, did not wish to take part in a council, for to reform the Catholic church would strengthen the Holy Roman Emperor. They had become strong by secularizing the property of the church, taking over the justice of its courts, and managing in Lutheran fashion the affairs of the new territorial churches. In their answer, which was so framed that it amounted to a refusal, they insisted that the council should be composed of persons of all ranks chosen by the princes and that it should be held in Germany, thus showing their opposition to any papal direction of it. Such a council, however, could never be a true council. Furthermore, the theologians at Wittenberg, with Luther as chief author, had drawn up the Articles of Schmalkald in December, 1536, in answer to the elector's request for a statement about the conditions on which Lutherans could take part in a council. The Articles asserted that a council was not necessary and that they could have nothing to do with the pope, who was antichrist.

Meanwhile Charles's Third War (1536-38) with Francis I broke out and the proposed council was impossible, whereupon its meeting was postponed until May, 1538. In the meantime Paul III negotiated the ten years' Peace of Nice between Charles and Francis (June, 1538) and both princes declared themselves willing to second the pope's project. But Francis was not in earnest and raised difficulties about the place of meeting. As nothing could be accomplished, the council was once more postponed until Easter, 1539.

Because of the war which finally broke out between him and the Sultan Suliman in 1540, Charles now changed his policy and no longer supported Paul's wish for a council. He needed the aid of Lutherans and therefore abandoned hostile measures against them, but he went so far as to welcome any proposal which promised to establish harmony between Lutherans and Catholics. Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, one of the Lutheran princes most profoundly influenced by Erasmus' middle-of-the-road conceptions, thought that an agreement might be reached between Lutherans and Catholics if the latter would only grant the cup to the laity and permit priests to marry.

Charles eagerly grasped at this uncatholic idea and began discussions with the Lutheran princes at a diet in Frankfort in April, 1539, at which it was agreed that a group of theologians and laymen should draw up an agreement about religion. This looked very much like a national German council, for the papacy could not admit the legitimacy of permitting laymen to discuss, on an equal basis with theologians, questions touching the faith. In May Charles informed the pope of his new views, for as far as he was concerned, a council was out of the question for the moment. The diet at Spires in May, 1540, which was transferred to Hagenau because of the plague, accomplished nothing, the Lutherans remaining obdurate in their firm insistence on the *Augsburg Confession* and the Frankfort Respite. The diet was reopened at Worms in October, and here Lutherans and Catholics agreed to a statement about the Trinity but they could reach no understanding as to original sin.

Charles appeared before the next meeting of the diet at Ratisbon in April, 1541, to request the pope to send the diplomatic and conciliatory Contarini as nuncio in the hope that he might make concessions to the Protestants. Political considerations outweighed questions of dogma with Charles, although he was eager for compromise. Lutherans were determined not to abate their claims in the least for they wanted to preserve their political gains as well as their religious convictions. This diet considered the twenty-three articles drawn up at Worms in the previous year which professed to contain the substance of doctrine acceptable to Catholics and Lutherans.

Dr. John Eck appeared as defender of the Catholic position. Although it was easy enough to agree on certain topics, trouble arose about the question of justification, but even this difficulty was smoothed away. Transubstantiation and the character of the sacraments, however, proved insurmountable obstacles, for it was the conviction of Contarini, the papal nuncio, that compromise was impossible on these points. Discussions on the other articles, however, continued because the princes and the emperor viewed the matter from a political point of view. Accordingly it was decided that the articles upon which common agreement had been reached were to be accepted by all subjects of the empire and the other points were to remain in abeyance until the meeting of a council. Meantime toleration was to be accorded to dissenters. In this way Charles received the support of his Lutheran subjects in his foreign difficulties with the French and the Turk. But Contarini and the *curia* were displeased that the emperor, whose traditional duty it was to stand by and protect the church, should presume to settle matters of religion.

Charles' rôle as Christian emperor made it almost impossible to act as national ruler of Germany. Mediæval universalism foundered on

the rocks of the new absolutist power of princes. His duty as custodian of the faith universal drove princes into political opposition, wherefore it was to their interest to embrace Lutheranism and oppose Catholicism. In other words, the new autocratic power of princes exalted localism in politics to such a pitch that the principle of universalism, one of the great ideals of the Middle Ages, was overthrown. And as Charles desperately needed the support of the princes, he took more and more a political view of the matter, which explains why he was eager for compromise. But in making compromises he was acting contrary to the mediæval conception of the emperor's duty toward the church. Lutheranism thus ruined not only the universality of the mediæval faith, but also put an end to the universality of the mediæval empire. It exalted the power of princes by producing a theology which gave a theoretical and divine basis to their absolutism.

Catholicism suffered severe reverses in 1541. Duke George of Saxony died and was succeeded by his brother Henry who made Lutheranism the faith of his subjects, Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg following his example. Other defections followed. Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz was forced by his estates to permit the Reformation to be established in Halberstadt and Magdeburg; the bishop of Schwerin, the abbot of Fulda, and the town of Hildesheim became Lutheran. The archbishop of Cologne and the bishops of Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück seemed on the point of renouncing Catholicism, secularizing the lands of the church, and establishing their houses as new dynasties. Brunswick also embraced Lutheranism. By 1542 all Germany from the Baltic to the Rhine had become Lutheran or was in the process of breaking with the old faith. Lutheranism was also spreading into Bohemia and Hungary and even into Austria and among the south Slavs.

After much discussion Paul decided to summon a council. As the Germans were opposed to an Italian city because they distrusted the papal influence, and as the *curia* did not want to go to some city in the center of Germany where hostile feelings would surely defeat their efforts, Trent in the Tyrol on the confines of Italy and Germany was chosen. Francis I, who professed to be displeased at the choice, was now allied with Suliman, and his Fourth War (1542-44) with Charles broke out. Not until the Treaty of Crespy (1544) was it possible to secure a measure of cooperation from Francis. Freed from the embarrassments of war, Charles could now pursue his pet policy of reducing the Lutherans. The latter refused to appear in Trent and Luther wrote a most violent polemic entitled *Against the Roman Papacy Founded by the Devil.* Its purpose was to justify the Protestants' refusal to accept Charles' invitation to attend the coun-

cil, and in it he denounced the pope in an exaggerated and abusive manner.

The council of Trent opened its sessions in December, 1545. Charles and the pope could not agree, for the former insisted on reform for political reasons, while the latter wanted clarification of dogma in order to proceed more effectively against heresy. The result was that both matters were discussed simultaneously by separate committees and were presented alternately before the fathers. The acts of the council were promulgated in sessions, each of which dealt with dogma and reform. Ten of these were held before adjournment in September, 1547. In the spring of 1547 a plague broke out in Trent and it was decided to transfer the council to Bologna. Charles was strongly opposed to this step, and the Germans would not go to Bologna. Even the Spanish members of the council were loath to go there. They did not want the pope's power to increase and so supported their king, Charles, remaining in Trent while the curial party went to Bologna. It appeared that the quarrel might lead to a schism but in September Paul wisely suspended all further sessions, and the work of reform was for the time being halted.

CHAPTER L

THE PAPACY RENOVATED AND AGGRESSIVE

How widely does all this differ from the curia of the earlier part of the sixteenth century! Then the cardinals lived in continual contest with the popes, who on their part buckled on the sword, and banished from their court and person whatever could remind them of their Christian vocation. How still, how cloisterlike were now the lives of the cardinals.—LEOPOLD VON RANKE.[1]

THE secularized papacy had definitely come to an end by the time Paul III died in November, 1549, and the spiritual nature of the institution began again to dominate its life. The reform decrees of the late pope and his cardinals, the decisions of the council of Trent, the vigorous administration of the pontiff, and the example of greater austerity and purity of life set by him and the more recently appointed cardinals exerted a profound effect. Bishops zealous in reforming their sees made sure that the work of renovation would continue, and the pontiffs who followed Paul successfully carried forward the work of restoration.

Julius III (d. 1555) was raised to the chair of Peter in February, 1550. The conclave began soon after Paul's death but French and Spanish rivalry made prompt election impossible. This external manipulation was a feature of the Renaissance papacy which Julius was determined to make impossible. As cardinal he was known to be strongly interested in reform, and to it and the abolition of heresy he pledged himself during the conclave. Yet certain features of the age remained to hamper the efficacy of any program. Furthermore, Julius was weak enough to appoint his nephew, a man notoriously scandalous in his private life, as cardinal. The pope's own morals were beyond reproach in spite of insinuations which never were substantiated.

Julius appointed a commission to discuss the reformation of such abuses as had not been considered in the recent session of the Council of Trent, work which the pope was determined to direct himself.

[1] *The History of the Popes; Their Church and State* (New York, 1901), vol. i, p. 350.

Statutes were issued regulating the clergy, both regular and secular. and there were also to be new regulations regarding conclaves. His own election had made it clear that this was necessary and he felt that no outside scheming should determine the choice of popes. Cardinals were to act as councilors of the pope. They were to possess one benefice each and conduct their visitorial duties regularly, nor were they to hold benefices with cure of souls without doing the necessary pastoral work. Julius also vigorously pressed for reform in papal governmental bureaus. This was a bold step for a large part of the papal income was derived from these offices.

The pope began to consider the task of reconvening the council at Trent, and a bull calling the council was issued in November, 1550. The second period of the Council of Trent lasted from May 1, 1551, to April 28, 1552. Its decrees were published in six Sessions, the ninth to the fourteenth inclusive, the thirteenth and fourteenth of which defined the Eucharist and penance. The Spanish prelates were inclined to minimize the authority of the pope in the affairs of the church, but Julius was adamant and prevented any diminution of papal authority. Emperor Charles' attitude was favorable to the Roman church at this moment—he had vigorously pursued the Lutherans in Germany and had defeated them in battle at Mühlberg (1547). Now he found that Henry II of France had joined the Protestants in the war against him (1552); hence he desired the pope's friendship. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the prelates to tarry in Trent, and as it soon became evident that further progress was blocked the pope decided to suspend the council. So troubled was the peace of Europe during Charles' remaining years that its speedy reconvening was out of the question.

Julius also supported the agencies established by his predecessor to extirpate heresy. In a series of bulls he reconfirmed and extended the privileges already granted to the Jesuits who, rapidly gaining in strength, brought many people back to the faith. The Roman Inquisition was reconfirmed by the bull of February, 1550, and continued the example set in Paul III's days. Protestant books were extremely common in Catholic lands, especially in Italy, for hitherto it had been thought that reading books written by apostates might counteract the growth of heresy. Julius revoked such permission to the lay and clergy alike and ordered that heretical writings should be handed over to the inquisitors. But death overtook the pope in March, 1555, before he could summarize his reforming activity in a comprehensive bull.

The pontificate of Marcellus II (April 10-May 1, 1555) was extremely brief. Marcellus II, a man of pure life, was eager for reform,

learned in the writings of the church fathers, and greatly interested in the Vatican library. He was succeeded by Caraffa on May 23. In spite of his advanced age, Paul IV, as the latter chose to be called, was a man of vigor who had lost none of the fiery enthusiasm which had characterized his earlier days. He belonged to the Middle Ages rather than to the Renaissance, and his ideas were formed by careful study of St. Thomas, not by the masterpieces of Humanism. Not only did the new pope propose to reform the church, strengthen ecclesiastical discipline, and rid the church of heresy, but he was resolved to free it wherever possible from the political control which Catholic princes everywhere sought to exercise.

Paul was also determined to liberate the papacy and Italy from Spanish domination for, being a Neapolitan, he knew better than anyone else the baneful influence which Spain exercised over the peninsula. As long as it owned Naples and Sicily in the south and Milan in the heart of Lombardy, papal freedom could not exist, for smaller states such as Florence tended to become mere satellites of Spain. Paul accordingly sought support from France. King Henry II seemed on the point of accepting the Truce of Vaucelles (February, 1556) and the war with the emperor and Spain was about to end. Duke Francis of Guise, who was very influential at the French court had designs upon the crown of Naples, ostensibly to advance the interests of the French king but really for himself. A treaty was made in December, 1555, in which Henry and the pope agreed to attack the Spaniards. The republic of Florence was to be reestablished and Duke Cosimo of Tuscany, a vassal prince of Spain, was to be expelled. Thus, notwithstanding the Truce of Vaucelles, war began anew. Devotion to the church caused Philip II of Spain (1556-98) to consult his theologians about the justifiability of resisting the pope with arms, but finally the duke of Alva was ordered to attack the States of the Church. He invaded Campania and moved upon Rome, the duke of Guise's forces failing to give Paul any support. For a moment the pope feared a repetition of the dreadful sack of 1527, but Alva displayed the greatest deference. A treaty was made in September, 1557, on the basis of the *status quo ante* except for a few points, and Paul's chief venture into politics thus proved signally miscalculated.[2]

These events strangely recalled the days of Julius II whose policy it was to drive the Spaniards out of Italy, and it seemed that the secular interests of the papacy would again become dominant. In another way it appeared that the habits of the Renaissance papacy still continued. Paul was guilty of nepotism, advancing his nephews

[2] For the connection of Paul IV's war with the Hapsburg-French conflict prior to the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis (1559), see chap. li.

Carlo and Giovanni Caraffa to the cardinalate and making Carlo his chief agent in secular matters. This was an unfortunate choice, for Carlo was unworthy; but Paul was totally blind to his nephew's notoriously evil life, even when it became common knowledge. Although his zeal made it impossible for him to work with a council—which explains why none was convened during his pontificate—he at once issued orders which put into vigorous execution the decrees enacted by the earlier council. Scarcely a day passed without some important order designed to remove unworthy priests, educate the people in the faith, or purge the church of abuses, and the new cardinals announced in December, 1555, were chosen with the sole idea of helping him put these orders into execution. A thorough reformation in all branches of the *curia* was promptly undertaken and carried out with the greatest energy.

The Inquisition received special attention. Hitherto its penal action had been comparatively mild, but Paul, who as head of the Theatines had never shown any clemency toward heretics, was resolved to uproot heresy ruthlessly. The sphere of activity of this tribunal was made to include serious breaches of immorality and simoniacal use of the sacraments, that is, dispensing sacraments and granting orders for money. Henceforth the Holy Office became a vastly more effective tribunal, a terrible organ of repression. It proceeded with the greatest rigor, pitilessly subjecting the accused to torture and condemning heretics to the stake. Protestantism in Italy rapidly retreated before this triumphant activity.

So zealous was the pope in the restoration of clerical morals that he did not even spare his nephews. Forcing one of the cardinals to tell him the truth about their evil ways of life, he at once banished them from Rome (1559), a step which practically marked the end of the vicious practice of nepotism which had wrought such damage to papal prestige since the days of Calixtus III (1455-58). Mortified by the discovery that his nephews had abused his confidence, the aged pontiff resolved to devote himself to the task of reform more assiduously than ever, and a strenuous régime was introduced into the city of Rome. Henceforth public life lost some of its former gaiety. The struggle to keep the faith uncontaminated by heretical books was aided by the publication in 1557 of an *Index* of forbidden books, and many heretical productions were cast into the flames. The zeal of inquisitors, fortified by the imperious commands of Pope Paul, made their tribunal a terror to the populace; insinuation, calumny, and canard often led to citation before the dreaded officials. With a zeal which amounted almost to ferocity the pontiff turned against his former friends in the Oratory of Divine Love, and they as well as the followers of Valdés were forced to appear before the dread

tribunal or flee Italy. Cardinal Morone had advocated a mild policy toward Protestants, but Paul would have nothing of gentleness toward apostates. Morone was cited before the tribunal (1557) but defended himself successfully. Nevertheless, he was kept in confinement until after Paul's death. The fierce old pontiff also caused Reginald Pole to be summoned, for he had roused the papal ire because he yielded title to monastic lands secularized in the reign of Henry VIII. Pole, in England at the moment, prepared to obey but fortunately died before he arrived in Rome. Thus the pope carried on his energetic policy until the moment of his death in August, 1559. His pontificate marks the definitive end of the Renaissance papacy and the beginning of the successful rejuvenation of the church.

As soon as Paul was dead the cardinals, resolved to elect a successor who would be less masterful, chose the gentle Giovanni Angelo de' Medici who took as his name Pius IV (1559-65). No one questioned his devotion to reform which he sought to carry out in irenic fashion. He was determined to reconvene the Council of Trent. The political situation was favorable, for Ferdinand of Germany and Philip of Spain were eager to help in the upbuilding of the church, and the French court was willing to cooperate but was loath to support a meeting in German lands. Pius issued a bull in November, 1561, directing that the council be opened at Easter of the following year, but again it proved impossible to secure the attendance of Protestants. The decrees of the council, which came to an end in December, 1563, were drawn up in nine Sessions, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fifth. The council decided a large number of questions regarding discipline and dogma, and provided an authoritative statement on many points which Protestant reformers questioned. Papal authority emerged triumphant in spite of the fact that the Spanish bishops desired to subject it to the council. Papal ascendancy in the church, interpretation of Catholic dogma according to St. Thomas Aquinas and other scholastic authorities, thorough regeneration of clerical morals, emphasis upon the education of laymen and clergy, and no concessions to Protestantism were the chief characteristics of Catholic reform as planned at Trent.

The Council of Trent was one of the most significant events in the age of the Reformation and led to a renaissance of Catholicism. A purified papacy possessed of the most devoted and self-effacing agencies to propagate the truth now stood ready to assume the offensive. The year 1563 therefore constitutes an important date in the history of Catholicism. "Convulsed to its center, endangered in the very groundwork of its being, it [Catholicism] had not only maintained itself but found means of renewed force. In the two southern peninsulas all influences hostile to its ascendancy had been promptly ex-

pelled, all the elements of thought and action had been once more gathered to itself and pervaded its own spirit. It now conceived the idea of subduing the revolted in all other parts of the world. Rome once more became a conquering power, projects were formed and enterprises engaged in, recalling those proceeding from the Seven Hills in ancient times and during the Middle Ages."[8]

Pius was careful to prevent unworthy relatives from exerting undue influence, but one of his most important acts, however, was the elevation to the cardinalate of his nephew, Charles Borromeo (1538-1584). In this case the favor shown to nephews by pontiffs was amply justified. Borromeo, a Milanese, early received the tonsure, made good progress in learning, and because of his character and ability was called to Rome by the pope who made him a cardinal and intrusted several important tasks to him. As papal secretary he rendered much service in reform, carrying on an enormous correspondence with the papal legates at the reconvened Council of Trent. He also corresponded with the crowned heads of Europe and so played a significant part in Catholic reform. Borromeo became a priest and soon was made archbishop of Milan. He appointed a zealous priest to administer the see. Visitations were held, irregularities were checked, abuses suppressed, and unworthiness among priests came to an end. Preaching became important, church ceremonies were made more impressive, education of children was emphasized, and monastic discipline was tightened. Much of this was accomplished while Borromeo was at the papal court, for he insisted that the clergy themselves should begin reform, himself setting the example which all were to follow.

The death of Pius IV in December, 1565, required Borromeo's presence in Rome, but after the election of Pius V (1566-72) he returned to Milan and vigorously took up the work of reform. He created a model administration by appointing learned, zealous, and worthy men. He was especially interested in the catechetical instruction of children and pious foundations constantly looked to him as a friend, for during the Middle Ages there had been little formal systematic religious instruction. The famine of 1571 was a serious crisis among the thickly populated Milanese, and Borromeo directed the work of relief, taking care of more than 3000 at his own expense for three months. During the great plague of 1576 and 1577, which was even more serious, Borromeo, himself regarded as a saint, comforted the sufferers in their sore straits, and when the plague left he built a church in honor of St. Sebastian, chief of the plague saints.

Pius V, who became pope in January, 1566, was a man of genuine piety and austere life. He was a Dominican, had served as inquisi-

[8] L. von Ranke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 4.

tor-general, and while a cardinal, when he was known as Michele Ghislieri, he had given splendid evidence of zeal for reform under Paul IV. Unalterably opposed to the practice of nepotism, as pope he definitely broke with it by issuing his bull *Admonet Nos* in 1567. The *Tridentine Catechism* (*Catechism of Trent*), which was drawn up in 1566, was extremely important because it was very widely used in Catholic teaching, and two years later appeared the improved breviary and the new missal. By this time the papal name was once more respected in Italy and other parts of the Catholic world. The decrees of Trent were fully applied in Italy, and Rome became a city of monks and priests.

Gregory XIII (1572-85) now succeeded to the papal chair. In his younger days, when he was known as Ugo Buoncompagni, he was not worthy of the priestly vocation, a not uncommon characteristic among priests of the age of the Renaissance. But like Paul III, he changed his ways and became a man of holy life, and he followed eagerly in the footsteps of his predecessor by refusing to alienate any church property for the benefit of his own relatives. Determined to abolish all abuses and evil practices, he appointed a committee for this purpose. Gregory, especially interested in education which was to play so noteworthy a part in the regeneration of Catholicism, gave the German College in Rome all necessary financial support. A college for the schismatic Greeks was founded in 1577, another for the English in 1579, and a third for the Maronites in 1584. He built quarters for the Jesuit Roman College which henceforth became known as the Gregorian University. Other seminaries were established outside Italy, of which the one at Douai was especially famous. Gregory is also noted for the support which he gave to the reform of the Julian calendar, the new Gregorian calendar being introduced into most Catholic lands in 1578.

Sixtus V (1585-90), one of the most remarkable rulers that occupied the papal chair, entered the Franciscan order at the age of twelve and became a very successful preacher. Believing that the banditry and lawlessness so rampant in the States of the Church were incompatible with the dignity of the apostolic see, he resolved to uproot these pernicious evils and became implacable toward all manner of crime. "No day passed without an execution. Over all parts of the country, in wood and field, stakes were erected, on each of which stood the head of an outlaw. The pope awarded praises only to those among his legates and governors who supplied him largely with these terrible trophies; his demand was ever for heads: there is a sort of oriental barbarism in this mode of administering justice."[4] This method of terrorism proved effective.

[4] L. von Ranke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 311.

Sixtus exhibited boundless energy in reorganizing papal finances and collecting treasure, and he instituted the most rigid economy but spent much money on the Lateran Palace and other buildings. His imperious will is known to all the world by the restored columns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius upon which this prince of the church, in token of the conquest of Christianity over the classical Renaissance, placed statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Eager to beautify the Eternal City, he constructed noble streets, built the Via Felice and the Borgo Felice, laid the foundations of the Piazza di Spagna, erected the Egyptian obelisks in the squares before St. Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore, the Lateran, and Santa Maria del Popolo; finished the dome of St. Peter's planned by Michelangelo, except for its covering of lead, and built the great aqueduct, the Aqua Felice, which provided water for twenty-seven fountains.

The reorganization of papal government was also undertaken. The number of cardinals was limited to seventy by the bull *Postquam Verus Ille* of 1586, and fifteen permanent congregations were created to take care of all spiritual and temporal business, final authority being reserved to the pope. This change was effected by the bull *Immensa Æterni Dei* of 1588. Thus the old papacy of the Renaissance changed in still another respect, for hitherto affairs had been managed by the pope and his cardinals in consistory. These permanent bureaus made possible a more rapid and effective dispatch of business. Sixtus generally appointed excellent cardinals. In 1588 there was issued a new edition of the Septuagint prepared from the manuscripts in the Vatican and printed on the presses set up by the pope.

By 1590 the papacy may be said to have cleansed itself, and new life was pulsing in the old church which had so long taught the truths of Christianity to the people of Europe. The church successfully assumed the aggressive, first in the territories where its teachings were not strongly challenged; next in the borderlands where Lutheranism, Calvinism, and other apostate teachings battled with Catholicism, and finally in the very strongholds of Protestantism. The Jesuit order was a most effective agent in this great task, for the Jesuits at once turned their attention to the people who had never received a thorough grounding in the faith through catechetical instruction, and they labored long and hard to teach young and old the fundamentals of Catholic doctrine. They also became important and popular as preachers. People were in the habit of hearing friars give sermons, but their parish priests, often quite ignorant, stolid, and indifferent to their calling, did little to instill a more accurate knowledge of the faith. Consequently zealous and well-trained Jesuits were eagerly welcomed by the laymen.

The numerous schools founded by the Jesuits were especially successful, for these schools emancipated themselves from the older methods of study and teaching which had grown up in the Middle Ages. Their curriculum was based upon the pedagogical ideas developed in the *quattrocento*, careful instruction being given in Latin and Greek classics, logic, mathematics, and natural philosophy. The devotees of humanism, which had often been closely associated with the rise of Protestantism, had criticized unceasingly the out-of-date method of the old teachers and their ignorance of the classics, but henceforth such strictures were impossible. Indeed, the rigidity of the military organization which characterized the Jesuit order made its success so striking that it was soon more than a match for its rivals. Ignatius had founded the German College and the Roman College in 1540 and 1541, respectively. Under the generalship of Lainez (1555-65) and Francis Borgia (1565-72) many more were founded in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and especially in Germany, for the land which brought forth Luther and Zwingli was to be the great battleground for the faith. The first colleges in this country were established in Cologne, Munich, Mainz, Trier, Augsburg, Dillengen, and Würtzburg, centers which had remained true to Catholicism.

Success in checking Protestantism in Germany was due to St. Peter Canisius more than to anyone else. He was born in Nijmegen in 1521, studied at Louvain and Cologne, and was admitted to the Jesuit order in 1543. His first great task was to combat Protestantism in Cologne where Archbishop Herman von Wied was thinking of abandoning Catholicism and establishing himself as a political prince in the secularized lands of his province. Here Canisius founded the Jesuit college. In 1547 he attended the Council of Trent. His next great task was to save Bavaria, thus preparing this land for its great rôle in the history of Catholic reform. Duke William IV (1508-45) had asked Paul III to send Jesuit professors to teach in the University of Ingolstadt. Canisius, Le Jay, and Salmerón were chosen for this task, and so effective was their work that in 1564 Duke Albrecht V (1550-79) finally felt that he could inaugurate a vigorous policy in behalf of Catholicism. Protestants were excluded from the country, heretical books were forbidden and burned wherever found, and Jesuits were placed in charge of education.

Canisius became rector of Ingolstadt in 1550 but two years later was ordered by Loyola to go to the new college in Vienna. Here he preached in the great church of St. Stephen and before the court of King Ferdinand. The lands of the Hapsburgs were filled with Protestant propaganda and seemed ready to abandon the old faith entirely. Canisius traveled far and wide in these parts, visiting parishes

where Catholic worship had been practically abandoned. His devotion and zeal in celebrating the sacraments impressed everybody and he was able to drive Lutheranism from the court of Vienna; but he steadfastly refused the see of Vienna which would have limited his sphere of activity. He became superior of the province of Upper Germany, was extremely active as adviser to the emperor, and succeeded in smoothing away misunderstandings between him and the *curia* during the final sessions of the Council of Trent. Finally Pius IV sent him to Germany as nuncio charged with securing the adoption of the Tridentine decrees.

This vigorous pastoral and diplomatic activity did not exhaust all of Canisius' efforts, for with untiring zeal this Jesuit apostle to Germany also served the church with his ready pen. He wrote much devotional literature, urged the establishment of Catholic presses, and did what he could to stimulate scholarship. He made an important compilation of Catholic doctrine for the instruction of the youth, and issued two briefer forms of this work, the shortest being intended for mere children. Printed in German as well as Latin (1554-66), they were used extensively. At length Canisius was relieved of the arduous labors which had occupied him as provincial since 1566, and he retired to Fribourg in Switzerland where he took up the work begun by Borromeo who had established the Helvetian College in Milan. A Jesuit college was founded at Lucerne and another at Fribourg of which Canisius assumed direction until his death in 1597.

In this way a great work was accomplished, for even in northern Germany bishops took courage and began to work zealously for the faith. Great changes took place in the sees of Cologne, Mainz, Münster, Paderborn, and Osnabrück, and in the abbatial lands of Fulda. Bishop Otto Truchsess of Augsburg (1514-73) was one of many who showed zeal for the old faith. The Jesuits also proved very successful in Poland where Protestants were split into four groups: Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren, and Socinians. The Catholics were numerically by far the most powerful, and were better organized. Canisius visited Poland soon after the Diet of Piotrkow (1558) and again in 1566, and Jesuit colleges were opened. The Protestants, fearful of their future, formed the Union of Sandomir (1570), but they were no match for the highly trained Jesuits who possessed a superior organization and enjoyed the confidence of the peasantry and many of the lower bourgeoisie in Great and Little Poland. The success of the Jesuits in Poland is one of the most noteworthy achievements of Catholic reform. They supported King Stephen Batory (1574-86) whom they pleased with their teaching about royal absolutism. The theory that a prince was instituted by God's sanction and that, according to Scripture, an unlimited mon-

archy was the best form of government appealed to a prince engaged in a determined struggle against the disintegrating political power of nobility and bourgeoisie. Batory therefore showed the Roman church many favors, although he remained tolerant toward his Protestant subjects. In France, however, the Jesuits found it difficult to secure a foothold, for the Sorbonne did not like them as competitors, and the crown feared their great devotion to the *curia* and thought that they could not be so easily managed as the concordatory clergy of the realm. Their cause was defended by the cardinal of Lorraine who founded the college at Pont-à-Mousson in 1574, and others also supported them; but for many years there was determined opposition to their activities.

Spain, the home of Ignatius Loyola, welcomed the Jesuits, and here they were very successful and founded a large number of colleges. Most of the Jesuits who joined the order in the first decades of its existence were Spaniards, and so numerous were they that wherever the order went Spaniards usually assumed a leading part. The order was even more successful in Portugal. But the provincial Simon Rodriguez did not entirely fit into the scheme of Jesuit organization, pursuing instead an independent policy. Ignatius, greatly dissatisfied with this, accordingly deposed Rodriguez in 1552, as well as expelling many of the members who were opposed to Ignatius' ideas. In the Low Countries it was impossible at first for the Jesuits to secure permission to open colleges. Philip of Spain was favorable, but his subjects, even though loyal Catholics, labored hard against the Jesuits. Philip finally overrode this opposition and by decree of August 20, 1556, gave the society the necessary civil rights and instructed them to proceed with their work.

While thus resuscitating the wounded church in Europe, the Jesuits were also active as missionaries in Asia and the newly found lands of South America, although Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians preceded them in America. In 1549 six Jesuits under Emanuel de Nobriga arrived at St. Vincent in Brazil and at once began their missionary activity which was crowned with much success. The resourcefulness of the order is illustrated by the development of the "Reductions" whereby the natives were induced to abandon their roving life and settle on large estates under the directions of Jesuit fathers. This order was a most effective agency in the spiritual conquest of the country, one reason for their striking success being their desire to defend the aborigines against the rigors of slavery and unconscionable exploitation by greedy whites.

Equally interesting was the effort to Christianize Asia. St. Francis Xavier (1506-52), one of the devoted followers of St. Ignatius, was, like the latter, born of the fighting nobility of Navarre and attracted

to Ignatius through the *Spiritual Exercises*. John III of Portugal (1521-57), desiring to plant the Christian faith in his oriental possessions, begged for the help of the Jesuits. Xavier was named apostolic nuncio and, provided with letters of recommendation from King John and Paul III, he sailed with two companions from Lisbon in 1541, arriving in Goa, a Portuguese trading center in India, in the following year. The Portuguese who lived there were not noble examples for the natives, and Xavier at once set to work endeavoring to improve their life. He journeyed through southern India teaching people the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria, and often baptizing entire villages. From 1542 to 1547 he labored at Malacca, Amboina, the Moluccas, and Ternate, working with the greatest devotion and without the least fear. New churches were established everywhere, and converts gathered around him, attracted by his asceticism.

Xavier was induced to visit Japan by a Japanese convert named Yajiro. They arrived in Kagoshima in August, 1549, and Xavier worked zealously for more than two years in bringing the faith to the natives. The first Catholic church was erected at Yamaguchi, and many Japanese became Christians. But Xavier yearned to visit the vast empire of the Chinese who jealously kept out all foreigners and whose country was the original home of the cults of Japan, for he believed that the conversion of China would be followed by that of Japan. Converts and missionaries in Japan made great progress after his departure in November, 1551, Nagasaki, a newly founded city, and the island of Kyushu becoming largely Christian. Xavier never entered China for he died before the close of 1552 on the island of Changchuen off Macao. His work begun in India continued to go forward; Goa became the seat of an archbishopric of which Malacca and Cochin were suffragan sees. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Capuchins supported these labors of the Jesuits, and their successes in a measure compensated the church for its losses in Europe.

CHAPTER LI

CATHOLIC POLITICAL REACTION: SPAIN AND ENGLAND

Being thus supported by His authority who hath placed us upon this sovereign throne of justice, howsoever incapable of so great a charge, out of the fullness of our apostolical power do pronounce and declare the said Elizabeth an heretic and favorer of heretics, and those who adhere unto her in the foresaid things, have incurred the sentence of anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.—POPE PIUS V (1566-72).[1]

THE four preceding chapters have shown that the restoration of Catholicism was due largely to an inner vitality in the traditional faith of the people. So powerful was this movement which arose in the humbler levels of the population that by 1580 the faith which had dominated Europe ever since the decline of the Roman Empire and which threatened to succumb under the blows of Lutheran and kindred heresies again stood forth revivified and capable of making progress against its enemies. After 1555 a new phase of the movement set in, namely, the political. During this period Spain occupied the central position among nations in Europe, and under Philip II (1556-98) that country, with its satellite states in Europe and its possessions in the New World, marshaled its resources to establish the Catholic faith which the king and his people believed to be the very foundation of Spanish security and greatness.

Save for Portugal, the Spanish peninsula was ruled by one king. Beyond the broad seas lay the Americas whence the crown drew fabulous quantities of precious metal which greatly impressed Europeans, both friendly and hostile. Philip was also king of Naples and Sicily, his supremacy in the Mediterranean depending upon the cities of Barcelona, Palermo, Messina, and Naples. In the duchy of Milan he possessed the rights which the vicar of the Holy Roman Empire formerly exercised, and the strategic position, military resources, and financial power of Milan enabled Philip to control all northern Italy.

[1] A. Esdaile (ed.), *The Age of Elizabeth*, 1547-1603 (Bell's English History Source Books), (London, 1920), p. 62.

The republic of Genoa became a submissive agent of Spanish policy, its capital serving as an Italian water-gate for Spain which was eager to maintain constant communication with Milan. Florence, Mantua, Ferrara, Savoy, Urbino, and the States of the Church became auxiliary powers of Spanish imperialism.

Corresponding to these Italian states which securely established Spanish ascendancy in the Mediterranean area were the numerous provinces of the Low Countries in northern Europe. Situated at the confluence of the Schelde, Meuse, and Rhine; equidistant between Spain and Scandinavia, Scotland and Italy; and wedged between the greatest powers of western Europe, these lands seemed to make it possible for Philip to dominate England and France. Italy was joined to the Low Countries by a corridor, the Franche-Comté, which promised to become useful as a means of communication with Italy. The Holy Roman Empire had been assigned to Emperor Charles' younger brother Ferdinand who since 1531 had borne the title of King of the Romans. This close relationship, it was fondly hoped, would produce a unified régime in religion and politics in the lands which had fallen into Hapsburg hands by the marriages of Maximilian of Austria to Mary of Burgundy, and of their son Philip the Handsome to Joanna of Castile.

Charles I of Spain (1516-56) continued the policy of his illustrious grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella. Born in Ghent, he spoke only Flemish and French and was a total stranger to Spain. At the outset his rule in Spain was challenged by a revolt of the Castilian communes, for when he arrived in 1519 he instilled keen resentment in the hearts of the proud Castilians by his favors to Flemish courtiers. But the widespread revolt proved a failure and was put down in the decisive Battle of Villalar (April, 1521), the net result of this rising being that the royal power became stronger than ever. Political absolutism, more highly perfected in Spain than in other European states, became a chief characteristic of Spanish life. A second feature, the almost fanatical devotion of Spaniards to Catholicism, is to be explained largely by the political, social, and economic exigencies of the nation.

In his religious policy also Charles followed in the footsteps of Ferdinand and Isabella. The rebellion in Valencia, which accompanied the rising of the Castilian communes but was independent of it, carried forward the policy of extirpating infidels. Tradesmen and handicraftsmen in the towns of Valencia formed an association, known as the Germania, which rose against the nobility who had long dominated the government to the disadvantage of the bourgeoisie. The Moors, who for the most part belonged to the agricultural section of the population, remained loyal to their noble masters,

in nearly every instance opposing the rebellious Germania. But the fanaticism of some of its members turned the association against these inoffensive people, and the bourgeoisie forcefully subjected many of them to baptism. This rite made them proper subjects of the Inquisition which vigorously began stamping out Mohammedanism in Valencia as it had done in Granada.

The Inquisition was also the means of purging the realm of Humanists and Protestants whose ideas were regarded as incompatible with Spanish citizenship. They were hunted down wherever they appeared, even the mild followers of Erasmus being suspected and proceeded against. This zeal in tracking down heretics did not imply, however, that Charles took orders from the pope in Rome, for the king made it a cardinal point of his policy to subject the church of Spain entirely to his will. This explains why he could use all his resources in Germany, the Low Countries, and other lands to ferret out Protestants, and at the same time oppose the pope in Italy and Germany. Spanish delegates to the Council of Trent, supported by the casuistry of their theologians, resisted every proposition which promised to exalt the papacy as the chief organ in the Catholic church at the expense of the Spanish crown.

Charles' son, Philip II of Spain, likewise proposed to employ the economic, political, geographic, and military resources of his widely scattered territories in order to establish his control of Europe. Catholicism, identified with Spanish patriotism, was everywhere to rise on the ruins of Protestantism. His ideals of government, religion, and society were planted by his father, Emperor Charles. The latter had gradually identified himself with Spain, making it the center of his vast empire; but in Philip the identification was complete from the beginning. Born in 1527 in Valladolid, he spoke only Spanish, and his view of life, religion, and politics was thoroughly Spanish. His personal character is an interesting study. Castilian pride and conservatism dominated him. He was reserved in speech; and while he might solicit the opinion of men he rarely expressed his own mind. He was saturnine, unimaginative, and endowed with an infinite capacity for work—never in all history has a more industrious monarch reigned. His orthodoxy was never questioned by the most orthodox of Spaniards.

That Catholicism and Spanish citizenship should go hand in hand was a fixed idea in Philip's mind, and upon his return to Spain from Flanders in 1559, he inaugurated a determined policy of exterminating heretics. The Inquisition was to be the principal tool to accomplish this end, and he therefore strengthened that tribunal. He gave public expression to his policy by appearing at the great *auto de fe* held in the open square before the church of St. Martin in Valla-

dolid in October, 1559. Large numbers came from all parts to see twelve unfortunate wretches, twisted out of shape by every refinement of cruelty practiced by officials of the Holy Office, burned to ashes—a spectacle which to Spaniards of that time was as popular a pastime as bullfighting. As he passed Philip, one of the doomed men, a nobleman, asked why he was condemned to suffer such a horrible death. The gloomy king gave a characteristic response: "Had I a son as obstinate as you I would eagerly carry fagots to burn him."

The Spanish Inquisition, a religious tribunal actively supported and directed by the crown, was composed of a supreme council, at the head of which stood the grand-inquisitor appointed by Philip himself, and its members were for the most part Dominicans. No appeal from their decisions could be taken to the pope. There were many subordinate tribunals. People were urged to make accusations against all and sundry. There was no confrontation of accuser and accused, for trials were always secret and the most subtle casuistry was employed by skilled theologians to trap the unwary. Every device of torture which the age could think of was employed to wring confessions from lips quivering with pain. This most successful organ was readily used even against churchmen—Ignatius Loyola was brought before it to be questioned, and St. Teresa, as Catholic a woman as ever lived, was pursued by it. Archbishop Carranza of Toledo (d. 1576), a learned theologian and delegate to the Council of Trent, a man of pure life whose greatest offense was a leaning toward Erasmian convictions, was tried for seven long years, after which he was sent to Rome for further interrogation. The political character of this tribunal is shown by the fact that it was also employed against political offenders.

This singular union of Spain and Catholicism led Philip to assume the burden of active war upon the Turk and the extirpation of the converted Moors or Moriscos living in Granada. Although formally compelled to become Christians, many of them still clung secretly to their ancient faith and practices. A series of drastic edicts was issued against them from 1560 to 1567, some of which were most tyrannical, as the one which decreed that their houses should be open on wedding days so that officials might ascertain whether any ancient customs were observed. A revolt broke out in 1568 and a determined resistance was made in the Alpujarra Mountains. The war was conducted with great ferocity, many towns and villages being put to the sack and their inhabitants massacred without regard for age or sex. The revolt was finally put down by Philip's natural brother Don Juan; and by decree of October, 1570, the Moriscos were ordered to settle among the Christian peoples of the north in Castile and Leon.

The suppression of this people is one of cruelest episodes in all history.

The destruction of the Moors was demanded as a national patriotic measure and was inspired by the Turkish attempt to seize Malta, for the conquest of Malta would seriously jeopardize Spanish ascendancy in the western Mediterranean and expose Christian lands to piratical raids. The Knights of St. John were holding this island as a shielding bulwark against the Mohammedan world. Suliman the Great (1520-66) and his vassal, the Barbary prince of Tripoli, attacked it in 1565. The Knights put forth an heroic resistance, one of the most famous in history, and finally, after great efforts, the Spanish viceroy of Naples was able to drive off the assailants. This, however, did not put an end to Turkish ambitions of conquest, for in 1569 the new sultan, Selim II (1566-74), attacked Cyprus, a Venetian outpost. A league between Philip, Venice, and the pope was formed to oppose him, and a great crusading fleet, under the command of Don Juan, was prepared by Spain. Fortified by the prayers of all Spain, and with blest banners floating from the masts, it sailed forth to do battle. In the Bay of Lepanto it met the Turkish fleet which outnumbered it greatly in both ships and men, and a terrible struggle ensued on October 7, 1571, ending in complete defeat for the Turks. The Battle of Lepanto marks the high point of Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean.

Absolutism by divine right was as much a feature of Philip's government as the maintenance of Catholicism. Philip ruled by means of as many as thirteen councils, each of which was intrusted with a carefully delimited field of activity. They were consultative bodies with no freedom to initiate action. The king reserved the right to direct all public policy and regulate every governmental affair. His was the personal government of a monarch who deemed himself God's agent to carry out His holy will. His subjects enveloped him with special sanctity because he was the divinely appointed protector of Spain and Catholicism, St. Teresa calling him "our holy king." To carry out the multitude of duties which such ideas entailed greatly increased the formal task of ruling, and Philip has become the model of the hard-working despot who must originate everything, pass upon everything, and direct everything. He labored long hours writing letters to his officials, and carried on a vast correspondence. The archives at Simancas contain an extraordinary number of these missives, all carefully and laboriously annotated by this conscientious king.

But this absolutism imposed an impossible task upon a man of Philip's limitations, for, though industrious and solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, Philip was deficient in understanding. Con-

servative Castilian that he was, he could not comprehend the mighty forces of economic life which were remaking European life, society, and politics. He sacrificed Spain for an ideal increasingly impossible to realize, freely wasting the public wealth in a vain endeavor to establish Spanish dominion everywhere by force. He failed completely to grasp the necessity of the economic upbuilding of Spain. When his father surrendered the Spanish crown to him in 1556, the realm was in a relatively prosperous condition, for colonization of the Americas had produced a demand for manufactured goods which stimulated industries. Production of cloth throve, especially at Medina del Campo. The great fairs of Valladolid, Toledo, and Segovia became busy marts of trade, and great quantities of gleaming gold and silver came into the realm from Mexico and Peru. Wool production was thriving, and agriculture, especially in southern Spain, was not far behind.

But Philip with all his zeal and labor could not direct the national economy to higher levels, for neither he nor the many advisers who surrounded him knew anything about economic laws. Mediæval traditional methods and devices of all sorts were employed. Prices were rising because of the influx of precious metal from America. To combat dearth, restrictive laws were made regulating manufacturing, price of food stuffs, and exports and imports. These were often very arbitrary, such as, for example, the law forbidding export to the Americas of iron, leather, and cloth in order to increase the supply of these commodities for Spanish consumers and thus lower their cost. A more fatal policy could hardly be conceived; as a result, commerce and industry could not thrive. Philip perpetuated all these iniquitous ways of government. His far-reaching schemes consumed every ounce of the gold and silver from the New World. Because this flow of wealth fell into the hands of foreign, especially Genoese, bankers, it failed completely to build up Spanish economic power. The *alcabala* (a ten per cent tax on sales) worked with devastating effect upon trade and manufactures and ruined many an enterprise. The result of this policy even in Philip's reign was economic decline at home, bankruptcy of the treasury, and finally the collapse of Spanish policy in Europe.

Having thus described the character of King Philip of Spain and stated the nature of his rule, we shall relate the story of Spain's efforts to maintain Catholicism in lands where it was in danger of being overthrown. To do so it will be necessary to outline the general situation in Europe as it concerned the fortunes of Catholicism during the last years of Emperor Charles, father of Philip II. This can be done only at the risk of some repetition, but the complicated character of Philip's far-flung activities makes this necessary.

Although Charles had fought four exhausting wars with Francis I of France from 1522 to 1544, and since 1552 had been involved in another war with Henry II of France (1547-59), he still hoped to win a great victory for Catholicism in northern Europe. England had set up a national schismatic church, but Edward VI (1547-53) was fatally ill and likely to die in the near future. The English crown would in that case devolve according to the will of Henry VIII (1509-47) upon Edward's sister Mary Tudor (1553-58), daughter of Catherine of Aragon, Philip's aunt. Mary, devoted to Catholicism, was eager to redress the wrongs inflicted upon her faith, and she wanted to bring England back into the Roman fold. It was hoped that she would accept her cousin Philip's hand in marriage, whereby English resources would then be enlisted in support of Spain and Catholicism. With English help Philip would be able successfully to oppose France from the Low Countries. In October, 1553, the new queen publicly avowed her intention to marry Philip. Englishmen were likely to resent foreign meddling in their affairs and so, by the marriage articles of January, 1554, Philip was excluded from the throne in case Mary should have no children by him. Furthermore, any children born of this union should rule in England and succeed to Philip's titles in the Low Countries. And, finally, Philip pledged that English resources should not be employed by Charles in his wars on the Continent.

Meanwhile the war which had broken out in 1552 between France and the emperor continued. Charles grew more and more weary under his unequal burdens. Racked by rheumatic pains and disappointed because he could not realize his high mission, he abdicated the crown of the Low Countries in 1555, and that of Spain and of Germany in 1556. To make the first years of Philip's rule as easy as possible, he negotiated with France the Truce of Vaucelles in February, 1556, under which hostilities were to cease for five years. It failed because, as was related above, Pope Paul IV (1555-59) enlisted French aid in an attempt to drive the Spanish from Italy. This contest also dragged England into the fray, for the French opposed Mary Tudor and favored Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who as granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, stood close to the succession. A number of refugee Englishmen in France planned a rebellion and actually invaded Yorkshire. Sentiment in England had been decidedly adverse to helping Spain in her struggles, but the invasion produced such keen resentment against France which had encouraged these rebels, that Mary Tudor declared war. The result was that Calais fell into French hands (1558). But the French were completely defeated in Italy and they lost the famous Battle of St. Quentin (July, 1559) fought on the borders of the

Low Countries. Both sides, exhausted, agreed to the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis (April, 1559), by which France retained the bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun, and abandoned all claims to Milan and Naples. England was forced to allow France to keep Calais. As Mary Tudor had recently died, a marriage was arranged between Philip and Elizabeth of Valois, a daughter of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici. One of the motives for ending the war at this time and arranging this matrimonial alliance was to unite the two Catholic nations so that they might pool their resources in combating Protestantism.

It is necessary to understand thoroughly these events in order to grasp the motives which underlay the Reformation in England during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor. Two points are to be noted in connection with Mary Tudor's reign (1553-58), the first of which is the typically English resentment at Spanish influence in English affairs. Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain became intensely unpopular, and her participation in the war against France which ended in the loss of Calais did not improve national sentiment. The second point is the policy of persecution which she initiated in her endeavor to make England a Catholic nation, for during her brief reign about three hundred unfortunates suffered death for their faith. The people probably would have acquiesced in the queen's intention of undoing as much as possible the work of Henry VIII and Edward VI, if only she had not embarked upon the Spanish marriage and the relentless persecution of her subjects. These turned her subjects against the queen, Spain, and Catholicism, so that, rightly or wrongly, for many a generation she has been represented as "Bloody Mary" who suffered England to be sacrificed to the cause of Spain.

Almost immediately after her accession, Mary requested her subjects to return to the faith of their fathers. Everyone knew that she purposed to repress Protestantism by force, and some of her subjects fled to the Continent. These Marian exiles, of whom there were at least several hundred, settled at various centers, such as Frankfort-on-the-Main, Wesel, Strassburg, Geneva, Basel, and Zürich. Here they were schooled more thoroughly in the ideas of John Calvin, and expressed greater horror than ever before of every form of "idolatry," as they termed it, in the Catholic church. It was the Spanish marriage, however, that aroused the most intense opposition, for it led to a revolt in the Midlands, another in Devonshire, and a third and more serious one in Kent. In the autumn of 1554, shortly after the queen's marriage, Cardinal Reginald Pole arrived as papal legate; and in November Parliament petitioned him for a full reconciliation of the English church with Rome, a step which was made possible

only when the legate agreed not to insist upon the return of ecclesiastical lands.

Elizabeth (d. 1603), who stood next in order of succession according to the will of Henry VIII, became queen upon her half-sister Mary's death in November, 1558. Rarely in all history has a monarch ascended a throne amid such trying difficulties. First of all was the claim of Mary Stuart. As wife of Francis, son of King Henry II of France (1547-59), she would become queen of that realm upon the death of Henry, and on the death of her mother Mary of Guise she would become queen of Scotland. She was a Catholic, and many English Catholics were inclined to prefer her to Elizabeth. Furthermore, behind Mary Stuart stood France and Scotland, bound together by ancient alliance. If Mary should mount the English throne she would sooner or later unite the three crowns of England, Scotland, and France, which would be a great source of strength for France in any contest with Spain, her national enemy. On the other hand, Philip feared that Elizabeth would steer England into the wake of French politics. Accordingly he proposed to marry her, for this, he hoped, would array English resources on the side of Spain against France. In these circumstances it behooved Elizabeth to be wary. Gifted with a keen sense of realities and cautious to a degree, she usually chose the correct course. She knew that her subjects would not rebel against her because that would throw the realm into the arms of France, its ancient enemy, and she also knew that Philip would not harm her because he feared that if her power were weakened she might come under French control.

These problems profoundly influenced the religious settlement which had to be made in 1558. Englishmen were heartily weary of persecution and Mary Tudor's forceful attempt to restore Catholicism. Moderation dictated by political expediency was the result, and a position midway between Rome and extreme Protestantism was chosen, thus satisfying the patriotic and religious sentiments of the great majority of Englishmen. Parliament early in 1559 enacted the new Act of Supremacy in which the queen was most diplomatically described as "supreme governor." The *Prayer Book* was revised, the last book prepared under Edward VI being used as its basis. Some definitely Protestant passages were altered so as not to offend Catholic feelings, and many ceremonial customs and church ornaments were retained. An *Act of Uniformity* (1559) made the acceptance of the new *Prayer Book* obligatory upon all the queen's subjects. Many people, however, could not approve of this settlement. A large number of Marian exiles returned to England as soon as Elizabeth became queen; and, fully indoctrinated by Calvin during their sojourn on the Continent, they now assumed leadership of many

zealous persons who had stayed in England but who were opposed to practices in the church which they described as "idolatrous," "papistical," and even "satanic." They attacked the custom of using the old vestments, and they also demanded that the ancient episcopal organization of the church be changed so that it would resemble a Presbyterian organization. The chief exponent of these views was Thomas Cartwright, a professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge.

From their demand that the church be "purified" of its ancient Catholic practices these people were called Puritans. Nearly all of them stayed in the church, protesting constantly and vigorously that a complete renovation should be made. Some there were, however, who abandoned it and formed conventicles, associations which can be traced back to the days of Queen Mary. Since these people severed all connection with the church they were called Separatists or Nonconformists. The origins of the movement are quite obscure; but it appears certain that they owed little or nothing to the Anabaptists as is often alleged. Groups of them lived in London and other towns in the southeast. Chief among their leaders was one Robert Browne (d. 1633?), but much more extreme in his demand for reformation of the English church was Henry Barrows (d. 1593), after whom the Barrowists were named. Although these Puritans and Separatists troubled the quiet of religious life in Elizabeth's day, they did not play a great rôle until the next century.

Until 1587 Elizabeth's chief concern was the activity of Mary Stuart, who, upon the death of her husband King Francis II of France in December, 1560, had returned to Scotland. Just before this the Scots under John Knox had abandoned Catholicism and made Scotland a Presbyterian country modeled upon the Reformation in Geneva. Mary Stuart purposed to reestablish Catholicism if possible, and also to secure the crown of England, alleging that her claim was superior to that of Elizabeth. Englishmen, however, Catholic as well as Protestant, rallied around their queen because they would not tolerate French and Scottish intrigues in their land. Although his proposal of marriage was rejected, Philip, during these years was forced to be friendly to Elizabeth, outwardly at least, for he thought that a union of England, Scotland, and France would be most deleterious to the Spanish cause.

Mary Stuart soon placed herself at the head of a Catholic party in Scotland. She might have been successful in her design of restoring Catholicism had she been a little wiser in her loves and more circumspect in her dealings with the uncouth Scottish baronage, but she was finally forced to flee and threw herself upon the mercy of her cousin Elizabeth (1568)—a rash step, for Mary had become the

head of a Catholic party in England. Elizabeth thought that it would be unsafe to leave her at liberty and so kept her in honorable confinement. Most English Catholics supported their queen in this matter but there was a small number who preferred to help Mary. The Jesuits, who were very active in missionary work, supported the English Catholics, and some of the Catholics repeatedly sought to help the imprisoned queen. The pope adopted a hostile policy toward Elizabeth, and Parliament in turn initiated repressive legislation against Catholics who opposed Elizabeth's religious policies.

All these plots came to a climax in 1570 when Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth. This fiery old pontiff was convinced that England was the chief bulwark of heresy, and in February of that year he issued his ill-counseled bull deposing her. Its net result was that most Catholics, being hostile to foreign meddling in domestic affairs, loyally turned to the queen's support. Parliament declared it high treason to call Elizabeth a heretic and issued stringent laws against Catholics. Meanwhile plots, usually sanctioned by Philip II and the pope, were laid to depose Elizabeth and put Mary in her place. The last one, Babington's Plot, aimed to assassinate the queen; but every move of the schemers was known to the government and when the evidence was more than complete they were seized. Mary, who had eagerly cooperated with the conspirators, was tried, found guilty, and beheaded in February, 1587, for from the point of view of English political interests her death had become a necessity.

CHAPTER LII

CATHOLIC POLITICAL REACTION: FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

Inasmuch as all men know that princes are instituted of God to rule their subjects and protect them from tyranny and violence as a shepherd guides his sheep, and as their subjects are not created by God to obey like slaves their every command in matters sacred or profane but as princes are instituted for the sake of their subjects, without which they cannot be princes, to rule them justly and with reason and protect and love them as a father loves his children and a shepherd his sheep. . . . Be it known to all that, reduced to the greatest extremity, we by common deliberation have declared and declare that the king of Spain has forfeited ipso jure *all hereditary title to sovereignty in these Low Countries. . . .*—Act of Abjuration (1581).[1]

CATHOLIC reaction in continental Europe met with two significant setbacks between 1560 and 1598. The first of these was the establishment of the United Provinces as a Protestant state on the basis of a revolutionary act which repudiated a prince who ruled by divine right. The second was the long series of religious wars in France which nearly ruined the monarchy and finally in 1598 culminated in the Edict of Nantes, a document which provided a new solution of the vexing problem of religious minorities by conceding to Huguenots a measure of religious and political freedom. These two groups of events, in addition to England's struggle with Spain, proved the most important factors in setting a limit to the Catholic reaction under Spanish leadership.

When Henry II of France died in 1559, a troublous period opened in the history of French Protestantism, for a series of eight dreary wars, fought between 1562 and 1588, greatly damaged the peace and well-being of the land. Francis II (1559-60) succeeded his father, but as he was only a youth, he could not give much direction to the government. His wife was the famous Mary Stuart, daughter of James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise, the latter being the daughter of Duke Claude of Guise. The Guises were ambitious, militant, capable,

[1] Adapted from the text in A. S. de Blécourt and N. Japikse, *Klein Plakkaatboek van Nederland* (Groningen, 1919), p. 137.

and above all orthodox. Two of Mary's brothers, Charles and Louis, were cardinals; and her elder brother Francis was the famous duke of Guise (d. 1563), a gallant soldier who had won renown in the late war between Henry II and Philip II of Spain. His son Henry (d. 1588) was destined to play a prominent part in the religious wars. The Guises, all-powerful at the court, were most determined protectors of Catholicism and did not hesitate to use foreign power in order to safeguard the old faith. Now that Mary Stuart was queen of France it seemed that the moment had arrived when they could gratify their thirst for power and their aspiration to control the royal council.

Catherine de' Medici now began her tortuous policy. As mother of three short-lived kings—Francis II (1559-60), Charles IX (1560-74), and Henry III (1574-89)—she exerted a peculiar influence upon public life until her death in 1589. She became the wife of Henry II in 1533, but her husband showed her neither favor nor deference because of his blind infatuation for the notorious Diana of Poitiers. Kept in the background, she was wrapped up in the welfare and future of her weakling sons upon whom she lavished a mother's tenderest solicitude. Her chief anxiety was to safeguard the future of her sons, and interest, not principle, guided her policy. In this respect she was a typical product of the Renaissance, a true child of the house of Medici. Although formally a Catholic, she possessed little conviction about religion. Ever since the Concordat of Bologna in 1516 the church in France had been a powerful support of the throne, wherefore she always remained true to Catholicism as the national faith, for the future of her children demanded this. On the other hand, she was determined to free herself as much as possible from the control of factions, whether Catholic Guise or Protestant Bourbon; and in doing this she revealed herself an adept in Machiavellian statecraft.

The house of Bourbon, which proved the chief obstacle to the ambitions of the Guises, was headed by Anthony of Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, whose wife was Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Marguerite of Angoulême and Henry II of Navarre, a petty principality in southern France. Reformed doctrine had been brought to the court at Nérac in 1560 by Beza who undertook a hazardous journey from Switzerland in order to persuade the royal Bourbon family to accept the "Word of God." Henceforth Anthony appeared as the head of a Protestant group among the nobles. Furthermore, he stood close to the throne and appeared likely to ascend it some day, for all Catherine's children were weak and seemed incapable of long life. He and his group resented the overweening ambition of the Guises whom they regarded as interlopers and to whom they showed intense

hostility. Anthony's brother, Louis of Condé (d. 1569), had married a relative of Gaspard de Coligny, an avowed Huguenot whose sons Gaspard the Admiral and Francis d'Andelot were to play prominent parts in the wars which followed. These men became the center of a powerful group which opposed the Guises, and many a Calvinist nobleman, whether from interest or religious conviction, joined them. In this way the reform which hitherto had been purely religious became more political.

When Francis II succeeded to the throne the Guises were in a position to dominate the government, and Catherine was thrust into the background. Far-reaching schemes were entertained by them. Since they hoped that Mary Stuart ultimately would supplant Elizabeth on the throne of England, they accordingly supported Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland, against her Protestant enemies. All power and influence which this family could command was to be used to uproot their political opponents and Protestantism. Naturally the Bourbons did not approve their schemes, and a plot was formed to rid the court of the "foreigners," as the Guises were called because they came from Lorraine. Louis of Condé was privy to it according to rumor. The young king was to be seized at Blois, and control of the government was to pass to the Bourbons who had a better right to it than the Guises. The secret was revealed to Duke Francis who hurriedly took the king away from Blois to Amboise. When the plotters tardily arrived in groups they were easily captured, many of them being hanged from the crenelated walls of the castle (1560). The Guises yielded to the wishes of their opponents and agreed to the appointment of Michel de l'Hôpital, a man of moderate views, as chancellor and to the convocation of the Estates General at Orléans. The supporters of the Bourbons remained in prison and Condé was condemned to die.

At this juncture Francis II died and Charles IX succeeded him. Catherine became regent and, eager to be freed from the ambitious Guises, drew closer to the Bourbon faction, Anthony of Bourbon assuming control of the royal policy. Louis of Condé was freed from the charge of treason and set at liberty, and the Guises were forced to withdraw with Mary Stuart to their estates in Lorraine. The Edict of St. Germain, issued in January, 1562, gave the Huguenots liberty of worship outside the cities, provided they taught only what was found in Scripture and the decrees of the Council of Nicæa. They were also required to observe Catholic feast days and to secure royal authorization to hold synods. This edict of toleration marked an important step in the progress of the persecuted faith. Numerous congregations were founded—about 2150, according to an estimate by Beza.

During the following years there grew up a party of patriots in France called Politiques (or Politicians) who adopted a novel view about relations between the state and religion. During the Middle Ages it was held that secular government should establish the true faith as taught by the church, and labor to guard it and extend its influence. The first significant departure from this conception was the rule adopted by the Lutheran princes of Germany, who held that each ruler in the empire should decide for himself and his people whether the faith of his subjects should be Lutheran or Catholic. The Anabaptists were deemed by nearly all men to be impossibly radical because they held that the state could take no cognizance of religion, but they were never able to write their ideas into the public law of any state. Calvin and his followers, on the other hand, insisted that the church was a body totally independent of the political action of the state, which was a noteworthy point of difference between them and Lutherans.

The Politiques agreed to place the common weal above all questions of religion, for they did not believe in sacrificing the material well-being of the state in order to create unity in religious belief. They were Catholics who sincerely loved king and country and lamented the destruction of national prosperity. Trained in the Humanist thought of the Renaissance which emphasized the things of this life, they were loath to place religious unity in the state before peace and prosperity. The Politiques have been cleverly described as men "who preferred the repose of the kingdom or their own homes to the salvation of their souls; who would rather that the kingdom remained at peace without God, than at war for Him." The ideas of the Politiques are symptomatic of a basic change in attitude toward this question, and they herald the coming toleration which was later to be accorded to religious dissenters.

But the Guises, unable to accept their exile from the court, plotted to destroy the new faith and began negotiations with Philip II of Spain. They won over the inconstant Anthony of Bourbon by a promise that Philip would return to him Spanish Navarre or make an equivalent compensation. The First Huguenot War (1562-63) broke out after the massacre at Vassy in which a large number of Protestants who had come together in a barn for religious services were slain. Religion and control of the crown became burning questions in this and the following wars. The people of Paris, being orthodox, sympathized with Duke Francis of Guise who displaced Anthony of Bourbon in the royal confidence. Duke Francis received support from Catholic Spain; the Huguenots, from Protestant England. Anthony of Bourbon was slain, and Duke Francis was assassinated in 1563. The Peace of Amboise followed, under which Cal-

vinism was to continue wherever it had been established, except in Paris.

The Second War (1567-68) followed because the Huguenots were suspicious of the friendliness of the court toward the Spanish government whose agent, the duke of Alva, had just assumed his infamous task in the Low Countries. In a battle at St. Denis the Catholics were defeated and their leader Montmorency was slain. To avoid interference by foreigners Catherine proclaimed the Peace of Longjumeau which renewed the Peace of Amboise. The Peace was soon violated in many communities for the Guises remained in control and continued to enjoy the moral support of Philip II and Alva. De l'Hôpital was dismissed and an effort was made to seize Condé and Coligny, but they escaped. In the Third War (1568-70), which now began, the Huguenots received money and military aid from Elizabeth, and the Guises accepted help from Spain and Rome. Condé was shot in a battle at Jarnac in 1569, whereupon his son Henry of Condé, together with King Henry of Navarre, now came forward to lead the Huguenots. The Peace of St. Germain, which brought the struggle to an end, reconfirmed the privileges accorded to the Huguenots in the Peace of Amboise and granted them certain cities of refuge and equal treatment with Catholics in appointment to governmental posts.

It seemed that the Huguenots were in a fortunate position, for King Charles was inclined to favor them and their enemies were discredited, for the moment at least. The royal sentiments were dictated by an apprehension of Spain's growing power. Don Juan had won the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, and the duke of Alva appeared to be successful in reducing rebellious Netherlanders. In England there was a chance that Mary Stuart might replace Elizabeth. If so, that country might be drawn into a great Catholic coalition surrounding France on all sides and therefore most dangerous to French safety. Therefore, any further favor to the Guises, who supported Mary Stuart and looked to Spain for assistance, was out of the question. Charles felt that a better understanding with the Huguenots should be cultivated, for French nationalist sentiment should at all costs, even at the expense of religion, resist the strivings of Spain to dominate Europe. A considerable number of the Catholic Politiques sympathized with this policy.

Catherine, not wanting to fall under the thralldom of the Huguenots and determined not to be thrust into the background again, opposed this policy. The Guises of course did likewise, preferring to champion Catholicism even if it meant the betrayal of the nation into Spanish hands, for they did not care to support French national interests which were always opposed to those of Spain if it meant

the advancement of Calvinism. The people of Paris were staunchly true to the old faith and zealously repressed heretics. In 1572 while Catherine was secretly drawing closer to the Guises against the Huguenots, important festivities were arranged in Paris to celebrate the marriage of Catherine's daughter Marguerite of Valois to Henry of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots. King Charles appeared to be in full harmony with his new Huguenot friends and brother-in-law. A large number of Huguenots came to Paris to celebrate the event.

Coligny, who now seemed to control everything, had far-reaching plans for an international offensive of Protestant forces against Spain, and was relying upon the Prince of Orange to overthrow Spanish control in the Low Countries. Catherine's resentment at Coligny's influence grew apace, and she prevented a declaration of war upon Spain, a proposal eagerly advocated by Coligny. Out of the tension created by these circumstances came the infamous Massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 24, 1572). On August 22nd, an assassin hired by Duke Henry of Guise with the queen's knowledge, aimed a shot at Coligny from the window of a house occupied by a supporter of the Guises. Charles, genuinely shocked by this attempt at assassination, personally expressed his sorrow to Coligny. But Catherine and the Guises, who needed little to encourage them, took a different view of the matter, for they felt that the Huguenots were a menace to the state and that it was best to exterminate them while so many of them were in Paris for the royal marriage.

Charles was weak enough to be persuaded that the Huguenots were not loyal to him, and he yielded to his mother and the Guises, apparently expressing some desire to be rid of the traitors. This was only a momentary impulse which he soon regretted, but it was too late, for in the early morning of August 24 the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois began ringing—the signal for the rising. Coligny was murdered. Houses in which Huguenots were staying were broken into and many an unfortunate was slain in his bed; others who sought safety in flight were cut down in the streets. The troops of the Guises took a leading part in the massacre, and the guard of Paris joined them. Responsibility lay first of all with Catherine because she had allowed the Guises who nourished in their hearts a long-standing feud with the Huguenots to have their way. Next it rested upon the king, and here the only plea is that he was incompetent. The Fourth Huguenot War (1572-73) at once broke out, to be followed by three other brief wars in tiresome succession (1575-76, 1577, and 1586-88).

Meantime the revolt of the northern Low Countries[2] more than

[2] For the earlier years of the revolt in the Low Countries against Philip, from 1566 to 1575, see chap. xlv.

engrossed the talent and financial resources of Philip II. The violent policy of the duke of Alva having failed to reduce the rebels, Philip recalled him in 1573, and his successor Requesens, who was there from 1574-1576, also failed. The siege of Leiden ended in a brilliant triumph for the Netherlanders and, as was noted previously, Calvin's doctrines were accepted as the state faith in Holland and Zeeland. Surrounded by the waters and stagnant pools of the delta formed by the Schelde, Meuse, and Rhine, these provinces defied their Spanish ruler, every effort to reduce them proving unavailing. The Spanish military was hopelessly bankrupt, Philip's credit was at a low ebb, and Requesens' troops had not been paid for a long time. They finally rose in revolt, chose a leader whom they called an *eletto*, and sacked Antwerp. This event, which became famous as the Spanish Fury (November 4, 1575), filled the hearts of all Netherlanders with loathing for the Spaniards and aroused them to more determined opposition.

Terrified by this catastrophe which might be repeated in any one of the many other towns of the Low Countries, the Netherlanders sent envoys to Ghent in order to discuss the situation with William of Orange, and on November 8, 1576, a treaty called the *Pacification of Ghent* was arranged. The provinces bound themselves to secure the departure of the Spanish soldiery and to follow in both secular and religious matters the decisions of the Estates General. The illegal methods adopted by Alva to uproot heresy were to be dropped. Requesens, who died in 1576 wearied by the impossible task which Philip had placed upon him, was succeeded by Philip's natural brother Don Juan, the dashing and brilliant hero of Lepanto. But Don Juan could accomplish nothing, for his mind was filled with wonderful schemes. He hoped to free Mary Stuart from the confinement into which Elizabeth had put her, marry her, place her upon the throne of England, and thus win a signal victory for Catholicism as well as glory for himself. He died in 1578 without accomplishing any of his dreams and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, who ruled from 1578 to 1592.

Parma, one of the ablest men of his age, was well schooled in the Machiavellian statecraft of Italy and had won fame as a general. Philip's fortunes in the Low Countries began to mend, for Parma at once sought to insinuate his way into the confidence of the southern Low Countries, and by promises and show of force he soon won many towns and even whole provinces to his side. The reason for this defection to the side of the Spaniard is to be sought in the question of heresy—was it to be tolerated? William of Orange was one of the first among Protestants to insist upon tolerance for religious minorities whether Catholic or Protestant, but a policy so

liberal could not be adopted by the rank and file of the people in an age peculiarly hostile to dissent. Provinces in which Catholicism predominated endeavored to suppress Protestants, whereas in Calvinist Holland and Zeeland William found it almost impossible to secure liberty for Catholics. It was inevitable therefore that the southern provinces whose population remained loyal to the traditional faith should separate from the northern in which Calvinism was rapidly gaining the upper hand.

The *Union of Arras* (January 6, 1579), the logical outcome of these circumstances, comprised the provinces of Hainault and Artois, and the communities of Lille, Douai, and Orchies. They proposed to adhere to the terms set forth in the *Pacification of Ghent*, but declared that such was the confusion in religious and political life that reconciliation with the king was necessary. This action by a group of Catholic communities in the Walloon sections of the southern Low Countries meant that a center of resistance was forming against the policy of toleration advocated by the Prince of Orange and the Estates General, for if possible, they would prevent the spread of Calvinist ideas which would probably result under such a policy.

Meanwhile an opposite tendency was manifest among the northern Low Countries, for these people wished to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, especially in connection with toleration of Calvinism. To protect themselves, the deputies of Holland and Zeeland met with those of Guelders, Utrecht, and Groningen, and on January 23, shortly after the signing of the Union of Arras, affixed their signatures to the *Union of Utrecht*. Besides regulating military matters and taxation, this agreement provided that each province could decide the question of religion as seemed best which, of course, meant that the doctrines of Calvin would be established. There were now three Unions in the Low Countries. The first, the Pacification of Ghent, was destined to perish because the principle of toleration in the interest of peace, so dear to the heart of William of Orange, was too idealistic a conception for the age. The *Unions of Arras* and *Utrecht* were each to be the germ of a state, the Spanish Low Countries which remained faithful to Catholicism, and the United Provinces, a Calvinist republic.

The next several years from 1580 to 1598 were to prove a sore trial to Philip, for his plans and purposes met with virtual defeat on every hand. The great burden which his political ambition and his religious policy placed upon Spain proved too onerous and ended in national bankruptcy. A chief cause of the Spanish collapse at the close of the century was the ineptitude of the ruling power. Destructive methods of taxation, throttling of industry by vicious regulation of prices, ruin of trade by restrictive export provisions, borrowing

of money at excessive interest, and placing of financial activities of the state in the hands of a consortium of Genoese bankers provided a most inadequate foundation for Philip's ambitious schemes. By 1598 Spain was defeated in her designs against England, France, and the Low Countries, and internally she had squandered her resources and mortgaged her future for years to come.

For a moment, however, Philip appeared especially successful. In 1580 he added the crown of Portugal to his many possessions. King Sebastian, who had died in 1578 in battle with the sultan of Morocco, was succeeded by a great-uncle, Cardinal Henry, who died in 1580. Philip now claimed the crown because his mother Mary was a daughter of King John III of Portugal (1521-57), and he at once dispatched to Portugal an army under the duke of Alva who rapidly reduced the country and seized Lisbon. The crown of Portugal was a desirable acquisition, for it completed the policy, undertaken by Ferdinand and Isabella, of bringing the entire peninsula under the rule of the king of Castile and Aragon, and, furthermore, the best possessions of the Portuguese king in the East Indies and Brazil were added to the Spanish empire. Philip appeared richer and more successful than ever.

But Philip was in great danger of losing all his power in the Low Countries where William of Orange continued to be the soul of the spirited revolt against Spanish authority. But William felt that the protection of some princely house would materially strengthen the cause of Holland and Zeeland. All efforts to secure the active support of Elizabeth of England failed, for that queen held aloof because she wished to remain neutral and was able to do so as long as she possessed so excellent a hostage as Mary Stuart. Furthermore, since she also disapproved of rebellion against legitimate authority, she could never quite approve the rebellious action of the Netherlanders even if it was dictated by sore necessity. Under these circumstances Orange again turned toward France, from whom since the beginning he had sought help. In 1568 and 1572 the well-planned cooperation of French troops had failed. Charles IX died in 1574 and was succeeded by his brother Henry III, a young man incapable as a ruler, who frittered away his time in useless schemes and idle pleasures. Although prone to fall under the influences of designing courtiers, he was by no means hostile to the Huguenots. Orange turned to Henry's brother, Duke Francis of Anjou (d. 1584), who in 1576 was offered the title of count of Holland and Zeeland. These negotiations finally proved successful, for at the close of 1580 Francis accepted the dignity of prince of the northern Low Countries.

The royal house of France thus was enlisted by the Netherlanders in their struggle against Spain—a new example of the age-old hos-

tility of France toward Spain. The grant of sovereignty to Anjou was an act of rebellion, and it was followed by a still more remarkable step, the formal abjuration of Philip's sovereignty on July 26, 1581. The audacity of this declaration of independence becomes apparent when one reflects that the sixteenth century was an age of absolutism sanctioned by divine right. The theory upon which this revolutionary action was based is that of natural rights, an idea repeatedly expressed in the great pamphlets on political theory produced in the storm and stress of religious wars in France. Hotman's *Francogallia* and the *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos*[3] undoubtedly influenced the men who drew up this act of abjuration.

A theological justification for the renunciation of Philip's sovereignty was advanced in addition to the casuistry of political theorists. Ample use was made of Calvin's doctrines, for that reformer had taught that obedience to temporal rulers was necessary; indeed, it was enjoined in the "Word of God." He did not completely subscribe to Luther's extreme views of the sanctity of temporal power, but held that resistance to legally constituted authority was permitted as a last resort if princes ruled contrary to the ordinances of God as set forth in the Bible, especially if they prevented people from worshiping God. Such revolt was to be initiated only by the nobility, for Calvin distrusted democratic action. The rising of the Dutch may have begun more or less in harmony with his theories but it was the far more radical writings of French publicists which moved the rebels against Spain. Philip was regarded as a public enemy who contravened the laws of the land, sacrificed the public welfare, and proceeded against man's highest obligations, the worship of God. In such circumstances revolution became a duty.

The abjuration of Philip was a most significant event in the history of the age. Lutheranism was too abjectly servile toward princes, and Anabaptism too indifferent toward government and the legitimate claims of property and business to steel the hearts of people in rebellion against their princes. Calvin's teaching provided the needed theoretical basis for a national revolt. Indeed, the spread of his doctrines among Netherlanders is to be explained in part by the great national trials through which the Low Countries were passing. Reformed doctrines, established in 1574 as the faith of Holland and

[3] François Hotman (1524-90), the author of the *Francogallia*, taught in this treatise that the people were permitted to rebel if their prince ruled contrary to law. The *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos* was written by "Brutus," but the identity of its author has never been settled. Among the names suggested is that of Hubert Languet (1518-81) and Philip du Plessis Mornay (1549-1623) both of whom, like Hotman, were influential Huguenots. According to the *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos,* when all means have been exhausted it is only proper to rebel.

Zeeland, spread throughout the north. Sacramentarian, Anabaptist, and Humanist ideas were brought into the Calvinist fold under the pressure of national patriotism, but these ideas survived, however, to produce later a rich harvest of theological disputes.[4]

Duke Francis of Anjou possessed none of the qualifications needed for leadership in such trying times. He entertained extravagant hopes of bringing England into the conflict, and even of marrying Elizabeth, driving out the Spaniards with her help, and establishing himself as sovereign prince in the Low Countries. He could not work under limitations and his vain spirit was nettled by the restrictions which the Netherlanders sought to place upon him. He attempted a *coup d'état* in January, 1583, by seizing Antwerp but was repulsed. Discredited, he returned to France and died the next year. William of Orange died at an assassin's hand in 1584 and the duke of Parma soon began to make successful inroads upon the United Provinces. Elizabeth feared that Philip would establish himself on the banks of the Schelde, Meuse, and Rhine, whence he could readily assail England in behalf of Catholicism and the imprisoned Mary Stuart

In France also events seemed to be shaping themselves to the detriment of Protestantism. Henry III had no children and it appeared that he would have none. Since his brother the duke of Anjou was dead the crown of France would devolve upon the nearest male heir who derived his title through male descent—none other than King Henry of Navarre who had married Marguerite of Valois at the time of the St. Bartholomew Massacre. But Henry was a Huguenot and many Frenchmen could not bear the idea of a Protestant mounting the throne of France. Ever since the first wars of religion Catholic nobles had tended to form associations, and a Catholic League came into existence, the leader of which was Duke Henry of Guise, a man who possessed in abundance all the virtues which a nobleman should have. He was affable, courteous, and extremely free in spending money. If the next king must be a Catholic he thought that no one had a better chance than himself. Indeed, as early as 1576 he began to entertain the hope of succeeding Henry III.

The League greatly feared that Henry of Navarre would establish a Protestant state after the pattern of Henry VIII. Philip also was alarmed because a Protestant France would be likely to cooperate with the rebellious United Provinces and ruin all possibility of his

[4] It is well to emphasize at this point that religion was not necessarily the primary cause of the Dutch revolt, for many devoted Catholics joined in the national resistance to Spain. In fact, it has lately been ascertained that the Calvinist party in the province (or county) of Holland in 1587 numbered no more than ten per cent of the population. For a modern account which rectifies many of Motley's views and statements, see P. Geyl, *The Revolt in The Netherlands, 1555-1609* (London, 1932).

reconquering them. As long as France was in confusion Spain had little reason to fear any hostility in that quarter. Furthermore, Philip, a fervent Catholic, earnestly hoped, for the sake of his faith, that no heretic confessing the doctrine of Calvin would sully the throne. He accordingly decided to assist the League. This organization possessed many local units and spread like a network over all France. An important branch was established in Paris, whose inhabitants had at all times shown antipathy toward Calvinism and the Huguenots.

Philip made a treaty with the Guises at Joinville in January, 1585, whereby the latter promised to purge France of heresy and prevent the accession of a Protestant prince, in return for which they were to receive a large subvention. Thus for the sake of the purity of the faith the Guises of France were willing to perpetuate civil war to the great detriment of the realm, a policy diametrically contrary to the ideas of the Politiques. It was precisely this alliance with the national enemy of France which ruined the League's cause and made inevitable the triumph of Henry of Navarre.

Elizabeth now assumed a more aggressive policy, for she believed that the moment had come for her to take a decided stand against the machinations of Philip and the plans of the League. The duke of Parma invested Antwerp, the last of the towns south of the Schelde to remain in opposition to Philip, and its surrender in August, 1585, was a severe blow to the United Provinces. The United Provinces had extended an invitation to King Henry III to accept their sovereignty, but he in accordance with his preferences for Catholicism favored the League and declined. Next they approached Elizabeth, but that cautious ruler likewise refused the proffer of sovereignty. However, she believed it absolutely necessary to undertake some action for the safety of her realm, and she finally consented to send a force of men and horse to the Low Countries under the earl of Leicester as commander; but this incompetent man aroused so much opposition that after two years he was recalled (December, 1587).

This English support of his rebellious subjects determined Philip to strike a blow against Elizabeth, and he planned a large fleet which would cooperate with the duke of Parma and transport his troops from the Low Countries to England. The Catholics of England were to rise and depose Elizabeth whose place was to be taken by Mary Stuart who was still languishing in prison. Meanwhile Elizabeth's enemies were plotting as vigorously as ever. At this juncture occurred the Babington Plot (1586) which has already been discussed. It clearly revealed the complicity of Mary Stuart, who as a result was beheaded in 1587. The failure of this plot momentarily deranged the schemes of Philip, and his descent upon England was delayed until 1588.

Finally the great Armada sailed on its mission of avenging the death of Mary Stuart and of punishing the power that had thwarted Philip's plans. The story of this great enterprise is one of the most romantic in all history. The cooperation of the duke of Parma with the fleet proved impossible, for the Netherlanders impressed innumerable boats and infested every inlet and stream along the coast of the southern Low Countries, thus preventing the transportation of Spanish troops to England. English ships boldly attacked their adversaries in the Channel, and storms and treacherous seas did the rest, a sorry remnant finally returning to Spain. A ghastly fiasco, it meant that England was safe from any Spanish designs; it implied that the United Provinces had a better chance of beating back their enemy along their southern border, and it also was a victory for Protestantism and hence a defeat for the militant international Catholicism under Philip.

Meanwhile stirring events were taking place in France, for Henry III weakly joined the League in spite of the fact that Henry of Guise had designs upon his crown. He revoked the decrees of toleration which had been issued on previous occasions, whereupon the War of the Henries followed from 1586 to 1588. It was a dull struggle in which the duke of Guise assumed such lofty airs that Henry III decided to be rid of him. The incompetent king could think of no better way than assassination, a plan which was carried out in December, 1588. Catherine died two months later. The king was a sorry figure; he appeared to have lost the respect of all men, and the members of the League hated him bitterly. Rejected by the Catholics, he was forced to seek help from Henry of Navarre, and the two Henries now moved upon Paris, stronghold of the League. But the alliance between Henry and the Huguenot king of Navarre exasperated many people, and tyrannicide was freely discussed. It was argued that a prince who ruled contrary to the welfare of the Catholic church and who had murdered the duke of Guise ought to be removed, and that no sin would attach to the hands of the man who slew him. These inflammatory sentiments bore fruit, for on August 2, 1589, a demented Dominican friar stabbed the king to death.

The League and their supporters hailed Charles of Bourbon as king Charles X. An uncle of Henry of Navarre, he could not advance nearly as good a claim to the throne as the latter's. He was a Catholic —even a cardinal—and this satisfied the League, but he was an old man who did not possess the qualities necessary in a ruler. Furthermore, he was kept in confinement by Henry of Navarre who hoped to win the crown for himself. Philip of Spain, who really was the directing force of the League, continued to fish in these troubled

waters. What he wanted to bring about was the repudiation of the ancient rule in France whereby the crown could pass to males through male descent only, thereby making it possible for his daughter Isabella, whose mother Elizabeth was an older sister of Henry III, to succeed to the throne. This association of Philip, the national enemy of France, with the League discredited it in the eyes of moderate men and caused them to turn to Henry of Navarre.

Henry IV (1589-1610), as the king of Navarre began to be called, retired to Normandy because the League was powerful enough to keep him out of Paris. He relied upon Elizabeth's favor, even receiving reinforcements from England, and he steadily gained supporters in spite of his Protestantism. He fought a great battle at Ivry in March, 1590, in which he defeated the forces of the League, and soon after he appeared before Paris but could not enter because of the spirited defense offered by the League. Early in September, when starving Paris seemed almost in his grasp, he was forced once more to withdraw into Normandy before the advance of the duke of Parma who led a splendidly equipped army from the Spanish Low Countries. Meanwhile the League was becoming more and more unpatriotic in its unseemly subserviency to Philip. Some of its members were openly saying that he should become king of France, Henry even intercepting a letter in which such sentiments were clearly avowed. In 1592 Henry won a signal advantage over his opponents, and began the siege of Rouen which Elizabeth had urged, for she wished to see Henry's enemies driven out of northern France so that her own communications with him would not be interrupted. Again the duke of Parma appeared with an army of veterans seasoned in the long wars against the Dutch, but he was wounded in an engagement at Caudebec and died in December. He was the ablest general of his day and his passing greatly weakened the ability of Spain to stir up trouble.

By this time Henry IV had decided to cut the Gordian knot by becoming a Catholic, for Frenchmen who were loyal to Rome and who believed that the king of France must be a Catholic were loath to give their support as long as he remained a Protestant. By renouncing the teaching of Calvin, Henry knew that he would win many members of the League. As for himself, he was not a man of deep conviction; the austere doctrines of the Genevan reformer never dominated his thought. His attitude toward religion was very much like that of the Politiques, in that he placed national welfare above the faith in which he had been reared. As a patriot his duty was plain. His becoming a Catholic would ruin the League, and France would be his. Accordingly, after the proper instruction he was received into the Catholic faith on July 25, 1593, in the mag-

nificent Gothic church of St. Denis. On February 27 of the next year he was anointed and crowned king in the cathedral of Chartres. The ceremony could not take place in Rheims which was held by forces of the League, for the League maintained that a man who had been a heretic could not receive the crown of France.

Henry estimated correctly the effect of his conversion and coronation, for many Frenchmen who had opposed him now saw that the nearest male heir, a Catholic, anointed and crowned king, was actually ruling. This was sufficient. They began to consider their own interests and their patriotic duties and concluded that obedience was advisable, and soon only a remnant of extremists still protested against Henry. On March 22, 1594, the king entered Paris and offered solemn thanks in the church of Notre Dame. The old feeling of hatred of Spain flared up, for more and more it was felt that Philip's real concern was to dismember France. But the League obstinately persisted in its alliance with Spain, and therefore steadily lost prestige. Finally in February, 1595, France declared war on Philip, and the discomfiture of the League was complete.

One further step had to be taken, for reconciliation with the pope was necessary. Clement VIII was slow to move; he was too closely associated with Philip to do otherwise. Meanwhile the old quarrel between the champions of the rights of the church in France—the Gallicans—and the supporters of papal rights in the realm—the Ultramontanes—blazed forth. The Gallicans hated the Jesuits who had supported the papal policy toward Philip and the League. In December an attempt was made upon the king's life by a supporter of the League who had been under the tuition of some Jesuits. He was torn to death by four horses, two Jesuits were hanged, and the order was banished from the realm. Clement VIII was alarmed for he feared that Henry IV might set up a national and schismatic church as had been done in England. Absolution was granted to Henry in September, 1595, and he promised to accept the dogmas of the church as defined in the Council of Trent. Its disciplinary doctrines he maintained encroached upon the liberties of the church in France and were not to be applied. Clement made a virtue of necessity and yielded, for he knew very well that Spain was in decline and that Philip's policy would soon terminate.

The war with Spain finally came to an end with the Treaty of Vervins (May, 1598). The League now vanished into history, its members making peace with Henry as best they could, and some of them receiving honors and decorations. Henry's next step was the settlement of the religious question. On April 15 he had signed the Edict of Nantes, which provided that adherents of the Reformed faith might worship freely in certain towns mentioned in previous

edicts, in one town in each district (*sénéchaussée* and *bailliage*), and on the estates of nobles. It was stipulated that no one could be barred from public service because of Protestantism. Furthermore, as guarantee that the edict would be carried out, the Huguenots were permitted to place garrisons in seventy-five fortified places. Finally, Protestant judges were to sit with Catholics in order to insure equal justice.

The religious settlement of Nantes was one of the most remarkable achievements of the century. It had formerly been a universal political dogma that unity of religion was necessary to the welfare of the state, but with the rise of Lutheranism and Anglicanism the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* became the normal solution of the religious question of the day. The maintenance of unity in opinion, however, proved a difficult task. Persecution of religious minorities brought little result in France and England, and William of Orange set a noble example by advocating tolerance. But in France the effort to secure religious uniformity led to civil strife which ruined public welfare and threatened to dismember the state. The Politiques argued that it would be far better to tolerate heretics than to ruin the state in a futile attempt to extirpate them. Since this was also Henry's conviction, the Edict of Nantes was the result. National interests were regarded as supreme and were given precedence over religious questions. Henceforth Huguenots could be as good citizens as the Catholics. The Edict marks an important moment in the history of religious liberty, for whereas the Peace of Augsburg allowed no toleration to religious minorities, the Edict of Nantes permitted Calvinist Huguenots to live at peace with the rest of the realm.

EPILOGUE

WE HAVE arrived at the end of our journey. We have reviewed a multitude of events and ideas belonging to an epoch peculiarly complicated and portentous in human annals. Let us therefore pause a moment before bidding farewell to the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation and again consider its significant events and triumphs in order to summarize the historical import of these periods.

The Renaissance was a most stirring and creative period in the history of mankind. Never before had there been so vast an accumulation of capital in the hands of so many people and in so extensive an area. In the towns the upper classes possessed of leisure inevitably began to seek a higher cultural level. They were dissatisfied with the banality which characterized much of mediæval manners; they found that the all too ascetic ideals which had grown up in manorial times and were inculcated by monks no longer satisfied the needs of the busy life of townsmen. They were interested in a higher secular culture in which all human and earthly things would find their legitimate place. The Renaissance therefore was an age of rapid transition and significant achievement. Letters, science, the arts, education, economic and political thought and institutions, and social life were profoundly modified, thus providing a broader basis for the culture of modern times.

Most interesting was the Renaissance attitude toward religion. For twelve centuries the church had been the most potent medium of higher culture, its ascetic ideals and churchly culture providing the chief formative principle of mediæval life. Gothic architecture, sculpture, and painting are among the enduring creations of man; and scholastic philosophy and theology will ever be studied because they constitute the greatest intellectual achievements of that age. But a broader and more secure foundation was needed by the new life throbbing in the towns and on the highways of commerce. The men of the Renaissance cast a critical eye upon traditional religious life. They criticized the unintellectual ways which had their root in the agricultural life of the manorial past because they were out of place in the new environment. More secular ethical ideals were formulated. Humanists enunciated their Sermon-on-the-Mount theology which insisted upon concrete moral acts in every social relationship. Less

emphasis was to be placed upon pilgrimages, saints, relics, and the observance of formal obligations. Thinkers like Erasmus gave a secular tone to religion which to this day it has never lost, and their moderate theology influenced Catholics and Protestants alike. This ethical Humanism bids fair to outlast many of the tenets of Luther and Calvin.

The religious difficulties of the sixteenth century, like the Renaissance, exerted a unique influence upon the culture of the future. It is not part of the historian's craft to pass upon the ulterior truth of religious dogmas, but certainly he cannot be oblivious to the great moral as well as material changes of the past. For centuries our forefathers were taught certain truths about life and religion. This activity of the mother church of Rome impressed a certain unity upon mediæval civilization which in spite of many changes the modern world has never abandoned. The Protestant revolt shattered the institutional religious unity of Europe and substituted for it a group of contending churches. No thoughtful student can fail to apprehend what this has meant to modern civilization.

Luther's views on economic matters were significant. A peasant's son, the reformer remained conservative and to the end of his days viewed the advanced economy of his time with misgiving. Not understanding the significance of interest and the necessity of big profits, he thundered against the "wickedness" of merchants. Truth is that Luther did not realize, as we do today, that a stupendous economic revolution had been wrought during the Middle Ages when urban economy more and more began to supplant the almost exclusively agrarian economy inherited from the ancient Roman world. But Luther nevertheless profoundly influenced men's thought on economic matters, for his doctrine of justification by faith alone completely destroyed for many Europeans the efficacy of good works to bring salvation. Thus the mediæval canonist doctrine that economic activity was part of man's moral action collapsed. This was a mighty blow to such influence as the church was still able to exert in the rapidly changing economic life of the Renaissance.

But Luther's influence was felt also in a positive way. The reformer taught that everybody baptized into the Christian community and confessing Christian doctrine had a calling (in German, *Beruf*) which it was his duty to discharge. Division of labor was thus necessary for the support of Christian society. The priestly vocation was to be exercised by only a few who were set apart from the rest of the Christian community by ordination. This was necessary, for in no other way could confusion and anarchy be avoided, and it logically results from the Lutheran principle that every man is his own priest. Shoemakers, brewers, agriculturalists, teachers, and ministers each

perform labor necessary for the support of society, and each is justified by his faith in Christ. This conception of the Christian worker broke sharply with the ascetic ideals of the Middle Ages which all too often held that man's highest spiritual act was to renounce the world and retire behind the walls of a cloister.

Luther's influence upon politics was even more decisive. The Renaissance witnessed a new type of state, one in which all functions of government were lodged in the hand of the ruler. Machiavelli, the greatest political thinker of the period and a contemporary of Luther, argued that the state should exercise all public functions. This tendency toward absolutism was highly desirable in an age but recently emerged from the anarchies of feudalism. But Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers possessed strong democratic and decentralizing implications which clearly were at variance with these tendencies, and his theory was severely tried in the crucible of the Peasants' Revolt in 1524 and 1525. Love of peace and solidarity, so dear to the class from which he sprang, forced him to reconsider the political aspects of his teaching. Where could he find the authority necessary to guarantee peace and public order? The German emperor's power was feeble; obviously only the territorial princes could be relied upon to bring order out of chaos. Luther therefore retreated from his earlier position, pondered the Bible, and in accordance with St. Paul's views expressed in his Epistle to the Romans began to argue that government reposed on divine sanction and that subjects were required to give unquestioning obedience to princes ruling by right divine. Luther's thought is thus one of the forces which created the modern omnicompetent state, but it is a mistake to regard the reformer as the great originator of modern democracy, as has been done by enthusiastic admirers.

Calvin owed much to Luther's economic teaching. He followed his great predecessor in his conception of the Christian calling, and believed that work was enjoined of God as was stated in Scripture. But he went farther than Luther in that he was willing to give a grudging approval to the practice of taking interest. In this Calvin was by no means modern because he forbade interest from loans made to the poor. However, this partial justification of the growing practice of demanding interest was significant, for it, as well as the necessity of work as part of one's Christian vocation, shows that Calvin even more than Luther belonged to an age in which mediæval ascetic economic ideals were vanishing. One should not, however, ascribe too great a rôle to the new ideas of Luther and Calvin. Max Weber, a brilliant German scholar, produced his remarkable essay, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* in 1904-1905, wherein he argued that Calvin was mainly responsible for the great

changes which came over economic thinking at this time. Weber's theory was widely acclaimed in the English-speaking world after the Great War, just as it was being seriously questioned in Germany. But recent students have taken a more sober view of Calvin's contribution, for it is certain that for several centuries before the appearance of Protestantism great fortunes were made and that capitalist mores were rapidly developing during the Renaissance. The restrictions of Catholic theologians and canonist lawyers availed little in checking the rapidly growing secularization of economic activity. Thrift, which Weber and his followers regarded as a peculiarly Protestant bourgeois virtue, certainly was not uncommon in mediæval Florence, as may be ascertained from a casual reading of Alberti's *Della Famiglia* and a study of the activities of Italian bankers. Truth is that Calvin and Luther, by revolting from Rome, broke with the disciplinary measures of canon law regarding interest and with popular ascetic practices, and therefore developed a teaching more clearly in accord with the ethos of the new capitalism.

Calvin, like Luther, taught that the state was of divine ordination and that to disobey its magistrates was contrary to the "Word of God." Subjects should in all things hearken to the commands of a Christian prince; only when a ruler made ordinances contrary to the true teaching of Scripture was it permissible to oppose him. But such resistance was forbidden to ordinary citizens and to lower officials, the greater nobility alone being given the right to begin active rebellion—but only after all other means had failed. Thus Calvin reveals himself suspicious of the aspirations of democracy. Like the bourgeoisie of France and other lands, he believed that the functions of government should be exercised by the more aristocratic section of the population. This predilection for the authority of the upper classes is also revealed in his conception of church government in which the direction of congregational life was to be lodged in the ministers, elders, and deacons primarily, and in the people only secondarily. Many writers have exaggerated Calvin's importance as a teacher of democracy, whereas it must ever be borne in mind that both Calvin and Luther moved within the orbit of the political thinking of the Renaissance which believed in the absolute state wherein the aristocracy exercised a predominant influence.

The followers of Calvin, however, developed his theories much further. Conditions in France after the outbreak of the religious wars and especially after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 raised the question whether obedience was absolutely required in all cases. Calvin, like the scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages, had taught that mankind possessed certain natural rights which no ruler might violate. God had instituted the state and also the church; the

entire régime of Christianity and of the Christian ruler must harmonize. What was to be a subject's attitude toward the king of France who refused to legitimate the true, that is Calvinist, worship and obstinately clung to the errors of Catholicism? Theodore Beza (1519-1605), Calvin's successor in Geneva, answered this thorny question in his treatise *On the Rights of Magistrates Over Their Subjects* (1574), wherein he boldly argued that as the Maker had decreed that the state and its magistrates were instituted for the people, the latter did not exist for the exploitation of the former. God's word must needs be obeyed; but if a sovereign refused to act in harmony with the "Word of God," subjects might act according to their natural rights, wherefore their representatives had authority superior to that of princes. Beza even held that tyrannicide was permissible after all other means had been exhausted to restrain the tyranny of a ruler.

Other thinkers argued much in the same vein. François Hotman (1524-90), the author of *Francogallia* (1573), preached that the people as ultimate source of authority had delegated to princes the right to govern them. Therefore if the king ruled contrary to their natural rights they were at liberty to put an end to his régime. The *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* (1579) also taught that it was just for a people to rise against a king who sought to impose a rule contrary to divine will. These doctrines, as was pointed out in a preceding chapter, were eagerly seized upon by the Dutch when they pronounced themselves free from the tyrannous rule of Philip II of Spain (1581). But one should not hasten to conclude that this was the dawn of democratic government, for the advocates of these revolutionary doctrines distrusted the political capacities of the common man and believed in the monarchical form of states. Their ideas revolve within the ambit of the aristocratic ideas of the sixteenth century. It was not until the seventeenth century that the religious and political difficulties of England produced a more definitely democratic conception of politics. These ideas often bore the impress of the thought of later Calvinists.

The relationship of church and state is an important subject in the history of liberty. According to mediæval conceptions, the two institutions were parallel, each supreme in its own sphere. But as the church was of divine foundation and possessed authority over man's moral nature, it was superior to the state in secular matters which involved man's eternal welfare. Upon this conception rest the practices of the mediæval Inquisition, and also the explanation of the fact that the state was willing to punish heretics without a trial in its secular court after they had been condemned by the courts Christian. But Luther had very different ideas; he held that

the Christian prince should direct the work of reformation and control the church. Thus Luther helped to create the territorial church subjected to the will of secular Christian princes, the state church of the Reformation. Calvin, however, did not move so far away from the mediæval conception, for he held that the church and state were ordained of God and that the former was independent within its own sphere. His followers were loath to recognize the right of the state to dictate matters of religion. Both Luther and Calvin believed that princes, instructed by the clergy, should uproot heresy and labor for the purity of the faith. For this reason it is impossible to hold to the idea, still very popular in some quarters, that the great reformers inaugurated a régime of religious toleration. The belief that men were not to be molested because of their religious convictions was not a sixteenth-century conception, but arose later when states found it utterly impossible to make all men think alike in religion. Catholic princes were also intolerant; if they were more severe in repressing heresy it was due not to the character of Catholicism as much as to the jealousy which the outraged majesty of old conservative ruling houses felt toward heretical ideas.

The development of art underwent significant modifications under the influence of Lutheran ideas. Luther was not seriously opposed, as was Calvin, to the use of the crucifix or even to saints, and Lutherans in general were not antagonistic to sculptured forms illustrating themes in the history of the Christian faith, "provided such images be not worshipped." Traditionalism in art thus had some chance to survive in Lutheran circles. Little antagonism was felt toward the old morality and mystery plays. The newer conceptions of the Renaissance were gladly welcomed, as may be inferred from the appreciation shown for the paintings of Dürer and Cranach; and Melanchthon, as became a child of the Renaissance, had a deep appreciation of art. But it was an age of transition and ideas were changing rapidly. The violent break with Rome inevitably destroyed much of the luxuriant popular religious art under whose influence Luther had grown up.

Art suffered especially wherever the more radical Sacramentarian tradition took root. Believing that all things in the traditional faith should be tested by Scripture, the Sacramentarians condemned many old religious practices and their artistic expression. Pictures and statues of saints, stained glass windows, and miracle and mystery plays disappeared. Zwingli was opposed to music in churches but this lasted only temporarily. Philippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde (1538-98), a Netherlander and a follower of Calvin, strenuously argued that the Decalogue forbade the making of "any graven image or likeness" of any being whatsoever, even if it was not used as

an aid in religious worship. But Calvin refused to proceed so drastically against the great artistic progress of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, for he held that man's artistic capacity was bestowed by the Maker and that it presented a magnificent opportunity to further the glorification of God enjoined upon all men. Calvin of course broke completely with the traditional subjects of mediæval popular art and with many of the ideas of Renaissance artists, and this radical rupture with past and present undoubtedly impoverished this side of Calvinist life. That it did not destroy the artistic impulse is proved by the schools of painting which flourished in the United Netherlands during the next century, for Dutch painting reveals Calvinist influences as surely as it reflects the bourgeois life of the Low Countries.

Scientific progress was one of the remarkable features of sixteenth-century thought. Most contributions were made by independent spirits who refused to bend the knee to authority and who quietly pursued their independent work, as in the case of Copernicus, Vesalius, and Paré. So extensive were the claims of religion at this time, however, that most men preferred to study theology rather than the apparently unimportant details of nature. Theologians and other people interested in religion were slow to appreciate the work of Copernicus, for example, Luther and Calvin firmly believing in the antiquated Ptolemaic conception of the universe which seemed to fit Biblical texts better than did the notions of Copernicus. It is a fact that theologians did little to advance the cause of experimental science. Furthermore, the exalted authority of the letter of the Bible in the Calvinist tradition dictated certain scientific dogmas which long defied the patient labors of investigators. In fact only during the past two generations has the habit of elevating Scripture to the dignity of supreme authority in geology, zoology, botany, astronomy, and medicine been abandoned. Luther cared less than Calvin for the letter of Scripture, and Lutheranism always adopted a freer attitude toward the sacred writings.

Witchcraft flourished in Protestant as in Catholic lands. This was inevitable because the cult of the devil was deeply intrenched in European life due to its very ancient ancestry, as old as palæolithic times. Belief in witchcraft rests upon the naïve attitude toward man and nature possessed by people whose minds have not been disciplined by the study of natural science. It is probable that Calvin's insistence upon rendering God His full measure of glory stimulated his followers in the work of exterminating witches. Only gradually did the persecution of witches die out, the rationalism of the seventeenth century practically putting an end to it. But among certain

classes in even the most enlightened modern countries ideas associated with witchcraft still flourish.

Nationalism was an important force during the age of the Reformation. The great economic progress of the Renaissance and the overthrow of feudalism at the hands of princes supported by an enthusiastic bourgeoisie everywhere created strong centralizing tendencies. Rulers interested themselves more than ever in the mercantile interests of their subjects, and these new powers soon began to determine the religious policies of their realms. Often, as in the case of Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, secular considerations largely determined whether rulers were to remain loyal to Rome or to become Lutheran. Wherever Lutheranism struck root it became a most important buttress of nationalism. Furthermore, the disruption of the mediæval church ruined the power of the pope to act as mediator between nations in their innumerable quarrels. This was the age of the great wars for the Balance of Power which repeatedly devastated Europe, and the rôle of mediæval popes as arbiters was destroyed when Protestants would have no more to do with them. And, finally, it should be noted that differences of religion sharpened national enmities. As examples may be cited the case of Anglican England and the Calvinist United Provinces against Catholic Spain. Thus religion was added to the many economic and political antagonisms of the day, the Reformation definitely aiding in creating the nationalist state.

On the other hand, the development of national churches contributed much to the formation of national literary and intellectual culture, thus stimulating the disintegration of the universal mediæval culture already begun in the age of the Renaissance. Vernacular and national literatures throve more than ever. In this respect Luther's influence was unrivaled, his translation of the New Testament becoming a monument of German literature. This example was followed in many lands, and translations of the Bible began to appear in Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Italy, Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands. Prayer books and manuals for catechetical instruction were composed in the vernacular, sermons were no longer preached in Latin, congregational singing often supplanted the chants of the old church, and hymns and an extensive edifying literature were written.

The growth in education was a striking feature of the age. It should be kept in mind that the Renaissance developed a Humanist type of education, thus vitally transforming mediæval conceptions and methods of learning. The Reformation fell heir to the work of Vittorino da Feltre and readily adopted newer ways. The doctrine of justification by faith alone emphasized the need of reading Scripture,

and Bible reading and the study of catechetical and elevating literature became more common, especially in Calvinist circles and among the lower bourgeoisie. Protestant universities which welcomed Humanist pedagogy sprang up at Marburg, Leiden, Geneva, and other places.

It is the glory of Anabaptists that they were the first to protest against the connection between church and state as it existed during the sixteenth century. Religion to them was a matter between God and individuals only; and the state, being an inferior creation designed to repress the violence of evil man, possessed no sanction to dictate in the matter of conscience. Anabaptists thus did not move in harmony with the spirit of the time and accordingly were grossly persecuted for opposing violence and war, refusing to carry arms or to have anything to do with the tribunals of the state, and insisting that state-controlled and state-established churches could exercise no lawful authority over them. For the most part they cared little for learning, preferring the simple life of workingmen. Persecution often drove them forth to seek new homes in distant lands, and they settled in Russia under guarantees of religious freedom and also came to the wilds of America. This small group of humble and despised folk, drawn for the most part from the lower classes of the populace, contributed more martyrs than any other religious group of the Reformation. Nevertheless, they persisted in their protests and later exerted considerable influence among dissenting minorities in national churches.

The Anglican church is a typical phenomenon of the Reformation in that it illustrates how paramount secular political interests had become in religious matters. The king of England was able to bend the policy of the church more definitely to his autocratic will, thus creating a model state church. In the matter of dogma, however, the Anglican church appeared quite anomalous. Under Henry VIII it remained entirely Catholic save for the doctrine of papal headship; under Edward VI Zwinglian and Lutheran influences threatened to win ascendancy; Mary Tudor brought the church back into the Catholic fold, but Elizabeth gave it a settlement which stood midway between that of Rome and the Protestant churches. Significant contributions to the history of dogma were not made until the rise of Puritanism during the last decades of Elizabeth's reign, and it was not till the next century that English Protestantism began its epochal rôle.

Most radical of the new religious groups were the Socinians who were anti-trinitarians in their view of the Godhead. Their rationalism proved an important influence in the keen sectarian bickerings of this and succeeding centuries. In numbers the Socinians always remained

limited, but their doctrine permeated certain groups of the Anabaptists, especially those in the United Provinces, many of whom lived in the towns.

Catholic reform was a most important event during the century of the Reformation. The ancient church had been sorely tried first by the secularizing tendencies of the Renaissance and next by the revolt of the Protestants. But it had found new strength among its people, for many devoted men and women came forward to battle for the faith. New orders were created, zealous clerics began to reform their dioceses, and soon a vigorous policy was injected into every member of the old organ. The Council of Trent defined Catholic dogma on the basis of St. Thomas' system, condemned the teachings of Protestants, and also enacted decrees which aimed to purify ecclesiastical life of clamant abuses such as venality in connection with the sacraments and other favors in the gift of the church. Preaching was encouraged, not in Latin but in the language of the people. Ignorance, the crying defect of the mediæval priesthood, was to be remedied, and to this end seminaries were to be established in each diocese in which the Humanist education of the Renaissance was to prepare effective candidates for the priesthood.

Catholicism found it as impossible to escape from the claims of secular government as did Protestantism. Ever since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella the church in Spain had been a semi-national institution, the clergy, regular and secular, being for the most part appointees of the crown. The Inquisition was practically a national policing institution. Catholicism was the basic prerequisite for citizenship, and all Protestant heretics and Moorish and Jewish infidels were vigorously prosecuted. Church and state were but two aspects of the same power. Wherever the authority of the Spanish crown went—in Sicily, Naples, the satellite states of Italy, the southern Low Countries, or the American colonies—it was ever the same story. In France also the Catholic church became a most important buttress of the monarchy. Here also the clergy were nominated by the crown which could thus bend the church to its own interests. Much the same situation existed in southern Germany where Bavaria was the chief Catholic state. Austria and other Hapsburg lands for a time adopted a lukewarm policy toward the matter of religion; not until the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) did the Hapsburg princes take vigorous steps against Protestants. It is instructive to observe that although Catholicism throughout the Middle Ages had been able to maintain an independent attitude toward secular states, during the sixteenth century it fell more and more under the masterful domination of national kings.

The breach with the Middle Ages was not nearly so great in Cath-

olic as in Protestant countries. Ecclesiastical properties were not secularized to any great extent, episcopal and abbatial foundations thus retaining all or most of their properties. Humanism in the Catholic church tended to do away with the cruder practices in popular religious life, but many ancient pious customs continued which were abolished in the Protestant fold. The cult of saints changed little, pilgrimages remained a regular feature of religious life, and the penitential methods of the church continued undisturbed. In many Catholic lands there was no Sacramentarian rage against the monuments of faith; and statues, pictures, and stained glass were preserved to delight the children of a modern age and instruct them in the religious resources of our past. Nor was there a clean rupture with the past in the matter of vulgar superstition. Although witchcraft flourished and many popular beliefs which had nothing to do with Christian teaching continued with little diminution, for a long time these superstitions were at least as vigorous in Protestant as in Catholic areas.

In art the Catholic church naturally preferred the canons of the Renaissance to the old ways of Gothic masters. This was inevitable, for mediæval art had died in the generations between Masaccio and Michelangelo. Furthermore, the criticism of Protestants, particularly that of the Sacramentarian camp, directed against the art of the Middle Ages, made the clergy themselves very critical toward the pious and popular art of the past. The Renaissance broke the continuity of art, Protestantism severed all connection with the art of the Middle Ages, and finally the Catholic church vigorously curtailed ancient influences. The twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent declared that all erroneous teaching should be avoided in artistic creation. Henceforth art was regulated by the clergy. Thus Paolo Veronese was summoned before the Inquisition because of treating the Lord's Supper contrary to traditional methods of representing it. The spontaneity of mediæval and Renaissance manner vanished and a more sophisticated and academic tendency became apparent, the magnificence and splendor introduced in the high Renaissance being eagerly appropriated. Flying angels, animated statues, and skillful devices in foreshortening, light and shadow, color, distribution of figures, and treatment of space were fully utilized.

Mediæval dramatic methods also vanished. The Catholic clergy had ample reason to be dissatisfied with the mystery plays which still met with universal favor throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, for these productions often were vulgar and were repeatedly made a vehicle of heretical teaching. Sensitive because of Protestant criticism and cognizant of the dangerous propaganda waged by means of these plays, the clergy more and more took an unfavorable view of

them, especially in lands where Protestants were numerous. Thus the Parlement of Paris in 1548 interdicted plays portraying the Passion and other sacred themes. For a time these plays continued to be given in the provinces, but by 1600 they had died out in all but a few out-of-the-way places. In staunchly Catholic lands such as Spain and Italy there was little hostility shown toward the religious plays, but they perished even in these parts because of the superiority of Renaissance conceptions. The old drama evolved into something far more artistic. Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and Pedro Calderon (1600-81) made remarkable contributions to the new drama, the latter producing seventy miracle plays composed in the fashion of the Renaissance. The Dutch Catholic poet Joost vanden Vondel (1587-1679) rendered a parallel service in his *Adam in Exile* and *Lucifer*.

Catholic conceptions deeply influenced literature and learning during the storms of the Reformation. Tasso's great epic, the *Jerusalem Delivered*, is as much a masterpiece of Catholic piety as are the poems of Vittoria Colonna. Camoen's *Lusiades* breathe the very spirit of Catholic piety; Lope de Vega, the greatest dramatic genius of Spain, was trained by the Jesuits and died in holy orders; and St. Teresa's *Interior Castle* is one of the most remarkable books on religious contemplation ever penned. Nor was scientific learning neglected, for Catholic Italy produced distinguished scholars. Cesare Baronius (1538-1607) produced his monumental *Ecclesiastical Annales*, a work which no student of the Middle Ages and the Reformation can afford to neglect. It was written to combat the Protestant *Centuries of Magdeburg* (thirteen volumes, Basel, 1559-74) which launched a formidable attack upon the Catholic church. Baronius had access to archives and was the first person to publish papal documents in large numbers the better to elucidate historical problems.

Theological studies flourished vigorously, particularly in the Jesuit order. Chief among a large group of distinguished theologians and philosophers was the Spaniard, Francisco Suarez (1548-1617). He built his speculations upon the foundations laid by Thomas Aquinas, but he did not slavishly follow the teaching of the great master, in some important respects freely departing from Thomist opinion. His *Disputationes Metaphisicæ* is a most complete compendium of scholastic philosophy and is entirely worthy of the traditions created by mediæval schoolmen. This revival of the old systems of thought was peculiarly the product of the Spanish universities. It was readily accepted in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the southern Low Countries where Spanish political influence was supreme, but elsewhere, except in Catholic Switzerland and in southern Germany, it failed to make

much impression because of the religious rancors which filled the century.

The political thought of these philosophers was a modified form of scholastic opinion on public matters. Suarez taught that while political power is conferred by God, the state and the entire body of political and social laws emanate directly or indirectly from the people, because of the fact that all people are equal and that all government is a matter of political convenience arrived at by an agreement or contract between prince and subjects. Tyrants are to be restrained by the people who may even go so far as to slay an irresponsible ruler. This theory was substantially taught by Juan de Mariana (1536-1624) and Robert Bellarmine (1542-1641), the most renowned Catholic controversialist of the time. The latter, however, refused to sanction tyrannicide.

Catholic thought, however, was not in a position to renew its universal leadership in the culture of the sixteenth century, not because it was inferior to the new Protestant thought but rather because of the accidents of economic and social history. By the close of the Middle Ages, Italy was the cultural capital of Europe, but the great geographic revolution following the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus and the economic consequences it entailed robbed Italians of the priority in European life which they had so long enjoyed. The Mediterranean ceased to be the economic center of the Occident, yielding its leadership to Lisbon and to the Protestant Low Countries. Finally, the Industrial Revolution made Protestant England the wealthiest and the most powerful state of the world; and her thought, literature, and science easily competed with the economically decadent Italy and Spain.

Boniface VIII, 1294-1303.
Benedict XI, 1303-04.

THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY, 1309-1377

Clement V, 1305-14.
John XXII, 1316-34.
Benedict XII, 1334-42.
Clement VI, 1342-52.
Innocent VI, 1352-62.
Urban V, 1362-70.
Gregory XI, 1371-78.

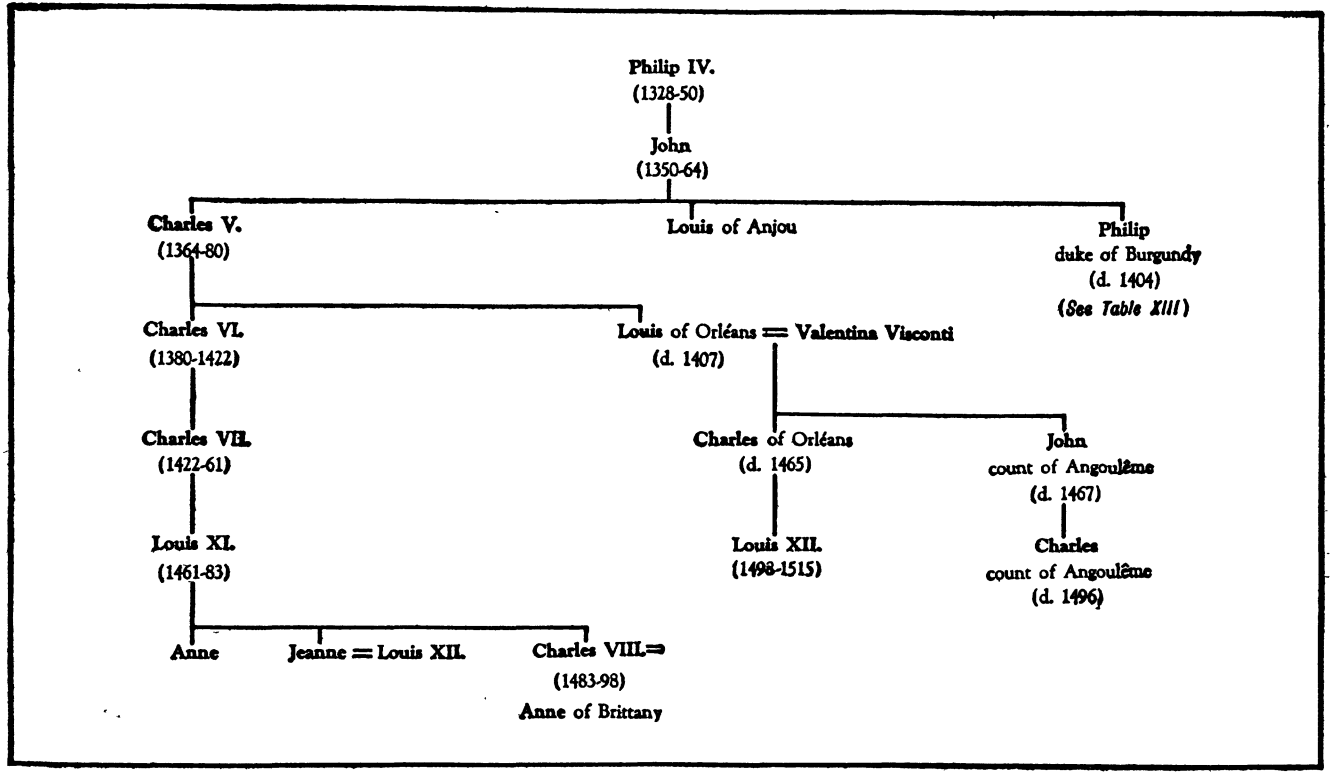
THE GREAT SCHISM, 1378-1415

Popes in Rome	Popes in Avignon
Urban VI, 1378-89.	Clement VII, 1378-94.
Boniface IX, 1389-1404.	Benedict XIII, 1394-1424.
Innocent VII, 1404-06.	
Gregory XII, 1406, resigned in 1415.	

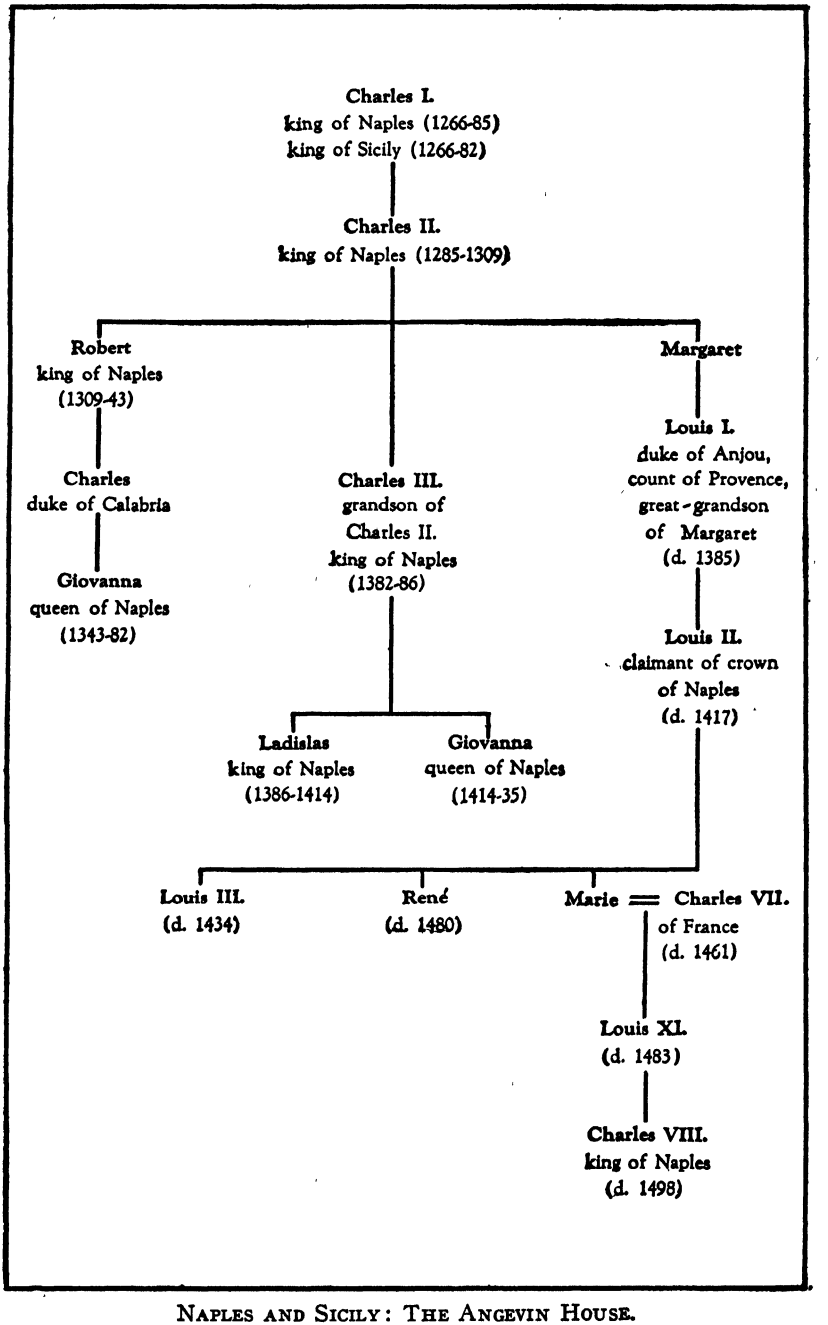
COUNCIL OF PISA, 1409.
Deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII
elected Alexander V, 1409-10.
John XXIII, succeeded him, 1410, but was deposed
by the Council of Constance, 1415.

Martin V, 1417-31.
Eugenius IV, 1431-47.
(Felix V, 1439-49, counter-pope, elected by Council of Basel.)
Nicholas V, 1447-55.
Calixtus III, 1455-58.
Pius II, 1458-64.
Paul II, 1464-71.
Sixtus IV, 1471-84.
Innocent VIII, 1484-92.
Alexander VI, 1492-1503.
Pius III, Sept. to Oct. 1503.
Julius II, 1503-13.
Leo X, 1513-21.
Hadrian VI, 1522-23.
Clement VII, 1523-34.
Paul III, 1534-49.
Julius III, 1550-55.
Marcellus, April 1555.
Paul IV (Caraffa), 1555-59.
Pius IV, 1559-65.
Pius V, 1566-72.
Gregory XIII, 1572-85
Sixtus V, 1585-90.
Urban VII, Sept. 1590.
Gregory XIV, 1590-91.
Innocent IX, Oct. to Dec. 1591.
Clement VIII, 1592-1605.

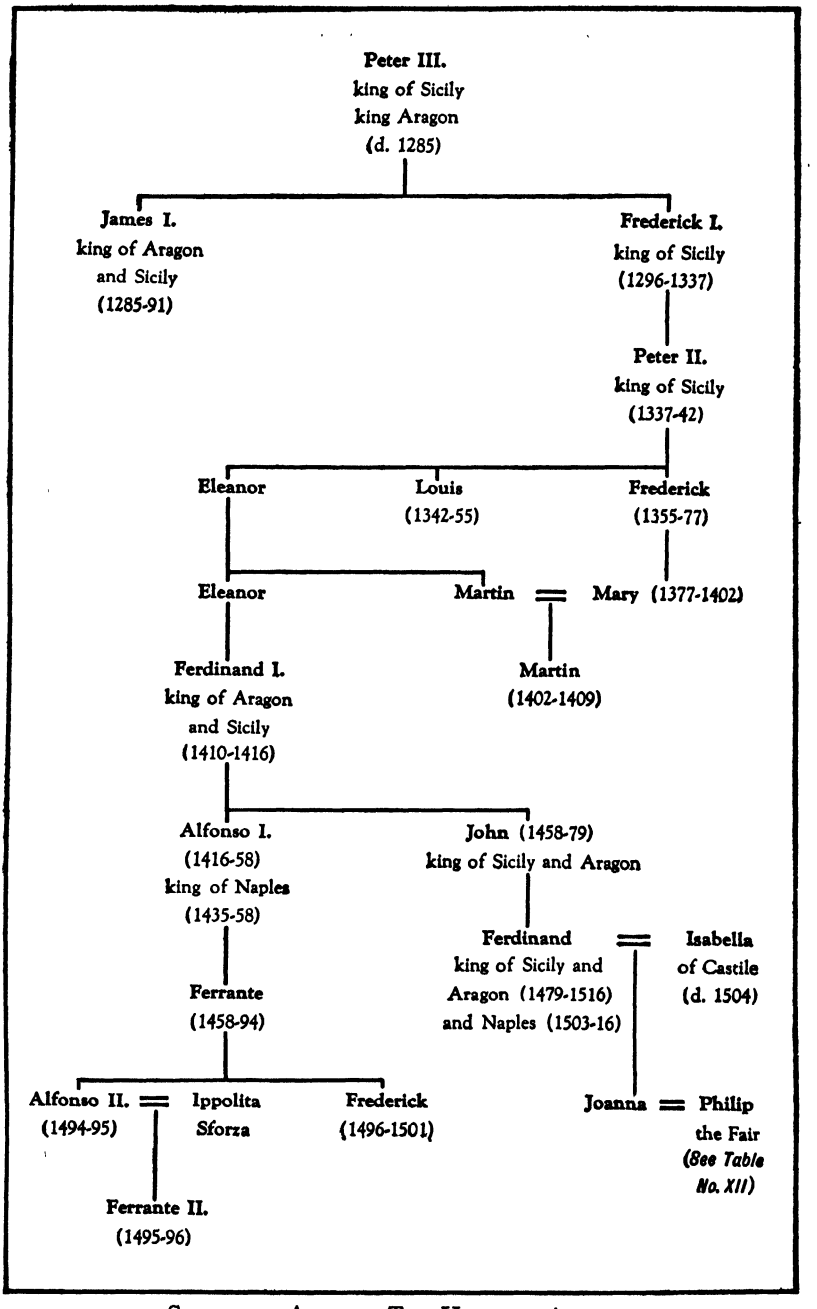
THE PAPACY. THE POPES FROM 1294-1605.



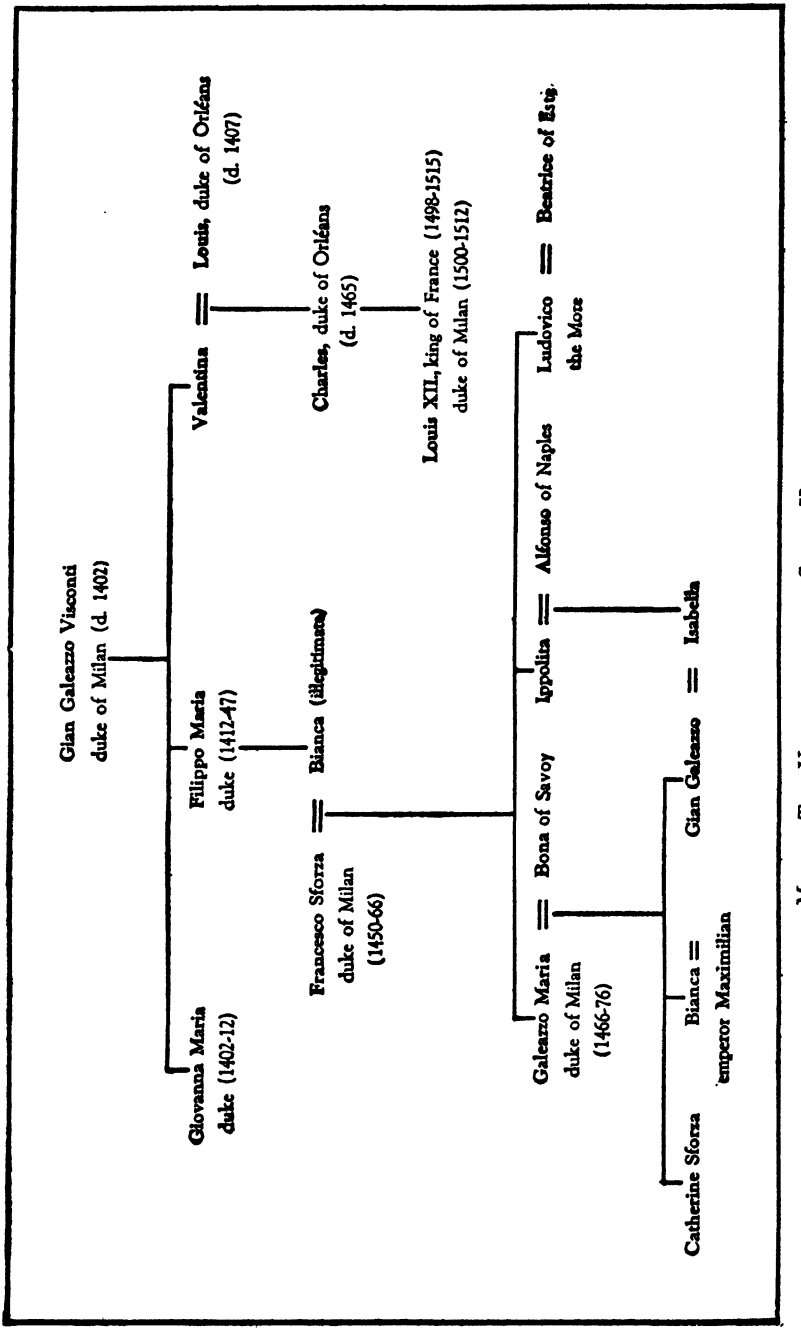
FRANCE: THE HOUSE OF VALOIS, 1328 TO 1498.



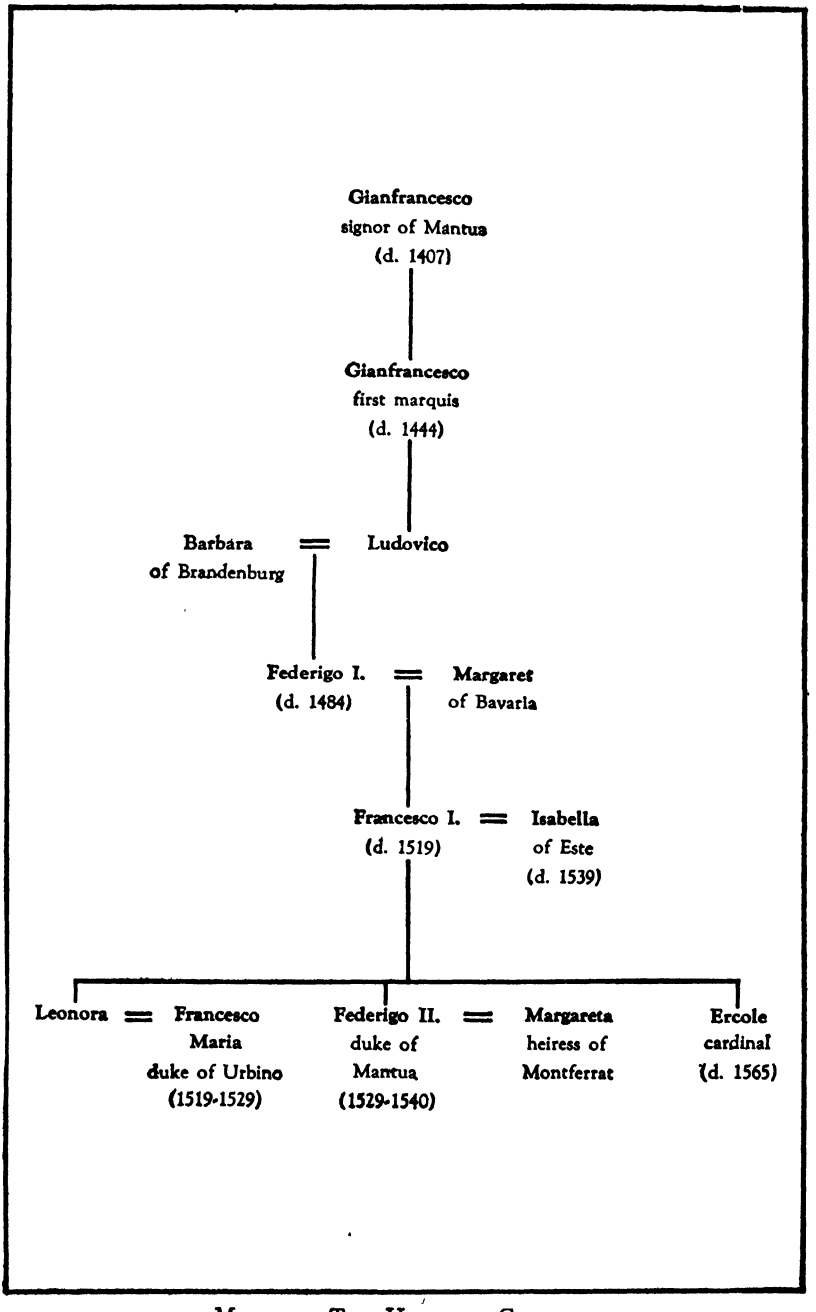
NAPLES AND SICILY: THE ANGEVIN HOUSE.



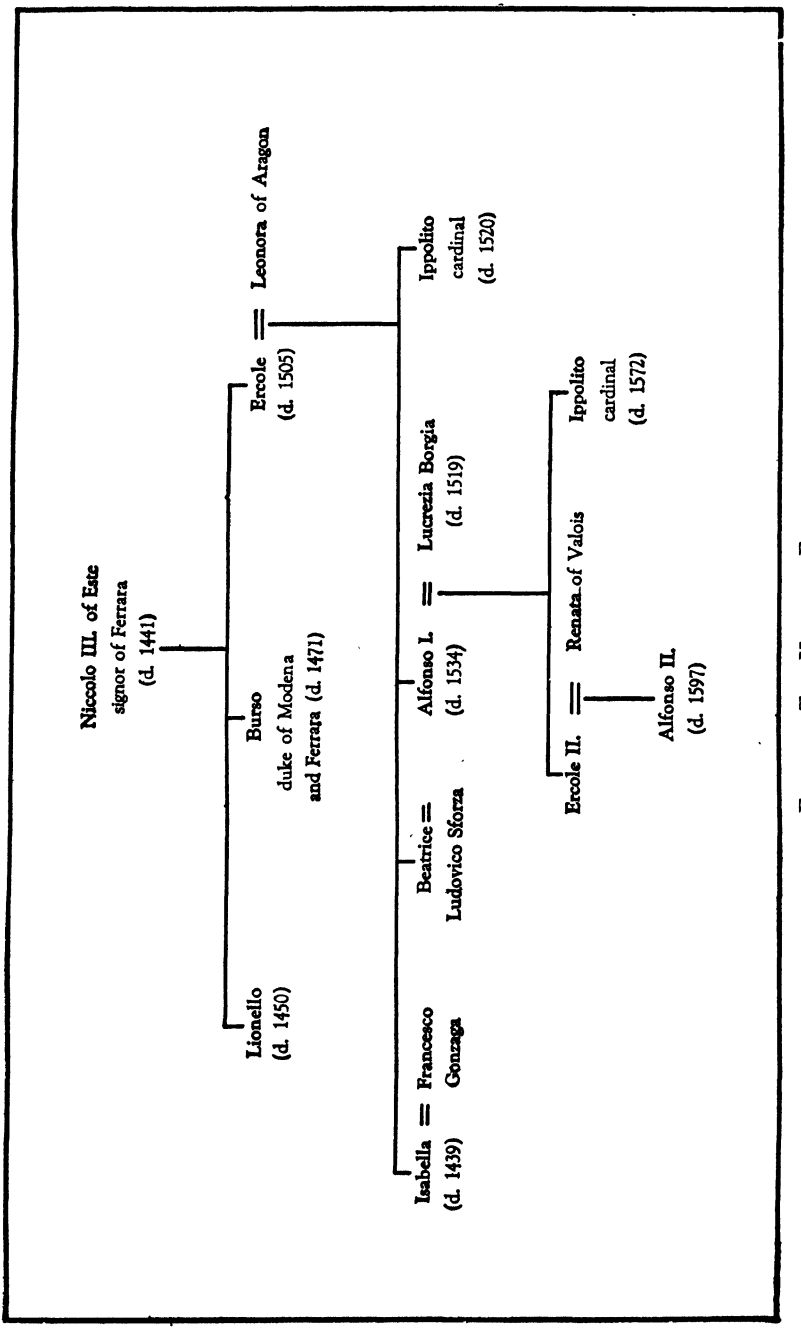
SICILY AND ARAGON: THE HOUSE OF ARAGON.



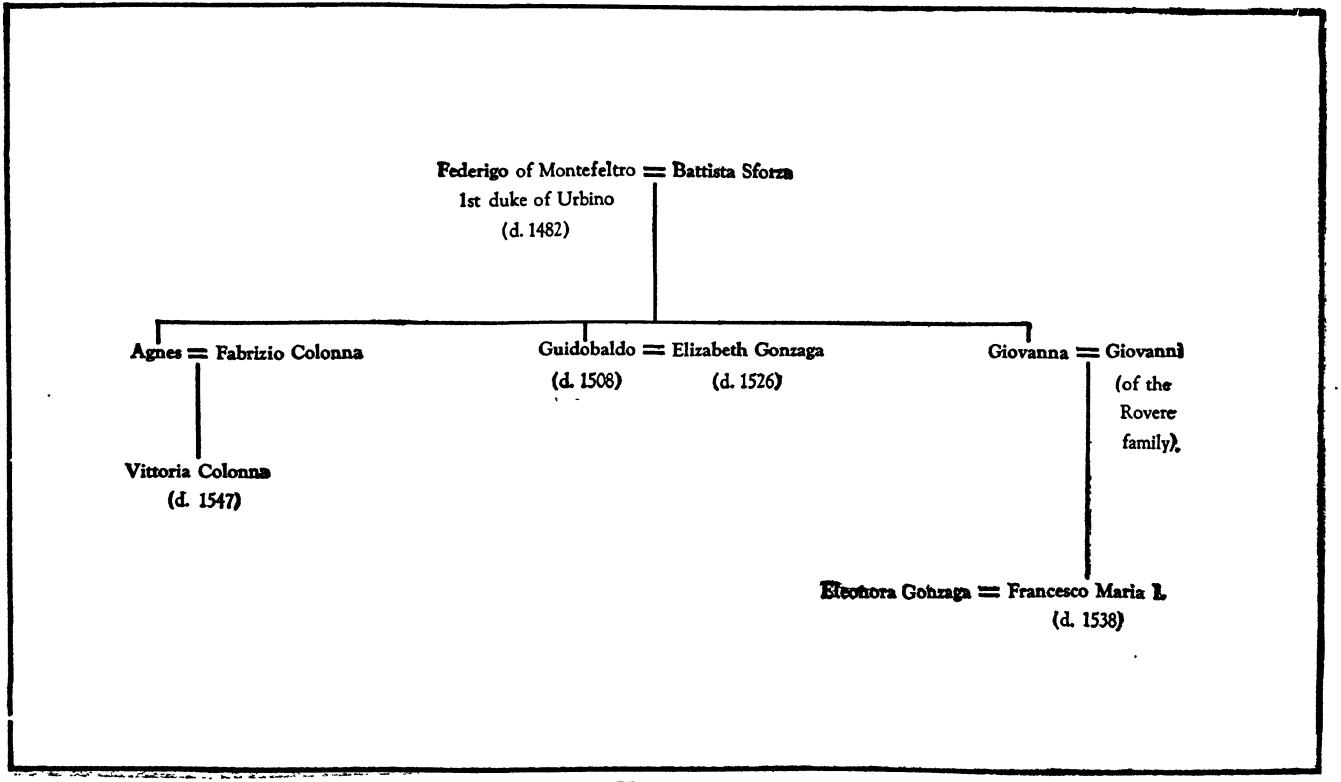
MILAN: THE VISCONTI AND THE SFORZI HOUSES.



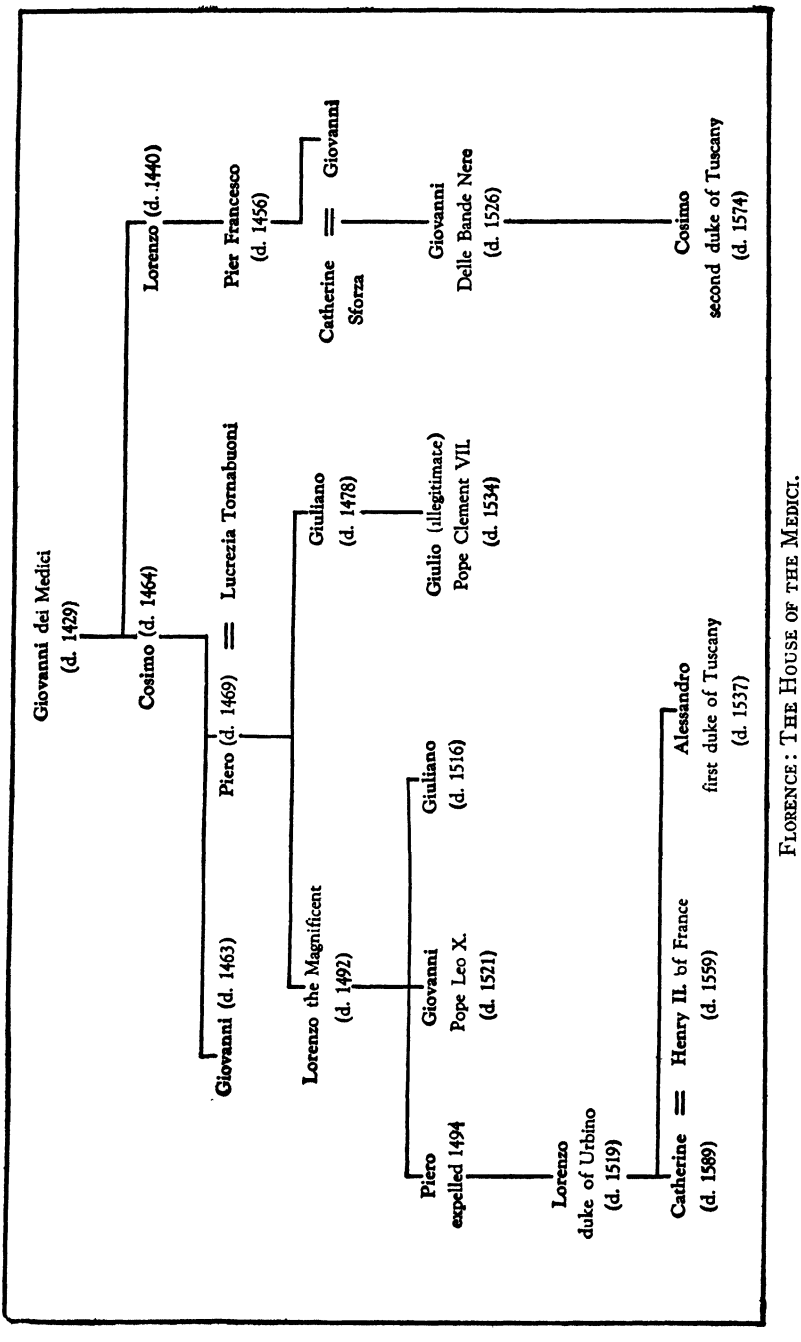
MANTUA: THE HOUSE OF GONZAGA.



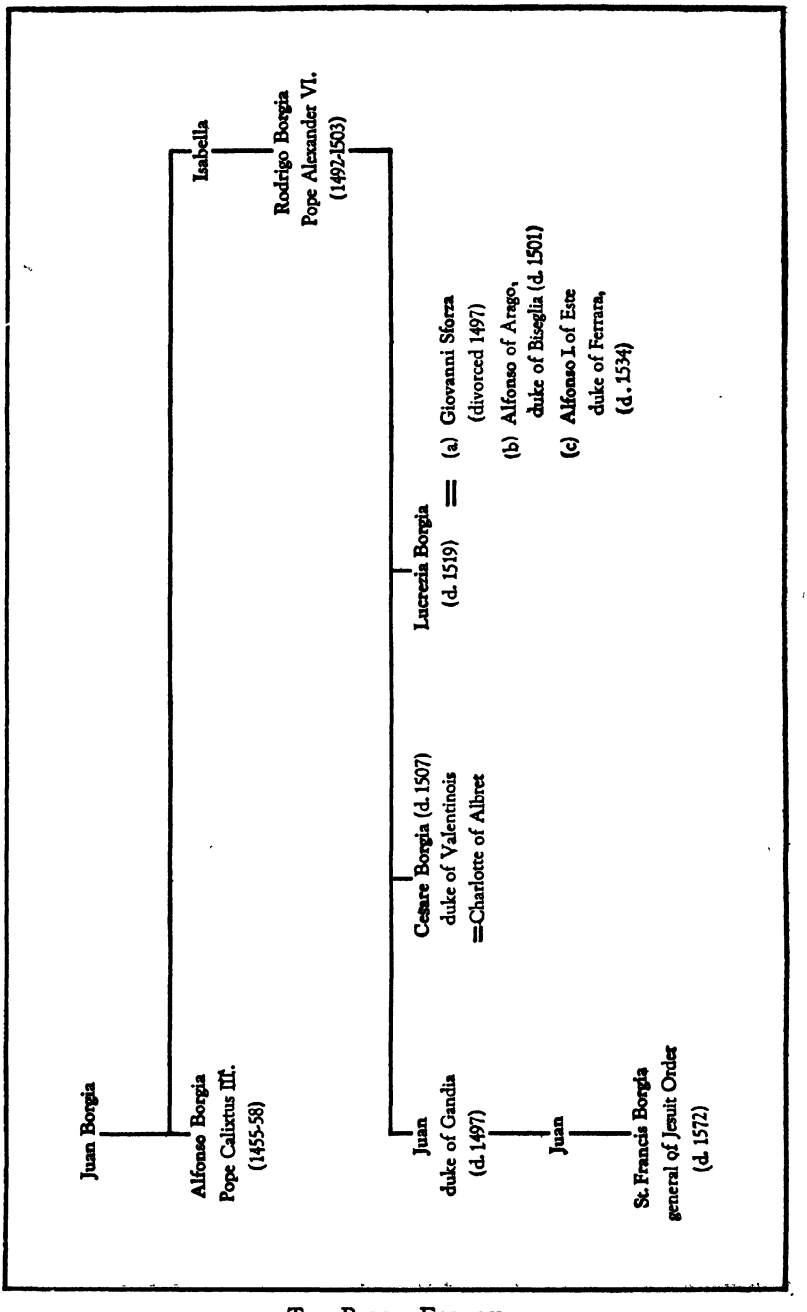
FERRARA: THE HOUSE OF ESTE.



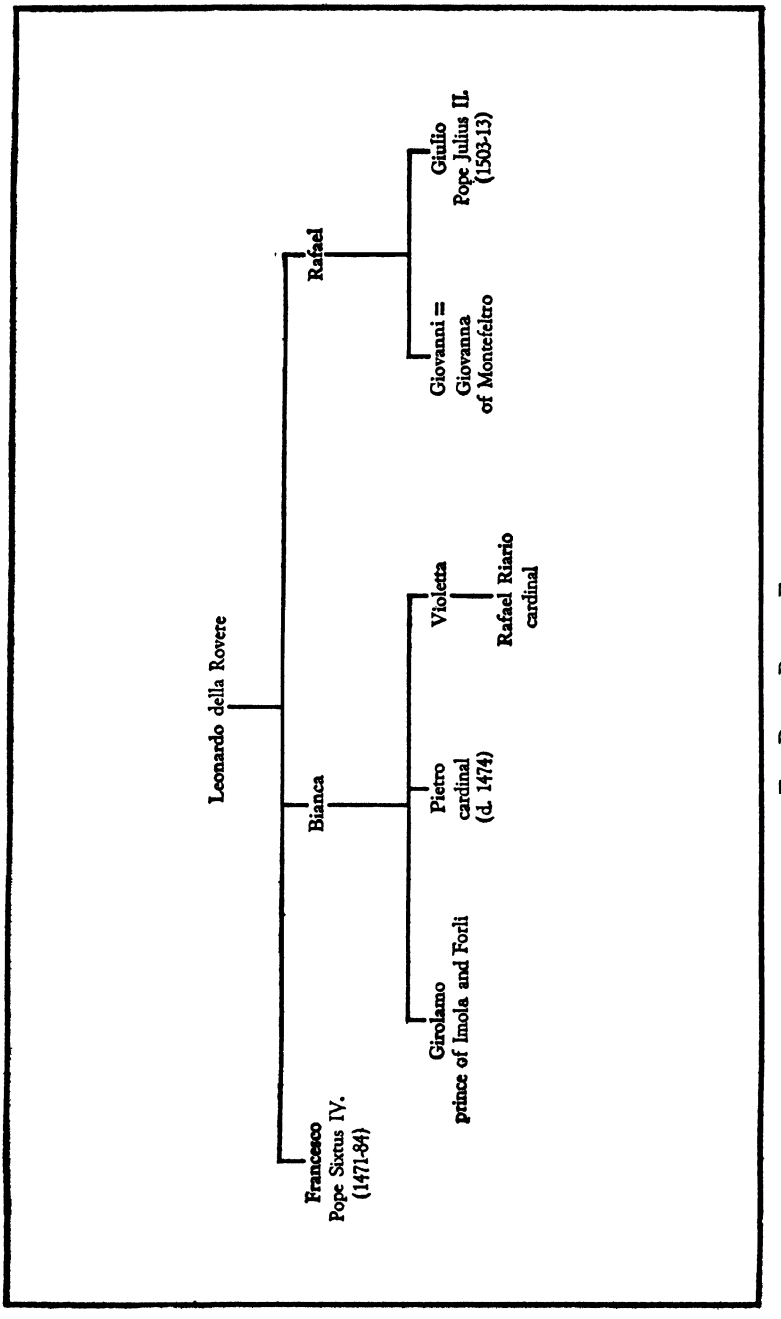
URBINO: THE HOUSE OF MONTEFELTRO.



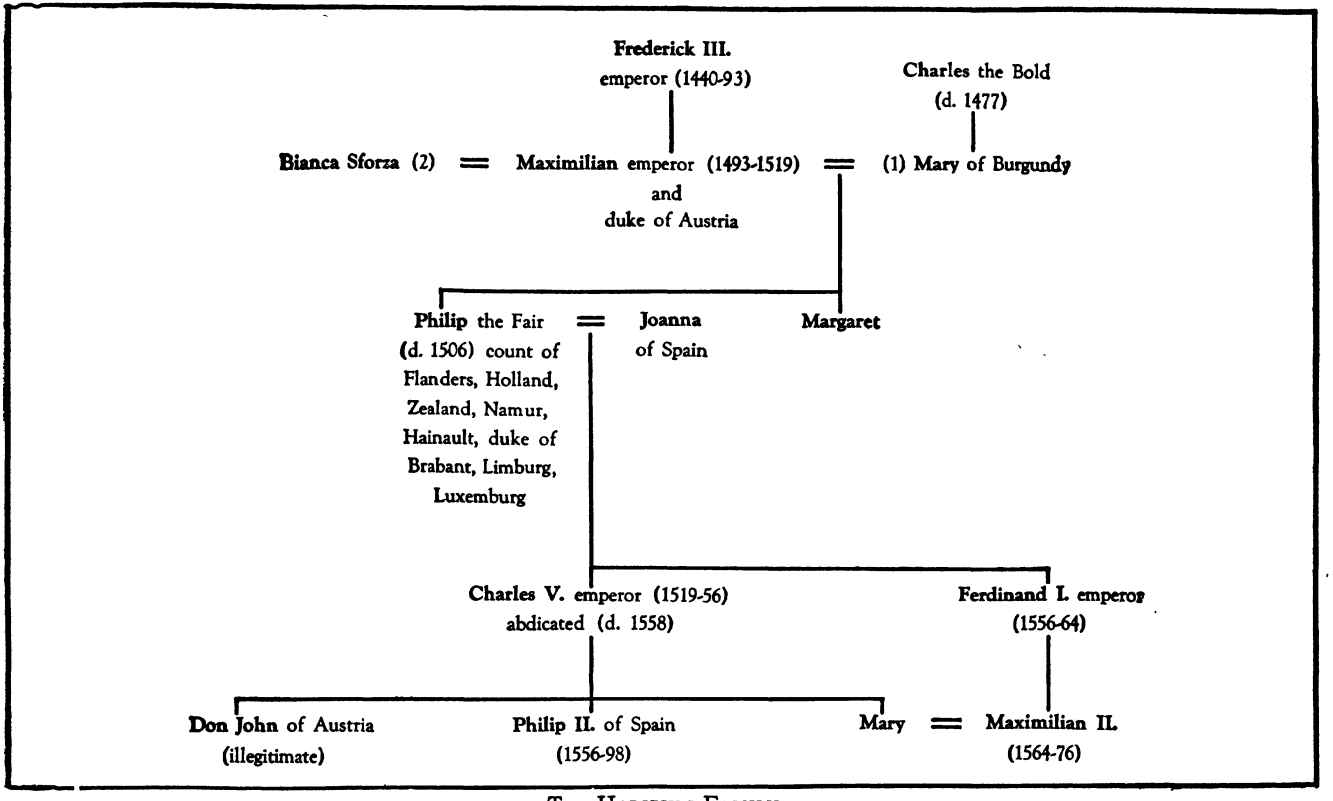
FLORENCE: THE HOUSE OF THE MEDICI.



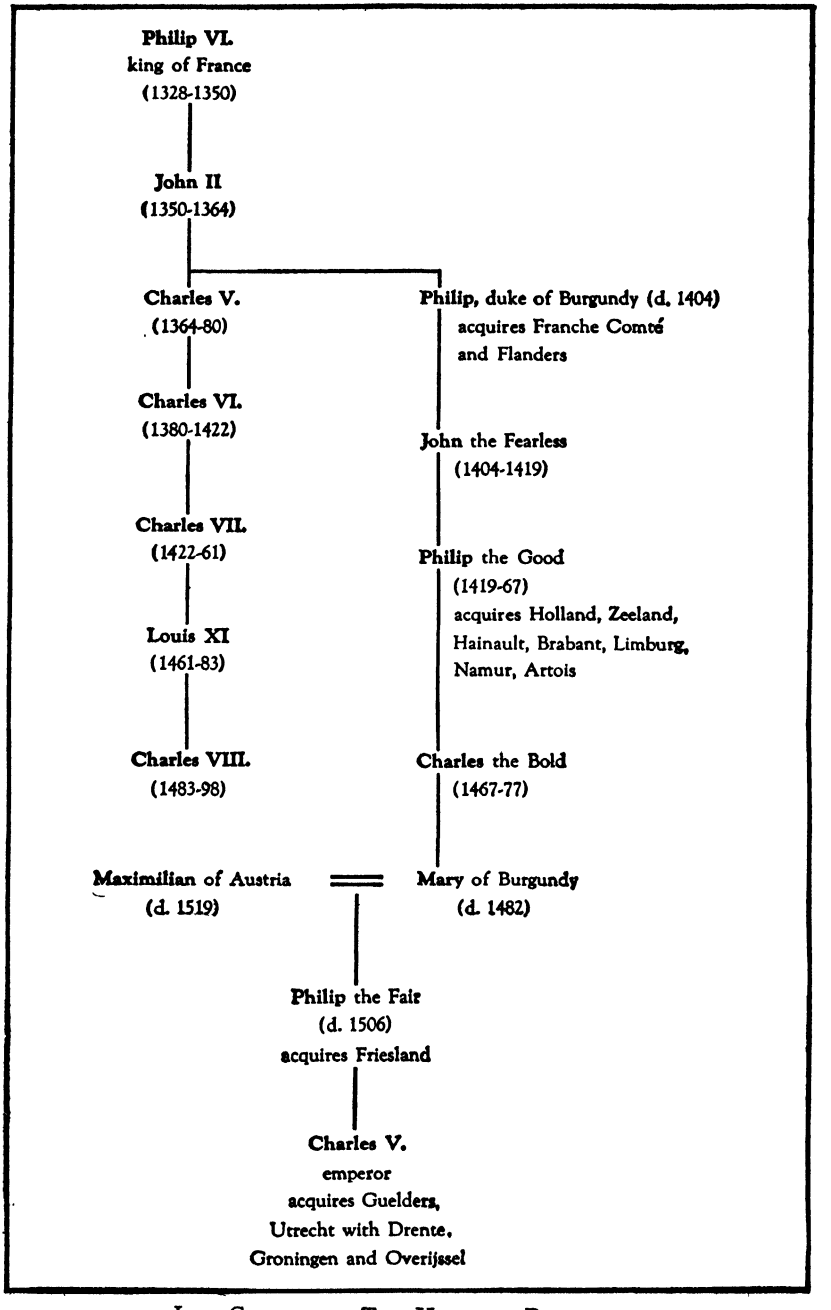
THE BORGIA FAMILY.



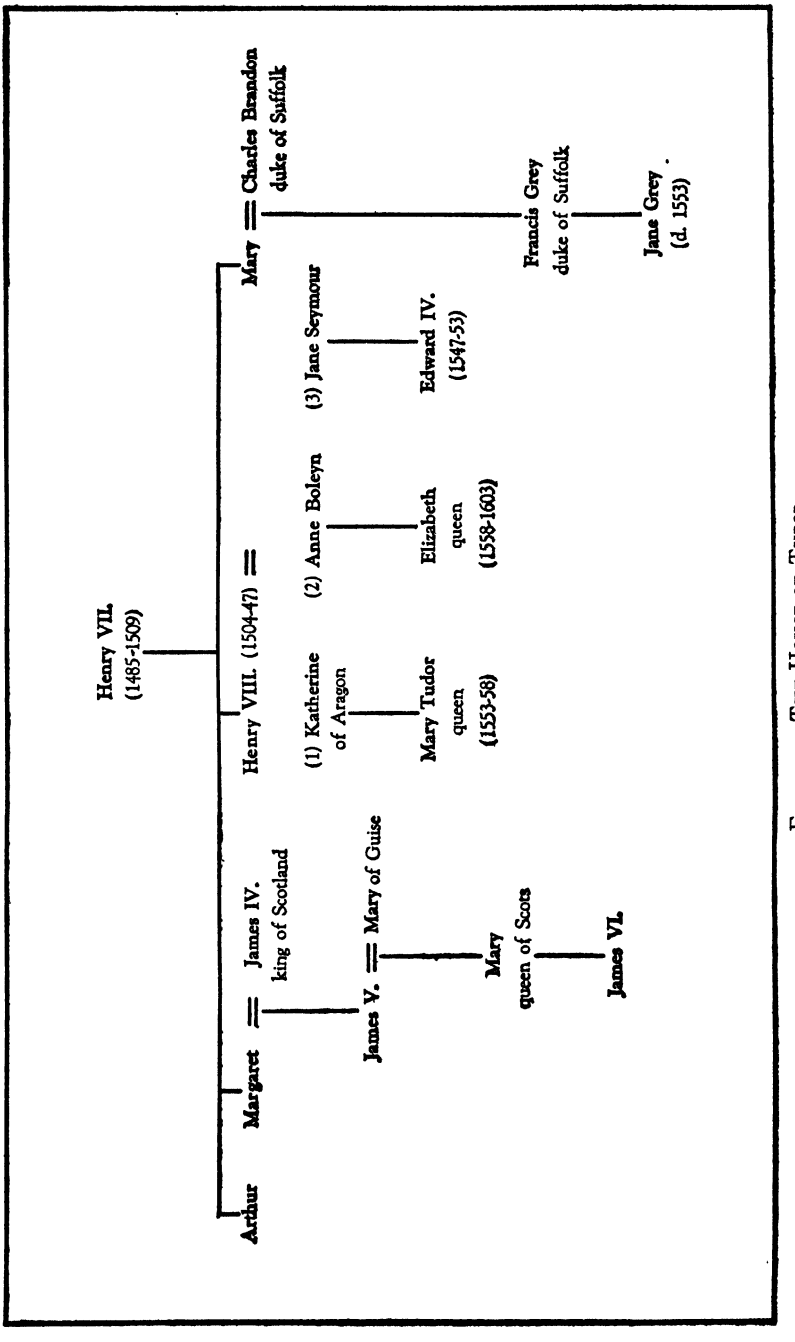
THE DELLA ROVERE FAMILY.



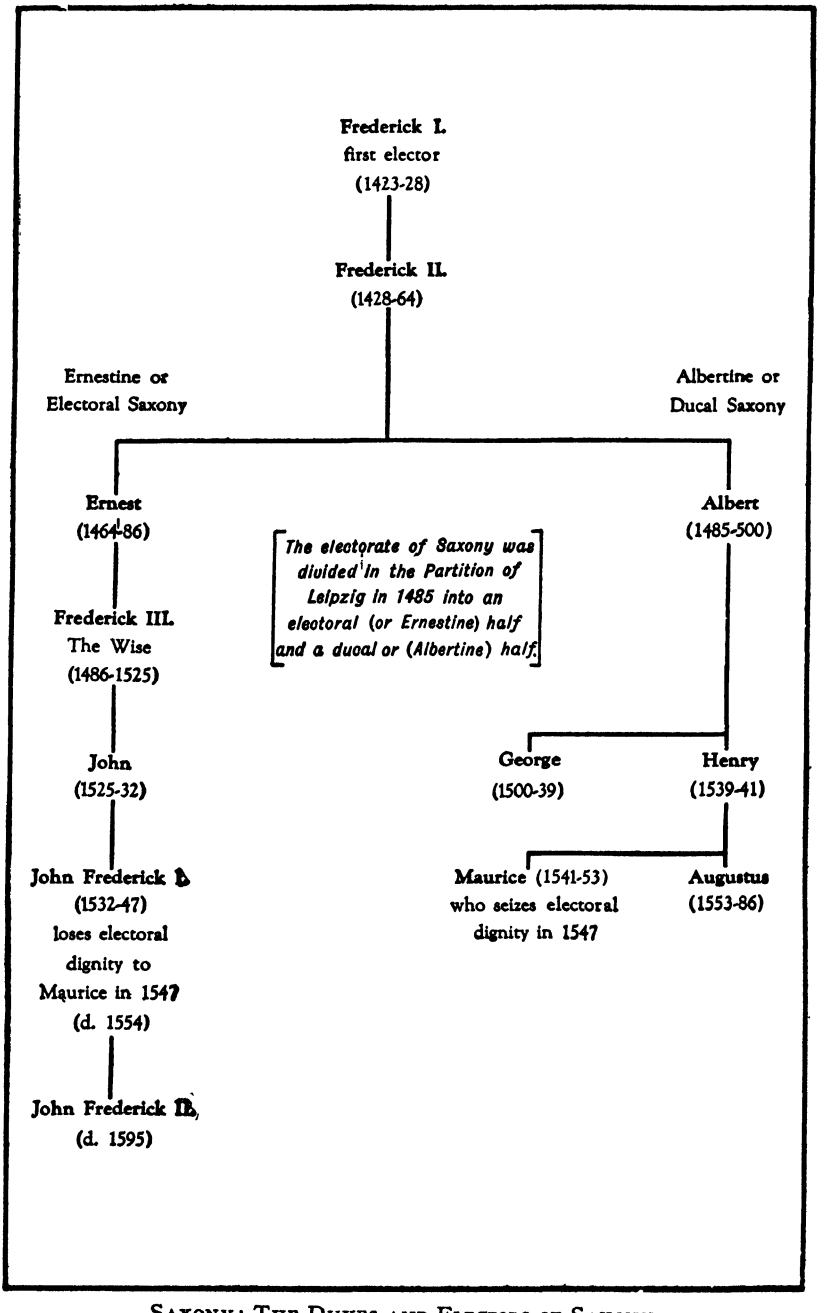
THE HAPSBURG FAMILY.



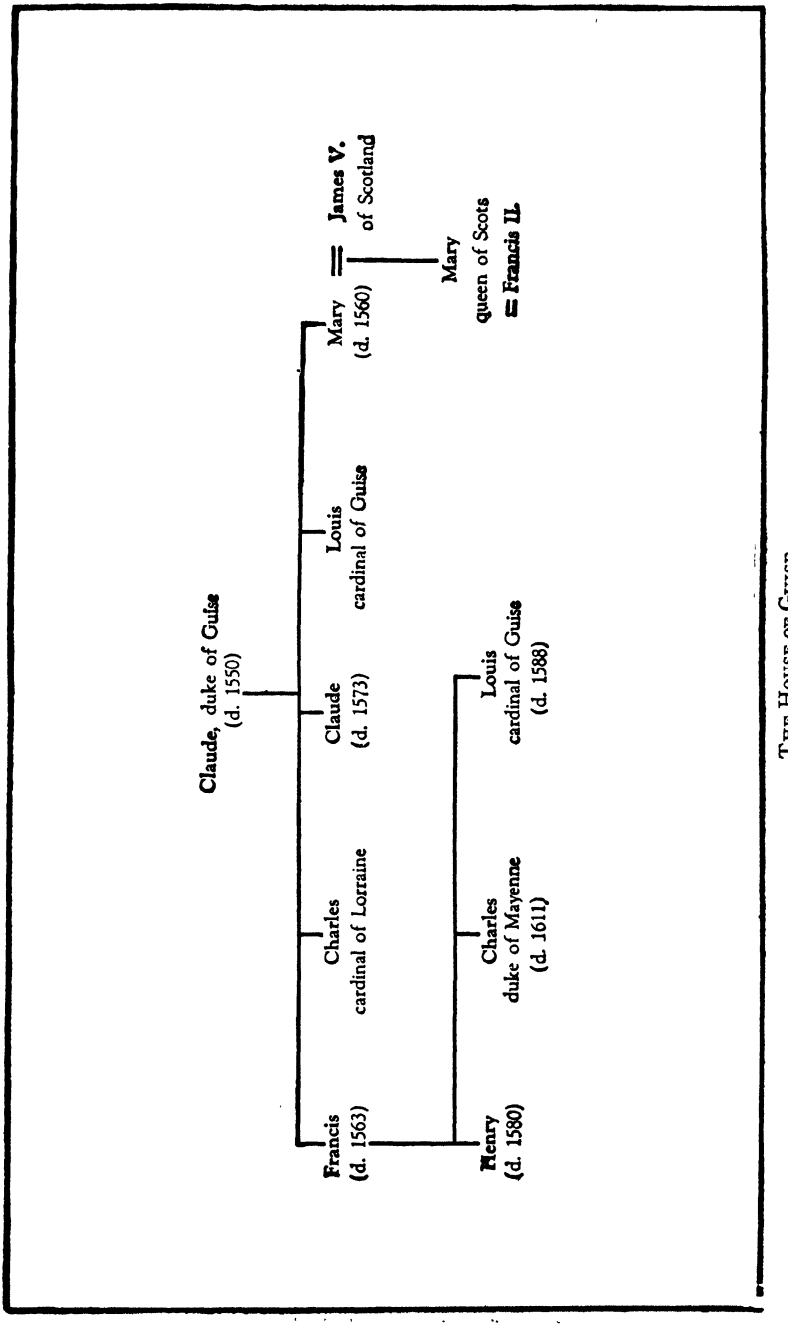
LOW COUNTRIES: THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.



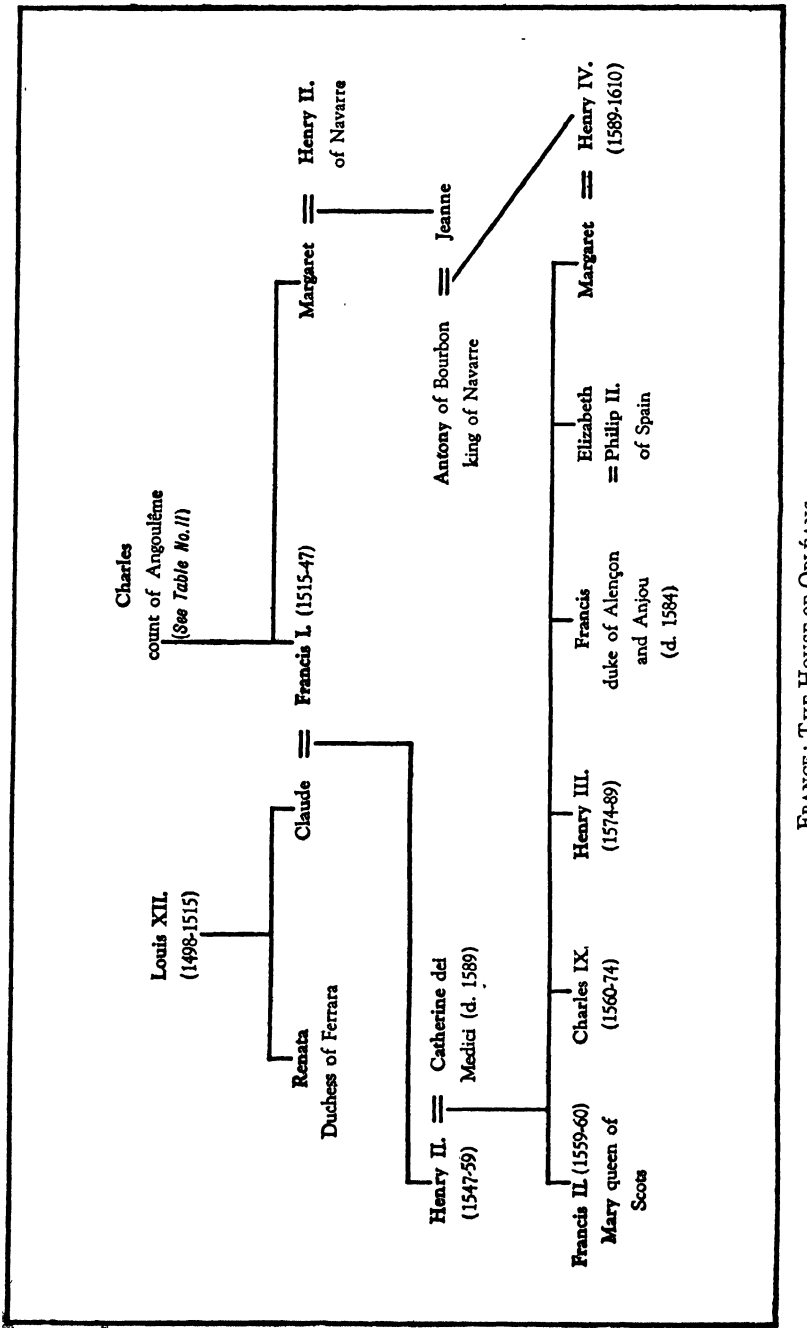
ENGLAND: THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.



SAXONY: THE DUKES AND ELECTORS OF SAXONY.



THE HOUSE OF GUISE.



FRANCE: THE HOUSE OF ORLÉANS.

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Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada Europeo-Americana. Essential, especially for Spanish topics.

Biographie Nationale. Published by the Belgian Academy. Necessary for the Low Countries.

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