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REFERENCE STUDIES  
IN  
MEDIEVAL HISTORY  
[IN THREE PARTS]

By  
JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, PH.D., LITT.D.,

*Professor of Medieval History in  
The University of Chicago*



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REFERENCE STUDIES IN  
MEDIEVAL HISTORY

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PART I  
THE DARK AGES  
180-814



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## PREFACE

The first edition of this manual was privately printed for the use of my own students in 1907. A revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1914. It has now grown by accretion to the present dimension, and is formally published, not only for my own classes, but also for the wider reading public. During these years which have elapsed I have had frequent requests for copies from former students engaged in teaching, from reference librarians, and from an occasional studious reader, facts which encouraged the belief that the syllabus may prove of convenience as a guide to others. Of its advantage in the classroom I am convinced by actual usage and experiment, and it is a satisfaction to know that the manual has been employed with success by teachers of history in other institutions.

This is a syllabus of subjects, not of lectures, although the lecture method may be employed in the course of instruction, prepared for students who are already familiar with the outlines of medieval history. The topics have been selected with special reference to the great organic movements or institutions of medieval history, and with the aim of stimulating the student to think for himself and of directing his reading. The references range from those of the simpler sort to those of a larger nature, some of which are designed as a guide to investigation of a particular subject deeper than it may be necessary for the class as a whole to go, or even to assist the student in after-reading. All the references are to works in English; but many of the books cited will be of guidance to the student if he should desire to consult French and German works. I have attempted, however, to familiarize the student indirectly with works in other languages by reference to many book reviews in the *English Historical Review* and the *American Historical Review*. The variety of topics and the graduated nature of the reading material makes flexible use of the syllabus possible. It can be used in daily class work, in lecture courses, for oral or written reports, or for quarterly papers.

The first citations under each rubric are (when practicable) to source matter available in English translation. Special attention is called to the large amount of periodical literature cited. Better reading is often to be found in journals and reviews than in books. While a very large library would be necessary for reference to every work or article cited, an excellent working library might be selected from the books here listed.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

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October 1, 1923





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## INTRODUCTION

1. *What is medieval history?*—Medieval history is that period of the history of Europe and the Mediterranean countries—Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa—which is included between the decline of the Roman Empire and the period of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century.

2. *Origin of the term "Middle Ages."*—The terms *media tempestas*, *medium aevum*, *media antiquitas*, *media tempora*, and *media aetas*—all expressing the same idea, however varying the phrase, have been traced back to the Italian humanism of the Renaissance. Indeed, the first of these phrases occurs in 1469. But the term has nothing but popular usage to support it, for its implication is unscientific.<sup>1</sup> "It originated . . . when men of letters had drawn deeper and deeper of the charmed draught of classical literature. They felt themselves, so they imagined, at one with the master minds of Greece and Rome. And all that filled the interval from the downfall of the Roman world to their own time, the whole previous history of their own people, seemed to them as a chaotic chasm, an interlude, a "middle age" of darkness and barbarity. Nothing could be more unhistorical. There never has been such a middle age. The whole history of modern nations presents one continuity from the first appearance of the Germanic peoples on the historic stage. . . . The alleged middle age, therefore, is neither marked off by a clear line, or any kind of a line from modern history, nor does it constitute in any sense a unity in itself."<sup>2</sup>

3. *Essential elements in medieval history.*—The period of medieval history was pre-eminently an institutional epoch when forms and customs were in the making. In consequence, the church, administrative and political powers, social structure, town life, war, trade, agriculture, arts and letters—all constitute important elements in medieval history.

Medieval civilization was formed of three elements: Greek and Roman, Christian, and German. There were other but more incidental factors, such as the Keltic, Mohammedan, Jewish, Slavonic, and Turanian, but these three are the essential ingredients of medieval life. In a sense the Middle Ages were a tumultuous laboratory in which these elements in a greater or less degree were melted and fused together to form the civilization of the time. The proportion of the elements or the degree of fusion was never everywhere equal. In Southern Europe, among the Romance nations, Roman survivals predominated. In Northern Europe, on the other hand, German influences predominated. There is infinite variety in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burr, G. L., "Anent the Middle Ages," *American Historical Review*, XVIII, 714 and XX, 813.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Keutgen, "On the Necessity in America of the Study of the Early History of Modern European Nations," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1904, p. 94. Cf. also Emerton, E., "The Periodization of History," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, October-December (1918), p. 55.



the mass and texture of medieval institutions, and part of the charm and value of studying medieval history is to determine the relative proportions of the various elements which formed the complex whole.

4. *Educational value of medieval history.*—The educational value of medieval history is very great. The culture and the civilization of Europe and America today are largely a heritage from the past. Every nation of today in Europe traces its history for ages back. It finds in its very origins the proofs of its right to be and sees in its past history the promise and security of its future. It is literally true that the history of Europe and the Mohammedan Orient as it is today cannot be understood unless one knows the history, not only of their immediate, but of their remote, past.

In the preface to the first volume of his *Institutions politiques de la France*, M. Paul Viollet has written: "We issue from the Middle Ages. . . . The roots of our modern society lie deep in them. . . . What we are, we are in large measure because of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages live in us; they are alive all around us." In the preface to the second volume he repeated this thought even more forcibly: "Whatever is most enduring in national character is inherited."

Even when no organic connection can be traced between things of the present and things in the past, nevertheless the study of medieval history may be of profit. For, although as Professor Tout has written: "A medievalist cannot but recognize the profound differences between the age which he studies and the age in which he lives, . . . he knows that human beings are much the same in all ages, and that history still has a curious way of repeating itself. He knows, too, that contrasts are often instructive, and that analogies illustrate even when they do not prove."

The greatest thinkers, not merely among historians, but among philosophers and poets, have perceived the value and the unity of history—Goethe, Carlyle, Browning. "The Past's enormous disarray" is apparent, not real. In *Faust*, Goethe has said:

What you the spirit of the ages call  
Is nothing but the spirit of you all  
Wherein the ages are reflected.

And Browning in *Fra Lippo Lippi* says:

This world's no blot to us.  
No blank. . . .  
To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

5. *Truth in medieval history.*—Perhaps there is no body of human knowledge that has been more overlaid with falsehood, more distorted from the truth, more perverted by sentiment, or more wrenched by prejudice than medieval history, and none about which more credulous and erroneous beliefs obtain. In spite of the labors of accomplished scholars for nearly a century, since the rise of critical historical method, each succeeding generation perpetuates the errors of its predecessor. Every teacher of history knows how persistent and broadcast is the spread of false historical ideas. A considerable portion of the time of every teacher has to be spent in up-



rooting mistaken notions, and the discouraging feature is that generation after generation of college students come to their classes with these errors in their minds and the ground has to be cleared anew each year.

Modern scholarship has revolutionized the history of the persecution of Christianity by the Roman government and exploded the old idea as to the origin and use of the catacombs; it has revolutionized the interpretation of the history of the barbarian invasions; destroyed the legend of the burning of the Alexandrian Library by Omar, and the legend of the terrors of the year 1000; stripped the romance from Richard Lion Heart's captivity; written the story of the Crusades in terms of history and not of fiction; made medieval history natural and human instead of being "dark" or sentimentally romantic. "Human affairs," said Richter, "are neither to be laughed at nor wept over, but to be understood." It were well for every student to bear this in mind.

6. *Point of view.*—In order to understand the history of the Middle Ages it is essential that the student free his mind of present-day conceptions and prejudiced interpretation—that he put himself as far as possible, by the exercise of historical imagination, into the time and place of the events about which he is reading.

If any scholar could offer the world reasonable assurance of a method by which he could form a true picture of life on the planet Mars, he could immediately procure any amount of money necessary to carry out his project. But the inner lives and much even of the external history of the men and women who lived before us on this earth are unknown to us, or only partly understood. Indolence has caused us to think of them as precisely like ourselves; prejudices—partly religious and partly due to an unwarranted pride developed during the so-called Renaissance—have caused us to distort the motives and undervalue the achievements of the first fifteen Christian centuries. Only now is the uncolored white light of tireless and unprejudiced investigation being turned upon the past. The science, the art, the literature, and the economic and social life of the past are being studied as never before.

"It is a gross and fundamental error to suppose that the Middle Ages were idealistic and unpractical. It is indeed hardly an exaggeration to say that nothing was done in them or valued for other than purely practical ends. The gigantic structure of medieval religion was intensely practical; with the exception of a few mystics, everyone, saint and sinner, prayed, gave alms, established charities, built churches, monasteries, and hospitals for the very practical purpose of saving their own souls, which could be saved, as they thought, only by doing such things. Literature and art were equally practical in their aims. Art existed to teach doctrine or to inspire to good works. Literature was valued almost solely for the lessons it taught—lessons of chivalry, of government, of prudence in the concerns of daily life."

7. *Value and content of medieval history.*—Professor Harold Hoffding, the distinguished Danish philosopher, has justly written:

" . . . The Middle Ages has rendered important contributions to intellectual development, and was by no means the wilderness or the world of darkness which it is so often depicted as being. It deepened intellectual life,



and sharpened and exercised its powers in no inconsiderable degree, and it certainly yields to no other period in the energy with which it used the means of culture which lay at its disposal, limited as these were by the historical circumstances of the time. In later and more favored periods, commanding a rich wealth of content, we shall look in vain for as great a power in elaborating and closely appropriating these riches as was dedicated by the Middle Ages to its scanty material. . . . For the carrying out of its ideas in detail the Middle Ages . . . had at its disposal a miserably inadequate material. All the greater was the labor which it applied to the task. . . . Thought developed a formal acuteness, a skill in drawing distinctions and building up arguments, which is altogether without parallel. . . . It was bound in the long run to lead to the critical investigation of precisely those suppositions which had long been regarded as a fixed foundation, and on the examination of which no one had been bold enough to venture."<sup>1</sup>

Medieval Latin literature, in its own way, is as interesting and valuable as that of the classical period. Yet there are people who think that the position of Latin in the world is due solely to *Cicero*, *Horace*, and *Vergil*, having seemingly never heard of the *Code*, the *Vulgate* or the *Mass-Book*.

In vernacular literature the Middle Ages witnessed the evolution of new languages which flowered in forms of literature as rich and varied as those of Greek and Latin literature. In science and the mechanical arts it is to the Middle Ages that we owe the modern system of notation, algebra, the compass, the magnifying glass, gunpowder, the process of distillation, the use of the chief acids, the discovery of gas, the invention of printing, the windmill, and the organ. To material welfare the Middle Ages contributed the use of silk, sugar, linen paper; and, largely through the influence of the Arabs, many new vegetable products were made serviceable to mankind.

As the mental and moral horizon was broadened, so also was the physical horizon widened far beyond the limits known to the ancient world. No ancient navigator had rounded the African continent as Vasco da Gama did in 1498, or discovered new lands like the Norse discovery of Iceland and Greenland and Columbus' finding of America. No Greek or Roman adventurer, so far as we know, ever crossed Asia as did Marco Polo. In aesthetics the Middle Ages gave birth to Romanesque and the exquisite Gothic architecture, to painting in oils, to line engraving, and to a music far in advance of that which antiquity knew. The weakest points in medieval civilization are precisely the weakest points in antiquity and in modern times, and they are inseparable from human nature.

"The Middle Ages had every vice and every virtue . . . every vice except vulgarity; every virtue except moderation" (*Sabatier*).

8. *Relation of medieval history to ancient and modern history*.—The early history of the Middle Ages—the period before 800 A.D.—in a certain sense may be regarded as the epilogue of ancient history. In like manner the later Middle Ages, roughly from 1300 to 1500, may be looked upon as a prologue to modern times. At the end of the fifth century, the history of the Roman Empire almost imperceptibly merged into the period of

<sup>1</sup> *History of Modern Philosophy*, I, 4, 5.



German ascendancy. By a process as slow as the "weathering" of a great building the Roman Empire disappeared. The migrating Germanic nations replaced the political sovereignty of Rome. Visigoths established themselves in Spain, Vandals in Africa, Lombards in Italy, Franks in Gaul, the English and Saxons in Britain. Their institutions modified or supplanted those of Rome. There was a transfusion of blood, a change in the nature and content of European civilization. This period of transition, roughly embraced by the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, is one of darkness and struggle. But gradually out of the dust cloud raised by the horse of the Hun and the confused movement of half-barbarian peoples, the form of the Frank Empire emerges. Coincident with this reorganization of Europe by Charlemagne, the Far East rises into newness of life. The Arabs, welded into a single people by Mohammed, conquered Western Asia, Egypt, the African seaboard, the isles of the Mediterranean, and even part of Spain.

But fate dealt hard with these vast creations. Feudalism destroyed the empire of Charlemagne; the khalifate fell apart of its own weight; yet in each state a unity of faith partially overcame this political disintegration. In Western Europe the unity of the church saved society from entire dissolution, and gradually the Holy Roman Empire, the French and Spanish monarchies, and the English kingship acquired strength and form. But the nascent states were soon called upon to justify their position by another authority—that of the church. The confusion of church and state in the Middle Ages would have made antagonism between them inevitable, even if the papacy had not been centered at Rome. The strength of Roman imperial tradition, unity of faith and of church government, the power of ecclesiastical authority, combined with subtler political and personal causes, made the church a vast ecclesiastical empire. Pope and emperor came into collision, and as a result the fate of Germany and Italy, the two component parts of the medieval empire, was conditioned for centuries by the issue. This conflict coincided in time with the Crusades, in which the whole of Christian Europe was involved with the Mohammedan Orient and the Byzantine Empire. France was little concerned in the struggle of empire and papacy during these centuries—the central historic fact of the history of Germany and Italy at this time—but she was the chief participant in the conflict of the West and the East; i.e., the Crusades. The history of Spain during this epoch was that of a five centuries' warfare against the Mohammedan in the peninsula. English history in its constitutional aspects was throughout this period largely a thing apart from the main line of European development, although owing to the Norman Conquest, English political history became intimately related to that of feudal Europe.

These are the main facts of the history of Central and Western Europe between 814—the death of Charlemagne—and 1291—the end of the Crusades. But another history remains to be noticed, that of the Roman, Empire of the East. Byzantine history was not German at all, nor yet wholly Roman. Nevertheless it is very important.

It must not be forgotten that Constantinople was the immediate and direct heir of antiquity. Constantinople was a New Rome and was the repository of the civilization and culture, the learning and the art, of the



ancient world. Her material civilization was brilliant when London and Paris were obscure, squalid towns. She possessed libraries and museums in which had been garnered the lore of the Graeco-Roman world. Her government was great and strong when Western Europe was a chaos of jarring feudal groups. Much of our inheritance from ancient Greece we owe to its preservation by Constantinople. Moreover, for centuries Constantinople was the great bastion of Europe, protecting it from the Mohammedan East.

The period extending from the death of Charlemagne in 814 to the loss of Acre in 1291, the last Christian holding in Palestine whose capture by the Mongols marks the end of the Crusades, is the heart of the Middle Ages, the core and pith of medieval history. It has been sometimes called the "Age of Faith" because of the great authority of the church during this epoch. The church and feudalism were the all-pervading and all-dominant influences in it. Feudalism was not merely a form of government and a structure of society; it was a civilization, a culture, a psychology. Even the idea of God was feudal in this time. Hence the period may with right be called the "Feudal Age."

It was an epoch fecund with great movements, prolific of important events, and fertile in the production of leaders of humanity.<sup>1</sup> If in the first portion of the period, the ninth and tenth centuries, Western Europe seems given over to the forces of violence and disruption, the impression is apparent, not real. For the break-up of Carolingian government and society actually was as the breaking of the clods above the growth of man. Out of the soil made by the decay of the old order of things sprang a far richer and greater life. The inchoate beginnings of the France, Germany, Italy, and Spain of Europe today are to be found in the ninth and tenth centuries. The rise of the towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries gave birth to that important middle class which has ever since been the bone and sinew of European life. The Crusades were procreant of new things to Europe, and may almost be said to have revolutionized all Europe politically, materially, and morally. By the twelfth century the uncouth vernacular speech of the masses had become a fluent and pliable instrument for expression of thought. And what thoughts the new Europe dreamed, and what thinkers she produced! The intellectual and spiritual awakening between 1100 and 1300 makes these two centuries one of the noblest periods in the history of the progress of the human spirit. The thirteenth century has been compared to that of Greece in the time of Pericles. It is the peer of any age, and, in some particulars, the greatest age in the history of the race. The mere list of the great achievements of the thirteenth century sounds like a roll of guns. The names of the men and women who lived in it, the memory of whom shall not perish from off the earth, form a shining nebula.

If there was much warfare and much violence within the feudal epoch there was also much of "sweetness and light." All history is not made by kings, nor all wars fought on battlefields. Abelard fought for the liberation of reason; St. Francis for the spiritual liberation of man from the worldliness which encompassed him. If military genius found expression in building

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *History of All Nations*, VIII, chap. i, especially pp. 19-23.



frowning and formidable castles, spiritual genius divined and devised those marvellous cathedrals which still charm the eye of the tourist. If the scholastic philosophy seems dry and arid to us, nevertheless it was once a great system of thought, and the lays of Marie de France, the songs of the troubadours, the Grail romances, and that exquisite love story, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, still are read and still charm or thrill their readers. The Feudal Age, however far we may seem to be removed from it, still is potent in the world. It is not alien; its majesty is not lost. The high-water mark of medieval history was reached in the thirteenth century, whose history one may dip into as a foretaste of what these feudal ages had the power to bring forth.<sup>1</sup>

The vicious teaching that the Middle Ages were "dark," an epoch of brutal violence and blind turmoil, saturated with bigotry and stained with blood, is due to the humanists of the Italian Renaissance, notably to Petrarch, who in their ardent admiration for the literature and the art of antiquity could not forgive the men of the ages of faith and feudalism for being more interested in creating a new culture than in worshipping an old. With the spread of the Italian Renaissance over all Europe, this false idea was adopted and believed by the thinkers and teachers in every nation. Even so great a man as John Milton regarded the history of medieval Britain as a mere "battle of kites and crows," and as late as the middle of the nineteenth century Taine could still dismiss the whole history of medieval England *en bloc*. Yet it may be that the thirtieth century will dismiss the nineteenth as summarily, and perhaps with more justice. To Winckelmann and Hegel, art ended with the Greeks. To the eighteenth century there was no literature worthy of the name before Dante and Petrarch except that of the ancient Greeks and Romans. D'Alembert said of the Middle Ages, that during them "reason was arrested for a thousand years."

As late as 1877 an otherwise accomplished English writer, James Cotter Morrison, still viewed the Middle Ages as a dreary void, a "mighty concave." This is what he wrote in *The Service of Man* (p. 177):

"The Graeco-Roman world had descended into the great hollow which is roughly called the "Middle Ages," extending from the fifth to the fifteenth century, a hollow in which many great, beautiful, and heroic things were done and created, but in which knowledge, as we understand it, and as Aristotle understood it, had no place. The revival of learning and the Renaissance are memorable as the first sturdy breasting by humanity of the hither slope of the great hollow which lies between us and the ancient world. The modern man, reformed and regenerated by knowledge, looks across it and recognizes on the opposite ridge, in the far-shining cities and stately porticoes, in the art, politics, and science of antiquity, many more ties of kinship and sympathy than in the mighty concave between, wherein dwell his Christian ancestry in the dim light of scholasticism and theology."

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, F., *The Meaning of History*, chap. v (some in *Fortnightly Review*, LVI, 325). Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 458-73. Sedgwick, H. D., *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, I, preface. Cunningham, W., *English Industry and Commerce*, I, secs. 95, 96, 97.



Unfortunately such narrowness still prevails. Principal Mahaffy, a modern humanist, sees in Gothic architecture only "the ideal gloom in which to worship a relentless and a tortured Christ."

Now and then it is true that one comes upon protests against this false or narrow view of medieval history, especially in Catholic and Romance countries. And even in Protestant England, in the time of Shakespere, a Daniel came to judgment, one literally of that name, who in his *Defence of Ryme* (1607) threw scorn on those who contemned the Middle Ages. His is an eloquent and noble utterance:

"Methinks we should not so soon yield our consents captive to the authority of antiquity, unless we saw more reason; all our understandings are not to be built by the square of Greece and Italy. We are the children of nature as well as they; we are not so placed out of the way of judgment, but that the same sun of discretion shineth upon us. . . . Time and the turn of things bring about these faculties according to the present estimation; and *res temporibus non tempora rebus servire oportet*. . . . It is not books but only that great books of the world and the all overspreading grace of heaven that makes men truly judicial. Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation barbarous, these or those times gross, considering how this manifold creature man, wheresoever he stand in the world, hath always some disposition of worth, entertains the order of society, affects that which is most in use, and is eminent in some one thing or other that fits his humour and the times. . . . The Goths, Vandals, and Longobards, whose coming down like an inundation, overwhelmed, *as they say*, all the glory of learning in Europe, have yet left us still their laws and customs as the originals of most of the provincial constitutions of Christendom, which being well considered with their other courses of government, may seem to clear them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the vanquished never speak well of the conqueror, yet even through the unsound coverings of maledictions appear those monuments of truth as argue well their worth, and proves them not without judgment, though without Greek and Latin."

The primary business of study and of teaching is not to acquire or to impart information, but to discover and reveal values. And the Middle Ages found and possessed values which antiquity never knew, and which we of today have lost, so that the paradox is true that in order for us to go forward it is necessary to look back. A wise Oxford teacher some years ago said that, "If there is one thing the study of history shows to be certain, it is that an ignorant democracy cannot last long." It behooves us then to study medieval history. For in order to go forward it is necessary also to look back. The rational man wishes to know as much of whence he came as of whither he is going.

"So far as men are unduly enslaved by the past," Sir Gilbert Murray has written in his *Religio grammatici*, "it is by understanding the past that they may hope to be freed. But . . . it is never really the past—the true past—that enslaves us; it is always the present. . . . The thing that enslaves us most, narrows the range of our thought, cramps our capacities, and lowers our standards is the mere present. . . . There has been hardly any great forward movement of humanity which did not draw its inspiration from the knowledge, or the idealization, of the past. . . . To



search the past is not to go into prison. It is to escape out of prison, because it compels us to compare the ways of our own age with other ways. . . . Progress . . . is only a name for the mass of accumulated human effort, successful here, baffled there, misdirected and driven astray in a third region, but on the whole and in the main producing some cumulative result."

Elsewhere in this remarkable scholar's creed Sir Gilbert Murray warns us not to be deceived by superficial differences between past and present civilization:

"Try to compare our inventions, our material civilization, and our stores of accumulated knowledge with those of the age of Aeschylus or Aristotle or St. Francis and the comparison is absurd. Our superiority is beyond question and beyond measure. But compare any chosen poet of our age with Aeschylus, any philosopher with Aristotle, any saintly preacher with St. Francis, and the result is totally different. . . . The things of the spirit depend on will, on effort, on aspiration, on the quality of the individual soul, and not on discoveries and material advances which can be accumulated and added up. . . . We live, since the opening of the great epoch of scientific invention in the nineteenth century, in a world utterly transformed from any that existed before. Yet we know that behind all changes the main web of life is permanent."

The enormous development in the nineteenth century of invention and the mechanical arts must not blind our eyes. Mechanical and material things are not institutions; they may condition living, but they do not constitute life.

"It dawned upon men (in the Middle Ages) that the spiritual world is just as much a reality as the material world, and that in the former is man's true home. . . . A sphere of experience was won for human life which was, in the strictest sense, its own property, into which no external powers could penetrate. And this involved the possibility of a still deeper spiritual deliverance. . . .

"It would be erroneous to regard the Middle Ages as an age of utter darkness. Not only did there unfold within as well as without the official rule of the church a cheerful and natural national life which has left a memorial behind it in the revivification of national literatures, but within the world of learning itself it would be extremely difficult to draw any clear line of demarcation between the Middle Ages and the time of the Renaissance."<sup>1</sup>

The modern world is held together by political and economic solidarity. The medieval world was held together by the cohesive forces (and they were not of a material nature) inherent in feudalism and the pervasive influence and authority of the church. Both forces were universal in their penetration and their application. Since the loss of these unifying agencies which were so vivid in medieval society, Europe has been ever since endeavoring to discover new elements of unity in the discord—national, religious, and economic—which divides it, to acquire stability amid universal instability, to establish justice and liberty under new conditions, to devise a new public law that shall embody the new society, the new economy, and the new ideas and forms of government. Has Europe succeeded? Is social injus-

<sup>1</sup> Hoffding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, I, 4, 5, 7.



tice less or less powerful now than in the Middle Ages? Is modern art superior to medieval art? Are skyscrapers and dreadnoughts better manifestations of culture than cathedrals and ministers? In the Middle Ages surplus wealth was spent for the benefit of the community. Today it is expended for increased material production and in speculative enterprises to enrich the possessor, not to benefit society.

A recent traveler in the Balkan peninsula records: "Anyone who has traveled throughout Thrace and seen the whole population out on the roads with their property must inevitably feel himself back again in the days of the great migrations."

Dante, viewing this pendant world from Paradise, and mindful of its wars, exclaims: "The little threshing floor which makes us so fierce."

The violence prevailing in the Middle Ages has been grossly exaggerated by those who mistake the exceptional and picturesque for the usual and customary. One can cite whole provinces free from warfare for a generation. The quiet, studious life of scholarship in cloisters, the journeyings of pilgrims, wandering scholars, and merchants indicate that the routine of daily life was less interrupted and less menaced than we have been led to think. After the Norse and Magyar invasions were over and after the turmoil due to the evolution and revolution of feudalism, a constructive, progressive era in medieval history began. For, fundamentally, feudalism manifested the phenomena not of social decay but of social progress; it was formative.<sup>1</sup>

It is false and unscientific to regard the Middle Ages as a lapse into utter barbarism. Whatever humanity lost because of the decline of ancient culture was amply compensated for by what it gained ultimately in the new order of things. It is improbable that much of essential worth developed in antiquity was ever destroyed. On the other hand, what humanity gained in the way of progress during the Middle Ages is of enormous value. In addition to the heritage from antiquity, which is larger than is sometimes appreciated, the gifts of Christianity and the church, despite much in them that has been reactionary or suppressive, mark a very great advance upon antiquity, both socially and ethically.

A great American scholar, Henry Charles Lea, has truthfully said: "The history of mankind may be vainly searched for another institution . . . such as that of the Latin church, which has exercised so vast an influence on human destinies."<sup>2</sup> Aside from being the repository of ancient culture and the transmitter of the literature and the learning of antiquity, the church in the Middle Ages was the teacher of Europe and the mother of the arts.

"The great work of the universities was the consecration of learning, and it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that work upon the moral, intellectual, and religious progress of Europe. . . .

"In the north of Europe the church was simply a synonym for the professions. Nearly all the civil servants of the crown, the diplomatists, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stubbs, W., *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 241-53; Warren, F. M. A., *Plea for the Study of Medieval Latin*, Pub. by the Modern Language Association (1909), appendix, li. f.

<sup>2</sup> *Confession and Indulgence*, I, preface.



secretaries or advisers of great nobles, the physicians, the architects, at one time the secular lawyers—all through the Middle Ages the then large tribe of ecclesiastical lawyers—were ecclesiastics. . . . Our intellectual advance since the medieval period has less to do with the improvement in the substance or the method of education than the academic world has complacently imagined. . . . The value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or of the practical usefulness of what is taught. The intelligent modern artisan . . . or the half-educated man of the world possesses at the present day a great deal more true and useful knowledge than a medieval doctor of divinity. But it can on no account be admitted that this puts the uneducated man of modern times on a level with the educated man of the Middle Ages.”<sup>1</sup>

There is a story told of St. Thomas Aquinas which shows that the keenest minds of the Middle Ages were no whit inferior to the minds of modern men of science. It is related, after St. Thomas had resigned the chair of theology in Paris to his pupil Romanus, and returned to Italy, that Romanus appeared to him and told him that he was dead and now in heaven. Aquinas immediately asked: “Do acquired characteristics remain to us in heaven?” Romanus replied that God absorbed all his thoughts. Aquinas then asked: “Do you see him immediately or by means of some similitude?”

The scientific mind of one of the world’s greatest thinkers was true to its ideal, to the spirit of real research, even in what must have been a moment of stupendous surprise and surmise.<sup>2</sup>

What the medieval men of science lacked was technique. The scholars of that time possessed the mind and the spirit, and were far less ignorant than is commonly supposed. No great scientific scholar of the high Middle Ages believed that the earth was flat. Its rotundity was perfectly well known, the reason of eclipses was understood, and attempts were even made to calculate them. The true scholar of today is likely to have mingled sentiments of admiration and humility when he reads the story of how Adelard of Bath in the first half of the twelfth century, spent a whole summer on the coasts of Wales and Ireland studying the flux and reflux of the tides, and patiently worked out a theory of the phenomenon. We do not know all about the tides yet.

This same man of genius, living in England in the reign of the son of William the Conqueror, contended that matter was indestructible, though he could not demonstrate it by practical experiment, for he had no laboratory as a modern physicist. The same proposition was also argued by Hugh of St. Victor. The principle of optics was well understood in the twelfth century, and the lense was in use in the thirteenth.

And what shall we think of Duns Scotus (the first of all “dunces”) spending a whole winter in a monastery in Paris, with charcoal on a white-washed wall, calculating the precession of the equinoxes, in which he employed both Greek and Arabic mathematics? Albertus Magnus, the great naturalist, at the beginning of his book on minerals, acutely discusses

<sup>1</sup> Rashdall, H., *Rise of the Universities*, II, 693 and 706-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in O'Neill, *Things New and Old in St. Thomas Aquinas*. Also in Hearnshaw, *Medieval Contributions*, p. 95.



the different ways in which minerals may be classified, and weighs the qualifications of each method. Is not such spirit scientific? He had no modern chemical or physical laboratory to assist his researches; but he had the spirit of research. Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* has been truly called "at once the Encyclopedia and the Organon of the thirteenth century," and his famous indictment of the science and the scientists of his time is not what it seems; it is really the complaint of a great soul impatient as a genius ever is with the slowness with which truth is discovered, discontented with the smug content of the ignorant, and sometimes disheartened by the limitations under which he worked and the indifference which he met from those who had no perception of the value and the nature of pure research. For, as now, there were Philistines and Fundamentalists in those days, too.

The true intellectuality of the Middle Ages is to be found in scholars such as these and not in the superstitious beliefs of the credulous masses. "Rejoicing not in the many, but in the probity of the few, we toil for truth alone," wrote William of Conches.

The debt of the world to medieval scientific research is not a small one. We owe to the cloistered scholars of that time our modern system of notation and algebra, the compass, the magnifying glass, gunpowder, printing, the art of distillation, every acid and alkali not already naturally occurring in nature, the windmill, linen paper, the organ, sugar, many of our medicines. One of the paradoxes today is the ignorance of even men of science of what they owe to medieval and renaissance scientific scholarship. The continuity can easily be proved. Germany excelled in mathematical studies in the later Middle Ages. The line begins with Albertus Magnus, and runs through John of Saxony, Conrad of Meginburg, Regiomontanus, and Georg Peurbach to Copernicus without a break. Columbus when he discovered America, Vasco da Gama when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, Magellan when he penetrated the straits which bear his name and circumnavigated the globe for the first time—all these carried Regiomontanus's astronomical tables in their chart houses. Who will say that the modern age does not owe much to medieval science?

The medieval church was the mother of the arts. Medieval architecture was different in form, and no whit inferior to ancient architecture; and in spirit it was immeasurably superior. For "the art of the Middle Ages comes between an art resting on slavery and an art resting on exploitation, which has been the art of recent centuries. . . . Romanesque architecture (and therefore of course Gothic, its derivative) as Choisy and Enlart have shown, was due to the abolition of slavery—briefly because in the absence of slave labor, smaller stones had to be used."<sup>1</sup>

Gothic architecture, it has splendidly been said, "died of its love of light." But while it lived it was the light that lighted almost all Europe into the world. While the central enterprise of architectural aspiration

<sup>1</sup> *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, p. 165. Too little attention is usually paid by historians to the changes silently made by the slow and obscure working of economic and social forces in the great body of the people. The ancient world rested upon slave labor. The Middle Ages first ameliorated and then abolished slavery in Europe and reduced serfdom almost to the vanishing point. They created the free agriculturist, the free merchant, the free craftsman.



in the Middle Ages was the building of those exquisite Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and abbeys which enrapture the observer today, it must not be forgotten that an immense amount of activity and artistic feeling was also expended in the erection of secular edifices such as cloth halls, gild houses, and law courts. These structures, at least numbers of them, were more modern and more comfortable in their appointments than we are accustomed to believe. Lead-pipe plumbing was used in the Middle Ages, and running water in great houses was common.<sup>1</sup>

Another form of emotional expression for which we are indebted to the Middle Ages is music. The music of antiquity has utterly perished. We know nothing of it except in an antiquarian way. But medieval music and medieval instruments are still living influences among us. The organ and the bell are each medieval inventions. The former has become secularized and commonplace. But the church bell yet survives as "that peculiar creation of medieval age, which falls upon the ear like the echo of a vanished world."<sup>2</sup>

The great French scholar Rénan, in a notable protest against the aridity of German rationalism (his particular object of criticism was Feurbach) penned these noble and beautiful words in laudation of the bell:

"Ah, if seated in the ruins of the Palatine or the Coelian Mount, he had heard the sound of the eternal bells lingering and dying over the deserted hills where Rome once was; or, if, from the solitary shore of the Lido he had heard the chimes of St. Mark's expiring across the lagoons; if he had seen Assisi and its mystic marvels, its double basilica and the great legend of the second Christ of the Middle Ages traced by the brush of Cimabue and Giotto; if he had gazed his fill on the sweet far-away look of the Virgins of Perugino, or if in San Domenico at Siena he had seen Saint Catherine in ecstasy—no, M. Feurbach would not thus cast reproach on one-half of human poetry."<sup>3</sup>

A similar high valuation may be put upon the contribution of the Germanic race.

"Vulgarly described as barbarians though you find them, they possessed cultural conceptions of their own and institutions of the strongest vitality, allowing of the richest further evolution. They implanted in the Roman soil political institutions which were their very own. They brought with them primitive but elastic systems of civil and criminal law and of legal procedure, and likewise an economic system and novel methods of land tenure and agriculture. Their constitutional and legal systems, moreover, were based on conceptions or convictions fundamentally distinct from

<sup>1</sup> Thorndike, L., *Magic and Experimental Science in Middle Ages*, II, 392. In the precincts of Kirkstall have been found the twelfth-century arrangements for the periodical flushing of the drains. In the Lewes priory each of the 120 monks had his private and separate convenience. At Westminster the filtering cistern of the monastery has lately been found. Cf. Willis, *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of Christ Church Monastery*. E. S. Pryor, *Gothic Art in England*, 44 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Froude, *History of England*, I, 62, ed., 1875.

<sup>3</sup> Rénan, *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, 8th ed. (185 ) p. 408 f.



anything Roman, but furnishing the main root out of which the most modern democratic institutions have sprung. Their German blood mingled with that of the older inhabitants of Gaul, of Italy, of Spain, and of Britain, and out of this new nations sprang. These, with the people that had remained at home in the old Germanic lands, henceforth formed one group of nations closely allied, not only by blood, but sharing in the main the same institutions and the same mental culture. It was a new world, whatever its debts to an older one that had passed away, and a world that is still in full vigor."<sup>1</sup>

In government and law, in social conditions, in culture, the Middle Ages developed institutions and ideas that would have astonished the Greeks and Romans. The state of antiquity was a "city state"; even the Roman Empire was a vast aggregation of cities. Medieval Europe developed nations and national monarchy. Rome solved the problem of an efficient centralized government. But government which gave simultaneous and due expression to both central and local interests is the inheritance of modern times through the achievement of the Middle Ages.

The principle and the practice of representation was the greatest political invention of the Middle Ages. This inventive faculty of the Germanic mind also made notable contribution to the history of private institutions. It was as Josef Kohler has written, "a stroke of genius in Germanic law to provide for a commerce in risks, to treat dangers as objects to be dealt with in business. . . . Insurance (a Germanic device) is one of the corner stones of modern culture."<sup>2</sup> The same observation is true of the joint-stock company, which is a medieval business invention, "An institution" to quote Kohler again, "whose rise throws everything else into the shade, and with whose financial power the world, one might say, can be conquered."<sup>3</sup>

In a very wonderful paragraph in that chapter at the opening of his *Short History of England* in which he is tracing the stream-life of the English race, the English historian, John Richard Green, has written: "It is with a reverence such as is stirred by the sight of the headwaters of some mighty river that we look back." So it is of all past history to the thoughtful student.

That is the spirit in which we should regard medieval history. The Middle Ages are the source whence have flowed many of the waters of our modern life. They have bequeathed unto us a splendid heritage. The earliest stream came from Greece and Rome; next, that which flowed out of Palestine, and, finally, that shining flood which emerged out of the dark forests east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, the rich Germanic *traditio*. Lesser affluents to this magnificent stream of history have been those derived from Celtic, especially Irish, and from Mohammedan sources. It is for us to honor our ancestry that posterity may do justice unto us. Every race has its own mission, its own tasks, its own standards, its own delights. Happy shall be the student who has the imagination and the spirit to think, to feel, to understand the past. For all human development comprehends the past, the present, and the future.

<sup>1</sup> Keutgen, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Philosophy of Law*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.



9. *Termini and subdivisions.*—What is called the “Middle Ages” is only an intellectual convenience. There is a unity of history which prevails over all dividing lines we may draw, or epochs we may distinguish. All periodization is more or less arbitrary. With the understanding, then, that every period is one of transition and that every event must be related both to what preceded and what succeeded, it is convenient to distinguish certain dates of more than usual importance as milestones along the road of the past. For the early Middle Ages some of these dates are:

- 313, recognition of Christianity by Constantine;
- 378, battle of Adrianople.
- 395, division between the East and West.

Each of these dates may be taken as a starting point, yet none is wholly satisfactory. The important fact to notice is that they all fall within the fourth century and that the fourth century is *the* century—the transitional century between the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Nevertheless the student must understand that these division points are more or less arbitrary.

If we are perplexed in the selection of an initial date for the Middle Ages, the difficulty is even greater in choosing a concluding date. The change from medieval to modern history is so subtle, so gradual, as to be almost imperceptible. To look for it is like watching for the dawn or the twilight. Nevertheless in spite of this element of doubt and uncertainty, and keeping in mind that all dates have significance only in proportion to the relevance attached to them, in the fifteenth century we encounter a combination of events which are climacteric, such as:

- 1453, capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
- 1453, end of the Hundred Years' War between England and France.
- 1492, expulsion of the Moors from Spain (observe how the map of Europe “evens up,” for, as Mohammedanism is expelled in the West, it enters Europe in the East).
- 1492, discovery of America.
- 1494, French invasion of Italy.
- 1498, discovery of the southwest passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope, which revolutionized commerce and changed the front of Europe to the westward.

As to the subdivisions of the broad stretch of time between the fourth century and the end of the fifteenth century, again there is great latitude. Lavissee and Rambaud (*Histoire générale*) distinguish three periods:

- 395–1095, from the division of the Roman Empire to the Crusades.
  - 1095–1270, from the beginning of the Crusades to the death of St. Louis, “the last Crusader.”
  - 1270–1492, from the end of the Crusades to the discovery of America.
- But one may quite as reasonably distinguish three periods as follows:
- 313–814, from the recognition of Christianity by Constantine to the death of Charlemagne.



- 814-1291, from the death of Charlemagne to the loss of Acre, the last Christian holding in the Holy Land.
- |       |   |                                                    |
|-------|---|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1291- | { | 1453. Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.      |
|       |   | 1494. French invasion of Italy.                    |
|       |   | 1498. Discovery of the southwest passage to India. |

The selection of any particular date will largely depend upon the interest and interpretation of the teacher. The unity and the complexity of history alike preclude the choice of any particular date to the exclusion of another which may be equally important.

10. *Suggestive reading on the nature and value of medieval history.*—  
 Adams, G. B., *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, chaps. i, ii.  
 Stubbs, W., *Seventeen Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, chaps. ix, x.  
 Hearnshaw, F. J. C., *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, Preface and chap. i.  
 Ker, W. P., *The Dark Ages*, Introduction.  
 Taylor, H. O., *The Medieval Mind*, I, chap. i.  
 Maitland, S. R., *Dark Ages*, Introduction, pp. viii-xvii, and 23-31.  
 Emerton, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, preface.  
 Lodge, R., *Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 515-18.  
 Robinson, J. H., *History of Western Europe*, chap. i.  
 Robinson, J. H., *Readings*, I, chap. i.  
 Guizot, F. P., *Lectures on the History of Civilization*, Series I, pp. 1-35.  
 Munro, D. C., *Middle Ages*, chap. i.  
 Eucken, R., *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, pp. 331-44.  
 Powicke, *Historical Essays of Owens College*, pp. 69-72.  
 Harrison, F. A., "Survey of the Thirteenth Century," *Fortnightly Review*, pp. 56, 325.  
 Kurth, G., *What Are the Middle Ages?* (English translation by Victor Day, Huntington, Indiana).  
 Tout, T. F., *Place of the Middle Ages in Teaching, History*, New ser. 4 (8, no. 29).  
 Sedgwick, H. D., *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, I, chap. 1.  
 Taylor, G. R., *Stirling, Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1921.  
*North American Review*, April, 1922.  
*Dublin Review*, new ser. 19, p. 294.  
 Shotwell, "Middle Ages," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.

#### METHODS OF HISTORICAL STUDY

1. *Historical imagination.*—Historical imagination is the faculty which enables the student to put himself in thought in the time and place of events about which he is reading. To do so he must divest his mind of prejudices, preconceived ideas, and not read back into the past ideas or factors which are of a later time. To some extent the possession of historical imagination is a natural endowment. But it is, nevertheless, a faculty which may be cultivated with effort and attention, and it is absolutely essential to great historical perception. Historical novels, if they be good ones—and they are few—and good poetry based on historical events may develop the historical imagination. But the gleam of light from within, as Emerson has



said, is worth more than the luster of the firmament of bards and sages. The love of history grows by what it feeds on. Read history, read more history, and try in your own mind to live the life of the past again, to see and feel the life of the past as it really was.

Chronology and geography determine the latitude and longitude, so to speak, of historical events. If one does not know when an event took place and where it happened, mere knowledge that it happened once upon a time is valueless. The value of a fact is in its relation, not in the fact by itself. Facts are the framework or skeleton of history. It is therefore necessary, always, first of all to ascertain the sequence of events. Remembering dates is a matter of association of ideas; the date, the place, and the participants in the event all have relation. The fact is the resultant of this combination. One may know an entire table of dates and understand nothing of the history which they constitute. Careful reading with an eye to seeing the relation of things will gradually strengthen one's historical perception.

2. *How to read.*—Too many students read mechanically. They read words and sentences, not ideas, forgetful of the fact that words are merely a vehicle for the expression of thought. Always read for the idea in a paragraph and do not turn a page until you have grasped the author's thought. Again, read selectively. Not all the facts enumerated are of equal importance, though they may be necessary for the continuity of the narrative or the argument. Train yourself to distinguish the essential from the less important facts. Unless the student is already somewhat familiar with the period or series of events which he is about to study, he should begin with a simple account, like that in a textbook, in order to get the proper orientation and become familiar with the general nature of the subject. But remember that, unless you are reading a source, you are reading some one's statement of the events; that you are reading an author's interpretation and determination of an event or a movement. He may be biased; he may be incomplete; he may be mistaken; he may even be ignorant. Moreover, historical values vary much according to the interest or emphasis of the author. Two books covering the same subject may be utterly different, because the point of view and the interest of the writers has been different. Therefore the student should go to the sources at the last and endeavor to interpret them, to understand them, and to form his own conclusions. All historical writing in last analysis rests upon sources. A book in which the use of sources is not in evidence is valueless for all but the most elementary reading. In this syllabus the endeavor has been made to indicate the sources of medieval history which are available in English translation, either in whole or in part. The student should invariably study these. They will stimulate historical imagination, for a source has a flavor all its own; they will, or ought to, develop constructive thinking; they will, or ought to, sharpen his critical sense.

Think what you are reading about all the time. Avoid the easy danger of reading mechanically. Matthew Arnold has written some wise words upon reading: "Estimate the proportion and relation of what you read. If we read but very little, we naturally want to press it all; if we read a great deal, we are willing not to press the whole of what we read, and we



learn what ought to be pressed and what not. . . . To read to good purpose we must read a great deal, and be content not to use a great deal of what we read. . . . Culture is reading, but reading with a purpose to guide it and with system. . . . It has often been said, and cannot be said too often: Give to any man all the time that he now wastes, not only on his vices (when he has them) but on useless business, wearisome or deteriorating amusements, trivial letter-writing, and random reading, and he will have plenty of time for culture. *Die Zeit ist unendlich lang*, says Goethe; and so it really is. Some of us waste all of it, most of us waste much, but all of us waste some."<sup>1</sup>

3. *Note-taking*.—For lectures, use a loose-leaf notebook, ruled in three vertical columns, an inch margin on the right edge, a two-and-a-half-inch margin on the left edge. Take notes in the middle—broadest—space. Use regular typewriter-size paper. The subject of the lecture and whatever bibliography may be given in class should be clearly written at the top of the first page of the lecture. After class go through the notes, correcting spelling, inserting punctuation, paragraphing, etc. As you read, make a marginal analysis of the lecture down the left side of the page, and put dates and names of persons and places in the right-edge column. Verify these dates to be sure they are correct, and be especially careful in regard to the spelling of proper names. Locate every place mentioned upon the map and insert classroom maps in their proper places when they have been returned by the instructor.

Shorthand is sometimes convenient, but should not usually be employed. An abridged longhand in which easy contractions are used is indispensable. A little ingenuity will devise certain symbols for words of frequent usage and practice will make their use natural. The aim of lecture-taking should be to get the thought—the interpretation of the subject. The actual language of the instructor is rarely necessary. Aim to get the essential idea in as concise a form as possible. Do not transcribe lecture notes unless they are in shorthand, for those indefinable associations connected with the original delivery of a lecture and the classroom environment disappear in the process of change.

In taking references from books use blank library cards or a stiff paper cut to that size. Indicate succinctly the topic with which the note has to do and the author, title, volume, and page of the citation. Make careful notes, but do not take extensive notes from books unless they are sources. Usually an abstract is sufficient, for, if necessary, the original can always be referred to. Instead, make a careful abstract, being sure to be exact. If an apt quotation is desired, verify the extract to see that it is correct. Each card should contain only a single note. Keep every datum separate and distinct. The distribution or classification of notes largely depends upon the nature of the subject and the proposed method of treatment. Before beginning to write consult the instructor, who will examine the bibliography, suggest a method of treatment, and modify the scope of the subject if it seems necessary.

4. *Preparation of papers*.—Topics will be assigned by the instructor in a personal interview with each student. The student should confer with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bryce, "Hints on Reading," *University and Historical Addresses*, pp. 365 f.



the instructor early in the quarter for this purpose. As it is the intent of the interview to adapt the subject to the student's interest, he should be prepared to specify particular subjects which will interest him.

Topics will be limited to the period studied during the quarter.

The assigned subject must not be changed or modified without consent of the instructor.

When original sources are available, they should always be used in preference to secondary authorities.

The quarterly paper should represent as scholarly treatment as the student is capable of, and, in composition, punctuation, paragraphing, etc., should be prepared as carefully as though intended for publication.

The introduction should be brief and be a lucid presentation of the purpose of the essay.

If the essay has to deal with a narrative subject, the treatment should be as clear and concise as possible, eliminating irrelevant detail, but omitting no important data salient to the narrative.

If the subject is of an expository nature, a brief narrative introduction should be prefixed in order to orient the reader. The body of the essay should be composed of a carefully arranged, topical presentation of the subject. If argument is introduced, the student should be alert to perceive the possibilities of counter argument and balance his judgment.

Like the introduction, the conclusion should be brief. It should leave a distinct mental picture or impression upon the mind of the reader and formulate the results of the research clearly.

Be correct in spelling and grammatical expression; use judgment in the choice of words; be clear and precise in statement. Never use colloquial language, and avoid "fine writing." Do not write long, complex sentences. Do not use the first and second personal pronouns nor the historical present. Composition should be usually in the third person and in the past tense. Do not follow the lecture-room method of exposition, for oral treatment of a subject often requires a method different from that of an historical essay. Do not try to imitate the style of well-known writers like Carlyle or Macaulay. Endeavor to form a style of your own.

5. *Technical details to be observed in the preparation of papers.*—Use regular thesis paper.

If the manuscript is not typewritten, write legibly.

The title-page should have the subject of the essay, the name of the author, the course in which it was prepared, and the date of presentation.

The bibliography should begin on p. 2 and should include a complete list of the books which the student has *actually consulted*. The approved library method should be followed in the bibliography, e.g.:

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I (Boston, 1904), pp. xxi+551

A short, critical comment should accompany each book title or article showing the value and content of it.

An outline or table of contents should be inserted immediately after the bibliography.

References may be inserted in the margin on the left of the page or at the foot of the page according to the wish of the student. But all citations must be carefully made as to author, title, volume, and page.



If illustrative maps are used, they should be inserted at the pertinent points in the manuscript.

If extended documentary material or statistical data are introduced, they should be thrown into an appendix.

Be exact in dates and put them in figures; e.g., January 1, 1800.

Write proper names correctly and distinctly; unless the name is one familiar in English, spell it as its bearer spelled it or as it is spelled by those of his own country.

Be careful in the use of institutional and constitutional terms. If you are sure there is an English equivalent, use it. If not, use the vernacular form.

Avoid the use of capitals except in the case of the first word of a sentence and proper names of persons and places.

Be careful in the use of punctuation; if the student does not already know the value of the various punctuation points, he should endeavor to find out as soon as possible.

#### 6. Map-making.—1. Lettering:

The best drawn map may have its appearance ruined by the poor skill or bad taste displayed in the lettering. The letters should be simple and neat in appearance.

- a) Let the importance of the place named determine (in general) the size of the letters in the name; e.g., R O M E, Tyre.
  - b) In general the size of the letters in the names of nations should be the same; e.g., B R I T A I N, G A U L, etc.
  - c) Letters should be uniform in height in the same word; e.g., R O M E (NOT, rOmE or ROme, etc.).
  - d) Letters should have equal spaces between them; e.g., R O M E (NOT, RO M E, or R O M e.).
  - e) Different types of letters should not be used in the same word, as, rOME, RoMe, ROME, etc.
  - f) The initial letters of names may be capitals or the entire word may be in capitals as (1) Rome, (2) ROME.
2. Coloring:
- a) Outline the shore line of bodies of water in *blue*.
  - b) Give the same color to nations under one ruler; e.g., the United States and Alaska today should be indicated in the same color. It is better not to color a territory all over, but, rather, merely color the extreme edge.
  - c) In general do not use colored ink, and what other colors are used should be put on lightly.
3. General hints:
- a) Use the lines of longitude and latitude on the maps in estimating the location of rivers, mountains, cities, boundaries, etc.
  - b) Do not use pencils in making maps. Use ink instead. This for all letters, boundaries, rivers, etc.
  - c) If necessary to shade portions of a map, let the lines that make up the shading be the same distance apart. They should not be less than an eighth of an inch apart and not more than three-sixteenths. The amount of ink in each line should be the same. This gives an even depth to the shading.



- d) As far as possible the names of all places, rivers, etc., should be parallel to the bottom edge of the map.
- e) Ordinary cities should be indicated with a small ring with a dot in the center. Capitals of countries, etc., may be indicated with a small star=.
- f) Put on the map *only* what has been specifically required.

#### HISTORICAL COMPENDIUMS

The student may frequently find it of advantage to refer to the following works which, from the complexity of their nature, it has been found impracticable to make particular reference to:

- Wace and Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Boston (1877-87).  
4 vols. Extends to time of Charlemagne.  
*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols., New York, 1912.  
Houtsma, M. T., *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leyden and London, 1913.  
Hughes, T. P., *A Dictionary of Islam*, 2d ed., 1896.  
Monroe, P., *Cyclopedia of Education*, 5 vols., New York, 1911.  
*Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols., New York and London, 1901 (2d ed.). (For English men of history.)  
Beale and Keane, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1894.  
Bumpus, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*, Philadelphia, 1910.  
Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, 3 vols., London, 1910.  
Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, 5th ed., New York, 1885.  
Cubberley, *Syllabus of the History of Education*, New York, 1904.  
*Notes and Queries*, in 11 series of 12 vols. each, London.  
*Encyclopedia Britannica*.  
*Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., New York and London, 1901.  
Schaff-Hertzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 12 vols., New York, 1908-12.  
Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 2 vols., 1875-80.

A very valuable work and one indispensable to the graduate student is Louis J. Paetow, *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, University of California Press.

#### HISTORICAL ATLASES

Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1911.

This is indispensable.

Dow, *Historical Atlas*, published by Henry Holt & Co.

Gardiner, S. R., *Atlas of English History*.

Also illustrates much of the continent.

Foncin, *Géographie historique*, Armand Colin et Cie, Paris, 1888.

Best portable French atlas, with page commentary.

Freeman, E. A., *Historical Geography*, two vols., with a third volume of maps.

Admirable. The atlas, unfortunately, cannot be purchased separately.

#### Large Atlases

Lane-Poole and others, the *Oxford Historical Atlas*.

A magnificent work. Should be consulted frequently.

Schrader, *Atlas de géographie historique*.

A French work with remarkably clear maps.



Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France*.

For medieval France

Droysen, *Historischer Handatlas*.

Spruner-Menke, *Historischer Atlas*.

Large German works. The latter is the more complete.

### *Illustrations of Medieval Life*

Parmentier, *Album historique*, 2 vols., Armand Colin et Cie, Paris. 1900.

### *Dates and Genealogical Tables*

Ploetz, *Epitome of Universal History*. New edition, Boston, 1906.

A very complete chronological survey. Indispensable.

Morison A., and Rait, R. S., *Time-Table of Modern History*, A.D. 400-1870, London, 1908.

In clearly printed parallel columns of events, chronologically arranged and supplemented by useful lists of reigning houses, genealogical tables, folding chart, and an extensive index.

Nichol, John, *Tables of European History, Science and Art* from 200 A.D. to 1909, 5th ed., by W. R. Jack, Glasgow, 1909.

### THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE AS THE BASIS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

Area, 3,754,000 square miles (cf. United States of America, 3,000,027 square miles).

Shape, a triangle 3,000 miles along the South, 2,000 miles on the East; Mediterranean, 2,500 miles long.

Convenient Units:

1,000 miles: Norway, the Naze to North Cape; Paris to Gibraltar, etc.

750 miles: the length of Italy; Black Sea, East-West; Caspian Sea, North-South, etc.

500 miles: breadth of Spanish peninsula; width of France; width of British Isles, etc.

Land relief:

Major highland axis, Cantabrians to Caucasus.

Lesser highland axis, in Norway and the Urals.

Great Lowland Plain, from Pyrenees through Russia to the Pacific.

Indented Coast:

Very significant, furnishing isolation to large peninsular or island groups; e.g., Greece, Italy, Spanish peninsula, British Isles; the isolation giving rise to national groups.

Continental relations:

Not a continent, only the peninsular end of the Great Continent of Eurasia. A bond between, in a grassy plain, a gateway 400 miles wide, north of Caspian Sea.

Asian influence in Europe, in plants, animals, and men.

Narrow, tideless sea between Europe and Africa, African influence in plant life, animal and human life. "Spain begins at the Pyrenees."



The Atlantic at the west a stormy sea—a perfect barrier until within recent centuries—now the world's best highway.

Influence of the Great Lowland Plain:

The most important single geographic influence. On the open plain all political boundaries arbitrary, established by force, maintained by arms.

The sweep of Russia illustrates the power of absorption of a strong government in the open plain.

Influence of the Dead Heart of Asia sending hordes of wild, warlike people into Europe.

The influences of *isolation* and *environment* are largely geographic; such as:

1. Land relief: highlands as barriers against human movement; mountain passes through these barriers; lowland plains over which men may move freely.
2. Climate, and the plant and animal life climate permits.
3. Soil, and the population and wealth soil makes possible.
4. Mineral resources, especially the unequal distribution of mineral resources over the land.
5. Relation of water to land, particularly water as barriers, and later water as highways.

These influences determine the everyday opportunities and occupations of men. They are responsible in large measure for the division of men into national groups, and for the development of such groups in an economic way.

The first power that acts upon a people is that of its surroundings and geography—that is to say, the sum of the physical influences derived from the soil and the climate—explains half its history. A special virtue is even attached to certain places. "Constantinople deserves an empire," Napoleon said. . . .

" . . . . To geographical influence we must add that which springs from hereditary instincts, if the people belong to the same ethnic group; the traditions which it brings from its various homes, if it be a mixture of many various tribes; the reactions of these various elements upon each other, which constitute the national character; and lastly the historic circumstances—that is to say, the exterior influence—which determines the course of its destiny."<sup>1</sup>

#### LITERATURE ON THE RELATION BETWEEN GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Duruy, V., *History of the Romans*, VIII, 334-41.

Semple, E. C., "Influence of Geographic Environment on Law, State, and Society," (in) *Influences of Geographic Environment*, pp. 1, 40, 51, 53-67, 461-65; reprinted in, Kocourek, A., and Wigmore, J. H., *Formative Influences of Legal Development*, chap. vii.

Semple, E. C., "The Barrier Boundary of the Mediterranean Basin," *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, V, 27-59.

Semple, E. C., "Geographical Location as a Factor in History," *Bulletin of the American Geographic Society*, XLI, 17.

<sup>1</sup> Duruy, V., *History of the Romans*, VIII, 337-38.



- Huntington, E., *Civilization and Climate*, 1915.
- George, H. B., *The Relation of Geography and History*, 3d ed., Oxford, 1907.
- Playfair, Sir R. L., "The Mediterranean, Physical and Historical," *Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1890, pp. 259-76.
- Partsch, *Central Europe*.
- Lyde, Lionel W., *The Continent of Europe*, 1913, chaps. i-x.
- Rudler, F. W., and Chisholm, G. G., *Europe*, 1902.
- Alden, F. K., "Mountains and History," *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1894, pp. 519-29.
- Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization*, I, chap. ii.
- Taine, H., *History of English Literature*, pp. 1-26.
- Hills, E. H., "The Geography of International Frontiers," *Geographical Journal*, XXVIII, 145 (1906).
- Reclus, E., *Europe*, I, 1-22.
- Curzon, Lord, "Frontiers," *The Romanes Lecture*, 1907.
- Geikie, A., *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1879, pp. 442 f.
- Geikie, A., *MacMillan's Magazine*, March, 1882.
- Ripley, W. Z., "Geography and Sociology," *Political Science Quarterly*, X, 636-55.
- Bryce, J., "Relations between History and Geography," *Contemporary Review*, XLIX, 426.
- Bryce, J., "The Migrations of Men Considered Historically," *ibid.*, XLII, 128.
- Bryce, J., *American Commonwealth*, 3d ed., II, 450 f. (on United States.)
- Strachey, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXI, 209 f.
- Helmolt, H., *History of the World*, IV, 1-12; V, 274-76; VI, 1-16; VIII, 388-458.



## I. THE ROMAN EMPIRE

### 1. THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES (A.D. 98-180 A.D.)

- Gibbon, E., *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, I, chaps. i-iii.  
 Dill, S., *Roman Society from Nero to Aurelius*, Book II, chap. i; Book III.  
 Adams, G. B., *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, chap. ii.  
 Bryce, J., *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. ii.  
 Robinson, J. H., *History of Western Europe*, chap. ii.  
 Duruy, V., *History of the Romans*, IV, chaps. lxv, lxvii, lxxi; V, lxxv, lxxviii, lxxx.  
 Jones, H. S., *Companion to Roman History*, pp. 243-57.  
 Jones, H. S., *The Roman Empire*, chaps. i-ix.  
 Sandys, E. J., *Companion to Latin Studies*, secs. 302, 303, 381-400, 575, 576, 578-82, 585-623.  
 Pelham, H., *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 513-64.  
 Pelham, H., "Early Roman Emperors," *Quarterly Review* (April, 1905).  
 Bryant, E. F., *Reign of Antonius Pius*.  
*History of All Nations*, V, chap. v.  
 Helmholt, H., *History of the World*, II, 400-44.  
 Merivale, C., *Romans under the Empire*, III, chaps. xxxi, xxxii.  
 Arnold, W. T., "Roman Provincial Administration," especially chaps. iii, iv (cf. reviews in *English Historical Review*, XXIII, 325; *American Historical Review*, XII, 915).  
 Gray, W. G., "Political Ideal of Emperor Hadrian," *Report of the American Historical Association* (1914), p. 113.

### 2. A COMPARISON BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN IMPERIALISM

- Bryce, J., *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, First Essay.  
 Cromer, Lord (Sir Evelyn Baring), *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*.  
 Cromer, Lord (Sir Evelyn Baring), *Political and Literary Essays*, chap. i, "The Government of Subject Races."  
 Lucas, C. P., *Greater Rome and Greater Britain*.

### 3. CORRUPTION AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORM IN THE THIRD CENTURY

- Gibbon, E., *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, I, chaps. v-vii, xi-xii.  
 Duruy, V., *History of the Romans*, VI, chap. lxxxv; VII, chaps. xcii-xcviii.  
*History of All Nations*, V, chaps. vi-ix.  
 Sandys, J. E., *Companion to Latin Studies*, secs. 400-3, 583-85, 586-623.  
 Jones, H. S., *Companion to Roman History*, chap. vii.  
 Jones, H. S., *Roman Empire*, chaps. x, xi.  
 Hardy, E. G., *Studies in Roman History*, chaps. xi, xiii, xiv.  
 Merivale, C., *Romans under the Empire*, VII, 64, 68.



- Abbot, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 334-40.  
 Arnold, W. T., *Roman Provincial Administration*, chaps. v, vii, sec. 4.  
 Glover, T. R., *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, chap. i.  
 Helmholt, H., *History of the World*, IV, 445-55.  
 Pelham, H., *Outlines of Roman History*, Book VI, chap. ii.  
 Pelham, H., *Essays*, pp. 158-79.  
*Dublin Review*, N.S., XVI, 85, rev. Caesars of the Third Century.  
 Crees, J. H. E., *Reign of the Emperor Probus*, chap. i, pp. 5-7.  
 Freeman, E. A., *Essays*, Series III, "The Illyrian Emperors and Their Lands."  
 Freeman, E. A., "Tyrants of Britain, Gaul, and Spain," *English Historical Review*, I, 53. (Cf. Gibbon, I, 460-62.)  
 Freeman, E. A., *Essays*, Series III, "Augusta Treverorum."  
 Bussell, F. W., *The Roman Empire: Essays on Const. Hist.*, chaps. i, iii.

#### 4. THE REFORMS OF DIOCLETIAN (284-305)

- Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, VI, No. 4: "The Notitia Dignitatum."  
 Botsford, A. W., *Source Book of Ancient History*, pp. 527-31, 537-39.  
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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF POPES AND EMPERORS

| Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. | Bishops of Rome                                    | Emperors                             | Year of<br>Accession<br>B.C.<br>A.D. |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                              |                                                    | Augustus                             | 27                                   |
|                              |                                                    | Tiberius                             | 14                                   |
|                              |                                                    | Caligula                             | 37                                   |
|                              |                                                    | Claudius                             | 41                                   |
| 42                           | St. Peter (according to Jerome)                    | Nero                                 | 54                                   |
| 67                           | Linus (according to Irenaeus,<br>Eusebius, Jerome) |                                      |                                      |
| 68                           | Clement (according to Ter-<br>tullian and Rufinus) | Galba, Otho, Vitellius,<br>Vespasian | 68                                   |
| 78                           | Anacletus(?)                                       | Titus                                | 79                                   |
|                              |                                                    | Domitian                             | 81                                   |
| 91                           | Clement (according to some<br>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                                  |
|                              |                                                    | Didius Julianus                      | 193                                  |
|                              |                                                    | Niger                                | 193                                  |
| 193                          | Victor(?)                                          | Septimus Severus                     | 193                                  |
| 202                          | Zephyrinus(?)                                      | 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                                           |                                      |                                      |



| Year of<br>Accession | Bishops of Rome    | Emperors                                                                                 | Year of<br>Accession |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| A.D.                 |                    |                                                                                          | A.D.                 |
|                      |                    | The two Gordians, Maximus<br>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                  |
|                      |                    | Tacitus                                                                                  | 275                  |
| 275                  | Eutychianus        | Florian                                                                                  | 276                  |
|                      |                    | Probus                                                                                   | 276                  |
|                      |                    | Carus                                                                                    | 282                  |
| 283                  | Caius              | Carinus, Numerian                                                                        | 284                  |
|                      |                    | Diocletian                                                                               | 284                  |
|                      |                    | Maximian, associated with<br>Diocletian                                                  | 286                  |
| 296                  | Marcellinus        |                                                                                          |                      |
| 304                  | <i>Vacancy</i>     | Constantius, Galerius                                                                    | 305                  |
|                      |                    | Severus                                                                                  | 306                  |
|                      |                    | Constantine (the Great)                                                                  | 306                  |
|                      |                    | Licinius                                                                                 | 307                  |
|                      |                    | Maximin                                                                                  | 308                  |
| 308                  | Marcellus          | Constantine, Galerius, Licinius,<br>Maximin, Maxentius, and<br>Maximian reigning jointly | 309                  |
| 310                  | Eusebius           |                                                                                          |                      |
| 311                  | Melchiades         |                                                                                          |                      |
| 314                  | Sylvester I        | Constantine (the Great) alone                                                            | 323                  |
| 336                  | Marcus I           | Constantine II, Constantius II,<br>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                  |
| 384                  | Siricius           | Theodosius                                                                               | 379                  |







| Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. | Bishops of Rome         | Emperors                                                                           | Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                              |                         | Arcadius (in the East),<br>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                          |
|                              |                         | <i>Vacancy</i> (W)                                                                 | 465                          |
|                              |                         | Anthemius (W)                                                                      | 467                          |
| 468                          | Simplicius              |                                                                                    |                              |
|                              |                         | 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<br>Romulus Augustulus)                                 | 476                          |
|                              |                         | <i>(Henceforth till A.D. 800, Em-<br/>perors reigning at Constanti-<br/>nople)</i> |                              |
| 483                          | Felix III <sup>1</sup>  |                                                                                    |                              |
|                              |                         | Anastasius I                                                                       | 491                          |
| 492                          | Gelasius I              |                                                                                    |                              |
| 496                          | Anastasius II           |                                                                                    |                              |
| 498                          | Symmachus               |                                                                                    |                              |
| 498                          | (Laurentius, Anti-pope) |                                                                                    |                              |
| 514                          | Hormisdas               |                                                                                    |                              |
|                              |                         | Justin I                                                                           | 518                          |
| 523                          | John I                  |                                                                                    |                              |
| 526                          | Felix IV                |                                                                                    |                              |
|                              |                         | Justinian                                                                          | 527                          |
| 530                          | Boniface II             |                                                                                    |                              |
| 530                          | (Dioscorus, Anti-pope)  |                                                                                    |                              |
| 532                          | John II                 |                                                                                    |                              |
| 535                          | Agapetus I              |                                                                                    |                              |
| 536                          | Silberius               |                                                                                    |                              |
| 537                          | Vigilius                |                                                                                    |                              |
| 555                          | Pelagius I              |                                                                                    |                              |
| 560                          | John III                |                                                                                    |                              |
|                              |                         | Justin II                                                                          | 565                          |
| 574                          | Benedict I              |                                                                                    |                              |

<sup>1</sup> Reckoning the Anti-pope Felix (A.D. 356) as Felix II.



| Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. | Bishops of Rome          | Emperors                                     | Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 578                          | Pelagius II              | Tiberius II<br>Maurice                       | 578<br>582                   |
| 590                          | Gregory I (the Great)    | Phocas                                       | 602                          |
| 604                          | Sabinianus               | (Heraclian Dynasty 610-717)<br>Heraclius     | 610                          |
| 607                          | Boniface III             |                                              |                              |
| 607                          | Boniface IV              |                                              |                              |
| 615                          | Deus dedit               |                                              |                              |
| 618                          | Boniface V               | Constantine III, Heracleonas,<br>Constans II | 641                          |
| 625                          | Honorius I               |                                              |                              |
| 638                          | Severinus                |                                              |                              |
| 640                          | John IV                  |                                              |                              |
| 642                          | Theodorus I              |                                              |                              |
| 649                          | Martin I                 | Constantine IV (Pogonatus)                   | 668                          |
| 654                          | Eugenius I               |                                              |                              |
| 657                          | Vitalianus               | Justinian II                                 | 685                          |
| 672                          | Adeodatus                |                                              |                              |
| 676                          | Domnus or Donus I        |                                              |                              |
| 678                          | Agatho                   |                                              |                              |
| 682                          | Leo II                   |                                              |                              |
| 683(?)                       | Benedict II              |                                              |                              |
| 685                          | John V                   |                                              |                              |
| 685(?)                       | Conon                    |                                              |                              |
| 687                          | Sergius I                |                                              |                              |
| 687                          | (Paschal, Anti-pope)     |                                              |                              |
| 687                          | (Theodorus, Anti-pope)   |                                              |                              |
| 701                          | John VI                  | Leontius                                     | 694                          |
|                              |                          | Tiberius III                                 | 697                          |
| 705                          | John VII                 | Justinian II restored                        | 705                          |
| 708                          | Sisinnius                |                                              |                              |
| 708                          | Constantine              | Philippicus Bardanes                         | 711                          |
| 715                          | Gregory II               | Anastasius II                                | 613                          |
|                              |                          | Theodosius III                               | 716                          |
|                              |                          | Syrian or Isaurian Dynasty 717-802           | 718                          |
|                              |                          | Leo III (the Isaurian)                       |                              |
|                              |                          | Constantine V (Copronymus)                   | 741                          |
| 731                          | Gregory III              | Constantine V (Copronymus)                   | 741                          |
| 741                          | Zacharias                |                                              |                              |
| 752                          | Stephen (II)             |                                              |                              |
| 752                          | Stephen II (or III)      |                                              |                              |
| 757                          | Paul I                   |                                              |                              |
| 767                          | (Constantine, Anti-pope) |                                              |                              |
| 768                          | Stephen III (IV)         |                                              |                              |
| 772                          | Hadrian I                |                                              |                              |







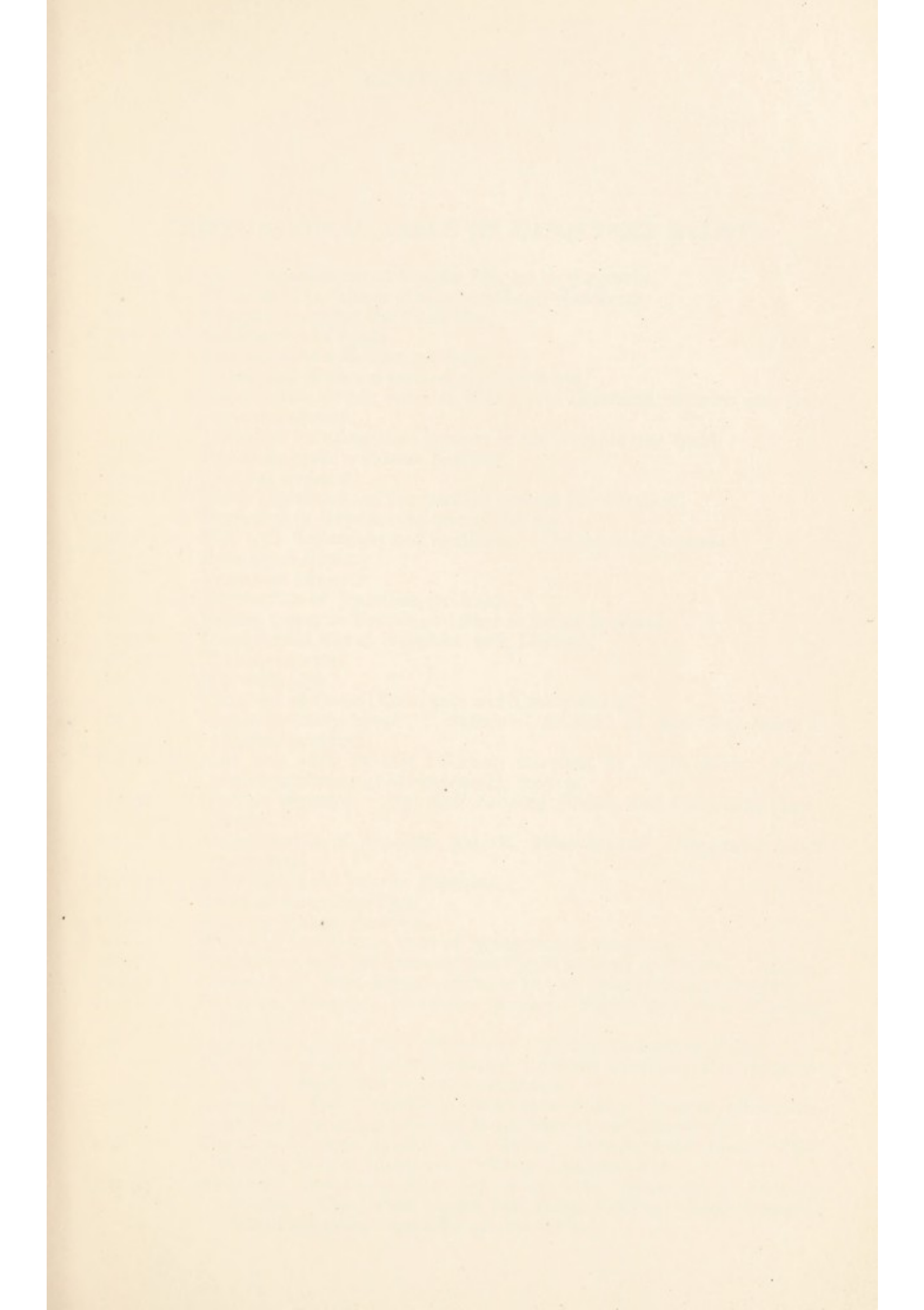
| Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. | Bishops of Rome | Emperors                                               | Year of<br>Accession<br>A.D. |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                              |                 | Leo IV                                                 | 775                          |
|                              |                 | Constantine VI                                         | 780                          |
| 795                          | Leo III         | Deposition of Constantine VI by<br>Irene               | 797                          |
|                              |                 | Charles I (the Great)                                  | 800                          |
|                              |                 | <i>(Following henceforth the new<br/>Western line)</i> |                              |
|                              |                 | Louis I (the Pious)                                    | 814                          |



## IMPORTANT FRANK, VISIGOTH, AND LOMBARD KINGS

| Merovingian Kings from<br>Clovis to Dagobert | Early Visigothic Kings | Chief Lombard Kings <sup>1</sup> |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Clovis 481-511                               | Alaric 395-410         | Alboin 561-73                    |
| Leaves four sons:                            | Ataulphus 410-15       | Autharis 584-90                  |
| Theodoric (Rheims),                          | Wallia 415-19          | Rotharis 636-52                  |
| Chlodomir (Orleans),                         | Theodoric I 419-51     | Liutprand 713-44                 |
| Childebert (Paris),                          | Thorismond 451-53      | Aistulf 749-56                   |
| Chlotair (Soissons),                         | Theodoric II 453-66    | Desiderius 756-74                |
| who (558 unites all                          | Euric 466-85           | Adalchis 758-74                  |
| four kingdoms. In                            | Alaric II 485-507      |                                  |
| 561 Chlotair died,                           | Leovgild 569-86        |                                  |
| also leaving four sons:                      | (unites all Spain)     |                                  |
| Caribert (Paris),                            | Reccared 586-601       |                                  |
| Gontran (Orleans),                           | (becomes Catholic)     |                                  |
| Sigbert (Metz),                              |                        |                                  |
| Chilperic (Soissons)                         |                        |                                  |
| Civil war 573-613                            |                        |                                  |
| In 613 Chlotair II                           |                        |                                  |
| united all four king-                        |                        |                                  |
| doms. His son Dago-                          |                        |                                  |
| bert I (629-39) was                          |                        |                                  |
| the last strong Mero-                        |                        |                                  |
| vingian king                                 |                        |                                  |

<sup>1</sup>The Lombards were the only German people which never established a hereditary dynasty.





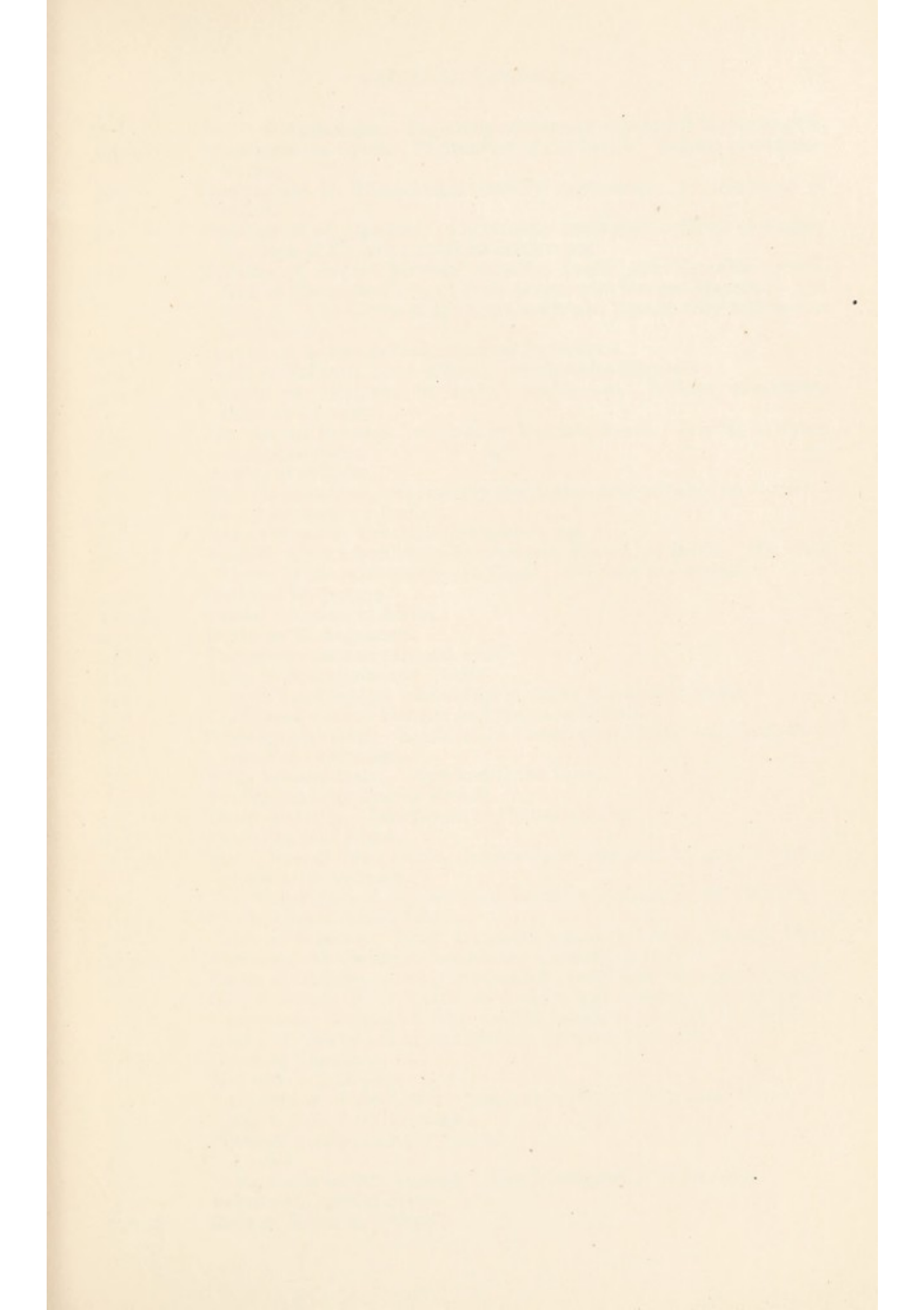


# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 31 B.C.-14 A.D. | Organization of Roman Empire by Augustus.                                                                                                                                   |
| 27              | Division of provinces into imperial and senatorial.                                                                                                                         |
| 20              | Campaign against the Parthians.                                                                                                                                             |
| 19              | Subjugation of Spain.                                                                                                                                                       |
| 16              | Moesia made a Roman province.                                                                                                                                               |
| 15              | Raetia and Noricum erected into provinces.                                                                                                                                  |
| 12-9            | Organization of left bank of Rhine into Germania superior and Germania inferior.                                                                                            |
| 9 A.D.          | Defeat of Varus by the Germans in the Teutoberger Wald.                                                                                                                     |
| 10              | Pannonia made a Roman province.                                                                                                                                             |
| 14-37           | Tiberius emperor.                                                                                                                                                           |
| 14-16           | Three expeditions of Germanicus against the Germans.                                                                                                                        |
| 43              | Beginning of Roman conquest of Britain.                                                                                                                                     |
| 58-63           | War with Armenians and Parthians. Conquest of Armenia.                                                                                                                      |
| 64              | Burning of Rome.                                                                                                                                                            |
| 69              | Vespasian emperor.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 70              | Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.                                                                                                                                          |
| 81-84           | Roman power in Britain extended as far as Scotland.                                                                                                                         |
| 86-90           | Unsuccessful war of Domitian with Dacians.                                                                                                                                  |
| 98-117          | Trajan emperor.                                                                                                                                                             |
| { 101-2         | War with and                                                                                                                                                                |
| { 105-7         | Conquest of Dacia [Roumania and Transylvania].                                                                                                                              |
| 105             | Arabia (country south of Damascus to head of Red Sea) made a Roman province.                                                                                                |
| 114-16          | New war with Parthia. Roman conquest to Tigris River. Creation of provinces of Mesopotamia, Assyria.                                                                        |
| 117-38          | Hadrian emperor. First wall between Britain and Caledonia (Scotland).                                                                                                       |
| 117             | Abandonment of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia. Euphrates made boundary.                                                                                                      |
| 132-35          | Rebellion of the Jews in Palestine.                                                                                                                                         |
| 138-61          | Reign of Antoninus Pius.                                                                                                                                                    |
| 161-80          | Reign of Marcus Aurelius.                                                                                                                                                   |
| 162-65          | War with Parthians. Part of Mesopotamia recovered.                                                                                                                          |
| 166-80          | Serious war with Marcomanni and Quadi in Bend of Danube. Plague.                                                                                                            |
| 180-92          | Commodus. First Roman emperor to pay tribute to the Germans.                                                                                                                |
| 193-211         | Septimius Severus. Pretender in east (Niger) and west (Clodius Albinus).                                                                                                    |
| 208             | Expedition against the Caledonians. Second wall across Britain. Papinian the great jurist flourished. Drastic administrative reorganization. Reduction of powers of senate. |
| 211-17          | Caracalla. The Constitutio Antoniana confers Roman citizenship on all free provincials in order to increase the capitation tax.                                             |
| 214             | Unsuccessful war against the Goths. Tribute paid them. First mention of the Allemanni. Vicious administration.                                                              |
| 222-35          | Alexander Severus. Mild but weak rule. Increase of German pressure. The jurists Ulpian and Julius Paullus. Great vogue of oriental religions, especially the Syrian cult.   |



- 226 Dissolution of the Parthian Monarchy of the Arsacids. Foundation of New Persian Monarchy of the Sassanids which lasted until 641, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedans in battle of Nehavend ("victory of victories").
- 231 War with New Persia.
- 248 Celebration of Thousandth anniversary of founding of Rome.
- 249-51 Decius.
- 250 First formal persecution of Christians.
- 251 Defeat of Goths in Thrace. Decius is killed.
- 259 Sapor of Persia ravages Syria.
- 260-68 Gallienus. Period of the "Thirty Tyrants." Increasing menace of the Goths. The Allemanni over-run the Decuman Fields and threaten Italy.
- 262 Goths in Macedonia and Asia Minor. Sack of Ephesus. Antioch taken by Sapor.
- 263 Franks invade Gaul.
- 267 Heruli invade Greece.
- 268 Claudius II defeats Goths in Moesia.
- 270-75 Aurelian. Abandons Dacia to Goths. Defeat of Allemanni on Metaurus. Erection of great Aurelian Wall around Rome.
- 273 Conquest of Palmyra. Queen Zenobia. Introduction of sun worship. Recovery of Egypt. Subjugation of pretenders and tyrants in provinces. "Restorer of universal empire." Contemplated persecution of Christians.
- 275 Tacitus defeats Alani in Asia Minor.
- 276-82 Probus. Drives back Franks, Allemanni, Burgundians, and Vandals threatening Gaul. Enormous increase of German mercenaries in army. Colonization of depopulated regions and waste lands by German settlers.
- 284-305 Diocletian. Conversion of government into absolute monarchy after Persian form. Orientalization of court. Administrative partition into prefectures and dioceses. Reorganization of finances and taxation.
- 297-98 Successful war against Persians. For last time Roman frontier extended again to Tigris. Repulse of German invasions in Gaul. Subjugation of insurrections in the provinces.
- 303 Last and greatest persecution of Christians begun.
- 305 Abdication of Diocletian. Eighteen years of Civil war follow. Rise of Constantine.
- 312 Victory of Constantine "at the Milvian Bridge" [In hoc signo vinces].
- 313 Edict of Milan granting religious toleration to Christians, in which policy, however, Constantine had been anticipated by Galerius.
- 323-37 Constantine sole emperor.
- 325 Council of Nicaea. Nicene Creed.
- 330 Capital of empire removed to Constantinople, begun in 324.
- 337-61 Constantine's three sons divide the empire.
- 348 Ulfilas (died 388) missionary to Goths.
- 357 Victory of Julian over Allemanni near Strasburg.
- 361-63 Julian "the apostate," attempts peacefully to restore paganism. Julian perishes in war with Persians.
- 364-75 Valentinian I in west.
- 364-78 Valens in east.
- 367-69 Theodosius in Britain.
- 375 Invasion of Huns into Europe. The West Goths enter Moesia and Thrace.







- 378 Battle of Adrianople. Beginning of German supremacy in the empire.
- 379-95 Theodosius the Great. Pacification of the Goths. Reform of administration.
- 390 Insurrection in Thessalonica terribly suppressed. St. Ambrose of Milan.
- 392 Proscription of paganism. Christianity made state religion of empire. Triumph of Christian religious intolerance.
- 395 Division of empire between Arcadius (east) and Honorius (west). Rise of Alaric, first king of West Goths, who ravages Macedonia and Greece. The Goths in Illyricum orientale, whence they attempt to invade Italy.
- 401(?) First effort to invade Italy repulsed by Stilicho.
- 402 Battle of Pollentia (near Milan). Alaric again defeated.
- 404-6 Inroads of Germans in Italy. Radagaisus. Stilicho annihilates them at Faesulae.
- 406 The "Grand Invasion" of Gaul by Vandals, Suevi. Terrible harrying of the provinces.
- 408 Murder of Stilicho.
- 408 Alaric invades Italy successfully and makes first advance on Rome.
- 409 Second advance on Rome
- 410 Sack of Rome by the Goths [August 23-24].
- 410-15 Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law succeeds him on his death. The West Goths settle in southwestern Gaul. Toulouse the capital.
- 420 Death of St. Jerome
- 429-39 Vandal conquest of Africa.
- 430 Death of St. Augustine.
- 438-39 Theodosian code in east and west.
- 442 Atilla in Macedonia and Thrace.
- 443 Burgundian kingdom established in upper Rhone and Saone.
- 449 Traditional date of Hengist and Horsa in Britain.
- 451 Atilla invades Gaul. Battle in the Catelaunian Fields (near Châlons?). Council of Chalcedon.
- 452 Atilla invades Italy. Pope Leo I, the Great. Traditional beginning of Venice.
- 453 Death of Attila. Dissolution of Hunnic empire.
- 455 Vandal sack of Rome.
- 462-83 Euric, king of West Goths, defeats Suevi and puts an end to Roman domination in Spain.
- 476 Traditional date of deposition of Romulus Augustulus by Odoacer.
- 481 Clovis, king of Salian Franks.
- 486 Battle of Soissons. Frank domination extended over northern Gaul.
- 489-93 Theodoric the Ostrogoth establishes kingdom in Italy.
- 496 Battle of Tolbiac. Clovis defeats Allemanni and becomes Christian.
- 507 Clovis defeats West Goths at Vouillé and extends domination to Garonne. Capital of West Gothic kingdom removed to Toledo.
- 511 Death of Clovis. Kingdom divided between four sons.
- 526 Death of Theodoric.
- 527 Accession of Justinian.
- 529 First edition of the Code. Belesarius defeats Persians at Daras.
- 530 Frank conquest of Thuringia.
- 531 Chosroes becomes king of Persia.
- 533 Nika riot.
- 534 Belesarius conquers Vandals. Frank conquest of Burgundy.
- 536 Belesarius captures Rome.
- 537-38 Siege of Rome by Vitiges.



- 539 Milan sacked by Ostrogoths.  
 540 Ravenna taken by Belesarius. Persian capture of Antioch.  
 546 Rome captured by Totila.  
 547 Rome recovered by Belesarius.  
 549 Rome retaken by Totila.  
 550-51 Beginning of Avar and Bulgar pressure on lower Danube provinces.  
 552 Narses, successor of Belesarius in Italy, totally defeats Ostrogoths.  
     Introduction of silk worm culture into Europe (Morea). Frank  
     conquest of the Bavarians.  
 558 Chlotair I unites Frank kingdoms.  
 561 Chlotair I dies and divides kingdom between four sons.  
 562 Peace between Justinian and Chosroes.  
 565 Death of Justinian.  
 568 Lombard invasion of Italy. Capital at Pavia. Exarchate of Ravenna.  
 569-86 Leovgild rules all Spain.  
 571(?) Birth of Mohammed.  
 572 War renewed between Eastern Roman Empire and Persia. Lombards  
     take Pavia.  
 573 Beginning of Frankish civil wars.  
 579 Death of Chosroes.  
 590-604 Pope Gregory I, the Great.  
 596 Mission of St. Augustine to England.  
 602 Murder of emperor Maurice by his successor Phokas.  
 603-20 Persian conquest of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem taken in 614.  
 610-41 Heraclius emperor in Constantinople. He recovers Syria and Pales-  
     tine (622-28).  
 613 Peace of Paris ends Frankish civil wars. Rise of Pepin of Landen.  
 615 Death of St. Columban.  
 616 Invasion of Egypt by Persians.  
 622 Flight (Hegira) of Mohammed from Mecca.  
 623 First victory of Mohammed at Bedr. Slavonic kingdom of Samo.  
 626 Attack on Constantinople by Persians and Avars.  
 629-39 Dagobert I, king of Franks.  
 630 Mohammed captures Mecca.  
 632 Mohammedan conquest of Syria. Damascus taken in 634.  
 638-40 Mohammedan conquest of Egypt.  
 647-709 Mohammedan conquest of Africa.  
 648 Mohammedan capture of Cyprus.  
 653 Mohammedan capture of Rhodes.  
 654-58 Mohammedan attacks on Constantinople.  
 661-750 Ommeyad califs at Damascus.  
 667 First great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.  
 672-73 Second great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans.  
 672-80 Disintegration of Visigothic kingdom under Wamba.  
 678 Mission of Wilfrid among the Frisians.  
 687 Battle of Testry. Establishment of dukes of Austrasia as mayors of  
     the palace in the Frank kingdom. Pepin of Heristal.  
 692-93 Mohammedan destruction of Carthage.  
 711 Mohammedan conquest of Spain.  
 713-34 All Spain except the Asturias conquered.  
 717 Third great siege of Constantinople by Mohammedans. Accession of  
     Leo the Syrian (Isaurian). Beginning of Iconoclastic Controversy.  
 718 Mission of St. Boniface in Germany.  
 719 Narbonne captured by Mohammedans.  
 721 First Mohammedan inroad into Gaul.







- 723 Sardinia taken by Mohammedans.
- 728 Ravenna taken by Lombards. Recaptured by exarch 729.
- 732 Karl Martel defeats Mohammedans at Tours (Poitiers).
- 735 Death of Bede.
- 739-57(?) Alfonso I of the Asturias unites Galicia and Cantabria with his kingdom.
- 741 Death of Karl Martel. Accession of Pepin the Short.
- 744 Founding of abbey of Fulda by Boniface. His organization of many bishoprics in Germany.
- 750 Abul Abbas destroys Ommeyad dynasty in Damascus and establishes the Abassid califate. The capital removed to Baghdad, which he founds.
- 752 Pepin the Short with consent of pope deposes Childeric III and becomes king of the Franks.
- 754 Pope Stephen II crowns Pepin.
- 755 Death of Boniface. Abd-el-Raman, only surviving Ommeyad, flees to Spain and founds Ommeyad califate at Cordova (756).
- 756 Donation of exarchate of Ravenna to papacy. Founding of temporal power of popes.
- 768 Death of Pepin the Short, who is succeeded by his sons, Charles and Karlmann.
- 771 Charles the Great sole king of the Franks.
- 772 Beginning of the Saxon war. First campaign against Lombards.
- 774 Charles extinguishes Lombard kingdom and assumes the iron crown.
- 778 Frank intervention in Spain. Roncevalles. Roland and the rear guard.
- 782 Massacre of Saxons at Verden.
- 786-809 Reign of Haran-al-Raschid in Baghdad. Height of the califate.
- 788 Fall of Tassilo of Bavaria.
- 791-99 War with Avars.
- 794 Council of Frankfort.
- 800 Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome as emperor of the Romans.
- 801 Death of Paul the Deacon.
- 802 Great capitulary establishing the missi dominici.
- 803 Limits of the two empires settled by treaty between Charlemagne and Nicephorus.
- 804 Death of Alcuin. Completion of subjugation of Saxony.
- 805 Destruction of the Avar kingdom.
- 808-10 War with the Danes.
- 814 Death of Charlemagne.









