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THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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# THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L.

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OXFORD

AUTHOR OF "TRANSCAUCASIA AND ARARAT," "THE AMERICAN  
COMMONWEALTH," ETC.

A NEW EDITION

ENLARGED AND REVISED THROUGHOUT, WITH A  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS  
AND THREE MAPS

New York

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1904

## PREFACE TO THE EDITION OF 1904

FORTY years have passed since this book was first published, and since then our knowledge of mediaeval history has been much increased and events have happened which render some of the remarks then made no longer applicable. I have not however attempted to rewrite the whole book, for this reason, among others, that were I to do so it would almost inevitably grow out of a small volume devoted to a single Idea and Institution into a systematic history of the Empire and the Popedom in the Middle Ages. That would double or treble its size, and make it unsuitable to one class of the students who have used it in its present form. I have therefore confined myself to such changes and enlargements as seemed to be most needed. Where events of significance had been omitted or too briefly noticed, additions have been made. For instance, the struggle of the Emperor Lewis IV against Pope John XXII and the careers of Arnold of Brescia and Cola di Rienzo have been somewhat more fully described. An entirely new chapter has been inserted dealing with the East Roman or Byzantine Empire, a topic inadequately handled in previous editions. A concluding chapter, sketching the constitution of the new German Empire and the forces which have given it strength and cohesion, has been appended. This chapter, and that which (first published in 1873) traces the process whereby after 1813 national sentiment grew in Germany, and national unity was achieved in 1871, are not indeed necessary for the explana-

v

tion of an institution whose best days were over four centuries ago. But they help to explain it, if only by contrast; and the convenience to a reader of finding a succinct account of the foundation and the character of this modern representative — if one may call it so — of the mediaeval Empire will, I hope, be deemed to compensate for whatever loss of symmetry is involved in an extension of the treatise beyond its original limits. With a similar practical aim, I have prefixed a pretty full Chronological Table of important events, presenting such an outline of the narrative history of the Empire as may serve to elucidate the text, and have added three maps.

The book has been revised throughout: statements which seemed to have been too broadly expressed, or which political changes have made no longer true, have been corrected: more exact references have been given and new illustrations inserted in the notes. I have to acknowledge with cordial thanks the help which in the verification of statements and references I have received from my friend Mr. Ernest Barker, lecturer on history at Wadham College, Oxford.

Did custom permit the dedication to any one of a new edition of a book long before the public, I should have dedicated the pages that follow to Mr. Goldwin Smith, now the honoured patriarch of English historians, from whom forty-three years ago, when he was professor at Oxford, I received my first lessons in modern history, and whose friendship I have ever since been privileged to enjoy.

JAMES BRYCE.

*September 13, 1904.*

## PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

THE object of this treatise is not so much to give a narrative history of the countries included in the Romano-Germanic Empire — Italy during the Middle Ages, Germany from the ninth century to the nineteenth — as to describe the Holy Empire itself as an institution or system, the wonderful offspring of a body of beliefs and traditions which have almost wholly passed away from the world. Such a description, however, would not be intelligible without some account of the great events which accompanied the growth and decay of Imperial power; and it has therefore appeared best to give the book the form rather of a narrative than of a dissertation; and to combine with an exposition of what may be called the theory of the Empire an outline of the political history of Germany, as well as some notices of the affairs of mediæval Italy. To make the succession of events clearer, a Chronological List of Emperors and Popes has been prefixed.

The great events of 1866 and 1870 reflect back so much light upon the previous history of Germany, and so much need, in order to be properly understood, to be viewed in their relation to the character and influence of the old Empire, that although they do not fall within the original limits of this treatise, some remarks upon them, and the causes which led to them, will not be out of place in it, and will perhaps add to whatever interest or value it may possess. As the Author found that

to introduce these remarks into the body of the work, would oblige him to take to pieces and rewrite the last three chapters, a task he had no time for, he has preferred to throw them into a new supplementary chapter, which accordingly contains a brief sketch of the rise of Prussia, of the state of Germany under the Confederation which expired in 1866, and of the steps whereby the German nation has regained its political unity in the new Empire.

LINCOLN'S INN, LONDON,

*June 28, 1873.*

# CONTENTS

PAGE

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EMPERORS AND POPES . . . . .	xix
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE . . . . .	xxxii

## CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY . . . . .	I
------------------------	---

## CHAPTER II

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE ENTRANCE OF THE BARBARIANS

The Empire in the Second Century . . . . .	4
Obliteration of National Distinctions . . . . .	5
Rise of Christianity . . . . .	9
Its Alliance with the State . . . . .	9
Its Influence on the Idea of an Imperial Nationality . . . . .	12

## CHAPTER III

### THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

Relations between the Primitive Germans and the Romans . . . . .	14
Feelings of the Germans towards Rome and her Empire . . . . .	16
Belief in the Eternity of the Roman Dominion . . . . .	20
Extinction by Odoacer of the Western Branch of the Empire . . . . .	25
Theodorich the Ostrogothic King . . . . .	27
Gradual Dissolution of the Empire . . . . .	29
Permanence of the Roman Religion and the Roman Law . . . . .	31

## CHAPTER IV

## RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

	PAGE
The Franks : Growth of their Power . . . . .	34
Italy under East Romans and Lombards . . . . .	37
The Iconoclastic Emperors : Revolt of Italy . . . . .	38
Alliance of the Popes with the Frankish Kings . . . . .	39
The Frankish Conquest of Italy . . . . .	41
Adventures and Plans of Pope Leo III . . . . .	44
Coronation of Charles the Great at Rome . . . . .	48

## CHAPTER V

## EMPIRE AND POLICY OF CHARLES

Import of the Coronation of Charles . . . . .	52
Accounts given in the Annals of the Time . . . . .	53
Question as to the Intentions of Charles . . . . .	58
Legal Effect of the Coronation . . . . .	63
Position of Charles towards the Church . . . . .	65
Towards his German Subjects . . . . .	68
Towards the Other Races of Europe . . . . .	69
General View of his Character and Policy . . . . .	73

## CHAPTER VI

## CAROLINGIAN AND ITALIAN EMPERORS

Reign of Lewis I (the Pious) . . . . .	77
Dissolution of the Carolingian Empire . . . . .	79
Beginnings of the German Kingdom : King Conrad I and King Henry (the Fowler) . . . . .	80
Italian Emperors . . . . .	81
Otto the Saxon King . . . . .	84
Coronation of Otto as Emperor at Rome . . . . .	88

## CHAPTER VII ✓

## THEORY OF THE MEDIAEVAL EMPIRE

The World-monarchy and the World-religion . . . . .	91
Unity of the Christian Church . . . . .	94
Influence of the Doctrine of Realism . . . . .	97

	PAGE
The Popes as Heirs to the Roman Monarchy . . . . .	100
Character of the Revived Roman Empire . . . . .	102
Respective Functions of the Pope and the Emperor . . . . .	103
Proofs and Illustrations . . . . .	109
Interpretations of Prophecy . . . . .	113
Two Remarkable Pictures . . . . .	116

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE GERMAN KINGDOM

The German or East Frankish Monarchy . . . . .	121
Feudality in Germany . . . . .	122
Reciprocal Influence of the Roman and Teutonic Elements on the Character of the Empire . . . . .	125

## CHAPTER IX

## SAXON AND FRANCONIAN EMPERORS

Adventures of Otto the Great in Rome . . . . .	133
Trial and Deposition of Pope John XII . . . . .	135
Position of Otto in Italy . . . . .	138
His European Policy . . . . .	239
Comparison of his Empire with the Carolingian . . . . .	143
Character and Projects of the Emperor Otto III . . . . .	144
The Emperors Henry II and Conrad II . . . . .	148
The Emperor Henry III: his Reform of the Papacy . . . . .	150

## CHAPTER X

## STRUGGLE OF THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

Origin and Progress of Papal Power . . . . .	153
Relations of the Popes with the Early Emperors . . . . .	155
Quarrel of Henry IV and Gregory VII over Investitures . . . . .	159
Gregory's Ideas . . . . .	160
Concordat of Worms . . . . .	163
General Results of the Contest . . . . .	164

## CHAPTER XI

## THE EMPERORS IN ITALY: FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

	PAGE
Frederick and the Papacy . . . . .	167
Revival of the Study of the Roman Law . . . . .	172
Arnold of Brescia and the Roman Republicans . . . . .	174
Frederick's Struggle with the Lombard Cities . . . . .	176
His Policy as German King . . . . .	179

## CHAPTER XII

## IMPERIAL TITLES AND PRETENSIONS

Territorial Limits of the Empire — Its Claims of Jurisdiction over	
Other Countries . . . . .	183
Hungary . . . . .	183
Poland . . . . .	184
Denmark . . . . .	184
France . . . . .	185
Sweden, Norway, Iceland . . . . .	186
Spain . . . . .	186
England . . . . .	187
Scotland . . . . .	189
Ireland . . . . .	189
South Italy and Sicily . . . . .	190
Venice . . . . .	190
Cyprus and Armenia . . . . .	191
The East . . . . .	191
Rivalry of the Teutonic and Byzantine Emperors . . . . .	192
The Four Crowns . . . . .	193
Title of Emperor not taken till Roman Coronation . . . . .	195
Origin and Meaning of the Title 'Holy Empire' . . . . .	196

## CHAPTER XIII

FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN: RENEWED STRIFE OF  
PAPACY AND EMPIRE

Reign of Henry VI . . . . .	205
Contest of Philip and Otto IV . . . . .	206
Character and Career of the Emperor Frederick II . . . . .	207



	PAGE
Destruction of Imperial Authority in Italy . . . . .	212
The Great Interregnum . . . . .	213
Rudolf of Hapsburg . . . . .	215
Change in the Character of the Empire . . . . .	215
Haughty Demeanour of the Popes . . . . .	218
Conflict between the Emperor Lewis IV and Pope John XXII . . . . .	222
Protest of the Electors at Rhense . . . . .	225
The <i>Defensor Pacis</i> of Marsilius of Padua . . . . .	225
Incipient Decline of Papal Power . . . . .	227

## CHAPTER XIV

## THE GERMANIC CONSTITUTION — THE SEVEN ELECTORS

Germany in the Fourteenth Century . . . . .	229
Reign of the Emperor Charles IV . . . . .	233
Origin and History of the System of Election . . . . .	234
Proceedings at Imperial Elections . . . . .	237
The Electoral College . . . . .	238
The Golden Bull of Charles IV . . . . .	243
Remarks on the Elective Monarchy of Germany . . . . .	247
Results of Charles IV's Policy . . . . .	249

## CHAPTER XV

## THE EMPIRE AS AN INTERNATIONAL POWER

Revival of Learning . . . . .	254
Beginnings of Political Thought . . . . .	255
Desire for an International Authority to secure Peace . . . . .	256
Theory of the Emperor's Functions as Monarch of Europe . . . . .	258
Illustrations . . . . .	265
Relations of the Empire and the New Learning . . . . .	267
The Men of Letters — Petrarch, Dante . . . . .	270
The Jurists . . . . .	272
Passion for Antiquity in the Middle Ages : its Causes . . . . .	273
The Emperor Henry VII in Italy . . . . .	278
The <i>De Monarchia</i> of Dante . . . . .	280

## CHAPTER XVI

## THE CITY OF ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES

	PAGE
Rapid Decline of the City after the Gothic Wars . . . . .	288
Her Condition in the Dark Ages . . . . .	289
Republican Revival of the Twelfth Century . . . . .	291
The Preaching of Arnold of Brescia . . . . .	292
Ideas and Career of Nicholas Rienzo . . . . .	296
Social State of Mediaeval Rome . . . . .	301
Visits of the Teutonic Emperors . . . . .	303
Revolts against them . . . . .	305
Existing Traces of their Presence in Rome . . . . .	307
Want of Mediaeval, and especially of Gothic Buildings, in Modern Rome . . . . .	309
Causes of this; Ravages of Enemies and Citizens . . . . .	309
Modern Restorations . . . . .	312
Surviving Features of truly Mediaeval Architecture — the Bell-towers, the Mosaics . . . . .	314
The Roman Church and the Roman City . . . . .	315
Rome since the Revolution . . . . .	318

## CHAPTER XVII

## THE EAST ROMAN EMPIRE

Indifference of the Westerns to the Empire in the East . . . . .	321
The Revival of the Empire in the West did not substantially weaken the Eastern Empire . . . . .	322
Struggles against the Barbarians and the Muslims . . . . .	324
Causes which enabled the Eastern Empire to maintain itself . . . . .	327
Its Civil and Military Administration . . . . .	328
The Eastern Empire a Pure Autocracy . . . . .	330
Relations of Eastern Empire and Church to the Barbarians . . . . .	333
The Eastern Empire and the Orthodox Church . . . . .	337
Influence of the Secular Power on the Church . . . . .	338
Rival Claims of the Eastern and Western Lines to represent the Ancient Roman Empire . . . . .	340
The Existence of the Eastern Empire affected but slightly the Prestige of the Western . . . . .	344
The Existence of the Western did not trouble the Minds of the Easterns . . . . .	346

	PAGE
Why the Easterns did not idealize their Emperor . . . . .	347
Character of the Intellect of the East Romans . . . . .	350
Their History compared with that of the West . . . . .	350

## CHAPTER XVIII

THE RENAISSANCE: CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF  
THE EMPIRE

Weakness of Germany . . . . .	353
Loss of Imperial Territories . . . . .	354
Gradual Change in the Germanic Constitution . . . . .	359
Beginning of the Predominance of the Hapsburgs . . . . .	361
The Discovery of America . . . . .	362
The Renaissance and its Effects on the Empire . . . . .	363
Projects of Constitutional Reform . . . . .	365
Changes of Title in Germany . . . . .	368

## CHAPTER XIX

## THE REFORMATION AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE EMPIRE

Accession of Charles V . . . . .	371
His Attitude towards the Reformation . . . . .	373
Issue of his Attempts at Coercion . . . . .	374
Spirit and Essence of the Religious Movement . . . . .	377
Its Influence on the Doctrine of the Visible Church . . . . .	379
How far it promoted Civil and Religious Liberty . . . . .	381
Its Effect upon the Mediaeval Theory of the Empire . . . . .	384
Upon the Position of the Emperor in Europe . . . . .	385
Dissensions in Germany . . . . .	386
The Thirty Years' War . . . . .	387

## CHAPTER XX

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA: LAST STAGE IN THE  
DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Political Import of the Peace of Westphalia . . . . .	389
Hippolytus a Lapide and his Book . . . . .	390
Changes in the Germanic Constitution . . . . .	391
Narrowed Bounds of the Empire . . . . .	393

	PAGE
Condition of Germany after the Peace . . . . .	394
The Balance of Power . . . . .	397
The Hapsburg Emperors and their Policy . . . . .	400
The Emperors Charles VII and Joseph II . . . . .	403
The Empire in its Last Phase . . . . .	404
Feelings of the German People . . . . .	406

## CHAPTER XXI ✓

### FALL OF THE EMPIRE

The Emperor Francis II . . . . .	408
Napoleon as the Representative of the Carolingians . . . . .	408
France and the French Empire . . . . .	412
Napoleon's German Policy . . . . .	413
The Confederation of the Rhine . . . . .	414
End of the Empire . . . . .	415
The Germanic Confederation . . . . .	416

## CHAPTER XXII

### SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

Causes of the Perpetuation of the Name of Rome . . . . .	419
Parallel Instances: Claims now made to represent the Roman Empire . . . . .	420
Parallel afforded by the History of the Papacy . . . . .	421
In how far was the Empire really Roman? . . . . .	426
Imperialism: Ancient and Modern . . . . .	428
Essential Principles of the Mediaeval Empire . . . . .	429
Influence of the Imperial System in Germany . . . . .	430
The Claim of Modern Austria to represent the Mediaeval Empire	432
Results of the Influence of the Empire upon Europe generally .	434
Upon Modern Jurisprudence . . . . .	435
Upon the Developement of the Ecclesiastical Power . . . . .	436
Struggle of the Empire with Three Hostile Principles . . . . .	440
Its Relations, Past and Present, to the Nationalities of Europe .	442
Conclusion . . . . .	444

## SUPPLEMENTAL CHAPTERS

## CHAPTER XXIII

## THE PROGRESS OF GERMANY TOWARDS NATIONAL UNITY

	PAGE
Recapitulation : Stages in the Decay of the Old Empire . . . . .	447
Denationalization of Germany . . . . .	449
The Margraviate of Brandenburg and the House of Hohenzollern	450
The Kingdom of Prussia . . . . .	452
Character and Reign of Frederick the Great . . . . .	453
Prussia during the Wars of the Revolution . . . . .	455
The Congress of Vienna . . . . .	458
Establishment of the Germanic Confederation . . . . .	459
Aims and Efforts of the German Liberals . . . . .	463
The Revolution of 1848-9 . . . . .	466
Restoration of the Confederation and its Diet . . . . .	467
The German Parties and their Policy . . . . .	469
The Schleswig-Holstein War . . . . .	472
Convention of Gastein . . . . .	476
War of 1866: Fall of the Confederation . . . . .	477
The North German Confederation . . . . .	478
The War of 1870 with France . . . . .	481
Establishment of a New Empire in Germany . . . . .	482

## CHAPTER XXIV

## THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

Constitution of the New Empire a Developement of the North	
German Federation . . . . .	483
Structure of the Federal System . . . . .	486
Organs of the Central Government: The Executive . . . . .	486
The Legislature: Bundesrath and Reichstag . . . . .	486
Germany now more united than ever since the Middle Ages . . . . .	490
Prospects of the Maintenance of National Unity . . . . .	491
Causes which have worked for the Cohesion of the Empire . . . . .	493
Growth of National Feeling since 1814 . . . . .	495
Prussia's Part in the Achievement of National Unity . . . . .	498

	PAGE
How far the New Empire represents the Ancient Holy Empire . . . . .	500
Parallel between Germany and Italy in their Attainment of National Unity . . . . .	504
EPILOGUE . . . . .	505
ADDITIONAL NOTES.	
Notes I-XXIV to the Preceding Chapters . . . . .	513

## APPENDIX

NOTE A.—On the Burgundies . . . . .	529
NOTE B.—On the Relations to the Empire of the Kingdom of Denmark, and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein . . . . .	533
NOTE C.—On Certain Imperial Titles and Ceremonies . . . . .	535
NOTE D.—Hildebert's Lines contrasting the Past and Present of Rome . . . . .	542
NOTE E.—List of Books which the Student may consult . . . . .	543
INDEX . . . . .	545

## MAPS

I. Map showing the extent of the Roman Empire of Charles the Great, A.D. 814 . . . . .	<i>to face</i> 70
II. Map showing the extent of the Holy Roman Empire at the death of Frederick I, A.D. 1190 . . . . .	<i>to face</i> 180
III. Map showing the extent of the Holy Roman Empire at the death of Maximilian I, A.D. 1519 . . . . .	<i>to face</i> 370

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

## EMPERORS AND POPES

Year of Accession	Bishops of Rome	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			B.C.
		Augustus.	27
			A.D.
		Tiberius.	14
		Caligula.	37
		Claudius.	41
42	St. Peter (according to Jerome).		
		Nero.	54
67	Linus (according to Irenaeus, Eusebius, Jerome).		
68	Clement (according to Tertullian and Rufinus).	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.	68
78	Anacletus (?).		
		Titus.	79
		Domitian.	81
91	Clement (according to some later writers).		
		Nerva.	96
		Trajan.	98
100	Evarestus (?).		
109	Alexander (?).		
		Hadrian.	117
119	Sixtus I.		
129	Telesphorus.		
		Antoninus Pius.	138
139	Hyginus.		
143	Pius I.		
157	Anicetus.		
		Marcus Aurelius.	161
168	Soter.		
177	Eleutherius.		
		Commodus.	180
		Pertinax.	193

Year of Accession	Bishops of Rome	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
193	Victor (?).	Didius Julianus.	193
202	Zephyrinus (?).	Niger.	193
		Septimius Severus.	193
		Caracalla, Geta.	211
		Opilius Macrinus, Diadumenian.	217
		Elagabalus.	218
219	Calixtus I.	Alexander Severus.	222
223	Urban I.		
230	Pontianus.		
235	Anterius or Anteros.	Maximin.	235
236	Fabianus.		
		The two Gordians, Maximus Pupienus, Balbinus.	237
		The third Gordian.	238
		Philip.	244
		Decius.	249
251	Cornelius.	Hostilian, Gallus.	251
252	Lucius I.	Volusian.	252
253	Stephen I.	Aemilian, Valerian, Gallienus.	253
257	Sixtus II.		
259	Dionysius.	Gallienus alone.	260
		Claudius II.	268
269	Felix.		
		Aurelian.	270
275	Eutychianus.	Tacitus.	275
		Florian.	276
		Probus.	276
		Carus.	282
283	Caius.		
		Carinus, Numerian.	284
		Diocletian.	284
		Maximian, associated with Diocletian.	286
296	Marcellinus.		
304	Vacancy.	Constantius, Galerius.	305
		Severus.	306
		Constantine (the Great).	306
		Licinius.	307



Year of Accession	Bishops of Rome	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D. 308	Marcellus I.	Maximin. Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Maxentius, and Maximian reigning jointly.	A.D. 308
310	Eusebius.		309
311	Melchiades.		
314	Sylvester I.	Constantine (the Great) alone.	323
336	Marcus I.	Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans.	337
337	Julius I.	Magnentius.	
352	Liberius.	Constantius alone.	353
356	(Felix, Anti-pope.)	Julian.	361
		Jovian.	363
		Valens and Valentinian I.	364
366	Damasus I.	Gratian and Valentinian I.	367
		Gratian and Valentinian II.	375
		Theodosius.	379
384	Siricius.	Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West).	395
398	Anastasius I.		
402	Innocent I.	Theodosius II. (E)	408
417	Zosimus.		
418	Boniface I.		
418	(Eulalius, Anti-pope.)		
422	Celestine I.	Valentinian III. (W)	424
432	Sixtus III.		
440	Leo I (the Great).	Marcian. (E)	450
		Maximus, Avitus. (W)	455
		Majorian. (W)	455
		Leo I. (E)	457
461	Hilarius.	Severus. (W)	461
		Vacancy. (W)	465

Year of Accession	Bishops of Rome	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
468	Simplicius.	Anthemius. (W)	467
		Olybrius. (W)	472
		Glycerius. (W)	473
		Julius Nepos. (W)	474
		Leo II, Zeno, Basiliscus. (All E)	474
		Romulus Augustulus. (W)	475
		(End of the Western line in Romulus Augustulus.)	476
		<i>(Henceforth, till A.D. 800, Emperors reigning at Constantinople.)</i>	
483	Felix III.*	Anastasius I.	491
492	Gelasius I.		
496	Anastasius II.		
498	Symmachus.		
498	(Laurentius, Anti-pope.)		
514	Hormisdas.		
523	John I.	Justin I.	518
526	Felix IV.		
		Justinian.	527
530	Boniface II.		
530	(Dioscorus, Anti-pope).		
532	John II.		
535	Agapetus I.		
536	Silverius.		
537	Vigilius.		
555	Pelagius I.		
560	John III.		
		Justin II.	565
574	Benedict I.		
578	Pelagius II.	Tiberius II.	578
		Maurice.	582
590	Gregory I (the Great).		
		Phocas.	602
604	Sabinianus.		
607	Boniface III.		
607	Boniface IV.		
		Heraclius.	610
615	Deus dedit.		
618	Boniface V.		

\* Reckoning the Anti-pope Felix (A.D. 356) as Felix II.

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
625	Honorius I.		
638	Severinus.		
640	John IV.		
642	Theodorus I.	Constantine III, Heracleonas, Constans II.	641
649	Martin I.		
654	Eugenius I.		
657	Vitalianus		
672	Adeodatus.	Constantine IV (Pogonatus).	668
676	Domnus or Donus I.		
678	Agatho.		
682	Leo II.		
683(?)	Benedict II.		
685	John V.	Justinian II.	685
685(?)	Conon.		
687	Sergius I.		
687	(Paschal, Anti-pope.)		
687	(Theodorus, Anti-pope.)	Leontius.	694
		Tiberius III.	697
701	John VI.		
705	John VII.	Justinian II restored.	705
708	Sisinnius.		
708	Constantine.		
		Philippicus Bardanes.	711
		Anastasius II.	713
715	Gregory II.	Theodosius III.	716
		Leo III (the Isaurian).	718
731	Gregory III.		
741	Zacharias.	Constantine V (Copronymus).	741
752	Stephen (II).		
752	Stephen II (or III).		
757	Paul I.		
767	(Constantine, Anti-pope.)		
768	Stephen III (IV).		
772	Hadrian I.	Leo IV.	775
		Constantine VI.	780
795	Leo III.	Deposition of Constantine VI by Irene.	797

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.		Charles I (the Great). <i>(Following henceforth the new Western line.)</i>	A.D. 800
816	Stephen IV.	Lewis I (the Pious).	814
817	Paschal I.		
824	Eugenius II.		
827	Valentinus.		
827	Gregory IV.		
844	Sergius II.	Lothar I.	840
847	Leo IV.		
855	Benedict III.	Lewis II (in Italy).	855
855	(Anastasius, Anti-pope.)		
858	Nicholas I.		
867	Hadrian II.		
872	John VIII.		
		Charles II, the Bald (W. Frankish).	875
882	Martin II.	Charles III, the Fat (E. Frankish).	881
884	Hadrian III.	<i>Interval from 888.</i>	
885	Stephen V.		
891	Formosus.	Guido (in Italy).	891
		Lambert (in Italy).	894
896	Boniface VI.	Arnulf (E. Frankish).	896
896	Stephen VI.		
897	Romanus.		
897	Theodore II.		
898	John IX.		
		<i>Lewis (the Child).*</i>	899
900	Benedict IV.		
		Lewis III king of Provence (in Italy).	901
903	Leo V.		
903	Christopher.		
904	Sergius III.		
911	Anastasius III.	<i>Conrad I.</i>	911
913	Lando.		
914	John X.		
		Berengar (in Italy).	915
		<i>Henry I (the Fowler) of Saxony.</i>	918
928	Leo VI.		

\* The names in italics are those of East Frankish or German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title.

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
929	Stephen VII.		
931	John XI.		
936	Leo VII.	<i>Otto I (the Great)</i> , crowned	
939	Stephen VIII.	E. Frankish king at	
941	Martin III.	Aachen.	936
946	Agapetus II.		
955	John XII.	<i>Saxon House.</i>	
		Otto I, crowned Emperor	
963	Leo VIII.	at Rome.	962
964	(Benedict V, Anti-pope?)		
965	John XIII.		
972	Benedict VI.	Otto II.	973
974	(Boniface VII, Anti-pope?)		
974	Domnus II (?).		
974	Benedict VII.		
983	John XIV.	Otto III.	983
985	John XV.		
996	Gregory V.		
996	(John XVI, Anti-pope?)		
999	Sylvester II.	Henry II (the Saint).	1002
1003	John XVII.		
1003	John XVIII.		
1009	Sergius IV.		
1012	Benedict VIII.	<i>House of Franconia.</i>	
1024	John XIX.	Conrad II (the Salic).	1024
1033	Benedict IX.	Henry III (the Black).	1039
1044	(Sylvester, Anti-pope.)		
1045	Gregory VI.		
1046	Clement II.		
1048	Damasus II.		
1048	Leo IX.		
1054	Victor II.	Henry IV.	1056
1057	Stephen IX.		
1058	Benedict X.		
1059	Nicholas II.		
1061	Alexander II.		
1073	Gregory VII (Hildebrand).	(Rudolf of Swabia, rival.)	1077
1080	(Clement, Anti-pope.)	(Hermann of Luxemburg,	
1086	Victor III.	rival.)	1081

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
1087	Urban II.	(Conrad of Franconia, rival.)	1093
1099	Paschal II.		
1102	(Albert, Anti-pope.)		
1105	(Sylvester, Anti-pope.)	Henry V.	1106
1118	Gelasius II.		
1118	(Gregory, Anti-pope.)		
1119	Calixtus II.		
1121	(Celestine, Anti-pope.)		
1124	Honorius II.		
1130	Innocent II.	Lothar II (of Saxony). <i>House of Swabia or Hohenstaufen.</i>	1125
	(Anacletus, Anti-pope.)	* Conrad III.	1138
1138	(Victor, Anti-pope.)		
1143	Celestine II.		
1144	Lucius II.		
1145	Eugenius III.	Frederick I (Barbarossa).	1152
1153	Anastasius IV.		
1154	Hadrian IV.		
1159	Alexander III.		
1159	(Victor, Anti-pope.)		
1164	(Paschal, Anti-pope.)		
1168	(Calixtus, Anti-pope.)		
1181	Lucius III.		
1185	Urban III.		
1187	Gregory VIII.		
1187	Clement III.	Henry VI.	1190
1191	Celestine III.	* Philip, Otto IV (rivals).	1197
1198	Innocent III.	Otto IV ( <i>House of Brunswick</i> ).	1208
		Frederick II.	1212
1216	Honorius III.		
1227	Gregory IX.		
1241	Celestine IV.		
1241	Vacancy.		
1243	Innocent IV.	(Henry Raspe, rival.) (William of Holland, rival.)	1246 1246-7

\* Those marked with an asterisk were never actually crowned at Rome.

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
1254	Alexander IV.	*Conrad IV. <i>Interregnum.</i>	1250 1254
1261	Urban IV.	*Richard (earl of Cornwall), *Alfonso (king of Castile) (rivals).	1257
1265	Clement IV.		
1269	Vacancy.		
1271	Gregory X.		
1276	Innocent V.	*Rudolf I (of Hapsburg).	1273
1276	Hadrian V.		
1277	John XX or XXI.		
1277	Nicholas III.		
1281	Martin IV.		
1285	Honorius IV.		
1289	Nicholas IV.		
1292	Vacancy.	*Adolf (of Nassau).	1292
1294	Celestine V.		
1294	Boniface VIII.		
1303	Benedict XI.	*Albert I (of Hapsburg).	1298
1305	Clement V.		
1314	Vacancy.	Henry VII (of Luxemburg). Lewis IV (of Bavaria). (Frederick of Austria, rival.)	1308 1314
1316	John XXII.		
1334	Benedict XII.		
1342	Clement VI.		
1352	Innocent VI.	Charles IV (of Luxemburg). (Günther of Schwartzburg, rival.)	1347
1362	Urban V.		
1370	Gregory XI.		
1378	Urban VI. (Clement VII, Anti-pope.) <i>Beginning of the Great Schism.</i>	*Wenzel (of Luxemburg).	1378
1389	Boniface IX.		
1394	(Benedict, Anti-pope.)		
1404	Innocent VII.	*Rupert (of the Palatinate).	1400
1406	Gregory XII.		
1409	Alexander V.		

\* Those marked with an asterisk were never actually crowned at Rome.

Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D. 1410	John XXIII.	Sigismund (of Luxemburg). (Jobst, of Moravia, rival.)	A.D. 1410
	<i>End of the Great Schism.</i>		
1417	Martin V.		
1431	Eugene IV.	*Albert II (of Hapsburg).†	1438
1439	(Felix V, Anti-pope.)	Frederick III.	1440
1447	Nicholas V.		
1455	Calixtus III.		
1458	Pius II.		
1464	Paul II.		
1471	Sixtus IV.		
1484	Innocent VIII.		
1493	Alexander VI.	*Maximilian I.	1493
1503	Pius III.		
1503	Julius II.		
1513	Leo X.	†Charles V.	1519
1522	Hadrian VI.		
1523	Clement VII.		
1534	Paul III.		
1550	Julius III.		
1555	Marcellus II.		
1555	Paul IV.	*Ferdinand I.	1558
1559	Pius IV.	*Maximilian II.	1564
1566	Pius V.		
1572	Gregory XIII.	*Rudolf II.	1576
1585	Sixtus V.		
1590	Urban VII.		
1590	Gregory XIV.		
1591	Innocent IX.		
1592	Clement VIII.		
1604	Leo XI.		
1604	Paul V.	*Matthias.	1612
		*Ferdinand II.	1619

\* Those marked with an asterisk were never actually crowned at Rome.  
† All the succeeding Emperors, except Charles VII and Francis I, belong to the House of Hapsburg.  
‡ Crowned Emperor, but at Bologna, not at Rome.



Year of Accession	Popes	Emperors	Year of Accession
A.D.			A.D.
1621	Gregory XV.		
1623	Urban VIII.	*Ferdinand III.	1637
1644	Innocent X.		
1655	Alexander VII.	*Leopold I.	1658
1667	Clement IX.		
1670	Clement X.		
1676	Innocent XI.		
1689	Alexander VIII.		
1691	Innocent XII.		
1700	Clement XI.	*Joseph I.	1705
		*Charles VI.	1711
1720	Innocent XIII.		
1724	Benedict XIII.		
1730	Clement XII.		
1740	Benedict XIV.	*Charles VII (of Bavaria).	1742
		*Francis I (of Lorraine).	1745
1758	Clement XIII.	*Joseph II.	1765
1769	Clement XIV.		
1775	Pius VI.	*Leopold II.	1790
		*Francis II.	1792
1800	Pius VII.	ABDICATION OF FRANCIS II.	1806
1823	Leo XII.		
1829	Pius VIII.		
1831	Gregory XVI.		
1846	Pius IX.		
		<i>GERMAN EMPERORS</i>	
		<i>William I.</i>	1871
		<i>Frederick.</i>	1888
		<i>William II.</i>	1888
1878	Leo XIII.		
1903	Pius X.		

\* Those marked with an asterisk were never actually crowned at Rome.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE

- B.C. 48 Battle of Pharsalus. Julius Caesar receives the power of a tribune for life, and (B.C. 45) a perpetual dictatorship.
- 31 Battle of Actium. Octavianus (Augustus) becomes master of the whole dominions of Rome.
- A.D. 9 Defeat of the Roman army under Varus in Westphalia: consequent abandonment of the policy of conquering Germany.
- 64 First persecution of the Christians under Nero.
- 292 Division of the Empire into four areas of government: first appearance of the East as a separate realm.
- 313 Recognition of Christianity by Edict of Constantine as a lawful religion.
- 325 Constantine presides in the First General Council of Nicaea which condemns the Arians and issues the Nicene Creed.
- 326-8 Constantinople or New Rome, founded by extending the site of the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium, becomes the seat of imperial government.
- 361 Efforts of Julian to restore pagan worship in the Roman Empire.
- 364 Division of the Empire by Valentinian I into an Eastern and a Western realm.
- 376 A large body of Goths permitted to cross the Danube into the Empire: subsequent war between them and the Emperor Valens: he is defeated and killed in the battle of Adrianople in 378.
- 395 Final Division of the Empire between Arcadius who receives the Eastern and Honorius who receives the Western provinces.
- 409 Abandonment of Britain by the Roman armies.
- 410 Capture and sack of Rome by the West Goths under Alarich.
- 412 Foundation of a West Gothic monarchy in Southern Gaul by Athaulf (who marries Placidia daughter of Theodosius the Great), and (419) by his successor Wallia.

- 395-430 St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa: he composes his *De Civitate Dei* between 413 and 426.
- 429 The Vandals enter Africa, having traversed Gaul and Spain, and found a kingdom there.
- 443-75 The Burgundians form a monarchy in Southeastern Gaul.
- 462-72 Euric, king of the West Goths, conquers Spain and establishes there the Gothic monarchy which lasts till the Arab conquest.
- 455 Invasion of Italy and sack of Rome by the Vandal Gaiserich.
- 451 Fourth General Council held at Chalcedon: settlement of the doctrine of the Nature of Christ and consequent alienation of the Monophysites of Egypt and Syria.
- 451-2 Attila invades Gaul and is repulsed near Chalons-sur-Marne. He then enters Italy and destroys Aquileia.
- 476 Odoacer deposes the Emperor Romulus Augustulus and assumes the rule of Italy, which is however nominally reunited to the Eastern half of the Empire.
- 481-511 Reign of Clovis king of the Franks: he enters Gaul, overcomes Syagrius, ruling at Soissons, defeats the Burgundians and the West Goths (of Aquitaine), and establishes the Frankish monarchy, which includes Gaul and Western Germany, the Burgundians being reduced to dependence.
- 489-526 Theodorich the Amal leads the East Goths across the Alps, defeats Odoacer, and reigns over Italy and Sicily.
- 529-34 The Emperor Justinian revises and consolidates the Roman law and issues the Code Digest and Institutes.
- 533 Belisarius, sent by Justinian, reconquers Africa from the Vandals for the Roman Empire.
- 535-53 Long war of Justinian against the East Goths in Italy: Italy and Sicily are reconquered; disappearance of the East Gothic nation.
- 568 Alboin leads the Lombards into Italy, conquers the Northern part of it and establishes a monarchy there; Lombard chieftains subsequently found the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.
- 622 Flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina (Era of the Hegira).
- 622-28 Campaign of the Emperor Heraclius against the Sassanid kings: defeat of the Persians and recovery of the eastern Provinces.

- 633-52 The Mohammedan Arabs invade Syria, conquer Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and invade Asia Minor.
- 638 Pipin of Landen, founder of the Carolingian house, rises to power among the Franks as Mayor of the Palace.
- 688 Pipin (of Heristal), grandson of the first Pipin, becomes virtual ruler of the Franks as Mayor of the Palace.
- 669-96 The Arabs invade North Africa, and destroy the Roman power there.
- 711 The Arabs and Berbers invade Spain, defeat Roderich the last of the West Gothic kings in the battle of the Guadalete, and in a few years conquer the whole Iberian peninsula, except the mountains of Asturias and Biscay.
- 732 The Arab invasions of Gaul are checked in a battle near Poitiers by Charles Martel, Frankish Mayor of the Palace, son of the second Pipin.
- 726-32 The Emperor Leo III (reigning at Constantinople) issues an Edict forbidding the worship of images and ordering their destruction in the churches. It evokes strong opposition from the Roman church and leads to a revolt of the North Italian subjects of the Empire. The Lombard king, Liudprand, invades the imperial territories in North Italy. Pope Gregory II induces him to withdraw from before Rome.
- 741 Pope Gregory III, still in conflict with the Emperor and threatened by the Lombards, appeals to Charles Martel and sends him the keys of the tomb of the Apostles.
- 751 With the authorization of Pope Zacharias, Pipin (the Short), Mayor of the Palace in Gaul, becomes king of the Franks in the place of the Merovingian Childebert III.
- 753 Pope Stephen II asks help from the Emperor at Constantinople against the Lombard king Aistulf, who is threatening Rome.
- 754 Pope Stephen goes to Gaul and crowns and anoints Pipin as king. Pipin invades Italy and reduces Aistulf to submission.
- 756 Pipin, at the call of the Pope, again enters Italy, overcomes the Lombards, bestows on the See of Rome the territories belonging to the Exarchate of Ravenna, and receives the title of Patrician.
- 758 Charles (the Great), son of Pipin, becomes king of the Franks of Neustria, and after the death of his brother Carloman (in 771) king of the Franks of Austrasia also.

- 772-803 Wars of Charles against the Saxons, ending in their submission and enforced conversion.
- 773-4 Charles, at the appeal of the Pope, who is menaced by king Desiderius, attacks and subjects the Lombards, adding North Italy to his dominions, and is recognized as suzerain of Rome.
- 778 Expedition of Charles into Spain: fight at Roncevalles between his troops and the Basques.
- 794 Charles presides in a Church Council held at Frankfort which disapproves of Pope Hadrian's action regarding images.
- 797 Irene deposes and blinds her son the Emperor Constantine VI.
- 800 CHARLES IS CROWNED EMPEROR AT ROME.
- 805 Charles defeats and reduces the Avars.
- 810-12 Negotiations of Charles with the East Roman Emperors: they ultimately recognize him as Emperor and as ruler of Northern Italy, except Venice. The south of Italy and Sicily remain subject to Constantinople.
- 814 Death of Charles: he is succeeded by his son Lewis, whom he had crowned as co-Emperor in 813.
- 817-39 Lewis I makes several divisions of his dominions among his sons: quarrels arise between him and them and between the sons themselves. The administrative system established by Charles falls to pieces. Norse and Danish pirates devastate the coasts of Germany and Gaul.
- 841 Battle of Fontanetum between Lewis and Charles, the younger sons of Lewis I (who had died in 840) and their brother the Emperor Lothar; defeat of Lothar.
- 843 Partition treaty of Verdun between the three sons of Lewis I. The East Frankish kingdom assigned to Lewis (the German) is the origin of the German kingdom of later days.
- 855 Lewis II, reigning in Italy since 844, becomes Emperor. Attacks of the Saracens upon Italy.
- 866 Dispute between Pope Nicholas I and Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople: it ends in a schism which divides the two churches.
- 876 Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, is crowned Emperor at Rome. He dies next year.
- 877 Boso, husband of Irmingard (daughter of the Emperor Lewis II), founds the kingdom of (Cisjurane) Burgundy or Arles and is recognized as king by Charles the Bald.

- 888 Death of the Emperor Charles the Fat, who had (during his reign of three years) reunited the dominions of Charles the Great. After him they fall asunder, and the Carolingian Empire disappears. Arnulf, duke of Carinthia (an illegitimate descendant of Charles), is chosen king of the East Franks (subsequently Emperor), and is succeeded by his son Lewis the Child, who dies unmarried, in 911. Rudolf founds the kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy. West France passes to Odo (grand-uncle of Hugh Capet, who becomes king in 987). Odo admits the suzerainty of Arnulf.
- 891 Guido of Spoleto, having overcome Berengar of Friuli, seizes the throne of Italy and is crowned Emperor at Rome.
- 894 Arnulf enters Italy, drives Guido from Pavia, and is crowned king of Italy.
- 896 Arnulf marches to Rome and is crowned Emperor.
- 901-25 Repeated invasions of Germany and Italy by the Magyars: the Germans pay a sort of tribute to them from 925 to 933: raids continue in Italy.
- 911 Conrad, duke of Franconia, is chosen king of the East Franks.
- 919 Henry (the Fowler), duke of the Saxons, is, on Conrad's death, chosen king of the East Franks or Germans. He was, through females, great-great-grandson of Charles the Great, and a man of proved ability and uprightness.
- 928 Henry the Fowler attacks the Slavs beyond the Elbe, defeats them, and constructs a fort at Brannibor, which grows into the March of Brandenburg: he makes the Czechs of Bohemia his tributaries.
- 933 Henry, having organized and trained his forces, attacks and defeats the Magyar invaders in Saxony, and strengthens the eastern frontiers of Germany.
- 936 Death of Henry: his son Otto (the Great) is chosen to succeed him as king of the East Franks, and is crowned at Aachen.
- 951 Adelheid of Burgundy, widow of Lothar king of Italy, asks help from Otto against Berengar king of Italy: Otto relieves the castle of Canosa, where she had taken refuge, marries her, and makes Berengar his vassal.
- 955 Great defeat of the Magyars by Otto on the Lech, near Augsburg. He conquers the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder, and strengthens the East March, afterwards the principality of Austria.

- 962 Otto, having deposed Berengar and taken to himself the kingdom of Italy, is crowned Emperor at Rome by Pope John XII.
- 972 The East Roman Emperor John Tzimiskes makes peace with Otto I and recognizes his title: Theophano (daughter of the Emperor Romanus II) is married at Rome to Otto I's son Otto (afterwards the Emperor Otto II): both are crowned by the Pope.
- 973 Otto the Great dies and is succeeded by Otto II, in whose reign the disorders of Germany, repressed by Otto I, grow worse, and the Slavs again harry the north-eastern borders.
- 982 War of Otto II against the Saracens in Southern Italy: he is defeated and escapes with difficulty.
- 983 Death of Otto II: he is succeeded by his only son Otto III, who had been chosen in his father's lifetime: the Empress dowager Theophano acts as regent till her death in 991.
- 987 Lewis V, king of the West Franks, the last of the Carolingian line, dies and is succeeded by Hugh Capet, duke of France.
- 996 Otto III marches to Rome, makes his cousin Bruno Pope (Gregory V) and is crowned by him. Subsequent revolts of the Romans against him are suppressed, and on the death of Gregory V he procures the election of Gerbert as Pope (Sylvester II) in 999.
- 1000 The Magyars having now embraced Christianity, Otto gives his cousin Gisela in marriage to their king Stephen, and sends him the crown thereafter known as the crown of St. Stephen.
- 1002 Death of Otto III at Paterno (under Mount Soracte, near Rome): his second cousin Henry duke of Bavaria (great-grandson of Henry the Fowler) succeeds, after some difficulty, in getting himself chosen king of Germany by the Bavarians, Lotharingians, Swabians, and Saxons successively, and is crowned at Aachen.
- 1004 Henry enters Italy, defeats Ardoin marquis of Ivrea who had made himself king there, and is crowned king at Pavia.
- 1014 Henry re-enters Italy, meeting with little opposition, although some of the cities had continued to recognize Ardoin, and is crowned Emperor at Rome by Pope Benedict VIII. The kingdom of Italy thenceforward goes with the Empire.
- 1024 Henry II (the Saint) dies (he was canonized in 1152 by Pope Eugenius III, and his wife Cunigunda was subsequently



- canonized by Pope Innocent III) : a great assembly of the German princes held on the banks of the Rhine below Worms chooses Conrad duke of Franconia (surnamed the Salic) to be king. He was a descendant in the female line of Otto the Great.
- 1026 Conrad (II of Germany) enters Italy, where attempts had been made to set up members of the French royal house as king : he is crowned king of Italy at Pavia.
- 1027 Conrad is crowned Emperor at Rome, in the presence of Cnut king of England and Denmark and of Rudolf king of Burgundy, who escort him to his lodgings. Quarrel between the German troops and the Romans in which many of the latter are slain.
- 1032-3 Death of Rudolf king of Burgundy : Conrad II obtains the kingdom in pursuance of arrangements made with Rudolf, and is recognized by the nobles and bishops. The practical independence of the great lay vassals of the Empire and prelates in the Saone and Rhone valleys, and in the country between the Jura and the Pennine Alps, dates from this time, because these districts lay far from the centre of German power.
- 1035-8 Troubles in Italy : Heribert archbishop of Milan resists the Emperor : Conrad II fails to reduce the rebels, but at Rome restores Pope Benedict IX, whom the Romans had expelled. He loses great part of his army by disease.
- 1039 Death of Conrad II : he is succeeded by his son Henry (III of Germany), surnamed The Black, who had been chosen king of Germany in his lifetime.
- 1046 Henry III enters Italy : is crowned at Milan, deposes two rival Popes and obtains the resignation of a third, secures the election of Pope Clement II, and is crowned Emperor by him at Rome.
- 1041 Norman adventurers under the sons of Tancred of Hauteville begin to carry on war against the East Roman Empire in Southern Italy, and ultimately (1071) win the whole country.
- 1051 Dispute between Pope Leo IX and the Patriarch of Constantinople, the latter refusing to admit the superiority of the See of Rome. A schism results which lasts till the Council of Florence in 1438-9.

- 1053 The Normans defeat and capture Pope Leo IX, who had marched against them; they presently set the Pope free, and restore the lands taken from the See of Rome. In 1059 Robert Wiscard, now the chief of the Normans, who had owned himself vassal to the Chair of St. Peter for his conquests in Calabria and Apulia, is created by Pope Nicholas II duke of Apulia and Calabria.
- 1056 Death of Henry III: he is succeeded by his son Henry, then six years of age, who had been already chosen and crowned king.
- 1059 Pope Nicholas II lays down new rules for papal elections, vesting the primary choice in the cardinals, while reserving the rights of the clergy and people of Rome, and of the Emperor Henry IV, to give their consent.
- 1071 The East Roman Emperor Romanus Diogenes is defeated and captured at Manzikert by the Turkish Sultan Alp Arslan: the Turks begin the conquest of Asia Minor.
- 1073-4 Great revolt of the Saxons against the Emperor, who after a struggle overcomes them. They revolt again, and peace is not restored till 1097.
- 1075 Quarrel of Henry with Pope Gregory VII (elected in 1073) over the investiture of clerics. The Pope excommunicates the Emperor (1076).
- 1077 Henry submits to Gregory at Canosa and is absolved, but soon after strife is renewed; a rival Emperor (Rudolf of Swabia) is chosen in Germany against Henry, and civil war follows there, while an anti-pope is elected against Gregory.
- 1081 Henry enters Italy, besieges and after three years captures Rome (except the castle of St. Angelo, where Gregory VII holds out): he is crowned Emperor by his anti-pope.
- 1084 Robert Wiscard, summoned by Gregory, enters Rome; it is subsequently sacked by his troops; destruction and ultimate desolation of the parts of the city lying on the Aventine and Coelian hills: Gregory returns with Robert to South Italy, and dies at Salerno (1085).
- On the death of Rudolf, Hermann of Luxemburg is set up against Henry as ruler in Germany; he abandons the contest in 1088.
- 1090 Conquest of Sicily from the Muslims by the Normans is completed; South Italy and Sicily are ultimately erected into a

kingdom. Roger is crowned king of Sicily in 1130: Pope Innocent II yields South Italy by a treaty in 1139.

- 1096 Beginning of the First Crusade: the Crusaders take Jerusalem in 1099, and make Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, king.
- 1105-6 Henry IV is dethroned by his second son, Henry, who, supported by the papal party, becomes king as Henry V, and is crowned at Mentz. (Henry IV dies in 1106.)
- 1111 Henry V descends into Italy, enters Rome to be crowned, seizes Pope Paschal II (upon the failure of an agreement by which the Church was to surrender its possessions, and Henry consequently his right of investiture) keeps him and the cardinals prisoners, and extorts a treaty admitting the Emperor's right of clerical investiture. He is then crowned by the Pope, and returns to Germany. The Pope, when released, finds that the clergy will not accept the treaty and is obliged to disavow it. The contest over the investiture of ecclesiastics by laymen continues.
- 1122 Concordat of Worms between Pope Calixtus II and the Emperor, by which the question of investitures is compromised.
- 1125 Henry V dies, leaving no male heir: Lothar, duke of Saxony, is chosen to succeed him. A quarrel breaks out between Lothar and Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, which is the origin of the long strife of the houses of Welf (so called) and Waiblingen (Waiblingen was a small town belonging to the Hohenstaufen, whose name is said to have been on one occasion used as a battle-cry). Conrad, duke of Franconia, brother of Frederick of Swabia, disputes the throne with Lothar, enters Italy, and is crowned at Monza and Milan. The hostility of the Pope, however, prevents him from maintaining authority there, and he and Frederick ultimately submit.
- 1133 Lothar II is crowned Emperor in Rome by Pope Innocent II. He had held the Pope's stirrup at an interview in Germany, and desiring papal support he took an oath to defend the Holy See, and acknowledged papal rights over part of the territories that had belonged to the Countess Matilda. This was afterwards represented as a recognition of papal suzerainty; but Lothar maintained the rights secured by the Concordat of Worms.

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- 1138 Lothar II, after a successful war against the Normans of South Italy, dies in Tyrol: Conrad of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, is chosen king in his stead, to the displeasure of the Saxons and Bavarians, with whom he soon finds himself at war.
- 1144 Revolt of the Romans against Pope Innocent II: preaching of Arnold of Brescia: republican institutions are reorganized and envoys sent to Conrad III to obtain his support.
- 1146 Conrad III starts on the Second Crusade, but returns having lost his army and effected little.
- 1152 Death of Conrad, who had never carried out his intention of receiving the imperial crown at Rome. His nephew Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, is chosen king and crowned at Aachen with the general approval of the nation.
- 1154 Frederick enters Italy, where he finds Milan and other Lombard cities disobedient.
- 1155 Frederick I meets Pope Hadrian IV outside Rome, and after some resistance consents to hold the stirrup for him, and at his demand seizes and puts to death Arnold of Brescia. He is crowned by the Pope in St. Peter's, but is unable to force his way into Rome.
- 1157 Diet at Besançon, where the great Burgundian vassals do homage to the Emperor. Indignation at the assertion made by the papal legate that the Empire was held from the See of Rome.
- 1158-62 Frederick carries on war with the recalcitrant Lombard cities and destroys Milan. Diet at Roncaglia.
- 1160 Double election to the Papacy of Alexander III and Victor IV. Frederick sides with Victor. Long conflict between Alexander and the Empire, the Pope supporting the North Italian cities against Frederick. Alexander, at first driven to take refuge in France, returns to Rome (1165) and deposes the Emperor.
- 1167-76 Further strife in Italy, ending with the defeat of Frederick's army by the allied cities at Legnano.
- 1177 Reconciliation of Frederick and Pope Alexander III at Venice.
- 1180-1 Henry (the Lion) duke of Saxony, who had failed to support Frederick in the campaign of Legnano, is condemned by the Diet at Wurzburg to lose his possessions: he resists by

force of arms, but is ultimately obliged to submit, losing his duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, but receiving back some part of his estates.

1183 Peace of Constance between Frederick and the confederated Lombard cities: they secure internal self-government and the right of making peace and war, and are thenceforward practically independent.

1186 Marriage of Henry, eldest son of Frederick, to Constantia, daughter of Roger II king of Sicily, and heiress of the Norman kingdom.

1189 Frederick leads a German host (estimated at 100,000 men) on the Third Crusade. After traversing Bulgaria and Asia Minor, he is drowned in the river Kalykadnus in Cilicia, in 1190; and is succeeded by his eldest son, Henry VI, who had been already (as a child) chosen king and crowned at Aachen.

1189 Death of William the Good, king of Sicily. The Sicilian kingdom and South Italy are claimed by Henry in right of his wife: but he is resisted by Tancred (illegitimate son of Roger, son of Roger II), and does not master Sicily till 1194.

1190 Foundation of the Teutonic Order of Knights by Frederick (son of the Emperor Frederick I) while commanding the German Crusaders after his father's death.

1191 Henry VI is crowned Emperor at Rome.

1194 Richard I king of England (made prisoner in 1192 by the duke of Austria) surrenders the kingdom of England to the Emperor and receives it back as a fief on his liberation.

1197 Death of Henry VI at Messina: he had caused his son Frederick, a child of three, to be chosen king two years previously.

1198-1208 Disputed election. Philip of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, brother of Henry VI, had at first tried to rule as regent on behalf of his infant nephew Frederick, but when this proves impossible in face of the opposition of Pope Innocent III, he secures his own election by a large majority of the great princes. The Pope, however, raises up a party against him and procures the election of Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion (late duke of Saxony) and of Matilda (sister of Richard I of England). Civil war in Germany, terminated by the murder of Philip in 1208.

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- 1204 A French army and Venetian fleet starting for the Fourth Crusade besiege and take Constantinople, and set up Baldwin as East Roman Emperor. The East Romans found an empire at Nicaea which lasts till 1261, when they recover Constantinople.
- 1208 Otto, on his rival's death, is formally re-elected Emperor, and next year visits Rome, and is crowned Emperor by Innocent III.
- 1210-18 Otto IV quarrels with Innocent, who encourages Frederick (son of Henry VI) to put himself at the head of the party in Germany, which is hostile to Otto IV. Frederick is elected king and crowned at Mentz (1212) and at Aachen (1215). Otto IV retires to his dominions in Brunswick, and dies (1218) after an unsuccessful war against Philip of France.
- 1216 The Order of St. Dominic is recognized by the Pope, and in 1223 the Order of St. Francis is also recognized.
- 1220 Frederick II, by a solemn act (subsequently called a Pragmatic Sanction) issued in a Diet at Frankfort, extends large powers to the ecclesiastical princes. A similar Sanction some years later extends the privileges of the secular princes. He is crowned emperor at Rome. Disputes soon after arise between him and the Pope, nominally arising out of his delay in setting out on a crusade.
- 1226 The Lombard cities renew their league against the Emperor.
- 1227 Open breach between Frederick and Pope Gregory IX, who excommunicates him.
- 1228-9 Frederick II sets out on his Crusade, reaches Jerusalem, and returns, having made a favourable treaty with the Sultan of Egypt.
- 1228-40 Establishment of the Teutonic Knights on the eastern frontier of Germany and conquest by them of the Lithuanians of Old Prussia.
- 1230 Reconciliation of the Pope and Frederick II, who is absolved.
- 1235 War between the Emperor and the Lombard League, the Pope supporting the cities. It lasts during the rest of Frederick II's reign.
- 1235-40 Strife of Gregory IX and the Emperor, whom he excommunicates (1239), then preaches a crusade against him, and tries to stir up an insurrection in Germany.

- 1241 Beginnings of the Hanseatic League of cities.
- 1242 A Mongol host invades Germany and is defeated in Moravia and Austria.
- 1243 Election of Pope Innocent IV (a teacher of law at Bologna), who soon resumes hostilities against the Emperor, and in Councils held at Lyons (1244-5) excommunicates and deposes him, and excites some of the German princes to set up Henry of Thuringia, and afterwards (1247) William of Holland, as pretenders to the crown. William is crowned at Aachen, and maintains his pretensions till his death in 1256. Anarchy in Germany.
- 1250 Frederick II, who had been constantly engaged in fighting the Gueft party in Italy, dies in Apulia. He is succeeded by his son Conrad IV, who had been chosen king in his father's lifetime (1237).
- 1250-4 Conrad IV, excommunicated by Pope Innocent, enters Italy and maintains the war there against the cities and the papal forces, while William of Holland is generally recognized in northern and middle Germany. Both there and in Italy anarchy continues. There has been, however, during Frederick's reign a great increase in the population and wealth of the German cities, which had been favoured by Frederick I.
- 1254 Death of Conrad IV: the rights to the German territories of the Hohenstaufen and to the kingdom of Sicily pass to his son Conrad (Conradin), a child of two, while his illegitimate brother Manfred continues the war in South Italy against the Pope and the Guefts, or papal party, till his death in the battle of Benevento in 1266.
- 1256-7 An interregnum follows the death of William of Holland, which ends with the double election of Richard earl of Cornwall (brother of the English king Henry III), and, by another section of the electors, a little later, of Alfonso X, king of Castile. Richard crosses to Germany and is crowned at Aachen. Alfonso remains in Spain. Richard retains the title of Emperor till his death in 1271, but is only thrice in Germany and never exercises effective authority there.
- 1261 Michael Palaeologus recovers Constantinople from the Latin Emperor and re-establishes an Orthodox dynasty there.
- 1268 Conradin, last male descendant of the Swabian emperors, enters Italy with a German army, but is defeated at Tagliacozzo

- by the army of Charles of Anjou and beheaded at Naples.
- 1273 Rudolf count of Hapsburg is chosen king and crowned at Aachen: he conciliates the Pope, and never enters Italy.
- 1277-82 Rudolf deprives Ottocar king of Bohemia of the Austrian territories and after a time bestows them, as well as Styria and Carniola, on his sons, laying the foundation of the territorial power of the house of Hapsburg.
- 1291 Death of Rudolf. He had failed to secure the fixing of the imperial crown as hereditary in his house, and even the election of his son Albert; the electors choose Adolf count of Nassau, a man of ability and energy but of slender resources.
- 1298 A revolt organized by Albert of Hapsburg and the archbishop of Mentz breaks out. Adolf is deposed, but resists: he is killed by the hand of Albert in battle at Göllheim near Worms, having never entered Italy to receive the imperial crown.
- Albert of Hapsburg, duke of Austria, is chosen king and crowned at Aachen: Pope Boniface VIII refuses to recognize him.
- 1302 Dante Alighieri with the party of the White Guelfs is driven into exile from Florence: he writes his *De Monarchia* probably a little before, or in, 1311 or 1312, and dies at Ravenna in 1321.
- 1303 Boniface VIII, being engaged in a fierce strife with Philip IV of France, becomes reconciled to Albert and invites him to come to Rome to be crowned: which however Albert never does. Boniface is seized at Anagni by an armed band in the service of Philip IV of France, and dies a few days afterwards.
- 1305 Clement V (a Gascon by birth) becomes Pope. Moved by the constant rebellions and disorders of Rome for a long time previously, he removes the Papal Court to Avignon, where it remains for seventy years.
- 1307-8 League of the inhabitants of Schwytz Uri and Unterwalden to defend themselves against the oppression of the officers of Albert of Hapsburg: it is the germ of the Swiss Confederation. Albert marches against the Swiss, but is murdered on the banks of the Reuss by his nephew John in 1308.
- 1308 Henry count of Luxemburg is chosen king: he presently secures the kingdom of Bohemia for his family: and he



recognizes the exemption of the three Swiss Cantons from the feudal rights of the counts of Hapsburg.

- 1310 Henry VII, summoned to put an end to the disorders and civil wars of Italy, where most of the cities had fallen under the dominion of tyrants, crosses the Alps, is crowned king of Italy, fights his way into Rome, where he is resisted by a faction of the nobles and by the troops of the king of Naples, and is crowned Emperor by the legates of Pope Clement V. He carries on war against the Guelfs of Italy till his death in 1313.
- 1313-14 Double election of Lewis duke of Bavaria and Frederick duke of Austria, followed by a civil war between them.
- 1315 The Swiss Confederates defeat the Austrian troops at Morgarten, and thereby secure their freedom.
- 1322 Lewis of Bavaria defeats Frederick at Muhldorf and takes him prisoner: the civil war however continues till 1325.
- 1324 Open breach between Pope John XXII and Lewis IV. John excommunicates him. Lewis appeals to a General Council. Lewis obtains the support of the English philosopher William of Ockham and other Franciscans, and of Marsilius of Padua: they write treatises against the Pope.
- 1327-8 Lewis enters Italy, is welcomed at Rome by the citizens; is crowned Emperor by the Syndics whom they appoint for the purpose. In a solemn meeting of the people he deposes John XXII, and crowns a Franciscan friar whom the people had chosen Pope. Finding the Romans fickle and his forces insufficient, he leaves Rome, and, in 1329, returns to Germany, while Rome submits to the Pope. Lewis subsequently endeavours, but in vain, to make peace with John XXII, and afterwards with Benedict XII.
- 1338 The Germanic Diet at Frankfort solemnly protests against the pretensions of the Pope to supremacy over the Empire and declares that the Empire is held from God alone. The Electors at Rhense issue a similar declaration.
- 1343 Pope Clement VI renews the decrees of his predecessors against Lewis IV; Lewis sends envoys to Avignon; but the Pope's exorbitant demands are refused by the Germanic Diet: the Pope excommunicates Lewis, and sets up Charles king of Bohemia as rival to the throne. Charles is chosen king by the three ecclesiastical and by two lay electors.

- 1347-54 Cola di Rienzo effects a revolution at Rome, and is named Tribune with the assent of the papal legate: he falls from power after some months, escapes to the Apennines; goes to Bohemia, is imprisoned there by the Emperor Charles IV, and sent to Avignon, then sent back to Rome by Pope Clement VI with limited powers, and is killed in a popular outbreak in 1354.
- 1347 Death of Lewis IV: Charles king of Bohemia (grandson of the Emperor Henry VII) is opposed by several of the electors, who choose in succession king Edward III of England, who refuses (his Parliament objecting), Frederick marquis of Meissen (whom Charles buys off), and Gunther of Schwartzburg, who accepts, but dies soon after. Charles then has himself re-chosen and re-crowned at Aachen.
- 1354 Charles is crowned king of Italy at Milan and afterwards Emperor at Rome by the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, commissioned thereto by the Pope. He shews himself submissive to the Pope, quits Rome forthwith and returns promptly across the Alps.
- 1356 Charles IV promulgates in a Diet held at Nürnberg the famous Constitution called the Golden Bull (*Aurea Bulla*), which settles the composition of the Electoral College, the proceedings in imperial elections, and the privileges of the electors.
- 1365 Charles IV visits the Pope at Avignon and is crowned king of Burgundy. (It is the last Burgundian coronation.) He also visits the king of France.
- 1378 Death of Charles IV. His son Wenzel king of Bohemia, elected and crowned two years before, succeeds him.  
The election of two rival Popes, Urban VI and Clement VII, leads to the Great Schism of the West, which lasts till the Council of Constance.
- 1384-8 War breaks out between the League of cities (formed in South Germany some years before) and the League of princes: general disorder in Germany.
- 1395 Wenzel confers the title of Duke of Milan on Gian Galeazzo Visconti, tyrant of that city.
- 1400 Wenzel's neglect of his imperial duties and dissolute habits having provoked much displeasure, especially that of the clergy, who resent some of his ecclesiastical measures, four electors (the three Rhenish archbishops and the Count

Palatine) pronounce him to be deposed, and choose Rupert (of Wittelsbach), Count Palatine of the Rhine: he is crowned at Cologne, and recognized over most of Germany, but Wenzel retains his title and the kingdom of Bohemia till 1411, when he makes way for his brother Sigismund.

1409 Council of Pisa summoned to endeavour to put an end to the Great Schism.

1410 Death of Rupert, who, like Wenzel, had never been crowned at Rome, though he had made an (unfortunate) expedition into Italy in 1401.

1410-11 Disputed election of Sigismund king of Hungary (brother of Wenzel) and of Jobst margrave of Moravia (cousin of Wenzel). Death of Jobst: Sigismund is again chosen and (in 1414) crowned at Aachen.

1414 Meeting of the Council of Constance: it burns John Huss (although Sigismund had given him a safe-conduct), deposes the rival Popes John XXIII and Benedict XIII, procures the abdication of a third rival Pope, Gregory XII, secures the election of a new Pope, Martin V, and breaks up in 1418.

1415-17 Sigismund confers the Electorate of Brandenburg on Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burggrave of Nürnberg (ancestor of the present house of Prussia).

1431 Sigismund enters Italy, is crowned king at Milan and Emperor at Rome (1433).

1437 Death of Sigismund, who had done something to restore the credit of the Empire, but had not recovered any of its power.

1438 Albert of Hapsburg, duke of Austria, is elected king of the Romans, and soon afterwards becomes king of Hungary and Bohemia.

1438-9 A Council held first at Ferrara, then at Florence, is attended by the East Roman Emperor John Palaeologus: it effects a nominal reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches. Subsequent efforts of the Easterns to obtain armed help from the West against the Turks prove ineffective.

1439 Death of Albert II. Frederick of Hapsburg, duke of Styria, is elected to succeed him.

1452 Frederick III is crowned Emperor at Rome. It is the last imperial coronation there.

1453 Constantinople taken by the Turks. END OF THE EAST

- ROMAN EMPIRE. The (Christian) Empire of Trebizond lingers on till 1460, when it is overthrown by Mohammed II.
- 1454 A congress at Ratisbon deliberates on the proposal of a crusade against the Turks, but nothing follows.
- 1477 Marriage of Maximilian, son of Frederick III, to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Duke Charles the Bold. The Netherlands and Franche Comté are thus acquired by the house of Hapsburg. (Philip, offspring of this marriage, marries Juana of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile: their son is Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V.)
- 1485-1512 Efforts to improve the constitution of the Empire, at first led by Berthold Elector of Mentz, are made at successive Diets.
- 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1489 The Imperial cities are definitely recognized as members of the Germanic Diet.
- 1492 Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.
- 1493 Death of Frederick III: his son, Maximilian of Hapsburg (already elected), succeeds him.  
Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea: beginning of the oceanic empire of Portugal.
- 1508 Maximilian obtains the Pope's permission to call himself Emperor Elect.
- 1508 Luther begins to teach at Wittenberg.
- 1518 Zwingli is established as People's Priest at Zurich.
- 1519 Death of Maximilian I: his grandson Charles (king of Spain) is elected Emperor.
- 1520-1 Luther, excommunicated by the Pope, burns the Bull: he appears before Charles V at the Diet of Worms, and is put to the ban of the Empire.
- 1524-5 Insurrection of the peasants in South Germany.
- 1529 The German Reformers make their 'Protest' in the Diet of Speyer.
- 1530 Florence captured by the troops of Charles V: the Medici finally established as its rulers.
- 1531 Battle of Kappel, in which Zwingli is killed.  
The leading Protestant princes form the Smalkaldic League against the Emperor.
- 1534 The Society of Jesus established by Ignatius Loyola.

- 1545-63 **Sittings of the Council of Trent, which are several times suspended for long intervals during these eighteen years.**
- 1546 **Death of Martin Luther.**  
War between the Smalkaldic League and the Emperor: the princes of the League are defeated at Mühlberg (1547) and harshly treated.
- 1552 **The territories of the bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun are occupied by France: Charles V attempts in vain to recover them.**  
Maurice Elector of Saxony attacks the Emperor: chases him out of Tyrol and restores the Protestant cause in Germany.
- 1555 **Charles V abdicates and dies soon after in Spain (1558): he is succeeded by his brother Ferdinand, previously elected.**  
Proclamation of the so-called 'Religious Peace of Augsburg,' settled at the Diet held there in 1554; it allows each German prince to enforce on his subjects the religion he had adopted: permits the Lutheran princes to retain all ecclesiastical estates occupied before 1552, but strips of his lands and dignities any prelate forsaking the Roman communion.
- 1560 **The Protestants, invited by the Emperor to the Council of Trent, refuse to attend. The Council closes in 1563, having settled and defined the Catholic faith.**
- 1563-8 **The Elector of Brandenburg secures for his house the succession of the dukedom of Prussia.**
- 1564 **Death of the Emperor Ferdinand I: his son, Maximilian II, previously elected, succeeds, and endeavours to conciliate the Protestants.**
- 1576 **Death of Maximilian II: his son, Rudolf II, becomes Emperor.**
- 1608 **Formation in Germany of a Protestant Union of Princes and a Catholic League of Princes.**
- 1612 **Death of Rudolf II: his brother Matthias becomes Emperor.**
- 1618 **A conflict in Bohemia, putting the torch to the inflammable material all over the central and western parts of the Empire, causes the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.**
- 1619 **Death of Matthias: his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, becomes Emperor.**
- 1621 **Frederick the (Protestant) Elector Palatine, who had been chosen king of Bohemia, is driven out, and (1623) deprived of his Electorate, which is given by the Emperor to (the Catholic) Maximilian of Bavaria.**

- 1628 The successes of Wallenstein, Ferdinand II's chief general, against the Protestants are arrested by the resistance of the town of Stralsund. Sweden prepares to enter the war.
- 1630 Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, enters Germany and turns the balance of the war in favour of the Protestants. He defeats Wallenstein at Lützen in 1632, but is himself killed.
- 1640-88 Reign of Frederick William, 'the Great Elector,' in the Electorate of Brandenburg, the power of which he greatly increases.
- 1648 The Thirty Years' War is ended, after protracted negotiations, by the Treaties of Osnabrück and Münster (Treaty of Westphalia).
- 1692 An Electorate of Hanover (the ninth, as the Count Palatine had recovered his electoral rights in 1648) is conferred on the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (father of the English king George I), and the title of Arch Treasurer of the Empire is attached to it.
- 1700-1 Frederick Elector of Brandenburg becomes King of Prussia by the sanction of the Emperor.
- 1740 Death of the Emperor Charles VI. Extinction of the male line of Hapsburg.  
Accession of Frederick II (the Great) to the throne of Prussia. The intrigues of France, pursuing her usual anti-Austrian policy, procure the election as Emperor of Charles, Elector of Bavaria (Charles VII). A war follows, in which Charles is driven from his dominions.
- 1745 Death of Charles VII. Francis, duke of Lorraine, who had married Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI, is elected Emperor and crowned at Frankfort.
- 1756-63 The Seven Years' War, in which Frederick of Prussia successfully resists Austria, France, and Russia.
- 1765 Death of the Emperor Francis I: his son Joseph, elected in his lifetime, becomes Emperor.
- 1772 First Partition of Poland between Austria, Russia, and Prussia.
- 1781 Joseph II, among other reforms, proclaims religious toleration and attempts to reduce clerical power. The Pope comes next year to Vienna, but effects nothing. Joseph visits Rome, but is not crowned there.
- 1786 Death of Frederick the Great of Prussia.
- 1789 Meeting of the French States General at Versailles: beginning of the Revolution.

- 1792-5 War between the French Republic and Prussia.
- 1792-7 War between the French Republic and Austria. Austria cedes Lombardy and receives the territories of Venice.
- 1801 By the Peace of Luneville, closing a second war between Austria and the French, the internal constitution of the Empire is completely altered and additional territory taken from it.
- 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte becomes Emperor; he considers himself the successor of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West.
- 1805 The overthrow of Austria and Russia by Napoleon at Austerlitz is followed by the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of France.
- 1806 Abdication of the Emperor Francis II. END OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.
- 1814-15 Fall of the Napoleonic Empire.  
Congress of Vienna: establishment of the Germanic Confederation.
- 1820 The Vienna Final Act varies and completes the constitution of the Confederation.
- 1830 Revolution in France: establishment of a constitutional monarchy under Louis Philippe.
- 1833-5 Establishment of the German Customs Union (Zollverein), which includes all the German States except Austria.
- 1837 Great Britain ceases, by the passing of Hanover away from the British Crown to Ernest Augustus (brother of the late King William IV), to be a member of the Germanic Confederation.
- 1847 Creation of a Parliament for the whole Prussian monarchy.
- 1848 Revolution in France: a Republic is set up, which in 1851-2 is turned first into a ten years' Presidency, then into an Empire, under Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.
- 1848-50 Revolution in Vienna, risings in the German capitals: a national Parliament meets in Frankfort and offers the title of Emperor to the king of Prussia, who refuses. The Confederation is re-established in 1851.
- 1859 Formation of the popular league called the National Union in Germany, followed (1862) by the rival Reform Union in the interests of conservatism and of Austria.
- 1859-60 War of France and the kingdom of Sardinia against Austria: Lombardy is ceded and added to Piedmont; the people expel

- the minor Italian princes, whose territories pass to the king of Sardinia; he thereupon becomes king of Italy: Garibaldi drives the Bourbons out of Sicily and Naples. The French, who had occupied Rome in 1849, still hold it for the Pope.
- 1862 Bismarck becomes chief minister of Prussia, and engages in a long struggle with the Prussian Parliament over its right to control military expenditure.
- 1863-4 A conflict, passing into war, begins between Denmark and the German Confederation, Prussia, and Austria, over the succession to Schleswig-Holstein: defeat of the Danes, who cede these duchies to Prussia and Austria.
- 1866 War of Prussia and Italy against Austria, and also of Prussia against some of the States of the Confederation: victory of Prussia. Austria is compelled to withdraw from the Confederation, which ceases to exist. Prussia, annexing four German States, forms a North German Confederation under her presidency out of the Northern and Middle States, and subsequently concludes military treaties with Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hessen-Darmstadt.
- 1870-1 War between the French Empire and Germany, the South German States siding with the North German Confederation. France cedes Alsace and part of Lorraine to Germany: the North German Confederation is extended by the adhesion of the South German States to include all Germany (Austria still remaining outside), and is reconstituted as a GERMAN EMPIRE with the king of Prussia as Hereditary Emperor. The Italian troops enter Rome, which, with the territory round it that had remained to the Pope, becomes part of the kingdom of Italy, the Pope retiring to the Vatican, where he has since remained.



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE



# THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

OF those who in August, 1806, read in the newspapers CHAP. I. that the Emperor Francis II had announced to the Germanic Diet his resignation of the imperial crown there were probably few who reflected that the oldest political institution in the world had come to an end. Yet it was so. The Empire which a note issued by a diplomatist on the banks of the Danube extinguished was the same which the crafty nephew of Julius had won for himself, against the powers of the East, beneath the cliffs of Actium; and which had preserved almost unaltered, through eighteen centuries of time, and through the greatest changes in extent, in power, and in character, a title and pretensions from which their ancient meaning had long since departed. Nothing else so directly linked the old world to the new — nothing else displayed so many strange contrasts of the present and the past, and summed up in those contrasts so much of European history. From the days of Constantine till far down into the Middle Ages it was, conjointly with the Papacy, the recognized centre and head of Christendom, exercising over the minds of men an influence such as its material strength could never have commanded.

It is of this influence and of the causes that gave it power rather than of the external history of the Empire that the following pages are designed to treat. That

## CHAP. I.

history is indeed full of interest and brilliancy, of grand characters and striking situations. But it is a subject too vast for any single canvas. Without a minuteness of detail sufficient to make its scenes dramatic, and give us a lively sympathy with the actors, a narrative history can have little value and still less charm. But to trace with any minuteness the career of the Empire, would be to write the history of Christendom from the fifth century to the twelfth, of Germany and Italy from the twelfth to the nineteenth; while even a narrative of more restricted scope, which should attempt to disengage from a general account of the affairs of those countries the events that properly belong to imperial history, could hardly be compressed within reasonable limits. It is therefore better, declining so great a task, to attempt one simpler and more practicable though not necessarily inferior in interest; to speak less of events than of principles, and endeavour to describe the Empire not as a State but as an Institution, an institution created by and embodying a wonderful system of ideas. In pursuance of such a plan, the forms which the Empire took in the several stages of its growth and decline must be briefly sketched. The characters and acts of the great men who founded, guided, and overthrew it must from time to time be touched upon. But the chief aim of the treatise will be to dwell more fully on the inner nature of the Empire, as the most signal instance of the fusion of Roman and Teutonic elements in modern civilization: to shew how such a combination was possible; how Charles and Otto were led to revive the imperial title in the West; how far during the reigns of their successors it preserved the memory of its origin, and influenced the European commonwealth of nations.

Strictly speaking, it is from the year 800 A.D., when a King of the Franks was crowned Emperor of the Romans

by Pope Leo III, that the beginning of the Holy Roman Empire must be dated. But in history there is nothing isolated, and just as to explain a modern Act of Parliament or a modern conveyance of lands we must go back to the feudal customs of the thirteenth century, so among the institutions of the Middle Ages there is scarcely one which can be understood until it is traced up either to classical or to primitive Teutonic antiquity. Such a mode of inquiry is most of all needful in the case of the Holy Empire, itself no more than a tradition, a fancied revival of departed glories. And thus one who seeks to explain out of what elements the imperial system was formed, might be required to scrutinize the antiquities of the Christian Church, to survey the constitution of Rome in the days when Rome was no more than the first of the Latin cities, nay, to travel back yet further to that Jewish theocratic polity whose influence on the minds of the mediaeval priesthood was necessarily so profound. Practically, however, it may suffice to begin by glancing at the condition of the Roman world in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. We shall then see the old Empire with its scheme of absolutism fully matured; we shall mark how the new religion, rising in the midst of a hostile power, ends by embracing and transforming it; and we shall be in a position to understand what impression the whole huge fabric of secular and ecclesiastical government which Roman and Christian had piled up made upon the barbarian tribes who pressed into the charmed circle of the ancient civilization.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE ENTRANCE OF THE BARBARIANS

CHAP. II.  
*The Roman  
Empire in  
the second  
century.*

THAT ostentation of humility which the subtle policy of Augustus had conceived, and the jealous hypocrisy of Tiberius maintained, was gradually dropped by their successors, till despotism became at last recognized in principle as the government of the Roman Empire. With an aristocracy decayed, a populace degraded, an army no longer recruited from Italy, the semblance of liberty that yet survived might be swept away with impunity. Republican forms had never been known in the provinces, and the aspect which the imperial administration had originally assumed there soon reacted on its position in the capital. Earlier rulers had disguised their supremacy by making a slavish senate the instrument of their more cruel or arbitrary acts. As time went on, even this veil was withdrawn; and in the age of Septimius Severus the Emperor stood forth to the whole Roman world as the single centre and source of political power and action. The warlike character of the Roman State was preserved in his title of Commander (*Imperator*); his provincial lieutenants were military governors; and a more terrible enforcement of the theory was found in his practical dependence on the army, at once the origin and the support of his authority. But, as he united in himself every function of government, his sovereignty was civil as well as military. Laws ema-

A.D. 193-211.

nated from him ; all officials acted under his commission ; the sanctity of his person bordered on divinity. This increased concentration of power was mainly required by the necessities of frontier defence, for within there was more decay than disaffection. Few troops were quartered through the country : few fortresses checked the march of armies in the struggles which placed Vespasian and (a century later) Severus on the throne. The distant crash of war from the Rhine or the Euphrates was scarcely heard or heeded in the profound calm of the Mediterranean coasts, where, after the extinction of piracy, fleets had ceased to be maintained. No quarrels of race or religion disturbed that calm, for all national distinctions were becoming merged in the idea of a common Empire. The gradual extension of Roman citizenship through the founding of *coloniae*, first throughout Italy and then in the provinces, the working of the equalized and equalizing Roman law, the even pressure of the government on all subjects, the movements of population caused by commerce and the slave traffic, were steadily assimilating the various peoples. Emperors who were for the most part natives of the provinces cared little to cherish Italy or even, after the days of the Antonines, to conciliate Rome. It was their policy to keep open for every subject a career by whose freedom they had themselves risen to greatness, and to recruit the senate from the most illustrious families in the cities of Gaul, Spain, and Asia. The edict by which Caracalla extended to all natives of the Roman world the rights of Roman citizenship, though prompted by no motives of generosity, proved in the end a boon. Annihilating distinctions of legal status among freemen, it completed the work which trade and literature and toleration to all beliefs but one were already performing, and left, so far as we can tell, only one nation still cherishing

*Obliteration  
of national  
distinctions.*

A.D. 211-217.

## CHAP. II.

*The capital.*

a national feeling.<sup>a</sup> The Jew was kept apart by his religion: but the Jewish people was already dispersed over the world. Speculative philosophy lent its aid to this general assimilation. Stoicism, with its doctrine of a universal system of nature, made minor distinctions between man and man seem insignificant: and by its teachers the idea of a world-commonwealth whereof all men are citizens was for the first time proclaimed. Alexandrian Neo-Platonism, uniting the tenets of many schools, and bringing the mysticism of Egypt and the East into connection with the logical philosophies of Greece, had opened up a new ground of agreement or controversy for the minds of all the world. Yet the commanding position of the Roman city was scarcely shaken. The actual power of her assemblies had indeed long since departed. Rarely were her senate and people permitted to choose the sovereign: more rarely still could they influence his policy. Neither law nor custom raised the inhabitants of the city above other subjects, or accorded to them any advantage in the career of civil or military ambition. As in time past Rome had sacrificed domestic freedom in making herself the mistress of others, so now in becoming the Universal State,<sup>b</sup> she, the conqueror, had descended to the level of the conquered.<sup>c</sup> But the sacrifice had not wanted its reward. From her came the laws and the language that had overspread the world:<sup>d</sup> at her feet

<sup>a</sup> As to this gift of citizenship, reference may be made to an essay on the Extension of Roman and English Law throughout the World in the author's *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. I.

<sup>b</sup> As it was said, *Urbs fiebat Orbis*.

<sup>c</sup> Under Diocletian, the provincial land tax and provincial system of administration were introduced into Italy, and the four imperial residences were Milan, Treves, Sirmium (in Pannonia), and Nicomedia (in Bithynia).

<sup>d</sup> *Conditæ est civitas Roma per quam Deo placuit orbem debellare terrarum et in unam societatem reipublicæ legumque longè lateque pacare.*—St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 22.



the nations laid the offerings of their labour : she was the head of the Empire and of civilization, and in riches, fame, and splendour far outshone as well the other cities of that time as the fabled glories of Babylon or Persepolis. CHAP. II.

Scarcely had these slowly-working influences brought about this unity, when other influences began to threaten it. New foes assailed the frontiers ; while the loosening of the structure within was shewn by the long struggles for power which followed the death or deposition of each successive emperor. In the period of anarchy after the fall of Valerian, generals were raised by their armies in every part of the Empire, and ruled great provinces as monarchs apart, owning no allegiance to the possessor of the capital. The breaking-up of the Western half of the Empire into separate kingdoms might have been anticipated by two hundred years had the barbarian tribes on the borders been bolder, or had there not arisen in Diocletian a prince active and skilful enough to bind up the fragments before they had lost all cohesion, meeting altered conditions by new remedies. A.D. 253-270.

The policy he adopted of dividing and localizing authority recognized the fact that the weakened heart could no longer make its pulsations felt to the body's extremities. He parcelled out the supreme power among four monarchs, ruling as joint-emperors in four capitals, and then sought to give it a factitious strength by surrounding it with an oriental pomp which his earlier predecessors would have scorned. The sovereign's person became more sacred, and was removed further from the subject by the interposition of a host of officials. The prerogative of Rome was menaced by the rivalry of Nicomedia, and the nearer greatness of Milan. *Diocletian,*  
A.D. 284-305.

Constantine trod in the same path, developing the system of titles into a sort of nobility, separating the civil from the military functionaries, placing counts and dukes along *Constantine,*  
A.D. 306-337.

CHAP. II.

the frontiers and in the cities, making the household larger, its etiquette stricter, its offices more dignified, though to a Roman eye degraded by their attachment to the monarch's person. The crown became, for the first time, the fountain of honour.

These expedients proved insufficient to prop the tottering fabric of imperial administration. Taxation, which grew always heavier as the number of persons who bore it was reduced, depressed the aristocracy:° population decreased, agriculture withered, serfdom spread: it was found more difficult to raise native troops and to pay any troops whatever. The removal by Constantine of the imperial residence to Byzantium, if it prolonged the life of the Eastern half of the Empire, shook the Empire as a whole, by accelerating the separation of East and West. By that removal Rome's self-abnegation that she might Romanize the world was completed; for though the new capital preserved her name, and followed her customs and precedents, yet now the imperial sway ceased to be connected with the city which had created it. Thus did the idea of Roman monarchy become more universal; for, having lost its local centre, it subsisted no longer by historic right only, but, so to speak, naturally, as a part of an order of things which a change in external conditions seemed incapable of disturbing. Henceforth the idea of a Roman Empire might stand unaffected by the disasters of the city. And though, after the partition of the Empire had been confirmed by Valentinian I, and finally settled on the death of Theodosius the Great, the seat of the Western government was removed first to Milan and then to Ravenna, neither event destroyed Rome's prestige, nor

A.D. 364.

A.D. 395.

° According to the vicious financial system that prevailed, the *curiales* in each city were required to collect the taxes, and when there was a deficit, to supply it from their own property.

the notion of a single imperial nationality common to all her subjects. The Syrian, the Pannonian, the Briton, the Spaniard, still called himself a Roman.<sup>f</sup> CHAP. II.

For that imperial nationality was now beginning to be supported by a new and vigorous power. The emperors had indeed opposed Christianity as disloyal and revolutionary: had more than once put forth their whole strength to root it out. But the unity of the Empire, and the ease of communication through its parts, had favoured the spread of the new faith: persecution had scattered the seeds more widely, had forced on it a firm organization, had given it martyr-heroes and a history. When Constantine, partly perhaps from a genuine moral sympathy, yet doubtless also in the well-grounded belief that he had more to gain from the zealous support of its professors than he could lose by the aversion of those who still cultivated a languid paganism, extended toleration to Christianity and ultimately embraced it himself, it was already a great political force, able, and not more able than willing, to repay him by aid and submission. Yet the league was struck in no mere mercenary spirit, for *Christianity.*

*Its alliance  
with the  
State.*

<sup>f</sup> See the eloquent passage of Claudian, *In secundum consulatum Stilichonis*, 129 sqq., and especially the following lines (150-160):

‘Haec est in gremio victos quae sola recepit,  
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,  
Matris, non dominae, ritu; civesque vocavit  
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.  
Huius pacificis debemus moribus omnes  
Quod veluti patriis regionibus utitur hospes:  
Quod sedem mutare licet: quod cernere Thulen  
Lusus, et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus:  
Quod bibimus passim Rhodanum, potamus Orontem,  
Quod cuncti gens una sumus. Nec terminus unquam  
Romanae ditionis erit.’

St. Patrick (a younger contemporary of Claudian), in his Epistle to Coroticus, speaks of the Christians of Gaul as Romans.

CHAP. II.

the league was inevitable. Of the evils and dangers incident to such an alliance of the civil and the ecclesiastical authority as that which grew up in the century after Constantine, there was as yet no experience: of that antagonism between Church and State which to a modern appears so natural, there was not even an idea. In the Psalms and the historical books of the Old Testament (the influence of which on the early Christians was profound) the unity of the nation stands based upon religion: Israel is the people of Jehovah, owes Him collective as well as individual worship, conquers and prospers by His help. Among the Romans religion had been an integral part of the political constitution, a matter far more of national or tribal or family feeling than of personal devotion to a spiritual power.<sup>8</sup> Both in Israel and at Rome the mingling of religious with civic patriotism had been harmonious, giving strength and elasticity to the whole body politic. So perfect a union was now no longer possible in the Roman Empire, for the Christian community had already a governing body of its own in those rulers and teachers on whom the growth of sacramentalism, and of sacerdotalism its necessary consequence, was every day conferring more and more power, while marking them off more sharply from the mass of the Christian people. Since therefore the ecclesiastical organization could not be identical with the civil, it became its counterpart. Suddenly called from danger and ignominy to the seat of power, and finding her inexperience perplexed by a sphere of action vast and varied, the Church was compelled to continue the process on which she had already entered of framing her government upon the model of the secular administration. Where her own machinery was defective, as in the case of doctrinal dis-

<sup>8</sup> In the Roman jurisprudence, *ius sacrum* is a branch of *ius publicum*.

putes affecting the whole Christian world, she sought the interposition of the Sovereign; in all else she strove not to sink into, but to reproduce for her own ecclesiastical purposes, the imperial system. And just as with the extension of the Empire all the independent rights of districts, towns, or tribes had disappeared, so now the primitive freedom and diversity of individual Christians and local churches, already circumscribed by the frequent struggles against heresy and schism, was finally overborne by the idea of one Visible Catholic Church, uniform in faith and ritual; uniform too in her relation to the civil power and the increasingly oligarchical character of her government. Thus, under the combined force of doctrinal theory and practical needs, there shaped itself a hierarchy of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, their jurisdiction, although still chiefly spiritual, recognized, and after a time enforced, by the laws of the State, their provinces and dioceses usually corresponding to the administrative divisions of the Empire. As no patriarch yet enjoyed more than an honorary supremacy, the earthly head of the Church—so far as she could be said to have a head—was virtually the Emperor himself. The presumptive right to intermeddle in religious affairs which he had in heathen times derived from the office of Pontifex Maximus, regularly assumed by the successors of Augustus, was readily admitted; and the clergy, preaching the duty of obedience now as it had been preached even in the days of Nero and Decius,<sup>h</sup> were well pleased to see him

<sup>h</sup> 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but from God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God' (Rom. xiii. 1). 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the Emperor as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well' (1 Pet. ii. 13). So Tertullian, writing circ. A.D. 200, says: 'Sed

## CHAP. II.

preside in General Councils, issue edicts against heresy, and testify even by arbitrary measures his zeal for the advancement of the faith and the overthrow of pagan rites.<sup>1</sup> But though the tone of the Church remained humble, her strength waxed greater, nor were occasions wanting which revealed the future that was in store for her. The resistance to the Emperor of St. Athanasius (Archbishop of Alexandria), and his final triumph in the long struggle against the Arians, proved that the new society could put forth a power of opinion such as had never been known before: the abasement of Theodosius the Emperor before Ambrose the Archbishop admitted the supremacy of spiritual authority. In the decrepitude of old institutions, in the barrenness of literature and the feebleness of art, it was to the Church that the life and feelings of the people sought more and more to attach themselves; and when in the fifth century the horizon grew black with clouds of ruin, those who watched with despair or apathy the approach of irresistible foes, fled for comfort to the shrine of a religion which even those foes revered.

*It embraces  
and preserves  
the imperial  
idea.*

But that which we are above all here concerned to remark is, that this church system, demanding a more rigid uniformity in doctrine and organization, making more and more vital the notion of a visible body of worshippers united by participation in the same sacraments, maintained

quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christiana in imperatorem quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum quem Dominus noster elegerit. Et merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus.' — *Apologet.* cap. 34.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius describes Constantine as a sort of 'Summus episcopus': οὐκ ἴσως κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθεσταμένος συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρίβηται. And Constantine (according to Eusebius) described himself to the bishops in a similar way: ὑμεῖς τῶν εἰσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἄν εἶην.

and propagated afresh the feeling of a single Roman people throughout the world. Christianity as well as civilization became conterminous with the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> To be a Roman was to be a Christian : and this idea soon passed into the converse. To be a Christian was to be a Roman. CHAP. II.

<sup>1</sup> See the book of Optatus, Bishop of Milevis (circ. A.D. 370), *Contra Donatistas*. 'Non enim respublica est in ecclesia, sed ecclesia in republica, id est, in imperio Romano, cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus' (p. 999 of vol. ii of Migne; *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*). The treatise of Optatus is full of interest, as shewing the growth of the idea of the visible Church, and of the primacy of Peter's chair, as constituting its centre and representing its unity. In the end of the fifth century, the only Christian countries outside the limits of the Empire were Ireland and Armenia, and Armenia, maintaining a precarious existence beside the great Persian monarchy of the Sassanid kings, had been for a long time virtually dependent on the Roman power.

## CHAPTER III

### THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

CHAP. III.  
*The barbarians.*

B.C. 101.

UPON a world so constituted did the barbarians of the North descend. From the dawn of history they shew as a dim background to the warmth and light of the Mediterranean coasts, changing little while kingdoms rise and fall in the South, only thought on when some hungry swarm comes down to pillage or to settle. It is always as foes that they are known. The Romans never forgot the invasion of Brennus; and their fears, renewed by the irruption of the Cimbri and Teutones, could not let them rest till the extension of the frontier to the Rhine and the Danube removed Italy from immediate danger. A little more perseverance under Tiberius, or again under Hadrian, would probably have reduced all Germany as far as the Baltic and the Oder. But the politic or jealous advice of Augustus<sup>a</sup> was followed, and it was only along the frontiers that Roman arts and culture affected the Teutonic races. Commerce was brisk; Roman envoys penetrated the forests to the courts of rude chieftains; adventurous barbarians entered the provinces, sometimes to admire, oftener, like the brother of Arminius,<sup>b</sup> to take service under the Roman flag, and rise to a distinction in the legion which some

<sup>a</sup> 'Addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.'—Tac. *Ann.* i. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Tac. *Ann.* ii. 9.



feud denied them at home. This was found even more convenient by the hirer than by the hired ; till by degrees barbarian mercenaries came to form the largest, and certainly the most efficient, part of the Roman armies. The bodyguard of Augustus had been so composed ; the prætorians were generally selected from the bravest frontier troops, most of them German ; the practice could not but increase with the extinction of the free peasantry, the growth of villenage, and the effeminacy of all classes. Emperors who were, like Maximin, themselves sprung from a barbarian stock, encouraged a system by whose means they had risen, and whose advantages they knew. After Constantine, the levies from outside the Empire form the majority of the troops ; after Theodosius, a Roman is the exception. The soldiers of the Eastern Empire in the time of Arcadius are almost all Goths, vast bodies of whom had been settled in the provinces ; while in the West, Stilicho<sup>c</sup> can oppose Rhodogast only by summoning the German auxiliaries from the frontiers. Along with this practice there had grown up another, which did still more to make the barbarians feel themselves members of the Roman State. The pride of the old republic had been exclusive, but under the Empire the maxim was accepted that neither birth nor race should exclude a subject from any post which his abilities deserved. This principle, which had removed all obstacles from the path of the Spaniard Trajan, the Thracian Maximin, the Arabian Philip, was afterwards extended to the conferring of honour and power on persons who did not even profess to have passed through the grades of Roman service, but remained leaders of their own tribes. Ariovistus had been soothed by the title of Friend of the Roman People ; in the third century the insignia of the

CHAP. III.

*Admitted to  
Roman titles  
and honours.*

A.D. 405.

<sup>c</sup> Stilicho, the bulwark of the Empire, seems to have been himself a Vandal by extraction.

## CHAP. III.

consulship<sup>d</sup> were conferred by Gallienus on Naulobatus a Herulian chief: Crocus and his Alemanni entered as an independent body into the service of Rome; along the Rhine whole tribes received, under the name of Laeti, lands within the provinces on condition of military service; and the foreign aid which the Sarmatian had proffered to Vespasian against his rival, and Marcus Aurelius had indignantly rejected in the war with Cassius, became the usual, at last the sole support of the Empire, in civil as well as in external strife.

Thus in many ways was the old antagonism broken down — Romans admitting barbarians to rank and office, barbarians catching something of the manners and culture of their neighbours. And thus when the final movement came, and the Teutonic tribes slowly established themselves through the provinces, they entered not as savage strangers, but as settlers knowing something of the system into which they came, and not unwilling to be considered its members; despising the degenerate provincials who struck no blow in their own defence, but full of respect for the majestic power which had for so many centuries confronted and instructed them.

*Their feelings towards the Roman Empire.*

Great during all these ages, but greatest when they were actually traversing and settling down in the Empire, must have been the impression which its elaborate machinery of government and mature civilization made upon the minds of the Northern invaders. With arms whose fabrication they had learned from their foes, these children of the forest conquered well-tilled fields, and entered towns whose busy workshops, marts stored with the productions of distant countries, and palaces rich in monuments of

<sup>d</sup> Not the consulship itself, but the *ornamenta consularia*. An Aquitanian chieftain was legate of Central Gaul (Lugdunensis) under the name of Julius Vindex in A.D. 68.

art, equally roused their wonder. To the beauty of statuary or painting they might often be blind, but the rudest mind must have been awed by the massive piles with which vanity or devotion, or the passion for amusement, had adorned Milan and Verona, Arles, Treves, and Bordeaux. A deeper awe would strike them as they gazed on the crowding worshippers and stately ceremonial of Christianity, most unlike their own rude sacrifices. The exclamation of the Goth Athanarich, when led into the market-place of Constantinople, may stand for the feelings of his nation : 'Without doubt the Emperor is a God upon earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood.'<sup>e</sup>

The social and political system, with its cultivated language and literature, into which they came, would impress fewer of the conquerors, but by those few would be admired beyond all else. Its regular organization supplied what they most needed and could least construct for themselves, and hence it was that the greatest among them were the most desirous to preserve it. Except Attila the Hun, there is among these terrible hosts no destroyer; the wish of each leader is to maintain the existing order, to spare life, to respect every work of skill and labour, above all to perpetuate the methods of Roman administration, and rule the people as the deputy or successor of their Emperor. Titles conferred by him were the highest honours they knew : they were also the only means of acquiring something like a legal grant of authority, a claim to the obedience of the provincial subject, and of turning a patriarchal or military chieftainship into the regular sway of an hereditary monarch. Civilis had long since endeavoured to govern his Batavians as a Roman general.<sup>f</sup> Alarich became master-general of the armies of Illyricum. Clovis exulted in the bestowal of an honorary consulship ;

*Their desire  
to preserve  
its institu-  
tions.*

<sup>e</sup> Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i and iv.

## CHAP. III

his grandson Theodebert addresses the Emperor Justinian as 'Father.'<sup>g</sup> Sigismund the Burgundian king, created count and patrician by the Emperor Anastasius, professed the deepest gratitude and the firmest faith to that Eastern court, which was powerless to help or to hurt him. 'My people is yours,' he writes, 'and to rule them delights me less than to serve you; the hereditary devotion of my race to Rome has made us account those the highest honours which your military titles convey; we have always preferred what an Emperor gave to all that our ancestors could bequeath. In ruling our nation we hold ourselves but your lieutenants: you, whose divinely-appointed sway no barrier bounds, whose beams shine from the Bosphorus into distant Gaul, employ us to administer the remoter regions of your Empire: your world is our fatherland.'<sup>h</sup>

A contemporary historian has recorded the remarkable disclosure of his own thoughts and purposes, made by one of the ablest of the barbarian chieftains, Athaulf the West Goth, the brother-in-law and successor of Alarich. 'It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untameable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, and that to abolish the laws on which the state rests would destroy the state itself, I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power

<sup>g</sup> 'Praecellentissimo Domino et Patri.' — Letters printed in Dom Bouquet, iv, *Epp.* 15 and 16.

<sup>h</sup> Letter printed among the works of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (*Migne's Patrologia*, vol. lix, p. 285).

This letter is obviously the composition not of Sigismund himself, but of Avitus, writing on Sigismund's behalf. But this makes it scarcely less valuable evidence of the feelings of the time.

which I could not replace. Wherefore I avoid war and strive for peace.'<sup>1</sup>

The records of the time, scanty as they are, shew us how valuable was the experience of Roman officials to princes who from leaders of tribes had become rulers of wide lands; and in particular how indispensable the aid of the Christian bishops, the intellectual aristocracy of their new subjects, whose advice could alone guide the policy of the conqueror and secure the good-will of the vanquished. Not only is this true; it is but a small part of the truth, one form of that manifold and overpowering influence which the old system exercised over the intruding strangers not less than over its own children. For it is hardly too much to say that the thought of antagonism to the Empire and the wish to extinguish it never crossed the mind of the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> The conception of that Empire was too universal, too august, too enduring. It was everywhere around them, and they could remember no time when it had not been so. It had no association of people or place whose fall could seem to involve that of the whole fabric; it had that connection with the Christian Church which made it all-embracing and venerable.

<sup>1</sup> 'Referre solitus est (sc. Ataulphus) se in primis ardentem inhiasse: ut obliterato Romanorum nomine Romanum omne solum Gothorum imperium et faceret et vocaret: essetque, ut vulgariter loquar, Gothia quod Romania fuisset; fieretque nunc Ataulphus quod quondam Caesar Augustus. At ubi multa experientia probavisset, neque Gothos ullo modo parere legibus posse propter effrenatam barbariem, neque reipublicae interdici leges oportere sine quibus respublica non est respublica, elegisse se saltem, ut gloriam sibi de restituendo in integrum augendoque Romano nomine Gothorum viribus quaereret, habereturque apud posteros Romanae restitutionis auctor postquam esse non potuerat immutator. Ob hoc abstinere a bello, ob hoc inhiare paci nitebatur.' — Orosius, vii. 43.

<sup>1</sup> Athaulf formed only to abandon it.

When in A.D. 587 Reccared, king of the West Goths of Spain, renounced Arianism to adopt the orthodoxy of the Empire, he called himself Flavius.

CHAP. III.  
*The belief in  
 its eternity.*

There were especially two ideas whereon it rested, and from which it obtained a peculiar strength and a peculiar direction. The one was the belief that as the dominion of Rome was universal, so must it be eternal. Nothing like it had been seen before. The empire of Alexander had lasted a short lifetime; and within its wide compass were included many arid wastes, and many tracts where none but the roving savage had ever set foot. That of the Italian city had for fourteen generations embraced all the most wealthy and populous regions of the civilized world, and had laid the foundations of its power so deep that they seemed destined to last for ever. If Rome moved slowly for a time, her foot was always planted firmly: the ease and swiftness of her later conquests proved the solidity of the earlier; and to her, more justly than to his own city, might the boast of the Athenian statesman be applied: that she advanced farthest in prosperity, and in adversity drew back the least. From the end of the republican period her poets, her orators, her jurists, ceased not to repeat the claim of world-dominion, and confidently predict its eternity.<sup>k</sup> The proud belief of his countrymen which Virgil had expressed —

‘His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:  
 Imperium sine fine dedi’ —

was shared by the early Christians when they prayed for the persecuting power whose fall would bring Antichrist upon earth. Lactantius (a contemporary of Constantine) writes: ‘When Rome the head of the world shall have fallen, who can doubt that the end is come of human

<sup>k</sup> See, among other passages, Varro, *De lingua Latina*, iv. 34; Cic. *Pro Domo*, 33; Virg. *Aen.* ix. 448; Hor. *Od.* iii. 30. 8; Tibull. ii. 5. 23; Ovid, *Am.* i. 15. 26; *Trist.* iii. 7. 51; and cf. the Digest of Justinian, book xiv. 2. 9; and i. 1. 33 (‘Roma communis nostra patria’). The phrase ‘*urbs aeterna*’ appears in a constitution issued by Valentinian III (*Nov. Valent.* 17).

Tertullian speaks of Rome as ‘*civitas sacrosancta*.’

things, aye, of the earth itself. She, she alone is the state by which all things are upheld even until now; wherefore let us make prayers and supplications to the God of heaven, if indeed His decrees and His purposes can be delayed, that that hateful tyrant come not sooner than we look for, he for whom are reserved fearful deeds, who shall pluck out that eye in whose extinction the world itself shall perish.'<sup>1</sup> With the triumph of Christianity this belief had found a new basis. For as the Empire had decayed, the Church had grown stronger: and now while the one, trembling at the approach of the destroyer, saw province after province torn away, the other, rising in stately youth, prepared to fill her place and govern in her name, and in doing so, to adopt and sanctify and propagate anew the notion of a universal and unending state.

The second chief element in this conception was the association of such a state with its absolute and irresponsible head, the Emperor. The hatred to the name of King, which their earliest political struggles had left in the Romans, by attaching to their ruler a new and strange title, marked him off from all the other sovereigns of the world. To the provincials especially he became an awful impersonation of the great machine of government which moved above and around them. It was not merely that he was, like a modern king, the centre of power and the dispenser of honour: his pre-eminence, broken by no comparison with other princes, by the ascending ranks of no titled aristocracy, had in it something almost supernatural. The right of legislation had become vested in him alone: the decrees of the people, and resolutions of the senate, and edicts of the magistrates were, during the last three centuries, replaced by imperial 'Constitutions'; his domestic council, the Consistory, was the supreme

*Sanctity of  
the imperial  
name.*

<sup>1</sup> See Note I at the end.

## CHAP. III.

court of appeal; his interposition, like that of some terrestrial Providence, was invoked, and legally provided so to be, to reverse or overleap the ordinary rules of law.<sup>m</sup> From the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus his person had been hallowed by the office of chief pontiff<sup>n</sup> and the tribunician power; to swear by his head was considered the most solemn of all oaths;<sup>o</sup> his effigy was sacred,<sup>p</sup> even on a coin; to him or to his Genius temples were erected and divine honours paid while he lived;<sup>q</sup> and when, as it was expressed, he ceased to be among men, the title of Divus was accorded to him, after a solemn consecration.<sup>r</sup> In the confused multiplicity of mythologies, the worship of the Emperor was the only worship common to the whole Roman world, and was therefore

<sup>m</sup> For example, by the 'restitutio natalium,' and the 'adrogatio per rescriptum principis,' or, as it is expressed, 'per sacrum oraculum.'

<sup>n</sup> Even the Christian Emperors took the title of Pontifex Maximus, till Gratian refused it as unlawful: ἀθέμιστον εἶναι Χριστιάνῳ τὸ σχῆμα νομίσας. — Zosimus, lib. iv. cap. 36. Pope Gelasius I (*Tractat.* iv. 11), noting that Melchizedek had been both king and priest, says that the Devil imitated this arrangement when he made the Roman Emperors chief pontiffs; but when Christ the true King and Priest came, He provided that the two offices should be thereafter distinct.

<sup>o</sup> 'Maiore formidine et callidior timiditate Caesarem observatis quam ipsum ex Olympo Iovem, et merito, si sciatis. . . Citius denique apud vos per omnes Deos quam per unum genium Caesaris peieratur.' — Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xxviii.

Cf. Zos. v. 51: εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τετυχηκέε διδόμενος ὄρκος, ἦν ἂν ὡς εἰκὸς παριδεῖν ἐνδίδοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ συγγνώμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμωμόκεσαν κεφαλῆς, οὐκ εἶναι θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν τοσοῦτον ὄρκον ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

<sup>p</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 73; iii. 38, etc.

<sup>q</sup> It is curious that this should have begun in the first years of the Empire. See, among other passages that might be cited from the Augustan poets, Virg. *Georg.* i. 24; iv. 560; Hor. *Od.* iii. 3, 11; Ovid, *Épp. ex Ponto*, iv. 9, 105.

<sup>r</sup> Hence Vespasian's dying jest, 'Ut puto, deus fio.' The title was not conferred upon Emperors of evil memory.



that usually proposed as a test to the Christians on their trial. Under the new religion the form of adoration vanished, the sentiment of reverence remained: and the right to control the Church as well as the State, admitted by the bishops assembled in the first oecumenical council at Nicaea, and frequently exercised by the sovereigns of Constantinople, made the Emperor hardly less essential to the new conception of a world-wide Christian monarchy than he had been to the military despotism of old.

These considerations explain why the men of the fifth century, clinging to preconceived ideas, and filled with the belief, drawn from Jewish prophecy, that the great Fourth Kingdom was to last till the end of the world, refused to believe in that dissolution of the Empire which they saw with their own eyes. Because it could not die, it lived. And there was in the slowness of the change and its external aspect, as well as in the fortunes of the capital, something to favour the illusion. The Roman name was shared by every subject; the Roman city was no longer the seat of government, nor did her capture extinguish the imperial power, for the maxim was now accepted, Where the Emperor is, there is Rome.\* But her continued existence, not permanently occupied by any conqueror, striking the nations with an awe which the history or the external splendours of Constantinople, Milan, or Ravenna could nowise inspire, was an ever new assertion of the endurance of the Roman race and dominion. Dishonoured and defenceless, the spell of her name was still strong enough to arrest the conqueror in the moment of triumph. The irresistible impulse that drew Alarich was one of glory or revenge, not of destruction: the Hun turned back from Aquileia with a vague fear upon him: the Ostrogoth adorned and protected his splendid prize.

\* *ὅπου ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾖ, ἐκεῖ ἡ Ῥώμη* — says Herodian.

CHAP. III.  
*Last days of  
 the Western  
 Empire.*  
 A.D. 408.

In the history of the last days of the Western Empire, two points deserve special remark: its continued union with the Eastern branch, and the way in which its ideal dignity was respected while its representatives were despised. Stilicho was the last statesman who could have saved it. After his death, and after the City had been captured by Alarich in A.D. 410, the fall of the Western throne, though delayed for two generations by traditional reverence, became practically certain. While one by one the provinces were abandoned by the central government, left either to be occupied by invading tribes or to maintain a precarious independence, like Britain and the Armo-rican cities, by means of municipal unions, Italy lay at the mercy of the barbarian auxiliaries and was governed by their leaders. The degenerate line of Theodosius might have seemed to reign by hereditary right, but after their extinction in Valentinian III it was from the haughty Ricimer, general of the barbarian troops, that each phantom Emperor — Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Anthemius, Olybrius — received the purple only to be stripped of it when he presumed to forget his dependence. Though the division between Arcadius and Honorius had definitely severed the two realms for administrative purposes, they were still deemed to constitute a single Empire, and the rulers of the East interfered more than once to raise to the Western throne princes they could not protect upon it. Ricimer's insolence quailed before the shadowy grandeur of the imperial title: his ambition, and that of Gundobald his successor, were bounded by the name of Patrician. The bolder genius of Odoacer,<sup>†</sup> commander of the barbarian

A.D. 395.

<sup>†</sup> Odoacer or Odovacar, as it seems his name ought to be written, is usually, but incorrectly, described as a King of the Heruli, who led his people into Italy and overthrew the Empire of the West; others call him King of the Rugii, or Skyrrri, or Turcilingi, or even of the Goths, for the name 'Goth' was sometimes used to denote the Teutonic invaders generally. The truth

auxiliaries, resolved to abolish an empty pageant, and extinguish the title and office of Emperor in the West. Yet over him too the spell had power; and as the Gaulish warrior had gazed on the silent majesty of the senate in a deserted city, so the Herulian revered the power before which the world had bowed, and though there was no force to check or to affright him, shrank from grasping in his own barbarian hand the sceptre of the Caesars. When, at Odoacer's bidding, Romulus, nicknamed Augustulus, the boy whom a whim of fate had chosen to be the last native Caesar of Rome, had formally announced his resignation to the senate, a deputation from that body proceeded to the Eastern court to lay the insignia of royalty at the feet of the reigning Emperor Zeno. The West, they declared, no longer required an Emperor of its own: one monarch sufficed for the world; Odoacer was qualified by his wisdom and courage to be the protector of their state, and upon him Zeno was entreated to confer the title of Patrician and the administration of the Italian provinces.<sup>u</sup> The Emperor, though he reminded the Senate that their request ought rather to have been made to the lately dispossessed Western Emperor Julius Nepos, granted what he could not refuse, and wrote to Odoacer, address-

*Its extinction  
by Odoacer,  
A.D. 476.*

seems to be that he was not a king at all, but the son of a Skyrrian chieftain (Edecon, possibly the same Edecon as the one whom Attila sent as an envoy to Constantinople), whose personal merits made him chosen by the barbarian auxiliaries to be their leader. The Skyrri were a small tribe, apparently akin to the more powerful Heruli, whose name is often extended to them.

<sup>u</sup> Αὔγουστος ὁ Ὀρέστου υἱὸς ἀκούσας Ζήνωνα πάλιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακεκτῆσθαι τῆς ἔω. . . ἠνάγκασε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποστεῖλαι πρεσβεῖαν Ζήνωνι σημαίνουσαν ὡς ἰδίᾳς μὲν αὐτοῖς βασιλείας οὐ δέοι, κοινὸς δὲ ἀποχρήσει μόνος ὢν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πέρασι. τὸν μὲντοι Ὀδοάχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προβεβλήσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα σώζειν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πράγματα πολιτικῆν ἔχων νοῦν καὶ σύνεσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ μάχιμον, καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ζήνωνος πατρικίου τε αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰτάλων τουτῷ ἐφεῖναι διοίκησιν. — *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byzant.*, vol. xix. p. 235 (Excerpta e Malchi *Hist.*).

## CHAP. III.

ing him as Patrician. Assuming the title of King,<sup>x</sup> Odoacer continued the consular office, respected the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of his subjects, and ruled for fourteen years under the nominal suzerainty of the Eastern Emperor.<sup>y</sup> There was thus legally no extinction of the Western Empire at all, but only a reunion of East and West. In form, and to some extent also in the belief of men, things now reverted to their state during the first two centuries of the Empire, save that New Rome on the Bosphorus instead of Old Rome on the Tiber was the centre of the civil government. The joint tenancy which had been conceived by Diocletian, carried further by Constantine, renewed under Valentinian I and again at the death of Theodosius, had come to an end; once more did a single Emperor sway the sceptre of the world, and head an undivided Catholic Church. To those who lived at the time, this year (A.D. 476) was no such epoch as it has since become, nor was any impression made on men's minds commensurate with the real significance of the event. It is, indeed, one of the most striking instances in history of a change whose magnitude was not perceived until long after it occurred. For though the cessation of an Emperor reigning in the West did not destroy the Empire in idea, nor wholly even in fact, its consequences were from the first immense. It hastened the development of a Latin as opposed to Greek and Oriental forms of Christianity: it emancipated the Popes: it gave a new character

<sup>x</sup> Not king of Italy, as is often said. The barbarian kings did not for several centuries employ territorial titles; *Rex Angliae* is not seen till Henry I: *Rex Franciae* not till Henry IV (of France), and Jordanes and Cassiodorus tell us that Odoacer never so much as assumed the insignia of royalty; but there is a coin on which he appears as 'rex.'

<sup>y</sup> As to Odoacer and the occurrences of A.D. 476, cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii. p. 518 sqq.

<sup>z</sup> Statues of Zeno as reigning Emperor were set up in Rome.

to the projects and government of the Teutonic rulers of the Western countries. But the importance of remembering its formal aspect to those who witnessed it will be felt as we approach the era when the Empire was revived by Charles the Frank. CHAP. III.

Odoacer's monarchy was not more oppressive than were those of the barbarian kings who were reigning in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. But the confederated mercenary troops who supported it were a loose swarm of predatory tribes: themselves without cohesion, they could take no firm root in Italy. Under his rule no progress seems to have been made towards the reorganization of society; and the first real attempt to blend the peoples and maintain the traditions of Roman wisdom in the hands of a new and vigorous race was reserved for a more famous chieftain, the greatest of all the barbarian conquerors, the forerunner of the first barbarian Emperor, Theodorich the Ostrogoth. The aim of his reign, though he professed deference to the Eastern court which had favoured the invasion in which he overthrew Odoacer, and whose titular supremacy he did not reject,<sup>a</sup> was the establishment of what would have become a national monarchy in Italy. Brought up as a hostage in the court of Constantinople, he learned to know the advantages of an orderly and cultivated society and the principles by which it must be maintained; called in early manhood to roam as a warrior-chief over the plains of the Danube, he acquired along with the arts of command a sense of the superiority of

*Odoacer.*

*Theodorich,*  
A.D. 493-  
526.

<sup>a</sup> 'Nil deest nobis imperio vestro famulantibus,' writes Theodorich to Zeno: So to Anastasius I, 'Pati vos non credimus inter utrasque respublicas quarum semper unum corpus sub antiquis principiis fuisse declaratur aliquid discordiae permanere. . . . Romani regni unum velle, una semper opinio sit' (Cassiod. *Variar.* i. 1). Cf. Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 57. So in a letter to the Emperor Anastasius 'Regnum nostrum imitatio vestri' (Cassiod. *Variar.* i. 1).

## CHAP. III.

his own people in valour and energy and truth. When the defeat and death of Odoacer had left both Italy and Sicily at his mercy, he sought no further conquest, easy as it would have been to tear away new provinces from the Eastern realm, but strove only to preserve and strengthen the ancient polity of Rome, to breathe into her decaying institutions the spirit of a fresh life, and without endangering the military supremacy of his own Goths, to conciliate by indulgence and gradually raise to the level of their masters the degenerate population of Italy. The Gothic nation appears from the first less cruel in war and more sage in council than any of their Germanic brethren:<sup>b</sup> all that was noble among them shone forth now in the rule of the greatest of the Amals. From his palace at Verona,<sup>c</sup> commemorated in the song of the Nibelungs, he issued equal laws for Roman and Goth, and bade the intruder, if he must occupy part of the lands, at least respect the goods and the person of his fellow subject. Jurisprudence and administration remained in native hands: two annual consuls, one named by Theodorich, the other by the Eastern monarch, presented an image of the ancient state; and while agriculture and the arts revived in the provinces, Rome herself celebrated the visits of a master who provided for the wants of her people and preserved with care the monuments of her former splendour.<sup>d</sup> With peace and plenty men's minds took hope, and the study of letters revived. The last gleam of classical literature gilds the reign of the barbarian.

By the consolidation of the two races under one wise

<sup>b</sup> 'Unde et paene omnibus barbaris Gothi sapientiores exstiterunt Graecisque paene consimiles.' — Jord. cap. 5.

<sup>c</sup> See Note II at the end.

<sup>d</sup> He restored some of the buildings which were already falling to ruin in the Roman Forum. Bricks stamped with his name were found in 1902 near the south-west end of the recently uncovered floor of the Basilica Aemilia.

government, Italy might have been spared six hundred years of gloom and degradation. It was not so to be. Theodorich was tolerant, but toleration was itself an offence in the eyes of his orthodox subjects: the Arian Goths were and remained strangers and enemies among the Catholic Italians. Scarcely had the sceptre passed from the hands of Theodorich to his weaker offspring, when Justinian, who had viewed with jealousy the greatness of his nominal lieutenant, determined to assert his dormant rights over Italy and Sicily; its people welcomed Belisarius as a deliverer, and in the long struggle that followed the race and name of the Ostrogoths perished for ever. Thus again reunited in fact, as it had been all the while united in theory, to the Roman Empire, Italy was divided into counties and dukedoms, and obeyed the exarch of Ravenna, viceroy of the East Roman court, till the arrival of the Lombards in A.D. 568 drove him from some districts, and left him only a feeble authority over the Eastern and Southern parts of the peninsula.

*Italy and Sicily conquered by Justinian, A.D. 535-553.*

Beyond the Alps, though the Roman population had by this time ceased to seek help from the Eastern sovereigns, the Empire's rights were still deemed to subsist, though as respects Gaul they were deemed to have been yielded by Justinian to the Franks.<sup>e</sup> As has been said,

*The trans-alpine provinces.*

<sup>e</sup> Procopius tells us that when the Ostrogoths found themselves unable to defend their territories in South-eastern Gaul, they yielded these to Theodebert, king of the Franks, who thereupon obtained a confirmation of his possession from Justinian. Thus the barbarians obtained Marseilles, and celebrated at Arles the equestrian contest, probably the *ludus Troianus*, which had been instituted by Augustus, *καὶ νῦν κάθηνται μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ τὸν ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι* (*Bell. Goth.* iii. 33). He adds that the Franks did not think their acquisition of Gaul secure until it had been formally ratified by the Emperor.

The (almost contemporary) Life of St. Trevirius says that the saint lived 'eo tempore quo Gallia sub imperii iure Iustini consulis (the Emperor Justin I) exstitit,' and refers to the reign of Theodebert as the time when 'reges Gallia-

## CHAP. III.

those rights had been admitted by the conquerors themselves: by Athaulf, when he reigned in Aquitaine as the vicar of Honorius, and recovered Spain from the Suevi to restore it to its ancient masters; by the West Gothic kings of Spain, when they permitted the Mediterranean cities to send tribute to Constantinople; by Clovis, when, after the representatives of the old government, Syagrius and the Armorican cities, had been conquered or absorbed, and the West Gothic kingdom in Aquitaine had been overthrown, he received with delight from the Eastern emperor Anastasius the grant of a Roman dignity to confirm his possession. Arrayed like a Fabius or Valerius in the consul's purple robe and senatorial chlamys, the Sicambrian chieftain rode through the streets of Tours, while the shout of the provincials hailed him Augustus.<sup>f</sup> They already obeyed him, but his power was now legalized in their eyes, and it was not without a melancholy pride that they saw the terrible conqueror himself yield to the spell of the Roman name, and do homage to the enduring majesty of their legitimate sovereign.

*Lingering  
influences  
of Rome.*

Yet the severed limbs of the Empire forgot by degrees their original unity. As in the breaking up of the old society, which we trace from the sixth to the eighth century, rudeness and ignorance grew apace, as language and manners were changed by the infiltration of Teutonic settlers, as men's thoughts and hopes and interests were

rum Francorumque suae ditioni, sublato imperii iure, gubernacula ponerent, et sublata Reipublicae dominatione, propria fruerentur potestate.'—Extract from *Vita S. Trevir.* in Dom Bouquet, iii. 441.

<sup>f</sup> 'Igitur Chlodovechus ab imperatore Anastasio codicillos de consulatu accepit, et in basilica beati Martini tunica blattea indutus est et chlamyde, imponens vertici diadema . . . et ab ea die tanquam consul aut (= et) Augustus est vocitatus.'—Gregory of Tours, ii. 38. He may probably have also received the title of Patrician: a poem in Dom Bouquet, ii. 538, says of him, 'Patricius magno sublimis fulsit honore.'



narrowed by isolation from their fellows, as the organization of the Roman province and the Germanic tribe alike dissolved into a chaos whence the new order began to shape itself, dimly and doubtfully as yet, the memory of the old Empire, its symmetry, its sway, its civilization, must needs wane and fade. It might have perished altogether but for the two enduring witnesses Rome had left — her Church and her Law. The barbarians had at first associated Christianity with the Romans from whom they learned it: the Romans had used it as their only bulwark against oppression. The hierarchy were the natural leaders of the people, and the necessary councillors of the king. Their power grew with the decay of civil government and the spread of superstition; and when the Frank found it too valuable to be abandoned to the vanquished people, he insensibly acquired the feelings and policy of the order which he entered.

*Religion.*

As the Empire fell to pieces, and the new kingdoms which the conquerors had founded began in their turn to dissolve, the Church clung more closely to her unity of faith and discipline, the common bond of all Christian men. That unity must have a centre, that centre was Rome. A succession of able and zealous pontiffs extended her influence — the sanctity and the writings of Gregory the Great were famous through all the West. Never permanently occupied by barbarians, she retained her peculiar character and customs, and laid the foundations of a power over men's souls more durable than that which she had lost over their bodies.<sup>§</sup> Only second in

*Jurisprudence.*

<sup>§</sup> Even so early as the middle of the fifth century, St. Leo the Great could say to the Roman people, 'Isti (*sc.* Petrus et Paulus) sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram B. Petri sedem caput orbis effecta latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.' — *Sermon on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.* (Opp. *ap.* Migne, tom. i. p. 336.)

CHAP. III.

importance to this influence was that which was exercised by the permanence of the old law, and of its creature the municipal organization of the cities. The barbarian invaders retained the customs of their ancestors, characteristic memorials of a rude people, as we see them in the Salic law or in the ordinances of Ini and Alfred. But the subject population and the clergy continued to be governed by that elaborate system which the genius and labour of many generations had raised to be the most lasting monument of Roman greatness.

The civil law had maintained itself in Spain and Southern Gaul, nor was it utterly forgotten even in the North, in Britain, on the borders of Germany. Revised collections of extracts from the Theodosian Code and other Roman law books were issued by the West Gothic and Burgundian princes.<sup>b</sup> For some centuries it was the patrimony of the subject population everywhere, and in Aquitaine and Italy has outlived feudalism. The presumption that all men were to be judged by it who could not be proved to be subject to some other law continued to be accepted down to the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Its phrases, its forms, its courts, its subtlety and precision, all recalled the strong and cultivated society which had produced it. Other

<sup>b</sup> The *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, published by the Burgundian kings at the beginning of the sixth century, and the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (*Breviarium Alaricianum*), published in or about A.D. 506, continued to form bodies of written law which were in use for a long time, and became the kernel of the customary law which grew up in South-eastern and Southern Gaul.

Agathias, writing at Constantinople in the middle of the sixth century, says the Franks had adopted much of the Roman administration and law, *οἱ Φράγγοι πολιτεία ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χρῶνται Ῥωμαϊκῇ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ἀμφὶ τε τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ γάμους καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείαν νομίζουσιν* (*Hist.* i. 2).

<sup>1</sup> 'Ius Romanum est adhuc in viridi observantia et eo iure praesumitur quilibet vivere nisi adversum probetur,' says Maranta in the sixteenth century.

motives, as well as those of kindness to their subjects, made the new kings favour it ; for it exalted their prerogative, and the submission enjoined by it on one class of their subjects soon came to be demanded from the other, by their own Teutonic customs almost the equals of the prince. Considering attentively how many of the old institutions continued to subsist, and studying the ideas of that time, as they are faintly preserved in its scanty records, it seems hardly too much to say that in the eighth century the Roman Empire still existed in the West: existed in men's minds as a power weakened, delegatèd, suspended, but not destroyed.

It is easy for those who read the history of an age in the light of those that followed it, to perceive that in this men erred ; that the tendency of events was wholly different ; that society had entered on a new phase, wherein every change did more to localize authority and strengthen the aristocratic principle at the expense of the despotic. We can see that other forms of life, more full of promise for the distant future, had already begun to shew themselves. They, with no type of power or beauty but that which had filled the imagination of their forefathers, and now loomed on them grander than ever through the mist of centuries, mistook (as did many of the great spirits of Italy down to the days of Dante and Rienzo) memories for hopes, and sighed only for the renewal of its strength. Events were at hand by which these hopes seemed destined to be gratified.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

CHAP. IV.

It was towards Rome as their ecclesiastical capital that the thoughts and hopes of the men of the sixth and seventh centuries were constantly directed. Yet not from Rome, feeble and corrupt, nor on the exhausted soil of Italy, was the deliverer to arise. Just when, as we may suppose, the vision of a renewal of imperial authority in the Western provinces was beginning to vanish away, there appeared in the furthest corner of Europe, sprung of a race but lately brought within the pale of civilization, a line of chieftains devoted to the service of the Holy See, and among them one whose power, good fortune, and heroic character pointed him out as worthy of a dignity to which doctrine and tradition had attached a sanctity almost divine.

*The  
Franks.*

Of the new monarchies that had risen on the ruins of Rome, that of the Franks was by far the greatest. In the third century they appear, with Saxons, Alemanni, and Thuringians, as one of the greatest German tribe leagues. The Sicambri (for it seems probable that this famous race was a chief source of the Frankish nation) had now laid aside their former hostility to Rome, and her future representatives were thenceforth, with few intervals, her faithful allies. Many of their chiefs rose to high places: Malarich receives from Jovian the charge of the Western provinces; Bauto and Mellobaudes figure in the days of Theodosius

and his sons; the legendary Merovech (grandfather of Clovis, and supposed to be the son of a water-sprite), whose name has given itself to the Merwing dynasty, is said to have fought under Aetius against Attila in the great battle of Chalons; his countrymen endeavoured in vain to save Gaul from the Suevi and Burgundians. Not till the Empire was evidently helpless did they claim a share of the booty; then Clovis, or Chlodovech, chief of the Salian tribe, leaving his kindred the Ripuarians in their seats on the lower Rhine, advanced out of Flanders to wrest Gaul from the barbarian nations which had entered it some sixty years before. Few conquerors have had a career of more unbroken success. By the defeat of the Roman governor Syagrius he was left master of the Northern provinces: the Burgundian kingdom in the valley of the Rhone was in no long time reduced to dependence: last of all, the West Gothic power was overthrown in one great battle, and Aquitaine added to the dominions of Clovis. Nor were the Frankish arms less prosperous against the Germans who dwelt beyond the Rhine. A victory (supposed to have been won at Tolbiac) led to the submission of the Alemanni: their allies the Bavarians followed, and when the Thuringian power had been broken by Theodorich I (son of Clovis), the Frankish league embraced all the tribes of Western and Southern Germany. The dominion thus formed, stretching from the Bay of Biscay to the Inn and the Ems, was of course in no sense a Gallic empire. Nor, although the widest and strongest monarchy that had yet been founded by a Teutonic race, was it, under the Merovingian kings, a united kingdom at all, but rather a congeries of principalities, held together by the predominance of a single tribe and a single family, who ruled in Gaul as masters over a subject race, and in Germany exercised a sort of hegemony among kindred and

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 489.

## CHAP. IV.

scarcely inferior tribes. But towards the middle of the eighth century a change began. Under the rule of Pipin of Herstal and his son Charles Martel, mayors of the palace to the last feeble Merovingians, the Austrasian Franks in the lower Rhineland became acknowledged heads of the nation, and were able, while establishing a firmer government at home, to direct its whole strength to projects of foreign ambition. The form those projects took arose from a circumstance which has not yet been mentioned. It was not solely or even chiefly to their own valour that the Franks owed their past greatness and the yet loftier future which awaited them, it was to the friendship of the clergy and the favour of the Apostolic See. The other Teutonic nations, Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevians, Lombards, had been most of them converted by Arian missionaries who proceeded from the Roman Empire during the short period when Arian doctrines were in the ascendant. The Franks, who were among the latest converts, were Catholics from the first, and after the days of Clovis, whom the clergy had welcomed as a sort of new Constantine, gladly accepted the clergy as their teachers and allies. Thus it was that while the hostility of their orthodox subjects had weakened the Vandal kingdom in Africa and the East Gothic kingdom in Italy, the eager sympathy of the priesthood helped the Franks to vanquish their Burgundian and West Gothic enemies, and made it comparatively easy for them to blend with the Roman population in the provinces. They had done good service against the Saracens of Spain; they had aided the English Winfrith (St. Boniface) in his mission to the heathen of Germany;<sup>a</sup> and at length, as the most power-

<sup>a</sup> 'Denique gens Francorum multos et foecundissimos fructus Domino attulit, non solum credendo, sed et alios salutifere convertendo,' says the Emperor Lewis II in A.D. 871.

ful among Catholic nations, they attracted the eyes of the ecclesiastical head of the West, now sorely bested by domestic foes. CHAP. IV.

Since the invasion of Alboin, Italy had groaned under a complication of evils. The Lombards who had entered along with that chief in A.D. 568 had settled in considerable numbers in the valley of the Po, which became the seat of their kingdom, and had founded the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, leaving the Adriatic coast as well as Rome and the Southern provinces to be governed by the exarch of Ravenna as viceroy of the Eastern crown. This subjection was, however, little better than nominal. Although too few to occupy the whole peninsula, the invaders were yet strong enough to harass every part of it by inroads which met with little resistance from a population unused to arms, and without the spirit to use them in self-defence. More cruel and repulsive, if we may believe the evidence of their enemies, than any other of the Northern tribes, the Lombards were certainly singular in their aversion to the clergy, never admitting them to the national councils. Tormented by their repeated attacks, Rome sought help in vain from Constantinople, whose forces, scarce able to repel from her walls the Avars and Saracens, could give no support to the distant exarch of Ravenna. The Popes were the Emperor's subjects; they awaited his confirmation, like other bishops; they had more than once been the victims of his anger.<sup>b</sup> But as the city became more accustomed to a practical independence, and the Pope rose to a predominance, real if not yet legal, his tone grew bolder than that of the Eastern patriarchs. In the controversies that had raged in the Church, he had had the wisdom or good fortune to espouse (though

*Italy: the Lombards.*

*The Popes.*

<sup>b</sup> This befel Pope Martin I, as in earlier days Sylverius.

## CHAP. IV.

not always from the first)<sup>c</sup> the orthodox side: it was now by another quarrel of religion that his deliverance from an unwelcome yoke was accomplished.

*Iconoclastic  
controversy,  
A.D. 726.*

The Emperor Leo, born among the Isaurian mountains, where a simpler faith may yet have lingered, and stung by the Mohammedan taunt of idolatry, determined to abolish the worship of images, which seemed to be fast obscuring the more spiritual part of Christianity. An attempt which had been sufficient to cause tumults among the submissive populations of the East excited in Italy a fiercer commotion. The people rose with one heart in defence of what had become to them more than a symbol: the exarch was slain: the Pope, though unwilling to sever himself from the lawful head and protector of the Church, must yet resist and rebuke the prince whom he could not reclaim from so hateful a heresy.<sup>d</sup> Liudprand, king of the Lombards, improved his opportunity. Falling on the Exarchate as the champion of images, on Rome as the pretended ally of the Emperor, he overran the one, and all but succeeded in capturing the other. Overawing Liudprand by the majesty of his office, the Pope escaped for the moment, but he saw his peril. Placed between a heretic and an invader, he turned his gaze beyond the Alps, to a Catholic chief who had just achieved a signal deliverance for Christendom by his defeat of the Spanish Musulmans on the field of Poitiers. Gregory II, though his reluctance to break with the Eastern Empire led him to dissuade the North Italians from the notion of setting up an Emperor against Leo,<sup>e</sup> had already opened commu-

A.D. 732.

<sup>c</sup> Vigilius in the days of Justinian, and Honorius I in those of Heraclius, had lapsed for a time into error.

<sup>d</sup> See Note III at end.

<sup>e</sup> 'Ammonerat ne a fide vel amore imperii Romani desisterent.' — *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. i. p. 407. So Paulus Diaconus (ch. xlv): 'Omnis Ravennae exercitus vel Venetiarum talibus iussis [the command to



nications with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, and virtual ruler of the Frankish realm. As the crisis becomes more pressing, Gregory III (who had excommunicated the Iconoclasts in a synod at Rome) finds in the same quarter his only hope, and appeals to him, in urgent letters, to hasten to the succour of Holy Church.<sup>f</sup> Some accounts add that Charles was offered, in the name of the Roman people, the office of consul and patrician. It is at least certain that here begins the connection of the old imperial seat with the rising Germanic power: here first the pontiff leads a political movement, and shakes off the ties that bound him to his legitimate sovereign. Charles died before he could obey the call; but his son Pipin (surnamed the Short) made good use of the new friendship with Rome. He was the third of his family who had ruled the Franks with the full power of a monarch: it seemed time to abolish the pageant of Merovingian royalty; yet a departure from the ancient line might shock the feelings of the people. A course was taken whose dangers no one then foresaw: the Holy See, now for the first time invoked as an international or supranational power, pronounced the deposition of the feeble Merovingian Childeric, and gave to the royal office of his successor Pipin a sanctity hitherto unknown; adding to the old Frankish election, which consisted in raising the chief on a shield amid the clash of arms, the Roman diadem and the Hebrew rite of anointing. The compact between the chair of Peter and the Teutonic throne was hardly sealed, when the latter was summoned to discharge its share of the duties. Twice did Aistulf the Lombard assail Rome,

CHAP. IV.

*The Popes  
appeal to  
the Franks.*

A.D. 750-51.

*Pipin  
patrician  
of the  
Romans,  
A.D. 754.*

destroy images] uno animo restiterunt, et nisi eos prohibuisset Pontifex, imperatorem super se constituere fuissent aggressi.'

<sup>f</sup> Letter in *Codex Carolinus*, in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, vol. iii (part 2nd), p. 75, addressed 'Subregulo Carolo.'

## CHAP. IV.

twice did Pipin descend to the rescue: the second time at the bidding of a letter written in the name of St. Peter himself.<sup>g</sup> Aistulf's resistance was easily overcome; and the Frank bestowed on the Papal chair all that had belonged to the Exarchate in North Italy, receiving as the meed of his services the title of Patrician.<sup>h</sup>

*Import of  
this title.*

As a foreshadowing of the higher dignity that was to follow, this title requires a passing notice. Introduced by Constantine at a time when its original meaning had been long forgotten, it was designed to be, and for awhile remained, the name not of an office but of a rank, the highest after those of emperor and consul. As such, it was usually conferred upon provincial governors of the first class, and in time also upon barbarian potentates whom the imperial court might wish to flatter or conciliate. Thus Odoacer, Theodorich, the Burgundian king Sigismund, Clovis himself, had all received it from the Eastern Emperor; so too in still later times it was given to Saracenic and Bulgarian princes.<sup>i</sup> In the sixth and seventh centuries an invariable

<sup>g</sup> Letter in *Cod. Carol.* (Mur. R. S. I. iii. [2.] p. 96), a strange mixture of passionate adjurations, dexterous appeals to Frankish pride, and long scriptural quotations: 'Declaratum quippe est quod super omnes gentes vestra Francorum gens prona mihi Apostolo Dei Petro exstitit, et ideo ecclesiam quam mihi Dominus tradidit vobis per manus Vicarii mei commendavi.'

<sup>h</sup> The exact date when Pipin received the title cannot be made out. Pope Stephen's next letter (p. 96 of Mur. iii) is addressed 'Pipino, Carolo et Carolomanno patriciis.' And so the *Chronicon Casinense* (Mur. iv. 273) says it was first given to Pipin. Probably it was not formally conferred on Charles Martel, although one or two documents may be quoted in which it is used of him. As one of these is a letter of Pope Gregory II's, the explanation may be that the title was offered or intended to be offered to him, although never accepted by him. The nature and extent of Pipin's donation (which cannot be found in any extant document) have been much disputed, but some sort of gift was evidently made.

<sup>i</sup> The title of Patrician appears even in the remote West: it stands in a charter of Ini the West Saxon king, and in one given by Richard of Normandy in A.D. 1015. Ducange, *s.v.*

practice seems to have attached it to the East Roman viceroys of Italy, and thus, as we may conjecture, a natural confusion of ideas had made men take it to be, in some sense, an official title, conveying an extensive though undefined authority, and implying in particular the duty of overseeing the Church and promoting her temporal interests. It was doubtless with such a meaning that the Romans and their bishop bestowed it upon the Frankish kings, acting quite without legal right, for it could emanate only from the Emperor, but choosing it as the title which bound its possessor to render to the Church support and defence against her Lombard foes. Hence the phrase is always '*Patricius Romanorum*'; not, as formerly, '*Patri-cius*' alone: hence it is usually associated with the terms '*defensor*' and '*protector*.' And since 'defence' implies a corresponding measure of obedience on the part of those who profit by it, there must have been conceded to the new patrician more or less of positive authority in Rome, although not such as to extinguish either the practical power of the Pope or the titular supremacy of the Emperor.

So long indeed as the Franks were separated by a hostile kingdom from their new allies, this control of Rome remained little better than nominal. But when on Pipin's death the restless Lombards again took up arms and menaced the possessions of the Church, Pipin's son Charles, whom we commonly call Charlemagne, swept down like a whirlwind from the Alps at the call of Pope Hadrian, seized King Desiderius in his capital, himself assumed the Lombard crown, and made Northern Italy thenceforward an integral part of the Frankish Empire. Proceeding to Rome at the head of his victorious army, the first of a long line of Teutonic kings who were to experience alternately her love and her hate, he was

*Extinction  
of the Lom-  
bard king-  
dom by  
Charles,  
king of the  
Franks.*

CHAP. IV.  
A.D. 774.

received by Hadrian with distinguished honours, and welcomed by the people as their leader and deliverer. Yet even then, whether out of policy or from that sentiment of reverence to which his ambitious mind did not refuse to bow, he was moderate in claims of jurisdiction, he yielded to the pontiff the place of honour in processions, and renewed, although in the guise of a lord and conqueror, the gift of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, which Pipin had made to the Roman Church twenty years before.

*Charles and  
Hadrian.*

It is with a strange sense, half of sadness, half of amusement, that in watching the progress of this grand historical drama we recognize a mixture of higher and lower motives in the minds of the chief actors. The Frankish king and the Roman pontiff were for the time the two most powerful forces that urged the movement of the world, leading it on by swift steps to a mighty crisis of its fate, themselves guided, as it might well seem, by the purest zeal for its spiritual welfare. Their words and acts, their character and bearing in the sight of expectant Christendom, were worthy of men destined to leave an indelible impress on their own and many succeeding ages. Nevertheless in them too appears the undercurrent of material interests. The lofty and fervent mind of Charles was not free from the stirrings of personal ambition: yet these may be excused as being almost inseparable from an intense and restless genius, which, be it never so unselfish in its ends, must in pursuing them fix upon everything its grasp and raise out of everything its monument. So too in the policy of the Popes the desire to secure spiritual independence was mingled with less noble motives. Ever since the disappearance of an Emperor from Italian soil had virtually emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the most abiding object of his schemes and prayers had been the

Roman princes, from whom he had little to fear, and who were none the more likely to recognize his dignity, if they should believe it to be not of his own seeking. Yet it is hard to suppose the whole affair a surprise; for it was the goal towards which the policy of the Frankish kings had for many years pointed, and Charles himself, in sending before him to Rome many of the spiritual and temporal magnates of his realm, in summoning thither his son Pipin from a war against the Lombards of Benevento, had shewn that he expected some more than ordinary result from this journey to the imperial city. Alcuin moreover, Alcuin of York, the trusted adviser of Charles in matters religious and literary, appears from one of his extant letters to have sent as a Christmas gift to his royal pupil a carefully corrected and superbly adorned copy of the Scriptures, with the words 'ad splendorem imperialis potentiae.' This has commonly been taken for conclusive evidence that the plan had been settled beforehand, and such it would be were there not some reasons for giving the letter an earlier date, and looking upon the word 'imperialis' as a mere magniloquent flourish.<sup>1</sup> More weight is therefore to be laid upon the arguments supplied by the nature of the case itself. The Pope, whatever his confidence in the sympathy of the people, would never have ventured on so momentous a step until previous conferences had assured him of the feelings of the king, nor could an act for which the assembly were evidently prepared have been kept a secret. Nevertheless, the declaration of Charles himself can neither be evaded nor set down to mere dissimulation. It is more fair to him, and on the whole more reasonable, to suppose that Leo, having satisfied himself of the wishes of the Roman clergy and people as well as of

<sup>1</sup> Lorentz, *Leben Alcuins*. And cf. Döllinger, *Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger*.